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Race and Culture in the Early-Twentieth-Century United States and Colonial Hawaii

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Race and Culture in the Early-Twentieth-Century United States and Colonial
Hawai'i

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Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The following essays are two explorations of the role of culture in colonial Hawai'i and in the American metropole in racializing and dominating Native Hawaiians in terms of a larger history of race-based oppression and romanticization in the US. The first essay draws from Werner Sollors' *Ethnic Modernism*, in which he argues that the aesthetic movement of modernism, which has been historically white-washed by scholars, had strong ties to the influx of immigrants and the growing popularity of jazz music and other forms of African American cultural expression in the early twentieth century. The second essay, written for "Politics of Representation" with Professors Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Jennifer Khan, reflects on the utility of a Museum Studies framework for analyzing U.S. American representations of Pacific Islanders in public displays and in mass culture. I argue that existing analyses of American World's Fairs and mass print culture typically overlook their pedagogical functions, and that the museum studies framework might offer a more nuanced view of the cultural work done by these technologies of representation to reinforce or even transform how Americans thought about racialized peoples.

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INTRODUCTION

The two essays in this portfolio explore the entanglements of race, imperialism, and culture in the history of U.S.-Hawaiian relations. My research begins by calling into question the tendency of scholars to draw boundaries around the experiences of constructed racial and ethnic groups in US history. While focusing on African American or Asian American experience is necessary in order to combat the erasure of oppressed groups from the historical narrative, my interest is in widening the scope of race scholarship. My research asks how racialization worked historically to oppress across and between ethnic and racial affiliations. Hawai'i acts as a case study for observing and analyzing the work done by discourses of race, civilization, and nationalism in the context of American imperialism. More specifically, I focus on the role of culture in articulating these discourses. I find that culture is under-considered in accounts of American imperialism in Hawai'i, despite the significant role of cultural forms (e.g. hula, surfing, music) in maintaining a romanticized vision of colonial Hawai'i to this day. My work follows in the steps of scholars such as Stuart Hall, who broke new ground in the study of culture as a lens through which to view the workings of power. I look at culture from many angles – as commodity, as representation, and as aesthetic expression – in order to wrestle with its place in my larger lines of inquiry. Why do Americans “love” all things Hawai'i? Is this “love” contributing to oppression? How can we understand this “love” in terms of global and national constructions of race?

Scholars, such as Noenoe Silva, David Chang, and Isaiah Walker have recently contributed to the “decolonization” of the historical narrative of American imperialism in Hawai‘i. These new narratives work to combat the erasure of Hawaiian voices by white colonizers, providing a counter-narrative of Native Hawaiian resistance where before they were made to seem passive and hospitable to American oppression. Many of these scholars point to culture as a medium of resistance; however, few have investigated the ways in which culture was commodified and utilized by the imperialists as a form of domination. In the case of Hawai‘i, the popularization and American obsession with the tropical landscape as well as the imagined lifestyle and traditional practices of Native peoples can and should, I argue, be considered a part of the colonial project. My research aims to contribute toward a more nuanced understanding of cultural imperialism through a case study of colonial Hawai‘i.

The following essays are two explorations of the role of culture in colonial Hawai‘i and in the American metropole in racializing and dominating Native Hawaiians in terms of a larger history of race-based oppression and romanticization in the US. The first essay draws from Werner Sollors’ *Ethnic Modernism*, in which he argues that the aesthetic movement of modernism, which has been historically white-washed by scholars, had strong ties to the influx of immigrants and the growing popularity of jazz music and other forms of African American cultural expression in the early twentieth century. As evidence, Sollors provides close readings of both works by white modernist writers (e.g. Gertrude Stein, Mary Antin) in order to show how they were influenced by ethnic

voices, and also of ethnic or racialized writers (e.g. Ralph Ellison, Hisaye Yamamoto) to show their active participation in the development of a modernist aesthetic. In my essay, I argue that modernism with its fascination with race, ethnicity, travel, technology, and the “folk,” paved the way for the complex form American imperialism in Hawai‘i.

The essay centers culture in order to draw connections between commonly delineated racial and ethnic groups such as African Americans and Native Hawaiians. Gertrude Stein’s employment of jazz rhythms in her poetry, for example, can be connected to the same impulses that drove nation-wide interest in race records and Hawaiian music in the early twentieth century. Stein did not single-handedly spur this national trend, but her significance as a cultural figure provides important insight into the role of aesthetic expression in manipulating and reflecting a larger cultural and intellectual transformation having to do with race and romance.

The second essay, written for “Politics of Representation” with Professors Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Jennifer Khan, reflects on the utility of a Museum Studies framework for analyzing U.S. American representations of Pacific Islanders – I had not yet narrowed my focus to Hawai‘i – in public displays and in mass culture. I argue that existing analyses of American World’s Fairs and mass print culture typically overlook their pedagogical functions, and that the museum studies framework might offer a more nuanced view of the cultural work done by these technologies of representation to reinforce or even transform how Americans thought about racialized peoples. I further posit that mass culture and

public display of Pacific Islander bodies in live displays at World's Fairs and in magazines like *National Geographic* contributed a great deal to the imperial project in Hawai'i by making Pacific Island culture seem safe and romantic for white Americans who more and more associated cosmopolitanism with respectability. I consider museums and mass culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of the same cultural and intellectual transformation that shaped and included Gertrude Stein and her fellow modernists; that is, a move toward seeing race and ethnic otherness as interesting rather than repulsive.

For the purposes of this essay, I focus on two cultural subjects: the 1901 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco as well as *National Geographic Magazine*. These two subjects are similar, I argue, in that they represent Pacific Islander culture visually for both educational and entertainment purposes, and by describing them as "technologies of representation," I emphasize that the World's Fair and the monthly magazine are both constructed and designed tools for comparatively representing the Other and the West to a national audience. I chose these two particular cultural forms because of their simultaneous rise in popularity and because both *National Geographic* and the PPIE have been subject to recent scholarly analysis. I find that recent research, however, focuses more on the ideologies expressed by the producers of culture rather than the ways the technologies were consumed or whether or not the ideas were accepted. I posit that the Museum Studies framework of analysis offers a more nuanced look at the process of audience

participation and reception. In this essay, I am interested in culture as commodity and as representation; as something that can be produced, marketed, and sold to present a certain message about race, imperialism, and nationalism as well as consumed, evaluated, accepted, or rejected by audiences.

These essays are small steps toward a larger understanding of culture's many facets and intersections with the reinforcement of race and ethnicity. Hawai'i as a geographic region is complicated by imperialism to this day. The state is legally and officially recognized as part of the US, but much of its economy relies on its people and landscape being seen as foreign and romantic. This cultural and political limbo obscures the rampant oppression of Native Hawaiians. Moving forward, I hope to expand my theoretical framework and also research other spheres of cultural production and consumption such as music, home décor, food, and culturally appropriated practices, like hula and surfing. My goal is to not only lift the veil, so to speak, on the problematics of a romanticized Hawai'i, but also to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of race and culture on a national and global scale, as well as to help heal the wounds of the past and prevent future damage to the lives of the oppressed.

MODERNITY, MODERNISM, AND AMERICA'S HAWAII
FROM ANNEXATION TO STATEHOOD

Leah M. Kuragano
AMST 570: Ethnic Modernism
May, 2016

The islands of Hawai'i were largely absent in American history until after the death of British Captain James Cook at the hands of Native Hawaiians in 1779. Traders and whalers from New England began to travel by ship to Hawai'i and back, soon alerting Protestant missionaries to the "savagery" of the Native Hawaiians. By 1820, the missionaries arrived on Hawai'i, beginning the process of Westernization.¹ Soon after, the United States Exploring Expeditions (1838-1842) sent scientists and ethnographers to collect data and artifacts from several Pacific islands, Antarctica, and South America for research and public display.² The published accounts of these American explorers focused on the commercial and political value of the islands, marking a break from the largely religious missionary reports that came before them.³ The US Exploring Expeditions also aligned with the beginnings of modernity, a new development characterized by industrialization and an ethnically diverse American population that embraced scientific secularism, technological innovation, and later, modernism, a new form of artistic expression.⁴

¹ Seth Archer, "Remedial Agents: Missionary Physicians and the Depopulation of Hawai'i," *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (November 2010): 513–44, doi:10.1525/phr.2010.79.4.513.

² Nathaniel Philbrick, "The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition" (Smithsonian Institution Libraries, January 2004), Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, <http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/usexex/learn/Philbrick.htm>.

³ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. 1, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845).

⁴ Werner Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 1st Harvard University Press pbk. ed (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 1–10.

Literary scholar Werner Sollors differentiates the “aesthetic movement” of modernism from the “sociological and technological developments” of modernity, but also acknowledges that the former is thoroughly embedded within the latter.⁵ Similarly, Tim Armstrong calls modernism a “cultural expression of modernity,” and argues that “[modernism and modernity] are bound together in a relation which is often homologous rather than antagonistic.”⁶ In what follows, I support that argument and add that the technological advancements, consumer culture, and monopoly capitalism that defined modernity and birthed modernism made possible the incorporation of Hawai‘i both culturally and physically into a United States that could take pride in its racial and ethnic diversity.

Modernity and Hawai‘i’s Annexation

Sollors argues that experimental American literary modernism took place roughly between 1910 and 1950, but modernity has a much longer history.⁷

Armstrong traces modernity back to its roots in Europe:

[modernity began with] the end of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, with its stress on the market and possessive individualism; the beginnings of humanism, with its roots in the discovery of lost forms of classical knowledge; encounters with other cultures [around the world] and the development of anthropological thinking; the development of the scientific world-view, and the extension of technology and instrumental reason.⁸

⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁶ Tim Armstrong, *Modernism: A Cultural History*, Themes in Twentieth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2005), 1.

⁷ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 1.

⁸ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 2.

This was followed by revolutions in industry and agriculture and “the rise of monopoly capitalism” in the nineteenth century.⁹ During this time, US politicians and businessmen increased their efforts to compete for land and greater commercial power with other world empires. Senator William H. Seward, a member of the Committee on Commerce from 1849 to 1861, was among the most vocal proponents of American commercial expansion into the Pacific. Once Seward became secretary of state in 1861, his goal was to slowly and non-violently take over the land and commerce on a few strategic islands in the Pacific to open up an exclusive trade route with Asia.¹⁰ The American expansionist sentiment during the nineteenth century aligns with several of the defining characteristics of modernity as identified by Armstrong, including the importance of the market economy, possessive individualism, and the development of anthropological and scientific knowledge through exploring missions.¹¹

During the Civil War, a blockade on Confederate trade catalyzed a dramatic increase in American sugar plantations in Hawai'i, where leaders agreed to land deals with private American businesses. The US later negotiated a reciprocity treaty in 1875 and acquired a naval base at Pearl Harbor in 1887 to solidify both a commercial and military presence in Hawai'i.¹² By the time

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 113–114.

¹¹ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 2.

¹² Barry Rigby, “The Origins of American Expansion in Hawaii and Samoa, 1865-1900,” *The International History Review* 10, no. 2 (1988): 221–37.

Americans overthrew Queen Lili'oukalani and replaced her with President Sanford B. Dole in 1893, only fifteen percent of the land on the islands and two percent of invested capital was owned and controlled by Native Hawaiians.¹³ The occupation of Hawai'i eventually situated the United States in a powerful military position in the Pacific during the Spanish-American War of 1898, during which the new Provisional Hawaiian Government, made up of white Americans, ensured that US troops on the islands were fed and entertained, spreading pro-annexation sentiment among the soldiers and military leaders. Three days after the war was won in August, 1898, President McKinley signed a joint resolution to approve Hawai'i's official annexation.¹⁴

The Philippine-American War (1899-1902) brought many more troops to the newly annexed Hawai'i, but once relative peace fell in the Pacific, the Hawaiian government focused on rebranding and promoting the islands to attract more visitors. The Hawaiian Promotion Committee was established in 1902 in order to sell the islands and carefully construct a lavish tropical fantasy for American tourists.¹⁵ The rise of mass culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ensured the eventual success of the Hawaiian tourism industry, and according to Sollors and Armstrong, also contributed to the rise of modernism.¹⁶

¹³ Ibid., 228.

¹⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, "The United States and Hawaii during the Spanish-American War," *The American Historical Review* 36, no. 3 (April 1931): 556, 559, doi:10.2307/1837915.

¹⁵ DeSoto Brown, "Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii: How the Fantasy Image Came to Be," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 259.

¹⁶ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 2; Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 10–11.

Early Modernism, Mass Culture, and the Ethnic "Other"

"Mass culture" in America is defined by historian Richard Ohmann as:

...voluntary experiences, produced by a relatively small number of specialists, for millions across the nation to share, in similar or identical form, either simultaneously or nearly so; with dependable frequency; mass culture shapes habitual audiences, around common needs or interests, and it is made for profit.¹⁷

Ohmann argues that mass culture, by this definition, only truly began in the late nineteenth century. Before then, news and entertainment were local, and largely differed in content depending on the city or town in which one lived. Ohmann traces true mass culture back to the dramatic change in the print media industry during the 1890s, when a few monthly magazines including *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Munsey's* dramatically cut prices of individual issues. This helped to widen readerships to include the growing middle class of salaried workers as well as those Americans of the lower-middle-class, capable of upward mobility. This "professional-managerial class" audience made these magazines appealing to advertisers, who were willing to pay larger sums for access to an enormous new market of consumers. After this change, *Munsey's Magazine* went from 40,000 issues sold in October 1893, to 500,000 issues sold in April of 1894, and by 1898, *Munsey's* boasted the largest readership of any magazine in the world.¹⁸ As dozens of other publications

¹⁷ Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*, The Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1996), 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

followed suit, millions of Americans turned to print publications for what Ohmann calls “a homogenous national experience of *the* news, of opinion, of household advice, and of entertainment.”¹⁹

American involvement overseas in the Spanish-American War and in Hawai'i inspired articles in several publications.²⁰ *National Geographic Magazine* gained incredible success in the early twentieth century by appealing to Americans' new-found obsession with all things foreign, presenting ethnic and racial others as interesting and exotic.²¹ The rise of popular ethnography in the form of World's Fairs, Natural History Museums, and magazines like *National Geographic* coincided with an influx of ethnic immigrants who settled in urban centers around the US. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that living exhibits of ethnic others at World's Fairs encouraged Americans at the turn of the century to see immigrants through an ethnographic lens. The inner city became a sort of living museum, and the people within it, living artifacts.²²

This desire to see poor immigrants through an ethnographic lens coincided with the arrival of the immigrant narrative. To Sollors, African

¹⁹ Ibid., 21.

²⁰ Gilbert Grosvenor, “The Hawaiian Islands: America’s Strongest Outpost of Defense – The Volcanic and Floral Wonderland of the World,” *National Geographic Magazine*, February 1924, National Geographic Virtual Library; “The Prizes of Victory,” *Munsey’s Magazine: April to September, 1898*, July 1898, Hathi Trust.

²¹ Stephanie L. Hawkins, *American Iconographic: National Geographic, Global Culture, and the Visual Imagination*, Cultural Frames, Framing Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 14–15.

²² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 413.

Americans, immigrants, and ethnic minorities “were part of modernity...[and in] many ways, they also participated in, and significantly advanced, the course of modernism in the United States.”²³ Ethnic and racial others were often the producers of modernist art, music, and literature; but they also acted as subjects. Immigrant narratives helped early twentieth-century Americans grapple with modernity and question where ethnic others might fit within the US national identity. At the turn of the century, *The Independent* started to publish serialized, short “life stories” featuring self-reported narratives from various immigrants, foreigners, and racial minorities in cities around America. Several of the stories were compiled by *The Independent’s* editor, Hamilton Holt and published in 1906 as *Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves*. The volume served as a gesture toward inclusivity, featuring stories from European and Asian immigrants as well as an African American peon, a performer from the Philippines, and a Mohawk American Indian man. The stories vary in tone from grateful to frustrated, but the book generally makes the case that anyone has the potential to be an American.²⁴

Mary Antin, an immigrant from Russia, wrote an autobiographical memoir entitled *The Promised Land* in 1912 that contrasted the backwardness of the Old World with America’s opportunity and modernity. While her native country clung to “mediæval customs[,] which were preserved in the Pale when the rest of the world had long forgotten them,” she celebrates her new land, writing that “being

²³ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 12.

²⁴ Hamilton Holt, ed., *The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves* (New York: James Pott, 1906).

alive in America is to ride on the central current of the river of modern life; and to have a conscious purpose is to hold the rudder that steers the ship of fate.”²⁵ *The Promised Land* was celebrated by many reviewers who saw Antin’s story as progressive and patriotic; a testament to the power of an American education to civilize and assimilate.²⁶ Thanks to new advancements in print media and publishing, more Americans than ever before were exposed to popular ethnography and immigrant narratives like Holt’s *Life Stories* and Antin’s *The Promised Land*. These newly accessible, positive images of immigrants helped readers imagine a more diverse America that could welcome and celebrate people of various religions, races, cultures, and dialects; including the people of Hawai’i.

Modernism, Travel, and Technology

In 1924, the first portrait of Hawai’i was published in *National Geographic Magazine*. The issue boasted “sixteen pages of illustrations in full color,” dedicated to “The Hawaiian Islands: America’s Strongest Outpost of Defense – The Volcanic and Floral Wonderland of the World.”²⁷ The featured article contains mostly photographs of Hawai’i’s natural wonders alongside smiling and posed Native Hawaiians or Japanese immigrants. The article is preceded by about twenty pages of advertisements, several of them promoting tourist trips to

²⁵ Mary Antin, *The Promised Land*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 36, 278.

²⁶ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 74.

²⁷ Grosvenor, “The Hawaiian Islands: America’s Strongest Outpost of Defense – The Volcanic and Floral Wonderland of the World.”

Hawai'i via Matson Navigation Company passenger ship. Although the advertisements for these trips were common, travelling in the early twentieth century was time consuming and expensive, making tourism a status symbol; a popular way for elite Americans to exhibit their wealth.²⁸

Technological innovation, especially in travel and transportation, marked the move into the modern age; as a result, streetcars and trains appear frequently in modernist literature. These machines allowed people to travel faster and farther than ever before, making them a “prototypical modern symbol.”²⁹ The climax of Henry Roth's Jewish immigrant narrative *Call It Sleep* (1934) depicts David, the young protagonist, knocked unconscious by plunging a metal rod into the third rail of the streetcar track, in desperation to attain the power and light held within.³⁰ The streetcar, a symbol of progress, civilization, and modernity; is ultimately made to seem dangerous and unavailable to David, as the child of immigrants.

Modernism was also shaped by several American expatriates. Gertrude Stein, one of the most famous modernist writers, spent much of her life in Paris. Her subject matter, however, remained dedicated to America. *Three Lives* (1909) features an African American character and two German-Americans in three separate stories, which focus on issues of ethnicity and gender specific to modern America.³¹ Ernest Hemingway, another eminent modernist writer spent

²⁸ Brown, “Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii,” 260.

²⁹ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 35.

³⁰ Henry Roth, *Call It Sleep*, 12. printing (New York: The Noonday Press, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1934), 409.

³¹ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 26.

much of his time travelling and living abroad. *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) follows a group of World War I veterans in Europe who painfully navigate their lives post-war. Even though Hemingway's "hard-boiled" cynicism is a modernist rejection of the sentimentalism of the past, *The Sun Also Rises* takes place in "a tourist's Europe," that is made to seem attractive and available to Americans.³²

Tourism and travelling abroad became an indicator of elite status in the early twentieth century, and therefore, a symbol of American freedom and upward mobility.³³ The first tourist brochures and souvenirs from Hawai'i depicted images of high-class white Americans in luxurious surroundings. The Hawaiian Promotion Committee and the Matson Navigation Company helped to shape an image of Hawai'i that became associated with opulence and romance, reflecting and contributing to the culture of modernity. New technological advancements in photography, radio, and film allowed more Americans access to the rest of the world, satisfying lower and middle class audiences' desires to travel by providing vicarious tourism.³⁴ In fact, mass media publications like *National Geographic Magazine* helped to advance technology just to meet that demand. Thanks in part to *National Geographic's* editors, early twentieth-century color photographs

³² Ibid., 129.

³³ Richard K. Popp, "Introduction: The New Leisure," in *The Holiday Makers : Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2012).

³⁴ Richard K. Popp, "The New Mobility: Travel and Leisure in Depression and War," in *The Holiday Makers : Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2012).

became higher in quality and cheaper to reproduce.³⁵ Photography also became an artistic medium that took advantage of the technologies of modernity to produce images with Hemingway's hard-boiled world-view. Artists like Edward Steichen and Ansel Adams rejected the painterly, subjective imagery of earlier Pictorial photography in favor of the truthful capture of motion, nature, and "grotesque reality."³⁶

Technological innovation also allowed for the rise of cinema in the early twentieth century, which Armstrong argues was the medium with the greatest direct impact on modernism. Cinema, he explains, communicated "a new, universal language of images," that inspired the translation of movement into the written word.³⁷ Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923) departed from the conventional narrative in scene-like, cinematic fragments that form a cohesive whole. Like Hemingway, Toomer keeps his characters at a distance, giving only some character information to describe characters and settings as synesthetic blends of sound, image, and color. Writers like Toomer put into words what art films put on screen, allowing American audiences to experience the world in living color and sound.

Hawai'i was featured prominently in Hollywood films in the early twentieth century. The first were ten-minute dramas entitled *Hawaiian Love* and *The Shark God* in 1913, shot on location by American film-makers. Eventually, the Hawaiian

³⁵ Brian Hochman, "Local Colors: The Work of the Autochrome," in *Savage Preservation: The Ethnographic Origins of Modern Media Technology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 143–76.

³⁶ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 104.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

setting became a trope. Films like *Waikiki Wedding* (1937) and those featuring the fictional Honolulu Police detective Charlie Chan gained enormous popularity even during the Depression.³⁸ Technological advancement in film and photography, nomadic artists and writers, and mass culture's increased accessibility inspired and reflected a modern America that celebrated travel and tourism, opening minds to the possibility that one could be an American anywhere in the world.

Modernism, Music, and Sound

Sound and music were just as much a part of modernity and modernism as photography and film, if not more. Before the invention of sound recording, music was only played live, either in public by a performer or in the home, by a family member who could read sheet music and play the piano. Music became mass culture when the phonograph became affordable for middle-class Americans, allowing the exact same recording to be heard by millions of Americans in the exact same way as many times as they liked.³⁹ The radio not only allowed people to listen to music, but also to words spoken from around the world. In the 1930s and 1940s, radio programs broadcast from Hawai'i to the US mainland became highly popular. These shows featured Hawaiian-influenced music and programming, which presented a "carefully negotiated Orientalist

³⁸ Brown, "Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii," 256–257.

³⁹ Michael Denning, *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution* (London ; Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2015), 109–110.

version of Hawaiian culture” directed toward a middle-class, white, American audience.⁴⁰

Perhaps the most famous radio program broadcast from the islands was *Hawaii Calls*, which aired from 1935 to 1975. The introduction to the show started with an opening description of Waikiki beach by Webly Edwards, the show’s host. The sounds of waves and steel guitar music play in the background over Edwards’ voice, followed by a Native Hawaiian woman who sings, “Hawai’i calls *aloha* to you.” The show was funded by the Hawai’i Tourist Bureau, acting as a long-form advertisement for tourism after the US Sugar Act of 1934 limited the import of sugar into America from Hawai’i. Many of the islands’ leaders hoped that a greater interest in Hawaiian music and culture on the mainland might influence the US government to grant them statehood.⁴¹

Part of the popularity of *Hawaii Calls* can be attributed to the simultaneous rise in availability of commercial Hawaiian music after the hula performances at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. In the 1910s, songs that were inspired by Hawaiian music became widely popular, and were even performed by actors in blackface at minstrel shows.⁴² Songs like “My Waikiki Ukulele Girl” and “Oh, How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Wacki Woo (That’s Love in Honolu)” were commonly available as sheet music with eye-catching cover art that often depicted cartoon hula-dancing women against a

⁴⁰ Susan Smulyan, “Live from Waikiki: Colonialism, Race, and Radio in Hawaii, 1934–1963,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 27, no. 1 (March 2007): 64, doi:10.1080/01439680601177148.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴² Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 161; Brown, “Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii,” 255.

tropical backdrop.⁴³ By the 1920s, “Hawaiian Records” had also become a high-selling category of phonograph music alongside “Race Records,” the industry name for jazz, blues, and other African American musical styles.⁴⁴

Modernist artists and writers often drew inspiration from “primitive” and “folk” cultures. Pablo Picasso famously created modernist paintings inspired by African tribal masks, a subject that also captivated Picasso’s friend Gertrude Stein.⁴⁵ The so-called primitive cultures around the world were the antithesis of modernity, and this captivated many modernist artists who felt that art from Africa and Asia should be celebrated instead of banished to the realm of “folk.”⁴⁶ For the same reason, modernist writers embraced and were inspired by jazz and the blues, the vernacular music of African Americans. Scholar Rob Wallace argues that Gertrude Stein’s repetitive and syncopated writing style is directly inspired by jazz music and scat singing, especially when hearing her words spoken out loud. On Stein’s poem *If I Told Him*, Wallace writes:

...[the poem] indicates an intentional freedom that Stein desires for the sound and rhythm of the words; like Whitman’s long lines, the length of Stein’s lines makes us pay attention to how we control our breath, our lips, and our tongue when we speak. The visual line moves along in collaboration with the written line, making us viscerally feel the way in which language is being connected and reconnected.⁴⁷

⁴³ Brown, “Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii,” 254–255.

⁴⁴ Denning, *Noise Uprising*, 161.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 140; Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 23.

⁴⁶ Armstrong, *Modernism*, 143.

⁴⁷ Rob Wallace, “Listening to Gertrude Stein’s Saxophone,” in *Improvisation and the Making of American Literary Modernism* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 109, <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10438528>.

Stein's writing utilized an experiential style that pays homage to African American folk culture by evoking a jazz-like, instrumental sound.

Jean Toomer also used African American music in *Cane*, though it is more obviously present in his writing than it is in Stein's. Toomer references and repeats phrases and verses from African American spirituals and references jazz throughout his book, which is an exploration of the mass migration of African Americans from the South to the North. In the story "Blood Burning Moon," for example, he repeats three lines of a spiritual at the end of each of the three sections. The spiritual accompanies the lynching of a black man, and thus the dying out of the black voices of the South. In "Bona and Paul," which takes place in Chicago, a young white man plays jazz, and a white woman asks a non-white man on a date. Again, the use of sound stands in for the African American voice, but this time, the music is played by a white Northerner. Toomer uses jazz, in this case, to highlight the stark differences between race relations in the North and the South.⁴⁸

The popularity of African American and Hawaiian music arose around similar times with the advent of more accessible recordings and innovations in radio programming. The prominence of the African American voice and song in modernist literature was likely a reflection of a general increase in American interest in vernacular music, and perhaps inspired an even greater appreciation for "folk" culture. The shift of jazz, blues, and Hawaiian music into the

⁴⁸ Jean Toomer, *Cane* (New York: Liveright, 1923).

mainstream helped to incorporate non-white and non-American voices into the American cultural vocabulary.

Modernism, Modernity, Exclusion, and Inclusion

The granting of Hawai'i's statehood in 1959 was preceded by a lengthy and dramatic political battle between white conservatives in the South, who made up the opposition, and the proponents, who saw Hawai'i's exclusion from the Union as an injustice to those from the islands who had served in World War II. While Hawai'i was thousands of miles away from mainland America, and posed no immediate threat to the everyday lives of these white Southerners, their push-back was based on a larger belief in white supremacy; that "people of a Western European, Christian heritage alone were capable of and entitled to self-rule."⁴⁹ Hawai'i, with its high level of racial and ethnic diversity and intermarriage, was seen as an abomination to the opposition, who believed that its integration would inspire more miscegenation at home.⁵⁰

The Southern conservative resistance against the Hawai'i statehood bill had a direct association with fears about the growing black civil rights movement, equating Hawai'i's admission with the same threat posed by the recent *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The first half of the twentieth century was defined by debates about racial and ethnic inclusion and exclusion, a topic that also

⁴⁹ Ann K. Ziker, "Segregationists Confront American Empire: The Conservative White South and the Question of Hawaiian Statehood, 1947–1959," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (August 2007): 441, doi:10.1525/phr.2007.76.3.439.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 452.

concerned many modernist writers and artists. Among the most important black modernist writers was Ralph Ellison, whose novel *Invisible Man* (1952) won the National Book Award and is recognized by Sollors as evidence of the arrival of African American literature into the mainstream.⁵¹ *Invisible Man* is the story of a nameless black character from the South, who finds himself in Harlem, following the South-to-North path previously investigated by writers like Jean Toomer. Over the course of the narrative, Ellison's nameless narrator finds himself fighting for recognition within a country that refuses to acknowledge him. He receives a scholarship to attend Tuskegee University, only to be expelled for failing to perform the right role in front of a white man; moves to Harlem with hopes of finding a job, only to realize that he has been sabotaged by his mentor; finds factory work only to be physically attacked by a black co-worker; and is invited to participate in a black rights group in Harlem, only to be spurned by his fellow activists. *Invisible Man* is above all an observation by Ellison that African Americans are an integral part of America's culture, and yet are excluded and made "invisible" at every turn, not just by white people, but also by other African Americans. Ellison's form of modernism departed from the abstract and moved toward a "grotesque realism" that highlighted the injustices faced by so many African Americans every day.

The post-war era was a significant turning point for modernism. World War II saw fascism and the Nazi Holocaust in Europe as well as the internment of Japanese Americans, the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the

⁵¹ Sollors, *Ethnic Modernism*, 39.

abandonment of mentally and physically disabled veterans of color by the United States. As writers like Ellison confronted issues central to the lives of African Americans, others like Hisaye Yamamoto helped to bring into sharp focus the experiences of Japanese Americans who had been forcibly arrested and interned within their own country. Yamamoto's collection *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories*, published in 1988, features short fictional stories about first- and second-generation Japanese Americans written during the period immediately following World War II.⁵² In true modernist style, her stories provide a look into the lives of the interned in a nuanced and fairly unsentimental way. "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" takes place within an internment camp, and is told from the perspective of a young Japanese American woman. Yamamoto distracts the reader's attention from the surreal camp setting and focuses instead on the drama of Miss Sasagawara, another woman in the camp who is singled out as exceptional due to her glamorous clothing and good looks. Miss Sasagawara has not followed the path of the typical Japanese woman, in that she is unmarried and made a career as a ballet dancer. In comparison to her father, a Buddhist reverend, Miss Sasagawara comes across as modern, thoroughly American, and strange; eventually leaving the camp due to a purported mental breakdown. Yamamoto's voice is obscured by an unreliable narrator who is unable to grasp that Miss Sasagawara's strangeness could be attributed to her complete unwillingness to accept her imprisonment; yet, it is possible to discern that the

⁵² Matthew Elliott, "Sins of Omission: Hisaye Yamamoto's Vision of History," *MELUS* 34, no. 1 (2009): 47.

overall purpose of the story is to highlight and uncover the injustice and politics at play.⁵³

Writers like Ellison and Yamamoto helped to uncover the lives of invisible Americans after World War II. Hawai'i, of course, saw its fair share of violence and pain during the war, having fought alongside American soldiers after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and seeing its own Japanese inhabitants forcibly interned alongside those in the mainland US.⁵⁴ In many ways, the war brought into sharp focus the true effects of the decades-long American occupation of Hawai'i. The colonizers had succeeded in slowly turning a set of islands thousands of miles from the mainland into a part of the United States, whether or not a few Southern conservatives could acknowledge it.

Conclusion

Without modernism and modernity, it is hard to imagine an America that, in the 1950s and 1960s, could embrace surf culture, hula, "tiki" décor, luau parties, and canned pineapple, just to name a few of the cultural imports from Hawai'i. Unfortunately, very few scholars have considered the place Hawai'i occupied among the larger cultures of modernity and modernism. As I have shown, America's involvement in Hawai'i from annexation to the present was

⁵³ Hisaye Yamamoto, "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara," in *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories* (Latham, NY: Kitchen Table--Women of Color Press, 1988).

⁵⁴ Tetsuden Kashima, "Introduction," in *Life Behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei*, by Keiho Soga (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=236698&site=ehost-live>.

completely dependent on white supremacy, socioeconomic inequality, capitalism, and globalization in the twentieth century, all of which are issues confronted in modernism. One could say, from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, that modernist artists and writers succeeded in turning the marginalized voices of ethnic and racial minorities into a part of mainstream America. Thanks in part to the modernist embrace of African American culture, immigrant narratives, and travel abroad; as well as to the technological and sociological innovation of modernity, America was able to take pride in its minorities and outsiders, changing the identity of the United States from that of an exclusive white-only place into a “melting pot” of different cultures that could include a place as geographically remote and racially diverse as Hawai’i.

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PACIFIC ISLANDERS AND TECHNOLOGIES OF REPRESENTATION IN
EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA:
A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

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Anthropology 617: Politics of Representation

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Given the seemingly natural twenty-first century association of the Pacific with romance, tourism and exoticism, it is hard to imagine the relationship between the US and the Pacific Islands has ever been anything but mutually hospitable, but this has not always been the case. The native inhabitants of the Pacific Islands have endured a long history of oppression, racial discrimination, and violence that continues to be obscured, sheltering Americans from the complexities of the long-standing colonial relationship that began over a century ago. Museums and print media in the early twentieth century played a crucial role in the careful construction of a Pacific Island imaginary entrenched in the politics of race, gender, and imperialism that continue to function today. Many scholars of modern America and mass culture have not fully considered the impact of Pacific expansion and popular ethnographic events and media, such as World's Fairs or *National Geographic Magazine*, in their analyses of race in the early twentieth century. I argue that popular ethnography should be analyzed using a Museum Studies framework that acknowledges its unique pedagogical function as a technology of representation.

Pacific Islanders in the American Racial Imaginary

Pacific Islanders were largely absent from the American racial imaginary until the nineteenth century when the United States Exploring Expeditions (1838-1842) were arranged as exploratory missions to places like South America, Antarctica, and several of the Pacific Islands. Scientists and ethnographers on these missions collected data and artifacts to bring home for research. The Expeditions were among the first attempts by the United States to compete with

powerful European nations like Spain, France, and Britain, which had been exploring the globe and leading the West in geographic and scientific knowledge for centuries.⁵⁵

Before the United States Exploring Expeditions, Americans had already adopted the European conception of racial hierarchy developed during the Enlightenment. Predictably, Europeans were considered the ideal human group in the hierarchy, while Africans were deemed the most “degenerate.” The groups that made up the middle of the hierarchy included Indigenous North and South Americans, labeled simply, “Americans;” Asians, or “Mongolians;” and Pacific Islanders, termed “Malays.”⁵⁶ While Europeans largely used these categories as justification for the colonization of racial others abroad, the eighteenth-century United States had become economically dependent on Africans slave labor, and this hierarchy served useful for defending race-based American slavery.⁵⁷

In the nineteenth century, however, America saw an increased effort on the part of politicians and businessmen to compete for land and greater commercial power with other world empires, leading to faster westward

⁵⁵ Nathaniel Philbrick, “The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition” (Smithsonian Institution Libraries, January 2004), Smithsonian Institution Libraries Digital Collection, <http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/usexex/learn/Philbrick.htm>.

⁵⁶ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*, The California World History Library 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 11–14.

⁵⁷ Adam Dewbury, “The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology,” *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3, no. 1 (2007): 121–47.

expansion toward the Pacific and exploration around the globe.⁵⁸ The accounts of American missionaries and explorers in the Pacific during the early nineteenth century describe the savagery or primitivism of encountered natives, but generally describe their relative hospitality to Americans.⁵⁹ Then-Senator William H. Seward, a member of the Committee on Commerce from 1849 to 1861, seems to have used such reports to determine Pacific Islanders' potential to be passive laborers or friendly hosts, as he was among the most vocal proponents of American commercial expansion into the Pacific. Once Seward became Secretary of State in 1861, his goal was to slowly and non-violently take over the land and commerce on a few strategic islands in the Pacific to open an exclusive trade route with Asia to bring American products and ideals to the rest of the world.⁶⁰

During the Civil War, a blockade on Confederate trade catalyzed a dramatic attempt to increase American sugar and cotton plantations on the islands of Hawai'i and Samoa. The Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company largely failed to establish land claims with Native Samoan leaders, and most of the American commercial projects in the Pacific developed on Hawai'i, where leaders were more open to trade deals with the United States. A

⁵⁸ Barry Rigby, "The Origins of American Expansion in Hawaii and Samoa, 1865-1900," *The International History Review* 10, no. 2 (1988): 221–37.

⁵⁹ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition: During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. 1, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845).

⁶⁰ Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: A History of American Imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 113–14.

reciprocity treaty negotiated with Hawaiian royalty in 1875 guaranteed the Kingdom's dependence on the American sugar market. Secretary of State James Blain negotiated a separate treaty with Samoa in 1878 to establish a naval base at Pago Pago, and later obtained another base at Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i in 1887, to solidify American military presence in the Pacific.⁶¹

These relative successes strengthened the pro-imperialist factions in America. Politicians like Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt pushed for a new nationalistic and aggressive America, one that represented good overcoming evil all over the world. Lodge saw the results of the Civil War as proof of American exceptionalism, and believed strongly that the US was the only country that could, and should, spread liberty and civilization to the world. Speaking in front of the Senate, Lodge vehemently promoted the annexation of Hawai'i, saying: "[Hawai'i is] populated by a low race of savages... We are a great people; we control this continent; we are dominant in this hemisphere; we have too great an inheritance to be trifled with or parted with. It is ours to guard and extend."⁶²

Seward, Lodge, and the other American pro-imperialists of the nineteenth century consistently employed a rhetoric of racial hierarchy and cultural evolution to defend Pacific Expansion. Pacific Islanders were seen as non-threatening but stubborn, unable to truly assimilate, and highly governable. To Lodge, Pacific Islanders were merely an inconvenient barrier between the US and its full

⁶¹ Rigby, "Origins of American Expansion."

⁶² Immerman, *Empire for Liberty*, 141.

potential for authority in the Pacific.⁶³ By the time Americans overthrew Queen Lili'oukalani and replaced her with President Sanford B. Dole in 1893, only 15% of the land on the islands and 2% of invested capital was owned and controlled by Native Hawaiians.⁶⁴

The annexation of Hawai'i situated the United States in a powerful military position in the Pacific. After the sinking of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana Bay in February, 1898, the US had launched itself into a brutal war against the Spanish empire.⁶⁵ Among Spain's more valuable colonies was the Philippine Islands, which became one of the main theaters for the Spanish-American War. To the US, Spain represented Old World barbarism, and the war was fought in the name of spreading democracy. The natives of the Philippines were seen as innocent and defenseless against Spanish rule, and the US purported to be a liberating force against Spanish backwardness.⁶⁶

Within a year, the Treaty of Paris was negotiated, and the United States was given control over the Philippine Islands. However, America faced a new threat, as the Filipinos refused to succumb to yet another imperial power, choosing instead to fight for their sovereignty and independence.⁶⁷ President McKinley refused to concede, and war broke out in the Philippines in February

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Rigby, "Origins of American Expansion," 228.

⁶⁵ Matthew McCullough, *The Cross of War: Christian Nationalism and U.S. Expansion in the Spanish-American War*, Studies in American Thought and Culture (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 12.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁷ Paul Kramer, "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War," *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 2 (April 2006): 176.

1899, in the name of “benevolent assimilation.”⁶⁸ For the entirety of the Philippine-American War, Filipinos were cast as savage ingrates who were incapable of becoming civilized on their own. American leaders purposefully constructed a racialized enemy throughout the war, justifying violence against the Filipinos with claims of altruism.⁶⁹

The Philippine-American War officially ended on July 4, 1902, shifting power on the islands from US military to civilian overseers, and relative peace fell in the Pacific.⁷⁰ Hawai'i had been hosting and supporting a large numbers of US military troops throughout the conflict, and after the war's end, American leaders refocused their interests to rebranding and promotion. The Philippine-American War had made all Pacific Islands and their inhabitants seem savage and uninviting to Americans, and US leaders in Hawai'i knew that this perception needed to change in order for their islands to thrive. The Hawaiian Promotion Committee was established in 1902, the same year as the end of the Philippine-American War, marking the beginning of a shift of American Pacific imaginary toward one of passivity, romance, and fantasy.⁷¹

Pacific Islanders, Museums, and Mass Culture

While scholarship on the effects of Westernization in the Pacific Islands is growing, relatively little research has been done on the cultural effects of contact

⁶⁸ Ibid., 180–81.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 185.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 208.

⁷¹ DeSoto Brown, “Beautiful, Romantic Hawaii: How the Fantasy Image Came to Be,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 20 (1994): 259.

with the Pacific Islands within the metropole. When it comes to the US, mass culture and public displays of Pacific Island culture flourished from the nineteenth century onward to feed the growing American desire for the foreign and exotic. I argue that contact with, and imperialism in, the Pacific Islands had a marked and significant effect on the shape of American culture in the twentieth century, in that the Pacific Island imaginary became tied to notions of nationalism, power, and citizenship through mass culture and ethnographic displays.

Perhaps the first museum exhibit including Pacific Island cultural objects in America took place in the mid-nineteenth century. The United States Exploring Expedition crew arrived back in America in 1842 with 4,000 ethnographic objects, over 50,000 plant and animal specimens, and hundreds of charts and maps. Joel Poinsett of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science arranged for the enormous collection to be moved to Washington, D.C., where they were then prepared for exhibition in the Great Hall of the Patent Office Building in 1855. The arrangement and display of the objects was orchestrated by Charles Wilkes, the sea captain that had led the expeditions. Wilkes was not a museum professional, scientist, or ethnographer, but he cared deeply about the collection and felt he was the only suitable curator for the exhibit.⁷²

The catalogue for the exhibit indicates the way objects were organized. The first ten cases were dedicated to ethnographic artifacts from various Pacific Islands.⁷³ The title of the catalogue refers to the objects as “extraordinary

⁷² Philbrick, “The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition.”

⁷³ National Institute for the Promotion of Science, *A Popular Catalogue of the Extraordinary Curiosities in the National Institute, Arranged in the Building*

curiosities,” recalling the *Wunderkammern* or “cabinets of curiosities” that were popular among the European elite in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; often private collections of oddities that were displayed within palaces or homes.⁷⁴ These early cabinets would eventually be replaced by the carefully categorized, scientific collections of the Enlightenment.⁷⁵ Eighteenth century Europe saw the first public museums that contained natural specimens including human skeletons and taxidermied animals, and by the nineteenth century, there were many public natural history museums in Europe and the US that emphasized scientific empiricism and educational principles through calculated methods of display.⁷⁶

Like many post-Enlightenment natural history museums, The US Exploring Expedition exhibit at the Patent Office was deliberately organized to convey certain ideological and theoretical principles; however, it carried forward some inspiration from the earlier cabinets of curiosity.⁷⁷ The catalogue suggests that the exhibit relied heavily on exotic and unique objects that were visually appealing, and the text focused more on highlighting the strength and successes

Belonging to the Patent Office (Washington, D.C.: A. Hunter, 1855), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101013254337>.

⁷⁴ Dagmar Motycka Weston, “‘Worlds in Miniature’: Some Reflections on Scale and the Microcosmic Meaning of Cabinets of Curiosities,” *Architectural Research Quarterly* 13, no. 01 (March 2009): 38.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁶ Stephen T Asma, *Stuffed Animals & Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3–4; 75.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

of Captain Wilkes, the Exploring Expedition, the nation, and the Anglo-Saxon race than on the scientific value of the objects themselves.⁷⁸

The Collection of the Exploring Expedition drew over 100,000 visitors per year over the next decade and was considered highly successful.⁷⁹ However, the popularity of museums during the early nineteenth century could hardly match the rise of popular ethnography that followed. The increased engagement with natural history that occurred over the course of a century was due to several changes, but I argue that among the main causes was the rise of American mass culture.

“Mass culture” in America is defined by historian Richard Ohmann as:

...voluntary experiences, produced by a relatively small number of specialists, for millions across the nation to share, in similar or identical form, either simultaneously or nearly so; with dependable frequency; mass culture shapes habitual audiences, around common needs or interests, and it is made for profit.⁸⁰

Ohmann argues that mass culture, by this definition, only truly began in the late nineteenth century. Before then, news and entertainment was local, and largely differed in content depending on the city or town one lived in. Ohmann traces true mass culture to the dramatic change in the print media industry during the 1890s, when a few monthly magazines including *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Munsey's* dramatically cut prices of individual issues in order to widen their readerships to include the growing middle class. This audience then made these

⁷⁸ National Institute for the Promotion of Science, *A Popular Catalogue*.

⁷⁹ Philbrick, “The Scientific Legacy of the U.S. Exploring Expedition.”

⁸⁰ Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*, The Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1996), 14.

magazines appealing to advertisers, who paid larger sums to the magazines for access to an enormous new market of consumers. After this change, *Munsey's Magazine* went from 40,000 issues sold in October 1893, to 500,000 issues sold in April of 1894. By 1898, *Munsey's* boasted the largest readership of any magazine in the world.⁸¹ As dozens of other publications followed suit, millions of Americans turned to print publications for what Ohmann calls “a homogenous national experience of *the* news, of opinion, of household advice, and of entertainment.”⁸²

During the Spanish-American War in 1898, magazines satisfied their new-found readers with featured articles about the US Navy, highlighting the strength of the country and trying to cement national confidence and support for the war effort.⁸³ By the time the war was well underway, the print media was giving American readers ethnographic details about Native Filipinos. *Munsey's Magazine* wrote an illustrated article in their July 1898 issue that described the “Philippine Islanders” in the following way:

Of the seven or eight million people in the Philippines, Malay tribes form the numerical majority. These are by no means savages, though their place in the scale of civilization is far from high. Those who have lived among them — as very few Americans have — say that they are as industrious as the tropical climate permits, and as orderly as could be expected under Spanish misrule.⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸³ George Grantham Bane, “America’s Big Guns,” *Munsey’s Magazine: April to September, 1898*, May 1898, Hathi Trust.

⁸⁴ “The Prizes of Victory,” *Munsey’s Magazine: April to September, 1898*, July 1898, 544, Hathi Trust.

This article shows that conceptions of imperialism, racial hierarchy, and cultural evolution were a large part of mass culture representations of current events abroad, perhaps exposing hundreds of thousands of Americans to Pacific Islanders for the first time, and cementing notions of racial hierarchy and the place Pacific Islanders fell within it. The articles, images, and advertisements from the turn of the century onward encouraged an association between American social citizenship, consumption, and imperialism. Perhaps in large part due to the accessibility of so much information about cultures around the world, the turn of the century marked a new-found nation-wide obsession with all things foreign. This, in part, explains the simultaneous rise of American interest in anthropology along with the “museum age.”

New ethnographic museums and exhibits popped up all over the country, including human exhibits at World’s Fairs. The new accessibility of print media and developments in photography meant that one did not have to attend a World’s Fair, visit a museum, or travel at all to be exposed to national discourses of “otherness.” The success of the ethnographic Midway displays at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893 inspired a new kind of microcosmic display of the world in miniature, in which the entire world is rendered “visibly consumable for the tourist’s gaze,” reproduced over and over in subsequent American World’s Fairs⁸⁵ I argue that this same panoptic gaze played out in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century print media in publications like *National*

⁸⁵ Sarah J. Moore, *Empire on Display: San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 7.

Geographic Magazine that were offering representations of racial others for their readers. These popular mass culture ethnographies allowed more Americans than ever before to participate in the marker of upward mobility; acting as cosmopolitan surveyors of the world. It is during this time of great cultural change in the United States that the museum became a method for representing racial and cultural hierarchy.

A Framework for Analysis

Many Museum Studies and Anthropology scholars have analyzed museums and ethnographic displays in terms of their pedagogical and ideological functions. Present-day museums and curated public displays can be understood in terms of their larger ideological messages, and one can similarly learn about the contemporary dogmata that shaped, and was reflected by, historic museums and displays. Unfortunately, these technologies of representation are rarely considered in studies of historic constructions of American culture, race, and gender.

Stephanie Moser's article "The Devil is in the Detail" presents a series of categories that work together to produce knowledge in museums: architecture, location, setting; space; design, color, light; subject, message, text; layout, display type, exhibition style; and audience. Moser's framework recognizes the significance of museum displays as "documents...to the history of scholarly disciplines and the evolution of ideas" that produce meaning through a network of

factors.⁸⁶ Using this framework, one can more fully assess the intended meanings, political ideologies, and social relations made visible in the historic museum display.

Much of the research on historic museums emphasizes the message, display type, and exhibition style of the displays without fully considering the rest of the epistemological network. For just one example, William Ryan Chapman's article "Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition" considers the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford in terms of its place within the history of anthropology. Chapman sees Rivers as a key figure, in that his museum, founded in 1884, fully embraces a comparative, or typological style of display instead of a geographic arrangement, such as the one used for the Collection of the Exploring Expedition in 1855. Inspired by Charles Darwin, Rivers and many other nineteenth-century scholars believed that societies followed the same evolutionary principles as animal species. Rivers' collection of artifacts is arranged so that a visitor can follow what the collector believed to be a path of "progress," from the savagery of tribal peoples to European high civilization.⁸⁷

Chapman's analysis of the Pitt Rivers Museum rightly places the institution within its larger historical context, showing that the scientific principles upon which Rivers built his collection and chose to display it are conveyed through

⁸⁶ Stephanie Moser, "The Devil Is in the Detail: Museum Displays and the Creation of Knowledge," *Museum Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (March 2010): 22.

⁸⁷ William R. Chapman, "Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 15–48.

label text, groupings of objects, and proximity of certain objects to others.

However, this particular article reveals only part of the pedagogical function of the Pitt Rivers Museum. Moser's framework stresses the importance of several other factors, including setting and audience, that are overlooked in Chapman's analysis. Without a consideration of these additional qualities, one cannot adequately understand the full impact of a historical museum on larger social constructs, such as race, culture, or nationalism.

A modified version of this framework is also applicable to other historic curated displays of objects, imagery, and performance. Moser defines the museum exhibition in the following way:

Designed to present collections and tell stories about the significance of the objects contained within them, museum exhibitions are typically seen as providing opportunities to see 'treasures' from times long gone, or as useful educational aids for informing the public about science, culture, and the natural world. ... [Museums act] as key instruments in the diffusion of specialist knowledge to lay audiences.⁸⁸

Historic popular ethnography in the form of public performances at World's Fairs, and in print publications, like *National Geographic Magazine*, align closely with this definition of the museum exhibition. As technologies of representation, all of these media are purposefully curated and constructed to demonstrate the significance or uniqueness of the displayed subjects in relation to one another or in a larger context. Ethnographic museums, performances at World's Fairs, and magazines around the turn of the twentieth century had both an entertainment and educational purpose, meant to inform and amuse the public. The last part of

⁸⁸ Moser, "The Devil Is in the Detail," 22.

Moser's definition of the museum exhibition aligns with part of Ohmann's definition of mass culture; both rely on an authoritative voice from a few experts who transmit knowledge to the masses.⁸⁹

Existing scholarship on World's Fairs and on *National Geographic Magazine* rarely takes into consideration that the pedagogical function of these media is similar to that of the museum. Given these resemblances, I argue that by altering Moser's framework slightly, it can be applied to many other popular, public displays of ethnography. In what follows, I review some shortcomings of current scholarship on The Panama-Pacific International Exposition and *National Geographic Magazine*; and consider the benefits of using a Museum Studies methodology. I argue that using this framework reveals a more nuanced picture of how contemporary technologies of representation helped to place Pacific Islanders within the racial imaginary of early twentieth-century America.

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition

The turn of the twentieth century saw several World's Fairs in the United States. After the enormous success of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the subsequent fairs mimicked its ethnographic displays, indicators of Western superiority, and pro-imperialist ideologies. The 1899 Greater America Exposition in Omaha emphasized the US victory in the Philippines and Cuba in the Spanish-American War, proudly adopting the tagline, "The White Man's Burden," referring in part to the national commitment to carry out President

⁸⁹ Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 14.

McKinley's "benevolent assimilation" policy in the Philippines.⁹⁰ Omaha's World's Fair featured a display called "The Philippine Village," the first of many "living" ethnographic displays.⁹¹ Cuban, Hawaiian, and Philippine exhibits were later featured at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, to be followed by the "Philippine Reservation" at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis that featured "twelve hundred Filipinos living in villages on forty-seven acres... symbolizing Filipino savagery."⁹²

The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco took place during a time of relative peace in America. This fair symbolized the connectivity between the East and West as achieved by the completion of the Panama Canal, and diverted focus from the war in Europe toward the economic successes and possibilities in the Pacific.⁹³ The PPIE most notably highlighted American successes in Hawai'i and the Philippines through native music and cultural performances. Most notable was an event called "Night in Hawaii," staged by the Hawaiian Commission:

The event featured five princesses representing the territory's five major islands, men in native costume rowing outrigger canoes, fireworks, and musical accompaniment by the popular Philippine Constabulary Band... [a] white American socialite queen ruled the islands, bringing them to civilization and progress.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Moore, *Empire on Display*, 23.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 26, 28.

⁹³ Abigail M. Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 6.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

This performance was followed by speeches that focused on the military importance of Hawai'i, and the opportunity for peaceful racial integration on the islands.⁹⁵

Historical scholarship on the subject of the PPIE is largely missing analyses of the pedagogical function of the fair. As an example, Abigail M. Markwyn's book *Empress San Francisco* gives excellent insight into the events and politics behind the fair, but rarely delves into its cultural impact and long-term effects on larger constructs of race or nationalism.⁹⁶ Sarah J. Moore takes more of a visual culture approach to the history of the fair in her book *Empire on Display*, using theory to shape her argument that the fair fell ideologically and discursively within the shift from the pre- to post-frontier period in American history.⁹⁷ While their analyses cover some of the categories in Moser's framework, neither Moore's nor Markwyn's analyses fully consider the fair in terms of its significance as a technology of representation.

While both scholars consider the architecture, setting, message, audience, and design of the fair to varying degrees, the most significant short-coming of Moore's and Markwyn's analyses is the lack of consideration of the "space" category. Moser refers to "space" as both the physical parameters of a museum as well as "the way visitor movement is directed or guided."⁹⁸ Looking at the official map of the fairground, one can easily see that there are multiple

⁹⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁶ Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco*.

⁹⁷ Moore, *Empire on Display*, 5.

⁹⁸ Moser, "The Devil Is in the Detail," 24.

entrances. What is not clear is how visitors were steered toward certain exhibits, if at all. Knowing how people were directed through the space would elucidate whether or not the fair relied on a more systematic and authoritative structure or leaned toward a more constructivist arrangement that gave more agency to the individual visitor. George E. Hein argues that the constructivist museum inspires a completely different type of learning than within a systematic structure.⁹⁹ I argue that it is not enough to assume visitors passively absorbed the imperialist ideology presented at the fair. Understanding which pedagogical structure applies more to the PPIE would truly elucidate the larger epistemological impact of the fair on its visitors.

More generally, both Moore and Markwyn privilege the entirety of the fairground in their analyses over individual exhibits. In order to grasp the full influence of the fair on conceptions of certain cultures and ideas, individual exhibits should be considered as well as the larger fairground. In Markwyn's description of the "Night in Hawaii" event, subject matter is privileged over the architecture and design of the space, the audience in attendance, and the performative style of the display. In Moser's framework, all aspects are equally important in determining the pedagogical function of the event. In her essay "Objects of Ethnography," Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett examines the exhibition of human beings at World's Fairs and notes that people are made to seem "detachable, fragmentable, and replicable" when made to perform their everyday

⁹⁹ George E. Hein, "The Constructivist Museum," in *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Gail Anderson, 2nd ed (Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, 2012), 123–29.

lives for the public.¹⁰⁰ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that encounters with ethnographic human exhibits “force us to make comparisons that pierce the membrane of our own quotidian world, allowing us for a brief moment to be spectators of ourselves, an effect that is also experienced by those on display.”¹⁰¹ Neither Markwyn nor Moore consider the performative human displays as anything more than a part of a larger, fair-wide message about Western power. A more detailed look at each individual exhibit’s subject, setting, style, and audience would give a more nuanced analysis of how certain groups, like Pacific Islanders, were placed within larger American schemas of race during the early twentieth century.

National Geographic Magazine

In 1888, Gardiner Greene Hubbard founded the National Geographic Society, an elite institution of scholars dedicated to the sponsorship of new geographic research. The Society’s magazine remained insular and academic until 1898, when Alexander Graham Bell took over as editor. The print media boom had just begun, and Bell began to focus on promoting the magazine outside academia, focusing on dispersing geographic knowledge to a wider audience. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, hired by Bell and made editor in 1902, is credited with shaping *National Geographic Magazine (NGM)* into one of the most

¹⁰⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 397.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 409.

popular monthly periodicals in the country.¹⁰² *NGM*'s photography set it apart from the other magazines on the market. The ethnographic photographs were visually pleasant and depicted racial difference in order to inform *NGM*'s readership about the world's people and fulfill a growing national desire for the exotic. Since the early twentieth century, *NGM* has remained iconic through its unfaltering ability to evoke an emotional response from its audience.¹⁰³

Catherine Lutz' and Jane L. Collins' book *Reading National Geographic* is perhaps the most well-known of all research on the publication. Lutz and Collins analyze *NGM* photography, noting that the images are sensationalized, coded with an illusion of realism, and reinforce ideas of US benevolence and exceptionalism. They use statistical analyses of the popularity of certain geographic areas and cultures represented in *NGM* as well as interviews with 55 adult readers to determine how audiences respond to the imagery.¹⁰⁴ More recently, Stephanie Hawkins wrote her book *American Iconographic*, in part, as a response to some issues she saw in Lutz' and Collins' research. She explains that they leave out a large number of reader letters at the National Geographic Society archive and the various parody images as lenses through which to view changes in readership response over time. Hawkins argues that *NGM*'s very identity as an authentic and objective ethnographic publication increased the

¹⁰² Catherine Lutz and Jane Lou Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 20–21.

¹⁰³ Stephanie L. Hawkins, *American Iconographic: National Geographic, Global Culture, and the Visual Imagination*, Cultural Frames, Framing Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 2.

¹⁰⁴ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*.

“critical independence of its readership.”¹⁰⁵ She finds in her research that the commercialization of ethnographic imagery eventually incited active resistance among some readers in the form of complaints via letters to editors and parody imagery in other publications. Hawkins also notes that Lutz and Collins incorrectly assume the *NGM*'s readership was exclusively upper-middle class, and finds that the archive contains reader letters from immigrants, people of color, and readers from rural areas.¹⁰⁶

While Moser's analytic framework is designed for a physical museum space, many of the categories are similarly important to consider when analyzing *NGM*. “Architecture, location, and setting” at first seems inapplicable to a print publication, but Moser describes this category as the “features and iconic status” of the institution.¹⁰⁷ She also notes that museums also often use architectural style and institutional reputation to convey authority; as a way to express to the audience that the objects found inside should be considered aesthetically valuable or historically significant. Svetlana Alpers calls this phenomenon the “museum effect,” and it applies both to the physical museum as well as to other technologies of representation.¹⁰⁸ It is undeniable that the National Geographic Society has reached iconic status, and this aspect of the institution as a whole is considered to some degree by Hawkins and by Lutz and Collins. Both sets of

¹⁰⁵ Hawkins, *American Iconographic*, 3–4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁰⁷ Moser, “The Devil Is in the Detail,” 24.

¹⁰⁸ Svetlana Alpers, “The Museum as a Way of Seeing,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 25–32.

research do consider the institution's authority and its place within the larger history of print media to be a large part of *NGM*'s success as an educational publication.

Both works of scholarship focus most on the "subject and message" that accompanies the photography, and often acknowledge the images' captions, but rarely account for the article text as it relates to the photographs used. The article text is equally important in *NGM*'s overall status as a technology of representation, since any accompanying context by the authoritative voice of the institution shapes the audience's experience. The "audience" category is also considered in both works, though as mentioned above, this category is considered more fully by Hawkins than by Lutz and Collins. An analysis of how color photography played a part in *NGM*'s history is studied briefly in both Hawkins' and Lutz' and Collins' analyses, which could be seen to fall under Moser's "design, color, light" category.

The missing pieces in this scholarship are a consideration of the "space," as well as the "layout, display type, and exhibition style" of the magazine. Magazines, just like museum displays, are entirely constructed to present a certain aesthetic and a specific set of ideas. Analyzing any article or issue of *NGM* in terms of its curatorial style would allow scholars of print media to fully consider the pedagogical function of the magazine as a technology of representation. Much like in a museum exhibit, viewers are directed through a magazine along a certain path. The most obvious way to read a magazine is from front to back, but there is also some agency allowed for the audience to flip

through the pages at random or to start with an article that is particularly eye-catching in the middle of the issue. These are considerations of space, as defined in Moser's framework. While it is nearly impossible to determine how any individual in the early twentieth century happened to flip through an issue of *NGM*, it is possible to determine how the editors expected their readers to do so, by analyzing layout mock-ups and editorial notes that are available at the National Geographic Society archives in Washington, D.C. Neither Hawkins nor Lutz and Collins have indicated that these archival sources were used in their analyses. However, the digitization of all issues of *NGM* allows any scholar with access through their institution to perform their own analysis of the display type and style used in any article from any time period.

Ivan Karp and Corinne A. Kratz outline different types of display types in their article "Collecting, Exhibiting, and Interpreting: Museums as Mediators and Midwives of Meaning." These are: the white cube, a purely visual style used primarily in art museums; the varied form approach, used to show change or evolution over time; the life group or diorama; the representative object, in which one object stands in for a class of objects or entire culture; and the text-and-thing, that places objects within a larger historical or cultural context through commentary.¹⁰⁹ *NGM*, I argue, falls within several overlapping categories including the text-and-thing, life-group, and white cube approaches.

¹⁰⁹ Ivan Karp and Corinne A. Kratz, "Collecting, Exhibiting, and Interpreting: Museums as Mediators and Midwives of Meaning," *Museum Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (April 2014): 60–61.

Its use of written context and commentary most obviously places *NGM* within the text-and-thing approach, in which the “thing” is the photographic imagery, but the photographs also seem to stand on their own as works of art. As Hawkins points out, *NGM* photography has become visually iconic. Images like “Afghan Girl” from June, 1985, are only recognizable as artwork; many people do not know the woman’s name, story, or associated article.¹¹⁰ In many ways, although *NGM* itself utilizes text-and-thing, their imagery is visualized by readers purely in terms of aesthetic value, placing it within a figurative white box. *NGM*’s ethnographic subjects are, by nature of the photographic medium, also unmoving and frozen in time, similar to the ethnographic life-group. The life-group or diorama approach was most famously used by Franz Boas in the American Museum of Natural History’s Hall of Northwest Coast Indians. The gallery featured “a dramatic tableau of costumed mannequins,” in order to present cultural artifacts within their context, as the objects were used by human beings in their everyday lives.¹¹¹ Although this style was revolutionary in the late nineteenth century, these frozen images present a restrictively small view of complex cultures that are impossible to sum up in one frame. The same could be said about ethnographic photography, especially that of *NGM*.

It is important to also consider, not only the entire institution or individual issues, but also each article as its own exhibit or display. The Museum Studies

¹¹⁰ Hawkins, *American Iconographic*, 1–7.

¹¹¹ Ira Jacknis, “Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology,” in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W Stocking (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 76.

framework gives equal measure to looking at the museum as a whole as well as the combination of galleries and individual displays. The same equal attention should be given to every tier of a print magazine, as a similar technology of representation. In June of 1898, *NGM* published an entire issue titled “The Philippine Number” with articles, like “Notes on Some Primitive Philippine Tribes” by C. Worcester, presumably to inform their readership about the ongoing contact between the US and the Philippines as part of the Spanish-American War. Worcester’s article describes the dress, attitudes, and appearance of several tribes of native Filipinos, noting their cooperation with his crew.¹¹² There are several photographs in the article, but they are still secondary to the text at this time in *NGM*’s history. It was not until around 1902, when Gilbert Grosvenor took over as editor, that the magazine began to emphasize artistic photography to appeal to more readers, making it a true mass culture magazine and technology of representation.

By 1924, when the first ethnographic portrait of Hawai’i was published in the magazine, *NGM*’s readership had skyrocketed. This issue featured the now-iconic yellow-bordered cover and boasted “sixteen pages of illustrations in full color,” dedicated to “The Hawaiian Islands: America’s Strongest Outpost of Defense – The Volcanic and Floral Wonderland of the World,” an article by Gilbert Grosvenor.¹¹³ The number of photographs and images in this issue far

¹¹² C. Worcester, “Notes on Some Primitive Philippine Tribes,” *National Geographic Magazine*, June 1898, National Geographic Virtual Library.

¹¹³ *National Geographic Magazine*, February 1924, National Geographic Virtual Library.

surpasses that of the Philippine Number in 1898. Most of the images take up a full or half page of the layout, making the text seem secondary. The featured article contains mostly images of nature and of native Hawaiians or Japanese immigrants on Hawai'i, and many of the photographs of these ethnic others are clearly posed by the photographer to show people and children smiling, which conveys a type of peace and hospitality; the same message presented by the text. The article is also preceded by about twenty pages of advertisements, several of them promoting tourism to Hawai'i. Regardless of how the reader is directed through the "space" of the publication, he or she is confronted by a constructed image of Hawai'i as a welcoming and romantic place for Americans. The color illustrations at the end of the text are accompanied only by one-sentence captions, making them almost purely aesthetic and visual representations. The text-and-object, white box, and life-group approaches are all clearly at work in just this one article.

Conclusion

National Geographic Magazine and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition fulfilled a similar ideological and representational function in early twentieth-century America, as curated and purposefully constructed ethnographic displays. Not only were *NGM* and the PPIE significant as whole entities, they were also a collection of smaller exhibits and displays that acted as representations of specific cultural groups and geographic locations. Both arrangements provided Americans with a sense of where they themselves fit

within the world, and helped to negotiate hierarchies of race and culture within the nation as well.

However, there is still research to be done. As I argue above, *NGM* and the PPIE featured Pacific Islanders in many ways; as performers of culture, frozen images of the past, gracious hosts, sexualized bodies, savage primitives, and passive subjects, just to name a few. The pedagogical function for each of these representational displays should be considered separately and comparatively in order to fully understand where Pacific Islanders fit within a larger racial schema at a specific time in American history. The Museum Studies framework is an underutilized tool by historians of American cultural and intellectual history. I argue that it is not enough to know the ideological messages disseminated from those in power, and that scholars must consider that audiences respond differently to certain types of representational strategies. As I continue my research, my aim will be to use this framework to fill gaps in previous research, and to more fully analyze ethnographic mass culture and media in terms of their true form, as technologies of representation.

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