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THE DEVELOPMENT OF WAIKIKI, 1900-1949: THE FORMATIVE
PERIOD OF AN AMERICAN RESORT PARADISE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

AMERICAN STUDIES

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By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the historical development of Waikiki from 1900 to 1949, and the decisive transformation of its environment from a primarily agricultural land to a resort area. By analyzing the changing landscape of Waikiki, this study will explore the images and movements behind the scenes and beneath the surface, and correlate these developments with evolving economic, social, and cultural values.

The methodological approach taken in this project is that of a landscape study. The dissertation examines Waikiki's landscape as a cultural text and attempts to discover an integrated meaning of the particular landscape consisting of physical (human-made and natural environments) and mental (myths, images, and memories) elements.

This study focuses upon the paradisal myth and its influence upon the formation of Waikiki's character in the first half of the 20th century. Myth is a cultural creation based upon collective human desires and emotions which can be interwoven with reality. It exerts a tremendous influence upon social actuality.

The central thesis is that Waikiki's changing landscape from 1900 and 1949 reflects the formation of the American idea of a resort paradise. There are five major points in this concept. First, a resort paradise is a temporary retreat shielded from daily life and free from the constraints, pressures, and monotony of civilized society. Second, the transient retreat is located in the "middle ground" incorporating the positive elements of wilderness and of civilization. One would hope to attain both spiritual contentment in
magnificent nature and modern comfort in convenient facilities. Third, in such an idyllic refuge, one would enjoy a life of leisure without toil. Fourth, the time of leisure in the ideal setting provides mental and physical rejuvenation, and intellectual and artistic stimulation for the visitor. Finally, a resort paradise serves as an alternative to the Earthly Paradise which was believed in the age of exploration to have existed in the South Seas. It offers a dreamy, mythical experience to fulfill humankind's quest of paradise in the secular world. Prior to 1950, Waikiki retained these qualities of a resort paradise, serving primarily the affluent, privileged class.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The view of Waikiki from offshore provides a snapshot of a unique and delicately balanced environment. To the east is Diamond Head, a universal symbol which readily identifies Waikiki. Along with the symbolic land form, the vast greenery of Kapiolani Park occupies the eastern side of the landscape. In the foreground, the beautiful white sand beach extends over a distance of two miles. In the background, the Koolau mountain ridges overshadow the tranquil Manoa Valley. To the west, the beautifully landscaped Magic Island of Ala Moana Park borders the populous community of Honolulu. And in the center a dense concentration of high-rise buildings fiercely competes each with the other for space and view corridor. Altogether, a natural greenbelt surrounds the urban scene of Waikiki. From one point of view, nature is here harmoniously blended together with intense urbanization within a narrow space. Yet, from another viewpoint, urbanization appears to be rapidly encroaching upon the natural environment.

This unique physical setting differentiates Waikiki from the rest of Honolulu. Moreover, Waikiki functions primarily as a tourist resort, although it also supports a small community consisting of about 19,000 residents (the writer included). This feature makes Waikiki an isolated district physically and mentally removed from urban Honolulu. Yet, Waikiki's uniqueness does not necessarily lie in
the fact that Waikiki is a tourist destination. Waikiki is also quite
different from other resort areas on the Hawaiian Islands, such as
Kaanapali and Wailea on Maui or Waikoloa on the Big Island. Those
resorts are master-planned, sophisticated playgrounds shielded from
daily reality, while Waikiki is much more attached to everyday life.
It is a dynamic, evolving community. Waikiki contains aspects of
both the residential community and the ephemeral tourist world.
And it is this attempt at a delicate balance that makes Waikiki
unique.

However, if one were to focus solely on the physical core of
Waikiki, one might reach a different conclusion. On the surface,
modern Waikiki appears very similar to most typical American cities
filled with high-rise buildings. As J. Meredith Neil argues, many
tourists regard the conspicuously overcrowded scene as "Pile Drivers
in Paradise," following the title of an Architectural Forum report.¹
The only distinction perhaps is the fact that Waikiki is located on the
seashore of a "South Sea" island. It seems unique to Hawaii, but is it
truly special beyond its territory? For example, we might compare
Waikiki with Miami Beach, another popular seashore resort on the US
Mainland. Miami Beach also is filled with high-rise buildings
particularly on the north side of the island. In the context of modern
seashore resorts characterized by an abundance of sunshine, Miami
Beach does not appear essentially different from Waikiki. And yet,
the South Florida resort does seem more "civilized" than Waikiki,
both physically and mentally. (By "civilized", I mean urbanized or
identified with city life in both its positive and negative aspects.)
Unfortunately, the entire district of Miami is replete with urban problems: pollution, congestion, ethnic tension, and crime, in particular. The city has become one of the major American metropolises racked with the strains of civilization. The negative aspects of Miami clearly affect the health of the resort area, and Miami Beach seems to be agonizing over the city's massive urban developments. On the other hand, despite its increasing urban problems, Waikiki still boasts a rich historical, cultural heritage and a natural charm that Miami Beach does not possess (although the Florida resort is praised for its preservation of the historic Art Deco district on South Beach). Granted that Waikiki is a place distinct both from the rest of Hawaii and from Mainland cities, is it unique among the resorts of the South Pacific? Consider Tahiti, surely one of the most magical and beautiful islands in the Polynesian chain. Compared with Waikiki, Tahiti still possesses the aura of primitive society. Although it faces the encroachment of modernization, Tahiti is a long way yet from Waikiki's massive concrete structures. In short, Tahiti is less "civilized" than Waikiki. Other resort areas in the South Pacific are even less developed than Tahiti. Thus, it may be argued, Waikiki's uniqueness stretches beyond the Hawaiian Islands. It is indeed a "special place," a distinctive environment that possesses something found nowhere else.

This uniqueness of Waikiki will be the focus of the present dissertation. There must be something about it, something quintessential and identifiable, that will explain the peculiar character of Waikiki. This study proposes to explore the source of
that distinctiveness. Hence, the purpose of this study is to examine the historical development of Waikiki from 1900 to 1949, and the decisive transformation of its environment from a primarily agricultural land to a resort area. The period clearly formed and fashioned the special quality of Waikiki.

Let us briefly review the history of Waikiki's landscape. Waikiki became the center of the government of Oahu around 1450. It served thereafter as a royal residence, surrounded by fish ponds and wetlands. However, the encounter with Western civilization made Kamehameha I move his court in 1809 to Honolulu where foreign vessels could enter the port. This change had a significant impact on Waikiki's environment. Waikiki had shifted from a permanent residence to a temporary retreat for royalty, establishing the foundation of Waikiki as a resort. After the Great Mahele in 1848, which terminated the traditional land tenure system, foreigners began to purchase land and to build residences. They might well have found an ultimate destination in Waikiki; but, around the turn of the century, the construction of bathhouses and hotels changed the environment of Waikiki once again from a place of permanent residence to a temporary retreat, although some people did maintain their houses there. During the first twenty years of the new century, Waikiki changed its character from a residential to a hotel area. From the outset, Waikiki foreshadowed its destiny as a tourist resort. The next thirty years solidified Waikiki's status as a first-class resort. By examining the changing landscape of Waikiki, this study proposes to explore the images and
movements behind the scenes and beneath the surface, and to correlate these developments with evolving economic, social and cultural values.

The thesis of the present study, simply stated, is that Waikiki's changing landscape from 1900 to 1949 reflects the formation of the American idea of a resort paradise. The environment of Waikiki is seen to change over time as the concept of a resort paradise itself changes. This is because landscape is a reflection of culture; it is socially constructed. Since the turn of the century, many people have attempted to create or recreate Waikiki's landscape as an embodiment of the ideal resort paradise, infusing their own images of paradise into this "special place." Business people, designers and architects, along with visitors and residents, actually engaged in the making of a landscape based on the paradisal resort theme. Later, mythmakers enhanced the image of a resort paradise and gave significant meaning to the landscape. From the beginning to the middle of the 20th century, Waikiki's environment primarily served the affluent, leisure class. Its building structures well illustrated and enhanced the elitist flavor. Political and business leaders of Honolulu intended to create a wealthy resort environment in the district of Waikiki to meet the needs and desires of the privileged class. They formed the physical landscape of Waikiki according to "paradisal" resort images congenial to the elite class. Indeed, the affluent tourist already embraced a dream of paradise before making the long voyage to the magical islands of the South Seas. The dream was enhanced, before and during the trip, by the numerous publicists
who effectively romanticized and mythologized a paradisal ambiance that came to define Waikiki. The mythmakers shaped the mental landscape of Waikiki so as to reflect the tastes and expectations of the affluent travelers. Thus, Waikiki's landscape between 1900 and 1949 mirrored the leisurely image of a fabled resort paradise, and its uniqueness lay in that salient feature.

The examination of Waikiki's environment will focus upon the period between 1900 and 1949. This is because that half-century witnessed the creation and formation of a resort "paradise" in Waikiki. Prior to 1900, the resort developments of Waikiki had already encompassed the establishment of Kapiolani Park and the subsequent proliferation of stately mansions along the seashore. But it was not until 1901, when the elegant Moana Hotel appeared on the beach frontage, that Waikiki came to be recognized as a tourist resort. Since then, Waikiki moved rapidly toward becoming a world-class resort able to lure affluent visitors in large numbers. Around 1950, however, major transformations occurred to the landscape of Waikiki. In 1950, Roy Kelley built the 100-unit Edgewater Hotel to accommodate less affluent visitors. It was the first major hotel project since the Royal Hawaiian was opened in 1927. Kelley thereafter continued his efforts to provide modest-scale accommodations for middle class Americans with sufficient economic status to make a trip to the islands of the Pacific. The successive construction of small-scale hotels clearly modified the physical scene of Waikiki along with the later development of towering structures. From 1950 on, Waikiki was to be transformed into a massive urban
resort. Moreover, the means of transportation also changed around 1950. Before World War II, more than 99% of visitors traveled by ship, floating comfortably on the vast Pacific for four and a half days. But, war-time technological advances helped create a low-cost airplane capable of carrying passengers from the west coast of the US mainland to Honolulu in less than 12 hours. The number of visitors arriving by plane rose to more than 70% of the total by 1950.3 Thanks to these changes in accommodation and transportation, the visitor count itself showed a drastic increase. In 1950, the number of visitors reached over 46,000, a 35% increase over the previous year.4 Therefore, the year 1950 was a turning point of Waikiki's metamorphosis into a modernized middle-class paradise. Major transformations after 1950 clearly affected the very meaning of a "resort paradise," a theme which might well be examined in another study. The present dissertation, however, will focus upon the sources of the early version of a resort paradise which was shaped between 1900 and 1949, during which Waikiki catered primarily to the wealthy and the leisured.

In order to understand the relationship between Waikiki's environment and the paradisal resort theme, it is important to know what the concept really means. Here, a brief attempt will be made toward a definition of "paradise."

The Western concept of paradise has its own extended tradition. It may be traced as far as back the conception of the Garden of Eden. The most common interpretation nowadays may be that of a vacation resort. The concept of paradise has shifted its
meaning over time from religious to secular contexts. The definition is itself a very complex and difficult matter. Here, two major meanings for the term "paradise" will be presented. First, the late Professor Reuel Denney has provided an intriguing interpretation of the term: i.e., that the religious meaning of paradise implies humanity's ultimate destination, while the secular version suggests a temporary place to heal, cleanse, and renew oneself. In the concept of the Garden of Eden, paradise was, indeed, man's origination and ultimate destination. The quest for a lost paradise has been conducted not only on the level of imagination but also on that of earthly reality. Thus, a mysterious, unexplored island in the South Seas was to become a symbol of the search for paradise. Rousseau's idea of returning to nature, in the eighteenth century, clearly encouraged the search for an earthly paradise within the primitive societies of the Pacific. At this point, a significant change occurred in the meaning of paradise. For some people, an island of the South Seas became a destination where they might rediscover paradise. But, for others, it was a place to escape temporarily from civilization. This meaning of paradise is clearly emphasized in the publicity centered on the insular vacation spot. "Paradise" in this sense is not a destination but a temporary retreat where one may get away from the constraints of society to enjoy freedom, renew one's spirit and physical strength. Thus, in this interpretation, the image of paradise has shifted away from that of an ultimate destination to that of a transient retreat, an important distinction which will serve as the
focal point of my discussion and the foundation for my neologism of
the "resort paradise."

Another significant definition of paradise deals with its
physical dimensions. What is to be emphasized here is that paradise
is a "middle ground" between the two poles of wilderness and
civilization. The term, a "middle ground," or a "middle landscape,"
comes from Leo Marx's interpretation of the pastoral scenery
depicted by Greek poets. Virgil, for instance, created a poetic fantasy
where shepherds tended their flocks in a perfect, idyllic setting.\(^5\) In
the pastoral ideal, wilderness is viewed as a desolate, wild, primitive
land and civilization as a corrupt, filthy, urban space. The Garden of
Eden seems to fit in the idealized middle landscape since it is
considered a garden carefully tended by the hands of God. Although
Eden was not completely free of wilderness elements such as
serpents, it was essentially a peaceful, pastoral landscape where
humans and other creatures were embraced within a verdant setting.
A resort paradise appears to follow this tradition of a middle
landscape with slight modifications. Instead of emphasizing the two
opposite poles, it attempts to reconcile the wilderness and the city
and to blend natural elements with civilized conveniences. In this
new concept of a middle ground, wilderness is regarded not only as
an untamed, fearsome, harsh land but also as pristine, majestic, and
magical; while civilization is considered not only as a problem-
stricken, tightly built, densely populated urban space but also as a
convenient, sanitary, and fashionable place. A resort paradise
incorporates these positive elements of wilderness and civilization,
but it identifies itself neither with a primitive, unsanitary village nor with a crowded, metropolitan area. As a site develops into a vacation resort, the image of “paradise” moves toward the pole of civilization. Yet, the resort paradise never fully penetrates into civilization but remains anchored in the middle ground. A resort paradise will lose its status and appeal once it is identified with civilization. Like a landscaped urban park or a garden city, a sophisticated resort can be interpreted as a part of urban space. But the central image contained in the vacation paradise is, indeed, pastoral. Yi Fu Tuan points out three images of a middle ground: “shepherds in a bucolic landscape; the squire in his country estate reading a book under the elm; and the yeoman in his farm.” The second image might be applicable to that of a resort paradise where the tourist is reading a book while reclining under the hau tree. Thus, a resort paradise is a new type of a middle landscape preserving such a pastoral image.

A resort paradise is therefore a temporary retreat based in the middle ground carefully incorporating the positive aspects of both wilderness and civilization. With this definition serving as the foundation, this study examines the development of Waikiki and further explores the meaning of a resort paradise.

In the discussion of the relationship between Waikiki's environment and the resort-paradisal concept, it is important to stress the interaction between a concept and an environment. When the concept of the resort paradise was first projected upon the South Sea shore, it directly affected the land use of Waikiki. At the same time, the concept must have been influenced by native
Hawaiian culture. In addition, the ethnic diversity of Honolulu had some impact on the concept; the idea of resort paradise has changed with cross-cultural infusions. In short, the relationship between the concept and the environment is not unilateral. Rather, it is a matter of vital interaction.

The methodological approach used in this project is that of a landscape study. There are various definitions of the term "landscape" and different approaches to deal with it. D. W. Meinig argues that landscape is an expression of culture. It reflects "cultural values, social behavior, and individual actions worked upon particular localities over a span of time." Landscape is not scenery to be observed merely, but rather a cultural artifact to be analyzed. Scenery always implies aesthetic values, but landscape is not judged by beauty alone. Peirce F. Lewis argues that landscape includes almost everything man-made from beautiful mansions to shabby houses, no matter how plain or elaborate. He states that "all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be." It is an autobiography which reflects "our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears." Landscape is an assemblage of cultural elements which includes not only symbolic but also ordinary environments.

Then, the question becomes how to examine landscape as a microcosm of culture. W. G. Hoskins focuses on visible elements of landscape and analyzes written documents of historical facts. His purpose is to discover the making of landscape from the past to the present. J. B. Jackson, by contrast, sheds light on invisible elements
of landscape. What he attempts to do is to interpret the code or meaning of landscape with unconventional tools--imagination and speculation--and to reveal the cultural and social importance of landscape. Yi Fu Tuan argues that landscape is an integrated image of "functional" and "moral-aesthetic" elements. In order to extract the image, Tuan suggests that we should collect various data and creates a "coherent whole in the mind's eye." Tuan further urges us to evaluate with knowledge and imagination landscape containing both utilitarian purposes and communal values and ideals. In one sense, he seems to combine Hoskins' interest in historical facts with Jackson's focus upon invisible elements. Hence, the best way to read a cultural text of landscape is to develop Tuan's approach by carefully integrating Hoskins' and Jackson's methods. That is, landscape consists of the physical, visual environment and the mental construction. It is an integrated meaning of physical and mental elements. The task of landscape study is to examine these two elements and discover the comprehensive meaning of landscape. Consequently, the next important question is: how can these physical and mental elements be examined? In the analyses of physical visual elements, the focus should be upon the built environments, and particularly upon architecture which represents the physical setting of the time. This study also explores the backgrounds of the built environments--geography and nature. Thence, the discussion moves toward the analysis of the forces or factors which influenced the making of a particular physical environment. Political, economic, social, technological, and cultural
factors will be examined. A built environment cannot be created without people's efforts. It is important to know those particular figures who actively engaged in the making of the physical landscape. This study examines such influential people as politicians, developers, investors, owners, architects, designers, and landscapists. For the analyses of these people, sources such as diaries, letters, books written by them, and interviews where possible are relied upon.

Other people contributed to the shaping of landscape as well: writers, movie makers, and publicists made many efforts to enhance the image of landscape. Marwyn S. Samuels makes a clear distinction between landscape expression and landscape impression. According to him, while landscape expression is someone's expression of something, landscape impression is the idea of someone who attempts to "reshape an environment into an image." Landscape impression belongs to the realm of the mental world. It is precisely those imagemakers who construct the mental elements of landscape. In the discussion of mental landscape, then, this study will examine literature, film, music, TV, radio, advertisements, and travel brochures dealing with the particular environment. The focus is upon those mythmakers who most effectively symbolized the landscape.

By examining both the physical and mental elements of landscape, it is hoped that an integrated picture will emerge. The thrust of this introductory discussion thus far has been primarily upon the creation and development of landscape by the artifact-
maker and by the imagemaker; we have considered the environment from the creator's standpoint. However, ideas and meanings become insignificant unless they are shared by ordinary people actually interacting with the landscape. Hence, an attempt will also be made to examine the life styles, activities, and attitudes of those visiting and living in the environment. The analysis will aim at providing a clear understanding of the ideas and impressions contained in the particular landscape.

The purpose of this study is to develop an integrated meaning of landscape. The methods outlined above contribute to that objective; yet, this particular landscape has been transformed over the half-century of our study. People have interacted with it and expressed both positive and negative responses to its transformation. Therefore, this study examines the human reactions to the changes of landscape. The concluding appraisal should provide an integrated social archaeology--and a rounded interpretation of the Waikiki landscape.

A primary focus in this inquiry is upon the powerful force of myth affecting human relationships with a particular landscape. Therefore, the study follows the traditional American Studies approach taken by the "myth/symbol" school. Henry Nash Smith in Virgin Land and Leo Marx in The Machine in the Garden established this scholarly framework by examining the impact of the myth of the garden upon social actuality. The present study bears similarity also to the approach taken by Alan Trachtenberg, who analyzes Brooklyn Bridge as a cultural symbol of America during the period of decisive
transformation from a rural to an urban society, and who also evaluates the meaning of the “White City” at the World Colombian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 in terms of myth and reality. In a trenchant work, Simon Schama’s *Landscape and Memory* appears to follow this tradition. He explores myths and memories hidden in landscapes and insists on the strengths of myths influencing human attitudes toward nature, although he covers mainly natural environments in Europe together with some in the United States.

All of these studies spotlight the significance of myth, which is regarded as something more than a fictitious creation. Smith, who defines myth and symbol as “intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image,” points out that myth collectively represented exerts a tremendous influence upon reality. He further states that “history cannot happen ... without images which simultaneously express collective desires and impose coherence on the infinitely numerous and infinitely varied data of experience.” Smith, who defines myth and symbol as “intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image,” points out that myth collectively represented exerts a tremendous influence upon reality. He further states that “history cannot happen ... without images which simultaneously express collective desires and impose coherence on the infinitely numerous and infinitely varied data of experience.”

Myth is a cultural creation based upon collective human desires and emotions which come to be interwoven with reality. Schama also mentions the significance of myth, stating that landscape myths and memories have two common features: “their surprising endurance through the centuries and their power to shape institutions that we still live with.”

This study focuses upon the paradisal myth and its influence upon the formation of Waikiki’s character between 1900 and 1949. Through its evolution from the Garden of Eden to the Earthly Paradise in the South Seas to a landscaped garden or park, the
paradisal myth had sustained its strength and appeal and now it seems to culminate in a resort paradise. By dramatizing paradisal myths associated with Waikiki in a way that they are absorbed in the landscape and then analyzing them from a detached scholarly perspective, this study attempts to discover the strengths of the paradisal myth hidden in Waikiki’s landscape.

Before concluding the discussion of methodology, two additional points need to be addressed. In the analysis of the physical environment, it is impossible to cover the entire spectrum of human-made environments. The approach taken in this study is selective because particular symbolic objects represent the physical environment of a given time. Second, the discussion of Waikiki’s landscape will proceed chronologically. The period prior to 1900 comprises a separate part with two chapters, followed by six chapters on the period of 1900-1949, which has been divided into two parts, 1900-1919 and 1920-1949. The division is justified in terms of the major transformation of the landscape. Yet, the flow of the subject matter would occasionally overlap the chronological boundaries.

The outline of this study may now be briefly presented. Following the introductory chapter, the second chapter begins with the definition of “Waikiki.” It is important to define the place where the concept has been projected. The boundary might be determined either by geography or by imagery. With regard to the mental boundary, Diamond Head will be a focus of the discussion. Then, an attempt will be made toward an examination of the paradisal myth
in greater detail. It begins with religious implications and moves toward secular versions. Consequently, the discussion will deal with such concepts as the Garden of Eden, the Golden Age, the Earthly Paradise, pastoral landscape, agrarian utopia, and landscaped gardens, finally concluding with parks. In addition, the history of American resorts will be briefly reviewed.

With both the particular environment and the concept in mind, this study next explores Waikiki's environment before 1900, which established the foundations of a resort paradise. The creation of Kapiolani Park and the subsequent development of stately mansions on the beach frontage changed Waikiki's landscape in a new direction. The physical transformations will be examined in the context of resort-making in Chapter III. In the last century many writers and intellectuals visited the Hawaiian Islands and Waikiki. Among them three prominent authors, in particular, displayed strong interest in the Hawaiian Islands; Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jack London (although he visited the islands after the turn of the century, it seems appropriate to include him in this chapter) exerted tremendous impact upon the image of Waikiki. It is the Victorian leisure class who read the works of those writers and were often inspired to make the long journey to the islands of the "South Seas." The fourth chapter analyzes the works and the experiences of the literary greats who initiated the mythmaking of Waikiki and Hawaii, in general, and mentally shaped Waikiki as a resort paradise.
The next six chapters actually address the relationship between Waikiki's environment and the idea of a resort paradise. The structure of these chapters is similar. The discussion starts with the introduction of the major physical change of Waikiki, and then moves toward the analysis of the factors behind the transformation. Next, the study presents a few primary mythmakers in each period, contrasting them with the physical features. After examining both the physical and mental elements, the dissertation explores how people interacted with the particular environment in each successive age. Finally, the reactions to the change of landscape will be discussed.

Chapter V, VI and VII examine the period between 1900 to 1919 when Waikiki served as a resort paradise solely for the elite. A primary focus in terms of physical change is upon the establishment of the Moana Hotel which was a striking and representative landmark of the era. The discussion also includes the role of the Outrigger Canoe Club and Hawaiian sports in the creation of this resort paradise.

The next period, from 1920 to 1949, witnessed a major physical transformation of Waikiki. The construction of the Ala Wai Canal clearly delineated the geographical boundary of Waikiki and helped create an isolated resort paradise for Waikiki. Moreover, the establishment of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel marked the birth of a world-class resort paradise in Waikiki. These physical changes will be thoroughly examined in the eighth chapter. After examining primary mythmakers in Chapter IX, the study will discuss the images
and experiences of the visitors in the second quarter of the century and analyzes reactions to the modernization of Waikiki's environment. The tenth chapter also examines plans for Waikiki which affected the character of the seashore resort.

Through its cumulative appraisal of Waikiki's changing landscape between 1900 and 1949, this study hopes to reveal something of the felt meaning of the "paradise of the Pacific" during the formative period—as well as to explore the connotations of a resort paradise in the broader American context.

9 D. W. Meinig, "Reading the Landscape," The Interpretation, 196-210.
10 D. W. Meinig, "Reading the Landscape," The Interpretation, 210-222.
11 Yi-Fu Tuan, "Thought and Landscape," The Interpretation, 89-101.
12 Marwyn S. Samuels, "The Biography of Landscape," The Interpretation, 70-73.
CHAPTER II

PLACE AND CONCEPT

The core of any landscape study is an examination of the interaction between a particular environment and a particular concept. Before making such an analysis, it is important both to define the space and to explore the concept. Accordingly, this chapter deals with the spacial definition of Waikiki and the mythical concept of paradise. In the final section, the phenomenon of American resorts will also be examined.

DEFINITION OF WAIKIKI

In ancient Hawaiian days, Waikiki covered an area much larger than the small portion of land which we now refer to as such. An early survey documented Waikiki as an area bordered both by Honolulu and by Maunalua Bay and including the Manoa and Palolo valleys. This vast area was mostly filled with wetlands in which large fishponds were surrounded by taro fields. The term, Waikiki meaning "spouting waters," came from the springs that irrigated the taro-producing area. The old wetland agriculture introduced in the early fifteenth century dominated Waikiki's environment until the 1920s, when the construction of the Ala Wai Canal drastically changed the land use of Waikiki.1
The creation of the Ala Wai exerted a tremendous impact upon the symbolic meaning of Waikiki; it changed not only the environment but also the definition of Waikiki itself. The project made it possible to drain the wetlands and to reclaim more than 600 acres of land. The canal separated a small section of land from the rest of old Waikiki, making it a completely different environment: in effect a new resort community. Since then, the 450 acres comprising the inner space of the Ala Wai Canal have been regarded as the district of Waikiki.

In the original scheme of building the Ala Wai Canal, the waterway was projected to reach the ocean at both the Ala Moana and the Kapiolani ends. However, insufficient funding prevented completing the Kapiolani end. If the original plan had succeeded, Waikiki might have been simply defined by its physical boundary. But in fact, since the Ala Wai Canal ends about 110 yards west of Kapahulu Ave., it is not that easy to make a precise definition of Waikiki. In the Master Plan of Waikiki, the City and County of Honolulu has drawn the line from the beach end of Kapahulu Ave. to Ala Wai Blvd. reaching to the Canal. The inner space of the area is defined as the district of Waikiki (though the City incorporates the Ala Wai Golf Course in the Master Plan). The City separates Kapiolani Park from Waikiki by making a different master plan for Kapiolani Park. Nevertheless, the City clearly recognizes that Kapiolani Park is an integral part of Waikiki, since it played an important role in the creation of a new resort community. It is necessary therefore to include Kapiolani Park and its beach front properties in Waikiki. For
the purpose of this landscape study, then, let us here and now draw an authoritative physical boundary of Waikiki. It begins from the Ala Moana end of the Ala Wai Canal and runs along the canal toward the east end, extending to Leahi Ave. and on to Diamond Head Road reaching to the ocean. This physical boundary, however, becomes meaningless without considering the symbolic image of Waikiki. Something is missing from the totality and reality of Waikiki. The physical map of Waikiki includes the urban resort area and Kapiolani Park with its beach front properties. But the third element of Waikiki, which is more mental than physical, needs also to be addressed in order to comprehend where--and what--Waikiki is.

The image of Waikiki is graphically depicted in old picture post cards in which the blue sky, the blue ocean and the white sand beach with its palm trees can be seen, and above them all, a great promontory called Diamond Head presents itself in the background. In the present-day scenes of Waikiki shown in photographs, the result is virtually the same except that a few high-rise buildings are observable on the left. Diamond Head, of course, is always there in the portrait of Waikiki. It is an integral part of Waikiki's landscape. Moreover, Diamond Head serves as a symbol of Hawaii recognized throughout the world, and it stirs visitors' imaginations at first sight, whether from the sea or from the air. For a notable example:

On the seventh day out we saw a dim vast bulk standing up out of the wastes of the Pacific and knew that that spectral promontory was Diamond Head, a piece of this world which I had not seen before for twenty nine years. So we were nearing Honolulu, the capital city of the
Sandwich Islands--those islands which to me were Paradises; a Paradise which I had been longing all those years to see again. Not any other thing in the world could have stirred me as the sight of that great rock did.\textsuperscript{3}

This is the impression Mark Twain expressed in 1895, aboard a ship approaching Diamond Head. Millions of people, before and since, coming to Honolulu, have shared Twain's excitement as they first glimpsed this symbolic land form.

There are three major features that give symbolic status to Diamond Head. First, it is a unique land form in the Hawaiian Islands and a natural curiosity in popular imagination. The physical aspect displays geological importance as a volcanic tuff cone--which also reveals something about the volcanic formation of the Islands. Secondly, Diamond Head expresses the Hawaiians' physical and spiritual relationship with their land. It clearly has historical and cultural significance. Finally, Diamond Head presents a contrast to the urban section of Waikiki. In its totality, the natural setting of Diamond Head creates a harmonious connection with the urban setting of high-rise buildings. As a part of Waikiki, Diamond Head exhibits unparalleled landscape.

In addition to these characteristics, Diamond Head conveys its special role through the medium of advertisement. It is no wonder that the symbolic land form has been exploited by the travel industry: i.e., airlines, hotels, and travel agencies. The industry attempts to preserve a mythical image of Diamond Head in order to
attract many visitors. It clearly helps enhance the symbolic image of Diamond Head.\textsuperscript{4}  

The symbol of Hawaii has its own unique history. In the pre-contact era, Hawaiians called the volcano "Leahi". There are two widely accepted interpretations for that term. One assumes that "Le Ahi" means "the forehead of ahi or tuna" because Hawaiians found a resemblance between the volcano's appearance and the forehead of the fish. The other explanation holds that the term derives from "Lei Ahi" (translated as "wreath of fire") due to the fact that Hawaiians burned a wood fire on the top of Diamond Head for navigational purposes. The term "Diamond Head" first appeared in the early 19th century when British sailors believed that they had discovered diamonds near the base of the volcano. What they found proved merely to be calcite crystals. But, ever since, Leahi was replaced at least among Europeans and Americans by various terms signifying "Diamond," and the name Diamond Head continues to be used today.\textsuperscript{5}  

Diamond Head has been characterized in various ways. Hawaiians expressed their own attachment to Diamond Head through legends relating that the fire goddess, Pele, once lived in Leahi--thus supporting the relation between fire and Diamond Head. Hawaiians regarded Leahi as a sacred mountain and so built several heiau or temples for religious rituals. Papaenaena Heiau, in which a king of Oahu was sacrificed after losing to Kahekili of Maui in 1783, was one of the most important in Hawaiian history. It is believed that Kahekili built the heiau at that time in order to commemorate his conquest of Oahu. Diamond Head was used not only as a site for
religious sacrifices but also as a burial site for victims of an epidemic in the early 19th century.

After the annexation of Hawaii to the United States in 1898, Diamond Head played a significant role for the nation's military branch. In 1904, the Federal Government purchased 729 acres of Diamond Head from the public domain, and established Fort Ruger on the rim of the crater. For the next 46 years, the United States military controlled Diamond Head, constructing various facilities within the crater. During this period, Diamond Head was closed to the public. In 1950, the United States Army turned Diamond Head and Ft. Ruger over to the Hawaii National Guard, which continues to use the crater today. In addition, the Federal Aviation Agency and the United States Fiscal and Property Office have become major occupants of the crater. Various other government agencies including the City's Civil Defense Agency also have facilities there. In fact, Diamond Head is filled with government structures which do not appear to fit the symbolic image of the land form.

In the 1960s, however, the historic development of Diamond Head entered a new chapter which changed its direction from use to preservation. The effort to preserve Diamond Head began with the establishment of the Diamond Head State Monument in 1962. Initially this protection covered only 145 acres of exterior slopes on the south and west sides. Strong support for protection came in 1968 when the Federal Government designated Diamond Head as a "Registered Natural Landmark." Around that time, there was a lively controversy regarding the development of the areas surrounding
Diamond Head. The dramatic increase of visitors as well as the considerable growth of the population on Oahu resulted in a shortage of housing, which accelerated the urbanization and development of Honolulu. The subsequent construction boom clearly affected land use of the Diamond Head area which was dotted with wealthy estates. Profit-oriented businessmen did not fail to miss opportunities for development in the name of progress. In 1967, the Diamond Head Improvement Association under the leadership of Chinn Ho attempted to develop high-rise apartments and hotels on the ocean side slope of Diamond Head. This plan triggered a momentous battle cry to preserve the natural symbol of Hawaii. Various organizations expressed their opposition to this development. Among them, the Oahu Development Conference, led by an urban planner, Aaron Levine, and supported by powerful Kamaaina families, opposed the housing project and instead proposed a new public park on the foot of Diamond Head adjacent to Kapiolani Park. A potent conservation group led by prominent women, called the Outdoor Circle, also played an active role in blocking the construction project. Moreover, the State asked a private corporation to make a study of Diamond Head. The study aimed to develop a plan "for the unimpaired preservation of the visual and historic aspects" of Diamond Head and to suggest ways for fulfilling these objectives. In order to identify the significance of the visual aspects, more than a thousand photographs from many different sites were taken in the course of this study. It is important to notice that the study focusing upon the views of Diamond Head recognized the value
of the symbolic image of this entity. Not only the State but also the Federal Government joined efforts to block development around the treasure. An official of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development stated that some Federal funds could be appropriated if the Diamond Head area were to be used only for restricted housing and park land under the Department's program.\textsuperscript{12} All these efforts paid off and no high rise developments were made around Diamond Head. In 1970 the City and County of Honolulu designated the area as a Historic, Cultural, and Scenic District so as to preserve the views of Diamond Head. Under the legal protection provided by this designation, "the natural appearance of the crater can be viewed and appreciated from Koko Head to Ewa, from miles out at sea, or from the air, as a true symbol of Hawaii and aloha."\textsuperscript{13} Diamond Head's symbolic status was clearly reestablished.

Preserving the views of Diamond Head, however, was not sufficient to strengthen its symbolic image. It became important to ascertain how to use the crater itself. In 1970, the Diamond Head Task Force made a report on the future use of the crater. It presented three major points. First, the report suggested that no military facilities should be expanded within the crater and on the exterior slopes. Second, it recommended that the crater should be used for recreational, cultural, and other open-space purposes. Hence, the military, the FAA, and other governmental facilities not in the context of recreational and cultural aims should be phased out as soon as possible. Third, the report insisted on the expansion of the Diamond Head State Monument by embracing the crater itself.\textsuperscript{14}
The task force believed that the use of Diamond Head crater mainly by the Hawaii National Guard and the FAA would not be consistent with the Federal and State designations of the promontory. As a National Natural Landmark and a State Monument, Diamond Head ought to be preserved for its natural environment and to be used for public activities. The task force also emphasized the scenic, historic, and cultural values of Diamond Head. Moreover, it pointed out a unique marriage between the natural features of Diamond Head and the urban setting of Waikiki.¹⁵

In conclusion, the task force proposed the use of the crater as "a public historic-nature park with facilities and accommodations for family picnicking and controlled group camping activities."¹⁶ By encouraging cultural and recreational activities, the task force introduced six types of land use: 1)"interpretive nature park," 2)"natural history park," 3)"landscaped picnic area and open fields," 4)"possible overnight camping area," 5)"organized rim and natural nature trail system," and 6)"historical military landmarks."¹⁷ The task force proposal clearly placed more emphasis upon public use and recreation than upon preservation of nature. The report seems to have encouraged the creation of an urban recreational park in the natural setting to attract urban residents of Honolulu as well as visitors.

Since the Division of State Parks, Outdoor Recreation, and Historic Sites took over the planning and management of the Diamond Head State Monument in 1975, the use of the crater has shifted from recreation to preservation. The Historic Preservation
Law passed the following year clearly helped to emphasize the objective. It restricted most changes for the use of Diamond Head State Monument. The preservation of Diamond Head was stressed while allowing passive recreational activities.\textsuperscript{18} From 1977 to 1979, the State Parks' Division engaged in preparing a comprehensive planning report of Diamond Head State Monument. In the proposal for the expansion of the monument, the report emphasized "to preserve and protect, and to include restoration of, Diamond Head crater while providing public recreational opportunities."\textsuperscript{19} In conclusion, the report suggested the restoration of the crater "to an essentially semi-wild state, with reforested areas, an extensive wildland and meadow lands."\textsuperscript{20} This report still serves as the master plan of Diamond Head State Monument. When the land use of Diamond Head became an issue in 1988, a House Bill reemphasized the position of the report, saying "the objective of the plan is to establish a semi-wild interior park and develop an exterior park for family picnic outings."\textsuperscript{21} Although the Bill specified the recreational role of Diamond Head, it clearly focused upon the preservation of the crater.

For the last thirty years, the symbol of Hawaii has faced the danger of urbanization and development. High-rise buildings next to Diamond Head or an 18 hole golf course inside the crater would have destroyed the beauty of the land form. By preserving the views and the lands, Diamond Head maintains its symbolic image. That point aside, the natural beauty of Diamond Head which has been preserved serves a significant role in the entire Waikiki environment.
Don Blanding once expressed the meaning of Diamond Head in the following poem:

Aloha, Diamond Head,
Guardian of the city, sentinel of the island.
You saw the first valiant canoes come from Kahiki.
You saw the rise of a great people.
You saw the waves of Waikiki red with the blood of battle.
Your tawny slopes were gilded with flame
From the torches of kings' feastings.
You saw the missionaries plant the brave banners of their faith
In a pagan country.
You saw the whalers roistering in the harbor.
You watched the sailing ships like white winged birds
Loom over the horizon.
Now you greet the great ocean liners
And welcome the swift planes winging like sea eagles
From far lands.
Aloha in greeting ... aloha in farewell.
Your unforgettable silhouette is a cameo
Carved by delight
On the memories of all who have loved you.
Diamond Head aloha!

Diamond Head clearly witnessed all the transformations of Waikiki from time immemorial. By welcoming and seeing off millions of visitors, it has served as a symbol of Waikiki and Hawaii which is deeply embedded in the consciousness of the tourists.

Diamond Head is, indeed, an integral part of Waikiki. Without the symbolic entity along with the greenery of Kapiolani Park, Waikiki would have been a different, less interesting, less inviting landscape. Some may say that the larger Waikiki filled with wetlands became a shrunken Waikiki occupied by high-rise
buildings, and that Waikiki has been transformed from an area of spouting waters to a district of spouting concrete structures. But, fortunately, Waikiki still boasts of Diamond Head: the natural landmark and memorable symbol. The natural feature uniquely blends with the human-made environment. Diamond Head exists as a remnant of primitive Waikiki while urban skyscrapers represent the utmost form of modern civilization. And Kapiolani Park seems to be intermediate between the two poles. With these three features combined, the total picture of Waikiki becomes complete.

In these few pages, an attempt has been made to define and characterize the area known as Waikiki. Like Diamond Head itself, Waikiki symbolically represents the entire Hawaiian Islands. It might be said that specific definition of the area would be meaningless since landscape study transcends the physical entity and penetrates into the realm of consciousness and imagination.

THE PARADISAL MYTH

In the discussion of the paradisal concept, it seems appropriate to begin with the Hebraic story of the Garden of Eden. In this account God created a garden eastward in Eden, where he sent the first human as caretaker. The garden was filled with trees which provided food for the man. Not only food but also precious stones including gold were brought by God. There was a river running through the garden, which divided into four sacred rivers. After sending the first man, Adam, God created the animals and birds and
finally materialized Eve to soften the man's loneliness. In that peaceful, natural setting the couple had a happy and harmonious relationship with other creatures. Such is the original stage of humanhood in this narrative.

Before analyzing the meaning of the Edenic environment, another story needs to be addressed, which is hardly less important than the Hebraic account in terms of the concept of paradise but offers a slightly different perspective. This is the account of the Golden Age reflected in Greek mythology. Richard Heinberg introduces a few stories regarding the legend in *Memories and Visions of Paradise*. First, there was a story written by the Greek poet Hesiod. In this account, the immortal gods created a golden race of human beings. Devoid of all evils, they led a happy life without sorrow or misery. With the abundance of fruit, the golden race did not have to work hard for a living. They had a happy, relaxed life with the blessing of the gods. 23 Next, according to the Greek philosopher, Dicaearchus, people of the earliest age were the ideal human beings and led the perfect life. They basically led a life of leisure without work and without producing anything. They did not even have to worry about disease. In this period, there were no battles and no rivalries. Dicaearchus summarized: "the whole life was one of leisure, of freedom from care about the satisfaction of their needs, of health and peace and friendship." 24 Roman authors followed the Greek predecessors in their own account of the Golden Age. Ovid, prominently among them, explained that men of the Golden Age did everything of their own free will since there were no
judges or laws. Earth provided everything for humanity and the Golden Age was replete with fruits and herbs. With the abundance of food, humans enjoyed a peaceful relationship with nature.²⁵

It is interesting to note that the accounts of the Golden Age focus upon human conditions—how people led their lives in this happy period—while the Edenic story refers to environmental as well as human conditions. But there are numerous similarities between these two stories. Heinberg analyzes not only the two western traditions but also other legends in various cultures having to do with the paradisal myth. What he purports to find are universal images of paradise. Heinberg points out eight common themes depicted in countless paradisal stories: 1) "the magical landscape with four sacred rivers and a magical tree or a cosmic mountain," 2) "the beginning of a series of world ages," 3) "the miraculous abilities" of humankind, 4) "saintliness" of human character, 5) the presence of God on Earth, 6) immortality of humans, 7) the existence of Heavenly Paradise in the world, and 8) the story of a lost island or continent.²⁶

Following Heinberg’s model, four distinctive images of the original paradise concept will be presented here. First, “paradise” was seen as the beginning and the end of human life. In the common theme of paradise there was an original, pristine place for human beings suffused with happiness, peace and abundance. But then, somehow, because of human error or natural catastrophe, the paradise was lost. But the myth tells us that humans continued to search for paradise and eventually would regain it. Heinberg notes that in an original stage Heavenly paradise was united with Earthly
paradise through the rainbow bridge, but after the Fall, Heaven was
separated from Earth.27 Yet, we ultimately try to reach Heaven after
death. Professor Reuel Denney theorizes that paradise, in religious
terms, is our ultimate destination. It is humanity's final goal as well
as its original home.

The second vital image of paradise was the harmonious
relationship between humanity and nature. In paradise, humans
were able to communicate freely with all other living creatures.
Hence, humankind expressed its affection for animals. Since God
provided enough fruit-bearing trees for humans, there was no need
to kill animals for food. Humans, nature and God were all united and
related in paradise. Heinberg argues that in paradise collective
human consciousness was characterized by the oneness or
interconnectedness of all things. After the Fall, Heinberg continues,
the human ego was identified as responsible for man's separation
from God and nature and thus the loss of paradise.28 The sense of
oneness leads to human attitudes of "responsibility, stillness, selfless
caring, and compassion," while separation results in "want, fear,
arrogance, domination, and blame."29 Heinberg concludes that "the
essence of Paradise is ... equivalent to ... nirvana, ecstasy, divine
union, and cosmic consciousness."30 Here he conceptualizes paradise
in the realm of consciousness. With this sacred view of the universe
and spiritual relationship to nature, humans would be enabled to
reach paradise or gain spiritual enlightenment in the religious sense.
Plausibly, human beings might reach their ultimate destination not in
the physical realm, but in the spiritual state after death, where they may be once again united with nature and with nature's God.

Reverting to the physical plane, the third element of the paradisal image refers to the state of the environment. The original paradise was in effect a middle ground between the two poles of wilderness and civilization. Ronald King well explains the condition of the Garden of Eden: "Their idea of a garden environment was not the roughness of the mountain glen, nor the darkness of the thick forest, nor the flat meadows of the treeless plain, but the warm and verdant 'in-between' land where sun and shade are equal and pleasant waters flow." The Garden of Eden seems close to wilderness but it is not quite wilderness per se, since wilderness has negative connotations in the Hebraic tradition. Roderick Nash, in *Wilderness and the American Mind*, notes that the term wilderness appears 245 times in the Old Testament and 35 in the New. According to Nash, the Old Testament shows that the ancient Hebrews perceived wilderness as a cursed land with a lack of water. They thought that wilderness was the place of evil replete with demons and devils. In fact, Nash writes, in the story of the Garden of Eden wilderness was regarded as "a cursed land full of thorns and thistles." After the Fall, Adam and Eve were sent to "a desolate wilderness." Nash states that "the story of the Garden and its loss embedded into Western thought the idea that wilderness and paradise were both physical and spiritual opposites." Nash also presents a somewhat different view of wilderness. In the story of the Exodus from Egypt, the Jews under the leadership of Moses
experienced hardships in the wilderness. Here, they saw the wilderness as a sanctuary from sinful society. It appears that the Jews adopted a positive view toward the wilderness. Nash argues, however, that they sought out the wilderness in order to be purified by the ordeal and to be sent to a promised land or paradise. Unlike the wilderness, paradise was filled with the abundance of food and water. There was no trace of evil spirits. It was an idealized middle landscape.

The final point relates to the paradisal life. It was a life of leisure. Since God provided everything, man was free from toil and hardship. "Leisure" in this context does not necessarily reflect the present interpretation of the word since the original paradisal life probably contained a spiritual element. Yet, there is no doubt that humans there had nothing to worry about and were free to pursue a self-sufficient, happy life. This image of paradise exerted quite an impact upon the transition of the paradisal concept to the later secular version.

As previously stated, humanity's original paradise was lost. Since then, the quest for a lost paradise has been conducted not only on the mental but also on the physical level. In ancient times, there was an almost universal belief that an earthly paradise existed in some geographically distant place. There were many stories in which people tried to rediscover paradise. From the Middle Ages to the Age of Discovery, most Europeans believed that the Garden of Eden still existed somewhere on earth. St. Augustine thought that the
Garden was located at the summit of a great mountain close to the Moon and inaccessible to humans. In the 15th century, technological advances in sea voyage as well as economic and political motives enabled people to look for new trade ventures. Some explorers, however, had more interest in religious purposes than in economic and scientific objectives. A mysterious, unexplored land of the "South Seas" attracted those explorers to search for a paradise. In the 18th century, Romantic thought, which stressed a nostalgia for the primitive, influenced the exploration of the Pacific. Rousseau's idea of returning to nature clearly encouraged human efforts to rediscover an earthly paradise in the primitive societies of the Pacific. Rousseau believed that primitive societies were better than European society in terms of morality and the extent of happiness.

Ian Cameron writes in *Lost Paradise* that the early explorers of the Pacific felt that they were "imparadised" or that they discovered an earthly paradise when they reached the islands of the South Seas "where the sun is ever shinning, food and water are ever abundant, and the women are beautiful and ever eager to make love." When the explorers came back to Europe and informed people of their experiences in such a paradise, intellectuals took advantage of the stories to enhance the myth of the noble savage. Thus, a romantic view of the islands of the Pacific--a paradise where happy, innocent people lived like Adam and Eve before the Fall--became popular. This mythical dream of an earthly paradise in the Pacific exerted a
tremendous influence upon the later development of a resort
d Paradise.

Gavan Daws also portrays the paradise image of the region in *A
Dream of Islands*. He writes that in Europe, Tahiti represented the
South Seas, which meant escape from the constraints of civilization to
a life of nature, freedom and pleasure. Daws further explains that
visions of the earthly paradise were "tropical" in the European mind
since the noble savage would display his naked body as "a sign of
inner spiritual beauty." The noble savage was not restricted by
clothes or social custom. Daws states that in the image of Tahiti
Europeans saw themselves prior to the time when "freedom and
delight were civilized away from them, before guilt made them
clothe their bodies." Indeed, Tahiti was a veritable Eden or
paradise for the European explorers.

Humanity's quest for a lost paradise was finally fulfilled, but
the "dream of islands" did not survive un tarnished. Reality broke
into the landscape of the Pacific. Europeans gradually accumulated
negative images of the region: human sacrifice, brutal wars,
cannibalism, abnormal sexual habits, diseases, starvation and
storms. Moreover, European attitudes toward primitive people
destroyed the rediscovered paradise. From the beginning, Europeans
did not really intend to unite themselves with primitive peoples or to
assimilate into their societies. Instead, they attempted to conquer
the world. This attitude is well expressed in a remark of Joseph
Banks, Captain Cook's naturalist. He wrote, "the scene was the truest
picture of an Arcadia of which we were going to be kings." The
explorers energetically tried to change the world; yet the transformations they caused were not always positive. Daws points out that European civilization brought diseases through sexual encounters and destroyed the happy tranquillity and culture of harmony with nature and the gods. Daws states that "the age of exploration was the age of contamination." Europeans contributed more or less to the destruction of the old Polynesian culture. Daws concludes that the idea of an earthly paradise in the South Seas was not a dominant idea in the 19th century. Most Europeans realized that the civilized life was far better than the life of "savagery." The 19th century was an age of imperialism in which Europeans sought to dominate the peoples of the world, among them the primitive peoples of the Pacific. With their own behavior and their own ambitions, Europeans had lost a newly-found paradise once more.

In the quest for a lost paradise, the explorers expressed conflicting images of paradise. Instead of exhibiting a harmonious relationship to primitive people or nature at large, they expressed power and dominion. How do these human qualities relate to the paradisal theme? Charles L. Sanford argues in The Quest for Paradise that the image of paradise is connected with the image of power and particularly with sexual impulse, which reveals an assertion of individual or group freedom. He speculates that all assertion might be an expression of power with sexual overtones. Hence, Sanford associates paradise with power. Moreover, he insists that all the images of paradise--power, sexuality, and wealth--mean self-assertion against the constraints and regulations of society. The
explorers who were released from social pressures in rigid European society might openly express power and sexuality in a remote paradise of the Pacific. Sanford further points out that self-assertion is created by opposing forces. Sexual assertion always coincides with sexual destruction, and power-craving means the desire for security. He also claims that the spirit of adventure, which seeks new experience, leads to security. In the transition to a secular version, the paradisal concept might have acquired new meanings associated with power, sexuality, adventure and wealth.

In its original image, paradise was man's ultimate destination. When Europeans found an earthly paradise in the islands of the South Seas, some people felt that they had found a destined paradise. But others thought that what they discovered was "an idyllic refuge" to temporarily escape from civilization. Paradise in this latter context is not a final destination but a temporary retreat where one may get away from the constraints, regulations, and stressful life of society to enjoy freedom, renew one's spirit and physical strength. As Reuel Denney suggests, in the secular version of the concept, paradise becomes a temporary place to heal, cleanse and renew oneself.

The Europeans who explored the vast Pacific had their own version of the search for an earthly paradise. Meanwhile, the Protestants and other future Americans who arrived in the New World held a different version of the paradise story. They believed that they had found their own promised land where they could
reform and purify Christianity. Increase Mather said: "When this Kingdom of Christ has filled the earth, this earth will be restored to its Paradise state." What the Puritans attempted was not to rediscover a lost paradise but to recreate a lost paradise through their own efforts. Heinberg writes that the American frontier was the most paradisiacal, and that the forests, the open space, the rugged simple life contrasted with the evil urban life of Europe. Here, he takes the position that the American wilderness was equivalent to the Garden of Eden. But, as mentioned before, the wilderness contains negative images which early settlers had to eradicate. After conquering and taming the wilderness, Puritans believed that they would be able to create a new garden.

Protestants attempted to create a religious paradise in America. On the other hand, other people who moved to the West and established new settlements tried to make a different paradise on the new soil. At the beginning of the 17th century, Americans began to entertain an image of their land as a potential garden, a "middle landscape" between the evils of civilization and of wilderness. Leo Marx explains in The Machine in the Garden that this view came from a long European tradition of pastoral aspirations. In the pastoral ideal the shepherds tended their flocks within a perfectly happy and peaceful landscape. This form was created out of a kind of resentment against an urban society like Rome. Virgil articulated this literary mode. Marx states that for the European mind, a poetic fantasy might have become a social reality in the virgin land of America.
By the late 18th century when J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur wrote a popular book, *Letters from an American Farmer*, the pastoral ideal became an agrarian philosophy or a social theory in America. In this book, Crevecoeur in a form of environmental determinism praises the middle landscape or the agricultural land which exerts a positive influence upon human behavior. His hero was, of course, the idealized American farmer who was sober, innocent, and industrious. Crevecoeur insists that the land provided the farmer with freedom, independence and exuberance. Crevecoeur's praise of the middle ground results in his denunciation of the two opposing poles: the wilderness and the city. He sees human nature as evil both in the wilderness and in the cities. Wilderness uncivilized and the city overcivilized have equally corrupted men. Crevecoeur believes that human virtue or depravity arises from the place in which humans reside. The middle ground, an agrarian paradise, does not corrupt humans; rather it makes the farmer virtuous, happy and self-sufficient.

The image of an agrarian paradise was so dominant that it became a symbol of 19th century American society. Henry Nash Smith explains in *Virgin Land* that even after industrialization when the garden was not a garden any longer, the myth of the garden survived for a long time as an important force in American culture.

Yet, the powerful force of the machine eventually transformed an agrarian paradise. Leo Marx states that between 1786 and 1831 the image of the machine became a symbol of American culture. In the 1830s the railroad especially became a "national obsession."
machine captured the public imagination. Marx further explains how the symbol of the machine affected American life in various ways. First, he points out, the mechanic view influenced dominion over nature. Americans in this period were obsessed with the nation's advancement across the wild lands of the West. After the dominion over nature was completed, they sought "an unprecedented harmony between art and nature, city and country." They wanted to have both the knowledge and sophistication of the city and the virtue and simplicity of the country. It is "the new mechanized landscape" that Americans idealized at this age. Second, Marx continues, with industrialization, the concept that history is a record of consistent progress became popular. During the 19th century the awe and reverence which Americans used to have for God and landscape was given to technological progress. Furthermore, Marx insists that America as a nation encouraged the new technology. There was a notion that a democracy would offer every human an opportunity to seek his own comfort and status. The machine was clearly a vehicle for that purpose. Marx concludes that the image of the machine became a symbol or a physical object invested with political and metaphysical thoughts, and that Americans had no problem in reconciling the machine with the agrarian ideal of a rural environment at the beginning of industrialization. Richard Heinberg agrees with Marx that Americans gradually saw capitalism and scientific invention as forces to fulfill their paradisal goals. "In the nineteenth century" Heinberg states, "the idea of unending progress became a kind of religion in itself, promising the ultimate
achievement of a Golden Age of leisure and wealth for all." Yet it proved to be very difficult to reconcile the machine with the garden. The machine was so powerful that it could completely transform the agrarian paradise of America. Again, a paradise had been lost.

In modern civilization, it is not easy to find images of paradise. Yet there are still a few places where we can encounter the Edenic myth in a secular context. A landscaped garden is one of them. In fact, the term "paradise" is believed to derive from the old Iranian word Pairi-daeza translated into a sealed garden. Heinberg explains the old Iranian garden. According to him, Yima, the first human, kept the garden located on "a mythical mountain, the source of the Water of Life," where magical trees including a Tree of Life were planted. In the paradise, "there was neither heat nor cold, neither old age nor death, nor disease." Yet, Heinberg writes, the original paradise was lost after Angra Mainyu embodying evil brought a disastrous winter to the garden. Ronald King also explains that in the original Iranian garden, the water divided into four parts just as the river in the Garden of Eden divided into four streams. He claims it is possible that the Hebrews recognized this pattern while exiled in Babylon, since Babylonians had used this Persian pattern. On the other hand, the Persians might have adopted an old tradition of Hebrews. In either case, this Edenic model was often used in the creation of traditional gardens.

In the current landscaped garden, what kind of images can we detect? Is it sill feasible to envision the paradisal image? Anthony
Huxley points out that creating a pleasure garden is an expression of the appreciation of nature which has been disappearing in modern society. Appreciation of nature is one step closer to a harmonious relation with it, which is one of the important original paradisal images. Moreover, in some cultures, particularly in the Orient, the garden is used for religious purposes. By replacing plants with rocks and streams, the Oriental garden is a place for meditation. The Japanese Zen garden, for instance, emanates a serene, religious atmosphere. In such a garden, one might be able to attain spiritual enlightenment or reach a paradise on the conscious level. Yet, of course, most landscaped gardens today are much more secular than those in the Orient or those of the past. Huxley points out that changes in gardens reflect technological, economic, and social developments. He continues, "such pressures, acting on space and time available, have for instance reduced the original Persian paradeisoi to the present-day German paradiesgartenlein, a formal kind of small patio garden adapted to outdoor leisure." It would seem difficult to find the paradisal theme in such a small garden.

Large-scale gardens offer a much more paradisal atmosphere. In fact, when Sir William Temple defined the meaning of paradise in the 17th century, his interpretation fit the large garden.

A Paradise seems to have been a large space of ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of trees, both of fruits and of forests, either found before it was enclosed, or planted after; either cultivated, like gardens, for shades and for walks, with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate, and pleasant to the
eye, the smell or the taste; or else employed like our parks for enclosure and harbor of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking: and so they were of more or less extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the several humors of the princes that ordered and enclosed them.  

This definition seems suitable for another human effort to express paradisal images: i.e., parks. Let us briefly examine the first public park in the United States.

In 1858 Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux pioneered the establishment of the public park. The design of Central Park in New York attempted to create a rural beauty within the urban setting or a "country" which would fulfill the recreational needs of New Yorkers. Olmsted and Vaux believed that the park ought to be "something more than a mere exemption from urban conditions" and should provide an "antithesis of objects of vision to those of the streets and houses." For Olmsted, the solution was to build a rural landscape within the city. He believed that his design would "present an aspect of arrangement, thereby affording the most agreeable contrast to the confinement, bustle, and monotonous street-division of the city." Olmsted also thought that the park should provide the exhausted city people who have no chance to vacation in a country retreat with "a specimen of God's handiwork that shall be to them, inexpensively, what a month or two in the White Mountains or the Adirondacks is, at great cost, to those in easier circumstances." The park was partly intended to serve as an alternative to an expensive vacation resort.
In order to create a rural setting, Olmsted and Vaux attempted to eliminate the city atmosphere from the park. There were some required features to be included in the park, such as a concert or exhibition hall, a flower garden, a featured fountain and so on, all of which were supposed to fulfill educational and associational purposes. Olmsted and Vaux placed these structures on the eastern end of the park so that they could maximize the natural setting of the park. Thus, Central Park clearly embodied an idealized pastoral landscape. 68

Irvin Fisher explains in Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States that Olmsted created the park to fulfill two main objectives. First, the park should serve as an oasis from the hassle of urban living. Second, the park would offer "a sense of community" and "a sense of wholeness" to the alienated urban people. 69 For Olmsted, the park was an expression of aesthetic theory and a means of social education. He regarded art as "a means to reform society," and he built an idealized natural landscape to educate city dwellers. 70 If Olmsted intended to provide "organic wholeness and harmony" for New Yorkers, he clearly envisioned a paradisal image. One of the significant elements in the original paradise is the oneness or interconnectedness of humanity, nature, and God. The sense of wholeness and harmony seems to be not different from the original paradisal image.

Fisher further argues that although Olmsted recognized the negative effects of the commercial-oriented city upon the physical and mental health of the residents, he did not favor rural living.
Olmsted saw urban life as "an expression of a higher quality of living." Therefore, Fisher claims, in spite of Olmsted's design of the park as an antithesis to the urban environment, he tried to "integrate the park with the city into a new, organic, urban configuration."\(^{71}\) Moreover, Fisher states that Olmsted basically denounced the agrarian myth and regarded the farmer as an inferior class of people after observing the deteriorated condition of the Southern farms. Olmsted did not want "the nostalgic return to an earlier condition of mankind." Fisher concludes that to consider his work "Arcadian" would be "retrogressive and a contradiction to his view of the progressive advance of civilization. It would be a return for humanity to the stage of barbarism and savagery."\(^{72}\)

There are some flaws in this argument. First of all, Olmsted's criticism of the Southern farmers does not necessarily stem from a distaste for rural living. It is quite possible that his negative view of the farmers was based on the institution of slavery in the South, where Olmsted had traveled just before the Civil War. One critical remark against the farmers in the particular region does not reflect Olmsted's entire view toward rural living. Elizabeth Barlow argues in *Frederick Law Olmsted's New York* that Olmsted was fundamentally "a Jeffersonian at heart," but simultaneously he recognized the value of civilization. For instance, even after giving up farming and becoming a travel journalist, Olmsted showed his faith in agrarianism by signing his articles "Yeoman" or "An American Farmer."\(^{73}\) Olmsted realized that the process of urbanization could not be reversed. Unlike Henry David Thoreau or John Muir, Olmsted was a pragmatist
rather than a romanticist. He tried to live in the midst of the progress of American civilization. Yet Olmsted held a strong attachment to the pastoral landscape. To embrace the pastoral image does not always lead us to the conditions of barbarism or savagery as Fisher suggests. Above all, Fisher does not distinguish the pastoral image from the rugged wilderness conditions related to barbarism and savagery. Olmsted actually preferred the pastoral to the wilderness image. Charles McLaughlin states that "it was a struggle for him to come to terms with Western scenery. He could sense the grandeur of the Yosemite Valley, but was happier when the great cliffs were veiled in the mists of the early rainy season so that one could enjoy without distraction the lovely pastoral scenery of the valley floor."74 For Olmsted, the idealized environment was a middle ground. He loved to travel in the pastoral scenery of England. Central Park was the culmination of his idealized landscape. Olmsted did not return to the conditions of savagery, but rather he returned to his original paradise, the New England pastoral scenery in which he spent his childhood.

In Landscape and Memory, Simon Schama provides an intriguing interpretation of the meaning of Central Park. He claims that the planners initially envisioned a more rugged and natural landscape, or an alternative to wilderness, but that what Olmsted reproduced was "some sort of urban Yosemite" rather than a wild arcadia. As a result, Schama states, Central Park contains both arcadian myths: "the wild and cultivated; the place of unpredictable exhilaration and the place of bucolic rest."75 "Yosemite," which
Schama refers to, seems to be the valley floor. It can be argued that the meadow of Yosemite was a tended garden recreated by the native Americans’ efforts from the constant burning. Therefore, the reproduction of the Yosemite environment appears to mean the creation of the pleasant pastoral scenery for which Olmsted expressed his affection. Moreover, it is true that Central Park originally revealed certain elements of wilderness, but all of them were tamed and contained. Olmsted’s pastoral vision seems to incorporate positive aspects both of wilderness (fearless, majestic nature) and of civilization (educational facilities and aesthetic improvements). Central Park expressed the modern version of a “middle landscape,” which contains Schama’s wild arcadia.

In the evolution of parks in the United States, Olmsted’s idea of the park gradually lost the support of urban dwellers since it did not satisfy their needs. Olmsted encouraged passive use of the park: communion with nature through walking and contemplating. But the city people became more interested in active use of the park: athletic activities in an open field. In order to accommodate people’s desires, the public park has lost its paradisal aspects in favor of active recreational use.

In this section, an attempt has been made to examine the paradisal myth in various terms: the Garden of Eden, the Golden Age, the Earthly Paradise, pastoral landscape, agrarian utopia, landscaped gardens and urban parks. Tracing the evolution of the ancient myth clearly helps us understand the last human endeavor to regain a paradise, which is the creation of resorts.
AMERICAN RESORTS

In an educational film titled *Resorts: Paradise Reclaimed*, Robert Stern regards Central Park as "more than a park, a resort in town." Olmsted, in fact, attempted to create an alternative to an expensive resort in the country. Naturally, a question arises: what does "resort" mean to the American mind? How does it relate to paradisal images?

In his film, Stern provides a brief history of the development of resorts in the United States. In the 1870s, Stern points out, railroads enabled people to move to the wilderness. Consequently, the first resort was established in a mountain region. The Adirondacks in the state of New York was a popular retreat for the urban elite. In spite of vacationing in a place close to the wilderness, they did not wish to experience a simple, rustic life. Instead, the wealthy urbanites brought all the comforts of the city life to the country, but they also desired to experience "the mythic past." Hence, in the initial stage there were two significant aspects of resort. First, the American resort was created for and by the urban, privileged class. Second, the resort was a place to blend modern conveniences with a wilderness atmosphere. Stern goes on to explain that automobiles made it possible to move further into the wilderness areas. People of wealth and mobility enjoyed a resort life in the cottages built in national parks such as Yellowstone and Yosemite.
In the late 1870s, Stern observes, what we might call the first resort community was established in Newport, Rhode Island. It was a seashore resort exclusively for "the super rich" who constructed what they called "summer cottages" but were "actually palaces." Stern believes that to create such a immensely luxurious resort was a dream of the super rich. With the creation of this affluent resort community, the resort shifted from the mountains to the sea before the turn of the century.

Newport was a resort for a few weeks in the summer. The wealthy people found a new resort or "winter playground" in Palm Beach, Florida. Adapting Spanish and Mediterranean flavors to architecture, as Stern puts it, the new resort was filled with "foreign atmosphere in a native land."

The two distinguished seashore resorts were usually characterized as "social resorts" where one would affirm or elevate one's social and economic status during summer or winter vacations. Spending a few weeks either in Newport or in Palm Beach was meant to solidify one's superior social standing. Social resorts served as a status symbol for the privileged class. In order to understand the meaning of the distinctive community in the context of American resort development, it seems appropriate to examine the history of the two east coast resorts: Newport and Palm Beach.

Newport had already developed as a port and a commercial city in the early 18th century and it then began to assume the role of a resort in connection with two forms of trade. In 1744 Godfrey Malborne, king of the slave traders, built a stately mansion with ten
acres of terraced gardens and an underground path to the beach. On
the estate he celebrated George Washington's 24th birthday in 1756.
At that time Newport was an important port city for the triangular
trade exchanging molasses from Jamaica, rum from Newport, and
slaves from Africa. Slave traders like Malborne began to construct
resort mansions with their enormous fortunes made by the trade.
Before the Revolution, Newport prospered as the third largest
commercial city, only following Philadelphia and Boston. But the
Revolution changed the fate of the city because it succumbed to
British control. After the Revolution, the second form of trade was
brought in Newport. In the summer of 1784, Southern planters
began to arrive in the city to seek nitrates and fertilizers from Fall
River and decided to spend the cool summers in Newport. They led a
simple life either in boarding houses or in rented farmhouses. Yet
Newport became a resort for Southern planters. Thus, the early
resort development of Newport was closely associated with the trade
ventures.\textsuperscript{81}

In the 1830s Newport witnessed the development of its first
summer hotels, and with their successive construction, it enjoyed a
relatively prosperous hotel period for the next fifty years. But the
hotel era was not always spotlighted in the history of Newport. The
Ocean House built in 1845 was the only hotel that attained national
recognition, and it attracted a number of visitors until it ceased
operation in 1898. During that period, Newport itself was regarded
as a second-rate resort in comparison with the popular seashore
resorts of Cape May and Long Branch in New Jersey. By the 1880s,
most hotels disappeared from Newport's landscape. With the growth of the social resort function, its developers believed that Newport did not have to rely on hotels in its future resort development.  

The hotel period in Newport virtually coincided with an intellectual flowering. Particularly after the Civil War, more writers were believed to be residing in that resort than anywhere else in America. The Newport intellectuals included Edgar Allan Poe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry James and George Bancroft. Along with writers, a number of artists were fascinated by Newport's environment. It is apparent that the beautiful ocean environment inspired intellectual and artistic imagination in the simple resort life. But in the 1880s, the New England intellectuals began to evacuate Newport which had by then established its status as a distinguished social resort. The intellectuals, seeking a simple, peaceful life, perhaps did not fit into the ostentatious environment of the new millionaires of the Gilded Age.

The development of Newport as a social resort began in the late 19th century. New York millionaires, who gained enormous profits in the post-Civil War economic prosperity, sought a new place to exhibit their fortunes. Newport was an ideal place for that purpose since, along with the beautiful seashore environment, it "possessed that aristocratic quiet, that cultivated manner, that lingering touch of colonial gentility ..." As a result, people of wealth started to construct castles or chateaus in a small section of Newport on Bellevue Avenue from the top of the hill passing Ochre Point toward Bailey's Beach. These showcases of wealth represented every type of
eclecticism--for instance, combining the marble feature of Versailles with the elements of Grand Central Station. The gorgeous mansions, boasting of their respective names, served as the center stage of social resort life in Newport.

Henry James regarded these grandiose mansions as "white elephants" and described the landscape in The American Scene:

> What an idea, originally, to have seen this Immature spot of earth, where the sea-nymphs on the curved sands, at the worst might have haunted back to the shepherds, as a mere breeding-ground for white elephants! They look queer and conscious and lumpish- some of them, as with an air of the brandished proboscis, really grotesque- ...

James clearly deplored the changing landscape of Newport from a lovely seashore resort to a showcase environment of private fortunes, and found these pretentious structures incongruent with the surrounding environment. Indeed, the summer palaces did not show much concern for aesthetic values of architecture in conjunction with the environment, but rather sought to express an ostentatiousness and extravagance to celebrate the economic and social status of their owners. As Richard O'Connor points out, constructing "white elephants" in Newport meant to establish "one's credentials among those just above or on an equal footing in the order of social precedence." Moreover, Russell Lynes states that "standing was determined, to some extent, not only by the lavishness with which one entertained but by the size and magnificence of one's house and by the richness of its collections of painting and tapestries
and tiger rags and chandeliers ..." In order to boast of their social standing, millionaires competed with each other in constructing more expensive and more grandiose castles than others.

Two notable examples of opulent resort "cottages"--which millionaires usually called their castles--deserve to be mentioned here. Around 1890, William K. Vanderbilt constructed "Marble House," the most expensive resort cottage in the world. It cost $2 million for the structure and, astonishingly, $9 million for the interior. Richard Hunt, its architect, attempted to create a temple of white marble modeled after the Temple of the Sun at Baalbek. In order to impress the guests, furthermore, Mrs. Vanderbilt added a red-and-gold lacquered teahouse in front of the main building. With their enormous fortunes, "Marble House" fulfilled the tastes and desires of Mrs. William Vanderbilt, one of the most extravagant queens in Newport's social life. In terms of reputation and immensity, no estates exceeds that of another Vanderbilt family. Cornelius Vanderbilt constructed "The Breakers" in 1895 on Ochre Point. Costing $5 million, it was the most impressive, dominant structure in the area. Richard Hunt once again engaged in designing "probably the most palatial residence ever raised on the American scene." "The Breakers" impressed guests with its monumental wrought-iron fence placed on an immense sandstone wall and its towering gates. Inside the building of stone and steel consisting of four stories, the guests would be amazed to see a monumental hall rising over 45 feet through two floors. The Dining Room decorated with the painting of "Aurora at Dawn" and even the Billiard Room
embellished with pale gray-green marble would indicate the lavishness of the interiors. "The Breakers" clearly reflected the financial and social standing of Cornelius Vanderbilt.

Along with the grandiloquent cottage itself, the extravagance of Newport can be conveyed by the enormous amount of money the millionaires spent in order to sustain a social resort life. For instance, one ball alone cost $200,000, and one family came up with $300,000 for extra entertainment every season. Money was, indeed, a determining factor for joining the resort society. One hostess did not allow guests who possessed less than $5 million to enter her ball, while another hostess refused to invite people whose "cottage" with interior decorations was valued at less than $1 million. This outrageous life was mainly organized and sustained by successive hostesses or queens of the social resort. Mrs. William Backhouse Astor, who occupied the Newport throne in the 1890s and the early 1900s, was considered the first queen of Newport society. Showered with diamonds from top to bottom, so to speak, Mrs. Astor expressed dignity, ambition and composure to outtrival her peers. In collaboration with Ward McAllister, she held a number of famous balls with entertainment, which determined one's social standing. To be invited by Mrs. Astor meant to belong to high society. She was such a powerful figure that she set the tone for the luxurious, extravagant life style of Newport.

The extravagance of Newport was also seen outside of the summer castles. The coaching parade in the 1890s symbolized the magnificence of the social resort. A variety of colors and styles
expressed in the parade attracted viewers who gathered on Bellevue Avenue every afternoon on weekdays. With the beginning of the coaching parade, Newport entered its glorious period. From 1890 to 1914, New York millionaires dominated the landscape of the social resort.96 Newport became nothing more than a reflection of the glamour of Fifth Avenue.

In addition to the extravagant balls and entertainment held at the gorgeous cottages, Newport offered other activities to satisfy the tastes of the affluent resorters. Lawn tennis created in England in 1873 became enormously popular in Newport. The national championship was held in 1880 at the newly-established Newport Casino. More than merely serving as the center stage of lawn tennis, the Casino itself became the hub of social resort life. The grandiose structure combining Victorian style with Chinese elements made a dominant presence on Bellevue Avenue. Along with lawn tennis, the resorters enjoyed listening to Mullaly's String Orchestra or gossiping and looking down at the people on the street below from the Horse Shoe Piazza located on the second floor. Moreover, Newport was well known for the craze of the automobile around the turn of the century. After O. H. P. Belmont purchased a French automobile in 1897, other affluent resorters began to compete with each other in acquiring their own "bubbles." As early as 1899, the first auto race was held in Newport. The participants enjoyed the race at the speed of ten miles per hour.97 The popularity of the automobile clearly indicates how resort activities were associated with the civilized life among the privileged class.
A social resort life cannot be understood without a discussion of social clubs. There were two distinguished male-only organizations in Newport. The Newport Reading Room established in 1854 was the first men’s club in the resort, retaining strict rules to preserve its dignity. The club was well known for its health consciousness and male chauvinism. It served only soup and crackers and prohibited drinking in the northwest room. The Reading Room allowed neither the admission of ladies in the club nor conversation between male members in the property and their acquainted ladies on the street. The other club named the Clambake Club also retained its high status. Membership was limited to only one hundred men, and the club was famous for clambakes and skeet-shooting. But, to join these prestigious clubs was not sufficient to be recognized in Newport society. One’s social standing was measured by his membership in the Spouting Rock Beach Association commonly known as Bailey’s Beach. Owning an outside cabana restricted to 81 members was a status symbol for the affluent resorters. The owner was responsible for maintaining and improving his own cabana, which cost up to $15,000 a year. For the privileged resorters, joyful beach life seemingly had no meaning without owning a cabana at the Beach Association. Resort activities in Newport served as another expression of one’s social status.

The extravagant resort life in Newport was manifested in gorgeous cottages, lavish balls, other activities and prestigious clubs. Financial strength was an important element for sustaining such a life. But money alone did not explain success in Newport society.
One resorter pointed out the importance of *cachet*. Even in the depression era Newport preserved more cachet than any other resort. Moreover, another Newporter mentioned that the resort possessed not only a tradition but also a cosmopolitan sophistication. Many resorters who had visited London, Paris and other metropolitan areas on the European Continent brought their acquired international tastes to Newport. While retaining its traditional values, the social resort expressed a certain maturity with its modern, international tastes. Thus, with cachet as well as wealth, the resorters contributed to maintaining a tradition and infusing cosmopolitan tastes into Newport society, and above all, they expressed their social preeminence in the formation of the extravagant social resort.

The development of Palm Beach was considerably different from that of Newport. From the old society's viewpoint, Palm Beach was an outcast of society. Although it possessed high social standards, Palm Beach society was less rigid than its Newport counterpart. Perhaps the new seashore resort in the South did not much emphasize old values like cachet for admission into the society. Moreover, Palm Beach boasted more environmental lures than social attractions. The physical landscape between the Atlantic and Lake Worth expressed a scenic splendor, and the ocean drive along Ocean Boulevard and Country Road offered a pleasant view of the environment. A six-mile beach (mostly reserved for private use) also created an attractive ocean setting. Along with these fascinating natural environments, Palm Beach possessed exciting human-made
environments. Worth Avenue, the main thoroughfare of the resort, provided fashionable Fifth Avenue stores, and large hotels such as the Whitehall, the Breakers and the Biltmore enhanced the physical attraction of the resort with their architectural features. The seashore resort of Florida seems to have possessed an alluring middle landscape quality blending natural charm with modern styles. Furthermore, Palm Beach boasted a song titled "Florida, the Moon and You" serving as the theme song of the resort. It expresses an alluring theme: a romance under the moon and the stars with the background of lovely music. The song regards Palm Beach as heaven or paradise. Indeed, Palm Beach possessed some elements of a resort paradise: a middle ground quality and a romantic life surrounded by its magnificent environment.

The initial development of the seashore resort in South Florida possibly revealed the intention of creating a resort associated with paradisal images. The modern history of Palm Beach begins in 1867 when George W. Sears, an explorer, discovered the isolated area which was mostly uninhabited. Then, in 1878 a ship carrying Spanish wine and coconuts was moving off the coast of Palm Beach. The captain of the ship suddenly lost control of the ship due to the influence of the liquor. The early residents seized the coconuts rolled on the shore and planted them. The accidental landscaping of the area paved the way for a resort development. Fifteen years later, with the growth of coconut palm trees, Palm Beach was selected as the site of America's most attractive playground by Henry Morrison Flagler, an empire builder of Florida. Flagler must have envisioned
a temporary retreat where one would enjoy a life of leisure. Flagler, who made fortunes through his Standard Oil partnership with John D. Rockefeller, had earlier expressed his interest in developing Florida. Initially, he engaged in developing St. Augustine with the establishment of the Ponce de Leon Hotel costing $1.25 million.\textsuperscript{103} Then, he moved down toward the south and discovered the potential of Palm Beach. Acquiring some real estate at $75,000, Flagler decided to build "a magnificent playground for the people of the nation."\textsuperscript{104} He also intended to develop West Palm Beach as a workers' community. The construction of the hotel and the railroad began on May 1st, 1893, and the Royal Poinciana Hotel, the largest hotel in the world of its time opened its door on February 11, 1894. The six-story wooden structure accommodated 1,750 guests for whom 1,400 employees were hired. The 32-acre hotel property included an employee's complex, gardens, tennis courts, golf courses and Coconut Grove. One year later, Flagler also built the Palm Beach Inn, later named the Breakers, on the beach frontage. Life in these hotels retained their simplicity until the turn of the century, and the resort harmoniously blended simplicity with elegance.\textsuperscript{105} The early resort developments of Palm Beach satisfied those who desired to enjoy a simple resort life with modern conveniences.

The history of Palm Beach, however, moved in the direction of a social resort after the turn of the century. In 1902 Flagler built a gorgeous cottage called "Whitehall" for his third wife. The magnificent mansion cost $3 million and required only eight months to build. On the first floor there was an impressive "Marble Hall,"
110 feet long and 40 feet wide which was characterized by various colors of marble. The domed ceiling decorated with "The Crown of Knowledge," "Prosperity" and "Happiness" was supported by 16 bronze-capped pillars of marble. In addition to the Marble Hall, the first floor contained a French salon of the Louis XVI era, a ballroom of the Louis XIV era, a Chinese billiard room, a Renaissance library, and a music room of the Louis XV era. Moreover, "Whitehall" provided its guests with 16 different suites featuring different periods in the world's history. Mrs. Flagler's private suite was even more embellished with a luxurious interior than any other room. For instance, silk damask was used for the draperies on the walls and windows, and a canopy of gold damask covered the bed. Thus, Flagler's cottage clearly followed the standard of the Newport cottages. The extravagant social resort life began in Palm Beach with the construction of "Whitehall."

In the 1920s Palm Beach witnessed the growing construction of private cottages. Addison Mizner, architect, greatly contributed to the resort development. He started with "El Mirasol" for the Stotesbury family. The cottage extending from Lake Worth to the Atlantic looked like a Spanish castle, which provided 37 rooms and a huge sunroom auditorium. The price tag exceeded $1 million. The property also included six patios, a swimming pool and a private zoo. After the project, Mizner was showered with commissions, and he engaged in designing Palm Beach properties worth about $50 million total. Most private cottages built in the 1920s boasted distinctive features. For instance, the Mesker cottage took pride in Lord
Nelson's own bar purchased in London while "Playa Reinte," another Mizner's project, possessed a living room rug whose value reached half a million dollars in the 1950s. The latter was regarded as the largest private cottage in Palm Beach, costing $1.8 million. It also featured a ballroom hanging over the ocean and decorated with nine huge paintings by the famous muralist, Jose Sert. These cottages clearly indicated the extravagant life style of the resort in the 1920s. No one without an enormous fortune was able to afford the luxurious living of Palm Beach during its prosperous period.

Another important feature of the social resort was also seen in Palm Beach. Flagler's resort developments always included the construction of a church and a gambling house, along with hotels. In Palm Beach, he established the Royal Poinciana Chapel and the Beach Club. Social clubs played an important role in the social resort of South Florida as much as in that of New England. The Beach Club opened in 1898 and continued its service until 1941 when Colonel Edward Riley, manager of the club, passed away. He exerted a tremendous influence upon the social resort life of Palm Beach. The club started with a modest white frame structure costing merely $3,500, located on the edge of Lake Worth. In 1912 it moved to a new building modeling after the Poinciana's ballroom. Since Palm Beachers loved to gamble, the Beach Club contributed to the excitement of resort life. Gambling is perhaps suitable for the social resort which is characterized by enormous fortunes. But the popularity of gambling further separated Palm Beach from the concept of a resort paradise where a life of leisure is primarily
associated with beautiful natural environments. Gambling would be considered as an activity of corrupted civilization in a resort paradise.

In addition to the Beach Club, Palm Beach boasted two other distinguished clubs. In 1919 Paul Singer and Addison Mizner established the Everglade Club serving as a recuperating home for servicemen. In 1926 the Bath and Tennis Club was formed on the beach frontage. Its semi-Moorish architecture overwhelmed other resort clubs in appearance, and the club symbolized the extravagant life style of the decade. Thus, social clubs enhanced the status of Palm Beach as a distinguished social resort in the nation.

A typical resort life of Palm Beach in the 1920s was described by the author Kenneth Roberts. A day usually begins with an early round of golf. Then, the ressorter moves to the beach to socialize with important members of Palm Beach society. After a cocktail party and a luncheon, he plays tennis and bridge. At six, another cocktail party before dinner awaits the busy ressorter. Then, he rushes home for change of dress to be in time for dinner at 8:30. He meets notable figures of the resort at the dinner table. At ten, the ressorter moves to the first party after dinner and he continues to visit two more parties. At midnight, he returns to his most favorite party, staying there until three or four o'clock in the morning. The life of leisure in Palm Beach was clearly centered upon socialization. Party after party dominated the resort life. Through this life style, one would perhaps express one's social standing. Activities like golf and tennis were also considered the sports of high society at that time. A
day in the social resort was filled with the extravagances of the privileged class. With gorgeous cottages, lavish balls, prestigious clubs and class activities, Palm Beach established its status as a prominent social resort under the bright Florida sunshine.

The social resort life both in Newport and in Palm Beach was obviously sustained by the leisure class which had accumulated sufficient fortune to afford a life of leisure for an extended period of time. As Thorstein Veblen points out, it was not sufficient for the leisure class to possess wealth in order to acquire social esteem. Affluent people had to place their wealth on display and to impress others with the evidence of wealth. Social resorts, featuring stately mansions and extravagant life styles, clearly fulfilled those objectives, and the privileged class engaged in what Veblen called "conspicuous leisure" or activities to show off their wealth and power.

Brief examination of the two prominent seashore resorts on the US. mainland reveals the character of a social resort incongruous with paradisal images. One of the striking features lies in the fact that a social resort identifies itself with civilization rather than a middle ground. Both Newport and Palm Beach seemed to serve as a temporary retreat shielded from daily life, but in fact they were just places physically isolated from one's own home. The seashore resorts were socially connected to the old world of high society. A social resort is, indeed, an extension of civilized life filled with extravagance and ostentatiousness. Moreover, in a social resort one would be able to lead a life of leisure without work. But the resort
activities were closely linked with social environments. Through sumptuous balls, excellent entertainment brought from Broadway, premier clubs and class sports, the resorters might reassure their social standing. Activities in a social resort had nothing to do with the blessings of nature. Here, one would never feel free from the constraints and pressures of civilized society. Finally, a social resort does not possess any of the mythical qualities of paradise. No doubt it is almost impossible to enjoy a paradisal dream in an environment sustained by wealth and reputation. In a social resort, one would never return to or reach the paradisal stage without taking off their garments of civilization. The simple, innocent life of paradise is out of keeping with the complex and restricted resort society.

Adjacent to the affluent Palm Beach resort community, a new seashore playground emerged in the 1920s. Robert Stern states that "Miami was a two-week paradise for the middle class." The development of Miami Beach actually began in 1909 when John S. Collins acquired the entire property, 1,670 acres confronting the Atlantic for a distance of nearly five miles. Then, in 1912, he established the Miami Beach Improvement Company to sell land for residential use. A year later, Collins built the longest wooden bridge in the world, a two-and-one-half mile connecting path between Miami Beach and Miami. The bridge project was mainly financed by J. E. and J. N. Lummus, two bankers, who decided to purchase the south end of the island, 605 acres of swampland. The Lummus brothers began their own business venture in Miami Beach. Another player also got involved in the initial stage of the resort
development. Carl Graham Fisher, a self-made tycoon, contributed $50,000 to Collins' bridge project and in return acquired 200 acres of land from Collins. He, then, made a deal with the Lummus brothers to obtain an additional 105 acres of their property. Moreover, Fisher bought another 260 acres of land and began his resort venture to create an “American Riviera.” He immediately engaged in dredging sand from Biscayne Bay to reclaim the swampland for the future development and planting of the area. Thus, Miami Beach began its history as a seashore resort.¹¹⁴

The first hotel appeared on Miami Beach in 1915 when the Brown/Star Hotel was constructed. Carl Fisher built his first one, the Lincoln Hotel, the following year. Then the 1920s witnessed the emergence of grand hotels in the seashore resort. Fisher initiated the trend with the opening of the Flamingo Hotel in 1921. The multistoried hotel expressed the Beaux Art classical style with a symmetrical character of the building forms, featuring a higher central structure and lower wings on both sides. The Flamingo set a standard for attractive public spaces, exotic landscaping, and hospitality for wealthy clients. The successive construction of grand hotels followed Fisher’s Flamingo, most of which revealed the Mediterranean style. The Roney Plaza Hotel, built in 1925, was a typical structure of the architectural style. The eight-story hotel featured a Spanish rooftop tower with an observation deck modeled after the Giralda Tower of the Cathedral of Seville, Spain. Carl Fisher built a few more grand hotels and contributed to creating the character of Miami Beach catering to the wealthy class.¹¹⁵
The 1930s, however, saw the changing landscape of the seashore resort with the construction of small-scale hotels serving middle class Americans. The hotel structure expressed mostly the Art Deco style which architects believed fitted the resort environment since the style enhanced the images of fantasy and romance. With the growth of the new architectural structures, Miami Beach became one of the most popular winter destinations in the world. In 1979, a one-square-mile section of South Beach was designated as a historic district of the National Register. The Art Deco District, now preserving more than 800 buildings, reflects the early development of Miami Beach.116

In the 1940s, as Robert Stern shows in his film, Miami Beach adopted an international modernist style in its hotels, which placed value upon machine technology rather than romanticism.117 The new style of hotels began to occupy the north section of the resort. They were characterized by high-rise structures of fifteen stories or more, fully air-conditioned to operate a full year (the hotels on South Beach were closed during the hot and humid months from May to November) and equipped with facilities for motor vehicles.118 Furthermore, Stern states, in the 1950s the huge hotel concept was brought into the resort to attract the newly affluent middle class. He continues, the Fontainbleau built in 1953 illustrated a new character of the modern style hotel. Morris Lapidus, designer, featured images of “pure Hollywood” inside the structure to fulfill the tastes of the guests.119 With the introduction of machine culture, and the infusion of Hollywood into the resort, Miami Beach seems to have lost a touch
of environmental values. The civilized elements may have overwhelmed the natural appeal of the area, and the South Florida resort was assimilated into a part of "civilization."

Stern's film concludes with a new type of resort: Walt Disney World, regarded as "an expression of a Hollywood dream or fantasy." The resort community is "a city within a city," utilizing modern technology as much as feasible. Disney World might be the ultimate form of an American resort, which serves as a temporary retreat to escape from high-pressured daily life. But the theme park is essentially a technological product of civilization. Disney World further separated Florida resorts from the image of paradise.

The development of American resorts was, of course, not limited to the east coast. Robert Stern's film briefly introduces the establishment of the Hotel del Coronado in San Diego in 1887. Stern states that the resort hotel, which looked like an ocean liner, was a self-contained community embodying the mood of a seaside retreat. The west coast resort was built on the western side of Coronado Island, facing the vast Pacific, attracting visitors seeking rest, comfort, and relaxation.

At the time of its opening on February 19, 1888, The San Diego Union reported that "the first dinner was served yesterday in the grand dining room of the Hotel del Coronado. This vast and elegant room, with its wealth of appointments, is a rare sight especially under the brilliant incandescent lights that illuminate it ... The room may have its equal, but it certainly is not surpassed anywhere."
James, and his brother Meritt Reid, renowned architects of the Midwest, designed the hotel structure, featuring the grand ballrooms with a colonial tower, the stately wood-framed dining room, and the spacious public facilities—all of which met the tastes of the leisure class. At the turn of the century, the room rates started at $3.00 a day for the American plan. The popularity of the California resort was largely sustained by its comfortable climate with sunshine. Direct-rail transportation also provided visitors with easy access to the resort. The guests of the hotel included a list of international Who's Who: artists, poets, business tycoons, politicians and royalty. Thus, the Hotel del Coronado was an attractive seashore retreat catering to the privileged class. Yet, the paradisal dreams of those affluent people perhaps were not fulfilled in a resort connected by rail. They began to look westward in search of a resort paradise in the midst of the mythical Pacific.

The present chapter has dealt with the definition of Waikiki and the evolution of the paradisal myth from religious to secular versions. The examination of American resorts helps us understand the linkage between a resort and a paradisal image. With this knowledge in mind, this study will next explore Waikiki's landscape from 1900 to 1949.

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CHAPTER III

FOUNDATIONS OF A RESORT PARADISE

In the pre-contact era, Waikiki's environment was characterized by wetlands filled with taro fields and fish ponds. (See Figure 1.) In addition to agricultural use, Waikiki played other prominent roles in terms of land use. Since Mailikukahi founded Waikiki as the ruling center of Oahu around 1450, Waikiki served as the site of the royal residence until 1809, when Kamehameha I moved his government to Honolulu Harbor where foreign vessels could enter the port. In the late 1500s Kahuhilewa, who lived at Ulukou, the present site of the Moana Hotel, enjoyed great prosperity on Oahu. Ulukou and Helumoa, presently occupied by the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, were the primary sections of Waikiki, and in the middle of the two areas the Apuakehau Stream flowed into the ocean where a popular surfing spot was located. A legend tells us that Kahuhilewa planted the first coconut tree at Helumoa, where the number of trees eventually reached about 10,000. The site became a famous royal coconut grove. (See Figure 2.) High-ranking chiefs occupied this area for their residences. Subsequently, many heiaus or temples were built in Waikiki in order for priests to conduct rituals for the ruler. One such heiau was constructed at Helumoa in 1610, where a Maui chief was "sacrificed" after his failed invasion of Oahu. Kamehameha I was the last ruler who used temples in Waikiki to pursue traditional Hawaiian religion. Thus, along with wetland
Figure 1.

Figure 2. Diamond Head and the royal Helumoa coconut grove in the 1870s. Hawaii State Archives. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 4.
agriculture, Waikiki served a significant role as royal residence and spiritual center.\textsuperscript{1}

The encounter with Western civilization exerted a drastic influence upon the land use of Waikiki. Along with the Bible and technology, the Westerners introduced unknown diseases to the natives, which led to the decrease of the Hawaiian population. Marilyn Stassen-McLaughlin explains that due to the dwindling native population as well as the change of the royal court to Honolulu, Waikiki lost its status "as both an agricultural center and the seat of power."\textsuperscript{2} As a result of the shortage of labor, many taro producing lands were abandoned, and by 1852 Kamehameha I's royal residence had deteriorated. The heiau which he had used became a remnant of the past. In 1866 Mark Twain called the area "historic Waikiki."\textsuperscript{3}

But Waikiki soon began to play a new role. Offering an informal life, Waikiki next served as a retreat for royalty. Above all, the area provided a beautiful beach and placid surf for the affluent class, who could relax and leave behind the more rigid life of Honolulu.\textsuperscript{4} McLaughlin further notes the accompanying architectural changes in the royal retreat. From 1854 to 1874, the royal beach cottages in Waikiki were typically constructed of wood with grass roofs. But the last quarter of the century witnessed a change to more trendy white framed houses with two stories. McLaughlin observes that, with more elaborate housing, Waikiki was able to play a more active role as a social gathering place.\textsuperscript{5} In Honolulu, more formal gatherings and receptions were generally held. In particular, King
Kalakaua, who had been impressed with Queen Victoria's court during his visit to England, attempted to create a replica of Victorian society in Hawaii. However, both Kalakaua and Liliuokalani often went to their Waikiki residence in order to relax in solitude and to entertain friends with luauas and hula dancing. McLaughlin goes on to explain that not only royal families and their guests, but also travelers and haole residents, enjoyed a rural life and society in Waikiki. Along with the more formal Victorian custom of high tea at the palace during the afternoon, visitors enjoyed informal, Hawaiian-style dinners on the seashore at night. McLaughlin maintains that the character of Waikiki lay in this informality of the Hawaiian way of life juxtaposed with the restrained Victorian life-style. Visitors who felt the security of Western culture also enjoyed "adventures with the noble savages." Bathing in the ocean exemplified the relaxed, Hawaiian-style of life, balancing the formality of Victorian society. Thus, Waikiki was transformed from a royal residence to a royal retreat and an informal gathering place. This change laid the foundation for the emerging image of Waikiki as a resort.

The affluent citizens of Honolulu were quite aware of the potential of Waikiki as an ideal retreat for foreign residents. In the last quarter of the 19th century, they began to undertake the creation of a leisurely resort environment in the vicinity of the historic seashore. The present chapter undertakes to examine their early efforts at resort-making, focusing upon the establishment of Kapiolani Park and the construction of the first stately mansions.
THE RESORT AND KAPIOLANI PARK

In terms of resort-making, nothing played a more prominent role than Kapiolani Park in the era before the turn of the century. Consequently, the original paradisal image was attached to the beach park from its beginning.

Were all the world to start again, And Eden just beginning,
I'd like to play Old Adam's part (Of course without the sinning).
I'd choose my Eden in Hawaii, Upon Oahu's isle,
Beside the wall of Diamond Head, And there I'd live in style.
I'd live on cocoanuts and milk, And sing and laugh ad lib,
And on a night I'd fall asleep, And lose a precious rib.
And in the morn when I awoke, I'd welcome gentle Eve,
With smile and bow and gentle joke, And laughing in my 'sleeve.'

We'd name the animals and birds, And watch the world go by,
And never fear the serpent, for No snakes live in Hawaii.
Yes, really I imagine it would be a jolly lark
To play at Adam- Oh, yon Eve! In Kapiolani Park.8

This is a poem written by Will Sabin in the early twentieth century. In the author's mind Kapiolani Park was an idealized environment of the Garden of Eden. From the beginning of its history many people sought to associate the park with a vision of paradise. The present section will attempt to examine the evolution of Kapiolani Park in the context of paradise.

Kapiolani Park originated not for the purpose of creating a public park but as an attempt to establish a resort for the Victorian leisure class. Although the site was dedicated to the public by King
David Kalakaua in 1877, it reflected the tastes of the influential figures of the dominant sugar industry. For the first twenty years, Kapiolani Park served as "a fashionable seaside retreat for the Europeanized Hawaiian elite and nouveau-riche American businessmen fascinated by horse racing." It was a paradise for the wealthy elite of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The Kapiolani Park Association was formed by some of the most influential personages in Hawaii on the eighth of November 1876. Robert Weyeneth points out that the organization had two main objectives: building houses for its members on the oceanfront at Waikiki beach and on the hills of Diamond Head, and creating a horse-racing track as the main attraction of the resort. Therefore, the pastoral landscape was "a rather incidental component" in the origin of Kapiolani Park. The members of the Kapiolani Park Association attempted to materialize the English concept of a park as a country estate in which people of wealth could enjoy horse riding or racing. In their vision, a horse-racing track was to be located in the middle of the country environment together with picturesque Victorian cottages. Hence, the purpose of landscaping was to create a beautiful setting for the luxurious residences and to fulfill "the recreational tastes of racing enthusiasts."

The Kapiolani Park Association obtained a 30-year lease of the park land from King Kalakaua and Allen Herbert. For that purpose, two hundred shares of stock were sold at $50 a share, and each stockholder had a right to lease a space and construct a house. The charter of the Association stated that the corporation aimed to create
"a place of public resort, and of promoting Agricultural and Stock Exhibitions, and healthful exercise, recreation and amusements," while the by-laws emphasized the purpose of the organization to develop "the western slope of Diamond Head, and converting into a Public Park, and Race Track the grounds under lease to the association from the Crown Commissioners." Both the charter and the by-laws, intentionally or unintentionally, excluded the plan of residential development. Yet The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported a scheme for developing two hundred lots along the beach for the construction of cottages. In fact, James Makee, President of the Kapiolani Park Association, clearly mentioned the planned residential suburb in the dedication ceremony of the park. He explained that "the social life of the town" would be centered around "cottages and marine villas," thereby adding to the park. There was no doubt that the park was intended to serve as a social gathering place for the affluent or leisured class. In the dedication ceremony of Kapiolani Park, both Makee and King Kalakaua stressed the need of a park as a public recreation site. Makee stated that a public park would enable "men, women, and children" to have "refreshment and recreation by the kindly influences of nature." Kalakaua also regarded a park as "a resort and place of innocent refreshment for all who wish to leave the dust of the town streets." Yet Weyeneth points out that these remarks focusing upon the social benefits of a park merely reflected "the rhetoric of the nascent American park movement." Indeed, Frederick Law Olmsted believed that such a park would serve social reform and educational purposes. In his
vision, contact with the idealized rural landscape would keep the working class away from the evils of city life. However, in the case of Honolulu, as Weyeneth argues, “a social agenda was largely absent in the circumstances surrounding the creation of Kapiolani Park for two reasons.”18 First, Honolulu lacked the urban reform movement which had spread over the American cities at that time. Second, a private group rather than a public agency controlled the establishment of Kapiolani Park. Therefore, Weyeneth concludes, “The Kapiolani Park enterprise provided a unique opportunity for the few, the rich, and the well-born to construct a showplace for their suburban villas.”19

Although the primary concerns of the Kapiolani Park Association were to create suburban cottages on the beach front and to build a race track for attraction, the Association actually engaged in improving the park site itself: constructing an access road to the park, a carriage path within the park, and a drainage system as well as providing landscaping. The Association began to create an Olmstedian version of paradise. Weyeneth points out that Kapiolani Park, though it is small, is not different from the large scenic city parks built in the latter half of the 19th century. Like Central Park in New York, he states, “its lawns and landscaped vistas offer an oasis on the urban grid, integrating natural beauty into the metropolis.”20 As previously noted, Frederick Law Olmsted established the foundation of the scenic city parks; he attempted to create an idealized rural, pastoral landscape within the city which serves as an oasis from constraints, hassles and the monotony of urban life. In his
vision, the park would provide exhausted city dwellers with passive recreational activities in which they could enjoy walking and contemplating in a peaceful rural setting. Weyeneth claims that the early design of Kapiolani Park obviously reflected Olmsted's views toward the urban park, though he had no opportunity to visit Honolulu. It was Archibald Scott Cleghorn who was responsible for the early design of Kapiolani Park. Cleghorn regarded "the Victorian urban park as a place for tranquillizing views of pastoral scenery and a setting for passive recreations like strolling, Sunday band concerts, and in the case of Kapiolani Park, horse races."

The park site that the Association acquired was not a hospitable environment; it was either too dry or too wet. Therefore, improving the park was a difficult task. The Association first built a rock road encircling the park vicinity and a carriage path within the park. Then, five thousand ironwoods were placed along the sides of the main roads and around the horse race track. Numerous other foreign plants including banyans, different types of coconut, and cypress were also introduced into the park since Cleghorn recognized that the sub-tropical climate would support the growth of various trees. By 1890, the number of trees reached nearly 10,000; it was difficult to maintain these trees due to the lack of a proper water system within the park site. The roadways were watered by sprinkling vehicles. Makee and Cleghorn were very much aware of the extraordinary features of the park landscape with its wetlands. By maximizing the aesthetics of the existing environment, they attempted to construct an attractive water setting. Makee Island
was a preeminent example of the scheme. The island, shaded with various trees, and filled with thick, comfortable grasses, became a popular picnic ground; and there were plenty of other picturesque islands which were reclaimed from wetlands. Another water feature called the Mermaid pool also caught the attention of park visitors. The native legend told us that a moo or mermaid once lived in the waterway; this was a deep spot in the stream which once measured forty feet. Moreover, in order to create attractive waterways, Makee and Cleghorn introduced various birds including peacocks, a Japanese pheasant cock, and swans. Through these efforts, Kapiolani Park was designed to express Olmsted's ideal of the urban park.

In 1896, the Honolulu Park Commission took over the management of Kapiolani Park from the Kapiolani Park Association. As a public agency, the Park Commission began to operate the park land which was to be "permanently set apart as a free public park and recreation ground forever." It is important to note that in the transfer of authority some of the park lands, and oceanfront lots in particular, were divided and held by private owners. The loss of the beachfront areas was regarded as "a grievous error." The lack of financial resources did not help the Park Commission to fulfill its goal of building a recreation ground for the public. Yet, under the leadership of Alexander S. Young, who assumed the position of superintendent in December 1902, the Park Commission set out to improve the landscape of the park. With his solid background in horticulture and broad knowledge of scenic landscaping, Young attempted to change the old system and to convert the public land
into "a retreat not only sanitary and beautiful, but useful, inspiring and pleasing to the general public." Knowing the limitation of funds available for his office, Young made every possible effort to utilize the small amount for the improvement of park conditions. When Young took office, the conditions of the park were not favorable. There existed many inherent problems of the park land: the lack of water resources, sluggish waterways, mosquito-breeding ponds and sandy soils. In addition, there had been nothing done to maintain lawns and to improve the deteriorating horse racing facilities. Young engaged in many projects to improve these conditions: planting many trees, keeping lawns green, creating ornamental shrubbery, improving waterways, and constructing many paths within the park. Thanks to his vigorous efforts, Sabin states, "swampy, treeless, roadless wastes were converted into beautiful groves of trees divided by good roadways and pretty waterways, and grass and flowers made their appearance." Alexander Young clearly played an important role in creating a facsimile of Olmsted's version of paradise.

The Park Commission had a great interest in "popularizing the park for games and sports" as seen in the parks of England and the United States, where an increasing number of tennis and croquet courts and baseball fields were constructed. The change reflected the then popular playground movement on the mainland in which many of Olmsted's parks were turned into the parks with athletic fields and facilities. The same influence was exerted upon Kapiolani Park. Young attempted to accommodate the needs of the public,
preferring active to passive recreation in the park. He believed that the old race track could be used as polo grounds, football and baseball fields. Constructions of tennis courts and other facilities for outdoor sports were also conceived. However, financial constraints prevented the Park Commission from constructing playgrounds in the park; Kapiolani Park remained as a scenic park. At the turn of the century, polo was introduced in Kapiolani Park, gradually displacing horse-racing as the main attraction of the privileged class. Since the game was limited to the wealthy members, Kapiolani Park retained its tradition as the playground for affluent Victorians during its 17 years of management by the Honolulu Park Commission.

Though incomplete as a scenic park primarily serving the privileged few, Kapiolani Park received some favorable reviews in the early twentieth century. One journalist noted,

This is an extensive reservation of cultivated forest land set apart for recreation of the public. It is as level as a floor, has artificial ponds and streams and a small island where band concerts are given occasionally. Enclosed in the park is a mile race track. This park is something the residents and sojourners of Waikiki could ill afford to be without. It relieves the general marine aspect of the shore with a setting that is refreshing, sylvan and rural and offers its cool, shady driveways and walks as a change from the glistering sands of the beach.

Another writer saw the park as "one of the most beautiful spots in Waikiki," displaying "its splendid, shady groves and miles of winding driveways, its beautiful ponds dotted with picturesque islets
and bordered with pond lilies and its placid streams where the gold
fish play with their finny fellows." It is reckless to take these
images of Kapiolani Park at face value, because it took many years to
complete the landscaping of the park. Park conditions around this
time were still unfavorable; sandy soils and swampy lands continued
to delay the improvement of the environment. It is also debatable
whether the park served as an oasis for the general public. Yet these
views of Kapiolani Park evidently reflected the desires and
expectations of the citizens of Honolulu. Perhaps the populace did
entertain a vision of a "paradise regained" in Kapiolani Park.

In 1913, the City and County of Honolulu took over the
management and operation of Kapiolani Park from the Honolulu Park
Commission. The exclusive park carved out for the elite gradually
moved toward a park intended for the general public. In order to
provide recreation for the citizens of Honolulu as well as for visitors,
the City engaged in some important projects: the Honolulu Zoo
(1915), the Waikiki Natatorium (1927), the Waikiki Shell (1954) and
various athletic fields and facilities. Despite these efforts, Kapiolani
Park did not fully change its image from an elitist to a democratic
ambiance. Polo games continued to utilize large portions of the park
site until the 1960s, and the wealthy residents adjacent to the park
considered the public space an extension of their own properties.
Moreover, Kapiolani Park did not completely shift over from
Olmsted's ideal of the landscaped park to the twentieth-century
version of a recreational park. Due to the problems of the park site--
sandy ground, dry weather, and the lack of water resources--it was
not until the late 1940s that Kapiolani Park became altogether a landscaped park. Thus, although Kapiolani Park was transformed from an elitist resort to a public recreation ground, it retained certain Victorian attributes and Olmsted's version of a middle-ground park into the 1960s.31

Kapiolani Park, which had originated as a scheme to create a private resort for the privileged few, gradually became the public recreation ground specified in the official purpose of its establishment. In the evolution of the park from the late 19th to the middle 20th century, the image of paradise had clearly been maintained through the dreams and desires of the public. Kapiolani means "arch of heaven." Since heaven is associated with original paradisal images, it is a perfect designation for the Edenic garden of Waikiki.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND VICTORIAN MANSIONS

In the previous section, the development of suburban villas in the Kapiolani Park was briefly discussed. The residential development of Waikiki was, of course, not limited to the park area, and small cottages began to spread along the beach front in the 1860s. This section will attempt to examine the architectural development of Waikiki prior to 1900, particularly focusing upon the stately Victorian mansions erected in the 1890s and their relationship with paradisal images. Before discussing Waikiki's development, it seems appropriate to mention a prevailing
perspective on the relationship between Hawaii's natural environment and its architecture and to trace the evolution of Honolulu's environmental design in the course of the 19th century.

Most tourists, who hold pre-conceived images of Hawaii learned from the travel industry and the mass media, expect to see the natural beauty of the Islands and do not focus their attention on architecture. The natural sublimity of Hawaii overwhelms the aesthetics of man-made structures in the consciousness of the visitor. Once the tourist sees the densely concentrated high-rise buildings in Waikiki, he or she feels disappointed with such massive urbanization, thinking that this is not what Hawaii should be. J. Meredith Neil points out that the anti-urban mentality is shared by many local residents who express dissatisfaction with the material developments no matter how well they are pursued. Neighbor Islanders' opposition to urbanization goes even further; Neil states that they have "the little grass shack syndrome in which the beauty of Hawaii lies in the natural environment--ocean, mountains, trees, and flowers. For them, it is the best environmental design to place architecture out of sight wherever possible."32 John Burns, former governor of Hawaii, articulately expressed this sentiment in his remarks: "Nature blessed Hawaii with the finest possible environmental conditions. Now our Eden is fast vanishing."33 This perspective on architecture seems to suggest that no buildings, except possibly the traditional thatched huts, are congruent with Hawaii's environment. The proponents of the grass-shack mentality would perhaps concede that a unique Hawaiian architecture
organically adapted to the local climate might be welcome in the tropical setting. If so, how would they evaluate the refined architecture of the stately mansions which were constructed around the turn of the century? Is there in fact any specific, appropriate architecture harmonious with Hawaii’s natural environment? The answer may become clear through an examination of Honolulu’s architectural development in the 19th century and in particular Waikiki’s extravagant mansions at the end of the century.

The first example of Western architecture in Honolulu was a small prefabricated house imported from Boston one year after the arrival of the first missionaries in 1820. Before then, there existed only native thatched huts which might better be called merely shelter rather than designed architecture. The growing whaling industry in the 1830s and the 1840s brought many foreigners into the islands, but few elaborate houses were constructed during the period. In the 1840s, many houses were made of adobe brick common in Spanish architecture which fit the Hawaii’s climate, but most of these structures vanished by the end of the century. In the minds of the early settlers the purpose of housing was merely habitations, and its appearance was entirely simple, modest and virtuous. Moreover, as Gavan Daws points out, the growth of Honolulu was inconsistent in the first half of the 19th century. The early white settlers, obsessed with their commercial interests, were not concerned with town-making while the native leaders had no idea how to manage commercial activities and population growth. Until the mid-19th century when foreigners acquired the right to
purchase land, they "remained strongly extra-territorial." The new land system called the Great Mahele, however, had a significant impact in 1848 upon Honolulu's environment. New individual western-style houses began to be scattered around the old thatched huts; and wood-framed houses were imported from the mainland. Around that time the housing boom in the gold-rush era of California necessitated the transportation of prefabricated houses made in New England; and the need for ready-made houses in California made it easier for Honolulu to obtain those products. By the 1860s what had been a village of thatch and adobe was replaced by a town of wood and stone. In the mid 1870s, when the sugar industry displaced the whaling industry as the leading economic force, new houses and office buildings began to be constructed around the port of Honolulu without any specific planning. The new town was scarcely different from those seen on the mainland. Daws insists that there was no sign of unique environmental design other than the idea of a lanai. Since "practical architects and contractors at Honolulu" worked for average clients "with average imaginations and frontiersmen's tastes," none of the new buildings expressed a distinctive character adapted to the mild climate of Hawaii. Clinton Ripley observes in this connection that no architects lived in the islands and therefore unskilled carpenters took responsibility for design. As a result, the houses were full of "cheap jig-saw work" and "a frivolous, tawdry appearance." People were unable to nurture a sophisticated taste for housing and began to regard "scroll-saw ornamentation as beautiful." In their minds the simple older
houses became obsolete. Ripley explains that these attitudes toward architecture were the same as those seen in the early history of New England architecture. On the whole, the environmental design of Honolulu in the 19th century was very similar to that of New England. Charles Nordhoff, who visited Honolulu in the 1870s, expressed his impression of the town as follows:

The white frame houses with green blinds, the picket-fences whitewashed until they shine, the stone walls, the small barns, the scanty pastures, the little white frame church scattered about, the narrow 'front yards,' the frequent school-houses, usually with but little shade, all are New England, genuine and unadulterated; and you have only to eliminate the palms, the bananas, and other tropical vegetation to have before you a fine bit of Vermont, or the stonier parts of Massachusetts.

Aside from the background of a tropical natural environment, Honolulu in the 19th century was, indeed, "a very accurate reproduction of New England scenery."

There are three major factors which helped to create a version of New England design in Honolulu. First, Hawaii's gentle climate exerted a significant impact upon the design. Harry Seckel claims that Hawaii's climate is "sufficiently special to favor the development of a regional architecture but it is insufficiently extreme to force it." That is, Hawaii's mild weather, with temperatures consistently ranging from the 60s to the 80s, allowed the white settlers to bring in their own architectural styles. Second, the lack of building materials in Hawaii necessitated the importation of timber from the
American West. The early settlers found local woods either too hard or too precious to use for housing. For instance, the sandalwood was a valuable commodity in the Oriental trade. They also realized that volcanic stones or coral blocks were too difficult to utilize. Therefore, it was natural to bring in materials as well as styles from the mainland.\textsuperscript{45} Finally, and most importantly, the early settlers who believed in their own ideas and the New England ways imposed their environmental designs on the foreign soil. Just as the missionaries with their abiding faith attempted to convert native Hawaiians into the New England mold, so by the same token, Neil argues, the early white settlers attempted to manipulate Hawaii's environment with "their Christian, industrialized compulsion" and to disregard the symbiotic relationship between man and nature which was the core of native Hawaiian environmental design.\textsuperscript{46} It was no more than the conventional attitude of the conqueror to look down upon native peoples and to scorn their folk ways. Montgomery Schuyler claims that the British, for instance, believed that they had nothing to learn from natives and "proceeded tranquilly to apply to their subjects their own view of the fine as well as of the coarse arts."\textsuperscript{47} It is arguable whether the early settlers in Hawaii could accurately be called conquerors, but it is apparent that they shared the imperial attitude toward the natives. The early foreigners, unable to reside in the native thatched hut, imposed their own architectural tastes upon Honolulu.

The late 19th century witnessed the development of suburbs in Honolulu. By the 1870s, increasing numbers of wealthy families
moved to the suburbs while laborers and natives remained in the densely populated center of town. The privileged class was attracted in particular to Nuuanu Valley, which had long been a fashionable locale. At the same time, people of wealth began to construct their homes in the new resort area of Waikiki, which "after a half century of comparative neglect, was returning to prominence as a locus of leisure." The development of a new road from Honolulu to Waikiki contributed to the growth of the area. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported in 1865 that "quite a little community of foreign families are now residing at the beach at Waikiki." Despite some difficulties with mosquitoes, Waikiki increasingly lured foreigners with its tranquil atmosphere and pleasant waters. George Leonard Chaney well expressed the spell of Waikiki in his observation that Waikiki offers "a promise of rest in its motionless life, and a chance for self-recovery in its self-forgetful solitude." In the 1870s most of the privileged class retained their main residences in Honolulu while owning simple cottages in Waikiki. Therefore, Waikiki became a country retreat not only for Hawaiian royalty but for wealthy foreign residents.

The 1890s, however, saw the construction of larger houses in Waikiki which reflected the architectural trend of the time. The houses for James Cambell, Frank Hustace, and W. C. Peacock represented the new era. Moreover, around the turn of the century much larger mansions began to be erected in Waikiki. These grand houses expressed the "flamboyant decorative excesses of Victorian style" which were prevalent on the mainland. The architecture of
ostentation and pretentiousness clearly reflected the accumulation of wealth among the small elite class. The residences for William G. Irwin and James B. Castle, for example, epitomized the new luxury housing. Thus Waikiki transformed its character from a temporary retreat to a permanent residential area. In one sense, the wealthy may be said to have discovered an "ultimate destination" in the paradise of Waikiki.

There are three major factors--social, economic, and political transformations--that influenced the new residential development of Waikiki. In the second half of the 19th century, the decrease of the native population due to foreign diseases drastically changed the social map of the islands. The number of Westerners increased constantly, and Asian laborers started to migrate to Hawaii to fill the void caused by the decline of the native population. These new immigrants were sent to sugar plantations and became an important labor force. In the early 1860s, the sugar industry gradually displaced the dwindling whaling venture as the dominant economy of Hawaii. It not only changed Hawaii's economy but also influenced the social scene of the islands. The sugar industry brought tremendous profits to the few privileged owners who exerted enormous impact upon every aspect of Hawaiian life. Moreover, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 which approved the free trade between the United States and Kingdom of Hawaii helped American businessmen control the Hawaiian economy. In the last quarter of the 19th century Americans dominated almost all aspects of
Hawaiian culture, and they clearly influenced the changing architectural environment of the islands.\textsuperscript{52}

Political changes as well as social and economic transformations favored the wealthy Americans. Along with the cession of Pearl Harbor to the United States in 1877, a new constitution, which allowed foreign immigrants to vote, completely changed the political climate of the Hawaiian Kingdom. King Kalakaua faced a strong opposition from the party consisting of foreign-born legislators, which sought annexation by the United States in order to preserve their economic, social and political status. After the sudden death of Kalakaua in 1891, his successor, Queen Liliuokalani had a still more difficult time in dealing with the opposition party. When she attempted to abolish the reform constitution in 1893, a revolution organized by the foreign-born party took place and promptly deposed her. In the following year the Hawaiian Republic was established, controlling the islands until annexation by the United States in 1898. Since American businessmen anticipated the annexation at the end of the Hawaiian monarchy, they made enormous investments between 1893 and 1898. At the end of the century, Americans possessed two-thirds of the taxable properties and dominated three-quarters of the imports into Honolulu.\textsuperscript{53}

Therefore, an increasing number of wealthy Americans resided in Honolulu and its suburbs, including Waikiki. With the security and stability provided by the political change, this late-Victorian leisure class began to create dream-like mansions on a grand scale around the turn of the century.
Close examination of two magnificent residences reveals the character of Waikiki at the turn of the century. James B. Castle's residence, built in 1899, was a distinctive architectural structure on the beach at Waikiki (The site is currently occupied by the Elks Club). Designed by the then popular architect, Oliver Traphagen (whose role in Hawaii's environmental design will be discussed in the next chapter), the Castle residence called Kainalu reflected the opulent tastes of the leisure class. (See Figure 3.) One observer described the stately mansion as follows: "From the steamer the Castle Home almost confuses one with the Moana Hotel as it juts out into the sea, rising like a tall Easter lily. A true home, it stands as if to really welcome one and seems to breathe 'I am waiting to hear the click of the latch'." Indeed, at that time many tourists approaching Diamond Head aboard the passenger ship mistook Kainalu for the Moana Hotel designed by the same architect. The gorgeous colonial-style mansion actually shared with the Moana various features such as classical decoration and a unique roof-top garden. The lanai facing the ocean on each of three floors expressed a distinctive quality adapted to the environment. Not only the exterior but the interior as well was filled with expensive ornamentation, including the only Tiffany stained-glass windows to be found in the residential architecture of Hawaii.55 James Castle was a prominent figure in Hawaii's sugar industry. As a son of Samuel N. Castle, who founded Castle and Cooke, he played an important role in the creation of the Koolau, Kahuku, and Ewa Sugar Plantations. Castle also assisted in the construction of the Koolau Railroad and contributed to the
Figure 3. The James Castle residence. Bishop Museum. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 33.
establishment of the Honolulu Rapid Transit System. The wealth acquired by the successful sugar industry made it possible for Castle to create this majestic showcase of the new leisure class.

William G. Irwin's residence, designed by Clinton B. Ripley and Charles W. Dickey in 1899, also impressed visitors. (See Figure 4.) One writer described the residence, located on the present site of the Natatorium, as "a wonderful structure that might have been transplanted from some old mission--one almost expects to hear the Angels and see some good Padre walk forth at twilight to commune with God in this enchanted spot." He clearly envisioned the Garden-of-Eden atmosphere of this site where one could commune with God and nature. Prior to this project, Ripley and Dickey had already worked for Irwin in 1896 in the construction of a large stable next to the new main residence. The stable expressed a certain Spanish flavor. The new residence also displayed a general Mediterranean aspect that somehow created a distinctive quality. Robert Jay points out that the Irwin residence was unquestionably "the most original and imaginative mansion" that Ripley and Dickey had engaged in. The facade of the building was impressed with a large porte cochere in the middle, the tower extending above the roof line to the right. There were four dormer windows opening out of the low-hipped roof. The ornate oval windows installed on the second-story exterior and the tower expressed a distinctive Spanish flair. The spacious lanai of 34 by 38 feet was the largest room in the building. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser described the style of the mansion as "the California Mission order, which is simply a
Figure 4. The William Irwin residence. Bishop Museum. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 29.
modification of the architectural designs of all civilized southern countries.” According to the article, California Mission Style derived from “the influence of Byzantine, Italian renaissance, Moorish and Spanish renaissance.” This style has been regarded for eight centuries as “the beau ideal of southern climates, and it is certainly most appropriate for Honolulu.” Despite some Mediterranean touches, Jay argues that the Irwin mansion was different from the Mission style developed in California. First, it omitted a typical Mission style feature, the use of a constant stucco wall surface. Second, the mansion did not utilize any arches common in Mission architecture. Jay claims, furthermore, that the interior was far removed from the Mission style, which was typically decorated with simple, functional crafts. The interior of the Irwin mansion (strongly influenced by Mrs. Irwin) was embellished with luxurious ornamentation. The ceiling of the dining room, in particular, was made of Empire-style plaster work and gold leaf. The interior of the lanai also displayed a detailed Gothic style. Thus, the stately mansion reveling in its glamour reflected what Veblen characterized as the conspicuous wealth and more conspicuous consumption of the Victorian leisure class.

William G. Irwin was, in fact, one of the richest and the most influential figures in Hawaii during the last two decades of the 19th century. He accumulated his wealth in sugar and banking, particularly in collaboration with Claus Spreckels, a dominant figure in Hawaii’s sugar industry. Irwin’s sugar agency began to dominate sugar operations and it expanded into other business ventures:
merchandising, shipping, insurance, banking, investments and real
estate. Irwin's empire with seven thousand employees controlled
one-half of the sugar production in the 1880s and the early 1890s.
His financial strength was so dominant that even the government
requested funds from his company. Irwin did not get much involved
in public office but he exerted powerful influence upon political
decisions. In 1896, when the Kapiolani Park Association handed over
authority and lands to the Honolulu Park Commission, Irwin, who
had acquired lease of some park lands, successfully converted a part
of the lands to fee simple status. The land which he retained
included the prime beach front site on which Irwin erected his
estimable mansion. Thus, Irwin's enormous strength in the
economic, social, and political spheres made it possible to create a
monumental residence at the very heart of Waikiki Beach.

In order to understand the meaning of the Victorian mansions
constructed in Waikiki around the turn of the century, it seems
helpful to examine the roles of the architects involved in these
developments. J. Meredith Neil points out that "no one man has a
more central place in Hawaii's architectural history than Charles
William Dickey." Born in Oakland, California, Dickey grew up on the
north shore of Maui. After receiving an architectural degree at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he returned to Hawaii in
1895. The next year he moved to Honolulu where he joined Ripley's
office. Dickey's return to Hawaii coincided with prosperous years in
Hawaii's economy. Both sugar and coffee made substantial profits at
that time. Consequently, in 1896 Ripley and Dickey received
commissions for six major commercial projects and by the following year they virtually dominated the construction of commercial buildings in Honolulu. This is partly because Dickey had close connections with the old plantation elite in Hawaii. But it is pertinent to note that Ripley had already established himself among Hawaii's social and political elite. At that time William Irwin had already commissioned Ripley to restore the Honolulu Opera House, a project in which Irwin was deeply involved. In any case, Ripley and Dickey together played dominant roles in the architectural environment of Honolulu during the late 1890s. In their partnership it is likely that Dickey took responsibility for the creative and designing while Ripley dealt with the management and supervision of projects.

Ripley and Dickey engaged in various types of architecture: not only commercial buildings but also schools, churches and private houses. From 1896 to 1900, Ripley and Dickey designed more private houses than any other architects. Their projects varied from small bungalows to large mansions. Many houses were located in the Makiki area and others were in Manoa Valley. The styles of these houses depended upon the owners' tastes; there were many different styles to be found in domestic architecture. Aside from the Irwin residence, Ripley and Dickey constructed two houses in Waikiki. One was a simple, rustic cottage for George P. Castle, a brother of James Castle, while the other expressed the more elaborate tastes of Frederick J. Lowry, president of the Lewers and Cooke Corporation. Thus, the team of Ripley and Dickey played an instrumental role in Hawaii's environmental design.
Dickey expressed his views toward Waikiki in an article written in 1933. Although he regarded the hills and valleys rather than the beach front as the best location for residential homes in Hawaii, Dickey clearly appreciated the charm of Waikiki far beyond the sandy beach. At Waikiki the trade winds blowing from the mountains did not directly hit the beach since the thick growth of trees protected the ocean front. Low sea walls also held back the high tide, and the lawns extended to the ocean with their fringe of coconut trees. Dickey found it fascinating to gaze at the sea life of Waikiki: fishermen, surfers, swimmers, as well as steamers and canoes floating on the ocean waters. "It is this life, the soft balmy breezes, the restful relaxing atmosphere and the tropical beauty of the foliage setting off the beautiful blue and green tints of the ocean" that were seen to attract the weary visitors. Dickey may have discovered a resort paradisal environment at Waikiki where one could enjoy a life of leisure, escape from the constraints of the city life, and find renewal of self. It was in that beguiling setting that he created his elegant mansions for the American leisure class.

Whether the Victorian mansions truly conformed with the natural environment of Waikiki is a matter of debate. Before addressing that question directly, it seems appropriate to examine the distinctive style of Hawaiian Architecture adapted to the local environment. As we have seen, the environmental design of Honolulu in the 19th century basically followed the New England style. It is commonly believed that Hawaii's architecture did not develop a style of its own in that century. Yet close attention to a
few specific features will reveal a certain uniqueness in the architectural strategy.

The high-hipped sloping roof with overhanging eaves, frequently seen in Hawaii's environmental design, is considered to be one of the distinct features of Hawaiian architecture. Yet even this claim is a matter of controversy. In fact, this type of roof was seen both in England and in Australia (then part of the British Commonwealth) before it was utilized in Hawaii's architecture. But it does appear to be true that the use of the sloping hipped roof in other places was limited to domestic or other small buildings, while such roofs were utilized in large religious and public buildings as well as in residential architecture in the 19th century of Hawaii.68 For instance, the first Iolani Palace built in 1844 used a double-hipped roof. Along with the unusual roof, the Palace had other unique features: i.e., the extended verandah and an observation deck on top of the roof. Robert Jay points out that this structure seems to have been modeled after British colonial architecture as seen in New South Wales, Australia. But the roof design, he insists, resulted in "a true stylistic fusion between traditional Hawaiian construction and Western-style architecture."69 On the other hand, J. Meredith Neil analyzes the structure differently. He claims that the Old Palace expressed various western tastes, and that the use of coral block and timber, in particular, demonstrated how much Hawaiian royalty at that time was detached from nature.70 As previously mentioned, the lack of local materials necessitated the importation of timber from the mainland. The use of foreign materials alone does not
necessarily lead to separation from the local environment. In terms of overall style, the Old Palace clearly displayed some unique elements responsive to Hawaii's atmosphere. Jay's argument thus appears more convincing than that of Neil.

Furthermore, Jay explains how the high-pitched roof with overhanging eaves fit in with Hawaii's climate. The roof made it possible to move warm air upward, and the overhanging eaves protected the inhabitants from strong sun light and occasional showers. The design had been seen in Australia, but the high-pitched roof was particularly unique in Hawaii. In the 1840s and 50s, the Hawaiian architectural design featuring the high double-hipped roof was prevalent, but the second half of the century witnessed numerous strong influences from western architecture, Victorian eclecticism in particular. It was Charles W. Dickey who reintroduced the high double-hipped roof in the designs of cottages and bungalows around the turn of the century. For instance, the Henry E. Cooper residence built in Manoa Valley in 1897 revealed a unique character, despite the owner's predilection for the California Mission style. The distinct local flavor lay in the double-hipped high roof with extended eaves. It seems that Dickey reintroduced the traditional roof style which had long ago disappeared from the scene. After returning to Hawaii in 1924, Dickey reemphasized this roof style in the designs of commercial and public buildings. Ever since, the high sloping hipped roof has been known as "Dickey's Roof." In fact, referring to his personal style, Dickey observed in 1926 that "I believe that I have achieved a distinctive Hawaiian type of
architecture." Although Dickey's roof only became famous after he applied it to the cottages of the Halekulani Hotel in 1926, he had obviously experimented with this distinctive form of adaptation to the local environment as early as the turn of the century when stately mansions began to make their appearance in Waikiki.

The closing years of the 19th century witnessed a new trend in the domestic architecture of Hawaii. Thrum's Hawaiian Annual of 1897 described the residential changes of the previous year as "new departures in tropic architecture." Clinton Ripley regarded the lanai as the primary feature of the new trend. In native terminology the lanai was a temporary structure made of branches of coconut trees and covered on the top. The canopy served for shade on festive and ceremonial events. But, by the end of the 19th century an extended verandah from the house enjoying the comfortable breezes and decorated with various flowering plants came to be called a lanai which, serving as a living room, became a common feature in residential houses. Dickey also recognized the significance of the lanai: that is, as "a broad living porch" which brought the outdoors indoors. Since the native Hawaiians lived almost always out of doors, the concept of the lanai clearly fit in with the local custom. Robert Griffing Jr. defines the lanai as "an out-of-doors living area with a minimum of enclosing walls." It provided protection from wind, rain and sun "without imposing a feeling of confinement." He considers this factor very significant since nature is a primary asset in Hawaii's environment. In some contemporary houses, the lanai as the primary living room was constructed either
as unenclosed or as unenclosable. Hence, the lanai as a distinctive feature of Hawaiian architecture made its appearance around the turn of the century.

Not only the lanai but the entire structure of the house must express openness in order to accommodate the local climatic conditions. Hawaii enjoys a mild climate with temperatures ranging from the 60s to the 80s and with relatively medium humidity of 50 to 60 percent. But, without the smooth flow of the air one feels uncomfortable. Dickey clearly recognized that the climatic conditions would require openness and cross ventilation in architecture. The trade winds provide comfortable breezes from the north-east most of the year. Dickey suggested that "for real comfort and happiness this wind must be permitted to enter freely and circulate throughout the house, which calls for large openings and comparatively small wall spaces." Hence, openness in design is extremely important in a distinctively Hawaiian architecture.

Given that the sloping hipped roof, the lanai, and the sense of openness suggest a unique quality adapted to Hawaii's environment, is it possible to detect these features in the famous mansions erected in Waikiki around the turn of the century? The James B. Castle residence clearly utilized two separate sloping hipped roofs. On the top there was a large roof garden or observation deck, which also had a sloping hipped roof. The lanai of Kainalu was so unique that it overlooked the ocean on each of the three stories. The lanai stretching out of the main structure was actually placed over the ocean, which makes us feel like passengers of a luxury liner were
floating on the ocean. In the total structure there were a host of large windows dominating the wall spaces, which created a sense of openness. So it was that the majestic colonial mansion on the sea attempted to express a distinctive Hawaiian character. The neighboring William G. Irwin residence also exhibited some unique features. It was covered with the low sloping hipped roof of which four dormer windows edge out. The tower extending above the roof to the right conveyed a unique quality. The principal room of the house was a huge lanai of 34 by 58 feet with octagonal ends. On the ocean side of the lanai there was a 14-foot verandah except on the Diamond Head side where a lovely octagonal conservatory was located. The lanai evidently expressed openness and brought in the elements of the outdoors. Compared with Kainalu, the windows of the Irwin residence did not occupy the structure, but the broad verandah surrounding the left side of the first floor created an expansive freedom in design. Like the Castle residence, the Irwin mansion also expressed a certain distinctiveness congruent with Hawaii's environment.

The stately mansions constructed in Waikiki around the turn of the century served as a showcase of wealth and power which the privileged class of Honolulu boasted; but they also expressed certain elements of local flavor. The architects apparently attempted to create an organic harmony between the architecture and the environment. They sought to modify various styles of architecture adaptively to the environment so that they would create "a decided Hawaiian character." There is a subtle but clear difference between
colonial architecture in Hawaii and that in Georgia—a distinction which also applies to Italian, Spanish, Monterey, English and other styles seen in Honolulu. By the 1930s, as Dickey claimed, the architects had eliminated these historic styles and started to design houses "with no thought of history but with an honest sincere and earnest desire to meet local conditions in a beautiful well balanced and acceptable manner." Since Hawaii's environmental conditions were distinctive, said Dickey, "this is really the only logical way to proceed."83 Thus the architects, aware of the unique and special environment, created these grand mansions in a style congruent with mythic images of Waikiki.

Waikiki's environment before the turn of the century had already expressed the character of a country retreat both for royalty and for the privileged. The establishment of Kapiolani Park marked the beginning of resort-making in the vicinity of Waikiki. In the closing years of the 19th century, wealthy residents began to construct stately Victorian mansions at the seashore of Waikiki or on the slopes of Diamond Head. In one sense, Waikiki became a luxurious permanent residential area for the leisure class. Yet these mansions served also as a temporary retreat for the guests of their wealthy owners and for those residents who retained their main houses in Honolulu. The changing landscape of Waikiki prior to 1900 thus paved the way for the creation of a resort paradise in the new century.
The meaning of the Victorian mansions can be examined from the inside. In other words, the inhabitants of the houses unconsciously expressed their ideas through architecture. When men and women of wealth came to the islands, they brought certain images of a tropical paradise in the Pacific. In the decision to create a Victorian mansion, the social elite must have implanted their images of paradise as well as their cultural baggages—i.e., their values and beliefs—by means of architecture. Thus the preconceived images of paradise held by the privileged class influenced architectural expression. Exactly how these images of paradise came to be embedded in the consciousness of the Victorian leisure class will be discussed in the next chapter.

2 Marilyn Stassen-McLaughlin, "Victorian Waikiki-- The Playground of Royalty," The View from Diamond Head 8.
3 Stassen-McLaughlin, 9.
4 Stassen-McLaughlin, 9-10.
5 Stassen-McLaughlin, 10-11.
6 Stassen-McLaughlin, 11-14.
7 Stassen-McLaughlin, 17-19.
10 Weyeneth, 4.
11 Weyeneth, 4.
12 "Kapiolani Park Association," Pacific Commercial Advertiser 11 November 1876, 2.
13 Weyeneth, 4-5.
14 "Kapiolani Park Association," 2.
16 "Kamehameha Day," 3.
17 Weyeneth, 7.
18 Weyeneth, 7.
19 Weyeneth, 7.
20 Weyeneth, 1-2.
21 Weyeneth, 2.
23 Weyeneth, 14.
25 Sabin, 10-15.
27 Sabin, 12.
28 Weyeneth, 21-22.
31 Weyeneth, 26-28.
33 Neil, 6.
36 Daws, 79.
37 Jay, 14.
38 Daws, 80-81.
40 Ripley, 19.
41 Ripley, 19.
43 Nordhoff, 387.
45 Neil, 11.
46 Neil, 9.
48 Daws, 81.
49 Hibbard, 22.
50 Hibbard, 23.
51 Jay, 23.
52 Jay, 20.
53 Jay, 29.
55 Jay, 59-60.
56 Hibbard, 35.
57 Talbot, 51.
58 Jay, 62-63.
59 Jay, 63-64.
60 "Waikiki Mansion," Pacific Commercial Advertiser 4 October 1899, 1.
61 Jay, 65.
62 Jay, 65.
63 Weyeneth, 16-17.
65 Jay, 32-34, 54.
67 Dickey, 6.
68 Jay, 4.
69 Jay, 18.
71 Jay, 68.
72 Jay, 18-19.
73 Jay, 67-68.
74 Jay, 68.
76 Jay, 54.
77 Ripley, 19.
78 Dickey, 8.
80 Griffing Jr., 107.
81 Dickey, 8.
82 Dickey, 6-7.
83 Dickey, 7-8.
It is safe to say that literary guides like Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jack London exerted enormous influence upon the imagination of the leisure class in Victorian America. The images of Hawaii created by these and other writers were also infused into the consciousness of the fortunate minority who were affluent enough to make the long voyage to Hawaii. Since these three literary greats spent an extended amount of time in Waikiki and interacted with its environment, their overall images of Hawaii were naturally integrated into Waikiki's landscape. Thanks to their efforts, Waikiki as a primary destination became a mythical place for the wealthy tourists.

MARK TWAIN

No one has ever publicized the Hawaiian Islands more articulately and more powerfully than Mark Twain. Twain's relationship with Hawaii began on March 18, 1866 when the steamer Ajax landed at the port of Honolulu after a 2,000-mile journey from San Francisco. Twain came to the islands as a correspondent of The Sacramento Union, a leading newspaper in the American West. His assignment was to write about the sugar industry for the businessmen of the West. But, spending a total of 124 days in the
exotic islands, Twain in the course of his 25 letters to California covered "a good deal of extraneous matter": scenery and climate, history and legends, politics, social and cultural aspects, the royal family, religious matters, and so on. Twain's letters from Hawaii were well received in California. Walter F. Frear, who later served both as governor of the Territory and chief justice of the Supreme Court regarded the Sandwich Islands letters as "comprehensive and intrinsically interesting in subject matter" while referring to broad topics including reciprocity and annexation, international relations in the Pacific, the westward development of California, and the rapid increase of American influence. Frear also praised Twain's "penetrating powers of observation and unflagging industry." Another observer, Stephen Leacock, shared the same view in his own remarks: "His Sandwich Islands letters attracted great attention in California. They well deserved it. Apart from any incidental humor, they reveal that power of vivid description, that marvelous facility in conveying the sights and sounds of nature, which henceforth constitutes one of the distinctive charms of Mark Twain's work." It was clear that the letters gave Twain his reputation as a brilliant reporter.

In terms of publicizing the Hawaiian Islands, Twain's letters served four purposes. Above all, the letters enhanced the mythical images of Hawaii in describing the ineffable beauty of the islands (as will be discussed later). Second, they explained historical facts, social conditions, and cultural aspects--values and customs--which would be helpful for the future visitor. The letters served not only as a
travel guide but also as a vicarious (or "virtual") travel experience. By reading Twain's descriptions of the Kilauea Volcano, for example, the reader could personalize an adventure into the volcanic land. Finally, Twain conveyed the social spirit of this paradise, and stressed the hospitality of the locals in his letters. A. Grove Day states that "the millions of latter-day 'innocents' who follow Mark Twain's footsteps around the fiftieth American State might do worse than imitate the spirit in which he sojourned in the islands. Wherever he went, he found--among residents and foreigners alike--the hospitable spirit of aloha that is still a treasured quality of life in Hawaii." Moreover, Twain told the reader how to enjoy and relax in this paradise through his experiences. Day claims that Twain, as "the prototype of the beachcomber, the dropout," enjoyed "the simple art of living." Twain planned to visit the island of Maui for a week but he actually stayed five weeks without accomplishing his job. The stay on Maui was the most pleasant of all for Twain who "would not have fooled away any of it writing letters under any consideration whatever." Day concludes that "Mark Twain knew when to work hard, and when to relax!"

The positive relationship between Twain and Hawaii was reciprocal; Twain famously publicized the islands through his letters and lectures, while the islands helped to make him what he would become after returning home. One writer observed that Twain "put the tiny remote monarchy on the map and in fair exchange, the islands put Mark Twain on the map, too--map of literary America." Before coming to Hawaii, Twain had not yet published a single book.
It was after his return from the islands that he began his prolific career as a writer. Walter Frear captured the meaning of the Hawaii trip for Twain's future when he wrote: "That visit marked the most significant turning point of Mark Twin's life--the interstice between the thirty years of preparation in the extraordinary rough school of his early experiences and the forty-five years of his phenomenal career as writer, lecturer, and personality. It was an oasis in his life ever refreshing as a 'golden memory'; it marked the transition between his cruder and briefer previous writings and his more refined and elaborate subsequent ones; and it gave him a new and at times sorely needed, lucrative profession, that of lecturer."9 The stay in Hawaii merely for 124 days provided him with refreshment, a prospective literary career and a calling as lecturer. Before the trip to the islands, Twain had been jailed in San Francisco because of his harsh criticism of police brutality. On an earlier occasion, he almost committed suicide. With these and other rough incidents in his youth, Twain seems to have needed a drastic break in his life style; and it came in the form of a tranquil and therapeutic interlude in the islands of the Pacific.10

With regard to Twain's literary development, Albert B. Paine, his designated biographer, wrote that "The Hawaiian letters, however, do show the transition stage between the rough, elemental humor of the Comstock and the refined and subtle style which flowered in The Innocents Abroad. Certainly Mark Twain's genius was finding itself, and his association with the refined and cultured personality of Anson Burlingame undoubtedly aided in that
discovery... He was learning to see things with better eyes, from a better point of view.\textsuperscript{11} Burlingame, who was going to China to serve as United States ambassador, seems to have exerted a tremendous influence upon Twain's intellectual life as well as upon his literary skills. Moreover, it is apparent that Twain acquired some materials which could be incorporated into his future novels. Finally, his new profession as lecturer brought him a new life. It stabilized him financially and it provided him with a reputation. Paine claimed that "But now came a change—a large and important change—Mark Twain's intellectual life... His Sandwich Island letters to the Sacramento Union had been nothing remarkable, but the lecture he was persuaded to deliver a few months after his return indicates a mental awakening, a growth in vigor and poetic utterance that cannot be measured in comparison with his earlier writings, because it is not of the same realm."\textsuperscript{12} The success of his lectures clearly helped him progress as a writer. Thus, Twain's visit to Hawaii was, indeed, a watershed in his life.

Twain's love for the islands was so strong that he not only desired to return but hoped one day to live there. Paine noted that "Mark Twain immediately fell in love with Hawaii and remained in love with it his life long."\textsuperscript{13} In 1881 Twain expressed his desire to live in the islands in a letter to his friend, Charles Warren Stoddard. He wrote:

If the house would only burn down, we would pack up the cubs and fly to the isles of the blest, and shut ourselves up in the healing solitude of Haleakala and get
a good rest; for the mails do not intrude there, nor yet the telephone and the telegraph. And after resting, we would come down the mountain a piece and board with a godly, breech-clouted native, and eat poi and dirt and give thanks to whom all thanks belong, for these privileges, and never house-keep anymore... What I have always longed for, was the privilege of living forever away up on one of those mountains in the Sandwich Islands overlooking the sea.  

Twain's dream to return to paradise almost came true when he planned to stop over in Honolulu on his way to a world lecture tour in 1895. But, unfortunately, a plague of cholera broke out in Honolulu and prevented him from landing on the shore. Later, he wrote, "Thus suddenly did my dream of twenty nine years go to ruin." Nothing was more devastating to him than this incident in his relationship to the islands which gave him a new lease on life. Perhaps it was as well that Twain did not return. To a man who had romanticized and mythologized the islands thirty years before, the drastic material change in the islands may not have been tolerable. But it is also conceivable that Twain's paradisal memories would have overcome the harsh reality of change. In any case, without ever setting foot in the islands again, Twain could continue to dream of his lost paradise to the end of his life.

Mark Twain once described Hawaii as "the loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean." The images of the islands that he fashioned had an enormous impact upon future visitors. The following section focuses upon the graphic images of Hawaii which
Twain created, nourished, and presented both in written and in spoken forms.

First of all, what was the view of Waikiki reflected in the eyes of this keen observer? In his horse-riding excursion, "A mile and a half from town," Twain saw "a grove of tall coconut trees, with clean, branchless stems reaching straight up sixty or seventy feet and topped with a spray of green foliage sheltering clusters of coconuts—not more picturesque than a forest of colossal ragged parasols, with bunches of magnified grapes under them would be." Twain was apparently not impressed by the Royal Coconut Grove, which had not been properly maintained since the government moved to Honolulu in 1809. He also found "about a dozen cottages, some frame and the others of native grass, nestled sleepily in the shade here and there." Among the native cottages, one had hoisted the King's flag on the top of its roof. Twain was aware that the monarch "owns the whole concern thereabouts, and passes his time there frequently, on sultry days 'laying off'." In 1866 Waikiki was a country retreat for Hawaiian royalty in search of solitude and relaxation. Some framed houses referred to by Twain seem to be foreign cottages which began to appear at that time. Yet, Waikiki, which used to be "the capital of the kingdom and abode of the great Kamehameha," had turned into "a historical point." However, the majestic view of Waikiki from the slopes of Diamond Head more than fulfilled Twain's sense of beauty. Moving along the shore, Twain climbed to the summit of the extinct volcano. On the way back to town, he was captivated by the extraordinary vista. "Impressed by the profound silence and repose..."
that rested over the beautiful landscape," Twain exclaimed, "What a picture is here slumbering in the solemn glory of the moon! How strong the rugged outlines of the dead volcano stand out against the clear sky! What a snowy fringe marks the bursting of the surf over the long curved reef! How calmly the dim city sleeps yonder in the plain! How soft the shadows lie upon the stately mountains that border the dream-haunted Manoa Valley! ..."21 The beauty of Waikiki and its surrounding environment all but overwhelmed Twain's lyric imagination.

Beyond the limited area of Waikiki, Twain sought to capture the overall mystique of Honolulu in comparison to San Francisco: "In place of hurry and bustle and noisy confusion of San Francisco, I moved in the midst of a summer calm as tranquil as dawn in the Garden of Eden."22 The first impression of Honolulu's environment was, then, its tranquillity and repose. Twain continued:

I saw on the one side a frame-work of tall, precipitous mountains close at hand, clad in refreshing green, and deft by deep, cool, chasm-like valleys- and in front the grand sweep of the ocean: a brilliant, transparent green near the shore, bound and bordered by a long white line of foamy spray dashing against the reef, and further out the dead blue water of the deep sea, flecked with 'white caps.' axis in the far horizon a single lonely sail- a mere accent- mark to emphasize a slumberous calm and a solitude that were without sound or limit.23

Twain discovered a perfect harmony between the mountains and the ocean in Honolulu's environment. After sunset, he felt it to be
"trenched luxury to sit in the perfumed air and forget that there was any world but these enchanted islands." The environment made him have "such ecstasy to dream." Twain apparently perceived a mythical, if not spiritual, atmosphere in the features of Honolulu. What was central to his image of this special place? Twain's paradise was imbued with a serene, restful atmosphere, reflecting a perfect balance of mountains and seashore. It was also a dream-like environment shielded from reality.

The paradisal elements of the Hawaiian Islands were well expressed in his lectures. Twain told audiences that "The land that I have tried to tell you about lies out there in the midst of watery wilderness in the very heart of the limitless solitudes of the Pacific. It is a dreamy, beautiful, charming land. I wish I could make you comprehend how beautiful it is. It is a Sunday-land, the land of indolence and dreams where the air is drowsy and lulls the spirit to repose and peace, and to forgetfulness of the labor and turmoil and anxiety of life." Here, Twain once again stresses his twin paradisal qualities: serenity and dream. The islands of the Pacific provide to people a day-dream fantasy detached from the hustle and worry of everyday life. Twain's paradise is, indeed, a "timeless" retreat detached from civilization—in short, a land of dreams.

In the opening paragraphs of his unpublished and unfinished novel about Hawaii, Twain conveyed the images of a Pacific paradise poetically and romantically:

The date is 1840. Scene the true Isles of the Blest; that is to say, the Sandwich Islands— to this day the
peacefullest, restfullest, sunniest, balmiest, dreamiest haven of refuge for a worn and weary spirit the surface of the earth can offer. Away out there in the mid-solitudes of the vast Pacific, and far down in the edge of the tropics, they lie asleep on the waves perpetually green and beautiful, remote from the work-day world and its frets and worries, a bloomy, fragrant paradise, where the troubled may go and find peace and the sick and tired find strength and rest. There they lie, the divine islands, forever shining in the sun, forever smiling out on the sparkling sea, with its soft mottlings of drifting cloud-shadows and vagrant cat's paws of wind; forever inviting you, never repulsing you; and whosoever looks upon them once will never more get the picture out of his memory till he die. With him it will stay, and be always present; always present and always fresh; neither time nor distance can dim its features, or dull their charm, or reconcile him to the thought that he will never see that picture with his eyes of flesh again.

The Islands are so beautiful! The richest fancy can not imagine their beauty, and no brush can adequately paint it. Indeed, you move through a very paradise, and you say nothing, because you cannot put into words, even to yourself, the deep charm and solace and beauty of it.²⁶

Twain envisions "the Isles of the Blest" as a serene refuge from the everyday life of civilizations where one can cleanse the exhausted body and mind, refresh and renew the spirit. In such a paradise, one loses one's separate consciousness and sinks willingness into the seductiveness of the dream.

Twain's best-remembered speech concerning the Hawaiian Islands was delivered at a baseball banquet in New York on April 8, 1889, in honor of two American teams that had stopped over in Honolulu on their world tour. This speech, later known as the "prose
poem," expressed his passionate love for the island paradise. His concluding lines were:

No alien land in all the world has any deep, strong charm for me but that one, no other land could so longingly and so beseechingly haunt me sleeping and waking, through half a lifetime, as that one has done. Other things leave me, but it abides; other things change, but it remains the same. For me its balmy airs are always blowing, its summer seas flashing in the sun; the pulsing of its surfbeat is in my ear; I can see its garlanded crags, its leaping cascades, its plumy palms drowsing by the shore, its remote summits floating like islands above the cloud wrack; I can feel the spirit of its woodland solitudes, I can hear the splash of its brooks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that perished twenty years ago.27

In concluding this discussion of the intimate relationship between Mark Twain and Hawaii, it seems appropriate to demonstrate how much Twain's images of the islands influenced future visitors. Around the turn of the century, one female tourist expressed her attitude toward Hawaii as follows: "Mark Twain is credited with having said that the good never die in Hawaii. They simply fall asleep to awaken in another heaven. Certainly after our first ride in Honolulu we could honestly declare that it came nearer to Paradise than any spot in the world that we had visited. Such wealth and variety of vegetation, so many fruits and the natural beauty of mountains, plain and sea conspired to make a scene of rare loveliness such as we had never before seen."28 With Twain's letters as a travel guide, the lady might have followed the same path Twain
took more than 30 years earlier. She discovered exactly what Twain had observed--the paradisal environment of Honolulu. Twain's Edenic images of Hawaii were so powerful that they would continue to live in the minds of visitors for decades to come.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

In recalling the relationship of Robert Louis Stevenson with Hawaii, the first that comes into mind is the name of Sans Souci in Waikiki. In his initial visit to the islands, Stevenson spent almost five months at the beach cottages at Sans Souci apart from brief trips to the Islands of Hawaii and Molokai. Four years later, he stayed at the Sans Souci Hotel for six weeks. There is no question that Stevenson publicized Sans Souci of Waikiki almost as much as he did Hawaii in general.

Stevenson arrived at the port of Honolulu on January 24, 1889, as a stop on his long voyage into the South Seas which had begun on June 28, 1888 at San Francisco. The primary objective of the trip was a search for health, since he had suffered from the often fatal disease of tuberculosis. As a result, he spent the rest of his life in the South Seas and produced numerous, memorable works in a span of six years.29

Stevenson came to Hawaii as a prestigious writer who had already published such famous stories as Treasure Island and The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. King David Kalakaua, as a refined man of culture, recognized Stevenson's reputation as a writer.
Two days after his arrival, he was invited to Iolani Palace to see the king. By his nature as a Scot, Stevenson expressed a great respect for the royal personage, and he also showed an admiration for Polynesian culture; it is no wonder that the king and Stevenson became close friends. On February 3, 1889, there was a luau party at Henry Poor's Waikiki Beach cottage called Manuia Lanai, where both Kalakaua and Princess Liliuokalani were invited as special guests. At the height of the party Mrs. Stevenson presented Kalakaua with a golden pearl from the Tuamotus and Stevenson read his beautiful sonnet about giving "the ocean jewel to the island king." Then Arthur Richardson took the opportunity to take photographs of the gala party. Thus, it was that Stevenson established an intimate relationship with Hawaiian royalty. The famous author attracted not only the royal family but also the Victorian social elite who were, in fact, closely linked with Kalakaua. One of his most intimate friends was Archibald S. Cleghorn, who was instrumental in the establishment of Kapiolani Park. The former Scottish merchant had already been included in the circle of the royal family since he was married to Princess Likelike. Their daughter, Princess Kaiulani, was an attractive thirteen-year-old girl who became a close friend of Stevenson. Cleghorn's Waikiki residence, called Ainahau, was especially well-known for its huge banyan tree, under which Stevenson told Kaiulani the stories of Scotland and the mystical fables of the South Seas. Since Kaiulani as a future queen planned to be educated in Scotland, Stevenson served as an appropriate adviser.
Before her departure, Stevenson wrote a famous poem dedicated to her, which remains as a memento of their close relationship.\textsuperscript{31}

In his private life Stevenson first stayed at Manuia Lanai, located at Sans Souci, and then moved to a cluster of cottages known as the Frank Brown place. One of the cottages that Stevenson called "a grim little shanty" served as his bedroom and study room. Being without a tenant for a long time, it was occupied by spiders and bugs. The geckoes worked hard to eliminate them, but were outnumbered. Under such strenuous conditions, Stevenson wrote a number of his best stories.\textsuperscript{32} Waikiki's environment was plainly beneficial for his health; the sun and the ocean bathing helped to strengthen his fragile body. In the tranquillity of Waikiki, Stevenson was inspired to focus on his literary endeavors.

On June 21, 1889, Stevenson and his party left Honolulu for another adventure in the South Seas. The day before sailing, Kalakaua visited the ship for a farewell party. On the day of departure the king bade a memorable farewell to Stevenson by presenting him with a small model of a schooner bearing sails inscribed: "May the Winds and Waves be Favorable." Behind the music of "Aloha Oe" played by the Royal Hawaiian Band, Stevenson left the islands in search of health and inspiration.\textsuperscript{33}

After settling down in the islands of Upolu, Samoa, Stevenson made a brief return visit to Honolulu in the fall of 1893. He had planned to stay for a week, but a carriage accident forced him to remain for an additional four weeks. Stevenson spent the five-week period at a cottage of the Sans Souci Hotel. The purpose of the
second visit was primarily to rest awhile in a mild climate and enjoy socializing with close friends without the pressure of literary obligations. Therefore, Stevenson led a quiet life of leisure. He walked around the grounds of the hotel and went down to the little pier to soak up the sunshine. On the hotel grounds was a comfortable umbrella that provided shade beneath which he enjoyed conversations with intimate friends. In the evenings the sunsets over the ocean attracted the gaze of the famous writer. It would seem that Stevenson experienced a paradisal life at the beach of Waikiki. During that time the newspapers published a few articles describing the conditions of San Souci as "disorderly." Stevenson immediately wrote a letter to the editors protesting that the only disorderly item was the telephone. It started to ring even when he was in bed. Stevenson dismissed the new device of the telephone as "the ally of a shabby civilization." The letter ended with a little poem in support of the Sans Souci. He wrote: "In a more sacred or sequestered bower, nor nymph, nor faunas haunted."34 On the day of his departure Stevenson conveyed his pleasure as a guest at Sans Souci with the following note in the hotel register:

If anyone desire such old-fashioned things as lovely scenery, quiet, pure air, clean sea water, good food and heavenly sunsets hung out before his eyes over the Pacific and the distant hills of Waianae, I recommend him cordially to the 'San Souci.35

The lines were immediately used as an advertisement for the hotel. On October 27, Stevenson departed Honolulu forever and spent the
remaining year of his life in a simple village of Samoa. The climate and residents of the South Sea island fascinated Stevenson, who appears to have discovered another tropical paradise in Samoa. On December 3, 1894, a little more than a year since he left Honolulu, the turbulent yet fascinating life of Stevenson came to an end on his peaceful estate in the last earthly paradise.

It is wholly understandable that Stevenson as a literary artist loved the South Seas, which inspired him to produce an enormous amount of work in the limited period of six years. The warm climate of the tropical ocean appealed to one who always enjoyed sunshine wherever and whenever possible. Stevenson called the Pacific "this precious deep" ocean and expressed his feelings while approaching one island. He noted, "To draw near to a new island, I cannot say how much I like." Stevenson greatly preferred the less "civilized" islands of the Pacific to the overcrowded cities of the continent. He professed, "I was never fond of towns, houses, society or (it seems) civilization. Nor yet it seems was I ever very fond of (what is technically called) God's green earth. The sea, islands, the islanders, the island life and climate, make and keep me truly happier ..."

Among the islands, he chose Upolu, Samoa as a permanent residence rather than Honolulu simply because it was less civilized.

What exactly was the lure of the South Seas which so attracted Stevenson? He once expressed the positive effect of the Pacific in a story where a character says: "Day after day the sun flamed; night after night the moon beaconed, or the stars paraded their lustrous regiment. I was aware of a spiritual change, or perhaps rather a
molecular reconstitution. My bones were sweeter to me." The benign climate and the verdant environments of the South Seas never failed to provide him with the physical strength he desperately needed. On another occasion Stevenson wrote to his friend Sidney Colvin about the lure of the oceans and islands: "Fine, clean emotions; a world all and always beautiful; air better than wine; interest unflagging; there is upon the whole no better life."

While acknowledging the actual danger from the ocean, Stevenson embraced it as a tonic of life. The South Seas provided him with intellectual stimulation and spiritual enlightenment. Thus, the island life in the vast Pacific exerted a profound influence not only upon Stevenson's physical strength and mental stability but also upon his spiritual discovery of the inner self.

Unlike Mark Twain who traversed the islands of Oahu, Maui, and Hawaii and wrote about what he saw with delight and fascination, Robert Louis Stevenson focused mainly upon his fictional writings, not lingering much upon the physical images of Hawaii. But when he went to the Kona coast of the Big Island, he did make some travel sketches of the region. Stevenson had an opportunity to visit the volcano area but stayed in the town of Kona which he liked as "a humming city." However, his impressions of the general region were not favorable. At first, Stevenson observed the Kona coast from the deck of a schooner approaching the island of Hawaii:

The rude Plutonic structure of the isle was conspicuous. Here was none of the accustomed glitter of the beach, none of the close shoreside forests of the typical high
island. All seemed black and barren, and to slope sheer into the sea. Unexpected movements of the lands caught the attention: folds that glittered with a certain virtuosity; black mouths of caves; ranges of low cliff, vigorously designed a while in sun and shadow, and that sank again into the general declivity of the island glacis. Under its gigantic cowl of cloud the coast frowned upon us with a face of desolation.42

Here, what Stevenson observed was no paradise but a desolate wilderness. In this region mostly covered with lava, Stevenson did not appear to discern the mysterious beauty of the black rocks but only their barren countenance. The natural beauty of Hawaii as a pristine paradise did not have the same unqualified attraction for Stevenson as it had for Mark Twain.

Is it possible, then, that Stevenson did not see any link between Hawaii and paradisal images? Stevenson wrote a short story, “The Bottle Imp,” while visiting the Kona coast. He regarded it as “one of my best works, and ill to equal.”43 The story tells that for fifty dollars Keawe buys a bottle whose magical power materializes all his dreams. But, the bottle has to be sold to another at a lower price before the devil inside the bottle takes his life. Thanks to the bottle, Keawe’s dream to build a gorgeous mansion on the hill of Kona comes true, and he also gets married to a beautiful girl named Kokua. However, misfortune befalls him, for he finds the fatal stigma of leprosy in his body. Keawe desperately tries to find someone who may have purchased the bottle, and finally locates the last person who paid two cents for a bottle. Knowing that he cannot sell the bottle to another, Keawe buys back the magical bottle at one cent.
His physical torture subsides, but his mental ordeals begin. Then, Kokua suggests to her husband that he should go to French Polynesia where one cent equals five centime. After many ordeals, they manage to eliminate the bottle, and live happily in the mansion of Kona. This plot is a typical paradisal story. Keawe first acquires wealth and love, which makes him enjoy a life of leisure; he discovers a paradise on the hills of Kona. But, misfortune takes his paradise away, and Keawe’s struggles then begin to regain the lost paradise. From this summary it is apparent that the paradisal conception of Hawaii inspired Stevenson in the creation of his finest short story.

The natural beauty of Hawaii, to be sure, did not have the same appeal to the invalid wracked with illness as it did to the younger man of robust physique and romantic impulse. Yet, he was inspired and empowered by the lush simplicity of the South Seas to produce much of his greatest work. What then, we may ask, was “paradise” for Stevenson? We know that he loved the atmosphere of the land and the seas of Polynesia which healed his stricken body. Nevertheless, stubbornly it may seem, his heart and mind always belonged to his ancestral home of Scotland. When residing at Vailima, he could yet see the glens of Scotland through the mists of Mt. Vaea. He wrote to J. M. Barrie “that I should live here in the South Seas under conditions so new and so striking, and yet my imagination so continually inhabit that cold old huddle of gray hills from which we come.” But that does not mean necessarily that Stevenson’s heart and mind belonged utterly to his homeland, for he
had after all left Scotland behind. It may have been the paradisal environment of the Pacific that made him aware of his spiritual existence. For Stevenson, "paradise" does not have so much an external location as an internal reference; that is, it is not to be found in the realm of the physical environment per se but in a heightened state of consciousness. In the paradise of the Pacific, Stevenson somehow made his own return to an Eden which had originated in Scotland and had become lost. The healing waters and perfumes of the Pacific helped to fortify his weak body, and above all, the paradisal environment helped him to regain emotional and spiritual balance. For Stevenson, life in the South Seas was "a journey into the self." Paradise in the Pacific offered him an opportunity to renew and rediscover himself. This spiritual meaning of "paradise" is a significant aspect of the legacy which Stevenson has given to the generations of readers attracted to his unique and fascinating body of work.

JACK LONDON

Born in San Francisco on January 12, 1876, the writer and adventurer Jack London encountered the islands of Hawaii as early as 1904, when he made two brief stops on a roundtrip to Asia. Perhaps it was that pleasant experience which led him to return to the islands later on. London made two trips to Hawaii: a five-month stay in 1907 on the first stop of his adventure into the South Seas, and an extended stay in 1915-1916.
After leaving San Francisco on April 23, 1907, Snark, a forty-foot ketch designed and built by London, arrived at Honolulu nearly a month later, on May 21. London stayed primarily at a cottage of the Honolulu Seaside Hotel. He spent most of his time on the beach, in a "brown-tent cottage" under a palm tree at the present site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. At Waikiki Beach London enjoyed swimming and talking with native Hawaiians as well as visitors. But, what fascinated him most was the art of surfing. Thanks to the instruction of his local friends, he soon became an expert at the native sport and even wrote an article entitled "A Royal Sport: Surfing at Waikiki." London also spent his time at social gatherings and even had opportunities to visit the deposed queen Liliuokalani and Sanford B. Dole, who was instrumental in deposing the queen. Other activities during his stay included hiking up Diamond Head and driving around the island of Oahu by carriage. The rugged adventurer was not satisfied with staying on Oahu and made three trips to the neighbor islands. On Molokai, London visited the leper settlement where he observed that the condition of the victims was not as devastating as he had expected. On Maui, he took a trip on horseback to the huge dormant volcano of Haleakala, where he descended into the crater and camped. He also spent several more days on horseback viewing the verdant area of Hana and the sugar plantations of Nahiku. Before finally leaving the Hawaiian Islands for the South Seas, London toured the Big Island, exploring the Kona coast, visiting the Parker Ranch and the sugar plantation of Hamakua. The trip of course took him to the Kilauea Volcano, which impressed him enough to label
the fire pit of Halemaumau "a hell of a hole." After his trek into the
volcano region, London left Hilo for the Marquesas Islands on October
7.48

London's second visit to Hawaii began on March 2, 1915. Before settling
down in Waikiki, London went to the Big Island to observe an eruption of Kilauea. Back in Waikiki, he settled in a
cottage on Beach Walk. On the beach London spent pleasant hours at
the Outrigger Canoe Club, built on the spot where he had set up his
tent cottage during the previous visit. The Club was established by
surf sports enthusiasts who enjoyed swimming with the world-
renowned Duke Kahanamoku and other "beachboys." Once, reflecting
on the pleasant scene, London said: "I'm glad we're here now." He
foresaw the future of Waikiki in his next remark: "For some day
Waikiki Beach is going to be the scene of one long hotel."49

On this same trip, London again met Queen Liliuokalani and revisited
Maui and Molokai to see the improvements of the leper colony. London made a brief return to California but came back to
the islands on December 23. This time he resided in a cottage at
2201 Kalia Road close to the Halekulani Hotel. At this cottage, he
wrote stories and a letter of resignation from the Socialist Party. The
last seven months of London's stay in Hawaii were spent rather
quietly, as he started to suffer from an assortment of physical
problems: insomnia, uremia, and kidney stones. But he never failed
to entertain his friends who gathered at the cottage almost daily. On
July 26, 1916, London left Hawaii forever with a host of
unforgettable memories. Four month later, his adventurous life came
to an end at Glen Elen, Sonoma, California.\textsuperscript{50} The cause of death was an overdose of morphine--which may have symbolized the terminal stresses of his rough, reckless, and remarkable life.

London, then, spent a substantial amount of time in Hawaii. There can be no doubt that Hawaii had a special meaning for him. Mae Lacy Baggs once observed that "What Stevenson was to Samoa, London was to Hawaii, and more."\textsuperscript{51} Above all, London expressed a passionate love for Hawaii equal to that of Stevenson for Samoa. He proclaimed that "I'd rather be called a kamaaina than any other name in the world, because I love the land and I love the people."\textsuperscript{52} The environment and residents of Hawaii appealed to London so much that he wished to live there permanently. He told his daughter that "I grow more and more in love with Hawaii and am certain, somewhere in the future (not too remote) that I shall elect to make Hawaii my home."\textsuperscript{53}

What features of Hawaii attracted London so much? What especially did he see and respond to in the islands of the South Seas? First, like everyone else, the climate and environment of Hawaii appealed to London. He particularly noticed the diversity of climate and environment seen in the island chain. "Not strictly tropical, but subtropical, rather, in the heel of the northeast trades (which is a very wine of wind), with altitudes rising from palm-fronted coral beaches to snow-capped summits fourteen thousand feet in the air; there was never so much climate gathered together in one place on earth."\textsuperscript{54} In order to make the most of the climatic differences, one should ideally have three types of residence: a town house, a beach
cottage, and a mountain cabin. London further stated: "To the proposition that never was so much climate gathered together in one place, can be added that never was so much landscape gathered together in one place. The diversification is endless, from the lava shores of South Puna to the barking sands of Kauai. On every island breakneck mountain climbing abounds." One could climb the snowy mountains on one day and swim "in clear ocean water that effervesces like champagne on the thousand beaches" on the following day.\(^{55}\)

Not only the climate and environment but the people of Hawaii--its living heart--attracted London. Mae Lacy Baggs noted: "There was the Hawaiian aloha, Hawaiian love. Not only is this beautiful spirit of love found in the native, but each man, woman and child, haole, malihini or kamaaina, even though he has it not upon arrival; finds it soon striking into his soul."\(^{56}\) London explained how much the spirit of aloha compels the visitor to remain forever in the islands when he wrote: "Hawaii is the home of shanghaied men and women who were induced to remain, not by a blow with a club over the head or a doped bottle of whisky, but by love. Hawaii and Hawaiians are a land and a people loving and lovable." London noticed that the term *aloha* well expressed the loving heart of the people of Hawaii. He said, "Aloha! It is a positive affirmation of the warmth of one's own heart-giving."\(^{57}\) Thanks to the spirit of aloha, London's stay in Hawaii became even more enjoyable and heartfelt.

London, then, discovered the lure of Hawaii in the loving heart of the people as well as in the diverse climate and majestic
environment. In such favorable surroundings, how did he spend his time apart from writing? Lacy Baggs explained, "No doubt the reason Hawaii appealed to him so intensely was because here life was virtually without effort." That is, liberated from the hustle and bustle of life in California, London was truly able to relax and enjoy himself in Hawaii. Although he continued in his writing at a pace of 1,000 words a day, London fundamentally led a life of leisure in the islands. Baggs suggested that the effortless life made him reidentify himself. "The freedom of the life in Hawaii encouraged Jack London to be himself. He would sit by the sea shore with a group of congenial spirits hour after hour while rainbows played their elusive game, now back up through the Manoa Valley, now through shifting spray--liquid sunshine, as the Hawaiian has it--of the dream-like coral sea." London enjoyed a peaceful life in the dream-like environment.

However, the real Jack London was not always satisfied with a passive, quiet life. He was a man of action. He never hesitated to take a risk in the quest of adventure. This character took him to the remotest world of the cannibal territory in the South Seas. In Hawaii London traveled around the islands in search of adventure: horseback riding up and down the dormant volcano of Haleakala, ascending and descending the steep cliff trail at Kalaupapa, Molokai, and observing an eruption of Kilauea. But, what fascinated him most was the adventurous experience of surfing at Waikiki.

In "A Royal Sport: Surfing at Waikiki," London describes the attractions of surfing through his own experiences. The story begins
with the description of the big surf as the awe of nature. London writes, "one sits and listens to the perpetual roar, and watches the unending procession, and feels tiny and fragile before this tremendous force expressing itself in fury and form and sound. Indeed, one feels microscopically small, and the thought that one may wrestle with this sea raises in one's imagination a thrill of apprehension, almost of fear." In London's mind there is the theme of his adventure: man against nature. Then, London sees a Kanaka, "a man, a member of the kingly species" riding and mastering the sea. He notes,

And suddenly, out there where a big smoker lifts skyward, rising like a sea-god from out of the welter of spume and churning white, on the giddy, toppling, overhanging and downfalling, precarious crest appears the dark head of a man... Where but the moment before was only the wide desolation and invincible roar, is now a man, erect, full-statured, not struggling frantically in that wild movement, not buried and crushed and buffeted by those mighty monsters, but standing above them all, calm and superb, poised on the giddy summit, ... he is flying through the air, flying forward, flying fast as the surge on which he stands. He is a Mercury- a brown Mercury.

London was apparently impressed with the performance of the native surfer, and he may have expressed a respect toward him. Yet, London is never a passive spectator but a challenging participant. He states, "It is all very well, sitting here in cool shade of the beach, but you are a man, one of the kingly species, and what Kanaka can do, you can do yourself." London stirs up his courage and makes himself
challenge the native surfer and above all the sea. He continues, "Get
in and wrestle with the sea; wing your heels with the skill and
power that reside in you; bite the sea's breakers, master them, and
ride upon their backs as a king should." This is exactly how he got
involved with the royal sport. It is evident that London sees surfing
as a man's challenge to the powerful forces of nature. It is an
exciting adventure for him. But, in fact, in order to master the sport,
one cannot challenge the force of a wave but rather he has to adjust
to it. It could be said that surfing is an expression of human's
harmony with nature. London later learned the significance of
"nonresistance" to the wave. Nevertheless, the man of adventure did
not seem to grasp the meaning in his heart. For London, mastering
the royal sport is not different from conquering the treacherous
storm in the long voyage of the Pacific. The story continues to
explain the physics of the wave and moves on to the instruction of
surf-riding. Then, London starts to describe his own experience.
First, London attempted to imitate what little local boys did in
shallow water but he failed again and again. Then, it was fortunate
for London to have a good instructor, Alexander Hume Ford whose
profession was that of world traveler in search of sensation. Ford
apparently discovered it at Waikiki. For him surfing was a
sensational, thrilling experience which never bored him. Ford taught
London how to surf and also gave him an important lesson in how to
avoid colliding with the bathers. Thanks to his advice, London
managed to catch his first big wave in deep water on the second day
of his surfing career. London reveals his emotional satisfaction as
follows: "I was chiefly conscious of ecstatic bliss at having caught the wave." Like Ford, London enjoyed a sensational, thrilling experience. He finally conquered the force of nature at Waikiki.

The theme of man's challenge to nature is also depicted in London's short story, "The Kanaka Surf" which deals not with surfing but with body-surfing. First, London describes the distinction between man's surf and woman's surf: "There are two surf at Waikiki: the big, bearded-man surf that roars far out beyond the diving stage; the smaller gentler, wahine, or woman, surf that breaks upon the shore itself." John Weil argues that the distinction of surf in terms of man and woman reveals London's male chauvinistic attitudes. In fact, London stresses masculine physical strength and masculine desire for adventure in the story. Lee and Ida Barton, two leading characters of the fiction, attract the tourist sitting under the shade of the tree and gazing at the beach with their physical beauty and strength. "It was a day of heavy surf on Waikiki. In the wahine surf it was boisterous enough for good swimmers. But out beyond, in the Kanaka, or man, surf, no one ventured," London writes. But the couple challenges the ocean with courage and skills. The captain of an outrigger canoe believes that he has to launch a rescue mission to save them since the Kanaka surf is too strong to swim in against. What the couple attempt to do is a dangerous adventure into the awe of nature. London states, "Against the face of the wave showed the heads of the man and woman like two sheer specks. Specks they were, of the quick, adventuring among the blind elemental forces, daring the Titanic buffets of the sea. The weight of the downfall of
that father of waves, even then imminent above their heads, could stun a man or break the fragile bones of a woman."67 But, contrary to the captain's anticipation, the couple maneuver the fearsome wave and master the powerful force of nature. The story clearly illustrates London's masculine challenge to or adventure into the awe of nature.

The surf at Waikiki provided London with an adventurous experience. It stirred up his challenging spirit. Above all, such a masculine adventure offered in Hawaii fascinates London's body and soul most. London did not think it adequate to call Hawaii "the Paradise of the Pacific." For him Hawaii meant more than that. With the diverse, majestic beauty of the environment as well as the loving, friendly people, Hawaii was the Paradise of the World in the mind and heart of London.68 Yet, without surfing at Waikiki, London might have perceived Hawaii differently. Even in paradise the man of adventure needs a sensational, thrilling, exciting experience. Hawaiian paradise clearly fulfilled the desires of Jack London.

The examination of the visits to Hawaii by the three literary greats reveals distinct paradisal images of the islands. Mark Twain, fascinated by the beautiful environments and the amicable people, discovered a dream-like retreat or a serene refuge from everyday life where one could heal one's exhausted mind and body, refresh and renew oneself. Twain enjoyed a life of leisure in paradise. Unlike the innocent man in paradise, Robert Louis Stevenson took a spiritual journey in Hawaii and the South Seas. The paradisal environment provided him with an opportunity to rediscover or
reidentify himself. In other words, the majestic environment transported him to his spiritual paradise. Jack London enjoyed a life of leisure as much as Twain did. But London's paradise required a sensational, thrilling experience. London discovered an adventurous retreat in Waikiki which offered him the exciting art of surfing. All of these images clearly contributed to publicizing the islands and Waikiki as a paradise not only for the wealthy residents who constructed stately mansions in Waikiki around the turn of the century but also for the prospective visitors of the twentieth century.

The alluring images of Hawaii created by these prestigious writers were not always true manifestations of the actual environment, but they certainly reflected the paradisal dreams of affluent people. The dreams were infused into landscape, and thus the paradisal myth was recreated on the seashore of Waikiki. The genuine affection for Hawaii's magical environments, which Twain, Stevenson, and London expressed, further strengthened the mythical quality of Waikiki in the pre-commercial period when the mythmakers acted independently of the travel industry. It can be said that the three literary greats triggered the paradise mythmaking of Waikiki and shaped its mental landscape. They contributed greatly to the formation of a resort paradise in the 20th century.

2 Horton, 92.
3 Horton, 92,94.
5 Day, Mark Twain's, xv-xvi.
6 Day, Mark Twain's, xvi.
7 Day, Mark Twain's, xvi.
9 Frear, 14.
11 Horton, 89.
12 Frear, 16.
13 Horton, 102.
14 Horton, 102, 178.
15 Horton, 179.
16 Horton, 180.
18 Twain, 52.
19 Twain, 52.
20 Twain, 55.
21 Twain, 62-63.
22 Mark Twain, Roughing It in the Sandwich Islands (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990) 3.
23 Twain, Roughing It, 3.
24 Twain, Roughing It, 4.
26 Horton, 100.
27 Day, Mad, 102.
29 Day, Mad, 103-107.
31 Day, Mad, 109.
33 Day, Mad, 112.
35 Day, intro. Travels, xli.
37 Daws, 211.
38 Daws, 211.
39 Daws, 166.
40 Daws, 166.
41 Stevenson, 6.
42 Stevenson, 5.
43 Day, Mad, 117.
45 Daws, 212.
46 Daws, xii.
47 Day, Mad. 144-45.
48 Day, Mad. 147-150.
49 Day, Mad. 155-56.
50 Day, Mad. 157-160.
55 London, 281.
57 London, 279.
65 Weil, 20.
CHAPTER V

THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE OF WAIKIKI: 1900-1919

Despite the lure of Waikiki as a bathing place, the area in fact had few visitor facilities in the 19th century, and it then primarily served local residents as a day-use playground. In the 1880s and 1890s, several bathhouses were constructed to meet the needs of the visitors seeking a bathing experience at Waikiki. Some of them had a limited number of lodging facilities. In addition to the lure of the ocean activities, Waikiki attracted visitors with "the tropic appearance of its coconut groves with the quiet cottages here and there peeping out from a dense foliage of hau and algaroba." As the number of visitors grew, it became feasible to establish a substantial hotel. Paradise of the Pacific predicted the future development of hotels in Waikiki in these words:

And yet there is no hotel to meet the wants of the public at Waikiki, but surely the day cannot be far distant when the undisputed claims of this locality will attract the attention of enterprising capitalists for the construction of a hotel and place of public resort that will lend additional attractions and comfort to this already attractive spot, and whose claims upon the increasing number of visitors to the Islands will be strong; not so much in the elaborateness of a palatial structure as in the free and easy charm of the tropic cottage life by the sea.
The author of that projection was correct in terms of the potential of hotel developments in Waikiki; but contrary to his expectations, Waikiki began to assume the character of gilded and elaborate hotels rather than that of rural, cottage-style hotels as the new century proceeded on its path.

The present chapter explores the early resort developments of Waikiki, particularly focusing upon the establishment of the Moana Hotel and of the Outrigger Canoe Club. It also examines the factors and forces which influenced the physical changes of the seashore.

THE MOANA HOTEL AND THE RISE OF RESORT DEVELOPMENT

The first hotel in Waikiki, the Park Beach Hotel, was constructed on the Kapiolani Park side of Waikiki Beach in 1888. The ten-bedroom establishment provided its guests with recreational facilities: a bathhouse, billiard table and bowling alley. Despite its advertising efforts, the hotel ceased operation within a year, and later became the site of the stately mansion of James B. Castle. The other hotel, also established on the seaside of Kapiolani Park, was more famous than its predecessor. As noted earlier, Robert Louis Stevenson spent five weeks at the newly opened Sans Souci Hotel in 1893. In "Sans Souci," (which means "without a care") Stevenson led a serene life of leisure. Paradise of the Pacific regarded the hotel as "the beau ideal of a summer resort," and commented that "there is no place on earth to which memory will revert with more pleasurable recollections than this tree-embowered, sun-kissed
haven of rest at Waikiki." Sculptor Allen Hutchingson viewed the Sans Souci as "truly Bohemian, with no pretense at modern luxury.... The main building was a ramshackle wooden structure, a huge room which served as lounge and dining room combined, called 'lanai' to which the kitchen and offices were attached." Stevenson, who disliked modern civilization, loved the Bohemian style of the "ramshackle" hotel. Although the Sans Souci attracted tourists for several years, it closed its doors before the turn of the century. Thus, there were only two hotel ventures at Waikiki in the 19th century and neither of them survived into the next century. Waikiki had not yet developed as a resort area by the end of the 19th century.

The Moana Hotel, known as "The First Lady of Waikiki," opened its doors in March, 1901, marking a new era of Waikiki as a resort. (See Figure 5.) Walter Corbett Peacock foresaw future developments "along the beautiful and as yet, unspoiled crescent beach." Peacock arrived in the United States from England in 1858, settling initially in Virginia. In 1885 Walter and one of his brothers moved to Honolulu where they established W. C. Peacock and Company, Ltd. and became successful liquor merchants, operating a number of saloons in the downtown Honolulu district. As a prominent merchant, Walter C. Peacock doubtless supported the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, which would predictably benefit the tourist business. In 1896 Peacock announced a plan to create a hotel on the site of his residence, with a drawing titled "Design for Proposed Hotel in Waikiki" which described the Peacock residence surrounded by
Figure 5. The Moana Hotel around 1907. Hawaii State Archives. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 58.
several other structures. The proposed hotel would consist of a
dining room, billiard hall, a bath house and 45 sleeping rooms.
However, this original scheme was for some reason abandoned. The
Then Peacock founded the Moana Hotel Company with three other
investors to develop a completely new resort hotel to accommodate
affluent travelers, "lured to the Islands by the promise of restorative
'surf bathing' and a quiet, yet exotic 'change of atmosphere'." The
proposed resort hotel would be constructed on the site of the Peacock
residence which itself would be relocated across the street on the
present site of the Hyatt Regency Hotel. The Moana Hotel Company
immediately engaged in a grand project to build "the costliest and
most elaborate hotel building in the Hawaiian Islands." The
wooden structure of the massive building consisted of four stories
and a fifth-story roof garden. At that time the Moana was the
second tallest building in Honolulu, next to the Stangenwald Block
office building. The roof garden not only contributed to the height of
the structure but also provided guests with a panoramic view of
Diamond Head, the mountains, the ocean and the city of Honolulu;
and it soon became a fashionable place for social gatherings.

Close examination of the structure revealed various distinctive
features. The facade was dominated by its porte cochere supported
by Ionic columns. Behind the structure was an archaded front porch
culminating on each side in a spacious archway. There were
balconies on both the second and fourth floors. Overhanging eaves
and four dormer windows on the low-hipped roof of the fourth story
gave a unique appearance to the building. Perhaps the most
intriguing feature was the fifth story roof garden with its beautiful arcades, which functioned graciously as a lanai. The entire structure was replete with large windows creating a sense of openness and allowing for cross-ventilation. Although architect Oliver G. Traphagen carved out the then-trendy Beaux Arts style in the wooden structure, he did not reproduce the usual mainland format but rather attempted to convey a certain local flavor adaptive to Hawaii's environment. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported that "The building was designed for Honolulu alone. It was difficult to adhere to any strict method of architecture for such a climate and there is no hotel on the face of the globe which is similar in outline." With an open and airy structure as well as the concept of a lanai in mind, Traphagen envisioned an architectural structure congruent with the local environment.

The hotel facilities fulfilled the needs of modern, sophisticated, affluent travelers. Each floor was characterized by a different fine wood—oak, mahogany, and maple while each of the 75 guest rooms were furnished with a private bath and telephone. The facilities included a library, lady's parlor, dining room, saloon, billiard room and Hawaii's first electric-powered elevator. Possessing a Hawaiian flavor in architecture and modern taste in its facilities, the Moana clearly dominated the built environment of Waikiki at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The opening of the Moana draw considerable attention in the Honolulu community. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported on March 12, 1901: "Amid the sounding swash of the surf on the sands
of Waikiki, the strains of music and the clinking of glasses of bubbling wine, the beautiful Moana Hotel was christened last night.... which was dedicated as a resting place for the tourists of the wide, wide world who visit the Paradise of the Pacific. On the second day, more than one hundred guests brought by the S.S. Sierra across the Pacific checked into the new hotel, ushering in the glory days of the resort. With its majestic architectural beauty as well as its modern facilities, the Moana could be confident of continuing to attract the affluent leisure class. The local paper once again commented that the Moana "rivalled the finest hotels which are to be seen in the most metropolitan cities on the Mainland or on the Continent." The Moana clearly symbolized a momentous turn in Waikiki's history.

In order to grasp an architectural expression, it is always useful to examine the role of the architect. By 1890, Oliver G. Traphagen had established himself as one of the best architects in Duluth, Minnesota, designing more than 20 business buildings and more than 50 residential structures. With such reputation and experience, Traphagen came to Hawaii in October 1897, and exerted a major impact upon Honolulu's environmental design over the next nine years. When he arrived in Honolulu, the city was rapidly growing due to its prosperous sugar industry. It was already clear that annexation of Hawaii by the United States would further accelerate its economic growth. Moreover, in 1898 the Honolulu Directory listed only three architectural firms, including Traphagen and the team of Ripley and Dickey. The lack of competition as well
as the booming economic climate helped Traphagen to become a dominant force in the architectural planning of Honolulu. His reputation as an established American architect attracted businessmen and politicians who were eager to identify with the United States.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1898 Traphagen received a commission to construct the Judd Building in downtown Honolulu. His design, expressing a Renaissance Revival eclecticism, was chosen over that of Ripley and Dickey. \textit{The Pacific Commercial Advertiser} introduced the building as the first one in Honolulu incorporating the Italian Renaissance style. The success of the Judd Building resulted in the flow of commissions into Traphagen's hands. In the following year, Traphagen designed the Hackfeld Building employing the spectacular Renaissance Revival style. It was the most expensive commercial building of that time, costing $320,000.\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Paradise of the Pacific} commented: "Every city has some notable structure that is pointed to with pride by all residents, and Honolulu has the Hackfeld block at the corner of Queen and Fort streets."\textsuperscript{19} Since the construction of this distinctive structure, Renaissance Revival became the favored style of commercial architecture in Honolulu, and Traphagen was regarded as its master. His architectural contribution was not limited to commercial buildings in downtown Honolulu but was also seen in resort hotels. Before engaging in the Moana Hotel project, Traphagen had designed the Haleiwa Hotel as early as 1898, and he was, indeed, a harbinger of coming resort hotel projects in Hawaii. In the design of the Haleiwa Hotel, Traphagen had already expressed a definite
local flavor adaptive to Hawaii's climate rather than to the Renaissance style. In addition to an extended use of lanais and arcades, the Haleiwa Hotel employed overhanging eaves.\(^{20}\) Then, in the design of the Moana, Traphagen reiterated these features and further expressed a distinctively Hawaiian quality by emphasizing openness in the entire structure including the lobby, verandahs, porches, and courtyard.

One year after completion of the Moana Hotel, the Traphagen family moved to Ainahau, the Cleghorn residence located directly across from the Moana site. He spent the rest of his time in Hawaii at this idyllic mansion, doubtless enjoying a convivial existence hosting the business and social elite of Honolulu. The majestic presence of the Moana also must have made him proud of his master accomplishment. However, in 1906, Traphagen clearly recognized the economic downturn of Honolulu and foresaw no quick recovery. The following year, he moved to Alameda, California, where he eventually retired.

Traphagen's work in Hawaii expressed the eclectic style of architecture which was prevalent on the mainland at that time. He accommodated the wishes of his affluent clients who yearned to express the enterprising spirit of "Americanism." Traphagen, however, along with Dickey, was entirely aware of environmental significance in architectural design. He sought persistently to create structures adapted to the local climate and life style.\(^{21}\) His extensive use of lanais, roof gardens, and window openings clearly revealed
Traphagen's efforts to create distinctively Hawaiian architecture congruent with the landscape and atmosphere.

In 1918, in order to accommodate the rapidly growing number of tourists, the Moana decided to add two wings to the original center structure. H. L. Kerr designed the wings in the Italian Renaissance revival style prevalent at the time. Unlike the wooden structure of the main building, the wings were made of steel and concrete, whose exterior was not as impressive to visitors as the opulent central structure. But two public spaces inside the wings gave additional glamour to the resort hotel. The Grand Salon on the first floor of the Diamond Head wing, decorated with Palladian windows and ornate coffered plaster ceilings, provided a stately social gathering place for guests, while the men's billiard room (presently used as the front desk lobby), accentuated by the Palladian triple arch (which now separates the front desk area from the main lobby in the center structure), offered a recreational facility for those who demanded something more than the water sports of the seashore. The new structures both enhanced the hotel's social functions and expanded its guest facilities, and so the Moana continued to attract not only affluent tourists but the residential elite of Honolulu.

Following the debut of the Moana, a few cottage-style hotels began operation. In 1906 the Honolulu Seaside Hotel opened its doors, with numerous cottages and tent structures spreading out over ten acres of land. George W. Macfarlane, who began his hotel ventures with the Park Beach Hotel, purchased the Hawaiian Annex bathhouse and its surrounding areas as well as the royal coconut
grove called Helumoa. He built a cottage-style hotel complex while retaining the bathhouse as a popular spa for visitors. As previously mentioned, Jack London enjoyed staying at the Seaside and lavishly publicized the hotel. Other notable guests were Alice Roosevelt, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt and her husband, Nicholas Longworth, who spent a month at a cottage of the Seaside. Indeed the Seaside became the favorite cottage-style hotel in Waikiki in the first two decades of the twentieth century. When it was demolished in 1925 to make way for the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, memories of the Seaside lingered in the minds of many. The Honolulu Advertiser reported: "Her household of memories scattered to the long trade winds. Romance, evicted from her dwellings, wanders homeless at Waikiki. Time and Change, stern inn keepers, struck her name from the register of the Seaside Hotel when work of demolishing and removing the old hotel buildings was brought under way."

Various of the bathhouses constructed in the 1890s expanded into modest hotels in the early years of the new century. These hotels frequently changed ownership and names but survived the early stage of Waikiki's developments. The Waikiki Inn integrated two bathhouses at Kuhio Beach into a hotel complex, while the Old Waikiki bathhouse on the present site of the Hawaiian Village became Cassidy's at the Beach in 1911 and turned into Pierpoint in 1914.

Another hotel which should be noted here is, of course, the Halekulani. On the ewa side of the Seaside there were two private residences which were to be converted into modest hotels: the Hau
Tree (1907) and Gray's By-the-Sea (1913) respectively. In 1917, Clifford Kimball, the manager of the Haleiwa Hotel, took over the Hau Tree, renaming it the Halekulani—meaning "house befitting heaven." The name had earlier been given to the private house by Hawaiians who were allowed to use the area for canoeing. Richard Kimball, a son of Clifford who later owned the hotel, recalls the origin of the Halekulani, which then had splendid grounds with lots of coconut trees, a traveler's palm, some hibiscus, and a big lauhala tree next to the main building. The Halekulani consisted of a main building converted from the private residence with a big lanai and dining room, plus eight cottages. Kimball notes that his father brought some employees from the Haleiwa Hotel, hired some workers from the Moana, and used others already working there. It is interesting to note that Japanese workers took over the room service and the waithelp, while Chinese controlled the kitchen. The employees treated their affluent customers well, and in exchange received generous tips. When guests departed the hotel, the employees traditionally gave them leis. Thus the tourists went home with pleasant memories of the aloha spirit at work.

In the 1920s, Kimball increased the size of the Halekulani's property by purchasing its surrounding areas, including Gray's By-the-Sea. In the expansion of the Halekulani, Charles W. Dickey played a significant role. In addition to a few cottages, Dickey undertook a major project of the Halekulani to construct the main building (completed in 1931) which would serve as a social and dining center. (See Figure 6.) The concrete structure plainly
departed from the vernacular cottages built earlier, but it sought to express Hawaiian qualities with various decorative features. One of these was the decoration of hala trees along the iron railing on the second-floor balcony. Dickey had a clear vision of the resort hotel when he wrote to his family in 1924:

I hope I can build them a tourist hotel some day; one that is picturesque, artistic and inviting with plenty of variety and interest. I would make the most of hao lanais, coconut trees, etc., and would have shanty little courts with fountains, etc. I would work in lauhala mats and tapa wall covering and would get bits of brilliant color by working in Chinese rugs, banners, and draperies. The Architecture could be essentially Italian with touches of Orientalism.

In the Halekulani project, Dickey did not try to express the Italian style with an Oriental flavor in terms of the exterior, but he certainly presented Hawaiian motifs in the interior. For instance, the lounge was embellished with traditional Hawaiian tapa, and the ceiling of the main hall was designed in the form of coconut thatch. The dining room, which was built as an extended lanai facing the ocean, featured lava rock to separate the area. Dickey also attempted to create openness and brightness in the interior of the building. The two large interior courts on the second floor, particularly, showed such efforts, providing light for the lounge and dining room downstairs. As noted earlier, Dickey's major accomplishment in the Halekulani project was his employment of the high double-hipped roof, known
as "Dickey's Roof." With its overhanging eaves, the roof style in particular brought a Hawaiian flavor to Dickey's Halekulani design.

The completion of the new main building helped the Halekulani attract upper-scale guests in the 1930s. Both Clifford Kimball and his wife attended to their guests personally. His wife often took the ladies to St. Andrew's Cathedral on Sunday mornings, while Clifford enticed the guests with a polo game. The Kimballs also had frequent cocktail parties to entertain guests. Since Clifford and his wife were on intimate terms with the elite of Honolulu, the hotel guests had a rare opportunity to socialize with their peers. Richard Kimball recalls that his father trusted word-of-mouth rather more than advertising. His philosophy was very simple; that is, "Just give 'em a good time. Be nice to your guests. They'll tell their friends, and their friends will tell friends."

In the first twenty years of the new century, Waikiki began to transform its character from a residential to a hotel area. Prior to 1900 there were no hotels at all, but after the first two decades there were five major hotels: the Moana, Seaside, Halekulani, Pierpoint, and Waikiki Inn. Although it was still immature as a tourist destination, Waikiki began to move toward its destination as a resort paradise.

THE OUTRIGGER CANOE CLUB AND HAWAIIAN ROYAL SPORTS

In the early 20th century, the establishment of the Outrigger Canoe Club played a significant role in the changing landscape of Waikiki. It was Alexander Hume Ford who founded the prestigious
club in 1908. Ford arrived in Honolulu in 1907 after "roaming about Europe, Asia and North America for the past six years." As a former Chicago newspaperman and world traveler, he was an enthusiastic individual who liked to promote "causes." After temporarily leaving the islands, Ford came back in 1908 because he was attracted "by the remembered fragrance of Island flowers." The first "cause" that captured his interest was that of revitalizing Hawaii's royal sport of surfing on boards and in outrigger canoes. At the end of the 19th century, the Hawaiian royal sport was at its lowest ebb due to the drastic decrease of the Hawaiian population and the influence of Christian moral values, which looked down upon Hawaiian marine sports as an idle activity. In 1892, anthropologist Nathaniel B. Emerson wrote: "The sport of surfriding possessed a grand fascination, and for a time, it seemed as if it had a vitality all its own as a national pastime... today it is hard to find a surf board outside our museums and private collections." Ford became obsessed with the pure fascination of surfing and proposed establishing a surfing club which would encourage the sport. For that purpose his organization aimed to provide local men and boys "of limited means" with facilities for dressing and storage, plus easy access to the favorite surfing spots. The proposal to local surfers received widespread attention in Honolulu, and led to the emergence of the Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club.

Ford explained the origin of the Club in the 1911 edition of Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual as follows;
The Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club was organized in the month of May, 1908. It was the thought of several malihinis, or newcomers, who recognized the picturesque claim to the tourist of surfboard riding, an art that was rapidly dying out owing to the fact that Waikiki was becoming closed to the small boy of limited means. Private residences and great hotels, with the completion of the trolley line, began to occupy the entire beach so that the native and the small white boy could no longer doff their duds and mount their boards at will. It now cost money to go out into the breakers, and to become an expert on the surfboard, day after day, week after week, for months at a time, must be spent in the surf. ...

Fortunately for the cause of surfboard riding, the trustees of the Queen Emma Estate saw their way to aid in its preservation. They leased for twenty years at a nominal sum an acre and a half of land and lagoon between the Seaside and Moana Hotels in Waikiki, to Trustees who guaranteed that the property should be used only for the purpose of preserving surfing on board and in outrigger canoes; hence the name adopted--the Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club.38

In order to understand the origin of the Club more clearly, a couple of important facts need to be added to Ford's description. First, Waikiki Beach at the beginning of the 20th century was a narrow space extending from the old Moana Pier to the outer edge of the present Royal Hawaiian Hotel site. Hence, with the establishment of the Moana and the Seaside, the public did not have clear access to the beach area.39 Second, Ford mentioned in the article that several newcomers conceived the idea of creating the organization. But on another occasion Ford stated that the Club was formed "with ten youngsters, all of whom were expert surfers."40 It is safe to say that
several newcomers including Ford himself, and possibly Jack London, realized the importance of the royal sport and that Ford contacted a group of young local surfers to form the Club. In a formal organizational meeting on May 1, 1908, Ford was chosen as the first President of the Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club. The organization consisted of 101 members; 86 adults and 15 boys thus entered into the history of Waikiki.\textsuperscript{41}

The original structures of the Club were "two authentic Hawaiian grass houses" which were brought from the defunct zoo in Kaimuki. Since Ford desired to express a distinctively Hawaiian ambiance, the structures made in the traditional building method without using nails clearly met his expectations. One structure on the banks of the lagoon was used as a storage for canoes and surfboards while the other in front of the beach served as the bathhouse and dressing room. The Club soon after acquired two additional structures. The third building with a large floor space of 40 by 80 feet became a pavilion which held dance parties and social events. With a thatched roof and large lanais, it served the members as a gathering place. The fourth structure was a "temporary canoe shed of coconut leaves, Hawaiian style."\textsuperscript{42} Thus, the original structures of the Outrigger Canoe Club created an atmosphere of a small Hawaiian village in Waikiki's environment. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser commented that "the Outrigger Canoe Club will become the home of Hawaiian sports with only such buildings on the grounds as suggest the Hawaii that the tourist comes to see and the old Hawaii still loved by the Kamaaina." It continued: "Many of
the Club members are in favor of turning this part of Waikiki beach into a bit of Old Hawaii that will attract visitors from everywhere." While the initial developments of the Club evidently exceeded the original scheme to revitalize the royal sport of surfing, they added primitive ambiance to the surrounding environment.

The original Hawaiian village atmosphere of the Club would serve as a visitor attraction and as a nostalgic legacy of the Hawaiian culture. But the authentic structures caused many problems which impeded the proper functioning of the organization. For instance, the thatched roof structures proved to be vulnerable to the winter storms. Hence, the frame of a new clubhouse was installed in the summer of 1910. Then a second, larger building called the Dance Pavilion was constructed in 1915. The ground floor of the building was used to store surfboards and canoes, while the second floor served as a social gathering place. It consisted of a large lanai, open to the comfortable winds, and sheltered from the sun and afternoon showers by overhanging eaves. The structure clearly expressed the distinctively Hawaiian qualities discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, in the early development of the Club, the concept of creating a Hawaiian village was discarded, and with new structures of Hawaiian appearance, the Club became a social center at the beach as well as a haven for enthusiasts of the royal sport.

By the beginning of World War I in 1914, the Outrigger Canoe Club had consolidated its own status. Growing numbers of people showed an interest in surfing and swimming. Ford wrote in Mid Pacific Magazine that
When it had been fairly demonstrated that the white man could learn all the secrets of the Hawaiian-born, the beach at Waikiki took on a new aspect. The people of Honolulu turned their attention to the reviving of the old-time water sports. Hundreds learned to ride the surfboard.... During visits of the fleets, surfing carnivals were held and small boys and men, to the astonishment of the jakies, came in upon their boards, on their heads. At night time the expert surfers carried red light contrivances on the bows of their boards, and in the caps on their heads, matches, with which they set off the glaring colored lights just before they caught some monster wave, and then those on the beach were treated to the sight of radiant gods of the sea outlined against the darkness, standing upon the white crests of the waves, which they rode ... erect and elated.45

The growing popularity of surfing did not stem solely from the efforts of the Outrigger Canoe Club. Other clubs and beachboys clearly contributed to the revival of the royal sport. But there is no doubt that the Outrigger Canoe Club triggered the renaissance movement. Despite the impact of World War I upon its activities, the Club maintained its status throughout. In the 1930s, the Club reached its prime in activities, popularity and prestige. It became a center for marine sports and social events, particularly among the social elite of Honolulu.

The Outrigger Canoe Club consisted mostly of Caucasians. It does seem somehow strange that the Hawaiian royal sport should be revived by non-natives. In 1911, Hui Nalu or "Club of the Waves" was formed almost exclusively by Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians.
Duke Kahanamoku was one of its founding members at the age of 21. Without a clubhouse the members of Hui Nalu gathered under a hau tree on the Moana Hotel grounds and used the hotel bathhouse. The two clubs established an amicable relationship since some members belonged to both organizations. Yet they competed with each other in the ancient Hawaiian sports of surfing and canoeing, retaining an ethnic pride. The members of the two clubs also contributed to the early tourist industry. With skills and equipment, they taught thrill-seeking tourists how to surf on boards or in outrigger canoes. There is no doubt that the two clubs played significant roles in the revival of the royal sport; however, they moved in different directions. Many members of Hui Nalu became beachboys, working in the infant tourist industry while the Outrigger members generally did not engage in the vocation. The Outrigger Canoe Club developed into a largely social haole organization while still pursuing the advancement of the royal sport.

The Hawaiian royal sports of surfing and outrigger canoeing were closely related to native culture. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to trace the origin of surfing, since no written language existed in pre-contact Hawaii. But it is believed that the ancient art of surfing was created by the Polynesians who migrated to Hawaii more than a thousand years ago. They enjoyed body surfing, called kaha nalu, but they derived a greater pleasure from he'e nalu or surfing with a board. The ancient Polynesians placed a spiritual value upon surfing; in fact, the sport was associated with their religion. The ali'i were the primary class that engaged in surfing.
They attached religious significance to the creation of the surfboard. First, after choosing a proper tree for the board, the Polynesians placed native fish at the bottom of the tree. The kahuna, or priest, offered blessings and incantations before the tree was cut down. Then, the making of the surfboard actually began. When the board became ready for use, the kahuna once again performed religious rites for the purpose of dedication.48 Thus, the art of surfing took on religious meaning. Moreover, surfing expressed the social stratification in Hawaiian society. The alii class took over the favorite surfing spots where commoners were completely excluded. In addition, laymen were not allowed to use the lighter wiliwili wood for surfboards. The royalty plainly took advantage of their status in the sport of surfing. Duke Kahanamoku explained that "a man's board became a mark of his standing in society--sort of a status symbol."49 King Kamehameha I appears to have been one of the expert surfers. Tom Blake, who did extensive research on Hawaiian legends regarding surfing, believes that Kamehameha I rode the most challenging Kalahueuehe surf at Waikiki after conquering Oahu in 1795.50 At the age of 39, he still maintained skills at this sport. Before attacking Kauai, Kamehameha may have spent a pleasant time surfing at the famous surf spot at Waikiki.51 Indeed the royal sport of surfing was deeply rooted in Hawaiian culture.

It is well known that ancient Hawaiians came to the islands by outrigger canoe. Outrigger canoeing also is something more than a mere sport, having its own cultural significance. The ancient Hawaiians maintained their relationship with the universe in terms
of the Lokahi Theory—i.e., the concept of unity or harmony, among human, god, and nature. The entire culture was based on this harmony. Outrigger canoeing was no exception. How then did Hawaiians apply the Lokahi Theory to outrigger canoeing? In order to create maximum hull speed, they created a paddling system that would maintain harmony among the three basic elements: hull design, paddling technique, and water conditions. In outrigger canoeing, humans need to blend with nature through a god-given wisdom. The Hawaiian sport was not merely a recreational activity but a cultural expression. As indicated above, both surfing and outrigger canoeing embodied elements of Hawaiian culture which emphasized a harmonious relationship with nature. Those who participated in these sports at Waikiki would thus have blended into nature. Such a communion with nature was an important aspect of the original paradisal experience. The Hawaiian royal sport was then profoundly congruent with the paradisal image of Waikiki. The establishment of the Outrigger Canoe Club and the consequent revival of the royal sport were therefore smoothly integrated into the early development of the resort paradise of Waikiki. Above all, the surf itself made Waikiki a special place to create an attractive resort.

FACTORS OF PHYSICAL CHANGE

The Outrigger Canoe Club, along with the Moana and other resort hotels, served primarily the privileged class both from the
mainland and in the local community. The nascent resort development of Waikiki reflected the fashionable tastes prevalent in early twentieth century Honolulu. An examination of factors behind the physical transformation, consequently, leads to an appreciation of the roles of the elite minority in Honolulu who acquired economic strength, political power and social status. Therefore, this section will briefly examine the economic, political, and social developments of Hawaii from the late 19th century to the beginning of the next century. These combined forces clearly created and strengthened the power elite of Honolulu who exerted a decisive influence upon the resort development of Waikiki.

The development of the sugar industry drastically transformed the fate of the Hawaiian islands. It changed demographic and social structures, and above all, it gave economic and political power to the haole elite. Missionaries and their descendants discovered the potential of sugar production, and by the 1880s the descendants of the first missionaries controlled the sugar industry and expanded it into other business enterprises. By the time of annexation in 1898, a small number of the American residents, only five percent of the entire population, controlled Hawaii's politics and possessed more than three-quarters of the land. This ruling class affected every aspect of life in early 20th century Hawaii.54

In place of the declining whaling industry, sugar production emerged as a growing economic force in the 1860s. Sugar brought wealth to the elite minority and led to closer ties with the United States, since sugar sales depended upon American markets. From
1860 to 1898, almost two-thirds of the labor force in Hawaii worked on sugar plantations, and sugar became king in the islands. The growth of the sugar industry affected the development of other business activities—banking, transportation and construction. Of course, the haole elite controlled nearly all of these enterprises.55

The Hawaiian economy in the late 19th century was based on sugar, and the industry depended upon two factors: duty-free access to American markets (which planters secured in 1876) and a cheap labor force. Plantation agriculture required a large, inexpensive, contract labor force. Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, whose population had drastically decreased and whose cultural values conflicted with restricted plantation work, did not meet the labor demands of the plantations. Hence, plantation owners had to depend upon foreign workers. Since the 1850s, approximately 400,000 workers and dependents were brought into Hawaii's plantations. They sustained a profitable plantation economy which was controlled by the wealthy haole elite. First, Chinese began to work on plantations in the late 1870s and comprised about half of the labor force in 1882. Both whites and natives, however, regarded Asian immigration "as both an economic necessity and a growing social threat." They thought that plantation workers should not be brought in from only one Asian nation. Then, Japanese work force came to the plantations in 1886. By 1924 when the Japanese exclusion act was in effect, about 180,000 Japanese had come to Hawaii and half of them remained in the islands. By 1900, they were the largest ethnic group in Hawaii. As newer laborers from the Philippines took over the
plantedation work, the Japanese gradually moved to towns or the city to find better jobs in the community.\textsuperscript{56} Asian immigrants, who endured hardship, oppression and the lowest wages, clearly contributed to the success of the sugar industry.

After acquiring economic strength with land, sugar, and other businesses, the haole elite sought solid political power which would secure their economic accomplishments. King Kalakaua, who favored the Reciprocity Treaty, did not like foreign influences upon Hawaiian politics. With the aids of Walter Murray Gibson who served as premier and Claus Spreckels, a prominent California businessman, who offered financial help, the king resisted the pressures of the haole elite to share the executive power.\textsuperscript{57} However, in 1887 the powerful elite forced King Kalakaua to sign the so-called "Bayonet Constitution" which granted executive power to the House of Nobles dominated by the privileged class. The new constitution also imposed property qualifications for voting, which allowed foreigners to vote and disfranchised about three-quarters of the natives. Under the constitution, the haole elite clearly controlled Hawaii's politics.\textsuperscript{58}

Meanwhile, the Reciprocity Treaty was renewed in 1887 with a provision that granted the United States Navy exclusive use of Pearl Harbor. The renewal assured a closer relationship between the United States and Hawaii. However, the McKinley Act of 1890, granting all foreign producers duty-free access to American markets and benefiting American producers with a bounty of two cents per pound, stripped off Hawaii's economic advantages. The Act, consequently, made plantation owners seek annexation to the United
States. Many haole leaders realized that annexation would be indispensable for maintaining their economic strength and political power.59

The sudden death of Kalakaua in 1891 brought Queen Liliuokalani to the throne. She was eager to change the constitution in favor of Hawaiian sovereignty and the native people. In January 1893, some influential haole elite led by Lorrin Thurston organized the Annexation Club (later called Committee of Safety) and plotted a revolution to overthrow the monarchy. When Liliuokalani dissolved the legislature and attempted to promulgate a new constitution, the haole elite group asked John Stevens, the U. S. minister in Honolulu to send troops on land to protect American citizens. The revolutionaries immediately set up a provisional government headed by Sanford B. Dole and deposed Queen Liliuokalani.60 Then, they established a new republic on July 4th, 1894 with Sanford Dole as president.61 The new government in the Republic consisted of the descendants of missionaries who represented the merchant-professional elite of Honolulu rather than sugar planters. Almost 70% of the key cabinet members were related to missionaries, and they attempted to Americanize the islands. The leaders of the Republic chose an oligarchy rather than democracy since they believed that the commoners did not have enough intelligence and character to rule the country.62 While making efforts for Americanization and controlling economic and political interests, they waited for an opportunity to bring about annexation.
The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April 1898 was a decisive factor in the annexation of Hawaii. The War involved the Philippines as a battle ground. Consequently, Hawaii became a significant strategic point refueling and supplying American ships on the way to the Philippines. Three days after victory in Manila Bay, a new joint resolution to annex Hawaii was introduced in Congress. After some harsh debate, both houses of Congress favored annexation and Hawaii finally became a part of the United States.63

For the ruling haole elite who favored annexation, it meant a new era of political stability, economic prosperity, and security. On the other hand, for the native population annexation meant "the ultimate dispossession" after a series of losses of Hawaiian cultural existence--the abolition of the kapu system, the decrease of population by foreign diseases, the loss of land and the end of monarchy. It terminated Hawaiian sovereignty.64 At the time of annexation, three different communities existed in Hawaii. The community of Honolulu reflected the life style and values of the haole elite. On the plantations, Oriental cultures prevailed. In the rural native villages, Hawaiians tried to maintain their old traditions. The social structure of Hawaii was very unique around the turn of the century. Lawrence H. Fuchs explains:

In Hawaii, as in the European colonies, there was virtually no middle class. Oriental immigrants comprised almost 75 per cent of the population. There were many Chinese merchants and peddlers and a sprinkling of Japanese trade workers in town; but none of them could vote, few held land, and there was no social mixing with
the upper-class haoles. The vast number of Japanese and Chinese on the plantations were treated by their overseers, even after the end of the Masters' and Servants' Act, with impersonal harshness. On the top were the haoles, only slightly more than 5 per cent of the population, controlling politics, land, enterprise, and labor. Some haoles joined Hawaiians and Portuguese in buffer occupations, between the oligarchy and the laborers. They served as clerks, foremen, semiskilled and skilled laborers, overseers and even plantation managers. There was no middle class in the American sense of small independent landholders or small businessmen. Prestige, power, and status were firmly in the possession of a small haole elite.65

For the next forty years, the ruling haole elite maintained this social structure. Hawaii remained a plantation society with no middle class, one dominant political party, and restrictions on upward mobility.66 On the other hand, the privileged class attempted to establish an elite social community which would satisfy their luxurious life style. The development of a resort in Waikiki in the early 20th century was, indeed, such an endeavor. With political and economic strength, the haole elite contributed to the resort-making of Waikiki.

The beginning of the new century witnessed the changing landscape of Waikiki. The opening of the Moana Hotel in 1901 marked a new direction for Waikiki toward the seashore resort to attract the wealthy elite. The architecture of the new hotel expressed an elitist flavor while adapting to the local environment. The neighboring Outrigger Canoe Club established in 1908 aimed to
revive the royal sport of surfing. It eventually became an elitist social organization. The ruling haole elite of Honolulu, who secured political, economic and social status after annexation to the United States, clearly supported the new resort development of Waikiki.

3 "Waikiki," 4.
4 Hibbard, 55.
8 Scrapbook of the Moana Hotel.
9 McGerrow, 9.
10 Scrapbook of the Moana Hotel.
12 Hibbard, 59.
14 Brochure of the Moana Hotel.
15 "Moana Hotel Opened," 2.
16 "Moana Hotel Opened," 2.
20 Jay, 40.
21 Mason, 26.
22 McGerrow, 11.
23 Hibbard, 62.
25 Hibbard, 68.
26 Hibbard, 68,69.
28 Kimball, 1723.
29 Kimball, 1724-25.
30 Jay, 146-7.
31 Jay, 148.
32 Jay, 148.
33 Kimball, 1727.
34 Kimball, 1728.
37 Yost, 25.
39 Yost, 30.
40 Yost, 30.
41 Yost, 35.
42 Yost, 41.
43 Yost, 44.
44 Yost, 49.
46 Timmons, 26.
49 Kahanamoku, 22.
51 Blake, 10.
53 Apo, 28.
56 Bell, 10-11.
57 Fuchs, 25,27.
58 Bell, 24-25.
59 Bell, 23-24.
60 Bell, 25-27.
61 Bell, 28-29.
62 Fuchs, 33-34.
63 Bell, 34.
65 Fuchs, 37.
66 Fuchs, 39.
CHAPTER VI

EARLY MYTHMAKING

In the creation of the new Waikiki resort, a number of notable figures exerted an enormous influence upon its developing image. This chapter will deal with those mythmakers who shaped the mental landscape of Waikiki, and will focus upon the roles of Duke Kahanamoku, Johnny Noble, and leading "beachboys." In conjunction with the impact of music upon Waikiki's environment, we will also examine the meaning of "Hawaii Calls," a popular radio program of the era.

BEACHBOYS

In the early development of the mythic resort of Waikiki, beachboys played a picturesque and significant role. Grady Timmons points out that the emergence of the beachboy was more related to the development of tourism than to the establishment of the Outrigger Canoe Club and Hui Nalu. The first beachboy was considered to have appeared at Waikiki Beach after the opening of the Moana Hotel in 1901. Edward Kenneth Kaleleihealani "Dude" Miller was one of the best-known beachboys in the early days. This part-Hawaiian boy, the first captain of Hui Nalu, was both a champion surfer and a superb spear fisherman. Dude Miller was also a pioneer in getting tourists to surf in outrigger canoes. Like most
beachboys, he was a talented musician whose band performed in the evenings at the Moana. Thus the figure of the beachboy was an integral part of the resort experience provided by the Moana. After the creation of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1927 (to be discussed later), Waikiki became a popular mecca where wealthy people could escape from the pressures of daily life. As the number of visitors grew, the life of the beachboys became more versatile, serving the needs of affluent tourists. Michael Mullahey well expressed the charm of the beachboy as follows;

The people who came there (Waikiki) really experienced relaxation, and in the beachboys they found a group of men who were funny sharing, open, kind. You'd walk into this place, see these marvelous waves breaking out on the reef, and say to yourself, 'Gee, I'd really like to go out there.' And this big brown fella would walk up who's got a smile on his face--I mean, he's not going to eat you for dinner- and he'd say, 'Yeah, I can turn you on to that.' And away you'd go. You're in.... The beachboys were the ones who taught me, and a lot of other people to see the place. Because they really saw it. It was their place, and they were willing to share it.

Who, then, were these "beachboys"? Why did they appeal to the hearts of visitors? There were more than a few attitudes toward the beachboy. The popular myth tells us that the beachboys were "bronzed watermen with enormous charm, good humor, and music genius--carefree, partying fools and ardent womanizers." Some observers focus upon the latter aspects of their character, regarding the beachboys as "a bunch of lazy male prostitutes who made their
living off mainland divorcees."5 But others notice more positive aspects in the life of the beachboys. Fred Hemmings, a former world champion surfer and later a prominent politician in Hawaii, stated that "What's important to remember about the beachboys is that it wasn't really a business for these men. It was a life style. Working and taking tourists canoe surfing was incidental to the fact that they were men who had a life-long love affair with the ocean. And they lived off their own energy. They weren't usurping anybody else's juices."6 The beachboys exemplified the carefree, relaxed Hawaiian life style with its singular love of the ocean. Hemmings further mentioned that "These men were all little boys at heart. There was a glow in their faces that manifested itself in everything they did. They appreciated the value of a beautiful environment, a clean ocean, sharing with their friends. Everybody now seems to be trying to measure their happiness in dollars and cents. These men never had that bottom-line mentality. They had a true appreciation for what I consider to be the finer things in life."7

It might be said that Hemmings as a champion surfer tended to mythologize or romanticize the beachboys. But, as he emphasized, the beachboys expressed a genuine affection for the ocean environment at Waikiki and were quite aware that Waikiki was ideal for both surfing and canoeing. Duke Kahanamoku mentioned that the typical Waikiki surf was "long in forming, slow to break, and running for great distances."8 The trade winds offshore blew into the wave, holding it up, and mild ocean swells and channels in the reef enabled surfers to get in and out easily. These features made Waikiki one of
the best places on earth for surfing and canoeing. Moreover, Waikiki's sunny, dry climate as well as its shallow, temperate waters attracted sunbathers and swimmers. Waikiki was also abundant in marine life: squid, lobster, and other reef fish.\textsuperscript{9} The beachboys as surfers, canoeists, and fishermen had strong attachment to the ocean environment at Waikiki.

The ocean of course had played an important role in ancient Hawaiian culture. The Hawaiians valued the ocean as a god since it provided them with food, sport and haven. Tommy Holmes mentioned that "The ancients derived their sense of well-being and peace, their sense of joy, from the ocean. When the culture was eroding, they could still retain their bonds to the old ways via the ocean. The spiritual aspect was very real. On a daily basis, they renewed their spirit with the ocean."\textsuperscript{10} Holmes believed that the beachboys inherited the spirit and skills of the ancient Hawaiians and that "the beachboys, by extension, were the last carryover. They were pre-eminent watermen. And not only as canoeists and surfers. They were world-class swimmers. Superb fishermen. As divers, they were incredible."\textsuperscript{11} Numerous corroborating stories tell us that the beachboys indeed possessed outstanding knowledge of, incredible skills in, and spiritual affection for, the "mother" ocean surrounding them. These striking figures unquestionably fascinated the mainland visitors who sought their own pleasures and fantasies in Waikiki's ocean environment.

The beachboys were not only superb watermen but also expert musicians. Music was an integral part of their life. Kenneth Brown, a
prominent Honolulu architect and businessman, conveyed the importance of music as a means of communication among beachboys: "Music was almost a preferred method of communicating. When they sang together, they were together, spiritually.... Song meant a lot to them. When they weren't out surfing, they'd be sitting around singing."\textsuperscript{12}

The beachboys traditionally performed at a square pavilion located at the end of the old Moana Pier on Sunday evenings when there was no dancing at the Moana. The old pier stretching out about a quarter mile from the sea wall was a symbolic structure which enhanced exotic and mythical images of Waikiki. The pier had been there long before the establishment of the Moana. There is no record that shows the origin of the landmark, but it is believed to have been constructed around 1890. The pier originally spread out into the ocean from the large white house located on the site of the Moana. Queen Kapiolani was the first possessor of the property; then, after successive change of ownership, W. C. Peacock took it over before the construction of the hotel. During that time the pier served as "a rendezvous for romantic persons who liked to break away from social functions for a tete-a-tete under the Hawaiian moon."\textsuperscript{13} The music of the beachboys vividly enhanced the romantic images. With their ukuleles and guitars the beachboys would begin to serenade gently, and soon touched the hearts of the audience gathered in the pavilion, lining up on the pier, and floating in the water on surfboards. Their music was perfectly blended with "the silver voice of the surf." Then the beachboys would change the tune to a more
upbeat tempo. The crowd responded to it, tapping their feet and
dancing with laughter.\textsuperscript{14} Johnny Noble described the charm of the
beachboys' music as follows; "Tourists and local residents sat quietly
while they listened, enchanted, to the island music that stirred the
heart and often brought tears to the eyes. ... The boys had no set
program, for it was all informal, but they would play and sing song
after song, a surf of melody."\textsuperscript{15} The beachboys expressed the aloha
spirit of Hawaii and captured the hearts and minds of their audience.
"Those Hawaiian beachboys seemed to weave a spell of the real
Hawaii over the assemblage that filled the pavilion and flowed over
onto the walk and sea wall."\textsuperscript{16}

In 1930, the Board of Harbor Commissioners declared the pier
unsafe and decided to tear it down. \textit{Paradise of the Pacific} lamented
the condemnation in an article stating that "Another link between
the romantic past of Honolulu and the more or less romantic present
of this Mid-Pacific city has passed away.... Not only those of us who
live in Honolulu, but nearly all who have visited the city, have a
sentimental feeling about the Moana pier."\textsuperscript{17} The sentimental feeling
was apparently enhanced by the lovely music of the beachboys.
Even after the Moana Pier was removed, the beachboys continued to
play their music in Waikiki. R. Alex Anderson, a popular composer,
stated that "music was natural to the beachboys. It was a part of
them. I think they were inspired by Waikiki, by the feeling the
beach gives you of music. Most of them had a comic streak--
laughing, joking, full of life."\textsuperscript{18} The alluring environment of Waikiki
clearly influenced the lovely music of the beachboys. They
performed on the luxury cruisers, at the Moana Hotel and later at the Royal Hawaiian, and at night clubs like the Waikiki Tavern. In the evening when no official parties were held, the beachboys simply played their music spontaneously on the beach or along the street. Music was, indeed, indispensable to their lives. Their music attracted royalty as well as visitors and residents. Both Queen Liliuokalani and Prince Kuhio had enlisted the beachboys to entertain their guests in politically oriented parties.

Although the beachboys were not well recognized as musicians, they clearly contributed to the development of Hawaiian music. Above all, their music publicized the romantic and mythical images of Waikiki. Thanks to their performances, Waikiki became the geographic center of Hawaiian music. Both the Moana and Royal Hawaiian hotels staged regular musical entertainment. Waikiki Beach itself provided a stage for Hawaiian music. And it was the music of the beachboys which most of all fascinated the tourists who came to relax themselves at Waikiki. It could be said that the beachboys by themselves provided the tourists with the essential resort experience by means of their music and ocean activities. By enacting the vision of a resort paradise for visitors, the beachboys helped to create the magical image of Waikiki as the "paradise of the Pacific."
No discussion of Waikiki in the early 20th century can proceed without reference to a distinctive Hawaiian hero, Duke Paoa Kahanamoku. He was one of the most influential figures to publicize the exotic ambiance of Waikiki and of Hawaii in general. Duke grew up in Honolulu and learned how to swim and surf in Waikiki. Eventually becoming the fastest swimmer and one of the greatest surfers in the world, Duke was for a crucial generation truly the king of the beach at Waikiki.

Duke's fame as a great swimmer began on August 11, 1911, when at the age of twenty-one he broke the world record for the 100-yard freestyle by astonishingly swimming 4.6 seconds faster than the previous record holder. For the next twenty years, he remained as a top world-class swimmer, winning five medals in four Olympic Games. In the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, Duke won the gold medal in the 100-meter freestyle decisively. Upon returning to Hawaii as a hero, he was unable to find a suitable job. Duke decided to attend exhibition swimming competitions abroad, and he used every opportunity to introduce the royal sport of surfing. His demonstrations of surfing fascinated many people, particularly in Australia and on the east coast of the United States. The subsequent popularity of surfing throughout the world owes much to Duke Kahanamoku. Although the 1916 Olympics was canceled due to the First World War, in 1920 the thirty-year-old Duke had no trouble defending his title in the 100-meter freestyle at Antwerp. After that
Olympic Games, Duke began a career as an actor in Hollywood. Although he acted in twenty eight films, he was never offered a leading role; and the acting profession itself did not seem to satisfy this man of the ocean. In 1929 Duke returned to Hawaii and again had difficulty in finding a proper job. He first became superintendent of City Hall, a role which proved to be merely that of a respectable janitor. Next, his fame brought him into politics, where he occupied the office of sheriff for thirteen consecutive two-year terms--a job that entailed mainly honorary functions. After the position of sheriff was eliminated, Duke became the city's official greeter--welcoming a host of celebrities including monarchs, movie stars, and Presidents--few of them more distinguished than himself.  

Duke Kahanamoku was always closely attached to the site of Waikiki. Born in 1890, he grew up in the Kalia district of Waikiki. Duke went to Waikiki Grammar School near the beach, and after school he always headed toward the ocean. He quit high school to become a beach boy at Waikiki, and later founded Hui Nalu together with other beachboys. Not only a superior athlete but also a spiritual model, Duke became a leader of the new club. The members of Hui Nalu regularly gathered under the hau tree on the Moana grounds and spent most of the day surfing, swimming, and repairing nets and surfboards. For them, Waikiki's shore was truly home. In fact, the curving shoreline with its small beaches and bulkheads extended from Duke's residence to Diamond Head, and became an extended backyard for Duke. He belonged to the exquisite seashore of Waikiki,
"where the rich blue of lani, the sky, fused with that of moana, the deep sea; where the lush green of the hills shaded off into yellow-greens and swept down to blend with identical shades in the shallows within the reef." Duke fused inseparably with this environment. Unquestionably, Duke was aware of the unique lure of Waikiki, which provided "a disentanglement from needless pressures, the freedom of just knowing that life is, the wholesome and strangely exhilarating ache of muscles at the end of the day and tingling ache for the morrow to hurry on in." Away from school and daily chores, Duke fully enjoyed the relaxed yet adventurous way of life at Waikiki.

The young Kahanamoku clearly demonstrated his deep attachment to the ocean. As Earl Albert Selle explains, "deep in the symmetrical body of Duke was the blood of his seafaring ancestors" who were "masters of the sea, guiding their long canoes by the stars" over the vast Pacific. Duke possessed tremendous skills in the ways of water inherited from his ancestors. His attachment to the ocean may be seen in his attitude toward sharks. He frequently swam beyond the reef into the open sea where sharks appeared; but regarding the shark as his guardian (Amakua), he was never afraid to swim alongside it. Kenneth Brown described this distinctive sense of the ocean environment among Hawaiians as follows: "Their sense of their environment was unusual. They didn't differentiate much between what was above and below the sea. They had place names for all the hills and bays like we do, but they also had place names for things down in the water. That's the way it was with Duke. The
ocean was such a familiar, friendly environment for him. He was no more afraid of what might happen to him at sea than you or I would be getting hit by a car crossing the street. The ocean was his home.

Duke continued to live in the ocean even when he grew old. After assuming his official duties as sheriff, Duke always headed to the ocean after work. He continued to surf until the age of fifty, and he remained Waikiki's best canoe steersman until sixty. Fred Hemmings explained: "Even when his physical ability started to wane because of age, he excelled because of his knowledge of the ocean and what he was doing." Duke was born of the ocean and went back to that original haven after his death. In January 1968, Duke died of a heart attack at the age of seventy seven. The Star-Bulletin stated, "There is a strange sound in the booming surf at Waikiki today like the anguished cry of a mother at the loss of her favorite son." After a beachboy funeral service at Waikiki, Duke was laid to rest in the water.

Throughout his life, Duke always maintained his spiritual value. The late Reuel Denney pointed out, in his own study of Duke Kahanamoku as a fairy tale hero, that Duke possessed a certain inner magic derived from his native cultural background. That is, Duke carried "within him through all phases of his life the magic, childlike, dreamlike qualities of a man from a race still in the realm of childhood" in terms of the advancement of civilization. Duke's innocent, inner quality exposed him to many dangers throughout his successful career in swimming. He was constantly lured by the
forces of the material world. As with other Olympic swimming heroes, Duke could have been grievously exploited by Madison Avenue, but Duke never quite succumbed to worldly powers, maintaining his inner spirituality to the end of his life.

Duke's simple and naive personality was, however, widely believed to have been exploited by profit-minded individuals surrounding him. For instance, the Duke himself never profited from his successful aloha-shirts business. His brother Louis mentioned that numerous people took advantage of Duke since he was too easy-going. Despite his celebrity status, Duke suffered financially in his later years. Around 1961 Kimo Wilder McVay became Duke's personal manager in order to help him escape financial exploitation. McVay played a primary role in establishing Duke Kahanamoku Enterprises, selling clothes, ukuleles, skateboards, and surfboards emblazoned with Duke's name. In order to promote the sale of surfboards, McVay created the Duke Kahanamoku surf team comprised of four world-renowned surfers. He also strove for the inauguration of the Duke Kahanamoku Surfing Classic. Moreover, McVay recreated Duke's image as a king dressed in white—even purchasing a boat and a Rolls Royce with surfboards on its top to boost Duke's status. On Sunday evenings, Duke took over the King's table in his own night club which McVay had helped to open. In spite of (or because of) these vigorous efforts, McVay was accused of exploiting Duke to fatten his own pockets. But McVay repudiated the charge, insisting that Duke actually enjoyed all these activities. From one point of view, no doubt, Duke was infused into the
commercial-oriented world as a marketable commodity. But Kenneth Brown, Duke's old friend, observed that "you really couldn't take advantage of him. ... I know there were others around him who wanted him to be financially successful. But I never felt Duke had his heart in that. He was Duke. ... His values came from the sea. He walked through a Western world, but he was always essentially Hawaiian. And because of the simplicity and purity of that value system, money was never that important to him." On the surface Duke was living in the secular world, but deep in his heart he embodied spiritual values untarnished by profit-seekers.

Duke Kahanamoku, as an Olympic swimming champion and as a great surfer, displayed tremendous physical strength and ability. Yet Duke's spiritual quality transcended his physical image. Honolulu Mayor Neal Blaisdel described Duke's character appropriately upon his death:

A great patriarch of the Hawaiian people, an honored public figure and a beloved personal friend of all the thousands of people great and small who knew him died today. Duke Kahanamoku was an indomitable man. The courage through which his athletic prowess carried him to international fame was second only to his quiet fortitude. ... And all through his life, his simple dignity, his gentle strength, his kindly good will to man made him a living symbol of all that we admire in the Hawaiian spirit. ... Duke was a spiritual hero rather more than he was a sports celebrity. Above all, he was a symbol of Hawaii, who incarnated the aloha
spirit. Duke's friendly and modest spirit attracted people all over the world. The Honolulu Advertiser exclaimed upon the news of Duke's death that "Duke Kahanamoku must always be a part of Hawaii. It is a great sadness to lose him in body now. We must never lose him in spirit later."\(^{32}\) To remind us of Duke's aloha spirit, his words are inscribed on the side of Duke's Statue at the beach of Waikiki as follows;

In Hawaii we greet friends, loved ones or strangers with Aloha, which means with love. Aloha is the key-word to the universal spirit of real hospitality, which makes Hawaii renowned as the world's center of understanding and fellowship. Try meeting or leaving people with Aloha. You'll be surprised by their reaction. I believe it and it is my creed. Aloha to you.\(^{33}\)

Duke always met people with the spirit of aloha; and he is still symbolically there, welcoming visitors to Waikiki. Although it has been critically said of the statue that "Duke never turned his back to the ocean," it might be retorted that Duke stands there welcoming and inviting the visitors to his home, Waikiki Beach and the ocean. With his warm spirit of aloha, surely Duke would be happy to share the beauty of Waikiki. With his inner spiritual depth as well as his attachment to the ocean, Duke Kahanamoku became fused profoundly into the landscape of Waikiki. Throughout his long life, and even after his death, Duke managed to portray and perpetuate the spell of Waikiki: the magical surf and the hospitable spirit.
JOHNNY NOBLE

In the early 20th century the storybook imagery of Waikiki was greatly amplified by Hawaiian music. No one played a more significant role in the musical mythmaking of Waikiki than Johnny Noble. Born in September 1892 in Honolulu, Johnny Noble became acquainted with music in his early childhood. He often went to the band concerts held at Makee Island in Kapiolani Park on Sunday afternoons where he was fascinated by the music of the Royal Hawaiian Band led by Henry Berger. Johnny's parents also took him to churches where he could listen to the native songs as well as congregational singings. In the early 1900s Honolulu was a musical mecca. Popular music from the mainland began to infiltrate the islands. Gurre Ploner Noble, a biographer of Johnny Noble, states that "Music was the pulse of the people. Warm, fluid, rhythmic, and poignant—it was a common impulse, their greatest emotional outlet and mutual source of enjoyment." Johnny grew up in such a music-friendly environment. During his years at Kaiulani School, he became a paperboy; while selling papers to customers, he entertained them with his tuneful whistling, which made him famous as the whistling paperboy. After advancing to St. Louis College, a private high school, Johnny learned various musical instruments: drum, piano and guitar. Meanwhile, he studied hard at school to prepare for a business career; for he recognized that musicians in Honolulu did not earn a substantial income. After graduating from St. Louis College in 1911, Johnny found a job at the Mutual Telephone Company where he
continued to work throughout a long business career, even after he became a successful musician.35

Opportunities to further his music talent flowed into the life of Johnny Noble soon after his employment at the telephone company. He first took a job as a drummer at a few theaters, providing him with a solid base of experience. Then Johnny encountered Sonny Cunha, a prominent Honolulu musician—which proved to be a watershed event in his musical career. Cunha, born in Honolulu in 1879, also went to St. Louis as well as to Punahou for his early education; then he went on to study law at Yale, where he showed talent both in music and in sports. After graduation, he decided to tour the mainland to introduce Hawaiian music. Cunha evidently placed his priority not on the practice of law or on sports, but on the performance of music. His enormous talent and interest in music led him to create a new type of music: the "hapa-haole" sound blending Hawaiian music with the ragtime rhythm of American music. By introducing a dancing tempo into Hawaiian music, Cunha composed many popular songs. While staying at Yale, he composed a college song entitled "Boola Boola"—which became an illustrious anthem. After his mainland tour, Cunha returned to the islands early in the 1900s, and began to write a series of popular songs. In 1903 Cunha composed his first song, "Waikiki Mermaid," and two years later he wrote "Honolulu Tom Boy," which became immensely popular. In addition to song writing, Cunha compiled and arranged many Hawaiian songs, including "On the Beach at Waikiki," originally written by Henry Kailimai. Sonny Cunha was also known as a
talented pianist who incorporated the piano into a Hawaiian orchestra for the first time. As a composer, pianist and orchestra leader, Cunha attracted many audiences--residents and visitors alike--with his new type of music, although pure Hawaiian songs still retained their popularity among Kamaaina residents. The new style and tempo of Cunha's music came to exert an enormous influence upon Johnny Noble; in 1918 Johnny joined Cunha's band as a drummer and xylophonist and thus embraced a new style of music. Johnny also learned composition from Sonny Cunha, and began to compose in the new style of Hawaiian music. Because of Cunha's influence, Johnny Noble believed that the new jazz music could perfectly blend with Hawaiian music. With his newly acquired hapa-haole sound, Johnny appeared in theaters, orchestras, and dance clubs.\footnote{36} There is no doubt that Cunha helped Johnny to establish himself as a musician of talent and fame.

The hapa-haole sound which Johnny Noble adopted in his music was a "new wave" in the Hawaiian music scene. From the conservative viewpoint, it seemed to signify the degradation and commercialization of traditional Hawaiian music. But the new sound undeniably met the tastes and attitudes of the audience in Waikiki in the first half of the twentieth century. In order to understand the full significance of the hapa-haole sound, let us pause briefly to examine the history of Hawaiian music.

Traditional Hawaiian music was based upon mele oli and mele hula as performed in the pre-Western-contact era. Mele oli means plain chanting, while mele hula signifies chanting accompanied by
hula. Subsequently, *mele hula ku'i*--chant and dance style with Western influences--developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from *mele hula*. Although the earlier forms expressed only chanting, *mele hula ku'i* was performed either as chants or as songs. These three forms served as the foundations of authentic Hawaiian music.\(^{37}\)

According to Hawaiian scholars, there are six types of Hawaiian music, each of which emerged in keeping with historical changes: (1) *mele oli, mele hula*, and *mele hula ku'i*--chants related to, but not always coming from, the pre-contact era; (2) *himeni*--hymns related to the 19th century missionaries; (3) himeni-like songs--non-religious songs founded on Western melodies and harmonies related with 19th century royalty; (4) hula songs--folk songs based on *hula ku'i*; (5) *hapa-haole* songs--part-white or foreign songs, originally based upon *hula ku'i* blending with mainland popular songs; (6) "contemporary Hawaiian" songs influenced by Western popular music. The first four styles are generally considered "traditional," but strictly speaking, chants (1) and hula songs (4) constitute truly authentic Hawaiian music.\(^{38}\)

Hapa-haole songs, incorporating trendy music from the US. mainland with *hula ku'i* songs, reflected the tastes of American tourists. The lyrics usually expressed attractive images of Waikiki--sand, surf, palm trees and hula girls while the instruments frequently included ukulele. The new style of Hawaiian music responded to the transformation of the American pop music scene. From 1900 to 1915, it was based upon simple ragtime rhythms and
sometimes upon waltzlike melodies. The hapa-haole sound adopted jazz and blues from 1916 to the 1930s, and then it incorporated the big-band sounds from the 1940s to the 1950s. The early songs attempted to reveal some elements of authentic music. As time went by, the sound became less and less Hawaiian, despite its lyrics referring to Hawaii.

At the 1915 San Francisco exposition, hapa-haole songs were featured in the Hawaii exhibits. The Hawaiian songs accompanied by ukulele fascinated the audience and triggered a Hawaiian boom on the mainland. Consequently, a number of non-Hawaiian musicians attempted to imitate the hapa-haole sound, and Tin Pan Alley in New York seems to have actively exploited the new marketable commodity. The songs created by Tin Pan Alley hardly sounded like Hawaiian music. Such songs as "Yacka Hula Hicky Dula," "Oh How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Wacki Woo," and "Ukulele Lady" reflected the Hawaiian vogue of the day. Although they did not represent hapa-haole sounds in the true sense, they certainly promoted Hawaii as a South Sea paradise.

Back in Waikiki, Johnny Noble reestablished the meaning of the hapa-haole sound by carefully blending Hawaiian music with jazz and blues. Examining hula ku'i songs in detail, he attempted not to lose elements of the native sound. Moreover, Noble's music was deeply attached to Waikiki's landscape. Unlike mainland musicians, he lived and worked in the exotic environment of the Pacific. The hapa-haole sound which Johnny Noble revitalized was a cultural product reflecting the tastes and expectations of American tourists.
It was a "resort paradisal" music and also an integral part of Hawaiian music.

The year 1920 was crucial in terms of the relationship between Johnny Noble and Waikiki. A year earlier, he joined the Moana Hotel Orchestra first as a drummer and then as a pianist. The orchestra was led by Dan Pokipala, who stuck to the old Hawaiian style of music. Then, several months later in 1920, Johnny took over the leadership of the orchestra and directed it to adjust to a new style with a jazz tempo and modern rhythm. The audience of the Moana Hotel Orchestra responded very well to the new style of music. After adding a saxophone, the orchestra increased its popularity tremendously. In the same year, Johnny Noble composed a song titled "Hula Blues" which became a smash hit. In his explanation of the title, Johnny mentioned, "When I saw how much the tourists loved the hula, I thought they must be blue when they left." With Sonny Cunha writing the lyrics, the new song became so popular that even mainland orchestras and musicians recorded it. When the Prince of Wales visited the islands, staying at the Moana in 1920, he was fascinated by the song "Hula Blues." On the first evening of his two-day stay at the Moana, the Prince and his party took over a table under the famous banyan tree after dinner. The Banyan Court was crowded with an audience that wished to take a look at the royal guest as well as the orchestra. When the Prince appeared in the Banyan Court, Johnny was ready to perform his favorite song "Hula Blues." Attracted by the beautiful song, the Prince asked Johnny the name of the number he had just performed and also requested an
encore later in the evening. As it turned out, the Prince and his party enjoyed dancing in tune with Johnny's orchestra for two consecutive nights at the Moana. For Johnny and his orchestra, that performance in the presence of the Prince became the most exciting and memorable of experiences, and it instantly boosted their popularity.

Throughout the 1920s, the Moana Hotel Orchestra led by Johnny Noble attracted the largest audience in Honolulu, and the Banyan Court symbolized the lovely images of Hawaii. But Johnny was never satisfied with the popularity of the orchestra, always trying to improve it with new arrangements. In 1924 Johnny Noble was selected as a Hawaiian delegate to attend a Music Trade Convention held in San Francisco. He took this opportunity to learn a new trend in mainland dance orchestras. By 1924 jazz had established itself as an integral part of American music. Johnny discovered many interesting and fascinating ideas during the trip and desired to try them out in his orchestra. For the next several years, Johnny and his orchestra (first, for the Moana Hotel and then, for the Royal Hawaiian Hotel after its opening in 1927) actively engaged in publicizing Hawaiian music through radio programs, recordings, mainland tours, and performances on cruise ships. Johnny Noble contributed "instrumentally" to the mythmaking of Waikiki through these activities.

In 1931 Johnny realized that his orchestra was having difficulty in adjusting to the complicated, ever-changing music scene of America, and he decided to dissolve the orchestra. After some
struggle to select Johnny's replacement, Harry Owens, a well-known mainland musician, became the new leader of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra. After leaving the orchestra, Johnny wanted to concentrate on song writing and seek a private music career. But the company which owned both the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian (along with the Waialae Golf Club) did not want to lose him, and it persuaded Johnny to assume a new role as Director of Entertainment for the resort hotels and the golf club. Johnny started to work at his new job in 1934 and soon organized new plans to attract the hotel guests. Acting as Master of Ceremonies, he produced Hawaiian pageants with music and hula dance. While continuing to compose new songs, Johnny enjoyed entertaining visitors and contributed greatly to the growth of the new resorts.

The culmination of his music career came on April 23rd, 1938, officially declared as "Johnny Noble's Day" in Honolulu to honor the 25th anniversary of his music career. At the age of 45, Johnny was a respected citizen of Honolulu. His joyous, friendly, and honest personality rewarded him with many friends of all colors and creeds. But, as Gurre Ploner Noble points out, what gave him distinction was his music. Ploner Noble states, "Music was the keynote of his existence, and the hallmark of his genius was evidenced in what has been expressed by Romain Rolland in 'Jean Christophe,' in this way, 'Everything is music for the born musician.'" Johnny Noble observed everything through music and converted his perceptions and feelings into music. On the evening of an unforgettable day, Johnny performed with his old Moana
Orchestra at the Princess Theater and once again enthralled the audience of locals most of whom remembered the long career of Johnny Noble.47

Throughout his musical life, Johnny Noble was recognized as "Waikiki's Melody Man." His music was virtually synonymous with the tidal sound of Waikiki. One year after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Johnny wrote a new song titled "Remember Waikiki." After the United States entered the Pacific War, evening entertainment at Waikiki was blacked out. Johnny wanted to recollect the joyful memories of the last 25 years of serenading at Waikiki. On that occasion, he also wrote an article titled "Remember Waikiki?" in which he expressed his own reflections on Waikiki. Johnny Noble wrote: "the great green combers, fringed with soft, fleecy lace, roll up on the golden strand that is Waikiki, seeming to click off the years as I sit in the cooling shade of the banyan tree at the Moana Hotel, ..."48 Johnny also envisioned the picturesque qualities of Waikiki when he stated: "The Waikiki you knew and I knew, the Waikiki of beachboys, surfriders, hula girls, rainbow-hewed and dew-kissed leis filling the night with rapturous perfume, and the kiss to each girl with the lei, soft music which only Hawaii could produce, the great silver ball that is the moon riding high in the blue over Diamond Head."49 No one mythologized and rapturized Waikiki better than Johnny Noble did here. Moreover, Johnny expressed how the visitors enjoyed life in Waikiki as follows; "Island folk opening their hearts to the newcomer in the true spirit of Hawaii's aloha, movie stars finding Waikiki the real vacation land
where they can be their own human selves, the bell-like clink of champagne glasses, the happy laughter and gay banter of people enjoying life to its fullest. Johnny Noble apparently saw Waikiki as a resort paradise where one could enjoy a life of leisure in an amicable environment filled with aloha spirit. With these images of Waikiki, Johnny created beautiful songs which clearly reflected his images. In one sense, Johnny’s Hawaiian music was a product of Waikiki’s exotic resort environment. In fact, Gurre Ploner Noble points out how Hawaiian music was harmonious with the image of paradise when he writes: “The languorous Polynesian melodies with their sweet, sober cadences, transport the listener to idyllic scenes of tropic loveliness, for somewhere deep in the heart of everyone is hidden the dream of Paradise--a life spent on a South Sea Island.”

Until his death in 1944, Johnny Noble had transported thousands of people to a tropical paradise through his music. Johnny’s sweet and rapturous music contributed tremendously to the mythmaking of Waikiki as a romantic refuge.

“HAWAII CALLS”

In terms of the image making of Waikiki through music, the role of radio cannot be overlooked. Since its first appearance in Honolulu in 1922, radio had greatly promoted Hawaiian music, which attracted listeners all over the United States. In 1924 when KGU, Honolulu’s first radio station, celebrated its third anniversary with its new 500-watt transmission, Governor Wallace R. Farrington was
invited to make an address to all the governors of the United States. Then the Moana Orchestra led by Johnny Noble played tuneful Hawaiian songs for the program, which drew widespread praise from all over the country. But, nothing exerted a more significant impact upon the promotion of Waikiki through music than "Hawaii Calls," the weekly half-hour radio program originated in 1935. Broadcast every Saturday afternoon under the banyan tree at the Moana Hotel, the show attracted a live audience of 1,000 to 2,000 residents and visitors. Due to its easy accessibility to tourists and locals, and with a distinctive setting of blue sea, white sand beach, and Diamond Head in the background, the Moana was a perfect site for the radio program featuring Hawaiian music. The popularity of Hawaii Calls had grown to the point where it was broadcast over six hundred radio stations around the world in the early 1950s. It became the longest continuous regular program in the United States, and lasted for 40 years with only a brief period of blackout during World War II.

Webley Edwards, the original producer and narrator, explained that the program came out of a meeting of network officials in San Francisco, where they had been listening to "Hawaiian music" which he dismissed as the sound without "the rich, solid flavor of real Hawaiian music." Then one of the staff suggested broadcasting real Hawaiian music directly from the Islands, and the program started as an experiment. Technological progress to set up radio telephone circuits from Hawaii to the U. S. mainland clearly helped send a fairly good quality sound by way of short-wave around that time. The
experiment turned out to be a smash hit. The core of the program was authentic Hawaiian music performed in traditional style. Earlier in the 1920s, a new style of typical Hawaiian music had emerged, later known as "traditional" or "folk." The musicians of the style delved into hula ku'i chants, featuring falsetto singing in accordance with steel guitar.\textsuperscript{54} "Hawaii Calls" apparently promoted this style and enormously popularized it. A number of different musicians were featured for the program each week, but it proved to be inefficient to use various groups due to the limited time frame, network specifications, and long rehearsal time. In 1937, Al Kealoha Perry and his Singing Surfriders became the leading music group for the program. The program started with about a hundred favorite Hawaiian songs, and it sent ten numbers to the listeners on each show. In order to avoid monotonous repetition, a search for authentic Hawaiian music was conducted by searching the archives of Hawaii and even in native villages. As a result, Hawaii Calls collected some fifteen hundred songs to attract an audience. With Al Perry as a leader, the program invited most of the renowned Hawaiian singers to play a rich volume of song lists. Thus, Hawaii Calls fulfilled its objective to send real Hawaiian music to the mainland.\textsuperscript{55}

In addition to the great performances of Hawaiian singers, two other factors contributed to the success of Hawaii Calls. First, Webley Edwards possessed an unusual ability to mythologize Waikiki and Hawaii in general. With his love for the Hawaiian people and culture, Edwards introduced the islands to listeners all over the country "in a
calabash of choice bits of lore and legends, word pictures of Hawaii’s charm and beauty, a few humorous asides and a carefully balanced program of authentic Hawaiian music.” Recognized as the “voice of Hawaii” or “Mr. Hawaii Calls,” Edwards promoted the lure of the Islands to prospective tourists. Secondly, Hawaii Calls successfully fulfilled the dreams of its audience by inviting dozens of Hollywood celebrities and other well-known personalities as guests of the program. And these celebrities further contributed to the image making of Waikiki.

As a whole, the key to the success of Hawaii Calls lay in a perfect blending of the mythical image of Waikiki with authentic Hawaiian music. Edward explained that one of the favorite scenes in the program was “a pickup of Waikiki’s waves blended with the soft melody of Kelii’s steel guitar,” and if this was not included even in one program, many listeners sent letters of “friendly protests.” The program ended with the closing theme--Aloha Oe, with soft voices and steel guitars in perfect harmony with the sound of Waikiki’s waves. Along with music, Edwards made a final remark that “This is our time for remembering good friends we have met in these Hawaiian Islands, and a thought, too, for our own people who are away. All of us wish you were here with us--here in Hawaii--on this fine day. Come over and see us sometime! Aloha--aloha nui oe.”

There is no question that Hawaii Calls contributed profoundly to publicizing and romanticizing Waikiki, and it inspired a vast audience to visit the resort paradise of the Pacific.
As discussed in this chapter, the mythic creation of Waikiki was clearly associated with the ocean environment and music. Beachboys, with their inherited skills in water and talent in music, provided tourists a thrilling experience by day and a romantic ambiance by night. Duke Kahanamoku, a legendary Olympic hero, also enhanced the image of the magical Waikiki water and the myth of the friendly spirit. Moreover, Johnny Noble offered a romantic night to affluent visitors at the Moana Hotel through his hapa-haole sound while “Hawaii Calls” publicized an exotic, lovely image of Waikiki through authentic Hawaiian music. All of these mythmakers contributed to establishing the unique image of Waikiki as a resort paradise imbued with sensual, exotic, and tranquilizing properties.

2 Timmons, 27.
3 Timmons, 34.
4 Timmons, 16.
5 Timmons, 17.
6 Timmons, 16.
7 Timmons, 16-17.
8 Timmons, 45.
9 Timmons, 45.
10 Timmons, 47.
11 Timmons, 48.
12 Timmons, 30.
14 Gurre Ploner Noble, Hula Blues (Honolulu, 1948) 60-61.
16 Johnny Noble, 29.
17 “The Historic Moana Pier,” 3.
18 Timmons, 86.
19 Timmons, 86-87.
20 Timmons, 67-74.
21 Timmons, 68.
23 Selle, 68.
24 Selle, 10.
25 Timmons, 69.
26 Timmons, 74.
29 Timmons, 75-76.
30 Timmons, 76.
31 Denney, 9-10.
33 Duke Kahanamoku Statue on Kuhio Beach.
34 Gurre Ploner Noble, 8-9.
35 Ploner Noble, 22, 26.
38 Tatar, 5.
39 Tatar, 11.
40 Tatar, 11.
41 Ploner Noble, 53.
42 Ploner Noble, 53-54.
43 Ploner Noble, 70-72.
44 Ploner Noble, 83-86, 93.
45 Ploner Noble, 97.
46 Ploner Noble, 98.
47 Ploner Noble, 100.
49 Johnny Noble, 15.
50 Johnny Noble, 15.
51 Ploner Noble, 101.
52 Ploner Noble, 71.
54 Tatar, 15.
55 Edwards, 72,133.
57 Edwards, 133.
58 Todaro, 36.
CHAPTER VII

A RESORT PARADISE FOR THE ELITE

Before ever visiting the Hawaiian Islands, affluent Americans had already created their own images of the islands through the literary guidance of Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jack London. These images were also enhanced by the stories of their friends who communicated with beachboys, encountered with a legendary hero, Duke Kahanamoku, and enjoyed the Hawaiian music arranged by Johnny Noble. Upon their own arrival and through their own experiences in the Islands, the privileged class deepened their impressions or created additional images of the Paradise of the Pacific. This chapter examines the prevailing images of Waikiki and the typical experiences of the visitor, which together delineate the resort paradisal character of Waikiki in the early 20th century. In addition, local responses to the development of the resort will be presented in order to give an overall evaluation of the distinctive quality of Waikiki.

A PARADISE FOR THE ELITE

The visitor from the mainland aboard a steamer approaching Honolulu Harbor first discerned the symbolic land form of Diamond Head and the lush environment of Waikiki. Curving "in a long, graceful line, the beach, washed by the lapping wavelets of the coral-
sheltered waters, sweeps to right and left. The Hawaiian sunlight pours down upon the dark-green masses of its luxuriant foliage; cocoanut palms lift tufted tops aloft, their fronds outlined in graceful silhouette against the mountains that lie behind. A lacy fringe of gleaming white in the foreground marks the coral reef that bars out the long, rolling waves of the blue Pacific. This was the first encounter with a vision of paradise which the visitor had dreamt of for the last seven days on the ship. Jack London once said, “with Hawaii it seems always to be love at first sight.”

As the ship slowly entered Honolulu Harbor, passengers next were greeted by the Royal Hawaiian Band on the dock, playing the welcoming number, “Song of the Islands.” The Royal Hawaiian Band played a significant role in the social, political, and educational life of Hawaii. It performed at important ceremonies for monarchy and government, and it also appeared in a number of social events. The Band of course contributed greatly to the development of Hawaiian music. Moreover, its two Mainland tours in 1905 and in 1906 successfully promoted the image of Hawaii through music. The Band served as a major publicist of the Islands. In this context, the Royal Hawaiian Band played for all arrivals and departures of ships at Honolulu Harbor. Paradise of the Pacific commented that the Band “is so essential a part of all sailings or arrivals at the Port of Honolulu that it is doubtful if steamship crews could successfully navigate the harbor without it.”

The success of the Royal Hawaiian Band was owed greatly to the role of band leader Henry Berger, who served from 1872 to
1915. Born in Prussia in 1844, Berger was chosen in 1872 to instruct and conduct a new Hawaiian Band. With perseverance and hard work as well as musical experience and talent, Berger brilliantly accomplished the difficult task of leading the young, inexperienced Hawaiian boys who fortunately possessed natural talent and cooperative human nature.\(^5\) Besides the Band’s activities, Henry Berger exerted a powerful influence upon Hawaii’s musical scene, working for schools, churches, and clubs. Moreover, he composed and arranged more than 100 Hawaiian songs, many of which were simply transcribed, according to him, when he heard the native Hawaiians sing or whistle in town.\(^6\) Berger’s contribution to Hawaiian music was recognized on his 70th birthday in 1914 when Queen Liliuokalani bestowed upon him the title of “Father of Hawaiian Music”\(^7\). It was therefore a distinct honor for the tourist to be greeted by such a respected band.

Upon landing at the port, the visitor would be welcomed by lei greeters and hula dancers along with music. Boat Day was, indeed, quite a festivity, and half the town seemed to materialize at the port to meet family and friends or to enjoy the festive mood and the music of the Royal Hawaiian Band. The welcoming ceremony by itself must have transported the bemused visitor into a dream of paradise.

Four miles from the center of Honolulu, the new resort area of Waikiki provided the visitor with an Edenic scene. Before the turn of the century, access to Waikiki was mostly by carriage or occasionally by boat. But it was a great privilege to walk alone since “each beauty
may meet the gaze, with no voice to disturb the thoughts.” Walking alone did not necessarily mean being alone. The mountain on the left seemed to hold one’s hand “like a kind and gentle, but firm mother,” while the ocean on the right acted like a strict, harsh father, “admonishing his child with wave-lap and low threatenings of future chastisement.” The road to Waikiki was decorated in line with groves of palms, “straight as arrows, and striped cocoanut trees that lean towards each other as if drawn by some invisible, sympathetic chord, binding brother to brother.” Eventually, the bridge with its solid sea-wall began to appear, and some natives were to be seen, fishing eels or gathering sea weed. The seashore of Waikiki was dotted with stately mansions for the wealthy residents in search of health and repose. In addition, there were pretty cottages built for resident and tourist alike. “Half concealed by rare vines and a profusion of blossoms; pink, scarlet and golden,” were “homes speaking of peace and content”. The seashore of Waikiki was converted into “a rose-covered desert one long oasis with verdure prolific”. The verdant pastoral scenery from Honolulu to Waikiki finally led to a sandy beach with a tent and a native hut at the bottom of Diamond Head, where “in the bright sunshine the sea tints opalesce, green and blue meet in a fond embrace; amber, gray and pale yellow unite in the sea foam as it is thrown against the rocks.” Thus was described the scenic route from Honolulu to Waikiki before the turn of the century, and thus was the visitor subtly blended into the dreamy environment.
At the beginning of the 20th century, in 1903, the Honolulu Rapid Transit Company began its trolley service between downtown Honolulu and Waikiki, connecting the two areas in 28 minutes. On opening day, the residents of Honolulu enjoyed a free ride offered by the company, and almost every citizen took the line during that day. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported, “Everyone in Honolulu went to the beach yesterday. The Moana, the Waikiki Inn, the Annex, all the beach resorts, felt the impetus of this travel beachward, and the pack was full of people all day...” The tramcar service clearly provided easier access to Waikiki for the residents who discovered a new, exciting activity in town.

Meanwhile, the affluent visitor from the mainland in the early 20th century took a drive from Honolulu to Waikiki. Some of the privileged class even brought their own vehicles to the islands. George L. Chaney drove to the seashore resort in early 1910s. Driving through Beretania Street till reaching the open marshes, he felt “relieved here and there by lands redeemed and regained for Eden by the lineal descendants of the man and the woman who originally lost it.” Chaney assumed that “These loyal sons of Adam had planted algaroba trees and cocoa palms, and carpeted the bare earth with soft rugs of manenie grass.” Chaney was evidently delighted with the development of the land with plants and lawns. For him, transforming the wilderness into a scenic Eden or a middle landscape was a noble act of paradise-making. The road to Waikiki passed through the scenic country and reached the groves of huge palms and nesting cottages, “looking seaward from under the shade
of thick-branching hau trees.” The area was still at the entrance of
the small village but it possessed “the sense of human brotherhood”
and "domestic integrity and personal freedom.” Chaney settled in
“a choice bit of seaside felicity” owned by his friend’s friend. He
exclaimed, “This, then, was to be our resting place. Found at last!
The spot we had traveled five thousand miles to see.” The small
seaside cottage surrounded by verdant foliage was, indeed, a
paradise for him. In the last 15 years, the natural environment of
Waikiki had not much changed its appearance despite the new
development of the resort. Waikiki, in general, retained its rural
character.

Visitors to Waikiki expressed their sense of enchantment in
various ways. Some wrote poems dedicated to the breathtaking
landscape of the seashore resort. P. Maurice McMahon wrote:

The day is done, the fervent sun
Is sinking 'neath the swelling tide,
And over land and pulsing sea
Soft, fleecy clouds are ranging wide;
The waves upon the coral strand
All day have sung their song of glee,
And gently now break on the shore,
And singing, sigh at Waikiki,

Where'er I turn my wondering gaze
A scene enchanted 'round me lies,
A purple ocean fringed with green,
Volcanic splendors in the skies:
Upon the ocean's heaving breast
A rainbow gleaming radiantly,
Where white sails lie beyond the reef,
The fishing boats at Waikiki.
And "Diamond Head" with rugged sides,
    All scarred and wrinkled, seamed and old,
Above the vernal beauty stands.
    Like some brave warrior, strong and bold;
And stately palms upon the beach
    Bend low their heads all reverently
Whilst whispering zephyrs softly tell
    How beautiful is Waikiki. 16

The magic of the ocean also captured the eyes of another visitor. While relaxing in an easy chair under the trees on the beach, G. D. Andrews was fascinated by the different colors of the ocean: "Now our Neptune has girded himself, and such a girdle! 'Tis made of the violet end of the rainbow, deepest purple and blues melting into one another, now royal purple, now navy blue. Within that a band of lapis-lazule, then aqua-marine, then peacock green, malachite, gray-blue, each tint as distinct and separate as a ribbon and shining with metallic lustre. World wide travelers tell us that nowhere else is this miracle in color tone to be found."17 The magical effect of the ocean could belong only to paradise.

The ocean setting of Waikiki, in general, inspired the poetic imagination but another distinct feature of the environment also fascinated the visitor. In the early 20th century, the seashore of Waikiki was occupied by the beautiful groves of palms and other tropical vegetation. Rollin Daggett did not overlook the charm of the verdant environment when he wrote;

The cocoa, with its crest of spears
    Stands sentry 'round the crescent shore,
And algaroba, bent with years,
Keep watch beside the lanai door.
The cool winds fan the mango's cheek,
The mynah flits from tree to tree,
And zephyrs to the roses speak
Their sweetest words at Waikiki.\textsuperscript{18}

Thus might the visitor have discovered the lure of Waikiki not merely in the ocean but in the tropical foliage of the seashore.

The seashore resort of Waikiki provided two different life styles for the tourist. As mentioned above, one of the fascinating features of the environment was the tropical landscape of its coconut grove and other vegetation. Within the garden environment, small, quiet cottages were located here and there. Most were surrounded by dense foliage of hau and algaroba trees. This tropical setting offered the visitor an outdoor experience, and Waikiki furnished a perfect lanai life.\textsuperscript{19} One of the most striking tropical plants on the seashore was the hau tree, native to Hawaii, which provided a perfect shelter. The average visitor would be delighted to spend an afternoon in the hau-tree lanai. "From the gnarled, dragon-like trunk writhing branches twist and turn and interlace like great serpents, forming with their heavily leafed twigs, a thick canopy impervious to the rays of the sun and capable of protecting from even a moderately brisk rain."\textsuperscript{20} Nearly all the cottages along the shore possessed one of the hau-tree lanais. In fact, one of the hotels at Waikiki trademarked it by calling the property "The Hau Tree", which eventually became The Halekulani Hotel. The hau-tree lanais were among the attractive features which sustained the open, outdoor life at Waikiki.
Another notable feature in Waikiki was, of course, the life of the ocean shore filled with a variety of beach activities. It was supported by two primary factors: the perfect climate and the splendid beach. One writer exclaimed that "Honolulu has no winter, no spring, and no autumn, for it is a land of eternal summer without prostrating heat or desolating humidity to mar perfect enjoyment of sunshine, surf, and sand." The perfect climate with the golden sunshine was also supported by the gentle trade winds from the north east.

Along with the ideal weather, the beach itself was a marvel. Paradise of the Pacific stated that "These is no beach like it in the world; there is no part of Hawaii that is more attractive to tourist and resident alike than this playground of Honolulu, Waikiki Beach." In the early 20th century, this statement was not an exaggeration since other beautiful beaches in the Islands were not known to most visitors. The magazine continued: "To lie upon its sands and bask in the grateful sunshine or to bathe in its clear, soft waters is to acquire a feeling for Hawaii that neither years nor distance can ever efface." The bathing experience at Waikiki was a ritual for the visitors who wished to be assimilated into the Hawaiian environment. A few key factors helped the visitor to enjoy surfbathing at Waikiki. Since the temperature of the water did not change much between the winter and summer seasons, the visitor was afforded the privilege of bathing all year long. The gentle waves near the shore also insured a comfortable bathing experience. Moreover, a coral reef a mile from the shore prevented sharks and
other undesirable creatures from approaching the beach and
guaranteed a safe bathing ground. Thus, along with the perfect
climate sustained by golden sunshine and mild breezes, the beautiful
white sand beach with the gentle surf provided a perfect setting for
the life of leisure at Waikiki.

The pleasure ground of Honolulu also offered the visitor
exciting water sports. There were opportunities to challenge the surf
in swimming, "to enjoy the wild thrill of riding down the rushing
crest of foam topped waves at railroad speed in graceful outrigger
canoes or to practice the elusive but seductive art of riding a surf-
board."24 Swimming was the most popular activity at Waikiki. Even
the absolute novice who had never put on a bathing suit before was
tempted to make a splash in the clear, warm waters; and very few of
the strangers who took up the challenge of swimming for a few
weeks or months did not come to call themselves accomplished
swimmers.25 Those who had confidence in swimming attempted "to
exercise their natatorial prowess in going to and from the ever-
shining surf that washes the coral reef."26 Competitive swimmers
enjoyed the deep water around the edge of the Moana Pier.

As Jack London expressed it, surfing was the most challenging
and sensational experience at Waikiki. Some tourists were delighted
simply to watch experienced native surfers riding the waves.
Frances G. Rogers wrote that "Here from early morning till sudden
darkness falls, the natives of the island, black and white, together
congregate and steer their surf boards out to catch the ocean swell;
and every crested wave that comes to shore is freighted with a row
of laughing faces set in a swaying background of ecstatic heels."27 He observed surfers whose age and social status were quite different—a gray-haired businessman, a little black boy, a native fisherman or two students from prestigious colleges on the mainland. Rogers stated that "This serious age no less than buoyant youth has yielded to the fascination of the sport."28 Since surfing was an artistic expression, it was no wonder that it inspired the poetic imagination. Maurice McMahon wrote:

Brown forms upon the surfboard come
Like mermen from the heaving sea,
Whilst 'round them leap the dancing waves
In merry revelry.29

Watching the natives riding the swell was an enjoyable activity, but challenging the surf provided a more exciting experience. Maurice McMahon expressed his exultation in poetic form after apparently enjoying the art of surfing. He wrote,

To ride upon the curling wave
    The surfboard or the swift canoe,
Ah! this doth keep the spirit young,
    And make the world seem ever new;
'Mid joys like these the time I'd pass
    And evermore contented be
To sing, as other bards have done,
    Your blissful charms, O Waikiki.30

Compared with surfing on a board, riding the wave in an outrigger canoe was not so challenging or adventurous, but it still
provided a lot of fun and a thrilling experience for the visitor. Ann
Goodwin Winslow described her own excitement riding the wave in
an outrigger canoe:

The boats were made out of the trunk of a tree hollowed
out with a big outrigger to keep them from turning over.
After you have once seen people ride the waves in one of
them, or on a surf board, much less done it yourself,
everything else seems utterly worthless by
comparison...We go out to where the breakers come in
over the reef—about like good sized hills. Of course, there
are always natives in charge of the party, and they know
just how and where to catch one of those giant waves so
that it brings you rushing in toward the shore at a furious
speed, dashing all over you...It is like coasting downhill
on water.31

As this suggests, all the beach activities, surfing and outrigger
 canoeing in particular, were organized by the beachboys, who
provided umbrellas and chairs, taught the art of surfing and led the
outrigger-canoe rides. The beach activities at Waikiki were closely
related to the Moana Hotel. Since most beachboys in the early 20th
century began as Hui Nalu members who headquartered at the
Moana, they primarily served the guests of the hotel. The Moana
provided accommodations for bathing and other activities. It
boasted a first class bath house which could be compared with the
modern facilities at Coney Island, Long Beach or Cape May. The hotel
also offered bathing suits of the latest style. Surf boards were easily
available on short notice at the hotel.32 Thus, the Moana fulfilled the
needs of the guests who enjoyed the beach life in maximum comfort.
The perfect climate and magnificent white sand beach provided the foundation for the beach life, and the Moana and its beachboys encouraged activities on the beach. There is no doubt that visitors truly enjoyed a resort paradisal life of leisure on the beach at Waikiki.

The paradisal life at Waikiki never ended on the beach itself, but continued to move on until late at night. Music clearly provided a mythical, romantic dream of paradise for the visitor. At night, the Moana was the center of music performances. One guest recalled, "The hotel is most attractive ... the trees in the hotel garden are hung full of colored electric lights and there is ... music... going on everywhere. They seem to sing all their pieces as well as play them—They even sing the waltzes in the ballroom, and in the dining room during dinner—there is a woman who sits with her hands in her lap and not a scrap of music before her and sings piece after piece with the ease and naturalness of a bird ... " This comment suggests that the guests were delighted not only to listen to Hawaiian music but also to European music which made them feel as comfortable as if they had been at home. Another guest was also fascinated by the musical entertainment at the Moana, as her comment shows: "Should you chance in Honolulu on an evening, to find time hanging heavily on your hands, there is a place to go where ever the most exciting will find interest and pleasure. Go to the Banyan court of the Moana Hotel. Should it be a starlit night it will be fascinating, for the stars seem to appear and disappear between the leaves of the giant banyan tree, while the notes of the steel guitar and ukulele weave in
and out ...”34 She truly enjoyed a romantic and mythical night through the sound of music. It is quite possible that the Moana Hotel Orchestra led by Johnny Noble played the famous song "Hula Blues" on that memorable night. The mellow sound of the Moana Hotel Orchestra clearly enhanced a resort paradisal experience at Waikiki.

The night scene at Waikiki was exceptionally romantic, and any visitor might have been transported into the midst of a dream. One guest remarked that "The moonlight has been lovely beyond all telling these nights."35 The moonlight at Waikiki commonly inspired the imagination and stirred romance. One writer noted: "When these palms are silvered in the brilliant sheen of the Waikiki moon, images of the historic and legendary past of the magic islands rise to memory and imagination"36 The picturesque scene brought the writer back into the old centuries of Polynesia. The moonlight was always an excellent motif for poetry. May L. Restarick for one did not miss the opportunity to write this poem:

O radiant Moon, how far so e'er thou be,
Though leagues apart, canst those see him and me?
And does my lover, gazing on thy face,
In memory recall the 'fond embrace?
Thou from above, our plighted vows didst bless,
Thou silent witness of our happiness!37

The moonlight also witnessed the beginning of many a romance at Waikiki. The Moana Pier provided a perfect rendezvous for potential lovers. It is apparent that the moon and stars added a romantic flavor to the shimmering night at Waikiki. But the
atmosphere of the night itself also meant something special. Frances G. Rogers wrote that "The tropic stillness of a summer night lies with expectant breathlessness at Waikiki." In the early 20th century, one of the most alluring features of Waikiki was its serene atmosphere. Particularly at night, except when music was played at the Moana, the seashore resort was filled with stillness. Many visitors would be perfectly content to enjoy the night in serene solitude.

The magnificent environment of Waikiki provided a paradisal resort life for affluent visitors. Lying under the spreading hau trees, visitors were able to heal the wounded mind and to rest the troubled soul. In the midst of the serene atmosphere surrounded by dense tropical vegetation, they could forget their worries and restore their peace of mind. One writer mentioned that in Hawaii, "the mind can rid itself of the harsh, the selfish and intrusive to dwell at rest upon the quiet beauties of sky and sea, of mountain and dale, of color and form, all framed in the historic legends which form the real background of literature and art." The effects of Waikiki's admirable landscape upon the mind of the visitor were also manifested in a poem written by Nell Bradley Elder.

I lie beneath my hau-tree on the beach at Waikiki,  
And through the tangled maze of boughs the sun sifts down on me.  
Sifts softly down around me, making patterns on the sand,  
And I feel a peace, a deep content, I cannot understand.

The cares that but an hour ago seemed more than I could bear,  
The petty frets of every day are gone I know not where.
As the title of the poem—"Waikiki Magic"—suggests, the charm of the seashore resort featuring the golden sunshine, the splendid beach and the tropical vegetation created a magical effect upon sojourning minds. Once peace of mind was restored, the artistic imagination would be inspired by the paradisal environment. Thus numerous writers and artists came to produce memorable works through their magical experience at Waikiki.

The seashore resort, needless to say, had positive effects upon the physical body of the visitor. Basking in the sun on the beach or bathing in the ocean, tourists were able to heal their wounded bodies and to cure their ailing health. Swimming, surfing, or canoeing allowed visitors to regain physical strength. Thus, the magnificent environment of Waikiki furnished its visitors "superior comfort of body and unrivaled peace of mind." The middle landscape of Waikiki offered a life of leisure for its affluent visitors. Waikiki was, indeed, the very image of a resort paradise for the privileged class in the early 20th century.

After spending weeks or months at Waikiki, the visitors would reluctantly take leave the islands. The dock of Honolulu Harbor was filled with crowds bidding sincere aloha to the departing tourists. They were laden with leis to be tossed overboard as the ship steamed away from the harbor. The Royal Hawaiian Band played its signature song, "Aloha Oe," for the passengers. "Aloha Oe" is the most
famous of all Hawaiian songs. It was written and composed by Queen Liliuokalani, whose weekend trip to Maunauili in 1878 inspired her to create a lovely song. Henry Berger apparently arranged the song for band use. "Aloha Oe" is commonly believed to be a song of farewell, but Liliuokalani meant it as a love song. Although the first verse clearly expresses the sorrow of leaving, the second verse indicates the tenderness of love. The song was a fitting tribute to the departing tourists who felt sorrow for leaving the islands with which they had fallen in love. Moreover, in an interpretation by native Hawaiians, 'Aloha Oe' expresses the union of man, woman, nature and gods through its beautiful description of the rain, the cliffs and the flowers. For instance, native Hawaiians believed that the rain showering the lehua flowers (described in the song) meant marital union and unity of the people and the land. In a magical paradise, one might have been able to blend with nature and to unite with gods. The song clearly signified this kind of spiritual experience which the visitor had enjoyed in the enchanted islands. And so, recalling their joyful experiences in Hawaii, the departing passengers bade farewell to the paradise of the Pacific.

REATIONS TO DEVELOPMENT

The early resort development of Waikiki was centered upon the Moana Hotel and the Outrigger Canoe Club. Local residents who lived, worked and spent time in Waikiki expressed their views toward the changing landscape. Harold Aoki, who was born in 1910
in Waikiki, spent his early childhood around the family store on the Diamond Head end of Kalakaua Avenue. His father, Niro, worked as a waiter at the Moana before opening his own store. He told his son, Harold, that tourists who came from the mainland were haole people and that they were wealthy enough to spend twelve or fifteen days on a ship to come all the way to Hawaii. Then, Niro explained to Harold that the privileged class stayed at the Moana for two to three weeks until the next ship would arrive. Harold realized that the Moana served the white privileged class of the mainland.

Robert Alexander Anderson, who was born in 1894, grew up in Honolulu. His mother was a daughter of Alexander Young, a prominent businessman in Honolulu; and the boy spent a lot of time at his grandfather's house located at the present site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. The Moana held pleasant memories. Anderson recalls that there were, sometimes, school dances at the hotel. Particularly in June, Punahou's graduation dances were held in the hall at the Moana. Anderson obviously belonged to the white elite community of Honolulu. The fact that Punahou School, the most distinguished school in the islands, held its graduation "prom" at the Moana indicates that the hotel functioned as a social gathering place for the local elite.

Joseph Akana, who was born in 1907 in Waikiki, grew up learning the profession of the beachboy. As such, he took care of the guests of the Moana Hotel. Akana recalls that the beachboy was sometimes invited to dinner by hotel guests to whom he had given lessons in surfing and canoeing. On such an occasion, Akana used to
wear a tuxedo because he was not allowed to enter the dining room of the hotel without proper attire.\textsuperscript{47} This shows not only that the Moana set a high standard to serve its affluent guests, but that local beachboys were to some extent assimilated into the privileged environment.

Not only beachboys but also local residents in general had a good time at the Moana. John C. Ernstberg, a former beachboy and musician who was born in 1910 in Kahului, Maui, grew up in the Waikiki area. He explains that concerts at the Moana attracted local residents as well as tourists. Ernstberg states, "Anybody could go into the hotel and then sit down outside the lanai."\textsuperscript{48} The residents on the mountain side of Kalakaua Avenue came over to the Moana every Sunday night and listened to Hawaiian music at the Banyan Court. The concert lasted about one hour, fascinating the packed crowd.\textsuperscript{49} Although the Moana primarily served the wealthy elite, it also welcomed local residents in Waikiki.

However, Leslie Fullard-Leo reveals an interesting observation. Born in 1909 in New York and relocated to Hawaii in 1915, Fullard-Leo spent a lot of his time in Waikiki. He recalled the early years of the Moana when very few tourists stayed there. When he was a child, Fullard-Leo often went to the lanai of the Moana, where he met more English than American tourists. On Saturday nights, he enjoyed dancing on the terrace.\textsuperscript{50} During that time, Fullard-Leo recalls that only Caucasians and Hawaiians were allowed in the dance hall, and that it was not until the end of World War II that other ethnic groups had an opportunity to dance at the hotel. Nevertheless, Fullard-Leo
explains that no overt racial hostilities existed at that time since everyone realized one's own place.\textsuperscript{51} It is interesting to note that an increasing number of Orientals began to reside in the district of Waikiki. Ernest Steiner points out that most workers at the Moana in the early 1930s were Japanese who stayed at the employees' quarters across the street from the hotel.\textsuperscript{52} About 85% of the workers lived in the big frame structure at the site of the present Princess Kaiulani Hotel. These Japanese workers were not allowed in the dance hall during their free time. Many Japanese workers then endured long, hard, low-wage labor on plantations. After the turn of the century, some Japanese laborers gradually began to move to town in search of better jobs. It may be inferred that these workers at the Moana were quite satisfied with the position they occupied, and scarcely imagined themselves engaging in an unfamiliar Western style of dance. Above all, without voting rights and citizenship, most Japanese Issei were resigned to their fate as second-class residents.

Despite some racial prejudice, the Moana basically served the local populace well. Adelaide K. Mckinzie, who was born in 1901 in Honolulu and later moved to Molokai, spent summers in Waikiki in her childhood. She went swimming almost everyday in summer. In order to get to the beach, she and her friends regularly walked through the Moana Hotel. The hotel clerk at the front desk knew the kids very well and used to say, "Hi there, good morning, kids, how you guys?"\textsuperscript{53} The staff allowed them to use the bathhouse if they wished to go swimming. Mckinzie and friends left their belongings on the bench in the bathhouse and went to the beach. When beachboys
were not busy taking care of tourists, they let the kids ride on the canoe. Thus, the Moana provided a hospitable environment for local children during the day.

Outside the hotel, the Moana Pier was a favorite place for local residents as well as tourists. In addition to the music performance by the beachboys, the pier offered locals a good fishing spot. Some residents enjoyed fishing and diving from the pier while King Peterson went there for crabbing. Peterson once caught a big crab seventeen inches long from pincher to pincher. In the early years of the century, Waikiki was abundant in marine life. The Moana Pier clearly served locals as a popular fishing ground. Moreover, Alan "Turkey" Love learned how to surf next to the pier, where there was always good surf. He lamented that after the pier was torn down, the surf also declined. As an integral part of the Moana, the pier was a symbolic landmark which left numerous fond memories in the minds of residents as well as visitors. Thus, local residents saw the Moana as an exclusive institution, but they were able to blend into the environment.

The Outrigger Canoe Club was also regarded as a privileged playground. Richard Sasaki, born in 1918 in Waikiki, knows the early history of the club. His father, Soichi, ran the concessions and managed lockers at the Outrigger for nearly twenty-five years. He used to tell young Richard that the members of the club were prominent people of the island of Oahu.

Joseph Akana, a former beachboy and captain of the Hui Nalu Club, also explains that the Outrigger served the prosperous
community who could make time for recreation--swimming and surfing. While the members of the Hui Nalu, closely tied up with the Moana, provided the tourists with beach services--offering umbrellas, teaching swimming and surfing, and taking them on canoe rides, the Outrigger remained as a private club. By the early 1930s, the Moana Hui Nalu boys still took care of tourists, but later the Outrigger Club began to engage in beach services. In 1934 the Outrigger established the Waikiki Beach Patrol to consolidate individual beach services into one concession. Offering the services to the guests of the Royal Hawaiian, the Club became connected with the tourist business.

William Cook recalls the transition of the Outrigger Club. Born in 1922 in Honolulu, he grew up in Waikiki ever since his family moved to Kuhio Avenue in 1927. He became a member of the Outrigger Canoe Club at the age of twelve in 1934. Cook explains that after the renovation of the club facilities in 1940, the Outrigger developed into more of a social gathering place. Since there was a comfortable dining room and bar, those who were not athletic enough to venture into the ocean enjoyed watching surfing and canoeing from upstairs. At that time the Club paid $750 a month for lease rent, and the Matson Navigation Company which owned both the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian, covered another $750 for the Club. Matson evidently wanted the Outrigger to serve their hotel guests. Since the Club, in those days, was not strictly a private membership club, it allowed visitors to come into the dining room and pay cash. This illustrates how the Outrigger Canoe Club was
incorporated with the tourist business centered upon the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian in the 1940s.

Ernest Steiner points out that the Outrigger Canoe Club contributed to the transformation of Waikiki with "modern" facilities--a club house with lockers, volleyball courts, and a pavilion for dinning and dancing under which canoes and surfboards were stored. All the improvements of the Club were made before the Second World War. The Club played a significant role in the early resort development. Like the Moana, local residents regarded the Club as an elite institution. And the Club seems to have been more restricted to the public than the Moana. Yet, establishing the Waikiki Beach Patrol consisting mostly of Hawaiian beachboys, the Outrigger Canoe Club became more familiar to residents as well as tourists.

On the whole, local reactions to the new development of Waikiki in the early 20th century were favorable, and residents were interestingly assimilated into the resort environment. After all, the early development was limited to a small section of Waikiki even though it was a primary beach front location. It did not affect the life style of the residents very much, and Waikiki remained essentially a rural community.

Sadao Hikida, who was born in 1914 in Waikiki, expresses a macrocosmic view of Waikiki around 1920 very well. Hikida saw Waikiki as "a productive agricultural and aqua cultural area, with numerous banana patches, watercress patches, fish ponds, duck ponds, rice paddies ... operated by farmers of Chinese ancestry." Prior to the construction of the Ala Wai Canal in the early 1920s,
these farms were fed by the Moana and Palolo Streams. A heavy rain often caused flooding in the entire section of Waikiki, which troubled some places where the water level rose to the knee or waist. Due to poor drainage, the stagnant water remained for several days. Hikida also recalls Waikiki as an open space "with quite a few empty lots, family homes, few shops, and single or two-story apartments."63 Kalakaua Avenue was the main street "lined with many coconut trees, date palms, and shower trees," which was the center of activity. Except for the Manoa and later the Royal Hawaiian, no tall building structures were visible in the area. According to Hikida, the eastern section of Waikiki was occupied by non-Caucasian people who owned the stores on the mountain side of Kalakaua Avenue.64 This indicates that the wealthy white elite dominated the beach front area while other local people resided on the mauka (or mountain) side of Kalakaua Avenue. Hikida reflects the old days of Waikiki as follows:

Waikiki, as I recall in my childhood days, was a place of beauty and tranquillity. There was no concrete jungle (high rises) to obstruct one's view, nor the hustling harassment or traffic congestion. The people were more at leisure and friendlier. The air was cleaner and fresh and one could smell the street fragrance of the flowers when the breezes blew. One could see the sunrise in the morning and enjoy the beautiful sunset at evening tide. We could see the beautiful rainbow over Manoa Valley and the ocean.65
Hikida's description of Waikiki clearly shows that Waikiki as a whole had not developed yet as a resort area in the 1910s and the early 1920s. The gorgeous Moana and other magnificent mansions were located on the beach front dominated by the wealthy elite. The resort was an integral part of Waikiki, but it did not overwhelm the rural landscape of the district. Local residents probably regarded the elite paradise as an interesting place to see and visit. But the wave of developments would gradually change their views toward Waikiki.

The gorgeous Moana Hotel and magnificent natural environment of Waikiki set the stage for inviting affluent visitors. Beachboys and other mythmakers were ready to serve them. With a perfect setting and perfect service, the wealthy elite enjoyed a resort paradisal life at Waikiki under tropical foliage or on the splendid beach. Restoring peace of mind and comfort of body, the affluent visitors discovered a idyllic refuge at Waikiki.

Local residents observed the new developments of Waikiki with curiosity and interest. The seashore resort primarily served the privileged Caucasian class, but it did not exclude native Hawaiians. They were somehow intermingled with the white elite in the paradisal landscape. As a whole, Waikiki remained as a rural, agricultural community, that was not much affected by the early developments of beach front properties. Thus, the beginning of paradise-making was favorably accepted by the local community. The development of the resort paradise sailed off to ride on the gentle, ever-shining surf of Waikiki.
1 “Waikiki Beach,” Paradise of the Pacific 24 Nov. 1911: 15.
4 “Music Hath Charms,” 36.
9 “Honolulu’s,” 17.
10 “Honolulu’s,” 18.
11 “Honolulu’s,” 18.
12 “Big Crowd Rides out to Beach,” Pacific Commercial Advertiser 2 February 1903, 1.
14 “Waikiki,” 23.
20 “Waikiki Beach,” Paradise of the Pacific 24 Nov. 1911: 16.
22 “Waikiki Beach,” Paradise of the Pacific 24 Nov. 1911: 15.
23 “Waikiki Beach,” 15.
24 “Waikiki Beach,” 15.
28 Rogers, 31.
31 Ann Goodwin Winslow’s comments on May 21, 1910 on the Scrapbook of the Moana Hotel.
33 Ann Goodwin Winslow’s comments on Nov. 14, 1908 on the Moana displays.
34 Mary Lydia Bartette’s comments in 1926 on the Moana displays.
35 Ann Goodwin Winslow’s comments on Jan. 8, 1909 on the Moana displays.
38 Rogers, 31.
40 Nell Bradley Elder, "Waikiki Magic," Paradise of the Pacific 34 Nov. 1921: 5.
47 Akana, 21.
49 Ernstberg, 117.
51 Fullard-Leo, 1056.
54 McKinzie, 1179.
58 Akana, 39.
60 Cook, 1137.
61 Steiner, 88.
63 Hikida, 969.
64 Hikida, 970-971.
65 Hikida, 968.
CHAPTER VIII

THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE OF WAIKIKI: 1920-1949

In the 1920s, Waikiki's physical landscape underwent a decisive transformation from an agricultural to a resort area. This chapter focuses upon two major changes--the Waikiki reclamation project and the establishment of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel--which solidified the character of Waikiki as a resort paradise for the next 30 years. In addition, the primary factors influencing the physical transformation will be examined.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ALA WAI CANAL

The early beachfront developments in Waikiki gradually changed its character toward that of an elite resort community; yet Waikiki, as a whole, managed to maintain its rural landscape. (See Figure 7.) Nearly 85% of present Waikiki--most of the lands either on the west side of Lewers Street or the mountain side of Kalakaua Avenue--were utilized for wetland agriculture or aquaculture before 1920. The native Hawaiians had introduced the wetland agricultural system as early as 1400, creating taro fields and fish ponds. In the 1830s and 1840s, the decline of the native population due to imported foreign diseases resulted in the deterioration of the wetlands; but in the 1860s and 1870s, former Asian plantation workers (both Chinese and Japanese) reintroduced wetland
Figure 7. Kalakaua Avenue around 1920. Bishop Museum. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 72.
agriculture by leasing the lands to produce rice in the fields and to raise fish and ducks in the ponds. The agricultural system was sustained by three major streams—Piinaio, Apuakehau, and Kuekaunahi—that drained Makiki, Manoa, and Palolo valleys. The three bodies of water emptied into the ocean through the area of Waikiki, and the Apuakehau in fact reached the ocean between the Royal Hawaiian and the Moana hotels.¹

Waikiki Beach was usually kept clean since the silts from the hills settled in the wetlands.² However, the successive resort developments—including construction of the Waikiki road system as well as of a number of residences and hotels on the beach frontage—hindered the natural drainage system of fresh water flowing from the mountains to the ocean. As a result, the water in the wetlands became stagnant, and the residents regarded the areas as unsanitary.³ Moreover, the overflow of water occasionally reached the beach itself, which annoyed tourists as well as residents. The conflict between wetland agriculture and the tourist industry was reported in The Pacific Commercial Advertiser in 1913, when tourists complained about the tarnished condition of the beach in front of the Moana and Seaside hotels and the Outrigger Canoe Club due to the overflow of the restricted lagoon waters to the ocean. Chinese farmers, who had rice patches up along the Apuakehau stream, dug a trench on the beach to drain the water. The strong current overflowed the lagoon waters, creating a small river; but the sea water intermixed with the muck forced bathers to abandon the sea. The tourists brought an official protest to the promotion committee,
demanding that "something be done to prevent a future display of river sweepings in what has been advertised as one of the most romantic and perfect temperatured bathing places in the world."

Thus, the wetland agriculture proved to be a serious obstacle to future resort development in Waikiki.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, agriculture and aquaculture were productive and profitable in Waikiki. Rice fields took over more than 500 acres, and Waikiki was regarded as one of the most significant rice producing areas in the Islands. There were fifteen fishponds in Waikiki, which equaled the number of all of Molokai. Fourteen of these ponds were commercially used. Yet the future of Waikiki was to lie not in the growth of agriculture and aquaculture but in the development of a resort community. The political and economic elites of Honolulu decided, in fact, to eliminate the wetlands as hazardous to the creation of the resort paradise.

The initial effort to remove Waikiki's rice fields and fishponds was made as early as 1896, when the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii passed Act 61 designed "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." Under the Act, if the Board of Health judged any land in Honolulu unsanitary, the owner of the land was forced to improve it as his own expense. In case the owner did not engage in such improvement, the government would undertake the reclamation. Then the cost of the project would be covered by a lien attached to the land, which would be sold to the highest bidder. This system
provided the affluent residents with great opportunities to acquire the valuable lands. Hence, as Barry S. Nakamura points out, although Act 61 aimed to solve sanitation problems, in fact it provided a reason for the political elite to eliminate wetlands in Honolulu and to seize properties from those not affluent enough to improve them.  

After the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, Act 61 became Chapter 83 of the Revised Law of Hawaii (1905), whose section 1025 stated:

Whenever in the opinion of the Board of Health any tract or parcel of land situated in the District of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, shall be deleterious to the public health in consequence of 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, or for other reason in an unsanitary or dangerous condition, it shall be the duty of the Board of Health to report such fact to the Superintendent of Public Works together with a brief recommendation of the operation deemed advisable to improve such land.  

In 1906, Lucius E. Pinkham, president of the Board of Health, issued a report planning the reclamation of the Waikiki district on the basis of Chapter 83. The report presented two major objectives for the grand project. First, it aimed to solve sanitary and health problems in the low-lying Waikiki area. Second, the project intended to create a privileged resort community.

Pinkham regarded the Waikiki district as "being deleterious to the public health"--"being low, covered and partly covered with
water," and "being in an unsanitary and dangerous condition." He also insisted that "as this particular land is encroached upon, it will become an intense and constant menace to the health and every other sound interest of the city of Honolulu."9 According to the report, the Waikiki district of 687 acres was situated "below a five-foot grade above sea-level, utterly incapable of surface or sewer drainage and threatening present and future public health."10 The discussion of the unsanitary and unhealthy conditions of Waikiki sufficiently met the legal requirements to eliminate the wetlands for agriculture and aquaculture.

Still, Pinkham hoped to achieve a more ambitious goal: that is, the creation of an upscale resort community to attract the upper classes of the mainland as well as of Honolulu. Pinkham recognized that Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands "possess the combination of incomparable climate and scenery," which would irresistibly attract world travelers. He also declared that Honolulu owned "all that nature can grant for a charming place of residence."11 It is apparent that the natural environment of Honolulu fascinated Pinkham; but he was not satisfied with its present conditions. He desired "to intelligently and artistically improve and take advantage of the opportunities (nature) has provided."12 What he intended to create was an ideal "middle landscape" (in Leo Marx's phrase) by eliminating the wilderness elements. With such an admirable environment, Pinkham believed, Honolulu would attract "a most desirable population" or "persons and residents of private fortune, who seek an agreeable climate and surroundings, and who expend
large already acquired incomes rather than those who expect the community to furnish them the opportunity of earning a livelihood and even that of the accumulation of wealth. In other words, the resort community that Pinkham envisioned was intended to serve the leisure class that did not have to work for a living. Within the city of Honolulu, Pinkham viewed Waikiki as a distinctive locale which provided an alluring ocean life. He also recognized the potential of the district to become an exclusive residential area:

Other than a few lots on Kalakaua Avenue there are in the Waikiki district hundreds of acres that could be made, at comparatively small cost, exceedingly attractive and desirable by a comprehensive plan under governmental control that must otherwise remain of only agricultural value for rice and banana culture or valueless, or be gradually occupied by a class of population that limited means force onto undesirable and unsanitary land.

Pinkham clearly found no value in the agricultural use of the land, and indeed despised the immigrant Asian farmers. In his zeal to create a new resort community, Pinkham proposed to eradicate "all objectionable features and neighbors."

Prior to the actual planning for the reclamation of the Waikiki district, Pinkham conducted a series of borings throughout the area, including Kapiolani Park. As a result, he wrote, "to install an adequate sewer system and proper surface drainage, the entire Waikiki district, and some adjacent land, under consideration, requires to be raised to a grade ranging from five to seven feet
above sea level." As for the filling material, Pinkham had long favored "the rice and banana fields and swamps themselves." In order to install a proper drainage system for the Waikiki area and to reclaim the wetlands, Pinkham planned to form a lagoon or waterway, 250 feet in width and 20 to 28 feet in depth, and 22,763 feet in length. He also suggested dredging an additional 4,900 feet through the reef to the deep sea. Moreover, in the original scheme, the lagoon started at the Beach section, passing through Kapiolani Park toward the present waterway with the Makee inlet also reaching the sea at the makai (ocean) end of the present Kapahulu Avenue. Under this conception of the lagoon, the water would flow smoothly and be cleaned constantly by sea water and surface drainage. At high tide the closure of gates at the Beach and Makee entrances would allow the water to move toward the Ala Moana end. Pinkham had already proved the effect of the system by a nine-month experiment using automatic tide gates.

In addition to the physical effect of the lagoon, Pinkham referred to its use and atmosphere. He wished to use the waterway for pleasure yachts or racing boats. Illuminating the lagoon and boulevards on both sides with electric lights was also suggested. What Pinkham intended to create was "a quite marvelously beautiful, unique district, a Venice in the midst of the Pacific." By building such a lagoon, Pinkham envisioned an environment filled with the marvelous scene and fascinating attraction which could be paralleled nowhere else in the world.
In order to carry out this ambitious plan, it was virtually impossible to rely solely on the capacities of private owners. Pinkham suggested that "the government, by its right of eminent domain, shall in an equitable and just manner acquire such ownership and rights in said district as shall enable it to transform it into an absolutely sanitary, beautiful and unique district." Therefore, the development of the resort paradise through the reclamation project depended upon the decisions of Honolulu's political and economic powers. They appeared to be in favor of the project, but such a huge public enterprise would take some time to materialize.

In 1913 Pinkham became governor of the Territory of Hawaii and did not miss the opportunity to execute his plan for the reclamation of Waikiki. During his four-year term Pinkham established political support for the project, and in 1918 the Hawaii legislature appropriated $100,000 to excavate the canal. Two years later, the Hawaiian Dredging Company signed a contract to create the canal, and in 1921 the Waikiki reclamation project actually got underway.

Lucius E. Pinkham, who was born in Massachusetts in 1850, had arrived in Honolulu in 1891 to build a coal handling machine for use in the harbor. He spent three years on the project for the Oahu Railway and Land Company, owned by Benjamin Franklin Dillingham, and then left the islands. In 1898, Pinkham came back to Hawaii and took a job as a cashier for Pacific Hardware Company, another Dillingham firm. After serving as manager of the Dillingham
company, Pinkham became president of the Territorial Board of Health in 1904 and remained in that office until 1909 when he once again departed the islands. In 1913 President Woodrow Wilson appointed him as the fourth governor of Hawaii. Despite strong opposition to the nomination due to his lack of residential status in Hawaii and his inconsistent support of the Democratic Party, Pinkham was confirmed by the Senate as the new governor of Hawaii.  

The Hawaiian Dredging Company was founded in 1902 by Walter Francis Dillingham, eldest son of Benjamin Dillingham. Benjamin had already established the enormous and prosperous Dillingham empire through sugar plantations and railroads. Walter Dillingham decided to expand a new venture against his father's advice. The Oahu Railway and Land Company already owned a dredge to improve the Honolulu Harbor. Around the turn of the century, the company engaged in dredging 600,000 cubic yards of material from the harbor to improve dock and business facilities. In 1902, Walter's company acquired the dredge used by the Oahu Railway and Land Company. After that, the Hawaiian Dredging Company dominated major projects for harbor and land reclamation in Hawaii. It is interesting to note that Pinkham had a close relationship with the Dillingham interests. Even after he assumed a public office in the Board of Health, he retained business ties with his previous employer for some time. This was another indication that interlocking interests in Honolulu exerted a decisive influence upon the changing landscape of Waikiki.
In the first stage of the canal project the filling material dredged out of the ocean at the Ala Moana end of the canal was dispatched to the location of the present McKinley High School. Additional fill was utilized for the reclamation of the wetlands on both sides of the canal. By June 30, 1924, the entire length of the canal had been completed, but a lack of funds prevented the canal from reaching the ocean at the eastern end. In 1928 the wetlands of Fort DeRussy were mostly filled with the material dredged out of the ocean reef. With this work done, the reclamation project of Waikiki officially came to an end. (See Figure 8.)

The construction of the Ala Wai Canal and the reclamation of the surrounding areas drastically transformed the environment of Waikiki. The project resulted in the creation of a wealthy resort community, satisfying both residential and tourist demands, out of the wetlands used for agriculture and aquaculture. After completion of the canal, The Honolulu Advertiser published a special edition regarding the changing landscape of Waikiki on October 17, 1928. In the 16-page issue, the effects of the reclamation project were detailed at length. One article reported that the Ala Wai Canal made it possible to reclaim "a vast area of swamp and low lands, that were worthless before except for propagating ducks." Many supporters of the project stated that the elimination of the wetlands contributed to the health of the citizens of Honolulu. In addition, as the article indicated, the reclaimed lands provided a large area for new building enterprises. With the development of the road along the ocean side of the canal, residential buildings had begun to be built along the
Figure 8. The Ala Wai Canal around 1930. Hawaii State Archives. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 93.
street. The reclaimed areas also met the demands of office space. The article stated that the reclamation project created "areas pregnant with possibilities for future developments not only of Waikiki, but of all Honolulu." It also credited the efforts of Lucius E. Pinkham, "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." The author obviously anticipated the future resort development of the reclaimed lands of Waikiki. Thus, the Waikiki reclamation project opened up a huge territory for future residential and hotel development. (See Figure 9.)

It is not surprising that realtors discovered a golden opportunity in this development. Charles R. Frazier, president of Town and Country Homes, Ltd., exclaimed that "Waikiki is destined to become the most attractive section of Honolulu." His company was involved in the residential development of Kalakaua Acres, whose advertisements stated:

Beautiful Kalakaua Acres, directly in the path of the trade winds and the cool mountain breezes that sweep down from Manoa Valley. Fronting on the Ala Wai Canal and Kalakaua Avenue this residential property will be Hawaii's Riviera--with the completion of proposed developments, the Ala Wai Boulevard and Aloha Inn--Kalakaua Acres will without doubt be the most desirable property in Hawaii.

Another realtor, Herman V. Von Holt, also foresaw the future growth of the Waikiki district. He pointed out that the construction
Figure 9. Reclaimed land in Waikiki in 1933. Army Corps of Engineers. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 107.
of the canal and the reclamation of the wetlands had triggered the
development of Waikiki, and that the project would result in a vast
increase in real estate values in the area. According to Von Holt,
"property that was worth $500 an acre for agricultural purposes and
tuck farming has been filled, drained and developed with roads and
other modern conveniences so that it now is worth from $1.50 to $4
a square foot for business property and from 65 cents to $1.50 as
residential lots." The astronomical growth of property values was
also echoed in the editorial section of The Honolulu Advertiser on
October 17, 1928, where it was declared that a four-piece beach
property assessed at $100,395 in 1923 was valued at $348,590 five
years later. As another example of skyrocketing property values in
Waikiki, the paper noted that sixty-two acres of the wetlands
assessed for only $500 in 1923 had now become worth $16,358. These
reports make clear that the new Waikiki district was intended
to serve the needs of the wealthy after the reclamation project. In
order to attract affluent customers, Von Holt's company stressed the
promising future of Waikiki in an advertisement:

The future holds ever greater promise--it is a recognized
fact that some day Kalakaua Avenue will be the Fifth
Avenue of Honolulu. Old stores, shops and hotels have
been remodeled and improved, new stores and buildings
have been built, are being built and ... Another new and
beautiful hotel is planned and construction will start
within a few weeks. Everywhere and on every hand the
growth of Waikiki is evidenced.
The key term in this was "the Fifth Avenue of Honolulu," a vision which was calculated to inspire the imagination of wealthy travelers. The promise of Waikiki was also illuminated in the editorial section of The Advertiser. Regarding the Ala Wai Canal as at that time merely "a trench in a barren plain of glaring coral," the editor predicted that, with beautification, "the whole Waikiki area of the future is destined to become one of the loveliest residence districts in the world."\textsuperscript{33} Thus, the reclamation of the rice fields and duck ponds provided the impetus to create a prosperous residential district in Waikiki.

The reclamation project not only paved the way for the creation of a new residential district, but it helped the expansion of resort developments in Waikiki. As mentioned earlier, early resort-making had been limited to the beach-front area before 1928. But the completion of the Ala Wai and the reclamation of the adjacent lands signaled the opportunity for hotel developers to expand their businesses off Kalakaua Avenue facing the canal. In 1928, the construction of Aloha Inn, the first hotel development on Ala Wai Boulevard, was announced. Walter Gustin, who foresaw the future of Waikiki as a world renowned resort, acquired the lands adjacent to the canal, and planned to develop a hotel with a different concept. His proposed hotel on the European plan was intended to serve both tourists and residents by featuring established Hawaiian traditions and hospitality. The 200-room hostelry would include "large lanais, a cool artistic lounge, a colorful sunken garden, a unique marine dining hall." Gustin chose the name Aloha Inn because "aloha is
symbolic of love, peace, joy, harmony, goodwill, tolerance and hospitality." As the name suggested, Gustin did not attempt to reproduce an elaborate hotel on the beach-side model, but rather to create "informality, a homelike atmosphere" in the new hotel on the Ala Wai.34 Unfortunately, the Aloha Inn project did not materialize due to economic difficulties caused by the crash of the Stock Market in October 1929. But the Aloha Inn concept clearly marked a future possibility for resort development in the district.

The construction of the Ala Wai Canal and the subsequent reclamation of the area transformed the landscape of Waikiki from a wetland agricultural district to an upscale resort community attracting residents and tourists alike. Lucius Pinkham's dream became reality 22 years after his initial plan. But, since the canal did not connect with the sea at the Kapiolani end as specified in the original scheme, the water did not flow properly enough to avoid stagnation and siltation. In June 1929, Paradise of the Pacific reported that "the public is warned that the waters are so unclean that they are unsafe for bathers." In order to secure public health and to encourage civic beautification, the magazine suggested that the immediate opening of the canal to the sea at Makee Road was indispensable. The author of the article pointed out the esthetic importance of the canal as well as the drainage functions when he mentioned, "here is a splendid waterway for the pleasure of boaters, an ideal race course for oarsmen, a picturesque scenic attraction for motorists and pedestrians who travel its shores ..."35 He clearly envisioned Pinkham's dream of a "Venice of the Pacific." In
Pinkham's vision, beautification of the canal and its surrounding area was essential for the creation of an affluent resort community. But, unfortunately, the Ala Wai Canal never fully came to represent the original scheme, and continues to this day to cause problems of pollution and contamination. Nevertheless, the physical setting created by the canal exerted a tremendous impact upon the future of Waikiki, and the history of Waikiki entered a new chapter with the construction of the Ala Wai Canal.

THE ROYAL HAWAIIAN HOTEL AND THE EMERGENCE OF A WORLD-CLASS RESORT

The establishment of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on February 1st, 1927, epitomized the next chapter of Waikiki following the construction of the Ala Wai Canal. The "Pink Palace" was a dominant physical presence on the beach frontage, surpassing even the Moana, and it rivaled world resort hotels designed for the select few. (See Figure 10.) The Honolulu Star Bulletin commented that the new Royal Hawaiian Hotel would be "the finest resort hostelry of its kind in America," and that its massive structure on a 15-acre property represented "the largest project of its kind ever undertaken in the territory." With the opening of the Royal, at last, Waikiki unmistakably acquired the status of a worldwide resort destination.

The Matson Navigation Company, founded by Captain William Matson in 1882, played an enormous role in the creation of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Matson began a freight service between San
Figure 10. The Royal Hawaiian and Moana Hotels in 1933. Army Corps of Engineers. Photocopy from The View from Diamond Head, 94-5.
Francisco and Hilo with a little 200-ton sailing boat named *Emma Claudina*. His company at first competed with the Oceanic Steamship Line owned by California sugar tycoon Claus Spreckels, but Matson began to dominate sugar shipments after the Big Five companies favored him. Matson eventually bought out the Oceanic and grew rapidly with passenger service as well as freight. William Matson had envisioned a new enterprise incorporating both commodities with handling service; for instance, he aspired to own oil wells and storage tanks, and to ship the oil. Without realizing his goals, Matson passed away in 1917, but the new management soon succeeded in carrying out its founder's dream through tourist-related ventures.

Edward Tenney was then president of Castle & Cooke, one of the Big Five companies which controlled the islands' economy pursuant to the growth of the sugar industry. In 1925 Tenney was also president of the Matson Navigation Company. William Roth was a former San Francisco stockbroker who married Lurline Matson, the founder's daughter, and became manager of the Matson firm. Roth had a vision for the growth of the tourist industry in Hawaii, and he knew that the affluent traveler sought luxury both en route and upon arrival. Hence, Roth proposed to build a luxury cruise ship to bring the tourists to Hawaii and simultaneously to provide a grand hotel to accommodate them. Tenney responded favorably to Roth's proposal, and the management team authorized the construction of *Malolo* (flying fish) in 1925. This most luxurious cruise ship in the Pacific cost $7.5 million and accommodated 650 passengers. The
Malolo was scheduled to cruise between San Francisco and Honolulu twice in every 28 days. To that end Tenney and Roth arrived in Honolulu to select a site for the new hotel. There were then two major hotels in the downtown area: the Alexander Young and the Blaisdell, which even together did not fully satisfy the tastes of affluent tourists. Waikiki had five hotels in operation at that time: the old Moana, the Seaside, the Halekulani, the Pierpoint, and the Waikiki Inn. The first two properties were owned by the Territorial Hotel Company Ltd. Conrad C. von Hamm, president of the company was considering expanding the Moana Hotel to meet the increase of visitors. The Matson management team chose the old Royal Coconut Grove of Helumoa, then occupied by the Seaside Hotel, as a desirable site for the ambitious hotel project. Helumoa was a historic place which once had been the center of the government of Oahu, and later served as a playground for Hawaiian royalty. On March 16, 1925, William Roth announced a $2 million-hotel project at a luncheon meeting of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau.

A new corporation was thereupon established by amalgamating Matson with von Hamm's Territorial Hotel Company, and it took the latter's name. Castle & Cooke was intimately involved with the new company, which selected Edward Tenney as president. On April 28, 1925, Frank C. Atherton, first vice president of the newly structured Territorial Hotel Company, announced that the company had obtained a 50-year lease for the hotel site from the Bishop Estate, and that it had also leased 600 acres of land in the Waialae area to construct a golf course.
The firm of Warren & Wetmore of New York was engaged to design the new hotel. The architectural firm was well-known for its major hotel projects such as New York's Ritz-Carlton, Biltmore, Belmont, Vanderbilt, Commodore, and so on. On June 30, 1925, William D. Saunders was sent from New York as a supervising architect for the construction of the Royal. Moreover, Ralph Stevens of Santa Barbara, California, a nationally renowned landscape architect, was chosen to improve 12 acres of the hotel grounds to create a tropical garden, and Seth Raynor was assigned to design an 18 hole golf link in the Waialae area. Finally, the N.W. Ayer advertising agency was engaged to promote Matson's new luxurious commodities throughout the nation and around the world.

Construction started in October 1925. During the 18-month construction period, Alexander G. Budge, Secretary of the Territorial Hotel Company, who later became president of Castle & Cooke, was assigned to observe the progress of the entire project. Since he had no previous experience in resort hotel development, Budge learned the new venture through a tour of resort hotels in the United States and Canada prior to the construction. With his engineering background, Budge was doubtful about the unstable site selected for the structure. But Budge had no authority to change the plan, and the New York architects were confident in their ability to build a solid six-story structure. Unfortunately, however, the nearly-completed structure started to sink into the swamp. Admiral R.R. Harris, a retired navy engineer, was immediately assigned to solve the problem. Thanks to his efforts, the Royal Hawaiian was saved.
from sinking into the quagmire. With 35,000 barrels of cement, 75 miles of wire and cable, 50 tons of stucco and 9,000 gallons of paint, stain and lacquer, the new resort hotel was finally completed and readied for operation. The price tag of the largest construction project in Hawaii at that time eventually reached the neighborhood of $4 million.

The architecture of the Royal Hawaiian expressed the tastes and desires of affluent Americans in the 1920s. The building, some 470 feet long and 300 feet wide, reflected the Spanish-Moorish style with the additional flavor of California mission design in the 150 foot-high cupolas or bell towers. One of the architects explained why they chose this type of design in the South Seas as follows:

It was the time of Rudolph Valentino. Valentino was always playing sheik in North Africa or wearing gaucho boots in Spain. He was very romantic—the idol of millions of women. America was very Spanish in that period—Spanish shawls draped over pianos and around women's shoulders. Spanish style houses and buildings were everywhere. Thus a Spanish-Moorish Royal.

The hotel contained 400 rooms with baths including 50 suites. The present Regency Room was then a theater-ballroom decorated with barges floating down the Nile, while the site of what was to be the Monarch Room was occupied by the Persian Room, an outdoor dining room. The gallery had a French flavor and rugs from Czechoslovakia. Thus, along with the exterior, the interior of the building was full of international touches. Yet close examination of
the structure reveals numerous local features. First, extensive use of lanais and porches are seen throughout the entire building. Moreover, the lounge (230 feet long and 40 feet wide) has huge openings through arched windows, facing the beach and the ocean. The ballroom has three sides open, and the dining room facing the beach and the ocean also has three sides open. With the use of lanais and the emphasis on openness, the structure at least attempted to adapt to the local environment.

The landscaped garden of the Royal was one of the most fascinating features of the resort. The Honolulu Star Bulletin commented that "Like some great coral pink jewel within a green setting, the new Royal Hawaiian hotel today is embowered in what is gradually becoming one of the islands' loveliest gardens." From one point of view, the verdant Hawaiian setting overwhelmed the somewhat incongruous structure of Spanish-Moorish style. Ralph Stevens, who collaborated with a local horticulturist, Water M. Giffard, attempted to preserve the old coconut trees and to give them a dominant role for the layout of the entire grounds. He made every possible effort to maintain and enhance a Hawaiian atmosphere by using local materials in the creation of the tropical garden. As a result, the numerous coconut trees and Hawaiian plants perfectly blended with the velvety green lawns, which created an impressive "middle landscape"--a garden between the metropolis and the wilderness.

A guest approaching the hotel from Kalakaua Avenue would be captivated by the magnificent tropical garden. A driveway passed
through the foliage of coconut trees until the hotel building came into view. Then it swung around the structure to the main entrance, where a large monkey pod tree and a banyan would delight the arriving guest. With banana trees and traveler's palms, birds of paradise and colored dracaena planted in the area, the main entrance vividly expressed the local Hawaiian atmosphere.

The west section of the grounds was occupied by recreational areas containing a children's playground and bowling green, golf putting greens and croquet courts. The same area also provided a garden setting with lawns and various flowering trees. Meanwhile, the east section expressed a picturesque Hawaiian atmosphere. In the midst of a coconut grove, a Hawaiian village was developed with a native grass hut and other "authentic" features. The east court was to offer entertainment for the guests on afternoons and evenings. It expressed a semi-naturalistic atmosphere with native stone and flagstone paving. Thus, a guest driving into the hotel or strolling through the hotel grounds would have the experience of entering a veritable "Pacific paradise."

The physical setting alone--architecture and landscaped garden together with a splendid beach and the sparkling ocean--could not make the Royal one of the finest resort hotels in the world. The new hostelry needed also to satisfy the needs and desires of its affluent guests. *Paradise of the Pacific* stated that the Royal Hawaiian "does not offer beauty as its principal attribute, however, but has a service that will bear favorable comparison with the very best, being up-to-date in everything." The success of the hospitality business
depends largely upon the services the hotel would provide. The man who was responsible for it was Arthur Benaglia, a true master of the art. On October 5, 1925, the Territorial Hotel Company announced that Benaglia would assume the position of general manager at the Royal. Born in Milan, Italy, Benaglia grew up in a family owning a traditional hotel. In his childhood he began to learn the hospitality business and how to provide for the comforts of the transient traveler. Leaving his native land, Benaglia worked for many hotels in Europe—Switzerland, Germany, England and Scotland. Prior to his arrival in the United States, he completed his apprenticeship in the Canadian-Pacific resort hotels. At Banff, Benaglia had worked on hotel construction with the architects, Warren & Wetmore, who designed the Royal Hawaiian. After leaving Banff, he managed two hotels in New Orleans. The owners of the Royal heard of the legendary experiences and reputation of Benaglia, and hired him as the head of the hotel staff.

Benaglia possessed not only great management skills but also excellent taste in hotel equipment and furnishings. He was largely responsible for the selection of furniture, draperies, accessories, and other items providing comfort and beauty. As for managing 300 staff, Benaglia chose many reliable people who used to work with him since he knew they possessed sufficient qualifications for the magnificent hotel. He believed that the key to the success of managing a large hotel lay in a staff of capable and thoroughly qualified assistants. Constantly consulting with his lieutenants, Benaglia paid personal attention to every detail of work and
attempted to grasp what was happening in the hotel at every moment. Benaglia knew every detail of the new resort since he had observed progress of the construction almost from the beginning. According to him, the Royal possessed a unique structure, a beautiful tropical setting, an abundance of features providing comfort, convenience and utility. With his intimate understanding of the Royal and broad experience in resort hotels, Arthur Benaglia successfully presented a paradisal resort experience for the affluent guest for the next 18 years.

On January 31, 1927, The Honolulu Star Bulletin issued a special 80-page report to honor the grand opening of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. The opening festivity on February 1 attracted 1,200 people, including Governor Wallace R. Farrington, at a charge of $10 a ticket. The guests for this major event of the year in Honolulu consisted mostly of the local haole elite along with a few native Hawaiians represented by Princess Abigail Kawanakoa.

The program was planned to start at 6:30 P.M., with a concert by the Royal Hawaiian Band led by Henri Berger. It welcomed the arriving guests in the south portico adjacent to the main lounge. For about an hour guests had an opportunity to listen to Berger's music while looking over the hotel properties. A black-tie dinner was also scheduled to begin at 6:30 P.M. In order to serve the large number of guests, three hours were allocated for the lavish event. The primary feature of the opening festivity starting at 9:30 was a Hawaiian pageant, expressing "a colorful and semi-barbaric picturization of a historic episode." Arranged and directed by
Princess Kawananakoa, the pageant reproduced the scene of the landing of Kamehameha the Great upon the shores of Waikiki. The war canoes approached the beach in front of the hotel from the ocean, and torches illuminated the historic scene. The pageant was full of the costumes, weapons, music and dancing of ancient Hawaiian tradition. After the event, dancing began at 10:30 P.M. in the ballroom and continued until after midnight.61

The Hawaiian Pageant was a well publicized event. The Honolulu Star Bulletin reported one day earlier that "More than a hundred years of island history will roll back tomorrow night when the Royal Hawaiian hotel is opened. Old Hawaii and new Hawaii will meet and mingle in the picturesque celebration that will mark the completion of this hostelry beside the sea."62 As expected, the pageant was a stunning success. In an editorial of February 2, The Star Bulletin commented that "Much of 'old Hawaii' has been marvelously and satisfactorily preserved in the building of the new Royal Hawaiian hotel. That is an outstanding impression brought from the gorgeous, elaborate opening of the great hostelry last evening."63 The pageant provided residents and visitors with "a stately, dignified, strikingly colorful tableau of the olden days," and the event, "rich in its depths and tones of colors, dramatic in its broad sweep of movement, appealing in the music of Hawaii that accompanied the regal ceremony," gave them an unforgettable memory of the night. As the editorial put it, the opening festivity including the pageant was more than a social event.64 It expressed


the new culture of Waikiki which blended the old tropical setting into the modern, sophisticated resort of the time.

Among the 1,200 guests invited to the opening ceremony, a few notable writers and reporters remarked memorably upon the festivities. Don Blanding, a fashionable poet, artist and writer, described the scene of the pageant: "Last night, across a narrow line of seawall, Hawaii's yesterday faced her tomorrow. Torch lights from the sea fought with search lights from the land. Bronze feather-capped warriors and flower-wreathed women chanted age-old songs of the past to satin-and-sequined women and tuxedoed men." Blanding lamented that modern culture would eventually overwhelm the traditional culture. But he knew that "Honolulu, ever hospitable to the newcomer, greeted progress in the guise of the new Royal Hawaiian hotel with smiles and aloha." He portrayed a "gay, festive, kaleidoscopic, phantasmagoric" event which implied "a touch of Hollywood with a dash of Main Street spice with Moana of the South Seas." Paying keen attention to the guests of high society and describing their attire and attitude, Blanding realized that the opening ceremony was a grand social ceremony of the elite class in Honolulu. He anticipated that a series of similar events would follow the festive opening, recalling "the old monarchical days when gorgeousness and gaiety went hand in hand." The Royal helped to maintain the tradition of social community among the privileged class "in a setting of unparalleled loveliness."

Moreover, Blanding closely observed the features of the new hotel. Typical Hawaiian aspects were seen in its spaciousness and
openness. He discovered glamour without oversophistication and beauty with decoration, and also recognized that the architects had efficiently created vistas and doorways by including the sky, palms, and light effects. He must have been impressed with the blending of the natural, tropical environment and the modern opulent structure.

Journalist Howard D. Case viewed the Royal Hawaiian as "one of America's most palatial resort hotels," which would soon become "the mecca of countless thousands of travelers from the ends of the earth, and the rendezvous of those who are the leaders in Honolulu's social life." Case also recognized that the Royal would serve primarily the upper classes of Honolulu as well as those of the mainland. Moreover, Case echoed the view of Blanding that the opening ceremony conveyed "the perfect and colorful commingling of the old and the new in Hawaii." Above all, Case discovered a blending of modern structure and ancient tropical setting in the new resort: "Modern artisans, working in steel, plaster and tile, erected the stately pile of coral-pink stucco in a setting where typically Hawaiian foliage abounds, and upon a site which, in the dim ages aforetime, was the playground of island kings and chiefs." The opening night was "a typical semi-tropical evening, with stars hanging like lighted lamps above the fronds of the age old coconut trees." In such an exotic setting, Case rhapsodized that "the handsome building, aglitter with the subdued light from thousands of incandescents, sparkled and glowed as if the modern genii, in rubbing the magic lamp of invention and creative art, had caused to appear there on the beach
not just a hotel but a fairy castle." The magical structure in that vivid setting deeply stirred his poetic imagination, and conveyed the veteran reporter gently into the realm of illusion.

Loraine Kuck, the society editor of *The Star Bulletin*, described the moment of entering the hotel property: "The huge building glowed and gleamed among the palm trees and the splendid long, wide curving sweep of the drive suspended the climax of arriving at the porte cochere just enough to make it dramatic." Her excitement upon finally reaching the main entrance could be felt in her descriptions. Inside the building the main ballroom captured Kuck's eyes. She noticed that despite its magnificent proportions, the galleria did not convey any effect of oppressive or empty space, because the high ceiling provided openness and coolness even when the floor was packed with guests. In addition, Kuck pointed out that the ballroom, decorated with a floating sea of flowers, offered an informal atmosphere which served as "the chief charm of the resort." The Royal was a grand hotel without excessive magnificence, and it contained a splendid background without oppressive splendor. Kuck stated that "it is a place where people of true culture and simplicity will feel that they have found a place to play, to step out of the ordinary, and really to have the good time which their dreams have promised them in these South Sea islands of romance." The Royal was, indeed, a resort paradise where the visitor might heal, relax, refresh and rejuvenate himself. It provided a life of leisure and of romance for the enthralled traveler.
Since its opening day in 1927, the Royal continued to attract affluent visitors. It served as a playground for the rich and famous even in the depression period of the early 1930s. Presidents, royalty and celebrities alike were impressed by the excellent service as well as by the picturesque setting in the 1930s and the early 1940s. But the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941 completely changed the fate of the Royal. The US. Navy leased the resort hotel and converted it into a wartime rest-and-relaxation center for servicemen. Although the exterior of the hotel remained virtually the same, the interior was drastically transformed. The three and half years of Navy occupation caused great damage to the property due to the cigarette burns and knife cuts in the floors and doors. After the end of the Pacific War in 1945, the Navy returned the hotel to the Matson company on October 31. Matson spent more than a year on renovation of the Royal to satisfy the needs of the future tourists. The main dining room was converted into a new seaside terrace which would feature "dancing under the stars." The Waikiki Terrace turned out to be a tropical garden of palms and ferns while a Surf Bar was constructed at the beach end of the ballroom. The renovation cost more than $2 million and required 600 construction workers. In addition, Warren Pinney took over the role of general manager from Arthur Benaglia. In February 1947, twenty years after the grand opening, the Royal again opened its doors to guests. Paradise of the Pacific commented that "the opening was a visitor's dream of Hawaii. A new moon cast a slim path across the sea. Stars glittered like a diadem for the Queen of Pacific hotels." After the
reopening, the Royal Hawaiian attempted to meet the changing needs and desires of the guests while maintaining its character as a luxury resort.

Prior to the establishment of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, Walter Lane Hopkins, one of the architects designing the hotel, had stated that "I have studied hotels all over the world and there isn't a doubt in my mind that this one will be the most luxurious and completely equipped resort in existence." Unfortunately, Hopkins died suddenly without seeing the completion of the hotel. But, twenty years of operation proved that his prediction was correct. The Royal Hawaiian fascinated thousands of wealthy guests and provided a resort paradisal experience. Along with the old Moana, the Royal symbolized the high society of Waikiki.

The establishment of the Royal Hawaiian as well as the construction of the Ala Wai Canal strengthened the resort environment in Waikiki. Yet the seashore resort community also provided a paradisal experience for "persons of moderate means who want(ed) a homelike atmosphere with the comforts of a hotel." Waikiki began steadily to attract a broader audience in the late 1920s.

Along with the Halekulani, other moderate-scale hotels renovated their facilities in order to meet the needs of the visitors. In May 1926, the Heen Investment Company acquired the Pierpoint Hotel and its neighbors, Hummel's Court and Cressaty's Court. Renovating the cluster of cottages and relandscaping its six acres of properties, the company renamed it the Niumalu, meaning
"Sheltering Palms." With its new structures, the hotel accommodated 125 guests. The Niumalu boasted a new main building containing dining room and dance floor. Afong Heen, the architect, attempted to express a truly Hawaiian style of architecture with a steep, double-hipped roof, a porte cochere with lava rock supports, and an open courtyard in the middle of the structure. Edward C. Lubbe, the hotel manager, observed that the Niumalu's setting was "an effort toward the last word in Hawaiian atmosphere as the tourist would want it. It comes as near to a grass hut with a girl in a grass skirt dancing the hula as one can get." Along with the Halekulani, the Niumalu's architecture and its surroundings were congruent with the local environment.

These developments helped to serve the less affluent visitors. In 1929 the Royal charged $14/night and the Moana $8/night both for the American plan; at the same time the rates for the Halekulani and Niumalu were $5/night, respectively, and the visitor paid only $1.50 without meals at the Waikiki Inn. Nevertheless, traveling to the paradise of the South Seas was a costly affair. The resort experience was a privilege mostly reserved for the affluent class. "The persons with moderate means" did not quite belong to the middle class in the present-day terms. Moreover, in 1936, the combined hotel rooms of three major hotels--the Moana, the Royal and the Halekulani (upgraded after renovation in 1931)--were about 1,100 while the total rooms of other hotels were merely 256. These statistics indicate that Waikiki did not have enough accommodations for less privileged clients. Prior to the middle of the
twentieth century, Waikiki remained an elite resort paradise serving the affluent, upper class and possibly the upper middle class.

FACTORS OF PHYSICAL CHANGE

The major transformations of Waikiki's environment in the 1920s were caused by various factors. Among them, two in particular exerted a tremendous impact upon the creation of a world-class resort. The decade of the 1920s was often called the roaring twenties, when unprecedented economic prosperity boosted the tourist industry in the United States. The more affluent travelers who had already visited many places in Europe as well as on the US. mainland longed to explore the islands of the South Seas. The alluring images of Hawaii were graphically presented to the wealthy through the literature of famous writers, by word of mouth, and through information from travel agents. Viewing Hawaii as a part of the United States, tourists may have felt a sense of security despite the long journey to Hawaii and a strikingly different culture. In the search for a tropical paradise, those affluent visitors did not wish to experience a primitive life in the native thatched hut. What they desired were first-class accommodations and a pleasant resort environment that would allow them to enjoy a familiar, luxurious life. Therefore, economic prosperity in the US. which increased the number of wealthy paradise seekers was an important factor in changing the landscape of Waikiki.
Along with external economic forces, Hawaii's internal economic prospects exerted a decisive influence upon Waikiki's future. Around 1920, some business leaders began to notice the potential growth of the tourist industry in Hawaii generally, and in Waikiki particularly. They believed that the third largest industry, as it was then, would eventually exceed sugar and pineapple, which had dominated Hawaii's economy. This confidence in the future growth of tourism, consequently, led to the creation of a first-class resort to attract the affluent visitors eager to come to the islands. With the growth of the tourist industry in the 1920s, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau played a significant role in linking prospective visitors with their prospective destination. Without the effective promotion of the islands led by the Tourist Bureau, the wealthy travelers would never have chosen Hawaii as a resort destination. The Hawaii Tourist Bureau clearly contributed to the transformation of Waikiki into a "stately pleasure dome" rivaling Xanadu. Hence the present section focuses upon the growth of the tourist industry in Hawaii in the 1920s.

Prior to the beginning of the new decade, the tourist industry in Hawaii suffered from a post-war economic downturn. In 1919, the number of tourists coming to Hawaii declined about 16% from the previous year.\textsuperscript{82} The problem of the declining tourist business resulted not only from the impact of the post war economy but also from the internal flaws of the tourist industry. There were two major issues which deterred the progress of the tourist business. The shortage of transportation and the inadequate accommodations
clearly hindered prospective visitors from coming to the islands. John Hodges, Secretary of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, stated at the end of 1919 that "the outlook is anything but encouraging unless we are able to do away with the congestion of traffic from the mainland to the islands that exists today." According to Hodges, the shortage of ships prevented about 1,500 to 2,000 people from traveling to Hawaii. Southern California enjoyed an unprecedented traveling boom in 1919, and its hotels were packed with tourists. These people desired to come to Hawaii if transportation were available. Hodges argued that the Shipping Board should act promptly to improve this situation. The transportation problem was somewhat relieved in the summer of 1920, when Hawaii experienced heavy tourist traffic for the first time. The Matson's steamers were filled to capacity every trip. Several new liners were planned to begin service not only from San Francisco and Los Angeles but also from New York through the Panama Canal. The new route was expected to attract a number of wealthy tourists in the East. However, the transportation problem became an issue the next year. Will J. Cooper, San Francisco representative of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau reiterated the shortage of steamers. Travel agents on the mainland complained that many prospective visitors went to other destinations in winter due to the difficulty in booking ships to Hawaii. Cooper foresaw a worse situation the next winter and suggested that the transportation problem should be solved by locally starting a passenger shipping business. Thus, the transportation problem was
one of the biggest issues concerning Hawaii's tourist industry around 1920.

Once the tourists secured ships to the islands, they had to find adequate accommodations to meet their needs. At the beginning of 1920, there were (as mentioned earlier) two large-scale hotels in the downtown district: the Alexander Young and the Blaisdell, and five hotels in Waikiki: the Moana, the Seaside, the Halekulani, the Pierpoint and the Waikiki Inn. The Moana had attracted the affluent class for the last 20 years, but it had never experienced a full house with the tourists. Yet the summer of 1920 witnessed an increasing number of wealthy tourists visiting the islands, and the trend was expected to continue into the decade. In order to attract wealthier visitors seeking comfort and luxury, the construction of a first-class hotel was imperative. Will Cooper mentioned in 1921 that "I am satisfied that even if work started today on a new first-class hotel, it could not be completed in time to afford the relief that will be needed within the next year or two." Along with the luxurious hotels, small-scale hotels and cottages did not appear to be sufficient enough to accommodate the tourists who preferred a private atmosphere to a luxurious setting. These people tended to stay for a longer period of time, yet they demanded modern equipment and conveniences. In the early 1920s, small hotels in Waikiki were not always so equipped, and the number of rooms available in those hotels did not seem to match the number needed to accommodate the ever-increasing visitors. Paradise of the Pacific stated that a large sum of money should be spent in providing sufficient
accommodations for the guests whose satisfaction would promote the islands more than anything else. Thus, the two major problems of transportation and accommodations apparently hindered the progress of the tourist industry in Hawaii in the early 1920s. It could be said that Hawaii was not well prepared for the increasing flow of tourists around that time.

Despite this situation, a few leaders of the islands foresaw the bright future of the tourist industry. Harold Yost, a member of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, claimed as early as 1921 that tourists would be "without doubt destined to become the leading crop of Hawaii." Very few people agreed to his views at that time, since sugar and pineapple were considered the only profitable commodities which could be produced in the islands. But Yost believed that one tourist visiting the islands and spending a few hundred dollars was an asset. He predicted that "Hawaii will not suffer so long as she has a steady stream of visitors entering her doors, pausing for a time to partake of her hospitality and enjoy her many pleasures and to distribute through her stores, and railways goodly sums of the stuff that makes the mare go, or perhaps settling in Hawaii and becoming permanent contributors to her prosperity." As Yost foresaw, the natural beauty of the islands and the hospitable spirit of its people could turn the visitors into residents of the paradise of the Pacific. The growth of the tourist business was regarded as a potential force in the growth of the community of the islands.

In order to convert the infant tourist industry into a leading economic force, Yost suggested "the absolute necessity of widespread
systematic advertising." He was quite aware that one visitor would never increase to thousands of visitors without systematic, effective promotion of the islands. By the beginning of 1920, Hawaii spent a few hundred dollars each year on advertising, receiving a few hundreds of visitors in return. Yost regarded these efforts as those of "a rank amateur, a very infant among the tourist resorts."91 The lack of effective advertising was another problem that Hawaii's tourist business needed to solve. Along with transportation and accommodations, advertising is one of the key elements in the competitive tourist business. Paradise of the Pacific pointed out that for the progress of the tourist industry, it would be imperative to secure three key elements--"adequate transportation, adequate hotel accommodations and adequate advertising"--through "the cooperation of an energetic and far-seeing community."92 Unfortunately, Hawaii's tourist industry in the early 1920s did not satisfactorily secure any one of the three requisites, despite the bright future of the industry. Perhaps the tourist industry needed a leading organization to steer the enterprise in the right direction. Such an organization, of course, had to be supported by the community which would favor the growth of tourist business. The primary objective of the agency would be to promote the islands. Yet, grasping the existing problem and making right decisions to solve them required the organization to take a comprehensive view toward the future of the tourist industry. Under these circumstances, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau was established in July 1919 when the tourist business was at low point.
The new agency replaced the Hawaii Promotion Committee, and John Hodges became a new secretary of the organization. Yet, the objective of the Tourist bureau was exactly the same as that of its predecessor; i.e., the promotion of Hawaii for the growth of tourism. Article IX, Section 12, of the By-Laws of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce which specified the objectives of the Hawaii Promotion Committee was adopted with the change of the name of organization. 93

An important change, however, occurred in the new organization when George T. Armitage was selected new executive secretary of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau in July 1920. Armitage, a former reporter and feature writer of The Star Bulletin, was a capable young man who foresaw the prospects of the tourist industry in Hawaii. He took over the position for the next 22 years until the Hawaii Tourist Bureau was suspended in June 1942 due to the outbreak of the Pacific War. Under his leadership, the Tourist Bureau clearly contributed to the growth of the tourist industry in Hawaii. At the beginning, the main office of the Tourist Bureau was located at 828 Fort Street, where the tourist was able to obtain general information about the islands. The office also provided a display and a little theater. 94 With a limited annual budget, approximately $25,000, Armitage attempted to make plans to increase the number of visitors to Hawaii. Along with the plans, the Tourist Bureau made efforts to inform tourists about the interesting spots and attractions they could visit. For that purpose, the main office turned out to be not in a desirable location since very few
travelers noticed the free information services offered in the downtown office. Therefore, the Tourist Bureau set up an information desk on the Alakea Street Pier where most passenger liners arrived. Moreover, the Bureau established a new office in the Alexander Young Hotel which was more accessible to tourists. The new office contained a room for movies and a lantern slide of the islands' scenes. Although Hawaii did not possess many tourist attractions in the early 1920s, the Tourist Bureau created relatively good silent movies displaying the major attractions of the island chain.95

The next step that the Hawaii Tourist Bureau took was to provide adequate information about the islands for the prospective visitors on the mainland and abroad. Through a few trips to the mainland and the Antipodes, George Armitage recognized how poorly informed about the islands most travel agents were. Hence, the Tourist Bureau began its effort to provide up-to-date information for the travel agents so they could encourage prospective visitors to come to Hawaii. The primary focus was on Southern California markets along with such major metropolitan areas as New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago. In addition, Armitage rearranged mainland representation by sending Harold Yost to head the San Francisco branch of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau.96

The most significant activity that the Tourist Bureau engaged in was, of course, professional advertising in national publications targeting prospective travelers from the mainland.97 Armitage was an enthusiastic advocate of the effects of advertising upon the
growth of tourism. In 1923 he stated that "To insure a steady flow of tourists," it would be imperative to advertise "the witchery of Hawaii's native life, the spell of her natural wonders, and the charm of her scenery and climate ..."98 A year later, he supported his previous comments while mentioning, "the flow of visitors to Hawaii, therefore, will no doubt increase in direct proportion to the amount of money expended for advertising the Island's charms, providing it is honestly and judiciously used."99 The 1924 advertising activities, for instance, included printing 365,000 pieces of publications, preparing articles and photographs for national magazines, and developing a radio advertising campaign on the mainland.100 Furthermore, the Tourist Bureau sent publications directly to prospective travelers by making a list of names and addresses obtained from residents and visitors.101

These advertising efforts apparently contributed to the increase of visitors to the islands. At least, George Armitage and the Tourist Bureau strongly believed so. In 1925 the number of visitors exceeded 15,000, increasing more than 20% over the previous year. Particularly in summer when the islands usually experienced a slowdown in tourist traffic, a considerable number of travelers came to the islands. The Moana Hotel, for instance, was completely filled with guests two or three times during the summer months, which had never happened before. Armitage believed that his advertising campaign stressing the fact that Hawaii experiences a cool and comfortable summer contributed greatly to the visitor increase.102
The continuing advertising efforts were considered to perpetuate the prospective future of tourist travel.

However, in the mid 1920s, sugar and pineapple still dominated Hawaii's economy, making more than a hundred million dollars altogether while the tourist industry produced less than ten million. Ten years later, most people in Hawaii still assumed that the Territory's economy was almost totally sustained by the two agricultural products. The local papers claimed that there were not many opportunities for other industries. Yet those involved in promoting Hawaii believed that "added attention to the care, comfort and entertainment of visitors, coupled with an ever-increasing program of effective advertising will some day put the tourist business on a par with agricultural products and eventually lead them." As Armitage suggested, the future of the tourist business depended upon "the number of ships and hotels provided and the amount of printers' ink used." In 1927, W. C. McGonagle, Chairman of the Tourist Bureau, echoed Armitage's views while stating at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, "we spent more money and more visitors came. We have seen new steamship lines placed on the Hawaii run; ... We have seen new hotels and apartments and cottages for malihinis spring up to care for the rapid growth. ..." McGonagle clearly recognized the importance of advertising, transportation and accommodation. Among them, he paid attention to the effects of the new passenger liners. In his estimates, the two luxury steamers, Malolo and The City of Honolulu, would increase the number of visitors about 50% over the previous year. In fact, that
did not happen, but the confidence that McGonagle had, reflected the positive views toward the prospects for the tourist industry among the business leaders in the late 1920s.

As expected, the growth of the tourist industry continued until the end of the decade (specifically until October, 1929) when the crash of the Stock Market terminated the era of economic prosperity. Before the beginning of the Great Depression, Hawaii truly enjoyed a steady increase of tourists. The average annual growth rate in the 1920s was over 15%. In 1928 the number of visitors reached the level of 20,000 for the first time since the peak of the whaling period. The following year attracted more than 22,000 tourists, and the number could have reached 25,000 without the tragic day on Wall Street.108

The increase of visitors was highly related to the growth of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau. The expenditures of the Tourist Bureau between 1921 and 1925 averaged about $91,000 and the number increased to $128,631 in 1926. The Tourist Bureau spent more than $245,000 in 1929.109 The huge increase in expenditures indicates how much the private corporations contributed to the operation of the Tourist Bureau. Moreover, the proportion of advertising costs grew as the decade went on. In 1922, 40% of the budget was spent on advertising, but in 1929, more than 78% was expended on the program.110 The increase reflected the massive advertising campaign under the leadership of George Armitage who strongly believed in the positive effects of advertising upon the growth of tourism.
The 1920s witnessed the birth of the tourist industry in Hawaii. The Hawaii Tourist Bureau established in 1919 evidently contributed to the booming industry through its promotion of the islands. Of course, private corporations--transportation companies, hotels and travel agencies--made their own efforts to increase the tourist traffic to Hawaii, but it was the Tourist Bureau that initiated a systematic campaign to promote the islands. Moreover, the Tourist Bureau enhanced the positive views toward the future of the tourist industry. The confidence in the future growth, indeed, led to the transformation of Waikiki's environment into a world-class resort paradise. The Tourist Bureau primarily focusing upon advertising efforts to promote the islands did not specifically influence the construction of the Royal Hawaiian and the improvements of other hotels, but it created a stage for the change. The changing landscape of Waikiki in the 1920s has largely been attributed to the efforts of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau.

The construction of the Ala Wai Canal in conjunction with the reclamation of the surrounding areas in the early 1920s completely transformed Waikiki's physical landscape from a rural, agricultural land to an affluent resort community. The development created an island setting shielded from the rest of Honolulu. The island of Waikiki provided a lovely residential district on the mauka side of Kalakaua Avenue as well as a gorgeous paradisal resort on the beach frontage. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel, built in 1927, marked the birth of a first-class luxury resort in Waikiki, catering to the rich and
famous in the world. The growth of tourism in the 1920s and the 1930s supported by the Hawaii Tourist Bureau further accelerated the creation of a resort paradise for the wealthy class. The period also witnessed the renovation of other hotels in Waikiki, development along Kalakaua Avenue, and improvement of the beach areas. The image of a paradise in the Pacific, available to all who could afford it, was becoming a reality.

5 Nakamura, 50.
6 Nakamura, 43.
7 Nakamura, 43-44.
8 Lucius Eugene Pinkham, Reclamation of the Waikiki District of the City of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1906) 3.
9 Pinkham, 3.
10 Pinkham, 6.
11 Pinkham, 6.
12 Pinkham, 6
13 Pinkham, 7.
14 Pinkham, 9.
15 Pinkham, 7.
16 Pinkham, 11.
17 Pinkham, 12-13.
18 Pinkham, 12-13.
19 Pinkham, 4.
20 Hibbard, 88.
21 Hibbard, 90-91.
22 Nakamura, 60-61.
23 Nakamura, 57.
24 Hibbard, 91-92.
26 "Isle of Waikiki Formed by Dredging of Ala Wai and Filling of Duck Ponds," Honolulu Advertiser 17 October 1928, Sec. 2: 8.
27 "Isle of Waikiki," 8.
28 Martin Connor, "Realtors Regard Waikiki as Most Desirable Place in Honolulu of Future," Honolulu Advertiser 17 October 1928, Sec. 2: 5.
"Realtors Regard," 5.
"Realtors Sees Big Growth at Waikiki," Honolulu Advertiser 17 October 1928, Sec. 2: 10.
"Waikiki," editorial, Honolulu Advertiser 17 October 1928.
"Realtors Sees," 5.
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CHAPTER IX

CONTINUOUS MYTHMAKING

The theme of a resort paradise continued to be reiterated by mythmakers during the first half of the 20th century. This chapter examines four primary figures and institutions that further enhanced the legendary images of Waikiki. It starts with the advertising efforts of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau and moves toward the role of Harry Owens, who became identified with the hapa-haole sound. After analyzing the influence of Hollywood upon Waikiki's image, the present chapter ends with an evaluation of Don Blanding's contributions to the exotic symbolism of the Pacific playground.

THE HAWAII TOURIST BUREAU

The Hawaii Tourist Bureau exerted both a direct and indirect influence upon the evolving mental landscape of Waikiki and Hawaii. This section examines the direct advertising and promotional literature provided by the Tourist Bureau in order to nurture images of Hawaii which attracted prospective tourists.

The initial advertisement published by the Tourist Bureau appeared in the travel section of national magazines in the early 1920s. The one-page advertisement, entitled "Four Ports to Paradise," shows a photo of a tropical setting featuring palm trees and an inland sea at the top, and a picture of a native girl playing a
ukulele amid tropical foliage on the left of the display. It begins with the words: "Hawaii offers all the charms of the tropics with no excessive heat or sultriness." The focus of the advertisement is upon the ideal climate to be found in Hawaii. According to the ad, Hawaii's gentle trade winds and high mountain peaks recooling the breezes were key elements contributing to the moderate climate. The Tourist Bureau also introduced athletic activities--golf, tennis, fishing, swimming, surfing, and polo--which the visitor could enjoy "in a romantic setting of incomparable beauty" throughout the year. In conclusion, the Tourist Bureau depicted Hawaii as a heaven "where life is as perfect as it can be."2

In the 1930s, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau published a new brochure entitled "The Story of Hawaii." The 33-page promotional release covered not only the attractions of Hawaii but also its industries and social institutions, and was clearly intended to serve prospective residents as well as tourists. Yet the dominant theme of the publication remained a mystical, romantic image of paradise regained. The cover depicts a native girl offering a lei, which apparently meant to welcome the reader (as prospective visitor) to the lovely islands of the South Seas. The back cover shows a native couple on the beach at Waikiki with a canoe inscribed with the word "aloha." The background of the picture is, of course, Diamond Head along with the surf and the tropical foliage along the shoreline. The back cover displays an alluring vista of Waikiki's landscape.

The bureau's brochure begins with ecstatic images of Waikiki from a steamer approaching Honolulu Harbor. It states:
Arise at dawn on that last day with the cool trade winds of early morn caressing you, and hurry breathlessly on deck to find a light house sleepily blinking from a verdant shoreline thrown up in the night. As the sun mounts, watch its unfolding glories on the clouds capping gorgeous mountains, unbelievably green. Later, as your ship swings around into the harbor, see breakers foam on the coral reef, plummy palms appear, and roofs sparkle in a maze of foliage.

The verdant foliage of the shoreline still dominated Waikiki's picturesque landscape in the early 1930s. The booklet describes the initial encounter with paradise at the pier through Hawaiian hospitality and entertainment: native coin divers, the Royal Hawaiian Band playing Hawaiian music, and native girls offering leis to the visitors. Passing through the fragrant streets of Honolulu replete with exotic flowers, experiencing the warm water of Waikiki, the visitor would "begin to sense why Hawaii enchants its guests." The Tourist Bureau captured the charms of Hawaii--beautiful scenery and friendly people--on its very first page.

As in earlier advertisements of the Twenties, the climate is heavily stressed in The Story of Hawaii. The booklet exclaims that "the everlasting sunshine and the evenly distributed rain" created the lush romantic scenery of Hawaii, and also made possible the sugar and pineapple industries. The fabled Hawaiian hospitality and friendliness were also attributed to the gentle climate. Moreover, the mixture of mist and sun light created radiant liquid sunshine and breathtaking rainbows, while the trade winds and moderate
temperature made it possible to live in the open air throughout the year (which would be a boon to health). Thus the Tourist Bureau declared that the perfect climate of Hawaii served as the foundation for all its charms: majestic scenery, hospitable people, and comfortable living.

The booklet points out that the best time to visit the islands might be the months of May, June and July, when the native flowers come into full bloom and the tropical fruits ripen. It provides an image of Hawaii replete with tropical plants, trees and flowers. (Yet, because of the slight climatic variation throughout the year, the Tourist Bureau suggested that any time would be an ideal time to visit the islands.) Once the visitor arrived in the tropical paradise, he or she should take time to see all the islands since "the whole atmosphere is placid, and restful." By "unpacking leisurely and gradually relaxing in the restful absorbingly varied life," the visitor would be softly introduced to the tropical charms of Hawaii.

The Tourist Bureau portrayed Honolulu as a modern American city "placed in a most exquisite natural setting and favored with nature's finest in verdure, flowers, and shade trees." Thus it clearly situated the islands in a middle landscape between wilderness and civilization. In addition, Honolulu's distinctive atmosphere was attributed to "the spell of southern seas and several broad hints of the Orient."

The lure of Hawaii owes much to native Hawaiians and their culture. The bureau's booklet introduces the Hawaiians as "an upstanding and gracious people who permeate every walk of life and
lend to it a contagious friendly cheerfulness that had made Hawaii famous for its hospitality.\" Although they were "patriotic American citizens" and their life style had drastically changed from the days of the grass shack, Hawaiians were said to have preserved their ancient customs: offering leis to returning and departing friends as a proof of love, welcoming visitors at the pier with Hawaiian music performed by the Royal Band, serenading them with Hawaiian melodies on the beach, and holding special pageants such as luaus and hukilaulu or fishing parties. The Tourist Bureau suggested that the visitor would find it most interesting to engage in marine sports activities: swimming, surfing, diving, outrigger canoeing and game fishing--especially surfing, which it described as "an absorbing spectacle."\n
The images of Hawaiians and their culture presented here were not wholly factual, of course. The fact that many Hawaiians enjoyed associating with American tourists does not demonstrate that they identified themselves as Americans. But, the Tourist Bureau effectively created an image of happy Hawaiians enacting fabricated Hawaiian customs for the pleasure of the tourists.

The booklet, partly serving as a travel guide, provided useful information on accommodations and transportation to and in Hawaii. It describes a variety of activities available in the islands and points of interest on Oahu. On the other hand, the booklet was intended also to attract new residents. It provides information on the islands' industries: not only sugar, pineapple and coffee, but other agricultural ventures including grazing. Also included in the brochure is information on the government structure, schools,
churches, population, and social organization. Above all, the Tourist Bureau stated that "there are ample sites for residential or commercial purposes." Since there were few employment opportunities available in the islands, the Bureau encouraged the wealthy class to settle in the paradise of the Pacific: "Visitors are learning rapidly that Hawaii is too beautiful for only a cursory visit, and many of those in circumstances to linger have willingly allowed a casual visit to melt into an endless sojourn."10

On the whole, The Story of Hawaii presented an alluring portrait of Hawaii as possessing "dreamy bungalows banked with flowers and fronted only with soft green turf; streets of beautiful homes all open to the street, life-giving out-of-doors; music that seems but a natural accompaniment to crooning waves and the peaceful swish of the palms; brilliant rainbows and sunsets; enchanted mountains; bewitching sea; captivating customs ..."11 The magnificent tropical setting along with the fabled Hawaiian hospitality as described in the brochure were calculated to seduce the hearts and minds of prospective travelers.

On its final page, the Tourist Bureau brochure suggests that the visitor would come to Hawaii in search of relaxation. Yet, the modern traveler would not be content to explore a primitive land. Rather, he would demand to have comfortable accommodations, transportation, newspapers, and modern entertainment—as well as a perfect climate and an exotic setting. The booklet quotes the words of Nina Wilcox Putnam—"A Paradise with American plumbing"—when it refers to an ideal place where the modern traveler sought relaxation.12 Hawaii
clearly provided such a middle ground setting, "where one needs no alarm clock to arise to the joys of living the whole year through." Thus, The Story of Hawaii enhanced the resort paradisal image of Hawaii as a temporary retreat located in the secure middle ground between wilderness and civilization. With such an image in mind, the tourist might escape from the constraints of modern civilization, heal and cleanse the tired body and soul, and enjoy a life of leisure in the paradise of the Pacific.

In 1935, The Story of Hawaii was updated with a slight modification. The opening paragraph states:

Only after you have been to Hawaii will you know how difficult it is to tell of its thrills. Your friends will listen to you, mentally shake their heads, put you down as mad, soft, moonstruck. It can't be helped. For Hawaii is more than a fleet of islands. ... it's an emotion. An emotion so unrelated to the work-a-day world that everyday words stumble in telling of it. And even if you could define it no one would believe you. To some, Hawaii is high adventure. To some, it's flashing sport, fun and frolic. To some, it's people, laziness, detachment. If strange customs, new places ... and faces ... a month or so of restful, sparkling luxurious living is the adventure you want ... come to Hawaii.

These words vividly reemphasize the resort paradisal image of Hawaii providing peace, rest, escape, fun, adventure and luxury. The paragraph also describes the Hawaiian experience as an emotion beyond description--a fitting image of Hawaii since paradise was always related to the mental or spiritual realm. As a resort paradise,
Hawaii possessed an emotional, dream-like allure which no one could quite explain.

In 1942, soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau published a new brochure entitled "Hawaii U.S.A.,” containing 20 full-page black and white photographs to enhance the images of Hawaii. The pictures include Waikiki Beach, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the Pali Lookout, a sugar cane field, a pineapple field, primary points of interest on neighbor islands and departing visitors on a steamer. The cover of the brochure depicts two native girls with leis on their neck. A large flower on the bottom right matches the flowery girls in the center. On the back cover, huge flowers occupy almost half of the space. The entire picture portrays a rural landscape of Hawaii containing a church and scattered small houses surrounded by palm trees, a large cane or pineapple field and mountain ridges in the background. The scenery is very much that of a middle landscape between wilderness and civilization, attractive to modern American travelers. Yet, it is interesting to note that the cover does not show the ocean setting which was a primary attraction of Hawaii.

The brochure begins with an introductory section subtitled "Once a Sailor's Yarn," which describes a mythical tale created by a sailor's imagination that turned out to be a real story of Hawaii. The sailor's tale depicted an ideal island retreat that "every man and woman dreams about, but never expects really to find." The island was blessed with a calm sea, fine weather, beautiful flowers and an abundance of food. Although no one believed the fairy tale,
everyone was eager to know more about the island and wished to go there. The booklet states that today (1940s) everyone knows that the island retreat described in the sailor's yarn truly exists here in Hawaii. Despite its changing landscape over the years, it claims, Hawaii still possesses the same old charm discovered in the days of sailing vessels: fine weather, a calm sea, a warm sun, and beautiful flowers. The section concludes that "it is this extravagance of Nature, and its friendliness, reflected in the warm-hearted cordiality of the people that now, as always, wins and holds captive the heart of the visitor." Thus, the booklet suggests that the lure of Hawaii lies in its beautiful natural setting with its perfect climate and with the aloha spirit of its friendly people. The opening section effectively provides these charms of Hawaii constructed by blending myth and reality. The mythical sailor's tale did not simply prove to be a real story, but rather has been infused into the real environment of Hawaii.

The first photograph in the booklet shows two children holding leis in front of a lei stand, which demonstrates how flowers played an important role in providing a beautiful image of Hawaii. The brochure states that "One's first impression of Hawaii is flowers. From the first glimpse the image persists." Upon landing at Honolulu Harbor, the visitor would be welcomed with a beautiful lei. The initial impression of flowers always comes back to the mind of the visitor wherever he or she faces a magnificent setting replete with flowers.

The booklet then presents two photographs: Waikiki's beach and ocean. It states that Waikiki's lure lies in "a blue mirror"
consisting of identical sea and sky with accents of Diamond Head, a white sand beach and palm trees. The image created here, no doubt, appealed to the imagination of prospective travelers. The booklet observes, "Nowhere else in the world you ever look on such animated murals as cut across Waikiki's seaward horizon. Watch some bronzed athlete poised like a vertical arrow on his surfboard as he slices across your vision." These expressions enhance a striking image of the art of surfing created by native Hawaiians. The brochure entices the reader to challenge Waikiki's water on the outrigger canoe when it states, "Imagine yourself participating. Behind a concave wall of green glass, as you are lifted on giant shoulders with the nonchalance of a million horse power. A pause before the final lunge. Suddenly, your face is cutting the salt wind! Prow and outrigger hurl an avalanche of spray overhead. ... Then gently the canoe rests on the sand and little shore ripples close a thrilling chapter you can never forget." 

Surfing is, of course, not the only exciting activity in Hawaii. The brochure introduces other athletic activities--sailing, golfing, and game-fishing--which would likely attract the visitor. Hula dancing is also featured with a brief history. We are told that the dream of the goddess Pele, in which the swaying palms, the rhythmic sea, and the volcano's fires appeared, was translated into an art of hula dancing. Next, in order to explore the native culture, the visitor is encouraged to step into the Honolulu Academy of Arts and the Bishop Museum. Moreover, the booklet explains that shopping is an exotic adventure in Honolulu, and describes other points of interest on Oahu. Along
with the picture map of the Hawaiian Island chain, the brochure covers primary attractions on the Big Island and on Maui.

In order to attract prospective residents, the booklet states that Honolulu is a modern American city, yet retains the traditional charm of its floral fragrance and color. Accordingly, most houses in Honolulu expressed an American style from foundation to roof, but they were dominated by the natural setting. The brochure states that "With Nature so flagrantly pretentious, comparatively little is left for the house builder ..." The image of a middle ground setting is clearly emphasized in the description of Honolulu and its housing. The development of Honolulu into a modern American community resulted from economic prosperity in the Territory. The brochure explains that the successful sugar industry brought an American standard of living to the Territory. It also praises the development of the pineapple industry as "another milestone of American progress in the South Pacific" Here, the Tourist Bureau suggested that economic prosperity sustained by these agricultural industries would secure an American life style which prospective residents sought in the paradise of the Pacific.

The lure of Hawaii was so powerful, it seems, that many travelers were reluctant to leave the islands. The booklet states that "Sun, sea, flowers, the tinkle of bell-like strings on the night air, soft voices singing, often with a heart-shattering catch in them" would entice the visitor to stay longer, and that the feeling was shared by the characters in the sailor's yarn. Yet, of course, the visitor eventually has to leave the islands. The booklet concludes with a
scene of a departing steamer on which passengers laden with beautiful leis express nostalgic feelings. It also describes an old Hawaiian legend suggesting that if a lei tossed from the departing vessel reaches the shore, the visitor will return to the islands. As noted earlier in the booklet, the image of flowers impresses the visitor upon landing and it persists during the stay. The booklet effectively enhances the image of flowers upon departing. The resonant image would surely linger in the consciousness of prospective visitors.

In an epilogue, the brochure states that the story of Hawaii has grown into a saga with numerous exciting events happening at a remarkable speed, and that it continues to grow. Yet, the ancient charms of Hawaii still persist over the years. “Sunny skies, blue seameadows, friendly surf, flowers, music and warm cordial hearts” have attracted and continue to attract thousands of visitors. Hawaii U.S.A. successfully provided these fascinating images of nature and hospitality throughout the booklet. The reader would be reassured to discover “the exotic unchanging personality of Hawaii” during his or her stay.

The Hawaii Tourist Bureau had by then actively engaged in the mythmaking of Waikiki and Hawaii for its 23 years of existence. The symbols and images created by the Bureau were, indeed, those of a resort paradise: a beautiful natural setting replete with exotic flowers, a middle ground quality, a perfect climate, a magical environment, a dreamy experience, a life of leisure, and hospitable people. These images were, to be sure, not always authentic
manifestations of the South Sea islands. The Tourist Bureau deliberately exaggerated and even fabricated various aspects of the tropical islands. But it effectively glamorized and romanticized the Hawaiian paradise and implanted its special qualities in the hearts of an ever-increasing wave of visitors and sojourners.

HARRY OWENS

In the opulent days of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, music once again played an important role in the image making of Waikiki. Harry Owens cultivated a romantic and picturesque image of Waikiki through his music at the Royal as much as Johnny Noble had done at the Moana. Owens, furthermore, promoted the Hawaiian Islands through various media--radio, movies and television--with his music. Bob Hope once remarked: "Mention trade winds singing in the branches of a coco palm and I think of Harry Owens. Mention tropic moonlight, rippling waters, a million stars and steel guitars--again, Harry Owens. Speak of lovely, brown-skinned, hula maidens and I think of ... well, enough of that! What I mean is the guy is Mister Hawaii." All the alluring images of Hawaii were associated with the music of Harry Owens. He provided a dreamy, paradisal experience for millions of his audiences.

Harry Owens recognized that music was an integral part of the island life. He mentioned that "Music, added to the fragrance of exotic island flowers, music blending with trade winds, music--the order of the day for Hawaii's carefree, happy, hospitable people. Put
The sound of Owens was perfectly blended with the magnificent natural environment of Waikiki, which created a romantic ambiance for numerous lovers. Owens's music was, indeed, congruent with the resort paradisal setting of Waikiki.

In Waikiki, Owens settled in a small cottage located in the midst of the coconut grove between the Royal and the Moana, where "trade winds would lull (them) to sleep in the night time and myriad mynah birds would awaken (them) each morning to announce the lovely, new blue Hawaiian day." Owens began to enjoy a comfortable life and devoted himself to creating a new type of Hawaiian music congruent with the environment. The first Hawaiian song he composed was entitled "Hawaiian Paradise," which was dedicated to the Great Lono who created the islands of enchantment and his "golden" people. His acquired knowledge of Hawaiian legend and history, as well as the attractive setting of Waikiki, inspired Owens's lyricism in the song.

Four months after his arrival on the islands, Owens announced that "In complete satisfaction to my hopes and dreams, I found the lovely land I had been seeking, its many rainbows reflecting the godliness of a golden people, living by the golden rule in a paradise--Hawaii." Owens discovered not only a paradisal environment but also a golden people in Hawaii. His genuine respect for native Hawaiians perhaps led him to compare them to the golden race of Greek mythology. The images of paradise were always a dominant
theme for the music of Harry Owens, which captured the hearts of generations of dreamy travelers.

Harry Owens was born on April 18, 1902 in the small village of O'Neill, Nebraska, surrounded by golden corn fields. Soon after his birth, the Owens family moved to Montana, where he spent his childhood. Owens's musical interest and talent clearly derived from his mother who "had the real spark of music in her soul." Her piano always impressed little Harry. But, the encounter with Joe Ninepipes at an Indian school at St. Ignatius Mission, Montana, was the real beginning of Owens's musical career. At the age of nine, Owens met Ninepipes, a full-blooded native American who played a bass horn and assumed the role of the band leader at school. Respecting Ninepipes as an idol, Owens took his advice and instruction to learn the cornet and eventually became solo cornetist in the school band. The early experience with Ninepipes clearly affected Owens's attitudes toward native Hawaiians. Owens always showed his respect for native peoples and tried to learn something spiritual from them. For instance, during his stay in Hawaii, Owens respected Aikane the Kahuna who was believed to be the last of the Polynesian priests. He learned a good deal of Hawaiian history and legends from him, and often took his advice whenever he faced hardships or important decisions. Aikane served as a spiritual mentor for Owens, whose later success owed much to the support of the great Hawaiian priest.

After graduating from high school, Owens entered Loyola University in Los Angeles, which provided a variety of musical
opportunities. Early on, Owens played the trumpet in the first orchestra performing in the newly opened Coconut Grove at the Ambassador Hotel. Later, he assumed the position of trumpeter for the new orchestra entertaining at the Montmartre Cafe in Hollywood, a glamorous night club of the time attracting a number of celebrities. These experiences boosted Owens's confidence in his musical talent. After composing his first song in collaboration with Vincent Rose, co-leader of the Montmartre band, Owens quit school and decided to concentrate on his professional music career. In 1926, Owens organized his own orchestra and obtained a contract at Cafe Lafayette in Los Angeles. Thereafter, the band toured the western states--California, Colorado and Arizona--and returned to its starting point at Cafe Lafayette in 1933, when the effects of depression were deeply felt by the night club audience. In late November 1933, Owens's band gave its final performance at Lafayette before disbanding. On that fateful night, Arthur Benaglia, managing director of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, was attracted by Owens's music. After the final number, Benaglia immediately contacted Owens in order to persuade him to become band leader for the hotel. Three months later, Owens signed a four-month contract with the Royal and decided to make a fresh start in the paradise of the Pacific.33

As soon as Owens settled in Waikiki, he started to direct the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra consisting of one-half non-Caucasian musicians and singers, and one-half haoles. The orchestra used both local and basic band instruments such as violins, trumpets, saxophones, piano, and drums. What Owens proposed to play was
"the music of Hawaii plus the music of the far-away Mainland Hit Parade." Blending the "authentic" Hawaiian sound with the modern American rhythm was the goal which Owens needed to accomplish. In essence, Owens built on the hapa-haole sound created and fashioned by Sonny Cunha and Johnny Noble, and enhanced the new type of music with a fresh breeze.

One of the important assignments given to Owens was to contribute to perpetuating the music of Hawaii. In fact, a better understanding of the ancient native sound was essential to the success of the hapa-haole sound. Therefore, Owens decided to arrange ancient Hawaiian songs for the initial stage of the orchestra. With the assistance of Auntie Pinau, an eighty-year old native woman, Owens wrote ten orchestrations based upon the traditional sound and performed them impressively on opening night. After that, the new orchestra became enormously popular, and with the addition of new musical scores and of new members, it consummated "the marriage between the music of Hawaii and the music of the mainland." The hapa-haole sound which Owens mastered was, indeed, to become the music of Waikiki. It incorporated traditional Hawaii with modern America. The new popular music form nicely conformed to the "middle ground" character of the resort paradise.

The physical setting of an orchestra is always important in supporting the thematic images of the music played. The Royal Hawaiian bandstand was a palm-thatched structure creating the impression of an old grass shack, and it was located a few yards from the ocean. The interior of its shell-like design was decorated with
fresh tropical flowers. In front and on both sides of the bandstand, tables and chairs were placed on the grass. With the Royal courtyard dimly lighted, the numerous stars were a memorable sight for the guests of the Royal. The traditional structure of the bandstand along with the magnificent natural environment of Waikiki perfectly matched the romantic Hawaiian music of Harry Owens.

The popularity of Owens music is epitomized in the smash hit, 'Sweet Leilani,' which he dedicated to his baby girl on October 20, 1934, one day after her birth. It was, of course, Bing Crosby who promoted the tune into a popular classic. In the spring of 1936, Crosby visited the islands for relaxation and preparation for his next film, Waikiki Wedding. While staying at the Royal, Crosby enjoyed the music of Harry Owens whom he had met almost 10 years before in an audition for Owens band. Since then, Crosby had acquired fame and status as a singer and actor. On the night of their reunion, Crosby was fascinated by the song 'Sweet Leilani,' which he requested five more times. The recording of the song by Crosby started immediately, and the reunion of Owens and Crosby led to the creation of a million seller record. Crosby also included 'Sweet Leilani' in the film Waikiki Wedding, and it became an Oscar winning song in 1937. The enormous success of 'Sweet Leilani' brought Owens fame and status on the American music scene, and it also contributed to the popularity of the islands.

Along with Owens's personal accomplishment as the composer of 'Sweet Leilani,' the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra exerted a tremendous impact upon the promotion of the Hawaiian Islands
through radio programs on networks, live performances in major hotels on the mainland, and Hollywood movies. In late November 1937, Harry Owens and his Orchestra left the islands with a ten-week leave of absence from the Royal for the shooting of the film *Coconut Grove*, but they remained on the mainland for two years and eight months. During the period Owens and his band promoted not only Hawaiian music but also the beautiful, romantic images of the islands.

On September 3, 1940, Owens and his Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra along with family members arrived in Honolulu Harbor where the Royal Hawaiian Band welcomed them with 'Sweet Leilani' instead of 'Aloha Oe.' The next day, *The Honolulu Star Bulletin* praised the accomplishments of Harry Owens in an editorial entitled "Our Ambassador of Music." It stated that Harry Owens renewed the island music with "a new sweetness of melody, a new appealing rhythm, an enchanting soft charm, which did far more than pack dance floors with dipsy-doodly devotees." The hapa-haole sound was revitalized by the musical talent of Owens. The editorial went on to state that through the medium of radio, Owens's music provided millions with "an intriguing introduction to the life of this land." Furthermore, it pointed out that during the mainland stay of the orchestra, "innumerable mainlanders have learned about the islands from the Owens music, the Owens songs, the friendly personnel of his tuneful groups." There is no doubt that most island people shared the view of this editorial and regarded Harry Owens as
a potent ambassador of Hawaii who promoted the paradisal islands of the Pacific.

After returning to the islands, Owens resumed his job at the Royal. But, early in 1941, the tourist traffic to the islands dropped due to the imminent outbreak of the Pacific War. Accordingly, the number of guests to enjoy Owens’s music declined dramatically. Moreover, Owens himself was confronted with his own inner problem; he was no longer able to put his whole heart into music. The problem apparently resulted from the fatigue caused by the overwork of the previous three years. Owens needed to take a long break. Aikane, a spiritual mentor of Owens, advised him to take a vacation on the mainland. Following Aikane's advice, Owens left the islands on April 9, 1941.42 His departure meant the end of Owens's official relationship with the Royal since the outbreak of the war on December 7, 1941 completely changed the fate of the hotel. Thus, the first chapter of Owens's love affair with the islands abruptly came to an end.

A two-month rest in the California desert restored the mind and body of Harry Owens, and he resumed his career on the mainland. Owens first engaged in a stage show for the Paramount Theatre, and then worked for the Miramar Hotel in Santa Monica and the Roosevelt Hotel in Hollywood successively. Owens's new productions drew a large audience, and the performance of Hilo Hattie particularly caught widespread attention. She had become a member of Owens’s band in September 1940. Upon returning to Hawaii, Owens and his orchestra were given a huge homecoming
party including one-hour of entertainment performed by more than 100 artists. In the shows, Owens was attracted by the Royal Hawaiian Girls Glee Club consisting of forty cheerful, singing and dancing women. Among them, Clara Haili Inter caught Owens's eye. He immediately contacted her, and Clara, later known as Hilo Hattie, became a member of the band. Owens described Hattie in these words: "As sweet and fine a soul as ever breathed the pure Hawaiian air, possessing a heart of gold, the spirituality of an angel, the knowledge and understanding of an island priestess: this is a partial description of Hawaii's First Lady." In addition, Owens regarded her as "a devil-may-care pixie, a happy, laughing, talented, funny-wonderful wahine." After resuming his work, Owens called on Hilo Hattie to rejoin him. The success of Owens' stage appearances owed much to the talented dancer-singer who was discovered and trained by Owens. Along with the stage performances, Owens and Hattie worked for a new film, Song of the Island, for which Owens scored the music and Hattie played a role. The hotel engagements and the movie made Owens and Hattie extremely popular, but they planned to come back to the islands for a New Year's Eve show at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. However, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 ruined the happy homecoming. Owens and Hattie continued to attract mainland audiences during the war, and the resurgence of Owens's band vastly enhanced the symbolic appeal of Hawaii.

On October 21, 1949, the Owens band debuted in the world of television. CBS broadcast its live show from the Aragon Ballroom in
Santa Monica. The successful debut led to a weekly television program, "Harry Owens and his Royal Hawaiians." The 30-minute Hawaiian show consisted of music and hula dancing. One of the programs began with the following words: "A great night goes back to old song, old melodies, old chants of old Hawaii. So from the Hawaiian Islands, the land of summer time eternal, trade winds send over hearty invitation clear across the blue Pacific to you." The opening remarks clearly intend to attract the audience to come to Hawaii. Then Owens states, "Let the trade winds take the possession of your spirit," while introducing the song of 'Kona Kai.' In accordance with the music, a beautiful lady dances the hula in an evening setting of tropical foliage. The central setting expresses an old native village. With a thatched hut on the stage, the background wall depicts a seashore native village including small huts surrounded by palms. The Hawaiian show provides a lush and romantic image of Hawaii for viewers. In another program, Owens is heard to say: "Come with us tonight again to our gay, happy, carefree Polynesia." The show features the performance of Hilo Hattie who conveys the image of a happy-go-lucky Hawaiian. On the other hand, the same show presents "Miss Hawaii" singing and dancing in a tropical setting. She in turn provides a lovely, romantic image of Hawaii. The contrast between the comical Hilo Hattie and the exotically beautiful Miss Hawaii effectively displays the charms of Hawaii. Thus, more than anything else, the television program of Harry Owens promoted the islands and planted the image of a dream paradise into the consciousness of millions of prospective travelers.
The combination of the comical, carefree image and the exotic, sensuous image was typically represented by the hula dancing seen in hotel shows, in movies and on television in the first half of the 20th century. These images were, it would seem, deliberately created and enhanced by the entertainment business and the tourist industry to attract the audience. The reproductions of the hula were thus frequently criticized as exploitation and commercialization of the ancient art form.

In order to evaluate the popular images of hula, it seems appropriate to briefly trace the history of hula. In the pre-European contact era, hula was always accompanied by chant and appeared to possess social and religious meanings. Nathaniel Emerson explains that "the hula was a religious service, in which poetry, music, pantomime, and the dance lent themselves, under the forms of dramatic art, to the refreshment of men's minds. Its view of life was idyllic, and it gave itself to the celebration of those mythical times when gods and goddesses moved on the earth as men and women, and men and women were as gods. ..." Elizabeth Buck also supports the religious significance of the hula as she states that "all chants, even those performed for fun and entertainment, had religious meanings." However, Dorothy Barrere argues that the hula itself did not contain this sacred character and that the religious elements belonged only to the training of the hula performers. Relying upon the accounts of Western eyewitnesses, Barrere insists that the hula served primarily as entertainment to celebrate the birth of an ali`i child, to honor rulers or to welcome distinguished guests. The
Western observers even noticed sexual themes in hula performances. Hence, Barrere concludes that the hula did not signify the religious rites of Hawaiian culture. Moreover, as supporting evidence, she points out that the abolition of kapu in 1819 did not influence the performance of the hula. Yet, it is doubtful whether the early Western viewers, who did not understand any words of Hawaiian language, could comprehend the true meaning of the hula by simply watching it with foreign eyes. In fact, the words and poetry of the chant contained their own meanings and the hula supplemented an expression of "poetry in motion." The early visitors to the exotic islands expressed their own sense of the native dance as mostly entertainment, but unfortunately they failed to decipher the core of the hula. Judging from the fact that the hula was performed at funerals, the ancient art evidently expressed certain religious meanings.

The contact with Western civilization exerted a decisive influence upon the fate of the hula, especially after 1820. Missionaries regarded the hula as a "heathen" and "lascivious" dance which ought to be eliminated in order to build a moral community. They initially succeeded in their efforts so that public performances of the hula became rare and invisible, especially near missions and residences of Christian chiefs. But, behind the public space the hula continued to be performed. The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed a revival of the hula. King David Kalakaua apparently encouraged and supported public performances of the ancient art.
Yet, after the end of the monarchy in 1893, the hula once again ceased to serve as public entertainment.\textsuperscript{51}

The resurgence of the hula in the early decades of the 20th century resulted from the growth of tourism. The hula became an attractive entertainment catering to tourists. But it was considerably different from that performed for native people. The dance which used to value the poetry of chant became more dependent upon gestures, since tourists did not understand the Hawaiian language.\textsuperscript{52}

Much earlier in the 19th century, due to Western influence, the hula had already undergone radical changes. Traditional chant lost its status as the main form of symbolic expression and hula became independent of chant, accompanied by songs of Western influence. The decreased use of the Hawaiian language clearly resulted in putting less value upon the poetry of chant. Therefore, hula became a "semi-autonomous dance form." Even when accompanied by chant, hula or the dance itself became dominant, and body movements overwhelmed the poetry. Hula began to lose its poetic-religious meanings.\textsuperscript{53} After the turn of the century, the ancient art form continued to confront the pressure of change. It was modified to satisfy and attract the tourists seeking exoticism, eroticism and a little laughter. The modern hula came to be deplored by some as the degradation of the art. One critic wrote in the 1920s that the hula had lost its authenticity with the successive Western influence, acquiring "more and more objectionable features," and that it had degenerated into its present form with "the addition of imported steps from the mainland, and the vulgarities introduced to pander to
tourists" represented by the use of grass skirts. But, most tourists and audiences did not view the modern hula performed either by Hilo Hattie or the beauteous Miss Hawaii as "vulgar," "obscene," or "lascivious." They were seeking not authentic images of hula but mythical images of hula which confirmed their own version of paradise. The standard images of hula seen in the Harry Owens program continued to captivate paradise-dreamers.

Owens continued to work for television shows until 1958, and then, started a tour conducting business in which he guided and entertained a small party of travelers visiting Hawaii. Early in 1963 Owens completely retired from the work and peacefully settled in his home in California.

Bing Crosby once commented that "Surely no mainlander, and very few islanders, honestly have had such a lengthy love affair with the Hawaiian Islands as Harry Owens." Owens, indeed, fell in love with the islands as soon as he stepped into a paradise commensurate with his own dream. The verdant environment and its hospitable people nurtured his affection for the magical islands which were to inspire his artistic imagination to create memorable songs. Through his music, Owens made a crucial contribution to the romantic image of Waikiki and Hawaii.

HOLLYWOOD

Hollywood began to create images of Hawaii as early as 1898. From that time on, it contributed immeasurably to the mythmaking
of Hawaii. According to Robert Schmitt, who examined 120 feature-length films made in or about Hawaii before statehood, the movie industry actively engaged in producing Hawaiian films in the decades of the 1920s and 1930s: 23 and 29, respectively. Out of 78 films released prior to the end of World War II, 36 were made totally or partially in Hawaii while 42 were created mostly in Hollywood with brief shots of Hawaii's symbolic landscape to provide authentic images. In either case, Hollywood's depiction of Hawaii captured the hearts and minds of the national audience and provided "the public's most vivid and widespread impression of the islands." What made the audience so fascinated by Hawaiian films? Above all, the beautiful scenery and tropical landscape of most films caught the attention of the audience. The magnificent scenery indeed often overwhelmed plots and casting. David Krauss claims that the success of Hawaiian films lies in "how well actors compete with scenery, which innocently sabotages many Hawaii films. Either the beautiful surroundings steal the spotlight from the stars and story line, or producers rely too heavily on those surroundings, hoping they'll carry a weak cast or mediocre script." Thus, the lush environment played a dominant role in most Hawaiian movies, appealing to audiences eager to "experience" the magical landscape of the South Seas. By gazing upon the splendid scenery on the screen, the viewers enjoyed a vicarious experience of adventure and escape in the remote islands of the Pacific.

The focus upon a usually striking environment frequently leads to the production of low quality films from an artistic viewpoint.
Very few Hawaiian films won Oscars, while many of them were negatively reviewed by the critics. However, the powerful images of Hawaii created by Hollywood became deeply rooted in the consciousness of the audience. Krauss states that "most of the films set here sport an infectious enthusiasm and spirited energy from which no viewer can remain immune." Hollywood successfully provided distinctive images of Hawaii for the worldwide audience.

Cinematic images of Hawaii in the first half of the twentieth century were not always beautiful and sweet; they included the dark elements of society typically seen in the series of Charlie Chan movies. Floyd Matson points out that "the Chan movie, such as Charlie Chan in Honolulu (1938), established the motif of a vaguely sinister Hawaii, a crossroads of international crime." The Chan series clearly paved the way for later films emphasizing darker images of society: drugs, violence, and murder. Yet, aside from the tropical crime dramas featuring Charlie Chan, the period prior to the war produced two distinguished genres of Hawaiian movies: the South Sea romances and the musicals, both of which conveyed paradisal images of Hawaii.

Since the 1910s, Hollywood had attempted to depict Hawaii in the broader image of the South Seas. It created the South Sea tales by using Hawaiian settings, language and culture. In these films, as Matson claims, Hawaii was "blurred by submergence within the murky depth of the 'South Seas' ..." According to Schmitt, Hollywood's depiction of the South Seas consisted of almost the same elements: "beaches, palm trees, native maidens, kahunas (priests,
usually treated in these films as sorcerers), haole (Caucasian) interlopers, and interracial romance." The last element plays an important role along with the beautiful natural environment since the South Sea tales almost always contain a romantic encounter in a paradise. Matson notes that the typical plot of the South Sea films expressed a theme of "paradise lost or stolen, with restless natives plotting revolt (Bird of Paradise) or embarking on cannibal orgies (Enchanted Island, 1958), all of it climaxed by an apocalyptic aloha in the form of a volcanic eruption or other natural/divine disaster." Schmitt also finds tainted images of paradise as he states, "these pictures portrayed South Sea geography as a constant hazard to life, limb and property. ... Shipwrecks, desert islands, white derelicts, native chiefs, persons fleeing the law, and, above all, interracial romances turn up with stupefying frequency in these movies." In these images, an idyllic island of the South Seas was no longer a paradise, but rather turned out to be a wilderness replete with evils and vices. Thus, a typical South Sea tale describes a handsome Caucasian wanderer discovering an idyllic refuge in the remote Pacific where he falls in love with a beautiful native maiden and leads a temporary life of leisure. Then, a catastrophic force strips away the paradisal environment. The South Sea film effectively provides an image of paradise as a temporary, dreamy retreat shielded from reality, which will eventually be lost.

One of the most notable South Sea tales is, no doubt, Bird of Paradise released in 1932. The film was loosely based on the Broadway stage play written by Richard Walton Tully in 1912. The
original stage presentation was so successful that it triggered a Hawaiian music fad. The film version of 1932 (a second film was made in 1951) was not a sensational hit but it received relatively good reviews. The story begins with the scene of a sailing boat approaching a South Sea island where native canoes gather and welcome the arriving party. Johnny, a handsome young member of the crew, falls in love with a beautiful native princess named Luana, who had earlier rescued him from the attack of a shark. But Luana is not allowed to have a romantic relationship with a foreign, white wanderer and is to wed a prince of another island. Johnny kidnaps her when she dances in the fire ring at the wedding ceremony. They run away and discover "a paradise--the secluded island of lani" replete with tropical foliage and water falls. In such a beautiful environment, Johnny and Luana spend a romantic episode. Building a grass shack, catching fish, they start a paradisal, dreamy life on the isolated island. The island of lani (meaning heaven) is, indeed, a paradise or a temporary retreat for lovers. But, unfortunately, a paradisal life is an ephemeral interlude which is destined to be lost. Luana becomes restless when she sees the volcano's eruption which means the anger of Pele. Natives reach the isolated island and take back Luana. Johnny attempts to abduct Luana once again, but is captured by the natives. Both Luana and Johnny are then to be sacrificed to the angry god of Pele. However, the crew members who had left the island return to the now hostile territory with guns and rescue them. This is a typical cinematic confrontation between white intruders and natives. The force of civilization temporarily solves
the problem in favor of the intruders, but it does not win the hearts of the natives. Luana decides to go back to her people and is to be sacrificed to Pele. A paradise discovered in a South Sea island is lost in the end. Thus, the film effectively provides an image of paradise—a temporary, dreamy refuge. The shots of a magnificent, beautiful environment enhance the image of paradise. One film critic commented that "Possibilities for stunning tropical Hawaiian scenery have been realized to the fullest." Moreover, the scenes of luaus, hula dancing, and native rituals offer exotic images of magical islands.

In the late 1930s, Hollywood began to portray Hawaii in a new cinematic form. Starting with Waikiki Wedding in 1937, musicals played an important role in expressing romantic, exotic, happy, carefree images of Hawaii through singing and dancing. As a film, Waikiki Wedding did not receive good reviews. The Honolulu Advertiser regarded it as "pseudo-Hawaiian narrative," supported by "Los Angeles Hawaiians and many from Honolulu" who looked like native Americans wearing headdresses and necklaces of huge teeth. The critic of the paper also discerned that ferns growing in mountains were transplanted to the beach sections and that Hawaiians in the film danced "jazz hulas" in time to various drums. She considered them "the purest hokum." But Bing Crosby clearly enhanced a romantic image of Hawaii with the Oscar winning 'Sweet Leilani' and other beautiful songs. In the scene where Crosby sings 'Blue Hawaii' in front of Shirley Ross's guest cottage surrounded by verdant foliage, the lovely music works its magic best. His voice
 blends perfectly with the tropical environment. 'Blue Hawaii' once again provides the spell of romance when Crosby and Ross sing together on a sailing boat heading toward a native island. The romantic songs of Waikiki Wedding take the audience into a fantasy of the South Seas. Whether the film created a false image of Hawaii is a matter of controversy. Many island critics claimed that Waikiki Wedding presented "a wildly distorted view of Hawaiian dance and music." The New York Times also stated that Le Roy Prinz, one of the dance directors, clearly had his vision of hula, which expressed a sub-realistic dance far out of the Hawaiian context. The pseudo-hula performers played a significant role in "caroling blithely along the beach, undulating around the tribal campfires." The paper pointed out that one's satisfaction would depend upon one's preference for "Hawaii a la Hollywood." On the other hand, Robert Bookbinder regarded the film as "one of the most believable studio recreations of Hawaii ever filmed, sustaining an exotic Hawaiian atmosphere that very few motion pictures have ever equaled." The film perhaps did not present an authentic image of Hawaii, but it successfully created a tropical paradise image which appealed to the audience. Hollywood's version of a Hawaiian paradise, no matter how it was fabricated, was effectively planted into the consciousness of viewers eager to discover a dreamy island.

After the production of Waikiki Wedding, Hollywood continued to take advantage of the islands' exotic environment with "a string of grade B musicals." Romance, singing and dancing made up for the poor content in those films. David Krauss points out that "Films of
this period portray Hawaii as shangri-la, full of hula dancers, sunsets, coconut trees and lilting ballads. Despite their low quality, musicals clearly provided a romantic image of paradise.

Three musicals released in the late 1930s and the early 1940s represent the films of the Hawaiian theme at that time. *Hawaii Calls* (1938), *Honolulu* (1939), and *Song of the Islands* (1942) were replete with romantic songs, exotic hula dancing and a tropical environment. *Hawaii Calls*, mostly shot in the islands, received good reviews as the local newspaper called it "the best picture of the Islands ever to have been accomplished by the cinema." Despite its poor plot, the film vividly features the songs of Bobby Breen in harmony with a magnificent natural setting. On a boat sailing to Maui, Billy (Bobby Breen) beautifully sings 'Hawaii Calls' under the moonlight. The song perfectly blends with the gentle surf, and might well have enticed millions of viewers to visit the island. In another scene, after displaying the seashore, palms and tropical foliage of Maui, the film shows Billy playing the ukulele and singing 'That's the Hawaiian in Me' with other native children on the beach. The scene depicts the happy, carefree times of the islands. A big luau is another occasion in which Billy's voice fascinates the audience. Hula dancing creating an exotic image of the islands adds a Hawaiian flavor to the scene. Finally, when Billy leaves the islands, he sings 'Aloha Oe' in a melancholy manner. The last scene must have touched the hearts of innumerable viewers. *Hawaii Calls* most effectively combines beautiful songs with splendid scenery.
Honolulu was almost entirely made in Hollywood studios with brief shots of Diamond Head, outrigger canoeing and surfing at Waikiki, and a ship arriving at Honolulu Harbor along with coindivers. The New York Times commented that what the film presented seemed "a good deal nearer West Fiftieth Street than the Hawaiian Islands." Honolulu failed to provide an authentic image of the magnificent tropical environment. Yet it attempted to create a natural setting with palms and waterfalls along the seashore. And the film presented plenty of dancing and singing to support the Hawaiian theme. As a whole, the film did not succeed in presenting a paradisal image of Hawaii, but a flamboyant hula dancing scene featuring Eleanor Powell may have created a Hollywood version of an exotic, gay, and slightly sensual paradise, fascinating or deceiving the audience (and male viewers in particular).

Song of the Islands, the first Technicolor film in Hawaii, portrayed a fictitious Hawaiian island called Ami-Ami Oni-Oni. The film presents a lush tropical landscape in which singing and dancing play a key role. The film starts with a scene of a tropical seashore village preparing for a big luau to welcome a returning daughter (Betty Grable) of the land owner. From the outset, the film shows happy natives enjoying a life of tropical paradise with singing, hula dancing, and lei-making. The village is located in tropical foliage against a backdrop of waterfalls. The set is a typical Hollywood image of a Hawaiian village. In such a beautiful tropical setting, the film effectively depicts a contrast between Betty Grable and Hilo Hattie in singing and dancing. Grable performs hula attractively and
vigorously while Hattie expresses an image of a happy, carefree Hawaiian. Moreover, the film portrays a romantic image of the tropical paradise in the scene where Grable and Victor Mature go horseback-riding along the seashore and lie on the beach. The beautiful shots of the Kalapana black sand beach on the Big Island must have impressed the audience. Although Song of the Islands was reviewed by a critic as "a great bathing suit advertisement," it clearly presented an exotic, romantic, happy image of Hawaii.

Musicals as well as the South Sea films thus enhanced a paradisal vision of Hawaii in the first half of the century. Hollywood did not always succeed in portraying authentic images of Hawaii, and it quite often distorted and blurred Hawaiian reality. Most films of the two cinematic genres featured exotic, gay, or sensuous hula dancing, and they also showed an imaginary native village on the seashore surrounded by verdant tropical foliage with palm trees and accentuated by fabricated cascades. Nevertheless, Hollywood's creation of a magnificent environment appealed to the consciousness of the audience, which surely stimulated millions of prospective visitors to come to the islands. The effective use of Hawaii's alluring landscape was repeated in a variety of film genres. Even in The Black Camel (1930), one of the early Charlie Chan movies, Waikiki's attractive environment plays an important role. The movie starts with a scene of native surfers catching the gentle waves with Diamond Head in the background. It also features the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, showing opulent interiors and renowned tropical
gardens. Aside from the plot, the picturesque landscape of Waikiki must have appealed to the audience of crime cinema.

The most powerful portrayal of Hawaii's environment, no doubt, was that of *From Here to Eternity* (1953) which won the Oscar for best film. *The New York Times* acclaimed it as "a shining example of truly professional movie making." The film includes a rendezvous between Deborah Kerr and Burt Lancaster on the beach. Effectively portraying the majestic mountains and the shining water, the scene clearly enhanced the verdant imagery of tropical islands. Moreover, another famous scene of a romantic encounter between these two characters on the beach must have enticed millions of lovers to experience an unforgettable date on the seductive Hawaiian sand. Finally, the film shows a melancholy Deborah Kerr departing on a steamer. Tossing her lei into the ocean with the customary wish to return to the islands, overlooking the majestic Waikiki shoreline and the overall landscape of Honolulu against the background of the Koolau mountains, Kerr states, "I think it's the most beautiful place I ever saw in my life." No other scene in the history of Hollywood productions provided a more powerful message to boost the paradisal image of Hawaii than that final moment of *From Here to Eternity*.

Waikiki's natural beauty was greatly enhanced by Hollywood's panoramic presentations, which primarily served an enthusiastic audience on the mainland. But, the films on Hawaiian themes, of course, were also released locally and attracted many residents as well as visitors. The Waikiki Theater, built in 1936, furnished a
perfect setting for the display of a Hollywood version of paradise. C. W. Dickey, the architect, conveyed a tropical Hawaiian atmosphere with a trendy architectural style in the outer structure. The interior of the theater dazzled the moviegoer with verdant tropical foliage, and Hawaiian flora: banana trees, lauhala, papaya, cereus, and other local plants. The grand rainbow-arched screen was decorated with two real coconut palms on both sides. The aisles were embellished with hand paintings of hibiscus. Homer Merill did a masterful job in creating a paradisal setting inside the theater. Two hula dancer murals created by Marguerite Blasingame also enhanced the pop-Hawaiian aura in the lobby area. Outside the theater, there was a fountain in the center court inscribed with signatures of the Hollywood celebrities of the 1930s. Thus, the Waikiki Theater symbolized the now-familiar paradisal image of Waikiki. Those who watched Hawaiian films in such a tropical setting were clearly transported into a fantasy island of the legendary South Seas.

It was not only Hollywood's reinvention of Hawaii, but also the frequent visits of its stars and moguls that enormously popularized the image of tropical magic. Hollywood stars regularly visited Hawaii then, either for location or for vacation. In the latter case, the news and pictures of famous figures enjoying a fantasy life of leisure stimulated the eagerness of movie fans to visit the islands. Following in the footsteps of Hollywood celebrities had become America's national pastime by the 1930s. Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks, who spent a pleasant interlude at the Royal Hawaiian in 1929, boosted the image of the hotel and of Honolulu in general,
since they later wrote that Honolulu "was the most beautiful place in the world." Resting then on the summit of Hollywood superstardom, Pickford and Fairbanks exerted a tremendous influence upon the consciousness of fans. Pickford also visited the islands in 1937 on a honeymoon with her next husband, musician Charles (Buddy) Rogers. A photo of the couple sitting in an outrigger canoe provides a pleasant image of the sea and surf. Another Hollywood couple, Carole Lombard and William Powell, honeymooned at the Royal in 1931. The photo of the stars against the background of Diamond Head must have served as a great advertisement for Waikiki. Charlie Chaplin was a frequent visitor to Hawaii. In 1917 he briefly posed as a stand-in traffic officer in downtown Honolulu, which caused a stir at the time. Shirley Temple visited the islands for a family vacation in 1935; the eight-year-old star attracted more than ten thousand fans at Honolulu Harbor and became an official member of the Waikiki Beach Patrol during her stay. Bing Crosby was also a guest at the Royal Hawaiian in 1936 before the filming of Waikiki Wedding. As noted earlier, it was during this vacation that Crosby became fascinated by Owens' 'Sweet Leilani'; he was a great publicist of Waikiki and its premier hotel at that time. Every footstep of these figures in Hawaii was followed closely by millions of travelers who were enchanted by Hollywood's creation of a Hawaiian paradise. The mythical creation of Waikiki owed a great debt to the American movie industry.
DON BLANDING

In the mythmaking process involving Waikiki and Hawaii in general, the role of Don Blanding was as significant as that of Duke Kahanamoku. Blanding publicized the magical islands of the South Seas through his artistic, poetic and intellectual imagination, much as Duke did with his athletic skills and heroic persona.

Blanding's first encounter with a version of paradise happened in 1915 at the age of 21. On the way from Nova Scotia to his native Oklahoma, he stopped off between trains in Kansas City where he took in a theatrical production of "Bird of Paradise." The exotic stage play fascinated Blanding, who was completely captivated by the spell of Hawaii for two magical hours. The images of Hawaii presented in the drama included melancholy songs with ancient native chants and a ritual of furious dancing. What attracted him most was the sensual hula dancing of Lenore Ulrich, against the tropical background featuring palm trees. "Bird of Paradise" took Blanding into the realm of illusion, and within a week he was on a ship heading toward the South Seas in search of his imaginary islands.86

Born in Kingfisher, Oklahoma in 1894, Don Blanding moved to Lawton, Oklahoma where he spent most of his childhood. The town was located in a frontier territory surrounded by the Comanche Indians, who provided much excitement for the young Blanding. He became fascinated by their native culture: blankets, feathers, beads, ceremonial dances and legends. Blanding also acquired knowledge of the mountains and the prairies from an Apache guide, John Loco.87
This assimilation into native American culture in his childhood helped Blanding to become interested in native Hawaiian culture and to respect the integrity of its people.

As early as age 15, Blanding began the life of a "vagabond." His encounter with native American culture galvanized his search for other more exotic and mysterious things hidden away in the world. Simultaneously, Blanding's artistic talent, first expressed in his sketches and drawings of Indian culture, directed him to seek new and interesting materials. After spending a summer wandering around Yellowstone, Blanding moved to Chicago, where he received formal art training at the Art Institute. Remaining there intermittently for several years, he joined an intellectual circle led by the famous writer Sherwood Anderson. The group clearly stimulated young Blanding's literary imagination. During those years he led a Bohemian life while wandering about the West and the Northwest, and engaging in a variety of jobs which included working in hay fields, teaching art and acting in theaters. Then, Blanding roamed over Canada, and on his return to his native Oklahoma, he happened to stop at Kansas City, which drastically changed his life for the next 15 years. During that period, Blanding based his home in Honolulu while spending some time in Hollywood, Camp Grant, Illinois, and Paris and London for art schools.88

In 1929, Don Blanding headed toward New York, where he built the Vagabond's House Studio replete with treasures from the Seven Seas collected over the years. During his stay in New York he painted screens and wall panels with Hawaiian flora and fauna while
writing stories and poems with some illustrations. Blanding also began a career of lecturing by reading his poems and sharing his unique experiences of wandering around the world. Then the vagabond's life continued with a number of publications. In search of hidden places, Blanding explored the desert country in New Mexico, and in quest of mysterious enchantments he sailed for the Orient. Both California and Florida also provided new excitments for Blanding. Colors, sounds, scents, and sights in each place stimulated his artistic, poetic imagination, which resulted in a flow of publications.

In 1957 the life of Don Blanding came to an end. His vagabond character directed his path throughout the life seeking "the sensuous in color, flavor, foods, textures, and every other appeal to the seven senses." Hawaii clearly offered an exotic, mythic, sensuous experience to Blanding's life.

Blanding's experience in Hawaii is well described in Hula Moons, published in 1930. The book reveals his impressions of Hawaii vividly and articulately. Fascinated by exotic, magical environments, Blanding expressed in the book "the fleeting essences of romantic and colorful Hawaii." His assimilation into native culture also made him produce "the most animated and honest presentation of these magic islands since Mark Twain."

The first views of Oahu's landscape from the steamer instantly stirred Blanding's imagination. The majestic view of Diamond Head made him think that "Certain great masses of land seem to be magnets for the imaginations of men. Unforgettable silhouettes
stenciled on a dream fabric." Blanding clearly recognized Diamond Head as a symbolic land form of Hawaii. With artistic imagination, he described it as "an old, extinct crater, crouched like a headless sphinx with its paws in the sea guarding the tropical city." The initial impression of Waikiki was "a ribbon of yellow sand beaded with the gay bungalows of the tourists, with the white structure of the Moana as pendant." In 1915 the magnificent Moana was the only tall building in Waikiki that caught the eyes of visitors aboard the ship. Along with Diamond Head, the Moana served as a symbolic element in Waikiki's landscape. As a whole, the picturesque color of Oahu's beautiful scenery impressed Blanding, who stated that "the impact of colors came with almost physical force." He witnessed, "shades of green that (he) thought existed only on an artist's palette, viridian, jade, pistachio, emerald, flooded and flowed from mountain peaks down slopes into valleys to the sea." As an artist, Blanding was naturally a keen observer of the colorful landscape of Hawaii. From the steamer, he had already absorbed the beauty of the magical islands.

As the steamer approached the harbor, it was welcomed by native coin divers. Blanding regarded them as direct descendants of the first Hawaiians who swam out to greet the ships of Captain Cook. At the pier, he was amazed by the gaiety of the crowd. With a variety of ethnic backgrounds they showed energetic spirit and colorful dress. Blanding explained that "the pier was a garden of gay blossoming, and the expression common to all faces was an honest smile." The fragrance of flowers dominating the harbor also pleased
the third sense of Blanding. The pier was filled with warm, hospitable, welcoming spirits flowing from the gay crowd to all the passengers. Blanding, of course, received a lei as a symbol of Hawaiian hospitality and felt it "so generous, so splendid, that it overwhelms the visitor." 

Blanding viewed Honolulu as "a thoroughly modern American city with all of the advantages of civilization, yet with the charm of a neighborly little village." In other words, the city possessed the character of a middle landscape between wilderness and civilization. Honolulu was heading toward urbanization. In the process, the old charms would fade away gradually. But, Blanding was still able to foresee the future of Honolulu retaining the aura of the magical city: "Certain simple beauties were departing before efficiency and Americanization, but the larger loveliness, the personality of the place would remain always." Despite its progress, Honolulu was a long way yet from urban developments seen in American cities around that time. The city retained the beautiful, tropical environment which so attracted Blanding.

Blanding had an opportunity to attend a luau party on the island of Maui. A native luau is not just a casual party with plenty of food and drink, but rather it manifests the life style of native Hawaiians. Before the luau began, Blanding enjoyed watching the preparations for the pageant: making leis for the guests, arranging a variety of food, fishing in the ocean, and roasting pig in the imu. He also relaxed himself with swimming and body-surfing. Swimming, in particular, satisfied him as he stated, "There is nothing more
restful and refreshing than a swim in the warm-cool Hawaiian seas. Before the opening of the luau, a priest offered native chants which seemed to Blanding to invite "the forest gods and the friendly spirits of the sea." Thus, the luau contained a certain religious element. Blanding started to taste the variety of dishes in front of him. Mostly with satisfaction and sometimes with bewilderment, he tried to eat unknown, novel native food including laulau, lomi-lomi and poi. A luau is always accompanied by singing and dancing. While tasting a native drink, okolehao, Blanding enjoyed listening to native boys singing in accordance with guitars and ukulele, and watching girls performing beautiful hula. A luau does not just consist of dinner and show. Eating, napping, moonlight swimming, strolling, singing and dancing continued on until the early morning. As Blanding discovered, "the charm of a luau lies in its informality." A luau represents the informal life style of native Hawaiians who enjoy themselves to the maximum level.

Blanding enjoyed a paradisal life on Maui for several months. Beachcombing, wandering, sketching for the little money needed there, Blanding led a life of leisure. He mentioned, "it was a time of the most complete contentment I have ever known," and "it was a long vacation beginning with each dawn and ending when whim dictated." Time constraints and monotony do not exist in such a pleasant life. Blanding explored mountains, forests, and beaches in quest of excitement and learned about Hawaiian legends and religion. The life did not seem to belong to the real world, but rather it appeared to exist in the realm of dream. On the nights of the
beautiful moon, Blanding enjoyed wandering on the beach, swimming, singing and dancing. He also went out in an outrigger canoe "floating on a sea that was luminous with silver in a world that was a paradise in a dream." Blanding, indeed, discovered a paradise in the dreamy islands of the South Seas.

Not only the magnificent environment but also native Hawaiian culture fascinated Blanding, who became deeply involved in Hawaiian life. As a Kamaaina who loved native food, witnessed ancient rituals and learned legends, Blanding attempted to assimilate himself to native Hawaiian culture. As a result, he received a Hawaiian name, "Alohi Lani" meaning the light from heaven. Immersed in the paradisal environment and versed in native Hawaiian culture, Blanding spread the alluring beauties of Hawaii.

Don Blanding expressed specific views toward Waikiki, which had developed into a first-class tourist resort by the late 1920s. As the song writers referred to it as "an oasis in the modern desert of boredom where tired and retired businessmen seek to recharge their burned-out batteries," Blanding knew that Waikiki's water possessed "an amazing rejuvenating effect on uncomfortable middle age." Waikiki was a temporary retreat for the tired and the aged to cleanse, heal, and renew themselves. Moreover, Blanding viewed it as a place for a frivolous romance between vacationing female visitors and local men, Hawaiian beachboys in particular. Blanding recognized that Waikiki had something special to provide a romantic night for the transient couple. Hawaiian moonlight and the climate along with music served as the perfect background for romance. But
Blanding expressed a cynical view toward the easy romantic encounters as he stated, "the wild women of the beaches are principally tourists and malihinis who have blossomed into strange hybrids under the change of temperature." Blanding also regarded those men frequenting the beach as "emotional quick-change artists of the first order ... off with the old and on with the new," and called the beachboys "the play-boys of the Pacific, cavorting all day in the surf, teaching swimming, surf riding and the finer shadings of tropical love making to the tourines and tourettes who evince a desire for it." Despite these harsh responses to the instant couple, Blanding realized Waikiki's romantic atmosphere appealed to the dreamy tourists.

As his quote regarding the quick and easy romances indicates, Blanding saw Waikiki as an ephemeral world. He observed that Waikiki was "a beach on which the floating, amusement-seeking driftwood of humanity rest transiently before wandering away with the next rip tide." For him Waikiki Beach was a frivolous, harmless place where "the passion-game is played with a lighter touch." Since the tourists stayed there for a limited time, Blanding noticed, "they make gay while the moon shines." Blanding thought that such a world naturally created "easy contacts, brief-burning flames of romance." The tourists who mostly remained in Waikiki did not have an opportunity to meet local residents. Therefore, Blanding believed that they had difficulty in discovering "the real charm of life in Honolulu," and they would not be "completely enchanted with the friendly spirit of the place." It is quite natural for Blanding
who was absorbed into native Hawaiian culture and immersed into the local community to think that tourists would see only the superficial charms of Hawaii. Yet, in their limited time and space, the tourists in fact received warm, generous hospitality from local people welcoming them at the pier, working in the hotel and serving them on the beach. Above all, most travelers came over to Hawaii not to see the real world but to experience a fantasy atmosphere. They enjoyed a life of leisure at Waikiki, a temporary retreat shielded from daily reality. The ephemeral world of Waikiki provided the paradisal dream which the tourist longed for.

By 1930, Waikiki’s landscape had drastically changed into a tourist resort with the construction of the Ala Wai Canal and the opening of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Blanding described the scene in Waikiki in these words: “Now, a huge Florida-style, gilt-and-glory hotel squats like a monstrous, gaudy hen surrounded by innumerable chicks, which are the little bungalows of the beach dwellers.” He seems to have lamented the development of tourist accommodations replacing the old houses of Waikiki. Yet Blanding recognized that the visitors had a pleasant time in Waikiki where “the surf is always glorious; the sky is Hawaiian blue; the moon is ever a hula moon, and the singing boys supply a fairy authentic local color ...” Although Waikiki had been commercialized and synthesized, Blanding explained, it still maintained its old charm and beauty.

Along with its marvelous ocean environment and an almost perfect climate, Blanding discovered the charms of Waikiki in a day-
time spectacle and a romantic moonlit night. Despite his rather critical comments on the beachboys’ relationships with female visitors, Blanding acknowledged the physical prowess of the beachboys. In the water they were, indeed, “bronze gods.” Blanding was extremely impressed with the artistic surf riding of the beachboys who acted like “Mercurys speeding with winged feet over the water or mad horsemen standing on the backs of stampeding white-manned stallions of Neptune.” The spectacular scene even stimulated Blanding’s poetic imagination:

God of the sea ... like winging gulls they soar,
Light as the spray that stings their bronzy breasts,
Swift as the wind that races them to shore,
Sons of the surf that bears them on its crests.

Blanding clearly worshipped the surfers as bronzed gods of the ocean. In addition to watching the spectacular performance of native surfers, Blanding found it thrilling for the tourist to ride the surf in the outrigger canoes. Since surfing on the board required experience in, and knowledge of, the waves, the short-time visitors had difficulty in acquiring the skill. But outrigger canoeing was guided by the beachboys who knew when and how to stroke the paddle. The sport provided sufficient fun and a thrill for the tourists. Waikiki offered a spectacular scene of native surfers and a thrilling experience of outrigger canoeing. The beachboys played an important role for these activities. The ancient royal sports, indeed,
preserved the old charms of Waikiki which Blanding discovered under the Hawaiian sunshine.

The spell of Waikiki was further enhanced as the sun set on the horizon. Blanding recognized that Waikiki provided a romantic, mythical night for tourists as well as residents. Music contributed to creating a lovely, dreamy environment. Happy noise from small cottages, the hapa-haole sounds from the luxurious hotels, and Hawaiian melodies on the beach—all types of music dominated the environment. The moon light seen through the swaying palms also supported a romantic night. The Moana Pier served as a symbolic landmark for romantic couples. At night the long board walk was filled with men and women holding hands in the dark. The romantic pier was surrounded by mythical atmosphere. “Diamond Head, silhouetted against a silver-amber moon, crouches in the distance, a tolerant chaperon. Mist and spray from the passing surf weave gauzy veils of illusion.” Thus, Waikiki made a magical, dreamy performance to provide a romantic night for lovers. Blanding wrote the following poem to describe a Waikiki romance:

Sea asleep ... except for restless sighing;
Drowsy moon ... above the trade-clouds showing;
Lazy palms ... their ragged banners throwing
Shadow lace upon the figures lying.

Sprawling in the moon light.
Strumming ukulele,
Fellow humming gaily
Song about a June night.
Pretty girl ... her eyes with dreaming soften;
Lucky chap ... his arms are close about her;
Whispered words ... he care not live without her;
Drowsy moon ... has watched the scene so often.  

The poem would have attracted the millions of lovers who longed for
the romantic charm of Waikiki at night.

Blanding divided the images of Hawaii into day and night,
comparing them to two flowers. A red hibiscus represented the day,
expressing "friendly, flamboyant, gay" images while a white ginger
meant the night, revealing "romantic, perfumed, mystic" images.
The day-time spectacle and the moon-night romance in Waikiki
clearly fit those images of flowers.

Don Blanding saw Hawaii as "The Garden of Eden with a few
serpents (not reptiles) to keep things from getting monotonous."  
Hawaii was a paradise with a spectacle, a magic and a romance.
Above all, Blanding was fascinated by nature’s astonishing work. A
poem titled “What is Hawaii?” well expressed the lure of the magical
islands of the South Seas. He wrote:

    Shadows of trade clouds racing on the sand,
    Nights that are webs of moonlight spun with song,
    Bridges of rainbows joining sky and land,
    Days that are hours ... hours eons long.
    Thundering surf in grand exalted chant,
    Suns that are guinea gold and moons of brass,
    Copperous dawns and sunsets palpitant,
    Pulsing with color. Kona storms that pass,
    Frantic and frenzied, tarnishing the sea,
    Bellowing challenge to the surf’s mad roar,
    Dying in distant purple pageantry,
    Leaving the land more smiling than before.
    Sunlight and shadow, stars and veiling mist,
Moody, uncertain, mingled tears and smiles.
When I'm away my heart keeps faithful tryst
With my far, pagan, thrice-enchanted isles.  

The natural wonder of Hawaii always captivated Blanding. Every
element of magical nature--moon, rainbow, dawn, sunset, surf and
storm--appealed to his poetic imagination.

Hawaiian moonlight, in particular, captured the heart and mind
of Blanding. He explained the magical effects of the moon as follows:

There's a misty murky magic in the bright Hawaiian moonlight;
It has tricky, wiki-wiki, sort of hula-hula gleams;
It's a liquor full of bubbles and it dissipates your troubles.
Oh, it's amorous and glamorous, and fills you full of dreams. 

In Blanding's poetic imagination, the Hawaiian moon with hula
gleams possessed a magical power to eliminate troubles and to
provide romantic dreams. Blanding was so enchanted with the moon
that he put the title of a book "Hula Moons" and also wrote lyrics for
the music "There's Romance in the Moonlight of Hawaii."

With its magnificent natural environment and almost perfect
climate, the Hawaiian paradise offered Blanding joyous living without
much tension, competition and pressure which haunted everyday
life. The paradisal life provided positive effects upon mental and
physical health. Blanding discovered "peace of heart, mind and
body," and he felt "the relaxing of tense muscles and taut nerves as a
tourist from pressured Mainland cities yields to the caressing lomi­
lomi of the trade winds." For Blanding, Hawaii was a temporary
retreat where one could heal, cure, and refresh one's wounded body and tired mind.

The Hawaiian paradise provided not only mental and physical rejuvenation but also artistic and intellectual stimulation. Blanding stated that the artist would discover in the magical islands "a palette of broken opals and fluid jewels, challenging him to paint," while the poet would see the enchanted islands as "a land of dream-phantasy where his most extravagant phrases are too frail to hold his visions captive." Blanding was so fascinated by the number of colors in the environment at one time that he could not match them on canvas. He simply absorbed the beauty with body and mind. Many artists, poets and writers probably shared his feeling in the presence of the majestic scenery. Yet they have produced a number of fabulous works apparently affected by Hawaii's beautiful environment. Blanding was, of course, one of those whose intellectual imagination was stimulated and developed while gazing at the gentle surf under the swaying palms on the beach or strolling in the tropical foliage replete with the scent of flowers. The paradisal environment of Hawaii clearly exerted a tremendous influence upon the imagination of great artists, poets and writers.

Nothing appealed to the heart of Blanding more than the aloha spirit. He stated that "More than all else, my Hawaii means Aloha to me, in the true sense. ..." Blanding regarded it as "the very genius of Hawaii" which is "immaterial but more real than structural steel." Hawaiian aloha, expressing love, friendship and hospitality, truly captivated Blanding throughout his entire stay in the islands.
The flower leis symbolize the aloha spirit. Blanding knew that the custom of making and giving leis which originated in ancient Hawaii was indispensable to Hawaiian life and culture. Native women and children engaged in "weaving intricate and elaborate wreaths of scarlet hibiscus, flagrant plumeria, gaudy bougainvillea or golden ilima" for luaus, ceremonies or holidays, and they made an extra effort in lei making for a boat day. Blanding recognized the importance of leis symbolizing aloha not only for native Hawaiians but for local residents since non-native island people had adopted the lovely custom so much that they wore leis in daily life. But as the number of visitors and newcomers increased, Blanding lamented, the charming Hawaiian custom "became almost entirely a steamer day gesture of farewell or welcome." He did not want to witness the disappearance of such a lovely custom. Therefore, in 1927, Blanding proposed to have a Lei Day in Hawaii in order to "rejoice over the fact that one lived in a Paradise." Blanding believed that flowers would unite all the Island people of different ethnic backgrounds into "a splendid spirit of one-ness," expressing friendliness. In 1929, Blanding's hope to perpetuate the aloha spirit was fulfilled when Lei Day became an official Territorial holiday.

Furthermore, Blanding expressed in a poem titled "Aloha" how the leis of aloha would remain deep in the hearts of tourists who tossed them into the ocean from the departing steamer with their wish for returning to the islands. He wrote:

The flower leis cast on the water,
With wistful and lingering hands,
Will drift to the shore with the trade-winds
And rest on the sun-gilded sands.

But leis of Aloha are fadeless,
Their fragrance will never depart;
So cherish these garlands of romance
And weave them into your heart.124

No one felt the meaning of leis stronger than Blanding did at the pier upon leaving. Warm, genuine, friendly Hawaiian aloha was deeply embedded in the heart of the vagabond. When Blanding threw the leis into the ocean with his wish for return, he may have reciprocated his love to the island people. The leis of aloha, indeed, symbolized the paradisal life of Don Blanding in Hawaii.

Hawaii was "Heart's Home" and "the Returning Place" for Blanding.125 It was a paradise where one could temporarily fulfill one's dreams and then one could seek to recapture them after leaving the islands. Hawaii possessed a magical, magnetic lure to attract those who once lived and visited there to return to the islands.126 Blanding clearly discovered in Hawaii a magical, dreamy, colorful, beautiful environment which provided a joyful, exciting day and a romantic, mystic night. The life of leisure restored peace of heart and mind and comfort of body while the majestic scenery stimulated his intellectual imagination. Above all, Blanding was deeply impressed with the warm and cordial aloha spirit which the island people offered all the time. All these dreams which were never discovered in other parts of the world were satisfied in the Hawaiian paradise.
During his 15 year stay in Hawaii, Blanding witnessed the changing landscape of the islands. Since the time when Stevenson enjoyed a serene, peaceful life at the Sans Souci, Waikiki had changed into a first-class resort with the luxurious Royal Hawaiian. Around 1930, despite the developments, Blanding still discovered the glamorous charms of Hawaii as he mentioned, "the grass house is gone, ... but the spirit of the grass house lingers on" and "the blues of the Hawaiian sea and the blues of jazz bands blend at Waikiki." Although Blanding regretted the disappearing native culture, he accepted the blending of the past and the present for the positive future. As long as he detected the old charm, he would be pleased to see progress. Blanding mentioned, "as long as a hula moon spills its laughing silver over the Islands; as long as the trade winds carry the wild sweetness of white ginger blossoms," as long as beautiful Hawaiian songs flow, Hawaii would continue to provide "enchantment and beauty and romance." Around 1930, Hawaii still boasted a magnificent environment which attracted thousands of tourists. The spell of Hawaii that Blanding discovered in his initial encounter with paradise continued to capture the eyes of visitors.

With "a warm heart, a great sense of humor, and a talent to spin words into wonderful Hawaiian recollections," Don Blanding spread beautiful images of magical islands and the warm spirit of aloha to an enthusiastic audience on the US mainland. He was a great publicist and mythmaker of Hawaii, who certainly enhanced the resort paradisal image of Waikiki.
The mythmaking media and individuals never seemed to rest in their efforts to enhance the resort paradisal image of Waikiki. The Hawaii Tourist Bureau engaged actively in promoting and advertising the spell of Waikiki and of Hawaii in general. Hollywood's recreation of Hawaii also attracted millions of audience to dream about a resort paradise of the South Seas. Furthermore, Harry Owens provided a romantic night for guests of the Royal Hawaiian and offered a mythical dream to the audience of his music in live shows and on television. Don Blanding also enhanced the image of a transient retreat with his artistic and poetic imagination. The paradisal myth of Waikiki was truly strengthened by their efforts.

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CHAPTER X

A RESORT PARADISE FOR THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS

The physical transformation of Waikiki in the 1920s brought about by the construction of the Ala Wai Canal, the establishment of the Royal Hawaiian, and the renovation of other hotels, resulted in the creation of an affluent resort paradise. The image making media and influential mythmakers successfully enhanced the resort paradisal image of Waikiki. How, then, did visitors in the 1930s and the 1940s view the landscape of Waikiki? Were they able to discover a paradisal retreat through their activities and experiences? This chapter examines the meaning of Waikiki from the viewpoint of the visitors who actually interacted with the environment. In addition, local reactions to the decisive transformation of Waikiki to a wealthy resort will be examined here. Finally, the present chapter will analyze the plans for Waikiki which affected the character of the seashore resort.

A PARADISE FOR THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS

The Royal Hawaiian Hotel provided beauty, luxury and hospitality for the affluent leisure class that enjoyed the modern, sophisticated service of a first-class hotel as offered both in America and in Europe. With its palatial atmosphere, the hotel treated the tourists as royal guests. Despite its majestic, opulent images
apparently expressed in the distinctive architecture and interior decorations, the Royal emphasized simplicity. The guest spent a simple, quiet, restful life in the magnificent environment. Above all, the Royal served as a temporary retreat for the visitor who sought rest and comfort in a tropical setting. The exotic South Sea images were clearly manifested in the beautifully landscaped garden occupying the hotel grounds. Tropical foliage featuring royal coconut palms and exotic flowers perfectly blended with fountains, shady nooks and velvety lawns. The garden created a gorgeous middle landscape. The guest strolling on the beautifully manicured paths must have been taken into a paradisal dream with the joyous songs of birds, fragrance of tropical flowers, rhythmic sounds of surf, and gentle whispers of trade winds. The setting was truly a Garden of Eden adjacent to the seashore. One visitor noted that "man and nature were allies in the joyous task of creating this gorgeous gem of Hawaii." The guest of the Royal was perfectly infused into a resort paradisal environment filled with natural beauty. The resort hotel itself was a paradise for the guest who enjoyed a restful life without cares, troubles or the problems of daily living.

The wealthy guests of the Royal usually stayed there for weeks and sometimes months, and therefore needed extra activities to supplement the comfortable rest in the hotel and the beach activities, which served as the primary attraction (which will be discussed later). The Royal provided a variety of entertainment, recreation and sport organized by Paul S. Winslow, business manager and assistant treasurer, and William P. Simmons, amusement director. Upon
arrival, the guest received a booklet entitled "What to Do in Honolulu and How to Do it," which explained all the features of activities and entertainment. On the hotel properties the guest could enjoy archery, lawn bowling, tennis and badminton, and might also take hula and ukulele lessons. Outside activities included a scenic automobile tour, fishing, horseback riding and hiking. Golf could be played at the hotel-owned Waialae Golf Club while luaus could be arranged either at a private home or at the golf club. The entertainment programs included coconut palm tree-climbing by native boys in the day, musical performances by the Royal Hawaiian Girls' Glee Club in the dining room and of course, by the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra led by Harry Owens in the ballroom. Through all these activities and entertainment, the guest of the Royal enjoyed a life of leisure in a tropical setting. Some visitors, furthermore, attempted to explore other islands in order to enhance their experiences of paradise.

Before 1920, the tourists' activities in Waikiki centered upon the beach areas and the hotel grounds. But the construction of the Ala Wai which created an affluent resort community, and the increasing number of tourists who sought a touch of civilized life led to the development of the main street. The late 1920s and the 1930s witnessed the establishment of many shops and restaurants along Kalakaua Avenue which used to serve merely as a connecting road between downtown Honolulu and Waikiki. The Honolulu Advertiser reported in 1938 that "What was once just another street is today a thoroughfare of life and gaiety. The lights may be dimmed in other
sections of Honolulu—they may even be turned out—but not along Kalakaua avenue." A variety of commercial buildings including drug stores, beauty parlors, boutiques, curio shops, art stores along with restaurants fulfilled the needs and demands of the visitor. The Waikiki Theater built in 1936 also added a glamorous atmosphere to the main street.

Among these various stores, the branch of the S. & G. Gump Company of San Francisco perhaps attracted the affluent tourist most. The fashionable store, established in 1929, displayed ancient and modern objects of art from around the world and provided wealthy clients with high quality merchandise to embellish private residents and public buildings. George Mellen wrote in The Honolulu Star Bulletin that a "Temple of Memories on Kalakaua Avenue known as Gump's" combined romance with commerce. Another reporter also mentioned that "a visit to this latest addition to the art life of Honolulu" was "a thrilling experience" as if one were taken into "one of the treasure caves of an Oriental romance--Aladdin's or Ali Baba's ..." The thrilling experience began when the visitor first noticed the distinctive architecture of the store. George Mellen stated that Hart Wood, architect, created a distinctive structure of Chinese style harmoniously blended with Hawaiian flavor. In the use of stucco walls, tiles and woods, Wood expressed "friendly charm, hospitality, spaciousness and atmosphere of welcome" no matter how it was influenced by Spanish, Italian, British or Oriental style. According to Mellen, the color coordination of the building—the imperial blue of the roof tiles, the white stucco of the exterior walls, the green verde
copper of the gutters and leaders and the red-black finish of the wood work--expressed a unique quality against the background of a clear blue sky and the verdant Koolau mountains topped with white clouds.8

In such a distinctive structure as this store, the visitor was fascinated by priceless treasures on display. Introduced as objects of art, they included ancient Chinese vases, masterful paintings, and carved jades, all of which were of museum quality. Both merchandise and artwork were neatly arranged item by item in separate rooms. The most enchanting room must have been the jade room located on the second floor. The visitor was initially impressed with a huge ancient lock from the imperial palace of Peking. Inside the room, characterized by simplicity, there were teak-wood chairs, two tables covered with gold Chinese velvet and cabinets along the walls. The floor was carpeted in the color of jade. The visitor found in these cabinets museum quality Chinese and Oriental art objects including ancient bronzes, burial pottery, primitive items, old porcelains and various jades.9 In the jade room the visitor was perhaps drawn into a romantic dream of the ancient Orient. Furthermore, Gump's store spared some space for three different courtyards. One was a Chinese garden featuring a lotus pool into which a waterfall cascaded down from miniature mountains. It also portrayed Chinese porcelain figures. The other two were characterized by European gardens containing marbles and statuary.10 As a whole, the gorgeous store, located on Kalakaua
Avenue opposite the Royal Hawaiian, satisfied the tastes and desires of the wealthy tourists staying in the luxurious resort.

Along with the opulent merchandise of Gump's, Hawaiian products and curios attracted the eyes of the tourists. By the late 1940s, a number of stores featuring a Hawaiian or Polynesian theme had occupied Kalakaua Avenue. These stores typically carried Hawaiian wood products such as bowls and ornaments carved out of koa wood, coral shell decorations, Hawaiian jewelry and lauhala mats. Among them, Don the Beachcomber opened unique curio stores and a restaurant using the thatched cottages under the coconut grove located across the street from the Outrigger Canoe Club. Each hut carried distinctive items and was surrounded by a tropical atmosphere with open courts and Hawaiian plants. Don the Beachcomber's stores nicely matched Waikiki's environment.

Until the late 1920s, the Waikiki Tavern was the only restaurant in Waikiki except the hotel dining rooms, which catered to tourists and residents alike. In 1929, P. Y. Chong, cook and proprietor, opened a fancy Chinese restaurant called Lau Yee Chai. Creating a gorgeous Oriental setting with antique artwork, beautiful rock garden and open courts, it became one of "the nation's most celebrated eating and dancing places." Lau Yee Chai attracted a number of celebrity guests during the 1930s and the 1940s. For instance, Charlie Chaplin dined with George Bernard Shaw, a famous playwright, in 1930. Their lunch menu included everything from soup to chop suey except meats because Chaplin followed the preference of Shaw, who was a vegetarian. The photo of the dining
scene occupied the front page of The Honolulu Advertiser on February 27. Lau Yee Chai truly became a Waikiki landmark catering to the affluent tourist.

In addition to the hut serving meals to the general public, Don the Beachcomber's restaurant boasted the High Talking Chief's hut which provided informal private parties in a Hawaiian atmosphere for affluent guests. The owner encouraged the guests to wear Hawaiian costumes such as holokus or muumuus for the ladies and pareus or lava-lava for the gentlemen in order to enjoy Hawaiian food, atmosphere and entertainment at its best. The tropical setting was marvelously enhanced by the lanai floor made of slabs of monkeypod tree trunks and tables also made of monkey pod with a base of palm tree trunk. The guests in search of South Sea experience truly enjoyed exotic drinks and food, and fascinating hula dancing and music at the High Talking Chief's hut of Don the Beachcomber's.15

Another notable restaurant built before 1950 was the South Seas restaurant which conveyed its glamour with bamboo, tapa walls, and other features of authentic Polynesian construction and design.16 The restaurant was clearly congruent with Waikiki's tropical setting. Moreover, a number of small eating places and garden restaurants opened on Kalakaua Avenue during the 1930s and 1940s, serving local residents as well as tourists. The main street of Waikiki provided a delightful dining experience for the tourist who gained opportunities to eat outside of the hotel.
Thus, with the opening of shops and restaurants, Kalakaua Avenue was transformed into a lively, glamorous spot, which offered a touch of civilized experience in a tropical setting. The development of Kalakaua Avenue along with the construction of residential homes and apartment houses before the middle of 20th century directed the future of Waikiki toward an urban resort. The resort paradise of Waikiki began to shift away from the pole of wilderness to that of civilization.

Despite all of these activities—recreation and sports, Oahu tour and neighbor island trips, and shopping and dining on Kalakaua—Waikiki Beach remained as the center stage for the tourists. In the 1930s, the beach was improved and expanded in order to accommodate the increasing number of tourists. Earlier residents on the beach frontage had erected sea walls and extended their own back yards into the ocean, which divided the crescent beach into sections. The beach reclamation project of the 1930s attempted to restore the old crescent from the Royal Hawaiian to the Elk’s Club by removing old beach houses and blasting away the sea walls. Engineers also blasted the bottom of the beach for loose rock and jagged coral, and by utilizing groins, they successfully allowed the sand to come in and remain on the beach. Thus, the project made it possible to reestablish playgrounds along the crescent shoreline and to enhance beach activities. In front of the Halekulani, the Royal Hawaiian and the Moana, the tourist as well as the resident had an opportunity to interact with the famous figures of Hollywood, Wall Street, and Washington. They found the faces of the well-known
authors, artists and athletes of the world under beach umbrellas.\textsuperscript{19} Waikiki Beach was truly one of the most glamorous playgrounds in the world.

The visitors retained two distinctive images of Waikiki, both of which were clearly associated with the magnificent beach. Waikiki was a place for sunbathing, swimming, surfing and outrigger canoeing in a perfect climate and beautiful environment. Throughout the year, visitors were impressed with "day after day of warm sunshine brushed with cool trade winds and night after night of even temperatures."\textsuperscript{20} In such a brilliant climate, they enjoyed bathing in the mild, velvety water and lying on the glittering coral sands of Waikiki. The coconut palm trees on the beach enhanced the tropical setting, "reaching upward and outward towards the blue sky by day and the moon and stars by night."\textsuperscript{21} Thus, the dominant image of Waikiki was a life of leisure on the beach surrounded by a luxurious environment.

Waikiki was also known (as we have seen) for romance. Visitors possessed a dream of romantic strolling along the shore under the moonlight with beachboys serenading Hawaiian love songs. The gentle sound of waves and the tender whispering of palms enhanced the romantic and mystic atmosphere. Lei sellers and musicians at the luxurious hotels also played an important role for the image of romantic Waikiki. Most visitors experienced joyful beach activities in the day and romantic feelings at night in Waikiki. These significant images were deeply embedded in the consciousness of the visitors.
The day at Waikiki Beach began with a view of the tropical environment. One visitor described the picturesque scenery in the following poem:

Small breakers roll in upon the beach in lazy ripples.  
Their foam lies but a moment and is sulked in by the thirsty sands.  
Out in the distance large breakers pound and broken,  
Hurled back by jagged coral reefs, then rush roaringly in,  
surging onward to break gently upon the golden sand. ...  
From the shore the horizon seems a silver frame, framing a simple beautiful picture, done in sky blue and sea green, with the golden sun shedding a golden mist over the painting.  

In addition to the gentle and awesome waves, the glittering sunshine and the shimmering ocean, the majestic view of Diamond Head on the left must have captured the eyes of the writer. Once the visitor was introduced into the admirable environment, he was tempted to plunge into the warm, velvety water: the lure of Waikiki. The water possessed a magical power to send “the blood tingling to every part of your body.” One visitor expressed that “the wonderful bathing at Waikiki beach was what impressed me most about Hawaii.” Then, if the visitor was good at swimming, he swam out to the breakers where he was “tossed and buffeted about by old Neptune himself.” From beginners to experts, for many visitors swimming was the most delightful experience at Waikiki. Two celebrities, in particular, enjoyed the sport. Norma Taimadge, a famous Hollywood star, mentioned that “Waikiki spoils you for swimming elsewhere,” while Carl Jantzen, well known for his swimming suit brand, stated that
"It's wonderful to be able to swim the year around," and that the wave of tourists is coming to Waikiki. The even temperature of Waikiki's water made it possible for the visitor to enjoy swimming all year around, and the magical water rejuvenated the body and spirit of the exhausted travelers.

After swimming, visitors lolled on the beach and soaked up the bright rays of the Hawaiian sun. Applying a little coconut oil to the body, they changed their skin color into "the healthy, wholesome, golden brown of the out-of-doors." The hot sand provided a pleasant feeling for the visitor, who might have decided to wander around the beach to further absorb the environment. One writer expressed the common feeling in these words:

There is no warmth like the beach-warmth:
the golden goodness of hot sand;
so you have wandered about the beach idly,
lazy with the lure of this openness;
you have clambered over pilings;
your bare feet have pressed the wet sand
and it has oozed about your toes lovingly--

The lazy strolling on the coral sand was a precious experience for that writer. Not only the warm sand and its surrounding environment but also the crowd of the beach always caught the attention of the visitor. There were different races and classes intermingling with each other on the beach. The visitor found a happy, carefree scene filled with aloha spirit. One writer wrote that "Above the laughter and chattering of the crowd, the surf booms like
a bass drum adding rhythm to the harmony of the scene." Men, women and children of different ethnic and social backgrounds simply enjoyed the joyous beach activities at Waikiki, "where many of the social graces are dropped into the waves or buried in the sands." Yet the Royal Hawaiian terrace, of course, retained its touch of class, attracting some Hollywood stars and wealthy business executives under the colorful umbrellas. In other beach sections like Kuhio Beach and the public baths, the mixing of race and status was more visible than in the beach front areas of the luxury hotels. As a whole, Waikiki Beach expressed a cosmopolitan ambiance. The lure of the beach lay in this harmonious, friendly scene of mixing crowds.

Waikiki beach provided not only a peaceful, amicable environment but also a spectacular scene for the visitor. People lounging in the shade of palms or gathering in the pavilions of the Outrigger Canoe Club were impressed with the surfer who "stands on his head as his board comes gliding to shore in front of a huge wave that is already capped with white." Then the surfer stood on his feet again "bracing the wind as he races toward the shore." The amazed spectators, next, paid attention to a native boy heading toward the ocean. One visitor wrote that "a mahogany hued beach boy, a perfect Apollo" challenged "the roaring surf to steal a few rides from King Neptune." The spectacular performance of native surfers always fascinated the beach-gathering crowd since they possessed knowledge of the ocean as well as the skill and experience to maneuver the surfboard. Native surfers were sons of Neptune, an integral part of Waikiki's water. The legendary hero, Duke
Kahanamoku, was one of these expert surfers. Some visitors may have been fortunate enough to see him ride on the great Kalahuewehe surf. One visitor gave her impression of Duke's performance in these words:

I see our 'Duke' so swift and sure,
His surfboard madly riding,
A picture rare, with such allure,
No effort, just gliding.34

Duke's ride on the roaring surf was so natural and so masterful that it enhanced the artistic image of the royal sport. Watching native surfers mastering the growling wave was a spectacular experience. The scene was filled with wonder and exclamations.

Some of the athletically-oriented visitors were stimulated by the spectacular performance of native surfers, and desired the challenge of the royal sport. With instruction from the beachboys, they were able to stand on a surf-board at "the malihini" surf located about fifty yards off shore. Despite the small size of the waves and the water being waist high, the beginner had a thrilling experience in riding the surf at Waikiki. Those who were reluctant to be challenged by surf-board riding, had an opportunity to enjoy similar excitement. Six stalwart Hawaiian boys carried an outrigger canoe and place it down on the sandy beach at the edge of the water. The enthusiastic visitors rode on the canoe with a native navigator. With each passenger using a paddle, the canoe headed toward the breakers. Then, the canoe caught the surf back to the shore.35 Riding
the surf in an outrigger canoe provided much excitement and exultation for the fun-loving visitors.

Thus, a day at Waikiki Beach provided a full measure of pleasurable activities. One visitor enjoyed "fascinating Waikiki beach with its glorious water coloring, warm bathing, marvelous surf-riders and picturesque breakers." Some visitors had a restful life on the magnificent beach with sun and surf bathing, conversing with neighbors, and watching the spectacular surfers while others sought a more energetic experience in swimming, surfing and outrigger canoeing. All of them spent joyful and exciting moments at Waikiki. Another visitor described his days at Waikiki in the following poem:

Those were sun mornings, those were sun afternoons, when work was a thing of night that skulked in the darkness, forgotten by us in the clean fresh light of day. ...

Those were sun mornings, those were sun afternoons when our skins tanned ruddy-bronzed in the noon light and our spirits were free and strong and up and unhurried. That was a life of gods, that we shall remember ...

The beach life at Waikiki was, to repeat, that of a resort paradise where one could throw off the constraints and pressures of daily life and heal, cleanse and renew one's body and spirit. The myriad beach activities offered mental and physical rejuvenation for the exhausted traveler. And the beach scene was filled with the gay, happy, carefree atmosphere of paradise.

Before coming to the islands, visitors had already possessed the romantic image of Waikiki through Hollywood movies, Hawaiian
music, the literature of great writers and word of mouth. When they arrived at Waikiki, the Royal Hawaiian, in particular, this romantic image was enhanced by lei vendors at the entrance of the hotel. Old Mary was one of those who brought a basket of fresh flowers everyday and wove leis for the visitors. She had her own story of romance which occurred on the spot where she was working. Long before the construction of the Royal Hawaiian, there were two crooked coconut palms which served as a cradle which Old Mary used to lie in and dream of romance. One day, while lying in the cradle, she encountered her prince. Old Mary felt like being in heaven when she spent a romantic moment with him. But, unfortunately, since the man belonged to the ali`i class, they had to be separated eventually. Old Mary sold her leis on the very romantic spot while recalling her pleasant memory. She was not only selling leis but also selling romance to the visitor. There was another lei vendor named Annie who started selling leis at the entrance of the Royal in 1927. With "loving, skillful, quick brown fingers," Annie plucked "blossom after blossom from baskets of flowers, stringing garland upon garland, twining with fragrant maile leaves and daintily scented maiden hair." Three years later, she established the lei stand which became a popular landmark for residents and tourists alike. People often met each other at Annie's lei stand. The place must have served as a rendezvous site for romantic couples. Thus, lei vendors at the Royal contributed greatly to enhancing the romantic image of Waikiki.
As the day approached an end, the romantic atmosphere became more apparent on the shore of Waikiki. When visitors saw "the golden orb of the sinking sun splashing sea and sky in a glorious tropical sunset, revealing every shade and hue from richest red and gold to deepest coral, and palest pink," they would marvel at the beautiful, magical scene of Waikiki's sunset. Then, the stars began to twinkle dimly, "pale in contrast to the bright Southern Cross hanging low in the west over Waikiki." When the visitors looked over to the east, a golden moon appeared on the slopes of Diamond Head, "silhouetting the swaying palms at the water's edge," and a perfect lunar rainbow also emerged out of darkness. A couple surrounded by such a magnificent scene must have been drawn into a romantic dream. One writer expressed his romantic feeling beneath the moonlight as he wrote:

A moonbeam skips  
O'er the ocean,  
The round moon hangs  
Void of motion.

Softly whispers  
Lapping brine,  
It softly whispers  
You are mine! 

Millions of lovers expressed their romantic feelings under the magical moon of Waikiki. Glorious nature clearly set the stage for romance at Waikiki.
Romance was never complete without lovely music. Before 1930, when the Moana Pier still existed, beachboys played a significant role in providing romantic music for the lovers flocking to the pavilion located at the top of the pier. They serenaded with Hawaiian love songs accompanied by the ukulele and the steel guitar. The gracious surroundings of the pier added a romantic atmosphere to the lovely music. The lovers on the pavilion were able to see the moon "flooding the landscape with its silvery light" and the water "transformed into a sea of silver," and to hear the braking of the surf beating like "the old ceremonial drums." Then, after the Moana Pier was torn down, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra dominated in the area of musical performance. Harry Owens and his band provided a romantic night for the guests of the hotel, who enjoyed dancing under the moonlight to the accompaniment of Owens's lovely music. Hawaiian love songs were instrumental in promoting romance at Waikiki.

After listening to Hawaiian love songs, the romantic couple perhaps decided to stroll on the beach. A poem of the period depicted such a scene:

Softly glows the misty moon
  O'er the beach at Waikiki.
But the light within your eyes
  Is sweeter far to me

I hear the murmur of the sea,
  The dark waves lap the sand
But dearer is your soft, low voice
  The touch of your small hand.

In wide spaces of the sky,
  Shines out the Southern Cross,
But the brightness of your hair,
  Make golden stars seem dross.

Throng of people come and go
  On the beach at Waikiki,
I heed them not, and only know
  You're walking here with me.
The princess in the scene perhaps wore a beautiful lei around her neck, recalling the romantic music of the beachboys or of the hotel orchestra. The couple was absorbed into the romantic, mythical environment of Waikiki. Of course, not everyone experienced such romance at Waikiki. Very few perhaps had their desire for romance fulfilled. Yet it is possible that Waikiki's exotic environment, especially at night, provided a romantic dream for the visitor. A paradise was partly created for a lovely, joyful interlude of Adam and Eve. Waikiki Beach at night surely fulfilled such a dream. The night at Waikiki Beach was not only romantic and mystical but also serene and peaceful. Despite the sounds of city life—the automobiles going up and down the street and the tourists enjoying the night life on Kalakaua Avenue—"all the rowdiness departed with the bathers." The gay, happy atmosphere of the beach turned into a tranquil scene for lovers. One writer noted that "At night the beach must be much like it was years ago before men came to disturb the quiet." Waikiki Beach in the first half of 20th century still maintained the old charm of serenity.

The visitors in the 1930s and 1940s found new construction of hotels, shops and restaurants on Kalakaua Avenue and apartment houses in Waikiki. The changing landscape provided a variety of activities for the tourists. The Royal Hawaiian offered ample recreation, sports, and entertainment to satisfy the needs and desires of the wealthy guests. The Hawaii Tourist Bureau vigorously promoted trips to neighbor islands as well as to other scenic points on Oahu. Some of the activities were not always related to the
Hawaiian environment, but they satisfied the expectations of sports enthusiasts. Moreover, the new development of Kalakaua for shopping and dining provided a touch of urban life for the tourists. Those who had envisioned a primitive village in Waikiki may have been disappointed with the modern scene. Nevertheless, Waikiki Beach fulfilled the desires and dreams of the visitors. It offered exciting beach activities, a perfect climate, a magnificent tropical setting, and possibly romance. The visitors enjoyed a life of leisure at Waikiki. Before 1950, the resort paradise of Waikiki began to shift toward the pole of civilization, but the visitors still discovered the old spell of Waikiki: a magical, exotic landscape of the South Seas.

REACTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT

As noted before, at the beginning of the 1920s Waikiki retained its character as a rural community along with the beachfront resort areas centered upon the Moana Hotel. The mauka side of Kalakaua Avenue consisted primarily of agricultural and aquacultural areas containing fish and duck ponds, rice and taro paddies, and banana fields owned mostly by Chinese farmers. Non-Caucasian ethnic groups, mainly Chinese and Japanese, created a rural farming community in these areas. Moreover, there was a small residential neighborhood between Kalakaua Avenue and Kalia Road, the rectangular space sandwiched between Lewers Road and Saratoga Road. The residential community consisted mostly of Caucasians--sojourners from the mainland including Jack London,
military dependents, some teachers and others. In marked contrast to the wealthy Caucasian elite who established stately mansions on the other side of Waikiki, on the beach frontage of Kapiolani Park, they led an unpretentious life with modest income. Yet the humble haole residents enjoyed the ocean environment and the perfect climate of Waikiki. Catherine Harris, who spent her childhood in the neighborhood, recalled fond memories of the time and the place. It provided a very friendly atmosphere for residents who did not have to lock their doors all the time. Harris was able to visit any house whenever she wanted. The entire neighborhood was her playground where she enjoyed swinging on the aerial roots of the banyan tree and playing hide-and-seek in the bushes or along the hedges. The beach was, of course, a primary playground for children, Harris had a pleasant time splashing, dogpaddling, and swimming in the ocean. She also learned how to surf from the beachboys. In the evenings the beachboys entertained children with their lovely music accompanied by ukuleles and guitars along the sea wall or on the beach. Harris also remembered a beautiful scene of the fisherman walking on the reef with a torch in one hand and a spear in the other. Harris's story clearly indicates that children in the small neighborhood enjoyed a life of leisure just as tourists did around that time. Although the area was a residential section of modest income, it was an integral part of the resort paradisal environment of Waikiki. Thus, around 1920 Waikiki contained three distinctive areas: a wealthy resort area, a modest residential area, and a rural
farming community. But the development of the next 30 years drastically changed the character of Waikiki.

This transformation was generally supported by local residents as well as visitors. Howard Case, a reporter for The Honolulu Star Bulletin, stated that the reclamation project replaced "the ugly, odorous duck ponds" with coral fills and permitted "a much needed expansion of the residential feature of the area." He also pointed out the positive effect of the drainage canal which "for years (had) served to safeguard the district against damaging floods which followed every down pour of consequence." Local residents shared the view of the reporter. Doveline "Tootsie" Steer, a hula dancer in the Royal Hawaiian Girls' Glee Club, recognized that the Ala Wai was built in order to prevent water from overflowing from Manoa and Palolo in time of rain. Once the project was completed, she recalled, the area turned from duck ponds to "just nothing but coral dirt and coral marsh." Then, construction of houses and apartments began. Steer thought that the development made Waikiki a nice and pretty place to live but that living in Waikiki became a costly affair. She regarded Waikiki residents in the 1930s as affluent people who made enough of a fortune to reside in the ideal place. Steer may have envied those affluent people, but she clearly recognized the positive impact of the reclamation project which resulted in the creation of a lovely residential district.

Some other residents, furthermore, discovered enjoyment in the new Ala Wai Canal. Fumiko Nunotani, born in Waikiki in 1914, spent her childhood playing around the Ala Wai. Before the
construction of the canal, she often caught dragonflies and crabs in a stream near her house. Then, after the opening of the Ala Wai, as she remembered, swimming contests for local schools were held in the canal since the water was clean at the beginning. Ella Ling Wong also stated that she enjoyed swimming in the canal and catching little black crabs with her clothes on. Not only swimming contests but also canoe racing and surf-board paddling races were held in the Ala Wai. Thus, the new Ala Wai provided an exciting playground for local residents.

However, the farmers who had engaged in old wetland agriculture or aquaculture did not welcome the new development. Earle Klikolehua Vida, born in 1901 and raised in the Kalia section of Waikiki, actually worked for the reclamation project as a dredge-boat operator. His father was a supervisor of the construction of the Ala Wai Canal. Vida explained that most farmers who used to grow taro and ducks in the pre-Ala Wai era moved out to Pearl City or Waiahole where water resources were available. Some farmers may have discovered better lands but most of them certainly missed the old, attached lands of Waikiki. Feelings of loss were also shared by those who had fond memories of the old landscape. Nani Roxburgh, born in 1910 in Waikiki, lived at the present site of the Ilikai Hotel. Roxburgh used to go fishing near his house. Before the construction of the Ala Wai, he was able to catch a variety of fish in the shallow water of the ocean. But, due to the dredging of the reef, Roxburgh realized, fishing activities were drastically reduced. Harold Aoki echoed Roxburgh's view in his statement that although
there had been plenty of fish in the streams from the mountains, the Ala Wai made the fish migrate somewhere else. Aoki used to enjoy fishing in the old streams and to steal bananas from Chinese-owned fields as a child. He lamented the loss of rivers and fields which provided childhood enjoyment. Despite this nostalgia for the old landscape, many local residents expressed their favorable views of the Ala Wai and the reclamation project.

The Royal Hawaiian Hotel possessed an aura of the South Sea dream; its palatial structure and its magical gardens drew the visitor into the realm of illusion. Around 1920, one visitor watching the sunset from the Moana Pier exclaimed, "What a marvelous site over there for a big hotel." He was referring to the Seaside Hotel with the old cottages scattered in the coconut grove. About twenty years later, the same person watched the Waikiki sunset again from the Waikiki Tavern and stated with contentment, "There's my dream hotel. There it is, just where I said it would grow." The majestic view of the Royal clearly satisfied the visitor's expectation of a dream hotel. He was pleased to see the new development of such a grand hotel in Waikiki.

How, then, did local residents view the splendid structure or "pink palace" established in the historic royal coconut grove? Many residents must have been as impressed with the grandeur of the Royal as was the visitor of 1940. But others perhaps lamented the loss of the Seaside, which seemed to be more congruent with the surrounding environment. Since the Royal served primarily the affluent guests from the US. mainland or from the European
Continent, it did not directly affect the life of local residents except for those providing services for the hotel guests. Nevertheless, some residents retained fond memories of the luxury hotel. For instance, Marjorie Midkiff spent much time playing in the property of the Royal in her childhood. She used to go to the beach at night, and look over the sea wall to watch the guests dancing under the moon. Midkiff also enjoyed swimming at night with the help of a light extending out from the Royal. The gorgeous hotel perhaps provided a romantic dream as well as a playground for the little child. Although many residents were detached from the luxurious hotel, they certainly viewed the Royal as a fascinating place. Local residents did not express strong opposition to the new hotel development.

The development of Kalakaua Avenue directly affected the lives of local residents as well as tourists. Some restaurants and stores, in fact, catered primarily to local customers. Most residents welcomed the lively atmosphere of the main street. The Waikiki Theater built in 1936, above all, provided new entertainment for local residents eager to watch the latest Hollywood films. Teenagers discovered new haunts in Waikiki when they visited such eateries as the K. C. Drive-in, KauKau Korner and the K. D. Drive-in. Jack Bishaw, born in Waikiki in 1919, lived there until 1925, and then returned to the beloved place 10 years later and witnessed the changing landscape of Kalakaua Avenue. In 1935 Bishaw found the road improved and many stores renovated or newly established. He also noticed that a number of houses were built on the coral fills where
the stream used to be running. Even a new tourist attraction called Lalani Village located in the old Lemon estate caught his attention. Bishaw regarded the luau show in the village as "fabulous." Thus, local residents enjoyed the development of the thoroughfare of Waikiki.

The growth of tourism in the 1930s began to influence the lives of local residents. Consequently, they expressed their opinions toward the increasing number of tourists. Those who provided services for the wealthy tourists, beachboys, in particular, enjoyed pleasant experiences with them. Joseph Akana, a former beachboy, explained that a number of affluent tourists began to come to Waikiki in the early 1930s after recovering from the 1929 crash of the stock market. According to Akana, the wealthy visitors enjoyed mingling with beachboys who took care of their parties for their entire stay. The privileged class usually stayed for the entire summer or the entire winter, with the minimum stay being about two weeks. Akana remembered that they compensated the beachboys very generously for their services. Fred Paoa, who also worked as a beachboy in his teens, had fond memories of mingling with the wealthy tourists. The beachboys received financial reward for teaching surfing, swimming, and playing the ukulele. Paoa recalled that when the affluent visitors whom the beachboys took care of during their stay departed the Honolulu Harbor, they offered many goods to the beachboys as a token of gratitude for their services and friendship. According to Paoa, not only clothes and other personal gifts but also trips to the mainland were given to the
These experiences of beachboys reflected the amicable relationship between local residents in the tourist business and the affluent visitors.

However, other residents mostly shielded from the tourist traffic expressed indifferent opinions about the visitors. Esther Bader, born in 1917, resided in the Hamohamo section of Waikiki between Kaiulani Avenue and Kapahulu Avenue on the mauka side of Kalakaua. Bader stated that the area was once called "the Waikiki Jungle," full of old houses converted into studios and apartments in which a number of "indecent" people resided. The section was completely isolated from the tourist areas. Bader remembered that tourists rarely came into the area in the pre-World War II period, and did not disturb the life of residents over there. After the war, Bader explained, the deteriorated section was eliminated for new development. It is interesting to note that there existed a sort of slum in Waikiki in the 1930s. As it was located in a marginal section at that time, it perhaps did not influence or disturb the image of the luxurious resort of Waikiki. Except for these indifferent people, local residents welcomed tourists with the aloha spirit.

On the whole, new developments in Waikiki in the 1920s and 1930s were favorably accepted by the local residents, who discovered excitement and glamour on Kalakaua, and enjoyed mingling with the tourists. Yet new developments which coincided with the loss of old landscape always induce nostalgia for the past. Howard Case observed that those who knew the old Waikiki frequently "longed for the 'good old days'" which witnessed "the
smelly but picturesque duck ponds," the old Seaside, the little white Hawaiian church, the stately Ainahau and the quiet thoroughfare of Kalakaua. Henry Dougherty was also afraid that the old halcyon days were gone forever. What he missed was the old Waikiki Tavern with its small dining room, the old Seaside, a deserted Kalakaua Avenue, and the old-fashioned streetcars.

Howard Case also expressed some critical comments about Waikiki's development in the mid 1930s when he stated: "Waikiki today is merely an enterprising unit that has kept pace with the steady development of Honolulu proper through the years." He also regarded Waikiki as "an investment medium" including houses, apartments, real estate, business, and industry. Case was apparently cynical about the business-centered development or the money-seeking developers and investors of Waikiki. Nevertheless, Case did not oppose the direction of Waikiki into modernization and progress. He recognized that new features of Waikiki reflected "the amazing progress" and that Waikiki was "keeping step with the rest of Honolulu toward greater progress." It was a time of modernization and progress. Very few doubted the positive effects of modern developments. For instance, Earle Kalikolehua Vida believed that the reclamation project resulted in the modernization of the entire district. Local residents clearly supported the new landscape of Waikiki in the name of progress.

The encouragement of modernization and progress tend to cause unlimited and unplanned development which eventually spoil the distinctive beauty of a landscape. There was strong opposition to
such a development in 1925. When the architects of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel planned to build a six-story structure with a bell-tower, they needed to change the city’s building code from 75 to 150 feet in terms of height limit. Although the amendment passed in the city council, the City Planning Commission expressed strong opposition to the high-rise development. City Planning Engineer, Charles R. Welsh stated:

The planning commission does not wish to oppose the development of large business enterprises, ... However, the commission does not believe that skyscrapers are consistent with the typical Hawaiian beauty we are so anxious to conserve. We preach and in all our descriptive literature elaborately state that Honolulu is different from our American cities, yet we are rapidly becoming the same kind of a city as every other American urban center. All our unusual and strictly Hawaiian aspects are being absorbed into typical American dollar producing enterprises. ... There is no more refreshing feature in Honolulu for city dwelling tourists who come here than to find an unobstructed view in all directions free from the typical sky scrapers of mainland cities. ... efficiency of private enterprises carried to the point of public detriment should not be permitted.₆₈

Welsh clearly opposed business-centered development which disregarded the beautiful surroundings. He believed that new development should be congruent with the distinctively Hawaiian environment. Whether the Royal Hawaiian did not fit the natural environment of Waikiki is a matter of debate, and the six-story structure with a bell tower does not seem to be a skyscraper from a
present-day point of view. Yet, in the 1920s, a 150-feet structure must have towered over Waikiki's landscape. Welsh's argument deserved to be understood. Above all, his fear that the high-rise buildings would be detrimental to the beauty of Hawaii in terms of the physical landscape has proven to be true today. The amendment of the building height limit in 1925 perhaps triggered the successive changes of the height limit thus permitting the present towering structures which dominate Waikiki's landscape. But, in the era of progress Welsh's recommendation was not listened to. Except for this debate, there were not any other substantial oppositions to new developments in Waikiki in the pre-Pacific War period.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent American involvement in the Pacific War exerted a tremendous impact upon Waikiki's landscape. Barbed wire enclosed the beach areas, and the Royal Hawaiian and other major hotels served as military facilities. Kalakaua Avenue, filled with bars and saloons, created the atmosphere of a military town. Waikiki lost the image of a luxurious resort paradise. Moreover, the island population increased to twice as much as that of the pre-war period, reaching over a million during the war years, half of whom were servicemen and military-related civilian workers. Accordingly, Waikiki's population rose from 7,350 in 1940 to 10,490 in 1947, a 42.7% increase during the period. But, housing development did not always meet the demands of the population increase. Therefore, the impact of the war and the rapid population growth negatively affected Waikiki's environment.
After the war, major hotels made tremendous efforts to return to the conditions of the pre-war period. For instance, the Royal Hawaiian spent more than a year and substantial amount of money in restoring the old beauty and renovating the damaged facilities. But the local government did not immediately respond to the deterioration of Waikiki's environment. Consequently, many harsh criticisms of Waikiki's condition and developments began to appear in local newspapers after 1945. Elaine Fogg reported in The Honolulu Advertiser in July 1945 that "By now Waikiki is one of the most thoroughly debunked legends that ever happened. Too many GIs, sailors and war workers have come, have seen and have gone back to their Mainland homes to spread the word that 'Waikiki beach is a laugh! It's a honky-tonk!'" What she lamented most about the condition of Waikiki was the deteriorated thoroughfare "lined with makeshift curio shops, noisy 'recreation' centers, eyesores that pass under the name of lunchrooms and a miscellany of 'joints'". Responding to the degenerated situation of Kalakaua Avenue, Fogg wrote, City officials stated that "non-conforming" buildings which did not comply with the Waikiki business standard were planned to be removed within six months after the end of the war, and that the Master Plan to widen Kalakaua to four traffic lanes would support the absence of the non-conforming structures mostly located over the setback line. City officials also planned to improve and extend the beach areas. But they emphasized the support of the community was needed to carry out these plans. Fogg concluded her report by saying that if non-Waikiki residents expressed indifference to the
problem of Waikiki, they would eventually suffer from the loss of tourist income which the Territory strongly relied upon.\footnote{71}

The lure of Waikiki lay largely in the presence of a beautiful, crescent white sand beach. The deterioration of the beach areas was detrimental to the tourist business. In December 1946, The Honolulu Star Bulletin introduced two visitors' comments upon Waikiki Beach which appeared in the December issue of Holiday magazine. Bernard Seeman of New York wrote: "The brash, glaring disillusionment hits you with stunning impact. What I saw of Waikiki beach consisted of about 20 yards of dirty sand and every square inch of it crowded." Another visitor, Private Walt Raschick II, USMC who hoped to see "publicized paradise" discovered "the hoax of Waikiki." He expressed that "We saw Waikiki, all right, and for weeks my buddy did nothing but remind me that Huntington beach, which is just outside of Los Angeles, has this fabled place beat tenfold." Raschick furthermore debunked the famed Waikiki Beach as "this postage-stamp beach." After presenting these harsh comments upon the Beach, the local paper also included Holiday's editor's responses to these letters: "Maybe these fellows simply expected too much. However, the Hawaiian backers of Waikiki might ponder the penalties of over-promotion."\footnote{72} It was fortunate for Waikiki supporters that the editor of the prestigious travel magazine did not fully support the debunking images of Waikiki Beach. But the reality of Waikiki certainly needed to be upgraded in order to reduce the disappointment of visitors who had been brainwashed by the resort paradisal images of Waikiki.
Not only the overcrowdedness but also the deteriorated beach facilities caused problems for Waikiki. One local resident wrote a letter to *The Honolulu Advertiser* which appeared on September 20, 1947. The letter indicated the degenerated condition of the Public bathhouse and the annoying beachboys occupying the public facility. The writer pointed out that near the bathhouse, "the dilapidated wooden pier" and "badly demolished" masonry were easily recognized. And in the public facility, the writer continued, the beachboys who played next to the Natatorium and the Waikiki Beach Grill in the evenings stored their personal items and slept overnight, and they took over the place as a permanent residence. The letter concluded: "we can not keep up the present parks in a presentable condition. We are boasting and advertising Waikiki Beach; it's the laughing stock of a mainlander to look at that sight and comparing with beaches at the mainland which do not get half the publicity which Waikiki gets." Since the beginning of the war, the park officials perhaps had not made much effort to maintain beach facilities and even two years after the end of the war, they did not appear to engage in rehabilitating the beach areas.

About ten month later, *The Honolulu Advertiser* introduced another harsh criticism of conditions at Waikiki. Annalie Knaack Tatibouet expressed that "We did a mighty glorious job of making it into one of the dirtiest and most unattractive resorts anybody could never hope to see." What bothered her most was the fact that there existed very little beach area for the general public. She acknowledged the presence of gorgeous hotels and a beautiful
residential district in Waikiki. But, except for the guests of the luxurious hotels who would enjoy their beach front facilities, Tatibouet complained, local residents rarely had beach accesses. If residents attempted to pass between the two luxurious hotels to get to the beach, they would feel like outcasts since the area was shielded for either hotel guests or Outrigger club members. Tatibouet pointed out that Kuhio Beach was easily accessible for local residents but it was too small to accommodate the population of Honolulu. She concluded that both individuals and the city authority ought to make efforts to cure the blight of Waikiki. Almost three years after the end of war, the deteriorated conditions of Waikiki beach remained, and perhaps only the affluent guests of the Royal could have enjoyed their stay with its private beach frontage and its renovated facilities. Local residents must have been frustrated with the lack of effort by the city.

Responding to these sharp criticisms, local governments began to plan the rehabilitation and improvement of the district, and the extension and beautification of the beach areas. At the same time, the Waikiki Improvement Association started to engage in efforts toward Waikiki's renewal. The organization attempted to encourage community involvement in restoring the charm of Waikiki. But, as the number of tourists climbed up and the almost unrestricted developments followed, local residents and tourists alike began to express more negative comments about the modern developments of Waikiki. Unfortunately, the city's improvement efforts did not keep
up with the speed of tourist traffic and the massive wave of developments after 1950.

THE PLANNING OF WAIKIKI

Prior to 1950, there was no specific master plan of the district of Waikiki, which resulted in growing problems related to its physical condition after the war. Yet, along with the Waikiki reclamation project which determined the future of the seashore resort, the local government made some general plans for Honolulu, which affected Waikiki's landscape not so much physically as mentally.

In 1906 Charles Mulford Robinson, a nationally recognized urban planner from Rochester, New York, issued a report entitled "The Beautifying of Honolulu." He began the report with a recommendation to preserve the distinctiveness of Honolulu: "Do not dream of what other cities may have done; but far isolated from them, develop your own individuality, be Hawaiian, be a more beautiful Honolulu. Then you will have distinction, and only then." Robinson was quite aware of the natural charm of the tropical city. In order to retain its uniqueness, the planner suggested preserving narrow, winding streets with existing old trees, which he believed fit "a city of delight, seeking to give leisure and pleasure." On the other hand, Robinson advised a uniformity in tree planting on the newer, broader streets. His other recommendations included the
elimination of billboards, the removal of fences on the street front, light planting of private gardens and the creation of parkways.

As for Waikiki, the report suggested these improvements for Kapiolani Park: converting low and swampy areas into lawns and flower gardens, creating playfields out of the old race track, and reacquiring the beach lots to extend the park to the ocean.

As a whole, Robinson recommended a park-like setting with a system of landscaped drives and boulevards to connect parks and open spaces. In conclusion, he wrote:

There is the chance, at wonderfully little expenditure--so lavish are the gifts of beauty that have been showered upon it--to make this one of the most picturesque and beautiful cities of the world--all one great park with a city tucked in between, in vacant spaces.\(^7^8\)

In Robinson's mind, Waikiki was an integral part of this scheme to create a garden city. The attached map (See Figure 11.) shows an undeveloped area of Waikiki in 1906 mostly occupied by wetlands on the mauka of Kalakaua Avenue. Robinson's vision of a park setting in Waikiki was based on the betterment of Kapiolani Park and the landscaping of two roads: Kalakaua and Kalia Road (extending to the present site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel), both of which paralleled the shoreline. Along with the then verdant shoreline, such improvements would have enhanced a park setting in the district of Waikiki. Robinson's vision of Waikiki and Honolulu, in general, appears to be a middle landscape blending the charms of nature with the conveniences of the city.
The Waikiki reclamation project of the 1920s was the most important planning project of the district that the local government engaged in before 1950. This grand scheme resulted in the future development of a wealthy resort community on the site long utilized for wetland agriculture, as discussed earlier. In conjunction with the entire project, the city planning commission submitted a street plan for the Waikiki improvement district in 1922, and the plan was approved by the board of supervisors the following year. The proposed map (See Figure 12.) clearly indicates that the commission envisioned an urban grid of narrow residential streets. Hence, from the planner's standpoint, Waikiki was to be developed into an urban resort community as early as 1922. After the completion of the reclamation project in the late 1920s, Waikiki, in fact, witnessed the beginning of urbanization with the development of Kalakaua Avenue. Yet, the proposed street plan was not completed before 1950 and Kuhio Avenue remained interrupted in the middle section. There were many open spaces around single-story houses and low-rise apartments in the vicinity in the 1930s and the early 1940s, and no major hotels had been built on the reclaimed land by the middle of the century. (See Figure 13.) Contrary to the city planner's intentions, Waikiki's urbanization took a long time. Thus, it could be argued that the second quarter of the 20th century was a transitional period in Waikiki's development from a rural to an urban space while retaining the image of a balanced middle landscape as characterized by Robinson.
Figure 13. Reclaimed land in Waikiki in 1936. Army Corps of Engineers. Photocopy from *The View from Diamond Head*, 91.
The garden image of Waikiki was also emphasized in one of the most renowned plans to deal with Waikiki's future, *A Memorandum Report on Park and City Planning--Whither Honolulu?* written by Lewis Mumford in 1938. The report primarily intended to make suggestions for the improvement of parks in Honolulu, but it also referred to the general city planning. In his recommendations, Mumford considered not only aesthetic values but also social conditions such as traffic congestion, low standards of housing, deteriorated, unsanitary slum districts and a lack of open spaces in the center of the city. He stated in the report that "the major weakness in Honolulu's development" was "the low standards of housing and of open spaces that obtain in many portions of the city: not alone in the slums." Mumford continued: "The slums themselves are among the filthiest and the most degraded in the world."\(^80\) He regarded these social conditions as a threat to retaining or expanding a park setting in Honolulu. Thus, Mumford's main concern was to preserve the natural beauty of Honolulu. He pointed out some of the major natural assets existing in Honolulu: the extended beach and shallow water, and the moderate climate due to comfortable trade winds and tropical vegetation. According to Mumford, tropical foliage contributed to the park-like setting of Honolulu. He insisted that Honolulu merely needed to preserve and take advantage of these natural assets to retain its status as one of the most alluring places in the world.\(^81\) For that purpose, Mumford recommended enhancing the park-like setting and creating a garden city with
plenty of open space and tree-lined streets. This was a profound suggestion for Honolulu's city planners.

With regard to Waikiki, Mumford lamented its intense development and warned that the area would eventually turn into another Coney Island.\(^8\) He also pointed out that the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian--"two gawky hotel structures"--damaged Waikiki's environment.\(^8\) Since Mumford believed that single-story structures or perhaps cottage-style hotels were congruent with the local environment, he expressed unfavorable views toward the then high-rise structures in Waikiki. What Mumford envisioned in the district was "the recreation zone of Honolulu," or an area surrounded by greenbelts consisting of the existing beach front parks from Ala Moana to Kapiolani and an additional park setting along the Ala Wai Canal. Mumford stated that it is important to make greenbelts in urban planning in order "to give shape and coherence to the local community and to keep it from being invaded, once its character is established by a lower order of urban building." He pointed out two unique advantages for creating greenbelts in Honolulu: the Koolau mountains and the drainage canals surrounded by park areas.\(^8\) Mumford commended the landscaped scenery along the Ala Wai and suggested the extension of the park setting to the Diamond Head side of the waterway.\(^8\) Moreover, taking into account the importance of the beach in the life of Hawaii, he recommended an extension of the Ala Moana-Waikiki park system up to Koko Head. In the creation of a park setting, Mumford pointed out the significance of aesthetic design when he stated that "No amount of attention that is paid to
the aesthetic part of park design is wasted, for beauty is the best preservative of a park or a building."86 This remark illustrates how passionately Mumford was concerned with the natural beauty of Honolulu. In addition to the preservation of Waikiki's beauty, he must have been concerned for the maintenance of Waikiki's character. Mumford's recreational zone of Waikiki in a park setting clearly suggests a resort to provide a life of leisure in a middle landscape. The tropical garden resort of Mumford's vision is a reflection of the Garden of Eden. His plan was intended to preserve the resort paradisal images of Waikiki.

There were various reactions to Mumford's splendid report. Louis Cain, the City's Supervisor of Public Works regarded it as "sixty-seven pages of Mr. Mumford's mumblings," and found its recommendations unfeasible.87 In fact, Mumford predicted the population growth of Honolulu inadequately and did not fully grasp the social conditions of the city in his short stay. Yet Mumford's plan managed to express people's romantic desires and expectations as well as their practical needs. In other words, he attempted to harmoniously blend myth with reality. By implementing this type of plan, the resort paradise of Waikiki would continue to fulfill the mythical dream of the visitor.

The Mumford report was a thoughtful, powerful message to preserve the natural beauty of Waikiki and Honolulu in general. It set the standard for the later plans of the district. However, Mumford's plan and subsequent similar plans were not effectively implemented. After the war, there was a great opportunity to make
a drastic plan for the growth of the area, but private interests dominated over the public good. From 1950 on, private interests continued to hinder orderly development of the Waikiki district with the successive construction of multi-story buildings on the site which was once planned for single family residential dwellings. Thus, the vision of the garden environment in Waikiki began to face a serious problem in the middle of the 20th century, and the lack of a master plan exerted a negative impact upon the future development of the resort paradise.

The affluent visitors in the 1930s and the 1940s saw the changing landscape of Waikiki heading toward modernization. Along with a slight touch of urban life, they still discovered a tropical setting: the magnificent environment and perfect climate. Under the golden sunshine or the magical moonlight, the visitors enjoyed pleasant beach activities or romantic evenings. They were able to restore the physical strength and to renew their spirits.

Despite the growing frustration with Waikiki's conditions after the war which resulted from the government's inability to implement an effective plan for the district, local residents, on the whole, positively responded to the changing landscape of Waikiki in the first 50 years of the present century, which generally provided a luxurious resort experience for affluent tourists.


4 "Hotel Guests," 8.


8 Mellen, 12.


13 Dougherty, 1.


15 "Private Parties at Don the Beachcomber’s," *Paradise of the Pacific* 60:7 July 1948: 3-5.


18 Dougherty, 1.

19 “After All These Years,” *Paradise of the Pacific* 53:12 Dec. 1941: 95.


24 “Travelers Like Beach at Waikiki,” *Honolulu Advertiser* 17 October 1928, Sec. 2: 6.

25 Clair, Jr., 11.


27 Clair, Jr., 11.


29 Clair, Jr., 11.


31 Edwards, 16.

32 Clair, Jr., 12.

33 Clair, Jr., 12.


35 Clair, Jr., 12.


40 Bairos, 18.
42 Wright, 84.
44 Clair, Jr., 13.
47 Tucker, Jr., 26.
48 Catherine Harris, "Remembering Waikiki 70 Years Ago," Honolulu Advertiser 26 September 1993, F: 5.
57 Henry E. Dougherty, "It is Different Now," Paradise of the Pacific 53:7 July 1941: 15.
63 Howard Case, "Waikiki! From Duck Ponds to Resort Mecca in 20 Years," Honolulu Star Bulletin 2 September 1933, Sec. 3: 1.
64 Dougherty, 15-16.
67 Vida, 613.
71 Fogg, 1, 5.
72 "Harsh Words for Waikiki Appear in Current issue of Travel Magazine," Honolulu Star Bulletin 4 December 1946, 4.

"Waikiki Looks into a Mirror," Honolulu Advertiser 9 July 1948, ed.


Robinson, 6.


Mumford, 3-7.

Hibbard, 218.

Mumford, 6.

Mumford, 27, 33-34.

Hibbard, 219.

Mumford, 37, 47.

Hibbard, 219.

Johnson, 351, 362-363.
Close examination of the changing landscape of Waikiki between 1900 and 1949 has revealed the formation of a resort paradise primarily serving the wealthy, elite class of visitors and residents. Thus the ultimate question arises: what does a "resort paradise" actually mean? Above all else, it is a temporary retreat shielded from daily life and free from the constraints, regulations and monotony of civilized society. Don Hibbard states that one could enjoy "a sense of being one step removed from daily life" in Waikiki. The seashore resort was a place to experience freedom and to separate oneself from social responsibilities. Hibbard insists that "Waikiki is a transient experience, a fleeting tropical moment."

Second, the transient refuge is located in a middle ground incorporating the positive elements of wilderness and of civilization. Replete with nature's blessings, yet supported by modern conveniences, it expresses the intermediate quality of a middle landscape.

Located on the seashore of a Pacific island, Waikiki in the first half of the 20th century clearly possessed the charm of the middle landscape: admirable natural environment and modern, convenient facilities. A resort paradise is blessed, it would seem, by the hand of God. The beautiful ocean atmosphere and the verdant tropical scenery dominate the setting. The visitor to Hawaii cannot but be
impressed with the shimmering ocean, gentle surf, glittering white sand beach, and palm trees gently swaying on the beach. The tropical foliage adjacent to the shore also enhances the beauty of the ocean setting. The greenery of Waikiki's shore was, of course, not always primitive in nature. Kapiolani Park was a large-scale landscaped garden, and the royal coconut grove was created by native Hawaiians in the pre-contact era. But these natural environments improved by man's stewardship blended with God's original creations, which presented an ideal balanced landscape. Moreover, the majestic presence of Diamond Head epitomized nature's extraordinary work in Waikiki. The background of the lush Koolau mountains also supported the picturesque landscape of Waikiki. In addition, nature provided various magical elements for a resort paradise. The rainbow extending over Diamond Head and gleaming upon the sea, with its "liquid sunshine," must certainly mesmerize any visitor. The magnificent natural environment of Waikiki was, of course, supported by its pleasant tropical climate. The resort paradise of Waikiki boasted everlasting sunshine with sufficient rainfall, moderate temperature and humidity, plus the comfortable trade winds.

Surrounded by a serene natural environment and blessed with a perfect climate, a resort paradise must also possess a man-made environment of balanced middle-ground quality. Waikiki came to provide luxurious hotel accommodations to meet the needs and desires of the modern, sophisticated traveler. Its hotel designs were opulent and trendy. The architecture of the Moana expressed the
Beaux Arts style while the pink structure of the Royal Hawaiian revealed a Spanish-Moorish flavor. They were certainly cultural products of the time, which fulfilled the tastes of the privileged class that introduced the idea of a resort and sustained the resort character. Thus, both the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian offered convenient facilities and fashionable designs which matched the European or American standard of affluent people. On the other hand, the two luxurious structures attempted to express a distinctively Hawaiian flavor or to adapt to the local environment with the emphasis of openness, lanai, and high-hipped roofs. The Moana featured the roof top garden, extensive use of windows, overhanging eaves and hipped roofs while the Royal expressed openness in the lobby area and featured a huge lanai facing the ocean. The Royal Hawaiian garden also supported a Hawaiian atmosphere with tropical plants, exotic flowers, and a little native village. Hence, the modern, first-class accommodations of Waikiki expressed this middle ground quality by blending fashionable architectural forms with local, tropical ambiance.

Since authentic Hawaiian architecture was essentially that of a plain grass shack, simple cottage-style accommodations represented by the Halekulani and the Niumalu were still more congenial to the local environment than the luxury hotels. Yet both the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian revealed distinctive elements of their simple architecture, which were congruent with the surrounding natural environment. Therefore, a resort paradisal architecture could be defined as one harmonious with the local climate and environment,
expressing simplicity, and stressing the feeling of freedom through its openness while containing modern convenient facilities with trendy styles. The structures of the Moana and the Royal appropriately met that definition.

As a whole, then, the physical landscape of Waikiki containing both natural and man-made environments revealed a harmonious effect blending the juxtaposition of an exotic Hawaiian atmosphere with a familiar American standard. In the middle landscape of Waikiki, visitors could benefit from the positive aspects of both "wilderness" and "civilization." That is, they could enjoy their connection with nature and also take full advantage of modern conveniences. In a resort paradise, one might fulfill one's desires for spiritual contentment associated with nature and for material comfort provided by civilized society.

In such an idyllic refuge as that of Waikiki, one might also enjoy the life of leisure without stress or strain. A resort paradise offers a tranquil life free from the hustle and bustle of civilization. One might indulge oneself in reclining under the hau tree lanai overlooking the ocean, strolling in the tropical garden, basking in the bright sunshine on the beach, or absorbing the serene environment at night. Along with the peaceful rest and relaxation, a resort paradise provides fun-filled, exciting activities. At Waikiki the visitor would find delight in swimming, surfing and outrigger canoeing. The evening atmosphere of the resort paradise was filled with romantic images--enhanced by pleasant music performed by hotel orchestras or serenaded by beachboys. The striking sunsets
and the magical moonlight also served to support this romantic impression of Waikiki.

An interval of leisure in the resort paradise of Waikiki owes much to the spirit of aloha. The visitor was able to establish an amicable relationship with the "natives" through beach activities and Hawaiian experiences like the luau feast accompanied by hula dancing. Thus, a life of leisure in Waikiki was for long sustained both by a beautiful natural environment and by friendly local people. But, as the century proceeded, one began increasingly to enjoy a touch of civilized life and activities in Waikiki. The affluent visitor might socialize with the elite class of Honolulu and engage in sporting activities of high status: golf, tennis, horse-racing and polo. The glamorous life along Kalakaua Avenue also enhanced a civilized moment of leisure. Whether through environmentally or socially oriented activities, the primary objective is to lead a life of leisure. In a resort paradise one might engage in the serious occupation of enjoying oneself.

The life of leisure in a temporary retreat of the middle landscape provides mental and physical rejuvenation, and intellectual and artistic stimulation for the burned-out visitor. Lying under the spreading hau trees, one may heal the exhausted mind, the broken heart, or the ailing soul. In the serene tropical foliage, one might forget the worries and pressures of daily life. Basking on the beach or bathing in the warm water, one may ease the stresses of mind and spirit. Then, swimming, surfing or outrigger canoeing would help to restore physical strength and fitness. In addition to
mental and physical renewal, a resort paradise should exert a positive influence upon the creative minds of intellectuals and artists. Immersing themselves in the magnificent environment, writers and thinkers would be inspired to produce new ideas or novel theories, and artists to create original works. Thus, in a transient refuge, visitors would be preparing themselves for a fresh start back in civilized society.

Finally and most importantly, a resort paradise serves as an alternative to the Earthly Paradise which was believed at the age of exploration to have existed in the South Seas. Hence, an island resort in the vast Pacific may be said to function as the modern, secular version of humanity's lost paradise. It is no longer an ultimate destination, but a temporary retreat. Nevertheless, it is an ideal place, a haven, which one has somehow yearned to regain. Therefore the tropical resort provides a dreamy, mythical experience. Prior to the trip to Hawaii, one may have imagined an ideal place in his or her vision of a lost paradise. These images of a dreamy paradise were enhanced by word of mouth, by the literary works of such as Mark Twain, Don Blanding and other writers, by advertisements, and by Hollywood fantasies. Once tourists reached the land of illusion, they would be overwhelmed by a magical environment, and their images of paradise would further acquire mythical qualities through the work of mythmakers such as the beachboys, Duke Kahanamoku, Johnny Noble, and Harry Owens, and through the fascinating stories of native legends. Even after departing from the magical islands, the visitor would continue to dream about the mythical experience.
Thus, a resort paradise is suffused with myth, dream, illusion, imagination and fantasy. These mental elements exert a decisive influence upon the meaning of a resort paradise. On the whole, a resort paradise is an illusionary place where one might fulfill a momentary dream of paradise in a secular world. But, as some have suggested, paradise exists only in the womb and in the tomb. In between, one vainly attempts to regain the lost paradise. Therefore, a resort paradise seems to offer an ephemeral dream to satisfy one's thirst for the lost paradise but, of course, it is not really a paradise at all. Yi Fu Tuan states that "Garden of Eden and island utopias have not always been taken seriously ... But they seem needed as make-believe and a place of withdrawal from high-pressured living on the continent." In a resort demi-paradise, one can feel only briefly and momentarily removed from the world of reality.

The seashore of Waikiki is situated on the island of Oahu in the middle of the vast Pacific. A remote island setting is an important element in the myth to enhance the character of paradise since it emanates mystical qualities. First of all, in a remote island one would experience the illusion of isolation from the rest of the world. Perhaps one feels like being on a secluded island like that in "Bird of Paradise." But, in actuality, very few of us would feel comfortable for long on a deserted island. Most people prefer a middle landscape at least partly connected to civilized conveniences. Yet a remote island setting can transport the visitor to the realm of illusion via a temporary retreat shielded from daily reality. Moreover, as psychiatrist Alan Hirsch points out, "when we escape to islands, we
free ourselves of our own inhibitions. We feel liberated, psychologically released from worldly responsibilities, and we can set the child within free. In an isolated island, one could easily escape from the constraints and pressures of everyday life. Yi Fu Tuan, furthermore, stresses the mental effects of islands when he states, "The islands seem to have a tenacious hold on human imagination." He continues: "Above all, it (an island) symbolizes a state of prelapsarian innocence and bliss, quarantined by the sea from the ills of the continent." On an island, one would feel as if one were a free and innocent Adam or Eve. The island setting induces a paradisal dream. Waikiki, located on a remote island of the Pacific, clearly contained these mythical qualities.

In order to understand the character of Waikiki or the meaning of a resort paradise in the broader American context, it seems appropriate to compare the character of Waikiki with that of other seashore resorts on the US. mainland. In a brief comparison, our focus will be upon the two distinguished American resorts: Newport and Palm Beach, which were discussed earlier.

There are some similarities between Waikiki and the two mainland resorts. First of all, each resort primarily serves members of the wealthy, privileged class who have accumulated fortunes substantial enough to lead a life of leisure for an extended time. Second, the main objective in going to a seashore resort lies in the search for comfort through sun, surf and sand. With the perfect climate and the magnificent ocean setting, one may enjoy pleasant beach recreation and restore mental and physical strength.
Close examination of Newport and Palm Beach, however, reveals striking differences between the two resorts and Waikiki. Above all, the east coast seashore resorts were known as social gathering places where one would show off one's superior social and economic standing. It is true that Waikiki also functioned as a social gathering place for elites. For instance, La Pietra, built on the slopes of Diamond Head by Walter F. Dillingham in 1921, served as the center of elite social life in Honolulu for more than forty years, attracting Presidents, nobility and other influential figures in the political, business and social worlds. The stately mansion cost about $400,000, modeled after Mrs. Dillingham's aunt's cottage in Florence, Italy. But, compared with the palatial structures seen in Newport or Palm Beach, La Pietra was a modest place for social gatherings. Above all, the functions of high society did not dominate resort life in Waikiki, especially after 1900. The charm of Waikiki lay in its freedom from the conventions and constraints of high society. Moreover, social resorts featured gambling in the prestigious clubs as one of the primary resort activities. Among the social elites of Honolulu, horse racing at Kapiolani Park became an exciting activity offered at Waikiki. But it did not seem to dominate the resort paradisal experiences one would enjoy in the ocean setting. Compared with social resorts on the mainland, gambling did not play a significant role in the tropical paradise of Waikiki.

In addition to the feature of social functions, the resorts on the east coast were regarded as "a perfect place for the whole family and a wonderful place to raise children." Especially before the
construction of million-dollar mansions, resort-goers sought an ideal place for their children to lead the plain life surrounded by intellectuals and artists, and by a beautiful environment. Hence, the resorts in the east had an educational purpose. On the other hand, Waikiki mainly attracted either single sojourners or affluent couples who typically left their children back on the mainland. The resort paradise was not a place for the family but for the romantic couple who wished to re-enact the primal roles of Adam and Eve.

Furthermore, Waikiki is located in the midst of the South Seas. Don Hibbard mentions that Waikiki has been built upon the image of “a romantic vision of a tropical paradise here on earth,” which was supported by “the beach, ocean, sun, and human imagination as well as advertising,” and that this idyllic idea does not need any specific physical structure “to elicit a concrete image in people’s mind.” The dream of an earthly paradise which is fulfilled in Waikiki, more than anything else, differentiated this tropical retreat from the social resorts of the mainland; and Waikiki was indeed “a special place” as an American resort paradise.

In this study Waikiki’s landscape has been examined in both its physical and mental dimensions. The physical environment of Waikiki clearly expressed the resort paradisal qualities of a temporary retreat, a middle ground and a close relationship to nature. The idyllic environment enabled the visitor to enjoy the blessings of nature. The verdant scenery dominating Kapiolani Park and the landscaped tropical foliage centered upon the old coconut
grove led the visitor into a dream of strolling in the Garden of Eden. The construction of the Ala Wai Canal and the reclamation of the surrounding areas made it possible to create an isolated refuge shielded from the everyday life of Honolulu. The architecture itself revealed some Hawaiian elements with its adaptations to the local climate and environment. Even opulent structures like the Moana and the Royal Hawaiian attempted to stress simplicity and openness despite their demonstration of trendy architectural styles. As a whole, the physical landscape of Waikiki between 1900 and 1949 was a balanced environment of natural beauty and modern convenience. It was, in short, an ideal middle ground.

On the other hand, the mental landscape shaped by image-making individuals and media also enhanced the resort paradisal character of Waikiki. Notable writers publicized the majestic, natural scenery of Hawaii, and also stressed the images of a temporary retreat where one could gain mental and physical rejuvenation as well as intellectual stimulation through a life of leisure. Hollywood and the Hawaii Tourist Bureau provided the image of Hawaii as a romantic, dreamy environment for the prospective visitor.

Most image makers focused upon the entire picture of Hawaii as a resort paradise but they also contributed to elevating the paradisal image of Waikiki. Mark Twain and Don Blanding played decisive roles in mythologizing the paradisal landscape of Hawaii. Twain discovered a serene, restful atmosphere in the perfect balance of mountains and ocean, and the dreamy environment shielded from reality. Blanding was impressed with the colorful, exotic, magical
environment of Hawaii. The variety of colors dominating its scenery fascinated Blanding as an artist while each element of a magical nature--moon, rainbow, sunset and surf--appealed to Blanding's poetic imagination. In such a beautiful, paradisal landscape, they both enjoyed a life of leisure.

The image of a fun, exciting, sensational experience at Waikiki was enhanced by Duke Kahanamoku and Jack London. Duke's athletic talent and London's writing skill elevated the royal sport of surfing to an art. With his affection for, and his knowledge about, the ocean, Duke was infused into Waikiki's water. His spectacular performance mesmerized the audience. Fascinated by the miraculous rides of native surfers, London himself took on the challenge of the royal sport and truly enjoyed a sensational experience. By writing an intriguing essay, London encouraged the reader to pursue an adventure at Waikiki Beach. Thanks to the efforts of Duke and London, surfing may have become a resort paradisal activity by which one would be fused into the ocean environment and establish a close relationship with nature. Waikiki offered not only a surfing spectacle but also a romance. And the romantic images of Hawaii were profoundly influenced by Hollywood films, which nearly always depicted a romantic interlude in a magnificent paradisal setting. Don Blanding, once again, contributed to these images of a romantic environment. He believed that the Hawaiian moon possessed a special quality which fulfilled a lover's dream. A romance at Waikiki would not be complete without special music; the beachboys, Johnny Noble and Harry Owens successfully
provided romantic backgrounds with their distinctive sounds harmoniously blending with the paradisal environment.

Along with fun-filled activities and romance, Waikiki, of course, offered the basic assets of a seashore resort: a perfect climate and a pleasant ocean environment. Robert Louis Stevenson for one enjoyed the bright sunshine and the mild water at Waikiki, which provided mental and physical rejuvenation for his ailing body and exhausted mind. Stevenson's image of Waikiki affected millions of travelers in search of health. Moreover, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau engaged in selling the image of Hawaii as a dreamy, mythical place. Its advertisements focused upon Hawaiian hospitality and its exotic, magical landscape. The bureau intended to provide the images of the dream paradise which every prospective visitor longed for. Thus, a vast number of image makers combined to reshape Waikiki's environment in accordance with their personal visions of a paradise.

Behind these imagemakers, the tourist industry and, in particular the Tourist Bureau, actively and systematically engaged in the mythmaking of Waikiki and Hawaii. For instance, it attempted to create alluring images of native Hawaiians "as happy-go-lucky beach boys, friendly bus drivers, smiling lei sellers, funny entertainers, or beautiful women performing an exotic and somewhat erotic form of dance." As Elizabeth Buck points out, tourism heavily relies upon image and its primary concern is "to construct, through multiple representations of paradise, an imaginary Hawaii that entices the outsider to place himself or herself into this symbol-defined place." In the process of mythmaking, Buck goes on to say, it utilizes
Hawaiian culture "in ways that give new meanings to their presentation and performance." In other words, the tourist industry more or less attempted to appropriate or co-opt individual mythmakers and to sell Hawaiian culture such as hula and music as marketable commodities. For example, it could be said that the city and state governments in their encouragement of tourism exploited the legendary hero, Duke Kahanamoku, by elevating him to official greeter. The statue of Duke on Kuhio Beach is certainly aimed not only at honoring the great champion of Waikiki but also at providing a tourist attraction for quick snapshots. Moreover, the Tourist Bureau utilized the images provided by Twain and Blanding for prospective visitors as if they had been authentic manifestations of Hawaii's attractive landscape. The spell of Hawaii was further enhanced by the tourist industry with the presentation of an exotic and sensuous hula dance totally different from the ancient art form. The comical and carefree Hilo Hattie was also a product of the commercial venture, while Clara Haili Inter evidently possessed a different personality. Through all these efforts, the tourist industry endeavored to increase the number of tourists.

The bottom line of the business was not to glorify an authentic Hawaii but to make profits. Elizabeth Tatar points out that "In commercial ventures, quality is often sacrificed for expedience and economy." Part of Hawaiian culture was cheaply utilized for the growth of tourism. However, the mythical presentations of Hawaii and Waikiki were so powerful that they blurred the hidden motives of the tourist business. Above all, dreamy tourists never intended to
debunk or unveil the mythical qualities which they had longed for. In the magical islands of the Pacific, they were captivated by the paradisal myth.

The paradisal visions of visitors to Waikiki, which had been absorbed prior to the trip, were reinforced or enhanced by the continuous efforts of mythmakers during their stay. Interacting with the physical environment of Waikiki under the influence of images, the visitor discovered the paradisal qualities hidden in Waikiki's landscape. In other words, the integrated meaning of the physical and mental aspects was a resort paradisal landscape. The physical environment of Waikiki matched or harmoniously blended with the mental images of the seashore resort. By integrating reality with myth, the concept of a resort paradise emerged from the landscape of Waikiki in the first half of the 20th century.

Not all the physical elements of Waikiki, of course, possessed admirable qualities. There were some unfavorable realities in the district. As the number of the visitor increased, the small beach space along the shore became a serious problem. Since the primary section was reserved for the guests of the Moana or the Royal and the members of the Outrigger Canoe Club, other visitors and residents were forced to flock onto the crowded Kuhio Beach. Moreover, Kapiolani Park continued to struggle with an inhospitable environment: the lack of water resources, a sluggish waterway, mosquito-breeding ponds and sandy soil. As a result, landscaping of the park was not completed until the 1940s. Waikiki also contained a slum district between Kaiulani and Kapahulu avenues, replete with
deteriorated structures where indecent people resided. Yet, prior to 1950, powerful images created by mythmakers blurred these obnoxious features of Waikiki’s environments. The mental landscape which was filled with myths, images, illusions and dreams overwhelmed the physical landscape.

In general, myths or images tend to prevail over realities. James Oliver Robertson stresses the impact of myth upon reality. Regarding myths as the shared patterns "of behavior, of belief, and of perception," he states that myths are not always fictitious but neither are they rational or logical, and that they are often founded upon faith and belief rather than reason, upon ideals rather than facts. Robertson insists that myths influence behavior, thought, and understanding and play an important role in social life. Daniel Boorstin further points out the dominant force of images in American society when he states that imagemaking "has become the business of America" since the "extravagant expectations" of people lead to the making of illusions. In his view people behave or act according to images. For instance, Boorstin illustrates that the tourist attempts to see if his or her impressions of facts match the images he or she had collected from newspapers, movies and television, and to examine reality by image. That is why, Boorstin believes, the American tourist expects "more strangeness and more familiarity" than the real world provides. The tourist clearly desires reproductions of the images he has retained. Boorstin also introduces William James’s notion that people's desire to believe overwhelms real things. Simon Schama, furthermore, states that the powerful force of myth
affects human attitudes toward landscapes in the present and in the future. Even under conditions of urban sprawl, he argues, the human imagination, influenced and sustained by myths and memories, would allow us to discover a wild past in a civilized society. Myth can transport us to a dream of an exotic paradise. Thus, all of these conceptual views support the decisive influence of myths or images upon reality. The mythical elements of Waikiki before 1950 clearly overshadowed the incongruent physical aspects of the paradisal environment. The paradisal myth of Waikiki was deeply infused in the consciousness of the visitor. With the strength of myth, Waikiki's landscape between 1900 and 1949 expressed a concept of a resort paradise.

The relation between the paradisal myth and the physical environment changes over a span of time. The mythical power was to diminish as the changing environment overshadowed mythical elements. But most affluent visitors to Waikiki did not feel any clear sense of contradiction to their paradisal myth, at least, before 1950.

However, when the myth of paradise attracted the democratic masses after 1950, it began to face contradictions. In order to accommodate a broader audience of middle class Americans, Waikiki's physical landscape needed to be changed into a moderate, rather than an affluent, resort made up of less sophisticated structures. Roy Kelley clearly contributed to that decisive transformation with the successive construction of modest-scale hotels, which did not physically enhance the familiar resort qualities.
With the opening of the Kelley’s Edgewater Hotel in 1950, the Waikiki resort paradise entered a new chapter, which signified the end of opulence and grace. The privileged class began to mourn the passing of *La Belle Époque* on the mythical seashore of the South Seas.

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4. Tuan, 118.
5. Hibbard, 40.
7. Amory, 23.
10. Buck, 179.
15. Boorstin, 212.
Coda

My own first encounter with the Waikiki resort paradise goes back to the summer of 1978, when I briefly stopped over in Honolulu on my way back from the US mainland to Japan. For an innocent, 19-year-old urbanite from Tokyo, modern Waikiki appeared to be an exotic, attractive environment blending the city's sophistication with nature's blessings. I still remember that I was greatly impressed with the artificial cascade of the Hyatt Regency Hotel, located in the center between the two towering structures. The structural magic of Chris Hemmeter was completed two years before my visit. I also enjoyed a pleasant interlude of leisure on Queens Beach against the background of majestic Diamond Head. For someone coming from a densely populated and tightly built urban space, Waikiki even in the late 1970s seemed to retain the quality of a "middle landscape" incorporating modern conveniences and natural charms. The old spell of Waikiki--blue ocean, blue sky, white sand beaches with exotic palms, verdant Kapiolani Park and perfect climate--perhaps transported a naive Japanese boy into a dream of "paradise."

Since then, my affection for the seashore resort has continued to the present day. In 1986, I moved to Honolulu in order to enter a graduate program at the University of Hawaii, and then in 1992, I decided to live in Waikiki to feel a sense of the place directly for this
project. For the last 10 years, Waikiki’s landscape has changed with continuous urbanization and massive Japanese involvement. Waikiki may have lost its old magic of a resort paradise. But, whenever I watch a beautiful hula accompanied by lovely music (no matter how commercialized) performed in the House Without a Key at the Halekulani, at the moment of sunset, I recall the day when I was first “inparadised” in Waikiki. The romantic scene would even take me back to a more distant past when the luxurious hotel consisted of a few cottages. I still discover something special in the present Waikiki, which I now call my home.

But the physical landscape of Waikiki which I have personally observed is considerably different from that which I examined in the present study. After 1950, Waikiki experienced rapid urbanization with the unplanned and unrestricted development of hotels, condominiums, apartments, and other commercial structures. Especially, the massive development between statehood and the beginning of the jet age in 1959 and the effective use of the Special District Ordinance in 1976 changed the physical scene of the resort into a crowded urban space full of high-rise buildings. Furthermore, the 1980s witnessed the dominant influence of Japanese capital upon Waikiki’s environment. Major hotels were bought out by Japanese companies which were experiencing unprecedented economic prosperity at home. Accordingly, the number of eastbound visitors increased, and Japanese tourists now account for one quarter of the total number of visitors. In order to cater to the now affluent foreigners from the Orient, European and American boutique stores
which offered expensive merchandise from Paris, Milan, and New York began to dot Kalakaua Avenue. Thus, drastic urbanization and strong foreign influence may have already swallowed the character of an American resort paradise.

However, it is still possible that the mythical images of Waikiki, thanks to continuous mythmaking efforts, linger on in the consciousness of the visitor. Waikiki's rich cultural history based upon the paradisal myth can influence the image of the resort in the present. It can be argued that whether you discover a paradise or not depends upon your imagination stimulated by myths and memories.

The present study, at any rate, reveals that Waikiki maintained its resort paradisal character before 1950. If that distinctive quality can still be perceived in the present landscape of Waikiki, the sources of this quality were formed and strengthened between 1900 and 1949. And if the old charm of Waikiki has been somehow lost in the process of change, then we need to make a major effort to amend old mistakes, repair the damages done by human greed, and revive the rich cultural heritage of the seashore resort. I truly hope that the resort paradisal character acquired in the first half of the 20th century may be restored democratically and will be perpetuated in the future of my beloved Waikiki.
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