

# Visualizing Hawai‘i as an American State: Photographic Representations of the Hawaiian Landscape at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

*Keiko FUKUNISHI\**

At the time of the United States’ overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom and subsequent annexation of Hawai‘i in the 1890s, a small group of influential Anglo-American men actively took part in the process of colonizing the kingdom. These men produced many photographs of Hawaiian landscapes which circulated among the American public through such means as stereographs and illustrated books. This paper argues that these popularly circulated images of Hawai‘i represented the islands using familiar visual motifs found in oil paintings of the American West and contextualized the islands as America’s new frontier. Although military force ultimately carried out the execution of expansionism, cultural productions such as the photographs I examine in this paper played important roles in constructing and naturalizing dominant expansionist ideologies. This article aims to contribute to existing scholarship on photographic representations of the Hawaiian landscape by such scholars as Jane Desmond and Cristina Bacchilega through offering a close textual analysis of these images and framing them within the broader cultural lineage of visual motifs of the American West. This close textual analysis of the deeper mechanisms at work within these images serves as a powerful case study to heighten our understanding of how visual culture helped shape and naturalize settler colonialism during this time.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Although Native Hawaiians had faced a series of cultural, environmental, and political challenges from white Americans since the early nineteenth

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\*Part time lecturer, Ritsumeikan University

century, they were finally disenfranchised politically through America's illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893, and its subsequent annexation of Hawai'i in 1898.<sup>1</sup> Up through the turn of the twentieth century, a small group of Anglo-American businessmen who were directly or indirectly engaged with the American colonization of the kingdom produced and distributed many images of Hawai'i. Through these images, they created a visual catalogue of Hawai'i as a natural extension of American expansionism.<sup>2</sup> These images, which circulated to the American public through such means as stereographs and illustrated books, played a major role in swaying American popular opinion towards Hawaiian annexation.<sup>3</sup> Photographic representations of the Hawaiian landscape functioned as a tool of colonialization, in which expansionist ideologies were shaped and naturalized through particular ways of framing subjects within the history of Hawai'i.

In sifting through the popular and common iconography found both within the paintings of the American West and in circulated photographs of the Hawaiian natural landscape from the late nineteenth century, this paper argues that photographs functioned as an effective ideological means to envision and naturalize the American colonization of Hawai'i by relying on familiar iconography found within paintings of the American West. Landscape paintings of the American West were a popular theme within late nineteenth century oil paintings for a wide range of the American public, and the expansionist motifs found within these images created a visual vernacular familiar to most Americans by the end of the nineteenth century. By drawing a parallel between images of Hawai'i and oil painting images of the western region of the United States, which had already been fully colonized about a decade before Hawai'i was, photographic images of Hawaiian natural landscapes positioned the islands as a natural extension of the American West.

While existing scholarship focusing on photography in this period has argued that popular photographs represented Hawai'i as an American holiday destination, that collection of work neither engages in a close visual analysis of the actual images nor contextualizes these images within Western cultural conventions. For instance, Jane Desmond argues that popular representations of Hawai'i played an important role in the argument for American colonization of Hawai'i by constructing an image of the islands as an exotic resort that could rejuvenate Americans from the stresses of modern work life.<sup>4</sup> However, Desmond's sources are mainly representations of human and animal bodies. Although I agree that

representations of Hawaiians themselves make up a significant part of the construction of Hawai‘i as an exotic resort, the idea of a “resort” entails the representation of a distinct geographical space, implicitly raising questions about the meaning and importance of landscape images of Hawai‘i.

Other studies use landscape imagery to make convincing arguments around the use and framing of Hawaiian land, but they fail to engage with a deeper analysis of the visual mechanisms employed within the images themselves. Gaye Chan and Andrea Feeser argue that colonialism and capitalism disrupted and reconstructed the landscape of Waikīkī in order to create a resort for rich whites, completely destroying the natural landscape and ecological balance that Native Hawaiians had maintained for millennia.<sup>5</sup> Chan and Feeser use a range of interesting photographs of the Hawaiian natural landscape in their discussions, but they do not consider the constructed nature of these images, regarding them instead as simple evidence within their historical analyses and arguments. Cristina Bacchilega analyzes popular publications in the post-annexation period that translated and circulated Hawaiian *mo‘olelo* (traditional stories, myths, and legends central to Hawaiian culture) for American and Western audiences, and problematizes the ways in which the visual images used in these publications crafted a particular view of Hawai‘i as an exotic resort space for foreigners and contrasts how photographs by Hawaiian artists such as Kapulani Landgraf embodied indigenous cultural values. Her discussions are very insightful, but her arguments are also limited by a lack of analysis of the mechanisms at play behind the construction and use of these popular photographs of the Hawaiian landscape circulated during this time.<sup>6</sup>

Although all the above scholarship points out that Hawai‘i was reconstructed as a resort for white tourists and settlers and some of the scholarship also discusses visual images of Hawaiian landscapes as a critical aspect of this project of reconstruction, the scholarship does not clearly examine the constructed nature (i.e. the motifs and mechanisms) of these visual images. Therefore, it does not address *why* these particular representational conventions were so effective in naturalizing American expansion to Hawai‘i and settler colonialism in the area.

Conversely, Candace Fujikane, who studies the representational conventions behind settlers’ cartographic representations of Hawai‘i, examines the link between settlers’ cartographic representations of Hawai‘i and settler colonialism to argue that Western map making is one of the mechanisms by which settler colonialism is naturalized.<sup>7</sup> Fujikane further explains that settlers justified expansion of their economic activity as well

as territorial claims in Hawai'i by defining local Hawaiians' farmlands as a wasteland that could be subdivided as marketable real estate with industrial or economic value without any cultural meaning. She demonstrates the ways in which the settler colonial math of subdivision violated Native Hawaiians' cultural and spiritual perceptions of and connections to their mother lands.<sup>8</sup> Fujikane's research presents a convincing argument for the mechanisms at play within these cartographic representations of Hawai'i and for how photographic images of Hawai'i at the turn of the twentieth century effectively decontextualized the lands of Hawai'i from the social and cultural meanings nurtured by indigenous populations of the islands and molded them into areas with industrial and economic value. However, I disagree with Fujikane's contention that the photographic images drained the islands of any type of cultural meaning. Instead, I argue that these photographs played a crucial role in endowing the islands with powerful, new cultural connotations of American expansionism, imbued with this meaning through their invoking to familiar visual motifs popularly and eagerly consumed by the American public for decades prior.

This paper contributes to existing scholarship discussed above by examining photographs of Hawaiian landscapes that were popularly circulated in the late nineteenth century and arguing that they were used to justify American colonialism of Hawai'i as a natural extension of America's Westward expansion not only by representing it simply as marketable real estate, but also by heavily projecting motifs from the popular and familiar oil paintings of the American West over the photographic imagery of the Hawaiian landscape. Through conducting close textual analyses of the photographs of Hawai'i and contextualizing them amongst relevant visual images of the US mainland of the same time period, this paper aims to shed light on what particular photographic representations meant to Anglo-Americans and why these visual conventions were so effective for naturalizing the production of colonial visual knowledge.

## 2. HAWAI'I AS AN AMERICAN STATE

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a small group of powerful Anglo-Americans and their companies actively engaged in extraction tactics in Hawai'i in order to convert the land into an object of economic opportunity. This not only disrupted and reshaped the geography and ecosystem of Hawai'i, but fundamentally altered local systems of power and wealth distribution. Since the fifteenth century, Polynesians, who

had migrated to Hawai‘i around 300 CE, had maintained an ecological, social, and cultural system, in which the island’s rich natural resources could be utilized without depleting them.<sup>9</sup> Hawaiians created primary units of land called *ahupua‘a*, narrow wedge-shaped sections marked off by an *ahu* (altar), that started from an apex in the highlands and widened out toward the coastline.<sup>10</sup> With this arrangement, Hawaiians had access to all of the land’s resources, including the tall trees and colorful birds of higher elevations, the lowland fields for their planted crops, and the ocean’s bounties along its shores, reefs and the deep beyond.<sup>11</sup> The windward, better-watered side of the islands allowed intensive cultivation of taro, Hawaiians’ staple food, in terraced fields and wetlands supplied with water from springs, rains, and irrigation ditches, while on the leeward side farmers grew dry-land crops such as sweet potatoes.<sup>12</sup>

Initially upon arrival of white people to Hawai‘i, Hawaiian lands were unavailable to non-resident foreigners; however, the *Māhele*, or the redistribution of Hawaiian land instituted by King Kamehameha III in 1848, made these lands available to non-resident foreigners, accelerating the transformation of *‘aina*, or the land of Hawai‘i, into private property between 1845 and 1850.<sup>13</sup> The legal procedures that enabled and justified the dispossession of Hawaiian land created the foundation through which American companies purchased, owned and manipulated the natural resources available in the island. American companies diverted vast quantities of water away from native aquaculture systems and small farms in order to build tourist infrastructure and commercial and residential real estate properties for Westerners, destroying the agriculture, aquaculture, native plants, and the native ecosystem, and producing hazardous pollution for Native Hawaiians.<sup>14</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, as Anglo-Americans produced and circulated photographs of the natural landscape of Hawai‘i that they had devastated in the name of “settlement activities” and “development,” the idea of the “Frontier” was simultaneously becoming a set of symbols that “constituted an explanation of American history” in the US mainland, as historian Richard Slotkin describes.<sup>15</sup> Since the beginning of European colonization of America in the early sixteenth century, traditional expansionist ideas about the western region of America such as “Manifest Destiny” were present in the discourse surrounding American identity. However, especially from 1893, when Frederic Jackson Turner delivered his address on “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” the Frontier’s significance as a *mythic space* began to outweigh its importance

as an actual physical place, with its own particular geography, politics, and cultures.<sup>16</sup> In this seminal address, Turner argued that “the novel attitudes and institutions produced by the frontier, especially through its encouragement of democracy, had been more significant than the imported European heritage in shaping American society.”<sup>17</sup> In other words, Turner maintained that the Frontier was a space in which the political and social life of the European people became democratic and morally regenerated, naturally transforming these Europeans into egalitarian and democratic Americans.<sup>18</sup> Although, as Henry Nash Smith and Richard Slotkin argue, the egalitarian society was nothing more than a product of collective imagination,<sup>19</sup> the Frontier as a mythic and fictive space became a vital element in shaping American institutions and national character, continuously getting defined and redefined over time across various genres of cultural materials and decades of academic writing.

From the mid-nineteenth century, the American West was one of the most prominent themes of classical oil landscape painting. As early as the 1840s, we can already see the ideological importance of the West to American national identity within these paintings.<sup>20</sup> The patrons of paintings during this time, composed of such figures as merchants, bankers, and lawyers in the East as well as the actual settlers and mechanists in the West, overtly promoted art that featured scenes of the acquisition of new lands and settlement activities as distinctively American.<sup>21</sup> Obtaining and developing so-called “fortune free land” in the Western frontier, believed to be gifted by God, was seen as the proud Christian duty of Americans, and what characterized and united these settlers as Americans.<sup>22</sup>

Constructing photographs of the Hawaiian landscape through relying on motifs developed within oil painting images of the American West was effective for naturalizing the colonization of Hawai‘i, not only because these photographs served to position Hawai‘i as America’s new “fortune free land” or the Frontier, but also because, in the American cultural context of the time period, oil painting was often a means for showcasing the possessions of middle-class Americans. Within both European and American societies, the growth of oil painting production and its popularity coincided with the processes by which middle-class populations came to actively engage as consumers as a part of their class consciousness. Especially within the composition of oil painting portraits of middle-class Americans, artists painted various consumer objects alongside the primary figures as manifestations of the persons’ achievement of virtue and other desirable qualities.<sup>23</sup> Within this tradition, various objects which had

previously not been considered consumable objects came to be represented as the proud possessions and/or property of middle-class owners, including such items as animals, buildings, and even landscapes. In this context, these portrait paintings came to naturalize particular ways of seeing, where particular objects and landscapes were envisioned and constructed as middle-class Americans' possessions and also as manifestations of middle-class American values and potential.<sup>24</sup> In line with this broader tradition, the oil paintings of the American West constructed and naturalized the perceptions of western regions of the United States as natural resources and property available for middle-class Americans. Many of the prominent motifs in paintings of the American West were also common in popular visual images of Hawai‘i, seen in stereocards, lithographic images in newspapers, and illustrated magazines. Through applying visual motifs familiar from oil paintings of the American West, the photographic images naturalized the image of Hawai‘i as a place of possession for middle-class Americans, casting it as a new frontier open to American expansion.

In addition, photography played an important role in naturalizing the contextualization of Hawai‘i within the larger narrative of American expansionism by appealing to viewers with the verisimilitude of the photographic medium. While photographs were constructed in the same ideological thrust of paintings of the American West, photographs maintain intimate connections to the photographed subject and offer viewers the sense of privileged access to reality. This is because of a distinct feature of the photographic medium. Cameras rely on the reflection of light off of what exists in front of the lens. Therefore, photographs are produced while maintaining a physical and intimate relationship with what existed in front of the camera at the specific time that the image was created.<sup>25</sup> These intimate and physical relationships between the photographic images and the photographed subject lent photographs of Hawai‘i the power of furthering and naturalizing the ideological function of the images. In so doing, these Hawaiian landscape images functioned as a powerful ideological tool to naturalize American expansion into Hawaiian territory.

### 3. THE CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE AMERICAN WEST AND HAWAI‘I

One of the most popular notions attached to the representations of the American West was the “sublime.” Many philosophers of the eighteenth century, including Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant, believed that nature had a supernatural power capable of overwhelming and threatening

human beings, and they called humankind's powerful reaction to nature the "sublime."<sup>26</sup> These and other philosophers of the eighteenth (as well as nineteenth) centuries considered America to be a new Eden. Since European discovery of America, many writers and artists naturalized this perception of America by representing it through the impressive scale of the natural landscape, including mountains, rivers, and waterfalls.<sup>27</sup> Many critics, including Barbara Novak, Robert Doak, and Kate Nearpass Ogden, suggest that the representations of the American West in the nineteenth century were influenced by this eighteenth century perception of the sublime.<sup>28</sup> Although some of these critics, Novak and Doak in particular, stress that the meanings of the sublime in American paintings shifted in the late nineteenth century to signify or incorporate a sense of calm as opposed to the wildness of the landscape, all three scholars frame traditional perceptions of the sublime by Kant and Burke in the eighteenth century as fundamental in shaping representations of the American West.<sup>29</sup> Rob Wilson argues that after the Civil War era in which Americans experienced the threat of national division, the tradition of the sublime served the ideological function of uniting Americans under the notion of America as the idealized new Eden. In this context, prominent paintings of the American West became convenient tools to unite Americans as a group of people who shared the same aim of settling into this New World for the purpose of creating a superior classless society, free of the oppressions of the Old World.<sup>30</sup>

Leo Marx is a leading critic of this traditional perception of the American West and argues that the prominent features of images and cultural productions of the American West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are neither the wilderness, vastness, nor calmness of the landscape, but rather Anglo-Americans' shifting relationships to nature due to the rise of scientific thought and industrialization. According to Marx, many artists of the eighteenth century expressed their attachment to nature primarily through landscape images of nature shaped and controlled by modern Westerners, epitomized by the pastoral ideal.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, nineteenth century American novelists placed signifiers of industrialization, science, and modernity, such as trains, clocks, and laboring bodies, within the pastoral ideal.<sup>32</sup> Marx argues that within these works, the American West tends to be imagined as a space where an attachment to nature as well as to machinery and technology coexist harmoniously within a "controlled garden."<sup>33</sup>

Following Marx, various art critics have revised their interpretations

of the context for nineteenth century American West paintings by pointing out that the earlier industrial and scientific revolutions in the eighteenth century helped Americans nurture distinct perceptions of the American natural landscape in the West. For example, Robert Chianese and Alex Nemerov still consider some American West paintings of the nineteenth century to depict the vastness and supernatural power of natural landscapes, but recognize that these representations were in fact dramatic and sentimental expressions of what was being lost due to industrialization.<sup>34</sup> In other words, these critics point out that even in paintings that appear to be following the tradition of representing the sublime, traces of industrialization are visible and inextricably linked to these paintings' depictions of nature. Chianese also points out that various paintings of the American West in the nineteenth century portray traces of settlement activities, such as paths and trails, which further symbolize the perception of nature as an object to be preserved, explored, and obtained.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Amy Scott considers how the perception of the sublime that had originally signified the fear of the unknown in the late-eighteenth century shifted within American West paintings during the post-Civil War era to connote new meanings of nature as a scientific and material object and its anticipated potential as a natural resource.<sup>36</sup> In sum, although Kant and Burke's eighteenth-century notions of the sublime do capture some elements and motifs within the American West paintings of the nineteenth century, the sublime in this earlier context does not adequately encapsulate the range of symbolism regularly found within nineteenth-century American West paintings.

Similarly to many of the above critics, I argue that various nineteenth-century paintings of the American West represent the natural landscape as a space where industrial activities, or traces of these activities, coexist harmoniously with nature. The paintings by the well-known New York based painter Albert Bierstadt are some of the most prominent examples of the expression of this coexistence. Although some scholars discuss Bierstadt's work as typical examples of sublime paintings centered on California,<sup>37</sup> I concur with Scott's argument that the compositions of some of his paintings appear to place viewers in the position of a land surveyor. Bierstadt's paintings shift the mood of landscape art away from solemn meditation on nature's mystery to a passive contemplation of its development potential.<sup>38</sup>

For instance, in *Donner Lake from the Summit* (Figure 1), a famous 1873 Bierstadt painting of Donner Lake in the California mountains, the brightly



**Fig. 1.** Albert Bierstadt, *Donner Lake from the Summit* 1873. Oil on canvas, 72×12-in. New York Historical Society, New York

colored sun and lake in the middle and background create a divine and supernatural aura around the scene, referencing the idea of the sublime. However, the other elements of the composition hint at the potential to develop the landscape. Similar to many other landscape paintings of the American West, the lake is depicted from a high angle where viewers are positioned to look down on a brightly colored lake. This framing invites viewers to survey the lake as a containable natural resource with marketable potential, rather than overwhelming the image with the threatening vastness of the lake. The color of the lake also signifies the freshness of its water and its richness as a natural resource, further emphasizing the reading of the lake as an object to be surveyed and exploited. The tightly painted foreground strengthens this view.<sup>39</sup> A large amount of wood appears to have been cut down in the central area of the frame, perhaps in order to secure access to the lake.

Also, similarly to some of the landscape paintings that Robert Chianese analyzes, there is a cleared trail leading to the lake, inviting viewers to see the lake as a natural resource ready for use in building a settlement. The framing of trees cut into logs and placed on the ground in the foreground and the vast quantities of trees on both sides of the image appear to further establish the trees on the sides as ongoing resources for the lumber business. This detailed depiction of opened land, especially in the foreground, encourages a more tangible connection to the West as a place

with a potential for development, rather than as a sublime landscape image. Although actual developmental technologies or machines themselves are not present in the image, its composition—the clear and brightly colored water and ample timber supply—invites viewers to observe the material value of the lake and the land.

Likewise, nineteenth-century photographs of Hawaiian land often framed Hawai‘i as America’s new West by applying the common visual motifs of paintings of the mainland American West, such as those employed by Bierstadt. A good example is a photograph of a Hawaiian landscape included in John L. Steven’s book, which was part of a campaign to persuade the American public to support annexation (Figure 2).<sup>40</sup> The photograph is a view of Hawai‘i from atop an unidentified hill that frames a wide expanse of land, including smaller mountains and hills leading to the ocean. This natural landscape appears completely untouched and primordial, in accord with the representational codes of America as a virgin land.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, similarly to the vantage point from which the landscape is surveyed in Bierstadt’s *Donner Lake*, the high angle framing of the land beneath the hill places viewers in a position of power, from



**Fig. 2.** James L. Stevens, *Picturesque Hawaii: A Charming Description of her Unique History, Strange People, Exquisite Climate, Wondrous Volcanoes, Luxurious Productions, Beautiful Cities, Corrupt Monarchy, Recent Revolution and Provisional Government*. Edgewood Publishing, Philadelphia, PA, 1894

which they are invited to plan and administer the use of the land and natural resources. Through this borrowing such a visual motif, the photographic work of the natural landscape in Hawai'i constructs the land as a submissive open space that is not only appealing but also familiar. In doing so, this work implicitly invites Americans to survey and possess its natural resources as a continued project of American expansion.

Another theme common to paintings of the American West and to the photographs of Hawai'i was the framing of an open abundant landscape as host to a small cluster of houses, small villages, or homesteads. The images of the American West featuring these sights tended to highlight the ordered structure of the settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of Anglo-Saxon families were claiming land owned by Native Americans in the central and western regions of America as their own. By 1844, the Oregon trail, which led from Independence, Missouri across the high plains and through the treacherous Rocky Mountains into the Willamette Valley, was virtually jammed with settlers undertaking the westward journey, even though to many people back East, the Oregon Territory seemed impossibly inaccessible and distant, with access to this potential new Eden of plentiful water and a wholesome climate appearing as little more than a pipe dream.<sup>42</sup>

Many paintings of Oregon settlements by John Mix Stanley, such as *Oregon City on the Willamette River* (Figure 3) contributed to the popularity of Oregon settlements among Americans in the East.<sup>43</sup> As art



**Fig. 3.** John Mix Stanley, *Oregon City on the Willamette River*, 1850–1852 Oil on canvas, 26 ½×40 in. Amon Carter Museum Fort Worth, Texas

historian Elizabeth Johns points out, some of the paintings of the American West were used to advertise the potential living conditions of these Anglo-American settlers to Americans in the East who were interested in moving to the West.<sup>44</sup> Stanley’s *Oregon City* constructs the small village as a well-established community surrounded by plentiful natural resources. This image features the streets of Oregon City, composed of a group of buildings that appear to be businesses, markets, residences, and perhaps hotels.<sup>45</sup> The buildings are arranged to create an ordered, aesthetically pleasing line, symmetrical with the paved street in the center of the frame. This organization of the city is designed to celebrate these settlements as signifiers of the success and achievement attained by the Anglo-American, or more specifically Protestant, tradition of order, hard work, and entrepreneurial energy. The central placement and brightly colored detail of this street celebrate the construction of this settlement, a visible symbol of Anglo-Americans’ achievement, as an attractive central point of address. The image also depicts plentiful rivers and mountains within the middle ground and background of the image, but the framing of the landscape behind these streets makes it supplemental to the central framing of the city and essentializes and constructs these natural elements overridingly as resources for the settlers. The fresh greens, blues, and grays used for the sky in the background signify the clear, temperate, climate of the valley, thereby accentuating the non-threatening “tamability” of the surrounding landscape.<sup>46</sup> In sum, Stanley’s painting foregrounds the knowledge and skills manifested by American settlers in order to dominate and use the natural elements in the area as settler resources. The moderate angle down to the populated Oregon settlement seems to serve as a gentle invitation to the village.

In contrast, settlements featured in nineteenth century photographs of Hawai‘i printed in illustrated books, articles, and pamphlets tend to minimize the actual buildings in the frame and therefore marginalize actual settlement activities happening on the island of Hawai‘i. In doing so, these photographs represent Hawai‘i at an earlier stage of settlement, portraying the islands as empty property awaiting development by Anglo-American settlers. Figure 4 is a photograph of the Hawaiian coast included in an illustrated 1893 book by the American historical novelist John Roy Musick, entitled *Hawaii, Our New Possessions*.<sup>47</sup> The image features a beach settlement beside the vast ocean and steep mountains, seen from a high angle. In comparison to the moderate angle Stanley used to depict Oregon City, the more aggressive birds-eye view places viewers in a firmly



**Fig. 4.** John R. Musick, *Hawaii, Our New Possessions*, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1898, 193

dominant position over the land and invites viewers to survey the land as if it were their property. In addition, the photographer's use of extremely long framing, wherein the landscape comprises the dominant content of the image, minimizes the size of the settlement, thereby marginalizing it and creating the impression that Hawai'i is largely uninhabited. At the same time, the land at the beach is subdivided in a calculated manner, similar to the Western convention of property management. Thus, the land appears both familiar and in need of settling to Anglo-Americans, with various segments of the property left empty to create the impression that Hawaiian land is thinly populated and welcoming to Anglo-American settlers. *Hawaii, Our New Possessions*, is considered an important example among many late nineteenth-century illustrated books that aimed to instruct American publics about Hawai'i as a desirable settlement destination, and in so doing, naturalizing the outcome of American colonialism.<sup>48</sup> This

photograph, where the land of Hawai‘i is constructed as an available and attractive settlement destination surrounded by rich natural resources, reinforces the overall ideological theme of the publication.

Another common theme both in the art of the American West and the photographs of Hawai‘i was the representation of the agricultural industry. Many paintings of the American West celebrated modern agriculture, depicting the West, especially California, as a controlled garden created by mechanical and technological development, in alignment with Leo Marx’ analyses of nineteenth-century perceptions of nature and technology. Thomas Hill’s painting *Irrigating at Strawberry Farm* (Figure 5) that features a canal and irrigation system created for a strawberry farm exemplifies this type of representation.<sup>49</sup> The small fountains depicted in the middle of the field and canal highlight the richness of the natural resource and celebrate the successful techniques used to develop the landscape. The image also portrays a family, some of whom are on a boat, getting together around a gazebo built right next to the canal, alluding to the pleasure that the technology has brought. In other words, the natural landscape here is a garden, created and controlled by technology for Americans to consume. Portions of southern California were largely desert before a large amount of water from the Colorado river was redirected to irrigate the land in the late nineteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, the canal and irrigation system, as well as the greenery of the landscape itself, function



**Fig. 5.** Thomas Hill, *Irrigating at Strawberry Farm*, circa 1865. Oil on board 12 ½×19 in. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; The Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., Collection

as a symbol and manifestation of Anglo-Americans' technologically-won superiority over the wilderness. The depiction of a strawberry farm supplied with plenty of water as early as 1865 celebrates the abundance of water and the technological development which allowed for the planting and maintenance of a strawberry field. Although much of the newly converted desert was located in Southern California and this image depicts a Northern California scene, the abundance of water in this image alludes to the broader cultivation of the state as a newly fertile land and the growing abundance of water made available through technological innovation. The evenly subdivided land also functions as a symbol of technological knowledge used to create the farm in order to administer and maximize the production of strawberries in the field. The technology exists in complete harmony with the rest of the natural landscape in the image, and nature under the stewardship of American farmers also appears to be an essential source for the family's recreational activities.

William Hahn's painting *Harvest Time* (Figure 6) also celebrates the technology and machines used to develop the American land, and visually constructs these machines as objects in harmony with nature.<sup>51</sup> The middle ground of the image is filled with signifiers of the technological and mechanical skills used to mass produce and market wheat. On the left, a thresher is powered by teams of horses and mules, and on the right, a separator, also driven by horse power, is fed loads of grain brought in from the fields.<sup>52</sup> On the far right, sacks of grain are piled up in an orderly manner, designed to make the shipping process efficient. These visual



**Fig. 6.** William Hahn, *Harvest Time*, 1875, Oil on canvas, 36×70 in. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco: Gift of Mrs. Harold R. McKinnon and Mrs. Harry L. Brown

signifiers glorify the technological innovations employed to mass produce and market the crop.

At the same time, these technologies are constructed as if they are part of the natural landscape. The bright red color of the separator is blurred by the haze and smoke coming out of the machine, keeping the color contrast with the mountains in the background to a minimum. The machine appears as if it is blended into the natural landscape. Also, compared to the size of farmers around the separator, the machine and the smoke it creates appear much bigger, standing almost as tall as the mountains in the background. Although farmers are obviously the ones operating the machine, the composition of the image serves to highlight a certain sense of power that the machine maintains over human beings in order to make the controlled garden possible. Indeed, the machine itself appears to function as the source of a sense of the sublime in the American natural landscape. This representation resembles the nineteenth-century images of the American West created by novelists and thinkers such as those Leo Marx discusses. In the paintings of the American West during this time, the pastoral ideal and its subsequent transformation under the impact of industrialism are persistent motifs, and as some critics including Marx point out, machines themselves create part of the sublime in the natural landscape in America.<sup>53</sup> *Harvest Time* appears to celebrate the growth of this new American identity, in line with the works of other eighteenth and nineteenth century artists.

Although the photographs of Hawaiian plantations draw upon these familiar conventions of painted American West imagery in which machines are constructed as part of an ideal natural landscape, images of Hawai‘i differ significantly from American West imagery in that they also communicate a lack of control of the natural landscape. For instance, the photo entitled “Packing Pines for Market” (Figure 7) from *The Paradise of the Pacific*, a monthly newspaper that later became an illustrated magazine, depicts a scene in which an abundance of pineapples is being harvested.<sup>54</sup> The foreground and middle ground of the image celebrate the technological developments that made the mass marketing of pineapples possible by framing both a large quantity of pineapples piled up in an orderly line in the foreground and the machine used to harvest pineapples in the background. However, compared with Hahn’s *Harvest Time* (Fig. 6), in which multiple machines used to ease human labor and mass produce the crop are prominently featured in the middle ground, this photograph features individual packing of large fruit by hand and minimizes the presence of the machine in the background, thereby unavoidably constructing a labor-



**Fig. 7.** “Packing Pines for Market” *The Paradise of the Pacific*, Honolulu, Press Pub. Co. October 1897, 147

intensive, underdeveloped image of the pineapple industry, one in which the sublime ideal is absent.

The text accompanying the photograph in the book positions Hawai‘i as a new, yet to be developed, potential business opportunity for Americans, available for further American intervention in the islands. It situates settler colonialism as a necessary and inevitable process for the further development of the agricultural industry in Hawai‘i. The text reads:

The plant requires almost constant cultivation and moderate irrigation. Under these conditions it will develop a fruit weighing from 4–10 pounds in fifteen to eighteen months from the planting of the “stucker” as it is termed. The industry is still in its infancy, the total area under cultivation at this time not exceeding 100 acres but its future depends altogether on the condition of the American market.<sup>55</sup>

Although the photograph itself is a powerful tool in conveying the premature form of the pineapple industry during this time, the word “infancy” used in the text explicitly fixes an understanding of the image as visually capturing the nascent status of the pineapple industry. The text further functions to cue viewers to pay attention to any visual element that might act as a signifier of the underdeveloped status of the industry in the image, and these isolated visual elements then reciprocally reinforce the text.

Through narrowing down the meanings of the image in this way, the text and visual images work in tandem to naturalize the characterization of the Hawaiian industry as a promising but underdeveloped resource-rich space that anticipates Anglo-Americans' settlement, investment, and cultivation. In fact, representing the Hawaiian farmland and agricultural business as underdeveloped is less an accurate representation of the industry and more a political message to inspire Anglo-Americans' entrepreneurship and implicitly invite them to engage in further investment in the Hawaiian industry. Plantation agriculture in Hawai'i was already established by the 1850s, four decades before the photograph was taken and was firmly up and running by the 1880s.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, by the turn of the twentieth century, when the photograph was taken, American companies were well underway in mass-producing and mass-marketing Hawaiian-grown fresh pineapples and canned products across the nation.

Such late nineteenth-century photographs of Hawaiian agricultural business created powerful visual images of Hawai'i as a resource rich garden with further potential for creating marketable produce. Magazine readers, who were familiar with the images of the American West as refined and controlled agricultural farmland, would likely have perceived these similarly themed Hawai'i plantation images, although they featured scenes of produce that starkly contrasted with images of the American West, as leaning into the same motifs of agricultural development. The photographic representations of Hawai'i thus functioned to suggest that Hawai'i was a new source of American agricultural profit similar to the American West and that America could contribute to the development of agriculture in Hawai'i through expansion into the islands, as it had already done before as part of expansion into the American West.

The photograph titled "Coffee Plantation on Hawaii" (Figure 8), serves as another example of the American West agricultural motif transplanted onto a Hawaiian agricultural farm. The image foregrounds a coffee field. Visible lines within the field signify the ways in which the land of Hawai'i is mechanically and scientifically managed. The neat lines created by ridges and furrows, which make up part of the system of ploughing and cultivating used widely in western agriculture, as well as the subdivision created in the land using stakes of wood, signify the agricultural technology applied to cultivate the plants.<sup>57</sup> Although the ploughs used were probably drawn by horses since tractors were still in experimental stages of development in the late nineteenth century, the visible elements of ridges and furrows carving parallel lines through the land imply the technological use of the



**Fig. 8.** “Coffee Plantation on Hawaii” *The Paradise of the Pacific*, Honolulu, Press Pub. Co. July 1897, 103

land already at work as a part of the effort to systematically cultivate coffee and maximize the production of the plants.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, however, the natural landscape visible behind the coffee plantation appears to highlight the vastness and wildness of the landscape in Hawai‘i, distinct from the controlled depiction of the surrounding landscape in images like Thomas Hill’s *Irrigating at Strawberry Farm* (Figure 5). In the coffee plantation image, three figures in the center of the frame are buried in what appears to be vegetation reaching up to their hips. The tall trees with thick leaves appear to overwhelm these figures. This way of contrasting nature as disproportionate in size to human beings visually suggests the uncultivated and undeveloped status of the land. In this way, the photograph constructs Hawaiian coffee farming as a promising industry which is already managed by technological methods that are familiar to Westerners, but also as an underdeveloped farmland which anticipates further technological and mechanical development.

The text accompanying the photograph fixes the meaning of the image of Hawaiian land as a premature yet resource rich space with potential for industrial growth. The article in which the photo appears is titled “Digest of the Land Act of 1895—How land may be obtained.” A majority of the text goes into great detail about the practical steps that prospective settlers need to take to own a piece of land in Hawai‘i. For instance, it discusses how land may be obtained, what kind of land is available for settlers, who can apply to purchase such land, and how to purchase land under the act or

through the Homestead Lease System. Then, the text explains that under the Homestead Lease System, the land is available for virtually any American with “the general qualifications (as to citizenship etc.).”<sup>59</sup>

The text here creates the impression of Hawai‘i as an accessible land, waiting for Anglo-Americans to open and develop, similarly to the representation of land in the American West. This text affixes the meaning of the coffee plantation photograph as an example of resource-rich pieces of land available in Hawai‘i. This method of analyzing large portions of the land and promoting speculation in order to mass produce a particular crop also creates the impression that the land of Hawai‘i has not been industrially developed, but has the powerful potential to produce marketable commodities. It also erases all other uses for and understandings of the land, past and present, except as a marked ground for future American production for interested white Americans. The parallels with Fujikane’s discussion of mapping are especially strong here: marking, mapping, and dividing the land for its potential in producing various crops obliterates Native Hawaiian relationships to their own land and instead forefronts settler relationality to the land. Bookkeeping and systematically organizing the processes for subdividing and claiming the land thus become acts of settler violence. Through charting, settler claims to the land are mapped as natural and inevitable. Similarly, through letting Americans envision Hawaiians’ land as potential open and available property where they can start a new business, the image of the coffee plantation as well as the accompanying text attached to the image function to naturalize American ownership of Hawaiian land and its use for American business interests.

Another popular theme in the representation of the Hawaiian landscape is Hawai‘i as a new and marvelous tourist destination. As mentioned earlier, white Americans settled and economically invested in Hawai‘i even before the United States became politically engaged with Hawai‘i in the late 1800s. From 1778, when the British explorer Captain James Cook and his crew of two ships arrived in Hawai‘i, Western tourists visited Hawai‘i in increasing numbers, with the first recorded organized trip to Hawai‘i taking place in the 1820s.<sup>60</sup> Many visual images and written accounts about Hawai‘i throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries accelerated the development of the tourism industry, shaping the image of Hawai‘i as an ideal tourist destination.<sup>61</sup> By the late 1920s, a formal system of tourist infrastructure, including hotels, travel companies, and a tourist service bureau, were established, and tourism became one of the major industries

in the islands. Many landscape images of Hawai‘i feature tourist attractions such as gardens, beaches, and mountains, which are framed in a way that suggests that Hawai‘i desired and was prepared to receive tourists.

These images of Hawai‘i as a tourist destination were another way to construct the islands as a controlled garden, which was, as discussed throughout this paper, the representational convention also seen in oil paintings of the American West. These photographic images promoting Hawaiian tourism using this visual motif are another powerful example of Hawai‘i being situated as a natural extension of the imagined space of the American West. For instance, an imaged entitled “Royal Palm Avenue, Honolulu,” which appeared in the Louisville, Kentucky *Courier-Journal* (Figure 9), frames a clean and paved road, decorated with a hedgerow made of shrubs and palm trees, beautifully trimmed and symmetrically planted on the opposite sides of the road.<sup>62</sup> The image impresses viewers with the richness of nature in Hawai‘i—the gigantic trees topped with thick leaves, shrubbery beside the path, and mountains visible in a haze behind the trees lining the path, conveying the vastness of the natural landscape. This composition appears to attract viewers with the abundance of natural resources in the island. At the same time, however, the symmetrical shape created by the palm trees and shrubs, and the regularity with which the trees are planted, signify a technological and mathematical system underwriting—and rewriting—the design of this natural landscape. This



Fig. 9. *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky) Sun, July 25, 1897

design not only connotes a refined aesthetic but also represents how capital and power are used to control nature to create a tourist site. Nature here functions to signify Anglo-American settlers' industrial and economic development of Hawaiian lands for their own purposes, as they had done in the American West. Further, in contrast to John Mix Stanley's painting of Oregon City (Fig. 3), where the slight high angle framing of Oregon City from a distance functions as a gentle invitation for viewers to join in the settlement activities, the paved road viewed from a straight-on angle provides the viewer a more direct and tangible connection to Hawai‘i as a tourist destination. Viewers see the scene as though they are physically on the paved road and engaging in tourism of the island themselves—no invitation is required; they are already there.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Photographic representations of Hawai‘i constructed its landscape as the Frontier, or a controlled garden with budding industrial development and settlement activities.<sup>63</sup> This contextualization and cultural representation de-territorializes Hawai‘i from its own indigenous geopolitics, and locates it within the narrative of American expansionism, as a part of familiar mythologized and ideologically constructed spaces. Frederick Jackson Turner in his famous 1893 speech quoted above had officially positioned the American frontier as “closed” several years before the photographs of Hawai‘i discussed in this paper were circulated; however, the photographs themselves appear to claim that the frontier had not actually closed yet. Through this framing, they construct Hawai‘i as the next natural destination of American conquest and domination. The use of the photographic medium in this context functioned to further strengthen political claims that Hawai‘i was the new American West through effectively appealing to viewers with the verisimilitude of the photographic medium. Using the visual languages of the American West as a mythical space while constructing physical connections between viewers and Hawai‘i as a new frontier, the photographic representations of Hawai‘i functioned as a powerful call to Americans for further expansionism. The US military, which intervened in Hawai‘i in order to disrupt the sovereignty of the Hawaiian kingdom as early as the eighteenth century, came to play an integral role for ultimately securing settler claims to land in Hawai‘i in the late nineteenth century. Although political actions, money, and military force ultimately carried out the execution of expansionist ideologies, these photographic representations

function as a powerful case study of how cultural productions such as paintings and photographs help shape, strengthen, and naturalize these dominant political/expansionist ideologies.<sup>64</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018); Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Ann Lynn Davis, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai'i 1854–1945," *History of Photography* 25:3 (n.d.): 288–305; Ann Lynn Davis, "Photography in Hawai'i," *History of Photography* 25:3 (n.d.): 217–18.

<sup>2</sup> Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Although knowledge is limited as to the exact ways in which many of the photographs were circulated, scholars agree that illustrated books and magazines that contained photographic images of Hawai'i were widely circulated among and viewed by both white settlers in Hawai'i and Americans in the mainland and that they played an important role in inciting Americans' passion and support for the annexation of Hawai'i. See Paulette Feeney, "Aloha and Allegiance: Imagining America's Paradise" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2009), 3–4, 13; Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai'i*; Christine M. Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire: The Uses of United States Tourism in Cuba and Hawai'i, 1898–1959" (PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2002), ProQuest (3046774); Davis, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai'i," 288–305; Davis, "Photography in Hawai'i," 217–18.

<sup>4</sup> Desmond argues that the cultural productions from the turn of the twentieth century represent Hawaiians as an extremely civilized and almost "white" racial group, who were oftentimes represented as the "almost-but-not-quite-ness of the ever-subordinate." Desmond points out that Hawaiians fit perfectly what Homi Bhabha has referred to as mimicry, or the imagined striving for an ideal just out of reach of the native who learns and reproduces colonial ways. Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 8, 56–57.

<sup>5</sup> Gaye Chan and Andrea Feeser, *Waikiki: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (Manoa: University of Hawai'i, 2006), 6–30.

<sup>6</sup> Within this study, Bacchilega discusses how dominant photographs tend to frame Hawaiian landscapes in panorama or extreme long shots from bird's-eye angles. These framings served to construct Hawai'i as a material object of conquest and/or an opportunity for profit while completely disregarding the cultural meanings that Hawaiians nurtured toward specific sections of these landscapes. However, her study does not analyze the actual images, popularly circulated during this time, and therefore does not clarify what the predatory colonial gaze might actually have looked like, or why these visual conventions were so effective in naturalizing the perceptions of Hawaiian natural landscape as materialistic object, available for Anglo-Americans to utilize. See Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai'i*, 32.

<sup>7</sup> Fujikane also argues that some native Hawaiians' efforts at decolonization are motivated by their perceptions of the geographical areas based on the stories that were handed down

through generations. See Candace Fujikane, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai‘i*, ed. C. M. Kaliko Baker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021), 1–44.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 1–84.

<sup>9</sup> Chan and Feeser, *Waikīkī*, 1–5; George S. Kanahale, *Waikīkī, 100BC to 1900 AD: An Untold Story* (Honolulu: Queen Emma Foundation, 1995), 11.

<sup>10</sup> Gary Y. Okiihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 92, Kindle.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University press, 2018), 84–85. See also, Chan and Feeser, *Waikīkī*, 27–29, 39, 44–45; and Okiihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 92.

<sup>13</sup> Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty*, 99–100; Jonathan Kay Kamakawioole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 44–46; See also, Okiihiro, *Pineapple Culture*, 101–4.

<sup>14</sup> Chan and Andrea Feeser, *Waikīkī*, 7–8. 25–30; Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty*, 90.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 30, 60–62.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 60–62.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 250.

<sup>18</sup> Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Nash Smith also argues that the idea of the mythic Frontier was developed in a close relationship with the industrialized society of the East and Europe. Many politicians thought that having this “fortune free land” was a distinct strength of the United States that allowed it to avoid corruption and the impoverishment of urban laborers as was experienced in Europe. Thus, the American West was offered as a solution at a time when social and labor issues such as class stratification and unemployment were becoming bitter and widespread problems in the East. Many politicians and thinkers thought that poor laborers in the East could go to the West and become independent freeholders. In this way, the West was interpreted as an ideal and mythic “garden of the world,” and, at the same time, functioned as a “safety valve to keep down social and economic conflict in the East.” See Smith, *Virgin Land*, 201–4; Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 29–62.

<sup>20</sup> The oil painting images of expansionism were very widely and effectively distributed to a wide range of Americans throughout the country (East and West) in the mid and late nineteenth century, both to instruct them about the living situations and progress made in the West and to recruit them into the settlement project. An example of how these artworks were distributed is in the work of the American Art Union, a group of staunch supporters of American expansionist policies and also one of the most important patrons of eastern artists, who purchased, distributed through lottery, and exhibited works by American artists. During these years, the population of New York was about 400,000, and an annual average of 250,000 (58 percent) visited the union’s exhibitions. Historians have estimated that during the thirteen years the union was active an estimated three million visitors viewed its exhibitions. The committee of management consisted of leading New York merchants, bankers, and lawyers. See Patricia Hills, “Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion,” in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 104–5; Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *The American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1953); Elizabeth Johns, “Settlement and Development: Claiming the West,” in

*The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier*, ed. William H. Truettner (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 191–235.

<sup>21</sup> Hills, “Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion,” 100–106.

<sup>22</sup> David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 240–41.

<sup>23</sup> Although the sources that John Berger uses in his discussions and analyses of oil painting images during this time are primarily European paintings, I am applying his theory to art in the United States, since Americans shaped their cultural tradition through relying largely on European culture. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin books, 1972), 140–71, Kindle.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 140–71.

<sup>25</sup> In order to discuss this physical and intimate relationship between the photographic medium and its referent, Andre Bazin compared photographic images to such objects as a fingerprint, a mold, a death mask, and the Holy Shroud of Turin. Bazin argued that, although the varying production processes for such objects differed significantly from that of photographs, the intimate relationships that photographs maintain with their referent resemble the physical relationships inherent in these other objects, such as the relationship between a death mask and the deceased. See Andre Bazin, *What Is Cinema?: Essays Selected and Translated by Hugh Gray*, trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 12–15.

<sup>26</sup> Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 65; Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. J. H. Bernard (New York: Hafner, 1951); Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, trans. John T. Goldthwait (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

<sup>27</sup> Robert Chianese, “Avoidance of the Sublime in Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Art: An Environmental Reading of Depicted Land,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, The American Sublime, 43, no. 3 (1998): 437–38; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 73–74.

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Novak, “American Landscape: Changing Concepts of the Sublime,” *The American Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 36–42; Robert Doak, “The Natural Sublime and American Nationalism: 1800–1850,” *Studies in Popular Culture* 25, no. 2 (October 2002): 13–14; Kate Nearpass Ogden, “Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops: Nineteenth-Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite,” *California History*, Yosemite and Sequoia: A Century of California National Parks, 69, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 134–53.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Rob Wilson, “Techno-Euphoria and the Discourse of the American Sublime,” *Boundary 2*, New Americanists 2: National Identities and Postnational Narratives, 19, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 205–29.

<sup>31</sup> Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 93–116, 138–41.

<sup>32</sup> Some critics, including Marx, called this fascination with machines and technology the “technological sublime.” For more information on the technological sublime, see Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 194–96, 229–33, 317, 343–347; and David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), xi–xiv.

<sup>33</sup> Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 3, 195.

<sup>34</sup> Chianese, “Avoidance of the Sublime in Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Art,” 450–55; Alex Nemerov, “Doing the ‘Old America,’” in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, ed. William T. Truettner (Washington D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1991), 285–338.

<sup>35</sup> Chianese, "Avoidance of the Sublime in Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Art," 438–43.

<sup>36</sup> Amy Scott, "Twenty-First-Century Sublime: Nature and Culture Entangled," *Zoom*, Fall 2014, 29–31.

<sup>37</sup> From 1859 to 1889, Albert Bierstadt travelled across the American West to paint its landscape. Highly regarded by local patrons and painters, his work commanded top prices. See Nancy Anderson and Linda Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise* (New York: Hudson Hills for the Brooklyn Museum, 1991); William T. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 347. Doak, "The Natural Sublime and American Nationalism: 1800–1850," 36–42.

<sup>38</sup> Scott, "Twenty-First-Century Sublime," 30.

<sup>39</sup> Albert Bierstadt accompanied Collis P. Huntington, later known as one of the "Big Four" railroad barons, on the Lander Survey to the Rocky Mountains in 1859. In 1871, Huntington commissioned Bierstadt, who had made a name for himself painting large, panoramic views of Western landscapes, to produce a painting of the area near Donner Pass where the construction of the railroad had faced its greatest challenge. Since Bierstadt allowed magazine and newspaper reporters to visit his studio and comment on works in progress, Bierstadt's work, *Donner Lake from the Summit*, functioned as a powerful publicity effort to rally support for further development of the railroad in California. See Nancy K. Anderson, "The Kiss of Enterprise: The Western Landscape as Symbol and Resource," in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, ed. William T. Truettner (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 260–61.

<sup>40</sup> As with other works discussed in note 3, understanding is limited as to the precise manner and extent to which Steven's book was circulated, but various sources state that it was extremely popular and circulated widely, and played an important role in furthering the American public's desire to annex Hawaii. For instance, see Davis, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawaii," 102 (see n. 1 above); and Skwiot, "Itineraries of Empire" (see n. 3 above).

<sup>41</sup> Chianese, "Avoidance of the Sublime in Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Art," 437–38; Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 73–74.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph Schafter, *The Social History of American Agriculture* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), 1–36.

<sup>43</sup> John Mix Stanley accompanied Isaac Stevens' Pacific Railway Survey as photographer and artist and created various paintings of the American West and native Americans there. Many of his paintings were extremely popular and displayed to Americans in the East as a prime study of settlement activities in the West and the native inhabitants there. His works remained in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. until they were destroyed by fire. See William T. Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 368; Charles H. Sawyer, *John Mix Stanley: Traveler in the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970).

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Johns, "Settlement and Development: Claiming the West," in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier*, ed. William H. Truettner (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 208–9.

<sup>45</sup> Johns and Truettner, "Settlement and Development: Claiming the West," 208–9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 208–9.

<sup>47</sup> Davis, *Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawaii*, 102 (see n. 1 above).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>49</sup> Although Thomas Hill was known during his lifetime for his genre and still-life

paintings, his reputation now rests primarily on his landscape paintings of the American West. In 1888, he was the first artist to set up a studio in Yosemite, and he produced an inexhaustible supply of paintings (estimated to number more than five thousand canvases) of American West landscapes for the tourist trade. See Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier*, 355; Majorie Dakin Arkelian, *Thomas Hill: The Grand View* (Oakland, California: Oakland Museum, 1980); Majorie Dakin Arkelian, *The Kahn Collection of Nineteenth-Century Paintings by Artists in California* (Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum, 1975), 28–29; Dwight Miller, *California Landscape Painters around Keith and Hill (1850–1900)* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Department of Art, 1979).

<sup>50</sup> Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 134.

<sup>51</sup> William Hahn was one of the artists commissioned by George Hoag, a famous farmer and machinist. In California, Hoag invented one of the most popular and productive threshers, called the Monitor, and commissioned Hahn in order to advertise his mechanical invention. Hahn, originally from Germany, immigrated to America in 1871 and produced various paintings of the American West. His reputation rests on his genre paintings of developing settler communities in California. See Truettner, ed., *The West as America*, 354–55.

<sup>52</sup> Johns, “Settlement and Development: Claiming the West.” 231–32.

<sup>53</sup> Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 194–96, 229–33, 317, 343–347; see also, Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, xi–xiv.

<sup>54</sup> With its circulation rising from 1,200 to 6,000 within its first four months, *The Paradise of the Pacific* played a crucial role in forming the American public’s support for annexation through representing the Euro-American community’s interests in weakening the Hawaiian monarch’s powers and opening the islands to increased commerce with the United States. See Paulette Feeny, “Aloha and Allegiance: Imagining America’s Paradise,” 3–4, 13 (see n. 3 above); and Davis, “Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai‘i,” 288 (see n. 1 above).

<sup>55</sup> *The Paradise of the Pacific*, (Honolulu, Press Pub. Co: July 1897), 103.

<sup>56</sup> By 1889, John Emmeluth from Cincinnati already had a successful pineapple plantation and a canning factory on O‘ahu. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*, 127–28, 202–203; see also Sally Engle Merry, “Early Pacific Encounters and Masculinity: War, Sex, and Christianity in Hawai‘i,” *Current Anthropology* 62, no. 23 (February 2021): S55.

<sup>57</sup> Deborah Fitzgerald, “Beyond Tractors: The History of Technology in American Agriculture,” *Technology and Culture* 32, no. 1 (January 1911): 115.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 115; Raynold M. Wik, “Henry Ford’s Tractors and American Agriculture,” *Agricultural History* 38, no. 2 (April 1964): 89–90.

<sup>59</sup> “Digest of the Land Act of 1895—How land may be obtained,” *The Paradise of the Pacific*, No. 7, X, no. 7 (July 1897): 104.

<sup>60</sup> Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 4–6, 35

<sup>61</sup> Writings by Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson are some of the most famous examples of this. *Mark Twain’s Letters from Hawai‘i* is a collection of letters that Mark Twain wrote from Hawai‘i in 1866 as a special correspondent for the Sacramento Union newspaper. Stevenson’s *Island Nights’ Entertainments* contains three short stories, “The Beach of Falesa,” “The Bottle Imp,” and “The Isle of Voices,” all set in Hawai‘i and originally published in 1893. Mark Twain, *Mark Twain’s Letters from Hawaii*, ed. A. Grove Day (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1966); Robert Louis Stevenson, *Island Nights’ Entertainments* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1975).

<sup>62</sup> The *Courier-Journal*, currently also known as the *Louisville Courier Journal*, is a daily

newspaper published in Louisville, Kentucky. It was founded in 1868 and has been one of the most widely circulated newspapers in Kentucky ever since. See Joel H. Wiener, *The Americanization of the British Press, 1830–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>63</sup> Although Hawai‘i tended to be visually represented as if it were America’s new frontier, I do not contend that this was the absolute and only way in which Hawai‘i was represented within dominant cultural productions in the United States. Hawai‘i’s representations were oftentimes inflected with various distinct and yet exoticized myths and legends. As I mentioned briefly above, Cristina Bacchilega argues that the popular landscape images tended to frame Hawai‘i in panorama or extreme long shots from bird’s-eye angles, and these framings served to construct Hawai‘i as if it were a material object for Westerners to conquer and/or an opportunity for profit while completely disregarding cultural meanings that Hawaiians nurtured toward specific parts of these landscapes. In contrast, the meanings of Hawai‘i within the *mo‘olelo*, or storied history of Hawai‘i, which were translated into English and circulated to Western audiences widely through print publications, were consumed in a manner that was decontextualized. They were often classified simply as historical or geographical myths, or as religion, naturalizing settlers’ view of Hawai‘i as an exotic resort space with marketable potential. Therefore, while the American print culture helped shape and naturalize extractionist ways of viewing Hawai‘i (similarly to how dominant visual images of the Hawaiian landscape did), print culture also constructed the image of Hawai‘i with strong mythical and exoticized nuances. See Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> As Haunani-Kay Trask, Noenoe K. Silva, Kyle Kajihiro and others point out, the US military had already played an integral role in securing settler claims to land in Hawai‘i by the late nineteenth century. For instance, Trask argues that the United States was trying to find a way to use its military force to intervene in Hawai‘i from as early as the eighteenth century, one example being the use of the American marines, ostensibly to maintain order but actually to support the election of pro-American Kalakaua over Dowager Queen Emma for the throne in 1874 after the sudden death of Lunalilo. Trask and Silva also discuss the involvement of the US military both in King Kalakaua’s forced signing of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and in the 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili‘ulokalani. These incidents led to the US’s illegal annexation of Hawai‘i via the 1898 Newlands Resolution, a US Congressional resolution that was not recognized by international law, which authorized the seizure of 1.8 million acres of the Hawaiian Kingdom’s Crown and Government Lands. Significantly, Silva notes that Congress passed this resolution to secure the use of Hawai‘i as a coaling station during the Spanish–American War. Although more formal and organized efforts to militarize Hawai‘i occurred after statehood, the ever-changing structure of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i has always been intertwined with US military expansion. See Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 9; Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Kyle Kajihiro, “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i: Occupation, Accommodation, and Resistance,” in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008); see also Juliet Nebolon, “‘Life Given Straight from the Heart’: Settler Militarism, Biopolitics, and Public Health in Hawai‘i during World War II,” *American Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (March 2017): 23–45.