

## **Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From "He Liona" to the Pacific Cable**

Helen Geracimos Chapin

Newspapers published in Hawai'i from 1834 to 1903 present a unique opportunity to study several distinct but interrelated events. One is the universal technology of newspapers functioning within a confined place and time. Another is the evolution of newspapers from those in the Hawaiian language to those primarily in English, a phenomenon tied to American domination of Hawai'i. Still another is the development of ethnic and bilingual papers, both illustrative of Hawai'i's multicultural society.

During approximately 70 years, newspapers were a primary source of information in Hawai'i's evolution from an independent Kingdom to a United States Territory. In turn, they structured and influenced patterns of individual and group behavior. They formed a social system of economics and commerce, government and politics, education and religion, and language.

Hawai'i's newspapers fit into four categories but sometimes shifted positions when the fortunes of the country, alliances, or interests changed. The first category was that of "establishment" newspapers which represented dominant and prevailing interests through the century. The second category was that of "official" periodicals which were government-subsidized. The third formed an "opposition" group which dissented from the views of establishment and official papers. The fourth was comprised of "independent" newspapers unallied to any special interest. Before considering the development according to their categories, a review of the general nature and history of newspapers and their particular connection to Hawaiian history will help to place them in context.

A newspaper is a publication which appears serially and regularly,

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with a masthead, on newsprint, and without covers. It is mainly designed to present to the public a variety of matters such as current events, public affairs, international activities, and politics. Its three main functions are: to publish the news and thereby inform and entertain the public; to interpret that news and influence public opinion, and to succeed as a business enterprise.<sup>1</sup> A newspaper's general nature includes other factors: exercising control over information, the public, and one's own labor; literacy itself; and the concept of free speech.

Historically, the newspaper as we know it is connected to the industrial and communications revolutions of about 1600. Although the word "press" originally signified the machinery of printing, it came to mean, too, the newspaper estate and those who wrote for it. The format of miscellaneous information or the variety of life, or usually the bad news, became combined with advertising, the good news, and gave the balance the public was willing to pay for.

Printing was a craft attached to the idea of men controlling their own labor. Early labor guilds evolved into almost clannish trade unions. The printing trade required long apprenticeships, a printer's "devil" or assistant becoming a journeyman, then a "master" (an informal term), and perhaps the writer, editor, or publisher. A single intense individual might do all these tasks on a single journal, or many people could be involved. Although primarily a male occupation, women did enter it, usually to assist a male family member or to take over the paper in the event of his absence or death. Publishers of information came to hold power and leadership in a community. Furthermore, because the newspaper trade and technology were and are international, those who possess it have been mobile.

As to literacy, this gives people the feeling of being capable of acting in history. Newspapers require community participation. Literacy through newspapers has been united with the public right to know. The expression and the suppression of ideas have been the newspaper's traditional concern. Thus, a news journal contains in itself the possibility for opposition and even insurrection. Perhaps not surprisingly, through history its creators have often been imprisoned.

Newspapers spread interconnectedly throughout the world from the 17th to the 20th Centuries as the needs of commerce and government carried the medium from one country to another. Out of Colonial and Revolutionary America arose an advocacy press and the Jeffersonian ideal of press freedom unrestricted by government authority. Concurrently, libel laws were formulated to protect citizens

or government. Nevertheless, the 19th Century was the heyday for the crusade, the editorial, and partisan political propoganda phrased in inflammatory rhetoric.

Newspapers in Hawai'i followed the introduction in 1820 of a print technology from America and coincided with the rise of America as an imperialist Pacific power. New England Protestant missionaries brought the first press, a manual flatbed Ramage, much like the one Ben Franklin had used 100 years earlier in Boston. It utilized handset type and produced 100 single sheets an hour. Religious interests soon merged with the needs of commerce and government, and the Ramage printed royal proclamations and merchants' billing forms, as well as educational and religious materials. Non-mission affiliated printers found their way to frontier Hawai'i, and printshops proliferated. Print exerted the same "revolutionary energy," as Esther Mookini has said, that it has exhibited through history.<sup>2</sup>

A revolutionary technology acts abrasively and destructively on older forms of culture. Nineteenth Century Hawai'i was the scene of intense value conflicts and radical change. A non-literate, memory-based culture was rapidly displaced by codified laws, written constitutions, historical data, and newspapers. Several pivotal events highlighted dramatic newspaper development. Foreign pressures, primarily American, propelled King Kamehameha III toward accomodating freedom of religion, speech, and publication. The King and his American advisors desired that the government's voice be heard, too. Act II of the Organic Acts of 1846-1848 set up a government bureau for publications, a director-editor, and an official newspaper, the *Polynesian*. A Penal Code in 1850 defined libel, a law to be energetically applied after 1880. Liberty of speech and the press were guaranteed by the Constitution of 1852.<sup>3</sup> By mid century, the earlier goal of universal literacy in Hawaiian took a new direction, with English becoming the medium of business, government, education, and diplomacy. The mission status itself changed, from that of a "foreign" body to a "home" mission which the New England body considered to be an integral part of the Hawaiian nation. Prophesying the intense political climate and newspaper battles of the century's last quarter, Hawai'i's first modern elections took place. Meanwhile, the discovery of gold in California in 1848 stimulated Pacific crossings by newsmen looking for fortunes in gold but usually returning to Hawaii and printshop livelihoods. A "Printers Row" (Fig. 2) on Merchant Street held several newspaper plants, and a nearby board-

ing house behind the old Post Office accomodated single and itinerant printers.<sup>4</sup>

Further radical changes included multiculturalism and technological and political revolutions. At midcentury, a "Masters and Servants" act opened the way for contract labor importation. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 yoked Hawai'i firmly to the U. S. through sugar, and sugar's burgeoning ethnic labor force provided readers for ethnic newspapers by the 1880s (Hawaiian newspapers are not considered here to be ethnic). Technologically, the telegraph and telephone operated locally by the 1870s. The typewriter and telephone were both adapted to newspaper offices in the 1880s. Electricity permitted the rapid expansion of newspapers through the use of machine type, with cylinder presses printing continuous rolls of cheap newsprint and mass producing thousands of copies per issue. Politically, the ascendant missionary-planter *haole* elite curbed King Kalākaua's power by the "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887. This oligarchy then overthrew the Monarchy itself in 1893 and initiated a revised Constitution of 1894 which attempted to curb press freedom. The oligarchy in 1895 crushed a Counterrevolution and in 1898 secured American annexation. Newspaper people were among the principal participants in these climactic events.

By 1900, almost 90 newspapers were in print at the same time in five languages (see Appendix). Incredibly diverse, they existed, however, in semi-isolation. Local news within Hawai'i's ocean borders could be transmitted within a day or two. News from abroad could only be spread after considerable time in transit, from six months by sailing vessel in the 1830s to six days by steamship in 1900. Hawai'i was thrust permanently into the present by the Pacific cable, on New Year's 1903, which instantly transmitted information between the mainland and Hawai'i. Island newspapers were now an integral part of the American press system.

#### I. AN ESTABLISHMENT PRESS ARRIVES

An establishment newspaper system is that which holds the chief measure of power and influence in a community or country and is in the hands of a dominant inner circle. While the term was not in popular use in the 19th Century, its principles operated in Hawai'i

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FIG. 1. Hawai'i's first newspaper, *Ka Lama*, in its issue of 16 May 1834, featured an engraving of *He Liona*—a lion. (HMCS Photo).

# KA LAMA HAWAII.

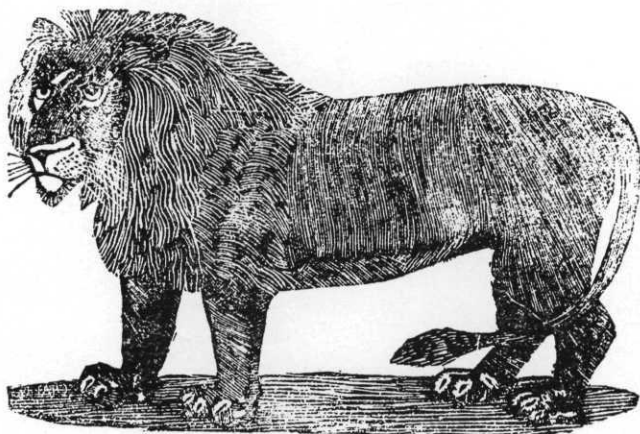
HE MEA IA E HOOLAHA IKE, A HE MEA HOI E PONO AI KE KULANUI.

*I naauo ka uhane, aoie ia he maikai.* NA SOLOMONA.

Makahiki 1.

MAUI LAHAINALUNA MEI 16. 1834.

Helu 14.



## HE LIONA

### NO KA LIONA.

Ua like kekahi ano o ka Liona, me ko ka popoki; a ma na hehelena, a ma ka hana ana, oia ka mea hanohano o na holoholona a pau i puni koko.

Ua like kona nui me ka Tiga alii. E kolu kapuai a me ka hapa kona kiekie, a eha kapuai a me ka hapa kekahi. Eono kapuai ka loa, a eiwa no hoi kekahi.

He ulaula olenalena kona oho. He ula loa ma ke kua, a he hapa ma na aoao a malalo iho o ka ai.

Ua loihi ke kino o ka Liona a ua palahalaha ka umauma a ua ikaika loa. Ua nui kona mau wawae, a me ka maka: ua unku na pepeiao a me na maka, a ua pokole ka ai.

O kona umauma a me ka ai, a me ke poo, ua paapui ka lauoho loihi e lewa wale ana ilalo; oia hoi ka mea i like ole ai me kekahi mau lio a me ka popoki

I ka wa i noho malie ai ka Liona me ka hulu ole, alaila ua maikai loa kona hehelena ke nana aku, a ua kuoo. Aka, ina hulu ia, alaila, aoie mea e like ai ka ikaika a me ka weliweli loa. Hahau ikaika loa oia i kona mau aoao i ka huulo, a ku pono iluna kona oho e like me ka hulu puua, a hamama ae la na lehelche, i ikeia kona mau niho: alohi no hoi kona mau maka, me he ahi la e lele ana iwaho.

O na hehelena o kona kino, he mau hehelena ku i ka ikaika loa, a me ka mama. Ma ka nui o kona poo, ka pokole o kona ai, ka poepoe o kona kino, a ma ka nui o kona mau wawae, ma ia mau mea ua maopopo kona ikaika nui. Ua loihi no hoi kona kino, a ua ikaika loa ka olona o kona mau wawae, nolaila, hiki ia ia ke hele ma kahi loihi loa.

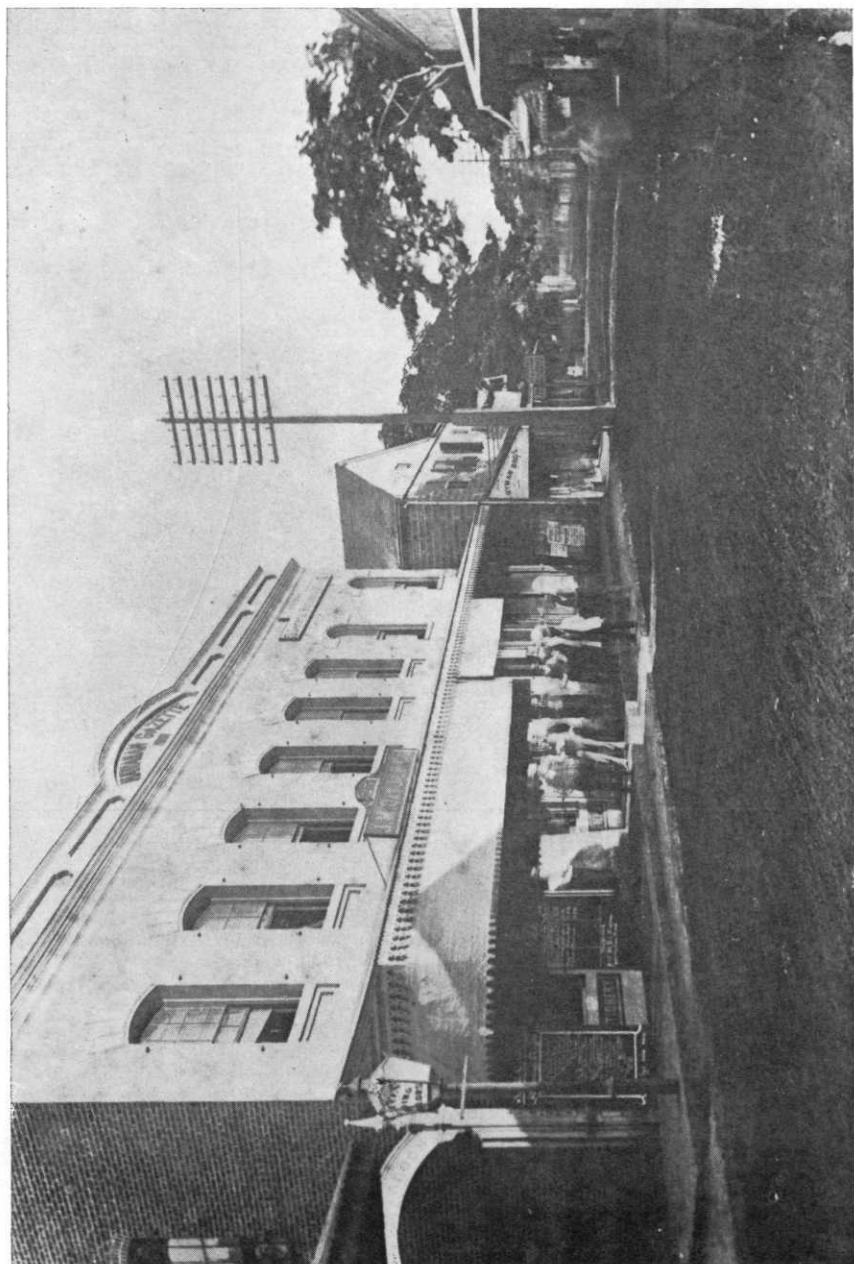
Ua loaia ka Liona ma Asia, a ma Afrika. Mana wahi wela loa, malaila ka Liona nui; a malaila, e like me ka wela o ka

la, pela no ka hulu, a me ka makau ole o ka Liona. He mea weliweli loa ke nana aku, a ke lohia kona leo nui, e uwo ana.

Aole ai ka Liona i ka ai maoli a me ka mauu, o na holoholona i paa ia ia, oia kana e ai ai. No kona mama i ka tele a me ka holo, a no kona ikaika nui, he kakaikahi ka holoholona e pakele ia ia.

I loaia pono kana mea e makemake ai, he mea mau ia ia, ke huna ia ia iho ma kahi kokoke i ka wai puna, a ma kahi e hele mai ai na holoholona e inu i ka wai; a ike aku la ia i kekahi mea, o kona lele ia a paa koke no ia ia ua mea ia; no ka mea, e hiki no ia ia ke lele i kahi loihi, a ua loihi kona maiu, a ua oi oi loa: a loihi kona mau kui. Pela e paa ai ia ia ka Bufalo nui, ka Dia makau, a me ka Anetelope maikai.

Ua kapaia ka Liona, ke alii o na holoholona, aka, aole e make na holoholona a pau ia ia. O ka nuku o ka Elepani, o ka poepoehao o ka Lachakela, o na unku o



from 1834 to the century's end (and to today). Up to 1850, in fact, American Protestant missionaries ran the only Hawaiian language press, native Hawaiians coming to edit their own papers after 1860. An increasingly powerful missionary-planter-business combine also controlled major English language publications. Establishment newspapers fell into three main categories: periodicals in Hawaiian published by the Protestant mission; newspapers in English published by the same mission; and secular newspapers in English representing the *haole* elite.

#### NEWSPAPERS IN HAWAIIAN UNDER PROTESTANT MISSION SPONSORSHIP

The first newspapers in Hawai'i were in the genre of religious periodicals which blossomed in the U. S. between 1800 and 1830. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1834 decided to start such a newspaper "to exhibit the truth in an attractive form"—in other words, to inform and entertain.<sup>5</sup> Prophetic of Hawaiian mission history and part of the nature of newspapers, the papers burst their religious bounds.

*Ka Lama* (The Hawaiian Luminary), the first periodical, appeared as a four page paper of about 200 copies per issue in 1834 and again, after a lapse, in 1841.<sup>6</sup> This was on Maui. The old Ramage press had been sent from Honolulu to the Lahainaluna School, founded for the education of Hawaiian men. Principal Lorrin Andrews, a printer from Kentucky who joined the mission, integrated the printing trade into the Lahainaluna curriculum. His students learned how to gather and circulate information and ran a student forum in *Ka Lama*.<sup>7</sup> *Ka Lama* printed articles on the philosophy of a constitutional monarchy and written law. A lithographic press extended the students' horizons of knowledge, producing illustrations from hand-carved woodcuts, like that of "*He Liona*," a lion (fig. 1). Lahainaluna students were to become printers and editors of newspapers throughout Hawaii.

The Protestant mission in Honolulu imported a newer press and type fonts from America, and the second newspaper appeared in Honolulu in 1834. *Ke Kumu* (The Hawaiian Teacher) came out every other month and was intended to provide religious educational materials for the schools. It contained, too, however, the miscellany

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FIG. 2. Merchant Street, called "Printers Row," accomodated several newspaper plants from 1850 on. (Hawaii State Archives Photo, 1880).

endemic to newspapers: information about the world, features, moral instruction, and illustrations. Editor Reuben Tinker added local color, such as traditional Hawaiian songs. *Ke Kumu's* original circulation of 1500 doubled in its five-years life time. Rev. William Richards, who advised King Kamehameha III on the drafting of the Declaration of Rights (1839) and the Constitution of 1840, later declared that articles in *Ka Lama* and *Ke Kumu* influenced those documents.<sup>8</sup>

The first two editors were perhaps as much journalists as missionaries. Rev. Tinker became dissatisfied with what he considered a despotic policy of the ABCFM which from Boston censored materials for publication. He severed connections in 1838 and soon departed from Hawai'i. At about the same time on Maui, a Christian conscience combined with a newsman's dissent led Andrews to resign his position because funds for the mission came in part from slave states.<sup>9</sup> Rev. Andrews continued to run the print shop and book bindery at Lahainaluna and became a judge.

In the following decades, the Protestant mission produced many religious papers similar to the first two. The mission recognized by 1840, however, a growing English language audience and produced bilingual papers. Rev. Richard Armstrong edited *Ka Nonanona* (The Ant) and *Ka Elele Hawaii* (The Hawaiian Messenger) in two languages. Armstrong was representative of mission members who entered into influential relationships with the Hawaiian government. At the same time he was a dedicated newsman connected to several Hawaiian papers. He had two sons who were newsmen, too. Armstrong took up sensational and crusading issues and engaged in debates with rivals on other papers like the *Sandwich Island News* over his series on *moe kolohe* (fornication). Armstrong had recommended in print that offenders be severely punished, from confiscation of all property, to flogging and confinement in irons, to banishment. If all else failed, they should be hanged by the neck until dead. Armstrong later complained to an indignant *Sandwich Island News* that he was not to be taken literally.<sup>10</sup>

Rev. Armstrong in 1848 became head of the Kingdom's Department of Public Instruction. He then listed on the mastheads of his papers the names of figurehead editors so as to cloak his involvement while he or a son wrote the papers' contents. This occurred on both *Ka Nuhou* (The News), which was the first newspaper to advocate U. S. annexation of Hawai'i, and *Ka Hae Hawaii* (The Hawaiian Flag).<sup>11</sup>



Other crusading messages appeared in Protestant papers and drew strong responses. *Ka Hoku Loa* (The Morning Star), edited by Rev. Henry Parker, railed against Roman Catholics and aroused the disgust of Commissioner David Gregg. Gregg, a Catholic, served with the American diplomatic mission, had been an editor of the *Juliet* [sic] *Courier* (Joliet, Illinois), and found offensive the many "falsehoods" and "anti Popery" articles in the Protestant papers.<sup>12</sup>

The longest running, most successful of mission-supported newspapers was *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (The Independent—a misnomer). It illustrated a widening gap between mission interests and those of native Hawaiians and showed the political, economic, and racial mazes of the century's last decades. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* began in Hawaiian in 1861, claimed a circulation of 5000, and continued in Hawaiian and English to 1927. In 1861, it declared itself in "opposition" to the "absolutist and heathenizing tendencies" of Kamehameha V. Yet its co-editors in the 1870's were Joseph Kawainui as *Luna Hooponopono* (editor) and Henry Whitney as *Luna Nui* (big editor). But they disagreed as to whether one should criticize the monarch. Joseph Kawainui, from Hana, Maui, and his brother Benjamin were trained in printing at the Lahainaluna School, and Joseph taught there, too. The Kawainui brothers were among those native Hawaiian editors who were Protestant in religious affiliation but were to take up native Hawaiian concerns and eventually distance themselves from *haole* co-workers. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa's* popularity, however, was probably due in part to its newsiness and professionalism. It introduced in 1862, for example, two-colored engravings of a red and blue Hawaiian flag.<sup>13</sup>

Other examples of the varied bilingual papers sponsored by the Protestant mission included *Ke Alaula* (Dayspring), a children's monthly, and Rev. Parker's *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (The Hawaii Nation), with missionary news of Micronesia where Parker had lived.

#### NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLISH UNDER PROTESTANT MISSION SPONSORSHIP

Stepping back now into an earlier decade, the mission also sponsored a major publication in English and several minor ones, all intended for an audience literate in English. The major paper was *The Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend*, started in 1843. This went through several title changes to become known simply as the *Friend*.

The *Friend's* first and longest-serving editor, Rev. Samuel C. Damon, infused the journal with his personality for more than 40 years and

accounted for its unusual success as a temperance vehicle. The paper's "flag" (title) was illustrated by woodcut engravings that underscored its chief concerns: the Sailors' Home in Honolulu; a sailing vessel on rough seas; the Seaman's Bethel Church; and the word "abstinence" surrounding a globe (fig. 3). The *Friend*, however, was after all a newspaper with many ads, even for tobacco, but never for wine and spirits. These latter were amply advertised in the secular opposition papers, many of which advocated free liquor trade.

Damon had a broad and synthesizing intellect and excellent expository skills. He compared editing to an ocean journey on rough seas.<sup>14</sup> The *Friend* did not report the discovery of gold, but Damon visited California in 1849 and described how miners lived and that San Francisco was not the Sodom and Gomorrah he had imagined.<sup>15</sup> His letters from Europe in 1861 compared ancient Greek and Hawaiian mythology and modern Athenian and Hawaiian enthusiasm for newspapers. Like other newsmen, Damon was concerned with information transmission. He regularly observed the appearance of new periodicals and reviewed publications whose content might be of local interest.

Other mission-supported English papers were not of the *Friend's* caliber. The *Amateur*, whose title is informative, in the 1850s, for example, was for juveniles. The eccentric mimeographed *Japanese Times* in the 1880's advanced its editor's opinions. Rev. Charles McEwan Hyde ran articles on mission work in Japan and religious-related news items. He accused Father Damien, the Roman Catholic leper priest, of lechery and insincerity.

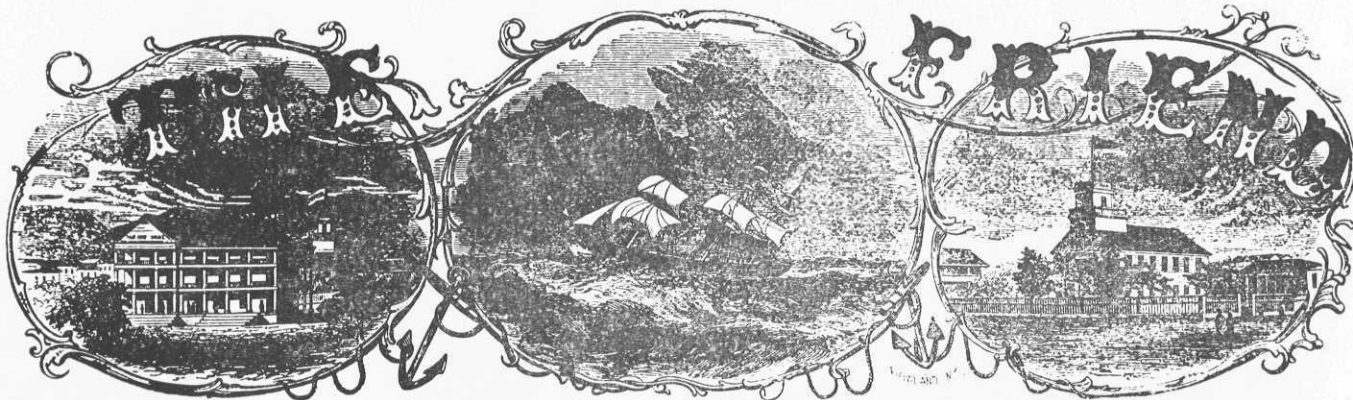
A rival religious paper, at first outside but soon part of the establishment, the *Anglican Church Chronicle*, was issued by the Episcopalian missionary diocese (founded in 1861). From 1883 into the 20th Century, it brought a variety of information and entertainment to its readers.

#### REGULAR NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLISH REPRESENTING THE HAOLE ELITE

A distinguishing feature of these secular English language papers was that their leaders were part of the ascendant *haole* missionary-planter-business elite but were not themselves Protestant ministers. Nor were the papers funded by the mission. They were businesses

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FIG. 3. *The Friend's* editor, Samuel C. Damon, also served as Seamen's Chaplain for over 40 years. (HHS Photo).



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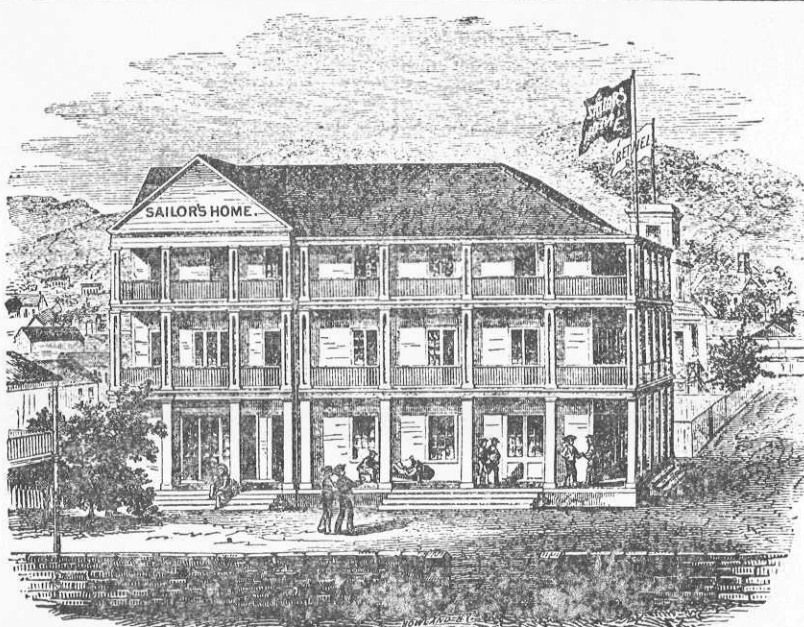
**THE FRIEND.**

HONOLULU, SEPTEMBER 26, 1857.

**Honolulu Sailors' Home.**

Through the artistic skill of Mr. Stangenwald, photographer, of Honolulu, and Mr. Howland, wood engraver, of New York, we present our readers with a most admirable view of the "Home." A comparison of the engraving with the original, abundantly shows that the artists, in their respective departments, need no commendation from us to make known their ability. We hope seamen will thereby be attracted to make trial of the establishment when discharged from their ships, or ashore on liberty. Since the last season, the house has been thoroughly refitted and improved. The sleeping apartments have been well ventilated, and a large baggage-room built. More than a thousand dollars has been expended in rendering the establishment more complete. Sleeping accommodations have been increased one-half. A large Library has been furnished for the Reading Room. A Book and Tract Depository is sustained by the Bible and Tract Societies. A Shipping Office has been also added, where application from captains, requiring seamen, will be punctually attended to. We will merely add, in conclusion, that the Trustees, aided by Mr. and Mrs. Thrum, Managers, have done all in their power, and with the means at their disposal, to render the establishment worthy of the patronage of officers and seamen visiting Honolulu.

Now, Mr. Sailor-man, as you look at the "Home," or as you may enjoy its benefits, we desire you will regard it as an honest expression of the kindly interest which its



founders and contributors take in your welfare and happiness, in time and eternity. A home may it prove to you while *here*, and lead you to seek an everlasting home *hereafter*.

**The Sailors' Home :**

OR, BRUNSWICK MARITIME ESTABLISHMENT, IN WELL STREET, LONDON DOCKS.

We recently paid a visit to the well-known Sailors' Home in Well street, Whitechapel, near the entrance to the London Docks, which is under the superintendence of Captain Pierce, R. N., and we rejoiced to hear from so many of the "jolly sons of the sea," that they had found this Home "*a harbor of refuge*" to them. This large establishment forms a boarding and lodging house for seamen and apprentices, where they can live comfortably at a moderate charge. It has a registry office for recording the characters of the men, and aids in shipping them when they are ready to go to sea. Instruction is also provided, without charge, to those who may desire to acquire the knowledge or improve themselves in the science of navigation. A savings' bank; money order office; reading room and church, are also to be num-

bered amongst the advantages of this institution.

It is an interesting fact, that since the opening of this Sailors' Home, in May, 1835, the sum of five hundred and sixty-nine thousand pounds has been deposited by sailors in the institution, of which one hundred and ninety-three thousand six hundred and seventy-two pounds have been remitted to "Jack's" relatives and friends!

Many seaman, both old and young, will doubtless have to thank God throughout eternity for the advantages they have gained, and the evils they have avoided through taking up their residence at the Sailor's Home, in Well street. The Rev. Mr. Gribble, the chaplain of the institution, having himself been a sailor, knows *how* to sympathize with the disadvantages of a seaman's life. It is not only that the inmates are brought under the beneficial influence of the moral and religious counsel of the worthy chaplain, but the men have the advantage of *good company*. A pleasing instance of this was afforded not long ago, in the case of an intelligent and noble-hearted American mate, who, during his temporary sojourn in the "Home," sought to win his fellow-sailors to habits of temperance and the paths of piety.—*British Workman, May 1, 1857.*



dependent upon circulation and advertising. A paper generally cost 5¢ per copy. Advertising sold for about \$1.75 for a single column 3-inch ad (rates remained the same through the century), dropping in cost for a larger size. Papers were sold at newspaper offices and at stores and shops, but weekly subscribers for 25¢ could receive delivery—by foot or horseback up through the 1870s and by bicycle thereafter.

A second distinguishing feature was that establishment papers were interested in a fundamental newspaper concern, freedom of expression. When they began in mid century, they argued in favor of free speech. As the century progressed and Hawaiian nationalism grew in force, these newspapers defended free speech for themselves only. They co-opted the first trade union in Hawai'i. Unionism in its early years elsewhere was considered to be anti-establishment, but when it started in Hawai'i, it adjusted immediately to Island racial and class structures.

The first major paper in this category became an Island institution. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which appeared in 1856, began as a bilingual weekly with a Hawaiian section *Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii* (The Morning Star of Hawaii) that ran for five years. The *PCA* became a daily in 1882 and the *Honolulu Advertiser* in 1921. Through two centuries, the *Advertiser* has exerted a powerful influence and is published today by a descendant of the original Protestant mission.

*PCA* founder Henry M. Whitney's story is central to Hawai'i's newspaper history. A child of missionary parents and fluent in both Hawaiian and English, he was trained in printing in New York. The *New York Commercial Advertiser* was to serve as the model for his major Hawai'i enterprise. He returned to the Islands and became a printer for the government *Polynesian* in 1849 and the first Postmaster in 1850. When the mission printing plant closed, Whitney bought its presses, type, and furniture for \$1,300 which he repaid in printed matter.<sup>16</sup> He began the *PCA* on a Washington hand press that produced 600 copies an hour. Quickly popular, with its mix of local news and features, reports on town recreation like plays and sports, and foreign reprints, the *PCA* within a year acquired an Adams steam cylinder press and increased its circulation to several thousand. The *PCA* facility was located on Merchant Street and employed 10 men.<sup>17</sup>

Whitney ran his newspaper as a business and also sold books, magazines, and job printing. He promoted trade, agriculture, and industry. He initially viewed himself as an "opposition" voice which "the public demanded" against the government-supported *Polynesian*, and he boldly advertised himself as the first crusader for a free press

in Hawai'i.<sup>18</sup> This was an exaggeration, as a lively opposition press had begun in 1836 (see "Opposition" below) and was well-established by the mid 1850s. Nor could Whitney appreciate the defensive position of the Hawaiian monarchy. Whitney articulated a *noblesse oblige* paternalism of family, friends, and associates. He conducted campaigns, for example, against a pet hatred, the hula, and made such statements about native Hawaiians as:

Though inferior in every respect to their European or American brethren, they are not to be wholly despised. . . . They are destined to be laborers in developing the capital of the country. . . . In proportion as they come in contact with foreigners, and acquire correct habits . . . in that proportion do they rise in our estimation.<sup>19</sup>

Whitney sincerely held, however, Jeffersonian ideals of a free press and a nation of small farmers forming the backbone of a democracy. Thus, he found himself at odds with his own constituency which had moved to a new position. When he campaigned against certain features of the contract labor system and likened it to slavery and its proponents to "bloated monopolists," the powerful Maui missionary-planter group and its allies in retaliation effectively reduced the *PCA's* advertising and circulation. They forced Whitney to sell out to Capt. James J. Black and William Auld. Under "Black and Auld," advertising rapidly increased.<sup>20</sup> Whitney went on to edit other journals including the *PCA* in later years. Whatever periodical he was associated with after 1870, in Professor Kuykendall's words, spoke for "American business interests."<sup>21</sup>

The *PCA's* history is checkered. It lived for seven years in the opposition camp in the 1880s when Walter Murray Gibson controlled it and spoke for King Kalākaua's policies. During this time the *PCA* came under heavy attack by the *haole* elite. This group finally curbed the King's power, and the *PCA* reverted to representing the establishment, whereby it yearly on July 4th paid homage to "Our Glorious Fourth" even while it resided in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Among its editors between 1887 and 1900 were several of the same men who had engineered the "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887, then overthrew the Monarchy in 1893, and secured annexation in 1898: W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, W. N. Armstrong, and Lorrin A. Thurston. Thurston led the conspiracies and became an establishment newsman *par excellence*. Thurston wrote for several papers and ran the *Honolulu Daily Times* designed to influence the elections in 1890 of those with American sympathies. He became editor and publisher of the *PCA* in 1900.

The second major 20th Century newspaper also originated in the 19th Century. Henry Whitney was similarly responsible for its inception, although he did not stay with it. Whitney wrote the original *Marine Bulletin* from which arose the *Daily Bulletin* in 1882 and the daily *Evening Bulletin* in 1895. Mergers then produced the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in 1912 (the "star" symbolized annexation). The *Star-Bulletin's* foremost publisher was a journalist from Maine who had arrived in Hawai'i in 1894 to be managing editor of the *Hawaiian Gazette*, then became editor of the *PCA*. Wallace Rider Farrington's comments on the events of the Revolution and Counter-revolution, though milder in tone, illustrate the general view of the *haole* elite: "The Anglo Saxons have now . . . ended the 'Empire of the Calabash'."<sup>22</sup> Farrington was to parlay newspaper leadership into the governorship of Hawaii.

Minor newspapers proved to be successful establishment ventures, too. The talented Thomas Thrum, with his vitality, enthusiasm, and sometimes misguided sentiments, illustrates this. Thrum was addicted to printer's ink when at the age of 12 he visited the printshop of Abraham Fornander.<sup>23</sup> Although he tried such jobs as whaling, then clerking on a plantation, his permanent career was in printing. A youthful newspaper effort was the *Islander*, backed by Sanford B. Dole who was to become President of the Republic and first Territorial Governor of Hawaii. Thrum later was manager of the *Friend* and the *Saturday Press*. He offered bonuses of magazines, books, and silver-plated ware for new subscribers. The *Saturday Press*, from 1880 to 1885, strongly opposed the Kalākaua regime. Thrum claimed his editorial policy was to save Hawai'i from "ignominy and disgrace."<sup>24</sup>

Establishment papers and editors, including Thrum, found themselves defendants against libel charges. A quick look at libel here is informative. Libel is defined as defamation with intent to injure, and thus the truth of a statement should be one's absolute defense. Libel suits were part of the struggle between the Monarchy, increasingly beleaguered up to 1893, and the *haole* leadership. After 1893, libel was part of the struggle between royalist sympathizers and the establishment. The establishment won both rounds.

Thomas Thrum observed:

In 1883, in the outspoken attitude of the press . . . the plainest of speech brought for the first time in the annals of our courts no less than three libel suits at one time.<sup>25</sup>

These actions were initiated by members of Kalākaua's government. The first suit was by Maui Deputy Sheriff John Richardson against

the editors of *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (The Hawaii Archipelago), another Whitney-Kawainui paper which had harshly criticized Richardson for his lifestyle. The suit was dismissed, and Richardson withdrew the second suit against the establishment *Hawaiian Gazette*. The third suit was against Thrum for printing insulting remarks in the *Saturday Press* about Dr. George Fitch, head of the Board of Health and a friend to the King.<sup>27</sup> Attorney Sanford Dole defended Thrum: "The very liberty of the press is at stake," Dole thundered.<sup>28</sup> The suit was dismissed.

Two more events during these years at first seemed to illustrate press freedom but had different results. The first was the right of workers to organize. Hawai'i's first labor union in 1884, Local 37 of the International Typographical Union, enabled its 20 *haole* members to gain a nine hour working day.<sup>29</sup> Wages were about \$25 weekly—considered good pay. Native Hawaiian printers who had been trained at Lahainaluna (and after 1887 at the Kamehameha School for Boys) were not admitted. Hawaiian newspapers noted bitterly that the typographers' union and the Mechanics and Workingmen's Political Protective Union, a local group made up of craft trades, did not speak for all the "working men" of Hawai'i.<sup>30</sup>

The second event, reflecting the freedom for business to organize, had a similarly doubtful result. The *PCA* and the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1888 agreed to share the same printing plant while maintaining separate editorial offices (fig. 4). Opposition papers noted this with dissatisfaction, but no law suits were filed as they were to be after 1969 when the *Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin* agreed to share a single printing plant, for very likely the same reasons—to reduce publishing costs. The 1888 arrangement enabled the *PCA* and the *Gazette* to install Mergenthaler linotypes in 1894 which could automatically set and redistribute hot lead type and thereby greatly reduce printing time and increase circulation to a figure of probably 4000 for the *PCA* and somewhat less for the *Gazette*. The *Gazette* boasted about its "modern" electrified two-story editorial building that had an elevator and typewriters for reporters and separate day and night shifts.<sup>31</sup> The *PCA* soon expanded from single-page sections for sports, women, society, church, home, and "waterfront," to multiple-page sections for each department. Photographs appeared after 1900, and

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FIG. 4. The editorial and business staffs and the pressmen of the *Hawaiian Gazette* and the *Daily Advertiser*. The two papers shared the same printing plant. (Hawaii State Archives Photo, 1890).



HAWAIIAN GAZETTE.

DAILY ADVERTISER.





ads disappeared from the first page. The question remains as to how such a business arrangement affected competition by less affluent newspapers.

An improved newspaper technology did, however, benefit the outer islands. Of these, establishment English secular dailies were generally boosters of their respective islands. The *Hilo Tribune* began with a small Hawaiian section in 1895, but by 1900 was entirely in English. The second Hilo daily, the *Hawaii Herald*, commenced in 1896. These Hilo papers later combined into the daily which still serves the island of Hawai'i. Kaua'i gained the tri-weekly *Garden Island* in 1902.

## II. AN OFFICIAL PRESS RISES AND FALLS

An official press, not unknown in the annals of newspaper history, is that which has the patronage of a government. Andrew Jackson during his presidency, for example, reportedly had 57 full time journalists on the payroll.<sup>32</sup> An official newspaper may or may not represent dominant and prevailing commercial and political interests. An overlap with categories may even occur if government patronage is removed and the paper continues under private management.

In Hawai'i, two major organs, the *Polynesian* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, filled the role at times of official newspapers, as did various minor ones such as legislative bulletins. The role of official papers contained an inherent contradiction symbolic of Hawai'i's larger history. Printed in English, they represented a Hawaiian Monarchy dwindling in power. While they contained columns in Hawaiian, the native population these were meant for was tragically dwindling in numbers. The papers' decline was inevitable.

An official press emerged during the reign of King Kamehameha III. An important leader over the century's central years (1825-1854), this King attempted to preserve his country's independence and dignity while forging an American-style government. The government adopted the *Polynesian* in 1846 so the King could explain his positions to the public. The *Polynesian* first saw the light of publication in 1840 as the creation of the 22-year-old James Jackson Jarves, a Bostonian nephew of *Ke Kumu* editor Rev. Tinker. Jarves was a restless and resourceful wanderer who became a merchant, novelist, scholar, art collector, and foreign envoy. He conceived the *Polynesian* to provide a living for himself and his young family.<sup>33</sup> Its first six years were irregular. Jarves spoke for "freedom of conscience," speech,

and religion.<sup>34</sup> When it became the government's voice in 1846, Jarves championed official positions. But regardless of his editorial stances, Jarves maintained a certain objectivity, rare in those days, and had an eye for news. He ran features such as sentimental poetry and reprints of scholars' work from Lahainaluna. He toured the Big Island, climbed Mauna Kea, and reported throwing snowballs on its summit.<sup>35</sup> He identified the difficult if not impossible task of having polite interchanges through newspapers in Hawai'i. By Jarves's day, abusive rhetoric was a journalistic habit, regardless of affiliation, because of

. . . conflicting opinions and interests, resulting from difference of nation, religious belief, language and education, and from the accumulated prejudices of mutual estrangement.<sup>36</sup>

Jarves himself was physically attacked by the British Consul Richard Charlton when the *Polynesian* aired a quarrel between Charlton and the government. Charlton struck Jarves with a whip, and Jarves returned blow for blow with a cane.<sup>37</sup>

The *Polynesian* was affected by the California gold rush. Mrs. Jarves ran the paper in her husband's absence and thus functioned as the first woman editor in Hawai'i.<sup>38</sup> The *Polynesian* attracted capable editors, although Henry Whitney of the *PCA* after 1856 did not think so. Charles Gordon Hopkins, an urbane Englishman with a social conscience, articulated the concern of Kamehameha IV's government for the health and well being of the people. Prostitution and venereal disease were terrible problems which the government hoped to control by licensing and medical inspection. Whitney and the *PCA*, strongly objecting, attacked the *Polynesian* as the "Government Prostitution Organ."<sup>39</sup> Hopkins also advocated the creation of a public-supported hospital for Hawaiians, which indeed came into being in 1859 as the Queen's Hospital.

The other major official paper also had a complicated history. The *Polynesian* was disbanded in 1864, and the *Hawaiian Gazette* became the government paper in 1865 under King Kamehameha V. It continued through the reign of Lunalilo and into the Kalākaua era. This last King dropped it in favor of supporting Walter Murray Gibson's papers after 1881 (see "Opposition" below). The *Gazette* then became an establishment paper, as we have seen, to 1918.

Thomas Thrum's opinion was that the *Gazette* had a mediocre existence. But even its mediocrity provides insights into the period. On behalf of Kamehameha IV, publisher T. H. Black declared in the paper's debut that "a new era of sugar" was at hand and set up the

practice of giving agricultural import and export figures and statistics on sugar consumption worldwide. The *Gazette* editorially welcomed Asian contract laborers. Upon the arrival of the Chinese in 1865, the *Gazette* printed a vocabulary of the Canton dialect. Besides translations for the week days and for time, the paper provided local residents with correct phrases for: *be still, stand up, he struck me, don't be lazy, this is hard work, I am sick, he's an impudent fellow, the rice is all gone, these two look alike, wash your hands, and you can't catch me.*<sup>40</sup>

When Kalākaua dropped the *Gazette*, members of the *haole* elite picked it up. Editors included Dole and Alfred S. Hartwell, a Supreme Court Justice. The establishment *Gazette* called itself "independent" but mercilessly sneered at and maligned Kalākaua's policies and his personal character. It accused the Kalākaua regime, for example, of "Asiaticizing" the populace by importing Chinese and Japanese labor, overlooking the missionary-planter group's actions in this.<sup>41</sup> The *Gazette* also attacked Queen Lili'uokalani when she ascended the throne. She resorted to an official publication, the newspaper-like brochure *The Golden Era*, in an attempt to explain her proposal for a national lottery, without success.

### III. THE OPPOSITION FIGHTS BACK

Returning now to the beginning years of Hawai'i's newspapers, a combative opposition press appeared in 1836, only two years after the first establishment papers. By contrast to those of the dominant power structure which actually spoke for a tiny minority of Hawai'i's people, opposition papers across the decades came to represent a substantial majority and a broad spectrum of the population. Oddly enough, the minority instigated legal and punitive actions against the majority.

There were four main opposition groups. One, in English, spoke for the interests of non-missionary allied American businessmen and their European allies. Two, dissenting religious organizations, Roman Catholics and Mormons, printed their papers in Hawaiian. A third cluster was produced by native Hawaiians in Hawaiian and represented a majority of that population. A fourth group consisted of those in Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese, and represented an immigrant population. Such a diverse aggregate made the opposition press in Hawai'i an unusual phenomenon which has contributed handsomely to Hawai'i's rich newspaper life.

## THE OPPOSITION IN ENGLISH

One hallmark of opposition papers in English through the century was a relatively short life span when compared to establishment papers. Another hallmark was an anti-missionary rhetoric. Opposition printers and editors uniformly believed that the Protestant missionaries and their descendants and allies, in an inner circle of power, advanced their own interests over Caucasians outside the circle. They also believed the mission colony's policies were detrimental to the native Hawaiians. Causes and crusades across the century included one on behalf of persecuted Roman Catholics in the early years, another on behalf of native survival in mid century, and opposition to the stealing of a country at the century's close.

The first, the *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce*, in 1836, instituted weekly publication to meet growing needs of commerce and trade. American businessmen Henry A. Peirce and Stephen Reynolds, both antagonistic to the missionaries, backed two young New Englanders, Stephen MacIntosh and Nelson Hall, who arrived in frontier Hawai'i as "tramp" or itinerant printers.

Even before the first issue, editor MacIntosh was embroiled in the controversy as to whether Roman Catholic priests should be allowed in Hawai'i and in allied issues of free speech. MacIntosh and Hall set up an old press in a house where Hall lived on Roman Catholic Mission premises. Rumors flew through the foreign settlement that Mr. and Mrs. MacIntosh were Papists (they were Unitarians). The missionary colony and Kamehameha III did not want a newspaper they could not control, but the King finally assented to the paper's publication.<sup>42</sup>

The *Sandwich Island Gazette* appeared on Saturdays, the major trading day. MacIntosh stated priorities of equal importance. The paper was a business enterprise for publicizing "commerce, navigation, and agriculture." Unlike rival mission papers at this time, it solicited advertising. MacIntosh promised to print "items of news, amusement, and utility." He would print all opinions. "We expect to obtain liberty of the press," the editor said. Dissent was his "solemn responsibility."<sup>43</sup>

Content over three years included shipping news, vital to Hawai'i, and miscellaneous information from abroad aged six months while *en route*. At this time, Hawai'i still had a barter economy, so one could trade a bullock, hides, or other goods for a subscription worth \$6 yearly. Advertising dominated the first page, with the typography

like that of contemporary classifieds enhanced by a few woodcut illustrations. Laboriously handset, they ran for months and filled one-fourth of the paper. They reflected Honolulu's needs, like merchants' wares, auctioneer's services, ship carpenters, opium, pearls, and remedies against rats and cockroaches. MacIntosh supplemented a meager living by selling merchandise himself and by job printing. The civic-minded editor advocated sidewalks and roads. He complained of late incoming mail and shipping irregularities which delayed his newspaper reaching subscribers on Maui and Hawai'i.

The *Sandwich Island Gazette's* readership was greater than its 100 listed subscribers, with issues reaching America and England. MacIntosh's crusades were widely disseminated. One is reminded of Napoleon Bonaparte's observation:

A Journalist is a grumbler, a censurer, a giver of advice, a regent of sovereigns, a tutor of nations. Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets.

Kamehameha III himself engaged in a debate with the editor, at one point taking two full pages to defend the King's right to control religion. MacIntosh in the next issue happily reported an overflow of letters on the topic.<sup>44</sup> MacIntosh warmed to another cause, better treatment of the native people. He attacked the missionaries for using natives as beasts of burden to carry huge rocks through the streets for the purpose of building a church when horses or oxen could be used.<sup>45</sup>

This type of crusading journalism met somewhat less violent response in Hawai'i than it did in the U. S. during the same period. In Alton, Illinois, for example, in 1837, mobs destroyed the presses of the abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy and murdered him. But it did not pay. By comparison, Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* espoused unpopular causes of abolition, women's rights, and trade unions. Greeley and his "penny press" reached a huge market, however. With only a tiny "foreign" market, debt-ridden MacIntosh left Hawai'i with wife and children and without his press. He continued his editorial career in St. Louis and New Orleans until his death at 27.

Two more papers in these early years took up anti-missionary causes. The *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette*, backed by some of the same businessmen who supported the previous paper, lasted a year. Anonymously written copy was probably penned by

the U. S. Consul, John G. Jones, who defended "truth's bold cause," the crusade on behalf of persecuted Roman Catholics.<sup>46</sup>

The *Sandwich Island News* presented Honolulu with a press scandal. This paper in the 1840s was ostensibly backed by "A Committee of Foreign Residents," but Peter A. Brinsmade was in charge. In short, Brinsmade, a commercial agent for Ladd and Company, actively sought capital abroad for the company's sugar and trade ventures. Brinsmade's capitalist dreams failed, and he blamed the missionaries. Anonymous essays in the *Sandwich Island News* held up to scorn Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, the influential missionary in several key government roles. The paper's printer, James Peacock, was bribed for \$300, very likely by Dr. Judd and others, to provide the government with manuscripts in the newspaper's possession so that the essays' authorship could be ascertained. Editor E. A. Rockwell, another feisty printer who had come to Hawai'i on a whaler, then sued Judd through Police Court for receiving stolen property. As a government minister, however, Judd could not be arrested. Rockwell caught gold fever, left Hawai'i, and the paper stopped.<sup>47</sup> Peacock worked as a printer on other papers.

English language periodicals at mid century, like earlier ones, had short, zesty lives and exerted considerable influence. The *Honolulu Times* in 1850 first printed Abraham Fornander's "Alpha" letters which critically analyzed events of the Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> Its main editor, Henry Sheldon, was later to write the first history of Hawai'i's newspapers. He also contributed two sons to journalism who were to become printers on native Hawaiian opposition newspapers (Sheldon's wife was Hawaiian). The "bohemian" Sheldon, as Thomas Thrum called him, arrived in Hawai'i from Rhode Island, via the gold fields, and initiated the weekly *Honolulu Times*. He advocated free trade and speech. He opposed the "detestable machinations of the missionary clique," especially those of Dr. Judd.<sup>49</sup> Sheldon insisted he was not against Kamehameha III and certain good religious people—he wryly lumped together the Roman Catholic priest Father Louis Maigret and Protestant ministers Asa Thurston and Samuel Damon. He proposed, however, that sanitation and medical care for Hawaiians take precedence over attempts to Christianize them. Lacking financial support, Sheldon left town but re-emerged in the employ of King Kamehameha V and Honolulu opposition papers in the 1870s.

The outstanding opposition newspaper at mid century because of its editor, Abraham Fornander, was the weekly *Argus*. Stephen Reynolds, after giving up the *Sandwich Island Gazette*, initially backed



it. Liberal from its inception on Printers Row in 1851, it was a one-man operation and the foremost opposition voice to the government-backed *Polynesian*. Fornander was from Sweden, a university graduate, and a harpooner on a whaling ship. He drifted into Hawai'i, was naturalized, visited the gold fields, then returned.<sup>50</sup>

Fornander's crusades were against the clergy participating in government, against selling public lands, and against annexation. He supported civic improvements and public education run by Hawaiians and was for the preservation of the Hawaiian race and culture. His avowed primary aim was to oust Dr. Judd from the government. He accused Judd and Armstrong of irresponsibility in the terrible small pox epidemic of 1853. As Kuykendall has said, Fornander attempted to introduce into Hawaiian governmental practice the principle of a ministry responsible to the legislature and people rather than to the King.<sup>51</sup> When Judd resigned in 1853, Fornander celebrated by renaming his paper the *New Era and Argus*.

Newspaper history in Hawai'i exhibits odd twists of fortune. The official *Polynesian* called the *Argus* a sewer for discharging filth. When newsprint was in short supply, the *Polynesian* loaned it to other papers but not to the *Argus*.<sup>52</sup> Nor was Fornander a good businessman. Ads filled his newspapers, but he had trouble collecting. Losing money and momentum after its major battles were won, the *Argus* died. Fornander then edited the *Polynesian* for the government. He next assumed private control of it and printed it from his own printshop until the paper could no longer profitably be kept alive.

Moving ahead now to the 1890s, continuity in this opposition press is noticeable. Another firebrand Scandinavian, Edmund Norrie of Denmark, edited several papers in the 1890s. Like Fornander, he possessed a sharp intellect and a stinging writing style. Norrie was one of two editors to run a newspaper from jail in 19th Century Hawai'i—the other was the Hawaiian John Bush. Again like Fornander, Norrie was married to a Hawaiian woman. When the oligarchy prosecuted Norrie, he accused them of being against his wife's family, the Richardsons of Maui. Norrie mingled with a European colony, like Greek hotel proprietors, Jewish auctioneers and attorneys, and Irish blacksmiths, whose members were ardent royalists and therefore implacably against the oligarchy.<sup>53</sup>

Norrie edited at different times the English sections of Hawaiian language papers, *Holomua* and *Ka Makaainana*, as well as the English *Independent*. Because of his outspoken views, Norrie was engaged over a five-years period in at least eight legal cases on a variety of charges.

On the lighter side, Norrie himself sued the *Hawaiian Star* when that paper alleged that Norrie in a saloon fracas was struck on the head by a spittoon. A teetotaler who did not patronize bars, Norrie got a public apology.<sup>54</sup> More seriously, Norrie was arrested three times for "seditious libel." Attorney Paul Neumann, who defended the Queen and other royalists and Norrie, lost all three cases, and Norrie drew \$100 fines.<sup>55</sup> After the overthrow, Norrie insisted on calling the deposed Lili'uokalani "the Queen," while the *PCA* and *Gazette* called her "Mrs. Dominis." He delighted in exposing Provisional Government agents as "idiots" and "spies." He branded Dole, Thurston, Armstrong, Wilder, and cohorts as "an American Mafia." After the failed Counterrevolution, Norrie was imprisoned. But when he was released, the unrepentant newsman accused Dole of becoming president of the "bogus Republic of Hawaii" through "treason, fraud, and might."<sup>56</sup> Norrie then sued the Republic for indemnities but lost his case. He continued to work in print shops but no longer as an editor.

#### OPPOSITION IN HAWAIIAN BY ROMAN CATHOLICS AND MORMONS

Like that in English, an opposition press in Hawaiian was directly connected to laws guaranteeing free expression. Roman Catholic missionaries in the 1840s bought the old press which had printed the *Sandwich Island Gazette*. Editor Father Maigret, Rev. Lorrin Andrews' counterpart, complained by letter to his superiors in France:

They (the Protestants) have excellent presses of the new kind, whilst we have only a bad one, the characters of which do not mark.<sup>57</sup>

A new press from France was used for the first newspaper *He Mau Hana I Hanaia* (Work Done) in 1852. This press was short of k's and w's, and ingenuous Catholic printers substituted the more numerous t's and v's in the type font. Thus their publications had an eccentric orthography, as in *No Ta Hoku Koa Kalavina!!!* (The Great Protestant Star). Their newspapers like *Ka Hae Katolika* (The Catholic Standard) were especially honed to answer attacks by Protestant mission papers, but also contained local news notes, items on foreign religious views, and letters to the editor columns.

Several decades later, *Ka Elele Evanelio* (The Evangelical Messenger), provided a voice for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints. Its distinguishing quality was that unlike the Roman Catholic and Protestant papers which were produced by Caucasians, *Ka Elele Evanelio*, a Honolulu monthly, was edited by a

Native Hawaiian. Attorney and editor J. M. Poepoe was a royalist and thus doubly in the opposition camp in the 1890s.

#### OPPOSITION IN HAWAIIAN BY A SECULAR PRESS

Without a doubt, the Hawaiian language newspapers had the largest readership of any papers in the Islands. Among these, by far the largest number were opposition papers. A highly literate Hawaiian population read the output of Native Hawaiians and their Caucasian allies who from the 1860s to 1900 produced almost 70 newspapers (see Appendix). These were dailies, weeklies, bi-weeklies, and monthlies, of 4, 8, 12, and even 24 pages. Name changes, mergers, and abrupt stops were common, testifying to the difficulty of making an opposition newspaper a commercial success but also to uncertain times. Printers and editors of these newspapers often moved from one periodical to another.

The unifying thread through 40 years, although the papers held diverse opinions, was a growing sense of nationalism: that is, a devotion to the interests of Hawai'i as an independent nation. This expressed itself in an increasingly desperate tone as the threat to Hawaiian independence mounted. Mostly royalist in sympathy and opposed to American annexation, a few, however, when the Monarchy's survival seemed doomed, adopted alternative positions. The nation's precarious position contributed, too, to political and racial tensions intensified by the establishment's persecution of the opposition. Fully a dozen newsmen were arrested during the 1880s and 1890s, and several were jailed.

The opposition Hawaiian newspapers were more than just crusading organs, for they incorporated the miscellany endemic to newspapers: local and foreign news, features, stories in serial form, moral lessons, advertising, illustrations. Unique to Hawaii, they also contained legends, *meles*, and genealogies. Many had English sections, reaching a younger readership no longer fluent in Hawaiian.

The first Hawaiian language paper to be edited solely by native Hawaiians appeared in 1861, only 25 years after a newspaper technology was introduced into Hawai'i, and quickly took hold. *Ka Hoku A Ka Pakipaki* (Star of the Pacific) was notable because of its originator, David Kalākaua. To be affectionately called "Editor King" by his subjects, he was associated with many publications through his lifetime.<sup>58</sup> He first collaborated with G. W. Mila and J. K. Kaunamano on *Ka Hoku A Ka Pakipaki* which took up a major, continuing concern of these papers, loss of population and the survival

of the Hawaiian race. The paper considered itself a voice for the "common people" and encouraged the expression of Hawaiian culture and the use of the Hawaiian language. *Ka Hoku A Pakipaki* articulated another dimension of opposition. S. D. Keolanui, a later editor, accused Henry Whitney of being "rich and well-situated" and his *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* of being the voice of *haole* business men.<sup>59</sup> Other Kalākaua affiliations illustrate the difficulties encountered by Hawaiian nationalist newspapers. *Ke Au Okoa* (The New Era) in 1865 began a tenure of eight years. It was edited by John Makini Kapena who was related to and later adopted by King Kalākaua. Kapena feared increasing American domination. When Kalākaua as King became committed to closer ties with the U. S. through Reciprocity, *Ke Au Okoa's* reason for existence disappeared, and it was absorbed by its rival, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The first daily in Hawaiian appeared in 1870. *Ka Manawa* (Time) also promoted by David Kalākaua, presented a blend of international news, local features, and genealogies, but only lasted two months.

Into the Kalākaua era stepped a man who in his person and newspapers became a symbol for the opposition and the wrath it aroused in the establishment. Walter Murray Gibson's rise to brief power and control of six newspapers and his subsequent fall are part of Hawai'i newspaper history. Gibson's enterprises might appear to have been official because several received government patronage, but they behaved as besieged opposition papers.

The world adventurer and charismatic Gibson arrived in Hawai'i in 1861 ready to shape its future. With a flair for languages, he was soon fluent in Hawaiian and the friend of David Kalākaua. Gibson's first newspaper was the weekly *Ka Nuhou* (The News) in 1873. Its slogan expressed his conviction, "A Friend and Champion of the Hawaiian People." Gibson's newspaper acquisitions and political ambitions expanded together. In 1879 he was elected to the Hawaiian legislature. In 1880 he bought the *PCA*, probably with money advanced by the government but supplied by Claus Spreckels, banker and friend to the King. Gibson was to repay the \$15,000 loan by doing government printing. The *Hawaiian Gazette*, now belonging to the establishment, and Thrum's *Saturday Press* furiously attacked Gibson's purchase of the *PCA* which Gibson, in turn, defended as a legitimate business deal.<sup>60</sup> Gibson also created *Ka Elele Poakolu* (The Wednesday Express) in 1880, which ran for five years and was addressed to his Hawaiian constituency.

By 1882, Gibson was Premier of the Kingdom. His *PCA* advanced

the King's platform for a Hawaiian-led Pacific federation, independence, and labor importation for the sugar industry (the Hawaiian federation scheme was actually the dream of another journalist, the Australian Charles St. Julian). In his attempt to control an even larger segment of the press, Gibson acquired two more papers, including *Ka Nupepa Elele* (The Messenger). Gibson withdrew from the *PCA* when he became Premier, but the *PCA* continued as the unofficial government organ, and his son-in-law Fred Hayselden was its business manager. It carried heavy advertising from non-*haoles*.

The *haole* elite and its newspapers raged against King Kalākaua and his maverick *haole* ally. An anonymous pamphlet, in the tradition of political satire, attempted to discredit "The Shepherd Saint of Lanai," as Gibson was called because he had once led a Mormon community on that island. It was cleverly written by Thomas Thrum but failed. Printed only in English, it did not reach its intended Hawaiian audience with whom Gibson was enormously popular. Advertising was removed from the *PCA* by *haole* businessmen and given to the Thrum papers in the hope of starving out Gibson.<sup>61</sup>

Real economic troubles and scandals in the Kalākaua government galvanized the *haole* elite into action, and a "Committee of 13" forced the "Bayonet Constitution" on the King on July 6, 1887. Gibson, almost lynched at the pier, managed to sail for California where, a sick and broken man, he died a few months later. Several Gibson papers simply died, too. The *PCA*, however, reverted into the hands of the establishment. *Ka Nupepa Elele* was continued by a Gibson protégé, Daniel Lyons. It defended the King and then the Queen, and identified the Monarchy's "enemies" as those who were conspiring to topple the throne. Henry Whitney, again editing the *PCA*, translated *Ka Elele Nupepa* pieces and accused it of inciting race prejudice. Whitney warned that any attempt to "instigate popular insurrection will be stopped—if necessary, by force."—not an idle threat.<sup>62</sup> Undaunted, *Ka Nupepa Elele* reorganized into *Ka Ahailono A Ka Lahui* (The National Herald) and endorsed John E. Bush and Robert W. Wilcox who were then elected as representatives to the legislature. This was almost on the eve of the overthrow.

The connection of journalists to the public right to know and to the newspaper medium as a vehicle of opposition is nowhere more evident than in Hawaiian opposition papers in the waning years of an independent Hawai'i. Newspaper titles are themselves informative like Bush's *Ka Oiaio* (The Truth) and F. J. Testa's *Ka Makaainana* (The Citizen, or Commoner). As Rubelite Johnson has said, Hawaiian

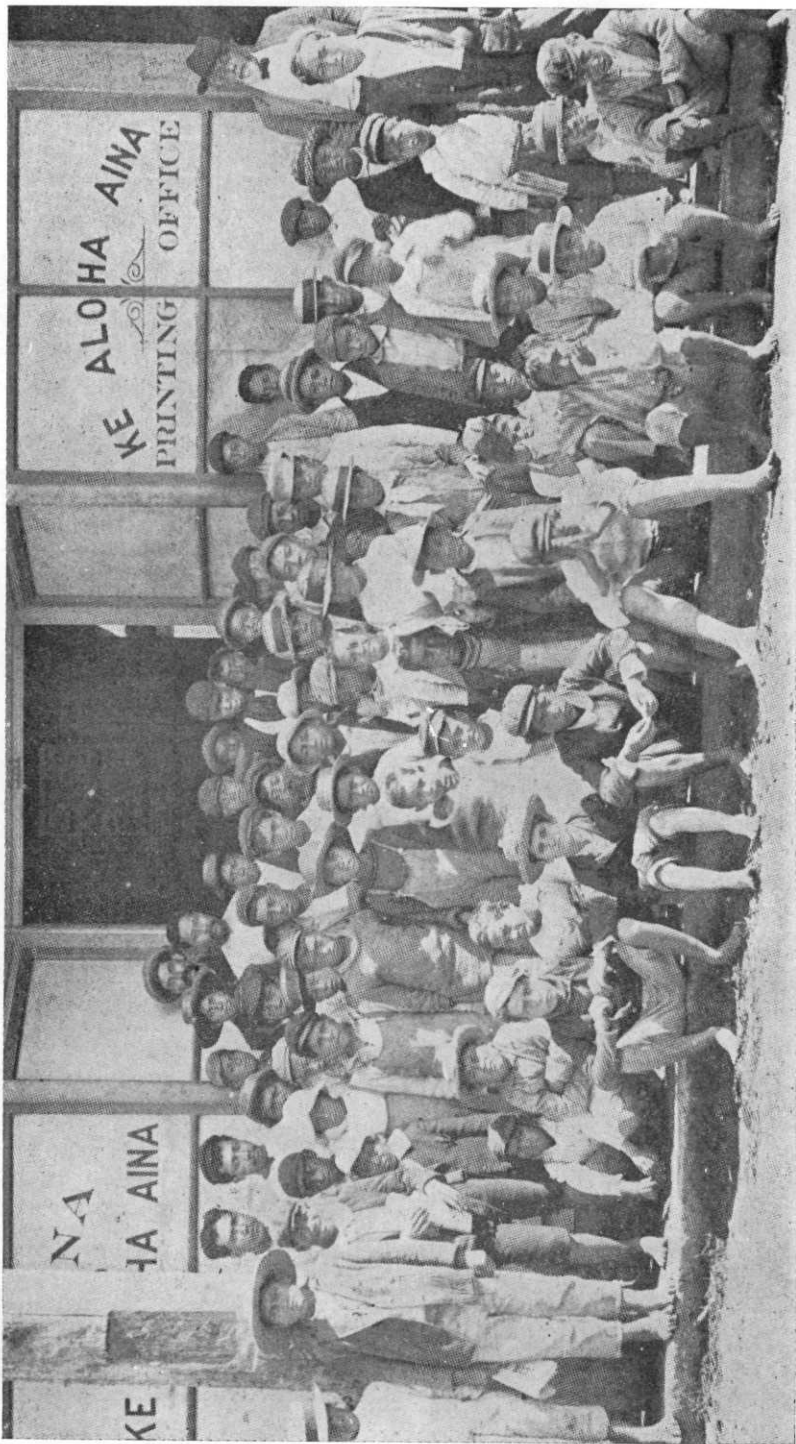
journalists thoroughly accepted the premise of a liberated press. In Bush's words, "A sound and just opposition to a government is a help to it and should be counted without fear."<sup>63</sup> Several principal participants in the events of this era, like Robert Wilcox, were newsmen and insurrectionists. Wilcox led the armed revolt in 1889 which attempted to restore an older Constitution that had been more favorable to native Hawaiians. Unlike earlier counterparts during the American Revolution who were part of a victorious cause, Hawaiian newsmen were on the losing side.

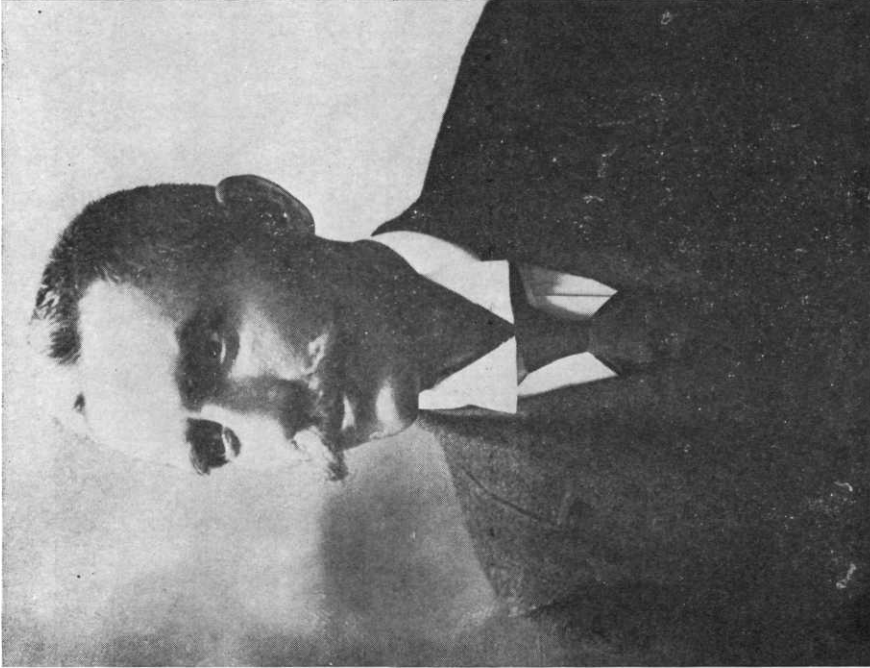
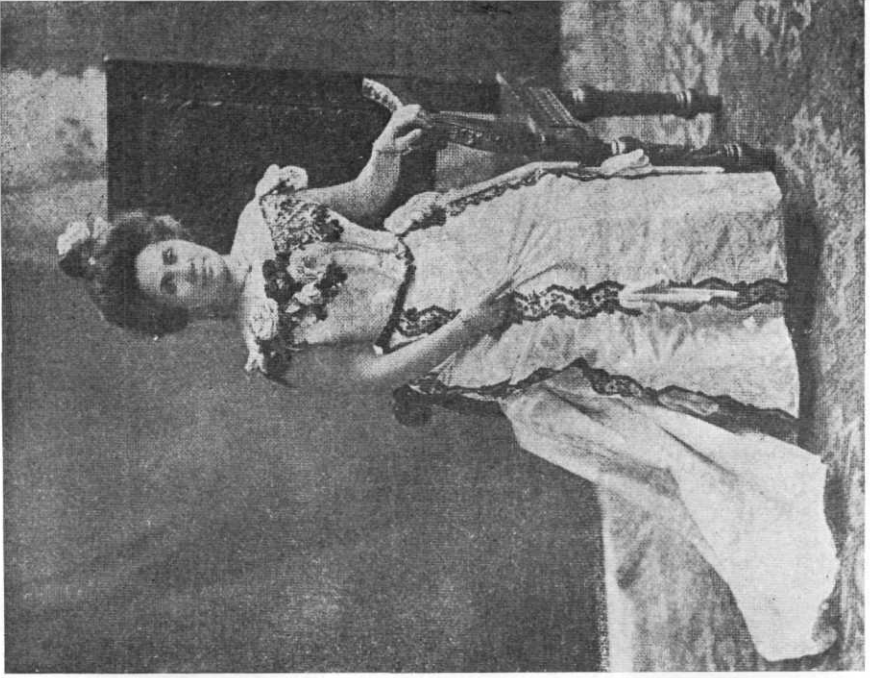
The oligarchy's overriding fear was that the opposition would coalesce to restore the Queen to her throne. The oligarchy brought libel laws to bear against the royalists. A score of suits were filed against a dozen newspapers and their Hawaiian and *haole* editors and printers. Several went to jail. After the failed Counterrevolution, the oligarchy imprisoned more for "seditious" libel, conspiracy, and other "crimes." Among those prosecuted were: John E. Bush, E. C. Crick, G. Carson Kenyon, W. J. Kapi, Joseph Nawahī, J. K. Kaunamano, Daniel Logan, Edmund Norrie, Thomas (Tamaki) Spencer, and F. J. Testa. Robert Wilcox was imprisoned for "treason." A short review of a few cases reveals how an establishment acts against an opposition press.

While the Queen was still in power in 1891, Lorrin Thurston brought a libel suit against John Bush of *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* (The Voice of the Nation). With a daily circulation of 5000, *Ka Leo* was the leading Hawaiian paper for seven years. Bush had accused Thurston and others of a "conspiracy" against the Queen and of holding secret meetings. This was true. *Ka Leo* further accused Thurston of lying because he said that if a native regime were reinstated, whites would have to leave Hawai'i. A mixed jury of Hawaiians and Caucasians acquitted Bush.<sup>64</sup> Thurston also brought suit against *Ka Leo* employees. Printer John Sheldon, a son of Henry Sheldon, was charged with having typeset the offending articles. Sheldon was accused of "disrespectful, contemptuous, insulting comments." He was found guilty. An appeal to the Supreme Court failed, and he was fined \$100.<sup>65</sup> Harrassment of Hawaiian newsmen accelerated. Bush, assisted by Joseph Nawahī and E. C. Crick, at different times through *Ka Leo* and *Ke Oiaio* called the PCA and

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FIG. 5. Newsboys, a Hawaiian and American institution, in front of *Ke Aloha Aina*, a highly popular Hawaiian language newspaper. (Hawaii State Archives Photo 1900).







*Gazette* “a hiring press,” their editors “knaves,” and worse. The three were picked up at Bush’s plant and charged with “conspiracy.” Bail was refused them, and they were jailed.<sup>66</sup> Fined and released, they returned to their work. Bush was outraged, for as he said, his criticisms were entirely public and could not therefore be conspiratorial.

The overthrow of the Queen on January 17, 1893, was greeted by the *PCA* as “The Will of the People.” The oligarchy’s newly formed “Provisional Government” suspended *Ka Holomua* (The Progressive). Published in Hawaiian and English under several titles, it reached a wide audience. The public was aroused, accurately perceiving a threat to civil liberties. Attorney C. W. Ashford, a Canadian who had joined the establishment but changed sides and wrote for *Holomua*, helped to organize a Civil Rights League. A mass rally drew 5000 people.<sup>67</sup> The laws were not changed. *Holomua* resumed publication, however, and while there was still hope she might regain her throne, the deposed Queen probably put money into the paper. The “Provisional Government” in 1894 sponsored a Constitution that in effect cancelled freedom of speech:

All men may freely speak, write and publish their sentiments . . . but all persons shall be responsible for the abuse of such right . . . [and] the Legislature may enact such laws as may be necessary to restrain and prevent the publication or public utterance of indecent or seditious language.<sup>68</sup>

In spite of harrassment and persecution, individuals working for Hawaiian opposition newspapers largely remained unintimidated. *Ka Makaainana* leaders, for example, continued their support for Lili‘uokalani, and the paper was “a thorn in the flesh of annexationists until May 1898,” as Mookini has said.<sup>69</sup> Some Hawaiian newsmen, however, adopted survival strategies. Among others, John Bush, Joseph Nawahī, and Robert Wilcox adapted to change. Bush was the chief political theorist during this era. A practical newsman and not above reproach, Bush struggled to make his papers pay. These had lots of ads from among the Chinese, Hawaiian, and European business and professional communities. After telephones were installed, readers and reporters could call in “Telephonic News.” Bush consistently backed constitutional government and the working

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Figs. 6 and 7. Theresa Cartwright Wilcox and Robert W. Wilcox, husband and wife publishing team of several Hawaiian and English language newspapers of the 1890s and early 1900s. (Hawaii State Archives Photos).

man. An independent thinker with a knowledge of history, he shifted positions as he saw that Hawai'i would have to adjust to new times. His series on "The Transient Nature of the Hawaiian Monarchy" suggested that a new form of government might evolve out of the present system, such as a limited monarchy, or even annexation if Hawai'i could enter the U.S. with equal status to other states.<sup>70</sup> Bush distressed the former Queen, whom he slightly referred to as only a woman, her supporters, and the oligarchy, as well.

Joseph Nawahī, another *Ka Leo* editor, formed a husband-wife team with Emma Metcalf Nawahi. Mrs. Nawahī, of Hilo, was descended from a Hawaiian chiefess and a pioneer Chinese sugar miller. Nawahī was educated at Hilo Boarding School and Lahainaluna. His opposition to alcohol, gambling, and opium licensing led him to criticize King Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uokalani. But he remained committed to Hawaiian independence. Mrs. Nawahī worked beside her husband on *Ke Aloha Aina* (The Patriot), and after his death in 1896 she continued as publisher into the 20th Century (fig. 5).

The career of the flamboyant, complicated Robert W. Wilcox deserves extensive study. Briefly, Wilcox and his second wife, Theresa Laahui Cartwright, formed a husband-wife team that was highly successful politically and journalistically (figs. 6 and 7). They sponsored several papers. Mrs. Wilcox raised the hackles of male chauvenism when she picked up the reigns of the *Liberal*. Editor D. K. Huntsman then quit because, he said, Mrs. Cartwright "took over."<sup>71</sup> The Wilcoxes also ran *Home Rule Republika* after annexation, successfully promoting the election of Wilcox as the Territory's first Delegate to Congress. After his death in 1903, Mrs. Wilcox continued to manage this paper. "Home Rule" became the issue around which former Hawaiian royalist newspapers coalesced. These papers also printed genealogies and reports of the former Queen's activities. But the great days of the Hawaiian language opposition press passed into history after 1900.

#### AN ETHNIC PRESS

The last group of opposition newspapers, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese, emerged late in the 19th Century as a direct outgrowth of the sugar industry's insatiable need for labor and active recruitment of it worldwide. The focus of opposition was in its ethnic nature, its members outsiders in Hawai'i by virtue of race and language. As to ethnic newspapers, one might speculate as to why the family of print,

like the family of man, has attached racial or ethnic names to print: Latin, Arabic, Italic (Italian), and Gothic.

Foreign or ethnic presses contain certain patterns in common. An ethnic newspaper follows a group's initial migration by several decades or years, for it must have enough readers to support it. It is a form of mutual aid or a self-protection society within the larger social structure. The instigator of an ethnic newspaper already possesses knowledge of printing, carries this mobile trade to the new location, and there engages in more than one occupation. While the paper appeals to ethnic identity and solidarity, it simultaneously is a factor in a group's assimilation into a new environment. Its editor or publisher informs community members on the ways of the new land and tells them how to improve their lives. Thus, an ethnic press will eventually decrease in size and influence as its community adopts the language and customs of the dominant society.<sup>72</sup> The press seldom entirely disappears, however, for ethnic identity is a persistent human response.

By 1880, Hawai'i had the right circumstances for Chinese and Portuguese papers, and by 1890 these had matured for the Japanese. There were differences among the groups. The Chinese and Japanese were confronted by extreme prejudice, for the anti-Asiatic movement in Hawai'i was at its most virulent. Almost everyone objected to Asian importation except for the sugar interests who themselves cast around for "white" alternatives. When these proved unsatisfactory, they fastened on the Portuguese to serve as buffers between Asian labor and *haole* management. With rare exceptions, Asians could not become citizens. The Portuguese were blanketed into citizenship in 1887 so they could support the oligarchy. The Chinese and Japanese opposed political and economic events in Hawaii. The Portuguese were more accepting but objected to being badly used by the *haole* establishment. All three newspaper groups demonstrated, nevertheless, certain tenets of newspaper life: they were businesses, they required community participation, and they believed advocacy journalism could effect change.

The first Chinese editors brought political opposition with them, in fact, insurrection. *Tan Shan Hsin Pao* (The Hawaiian Chinese News) appeared in 1881. It was handwritten in brush pen and run off by duplicator. Editors Ho Fon and Li Cheung were intellectuals with political beliefs. All the early Chinese editors who were also typesetters and printers were part of a small professional cadre composed of interpreters, translators, teachers, and doctors. The

editors filled intermediary roles between the Chinese and English speaking communities. Ho Fon, whose uncle was a labor agent, emigrated to Hawai'i at 15 in 1876 and attended the Fort Street Mission School (later known as Iolani). He was a revolutionary who in 1889 turned up in the Wilcox Army and was found guilty of conspiracy and fined \$250.<sup>73</sup> The local political scene was, however, a side interest. Ho Fon, Li Cheung, and others involved themselves in the activities of Sun Yat Sen and the "Revive China Society." Sun Yat Sen had first come to Hawai'i as a student in 1879 and returned several times to escape arrest by the Imperial Government and to enlist support for his revolutionary activities. *Tan Shan Hsin Pao* was located in a two-story brick building on Hotel Street which became a meeting place and hostel for visiting revolutionaries. This was exciting journalism, and people waited in front of the newspaper office to read the latest editions which were posted in windows facing the sidewalk.<sup>74</sup>

Illustrative of the weak financial base for this ethnic press, Ho Fon made a living by working at the Bishop Bank as a teller in the "Chinese Department," taking care of financial matters that concerned Chinese. He managed, too, other Chinese papers that carried local and foreign news and advertising which indicated widening circulation: for example, Castle and Cooke and Hollister Drugs, Honolulu; Wing Wo Chang, Kohala; and Kwong Yick Lung, Kahului.

Chinese newspapers acquired hand-set type and presses, but it was difficult to increase circulation when newspaper columns had to be painstakingly set by a printer handpicking Chinese characters from many boxes of type. Dr. Sun's organization raised funds to buy two improved presses from Hong Kong in 1900.<sup>75</sup> Inevitably, in an advocacy era, anti-Sun papers also appeared.

The Portuguese migration, like the Chinese, included a number of educated people who set up Portuguese papers in Hawai'i and engaged in mediating roles and double occupations. The Portuguese press filled an anti-Asiatic social and economic role assigned to its community. Its outstanding editor, Dr. Auguste Marques, the self-appointed champion of the Portuguese community, led the anti-Asian movement of the 1880s and headed the Mechanics Union which feared Oriental economic competition. He articulated the

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FIG. 8. The long running, successful Portuguese language *O Luso Hawaiiano*, an early ethnic newspaper. (HHS Photo).





feeling among Portuguese of being unappreciated. Marques edited the first newspaper *O Luso Hawaiiiano* (The Hawaiian Light), which appeared in 1882 as a weekly with English columns (fig. 8). When it was reported in 1889 that the Chinese editor Ho Fon had been arrested for complicity in the Wilcox insurrection, Marques editorialized:

. . . our Portuguese (who constitute an enormous colony . . . and which in spite of being the most useful is the least favored . . .), so far from being suspected in the late insurrection, on the contrary defended the government, some at the risk to their own lives.<sup>76</sup>

On another occasion when Marques complained of being mistranslated by the *Gazette*, editor Whitney replied that the Portuguese should feel complimented to be translated at all.<sup>77</sup> *O Luso Hawaiiiano* and other Portuguese language papers carried feature items from Portugal and the mainland and local news. They spread to the outer islands, too. *O Luso* (not to be confused with *O Luso Hawaiiiano*) was the longest-lived, 1896 to 1924, and absorbed rivals.

The Japanese newspapers which emerged in the 1890s were, like the Portuguese, a source for many years of guidance for its community. The Japanese, too, had bilingual newspapers. An educated cadre that included a woman began this interesting and vital press that continues to the present although it was suppressed at two stages: during Hawaiian labor strikes, and during World War II. Editors championed causes. An ex-immigration inspector, Bunichiro Onome, started *Nippon Shuho* (Japan Weekly) in 1892 to expose the ineptness, highhandedness, and corruption of the Japanese section of the Immigration Bureau. Another sharp critic was Chusoburo Shuizawa, who edited *Hawaii Shimpo* (Hawaii News) after 1894 and built a circulation of 3000.<sup>78</sup>

The press's view of itself was that it contributed to the best interests of Island Japanese. It urged them to establish residence and, after 1898, advised them to raise their children as Americans. By contrast, others' view of this press was rooted in suspicion. Even before annexation, the Japanese press was thought to be "anti-American" and to have sinister plots and motives. This was abetted, as Shunzo Sakamaki has ironically commented, by all those "unintelligible ideographs."<sup>79</sup>

Among the best known of the Japanese papers was the one that became *Nippon Fiji* or *Nippu Fiji* (Japan Times) from 1896 to 1941. Its outstanding editor was Yasutaro Soga who, like Henry Sheldon, described early newspaper days. Soga first went to work as a reporter

for Mr. and Mrs. Masajiro Takahashi who started the paper as *Yamato Shimbun* (Japanese Newspaper). Masako Takahashi, known to Honolulu merchants as "the little Japanese business woman," spoke no English but collected ads and orders for printing from Japanese and other business houses. Soga became editor and rejoiced when the paper was no longer mimeographed but was printed by moveable type and a new press from Japan. A new building on Nuuanu and Beretania Streets also served as the Takahashi living quarters.

There were a dozen small Japanese language papers in these years, but among the liveliest was the *Kona Hankyo* (Kona Echo) from 1893 to 1941. The single-handed work of Dr. Saburo Hayashi, it was originally mimeographed. Then in 1915 Dr. Hayashi bought movable type and opened a printing plant across the street from his house and medical practice. He was among those editors who supported language schools and labor strikes when these were anathema to the *haole* establishment. While doing so, Dr. Hayashi provided fresh accounts of Kona Coast news in English and Japanese.

#### IV. AN INDEPENDENT PRESS

The final category of Hawaiian Island newspapers is a small cluster of independent papers allied to no particular interest save the editor-printer's requirement for a living. The papers usually attempted to steer among the conflicts of Hawaiian politics, religion, business, and ethnic interests. Few survived for long.

The first daily in Hawai'i was an independent. The *Daily Hawaiian Herald* in 1866 lasted only during the whaling season. Editor James J. Ayres had worked on the *San Francisco Morning Call* and arrived in Hawai'i with Mark Twain. If Ayres had a cause, it stemmed from his California days when an editor shot and killed a disgruntled reader and escaped punishment.<sup>80</sup> Ayres suggested legal restraints on the press.

Among the more interesting independents was *Bennet's Own*, a weekly of a year's duration in 1869. This two-man enterprise also had a "news emporium" which sold books and games. At the time when newsboys were becoming an institution on the streets of America and Hawai'i, *Bennet's Own* reprinted "The Romantic Story of a Newsboy" from the *Chicago Journal*.<sup>81</sup>

Another paper of short duration, the *Daily Hawaiian*, is of note because of its editor, Daniel Lyons. Lyons had come to Hawai'i with



his wife and three children at the behest of Walter Murray Gibson and worked on *Ka Nupepa Elele* and the *PCA*. Lyons was an able journalist who said one needed "a clear head and hard work" to make a paper a success. He had both but lacked luck. He attempted the independent *Daily Hawaiian*, but it lacked support. Lyons lost his wife and children to diphtheria and met his own tragic death in 1895 at the O'ahu Insane Asylum.<sup>82</sup>

#### POSTSCRIPT: 1900 TO 1903

After 1900 and formal annexation by the U. S., Hawai'i witnessed a tremendous increase in the numbers of newspapers. Technology substantially changed news gathering and dissemination. With the completion of the Pacific cable, Hawai'i's semi-isolation was terminated.

The cable was well anticipated and celebrated. A transatlantic cable from Great Britain to the U. S. had been completed in 1866. Discussions for a Pacific cable appeared in newspapers in Hawai'i in every decade after that. The Kalākaua government advanced plans for one, and Queen Lili'uokalani's lottery proposal in part was to finance one. Newspapers across all categories stressed its desirability. After Hawaiian sovereignty was transferred to the U. S., work on the cable quickened. The cable was declared completed on January 2, 1903, and thousands of residents thronged to Sans Souci Beach to see it officially connected at 8:15 a.m. Secretary of Hawai'i Henry E. Cooper telegraphed the first message to President Theodore Roosevelt in Washington, D. C.:

We all believe that the removal of the disadvantage of isolation will prove a strong factor in the upbuilding of a patriotic and progressive American Commonwealth in these islands.<sup>83</sup>

The *PCA* and *Evening Bulletin* produced cable extras which featured current date lines from the international wire news services from Madrid, Tangiers, Caracas, and Berlin.

The cable, an electronic technology, presaged further radical changes in information transmission in the late 20th Century. The old muckraking personal journalism of causes and crusades, reflecting opinions of the owner or editor, would be replaced by the journal of objective investigation. With the development of an advertising industry, newspapers would become suppliers of great amounts of non-political information so that the political line, while still important, would cease to be the main reason for readers to buy

them. Typesetting and presswork, at the core of a newspaper's operation, would be replaced by a "cold type" photoelectric computer system that sets thousands of lines a minute. The newsroom is the new center of operations. Today's newspapers are designed, packaged, and "zoned" to fit areas of reader interests. A central processing unit for the *Honolulu Advertiser* and *Star-Bulletin* commands all phases of production and delivery. A laser technology system of printing will soon reach Hawai'i. Hawai'i now receives and sends information through satellite communications systems which are in orbit 22,300 miles above the equator.

Hot lead mechanical typesetting and printer's ink have not entirely disappeared in Hawai'i, for older technologies survive in niches, like the handcranked press in the modern newsroom which is still used when single copies are wanted.<sup>84</sup> But the future itinerant newsperson may well be the nomadic gatherer of information in space. Electronic print may be the new colonizer of the galaxy, but for which political power remains to be seen.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For newspaper history, I have relied upon Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years 1690 to 1950* (New York: MacMillan, 1950); and Anthony Smith, *The Newspaper, An International History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979). For an understanding of print technology, of use are: Anthony Smith, *Goodbye Gutenberg: The Newspaper Revolution of the 1980s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media, The Extensions of Man* (New York: New American Library, 1964).
- <sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia of Hawaii, "Communications," Microfilm, AH.
- <sup>3</sup> American attorney John Ricord guided the Organic Acts. Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History from Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1948), pp. 53-54. Judge W. K. Lee, another American, largely wrote the Constitution of 1852.
- <sup>4</sup> H. L. Sheldon, "Historical Sketch of the Press in Honolulu," *HAA*, 1876, pp. 24-27.
- <sup>5</sup> Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands* (1847; rpt. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1981), p. 457; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. II, 1854-1874 *Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953), 115.
- <sup>6</sup> Esther K. Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1974), p. iv, the authoritative source for Hawaiian periodicals. In 1983, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum discovered a fragment of vol. II of *Ka Lama*, long believed lost, as reported in *Ka 'Elele*, vol. II, no. 2 (February, 1984), 1-2. Another excellent source on Hawaiian newspapers is Rubellite Johnson, *Kukini'aha'ilono (Carry on the news): Over a Century of Native Hawaiian Life and Thought From the Hawaiian Language Newspapers of 1834 to 1948* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1976).

- <sup>7</sup> Emily V. Warriner, "Lama Hawaii," in *Ka Lama Hawaii: The Centennial Yearbook of the Lahainaluna Technical High School 1931* (Lahaina, Maui, 1931), pp. 71-74.
- <sup>8</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. I, 1778-1854 *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1938), 158-159; Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, p. v.
- <sup>9</sup> Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, p. iv.
- <sup>10</sup> *SIN*, 10 March 1846.
- <sup>11</sup> David L. Gregg, *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawaii 1853-1858*, ed. Pauline King (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1982), p. 107 and p. 534, n. 1., has said that James Marsh, clerk in the Department of Public Instruction, was the figurehead editor of *Ka Nuhou* and that Dr. Judd also wrote for the paper.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 January 1862.
- <sup>14</sup> Samuel Cherney Damon was editor 1843-1884; *F*, 8 December 1854.
- <sup>15</sup> *F*, 15 November and 1 December 1849.
- <sup>16</sup> Arthur Grove Day and Albertine Loomis, *Ka Pa'i Palapala, Early Printing in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Printing Industries, 1973), p. 28.
- <sup>17</sup> *PCA*, 2 July 1900, a retrospect.
- <sup>18</sup> *PCA*, 2 July 1856.
- <sup>19</sup> *PCA*, 5 March 1857.
- <sup>20</sup> Meiric K. Dutton, *Henry M. Whitney, Pioneer Printer, Publisher and Hawaii's First Postmaster* (Honolulu: Loomis House, 1955), pp. 13-16. Other missionaries opposed the contract labor system, like Rev. Luther J. Gulick, an editor of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 1861-1870.
- <sup>21</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. II, 34.
- <sup>22</sup> *PCA*, 3 and 18 January 1895.
- <sup>23</sup> Eleanor Harmon Davis, *Abraham Fornander: A Biography* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), p. 90; Eleanor H. Davis, "Abraham Fornander and the Sandwich Islands' Monthly Magazine," *HJH*, vol. VI (1972), 107-128.
- <sup>24</sup> Dr. Charles Hunter, *Newspapers Published in Hawaii*, an annotated index (1953), Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii; *HAA*, 1884, p. 85.
- <sup>25</sup> Joel M. Gora, *The Rights of Reporters: The Basic ACLU Guide to Reporters' Rights* (n.p.: E. P. Dutton, 1974), p. 179.
- <sup>26</sup> *HAA*, 1883, p. 66.
- <sup>27</sup> Criminal Case 914, AH, John Richardson vs. Joseph U. and Benjamin Kawainui; Criminal Case 1005, AH, King vs. Thomas Thrum.
- <sup>28</sup> Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1957), p. 171.
- <sup>29</sup> *International Typographical Union 106th Annual Convention* (Honolulu, 1964), p. 14; Personal interview with Reyburn Freitas, pressman at the *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2 February 1984.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 7 January 1891. Bush at one time was press foreman at the *Hawaiian Gazette* plant.
- <sup>31</sup> *HG*, 12 March 1897. Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977), has pointed out that dependable circulation figures were not available until the 20th Century. This applies to wage scales, too.

- <sup>32</sup> Smith, *The Newspaper, An International History*, p. 135.
- <sup>33</sup> Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 42.
- <sup>34</sup> *P*, 6 June 1840.
- <sup>35</sup> *P*, 18 July 1840.
- <sup>36</sup> *P*, 6 June 1840.
- <sup>37</sup> Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves*, pp. 52-53.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- <sup>39</sup> *PCA*, 20 August 1860.
- <sup>40</sup> *HG*, 25 November 1865.
- <sup>41</sup> *HG*, 24 June 1885.
- <sup>42</sup> Father Reginald Yzendorp, "Establishment of the First English Newspaper in the Hawaiian Islands," *22nd Annual Report*, HHS (1913), pp. 17-18; Helen H. Hoyt, "Hawaii's First English Newspaper and Its Editor," *63rd Annual Report*, HHS (1954).
- <sup>43</sup> *SIG*, 30 July 1836.
- <sup>44</sup> *SIG*, 17 and 24 June 1837. The quotation from Napoleon is cited in the Hawaii Newspaper Project proposal, MS.
- <sup>45</sup> *SIG*, 25 August 1838.
- <sup>46</sup> *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette*, 15 August 1839.
- <sup>47</sup> Sheldon, "Historical Sketch of the Press in Honolulu," recounts the episode of the *Sandwich Island News*, pp. 104-107.
- <sup>48</sup> *Honolulu Times*, 13, 19, and 26 December 1849, for "Alpha" Letters; H. Sheldon, *Reminiscences of Honolulu Thirty-five Years Ago*, MS, pp. 1-3, AH; *Honolulu Times*, 27 February 1850.
- <sup>49</sup> H. Sheldon, "Reminiscences of the Press by one of the Press Gang," *HAA*, 1877, pp. 25- .
- <sup>50</sup> Davis, *Abraham Fornander, A Biography*, for his life.
- <sup>51</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. I, 412-416.
- <sup>52</sup> Davis, *Abraham Fornander, A Biography*, pp. 90-92.
- <sup>53</sup> Helen G. Chapin, "The Queen's 'Greek Artillery Fire': Greek Royalists in the Hawaiian Revolution and Counterrevolution," *HJH*, vol. XV (1981), 11-12.
- <sup>54</sup> *DB*, 26 and 31 March 1893.
- <sup>55</sup> Criminal Case 1899, AH, Provisional Government vs. E. Norrie; Criminal Case 1966, AH, Republic of Hawaii vs. E. Norrie; Criminal Case 2079, AH, Republic of Hawaii vs. E. Norrie.
- <sup>56</sup> *Hawaii Progress Holomua*, 8 and 29 December 1893, and 6 December 1894; *Independent*, 6 January 1896.
- <sup>57</sup> Father Reginald Yzendorp, *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1927), pp. 13-16.
- <sup>58</sup> Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, p. x.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ka Hoku A Ka Pakipaki*, 11 November 1861 and 3 July 1862.

- <sup>60</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. III 1874-1893 *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 221 and 692, n. 68; Walter Murray Gibson, *The Diaries of Walter Murray Gibson 1886-1887*, ed. Jacob Adler and Gwynn Barret (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973), p. 153, has said the *PCA*'s price was \$20,000).
- <sup>61</sup> "The Shepherd Saint of Lanai," in the *Saturday Press*, 20 December 1881 to 21 January 1882, then printed in pamphlet form; Hunter Index.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ka Elele*, 27 January 1889; *HG*, 13 August 1889.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 9 January 1891; Johnson, *Carry on the News*, p. ii.
- <sup>64</sup> Criminal Case 1537 and 1538, *J. E. Bush v. L. A. Thurston*, AH.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>66</sup> *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 7 January 1892; Bush was arrested December 8, 1894, as reported in *DB*, 9 December 1894. Bush and Norrie did not get along, but then the opposition press did not produce the united front that the establishment did.
- <sup>67</sup> *PCA*, 18 January 1893.
- <sup>68</sup> *DB*, 15 February 1893.
- <sup>69</sup> Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, p. 29.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15, 19, and 22 February 1892.
- <sup>71</sup> *PCA*, 28 October 1892.
- <sup>72</sup> Useful studies in the ethnic press include the older R. E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922); and Charles Jaret, "The Greek, Italian, and Jewish American Ethnic Press," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer 1979), 47-70.
- <sup>73</sup> Encyclopedia of Hawaii, "Communications," Microfilm AH.
- <sup>74</sup> Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers; Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p. 93, pp. 101-103 and 275-276.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 291-293.
- <sup>76</sup> *HG*, 27 August 1889.
- <sup>77</sup> *HG*, 26 November 1889.
- <sup>78</sup> Shunzo Sakamaki, A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii, Master's Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1928, pp. 63-64 and p. 42.
- <sup>79</sup> Sakamaki, A History of the Japanese Press in Hawaii, p. 126; Frederick Makino of *Hawaii Hochi* and Yasutaro Soga of *Nippu Fiji* were jailed in 1909 for their support of the strike that year.
- <sup>80</sup> Gen. J. W. Denver, editor of the *Alta California*, was challenged to a duel for insulting remarks against a California State senator. Denver shot and killed Sen. Gilbert, as reported in the *F*, 1 September 1852.
- <sup>81</sup> *Bennet's Own*, 3 May 1870.
- <sup>82</sup> *Independent*, 15 July 1895.
- <sup>83</sup> *PCA*, 2 January 1903.
- <sup>84</sup> Personal interview with Reyburn Freitas.

## APPENDIX

### NEWSPAPERS OF HAWAII 1834 TO 1900

The Hawaii Newspaper Project, a National Endowment for the Humanities Project, has assembled an Inventory of Newspapers Published in Hawai'i. Agnes Conrad, State Archivist, compiled the original list. Nancy Morris, Librarian at the University of Hawai'i and Project Director, is completing the work. I am indebted to both. The list that follows contains the entire output of 66 years. It includes identification of the primary language in which each paper was printed: C - Chinese; E - English; H - Hawaiian; J - Japanese; P - Portuguese.

#### 1830-1840

<i>Ka Lama Hawaii</i>	1834 and 1841	H
<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	1834-1839	H
<i>Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce</i>	1836-1839	E
<i>Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette</i>	1839-1840	E

#### 1840-1850

<i>Honolulu Times</i>	1849-1851	E
<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	1845-1855	H
<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	1841-1845	H
<i>Oahu Fountain</i>	1847	E
<i>Sandwich Island News</i>	1846-1849	E
<i>Temperance Advocate, and Seamen's Friend</i>	1843-1954	E
<i>The Polynesian</i>	1841, 1844-1864	E

#### 1850-1860

<i>Amateur</i>	1852	E
<i>He Mau Hana</i>	1859	H
<i>He Mau Hana I Hanaia</i>	1852	H
<i>Honolulu Times</i>		
<i>Hooiili'i Hawaii</i>	1858-1860	H
<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>		
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	1856-1861	H
<i>Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii</i>	1856-1932	H
<i>Ka Nuhou</i>	1854	H
<i>No Ta Hoku Loa Kalavina</i>	1859	H
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>	1856-	E
<i>The Friend</i>		
<i>The Polynesian</i>		
<i>The Weekly Argus (New Era and Weekly Argus)</i>	1852-1855	E

## 1860-1870

<i>Bennet's Own</i>	1870	E
<i>Daily Hawaiian Herald</i>	1866	E
<i>Ka Aha Elele</i>	?	H
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>		
<i>Ka Hae Katolika</i>	1868-1871	H
<i>Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii</i>		
<i>Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipaki</i>	1861-1863	H
<i>Ke Alaula</i>	1866-1873	H
<i>Ke Au Okoa</i>	1865-1873	H
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>	1861-1927	H
<i>O Ka Hae Kiritiano</i>	1860-1863	H
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>		
<i>The Friend</i>		
<i>The Hawaiian Gazette</i>	1865-1918	E
<i>The Polynesian</i>		

## 1870-1880

<i>Hawaiian</i>	1872	E
<i>Hawaiian Times</i>	1870	E
<i>Ka Hae Katolika</i>		
<i>Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii</i>		
<i>Ka Lahui Hawaii</i>	1875 and 1877	H
<i>Ka Manawa</i>	1870	H
<i>Ka Nuhou Hawaii</i>	1873-1874	H
<i>Ke Alaula</i>		
<i>Ke Au Okoa</i>		
<i>Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i>	1878-1891	H
<i>Ko Hawaii Pono</i>	1873-1874	H
<i>Kuokoa</i>	1875-1900	H
<i>Nuhou: The Hawaiian News</i>	1873-1874	H
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>		
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>		
<i>The Friend</i>		
<i>The Hawaiian Gazette</i>		
<i>The Islander</i>	1875	E

## 1880-1890

<i>Anglican Church Chronicle</i>	1883-1908	E
<i>Aurora Hawaiiana</i>	1889-1891	P
<i>Daily Bulletin</i>	1882-1895	E
<i>Daily Hawaiian</i>	1884-1885	E
<i>Daily Herald</i>	1886-1887	E
<i>Daily Honolulu Press</i>	1885-1886	E

<i>Hawaii Government Gazette</i>	1887	E - H
<i>Hawaii Kukala Pili Aipuni</i>	1887	H
<i>Hilo Record</i>	1889-1891	E
<i>Hokukakahiaka</i>	1887	H
<i>Japanese Times</i>	1889	E
<i>Ka Elele Poakolu</i>	1880-1881	H
<i>Ka Hoaloha Manaao</i>	1889	H
<i>Ka Leo O Ka Lahui</i>	1889-1896	H - E
<i>Ka Makaainana</i>	1887-1899	H
<i>Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu</i>	1880-1885	H
<i>Ka Nupepa Puka La Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i>	1884-1891	H
<i>Ka Oiaio</i>	1889-1896	H
<i>Ke Alakai O Hawaii</i>	1887-1888	H
<i>Ka Keo O Hawaii</i>	1883	H
<i>Ke Koo O Hawaii</i>	1883	H
<i>Ke Ola O Hawaii</i>	1884	H
<i>Ko Haiku Pono</i>	1881	H
<i>Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i>		
<i>Kuokoa</i>		
<i>Na Lani Ehiku</i>	1886-1887	H
<i>Na Lima Hana</i>	1883-1884	H
<i>Nupepa Elele</i>	1885-1892	H
<i>O Luso Hawaii</i>	1885-1890	P
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>		
<i>Paradise of the Pacific</i>	1888 (became magazine)	E
<i>Saturday Press</i>	1880-1885	E
<i>Saturday Review</i>	1884-1885	E
<i>Tan Shan Hsin Pao</i>	1881-1883	C
<i>Tan Shan Hsin Pao Lung Chi</i>	1883-1907	C
<i>The Friend</i>		
<i>The Hawaiian Gazette</i>		
<i>The Morning Guide</i>	1884-1885	E
<i>The Owl</i>	1888-1889	E
<i>Weekly Hawaiian</i>	1884	E
1890-1900		
<i>A Sentinella</i>	1892	P
<i>A Uniao Lusitana-Hawaiiana</i>	1891-1900	P
<i>Ahailono O Hawaii</i>	1897	H
<i>Aloha</i>	1893	J
<i>Ke Aloha Aina</i>	1894	H
<i>Aloha Aina Oiaio</i>	1896	H
<i>Anasagashi</i>	1897	J
<i>Appeal</i>	1892	E



<i>As Boas Novas</i>	1896-190?	P
<i>Aurora Hawaiiana</i>		
<i>Austin's Hawaiian Weekly</i>	1899-1900	E
<i>Dai Nippon</i>	1899	J
<i>Daily Bulletin</i>		
<i>Daily Honolulu Times</i>	1890	E
<i>Evening Bulletin</i>	1895-1912	E
<i>Hawaii Herald</i>	1896-1923	E
<i>Hawaii Holomua</i>	1891-1894	H - E
<i>Hawaii Jiyu Shinbun</i>	1896-1905	J
<i>Hawaii Shinbun</i>	1894-1895	J
<i>Hawaii Shinpo</i>	1894-1926	J
<i>Hawaii Shuho</i>	1892-1894	J
<i>Hilo Journal</i>	1891	E
<i>Hilo Record</i>		
<i>Hilo Shinpo</i>	1898-1912	J
<i>Hilo Tribune</i>	1895-1917	E
<i>Hinode Shimbun</i>	1899	J
<i>Honolulu Chronicle</i>	1898	E
<i>Honolulu Daily Times</i>	1890	E
<i>Honolulu Hochi</i>	1892?	J
<i>Inochi</i>	1897	J
<i>Jukuseiki</i>	1893	J
<i>Ka Ahailono o Ka Lahio</i>	1890	H - E
<i>Ka Elele Ewanelio</i>	1896-1899	H
<i>Ka Hoahana</i>	1895-1902	H
<i>Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii</i>		
<i>Ka Lei Alii O Hawaii</i>	1892	H
<i>Ka Lei Loke O Hawaii</i>	1898	H
<i>Ka Lei Momi</i>	1893	H
<i>Ka Lei Momi E Mau Kou Olina Ana</i>	1893	H
<i>Ka Lei Rose O Hawaii</i>	1898	H
<i>Ka Leo O Ka Lahui</i>		
<i>Ka Loea Kalaiaina</i>	1897-1901	H
<i>Ka Makaainana</i>		
<i>Ka Malamalama</i>	1892-1910	H
<i>Ka Malamalama O Hawaii</i>	1898	H
<i>Ka Ohailono O Hawaii</i>	1898	H
<i>Ka Ohailono O Ka Lahui</i>	1890	H - E
<i>Ka Puka La Oiaio (Nupepa Ka Oiaio)</i>	1894-1896	H
<i>Kazan</i>	1896	J
<i>Ke Aloha Aina</i>	1895-1920	H
<i>Ke Au Hou</i>	1896	H
<i>Ke Ola O Ka Lahui</i>	1899	H

<i>Kiai O Ka Lahio</i>	1890	H
<i>Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i>		
<i>Kona Hankyo</i>	1893-1941	J - E
<i>Kuokoa</i>		
<i>Lahui Hawaii</i>	1899-1902	H
<i>Li Chi Pao</i>	1890-1900	C
<i>News Muster: Company H Edition</i>	1899	H
<i>Nippon Shuho</i>	1892	J
<i>Nupepa Aloha Aina</i>	1894-1895	H
<i>Nupepa Elele</i>		
<i>Nupepa Ka Oiaio</i>		
<i>Nupepa Ka Puka La Oiaio</i>	1895	H
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>		
<i>Nupepa Puka La Aloha Aina</i>	1893-1894	H
<i>Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa</i>	1893	H
<i>O Directo</i>	1896-1898	P
<i>O Luso</i>	1896-1924	P
<i>O Luso Hawaiiiano</i>		
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>		
<i>Searchlight</i>	1899	E
<i>Sunday Eagle</i>	1898	E
<i>Sunday Volcano</i>	1899-1901	E
<i>Tan Shan Hsin Pao Lung Chi</i>		
<i>The Friend</i>		
<i>The Hawaiian Gazette</i>		
<i>The Hawaiian Star</i>	1893-1912	E
<i>The Independent</i>	1895-1905	E
<i>The Liberal</i>	1892-1893	H - E
<i>The Time</i>	1895-1896	E
<i>The Twentieth Century</i>	1894	J
<i>The Voice of the Nation</i>	1890	E
<i>The Yamato</i>	1895-1896	J
<i>Wa Ha Bo</i>	1895-1900	C
<i>Weekly Star</i>	1894	E
<i>Yamato Shinbun</i>	1896-1906	J
<i>Yamato Shinshi</i>	1892	J