INTRODUCTION

TWO SEPARATE OUTGROWTHS of the industrial revolution entered Hawai‘i in the 19th century and united in the 20th to form a relationship which produced the plantation newspaper. The first, the newspaper itself, born in 16th century Europe, spread to North America and to Hawai‘i. American Protestant missionaries from New England introduced the printing press to Honolulu in 1820 and the first newspaper at Lahainaluna, Maui, in 1834.1 The second industrial force, like the first, was also closely allied to the rise of American domination of the Hawaiian Islands. This was the establishment of industrial agriculture, beginning with the first organized sugar plantation at Koloa, Kaua‘i, in 1835, and continuing with pineapple after 1900.

The two industries have accounted for many kinds of publications, from annual reports to magazines to newsletters. But the focus here is the newspaper, with a masthead and usually printed on newsprint without a cover, that sugar and pineapple management produced for its employees.

Helen Geracimos Chapin is currently researching and writing a newspaper history of Hawai‘i.

From 1919 to the present, sugar plantations put out the majority, 55 all told on the islands of Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, and Hawai‘i. From 1948 to the present, the pineapple plantations published approximately three on O‘ahu, Maui, and Lana‘i. Moloka‘i may have had an earlier pine company paper, but no holdings have been found, making an exact account impossible. Peak publication occurred from 1945 through 1959, levelled off after 1960, then declined, and finally stopped in the late 1970s (see Appendix).

The entire episode coincides with and reflects the rise and decline of sugar and pineapple as dominating economic forces in the Islands and reveals a phase of Hawaiian history not previously studied. Before discussing specific plantation newspaper development over the decades, however, I want to briefly review the more general role of newspapers in Hawai‘i and the background of the plantation newspaper.

A newspaper’s basic function is to appear serially at regular intervals and to present to its readers and the public a miscellany of current events, public affairs, politics, and various other topics. Its three main purposes are: to publish the news and thereby inform and entertain the public; to interpret the news and influence public opinion; and to succeed as a business enterprise. In Hawai‘i, in 155 years of publication, more than 1,000 separate and highly diverse published newspapers have fitted into four categories. These categories may at times have overlapped or shifted but in essence have been establishment, official, opposition, and independent.

First, an establishment press by its nature speaks for dominant and prevailing interests or for an inner circle that controls the chief measure of power and influence in a community or country. Second, an official press is produced by the government. Third, an opposition press dissents from the views of establishment and official papers. Its influence is often feared and fought by the establishment. Four, independent newspapers, the rarest type, are not allied to any special interest. Newspapers in every category claim their own independence and accuse rivals of lacking it, but most usually represent special interests. The concept of newspaper
"objectivity," in any event, is relatively new and, in the view of some press critics, difficult to attain because of the necessity of staying in business and satisfying the paymaster.  

American Protestant missionaries and their descendants and allies, while numerically few in number, quickly became dominant in the 19th century Hawaiian Kingdom. This alliance, which included powerful business and planter interests, supported a press that spoke for those interests and still does so today insofar as sugar and pineapple continue to have some importance to Hawai‘i. Some examples are the Honolulu dailies and the principal papers of Kaua‘i, Maui, and Hawai‘i.

The plantation newspaper developed as a type of establishment publication within a particular social and economic system. The sugar industry consolidated after the turn of the century into the “Big Five” factors or agencies and conceived a “social welfare” program, or what Edward Beechert, in his labor history of Hawai‘i, has called “necessity-paternalism.” The pineapple industry consolidated later, in the 1930s, when its management practices became closely tied to those of sugar, with the Hawaiian Sugar Planter’s Association recruiting labor for both industries.

The sugar industry, in developing a social welfare system out of which the newspapers grew, was initially influenced by several factors. First, the sugar strikes of 1909 and 1920, although won by management, were traumatic events. The HSPA as early as 1910 had urged management to provide plantations with decent housing, sanitation, medical care, and amusements and recreation including sports, scouting, and musical activities. Camps were to be given a home feeling. Second, there was the growing realization throughout the industry that, in spite of continued importation of labor, the workers were not just temporary sojourners but were putting down roots in Hawai‘i and that a stable labor force was desirable. Third was the development of industrial relations departments to handle labor problems. When the Colorado National Guard, in 1913 at Ludlow, Colorado, fired into the tents of striking, evicted miners and their families, and caused 40 deaths and countless injuries, John D. Rockefeller Jr. and his associates in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company formed an industrial
relations department. The idea spread through industries from the Mainland to Hawai‘i.

In 1919, the HSPA formed an Industrial Service Bureau which promoted plantation industrial relations departments. They were charged specifically with the responsibility for developing a group of “contented people working in the best interests of the plantation.” Later, the HSPA’s Social Welfare Committee report would state, “Social welfare work should be considered good business and not philanthropy,” for it would alleviate discontent, prevent union organizing and strikes, and promote peace. By 1920, plantation communities had evolved into small towns with housing, schools, medical care, stores, and community centers. Appearing in these towns away from urban centers, the papers were aimed at a multiethnic labor force dependent upon the plantation for its livelihood. They were printed primarily in English but included pages or columns in Japanese, Tagalog, Ilocano, and Visayan. The languages themselves reflect patterns of labor recruitment and settlement in Hawai‘i over the years and management’s need to communicate with immigrant workers.

The plantation paper developed special characteristics in its adjustment to the system. A paper is usually organized into several departments: editorial, production, circulation, business, and advertising. A publisher oversees the entire operation. On the plantation, the manager and his agents were the publishers. Those who gathered and wrote the news and features usually did so on a part-time basis and performed other work duties. A community association or an industrial relations department and staff produced the paper on a mimeograph or duplicating machine or sent the copy to a professional printing plant like the Garden Island Publishing Company on Kaua‘i or the Hilo Tribune-Herald on the Big Island. The printed paper was then circulated or delivered by management through mail boxes and at designated community locations. The papers appeared as monthlies, semi-monthlies, and weeklies. There was no advertising department, an enterprise that usually accounts for three-fourths of a paper’s revenue. If papers carried ads, free space was provided. Management absorbed all
costs and distributed the papers without charge. When no longer considered cost effective, the papers were discontinued.

Management published the papers in its ongoing effort to maintain control over the economic, commercial, political, social, and educational environment of the plantation community. Before television was widely received, newspapers enjoyed an information monopoly. Radio after the 1920's was a competing technology, but the printed page had a more palpable life.

Reception by readers is difficult today to determine because few analyses were made. In 1948, the HSPA attempted to determine the effectiveness of its own Plantation News (begun in 1921) so as to decide whether to continue it. Some findings were predictable. Pictures seemed to have the most appeal. Women preferred human interest stories and those about social events, while men preferred sports stories. For unexplained reasons, however, Maui and Kaua'i had a greater readership than O'ahu or Hawai'i.

There was, of course, a connection between literacy and readership. Management addressed literacy as a general issue by encouraging immigrant workers to learn English but also included editorial matter in the workers' native languages. Management was concerned with controlling labor through communications. But literacy, which provides a sense of being able to participate in history, can lead those who master it down other roads. Even these establishment papers, so rigorously regulated, sometimes stretched beyond their limits and achieved excellence. The best fulfilled the function of the small town paper so popular and prevalent in the U. S. in the earlier decades of this century, a type that unfortunately had decreased drastically in number in recent years because of urbanization, newspaper consolidation, and the advent of television.

1919: The Makaweli Plantation News

In 1919, on Kaua'i at Makaweli, the Hawaiian Sugar Company's Director of Welfare Work, E. L. Damkroger, was asked to produce what appears to be the first plantation newspaper sponsored by management in Hawai'i. Why Makaweli? This
Alexander & Baldwin plantation community was comprised of 14 villages containing about 3,000 people, with 1,700 on the company payroll. Its remoteness in a rugged area on the west side of Kaua'i, a mountainous region with tremendous gorges running from the mountains to the ocean, provided arduous working conditions. Beneath its calm surface, Makaweli had labor unrest. Yet A & B considered Makaweli to be one of its most progressive plantations. In the 1890s, manager Hugh Morrison had built a club house for single men, with parlors, dressing rooms, a bath, and recreation rooms for billiards, pool, and cards. The community in 1919 had a flower-bordered, asphalt, and macadamized main street.¹⁰

The first issue of the *Makaweli Plantation News* appeared on November 1, 1919, as a tabloid (approximately half the size of the standard daily) (fig. 1). Its four pages included two in English and one each in Filipino and Japanese. The new editor stated:

This is the first appearance of the Makaweli Plantation News, which is to be published monthly for the employees of the Plantation. The paper will publish news items of the plantation of interest to all, and strive to be a real help.¹¹

Damkroger’s picture appears in an early issue and shows a tall, smiling, neatly turned out young man wearing a shirt and tie and management’s *de rigueur* jodphurs and boots.¹² His duties included providing wholesome diversions and services for residents of the camps. In his monthly report, Manager B. D. Baldwin praised the social welfare director for conducting

... this department very creditably and the institution of games and motion pictures is certainly having a good effect on gambling and other vices.¹³

Baldwin’s yearly report reveals the modest cost of “welfare work and equipment”—out of total plantation expenses of $198,390.59, these were just $2,231.76.¹⁴ The newspaper, subsumed under the latter figure, was certainly inexpensive to produce.
Over its four years of life, Damkroger's one-man operation carried articles such as “Feed Your Children Right,” school notes, and reports on soccer, basketball, and volleyball competition. An announcement heralded weekly English night classes for workers, books and materials to be supplied (but a tuition cost of $3.00 to be charged the student). A follow up story proudly listed the names of the 14 Filipino men enrolled in the class and urged others to sign up.¹⁵

Welfare work and the newspaper did not prevent the six-months long strike in 1920 nor violence in 1924. Management crushed the 1920 strike, which had spread from Kaua‘i to O‘ahu and Maui, and stepped up its efforts to improve plantation life and pacify laborers’ demands. The Makaweli Plantation News carried stories on the “pride of the plantation,” the Community House, with a ball park and grandstands and swimming tank behind it.¹⁶

Violence broke out at Makaweli in 1924. Management reverted to its older, less humane methods. Strikers, demanding two dollars for an eight-hour working day, were evicted from their homes. They armed themselves with rocks, clubs, and cane knives. Governor Wallace R. Farrington sent in the National Guard from Honolulu, and, in the ensuing confrontation, 16 laborers and four policemen were killed.¹⁷ The plantation paper stopped publication.

1938–1941: Competing for Labor’s Attention

There was only one plantation paper between 1924 and 1938, and that was the Hilo Sugar Co. News which appeared in 1930 on the Big Island. While it continued to publish up to 1963, it never made much of a dent on its readership, probably because a regular and competitive press was available right in Hilo.

Labor union activity virtually ceased to exist from 1924 up through 1935 in the Islands, and management must have thought that it could just as well concentrate on its primary interest,

---

¹⁵

¹⁶

¹⁷

Fig. 1. An early issue of the Makaweli (Kaua‘i) Plantation News, Hawai‘i’s first plantation newspaper. (George Bacon photo; HSPA Library collection.)
Makaweli Plantation News
Published Monthly by the Hawaiian Sugar Co.

AKAWEI HAS A
GOOD SOCCER TEAM

Makaweli now has a soccer team. We all can be proud of and at
some time thankful to Dr. Glazier, for getting behind this sport
demanding such a team here. A little while back we heard about
the possibility of having our own team here. We decided to
start the season with some
wishes for getting behind this sport
doing something such a team here.

The whole season with hopes of even holding our own and
we have a team that if luck
is on our side, we might be able to
get in the island championship.

Dr. Glazier was selected capt-
ain and organized the team and
we began by beating Kekaha, the
team finishing first place in the loops
by scores of 6 to 0. And right after
this we turned around and fell to
Hou's, a scoreless tie and host to
the game. The forwards and back
were also scored on.

The team that won against
Kekaha consisted of: Forwards: Hou, Fernandez, Rod-

Guadalupe, Yzuel, Gonzalez, Béchara, Roque,

Guadalupe and Thompson; back
outfielder, goal.

The individual star of the game
was Marcellino, for with only
eleven men from Hou, he caused
the forwards to play poorly. The only
goal that was scored was on the half line for
a score of an off day, for

the forwards to play well. In all, this game
was a good match and could
have been played better.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS
TREE AND PROGRAM

This year's Christmas tree and program, scheduled to take
place on December 14th, 1922, at the Seminary, will
feature the community's participation. The tree will be
lighted on the evening of December 14th, with festivities
commencing at 7:00 PM. All members of the community are
invited to attend, and there will be refreshments
available after the program.

LAIDERS NOT-WANTED

I'd like people, lenders, to be the only rich people and rich
ones who own the things they use.

ANGULAR GROWTH IN THE PRINCIPALITY

The growth of rambler flowers is
notable in the principalities.

SAAN AMAROBO DAGUUTI BOLACOL

We send our best wishes to the
SAAN AMAROBO.

RIZAL DAY CELEBRATED

The celebration of Rizal Day, the
national hero of the Philippines,
was held at Camps 2, 3, and 4.

Makaweli SWAMPS WAIMEA IN BASKET BALL GAME

The first basketball game of the
season proved a decided victory for
Makaweli, as Waimea was taken into
the game at the last minute by
Makaweli. The game was carried out
with a good deal of spirit, and the final score was
Makaweli 13, Waimea 1.

WE'D LIKE TO THANK OUR EMPLOYEES.

MY SINCERE WISH IS THAT THE CHRISTMAS JOY
PAST HAS BEEN A JOY TO EVERY EMPLOYEE OF MAK-
WELI PLANTATION AND THAT THIS NEW YEAR WILL
BE.

FILLED WITH HAPPINESS FOR ALL.

(Signed) B. D. BALDWIN
MANAGER

WAIKAI AND MARCELINO kept the ball
away from the Waimea basket an
day, and in addition to that the
Boeuf was off in the net and his
pass was returned in many of the
games. The forwards and back
outfielder, goal.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

THE RELIGIOUS PROGRAM

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.

SEMINARY NIGHT

We will have a great time at the
SEMINARY NIGHT.
Plantation Hi-Lites
(Neto Hou Mahiho Owailuku)

Vol V
WAILUKU SUGAR CO—WAILUKU, MAUI, T. H. JANUARY 1943
No. 3

788 CHILDREN ATTEND ANNUAL CHRISTMAS PARTY

SANTA AND UNCLE SAM

Why Have A Home Garden
By BUNNY KUMARA
(Haleakula, County Agent)

Your garden is your personal playground, and the more you plant the happier you will be. A garden is a place where you can grow vegetables, flowers, and fruits to enjoy yourself and others. A garden can be a source of relaxation and enjoyment, and it can also help you develop a sense of responsibility and satisfaction.

Puuolaholo People Sign Up For Victory Garden

Thirteen people of Puualolo village have signed up for the Victory garden. Space is available in all of the garden plots. Each participant must have at least one plot of land to grow vegetables and flowers.

December Bond Sales
Total $4,150

One hundred and twenty-one $100 bonds were sold to Wailuku sugar company employees at $106 each for December. The total sales for the year amounted to $20,000.

Dairy Delivers 4,002 Pounds Of Meat

4,002 pounds of meat were delivered to the Wailuku sugar company employees as a Christmas gift.

TO THE EMPLOYEES OF WAILUKU SUGAR COMPANY.

We hope you will enjoy the delicious and nutritious meat that we have provided for you.

December 20, 1943

U.S. BANKER

HOURS OF BLACKOUT
7:15 P.M. To 7:15 A.M.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

ANNUAL MEETING
CREDIT UNION FRIDAY — 4:15 P.M.

CONTRIBUTORS: Type them! Or think I want to see them when I can type them!
improving sugar technology. But the Islands' isolation, outwardly peaceful life, and paternalistic system again were under attack. There was a resurgence of union organizing, now supported by the National Labor Relations Act (the "Wagner Act") of 1935. Kaua'i once more provided an arena of activity and was soon joined by the islands of Hawai'i and Maui.

On Kaua'i in 1937, ILWU labor leader/editor Jack Hall set up headquarters near the McBryde Plantation at Hanapepe. Labor editors as well their plantation counterparts would regularly perform double duty.\textsuperscript{18} A ready audience of plantation and other workers greeted an opposition press—the labor papers. The \textit{Voice of Labor}, appearing in 1935 in Honolulu but circulating on the neighbor islands, and the \textit{Kauai Herald}, in 1939, were both factors in the successful longshoremen and sugar strikes of the late 1930s. The plantation paper reappeared in 1938 as part of management's reaction to labor restlessness. Management renewed its efforts to influence its workers. Kekaha Plantation, under Manager L. A. Faye, sponsored the monthly \textit{KAA News} and the \textit{Kekaha Weekly Bulletin}. \textit{KAA}, standing for Kekaha Athletic Association, inaccurately claimed to be the "First Plantation Newspaper on Kauai," but it did reflect the intense island-wide interest in sports.\textsuperscript{19} Both were mimeographed, with four to eight pages each, and ran upbeat articles and editorials on plantation life.

On the Big Island, a local-led labor force staged a longshoremen's walkout in May of 1938, culminating in Hilo police tossing tear gas grenades and firing buckshot into a peaceful demonstration. "Bloody Monday," or the "Hilo Massacre," as this event of August 1st came to be called, resulted in injuries to 51 people.\textsuperscript{20} There now occurred, too, stepped-up efforts to organize plantation labor into unions. During this period, management began three newspapers: \textit{Maka O Pepeekeo} and \textit{Leo O Honomu} in 1937, and the \textit{Onomea Echo}, in 1939.

On Maui in 1939, the monthly \textit{Wailuku Plantation Record}

\textsuperscript{18} A ready audience of plantation and other workers greeted an opposition press—the labor papers. The \textit{Voice of Labor}, appearing in 1935 in Honolulu but circulating on the neighbor islands, and the \textit{Kauai Herald}, in 1939, were both factors in the successful longshoremen and sugar strikes of the late 1930s. The plantation paper reappeared in 1938 as part of management's reaction to labor restlessness. Management renewed its efforts to influence its workers. Kekaha Plantation, under Manager L. A. Faye, sponsored the monthly \textit{KAA News} and the \textit{Kekaha Weekly Bulletin}. \textit{KAA}, standing for Kekaha Athletic Association, inaccurately claimed to be the "First Plantation Newspaper on Kauai," but it did reflect the intense island-wide interest in sports.\textsuperscript{19} Both were mimeographed, with four to eight pages each, and ran upbeat articles and editorials on plantation life.

On the Big Island, a local-led labor force staged a longshoremen's walkout in May of 1938, culminating in Hilo police tossing tear gas grenades and firing buckshot into a peaceful demonstration. "Bloody Monday," or the "Hilo Massacre," as this event of August 1st came to be called, resulted in injuries to 51 people.\textsuperscript{20} There now occurred, too, stepped-up efforts to organize plantation labor into unions. During this period, management began three newspapers: \textit{Maka O Pepeekeo} and \textit{Leo O Honomu} in 1937, and the \textit{Onomea Echo}, in 1939.

On Maui in 1939, the monthly \textit{Wailuku Plantation Record}
appeared. It became *Plantation Hi-Lites* (fig. 2) and lasted until 1961. Management displayed an inventiveness in naming its papers that would continue for many years.

O'ahu's first paper, Waialua's *WACO News*, did not appear until 1942, an indication that management targeted remote locations earlier than those nearer the urban center of Honolulu.

**WORLD WAR II—URGING WORKERS’ PRODUCTIVITY**

The rapid expansion of the defense industry in 1940 created an economic boom for Hawai'i and good jobs for labor. With December 7, 1941, however, and the immediate implementation of a military government and martial law, workers for the duration were frozen to their places of employment. Labor was not docile under this arrangement.

Plantation management stepped up the production of papers and increased their staffing. Management did not have trouble securing supplies nor dealing with war-time censorship, two factors that hampered the publication of non-establishment newspapers. Thirteen papers were in print during the war. Some of these, like the *Paauhau News*, were little more than propaganda sheets, urging labor to work hard and buy war bonds, or were pedestrian in their emphasis on industrial safety and crop yield. Several papers, like those put out by the military, ran "cheese cake" pictures of pretty girls—presumably these were good for wartime morale.

The *Olaa News* provides a good example of the role assigned to World War II papers. Manager W. L. S. Williams announced incentives in his Annual Report in 1943 to combat a wartime problem, absenteeism: additional payments for outstanding performances in harvesting; awarding of pins for steady turnout; and the "Publication of the monthly bulletin called the Olaa News.” Edited by the Plantation Training and Safety Director, R. S. Blackshear, the paper expressed high journalistic principles:

To provide interesting and informative reading material for the employees of this company;

To protect the right of freedom of the press;

To publish the truth.
But in practice it ran a lot of photos of cane processing and exhortations by American Factors executives and other dignitaries, like Big Island Commander General H. D. Gibson and Territorial Governor Ingram M. Stainback, for labor to work hard.

Other papers, however, expanded their roles and became by any standard lively and informative. *Leo O Honomu*, also on the Big Island, briefly stopped after December of 1941, then resumed printing in March of 1942. It carried many photos and stories about events in the lives of field hands, mill and lab workers, and office personnel. The staff listed on its masthead reflected the multi-ethnic plantation community: Tom Ishii, editor; Michi Okido, co-editor; Makato Okido, sports editor; Fernando M. Sensano, news editor; Edwin Pereira and Violet Higuchi, associate editors; Alfonso Aquino, Ilocano section editor.22

Originally produced by mimeograph, *Leo O Honomu*'s eight pages from 1943 on were typeset and printed professionally in Hilo. Its coverage regularly included the manager’s report and sugar yield figures, but also sports, topical events, and a “Personals” column of social activities. At the war’s end, it ran an “Honor Roll” of those young men who had left their grateful communities to serve in the war.

Bob Cushing, former HSPA Director, credits management of those papers that rose above pedestrianism with encouraging their staffs to express themselves:

... each paper was very much a reflection of the plantation manager. Some of the managers were dictators, no doubt about it. Others didn’t know how to handle things. But some tried very hard to communicate with the workers.23

The *Onomea Echo* was another appealing paper. Tadao Okimoto, who grew up in Onomea and graduated from Hilo High School, wrote for the *Onomea Echo* in the 1940s and 1950s (fig. 3) while operating the plantation bus service:

The head of Industrial Relations asked people to participate. It was a voluntary community activity. Anyone could submit an
Okimoto, who after retirement wrote a history of Onomea Camp and became head of the Wailoa Community Center in Hilo, still possesses those qualities exhibited by good reporters—literate, curious, energetic, a sense of history, and community involvement.

FROM 1945 TO STATEHOOD: THE HEYDAY OF THE PRESS

Post World War II Hawai‘i and the 1950s brought major changes that affected the papers: unionization, mechanization, centralization, the decline in power of the plantation oligarchy, and the Communist scare. During this period, the plantation press, producing the greatest number of papers, was in its heyday, but its decline was already in sight. In 1946, there were 33 sugar plantations; by 1959, there were 27. For pineapple in 1946, Hawai‘i claimed 75 percent of the world market; by 1959, that share had decreased to 57 percent. In 1945, one out of every four persons in Hawai‘i was dependent in some way on pineapple or sugar for his or her livelihood; on the eve of Statehood, one out of four depended on defense spending. In other words, the plantation paper’s audience was decreasing.

Were these papers meant to help stem the tide of the two industries’ decline? Were they also in part an attempt to offset the influence of another information medium that would sweep the Islands—commercial television, which began broadcasting in late 1952? In any event, between 1945 and 1959, plantations expanded their industrial relations departments specifically to deal with...
labor and to court workers' loyalty. Management in these years produced 40 papers: nine on Kaua'i, ten on O'ahu, four on Maui, one on Lana'i, and 16 on Hawai'i. Of these, 17 alone were started in the 1950s. Many were bi-lingual, in English and Filipino.

Manager A. Penhallow's report from Onomea in 1948, which consigned $10,000 for the year to the department, cited its purpose:

... to act as liason between Management and Labor, and to aid the supervisors by the dissemination of information in the handling of the many new problems with which they are confronted.26

The HSPA stepped up its newspaper activities, too. In 1950, it assisted in organizing an Industrial Editors' Association, a group with representation across many industries such as the telephone company and the Navy yard. Plantation editors formed a sub group. The IEA held yearly conferences in Honolulu at which awards were given to top plantation papers and to best all-industry papers.

Publications showed a response to historic trends. After December 7, 1941, the papers dropped Japanese columns, never to pick them up again. The *Issei* (first) generation, loyal to the local Japanese language press, was passing. The oppositionist *Hawaii Hochi*, a daily printed in Honolulu, historically had enjoyed the largest circulation of this press because it fought for the rights of Island Japanese and supported their efforts to improve their lives.27 The *Nisei* (second) generation was being educated in Island schools. The new labor imports (in 1946) were from the Philippines, and plantation papers expanded their Filipino language sections.

Ernie Oshiro, a Hakalau son of an *Issei* father and *Nisei* mother explained the dynamics:

... father read the plantation paper in order to improve his English. But he subscribed to the *Hawaii Hochi* for main information. I read the plantation paper and the Hilo *Tribune-Herald*.28
The *Voice of Hakalau* achieved what few others did: an air of objectivity toward the first Territory-wide strike in 1946. It gave space one week to ILWU contract demands—"ILWU Serves Strike Notice"—and the next week to management—"Sugar Industry Submits Counter Proposal to Union Contract." The *Hakalau* staff also reported and photographed the destruction to Hilo and the Hamakua Coast by the 1946 tidal wave. One story, picked up by the dailies in the Territory, covered the dramatic rescue at sea of a 15-year-old who had been adrift for 30 hours.

Increasing plantation centralization had an intriguing dual effect on the papers. On the one hand, the agencies, in an effort to economize, printed the papers of individual plantations together. AMFAC for its plantations on Kaua‘i and C. Brewer for its plantations on the Big Island thus used "boilerplating" and "slipsheeting" of material, such as columns on "fashion" and "recipes," and distributed all the papers to each community inside a cover sheet.

On the other hand, centralization efforts seemed to cause individual papers to resist homogenization. Communities as different as Wailuku on Maui, Lihue on Kaua‘i, Lana‘i City, and North Kohala, illustrate this. Wailuku’s *H C & S Breeze* affected a breezy tone in trying to reach readers. Editor Harrison Foss, clearly analyzing how to make a newspaper popular, stated:

> We did all kinds of stories and features. We printed up to 4,000 papers, and we used as many names as we could—no long columns of names, but we wanted to use readers’ names legitimately. We tried very hard to publish basic English, too—no long words.

Management assigned a staff of five to the paper which was printed at the *Maui News*: "The Baldwins felt it was an important effort," Foss explained. That readership could be resistant, however, is reflected in the comment of Charlotte Hoskins who lived on Maui at the time: "I think they (the workers) wrapped their fish in it. The paper made no impression on me."

Foss had a particular interest in journalism. Even as a youngster of 11, he had created his own newspaper, the *Hamakua Poko Call*. 
At its height it reached 150 subscribers. "It was a scandal sheet. I had a lot of subscriptions and a lot of flak." After finishing college on the mainland, Foss returned to work for the Baldwin plantation in Kahului and was assigned to the paper. Today he looks back on those years, as do the other editors interviewed for this study, as happy, productive, and rewarding.

Other capable editors included Joe Shiramizu (fig. 4). In 1952, he inherited the editorship of the *Lihue Plantation News* which had started in 1948, keeping it to 1968:

> I graduated from Lihue High School and I'd been writing sports part-time for the *Garden Island*. But I really had no prior training when I took over the paper. I had to learn the rudiments from the press room up. It was a one-man operation at first—photographer, compositor, writer, editor. It went well beyond an eight-hour day.

Shiramizu, who served as Assistant for Plantation Personnel, handled labor relations, sick leave, housing, camp police, and the athletic program. When the publication took hold, he became Assistant for Personnel and Publications and eventually Supervisor. Shiramizo further explained:

> It was not a 'natural event.' Plantations did this to solidify employee and company relations. About 2,100 copies were printed of each issue, then we'd put them into post office boxes and distribute them to the churches and places of business. I brought in others to assist—the staff was half men, half women. By this time we had the photos printed professionally.

Like management in general and most of the editors, Shiramizu was a Republican Party member—a minority among *Nisei* in the 1950s. But he was a community activist who won seven straight elections, from 1959 to 1972, to the Kaua'i Council. He was one of two Republicans on the council most years and the only Republican during one session.

Candy Palmer, retired Assistant Public Relations Director for AMFAC, said of Shiramizu:
He was very good. He turned out excellent copy. He had a wonderful imagination. One year he won the Industrial Editors’ award for the best plantation newspaper for Kaua‘i, then for the State of Hawai‘i, and then all industry.\textsuperscript{35}

Shiramizu still values the camaraderie and competition of those days and keeps in touch with other editors like Emil “Spike” Roduit of Kekaha, Shihei Fujikawa and Abel Medeiros of McBryde, and Richard Tom of Grove Farm. Harriet Iwai, HSPA Assistant Librarian, commented, “The editors had a lot in common. And they touched a lot of lives.”\textsuperscript{36}

Four other papers are representative of the wide variation of the plantation papers during these years and illustrate several trends. In 1948, a new category began to appear in collective bargaining discussions, that of “distressed plantations.”\textsuperscript{37} Sometimes closing down the paper was a sign that the entire operation would cease.

The *Kahukuan*, on O‘ahu’s North Shore, started in 1944 as a four-page mimeo, changed to newsprint, and flourished through the 1940s and 1950s as a bi-monthly. It was a lively publication that humorously advertised itself as “Kahuku’s greatest newspaper.” When publication was briefly suspended because of work, the staff, tongue in cheek, apologized to its readers that the Industrial Relations Department

\[\ldots\text{labored over giving birth to a (heavily) bouncing, 10 lb. Annual Report. Now spurred on by an imperceptible public demand, a burning desire to serve the community, and a direct order from the Manager, the ‘Kahukuan’ is back in business.}\textsuperscript{38}

Soichi “Eso” Yonemori, who worked at Kahuku Plantation for 50 years, remembers the paper with affection:

I used to look forward to reading it because it gave up-to-date news on the plantation but also gossip—who married who, and that sort of thing.

*Fig. 4. Chiyozo Joe Shiramizu, editor of the award-winning *Lihue Plantation News*, Kaua‘i. (C. J. Shiramizu photo collection.)*
Goat Hunting Season
To Open Sept. 15

HS Fall Term Begins
by Irene Dole

With the addition of many new faculty and students, Lanai
High and Elementary School is now fully into the new
year, September 4, 1957. The elementary school is espe-
cially busy this week with the return of students.

Miss Ruth Blauel and Mrs. Mur-
etson, Mabel, kindergarten; Miss
Margaret Fraser, and Mrs. Juna Okuma, first
class; Mrs. Rodina Vogt and
Mrs. Margaret Suh, second
class; Mrs. Kiboshi Matsumura
and Miss Akira Kishina, third
class; Mrs. Jean Fukanaga, for-
th grade; Mrs. Robert Willard,
fifth grade; Mrs. Ruby
Perez, sixth grade; and
Mr. Ted Ishihara, seventh
class. First week of school
went well.

A goat hunting season will
again open on portions of the Lanai-Missionary territory, September 15, 1957. Hunting will be permitted on Sundays, September 22, 29, and October 6 and 13, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. The tag limit will be two goats of any sex or age
for the five-day season. Permissible
troops will be the rules that apply
regardless of number of goats
bagged, unless otherwise spec-
ified. No goat hunting on the
Tide Line is permitted.

The following awards were
presented recently:

LIEUTENANT COLONEL
McGUIRE, Deputy Chief, 24th Division, presented a Gold Cup to
Gerard Casas, Post 123, for his

28 Rank Awards, Merit Badges
Presented At Court Of Honor

PETA Meeting Next Wednesday

The Lanai PTA will hold its
first meeting of the new school
year, Wednesday, September 11, 1957, at 7:45 p.m., in the school cafeteria, with principal, Kanahele Kako'a, and his Executive Board present. A special welcome for the
faculties of the Lanai High and
Elementary School.

The PTA Cottage Clean-Up
Committee headed by Mrs.
Dora Nelson properly ushered
to thank all those cooperated and worked
hard in the final clean-up of the
the teachers' cottages. In addi-
tion to the previously mentioned

The Gowan KimVESAYAWAYS

M. Y., Gowan Kim, age 77,
last Monday morning at the
Kennedy Community Hospi-
tal, was born in February 1950.
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
and was seen recently by the
Kennedy Community Hospi-
tal, was born in February 1950.
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Mr. Kim was a native of
Korea. He came here in 1908,
Small town Kahuku was Yonemori's life. Born there in 1906, he went to work after seventh grade, at the age of 14 and a half, as a lab sample boy. His parents before mechanization did hapai ko, the hardest work. His own work shifts prior to the 1935 Wagner Act were 12 hours. He rose to become Boiling House Supervisor and helped with the paper during World War II:

I guess I was good in English. A Portuguese boy, Louis Parella, was given the job of putting out the paper, but I'd look over the copy and help with the grammar. After the war the paper became more professional.39

During the late 1950s, the paper decreased in size in an effort to reduce costs. It reluctantly announced on November 17, 1961, "The Kahukuan is a luxury which this Company can no longer afford."40 Yonemori retired in 1971 when Kahuku closed.

On the Big Island, Ka Maka O Kohala made its contribution as a community booster before being phased out with Kohala Plantation. Begun in 1950 as a weekly, it was noted for clever graphics by a staff artist who drew cartoons and special illustrations for Christmas, New Years, and the Fourth of July.41 The Kohala paper, so far from Hilo and before West Hawai'i had a regular newspaper, ran free "lost and found" and "for sale" ads. Ka Maka O Kohala died with Kohala Plantation in 1972.

The Lanaian (fig. 5) was almost an archetype of the small town newspaper. An island of only 141 square miles, its only town, Lana'i City, was until recently surrounded by pine fields. Lana'i was devoted to one thing—14,000 acres of pineapple. Filipinos provided the bulk of field labor. Dominated by Hawaiian Pine Company, not one piece of land was owned by employees in 1951 when approximately 1,600 workers lived on the island.42 In 1951, one of the most bitter and prolonged strikes in Hawaiian history occurred.

Fig. 5. The community-minded Lanaian, Hawaiian Pine company-sponsored paper. (George Bacon photo; Hawaiian collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.)
The pineapple industry was then at the height of its power, with 75,000 acres under tillage throughout the Islands. Nine companies operated 13 plantations and nine canneries. There were 6,000 agricultural and 4,000 manufacturing laborers, and during harvesting season, June to September, another 11,000 were employed.\(^4\)

Because of its remote location, the ILWU urged Lana'i workers not to walk out and told them a strike was “unwinnable.” ILWU and pine leaders agreed on a contract. The workers, however, fighting for their dignity as well as better pay, refused to ratify it. Lana'i strikers held out for seven months while the entire island rotted under 100,000 tons of unharvested pineapple. They defeated the divisive unit-by-unit bargaining proposed by management and won, instead, an industry-wide settlement. It is an ironic footnote in local history that management believed that the Lana'i strike was a “master stroke” by the ILWU.\(^4\)

What made Lana'i unique in labor annals made it produce an excellent newspaper. Worker solidarity carried over into its publication, although management did not intend it do so. Management’s position was clearly stated on the paper’s flag that featured a pineapple circling the company motto: “A debt of gratitude is an obligation that’s seldom liquidated.”\(^4\)

The paper was published under the auspices of management’s “Lanai Community Welfare Association.” But one gets a view of Lana'i life unavailable elsewhere. The staff wrote up soap box derbies, court cases, births, marriages, and deaths, and boxing cards and bowling league results. The paper announced student honor rolls and the celebration of Aloha Week. It printed social notes on parties and celebrations and of visits of former residents. It ran photos and stories of young Lanaians serving in the Korean War. Regular features included hunting news columns and “big fish” stories accompanied by pictures of proud workers standing beside their catches (strikers had helped to feed themselves in 1951 by fishing and hunting).

When job changes required that a new editor be hired, the qualities given as desirable for the position were revealing of the Lanaian’s success; one, be honest and sincere; two, be able to get along with people; three, be able to officiate and handle athletic
events; four, have news writing ability; and five, have administrative, executive, and social abilities.46

The Naalehu News was also a small town paper but, unlike the Lanaian, did not distinguish itself. It affords, however, an insight into an establishment obsession during these pre-Statehood years. The big topic in the daily press during the late 1940s and 1950s, nationally and locally, was Communism. Community passion, hysteria, and witch hunting came together in August of 1951 when the "Hawaii Seven" were arrested and charged with treason. Significantly, four of the "Hawai'i Seven" were journalists writing for the opposition press, demonstrating how this can arouse establishment fears.47 From 1947 to 1966 in the dailies, the "Red menace" yielded perhaps 100 editorials, cartoons, and articles a year, or one every three or four days of publication. In certain plantation papers, appearing weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly, communism was also a regular topic. The Paauhau News, for example, ran slogans above its flag: "Today Communism is Treason," "Keep Your Brains Free," and "You Cannot Help the Poor By Destroying the Rich."48

At Naalehu, with a population of 2,000 and located in the Kaʻu region of the Big Island, the plantation is still the town. In this isolated environment, the Naalehu News combined the most sophisticated composition and formatting with the most rabid and combative anti-communism. Interestingly, a woman, Myrtle T. Hansen, edited the paper through the years it was most active, from 1948 to 1956. While many women worked on plantation papers, only a very few rose to editorships. H. A. Hansen, her husband, was the paper's "Advisor" and not coincidentally head of the Industrial Relations Department for the Hutchinson Sugar Plantation (Naalehu's official name).

The Naalehu News began as a tabloid in 1944 under James S. Beatty's managership, but it soon was a full-sized paper of six, eight, even ten pages. Its early years featured stories on the manager's and assistant manager's dinner parties. Just prior to the 1949 ILWU strike, it turned to anti-communism for its main theme:
Mr. Beatty ... is deeply concerned over the possibility of a strike ... and also over communistic leaders who are trying to destroy our American Way of Life.  

The paper invited readers to “Join the Anti-Communist League of Hawai‘i.” In both its English and Ilocano sections, it featured photos and stories of “loyal” employees and “faithful” oldtimers. During the 1949 strike, Mrs. Hansen ran headlines like “Good Unions With Good Leaders Are What We Need,” “You Cannot Be A Communist And An American” and “It’s Fun To Live In America.” A “news story” asserted:

Mr. Hall and others who told you the plantations were out to break the unions told you another lie.  

After several years of this kind of coverage, the Naalehu News won the Industrial Editors’ Association’s top award in June of 1956, probably a political choice rather than for merit. The day of extremism in establishment papers was waning, however. Statehood was in the offing, and anti Communism was becoming a counter-productive subject. The concept of the plantation manager’s role was changing, too, to that of “coordinator of activities.” After the 1956 strike, Roy W. Replogle became Industrial Relations Superintendent and newspaper editor at Naalehu. He brought a lighter, more reasoned tone to the paper, advertising Naalehu as “The Southernmost Community in the U.S.A.” Replogle had been editor of the Laupahoehoe Observer in the 1940s and would later edit the Pahala paper, demonstrating a truism about journalists—they enjoy a mobile trade.

Facing History: The 1960s and 1970s

Statehood in 1959 ushered in major changes for Hawai‘i and the decline of the plantation paper. In the 1960s, 17 papers were in print; in the 1970s, 14. The Big Island, with the most acreage still in cane, led in numbers; 14 in the 1960s and seven in the 1970s. The Ka‘u News replaced both the Naalehu and Pahala papers and
also represented corporate C. Brewer holdings in the Ka‘u-Volcano region. It headlined on February 16, 1973, “Cable TV Arrives in Ka‘u.” The paper folded in October of 1976.

Island-wide development and urbanization ate up agricultural land. Tourism rapidly replaced sugar and pineapple as the principal Island economic activity. (Tourist newspapers would soon become a widespread establishment type.) The new multinationals ushered in external ownership of Hawai‘i and the “passing of local paternalism,” which, as Noel Kent has said ironically, at least had had “a fatherly concern for Hawaii.”

Several new papers were introduced between 1960 and 1970, but far more were first reduced in size or printed less frequently, then phased out. O‘ahu’s Ewa Hurri-Cane and Ka Leo O Waipahu attempted to merge their papers, when Ewa and Waipahu Plantations consolidated in 1970 but finally folded. Kaua‘i’s Kilauea Life struggled for a few years, then converted into a magazine. The Industrial Editors’ Association made its last awards in 1956: to Kilauea Life for the best community feature and to the Grove Farm Plantation News for the best photo. The Association ceased in 1967.

Lana‘i, without a paper after November 1958, actually saw the rebirth of one, another Lanaian, in 1978. It was, however, an independent effort by the public-spirited little island and was produced by the “Lanai Community Services Council.” Hawaiian Pine, in the meantime, sold the island to Castle & Cooke which, in turn, began to develop the island for tourism.

As they declined in numbers and influence, the papers became aware of the historical role they had played. From 1961 until its closing, Plantation Hi-Lites on Maui printed a “History From Our Files” column. The Waialua Sugar Scoop in 1973 printed a “Commemorative Issue” that documented the 75th anniversary of the plantation and the 25th anniversary of the paper.

NEWSLETTERS: THE PRESENT

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact publication date of the last newspaper, on newsprint, without a cover, and topical in nature,
because of mergers and conversions to bulletins and reports. By 1978, Hawai‘i seemed to be without any plantation newspapers. Newspapers in general still serve the public and are still considered good businesses. As Hawai‘i becomes ever more urban, its newspapers are changing to meet new social, economic, and demographic demands. People from Lihue to Kohala continue to read them for their local interest as well as their national and international information and their ads.

But sugar and pineapple are no longer such good businesses. By the end of 1989, only 12 sugar and five pineapple plantations are expected to still be operating. Newspapers are simply not cost-effective for them. Plantations today do produce newsletters and bulletins, like the Waialua Sugar Scoop and Honoka‘a’s Hamakua Sugar Newsletter. The latter is a single sheet that prints work schedules, harvesting figures, and dates and times of special events like measles shots.

Obviously, today’s plantation bulletins have a very limited communications function. In their historical role, however, the plantation newspapers remain a notable 60-year phenomena in Hawai‘i.

Notes

I want to thank the staffs of the HSPA Library and Archives who so generously assisted my research for this project: Ann Marsteller, Librarian; Harriet Iwai, Assistant Librarian; Deborah Saito, former Archivist; and Susan Campbell, present Archivist. The War Records Depository at the Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i, holds World War II plantation newspapers. The HSPA Library and Archives, however, contain the most complete files of plantation newspapers in Hawai‘i. Unless otherwise noted, all newspapers, records, manager’s reports, annual reports, surveys, and journals referred to herein are at the HSPA location.


2 Helen G. Chapin, Annotated List of Plantation Newspapers, 1988, ts., is to date the most complete listing. Nancy Morris and Claire Marumoto, NEH Newspaper Project Inventory of Newspapers Published in Hawai‘i, 1982, ts., contains a preliminary list. Sophia McMillen and Nancy Morris, *Hawaii Newspapers: A Union List*, Prepared by the Hawaii Newspaper Project, 1987,
is now the official list for online data use by U. S. and Canadian libraries but does not include newspapers the authors did not actually see nor for which no holdings have been found.


5 Takaki, *Pau Hana* 103.


7 Donald Bowman, General Welfare Work, HSPA Record 23 (1919); and Donald Bowman, Betterment of Industrial Relations, HSPA Record 25 (1921).

8 Takaki, *Pau Hana* 105.

9 Hawaiian Sugar Company Journal—General; HA, 27 Nov. 1923.

10 Makaweli Plantation News, 1 Nov. 1919.

11 *Makaweli Plantation News*, 1 Apr. 1920. Damkroger later moved to Maui where he was Executive Secretary of Kiwanis and active with the Maui Community Chest: *Valley Isle Chronicle*, 3 May, 1949, UH Hamilton Library.

12 Makaweli Manager’s Report, 8 Jan. 1920.


14 Makaweli Manager’s Report, 1 Nov. 1919 and 1 Jan. 1920.


17 Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono* 234–35.


21 Olaa Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1943. R. S. Blackshear is not to be confused with Roy C. Blackshear, Big Island businessman and developer.
Leo O Honomu, 14 Nov. 1945.

Robert Cushing, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. He is former Director of the HSPA.


Zalberg, A Spark Is Struck! 141.

Onomea Annual Report, 8 Mar. 1948.

Newspaper circulation figures are from N.W. Ayer & Sons Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (Fort Washington, Penna.), published approximately at ten-year intervals.

Ernest Oshiro, interview, 21 Dec. 1987. He is an Associate Professor of Business and Economics at the University of Hawai’i-West O’ahu.

Voice of Hakalau, Apr. 1946.


Charlotte Hoskins, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. Her father was the plantation doctor.

Harrison Foss, interview.

Chiyozo (Joe) Shiramizu, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. He is retired and lives on Kaua’i.


Beechert, Working in Hawaii 304.


Ka Maka O Kohala did not list staff names.

See Zalberg, A Spark Is Struck! 185–86 and 311–19 for the best description of Lana’i during these years.


Zalberg, A Spark Is Struck! 311–19.

The Lanaian continued to publish irregularly through strike periods. A complete file of the paper is held at Hamilton Library.

Lanaian, 14 June 1957.

Besides Jack Hall, who was affiliated with several labor papers, there were: Jack Kimoto, reporter for the Hawaii Hochi and the Yoen Jiho; Koji Ariyoshi, muckraking editor of the Honolulu Record; and Dr. John Reinecke, who wrote for the Record and other pro-labor papers.

The famous “Hawaii Seven” case in 1951 brought seven alleged Communists to trial for conspiracy and treason. The guilty verdict was fought through the courts up to 1959 when the verdict was finally overturned.
## APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>PLANTATION OR COMPANY</th>
<th>DATES OF PUBLICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brydeco Digest</td>
<td>McBryde, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1960–1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brydeco News</td>
<td>McBryde, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1951–1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewa Bulletin</td>
<td>Ewa, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1947–1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewa Hurri-Cane</td>
<td>Ewa, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1949–1970?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewa Life</td>
<td>Ewa, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grove Farm Plantation News</td>
<td>Grove Farm, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1951–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamakua Mill Pond</td>
<td>Honoka‘a, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1948–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hana News</td>
<td>Hana, Maui</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H C &amp; S Breeze</td>
<td>H C &amp; S, Maui</td>
<td>1948–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilo Coast News</td>
<td>Hilo Coast, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1976–1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilo Sugar Co. News</td>
<td>Hilo Sugar, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1931?–1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilo Sugar News</td>
<td>Hilo Sugar, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1953–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAA News</td>
<td>Kekaha, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahukuan</td>
<td>Kahuku, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1944–1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka‘u News</td>
<td>C. Brewer, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1972–1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaumakani News</td>
<td>Kaumakani, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1950–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekaha Weekly Bulletin</td>
<td>Kekaha, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekamana</td>
<td>Kekaha, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1947–1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanaian</td>
<td>Hawai‘iian Pine, Lana‘i</td>
<td>1948–1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laupahoehoe Observer</td>
<td>Laupahoehoe, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1949–1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo O Honomu</td>
<td>Honomu, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1937–1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka Leo O Kopʻa’a</td>
<td>O‘ahu Sugar, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka Leo O Ookala</td>
<td>O‘okala, Hawai‘i</td>
<td>1948–1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke Leo O Waipahu</td>
<td>O‘ahu Sugar, O‘ahu</td>
<td>1949–1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. P. Co. Progress</td>
<td>Lihue, Kaua‘i</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWSPAPER</td>
<td>PLANTATION OR COMPANY</td>
<td>DATES OF PUBLICATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka Maka O Kohala</td>
<td>Kohala, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1950–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maka O Pepeekeo</td>
<td>Pepeekeo, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1937–1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaweli Plantation News</td>
<td>Makaweli, Kaua'i</td>
<td>1919–1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moloka'i News</td>
<td>? Moloka'i</td>
<td>c. 1935 (nhf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naalehu News</td>
<td>Hutchinson, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1944–1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namahana News</td>
<td>Kilauea, Kaua'i</td>
<td>1951–1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namakana News</td>
<td>Kilauea, Kaua'i</td>
<td>1951–1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka Nani O Pioneer</td>
<td>Pioneer, Maui</td>
<td>1948–1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Observer</td>
<td>Laupahochoe, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1956–1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olaa News</td>
<td>Olaa, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1943–1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomea Echo</td>
<td>Onomea, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1939–1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paauhau Communicator</td>
<td>Paauhau, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1963–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paauhau News</td>
<td>Paauhau, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1960–1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahala Community News</td>
<td>Pahala, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1943–1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pepa O Wailuku</td>
<td>Wailuku, Maui</td>
<td>1965–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation Hi-Lites</td>
<td>Wailuku, Maui</td>
<td>1939–1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation News</td>
<td>Waimea, Kaua'i</td>
<td>1946–1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation News</td>
<td>Paauilo, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1949–1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Scoop</td>
<td>Waialua, O'ahu</td>
<td>1970–1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice of Hakalau</td>
<td>Hakalau, Hawai'i</td>
<td>1941–1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WACO Flash</td>
<td>Waialua, O'ahu</td>
<td>1950–1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WACO News</td>
<td>Waialua, O'ahu</td>
<td>1942–1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahiawa News</td>
<td>? O'ahu</td>
<td>1949 (nhf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waialua News</td>
<td>Waialua, O'ahu</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wailuku Plantation Record</td>
<td>Wailuku, Maui</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimea Planter</td>
<td>Waimea, Kaua'i</td>
<td>1956–1960</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nhf – no holdings found