

HULIHIA NĀ KĀNĀWAI ‘ĀINA:
THE EFFECTS OF POST-1893 LAND LAW CHANGES ON NATIVE HAWAIIANS –
POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS SUPPLEMENT OR SUPPLANT?

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DEDICATION

This text and all of the associated research were done with the intention of uncovering and remembering the ‘eha that was exacted against Kānaka Maoli by the usurpers that overthrew our Queen. No ka Lāhui Aloha ‘Āina, i ka wā ma mua a me ka wā ma hope noho‘i.

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ABSTRACT

The 1895 Land Act was a culminating step in the effort to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. Sanford Dole and the rest of the usurpers utilized white supremacist ideals to create land law changes that enabled white American immigration while dispossessing Native Hawaiians concurrently. The Land Act was an integral part of a systemic racist process designed to supplant Kanaka Maoli in their homeland and disconnect them from ‘āina, a legacy that lives on today.

This dissertation, “Hulihia Nā Kānāwai ‘Āina: The Effects Of Post-1893 Land Law Changes on Native Hawaiians – Population Demographics Supplement Or Supplant?,” archivally examines (1) critical steps that the usurpers made immediately after the coup that laid the foundation for a white supremacist agenda, (2) post-coup legislative changes to laws connected to the ownership and use of land, (3) how those land law modifications changed the social, demographic, and economic landscape in Hawai‘i and continue to impact Native Hawaiians today.

The Hawaiian Kingdom’s internationally recognized sovereignty required the usurpers to take specific, unique steps to ensure the success of their white Supremacist settler project. These steps included the 1893 coup, the faux-colonial oligarchical government, and the creation of mechanisms to suppress the swift and long-standing Native Hawaiian refusal to submit to the Provisional and Republic of Hawai‘i governments. Additionally, this dissertation argues that the usurpers’ white Supremacist project began before the actual coup and was comprised of several incremental policies that taken together altered Hawai‘i’s landscape. These policies, supported by legislation, included the expansion of immigration by white American settlers, the creation and growth of tourism, and the development of Hawai‘i as the center of U.S. military control. This study finds that using this three-pronged approach ultimately lured white American settlers here while simultaneously disenfranchising Native Hawaiians socially, demographically, and economically in their homeland.

Comprised of seven chapters, this dissertation asserts three interventions. First, it centers Native Hawaiian people and their experiences, whose voices have been overlooked in prior scholarship about this period. Secondly, archival primary documents are used as the sources of knowledge and evidence of change. Documents were gathered from multiple archives across

countries and continents to ensure a plurality of critical voices were heard and represented in the text. Lastly, other Native Hawaiian scholars have asserted that the 1848 Māhele was the real start of Native Hawaiians losing their sovereignty. Through this text, I argue instead that the post-coup land law changes were more detrimental to Native Hawaiian land ownership, land rights, and ultimately Kanaka Maoli identity and sovereignty than the Māhele of 1848.

The 1895 Land Act forever altered the course of Hawaiian history and land tenure. Native Hawaiians went from being the largest ethnic population segment in Hawai‘i to a minority in their homeland in 125 years. In addition, Native Hawaiians represent the bottom of the socio-economic scale in nearly every indicator category. How did this happen? How did Native Hawaiians become landless in Hawai‘i? Was it their fault? The ultimate goal of this dissertation is to explore these questions through an analysis of land law changes from 1893 to 1959 and expose the racist and settler privileged policies which enabled the dispossession of Native Hawaiian land, rights, and power. As such, this project is not only connected to expanding academic understanding of Hawai‘i’s post-1893 land law changes but, perhaps more importantly, is also designed to impact Native Hawaiian understandings of this period. Native Hawaiians did not willingly submit to the settler colonial project but were systemically disadvantaged throughout the Provisional and Republic periods. Revealing this history provides an opportunity to affirm the identity and well-being of our Native Hawaiian communities who continue to resist the effects of white American settlement today.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

And there is no less doubt but that, with our lands brought to a state of careful cultivation, and through the economics of a higher civilization than our dusky predecessors could boast, a nation of at least a million might in comfort and plenty occupy our islands, and make them rich and prosperous...The Hawaiian is not to be displaced, but must be supplemented.

--S.B. Dole, September 28, 1872

The 1895 Land Act was a culminating step in the effort to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape after the 1893 illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom Monarchy.¹ Sanford Dole and the rest of the usurpers² utilized white supremacist ideals to change existing Kingdom land laws that enabled white American immigration while dispossessing Native Hawaiians concurrently. The Land Act was an integral part of a systemic racist process designed to supplant Kanaka Maoli in their homeland and disconnect them from ‘āina, a legacy that lives on today.

Sanford Ballard Dole began advocating for settler migration to Hawai‘i as early as 1872, more than twenty years before the coup. Dole, a son of Protestant missionaries, was twenty-eight and working in the legislature of the internationally recognized and sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom when he wrote a series of essays about Hawai‘i's population problems published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. The epigraph above is an excerpt from the first of those essays. Dole advocated for a ‘higher civilization’ of white Americans that would not supplant the Native Hawaiian population but supplement their ‘dusky predecessors’ whose lands they would eventually steal and occupy.³

In January 1893, Sanford B. Dole was part of the small group of insurgents that engineered the illegal overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Following the hostile takeover, their oligarchy, dubbed the “Provisional Government,” was promptly

¹ I use the terms “illegal overthrow” and “coup” interchangeably to refer to the 1893 coup in which the United States and the Committee of Safety overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

² The terms “usurpers,” “insurgents,” and “oligarchy” are used interchangeably to describe the white members of the Committee of Safety that exacted the 1893 coup as well as their direct supporters.

³ Dole, “The Problem of Population,” September 28, 1872.

recognized by United States Minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom John L. Stevens as legitimate. Sanford Dole was named President of the Provisional Government, later becoming the Republic of Hawai‘i in 1894. Dole remained at the helm when the United States took Hawai‘i as a territory in 1900. He was appointed Governor by the U.S. government, making Dole first-in-command in Hawai‘i for the entire decade following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. I refer to this period as Dole’s Dominion since he operated like a sovereign authority, setting the white supremacist foundation that remade Hawai‘i into a settler landscape. His dominion effectively controlled the government through his ability to appoint all other government officials and oversee all decisions made, much like a despot. Throughout these years, Native Hawaiians resisted the coup and the policies of Dole and his newly formed governments.

Immediately following the overthrow, Dole began putting his long-stated white supremacist mission of settling Hawai‘i into place, his eyes fixed on the eventual goal of building up Hawai‘i’s white American population and remaking Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. It was essential to Dole to settle not just any American but American Anglo-Saxons in particular:

In order to develop a citizenship here that will be always improving in those characteristics which are recognized as the highest attributes of American citizenship, it is essential that the class referred to as Anglo-Saxon should be largely increased and particularly that it should be increased by the introduction of persons from the mainland who have acquired long residence and particularly by inheritance and position, the qualities of citizenship above referred to.⁴

This dissertation, “Hulihia Nā Kānāwai ‘Āina: The Effects Of Post-1893 Land Law Changes on Native Hawaiians – Population Demographics Supplement Or Supplant?,” archivally examines (1) critical steps that the usurpers made immediately after the coup that laid the foundation for a white supremacist agenda, (2) post-coup legislative changes to laws connected to the ownership and use of land, (3) how those land law modifications changed the social, demographic, and economic landscape in Hawai‘i and continue to impact Native Hawaiians today.

This thesis also argues that the Hawaiian Kingdom’s internationally recognized sovereignty required the usurpers to take specific, unique steps to ensure the success of their

⁴ S.B. Dole, Land Settlement (Hawaii State Archives: Honolulu) as cited in Kamanamaikalani Beamer's text, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*, 277.

white supremacist settler project. These steps included the 1893 coup, the faux-colonial oligarchical government, and the creation of mechanisms to suppress the swift and long-standing Native Hawaiian resistance to the Provisional and Republic of Hawai‘i governments.⁵ Additionally, this dissertation asserts that the usurpers’ white supremacist project was comprised of several incremental policies that altered Hawai‘i’s social, political, and economic landscape. These policies, supported by legislation, included the expansion of immigration and in-migration by white American settlers, the creation and growth of tourism, and the development of Hawai‘i as the center of U.S. military control. This study finds that this three-pronged approach enticed white American migration to Hawai‘i while disenfranchising Native Hawaiians socially, demographically, and economically in their homeland.

This project’s title uses the expression *hulihia* to describe how the 1895 Land Act and subsequent laws created in Hawai‘i through the beginning of the twentieth century affected how land was used and by whom. As with many Hawaiian terms, there are different definitions associated with the word *hulihia*. One is to be overturned as with a complete change or overthrow, which I consider connected to the drastic changes to Hawai‘i’s physical, economic, and social landscapes brought on by the violent coup and its aftermath. However, I hope the reader will appreciate other, more subtle meanings. There is a strong correlation between *hulihia* to the idea of examining, studying, investigating, and searching for. These definitions describe the importance of this project to the larger body of geographic, historical, and cultural scholarship, which has not uncovered the mechanisms that allowed for the notable changes in Hawaiian sovereignty and land governance that were made post-coup. Finally, the term also describes my research method of pouring over thousands of primary source documents gathered across countries and continents to (re)discover and piece together this history.

Research Questions

The following research questions, which seek to detail Hawai‘i’s remaking in the post-coup period, guide this dissertation. First, I interrogate the specific, unique steps required of and

⁵ I use the term “faux-colonial” to describe quasicolonial structures and events put in place to disguise America’s belligerent occupation of Hawai‘i, another sovereign state. See Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 197. This term will be utilized throughout the text alongside the more conventional term of settler-colonialism, but Hawai‘i was never a conquest of the U.S., therefore the term colonial does not apply to Hawai‘i from an international law perspective.

taken by the usurpers during Dole's Dominion that enabled the eventual reshaping of Hawai'i into a settler-privileged, faux-colonial landscape. Then the question of particular initiatives and programs is taken, identifying the initiatives and programs established by the 1895 Land Act and successive land laws during the years immediately following the coup. I also investigate how these laws impacted Native Hawaiian land ownership and use. Next, I explore how these policy changes affected demographics. Did the modifications affect population demographics in Hawai'i? If so, how? Broadening out, I then interrogate the usurpers' intent, asking what the usurpers' overall goals were in making these legislative changes. Who were the ultimate beneficiaries of them? And finally, tracing from the past to the present, I question the long-term effects of these initiatives and how long these effects last. These questions reach across the many dimensions of the post-coup era in Hawai'i, grappling with policy and legislative changes, their long-term impacts, and continued resonance today.

Hawaiian Geography, Private Property, and the Law-Violence Connection

This dissertation aims to give voice to the Native Hawaiian standpoint of Hawai'i's post-coup period, rejecting narratives that have long privileged the perspectives of those in power. Instead, it focuses on the viewpoints of Hawai'i's Indigenous people whose disenfranchisement by the territorial settler-privileged project in Hawai'i continues today. According to Edward Said, colonialism is "almost always a consequence of imperialism" and represents a tangible manifestation of imperial power through "the implanting of settlements on a distant territory."⁶ Colonialism imposes political control through conquest and territorial expansion over people and places, often in geographic areas distant from the core of imperial power.⁷ Imperial powers are the recounters of history, thereby privileging their perspective entirely, regardless of resistance or sovereign histories of the colonized before, during, or after the related historical events. This silencing results in little to no record of the impact of imperial narratives and discourses on the colonized.

Analyzing the intersections of imperial power and geographical knowledge production has been a focus of theorists in postcolonial geography with efforts towards writing more plural,

⁶ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9.

⁷ Atkinson and Credo Reference, *Cultural Geography*; Blunt and McEwan, *Postcolonial Geographies*; Young, *Postcolonialism*.

accurate, and critical geographical histories.⁸ The coup that overthrew Queen Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom government could never have been successful without the interference of U.S. Minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom, John Stevens, and the threat of U.S. military action.⁹ The U.S. is the imperial power that imposed political dominance over the distant landscape of Hawai‘i, an internationally recognized sovereign nation-state. The changes in land legislation which followed the coup facilitated the implanting of settlements in Hawai‘i, leveraging the usurpers’ white supremacist settler-colonial model, which the U.S. government had already utilized across the American West to displace native people there. Additionally, the history of these events has been covered up and obscured, with little scholarship written about this historical period of immense social, political, and ecological change. The narratives and discourses of Native Hawaiians, the people that endured the dispossession, have been excluded in texts such as *The Hawaiian Republic* and *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai‘i*.¹⁰ This project corrects those omissions.

This dissertation also supports prior scholarship from Native Hawaiian geographers at the University of Hawai‘i asserting the existence of the subfield of Hawaiian Geography. Most of this work has occurred over the last twenty years. Dr. Carlos Andrade writes :

A Hawaiian geography is one that reflects the voices, metaphors, and perspectives of people whose antecedents are found in the darkness of Pō, whose homeland encompasses the vastness of the liquid desert now known as the Pacific, and whose traditional ports of call and safe havens lie scattered among what Hau‘ofa calls the sea of islands...The journey to articulate a Hawaiian geography is neither an attempt to make the rest of the world see through Hawaiian eyes nor an attempt to discount the potential usefulness or value of other geographies of Hawai‘i. Rather, we seek to articulate a Hawaiian geography in order to give voice to the people who inhabited these islands for millennia and who continue to be, as the song says, “the evidence, not the crime,” having been deprived of their independence as a nation.¹¹

There is a non-dichotomous distinction between Western Geographic ideas and the Hawaiian Geography that Andrade describes as a “blend of the best that our ancestors have left

⁸ Blunt and McEwan, *Postcolonial Geographies*; Barnett, “Impure and Worldly Geography”; Driver, “Geography’s Empire”; Driver, *Geography Militant*; Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*.

⁹ Blount, “Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894,” 929–30.

¹⁰ Russ, *The Hawaiian Republic*; Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai‘i?*

¹¹ Osorio and Project Muse, *I Ulu I Ka Aina: Land*, 6.

for us and the best of our own learning and experiences.”¹² Before Andrade’s definition, other scholars have attempted to extend approaches to land using an Indigenous lens. These include other Native Hawaiian Geographers, including Kamanamaikalani Beamer, Kapā Oliveria, and Renee Pualani Louis. Beamer wrote of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a hybrid structure created to resist colonialism. His research relied on archival materials such as maps, laws, and letters, many of which had not been written about before. Oliveira’s project focused on Hawaiian Epistemologies and defining a “Hawaiian Sense of Place” and investigating the construction of place. Louis’ research centered on Hawaiian performance cartographies, explicitly on place names as storied symbols. While these topics seem varied, the Hawaiian ontology within these bodies of scholarship consistently centers the lens of Native Hawaiian Indigeneity to adjust Western Geographic theory, extending the discipline to contend with how Hawaiians look at and engage with land. This dissertation similarly uses a Native Hawaiian Indigenous lens, which I view as an extension of Andrade, Beamer, Oliveira, and Louis’ scholarship, albeit while examining the post-coup period. This intervention continues to affirm the importance of the unique subfield of Hawaiian Geography within the broader discipline of Geography as reflected in the image below.

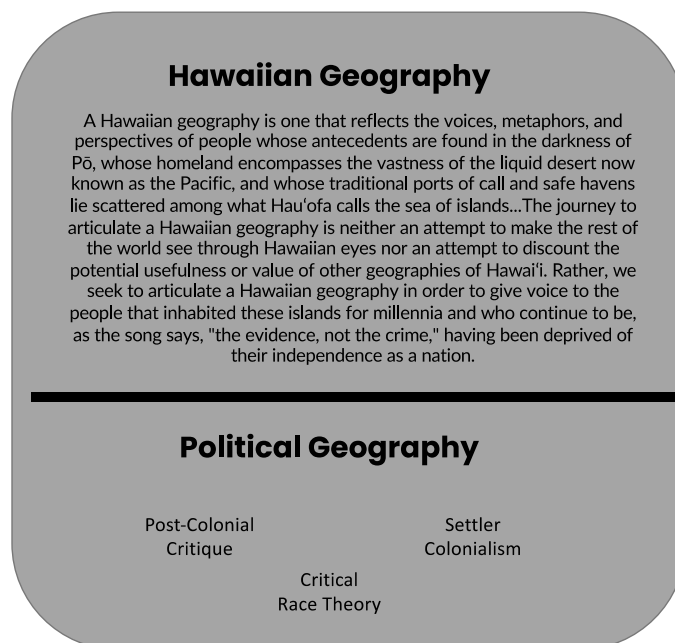


Figure 1. Graphic, Hawaiian Geography. M. Kawēlau Wright.

¹² Osorio and Project Muse, *I Ulu I Ka Aina: Land*, 7.

This dissertation also relies on theories of land surrounding the system of private property in Hawai‘i. Property is a set of rights (rather than things), a political phenomenon, and a political relationship between people.¹³ The point at which modern property comes into being is when a society makes a distinction between mere possession of land and property rights. This process can also be considered a transition from common property to private property, which is exclusionary in nature. Property requires that claims to it be enforceable by the state or society, which is the basis for property’s connection to law, coercion, and violence. This connection is a reciprocal relationship in which property requires law and oppressive police power maintained by the state’s coercive power that justifies the threat of violence. In this specific spatial approach to dispossession, land is a contested resource that promotes conflict between settlers and the original landholders of a place, as said settlers seek to take possession of land already possessed and used.¹⁴

In Hawai‘i, the transition to private property came with the 1848 Māhele. However, the Māhele was not a stand-alone process that completed the conversion – it was to be used along with the 1850 Kuleana Act and other mechanisms to divide out the perpetual land rights that Native Hawaiians had across Hawai‘i. In this way, Hawai‘i’s conversion to a private property system is unique – and often misunderstood. Native Hawaiian scholars have called the Māhele the “single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society”¹⁵ and the start of “the real loss of Hawaiian sovereignty”¹⁶ Conversely, more recent scholarship by Kamana Beamer identifies the Māhele and the Kuleana Act as a “process that protected Hawaiian interests” and “perpetuated and codified many traditional Hawaiian relationships between people and property.”¹⁷ My findings support Beamer’s assertions.

As a result, Native Hawaiians still possess land rights today, a current source of contention between Kanaka, people who have settled in Hawai‘i, settler structures, and corporate

¹³ Hall, *Land*.

¹⁴ Blomley, “Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence”; Fields, *Enclosure*; Macpherson, *Property, Mainstream and Critical Positions*.

¹⁵ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 44.

¹⁶ Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 15.

¹⁷ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 152.

interests.¹⁸ Although centuries apart, Jeremy Bentham and Nicholas Blomley expanded on the connection between property and the ability to enforce exclusivity by the state or society, which are the basis for property's relation to law and violence. Blomley argues that this connection is a reciprocal relationship in which property requires laws that justify the threat of violence.¹⁹ Bentham posits that "property and law are born together and die together. Before laws were made, there was no property; take away laws, and property ceases."²⁰ Additionally, Fields uses the term "lawfare" to describe the use of law as a coercive technology to codify and legitimize the transfer of land from one group to another and remake the landscape in the process.²¹ In Hawai'i, the tensions between Native Hawaiians, settler systems, and corporate interests frequently ignite collective action and resistance. This activism often results in a law-backed, violent state response involving the police, sheriff's departments, and other law enforcement agencies aggressively disrupting peaceful protests, arresting elders, and further threats of brutality. Similarly, the transition from commons to private land ownership through land law shifts and the associated danger of violence by the state is glaringly evident during Hawai'i's post-coup period.

In addition, private property provides the bundle of rights necessary for capitalist market economies and accumulation. Large-scale agriculture and plantations serve as an example; if one can acquire more land than they can farm themselves, it enables the hiring of labor and demands the creation of a landless class with nothing to sell but their labor. In turn, this class will have less time to farm or provide for themselves, thus encouraging the development of tertiary goods and services which provide them with food and other means of subsistence. These simple transitions and the desire for profit facilitate the development of plantations and other large-scale agriculture with devastating impacts. Hierarchies are created, with owners/right holders having power over laborers and people that don't own property. In this way, capitalist economies and accumulation often result from private property systems.

¹⁸ The term Kanaka and Kanaka Maoli are used in this dissertation to refer to Native Hawaiians exclusively.

¹⁹ Blomley, "Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence," 129.

²⁰ Bentham, *Theory of Legislation*, 69.

²¹ Blomley, "Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence"; Comaroff, "Colonialism, Culture, and the Law"; Fields, *Enclosure*; Harris, "How Did Colonialism Dispossess?"; Hajjar, "Lawfare and Armed Conflicts."

Methods

Due to the lack of published research related to Hawaii's post-overthrow/pre-statehood period, primary archival documents are the dominant source of information informing this study. I gathered data through archival research completed at numerous archives across countries and continents to ensure that a plurality of viewpoints was collected. The archives visited were Hawai'i State Archives, Bishop Museum Archives, National Archives and Records Administration in Maryland, Washington D.C., and San Francisco, Harvard University Archives, Archives New Zealand in Auckland and Wellington, and the U.K. National Archives in Surrey, England. The table below represents the information I found in the archives listed above.

Table 1.1. List of Archives Accessed and Associated Findings

Archive	Location	Findings
Hawai'i State Archives	Honolulu, Hawai'i	Hawaiian Kingdom, Provisional Government, Republic of Hawaii Records
Bishop Museum Archives	Honolulu, Hawai'i	Personal Records of Provisional Government and Republic of Hawaii Leaders Provisional Government and Republic of Hawaii Records
The National Archives and Records Administration	San Bruno, California	Correspondence between Provisional Government, Republic of Hawaii & United States
The National Archives and Records Administration	Washington, D.C.	U.S. Policies Related to Hawai'i
The National Archives and Records Administration	College Park, Maryland	US Policies Related to Hawai'i
Harvard University Archives	Cambridge, Massachusetts	The Hawaiian Club records
Archives New Zealand	Wellington, New Zealand	N.Z. Policies related to Hawai'i, Correspondence between Provisional Government, Republic of Hawaii & N.Z.
The National Archives (U.K.)	Kew, England	UK Policies related to Hawai'i, Correspondence between Provisional Government, Republic of Hawaii & U.K.

Table by M. Kawēlau Wright

Much of the research conducted took place at the Hawai‘i State Archives. I reviewed Provisional Government and Republic of Hawaii policies that included hundreds of documents directly related to post-overthrow land policy changes. I examined correspondence, reports, legislative records, and other chronicles to identify initiatives created through land law revisions of the post-overthrow period. My research at the Bishop Museum archives, the location of numerous Republic of Hawaii government documents, was challenging. Their poorly organized finding aids made locating records difficult, and their archivists could not explain why those documents are in their archives since they should be at the Hawai‘i State Archives as official government records.

I traveled to the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (N.A.R.A.) in San Bruno, Washington D.C., and College Park. Each location holds material about the complex historical connections between Hawai‘i and the United States. In San Bruno, there was first-hand correspondence between Hawai‘i and the U.S., as it was the first physical location that received documents sent from the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States. The N.A.R.A. repositories in Washington D.C. and College Park house all U.S. official documents connected to Hawai‘i during its time as a constitutional monarchy, a territory, and an American state. Of particular interest were the records that detailed the American government’s reactions to the initiatives put forth by Dole and other leaders of the Provisional Government/Republic of Hawai‘i. These documents helped contextualize how the U.S. government leaders were thinking about Hawai‘i in a larger context within the political economy of America at the time.

The Harvard University Archives holds the records of The Hawaiian Club. This club was formed in 1866 because many of Hawai‘i’s missionary children attended Harvard and other nearby Ivy League universities, thus fostering a connection to and interest in the political economy of Hawai‘i. These records show that the members of this club that lived in Hawai‘i were colluding with colleagues in America to plan political initiatives, including those involving land. Some notable club officers are Sanford Dole, Charles and Edward Brewer, William and Samuel Armstrong, and Henry Carter. These men played critical roles in the leadership of the Republic of Hawai‘i and Hawai‘i’s Big 5 companies, American Factors (A.M.F.A.C.), C. Brewer & Co., Ltd., Alexander & Baldwin, Castle & Cooke, Ltd., and T. H. Davies & Co., Ltd. The Hawaiian Club members discussed ways to increase the profits of sugar exportation to the U.S.

and other economic initiatives benefitting the Americans living in Hawai‘i. The documents here are essential to my research because the club members documented their goals while visualizing how Hawai‘i could benefit the U.S. while filling Republic supporters' pockets.

Archives New Zealand in Wellington, Aotearoa, houses some documents concerning Hawai‘i. I uncovered an interesting connection between the Provisional Government/Republic of Hawaii and the New Zealand government. The Provisional Government/Republic of Hawai‘i used New Zealand's land policy as an example of manipulating land laws to enable settlers to obtain land there expediently.

Lastly, I conducted research at the National Archives (U.K.) in Kew, London, which houses all of the government documents for the U.K. government. They hold much information related to Hawai‘i during the post-overthrow period. This information helped to provide context regarding the international community's reactions to the events that transpired in Hawai‘i after 1893.

My methodology for tracking and maintaining my document archive was self-created.²² My process began with doing as much research as possible before visiting each repository. I determined the scope of related materials and prepared for the volume of documents that may be there. This task was often challenging since many archives do not allow remote access to their finding aids, forcing researchers to rely solely on archivists to locate things for them. This situation often necessitated more pre-visit coordination and longer in-person visits.

Upon completing the pre-visit research, I visited the archive and requested materials. I photographed each document and made brief notations of some basic information contained in that document, creating an index using word processing software. I used Google Drive and Dropbox to house these indexes for quick searching capabilities and safe storage in the cloud. These indexes include location information, quotes, and keywords, enabling searches using any combination of metadata.

²² I tried to find methods for archival document research and could not locate any. This prompted me to ask two different archival researchers how they organized their findings and created my process according to what works best for me.

The Outline of The Dissertation

This dissertation comprises seven chapters that reveal the steps the Provisional and Republic governments took as part of their project to remake Hawai‘i as a settler-colonial landscape. Chapter 1 situates this study within Hawaiian Indigenous and political geography frameworks and examines the necessity of understanding Hawai‘i’s post-coup period through an Indigenous lens to include the voices of Native Hawaiians excluded from prior historical accounts.

Chapter 2, “The Political Climate of Post-Overthrow Hawai‘i,” chronicles Hawai‘i’s complicated political landscape leading up to, in the midst of, and after the 1893 coup. Overthrowing the internationally recognized and sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom was the first necessary step to expand the usurpers’ power to reshape Hawai‘i. This chapter also describes violent efforts to quell Native Hawaiian resistance to the coup, which cost some Kanaka their livelihoods and incomes due to their continued support of the Queen and Kingdom government post-coup.

Hawai‘i’s Kingdom land tenure and resource laws had codified perpetual Native Hawaiian land rights via the 1848 Māhele process and the 1850 Kuleana Act. Chapter 3, “The Land Act As Fundament,” details these rights and the usurpers’ efforts to erode them. Attaining their long-term white supremacist goals necessitated a complete transformation of land laws in Hawai‘i. The 1895 Land Act empowered the usurpers’ settler-colonial project using a series of laws that effectually provided legal mechanisms to circumvent the codified Native Hawaiian land tenure and use rights provided by the Kingdom. As the usurpers’ next step toward fulfilling its racist goals, the act combined the Kingdom government lands with Queen Lili‘uokalani’s Crown lands, renaming them the Republic of Hawai‘i’s Public lands. This outright theft of the formally inalienable Crown lands created a real estate frontier comprised of over 900,000 acres of Hawai‘i’s most prized landscapes. The Land Act hastily manufactured land classifications to undermine Indigenous agricultural systems and value parcels to establish a new homesteading type that privileged white American settlers over Native Hawaiians as landowners.

Chapter 4, “Territorial Homesteading in Hawai‘i,” describes the Republic government’s homesteading program as created by the Land Act. This initiative offered different tracks for obtaining homestead lots. These tracks, designed according to the existing wealth thresholds of the applicants and mechanisms such as settlement associations, were created to allow for the

ethnic segregation of entire homestead tracts. While these tracts appeared available to all ethnicities on the surface, closer examination reveals that Native Hawaiians were systemically disadvantaged. This homesteading program privileged “white yeoman” standards of agriculture, which conflicted with traditional Hawaiian agricultural practices.

Additionally, the Land Act required a signed oath of allegiance to the Republic government as a homesteader qualification. As a result, Native Hawaiians were unlikely to apply for or successfully receive access to land as homesteaders, as evidenced by their active and long-standing resistance and refusal to accept the usurpers and their government for decades after the coup. The second part of chapter 4 examines a case study of a Territorial homestead tract in Ha‘ikū, Maui. The Kuiaha-Pauwela and Kuiaha-Kaupakulua homesteads were ethnically segregated tracts created using the Land Act legislation. Dubbed “An American Colony” by the Republic government, the homesteaders of over 2,200 contiguous acres were exclusively white Americans. Finally, the long-term results of these Ha‘ikū homesteads and other homestead tracts elsewhere are detailed.

Chapter 5, “The Transformation From ‘Āina to Real Estate: Act 61,” describes land legislation passed in 1896 that gave the Republic government a mechanism to obtain ownership effectually and the ability to develop ‘āina on or near fresh or salt water. This legislation was deployed on a large scale in 1920 with the transformation of Waikīkī from a place of agricultural and aquacultural food production to a tourist destination. To the detriment of Native Hawaiian and Chinese farmers, the Republic weaponized the Territorial Board of Health to enable the reclamation and ultimate development of Waikīkī’s acreage. The Territorial government aimed to lure white Americans to Hawai‘i as tourists to facilitate their settlement, thereby furthering white American immigration. Another casualty of Waikīkī’s development was Hawaiian language erasure through the loss of wahi inoa (place names). The case study of Waikīkī’s reclamation and development process and related language erasure is examined in detail, as are recent efforts to assert place names and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language).

Chapter 6, “Hawai‘i: A Settler Paradise,” chronicles the broader consequences of the Provisional and Republic Governments’ initiatives outlined in previous chapters. It connects these historical legislative changes with their long-lasting effects in Hawai‘i, where the current landscape privileges the tourist, military, and settlers.

Finally, Chapter 7 reiterates the main findings of this study and answers the research questions centered around how the oligarchic Republic and Territorial governments manipulated land laws to transform Hawai‘i. When read together, this dissertation asserts three interventions. First, it centers Native Hawaiian people and their experiences, whose voices were missing in prior scholarship about this period. Second, primary archival documents are the sources of knowledge and evidence of change over time in this tumultuous period. Documents gathered from multiple archives across countries and continents help ensure that a plurality of critical voices is heard and represented in the text. Lastly, other Native Hawaiian scholars have asserted that the 1848 Māhele was the actual start of Native Hawaiians losing their sovereignty. Through this text, I argue instead that the post-coup land law changes were more detrimental to Native Hawaiian land ownership, land rights, and ultimately Kanaka Maoli identity and sovereignty than the Māhele of 1848.

The 1895 Land Act forever altered the course of Hawaiian history and land tenure. Native Hawaiians went from being the largest ethnic population segment in Hawai‘i to a minority in their homeland in 125 years. Kanaka Maoli live in a place where ‘āina has been turned into real estate to be bought and sold with the benefits going to settlers, and this transformation has severed our relationship to ‘āina. In addition, Native Hawaiians represent the bottom of the socio-economic scale in nearly every indicator category. How did this happen? How did Native Hawaiians become landless in Hawai‘i? Was it their fault? The ultimate goal of this dissertation is to explore these questions through an analysis of land law changes from 1893 to 1959 and expose the racist and settler-colonial policies which enabled the dispossession of Native Hawaiian land, rights, and power. As such, this project intends to expand academic understanding of Hawai‘i’s post-1893 land law changes and to impact Native Hawaiian interpretations of this period. Native Hawaiians did not willingly submit to the settler-colonial project but were systemically disadvantaged throughout the Provisional and Republic periods. Revealing this history provides an opportunity to affirm the identity and well-being of our Native Hawaiian communities who continue to resist Hawai‘i as a settler-privileged landscape.

CHAPTER 2. THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF POST-OVERTHROW HAWAI‘I

All that is now holding Hawaii from retrograding into an Asiatic outpost is a handful of resolute and determined men. But there is a limit to their strength, and if help is to come in time it must come soon. Annexation will settle the issue and maintain American control in Hawaii and nothing else will.²³

--L.A. Thurston, October 11, 1897

Introduction

The illegal coup overthrowing the Hawaiian Kingdom government occurred in January of 1893 when a group of missionary descendants, wealthy businessmen, and plantation owners conspired with the American Minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom, John L. Stevens, to remove Queen Lili‘uokalani as the reigning monarch of Hawai‘i. Overthrowing the internationally recognized and sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom was the first essential step to expand the usurpers’ power to facilitate the realization of their white supremacist goals to reshape Hawai‘i into a white American, settler-privileged outpost of the United States. Furthermore, racist settler-colonial global events provided blueprints to craft legislation that set the stage for the 1895 Land Act and its transfer of power from Native Hawaiians into the hands of white American settlers.

This chapter begins by describing white supremacist actions in other countries as they are related to Hawai‘i. The Provisional and Republic governments used these examples to implement similar initiatives thousands of miles away over the decade of Dole’s Dominion. The text then chronicles Hawai‘i’s complicated political landscape leading up to, during, and after the 1893 coup. It will discuss the need for the coup as the white supremacist project’s first step and the resulting violent efforts to quell Native Hawaiian resistance, which cost some Kanaka their livelihoods and incomes due to their continued support of the Queen and Kingdom government. Examining the tumultuous post-overthrow period in Hawai‘i will uncover threats to the Provisional and Republic of Hawai‘i governments. These threats will be connected to drastic legislative changes made through new constitutional and governmental policies, revealing how

²³ Lorrin A. Thurston, “Five Very Powerful Reasons Why Hawaii Should be Annexed to the United States,” *Sacramento Record-Union*, October 11, 1897.

these racist modifications disenfranchised Native Hawaiians in their homeland and ultimately disconnected Kanaka Maoli relationships to ‘āina.

This chapter also highlights the Provisional Government/Republic of Hawai‘i’s efforts to facilitate the annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States and the resulting long-standing resistance by Native Hawaiians and Hawaiian Kingdom government supporters. I analyze events for approximately two decades post-coup (1893-1913) using an Indigenous Native Hawaiian lens to center Kanaka experiences previously omitted from earlier scholarship. This chapter centers on postcolonial theorizations of resistance and how individuals, networks, or assemblages do not blindly follow political structures. Instead, groups often oppose political systems and the imposed social lives and order that particular governmental arrangements demand. Through resistance, we can observe the crack and fissures in the sanitized histories of the post-coup period. Native Hawaiian resistance illustrates how political structures are never complete but always contested.²⁴ In Hawai‘i, the long-standing struggle toward sovereignty continues today, with the establishment of the state of Hawai‘i still challenged a century later.

In colonial fashion, Native Hawaiian acts of resistance in Hawai‘i were erased by the U.S. and Hawai‘i Departments of Education through their non-inclusion in public school curriculum until decades later, when Native Hawaiian scholars began to uncover, document, and ultimately reconstruct Hawaiian history through Indigenous ontology and epistemology.²⁵ Many of these scholars’ research appears in this chapter alongside related initiatives by the Provisional and Territorial governments to familiarize the reader with the complicated political climate of post-overthrow Hawai‘i, directing a distinctly Native Hawaiian lens to this history.

Imperialistic White Supremacy As The Blueprint

Despite being at least 2,000 miles from island shores, imperialistic events in other countries impacted Hawai‘i’s political climate. The usurpers utilized these international events to help shape their racist legislation and policies. The United States’ historical use of homesteading to settle their Western region via the Homestead Act of 1862 piloted the process of offering

²⁴ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals*; Jackson, *Maps of Meaning*; Pile and Keith, *Geographies of Resistance*; Joanne Sharp et al., *Entanglements of Power*.

²⁵ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*; Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*.

cheap government land to white settlers to the demise of Indigenous communities.²⁶ It prompted the migration of white Americans across their country despite dangers presented by thieves, starvation, violent conflicts with Native Americans, and many other threats. The settlers supplanted Indigenous peoples by commandeering their lands, murdering their families, destroying food sources, and other genocidal activities. At the same time, Americans considered their actions the fulfillment of provisional destiny.²⁷ The Republic's 1895 Land Act utilized homesteading as the primary method of luring white Americans to Hawai'i and transforming its landscape into a settler-colonial landscape, supplanting Native Hawaiians in the process. The Republic's use of homesteading provided the U.S. government and prospective settlers with a familiar system they could recognize. They also could understand its dual purpose immediately—settling white Americans and eliminating the native.

The American government had the power to approve all public land sales methods that the usurpers implemented. Once Hawai'i supposedly became a U.S. territory, laws were subject to U.S. approval as the owners of the so-called public lands acreage.²⁸ In this way, homesteading, because of its recognizability and widespread acceptance in the U.S., helped the Republic's efforts to be legible to the U.S. government and prospective settlers. It is essential to recognize that while the Republic stated that they wanted white American yeoman as settlers, there was never any farming experience mentioned as a qualification or requirement to homestead in Hawai'i.

The U.S. 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was the first legislation that restricted Chinese immigration to the U.S., with the last of this type of law repealed in 1943.²⁹ Anti-Asian sentiments were also prominent in Hawai'i during this period, evidenced by statements made by the Republic government's leaders repeatedly. However, the usurpers' comments weren't exclusively motivated by racism but also by the threats that the burgeoning Chinese and Japanese indentured laborers posed to the Republic's continued control of Hawai'i. Governor Dole and others frequently justified their white supremacist legislation on the need to prevent Hawai'i from becoming overrun with Asians. The real reason for this problem was extractive capitalism

²⁶ "Homestead Act (1862)."

²⁷ Knight Lozano, *California and Hawai'i Bound*, 3.

²⁸ "Hawai'i's Organic Act (1900)"; "Joint Resolution to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States (1898)."

²⁹ "Milestones: 1866–1898 - Office of the Historian"; "Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)."

that “introduced a large “alien” population whose presence undermined American visions of white, republican communities binding the Pacific West” while concurrently divorcing natives from the land.³⁰

The end of the nineteenth century also saw the rise of eugenics in American academia, with scholars from MIT and Harvard interrogating the science of race.³¹ In 1916, *The Passing of the Great Race*, authored by Madison Grant, was published. He argued that the only way to ensure the preservation of the great white race was to create a protected area through immigration restrictions and guarded borders, with former President Roosevelt endorsing this view.³² It was also recommended on the Senate floor during the 68th Congress in April 1924.

I would like for the Members of the Senate to read that book just recently published by Madison Grant, *The Passing of a Great Race*. Thank God we have in America perhaps the largest percentage of any country in the world of the pure, unadulterated Anglo-Saxon stock; certainly the greatest of any nation in the Nordic breed. It is for the preservation of that splendid stock that has characterized us that I would make this not an asylum for the oppressed of all countries.³³

Racist, white supremacist attitudes like Smith’s were widespread in the United States, shared by academics, politicians, and U.S. citizens alike.

In 1866, The Hawaiian Club was created in Boston, America’s hotbed of white supremacist academic theorizing. Founded by men that had lived in Hawai‘i, the group’s stated objective was to “advance the prosperity of the country and the interests of the United States and her citizens there, by calling attention to the great importance of the group, political and commercial, and by collecting and diffusing information in regard to its past history and present condition.”³⁴ One notable club member was the Republic of Hawai‘i’s Governor Sanford Dole, who maintained constant correspondence with members still in America to discuss issues including reciprocity, annexation, and more.³⁵ According to the records of The Hawaiian Club, members provided the usurpers advice and access to political leaders in the U.S., both before and after the coup.

³⁰ Knight Lozano, *California and Hawai‘i Bound*, 8.

³¹ Jones, *White Borders*, 63.

³² Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*; Jones, *White Borders*.

³³ Congressional Record, 68th Congress, 1st Session, col. 65 (1924), “Speech by Ellison DuRant Smith,” 5961–62.

³⁴ Boston, *Hawaiian Club Papers*, 1.

³⁵ “Various Correspondence, The Hawaiian Club,” n.d.

It wasn't just the United States that provided information that the Republic used to craft its racist policies. Hawai'i's 1895 Joint Resolution authorized research into land registration processes utilized by other imperial forces, including Britain, who had dispossessed the Indigenous Māori in Aotearoa (New Zealand).³⁶ As a result, the Republic government sent W.O. Smith to New Zealand in November 1895. During that time, he indicated that Hawai'i had fashioned its Land Act after portions of New Zealand's Amended Land Act of 1892.³⁷ Additionally, the Republic based its 1903 adoption of the Torrens title system on information gathered by Smith on his trip.³⁸ It is essential to recognize the significance of this shift in land tenure policy. The Torrens system allowed for issuing a new original title, free and clear of any encumbrances, to be granted for any property going through land court.³⁹ Ultimately, Land Court was able to clear land titles deemed problematic due to issues such as the continuing vested land rights held by Native Hawaiians codified by Hawaiian Kingdom law.

The usurpers utilized international imperialistic events to shape their white supremacist legislation and craft racist initiatives to privilege the immigration of white Americans while concurrently disenfranchising and dispossessing Native Hawaiians in their homeland. Hawai'i occupied a unique place in the construction of U.S. imperialism, "a literal and metaphorical "crossroads" between North America and Asia, the U.S. acquisition of which blurs distinct lines between "old" and "new" forms of American expansion, and between a settler "frontier" and a colonial "empire."⁴⁰ Hawai'i's unique importance to the U.S. continues today, justifying its prolonged belligerent occupation of an independent nation-state.

Buildup to the Coup

The initial challenges to the Hawaiian Kingdom government were a byproduct of Hawai'i's economic landscape in the 1880s. The Hawaiian League, a relatively small group of extremely wealthy haole men, including missionary descendants, plantation owners, and businessmen, needed a reciprocity treaty with America to sell their sugar duty-free to the U.S.

³⁶ "Laws of the Republic of Hawaii Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Special Session, 1895," 96–97.

³⁷ "A Hawaiian Statesman's Impressions of New Zealand."

³⁸ Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 221.

³⁹ Beamer, 221; Jean Kadooka Mardfin, "Two Land Recording Systems, Report No. 7, Legislative Reference Bureau," 9–10.

⁴⁰ McCoy, *Colonial Crucible*, 63–79.

market.⁴¹ This group comprised U.S. citizens and haole subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom through natural-born citizenship. Many of these Hawaiian subjects were raised in Hawai‘i as Americans and educated in U.S. Ivy League universities. They reflected the racist attitudes toward people of color that they experienced both in Hawai‘i and abroad.⁴² This small group was in the process of what James Scott calls “social engineering” as a means to recreate Hawai‘i’s landscape.⁴³ This group had a highly modernistic view of what Hawai‘i should be, with monocropping sugar barons and other wealthy businessmen wielding enough power to force the government to do as they wished.

In June 1887, this group imposed the Bayonet Constitution by taking over the government from King Kalākaua’s troops. Clarence Ashford’s account of this event confirms the threat of physical violence that accompanied the demand that the King sign the constitution:

Revolutions do not go backwards, and there was sufficient determination and force behind the revolution of 1887 (bloodless as it was), to persuade the dusky monarch into subjection....More might be written of the arguments made and the physical attitudes assumed toward the King by members of the Cabinet on that memorable occasion, but let it suffice to say. That little was left to the imagination of the hesitant and unwilling Sovereign as to what he might expect in the event of his refusal to comply with the demands then made upon him.⁴⁴

The constitution forced upon the King removed his executive powers, creating an oligarchy of haole businessmen and their associates.⁴⁵ The Bayonet Constitution allowed haole to vote without being citizens, while Asian Kingdom citizens could no longer. Furthermore, a requirement that all voters either own property valued at a minimum of three thousand dollars or have an annual income of at least six hundred dollars was put into place. Many Native Hawaiians did not meet this property requirement, resulting in their collective voting disenfranchisement despite being subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom and in their homelands. This qualification was the first time in the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom government that “democratic rights were determined by race in any Hawaiian constitution.”⁴⁶ The Bayonet Constitution was an early step

⁴¹ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 235;. The term haole is used in this dissertation to refer to people of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity.

⁴² Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 125-126.

⁴³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.

⁴⁴ Ashford, “Last Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy,” 28.

⁴⁵ Haunani-Kay Trask uses this term to label the leaders of the Provisional and Territorial governments. I also use this term throughout this text to represent the leaders and officials of these governments.

⁴⁶ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 243.

toward control of Hawai‘i’s government by the haole residents that imagined it as a place of racial hierarchy, scientific farming, industrial agriculture, and capitalist markets that would help to homogenize and reshape the physical, economic, and social landscape going forward.⁴⁷

Native Hawaiians and other Kingdom subjects protested swiftly through “mass meetings, petitioning, delegations to the King, electoral campaigning, and conspiracy.”⁴⁸ The first Native Hawaiian political organization, Hui Kālai‘āina, was founded and immediately advocated for the monarchy’s preservation, the reduction of property qualifications for voters, and the ultimate amendment of the Bayonet constitution.⁴⁹ Native Hawaiians continued to demand a new constitution until the death of their King in 1891. Once Queen Lili‘uokalani took office as the King’s successor, her subjects continued advocating for a new constitution. As a result, in January 1893, Queen Lili‘uokalani announced her intention to promulgate a new constitution that would restore the executive power that the Bayonet Constitution had removed. In reaction to this, a small number of businessmen and politicians, many of whom were the same men that orchestrated the Bayonet Constitution, colluded with U.S. Minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom John L. Stevens to overthrow the Queen’s government. Stevens used his position to order the landing of U.S. soldiers from the *USS Boston*. Concurrently, the usurpers took over Ali‘iolani Hale, a government building in downtown Honolulu, and proclaimed themselves the Provisional Government of Hawai‘i. Stevens then wielded his power as U.S. Minister to recognize the insurgents as Hawai‘i’s legitimate government.⁵⁰

The 1893 coup was the first required step toward the usurpers’ white supremacist goals to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. Hawai‘i’s status as an internationally recognized sovereign nation possessing dozens of treaties with other countries necessitated this action. There would be no way to convince any Hawaiian Kingdom monarch to take steps toward becoming a settler state. Thus a coup, while unlawful, as it broke international treaties

⁴⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 8.

⁴⁸ McGregor-Alegado, *Hawaiian Resistance, 1887-1889*, 48.

⁴⁹ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 127.

⁵⁰ Many other scholars have written about this in detail including Coffman, *Nation Within*; Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom*; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom* vol. 3, 582–650; Russ, *Hawaiian Revolution*; James H. Blount, *Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1894: Affairs in Hawaii*. Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham Concerning the Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress 3rd Session, 1894.

and disregarded the laws of nations, was necessary.⁵¹ This event marked the beginning of the U.S. occupation of Hawai‘i and the use of what Kamana Beamer has termed “faux-colonial” structures to mask their involvement in this illegal endeavor.⁵²

Resistance to the deposition of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s government was swift and maintained over decades by both kingdom citizens and the Queen herself. Upon being asked to surrender and vacate her position, the Queen began her struggle against annexation to the U.S., the start of which was a written protest to the self-proclaimed Provisional Government:

I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.

Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by the said forces yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative, and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.⁵³

Lili‘uokalani also sent her protest to U.S. President Benjamin Harrison and eventually to President-Elect Grover Cleveland. Additionally, she sent two representatives to meet with Cleveland. In each of these written protests, the Queen’s strategy was to “position herself as working within the law and constitution of the kingdom, while observing that the provisional government was acting illegally” and that the usurpers were aided and abetted by U.S. minister Stevens.⁵⁴ These letters of protest appealed to the American leaders to withdraw the treaty of annexation that the provisional government had submitted to the U.S. and restore the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

As a result of Lili‘uokalani’s protests, Cleveland withdrew the treaty to annex Hawai‘i. He sent Commissioner James Blount to conduct an in-depth investigation to determine

⁵¹ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 197.

⁵² Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 197.

⁵³ Blount, “Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894,” 397, 866.

⁵⁴ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 169.

America's role in the overthrow. Throughout this time frame, supporters of the kingdom and the Queen mounted their resistance to the coup, forming Hui Kālai 'Āina and Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina along with a sister group, Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine. These organizations presented testimony to Commissioner Blount, including their objective as a group:

To preserve and maintain, by all legal and peaceful means and measures, the independent autonomy of the islands of Hawaii new; and, if the preservation of our independence be rendered impossible, our object shall then be to exert all peaceful and legal efforts to secure for the Hawaiian people and citizens the continuance of their civil rights.⁵⁵

Other documents presented to Blount included a complete history of the events preceding the overthrow and countering the claims of the usurpers that Hawaiian citizens wanted annexation due to the inability of the kingdom government to self-govern. These petitions provided evidence that the provisional government had acted illegally. Blount's culminating report convinced President Cleveland to condemn the actions of Minister Stevens and instruct the Provisional Government to restore the throne to Lili'uokalani.⁵⁶ As the Queen and others have written, this restoration never happened due to conflicts between American politicians, including the new U.S. Minister Albert Willis.⁵⁷

Resistance to American annexation was persistent and vigorous for years after the 1893 coup, with tens of thousands of Hawaiian Kingdom citizens voicing their opposition to the usurpers and the American government. This resistance is particularly significant because these endeavors were erased from Hawaiian history until the 1990s, leading many Native Hawaiians to believe that their kūpuna (ancestors) were complacent toward or in agreement with the illegal overthrow. Noenoe Silva writes, "One of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history is that the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation."⁵⁸ This kind of resistance erasure is common among people and places subjected to imperialism and colonialism. It is called the "strategies of erasure" that must be re-mapped to make their resistance visible again.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Blount, "Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894," 929–30.

⁵⁶ Blount, "Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894," 929–30.

⁵⁷ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 131.

⁵⁸ Silva, 1.

⁵⁹ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*; Hall, "Strategies of Erasure."

Threats to the Usurpers

The usurpers and their Provisional Government, whose name reflects their confidence that American annexation was imminent after the 1893 coup, faced many challenges. One of the most concerning threats to their makeshift government was the late 1890s and early 1900s population landscape. They addressed this peril by reimagining Hawai‘i as a home for wealthy white Americans.

At the time of the kingdom government overthrow, Hawai‘i’s population demographics heavily favored non-haole. Population censuses were conducted in Hawai‘i every six years at that time, and the 1890 census reflected that Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians comprised forty percent of the populace. Chinese and Japanese represented thirty-eight percent, Portuguese were eleven percent, and Caucasians were just seven percent of the nearly ninety thousand people living in Hawai‘i. The next census, conducted in 1896, was not much different, with Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians at thirty-six percent, Chinese/Japanese at forty-two percent, Portuguese at fourteen percent, and Caucasians at just six and 1/2 percent.⁶⁰ It is essential to recognize that the while the usurpers categorized Portuguese as Caucasian, they did not consider them equal to the white Americans they hoped to settle in Hawai‘i. Portuguese were brought over as indentured labor but functioned as supervisors in the plantation hierarchy. The charts below represent these population segments visually.

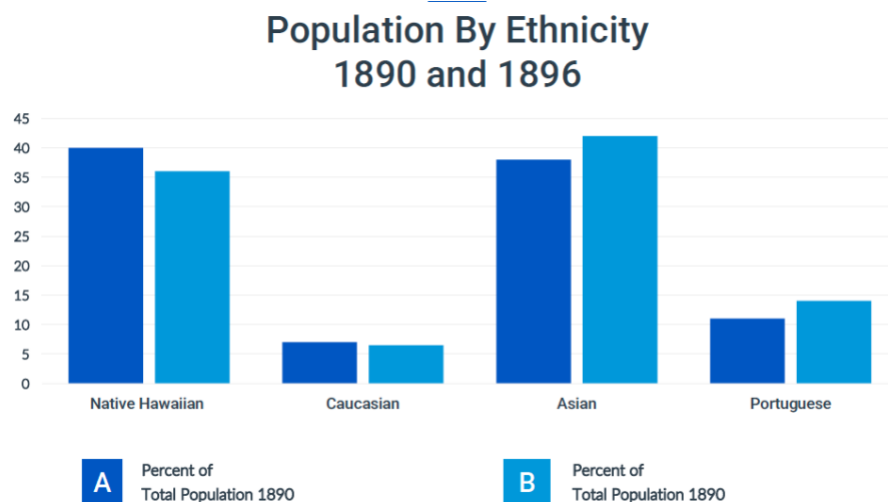


Figure 2. *Population By Ethnicity, 1890 & 1896.* Schmitt, *Historical Statistics*.

⁶⁰ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

These numbers give us a glimpse into population trends at the time, with the fastest-growing groups of people coming into Hawai‘i as indentured plantation laborers, including Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese peoples. The Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian demographic was still in decline due to ongoing population decimation caused by introduced disease, with the Caucasian population an extreme minority in the place they had just taken control of via the coup.

To combat this threat, the provisional government began a campaign to build up the American Anglo population, which would benefit the new government in several ways, particularly in suppressing Hawaiian nationalism. As discussed previously, Hawaiian Kingdom supporters worked furiously over a long period to return the throne to Queen Lili‘uokalani. These Royalists, numbering in the tens of thousands, resisted American annexation. Building up the white American population segment would help suppress the Royalists’ Hawaiian nationalism and replace them with American nationalistic allegiance.⁶¹

Expanding the Anglo-American populace would also allay the oligarchy’s fear of the ethnic demographics that threatened their tenuous political control of Hawai‘i. The most immediate risk came from Native Hawaiians, who supported Queen Lili‘uokalani and represented forty percent of the overall population in Hawai‘i. The usurpers had been able to disenfranchise them in previous elections, but Kanaka would be the majority of the electorate if voter income and property requirements were lifted.⁶²

The longer-term threat to the Republic government was the burgeoning Asian population brought to Hawai‘i as sugar plantation indentured laborers. The Bayonet constitution had removed the voting rights of many Chinese residents who were kingdom subjects, and Japanese immigrants could not vote because they were not citizens. However, once Japanese immigrants had children in Hawai‘i, making them natural-born citizens, their sheer numbers would seriously threaten the new government that didn’t have the population numbers to outvote them. While it would take one generation for this to come to fruition, the usurpers understood the risk to their political control if they did not take action. Many anti-Asian sentiments were thus published in newspapers at the time, both in Hawai‘i and across the continental United States. Members of the

⁶¹ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 217.

⁶² The 1900 Hawaiian Organic Act did lift these requirements, resulting in Native Hawaiian electorate majority.

provisional government authored such articles who expressed their fear of the Asian demographic in Hawai‘i. For example, Lorrin A. Thurston, the Provisional Government’s envoy to the United States, wrote an article published in the Sacramento Record Union newspaper in 1897:

The Japanese are not eligible to citizenship; but an energetic, ambitious, warlike and progressive people cannot be prevented from participating in the Government when they become dominant in numbers, and the ownership of property. Already they are restless, and it will be impossible for any local independent Government to much longer withhold from them the privileges which they demand...All that is now holding Hawaii from retrograding into an Asiatic outpost is a handful of resolute and determined men. But there is a limit to their strength, and if help is to come in time it must come soon. Annexation will settle the issue and maintain American control in Hawaii and nothing else will.⁶³

The usurpers’ dominance continued to be in jeopardy throughout the next few decades, as evidenced by an article written by F.G. Krauss, a University of Hawai‘i agriculture professor, published in Thrums Hawaiian Annual:

Whether we do our part or not, the future agriculture of Hawaii will largely be made up of small farms and diversified agriculture. These farms will be owned by the man who tills the soil - the man who makes his home on the land. Unless we permit him to be the Oriental, he will be an intelligent, educated and prosperous, substantial and desirable American citizen.⁶⁴

Krauss’ binary judgment of Asians versus the superior American as settlers in Hawai‘i reflects the prevalent anti-Asian attitudes during this time across America. This fact helped bolster the usurpers’ argument for facilitating White American immigration to Hawai‘i.

The threat of Hawai‘i’s post-overthrow population demographics and the decision to build up the white American populace demonstrated the usurpers’ efforts to establish U.S. colonialism by implanting their citizens in a place two thousand miles away.⁶⁵ This colonial action of luring and settling Americans in Hawai‘i would help to “bind a subordinated people and land into an unequal relationship with a dominant power,” a dynamic still visible in

⁶³ Lorrin A. Thurston, “Five Very Powerful Reasons Why Hawaii Should be Annexed to the United States,” Sacramento Record-Union, October 11, 1897.

⁶⁴ Krauss, “The Hawaiian Homestead of the Future,” 161.

⁶⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9.

Hawai‘i’s socio-economic situation today.⁶⁶ These population-connected threats played a significant part in post-1893 politics, reflected in policies and laws authored by the usurpers for decades.

The Oath of Allegiance Weaponized

As a response, the Provisional and Republic of Hawai‘i governments used the oath of allegiance to help mitigate the threats against them. The oath, requiring the support of the new government and its laws, was utilized as a criterion for many activities during the decades following the overthrow, including voting, citizenship, special rights of citizenship, public office, employment, homesteading programs, and more.⁶⁷ People first swore allegiance to the usurpers and their government to participate in these activities. This requirement ultimately enabled the legal disenfranchisement of Native Hawaiians and other kingdom supporters, legitimized through the law. The function of the oath of allegiance supports anthropologist Thomas Blom Hansen’s arguments. In his work, Hansen asserts that the sovereignty of states requires constant repetition and performance of strategies, including threatened violence, to maintain its legitimacy.⁶⁸ The usurpers’ use of sworn allegiances was used for decades, creating many incentives for Native Hawaiians and other Royalists to cease resisting the 1893 coup and accept the new government. Many Royalists refused to submit to the Provisional and Republic governments for years after the overthrow, evidenced by the long-standing efforts to reseal Queen Lili‘uokalani through protests, petition drives, and more. Sadly, this resulted in the disenfranchisement of many Royalists, both Native Hawaiian and non-Native Hawaiian, due to their commitment to the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom.

Once President Grover Cleveland withdrew the Provisional Government’s treaty to annex Hawai‘i as a result of Commissioner Blount’s report, Dole announced that they would hold a constitutional convention in May 1894 to give the impression of a permanent government, which would cement their power and control over Hawai‘i and its numerous resources and, specifically, lands. A discussion between insurgent William Smith of the Provisional Government and U.S. Consul Albert Willis reveals the immediacy of this action.

⁶⁶ Cresswell, *Geographic Thought*, 268.

⁶⁷ Hawai‘i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive, Series 425, Vols. 1-6.”

⁶⁸ Hansen and Stepputat, “Sovereign Bodies Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World,” 111.

Mr. Willis asked what kind of Government we had – I replied a Provisional Government. He said, yes, to exist until annexation was negotiated with the United States, and when these negotiations are terminated by Mr. Cleveland what then? I replied that we were to exist until terms of union we negotiated and concluded, and we might have to wait for another administration...He asked what we would do if we did not get it [annexation]. I replied I supposed we would try something else.⁶⁹

The usurpers viewed the name change as necessary, as it “distanced itself from the monarchy and described itself as being similar to the republic it wished to join.”⁷⁰

To vote in the election determining eighteen of the thirty-seven delegates, the government required that voters sign an oath of allegiance guaranteeing they “oppose any attempt to reestablish monarchical government in any form in the Hawaiian Islands.” Due to the ongoing resistance against the new government, most Native Hawaiians refused to sign the oath and boycotted the election. On O‘ahu, approximately 1,500 people registered to vote in this election, with a reported 185 of them Native Hawaiian. The balance of the voters was largely foreign.⁷¹ This was an early example of the disenfranchisement of Native Hawaiians and Kingdom government supporters through the Provisional Government’s required oath of loyalty.

This process resulted in consistent protests against the election and the connected constitutional convention, some aimed at the new U.S. minister to Hawai‘i, Albert Willis. Despite protests, however, the usurpers held their constitutional convention on July 4, 1894, and approved the constitution they had pre-written before the gathering. Minister Willis promptly recognized the Republic of Hawai‘i as a legitimate government, which frustrated the thousands who had resisted the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This action, coupled with failed diplomatic appeals and no movement by the U.S. government to follow President Cleveland’s stalled directive, prompted some of the Royalists to plot an armed takeover of the Republic that would put Queen Lili‘uokalani back on the throne.

The Royalists purchased weapons and shipped them from San Francisco, which arrived on a schooner and then transferred to a steamer offshore O‘ahu.⁷² The Republic learned of the planned counter coup and, as a result, arrested two leaders of the activist group Hui Aloha ‘Āina and newspapermen, John Bush and Joseph Nāwahī, on December 8, 1894. They were held for

⁶⁹ Smith, W. O. “Letter Smith to Willis,” December 16, 1893.

⁷⁰ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 203.

⁷¹ Russ, *The Hawaiian Republic*, 20, 26.

⁷² Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?*, 123–26.

two months without bail and released on a \$10,000 bond, with Nāwahī contracting tuberculosis during his time in jail. In addition, they shut down all other newspapers devoted to the Queen's restoration to suppress Native Hawaiian nationalistic and restoration efforts.⁷³

The rebellion continued in early January with the unloading and distribution of the weapons. Robert Wilcox and Samuel Nowlein planned to take over the palace and police station. On January 6, the Republic, informed of the munitions, sent armed police to the Waikīkī home where they were stored. Shots were exchanged, resulting in one death and at least one serious injury. The Royalists led the Republic's forces on an eight-day chase before Wilcox and others surrendered on January 14th, 1895. Two days later, the Republic claimed they found "an arsenal of bombs, rifles, pistols, swords, and cartridges" buried at the Queen's residence. She was arrested, imprisoned in a palace room, and tried at a military tribunal.⁷⁴

The countercoup attempt resulted in approximately two hundred Royalists arrests, who faced sentences of up to thirty-five years in prison with up to \$10,000 in fines imposed by the Republic of Hawai'i government. Some political prisoners were freed in July 1895, with the remainder released in January 1896. Queen Lili'uokalani remained under house arrest until December 1896.⁷⁵

The Wilcox rebellion was the Royalists' response to the overthrow, disenfranchisement through the oath of allegiance, a questionable constitutional convention, and general oppression by the Provisional Government/Republic of Hawai'i, yet, all of these righteous grievances were erased as the Republic of Hawai'i leaders proclaimed the rebellion illegitimate violence. However, I argue that there is very little difference between the violence of the Royalists and the usurpers during the coup. The decision of which is considered legitimate vs. illegitimate depends on who is in political power then.⁷⁶ Because of the coup, the Republic's government leaders were in a position of authority, able to arrest and convict the Royalists for treason during this time in Hawai'i while ignoring their violent role in the 1893 coup.

⁷³ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 138.

⁷⁴ Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1896*, 60.

⁷⁵ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, 267–94.

⁷⁶ Brady and Garver, "Justice, Law, and Violence"; Wolff, "On Violence."

Third Annexation Treaty Attempt & Newlands Resolution

Created at the time of the Bayonet Constitution protests, Hui Kālai‘āina was the first Native Hawaiian political organization in Hawai‘i’s history.⁷⁷ It was created as a way for people to resist the power that Kalākaua lost because of the forced constitution. The group focused on providing a platform for the 1890 elections and attempted to change voters’ restrictive property requirements imposed by the Bayonet Constitution. The group organized politically, held peaceful protests, won some elections, and changed some laws, but was ultimately unsuccessful in changing the constitution. The Hui Kālai‘āina, however, would play an important role just a few years later after the succession of the crown to Queen Lili‘uokalani.

After the 1893 coup, Native Hawaiians formed Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina and its sister organization Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina o Nā Wāhine to organize against annexation. Together with their predecessor, Hui Kālai‘āina, these groups worked tirelessly to support the Queen and the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

Once U.S. President Grover Cleveland took office in March 1893, he rejected the Provisional Government’s proposed treaty of annexation. He sent Commissioner James Blount to investigate the United States’ role in the January coup. Hui Kālai‘āina, Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, and Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina o Nā Wāhine petitioned Commissioner Blount for the assistance of the U.S. President in restoring their Hawaiian Kingdom government, stating “the fate of our little kingdom and its inhabitants is in your hands.” They asserted that the citizens of the Kingdom had not protested using violence because “they are simply waiting, in their simple faith in the generosity and honor of the most liberal and honorable Government of the world; and they expect *justice*, id eat, *restoration* of their legitimate sovereign.”⁷⁸

In addition to the petitions, the hui also submitted details of the events leading up to the coup and, perhaps most importantly, quantified the citizenry’s support, which totaled well over twenty thousand based on group membership alone. The three hui also refuted the Provisional

⁷⁷ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 127.

⁷⁸ Blount, “Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894,” 911–13.

Government's claims that Hawaiians were incapable of self-governance. They repudiated the Provisional Government's discourse through a fifteen-page statement, an excerpt of which states:

the natives when left alone have had a most satisfactory, peaceful, and progressive Government, while all the dissensions, riots, and troubles recorded in the annals of these islands have ever been *by* or *through* foreigners seeking to wrench the power and wealth from the poor natives, these being ever the peaceful and patient sufferers thereby, not 'misled,' but terrorized and oppressed.⁷⁹

The three hui, along with the testimonies of people interviewed by Blount, persuaded Commissioner Blount to conclude that the coup was illegal and that threats of military action by the United States troops were unfounded and inappropriate. Blount's final report to President Cleveland was over 1,300 pages long and supported the claims of the three Hawaiian hui. As a result of Blount's findings, President Cleveland announced that the Provisional government's actions in the coup were illegal and ordered the return of the government to Queen Lili'uokalani.

Shortly after that, William McKinley succeeded Grover Cleveland as the President of the U.S. in November 1896. Anti-annexationists in Hawai'i realized McKinley would likely champion annexing Hawai'i to the United States as an expansionist. As a result, the Hui Kālai'āina, Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina, and Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine mobilized and increased their efforts, understanding that the next battle would take place in the U.S. Congress.

After meeting with several Republic of Hawai'i annexationists, President McKinley signed a treaty of annexation in June 1897 and submitted it to the United States Senate for approval. In response, Hui Kālai'āina, Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina, and Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine organized mass petition drives across Hawai'i to prove to U.S. Congress members that the majority of Hawaiians opposed the annexation, countering what Lorrin Thurston and other annexationists from Hawai'i were communicating. The hui relied on the U.S. government representatives to abide by their sworn duty to uphold their democratic principles of fairness and justice once the petitions asserted Native Hawaiians' clear and explicit opposition to annexation.

The circulation of the petitions began in the Fall of 1897 with huge meetings that thousands of anti-annexationists attended. The leaders of the three hui used these opportunities to review details of the submitted annexation treaty and obtain the signatures of attendees. The three hui circulated these petitions on all islands. Ultimately, the three hui collected over 38,000

⁷⁹ Blount, "Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter W. Gresham Concerning The Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, 1894," 911–13.

signatures - an impressive number considering that the population of Native Hawaiians at that time was approximately 40,000.⁸⁰

In November 1897, the hui leadership chose a delegation to travel to Washington, D.C., and deliver the petitions to President McKinley and U.S. Congress members. Four delegates, James Kaulia of Hui Aloha 'Āina, David Kalauokalani of Hui Kālai'āina, John Richardson, an attorney from Maui, and William Auld as secretary, left Hawai'i on November 20, 1897, and arrived in Washington, D.C., on December 6th.⁸¹ They met with Queen Lili'uokalani, who was already there, and met with ally Senator George Hoar the next day. The Senator read the text of the petitions to the Senate on December 9th, where they were formally accepted.

As a result of what are now referred to as the Kū'ē petitions, there were just forty-six votes in the Senate supporting annexation, well under the sixty votes required to pass the treaty. The efforts of a grassroots petition drive had defeated the U.S. annexation treaty, but Hawai'i was not yet safe from America's expansionist desires.

Roughly one year after the annexation treaty was defeated using the Kū'ē petitions, the United States declared war on Spain after the February 1898 attack on an American warship in Cuba. The Spanish did not necessarily cause the blast, but it was enough reason for the U.S. to insert itself into the war. Hawai'i's geographic location between the U.S. and the Philippines increased America's desire to utilize Hawai'i as a ship coaling station. In response, Congress introduced the Newlands Resolution, a Joint Resolution, passed by a simple majority of each house. This resolution supposedly made Hawai'i a territory of the United States on July 6, 1898. It is important to note that a Joint Resolution (used for domestic agreements) versus a treaty (used for international agreements) is still vigorously contested by Native Hawaiians and remains invalid. The three hui and Queen Lili'uokalani protested this action vehemently without success. The U.S. empire had taken Hawai'i against the people's will, including over 38,000 Native Hawaiians.

Through this supposed annexation, the Republic of Hawai'i gave the United States complete government authority with no reservations. It gave the United States all of the government's money, the government and Crown lands, government harbors, bays, buildings, military forts, armaments, warships, and all resources belonging to the Republic. U.S. Congress

⁸⁰ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 151.

⁸¹ Silva, 157–58.

would decide how Hawai‘i would be governed rather than U.S. laws extending to the Hawaiian Islands.⁸² Ultimately, the Republic gave the U.S. its resources in exchange for Dole’s Domination continued right to “rule.” This process allowed the usurpers to hold political control of Hawai‘i for many decades. Protests and resistance continue today, with Native Hawaiians pushing the boundaries of U.S. authority in juridic proceedings because the original annexation was not legal. Currently, the U.S. continues to occupy Hawai‘i, although many consider it the “fiftieth state” of the United States of America.

Conclusion

This chapter described Hawai‘i’s complicated post-overthrow political climate, detailing political events from the 1880s through the early twentieth century. The events covered are not an exhaustive list but highlights to explain the political landscape during this tumultuous period and gain insight into the complex power dynamics of post-coup Hawai‘i. The Bayonet Constitution was a turning point in Hawaiian politics and represented the white supremacist geopolitical aspirations of a few haole with abundant capital and power. This constitution was one of the earliest examples of U.S. imperialistic interference in Hawai‘i, a sovereign nation-state. King Kalākaua and his successor, Queen Lili‘uokalani, experienced reigns severely impacted by the power shifts these future insurgents seeded.

The overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s government was orchestrated by that same handful of businessmen and planters, successful only through the support of U.S. Minister John L. Stevens, who ordered the landing of U.S. military troops and a show of force in Honolulu. This military action provided the threat of violence necessary to convince the Queen to step down, albeit under duress, and file a protest with the U.S. government. This chapter asserts that this coup was the first required step that expanded the usurpers’ power to reshape Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape.

The Provisional Government Minister Stevens recognized in 1893 faced immediate challenges threatening their continued control of Hawai‘i, including Hawai‘i’s population demographics. The fact that haole were such a small portion of the populace meant that their best chance at long-term success was to increase that population segment as quickly as possible. This

⁸² Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 147.

effort was a prime example of imperialistic events being followed closely by settling the distant territory of Hawai‘i with people from the imperial power’s metropolitan center.⁸³

This chapter then discusses Native Hawaiian resistance to the Bayonet Constitution, the 1893 overthrow, and U.S. attempts at annexation. Historically, much of this resistance was erased through Hawai‘i’s education system, rendering the voices of tens of thousands of Native Hawaiian citizens unheard by their descendants until more recent scholarship finally uncovered them. The instances of resistance discussed here are not an exhaustive list. Instead, I assert that we will discover many more examples of Native Hawaiian struggle against the usurpers’ and their actions in the future.

This chapter ends with the U.S.’s supposed annexation of Hawai‘i. Once their final treaty attempt was defeated by the Kū‘ē petition drive that reflected the overwhelming consensus by Native Hawaiian residents that they remain an independent nation, the U.S. used a joint resolution to “annex” Hawai‘i. This is another fact erased from history education curricula that remains relatively unknown today by the millions of people living in U.S.-occupied Hawai‘i. It is essential to acknowledge that an increasing number of Native Hawaiians are still struggling against U.S. occupation and colonization today, carrying on the work of their ancestors decades earlier.

⁸³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 7; Blomley, “Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence,” 128.

CHAPTER 3: THE LAND ACT AS FUNDAMENT

“I would like to see this American territory occupied by those whose blood is the blood that ran through the veins of our ancestors.”⁸⁴

--U.S. Vice President Fairbanks, 1911

Introduction

In August 1895, the Republic of Hawai‘i government, with Sanford Dole at its helm, passed the 1895 Land Act, effectively rewriting land laws created and codified by the Hawaiian Kingdom government. These changes were neither innocuous nor innocent – instead, they were specifically created to legalize and justify white supremacist initiatives designed to address political threats to the usurpers and their government. Attaining their long-term white supremacist goals necessitated a complete transformation of Hawaiian Kingdom land laws. The Provisional and Republic governments used the Land Act as the foundation for all land-related legislation throughout the territorial period. These laws effectually provided legal mechanisms to circumvent codified Native Hawaiian land tenure and use rights. This act has exhibited extreme longevity, with some legislation still intact currently, thus serving as the basis for land ownership and use modifications whose results are still visible today.

Hawai‘i’s Kingdom land tenure and resource laws codified perpetual Native Hawaiian land rights via the 1848 Māhele process and the 1850 Kuleana Act. This chapter details these rights and the usurpers’ actions to erode them. It asserts that attaining their long-term white supremacist goals necessitated a complete transformation of land laws in Hawai‘i. The 1895 Land Act, a series of statutes, effectually provided legal mechanisms to circumvent codified Native Hawaiian land tenure and use rights provided through the Kingdom.

As the usurpers’ next step toward fulfilling its racist goals, the act combined the Kingdom government lands with Queen Lili‘uokalani’s Crown lands, renaming them the Republic of Hawai‘i’s Public lands. This outright theft of the formally inalienable Crown lands

⁸⁴ Norden, Van, “Americanizing Hawaii,” 53.

created a real estate frontier ⁸⁵comprised of over 900,000 acres of Hawai‘i’s most prized landscapes. The 1895 Land Act hastily manufactured land classifications to undermine Indigenous agricultural systems and valuate parcels to establish a new kind of homesteading that privileged white American settlers over Native Hawaiian landowners.

This chapter begins by outlining pre-coup land tenure changes due to the 1848 Māhele and 1850 Kuleana Act and the land rights established for Native Hawaiians. A detailed description of the 1895 Land Act legislation and a discussion of the sweeping legislative changes and new programs it produced follows. The political threats to the usurpers and how the 1895 Land Act addressed them will be examined, along with the early results of those campaigns as an example of the oligarchy’s use of land law changes to quell threats to their political power.

Historically, political forces have used law as a weapon against less powerful segments of the population. Passing laws legalizes and justifies racist policies and behaviors enforced by the police and justice system. Nick Blomley writes, “...violence and law appear antithetical. Liberalism tends to locate violence outside the law, positing state regulation as that which contains and prevents an anomic anarchy. The rule of law is deemed superior, given its ability to regulate violence in a civilized and humane way.”⁸⁶ Of course, the violence laws regulate often reflect the racist ideals of the people creating them. Historically the U.S. has used legislation to justify the slavery of African-Americans, the genocide of Indigenous and Native Americans, and enforced Western property schemes, including land confiscation, forced assimilation, and homesteading, to settle White Americans on Indigenous lands across America. Similarly, the Provisional and Republic governments created laws that were used against Native Hawaiians and Asians, starting with the forced passing of the Bayonet Constitution in the 1880s and continuing decades after the 1893 coup that overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

Throughout this period, Native Hawaiians relentlessly resisted the actions of the usurpers and their governments and, thus, posed a constant risk to the oligarchy, as evidenced by the 1895 Kaua Kuloko and anti-annexation petition drives that followed shortly after that. The 1895 Land Act was a way for the government to deal with this resistance by providing both

⁸⁵ Frontier is used intentionally here to denote the particular American understanding of the frontier as a place to remove Indigenous peoples from and forcefully settle; Gregory et al., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 264–65.

⁸⁶ Blomley, “Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence,” 121.

disenfranchisement consequences for Royalists and economic incentives via cheap land availability for those willing to sign an oath of allegiance to the Republic.

As with the rest of this project, the Land Act and connected legislation analyses use an Indigenous Native Hawaiian perspective. This chapter also highlights how particular initiatives, justified through legislation, addressed specific political threats and resulted in the ultimate dispossession of Native Hawaiians in their homeland.

Hawaiian Kingdom Land Tenure History

Hawai‘i’s land tenure history is complicated and unique. Traditionally, land was owned and utilized by all classes of people. In 1839, King Kamehameha III implemented a Declaration of Rights and Laws followed by the Constitution of 1840, which together codified that all lands in Hawai‘i were held by three groups of people - the mō‘ī (supreme chief), ali‘i (chiefly class), and maka‘āinana (common people). However, the different groups held different degrees of interest.⁸⁷ According to Curtis Lyons, “The theory which was adopted, in effect, was this: that the King, the chiefs, and the common people held each undivided shares, so to say, in the whole landed estate.”⁸⁸

To begin dividing out the property rights that would allow for the privatization of the land system, the Hawaiian Kingdom government designed and enacted the Māhele of 1848 and the 1850 Kuleana Act. The Māhele created distinct land bases for the mō‘ī, the government, and the chiefs, and in the process, made large-scale private landownership possible in Hawai‘i. It is essential to recognize that each of these land bases was still subject to the rights of maka‘āinana (native tenants) to make their claims for land using the processes contained in the 1850 Kuleana Act, as each of the Royal Patents that proved fee-simple ownership of the land included the stipulation stating “koe na‘e ke kuleana o nā kanaka” or subject to the rights of native tenants.”⁸⁹ The Mō‘ī intended that the Māhele and Kuleana Act together would provide land to native tenants, thereby dividing out all outstanding native tenant land claims. Earlier scholarship used Kuleana Act statistics to conclude that the Māhele process dispossessed most native Hawaiian Kingdom subjects because it awarded just 28,000 acres to maka‘āinana. However, that figure

⁸⁷ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 142.

⁸⁸ Lyons, *Land Matters in Hawaii*, 126–27.

⁸⁹ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 216.

only represented kuleana claim awards and did not include the government grants available to them as an alternative. More recent scholarship by Kamana Beamer, Donovan Preza, and others uncovered that native tenants could file claims after the official Kuleana Act deadlines. Many purchased government lands outright at discounted prices, as allowed for in section four of the Kuleana Act.⁹⁰ Preza has documented that native tenants using this process purchased 167,290 acres between 1850 and 1893.⁹¹ Preza's acreage and the 28,658 kuleana claim awards mean that maka'āinana received just under 200,000 acres of land due to the Māhele process. Beamer suggests that we consider the Māhele a hybridized system constructed by Hawaiians for Hawaiians, using selective appropriation of aspects of European governance, politics, and law, rather than a system of dispossession as earlier scholars once believed.⁹² Furthermore, Beamer posits that:

These numbers, along with the concept that the vested rights of 'Ōiwi (native tenants) in 'āina (land) are meant to exist in perpetuity, are grounds to rethink the results of the Māhele. The Māhele process may have secured 'Ōiwi rights as well as title to lands rather than being a means of severing traditional relationships to 'āina.

The Māhele of 1848 created three distinct land bases, the first of which was for ali'i (chiefs) and konohiki (managers), who were expected to pay a 1/3 commutation on their lands to the government and receive the allodial title in the form of a Royal Patent, subject to the rights of native tenants. The second land base was for the government, which could lease and sell this land with the proceeds as the financial base for running the Hawaiian Kingdom government. The final land base was the Crown Lands, to fund the office of the mō'ī and made inalienable through legislation on January 3, 1865. Crown Land commissioners leased the Crown Lands, and the funds generated were the personal funds of the mō'ī. These lands were the possession of the reigning monarch, with the proceeds the private monies to expend as they saw fit.⁹³ It is important to note that while the Crown Lands provided monetary funds for the reigning monarch to use, the lands themselves were inalienable. Of these three land banks, the government land base was the only one the Hawaiian Kingdom government controlled.

⁹⁰ Hawai'i Kingdom Government, "Privy Council, December 21, 1849."

⁹¹ Preza, "The Emperical Writes Back," 138.

⁹² Beamer's scholarship refutes earlier Hawaiian scholarship that considered the Māhele as a system imposed by haole on Native Hawaiians. For more, see Osorio, Kame'eleihiwa.

⁹³ Beamer, *No Makou Ka Mana*, 2014, 216.

Once the Māhele and Kuleana Act processes were complete and fee-simple property ownership was available in Hawai‘i, large acreages were sold and leased to haoles for plantations, warehouses, and other uses, ultimately creating a very wealthy, albeit small, haole population. Most eventual usurpers belonged to this minute cross-section of Hawai‘i’s populace.

For years before the 1893 coup, Sanford Dole was critical of Hawai‘i’s policies that had resulted in the population demographics of that time. The land policy was a long-standing provocation for Dole, and he recognized that “the prosperity and continued development of the Islands’ agricultural economy depended on the land laws.”⁹⁴ As early as 1872, he advocated for enticing Anglo-American immigrants to Hawai‘i using the American homesteading process, thereby resettling Hawai‘i with white yeomen.⁹⁵ Dole’s goal was motivated by not only race but also class, as the yeomen he desired as settlers would be white and cultivate the land they owned, forming a kind of segregated utopia whose members would support Dole’s political aims. His plan directly opposed the plantation process that had brought indentured alien labor to Hawai‘i in great numbers - so great as to be a political threat once they could become citizens and vote.

What elements of danger are there in the future of the five principal nationalities that now constitute the Islands’ population? So far the Anglo-Saxon with its ideas of representative government had held the reins of political influence. But with the recent extension of the franchise to the Portuguese, perhaps soon to take in resident Japanese, and also perhaps Chinese trained in the public schools, are education and religion to be influences sufficiently conservative against a rapidly increasing proletariat? In this and other countries the larger cities attract and hold a large and dangerous class, men not made conservatives by family ties or property interests, but from their very unsettled habits of life antagonistic to the development of the highest type of social life with its elevated standards and necessary restraints...The most effective of influences to counteract this dangerous element in the cities is the development of a hardy, intelligent, peaceful agricultural population...How else can this be done other than through the opening up of public lands to settlers?⁹⁶

The 1893 coup was the required step that granted Dole the power and ability to realize his stated goals. As the President of the Provisional Government, he began to make changes to land law to implement his Anglo-American homesteading program. An illegal coup was the only way to break down the Hawaiian Kingdom structures codified to protect Kanaka Maoli land rights

⁹⁴ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 3.

⁹⁵ White House Historical Association, “The Myth of the Vanishing Indian.”

⁹⁶ Dole, Sanford B., “The Political Importance of Small Land Holdings in the Hawaiian Islands,” Paper presented before the Honolulu Social Science Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 23, 1891, 1-2.

that continued to exist perpetually. The coup and associated land law changes that eventually gave control of Hawai‘i’s most prized lands to haoles was a tipping point for Native Hawaiian self-determination and sovereignty.

Dole remained the government’s leader as it transitioned from Provisional Government to the Republic of Hawai‘i and into the territorial period over the next decade. Each of his leadership positions was appointed, which did not allow Native Hawaiians and other citizens to voice their opinions through voting. Throughout this period, Dole and his colleagues continued to create land laws that facilitated his ultimate goal of luring and settling white Americans in Hawai‘i. The transformation of land laws was the logical next step in the usurpers’ white supremacist project to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial society.

The 1895 Land Act

In August 1895, the Republic of Hawai‘i government passed the 1895 Land Act, a sweeping land law change that gave the Republic access to formerly inalienable lands and addressed many threats to their power. They simultaneously passed a Joint Resolution to investigate land registration processes used by imperial forces in other countries:

WHEREAS, The system of land transfer and registry of deeds now in vogue in this country is unsatisfactory and fails to accomplish the object intended, and

WHEREAS, The great uncertainty in many of the titles to land tends to hinder and obstruct the development and progress of the country.

BE IT RESOLVED, By the Senate and the House of Representatives that the President of the Republic be requested to appoint a commission consisting of three suitable persons to consider the practical working of our system of land transfer and registry of deeds as compared with the different systems in operation in other countries and make report thereon...

This investigation was an effort to duplicate processes other imperial powers had used to clear land titles, facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous land ownership, and settle their citizens to create a settler-colonial landscape. This system would allow the usurpers to continue refining land legislation that dealt with vested Native Hawaiian land rights provided by the 1840 Kingdom Constitution and the Māhele. The Republic government sent W.O. Smith to New Zealand shortly after that to review their land registration process with the goal of “our lands be dealt with according to the best precedents in countries have somewhat similar conditions” about

the settlement of lands.⁹⁷ While there, a New Zealand newspaper quoted Smith as saying that the Hawai‘i 1895 Land Act “adopted certain features of the New Zealand Amended Land Act of 1892 for the disposition of our public lands” and that he “came here to learn something more of the details of the working of this law.”⁹⁸ He also commented on the settler-colonial landscape he experienced there: “One of the most pleasant impressions left upon our minds in the midst of a commonwealth, if I may call it so, of intelligent Anglo-Saxon people.”⁹⁹ In this way, Smith confirms that the Hawai‘i 1895 Land Act was created by examining and emulating other white supremacist colonial projects and his racist preference for being surrounded by other white people.

The Land Act effectively combined the existing Government and Crown land banks and relabeled them as Public Lands. It defined this new land bank as “all lands heretofore classed as Government Lands, all lands heretofore classed as Crown Lands, and all lands that may hereafter come into the control of the Government by purchase, exchange, escheat, or by the exercise of the rights of eminent domain.”¹⁰⁰ This seizure of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s personal Crown Lands gave the Republic control and the ability to sell the formerly inalienable 915,000 acres of land. This theft created a land bank consisting of Hawai‘i’s most prized and valuable lands that the Republic government administered and could dispose of at will. The renaming of these lands, “Public Lands,” erased the land tenure history of the Crown lands and produced a land frontier that would eventually be leased, sold, and used politically, all legitimized by law through the Land Act.

The 1895 Land Act gave control of the newly-formed Public Lands to a board of three commissioners comprised of the Republic of Hawai‘i’s Minister of the Interior and two Presidential appointees. One of these appointees was designated the Agent of Public Lands, the active business representative. The Commissioners of Public Lands, a three-person board, controlled and managed the new land base exclusively. The Republic’s President, Sanford Dole, could remove commissioners with the cabinet’s approval (whose members were also appointed by Dole), giving him nearly total control over this board’s membership. The commissioners, in

⁹⁷ J. F. Brown, “Letter, Public Land Commissioner Brown to NZ Lands & Survey Secretary Smith,” October 25, 1895.

⁹⁸ “A Hawaiian Statesman’s Impressions of New Zealand,” 5.

⁹⁹ “A Hawaiian Statesman’s Impressions of New Zealand,” 5.

¹⁰⁰ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 1-2.

turn, hired Sub-Agents and Rangers, who interfaced with the public during payment collection, contract enforcement, trespassing, record keeping, and oath administration. The Sub-Agents and Rangers were the faces of the Public Lands Commission, while the commissioners made the decisions along with Sanford Dole, the Republic President. Dole had near-exclusive powers over everyone appointed to this department, which allowed selecting employees who agreed with his politics and policies.

The Land Act gave Dole, through the actions of the Public Land Commissioners along with the consent of the executive council, the ability to:

- Sell unleased public lands in parcels of up to one thousand acres at public auction for cash
- Sell unleased public lands not under lease in parcels up to six hundred acres at public auction using part credit and cash.
- Give possession of public lands under an agreement of sale with requirements such as residence upon and improvements of the premises sold, along with flexible payment structures.
- Avoid public auction by issuing a patent in exchange for deeds of private lands or for perfecting titles of private lands where such titles were purely equitable or where such lands suffered from defective titles.

Hawai‘i’s historical land tenure system, including the 1848 Māhele and the 1850 Kuleana Act, resulted in undivided land rights still held by Native Hawaiians, which in turn made much of Hawai‘i’s lands subject to other land claims and suffering from what the Land Act called “defective titles,” which could now be *perfected* by the Public Land Commissioners at will.

Interestingly, the Public Land Commissioners did not control the management of town lots and sites of public buildings. They also had no purview over land used for public purposes, roads, streets, landings, nurseries, parks, tracts reserved for forest growth, or water supply conservation areas. Instead, the Minister of the Interior managed these lands.¹⁰¹ I believe that this distinction was put into place by the Republic to give the three Public Land Commissioners latitude to fulfill the primary overall goal of their commission – the luring and settling of “hardy, intelligent, peaceful agricultural people” who were exclusively white Americans.¹⁰² They would

¹⁰¹ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 3.

¹⁰² Dole, Sanford B., “The Political Importance of Small Land Holdings in the Hawaiian Islands,” 1–2.

not have to focus on the day-to-day management of lands used for public purposes, making the Public Land Commissioners function like real estate sales agents with the single goal of using the Public Land frontier to create their envisioned settler-colonial state.

Ultimately, three Public Land Commissioners wielded an exceptional amount of exclusive power over land sales, leases, and more, subject only to approval by the Governor and his executive council.¹⁰³ Sanford Dole, his executive council, and the three Public Land Commissioners controlled well over a million acres of land, utilizing this power to further their personal and political agendas for decades. The fact that all of the executive council members and appointed commissioners gave him the ability to almost singlehandedly determine the fate of Hawai‘i’s public lands during Dole’s Dominion.

While other scholars, including William Russ, have written about this period in Hawai‘i, the 1895 Land Act has been largely omitted. Russ did not detail the Land Act in his 1961 *The Hawaiian Republic* text. When one of the only academic texts about this period does not speak about this complete transformation of land laws, that omission allows for masking the usurpers’ white supremacist, racist actions. That suppression of facts allows only particular versions of history to be told, thus disenfranchising Native Hawaiians yet again.

Land Classifications

In addition to creating the public land bank, the 1895 Land Act implemented a land classification system to assign values to these lands in preparation for their sale. Land categorization utilized the following definitions:

¹⁰³ Hawaii Land Laws Revision Commission, [*Final Report, 1946*]., 7–8; Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act.”

1895 Land Act Land Classifications

Agricultural Land Classification

First Class	Land suitable for the cultivation of fruit, coffee, sugar, or other perennial crops with or without irrigation
Second Class	Land suitable for the cultivation of annual crops only
Third Class	Wet lands such as kale and rice lands

Pastoral Land Classification

First Class	Land not in the description of Agricultural land but capable of carrying livestock the year through
Second Class	Land capable of carrying livestock only part of the year, or otherwise inferior to First Class Pastoral land

Forest Land Classification

Land producing forest trees but unsuitable for cultivation

Waste Land Classification

Land not included in the other classes

Figure 3. 1895 Land Act Land Classifications. 1895 Land Act.

The classification of lo‘i kalo (wetland taro) cultivation areas as the lowest agricultural land category exhibits the active devaluation of traditional food production methods. Instead, taro cultivation, which had sustained Kanaka Maoli for centuries, was replaced with fruit, coffee, sugar, and other crops that the white supremacist settler system considered of higher value.

The Hawai‘i Land Laws Revision Commission scrutinized and questioned these vague classifications in 1946. They write:

From all that appears, the public lands have never been expertly classified. Advantage has not been taken of allied territorial agencies qualified to do the work. The present categories are merely the result of the uses to which the respective public lands have been put by lessees...The administration of the land laws has been prejudiced by the lack of expert classification.¹⁰⁴

The Land Laws Revision Commission’s expert conclusion raises questions about land valuations based on the 1895 Land Act’s categorizations. If the classifications were not accurate, neither were the appraised values of the eventual homestead lots, which were the basis of land prices that homesteaders paid. The vague and politically-driven classifications are evidence of the hasty creation of this system. The Republic government’s urgent desire to sell the Queen’s stolen land

¹⁰⁴ Hawaii Land Laws Revision Commission, [Final Report, 1946]., 52–54.

frontier forced them to expedite the classification of lands to be disposed of.¹⁰⁵ The usurpers' goal was never to manage land-related resources and improve food production. Instead, their ultimate objective was to move Hawai'i's public land ownership into white American hands as private property, thus enabling their continued control and power over Hawai'i.

Hawai'i's Homesteading History

Over half of the 1895 Land Act was devoted to detailing the Republic of Hawai'i's elaborate homesteading initiative. However, this was not the first time there was a homesteading program in Hawai'i. In 1851, the Hawaiian Kingdom government created "An Act To Provide For The Appointment Of Agents To Sell Government Lands To The People," a land law with homesteading features for Native Hawaiians who did not own land of their own in the remote districts of Hawai'i.¹⁰⁶ It allowed Kanaka Maoli living in any district with Kingdom Government lands for sale to apply for lots of one to fifty acres each at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre. A provision allowed people who did not reside in the district they were applying for but had to declare their intention to become permanent residents there. Once the application was approved and payment made, the Kingdom Minister of the Interior granted fee simple ownership via a Royal Patent. The Hawaiian Kingdom created this legislation to continue dividing out Native Hawaiians' vested land rights provided by its 1840 Constitution. This constitution codified the joint ownership of all lands in Hawai'i held by the Mō'ī (supreme chief), ali'i (chiefly class), and maka'āinana (common people).

In 1853, an amendment provided more land at lesser prices to Native Hawaiians. The amount of land that Native Hawaiians could purchase doubled (from 50 to 100 acres), and the cost of such land decreased from fifty cents to twelve and 1/2 cents per acre. This change reflected a drastic drop in price and increased acreage availability. Ultimately, this legislation enabled Native Hawaiian land ownership for residential purposes and was unavailable to non-Native Hawaiians. More than 160,000 acres were purchased by Native Hawaiians using this

¹⁰⁵ The term "dispose of" is used in numerous Republic government documents to describe converting public lands to private ownership.

¹⁰⁶ Hawaii, *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III*, 52–53. This act provides the infrastructure to enable section four of the 1850 Kuleana Act, allowing Native Hawaiians to purchase government lands at highly discounted prices. The term "natives" in the 1851 legislation refers to the beneficiaries of the Kuleana Act - Native Hawaiians exclusively.

method.¹⁰⁷ This amendment allowed for the continued division of the vested rights in ancestral lands held by Native Hawaiians.

In 1888, King Kalākaua and the Legislative Assembly passed Chapter XLV, “An Act To Facilitate The Acquiring And Settlement Of Homesteads.” This act’s purpose was: “Whereas, There are many persons of small means in the Kingdom who are without permanent homes and are desirous of procuring homesteads.” This act allowed the Minister of the Interior to order portions of the Kingdom government lands to be surveyed and laid out in lots. It was up to the Minister to determine which lands were suitable for homesteads, with all leased government lands disallowed.

Lots were to be between two and twenty acres of dry or kula land and under two acres of wet or kalo land. Applicants were limited to requesting two lots, one dry and one wet. It was a requirement that all lots were already accessible by existing roads. Upon completion of the survey, the Minister of the Interior was to appoint three appraisers to come to an accurate valuation of the land or “reasonable market rates.” The first of these appraisers was the surveyor that laid out the lots, and the additional two were residents of the district where the lots were located.

The Minister was issued a report which at least two appraisers then signed. A newspaper notice published in Hawaiian and any other language deemed necessary announcing available homestead lots upon which to live. Applicants could inspect the lots in person after paying a fee of one dollar with written applications submitted to the Minister. If the application was approved, the perspective homesteader would go to the Interior Department office and pay a fee of ten dollars and the ten percent per annum quarter-yearly rent or interest in advance. At this point, the applicant was given a right-of-purchase agreement and was entitled to take immediate possession of the land and build and occupy a dwelling house within one year. In addition, the homesteader must enclose the lot in the following two years. The land was to be the homesteader’s residence for five years, and the total purchase price paid over those years. Alternatively, the homesteader could obtain a mortgage for any unpaid balance for a one to five-year term at an interest rate of ten percent per annum, payable semi-annually in advance. Five years after the issuance of the initial right-to-purchase agreement, with the fulfillment of all residential, fencing, and payment

¹⁰⁷ Preza, “The Emperical Writes Back,” 138.

requirements, the homesteader would be awarded a Royal Patent signifying fee simple ownership.

The 1888 legislation under King Kalākaua had no cultivation requirements, unlike other homesteading programs in Hawai‘i. While the 1851 act provided discounted land for Native Hawaiians exclusively, the 1888 program was open to all ethnicities. Created one year after the Bayonet Constitution, which had removed much of King Kalākaua’s executive power, the 1888 act was entirely vested in the cabinet. Unlike earlier legislation focused on providing Native Hawaiians ownership of their ancestral lands to which they had vested rights, this act provided indiscriminate land access to all ethnicities. Sugar proponents were the cabinet members at that time, which is the likely reason for this shift in the intended beneficiaries of this homesteading program.¹⁰⁸

The analysis of historical iterations of homesteading history in Hawai‘i provides the context for comparison with the elaborate homesteading program created and executed via the 1895 Land Act. The Hawaiian Kingdom’s 1851 and 1853 legislation provided land for Native Hawaiians exclusively. One year post-Bayonet, this legislation was modified, offering homestead-like residential lots to all ethnicities. Modifications to Kalākaua’s cabinet due to the Bayonet Constitution reflected his loss of executive power, resulting in the end of Native Hawaiians as the exclusive beneficiaries of these Hawaiian Kingdom homesteads. This shift foretold an even more significant change two years after the coup with the passing of the 1895 Land Act.

The Land Act’s Homesteading Initiative

The 1895 Land Act authorized the Commissioners of Public Lands to select, survey, and set aside tracts of the newly formed Public land bank as homesteads. Agricultural and pastoral lands exclusively comprised these tracts. While there were size restrictions on individual lot sizes depending on land classifications, there was no limit to the overall tract size that the commissioners created.¹⁰⁹ Basing the land lot size limitations on land classifications defined by the Land Act was problematic because, according to the Land Laws Revision Commission, the

¹⁰⁸ “All about Hawaii. The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawaii, Combined with Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual and Standard Guide,” 96.

¹⁰⁹ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 61.

Public Lands were never categorized by experts, making the related size limitations meaningless.¹¹⁰ These hastily-placed land classifications facilitated the hurried start of the stolen Public Land frontier sales.

Once the Public Land Commissioners selected homestead lands, they ordered surveys that included the locations of individual lots and road construction. Once these surveys were in the commissioners' hands, newspapers or posters in English and Hawaiian provided public notice of the land tract available for settlement. The Agent of Public Lands could also publish this notice in any other language newspapers produced in Hawai'i if necessary.

Applicants had to meet several requirements to qualify as homesteaders at the time of application. The document below, included in the 1895 Land Act, certified the applicant's compliance with these requirements:

- The applicant must be a citizen by birth, naturalization, or denotation. People who received special rights of citizenship were also eligible.
- Applicants were required to be over eighteen years old.
- Applicants were subject to immediate disqualification due to civil disability for any offense or tax payment delinquency.
- Disqualification would also result from the prior false declaration in applying for land under the Land Act or the application for or ownership of other land exceeding specified amounts.

¹¹⁰ Hawaii Land Laws Revision Commission, *[Final Report, 1946]*., 52–53.

SCHEDULE A.

Form of Declaration of Application for Homestead Leases,
Right of Purchase Leases, or Cash Freeholds.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, }
ISLAND OF } ss.

I.....being sworn, say that I am over eighteen years old; that I am a citizen by birth (or naturalization) of the Republic of Hawaii (or that I have received letters of denization under the Republic of Hawaii); (or that I have received a certificate of Special Right of Citizenship from the Republic of Hawaii); that I am under no civil disability for any offense; that I am not delinquent in the payment of taxes; that I have made no false declaration in applying for land under Land Act, 1895; that I am married (or unmarried); that I do not own land in the Hawaiian Islands not classed as wet land (if married that wife or husband does not own such land); (or if an owner of such land and an applicant for enough more land as a Right of Purchase Leasehold or a Cash Freehold to make up with the land already held by him the maximum quantity as allowed and provided by Section 58, Land Act, 1895, that he owns such and such areas of such and such classes); that besides the land now applied for I am not an applicant for any interest in land under Land Act, 1895 (if married that the wife or husband is not such an applicant), and that I am applying for the said land solely for my own use and benefit.

Approved this 14th day of August, A. D. 1895.

SANFORD B. DOLE,
President of the Republic of Hawaii.

Figure 4. Required Written Declaration of Citizenship. 1895 Land Act.

The land act makes the importance of this declaration clear, stating, “No application not including a declaration of qualifications as above required or not accompanied with the said fee shall be received or considered.”¹¹¹ This declaration is particularly problematic for Native Hawaiians when considering Hawai‘i’s political landscape in 1895 and the following decade. Just eight months before the Land Act’s passing, the Kaua Kuloko, commonly called the Wilcox

¹¹¹ The fee mentioned was two dollars collected at the time of application; Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 14.

Rebellion, occurred. Some prisoners of war and arrestees were still in jail when the 1895 Land Act became law. There were many residents, both Native Hawaiian and non-Native Hawaiians, that remained loyal to Queen Lili‘uokalani in the years following the 1893 coup, as evidenced by continuous acts of resistance, including the 1897 Kū‘ē Petitions signed by over ninety percent of the Native Hawaiian population. It is unlikely that these royalists would have been willing to sign an application containing a citizenship declaration to the Republic of Hawai‘i, which resulted in their disenfranchisement and inability to participate in the initiatives created by the Land Act.

The 1895 Land Act created three basic homesteading frameworks: the 999-Year Homestead Lease, The Right of Purchase Lease (RPL), and The Cash Freehold Agreement. These three programs were designed with different groups of people intended as homesteaders. The maximum acreages for these programs were as follows:

Table 2. Territorial Homestead Maximum Acreage Limits

Territorial Homestead Maximum Acreage Limits			
	<u>999-Year Homestead Leases</u>	<u>Right of Purchase Leases</u>	<u>Cash Freehold Agreements</u>
First-Class Agricultural	8	100	100
Second-Class Agricultural	16	200	200
Wet Land	1	2	2
First-Class Pastoral	30	600	600
Second-Class Pastoral	60	1200	1200
Pastoral/Agricultural Combination	45	400	400

Source: 1895 Land Act

The land obtained using the 999-Year term homestead leases was between 5 and 11% of the amounts offered using the Right of Purchase or Cash Freehold programs. Another marked difference between the programs was the acreage of other lands that the applicant was allowed to own, as reflected in the chart below:

Table 3. Other Land Ownership Acreage Maximums (Including Land Applied For Under Land Act)

**Other Land Ownership
Maximum Acreage Limits
(Including Land Applied For Under Land Act)**

	<u>999-Year Homestead Leases</u>	<u>Right of Purchase Leases</u>	<u>Cash Freehold Agreements</u>
First-Class Agricultural	0	100	100
Second-Class Agricultural	0	200	200
First-Class Pastoral	0	600	600
Second-Class Pastoral	0	1200	1200

Source: 1895 Land Act

The 999-Year Term homestead lease did not allow owning any other land. In contrast, the Right of Purchase and Cash Freehold programs permitted a lot of other acreages to be possessed, as long as they were under the limits above, including the land applied for under the Land Act. Therefore, applicants for the Right to Purchase and Cash Freehold programs could own a lot of additional land. Ultimately, these provisions meant that wealthy landowners could still apply for the Right of Purchase or Cash Freehold programs if they were willing to live on the newly acquired parcels for as little as two years. Additional distinctions between the different programs appear below.

999-Year Term Homestead Lease

The 999-year term lease, often called ‘homestead leases,’ was the most restrictive. In addition to the applicant being unable to own any other land, the applicant’s spouse could not own land other than one acre of wetland in Hawai‘i unless their marriage had been affected by a decree, annulment, separation, or divorce. Upon verification of the applicant’s qualifications, the Commissioners of Public Lands executed a certificate of occupation, giving the applicant the right to possess the lot. Within the first two years, the occupier was to build and continuously maintain a dwelling house and reside on the premises. By the end of the sixth year, the requirements depended on the land classification of their lot. If the land was agricultural, either

no less than ten percent of the land needed to be under cultivation or a combination of cultivation of five percent of the parcel along with not less than ten timber, shade, or fruit trees planted per acre and kept in good condition. If the land was pastoral, perimeter fencing was to be constructed by the end of the sixth year.

If the occupier failed to meet the two-year or six-year requirements, the commissioners could take possession of the land with or without legal process. Upon fulfilling all conditions by the end of the six-year occupation period, the Agent of Public Lands certified the fulfillment to the Republic President. Execution of a nine hundred and ninety-nine-year lease followed. The leaseholder paid no rent and was only responsible for paying assessed real property taxes. After this process and payment of a five-dollar fee, the land was theirs to live on. Upon the death of the leaseholder, the statutory next of kin received the lease following a prescribed process provided in the lease. However, the Republic would reclaim the land if successors did not take possession of the premises within a year from the current tenant's death. The 999-Year Term homestead lease program never provided ownership of the land, which resulted in the inability to build equity or generational wealth.

Additionally, the inability to name a lease successor often quickly resulted in numerous leaseholders. For example, if the original leaseholder had three children, and we assume three children for each successive generation, in a century (which is just 10% of the longevity of the lease), there would be over eighty leaseholders. If this continued over time, there would be thousands of leaseholders, making it likely impossible to retain residence on the original piece of land, especially considering the relatively small lot sizes offered.

According to Governor Dole and Public Land Commissioner Edward Boyd, the 999-year lease was the least desirable homestead type. It was also the program earmarked for Native Hawaiians. In a letter to a prospective homesteader in Utah, Commissioner Boyd writes,

This system is what is known as the 999 year Lease, inalienable right – an undesirable agreement for persons that are more progressive in nature. For the Hawaiians as a rule it is a very desirable Agreement for they are not as thrifty as their white bretheren [sic].¹¹²

¹¹² Edward Boyd, "Letter Public Land Commissioner Boyd to Prospective Homesteader Barton," June 7, 1901, 5.

Likewise, according to a letter from Governor Dole to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, the 999-year homestead lease was intended for “native Hawaiians and other persons who may have little capital and not a large endowment of thrift.”¹¹³

As the intended demographic for the 999-Year Homestead Lease, Native Hawaiians were relegated to a long-term, inter-generational rental program that would not allow for building equity or wealth generationally. Through reviewing the details of this program, it is clear that the Republic of Hawai‘i intentionally disenfranchised Native Hawaiians using Queen Lili‘uokalani’s illegally confiscated lands. It is somewhat ironic that this program intended for Native Hawaiians who had no wealth did not provide a mechanism for accruing wealth through the building of equity. Additionally, within a few generations, there would likely be hundreds of leaseholders because of the inability to name a successor. The Republic of Hawai‘i government subjugated Native Hawaiians using the 1895 Land Act and its 999-Year Homestead Lease program, representing the ongoing cycle of economic oppression that Kanaka Maoli continue to endure.

Right of Purchase Lease

Right of Purchase lease applicants chose their parcels once they were deemed qualified and were required to pay six months’ rent of the premises applied for as an application fee. This money would be credited toward rent if the application was successful. Once approved by the Agent of Public Lands, a lease was executed for twenty-one years and required an annual rent of eight percent of the land’s appraised value. It is essential to recognize that many of these homestead lots were offered at a fraction of the actual appraised value, as detailed in the next chapter.

The Right of Purchase Lease program fixed the annual rent amount for the entire 21 years, and the homesteader could pay off the purchase price of their parcel over those two decades. The advantage of this type of lease was the settler’s ability to “use his capital at the outset for improvements and cultivation, and to put off the day of purchase until he is well established.”¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Sanford B. Dole, “Letter Governor Dole to E.A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior,” July 10, 1900.

¹¹⁴ Sanford B. Dole.

The lessee was required to continuously maintain residence on the land from the end of the first year to the end of the fifth year. Before the end of the third year, at least five percent of the land must be in cultivation, and at the end of the fifth year, at least ten percent must be in cultivation. In addition, if the parcel was agricultural land, an average of ten timber, shade, or fruit trees per acre of the whole area must be planted and in good growing condition. If the land was pastoral, the entire parcel required fencing; if it was pastoral-agricultural, fulfilling the respective tasks was needed.

The leaseholder could only assign their interest under the lease with the written consent of the commissioners. Instead, the leaseholder must surrender their parcel to the government. Only then would the lessee be released from the required stipulations and conditions. However, any time after the third year, once twenty-five percent of the land was cultivated, the lessee resided on said land for at least two years, with all other conditions substantially performed, they were entitled to a land patent from the government conveying fee simple ownership provided they paid the Republic the appraised value of the land. This ownership allowed for the assignment of the land to be given to whomever they chose, whenever they chose, which allowed for the building of generational wealth for these individuals, some of whom were already wealthy when applying for this program.

Cash Freehold Agreement

Applicants of higher economic means were the intended applicants for the Cash Freehold process. After applicants chose their parcels, they were required to pay ten percent of the appraised value of the premises, which would be credited if their application was successful. Once the Agent of Public Lands approved the application, the commissioners held an auction. If the applicant won the auction at the minimum purchase price or higher, they would pay twenty-five percent of the purchase price less the ten percent fee paid at the time of application. The more considerable initial cash outlay reflects the intended audience of this program being relatively wealthy. Execution of a Cash Freehold Agreement occurred upon receipt of the payment with the following stipulations and conditions:

The agreement was for three years and required an annual payment of twenty-five percent of the land's purchase price. It was payable annually for the first three years after the freehold agreement, with six percent annual interest charges. The government would waive

interest charges if payments were made before they were due. The freeholder was required to continuously maintain residence on the land from the end of the first year to the end of the third year and pay all taxes associated with the parcel.

The government mandated the cultivation of at least twenty-five percent of the land before the end of the third year. In addition, if the parcel was agricultural land, an average of ten timber, shade, or fruit trees per acre of the whole area must be planted and in good growing condition. If the land was pastoral, the entire parcel required fencing; if it was pastoral-agricultural, fulfilling the respective tasks was needed.

The leaseholder could only assign their interest or sublet under the agreement with the written consent of the commissioners. Like the Right of Purchase lease, any time after the third year, upon the performance of all conditions and payments made, the freeholder was issued a land patent from the government conveying fee simple ownership by Republic.

Utilizing the Cash Freehold program gave the commissioners the additional power to sell land using a flexible combination of credit and cash called “special homestead agreements,” allowing them to individualize the terms of sale, payment modes, and residential and improvement requirements. In this way, the Public Land Commissioners could influence whom the settlers were by deciding how easy or difficult they made the process.¹¹⁵

Analysis of Homestead Types

The three types of homesteading programs created in the 1895 Land Act were different in several ways. First, the 999-year lease was just a lease, meaning that while the lease term was very long, and this type of lease could provide a residence for thirty or more generations, it would never result in fee simple ownership. The lots were exponentially smaller than the Right of Purchase and Cash Freehold parcels, and it was likely that there would be hundreds of descendants with rights to the limited acreage relatively quickly with no ability to subdivide the land. Leaseholders paid property taxes to occupy the land, which was very economical compared to the RPL and Cash Freehold programs. Still, once the property belonged to dozens of family members, the success of retaining this land for the length of the lease was uncertain. Property taxes would inevitably increase, as would the eventual number of leaseholders, which could

¹¹⁵ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 8.

number in the hundreds over a few generations. Considering the low acreage limits of this lease type, there could be challenges in retaining the land for the entire term. The 999-year homestead lease option was earmarked for Native Hawaiians who were the most disadvantaged economically, giving them and their descendants a place to reside for a very long time at an economical rate but without the ability to build generational wealth through land ownership and associated equity.¹¹⁶ The poorest people were the intended recipients of this lease type, and the inability to build wealth through land ownership meant they were likely to remain impoverished.

The Right of Purchase Lease (RPL) was the middle-of-the-road approach economically since it cost just eight percent of the parcel's appraised value as annual rent but still required the payment of the total purchase price based on the appraised (albeit often drastically discounted) value. These payments could be completed as early as the end of the third year. Still, because the agreement was for twenty-one years, they could pay it off slowly to "use his capital at the outset for improvements and cultivation, and to put off the day of purchase until he is well established."¹¹⁷

The RPL's maximum acreage limits were high, and applicants could already be landowners, pointing to the expectation that this homesteading program was for people of some economic means. Presumably, they would be engaged in agriculture, which would provide them an income, and upon meeting the agreement stipulations and paying the appraised value, they would own the parcel. It is essential to remember that the appraised valuations paid by the homesteaders were a fraction of what they were worth. Notably, once the patent was granted for the lot signaling ownership in fee, the agricultural requirements no longer applied. The Right of Purchase Lease, earmarked for landowners with money, allowed for continuously building wealth through leveraging equity. Homesteaders could sell their land once they owned it, and ownership was attainable after three years. The required cultivation component of the program no longer applied if the homesteader sold their parcel, which allowed for and encouraged land speculation. The deeply discounted purchase prices associated with these leases permitted a large amount of money to be made by selling.

¹¹⁶ Edward Boyd, "Letter Public Land Commissioner Boyd to Prospective Homesteader Barton," June 7, 1901; Sanford B. Dole, "Letter Governor Dole to E.A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior," July 10, 1900.

¹¹⁷ Sanford B. Dole, "Letter Governor Dole to E.A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior," July 10, 1900.

Lastly, the Cash Freehold homesteading program targeted applicants with the highest economic means. The required twenty-five percent up front ensured that applicants had assets at their disposal. In addition, the twenty-five percent payments annually for the following three years also showed their wealth relative to the other types of homesteading program applicants. Freeholders could already own a large amount of land, and the land acquired by freehold could also be a relatively large amount. Like the RPL, the appraised value/upset price was severely discounted, and upon obtaining ownership, owners could sell the parcels without any cultivation requirements. In this way, the wealthiest landowners earmarked for this program could make a significant profit through land speculation, resulting in the most affluent having the opportunity to add to their coffers.

Settlement Associations

The 1895 Land Act's homesteading initiatives created a process by which applicants could choose their neighbors and exclude other prospective homesteaders. It allowed six or more qualified applicants to form Settlement Associations and apply for exclusive holdings in one block of land. Initially, settlement associations were available to Cash Freehold applicants, the wealthiest prospective homesteaders. Still, this process was later expanded and utilized for Right of Purchase Lease applicants. With the cabinet's approval, the Public Land Commissioners could survey and set aside a block of land with the number of lots corresponding to the number of people in the settlement association. This block of land could be agricultural, pastoral, or a combination thereof. The application of a settlement association included the names, ages, nationalities, occupations, and marital status of the members, along with the area each member was interested in acquiring. The required applicant information included detailed financial data, providing the commissioners with enough information to discern if they met their desired demographic of white Americans, as described repeatedly in government correspondence and other documents. This process allowed the Public Land Commissioners to screen the potential homesteaders before committing to approving them as homesteaders.

Public notices, usually published in Hawaiian and English newspapers, would only be sent to settlement association members in one language. If any association member surrendered or forfeited their lot, it would first be offered to any applicant "under the provisions of this part of this act," that other members of settlement associations would have the opportunity to obtain

the surrendered lot.¹¹⁸ Once the lots were declared open for settlement, if a lot remained unclaimed for three months, it “may be declared open for settlement by any applicant under the provisions of this act,” which would open the opportunity to the broader general homestead applicant pool.¹¹⁹ Instead of opening the lot to the broader, more diverse populous, the Public Land Commissioners could decide to reserve the lot for “public uses or otherwise,” which once again gave the commissioners complete control of who was or wasn’t allowed to take up any surrendered lots.¹²⁰

Public Land Commissioners could provide different levels of infrastructure to homestead tracts. The Ha‘ikū homestead tracts, called an American Colony by the government, is a case study in chapter four that provided roads, a fruit packing plant, a school, a church, the first outer-island branch of the Honolulu library, and more for their homesteaders.¹²¹ Conversely, other homesteads had little to no infrastructure provided by the government, some of which had Native Hawaiians as members of a settlement association.¹²²

The Republic government provided Settlement Associations as a legal way for white American settlers to obtain segregated homestead tracts, thus fulfilling the long-time utopic imaginings of Governor Dole. Additionally, the government’s purview over the location of the lots and infrastructure provided resulted in homesteaders that were either privileged or disenfranchised from the start.

Successive Land Legislation

While the 1895 Land Act was a pivotal turning point in Hawai‘i land tenure laws, other changes occurred during the post-coup period. In the Republic’s 1896 legislative session, Act 61 effectively used the Board of Health to transform large agricultural land areas into reclaimed real estate for development. Chapter five of this dissertation uses the case study of Waikīkī to detail

¹¹⁸ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 34–36.

¹¹⁹ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, “1895 Land Act,” 34–36.

¹²⁰ Republic of Hawai‘i Government, 34–36.

¹²¹ Krauss, “The Hawaiian Homestead of the Future,” 166–67.

¹²² Kalanianaʻole, “The Complaint of Hon. Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaʻole Delegate in Congress from Hawaii, against the Administration of Hon. Walter F. Frear, Governor of Hawaii, Together with Specifications of the Charges Involved, as Furnished to the Honorable, the Secretary of the Interior.,” 12.

Act 61 and tracks the resulting urbanization of this area that changed the face of O‘ahu’s South shore into the urban setting it is today.

The Newlands Resolution, a joint resolution used to annex Hawai‘i supposedly, passed U.S. Congress and was signed by President McKinley on July 7, 1898.¹²³ As discussed in Chapter 3, this annexation was not legal under international law since it required only a simple majority rather than the 60 votes an international treaty would require. This resolution stated that the Republic of Hawai‘i would:

Cede and transfer to the United States of America the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the government of the Hawaiian Islands together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining.¹²⁴

McKinley appointed Sanford Dole the temporary Governor of Hawai‘i and retained the Republic’s other government officials during this period. Still, the U.S. did not provide particulars of the Republic’s jurisdiction over Hawai‘i’s public lands. The U.S. would receive title to the remaining 1,800,000 acres of public land at no cost, and Congress would create special laws for its management. Appointment of a five-man delegation to analyze Hawai‘i’s land policies and status and make appropriate legislation recommendations would follow.

Initially, because Dole and the Public Land Commissioners were not sure of their authority during this interim period, they decided to halt public land transactions, as documented in the Public Land Commissioners 1899 report, which stated, “but for the policy adopted by this office of declining to receive payments on account of purchase prices of lands after the receipt of the Executive order of President McKinley,” the receipts from public land transactions would have been much more extensive than they were.¹²⁵ Eventually, after much correspondence between Dole and the U.S. Department of State as well as opinions gathered from American officials in Hawai‘i and officials connected to Hawai‘i in Washington, D.C., it became evident that the United States opposed the selling off of any more public land until such time that they thoroughly evaluated their military land needs in Hawai‘i. President McKinley went as far as to

¹²³ The annexation of Hawai‘i continues to be contested due to the treaty requirement to annex independent nation-states, which Hawai‘i was.

¹²⁴ “Joint Resolution to Provide for Annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States (1898).”

¹²⁵ Republic of Hawai‘i, “Report of the Commissioners 1898-1899,” 13.

issue an executive order suspending all public land transactions after its date, September 28, 1899. Land sold between the passing of the Newlands Resolution and the above executive order had to be reviewed in detail to determine if any of said lands were needed for military installations, none of which were. President McKinley began issuing executive orders for the “setting aside” of public land in Hawai‘i for military use, with five such orders declared between November 1899 and January 1900. This period marks the start of militarization in the Hawaiian Islands, a scar that remains to this day.

Upon securing their military land needs, the U.S. Congress passed Hawai‘i’s Organic Act, executed on June 14, 1900. It made changes that affected the homesteading efforts of the former Republic of Hawai‘i government, now renamed the Territory of Hawai‘i government. One Commissioner of Public Lands replaced the Public Lands Commissioners board. This one person wielded much power, second only to the Territory Governor, to manage, lease and sell Public Lands as he desired. If these two men were like-minded, they could use their combined authority to use the public land ‘frontier’ to further the political goals of the Territory. This power was sanctioned by U.S. Congress when they gave this position the control and leverage previously split among the Republic’s Minister of the Interior and Public Lands Commission board.

The U.S. enacted strict limitations on leasing public land, including a five-year maximum on the granting, selling, or renewal of leases “until Congress shall direct.”¹²⁶ The U.S. used this restriction to curb the continued growth of plantations by disallowing the processes that had long been utilized, including the relatively small capital outlay through extended leases instead of purchasing the lands they cultivated. The long-term leases to plantations were assignable, which allowed them to use them as collateral for more working capital. The congressional record shows that the original draft of the Organic Act required consent from U.S. officials for each proposed lease of Hawai‘i’s public lands. While not included in the final Organic Act, this clause made Congress’ disdain toward Hawai‘i’s historical leasing to plantations obvious. The Organic Act congressional debate records show their concern over

¹²⁶ United States Congress, “[Versions of the Hawaii Organic Act, Senate Bill 222, To Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawaii, 56th Congress, First Session, 1899-1900].”

Hawai‘i’s plantation system, their vast numbers of immigrant indentured laborers, and their attempt to control future expansion using the land laws in the Organic Act.¹²⁷

The Organic Act also included a one-thousand-acre limit on land acquisition by domestic or foreign corporations under penalty of forfeiture of excess acreage to the U.S., further demonstrating Congress’ determination to stop future growth of the plantations.

Congress also codified laws that encouraged homesteading, a settlement method familiar to the U.S., and the long-time stated goal of Sanford Dole. The Organic Act expanded the settlement association program by mandating the opening of land for settlement when twenty-five or more prospective homesteaders presented a written application to the land commissioner. Further strengthened through required withdrawal clauses, this process provided that any portion of leased land could be deleted from the lease at any time if it were necessary for homesteading.

Conclusion

Vested Native Hawaiian land rights, provided by the Kingdom’s 1840 Constitution, were annihilated with the passing of the 1895 Land Act, which effectively supplied legal mechanisms to circumvent the codified Native Hawaiian land tenure and use rights and ultimately dispossess Kanaka Maoli in their homeland. The Land Act was the next step in Governor Sanford Dole and the Republic of Hawai‘i’s racist project of remaking Hawai‘i into a white supremacist settler-colonial landscape through the drastic reconstruction of codified Hawaiian Kingdom land laws.

The Land Act merged the Government Lands with the confiscated Crown Lands, the stolen private property of Queen Lili‘uokalani. Dubbed Hawai‘i’s Public Lands, this land bank included the most prized and valuable lands across the islands. The outright theft of these formerly inalienable 915,000 acres provided the Republic with a frontier to lure and settle white Americans while furthering their white supremacist goals.

The 1895 Land Act also addressed political threats facing the usurpers and the Republic and territorial governments they led, including population demographics. The haole usurpers that had exacted the coup and were running the government represented well under ten percent of Hawai‘i’s population. Native Hawaiians, many loyal to the Queen and her Kingdom government, represented a much more significant and motivated portion of the voting constituency,

¹²⁷ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 21.

particularly after the Organic Act restored their voting rights by removing property ownership and other requirements that had disenfranchised them previously. In addition, the myriad of Asians brought to Hawai‘i as indentured plantation laborers represented a looming peril, as their children born in Hawai‘i were natural-born citizens and would be able to vote. Their numbers ensured that no demographic could compete with their political will as a group unless population numbers could be manipulated via the immigration of White Americans using cheap land as a lure. The Land Act addressed this threat by creating a homesteading program that did just that. Contrary to historical homesteading programs in Hawai‘i that provided Native Hawaiian tenants the land they cultivated and resided on, the 1895 Land Act’s homesteading initiative prioritized the immigration of White Americans who were able to purchase land at a fraction of its appraised value as a bonus of or in exchange for their political allegiance.

The Land Act provided different homesteading programs for groups of various economic means. The poorest people in the Republic, including most Native Hawaiians, could apply for 999-year leases of small lots of land. This option did not allow the leaseholder to attain actual ownership of said land or leverage the building of equity, effectively dispossessing leaseholders of building any generational wealth. Other programs provided people of wealth, many of whom were white, the ability to own large lots in just three years upon residential and cultivation requirement completion. Once homesteaders attained ownership, they could do what they wanted with the land. This system allowed the wealthiest people, many of whom already owned land, to obtain heavily discounted land and thereby build even more generational wealth while relegating the poorest to a likely cycle of continued impoverishment.

Furthermore, the use of Settlement Associations enabled the creation of ethnically and economically segregated homestead tracts since only association members could obtain lots in designated tracts. The Public Land Commissioners and Governor Dole had the power to control which lands were offered to these associations and the provided infrastructure, allowing them to privilege or disenfranchise groups of homesteaders according to personal or political preferences. The Republic of Hawai‘i government implemented these mechanisms together to enable the creation of utopic communities of white American yeomen.

This chapter ends with reviewing subsequent land legislation through Act 61 and the Organic Act, along with other initiatives leveraged to transform the physical, social, and economic landscape of Hawai‘i. Through these measures, the Public Land Commissioner(s),

Dole, and his successors were the elite group that decided which lands were homesteaded, determined how much the land was sold for, and hand-selected who the homesteaders were for decades. They controlled this process, which enabled them to disenfranchise and supplant Hawai'i's Indigenous people by bringing white Americans to resettle and remake the islands where Native Hawaiians lived for thousands of years.

CHAPTER 4: TERRITORIAL HOMESTEADING IN HAWAI‘I

The Administration is desirous of settling its public lands with the American farmer and his family, and to that end, will make the terms of purchase, residence and improvements as easy as possible, so that the complying with all conditions will not be a hardship.¹²⁸

--Josh Tucker, Republic of Hawai‘i Public Land Commissioner, to
Prospective Homesteader in Colorado, July 10, 1908

Introduction

The Territorial homesteading program, as created by the Land Act, systematically privileged white Americans as homesteaders while Native Hawaiians were disenfranchised. White yeoman standards of agriculture, which obliterated Kānaka Maoli relationships to ‘āina, replaced the values of waiwai (wealth) and momona (fertile, rich) with small-crop farming for profit. The quote above reflects the racist latitude the Republic of Hawai‘i government gave white Americans to facilitate remaking Hawai‘i through settler expansion. The law transformations of the Land Act of 1895 and the U.S. illegal annexation of Hawai‘i via the Newlands Resolution of 1898 signed by U.S. President McKinley paved the way for settling the stolen public land frontier with white Americans. Governor Dole, and the Republic’s land commissioner, Edward S. Boyd, shared the vision of American family farmers settling in Hawai‘i, evidenced by the conclusion to his department report in which he stated, “This office will use its best endeavors in every way possible to encourage by literature and otherwise the migration of American farmers.”¹²⁹ Tucker’s and Boyd’s words reflect the Republic’s goals of settler colonialism, which “focuses on the permanent occupation of a territory and removal of [I]ndigenous peoples with the express purpose of building an ethnically distinct national community.”¹³⁰ Settler colonialism works by displacing Indigenous people, dispossessing them of their lands, and removing their sovereignty by establishing a permanent settler society on Indigenous lands. Such transitions are genocidal in purpose—seeking the removal of the native

¹²⁸ Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, “Letter to Prospective Homesteader William Sipple,” July 10, 1908.

¹²⁹ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 23.

¹³⁰ Bonds and Inwood, “Beyond White Privilege,” 716.

and his way of life. In this way, “settler colonialism as a project converts the foreign into the domestic and the exotic into a homeland.”¹³¹ Additionally, it is essential to recognize that settler colonization is not a historic event at a particular time but “an enduring structure requiring constant maintenance in an effort to disappear indigenous populations.”¹³² These settler-colonial structures continue to dispossess Native Hawaiians to this day, as military cost of living adjustments and the conversion of units to AirBNBs (to name a few phenomena) generate exorbitant rental rates, home purchase prices, and drive up the overall cost of living.

This chapter expands on the Land Act’s white supremacist homesteading program, which privileged white Americans over Native Hawaiians as landowners. It examines the execution of this initiative over three decades and three different governmental structures, the Provisional Government, the Republic of Hawai‘i, and the Territory of Hawai‘i. The homesteading policies of the first three Governors of Hawai‘i, all appointed by the U.S. President, are detailed in this chapter, along with the conflict that homesteading represented for Hawai‘i plantations, the economic engine of post-coup Hawai‘i. Homesteading in Hawai‘i was advertised across the U.S., explicitly targeting white Americans through the lure of cheap land in Hawai‘i. Discussion of the Hawai‘i Promotion Committee will follow, revealing that the homesteads were just part of a larger project to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-privileged landscape alongside the build-up of tourism and militarism.

A case study of two homesteading tracts in Ha‘ikū, Maui, follows. Called an “American Colony,” these tracts featured over two thousand contiguous acres exclusively settled with white Americans. This example shows how the leveraging of the 1895 Land Act to create a white utopic community complete with its own school, church, and branch of the Honolulu library.

Finally, the chapter closes with a look at the longevity of the homesteads formed during these three decades and the implications of who ultimately benefitted from this program. The usurpers believed the Americans lured here with low land prices and the ability to live exclusively in homogenous communities would strengthen the political voting base of the oligarchy. This manipulation of demographics facilitated Dole and his successors’ continued political control by reducing the voting power of Native Hawaiians, who at the time still

¹³¹ Knight Lozano, *California and Hawai‘i Bound*, 2.

¹³² Bonds and Inwood, “Beyond White Privilege,” 716; Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.”

represented forty percent of the registered voters. Shifting the territory demographics could also give the haole government a fighting chance against the thousands of Asian natural-born citizens coming of voting age over the coming decades. These processes excluded Native Hawaiians, ultimately supplanted by white Americans, and shifted the demographic balance, making them minorities in their homelands.

Promotion of Hawai'i's Territorial Homesteads

Earnest promotion of the cheap land available to American settlers began in the early 1900s. The Provisional, the Republic of Hawai'i, and now the Territory of Hawai'i governments used U.S. newspapers to further their political goals by submitting articles for publication to sway the American public and leadership. The usurpers' government authored and sent these newspaper articles, resulting in anti-Kanaka Maoli articles published over decades across America. A series of such reports were run in newspapers on the West Coast of the United States under Governor Frear's supervision. In May 1908, the *Los Angeles Herald* ran a special series focusing on the current political and economic situation in Hawai'i. This series included articles about Hawai'i's Japanese population, the sugar industry, and Hawai'i as a tourist destination. An article titled "Hawaii Wants Homeseekers" was also a part of the series and promoted Americans settling in Hawai'i. A quote and image appear below:

"The small farmer is wanted in Hawaii, and the government has some 70,000 acres which it stands ready to hand out to settlers who will come this way...On the island of Oahu there was a tract of 15,000 acres of land which was believed to be without value. A colony of fourteen families from Southern California through they saw a living in it and bought it for a song, settling on it themselves. That was seven years ago...That land now sells for \$200 an acre and shows an annual profit that justifies the price."¹³³

¹³³ Humanities, "Los Angeles Herald. [Microfilm Reel] (Los Angeles [Calif.]) 1900-1911, May 16, 1908, Image 4."

OF WORLDWIDE INTEREST

HAWAII WANTS HOMESEEEKERS

BY FREDERIC J. HASKIN

HONOLULU, T. H.—There are some 200,000 acres of fertile and desirable land in Hawaii as yet uncultivated. Most of it is not in use at all, and the remainder is used for pasturage. More than half of it is owned by private parties, the remainder being government land. The small farmer is wanted in Hawaii, and the government has some 50,000 acres which it stands ready to hand out to settlers who will cover this gap.

Most of this land is high and dry, in the 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea level, where the rains are at winter and the burning heat of summer are alike unknown. It is a region of perpetual spring.

Perhaps very little of this land is available for the production of sugar. A farming industry that raises one acre of material worth \$25,000 each year, while the entire territory is available for sugar, is not likely to overlook any other crops. Facilities for further expansion, that part of Hawaii which is cultivated already produces enough to make it the greatest exporting country of the size in the world. But sugar is not the only thing that Hawaii can produce.

Especially not profitable to grow elsewhere and which favors them, and the Hawaiian product is equal to anything produced in the West Indies or elsewhere. It is not too much to say that the pineapple may in itself bring about civilization for our mid-Pacific possessions.

On the island of Oahu there was a tract of 1,000 acres of land which was believed to be without value. A settler of fortune from the southern California thought they saw a living in it and bought it for a song, settling as a planter.

That was seven years ago. Puffer after Oahu followed on a crop that grew without crops. At last they tried pineapple with the result that their disappointment was soon forgotten. That land now sells for \$100 an acre and shows an annual profit that justifies the price. Hawaii now has over 200 acres in pineapples and the industry is so much a profitable footing that in a few years there will be no best land areas under restriction.

Large areas of good land are available and the markets of the United States take all that is grown and then call for more. Pineapples usually have three crops a year. The first crop averages ten tons to the acre. The cost of production ranges from \$10 to \$15 per acre and the fruit is sold at its commercial price from \$2 to \$3 per ton. The farmer gets that goes to the market, and it is worth as high as \$200 per acre. Although this is a strikingly low "return" on investment, it is a return with what it promises to be, even now the annual profit alone is a good fair return of hard cash into the islands.

Pineapple grows in Hawaii in great abundance, but as yet there is little market for them. Pineapples do not thrive well, but there is a ready market for all that can be produced. The agricultural experiment station at Honolulu finds that a species of rot holds down the yield. The station is trying to get the laboratory on the sugar pineapple interested in the growing of this variety. It is pointed out that if the farming of them between, including the shipping, can be brought to the point of giving their attention to this work, it will very materially augment the income of the household and lead to a possibility in the future. It is hoped that attending this work will be made a side issue here, the American has to make a side issue on the farms of the United States.

Hawaii does not thrive very well. In Hawaii they have a little better known as the rubber bag which is as fatal to insects, mites, and diseases, and is in use in Africa. The expert, recent studies in trying to produce more that will be true to this deadly disease.

RICE, COPPER AND RUBBER AMONG CHIEF INDUSTRIES YIELDING LARGE PROFITS

Rice offers an opportunity for money making. A Chinaman was asked whether he made any money growing rice. He replied that he grew two crops a year. One paid the expenses of both and he put the money from the second crop into his pocket—only the Chinaman think out it quite that way.

Copper, growing promises to be a profitable industry in the future. Speculators have been made which show that a grade of sea island cotton can be grown which compares favorably with that of South Carolina, both in grade and in yield. A Hawaiian cotton has been found which compares in Hawaii and yields excellent returns. Cotton is the poor man's crop in Hawaii.

It grows in the high, cool regions of the islands. It does not require expensive machinery other to grow or to prepare for market. Better done in detestation with sun, but rather improved. It is a cash crop and can be grown against as much as a staple crop reaches the market. The yield is high and the return good, while the costs themselves are completely free from disease.

Twelve acres of cotton land have been known to yield twenty tons of cotton, although a good crop is a thousand pounds an acre. One man can attend to twenty acres, except at picking time. Pickers are paid 50 cents per hundredweight of cotton brought in the field. Women are the best pickers and can pick about 20 pounds a day. Children are employed in picking the lower branches, so that standing is almost eliminated. The annual crop is valued at about a third of a million dollars, some 10,000 acres being devoted to it. Nearly all of Hawaii's cotton goes to the mainland in the United States, the greater part being used on the Pacific coast. It is said to be a type and has a very different flavor from the heavy South American cotton which sells much better in the States.

The rubber industry in Hawaii is still in the experimental stage, but experts believe the opportunities for profit are going to be large. Preliminary experiments by the government indicate a high yield from even young trees. Some 40,000 rubber trees have been planted in the Islands, and still other plantations are being established. The increasing demands and the increasing supply of rubber in the commercial world makes the price of this commodity a very attractive proposition to the planter. But rubber growing is a business which requires a knowledge of the soil and which yields slow returns. It is not likely to be the small farmer's.

Experiments with tobacco show that tobacco which matures favorably with the soil that Cuba and Brazil have to offer can be grown on Hawaiian soil. Hawaiian tobacco can come into the United States duty free, and therefore has an enormous advantage over that of Cuba and other countries. With this advantage, and an equally good grade of land to offer, Hawaii tobacco growers certainly stand to win big returns from their tobacco.

FARMERS ARE NEEDED, BUT MONEY IS NECESSARY TO TIDE OVER LONG WAIT

Hawaii is not the place for the moneyless man who expects to grow rich by tilling soil. The farmer in these islands faces a very different condition from those he encounters in the other fields of Texas or the corn fields of Iowa. This is a semi-tropical country and the methods of cultivation differ widely from even as our climate differs from that of Hawaii.

The settler who comes here must have enough money to buy his land, to employ his labor, and to live from year to year while waiting for his first crop. There are a hundred things he will have to do which require that he have a good money supply with the maintenance of a balance in the bank.

On the other hand, he who comes here with the necessary capital and the required patience finds a market here an opportunity that is probably not equal to any spot on the globe. And if he is a citizen of the United States he will receive a welcome from the government here that will warm the rocks of his heart.

Hawaii needs farmers, she must have American citizens, she must have that conquering blood to which our western frontier and institutions have yielded their incomes of soil and gold and silver. In the language of Governor Young: "The policy of small landed proprietorship and diversified industries are not necessarily antagonistic to the prosperity of the sugar industry."

Possibly neither big business operations, large and small, conducted more generally under corporate forms, but smaller farmers are their own masters more liberally or with less abuse of capitalist power. The sugar industry is that done which directly or indirectly the territory and its people derive their main support. But it will be conceded that the territory should not keep all its eggs in one basket—especially when that basket's contents are threatened by probable tariff revision. The high income of these islands requires that it be people as far as may be by small landed proprietors.

Not even a solid backbone of the best sugar interests of the northwest can protect Hawaiian from seeing the shadow of tariff revision. Philippine free trade and Cuban cooperation, those of the Hawaiians are already at work making their eggs in baskets other than the one of sugar. They have issued the word and opened the door of opportunity for the American who has youth, industry and a few thousand dollars. All who desire to have these come into health and happiness, the whole living in a veritable paradise, should consider the future of their little island with Hawaii.

Copyright, 1908, by Frederic J. Haskin. Tomorrow—A Teacher's Paradise.



F. J. HASKIN

Figure 5. Article, Hawaii Wants Homeseekers. 1908, The Maui News.

This article is similar to others in the United States, each promising cheap land to white Americans willing to move to Hawai‘i. Many of these articles warn that settlers should have some working capital but promise excellent agricultural yields after a few years. This warning further refines the kind of American settler the government was looking for - ones that already had some wealth.

The settler who comes here must have enough money to buy his land, to employ his labor, and to live from two to four years while waiting for his first crop...he who comes here with the necessary capital and the required patience finds awaiting him an opportunity that is probably not equaled by any spot on the globe. And if he be a citizen of the United States he will receive a welcome from his compatriots here that will warm the cycles of his heart...Hawaii neds (sic) farmers. She must have American citizens. She wants some of that conquering blood to which our western prairies and mountains have yielded their treasures of mine and field and forest.¹³⁴

While the articles pointed out the need for capital and that Hawai‘i is looking for farmers, the successive governments of Hawai‘i never required any farming experience to qualify as a homesteader. The Territorial government leaders were looking for white American bodies to build up their political base, evidenced by the fact that all “qualifications of a homesteader as provided by law...were entirely political rather than agricultural” until 1952.¹³⁵ The reason for using homesteading to settle Americans in Hawai‘i was simple - homesteading was familiar to the United States government leaders and the public, especially the readers in Western America since that was how the U.S. West was populated, with Native Americans ultimately supplanted by whites. The above excerpt explicitly calls out this territorial violence, seeking “conquering blood” in future homesteaders—revealing the genocidal purpose of homesteading in the American West and Hawai‘i.

These articles resulted in correspondence from prospective homesteaders sent to the Territorial government asking for more information. The mail from prospective homesteaders gathered for this project was from people in the medical field, stock traders, tax assessors, merchants, and many other non-agricultural vocations.

¹³⁴ Humanities, “Los Angeles Herald. [Microfilm Reel] (Los Angeles [Calif.]) 1900-1911, May 11, 1908, Image 4,” 4.

¹³⁵ Luter, *Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961*, 5.

The Hawaii Promotion Committee, created in 1903 to promote Hawai‘i during this period, is best known for promoting tourism. The government funded the organization with a fifteen-thousand-dollar legislative appropriation and support from the Honolulu Merchants Association. It lives on today as the Hawai‘i Visitors and Convention Bureau, but it did not just foster tourism.¹³⁶ Besides advertising Hawai‘i to prospective tourists, it promoted militarism and immigrating white American settlers to island shores. Their three goals, Hawai‘i as a tourist resort, a place for homes, and the strategic center of the Pacific, are stated on the Hawai‘i Promotion Committee’s letterhead, which appears below from 1908.¹³⁷



Figure 6. Letterhead, Hawai‘i Promotion Committee. Hawai‘i State Archives.

The Hawai‘i Promotion Committee’s three-pronged approach to the larger settler colonial project was designed to execute all three transformations concurrently, which guarded against the adverse effects of the possible failure of any one prong. This committee assisted the Republic government by replying to the myriad of letters from prospective homesteaders that resulted from the government’s newspaper article submissions. However, the governor also personally responded to these potential future residents who could increase the small percentage of haole living in Hawai‘i then. Quotes from correspondence between the Governor, Public Land Commissioner, the HPC, and prospective homesteaders appear below. These show the Territorial government’s pointed efforts at luring Anglo-Americans to Hawai‘i.

A letter sent from Governor Frear to a prospective homesteader who was interested in settling Hawai‘i land along with a group of twenty-four others states, “It is the desire of the

¹³⁶ The Hawai‘i Promotion Committee’s role and importance proliferated, as evidenced by its increased budget of \$100,000 less than twenty years after its conception.

¹³⁷ Territory of Hawai‘i, “Hawai‘i Promotion Committee Letterhead.”

Territorial administration to encourage the settlement of Americans from the mainland on the public lands as much as possible,” clearly indicating the government initiative of using the public lands to settle Americans.¹³⁸ Page three of this letter hints at the discounts that American settlers would receive, “Lands, in general, are of high value here, but lands are disposed of for homesteads usually at only a fraction of their real value, say, only a fourth or a third of the amount that they would bring at auction for cash.”¹³⁹ Other letters quoted prices as low as 17-20% of appraised value. Frear also explains settlement associations on the last pages of his letter, images of which appear below:

There is a fifth form of homesteading...called the settlement association plan by which six or more persons may form an association and then they alone select neighboring lots in a particular tract. The object of this is to enable Americans to come from the mainland and form little congenial communities by themselves, and not run the risk of being scattered among all sorts of other peoples. This method practically gives a monopoly to the persons in the association, no others being permitted to come in...If a number of Americans from the mainland desire to take up land under that method, I shall be very glad to let them do so, and, indeed, give them the pick of the public lands in the whole Territory. There are two or three places – particularly one at Haiku on the island of Maui and another at Kapaa on the island of Kauai – which seem especially suited for an American colony.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ “Letter Governor Frear to Joseph Mann,” January 26, 1911.

¹³⁹ “Letter Governor Frear to Joseph Mann.”..

¹⁴⁰ “Letter Governor Frear to Joseph Mann.”

I am sending to you, under another cover, a copy of my last Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, a copy of a special edition of the San Francisco Chronicle published last July, on Hawaii, a copy of our last advertisement of a drawing for public lands, copies of the four kinds of homestead agreements, a copy of the land laws and a number of pamphlets and folders of the Hawaii Promotion Committee, from all of which I think you will obtain much of the information which you desire.

You will note provisions in the forms of homestead agreements which are probably new to you and will note certain restrictions on alienation of homesteaded lands prescribed in the recent amendments of our land laws by Act of Congress. These are designed to prevent fake homesteading or homesteading for purposes of speculation. Lands, in general, are of high value here, but lands are disposed of for homesteads usually at only a fraction of their real value, say, only a fourth or a third of the amount that they would bring at auction for cash. There is a fifth form of homesteading, which, however, is hardly a different form but is rather a special method of homesteading under two of the other forms. It is called the settlement association plan by which six or more persons may form an association and then they alone select neighboring lots in a particular tract. The object of this is to enable Americans to come from the mainland and form little congenial communities by themselves, and not run the risk of being scattered among

Figure 7. Letter, Governor Frear to Prospective Homesteader, p.3. Hawai'i State Archives.

all sorts of other peoples. This method practically gives a monopoly to the persons in the association, no others being permitted to come in. Under this method the members of the association may take up land under either the right of purchase lease method or the cash freehold method. During the last three years I have not opened any lands under the settlement association plan, although that has been the plan under which most applications have been filed. The reason is that the applications were made by people here who had no special relations to each other but desired to take homesteads under that form simply to exclude others when there was no reason why all should not have an equal chance, but if a number of Americans from the mainland desire to take up land under that method, I shall be very glad to let them do so, and, indeed, give them the pick of the public lands in the whole Territory. There are two or three places--particularly one at Haiku on the island of Maui and another at Kapaa on the island of Kauai--which seem especially suited for an American colony.

I would suggest that you or one of your number, or perhaps more than one, come here first and look over the situation and judge for yourself. In a matter of such importance to you, it would hardly be safe to rely upon statements or the judgment of others.

Respectfully yours,

Inclosures under
another cover.

Governor of Hawaii.

Figure 8. Letter, Governor Frear to Prospective Homesteader, p.4. Hawai'i State Archives.

While the U.S. has historically been uncomfortable calling their imperial conquests colonies, this was not the case for Governor Frear. Frear uses the label 'American Colony' to describe land settled by white Americans. The term colony masks Hawai'i's status as a recognized sovereign nation-state during the coup. As such, Hawai'i could never be a colony of the United States – instead, Hawai'i was belligerently occupied by the U.S., a situation that continues today. Despite this, Governor Frear and the government used this term repeatedly to describe certain homestead tracts given to American settlers exclusively.

There are dozens of letters from prospective homesteaders as responses to articles submitted to U.S. newspapers authored by leaders of the Republic of Hawai‘i and territorial governments. There are also dozens of letters answering the questions posed in these letters and printed material describing the homesteading program in Hawai‘i and the requirements to apply. While these prospective homesteaders were located all over the United States, the enticements from the territorial government were the same: cheap, high-quality land with the ability to segregate your homestead tract, all while living in paradise, a formerly savage place inhabited by native brutes, who have been tamed and civilized by white Americans. An article in the *Los Angeles Herald* on May 11, 1908, expresses this sentiment. The author explains the political threat along with the approach of the territorial government expected to address the dangers posed by population demographics:

So far as politics is concerned, Hawaii is already Americanized. The task now is to bring the American standard and to keep it there. The overwhelming majority of Japanese and Chinese population makes this task a difficult one... The oncoming of the vast numbers of Orientals of Hawaiian birth who will be entitled to vote is a danger which must be faced. The policy of the American party is to encourage the immigration to Hawaii of American farmers who will take up small homesteads and become citizens, to form a nucleus for a middle class to stand between great King Sugar and the semi-servile laborers of the cane fields.

When the news came that it was practically certain that congress would appropriate money to improve Pearl Harbor there naturally was rejoicing. But it is to be doubted if the Americans generally could guess the burden of the self-congratulatory speeches. It was that the Peral (sic) harbor work would bring two or three thousand Americans to Honolulu to aid in “Americanizing” the territory.

Thinking men in Honolulu rejoice because the United States is at last awakening to the value of Hawaii as a military outpost... because they hope it will mean a garrison of two or three regiments of American troops. “If they put a big body of troops here it will mean that some of them will take homesteads and settle here when their term of enlistment expires.” Truly it is inspiring to see how every little thing that will aid them in making citizens of the genuine American pattern.¹⁴¹

The author of this article mentions the American party that is encouraging the immigration of white American farmers that will form the basis of a middle class between the sugar growers and indentured laborers in the social and economic hierarchy of Hawai‘i. This quote clarifies the main reasons for homesteading – bringing the ‘American standard’ to Hawai‘i to stay. Furthermore, Americanizing Hawai‘i is a goal that military troops stationed in Hawai‘i could

¹⁴¹ Humanities, “Los Angeles Herald. [Microfilm Reel] (Los Angeles [Calif.]) 1900-1911, May 11, 1908, Image 4.”

accomplish, reflecting another of the initiatives working to increase the American populous in Hawai‘i. Articles like this were published throughout the U.S. to lure their intended settlers - white American yeomen to Hawai‘i to “Americanize” the occupied territory—specifically as a new generation of Asian voters from natural-born plantation workers came of age and could question the haole oligarchy.

Early Republic of Hawai‘i Homesteading Results

This section is separated chronologically to help the reader discern how changes in land laws may have influenced homesteading results over the first five years after the land act.

1896-1897

After passing the 1895 Land Act and its homesteading programs, the three Public Land Commissioners began implementing the statutes. The following images detail the results of land taken for the two years following the act, with figures coming from the Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands for the Period 1896-1897.¹⁴²

Table 4. Land Taken 1896-97 Under Family Farm Provisions of the Land Act of 1895

Land Taken Up In 1896–1897 Under Family Farm Provisions Of the Land Act of 1895															
	Right of Purchase Leases			Cash Freeholds			Special Agreements			Homesteads			Olaa Lots		
	No.	Acres	Value	No.	Acres	Value	No.	Acres	Value	No.	Acres	Value	No.	Acres	Value
First Land District (Hilo and Puna, Hawaii)	132	6,007	\$44,167	14	564	\$3,493	31	2,255	\$13,143	-	-	-	70	10,428	\$44,395
Second Land District (Hamakua and Kohala, Hawaii)	78	3,018	\$24,426	4	144	\$360	19	1,279	\$10,691	9	47	-	-	-	-
Third Land District (Kona and Kau, Hawaii)	10	429	\$1,824	1	8	\$95	4	164	\$3,820	29	466	-	-	-	-
Fourth Land District (Maui, Molokai, and Lanai)	46	3,907	\$10,504	-	-	-	16	1,525	\$6,330	19	395	-	-	-	-
Fifth Land District (Oahu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	26	-	-	-	-
Total	266	13,361	\$80,921	19	716	\$3,948	70	5,233	\$33,984	67	934	-	-	-	-

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1896-1897.

¹⁴² Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 9.

Table 5. Average Size of Family Farm Tracts 1896-97

**Average Size of Family Farm
Tracts Leased or Sold in 1896-97
Under the Terms of the Land Act of 1895**

<u>Type of Transaction</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Average Size</u>
Right of Purchase Lease	266	50 acres
Cash Freeholds	19	37 acres
Special Agreements	70	74 acres
Homesteads	67	13 acres
Olaa Lots	70	148 acres
All Transactions	492	67 acres

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1896-1897.

Table 6. Nationality of Applicants and Respective Acreage Taken 1896-97

**Nationality of Applicants &
Respective Areas Taken Up
in 1896-97 Under Terms of Right
of Purchase Leases, Cash Freeholds,
Special Sales Agreements & Homesteads**

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Holdings</u>	<u>Acres</u>
American	79	5,520
Portuguese	106	4,144
Native Hawaiians	129	3,873
Hawaiian Born	50	3,120
British	20	1,256
Russian	9	794
German	13	595
Norwegian	11	586
Japanese	2	137
French	2	189
Italian	1	20
Total	422	20,234

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1896-1897.

According to these figures, there were just two Asians that leased or purchased public land under any land act provisions. The anti-Asian sentiment due to the fear of future political power once there were Asian natural-born citizens of voting age is likely the reason for this.

It is essential to consider that each of the 129 Native Hawaiians listed would have had to recognize the Republic of Hawai‘i as the legitimate government, renouncing Queen Lili‘uokalani and her continued claims to the throne. This support is possible despite Native Hawaiians’ overwhelming support of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Taking into account that there were 39,504 Native Hawaiians in Hawai‘i, the one hundred twenty-nine that were willing to sign a declaration of allegiance to the usurpers would have represented a minuscule percentage (just 0.3%) of the Native Hawaiian population at the time. Also, despite the more significant number of Native Hawaiians, Kanaka Maoli received far less acreage than the Americans or Portuguese (79 and 106, respectively). This allocation might reflect the greater access to capital that white Americans and Portuguese could leverage toward land acquisition.

The Hawaiian-born category included non-Native Hawaiians whose parents had come to Hawai‘i before birth. As an example, the children of missionaries, many of whom held dual citizenship with Hawai‘i and the United States, would have been included in this number. Ultimately, more than twenty thousand acres of land were leased or purchased for family farming in 1896-1897, a promising start towards Dole’s goal.

1898-1899

Land leased or purchased during 1898-1899 was roughly half of the two years prior. The smaller numbers were due to inadequate appropriations provided by the legislature of the Republic for survey work and road building, which slowed the opening of additional land for family farming.¹⁴³ The political climate during these years was still fraught with turmoil, with the vast majority of Native Hawaiians still supporting Queen Lili‘uokalani’s protest to the United States government, as evidenced by the Kū‘ē Petitions that were collected and submitted at the end of 1897. Just one hundred one Native Hawaiians signed the declaration of allegiance and received land in 1898-1899, representing 0.25% of the Native Hawaiian population of 39,656¹⁴⁴. The percentages of which ethnicities acquired the most land were similar to the prior two years.

¹⁴³ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 12.

¹⁴⁴ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 25.

One will also note that once again, despite more significant numbers of registrants, Hawaiians received less land than Americans.

Table 7. Land Taken 1898-99 Under Family Farm Provisions of the Land Act of 1895

**Land Taken Up In
1898-1899 Under Family Farm
Provisions Of the Land Act of 1895**

	<u>Right of Purchase Leases</u>			<u>Cash Freeholds</u>			<u>Special Agreements</u>			<u>Homesteads</u>			<u>Olaa Lots</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Value</u>
First Land District (Hilo and Puna, Hawaii)	87	5,229.24	\$38,601.13	-	-	-	15	893.70	\$10,497.80	-	-	-	94	12,121	\$41,861
Second Land District (Hamakua and Kohala, Hawaii)	8	268.25	\$2,533.69	4	67.82	\$169.54	31	550.68	\$3,386.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Third Land District (Kona and Kau, Hawaii)	4	85.65	\$277.60	-	-	-	4	184.23	\$460.25	10	228.63	-	-	-	-
Fourth Land District (Maui, Molokai, etc.)	2	377	\$688.22	-	-	-	3	251.96	\$3045.00	40	414.89	-	-	-	-
Fifth Land District (Oahu)	13	1,268	\$5,451.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.79	-	-	-	-
Sixth Land District (Kauai)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	114	7,228.14	\$47,531.64	4	67.82	\$169.54	53	1,880.57	\$17,389.05	51	646.31	-	-	-	-

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1898-1899.

Table 8. Average Size of Family Farm Tracts 1898-99

**Average Size of Family Farm
Tracts Leased or Sold in 1898-99
Under the Terms of the Land Act of 1895**

<u>Type of Transaction</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Average Size</u>
Right of Purchase Lease	114	63 acres
Cash Freeholds	4	17 acres
Special Agreements	53	35 acres
Homesteads	51	12 acres
Olaa Lots	94	128 acres
All Transactions	316	69 acres

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1898-1899.

Table 9. Nationality of Applicants and Respective Acreage Taken 1898-99

**Nationality of Applicants &
Respective Areas Taken Up
in 1898–99 Under Terms of Right
of Purchase Leases, Cash Freeholds,
Special Sales Agreements & Homesteads**

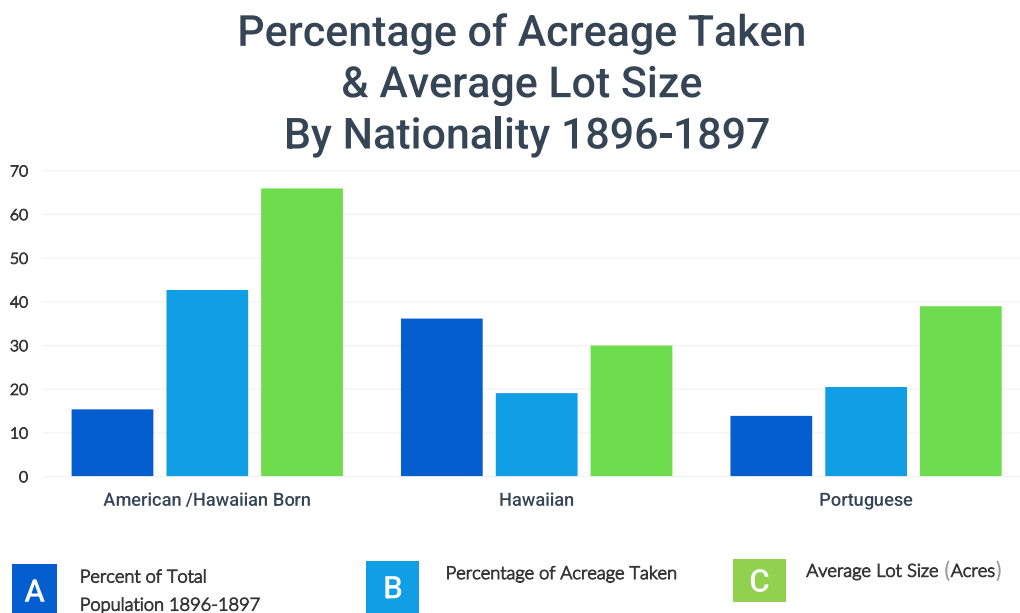
<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Holdings</u>	<u>Acres</u>
American	60	4,563.58
Hawaiian	101	2,629.18
Portuguese	37	974.97
German	9	544.73
British	8	513.59
Russian	4	347.04
Swede	1	111.00
Norwegian	1	90.30
Japanese	1	48.45
Total	222	9,822.84

Source: Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1898-1899.

The 1895 Land Act was in effect for five years, during which more than eight hundred Republic citizens leased or purchased more than forty thousand acres of land. When analyzing the figures provided by the Public Land Commission for the years 1896-1899 (while the 1895 Land Act provisions were in place), Native Hawaiians acquired the most holdings, comprised of 999-year homestead leases, Right of Purchase Leases, and Cash Freeholds. They received 129 parcels in the years 1896-1897 and 101 parcels in the years 1898-1899. The Hawaiian-born category (likely children of missionaries and other early immigrants) received 50 parcels. Americans received 79 and 60 lots, respectively. The third highest group was the Portuguese, which obtained 106 and 37 properties. This data makes it look like Native Hawaiians loved the program and took advantage of it much more frequently than other groups. It also makes the program look balanced in terms of the ethnic background of the homesteaders. While these figures do not distinguish which program (999-Year Homestead, RPL, or Cash Freehold) was utilized by which ethnic group, we can ascertain the average lot sizes. The average lot size for

Native Hawaiians was 30 acres and 26 acres, respectively. The Hawaiian-born category average was 50 acres. Americans' averages were 69.9 acres and 76 acres, respectively. The Portuguese averages were 39 acres and 26.4 acres.

The Public Land Commissioners had good reason to represent their data in this way since the Republic was still pushing toward annexation by the United States. If and when that happened, their land policies could come under scrutiny. The charts provided make the homesteading program look equitable and fair. However, this depiction proves different with the addition of population demographic percentages.



*Figure 9. Percentage of Acreage Taken & Average Lot Size By Nationality. Schmitt, Historical Statistics; Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1896-1897.*¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Note: As indicated in the text, Hawaiian Born are early white foreigners such as children of the missionaries.

Table 10. Percentages of Quantity, Size, and Acreage of Lots by Ethnicity 1896-97

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>% of Population 1896 Census</u>	<u>Quantity of Lots Taken</u>	<u>% of Lots Taken</u>	<u>Average Lot Size 1896-1897</u>	<u>% of Acreage Taken 1896-1897</u>
American	2.8	79	18.7	69.9	27.3
Hawaiian	36.2	129	30.6	30	19.1
Hawaiian Born	12.6	50	11.8	62	15.4
British	2.1	20	4.7	63	6.2
German	1.3	13	3.8	45.8	2.9
Russian	1.3	9	2.1	88.2	3.9
Portuguese	13.9	106	25.1	39	20.5
Swede	No Data	Category Not Included	0	Category Not Included	0
Norwegian	0.3	11	2.6	53.3	2.9
Japanese	22.4	2	0.5	68.5	0.7
French	0.09	2	0.5	94.5	0.9
Italian	No Data	1	0.2	20	0.1

Sources: Schmitt, *Historical Statistics*; Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1896 -1897.

Adding the population demographics reveals that in 1896-1897, American homesteaders, representing just 2.8% of the population, obtained 27.3% of the total land acreage. They also acquired 18.7% of the lots with an average lot size of 69.9 acres. During the same period, Native Hawaiian homesteaders, representing 36.2% of the population, obtained just 19.1% of the total land acreage. They acquired 30.6% of the total lots taken, but their average lot size was just 30 acres, less than half of what white Americans received. The Hawaiian-born homesteaders, likely children of missionaries and other early immigrants, comprised 12.6% of the population and received 15.4% of the total land acreage. They also acquired 11.8% of the number of lots taken, with an average lot size of 62 acres. Portuguese homesteaders, who represented 13.9% of the population, obtained 20.5% of the total homestead acreage. They also acquired 25.1% of the lots taken with an average lot size of just 20.5 acres, less than a third of what the American and Hawaiian Born homesteaders received.

The data is similar for the 1898-1899 time period. American homesteaders, representing less than 5.5% of the population (a growth from the prior report), obtained 46.5% of the total land acreage.¹⁴⁶ They also acquired 27% of the lots with an average lot size of 76 acres. During

¹⁴⁶ The 5.5% figure represents all Caucasians living in Hawai'i in 1900. The 1900 census categories were Caucasian: Portuguese and Caucasian: Other. I used the Caucasian: Other category figures to arrive at this percentage, which was undoubtedly higher than the percentage of Americans.

the same period, Native Hawaiian homesteaders, representing 25.8% of the population, obtained 26.8% of the total land acreage. They acquired 45.4% of the total lots taken, but their average lot size was just 26 acres, roughly one-third of what the Americans got. Portuguese homesteaders, who represented 11.9% of the population, obtained 9.9% of the total land acreage. They also acquired 16.7% of the number of lots taken with an average lot size of just 26.4 acres, about the same as what the Native Hawaiians received and roughly one-third of what the American homesteaders received.

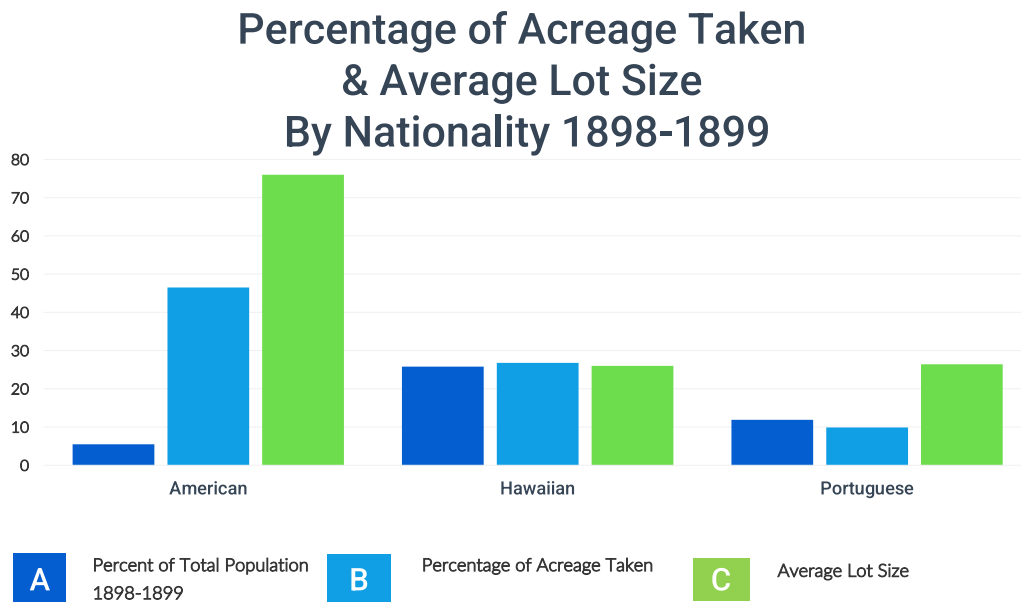


Figure 10. Percentage of Acreage Taken & Average Lot Size By Nationality. Schmitt, Historical Statistics; Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1898-1899.

Table 11. Percentages of Quantity, Size, and Acreage of Lots by Ethnicity 1898-99

Nationality	% of Population 1900 Census	Quantity of Lots Taken	% of Lots Taken	Average Lot Size 1898-1899	% of Acreage Taken 1898-1899
American	5.5	60	27	76	46.5
Hawaiian	25.8	101	45.4	26	26.8
Hawaiian Born	No Data	Category Not Included	0	0	0
British	No Data	8	3.6	64.2	5.2
German	No Data	9	4.1	68.1	5.5
Russian	No Data	4	1.8	86.8	3.5
Portuguese	11.9	37	16.7	26.4	9.9
Swede	No Data	1	0.5	111	1.1
Norwegian	No Data	1	0.5	90.3	0.9
Japanese	39.7	1	0.5	48.5	0.5
French	No Data	Category Not Included	0	0	0
Italian	No Data	Category Not Included	0	0	0

Sources: Schmitt, *Historical Statistics*; Report of the Commissioners of Public Lands 1898 -1899.

Analyzing the Republic of Hawai‘i government figures with the population demographics paints a different picture than the Public Land Commissioners reports. Ultimately, Americans and Hawaiian-born (early immigrants to Hawai‘i, including the children of missionaries) homesteaders received vastly larger lots than Native Hawaiians, who had the smallest average lot size for the entire period. The Portuguese homesteaders were not much better off than the Native Hawaiians, with the second-lowest average lot size over the same time frame. The reason for the smaller lot sizes obtained by the Native Hawaiians and Portuguese homesteaders could be that they used the 999-Year Homestead program more often than other ethnicities to acquire their land, which had much lower acreage limits compared to the other two programs.

In addition, American homesteaders’ land award acreage percentages were exponentially higher than they should have been as they represented less than five percent of the population during this time frame but received between one-quarter to almost one-half of the total acreage awarded. These figures support the success of the Republic’s stated goal of settling Americans in Hawai‘i, at least over the five years post-1895 Land Act. In addition, the land obtained by Americans was of higher classification and undervalued, providing a stronger incentive for settlement to the Republic’s desired demographic.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Kalaniana‘ole, “The Complaint of Hon. Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana‘ole Delegate in Congress from Hawaii, against the Administration of Hon. Walter F. Frear, Governor of Hawaii, Together with Specifications of the Charges Involved, as Furnished to the Honorable, the Secretary of the Interior,,” 10.

Early Homesteading in the Territory

Dole and the rest of the usurpers fashioned the land laws of the 1895 Land Act and the 1900 Organic Act to pave the way for a steady influx of Anglo-American immigrants while halting the ever-burgeoning sugar plantations. The limitation of large-scale land acquisition with forfeiture of any acreage over that limit and the ability of settlement associations to displace plantations on leased land facilitated and expedited Sanford Dole's vision of decades prior - American farmers as settlers that would grow the population of white political supporters of his government.

Governor Sanford Dole

The homesteading movement progressed during Dole's administration (1893-1903). While more than two hundred citizens took up land under the 1895 Land Act, the supposed homesteaders eventually abandoned many acres. Many were sold or leased to plantations despite the laws forbidding such action. This quote comes from a report written by William L. Hall:

Something had to be done with the homesteads. The most convenient thing was to turn them over to the sugar plantations, and this, in most cases was done. Thus the possibility of using the homestead law for extending the sugar plantations was demonstrated. The pressure for opening tracts, ostensibly for homesteads, has continued...In a great many, probably a majority of cases, the homesteader has sold first the timber and then the cleared land to the plantations, for the settler has found it more profitable to dispose of his homestead in this way and afterwards work for the plantation than to till the land.¹⁴⁸

Notably, the above passage points to the failure of homesteaders across Hawai'i, failing to make a living and often abandoning their homestead despite the persistent myth that settlerism provides development, civilization, and success.

Further, the plantations had figured out ways to circumvent the leased land size limitations aimed at them in the Organic Act. Leasing adjoining land in units under one thousand acres and forming additional companies that would qualify for another one thousand acres of land holdings was one of these workarounds, evidenced by the average land holdings of Hawai'i

¹⁴⁸ Bureau of Forestry, *The Forests of the Hawaiian Islands*.

plantations that grew from 2,462 acres in 1900 to 3,675 acres in 1910, despite the acquisition and leasing restrictions.¹⁴⁹

Governor George R. Carter

In 1903, U.S. President Roosevelt appointed George R. Carter to replace Dole as Governor of the Republic. Carter favored plantations over family farming while officially advocating for homesteading as an administration objective. This was not surprising, as he was a financier, organizer of the Hawaiian Trust Company, and director of C. Brewer and Company, one of Hawai'i's most prominent agricultural corporations. Throughout his administration, Carter did not take any real action toward his stated homesteading objectives, implying that his advocacy was merely a political statement. Carter's efforts also supported this, as he tried twice to remove the Organic Act's five-year restriction on leasing public land for agricultural use. He also recommended the elimination of the 1,000-acre ownership limitation. Carter also approved the controversial exchange of nearly forty thousand acres of prime agricultural land on Lāna'i for a few hundred acres of forest reserve land and several school sites on O'ahu. The land exchange was granted to a rancher named Charles Gay, who leased it to William Irwin, a business partner of the Spreckels sugar plantation that very day. Carter and the other transaction principals knew that Irwin financed Gay's purchase, and the lease likely was a way for Irwin to circumvent the one thousand-acre ownership limitation.¹⁵⁰ Throughout Governor Carter's term, he supported homesteading rhetorically, but his last Report of the Governor in 1907 finally revealed his attitude against it:

A radical change has been made in the administration of the land laws, with a view to preventing the disposition by sale or exchange of large tracts of government land to corporations or individuals and of small tracts to persons professing to be bona fide settlers, but who in reality seek land for purposes merely of speculation or investment. Lots for homesteads are disposed of in smaller areas upon easier terms of payment, but with increased requirements of residence and cultivation. Exchanges of arable country land for city property have in general ceased, as well as sales and exchange of large tracts of land supposed to be suitable only for inferior purposes when there is reason to believe that they may in time prove suitable for superior purposes.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 25.

¹⁵⁰ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii; Land Exchanges*, 14–21.

¹⁵¹ Frear, "Report of the Governor, 1907," 4–5.

Whether Governor Carter did not favor homesteading because of the disadvantages to plantations or suspected land speculation, he did little to push homesteading further than where Governor Dole had left it.

Governor Walter Francis Frear

President Roosevelt appointed Walter Francis Frear to succeed Governor Carter in 1907, and Frear immediately started changing homesteading laws. Governor Frear was a lawyer who served on the Provisional Government and the Republic of Hawai‘i Supreme Courts. While firmly supporting homesteading, he contended that the Land Act of 1895’s laws had allowed land speculators to benefit from Hawai‘i’s homesteading program through reselling or reassigning homestead acreage. He began to initiate amendments to the Territorial legislature in 1908, and his governor’s report of 1910 proposed the following:

As its principal feature, the Act makes long-desired and much needed changes in the land laws; it simplifies the administration of those laws and settles a number of important questions as to their meaning: it provides for giving to persons residing on public lands, under certain conditions, preference rights to obtain titles to their homes;...it places proper limitations on the power of selling, leasing, and exchanging public lands for other than homestead purposes. The most important changes in the land laws, however, consist in the provisions intended for the furtherance of homesteading. These require homesteads to be disposed of by drawings instead of at auctions or by standing in line, and permit the time limit for compliance with homestead conditions to be extended in proper cases. They confine the right to acquire homesteads to persons who are citizens and who have not already sufficient land for a homestead and they prevent aliens, corporations, and larger landholders from obtaining control of hereafter homesteaded lands at any time, whether before or after they have been patented.¹⁵²

This set of amendments tries to prevent plantations, large landowners, and Asians from obtaining lands used for homesteading, attempting to limit the long-term ownership rights of the homesteaders.

Governor Frear put forth additional public land law amendments in 1911, arguing that:

The land laws should be amended in several respects. Settlement associations should be permitted to take homesteads under special homestead agreements as well as under right-of-purchase leases and cash freehold. The special homestead agreement is the best form of agreement for the homesteading of improved and other highly valuable lands, and it is those kinds of lands that are most sought by settlement associations. The list of enumerated objects for which sales of public land may be made for other than homestead

¹⁵² Frear, “Report of the Governor, 1912,” 8–9.

purposes is too limited and should be extended to include other objects, such as hospitals, telegraph lines, etc., of a quasi-public nature...The provision that the proceeds of sales and leases of public lands shall be available for surveying and opening homesteads should be enlarged so that such proceeds may be available also for the construction of homestead roads.¹⁵³

Frear was attempting to solve some of the issues that had hampered homesteading in the past. Using the special homestead agreement, land recipients could obtain land with a combination of cash and credit, increasing the number of qualified people. Expanding purposes for public land sales and the earmarking of funds from the proceeds of public land sales and leases for more than surveying and opening homesteads would provide funding for badly needed infrastructure, a historic hindrance to the homesteading program. In addition, the inability of aliens, corporations, and large landowners to acquire homesteaded lands, whether before or after the issuance of the land patent, was another attempt to stop land speculation, which had been rampant.

Under the leadership of Governor Frear, homesteading continued, although less vigorously than one might have expected, given the effort he put forth to fortify homesteading laws. However, he did manage to oversee and approve a homestead on the North shore of Maui made of more than 2,200 contiguous acres. The next section of this chapter provides details of these homestead tracts, proclaimed an American colony by Frear and the territorial government.

Homesteading continued throughout the territorial period, limping through different governors' terms. Homesteading laws did not change much after the revision that Frear implemented in 1910. While his legislation provided controls to curb land speculation, there was little change in how the Public Land Commissioner implemented homesteads.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the laws stayed intact for the next four decades while speculation and settler colonialism continued.

The Ha'ikū Homesteads: An Attempt at an American Colony

In 1908 Hawai'i's Territorial government, under the leadership of Governor Frear, opened a homestead area consisting of more than 2,200 contiguous acres on the North shore of Maui. The Kuiaha-Pa'uwela and Kaupakulua homestead tracts in Ha'ikū later proclaimed "an

¹⁵³ Frear, "Report of the Governor, 1912," 9–10.

¹⁵⁴ Horwitz, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii*, 31.

American Colony” were opened using two Settlement Associations to create a segregated community of Anglo-Americans on first-class agricultural land.

Plantation Owner Provides Land

There was significant tension between sugar plantation owners and homesteading proponents due to the anti-plantation laws in the 1895 Land Act, Organic Act, and subsequent legislation. Still, these Maui homesteads demonstrated that not all plantation owners were against the small farming homesteading scheme. Haiku Sugar Company President H.P. Baldwin fully supported homesteading, as evidenced by his willingness to provide valuable agricultural land for the first tract of the Ha‘ikū homesteads in Kuiaha-Pa‘uwela via a land exchange. A territorial surveyor traveled to Maui in September 1908 to survey Baldwin’s lands, after which he authorized the exchange of 1,200 acres of this first-class agricultural Ha‘ikū land for 888 acres of land in ‘Ōma‘opio of public land. After the survey of both parcels, the government believed it was a fair exchange. However, Baldwin contended that the transaction should have been acre-for-acre. Ultimately, Baldwin and his company Directors accepted the proposal based on their commitment to settling white Americans in Hawai‘i. The land exchange was finalized on May 13, 1909.¹⁵⁵ A Territory of Hawai‘i map of the resulting Kuiaha-Pa‘uwela homestead tract appears below, dated 1909:¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ State of Hawai‘i Bureau of Conveyances, “Liber 318,” 1.

¹⁵⁶ Kananui, S.M.; Surveyor, “Kuiaha-Pa‘uwela Homesteads Registered Map 2466.”



Figure 11. Survey Map, Kuiaha-Pa'uwela Homestead Tract 1909. Territory of Hawai'i.

Three months after surveying the 1,200-acre Kuiaha-Pa‘uwela tract, Baldwin offered up more land through two of his other plantation companies, Maui Agricultural Company and Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar, for homesteads.¹⁵⁷ Totalling roughly 1,000 acres, this tract would be unique because the plantations would retain land ownership. Still, it would be offered using the same terms as the territorial homesteads through Right to Purchase leases. When the homesteaders met all requirements, the plantation would grant ownership to them. The territory facilitated the homesteading process. This unique partnership was formed in part due to H.P. Baldwin’s long-time goal of settling Americans in Hawai‘i, as shown by a quote published in the *Maui News* in February 1912:

Alexander & Baldwin have practically turned over to the land department of the government about a thousand acres of land adjoining the homestead lands at Haiku, leaving it to the public lands department to manage the opening of the lands. This unusual step is a result of plans considered long ago by the late H. P. Baldwin, and there are sentimental as well as other reasons why the present members of the firm are watching the scheme with unusual interest. “As long ago as 1908 Mr. Baldwin had in mind the plan now being carried out by the settlement of homesteaders on this land,” said J. P. Cooke. “There could hardly be a more favorable homesteading proposition...Carrying out plans cherished by Mr. Baldwin for many years, we stand ready to offer the lands.”¹⁵⁸

A survey map of the Kuiaha-Kaupakulua homestead tract, the result of this second expanse of land from Baldwin, appears below.¹⁵⁹ Of note are the racist roles of some of the Territory of Hawai‘i’s most powerful landowner families, Alexander & Baldwin and Cooke. These landowners remain influential today through their significant landholdings.

¹⁵⁷ Maui Agricultural Company was formed when several small plantations owned by H.P. Baldwin and S.T. Alexander were consolidated; The Controlling interest in Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company (HC&S), established by Claus Spreckels, was obtained by Alexander & Baldwin in 1898.

¹⁵⁸ Maui News, “Settlement Associations,” December 2, 1911.

¹⁵⁹ Wall, W; Surveyor, “Kuiaha-Kaupakulua Homesteads Registered Map 2542.”



Figure 12. Survey Map, Kuiaha-Kaupakulua Homestead Tract 1912. Territory of Hawai'i.

Governor Frear was also very anxious to foster this partnership and imagined that this could happen with other plantations. One possible reason for Frear's enthusiasm was likely related to a complaint against Governor Frear filed in U.S. Congress by Congressional Delegate Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole. The complaint, filed in October of 1911, alleged mismanagement of Hawai'i's public lands due to Frear's close (and sometimes familial) relationships with sugar interests and racism against Native Hawaiians associated with the territorial homesteading program. In light of a possible investigation, it would be beneficial to have the Maui Agricultural Company plantation settle the second Ha'ikū tract's one thousand acres with white American rather than doing it himself, which would add to the evidence of racism Kūhiō lodged against him.¹⁶⁰ This way, it could be said that H.P. Baldwin, rather than Frear, was the person with the white supremacist intentions related to this second tract in Ha'ikū.

American Utopia Through Settlement Associations and Expanded Infrastructure

Both the Kuiaha-Pa'uwela and Kuiaha-Kaupakulua tracts were opened using Settlement Associations, thus eliminating the ability of association non-members to obtain land in this area of over 2,200 contiguous acres. There was also planned infrastructure exclusive to this homestead tract, including a fruit packing plant (owned by H.P. Baldwin) and railroads. A *Maui News* article discussing the associations being used to settle white Americans exclusively on these tracts appears below and mentions "the American Farmer, so much desired," and towards the bottom, it reads, "This accounts, probably, for the reports that the government is reserving this land for white settlers only."¹⁶¹ Of note also is the emphasis on the value of these lands—first-class agricultural lands were transitioned not to community-based food production, such as lo'i, but to extractive agriculture with a cannery and railroad to link to markets farther afield.

¹⁶⁰ The author believes that the Hawaiian Homes Commission project, introduced to U.S. Congress by Kūhiō, was a reaction to Frear's racism. It may have been a way to use a homesteading program to benefit Native Hawaiians exclusively and to counteract the same kind of program used to benefit American Anglo-Saxons historically.

¹⁶¹ Maui News, "Settlement Associations," December 2, 1911.

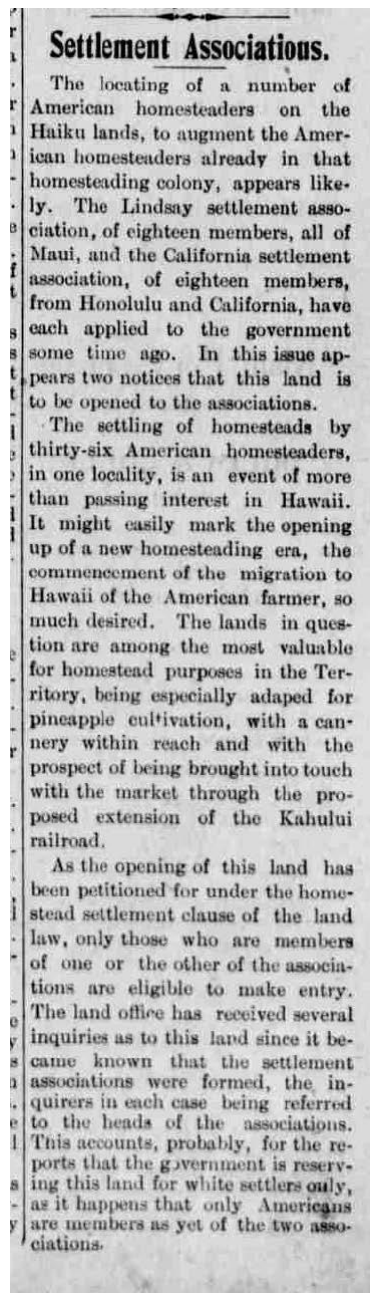


Figure 13. Article, *Settlement Associations*. 1911, *The Maui News*.

With the opening of the homesteads, additional infrastructure was added, including a school, church, and the first off-island branch of the Honolulu Library.¹⁶² This allowed the white Americans to live exclusively amongst other white Americans in their day-to-day lives despite

¹⁶² Krauss, "The Hawaiian Homestead of the Future," 166-167.

the population diversity of the Hawaiian Islands. These segregated homestead tracts drew criticism from Maui residents, evidenced by a letter sent to the *Maui News* Editor in January of 1912:

How is it that there appears to be no Hawaiians or Portuguese applicants as members of the various settlement associations, as advertised in your recent issues, when it is a well-known fact that both Hawaiians as well as Portuguese, long residents in the same District, have made inquiries of the different land agents for information concerning the conditions to be fulfilled before making application for Lots in the above Homesteads, but as yet have been unable to get any satisfactory information that would place them among the various Malihini names in the list of proposed homesteaders, much to the dissatisfaction of these poor and humble Kamaainas...What can be done under such conditions that would place a citizen of less pull and perhaps less intelligence on a basis with the list of Malihinis (who no doubt will secure their homesteads,) and thus disable him from securing equal rights to a homestead which certainly is much more preferable than a list of “carpet baggers” who for sure are looking for a wild cat investment and not for a home.¹⁶³

Likely, the complaint writer was not Native Hawaiian considering the racist reference to Hawaiians having less intelligence than their malihini (foreign) counterparts. Ultimately, the writer reached across racial divides to advocate for Native Hawaiian and Portuguese residents and noted their specific exclusion from information on the homesteading opportunities—further, concerns around speculation and carpet-bagging return—pointing to the murky success of prior homesteading efforts.

In addition, the complaint against Governor Frear in U.S. Congress by Congressional Delegate Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole alleged that homesteads for white Americans were higher quality land sold at drastically lower prices than homesteads obtained by Native Hawaiians. The complaint, filed in October of 1911, gave examples of these alleged racist practices, providing evidence that the territory’s efforts at settlerism garnered adverse reactions from non-Americans living in Hawai‘i.

While the Ha‘ikū homesteads were touted as a place for new settlers from the United States, most of the final homesteaders, while all white, had already been living in Hawai‘i. Delegate Kūhiō’s complaint alleged that some of the recipients of the 35-50 acre lots were close

¹⁶³ DePonte, M.S., “Letter to The Maui News,” January 27, 1912.

personal friends and political allies of Frear and the territory.¹⁶⁴ My biographical research of the Ha'ikū homesteaders revealed that approximately one-third were employed by the territorial government, supporting Kūhiō's allegations of nepotism against Governor Frear.¹⁶⁵ This first-class agricultural tract, comprised of thirty to fifty-acre parcels, could be considered a fringe benefit given in exchange for the recipients' roles within the Republic of Hawai'i government.

In early 1915, the first of the Kuiaha-Pa'uwela homesteaders completed the prove-up process and had their right to purchase leases converted to land patents signaling fee-simple ownership. By September of that year, reports of American homesteaders leaving Ha'ikū began appearing in Maui newspapers. One article in the *Maui News* on September 10, 1915, stated:

A man need not go far to find evidences of the failure of homesteading in Haiku. The derelict farms, the vacant homes, the wasted energy, the blighted hopes, not to speak of the earnings sunk in the projects, all are evidences of failure, which should stir those that remain to sit up and take notice, to analyze [sic] the causes, and if possible discover the antidote, lest they themselves share a similar fate. To my mind the causes of failure are due to a variety of circumstances, but to some in particular. Amongst the latter we might mention the misfits, the book farmers, those who thought they would like farm life, who calculated they could make a living, if not a fortune, on raw land from the day they set their foot upon their homesteads, but who never did calculate the brawn as well as the brain necessary to turn a luxuriant crop of guava bushes into a paying crop of corn or pineapples. Amongst them we might include those without the experience of farming, who, while not exactly "misfits," failed to realize the hardships, sacrifices, and determination necessary to bring success.¹⁶⁶

This article and others pointed to a lack of farming experience as the reason for the Ha'ikū homestead failures, which is ironic since it was never a required or desired requirement by the oligarchy during the years of homestead promotion, although whiteness was. Despite Dole and many other powerful haole politicians' dreams, the American yeoman, or white Anglo-Saxons, became failed homesteaders. Dole was wrong not only due to his racist imaginaries of a White Hawai'i (which, of course, were known to be racist at the time) but also for putting too much hope in the "protestant work ethic" or other colonial constructions which raised White men above others. The failures of homesteading in Hawai'i allow for questioning these influential

¹⁶⁴ Kalaniana'ole, "The Complaint of Hon. Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole Delegate in Congress from Hawaii, against the Administration of Hon. Walter F. Frear, Governor of Hawaii, Together with Specifications of the Charges Involved, as Furnished to the Honorable, the Secretary of the Interior.," 10.

¹⁶⁵ Wright, "The Homesteads at Ha'ikū, Maui," 76.

¹⁶⁶ Maui News, "Another Homestead Failure?," September 10, 1915.

discourses—such as the contention that colonialism can be viewed as a success when many efforts at settler colonialism have failed.

Looking at changes in land tenure, the majority of the homesteaders retained ownership of their land initially. Some sub-leased their land to Japanese aliens despite being forbidden by Section 73 of the Organic Act. Others sold their land, making them the very speculators Frear supposedly tried hard to thwart. Regardless of what Frear intended for the Ha‘ikū homesteads or what each homesteader did with their land, this “American Colony” is a part of Hawaiian history swept under the rug of historiography, likely due to its white supremacist, racist vision.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the Republic’s territorial homesteading program, designed to create segregated communities for white American settlers. While this program did provide the 999-Year Lease, a type of homesteading earmarked for Native Hawaiians, the initiative never intended to provide tangible economic benefit to the original people of Hawai‘i. The creation of homesteading was a part of the Republic’s white supremacist goal of remaking Hawai‘i into a settler-privileged landscape. The government promoted homesteading alongside efforts to increase tourism and militarism as part of the overarching project of settling white Americans in Hawai‘i, thereby bolstering political support and white voters for the Republic and territorial governments through population demographic manipulation.

The Republic government immediately utilized the 1895 Land Act homesteading provisions, creating the first territorial homesteads in 1896. These deeply discounted tracts of land were promoted throughout the United States using newspaper articles describing Hawai‘i’s beauty and promise of fertile land practically guaranteed to be productive. The usurpers’ government created homesteads through the 1920s, with settlement associations available to foster segregated, utopic communities if the homesteaders wished. There were different programs for different wealth thresholds so that the more money you had, the more land you could get. Some of these programs allowed for the ownership of large quantities of other lands. These differences enabled the building of generational wealth for people of higher economic means, dispossessing people of color, including Native Hawaiians, relegated to the program that never resulted in ownership, thereby keeping them impoverished.

This chapter also detailed a case study of the Kuiaha-Pa‘uwela and Kuiaha-Kapakulua territorial homesteads created on Maui. Referred to as an ‘American Colony,’ these tracts comprised over 2,200 contiguous acres of first-class agricultural land settled by whites only. These homesteads had their own school, church, fruit packing plant, and Honolulu library branch as infrastructure. They were an excellent example of what the Republic government was willing to do for homesteaders they deemed worthy and desirable.

Many incongruencies to the Republic’s goals were uncovered in this chapter, including stating that they wanted white American yeoman farmers as settlers. Yet, there was no requirement for homesteaders to have any farming experience, which also influenced the failure of many homesteaders who were unprepared for a life of farming. The usurpers’ government also repeatedly claimed that it supported the U.S. Congress’ limitations on the growth of sugar plantations. Because plantations were the economic drivers in Hawai‘i, it was difficult for Republic governors to manage tensions caused by Congress’ limitations on plantation owners. As a result, several Republic governors’ actions told another story – one of continued plantation support.

Overall, territorial homesteading met with little long-term success. Most homesteaders lived on the land and met the minimum cultivation requirements long enough to secure outright ownership in fee, after which most of them sold or leased the lands for large profits, functioning more like speculators rather than homesteaders.

Was the plan to bring white Americans to settle in Hawai‘i successful? Did the plan that Dole had laid out decades earlier come to fruition? The answers to these questions are complex. Many considered post-coup homesteading a failure as it was designed and implemented. Most of the lands awarded as fee-simple homesteads were eventually either sold or sub-leased to plantations, making the small farming initiative in Hawai‘i a dismal failure. However, when one considers homesteading’s underlying political goal of building the white American populace, it paints a different picture. The territory’s multi-pronged approach, including settlerism, militarism, and tourism, grew the desirable American population segment, as evidenced by the demographics reported through the 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses. The part of the population that was born on the U.S. continent grew by 34% between 1900-1910. Between 1910 and 1920,

it grew 90% and 175% between 1920-1930.¹⁶⁷ While it is difficult to know which initiative was most successful at luring Americans to Hawai‘i, there is no doubt that they came, settled, and made Native Hawaiians a minority in their homeland. The Territorial government’s homesteading program, as created by the 1895 Land Act, systematically privileged white Americans as homesteaders while Native Hawaiians were disenfranchised. White yeoman standards of agriculture obliterated Kānaka Maoli relationships to ‘āina and replaced the values of waiwai (wealth) and momona (fertile, rich) with small-crop farming for profit. These actions helped the usurpers’ government realize its racist political goal of bringing white Americans to Hawai‘i to supplant Native Hawaiians, thereby enabling the white supremacist oligarchy to stay in political and economic control for decades.

¹⁶⁷ Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 90.

CHAPTER 5: THE TRANSFORMATION FROM ‘ĀINA TO REAL ESTATE: ACT 61

Of course, the population is growing through the permanent residents gained by those who have come as tourists and have been charmed into staying, and by friends of those who have been induced to adopt Hawaii for health or other reasons, upon their recommendations. The presence in and near Honolulu of a large force of both army and naval troops, with the brilliant social setting which this always gives, is another attraction which helps bring many of the leisure class from all over the country.¹⁶⁸

--Editorial, *The San Francisco Call*, August 14, 1912

Introduction

Act 61 enabled the usurpers' government to obtain ownership of land on or near fresh or salt water. Often, the Republic then developed these lands. The case study of Waikīkī's transformation details the government's replacement of an intensive food production area with the settler-privileged landscape we are familiar with today. The quote above comes from an editorial article in a 1912 San Francisco newspaper. It describes tourism's role in the Republic government's systemic white supremacist project of transforming Hawai'i into a settler-privileged landscape. Hawai'i's unique climate and culture would lure white Americans here as tourists and convince at least some of them to stay as temporary or permanent residents, thereby increasing the population demographic desperately needed by the usurpers to maintain their political power over time. This chapter will detail the creation of an imagined landscape in one of the world's most iconic and recognized places - Waikīkī, Hawai'i, and connect it to the Republic's overarching goal of supplanting Native Hawaiians with white Americans. This displacement occurred on many levels, including destroying traditional food production systems, place name loss, and Hawaiian language erasure through the development of Waikīkī, Hawai'i.

Place names are plentiful in Hawai'i, with many using 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian), the language of the Indigenous people of the place. While visitors and long-term haole residents struggle to pronounce these names, the Hawaiian language is phonetically simple, with no silent letters or competing pronunciation for letters. Additionally, Hawaiian place names are much

¹⁶⁸ "Hawaiian Charms Are Advertised," 12.

more abundant than most people realize because Native Hawaiians named taro patches, boulders, house sites, heiau (places of worship), fishing areas in the ocean, resting places in forests, canoe landings, and particular locations where culturally significant events took place.¹⁶⁹

The significances of having named this myriad of places and items within the Hawaiian landscape are numerous, according to Native Hawaiian geographers. Kapā Oliveira writes,

Because place names are so closely tied to our *kūpuna* (ancestors) and the *‘āina* (land), place names play a significant role in narrating our identity...Place names are the words of our ancestors. Each time we recite a place name, we are quoting our *kupuna*. Those things that our *kūpuna* did not tell us while they were alive are embedded in the place names, orator and physical presence of the land.¹⁷⁰

Carlos Andrade takes this point further, calling the study of places and their names “one of the best methods available for looking at our world through the eyes of the ancestors.”¹⁷¹ The ability of Native Hawaiians to do this is especially significant when considering the effects of settler colonialism on their culture and language. Particularly in the discipline of geography, which has been not just complicit but actively pursued eradicating Indigenous place names. Renee Pualani Louis also emphasizes the role of place names as more than labels:

Hawaiian place names are more than just identification pages for the features and/or phenomena of the physical world. They are also powerful cognitive mechanisms that unfold the richness of the Hawaiian cultural landscape, revealing as much about Hawaiian perceptions of the metaphysical world (their beliefs about their gods, their interactions with nature, and their cultural practices) as they do about the places and times to which they refer.¹⁷²

The connections mentioned above between storied place names and Native Hawaiians are not unique, as many Indigenous peoples share these relationships. Many Native peoples are now producing alternative geographies and cartographies, thereby reasserting their ontologies and epistemologies using Native maps containing their histories and worldviews, helping to connect people and their surroundings in meaningful, intricate, and intimate ways.¹⁷³

As described above, language is essential to a kanaka ontology. Interestingly, while Hawaiian place names are still numerous in Hawai‘i, *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian language) was

¹⁶⁹ Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, x.

¹⁷⁰ Oliveira, “Wahi a Kahiko,” 101–2.

¹⁷¹ Andrade, *Hā`ena*, 3.

¹⁷² Louis, “Hawaiian Place Names,” 168.

¹⁷³ Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 15.

almost obliterated and is still considered endangered. The use of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was banned in schools in 1896 by the Republic government and resulted in the corporal punishment of students during that time frame. Hawaiian language was not spoken in schools for four generations until the Hawaiian Renaissance in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The decline of the Hawaiian language directly resulted from “the severing of traditional ties, the influx of a large English-speaking population, and the oligarchy’s desire to Americanize Hawai‘i.”⁷ All these factors led to the near loss of the Hawaiian language.

This text examines the case study of the landscape of Waikīkī, comprised of a relatively small geographic area of fewer than four square miles. Despite being a small land area, Waikīkī carries part of the immense burden of Hawai‘i’s massive, extractive tourist industry and military occupation and selling a fantasy landscape for potential visitors near and far. This chapter seeks to peel back the layers below the glossy brochures to reveal the ugly core at the heart of remaking Waikīkī as a white paradise ripe for exploitation and referring to Waikīkī as a landscape opens up the possibility of interrogating the social and physical changes which have plagued this area, revealing the expropriation and alienation that was and continues to be crucial to Waikīkī’s over-development and the extraction of capitalistic value.¹⁷⁴

As everywhere in Hawai‘i, hundreds of place names were encoded into the landscape of Waikīkī. Over time, most of these names were erased, and no comprehensive list or map currently features all of them. Much of this erasure happened after Hawai‘i’s supposed annexation. For example, in 1935, John Wesley Colter, Ph.D., compiled *A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii*, published by the University of Hawai‘i as Research Publication Number Eleven. Many scholars have used this as a research resource, legitimated by the University’s authority.¹⁷⁵ However, the place names featured in this publication were compiled “primarily from the maps of the Hawaiian islands made as a result of the work of the United States Geological Survey, that of the Territorial Survey, the survey of Oahu by the United States Army, and the re-survey of Oahu by the United States Geological Survey,” completed intermittently between 1909 to 1930.¹⁷⁶ In this text, Coulter states, “The names are listed exactly as they are

¹⁷⁴ Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape*; Berger, *Ways of Seeing*; Blomley, “Landscapes of Property”; Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*; Mitchell, “Landscape and Surplus Value.”

¹⁷⁵ Herman, “The Aloha State,” 89.

¹⁷⁶ Coulter, *A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii*, 7.

spelled on the quadrangles and maps. No decisions have been made as to whether the names are correct.”¹⁷⁷ The Geological Survey used as a source for this gazetteer omits the names of many geographical features, with Mr. A. O. Burkland choosing the “more important features to be named on the topographic sheets and the most authentic names.”¹⁷⁸ Relying on Burkland, a non-Hawaiian U.S. government official, to determine “importance” and “authenticity” weakens the cultural interface with the environment that Hawaiian place names served and recasts them into Western geographic discourse.¹⁷⁹ Importantly, geography and geographical surveys were understood during the early 20th century as direct tools of empire and colonization—geographers were the ‘handmaidens of colonialism’ often opening up new lands for colonial use at the expense of Indigenous and marginalized communities. It is imperative to acknowledge the use of mapping to acquire, delineate, and dominate territory within the field of geography and practice of cartography—particularly at the University of Hawai‘i, which was actively erasing Indigenous knowledge and place names for generations.

Government documents have been the source of some nomenclature recovery work detailed later in this text. This list featured nearly one hundred fifty names of land divisions, fishponds, taro patches, streams, and more.¹⁸⁰ As a result, there are many more names waiting to be remembered and recovered using mo‘olelo (oral histories), mele (songs), and nūpepa (Hawaiian language newspapers).

This chapter will walk us through the history of Waikīkī from the fourteenth century up through the early twentieth century. The discussion will then turn to how the usurpers’ government leveraged Act 61 to transform the entire area of Waikīkī from a place famous for food production into a hollow paradise and how this drastic alteration lured white Americans to Hawai‘i as visitors and settlers. Lastly, we will examine connected linguistic and cultural erasures and current efforts to recover and resurrect them. I hope to inspire others to join this reconstruction work to understand the emplaced histories and their erasure in Hawai‘i grounded by a Native Hawaiian lens and ontology.

¹⁷⁷ Coulter, *A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ Coulter, *A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii*, 10.

¹⁷⁹ Herman, “The Aloha State,” 89.

¹⁸⁰ Soehren, “Hawaiian Place Names.”

Waikīkī's History

While the name Waikīkī often conjures images of luxury hotels lining beautiful white sand beaches, the place name's literal translated meaning is spouting or spurting water.¹⁸¹ Looking at the landscape today, it may not be apparent why Native Hawaiians chose this name centuries ago. However, as with many Hawaiian place names, it describes important features of this place before its transformation into a tourist playground in the early twentieth century.

Until the 1920s, Waikīkī was one of O'ahu's most crucial food production landscapes. Well over 500 acres of Hawaiian-engineered aquacultural and agricultural sites were in constant use, providing fish, taro, bananas, waterfowl, rice, and more to Native Hawaiians and other residents of Hawai'i. The fresh water in this area, surface water fueled by streams and water bubbling up from the earth through natural springs, gave Waikīkī its name. The photo below shows Waikīkī's physical landscape in the early 1900s, with the iconic Laeahi in the background.¹⁸²



Figure 14. Photo, Waikīkī Taro Patches. Circa 1900, Hawai'i State Archives.

Government documents produced as early as 1843 described Waikīkī's cultivation levels. Individual plots of land were listed in detail, stating what was being grown there and how large the aquacultural and agricultural sites were. In addition, this documentation included the

¹⁸¹ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 379.

¹⁸² Davey, *Picture, Waikiki with Diamond Head in Background, Taro Loi in Foreground*.

Hawaiian names of associated land divisions, streams, worship sites, fishponds, taro fields, boulders, and more. The Hawaiian Government Survey, developed by the Hawaiian Kingdom, map below, produced in 1888, shows many place names, labeling fishponds, land divisions, shorelines, and other features.¹⁸³

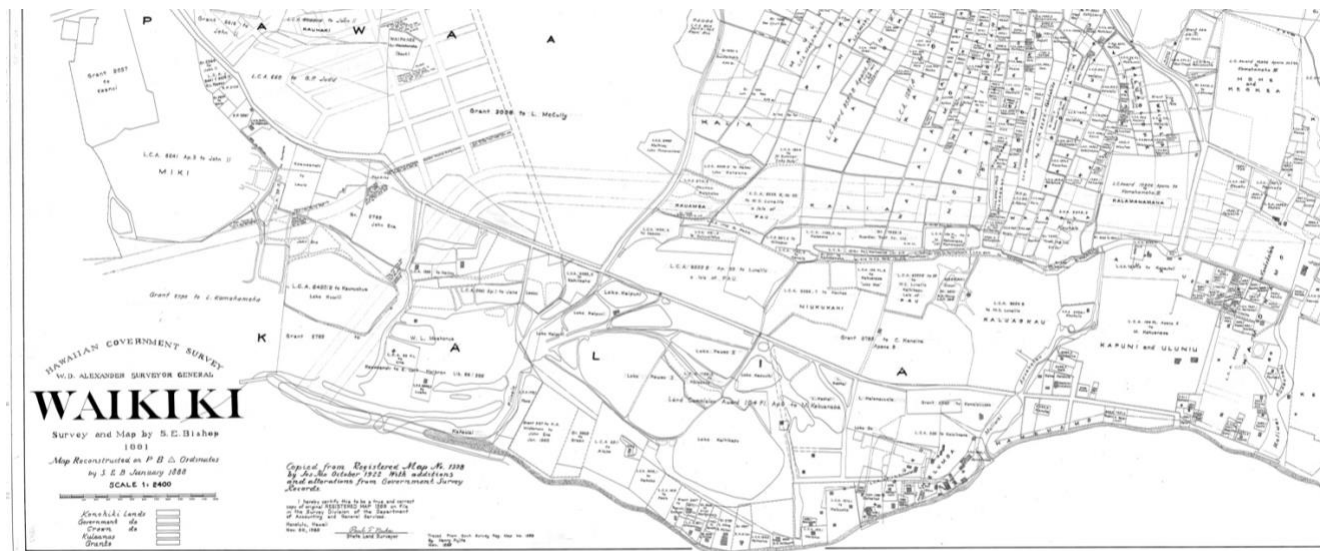


Figure 15. Survey Map, Waikīkī 1888. Hawaiian Kingdom Government.

Crew members from some of the earliest European ships to arrive in Hawai‘i described Waikīkī’s cultivation in their journals, many of which were eventually published widely upon their return to Europe. George Vancouver, an English navigator that arrived in Hawai‘i in the 1790s, wrote:

This opened to our view a spacious plain, which in the immediate vicinity of the village, had the appearance of the open common fields in England; but, on advancing, the major part appeared divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. These several portions of land were planted with the eddo or taro root, in different stages of inundation; none being perfectly dry, and some from three to six or seven inches under water. The

¹⁸³ Bishop, “Hawaiian Government Survey Map, Waikīkī.”

causeway led us near a mile from the beach...it was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up, and nearly motionless; some small rills only, finding a passage through the dams that checked the sluggish stream, by which a constant supply was afforded to the taro plantations.¹⁸⁴

Roughly thirty years later, an English naturalist, Andrew Bloxam, arrived on the English ship *Blonde*, providing yet another glimpse into the Waikīkī landscape:

The whole distance to the village of Whyteete is taken up with innumerable artificial fishponds extending a mile inland from the shore, in these the fish taken by nets in the sea are put, and though most of the ponds are fresh water, yet the fish seem to thrive and fatten. Most of these fish belong to the chiefs, and are caught as wanted. The ponds are several hundred in number and are the resort of wild ducks and other water fowl.¹⁸⁵

Waikīkī was called “the most extensive area of wet-taro cultivation on O‘ahu.” The lo‘i were irrigated by water from Mānoa and Pālolo Streams, the lower courses of which formerly met in the midst of this great plantation.”¹⁸⁶ The lands were undeniably fertile and abundant.

Historically, Waikīkī had been the location of royal residences and the political center of O‘ahu from the fourteenth century until the late nineteenth century when Honolulu took over this role. Despite moving the political and commercial seats, Waikīkī continued as “an important recreational center for the ali‘i [kings and chiefs].”¹⁸⁷

Haole plantation owners and merchants were accumulating wealth quickly during the 1800s, and they began to imagine Waikīkī as a bathing resort. This imagined landscape of a tourist capitol designed to entice settler colonization demands the erasure of Waikīkī’s cultural landscape of food production and dwelling for Native Hawaiians.¹⁸⁸ To facilitate this imagined landscape, which included land value increases and land speculation, merchants lobbied for the narrow Waikiki road to be “widened and improved” to provide increased access to the future

¹⁸⁴ Vancouver and Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World; in Which the Coast of North-West America Has Been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty’s Command, Principally with a View to Ascertain the Existence of Any Navigable Communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and Performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver ...*, 161–64.

¹⁸⁵ Bloxam, *Diary of Andrew Bloxam, Naturalist of the “Blonde” on Her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands, 1824-25.*, 35–36.

¹⁸⁶ Handy and Handy, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii*, 480–81.

¹⁸⁷ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 112.

¹⁸⁸ Mitchell, “Landscape and Surplus Value,” 10.

bathing resort.¹⁸⁹ The road was widened, as was the possibility of intensifying the number of resort goers that could remake this critical food production area into a settler-privileged landscape.

As a result, ever-increasing numbers of visitors came from the United States, and their written accounts provide us with descriptions of the area at that time. However, their reviews were mixed and displayed their prejudices. American William R. Bliss wrote,

...The favorite [sic] ride is to Waikiki. This is the name of a hamlet of plain cottages, stretching along the seashore, in the edge of a grove of cocoanut-palms, whither the white people of Honolulu go to revel in bathing-clothes, mosquitoes, and solitude, at odd times of the year. It is not a gay watering-place. Its local excitements are caused by the activity of the insect tribes, and the occasional fall of a cocoanut. But to the wearied dweller in Honolulu, to whose year there comes no variety of seasons, fashions, or faces, Waikiki is "somewhere to go."¹⁹⁰

Visitor George Leonard Chaney, who published a book about his visit, penned:

...Waikiki! There is something in the very name which smacks of the sea...It is a seaside resort of Honolulu, about five miles from the city...what a pity it seems to find one's self soon surrounded by wretched marshes, disfigured — if their course face can be made uglier than the weeds and wild grasses make it — with muddy ponds of green and stagnant waters. The hard road goes bravely through and over this country, and soon we reach the giant palms and their covey of nestling cottages...A better bathing-place for children could not be found. The sandy beach sloped very gradually, the waves came rolling gently in, their full force broken by a reef of coral an eighth of a mile from shore. This reef defended the bathing-place as well from sharks, who knew too much to venture inside it. Here children could play as safely as if they were indoors.¹⁹¹

According to anthropologist Barry Nakamura, despite Waikīkī's popularity as a tourist resort and swimming beach, the complaints from these early visitors revolved around the evident "dissatisfaction with mosquitos, the pond fields, and fishponds."¹⁹² These complaints foretold the future of Waikīkī, which was eventually labeled "unsanitary," resulting in the destruction of its agriculture and aquaculture production in the early twentieth century. Further, through the visitors' accounts, one can see the superficiality, small-mindedness, and fundamental lack of comprehension of the profound social and cultural values embedded within the landscape, place

¹⁸⁹ Hawai'i (Kingdom) Office of the Int, "Biennial Report of the Minister of the Interior to the Legislature of 1860,"

¹⁹⁰ Bliss, *Paradise in the Pacific*, 195–96.

¹⁹¹ Chaney, "Alo 'ha!" *A Hawaiian Salutation.*, 25–27, 47.

¹⁹² Nakamura, "The Story of Waikiki and the 'Reclamation' Project," 30–31.

names, food production, and wisdom of the kupuna of Waikīkī. Such ignorance continues today among the millions of tourists who continue to consume Waikīkī shamelessly.

Act 61: The Legislation that Enabled Change

After the 1893 coup, the Republic of Hawai‘i’s legislature passed Act 61, “An Act to Provide for the Improvement of Land in the District of Honolulu Deleterious to Public Health and for the Creation and Foreclosure of Liens to Secure the Payment of the Expense So Incurred,” in 1896. Act 61 sanctioned the Republic’s Board of Health to decide if the land was deemed “unsanitary” or “deleterious to the public health” due to “being low, and at times covered or partly covered by water, or of being situated between high and low water mark, or of being improperly drained, or incapable by reasonable expenditure of effectual drainage.” Once deemed as such, the Board of Health would recommend required action to the Minister of the Interior to improve it, which was overwhelmingly the involuntary and compulsory filling in, or more simply put, destruction, of these low-lying wetlands and food production landscapes.

Act 61 empowered the Minister of the Interior to ensure the completion of “required” improvements. The territorial government notified affected landowner(s), and they were responsible for filling in their lands at their expense. If the owner did not raise the land level, the government would complete the work and place a lien on the improved land as collateral. If the landowner(s) failed to pay the money back, the government auctioned the land to the highest bidder to satisfy the lien.¹⁹³ This process weaponized the Board of Health by forcing landowners to raise the level of their land to a specified grade. Much of the land in Waikīkī was low-lying, with water utilized for wet agricultural and aquacultural food production. Many landowners moved away from Waikīkī permanently instead of performing the required work since their livelihoods would be lost if they managed to raise funds to complete the improvements. Act 61 favored people with capital, whether the original landowners or land speculators that purchased the surrendered lands at auction. Those who lost their land were often Native Hawaiian, while those who acquired land were most often haole.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ “The Civil Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, 1897 : Compiled from the Civil Code of 1859 and the Session Laws of 1860 to 1896 Inclusive : Published by Authority.,” 201–4.

¹⁹⁴ Nakamura, “The Story of Waikiki and the ‘Reclamation’ Project,” 44.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, land use in Waikīkī was mixed, with increasing agriculture and aquaculture production. However, surrounding areas experienced urbanization development, creating a conflict between agriculture and tourism that would last more than two decades. In 1901, there were more than seventy working fish ponds on O‘ahu. Of those, at least fifteen were in Waikīkī, encompassing more than fifty acres. Fish production was constant, cultivating a “regular supply of certain species at all seasons of the year.”¹⁹⁵ Over five hundred acres of rice were planted in Waikīkī, providing the traditional mealtime staple to thousands of Asian plantation laborers. Enough rice was left to supply an export industry to areas outside of Hawai‘i.¹⁹⁶ Waikīkī had also caught the attention of capitalists interested in further developing the shoreline as a tourist mecca. Some described this formerly vital food production area as “a resort destination area which was capable of competing profitably on an international scale.”¹⁹⁷

In 1898, the U.S. passed the Newlands Resolution, illegally annexing Hawai‘i to the United States. Act 61 then became Chapter 83, sections 1025 to 1034 of the 1905 Revised Laws of Hawai‘i (Territory of Hawai‘i Laws, Statutes, etc., 1905). Ultimately, this law justified the reclamation of Waikīkī in the 1920s through dredging and filling in a productive cultivation area - a “project in which the main concern was real estate speculation and not sanitation.”¹⁹⁸

Publications distributed across the United States touted these possibilities to potential visitors and kept them abreast of development:

For many years, Waikiki beach has been close to the heart of every tourist...Since annexation the fame of Waikiki beach has become more outspread, and it is not now unusual to see business men of the mainland who have come here principally on account of the unsurpassed waters of Waikiki beach in winter. The one drawback in the past has been a lack of suitable accommodations at the beach...

...It became evident to certain business men of the city that there should be at Waikiki beach accommodations as elaborate and attractive as those of other famous watering places...A year ago the decision was to build a magnificent four-story hotel...In January of this year work was begun...Operations were pushed along with the greatest speed possible and, at this writing, in December, the finishing touches are being added to this, the costliest and most elaborate hotel building in the Hawaiian Islands.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Cobb, J.N, “Commercial Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands, Report of the Commission for the Year Ending June 30, 1901,” 381, 499.

¹⁹⁶ Iwai, “The Rice Industry in Hawaii,” 38.

¹⁹⁷ Nakamura, “The Story of Waikiki and the ‘Reclamation’ Project,” 44.

¹⁹⁸ Nakamura, “The Story of Waikiki and the ‘Reclamation’ Project,” 44.

¹⁹⁹ Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1900*, 162–64.

To facilitate further incursion by tourists into Waikīkī, the electric trolley replaced horse-driven tramcars in 1902, providing increased access to and from Waikīkī:

The extension of the electric road to Kalihi having been completed, the company have begun extending the line from Punahou to Waikiki down Alexander and McCully streets, and across the marshes. The road across the rice swamps is to be filled from the rocky district above Marquesville beyond Punahou.²⁰⁰

The above quote shows the erasure of place names and the emplacement of white, haole, businessmen' names as roads, such as Alexander and McCully. These names gesture towards the importance of these businessmen and their influence in reshaping the landscape in their vision and, quite literally, their self-image.

In 1903, the Hawai'i Promotion Committee, a permanent tourism promotion bureau, was formed and funded by the territorial government. Advertisements were published in American national magazines, prompting approximately two thousand visitors to visit Hawai'i that year.²⁰¹ As stated on their letterhead, this committee's goals were "Hawaii: A Tourist Resort, A Place For Homes, The Strategic Center of the Pacific."²⁰² The government designed this three-pronged approach to contribute to its overarching goal of remaking Hawai'i into a settler-privileged landscape. The Hawai'i Promotion Committee lives on today as the Hawai'i Visitors & Convention Bureau, who claim they are "stewards of Hawaii's brand," commodifying Native Hawaiian culture and extracting value for wealthy corporations at every turn.²⁰³

Concurrently, population increases in Honolulu caused the expansion of urbanized areas, including the Pūowaina (Punchbowl crater) slopes to Makiki, both Northeast of Honolulu. Those areas, like Waikīkī, had large amounts of surface water flowing through them as streams made their way to the ocean. The increased urbanization required a drainage system installed in the late nineteenth century that diverted this water to the Waikīkī area.²⁰⁴ This and development in Waikīkī adversely affected water flow and drainage into the ocean. This restricted water, and in turn, the landscape was labeled unsightly and unsanitary by those who wished to see wetland

²⁰⁰ "The Friend - 1902.02 - Newspaper · Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive," 15–16.)

²⁰¹ "Hawai'i Visitors & Convention Bureau."

²⁰² Territory of Hawai'i, "Hawai'i Promotion Committee Letterhead."

²⁰³ "Hawai'i Visitors & Convention Bureau."

²⁰⁴ Hawai'i (Territory) Sanitary Commission, "Report of the Sanitary Commission (Created Under Act of the Legislature of 1911," 16.

agriculture and aquaculture at Waikīkī eradicated.²⁰⁵ Many of the drainage problems in Waikīkī resulted from predatory land development and the methods legitimized by the government to expel Indigenous populations who had called the area home for centuries. As scholars have written, settler colonialism requires the elimination of the natives—the machinations of the so-called territorial government thus required the removal of Native Hawaiians.

The conflict between agriculture and tourism in Waikīkī was heating up as property values began to climb. Rice continued to be one of the fastest-growing commercial crops in Hawai‘i. Still, the possibility of Waikīkī becoming a world-class tourism destination, with the wealth that might bring to some, outranked food cultivation as the government’s preferred imagined landscape. Newspaper articles, government documents, and other publications labeled rice fields and taro patches as swamps. These publications started the long-lasting reclassification process of Waikīkī from an aquaculture food production area to a swamp that required filling for the safety of tourists. While early explorers and naturalists used the term “plantation” to describe Hawaiian cultivation, Hawai‘i’s foreign residents consistently called the same cultivation area swamps in these years of transformation. According to Nakamura, the first step toward the destruction of wet cultivation was “to give it a bad name.”

The Territorial government of Hawai‘i published three reports detailing the dangers of Waikīkī’s swamps and describing the government’s intended actions to protect Hawai‘i’s residents from these threats. Written by then president of the Board of Health, T.H. Pinkham, the first was published in 1906. Entitled, *Reclamation of the Waikiki District of the City of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii*, Pinkham labeled Waikīkī as “insanitary” and “deleterious to the public health” but able to be made into an attractive urban environment with “reclamation.” Without these changes, this area would “otherwise remain of only agricultural value for rice and banana culture or valueless...Waikīkī requires to be raised to a grade ranging from five to seven feet above sea level.”²⁰⁶ According to Act 61 and Chapter 83, Pinkham had the authority to determine and order these changes. Notably, the territorial government re-valued the landscape for their preferred forms of exploitation—to Hawaiians, the landscape was never devoid of value.

²⁰⁵ Nakamura, “The Story of Waikiki and the ‘Reclamation’ Project,” 35.

²⁰⁶ Hawai‘i (Territory) Board of Health, “Reclamation of the Waikiki District,” 9–10.

The second report was written in 1909 by the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service Chief Quarantine Officer W.C. Hodby. *The Outlook for Quarantinable Diseases in the Territory of Hawai‘i* report focused on the risk of mosquitos transmitting Yellow Fever and Malaria. With Hawai‘i’s geographic location central to shipping routes to and from Yellow Fever and Malaria-ridden countries, Hodby hypothesized that while they had not made their way to Hawai‘i, there was enough of a risk to justify “a relentless and unceasing war against mosquitoes.”²⁰⁷ Importantly, Hawai‘i was a mere battlefield for such a war rather than a place imbued with existing land uses and essential food production.

Written in 1912, the report of the Sanitary Commission (Created Under the Act of the Legislature of 1911) strongly supported urbanization replacing wet agriculture in Honolulu’s district, including Waikīkī. It cited the “immense loss due to mosquitoes and the easy spread of contagion” as the reason for recommending that “certain swamps and low lands must be filled in order to protect our public health.” Such concerns are highly suspect given the preceding decades of drastic Native Hawaiian loss of life due to introduced disease. They then mention the likely consequence of their recommended action, “Thus there will be a supply in excel of demand of land for dwellings.”²⁰⁸ While public health and sanitation were cited as the reason for land reclamation in Waikīkī, creating commercial real estate must be considered an essential driving motivation. Through mobilizing scientific knowledge—from geography to public health to medicine—Waikīkī was transformed from a landscape of profound value to a dangerous swamp needing improvement. Specific types of expertise were privileged over Native Hawaiian knowledge to remake the landscape. This type of privileging of Western knowledge continues to plague the academy today.

The reclamation in Waikīkī began in 1920 with a solicitation for bids to complete the dredge and fill project. Walter F. Dillingham’s Hawaiian Dredging Company won the contract, and the work started in 1922 and took six years to complete.²⁰⁹ The territorial government notified landowners that they were required to raise the elevation of their land between five to

²⁰⁷ Hodby, W.C, “The Outlook for Quarantinable Diseases,” 220.

Hawai‘i (Territory) Sanitary Commission, “Report of the Sanitary Commission (Created Under Act of the Legislature of 1911,” 105. (p. 105).

Hawai‘i (Territory) Division of Public Works, “Proposal for Dredging a Drainage Canal and Filling and Reclaiming Certain Unsanitary Lands at Waikiki, Job No, 2979.,” 105.

seven feet at their own expense. If they preferred, the government would complete the improvement in exchange for a lien placed on their property in the amount of the improvement cost. These actions followed the original Act 61 and the more recent Chapter 83, signed into law by the territorial government years prior. Ultimately, the government reclaimed hundreds of acres by raising Waikīkī's surface area by five to seven feet, thereby filling in the natural springs Waikīkī was named for. In addition, they diverted the surface water from numerous streams into the newly constructed Ala Wai canal that was three miles long, two hundred fifty feet across, and twenty-five feet deep.

The landscape imagined by the leaders of Hawai'i's Territorial government had finally come to fruition, as evidenced by the Waikiki Special Edition titled "The Whole World Knows Waikiki," published by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on October 17, 1928. This sixteen-page supplement featured articles and advertisements about Waikīkī's attractions ("Waikiki Magic Sends Lure World Over," pictured below), existing and planned hotels ("Hotels at Waikiki Varied Tourist and Residential to Fill Individual Needs"), retail outlets ("Waikiki - Honolulu's Future Fifth Avenue..."), and real estate ("Realtors Regard Waikiki as Most Desirable Place in Honolulu of Future") (pp. 1-16). Drawing attention to the Hawaiian language erasure that took place alongside Waikīkī's transformation, the only map showing the entire district featured none of the hundreds of Hawaiian place names belonging to Waikīkī. This map on page two of this special feature supplement also appears below. One will also notice the map includes Fort De Russy, illustrating the early institutionalization of the military into the landscape.

WAIKIKI MAGIC SENDS LURE WORLD OVER

Waikiki—home of the surfboard, the outrigger canoe and the music boy—is today one of the most famous playgrounds in the world.

Its shading palms, protected beach, beautiful hotels "Flappers" Acro bungalows and tropical setting make it a district of romance and a swimmer's paradise.

Its growing importance as a retreat for tourists is shown by the figures of the Hawaii Tourist bureau. In the past six years the resort business of the islands has more than doubled—8000 tourists in 1921 and 17,451 last year. In addition to these vacationists who visited the Territory in 1927 a total number of 19,657 "one-day tourists" stopped off in Honolulu from through steamers and visited Hawaii's famous beach.

Waikiki is a magic name. Away from the islands it means "Hawaii," just as the mention of Hawaii calls to mind visions of the beach.

While it is only one of many attractions in Hawaii, Waikiki is the most widely known and talked about play spot. It is to the island of Oahu what the volcano is to the Big Island, what Haleakala is to Maui and what Waimea canyon is to Kauai.

The beauties and advantages of Honolulu's beach are featured by the Territory's tourist bureau in its promotion work and advertising campaign—the campaign that has developed Hawaii's "third industry" to its present flourishing state and has put Waikiki and the other attractions of the islands on the resort map.

"Race the surfboards in your outrigger canoe at Waikiki! Flying spray hisses underfoot—is head-high behind you . . ."

That is the bureau's invitation to tourists in the first full-page color advertisement of its new nation-wide cooperative campaign with the LASSCO and Matson steamship lines. The ad carries a color painting of a surfboard and an outrigger canoe at Waikiki.

This campaign, by far the largest ever inaugurated for the islands, will circulate more than 35,000,000 advertisements for Hawaii during the year. The combined circulation power of the publications that will carry the ads is 6,038,603.

Conditions of surf and beach at Waikiki are peculiarly fitted to surfboard riding, and have made this a distinctly Hawaiian sport.

The surfboard and surfboard-rider have been used so frequently by the tourist bureau, steamship companies and other travel-promoting agencies in their advertising efforts that the surf-rider has become the trade-mark for the islands.

During the past two years Waikiki has been pushed into a position of particular prominence by the building of the Royal Hawaiian hotel—considered by many to be the finest hotel in the world—and the opening of the beautiful Niumalu hotel.

Making this world-famous beach more accessible to its increasing number of visitors was the building last year of the two fine new trans-Pacific liners for Hawaii's tourist trade. The Matson company's Malolo and the LASSCO's liner City of Honolulu are tributes to the popularity of Waikiki and Hawaii's other vacation spots.

An examination of the Hawai

Tourist bureau's statistical records show that continuous travel advertising has not only increased the total number of yearly visitors, but that it is fast ironing out the "off seasons" and making of the islands a year-around resort. Mainlanders are learning that it is just as pleasant to take a dip in Waikiki in July as it is in January—that Hawaii is as pleasant as a summer playground as a winter

resort.

This year the months of July and August hit a new travel peak. Tourists arriving during the month numbered 2148 as compared to 1581, the figure for August, 1927. July showed 476 visitors over July, 1927. The total for 1928 so far is well above the figure for the same period last year, and this in spite of the fact that travel in general has been admittedly light this year, and many resorts have had poor seasons.

Tourist bureau officials in giving out these figures on the growth of the industry here, point out that

competition from other vacation lands for the tourist industry is growing keener all the time and that Hawaii can build up its tourist business to its proper proportions only by constantly maintaining its advertising campaign.

Waikiki, they declare, with the other attractions of the islands, can be made the resort center of the world by the personal advertising of residents of the Territory by a concentrated campaign of national advertising and by the word of recommendation that "contented tourists" take back to their homes.

Figure 16. Article, Waikiki Magic Sands Lure World Over. 1928, Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

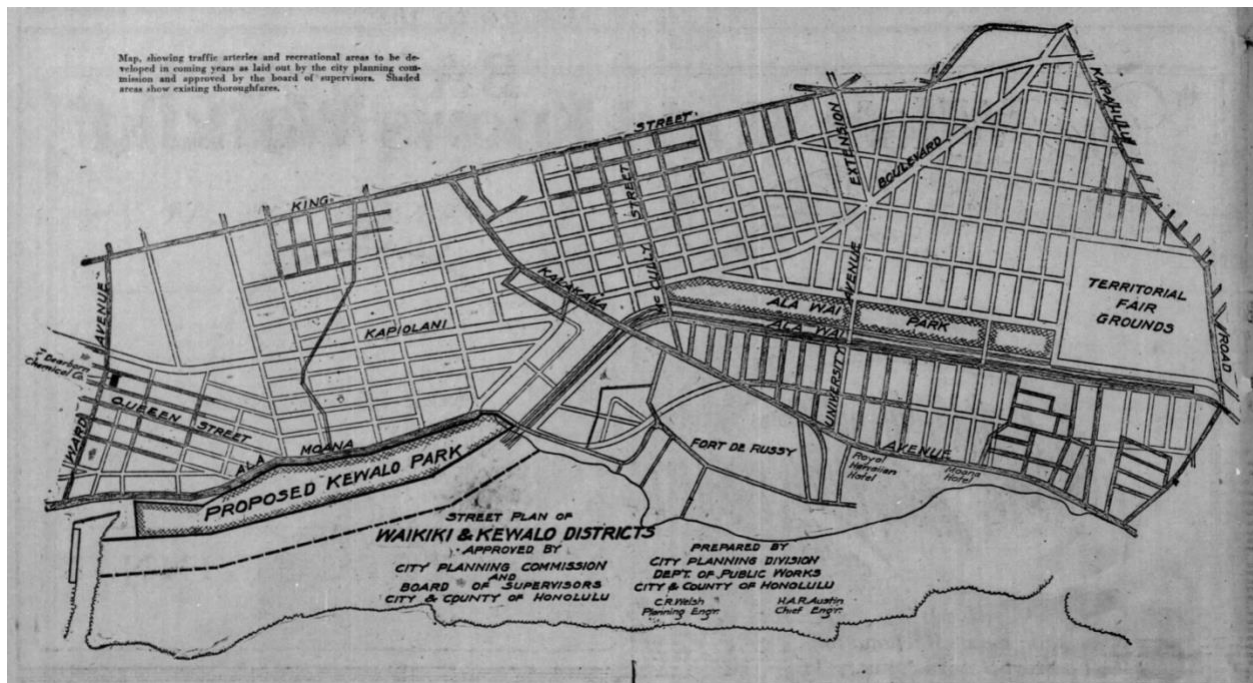


Figure 17. Map, Future Street and Park Plan of Waikiki. 1928, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.

The article entitled “Isle of Waikiki Formed by Dredging of Ala Wai and Filling of Duck Ponds” summarized the transformation of Waikīkī through the utilization of Act 61 and Chapter 83 by weaponizing the Territorial government’s Board of Health:

A new island - the isle of Waikiki - has been mechanically created, adding to the number of islands forming the archipelago of the Hawaiian islands...The dredging of a canal, which was built to catch surface waters flowing down the valleys...caused the reclamation of a vast area of swamp and lowlands, that were worthless before except for propagating ducks...Today, they are areas pregnant with possibilities for future development...Governor L.E. Pinkham...was the enthusiast who backed this scheme to reclaim useless lands in a section that was destined to be the world’s playground, for Waikiki has a universal, as well as a merely local appeal, to the pleasure-lover and health-seeker...Such is the present day “Isle of Waikiki,” within which is “Flapper Acre,” at least two of the best known hotels in the world - the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian - and the beach most sung of - “The Beach at Waikiki.”²¹⁰

With the physical metamorphosis complete, Waikīkī was ready to host tourists, eventually numbering in the millions annually, thereby continuing the loss of not just

²¹⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, “The Whole World Knows Waikiki,” 8.

Native Hawaiian lands and homes, but essential language features as well.

The Role of Tourism In Supplanting Native Hawaiians and Their Culture

The development and promotion of Waikīkī as a playground and possible home for white Americans was a turning point in Hawai‘i’s economy, which had been focused on sugar production almost exclusively for decades. This promotion focused on the pleasant and temperate climate, protected beaches, and the exotic culture of Native Hawaiians as a way to lure settler tourists to Hawai‘i. This imagined landscape of Hawai‘i, loosely based on settler touristic happenings in Southern California, included winter tourism, real estate investment, and white settlement.²¹¹

The Republic of Hawai‘i government and the Hawai‘i Promotion Committee looked to tourism as a pathway to increase the white American populous, alongside the concurrent escalation in settlerism and militarism. Margaret Werry uses the scholarship of Kumu Haunani-Kay Trask and the late Teresia Teaiwa to write about these forces working together to transform landscapes:

In the island Pacific, environmental desecration, the expropriation of land, and exploitation of resources by colonial, corporate, or military forces have proceeded in lockstep with the growth of tourism’s myth machine. In what postcolonial scholars have dubbed soft primitivism, cultural prostitution, or militourism, tourism stages the spectacle of happy, hula-dancing natives welcoming with open arms the kin of those who robbed them: a neocolonial farce of choreographed, counterfeit consensus.²¹²

[add one sentence summarizing the quote and linking to your argument, something like “To enable such spectacle, the actual food production, dwelling, and lifeways of Native Hawaiians had to be deemed worthless, destroyed, and ultimately, sold back to tourists as a cheap counterfeit.

As early as the 1920s, Hawai‘i real estate firms linked suburban property purchases and population growth in Waikīkī to tourism. Building the tourist industry in Hawai‘i resulted in numerous changes to the political, economic, and social landscapes of Hawai‘i.²¹³ Ultimately, tourism in Hawai‘i has had countless adverse and exploitive effects on Native Hawaiians and our homeland, including being “the major cause of environmental degradation, low wages, land

²¹¹ Knight Lozano, *California and Hawai‘i Bound*, 206.

²¹² Werry, *Tourist State*, xiv; Trask, *From a Native Daughter*; Teaiwa, “Reading Gauguin’s Noa Noa with Hau‘ofa’s *Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the ‘Polynesian’ Body.”

²¹³ Werry, *Tourist State*, 242; “Hawaiian Charms Are Advertised.”

dispossession, and [causing] the highest cost of living in the United States.”²¹⁴ Importantly, the original white supremacist visions to remake Waikīkī continue to dispossess Native Hawaiians of their lands and cultures due to rising costs and shrinking wages.

The Current and Future Landscapes

The latest post-COVID-19 visitor statistics reflect a total of 6,777,760 tourists in 2021. While this number is over thirty percent lower than the 10,386,673 pre-COVID-19 visitors in 2019, the tourism industry has surprised experts with its quick pandemic recovery.²¹⁵ Many of these visitors choose to stay in Waikīkī, unaware of its productive history, the displacement of many Native Hawaiians that used to live and farm there, and the hundreds of Hawaiian place names obliterated from the landscape. Some of these tourists take surf lessons at places now called “Canoes” (Kapuni), “Castles” (Kalehuawehe), or “Publics” (‘Aiwohi), with neither knowledge nor interest in the real names for these areas. Can the original place names, so carefully given by Native Hawaiians, be recovered? This final section looks at possible ways to reclaim the names and histories of places in Waikīkī, restorying the most recognizable tourist destination in the world back into a Hawaiian place.

Like the freshwater springs that gave Waikīkī its name, the original place names of this landscape have been covered over by settler-colonial hotels, swimming pools, condominiums, and retail outlets associated with the tourism industry. However, there are ways that these names can be rediscovered, remembered, and reclaimed thanks to the actions of the Hawaiian Kingdom government over one hundred fifty years ago – the next section details this process. The Hawaiian Kingdom, a constitutional monarchy recognized as a sovereign state by over fifty nation-states, codified many place names in various ways still accessible today. The 1848 Māhele, which began the process of dividing out the land rights of the ruling monarch and chief, was followed by the Kuleana Act in 1850, which allowed commoners to claim the house lots and cultivated lands utilized by them as a way to divide out the land rights of the common people. For commoners to claim land using the Kuleana Act, they needed to establish their connection to

²¹⁴ Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 144.

²¹⁵ Hawai‘i Tourism Authority, “Annual Visitor Research Reports.”

the lands they were claiming by providing drawings, the land tenure genealogy, and testimonies describing the plots of land they were requesting.

In addition, each required a survey with metes and bounds descriptions. These resources, still accessible today, provide detailed landscape characteristics, including place names. Many of these records are descriptive enough to estimate their location using GIS software, some done by Lloyd J. Soehren, whose work is accessible through the Ulukau website.²¹⁶ Soehren references ‘āina by place or feature name and includes where the information came from and quotes from the actual source, be it a description from testimony or the related land survey. Interestingly, it also provides the lexicology of the term, assisting the reader in understanding the historical reason for that place’s unique name. This work primarily utilized Māhele and Kuleana Act documents to recover and map these place names.

The image below is an example of this work. Apuakehau is the name of a stream that no longer runs, diverted into the Ala Wai Canal in the 1920s. Soehren recovered this stream’s name and location using a Kuleana Act claim by someone named Lanai, who was trying to be awarded a pahale (house lot) along this stream. You can find this location today near the present Moana Hotel near the marker on the map below.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ “Ulukau: The Hawaiian Electronic Library.”

²¹⁷ Soehren, “Hawaiian Place Names Apuakehau.”

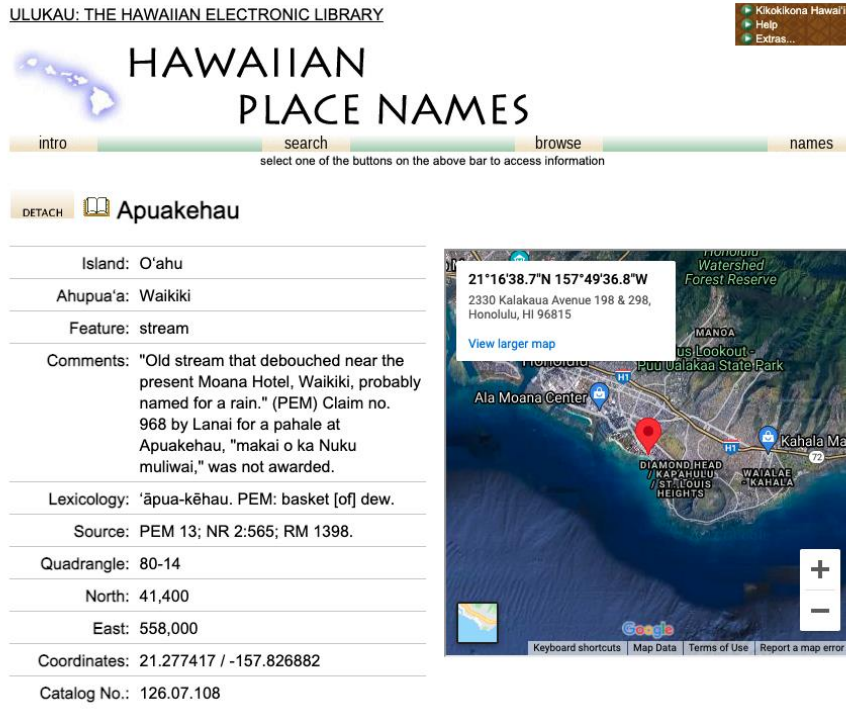


Figure 18. Image, *Hawaiian Place Names* (Soehren). Ulukau Website.

The rediscovery of place names by mining numerous other sources, including mo‘olelo (oral histories), mele (songs), and nūpepa (Hawaiian language newspapers), is a future method for recovering this erasure. Using all of these records together to create collective maps, GIS or otherwise, would be a project in what Mishuana Goeman calls “(Re)mapping”:

What are the relationships set forth during colonialism that continue to mark us today? What happens when non-normative geographies are examined? I use the parentheses in (re)mapping deliberately to avoid the pitfalls of recovery or a seeming return of the past to the present. (Re)mapping is about acknowledging the power of Native epistemologies in defining our moves toward spatial decolonization, a specific form of spatial justice.²¹⁸

The process of (re)mapping Hawai‘i has already begun using varied resources to help piece together the past. Doing this work allows Native Hawaiians linguistically restory the landscape, but the benefits are not limited to that. Language helps to teach us who we are. The saying “I ka wā ma mua, ka wā ma hope” exposes the Hawaiian cultural belief that through the past is the future, or that one should look toward the past, seeking guidance from history and ancestral

²¹⁸ Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 4.

knowledge to address issues in the future.²¹⁹ To chart a pathway forward for the lāhui, (re)mapping and restoring our landscapes, vocabularies, and histories is essential.

Conclusion

This chapter has used the case study of Waikīkī's development and resulting physical landscape transformation to highlight its use to further the white supremacist project of remaking Hawai'i into a settler-colonial landscape. An intensive area of food cultivation was destroyed, and farmers were dispossessed of their land to construct one of the world's most recognizable tourist destinations. This hewa (wrongdoing) also resulted in the loss of hundreds of place names and related knowledge. This erasure was due to non-Native Hawaiians who leveraged scholarly or political power to determine what names warranted continued use and which were inconsequential, producing lists, books, and maps that became the authoritative catalog of names in the area. This erasure was not unique to Waikīkī – it happened everywhere in Hawai'i and myriad occupied lands worldwide.

Hawai'i's unique land tenure system and related documents and maps created in the mid-1800s into the early 1900s codified many place names, enabling us to reclaim them with research and geographic technology. The legislation during the Territorial period facilitated excessive land use and tenure changes throughout Hawai'i, but especially in Waikīkī, where the transformation of its physical area used Act 61, passed just after the Hawaiian Kingdom government overthrow. While restoring place names to Waikīkī is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it reveals the possibilities and that others have begun this essential work. I hope future researchers will help reclaim our Hawaiian place names, allowing us to understand the land around us better and revisiting the knowledge that comes with place names used for centuries by our ancestors.

The (re)mapping project that I imagine looks to the past to help rebuild our language, culture, and identity for the future. It reclaims place names and normalizes their use again, as our ancestors did before us. I imagine a project that encompasses students, teachers, and the community coming together to comb through historic Hawaiian Kingdom maps and documents and gather place names like the precious pearls of knowledge they are. I look forward to a time

²¹⁹ Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*.

when young children again refer to places by these recovered names, instinctively understanding their relationship to these places and their familial connections to them. A time when speaking our place names will connect us to our kūpuna, who also spoke their names.

Increasingly, Native Hawaiians demand more from the industry that has prostituted their culture, rendering words like ‘aloha’ meaningless. I close this chapter with the words of Haunani-Kay Trask, who exemplifies the feelings of many Kanaka Maoli in our homeland:

If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please do not. We do not want or need any more tourists, and we certainly do not like them. If you want to help our cause, pass this message on to your friends.²²⁰

²²⁰ Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 146.

CHAPTER 6: HAWAI'I: A SETTLER PARADISE

“More often than not, the urge to plant roots in Hawaii all starts with a visitors first trip. Then the second trip to see parts of the island they didn’t see before or to discover another island. Now comes the 3rd trip to Hawaii to really look into communities and consider calling Hawaii home. It doesn’t always happen in that order but what we’re getting at here is Hawaii is easy to fall in love with. People often come back several times then decide they would like to make the full move to the islands and live life in paradise. We have people schedule their appointments with our team all of the time who often start the conversation off with, “We visit Hawaii a few times a year...” and now they’re ready to make the move.”²²¹

--Blog Post
Livinginoahuhawaii.com, 2022.

Introduction

The blog post above is one of a multitude written about moving to Hawai‘i, whether it is tourism, the military, or the tropical climate that beckons. The post’s text makes the connection between tourism and settlerism explicit, with many visitors wanting to live in a paradise built for them exclusively, leaving the Indigenous people of Hawai‘i to occupy the lowest strata of the socio-economic indicators.

This chapter examines the long-term impacts of the 1895 Land Act, Act 61, and other white Supremacist post-coup initiatives put into place by Hawai‘i’s Republic and territorial governments during Dole’s Dominion. The effects of these racist programs continue to oppress Native Hawaiians, often resulting in Kanaka Maoli either moving to the continental United States or existing in a constant state of resistance and activism in their homeland today.

Long-Term Implications of 1895 Land Law Modifications

The effects of land law manipulation over a century ago surround us in Hawai‘i. Tour buses, tourists and settlers crowding beaches whose names they can’t pronounce, military aircraft and vehicle convoys, and pristine aquifers poisoned with jet fuel and forever chemicals are but a

²²¹ Strong, “9 Reasons Everyone Is Moving To Hawaii In 2022 - Living In Oahu Hawaii.”

few pieces of evidence exposing Hawai‘i’s settler-privileged landscape.

Native Hawaiians Supplanted Through Population Demographic Shifts

As mentioned in chapter three, the Republic of Hawai‘i government used several different programs, including homesteading, tourism, and militarism, as methods toward the larger project of white, middle-class American immigration. The usurpers’ governments did this to increase the American demographic in Hawai‘i to protect their political power by building up their voter base and enabling the remaking of Hawai‘i into a settler-privileged, faux-colonial landscape. The burgeoning white population evidences the success of this effort. The chart below reflects the overall population trends between 1900 and 1960, encompassing the Republic and territorial governmental periods:²²²

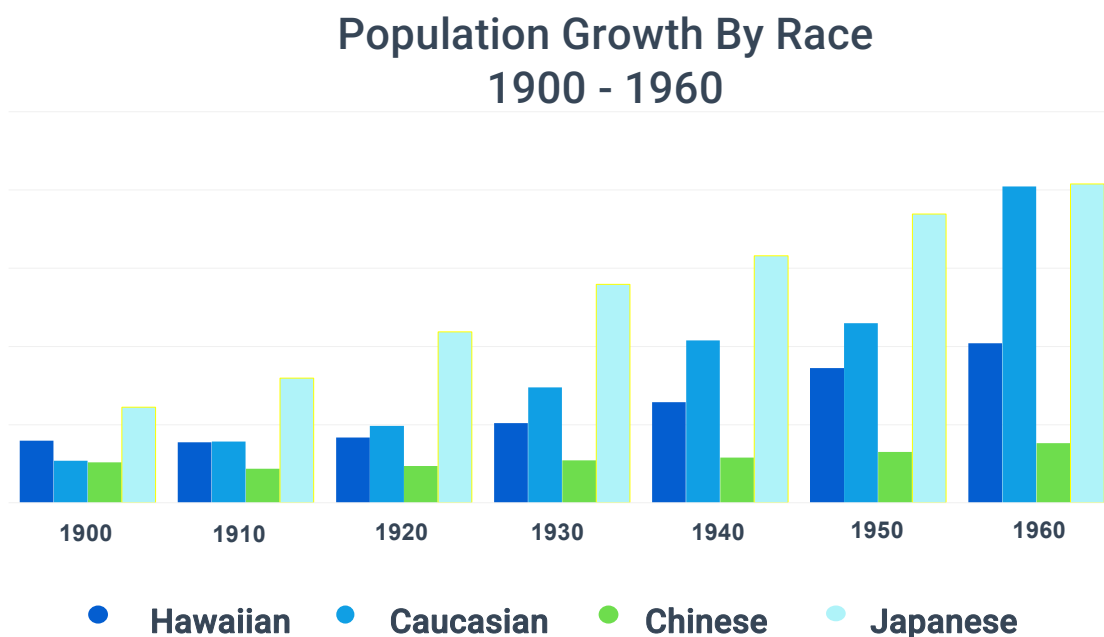


Figure 19. Population Growth By Race 1900-1960. Lind, Hawaii's People.

²²² Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 28.

Table 12. Hawai‘i Population by Race, 1853-1960

Population by Race															
Race	1853	1860	1866	1872	1878	1884	1890	1896	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Hawaiian	70,036	65,647	57,125	49,044	44,088	40,014	34,436	31,019	29,799	26,041	23,723	22,636	14,375	12,245	10,502
Part-Hawaiian	983	1,337	1,640	2,487	3,420	4,218	6,186	8,485	9,857	12,506	18,027	28,224	49,935	73,845	91,597
Caucasian	1,687	1,900	2,400	2,944	3,748	16,579	18,939	22,438	26,819	39,158	49,140	73,702	103,791	114,793	202,230
Portuguese	87	85	90	424	486	9,967	12,719	15,191	18,272	22,301	27,002	27,588	-	-	-
Other Caucasian	1,600	1,815	2,310	2,520	3,262	6,612	6,220	7,247	8,547	14,867	19,708	44,895	-	-	-
Chinese	364	816	1,306	2,038	6,045	18,254	16,752	21,616	25,767	21,674	23,507	27,179	28,774	32,376	38,119
Japanese	-	-	-	-	-	116	12,610	24,407	61,111	79,675	109,274	139,631	157,905	184,598	203,876
Korean	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,533	4,950	6,461	6,851	7,030	-
Filipino	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,361	21,031	63,052	52,569	61,062	68,641
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,890	5,602	6,671	8,296	9,551	-
Negro	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	233	695	348	563	255	2,651	4,943
All Other	62	100	488	384	684	1,397	1,067	1,055	415	376	310	217	579	1,618	12,864
TOTAL	73,137	69,800	62,959	56,897	57,985	80,578	89,990	109,020	154,001	191,909	255,912	368,336	423,330	499,769	632,772

Source: Lind, *Hawaii's People*.

In the population table above, two subcategories comprise the Caucasian category – Portuguese and Other Caucasian. This distinction delineates the many Portuguese indentured laborers brought over by the plantations. While the usurpers saw them as ‘white enough’ to be considered Caucasian and function as bosses in plantation hierarchies, they were not the targeted demographic of white Anglo-Saxon Americans. For this reason, it was essential for the Republic and territorial governments to track the number of white American settlers. The ‘Other Caucasian’ category reflects this data. After 1940, this category distinction is no longer maintained.

The number of white Americans immigrating to Hawai‘i increased dramatically and consistently between 1900 and 1960 when the Caucasian category reflected populations of 8,547 and 202,230, respectively. Even if one deducts the last known number of Portuguese settlers shown in 1930, this still means that the Caucasian demographic grew more than 2000% over sixty years. Thus, the project of settling white Americans in Hawai‘i was an overwhelming success. The voter base that supported the white oligarchy running the Republic and territorial governments increased drastically, which enabled them to continue championing their white

supremacist policies and stay in power for decades. The exponential growth of white Americans in Hawai‘i resulted in the supplanting of Native Hawaiians in their ancestral homeland.

Territorial Homesteading Impeded Native Hawaiian Land Ownership

Chapter Four explained the territorial homesteading program and confirmed that it did not fulfill the goal of bringing multitudes of white American yeomen to transform the agricultural landscape of Hawai‘i. Most of the territorial homesteaders that obtained land ownership through the Right of Purchase or Cash Freehold programs sold or leased these lands for a considerable profit due to the deep discounts offered initially, ultimately making them speculators rather than homesteaders. In addition, some white homesteaders worked for the usurpers’ government, already lived in Hawai‘i, and owned other Hawaiian lands, allowing these settler landowners to build even more generational wealth for their descendants.

Meanwhile, the 999-Term Homestead leaseholders, many Native Hawaiian by design, could never own the land they were required to live on. The inability to name a leasehold beneficiary meant that there could be hundreds of leaseholders over the first century of the lease of as little as eight acres. The inequity of these programs is a clear example of how the land legislation dispossessed Native Hawaiians during this period. The purposeful exclusion of Native Hawaiians in programs designed to foster the building of generational wealth through land ownership relegated them to continued systemic impoverishment. This situation continues currently, with Kanaka Maoli occupying the lowest strata of socio-economic indicators.²²³

Tourism and Military Growth Foster Native Hawaiian Poverty and Displacement

Tourism growth happened steadily after the development of Waikīkī, as was examined in chapter five. However, the number of visitors exploded after the end of World War II. In 1946, the number of visitors to Hawai‘i was just 15,000. Nine years later, in 1955, that number was 109,800. By 1965, the number of tourists coming to Hawai‘i was nearly 600,000. In May 2023, over 800,000 tourists flocked to Hawai‘i in just one month.²²⁴ The visitor industry has grown

²²³ Aquino, “Native Hawaiian Homeownership”; “Native Hawaiian Data Book.”

²²⁴ Department Of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, Research and Economic Analysis Division, “U.S. Visitors Continued Surpassing 2019 Level in May.”

exponentially over one generation, and tourism replaced Hawai‘i’s plantation industry as the largest source of Hawai‘i’s income.²²⁵ Many of these tourists moved to Hawai‘i, becoming settlers in the homeland of Native Hawaiian people. Corporate interests have coopted and prostituted Hawaiian culture for nearly a century, reaping huge profits, while Native Hawaiians have been relegated to being lū‘au dancers and disenfranchised financially.

The Republic and territorial governments’ project of increasing the number of the military in Hawai‘i was also successful in bringing American bodies to island shores. In 1920 there was less than 4,000 military personnel in Hawai‘i. The buildup to World War II drastically changed these ratios, with the number of military members exceeding the permanent resident populous. In 1960, over 100,000 of Hawai‘i’s population was military personnel and their dependents.²²⁶ Currently, there are over 95,000 active duty military and their dependents living in Hawai‘i.²²⁷ This military presence brings with it social and economic changes, including increased home prices, further exacerbating the ability of Native Hawaiians to own land in their ancestral home.

Hawai‘i’s cost of living has caused many Native Hawaiians to move to the continental United States, exchanging living in their homeland for the ability to purchase a home and improve their economic standing. For the first time in history, as of 2021, more Native Hawaiians are living on the U.S. continent than in Hawai‘i, a direct result of the oppressive cost of living at least partially caused by tourism, militarism, and settlerism.²²⁸ The effects of this widespread displacement of Hawai‘i’s Native people are a sad consequence of the transformation of their homeland into someone else’s militarised paradise and vacation playground.

The Longevity of 1895 Land Act Legislation

The land law foundation that the 1895 Land Act laid enjoyed a long existence, with some of this legislation still in place today. Hawai‘i’s current land classifications are based on the Land Act’s specifications which were “prejudiced by the lack of expert classification.”²²⁹ Its racist

²²⁵ Lind, *Hawaii’s People*, 12.

²²⁶ Lind, *Hawaii’s People*, 10-11.

²²⁷ State of Hawai‘i, “Defense Personnel in Hawaii.”

²²⁸ ABC News, “Trouble in Paradise.”

²²⁹ Hawaii Land Laws Revision Commission, [*Final Report, 1946*], 52–54.

homesteading provisions were also longlived, remaining in place with little change before 1951 when the 999-Year Term homestead lease and the certificate of occupation were “discontinued as means of homestead entry.” The 1895 Land Act provisions related to the Right of Purchase lease and Cash Freehold agreement were still in place in 1961.²³⁰

In 1943, the Land Laws Revision Commission, created by the Hawai‘i legislature, submitted a report to Governor Stainback, part of which was focused on territorial homesteading history in Hawai‘i:

The homestead laws have been utilized as an additional conduit for siphoning off of government lands into private ownership; the majority of homesteaders have proved themselves to be mere speculators or investors with no intention of establishing or maintaining a homestead; judged by the definition and connotations of the word ‘homestead’, homesteading in Hawaii has not proved a success²³¹

In 1961, George W. Luter authored a report on homesteading in Hawai‘i for the Department of Land and Natural Resources. In the section entitled *Should Homesteading Be Continued in Hawaii*, Luter makes the following statement:

Perpetuation of the fine old American tradition is not, in itself, sufficient justification for continuing homesteading in Hawaii. The decision as to whether to continue homesteading in Hawaii should be based on economic value rather than on socio-political considerations. It is extremely doubtful that a convincing case for continued homesteading can be developed from an impartial study of the record.²³²

Luter’s nod to the fact that political needs rather than putting experienced farmers on Hawai‘i lands to diversify agriculture drove the territorial homesteading program points to possible reasons for the failure of this program. This does not, however, negate the detrimental effect of these long-lived laws on non-white residents in Hawai‘i. In this way, the Republic and territorial governments’ racist settler-colonial project was efficacious.

The following quote by Luter encompasses the main idea of his report, “...the land laws pertaining to homesteading and other disposition of public lands should be revised or rewritten to accomplish the purposes determined to be in the best interest of the State in general as opposed

²³⁰ Luter, *Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961*, 6-7.

²³¹ As quoted in Luter, *Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961*, 12.

²³² Luter, *Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961*, 8-9.

to the personal interests of any small group.”²³³ Yet, as this thesis argues, decades of land governance were in the explicit personal interests of a small group.

Despite the U.S. being able to intervene in Hawai‘i land legislation after the Organic Act, they chose to allow Dole and his successors to continue the white supremacist policies made legal in 1895. This lack of involvement is likely why the 1895 Land Act laws were in place for over five decades. These laws, created to privilege whites while concurrently disenfranchising many non-white citizens, negatively affected the Native Hawaiian segment of the population, the effects of which are still visible today.

Conclusion

The 1895 Land Act and subsequent legislation enabled the remaking of Hawai‘i into a settler-privileged landscape that oppressed Native Hawaiians both historically and currently. Population demographic changes driven by tourism, militarism, and related settler immigration have made Kanaka a minority in our homeland. Evaluating the effectiveness of territorial homesteading, tourism, or the buildup of militarism initiatives individually is complex and nuanced, depending on the yardstick used to measure efficacy. While the success of expanding tourism and militarism are apparent in Hawai‘i’s current landscape, evaluating homesteading as Dole and the other usurpers envisioned it is more complicated. Ultimately, if the metric for success was to settle white American farmers in Hawai‘i and diversify the agricultural landscape by capturing some of the plantation economy’s income, territorial homesteading was a dismal failure. However, suppose the metric was the systemic remaking of Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape and simultaneous dispossession of non-white residents of Hawai‘i, including Native Hawaiians, while providing exclusive economic opportunity for white residents. In that case, the program was wildly efficacious.

Hawai‘i’s cost of living, including housing, food, and virtually everything else, is inflated and driven by bloated property values caused by tourism and military bases. Currently, the majority of Native Hawaiians now live away from Hawai‘i to purchase homes and obtain a better quality of life than their homeland can provide. We are about to learn how living outside of

²³³ Luter, *Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961*, 13-14.

Hawai‘i affects the identities of a generation of Kanaka Maoli raised in America thousands of miles away from their ancestral lands.

The transformation of Hawai‘i into someone else’s paradise through tourism, militarism, and settlerism has had many longstanding consequences, all of which started with the 1895 Land Act put into place during Dole’s Dominion at the end of the late nineteenth century designed to disenfranchise Native Hawaiians and make them strangers in their own home. While this effort was successful, Kanaka Maoli have continued to resist settler-colonialism in Hawai‘i while exhibiting incredible resilience and aloha in the face of their country’s prolonged occupation by the United States.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

“It is the destiny of these islands, from their geographical position alone, to become part and parcel of the United States,” The “King and Chiefs may sell the islands for a ‘mess of pottage,’ and then the Kanaka race will soon after become extinct; they will give place to the Anglo-Saxon.” This California transplant called on his country and compatriots to follow him into the Pacific Ocean: to Americanize **Hawai’i**, to convert it into a white republic, and to do so with “God-speed.”²³⁴

--B.F.F., “Letter from Honolulu,”
Daily Alta California, August 19, 1854

Introduction

The quote above, written by a Hawaiian Kingdom settler from California, exposes the goals of many white people living in Hawai‘i, including Dole and his conspirators working in the post-coup government five decades after the date of this letter. The longstanding idea that Native Hawaiians would face eventual extinction and replacement by white Americans was akin to the Myth of the Vanishing Indian promoted by U.S. federal government officials and agents throughout the nineteenth century. With strong connections to Manifest Destiny, the disappearance of Indigenous people, including Native Hawaiians, was seen as inevitable and ordained by God. This pervasive myth served the U.S. and American settlers well, with the Christian God justifying the expansion of U.S. boundaries at any cost.²³⁵

This dissertation has detailed the post-coup white supremacist project of remaking Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape using legislation. Because of the Hawaiian Kingdom government’s initiatives and structures that codified and protected Indigenous access to land, traditional place names, and more, specific steps and legal transformations were required for the usurpers to dispossess Hawaiians of their lands and rights. The 1893 coup was the first necessary action due to Hawai‘i’s status as an internationally recognized sovereign nation-state with a respected reigning monarch and robust land laws in place. Shortly after the coup, the 1895 Land

²³⁴ B.F.F., “Letter from Honolulu,” *Daily Alta California*, August 19, 1854, 9;

²³⁵ White House Historical Association, “The Myth of the Vanishing Indian.”

Act effectively reformed the Kingdom laws and associated Native Hawaiian land ownership and use protections. This act provided the usurpers with a land frontier leveraged to enable the settling of white Americans while concurrently dispossessing Native Hawaiians in their homeland. Through interrogating the actions of the men and the governments they represented, this dissertation detailed the 1895 Land Act, the Territorial Homesteading program, and the use of Act 61 to develop Waikīkī, along with related case studies. Together, these systems facilitated the transformation of Hawai‘i’s political and social economies from a self-sufficient nation-state into a belligerently-occupied, settler-privileged landscape. This project continues the work of other Native Hawaiian scholars in approaching historical events using an Indigenous, Native Hawaiian lens since non-Indigenous, white men have authored most Hawaiian history scholarship and omitted many of the subversive legal actions taken post-coup in Hawai‘i. This research shed light on a particularly ‘murky’ period in Hawai‘i. It analyzed the racist efforts of the Territory of Hawai‘i government by using land legislation to disenfranchise and oppress Native Hawaiians, historically and currently.

The following research questions guided this dissertation, which sought to uncover and describe the usurpers’ remaking of Hawai‘i in the post-coup period. First, I asked what specific, unique steps were required of and taken by the usurpers that enabled the eventual reshaping of Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. Then particular initiatives and programs established by the 1895 Land Act and subsequent land legislation during the years immediately following the coup are detailed. Also, how did these laws impact Native Hawaiian land ownership and use? Next, I explored the effects of these policies by asking how the legislative modifications impacted population demographics in Hawai‘i. I then interrogated the usurpers’ intent, questioning their overall goals in making these law changes and identifying the ultimate beneficiaries of the changes. Finally, tracing from the past to the present, I examined the long-term effects of these initiatives, particularly their longevity. These questions reach across many strands of Hawai‘i’s post-coup era, confronting policy and legislation along with their long-term impacts and continued resonance today.

As argued, the 1893 coup overthrowing the Hawaiian Kingdom government was the usurpers’ first required step toward facilitating their white supremacist remaking of Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. Because the Hawaiian Kingdom was an internationally recognized sovereign nation-state with more than fifty international treaties, the usurpers and U.S. Minister

to the Hawaiian Kingdom Stevens hatched and executed an elaborate plan to land American military troops on O‘ahu to force Queen Lili‘uokalani to abdicate her throne. America’s role was pivotal, as the coup would likely have failed without the U.S. military’s threat of force. Native Hawaiians have contested these actions continuously since the day they occurred.

The next step in transforming Hawai‘i required a drastic manipulation of Kingdom land laws to provide a frontier where white Americans could settle. Land categorization and use were dramatically changed by the hasty crafting of the 1895 Land Act and its formal legal mechanism, ultimately encouraging white land ownership while concurrently dispossessing Native Hawaiians of land. The Land Act combined the Crown and Government land banks, which achieved several goals for the oligarchy. First, it gave them access to over 900,000 acres of Hawai‘i’s most valuable land. They were formerly inalienable, as they were the personal property of the reigning monarch - at the time of the coup, they belonged to Queen Lili‘uokalani. Illegally acquiring these lands also weakened the strength of the monarchy and its resources which had been carefully stewarded for generations. After the seizure of this acreage, the Crown Lands were combined with the Government land bank and renamed ‘Public Lands.’ Renaming the lands as ‘public’ was intentional, implying that they belonged to everyone once the legislation passed. The Crown lands were called the ‘Ceded’ Lands for decades after the 1895 Land Act, showing the power of renaming and historiography. Many Native Hawaiian scholars today will point out that the Crown lands were never public nor ceded, as historiographic renaming has led us to believe. Instead, Queen Lili‘uokalani contested the seizure of her acreage for years, and many Native Hawaiians honor her efforts now by refusing to use either of those terms to describe her lands.

The expropriation of the Crown acreage provided a land frontier for the Republic of Hawai‘i following the supposed annexation in 1898. The United States supported this action after taking Hawai‘i as a territory, and the 1900 Organic Act passed.²³⁶ The Republic of Hawai‘i began to sell these lands almost immediately after the coup, briefly pausing when the United States absorbed Hawai‘i via the Newlands Resolution. This pause was due to Sanford Dole, the Territory’s first governor, being unsure of his authority concerning the disposition of the public land bank. Upon the reestablishment of Dole’s confidence through clarification by the U.S. government a short time later, the parceling, sale, and leasing of their new ‘frontier’ resumed,

²³⁶ The taking of Hawai‘i as a U.S. territory and a state continues to be contested today, and numerous international law experts support Hawai‘i’s occupation by the United States.

with the United States leaving the majority of the Republic's land laws and leadership intact. It is important to remember, however, that much of the Public Lands sold during this period were comprised of over 900,000 acres of Crown lands, stolen from Queen Lili'uokalani by U.S. military force at the time of the coup.

The next step toward fulfilling the Republic's white supremacist goals was the luring of white Americans as settlers. More than half of the 1895 Land Act was devoted to providing laws and systems that facilitated its racist homesteading initiative that privileged white Americans over Native Hawaiians as landowners. Territorial Governor Sanford Dole and his appointed public land commissioners exercised complete control over the Public Land frontier. They had the power to confiscate land leased to plantations for homesteads, which put them at odds with plantation owners and the significant corporate interests of early 20th century Hawai'i. Even if leased land was in cultivation, the usurpers could take the acreage and give it to homesteaders, especially if said homesteaders were desirable white Americans. The Republic leaders could select the locations of homestead tracts, set the prices for them, decide on government-provided infrastructure, and handpick homesteaders using Settlement Associations. The Land Act designed these associations to encourage and enable white Americans to live in congenial communities that were ethnically, economically, and socially segregated, thereby fulfilling part of the Republic's white supremacist vision of a settler-privileged landscape.

Dole's homesteading scheme offered heavily discounted land to white American settlers for cultivation and residential purposes. This land was sold for as little as twenty percent of its appraised value to "build up the white population of the Islands"...and, to that end, "made the terms of purchase, residence, and improvements as easy as possible, so that the complying with all conditions will not be a hardship."²³⁷ Through wealth-related requirements, these advantages were offered exclusively to white Americans, which, in turn, disenfranchised Native Hawaiian land ownership, evidenced by Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole's complaint against territorial Governor Frear in 1911. Kūhiō, Hawai'i's non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, alleged that Native Hawaiians paid more per acre for inferior land on the limited homestead tracts they could obtain because of Frear's priority to settle white Americans.

²³⁷ Tucker, Office of the Commissioner of Public Lands, "Letter to Prospective Homesteader," July 10, 1908.

The 1895 Land Act created the public land frontier and the vehicle to sell that frontier. However, it also addressed another political threat for the haole usurpers - being an extreme demographic minority in the lands they claimed to govern. At less than five percent of the population, haole were vastly outnumbered, and homesteading was designed to build up the white American demographic using the new land frontier as a lure. The United States had used homesteading to supplant Native Americans across their homelands by growing the American Anglo-Saxon demographic, their primary political supporters. The U.S.'s history and familiarity with homesteading ensured that the U.S. accepted Hawai'i using the same method, regardless of the impact on Native Hawaiian people.

Homesteading was just one part of the usurpers' plan to overcome the threat population demographics posed to their power. Hawai'i's territorial government leaders designed and utilized an overarching program consisting of a three-pronged settler-colonial approach. The Hawai'i Promotion Committee's letterhead states their methods, advocating for Hawai'i as "A Tourist Resort, A Place For Homes, The Strategic Center of the Pacific." Settlerism through land law manipulation, and in conjunction with tourism and militarism, were the usurpers' formula to expand the desirable American population in a landscape filled with residents and native inhabitants viewed as unaccepting and hostile. This strategy worked, evidenced by the burgeoning American demographic between 1900 and 1960. While this research project does not attempt to quantify the results of each initiative individually, census data proves the overwhelming success of this three-pronged approach.

Additionally, there are other ways in which the 1895 Land Act and subsequent law modifications expanded the power of the usurpers through the oppression of Native Hawaiians opposing Dole and his government. The Land Act disenfranchised Hawaiian Nationalists who continued to support the reinstatement of the Queen through the use of an Oath of Allegiance. All government employees, including police officers, judges, and teachers, were mandated to sign—refusal to do so meant job loss and the inability to support their families. The oath of allegiance was also required to participate in homesteading programs created by the Land Act. Applicants were disqualified without it, which provided an economic incentive to turn away from the Queen, who was still actively pursuing reinstatement by the United States government. It also ensured that many of the Royalists were economically penalized. These actions helped to deal with the threat of staunch Native Hawaiian opposition to the usurpers, whose numbers

topped thirty thousand as evidenced by their signatures on the Kū‘ē anti-annexation petitions just two years later in 1897.

Selling the land frontier created by the confiscation and alienation of the Crown Land bank benefitted the Republic and Territorial governments by providing them with much-needed income. It also gave the government officials a way to reward their supporters and employees, as was exposed in the case study of the Ha‘ikū homesteads. The valuable land in this American Colony was sold to white Americans and Republic supporters exclusively, making them the nepotistic beneficiaries of the Land Act initiatives.

The case study of Waikīkī’s transformation from an intensive food production area to a white American tourist mecca was detailed, exposing the use of Act 61 to dispossess Native Hawaiian and other farmers of their lands. Like similar projects across Hawai‘i, this reclamation and development project supported the Republic’s white supremacist settler-colonial goals by luring white Americans to Hawai‘i as tourists and prospective settlers. This method promoted settlerism while erasing Native Hawaiian people along with their culture and language.

This project examined how the white supremacist post-1893 coup governments created and utilized land laws to remake Hawai‘i into a settler-colonial landscape. While many aspects of Hawai‘i’s land tenure differ from that of the United States and other places, the evidence uncovered shows the utilization of the universal tactics of racism, imperialism, colonial statecraft, dispossession, and the remaking of place through erasure by the usurpers to turn Hawai‘i into the settler society and tourist ‘paradise’ that it is today.

While extending the Hawaiian Geography scholarship of Beamer, Andrade, Oliveira, Louis, and other Native Hawaiian geographers, this project uncovers the unsavory history of the post-coup period. Each scholar above has provided the kahua, or foundation, upon which this project is built. They have helped frame what a Native Hawaiian worldview looks like, which I have applied in the analysis of this inquiry. Beamer’s historical recovery work has been particularly integral to my research, serving as an example of using archival documentation as a method to recover Native Hawaiian histories erased by the racist post-coup powers.

This project has begun interrogating the actions of the governments run by those that overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom government. It has used primary sources to tell the mo‘olelo, or history, of this period and an Indigenous, Native Hawaiian lens to analyze this history. However, much work is still needed to fully understand how the post-coup oligarchy and

successive governments manipulated the political and economic landscapes of Hawai‘i. Researching Native Hawaiian opinions and resistance documented in Hawaiian Language newspapers is one such possibility. Determining the long-term results of kuleana parcels is another area that would give more insight into the economic effects of this period on Native Hawaiian land ownership. Research of the early Territorial legislative sessions, while Kanaka Maoli served as legislators, is another area that would help continue this project’s work. The lack of existing Native Hawaiian scholarship on this period has resulted in an almost limitless future research landscape that I hope will be taken on by other Hawaiian scholars.

I spent most of my life believing that my people were somehow to blame for our current social and economic predicament – I now know that is not true. Through my research, I now understand that a racist system disenfranchised Native Hawaiians on many fronts after the 1893 illegal coup. The results of this system’s white supremacist legislation have contributed to the socio-economic oppression of Native Hawaiians that continues in today’s political landscape. I hope this research inspires other Native Hawaiians to investigate this period so that we can learn more about the United States’ role in the continued oppression that has its roots in the post-overthrow period and perhaps hold oppressors accountable in the future. Doing this will ensure that my grandchildren and future generations will never doubt our people as I once did. I ka wā ma mua, I ka wā ma hope – we must look to the past to understand our future, even if that past is filled with racism and oppression. Doing so will allow us to move forward in Aloha ‘Āina as our kūpuna did. E ola ka Lāhui o Hawai‘i nei, E ola!

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