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From Makaweli to Kohala: The Plantation Newspapers of Hawai'i

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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From 1919 to the present, sugar plantations put out the majority, 55 all told on the islands of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i. From 1948 to the present, the pineapple plantations published approximately three on O'ahu, Maui, and Lana'i. Moloka'i may have had an earlier pine company paper, but no holdings have been found, making an exact account impossible.² Peak publication occurred from 1945 through 1959, levelled off after 1960, then declined, and finally stopped in the late 1970s (see Appendix).

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

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

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

“objectivity,” in any event, is relatively new and, in the view of some press critics, difficult to attain because of the necessity of staying in business and satisfying the paymaster.³

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

The plantation newspaper developed as a type of establishment publication within a particular social and economic system. The sugar industry consolidated after the turn of the century into the “Big Five” factors or agencies and conceived a “social welfare” program, or what Edward Beechert, in his labor history of Hawai‘i, has called “necessity-paternalism.”⁴ The pineapple industry consolidated later, in the 1930s, when its management practices became closely tied to those of sugar, with the Hawaiian Sugar Planter’s Association recruiting labor for both industries.

The sugar industry, in developing a social welfare system out of which the newspapers grew, was initially influenced by several factors. First, the sugar strikes of 1909 and 1920, although won by management, were traumatic events. The HSPA as early as 1910 had urged management to provide plantations with decent housing, sanitation, medical care, and amusements and recreation including sports, scouting, and musical activities. Camps were to be given a home feeling.⁵ Second, there was the growing realization throughout the industry that, in spite of continued importation of labor, the workers were not just temporary sojourners but were putting down roots in Hawai‘i and that a stable labor force was desirable. Third was the development of industrial relations departments to handle labor problems. When the Colorado National Guard, in 1913 at Ludlow, Colorado, fired into the tents of striking, evicted miners and their families, and caused 40 deaths and countless injuries, John D. Rockefeller Jr. and his associates in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company formed an industrial

relations department.⁶ The idea spread through industries from the Mainland to Hawai'i.

In 1919, the HSPA formed an Industrial Service Bureau which promoted plantation industrial relations departments. They were charged specifically with the responsibility for developing a group of "contented people working in the best interests of the plantation."⁷ Later, the HSPA's Social Welfare Committee report would state, "Social welfare work should be considered good business and not philanthropy," for it would alleviate discontent, prevent union organizing and strikes, and promote peace.⁸ By 1920, plantation communities had evolved into small towns with housing, schools, medical care, stores, and community centers. Appearing in these towns away from urban centers, the papers were aimed at a multi ethnic labor force dependent upon the plantation for its livelihood. They were printed primarily in English but included pages or columns in Japanese, Tagalog, Ilocano, and Visayan. The languages themselves reflect patterns of labor recruitment and settlement in Hawai'i over the years and management's need to communicate with immigrant workers.

The plantation paper developed special characteristics in its adjustment to the system. A paper is usually organized into several departments: editorial, production, circulation, business, and advertising. A publisher oversees the entire operation. On the plantation, the manager and his agents were the publishers. Those who gathered and wrote the news and features usually did so on a part-time basis and performed other work duties. A community association or an industrial relations department and staff produced the paper on a mimeograph or duplicating machine or sent the copy to a professional printing plant like the Garden Island Publishing Company on Kaua'i or the Hilo Tribune-Herald on the Big Island. The printed paper was then circulated or delivered by management through mail boxes and at designated community locations. The papers appeared as monthlies, semi-monthlies, and weeklies. There was no advertising department, an enterprise that usually accounts for three-fourths of a paper's revenue. If papers carried ads, free space was provided. Management absorbed all

costs and distributed the papers without charge. When no longer considered cost effective, the papers were discontinued.

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

Reception by readers is difficult today to determine because few analyses were made. In 1948, the HSPA attempted to determine the effectiveness of its own *Plantation News* (begun in 1921) so as to decide whether to continue it.⁹ Some findings were predictable. Pictures seemed to have the most appeal. Women preferred human interest stories and those about social events, while men preferred sports stories. For unexplained reasons, however, Maui and Kaua'i had a greater readership than O'ahu or Hawai'i.

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

1919: THE MAKAWELI PLANTATION NEWS

In 1919, on Kaua'i at Makaweli, the Hawaiian Sugar Company's Director of Welfare Work, E. L. Damkroger, was asked to produce what appears to be the first plantation newspaper sponsored by management in Hawai'i. Why Makaweli? This

Alexander & Baldwin plantation community was comprised of 14 villages containing about 3,000 people, with 1,700 on the company payroll. Its remoteness in a rugged area on the west side of Kaua'i, a mountainous region with tremendous gorges running from the mountains to the ocean, provided arduous working conditions. Beneath its calm surface, Makaweli had labor unrest. Yet A & B considered Makaweli to be one of its most progressive plantations. In the 1890s, manager Hugh Morrison had built a club house for single men, with parlors, dressing rooms, a bath, and recreation rooms for billiards, pool, and cards. The community in 1919 had a flower-bordered, asphalt, and macademized main street.¹⁰

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

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

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

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

Baldwin's yearly report reveals the modest cost of "welfare work and equipment"—out of total plantation expenses of \$198,390.59, these were just \$2,231.76.¹⁴ The newspaper, subsumed under the latter figure, was certainly inexpensive to produce.

Over its four years of life, Damkroger's one-man operation carried articles such as "Feed Your Children Right," school notes, and reports on soccer, basketball, and volleyball competition. An announcement heralded weekly English night classes for workers, books and materials to be supplied (but a tuition cost of \$3.00 to be charged the student). A follow up story proudly listed the names of the 14 Filipino men enrolled in the class and urged others to sign up.¹⁵

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

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

1938-1941: COMPETING FOR LABOR'S ATTENTION

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

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

FIG. 1. An early issue of the *Makaweli* (Kaua'i) *Plantation News*, Hawai'i's first plantation newspaper. (George Bacon photo; HSPA Library collection.)

Your
Credit Union
Sells
War Bonds

Plantation **H=L** Lites

(Mea Hou Mahiko O Wailuku)

Bonds Sold
To Date
\$4,175

Vol. V

WAILUKU SUGAR CO.—WAILUKU, MAUI, T. H., JANUARY, 1943

No. 1

788 CHILDREN ATTEND ANNUAL CHRISTMAS PARTY

SANTA AND UNCLE SAM

Why Have A Home Garden

By BUNKI KUMARE
(Hale, County Agent)

No other plantation in the territory, for the knowledge of the writer, provides spots for their employees in the way of promoting home gardens than does the Wailuku Sugar Company.

Your company gives you seeds, spades, and an ample garden space in which to grow many kinds of vegetables that are so essential in maintaining good health. In addition to these things, the University of Hawaii Agricultural Extension Service provides an agent to assist you in making productive gardens.

Not enough of us have experienced the joy of watering abundantly what we have personally grown in our backyard gardens. Those few who have realized the value and pleasure that come from getting plants that are accessible at all times.

A home gardener is aiding in the war effort by producing his own food, thereby, relieving the produce grown by the commercial growers to the army, navy and defense workers. These men need a constant supply of fresh vegetables to be in good health to keep the offensive and defensive war machine rolling.

Furthermore, the war effort requires that each man be in best of health to keep the production going at top speed. Your plantation is doing all it can for you. Now it is your turn to show your appreciation and loyalty by taking advantage of these opportunities that are available.

It must be noted also that gardening is a very good recreation. It gets you closer to nature; it gives you the satisfaction of producing with your own hands and with your own skill. The benefits derived are two-fold: fresh vegetable and clean, wholesome exercise.

So make your gardens now while the good growing season is still here. Let us produce and produce and produce!

Dairy Delivers 4,002 Pounds Of Meat

4,062 pounds of meat in the form of Christmas packages from the Wailuku Sugar Co. was delivered



ONE OF THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE Wailuku Sugar company Christmas party for plantation children was the appearance of Santa Claus and Uncle Sam, arm-in-arm. They are shown here as they appeared to delight the large crowd that was on hand for the event.—Maui News photo.

December Bond Sales Total \$4,150

Sales of War Bonds totaled \$4,150 for December consisting of 154 twenty-five dollar bonds, 15 fifty-dollar bonds and 4 one-hundred-dollar bonds. This brings the total of War Bonds sold by the credit union to \$21,075.00.

227 employees of the plantation are signed up on the payroll plan which is from that date. New members of the plan are Sebastian Lora, Ricardo, Bernardino Ordonez, Juan Pardo, Peralta de la Cruz and Yoko Inouara.

Monthly value of the December sales was \$1,150.00 and the cash value was \$1,112.50. The latter figure included the payroll deduction total of \$2,321.25 and cash sales of \$791.25.

to the plantation employees. The dairy goes led by Toshi Amano distributed the meat over a 4 day period just before Christmas. All of the employees extends their appreciation to the management for providing the gift packages.

TO THE EMPLOYER OF WAILUKU SUGAR COMPANY.

As we begin a new year which holds many promise of success and victory than we would have thought possible last year at this time. It seems very fitting to acknowledge the splendid spirit of cooperation and endeavor that has made this possible, not only on the Plantation but in the nation as a whole. It is these qualities that personally our country and our people, and with them, we cannot fail, to achieve the all made good in the way that we are fighting together.

On the Plantation, during the past year, the record made by the employees in all departments has been excellent. The fact that we were able to get our crop off in time to get all our sugar shipped was an achievement of which we have reason to be proud, and something that could not have been done without the wholehearted cooperation of all of you. Our Stockholders, the Directors and the Management appreciate the very large part that you have all played in getting Wailuku Sugar Company in an enviable position among the plantations of the Territory. Wartime conditions have made our lives very complicated; we have all been forced to completely change our method of living, but the way that you have all adapted yourselves and kept your morale in high gear has been most

Uncle Sam Escorts Santa Claus

The children attended the annual Wailuku Sugar Co. Christmas party on December 22nd at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Allen. And what a treat they had! It was really a merry, noisy Christmas for the kids.

Uncle Sam presented a program reviewing the history of Christmas. The kids were treated to a happy surprise as the Army swing band playing "Jingle Bells" and led by "Uncle Sam" escorted to Santa Claus. It was a treat to see Uncle Sam bring to Santa Claus and everyone vegetable gift reminiscent among the two of them coming marching into the yard. Uncle Sam carried a Christmas tree while Santa Claus carried a United States flag.

Later the children were given presents, candy, oranges and ice cream. As the evening program came to a close, Santa Claus took pictures of Uncle Sam and Santa Claus. Nearly a local 20 foot Christmas tree was all decorated with lights and ornaments.

On behalf of the 788 children (and 100 adults) the writer takes this opportunity of thanking the Wailuku Sugar Co. for a grand Christmas party.

Adrian D'Esmond No. 1 In His Class

Pat D'Esmond one of our former Mr. Carl A. Carlson, Treas. employees, carried off top honors Wailuku Sugar FCU among a class of 226 students candidates at Ft. Henning, Ga. He had been commissioned a second lieutenant.

Pat, by virtue of ranking No. 1 in his class, served as company commander during the graduation exercises. All of his friends on the plantation are mighty proud of him.

If everyone continues to "pat" his shoulder in the "week" as he has done in the past, the prospects for 1943 are very bright. I think that you for all your kumihara, this past year, and the statement that I have made in the past that it is my desire that each year you meet with Wailuku Sugar Company may be happier than the previous one.

Very sincerely yours,
E. M. ALLEN, Manager
Wailuku Sugar Company
January 10, 1943

Puuohala People Sign Up For Victory Garden

Thirteen people of Puuohala village have signed up for more Victory garden space. In addition to the small gardens they have in their yards they are planning to make victory gardens in the place of land in field to given to them by the plantation.

The agricultural department has stated on the plots and a water-course. On January 27 at 4:15 p.m. a meeting will be held at the proposed plot with the people to help them get started. Names of the people are Lawrence Phoenix, Mrs. Volviga, Nick Motalvo, Manuel Gonzalez, Mrs. Estrella, Mrs. Mercedes, Mr. Harold Gonzalez, Raymond Fontana, Joe Rodriguez, Madeline Kusin, Santiago Fernandez, Antonio Estrella and Manuel Brito.

Mr. Carl A. Carlson, Treas. Wailuku Sugar FCU among a class of 226 students candidates at Ft. Henning, Ga. He had been commissioned a second lieutenant.

Pat D'Esmond one of our former Mr. Carl A. Carlson, Treas. employees, carried off top honors Wailuku Sugar FCU among a class of 226 students candidates at Ft. Henning, Ga. He had been commissioned a second lieutenant.

If everyone continues to "pat" his shoulder in the "week" as he has done in the past, the prospects for 1943 are very bright. I think that you for all your kumihara, this past year, and the statement that I have made in the past that it is my desire that each year you meet with Wailuku Sugar Company may be happier than the previous one.

Very sincerely yours,
E. M. ALLEN, Manager
Wailuku Sugar Company
January 10, 1943

Editor: I wish you'd type your poems before bringing them to me.
Contributor: "Type them! Do you think I'd waste time inventing them if I could type?"

HOURS OF BLACKOUT
7:15 P.M. To 7:15 A.M.
DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

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

improving sugar technology. But the Islands' isolation, outwardly peaceful life, and paternalistic system again were under attack. There was a resurgence of union organizing, now supported by the National Labor Relations Act (the "Wagner Act") of 1935. Kaua'i once more provided an arena of activity and was soon joined by the islands of Hawai'i and Maui.

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

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

On Maui in 1939, the monthly *Wailuku Plantation Record*

FIG. 2. *Plantation Hi-Lites*, Wailuku, Maui. (George Bacon photo; HSPA Library collection.)

appeared. It became *Plantation Hi-Lites* (fig. 2) and lasted until 1961. Management displayed an inventiveness in naming its papers that would continue for many years.

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

WORLD WAR II—URGING WORKERS' PRODUCTIVITY

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

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

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

- To provide interesting and informative reading material for the employees of this company;
- To protect the right of freedom of the press;
- To publish the truth.²¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

The head of Industrial Relations asked people to participate. It was a voluntary community activity. Anyone could submit an

article. We'd get together once a month to put the paper together, and send it to Hilo for printing. It was a lot of fun.²⁴

Okimoto, who after retirement wrote a history of Onomea Camp and became head of the Wailoa Community Center in Hilo, still possesses those qualities exhibited by good reporters—literate, curious, energetic, a sense of history, and community involvement.

FROM 1945 TO STATEHOOD: THE HEYDAY OF THE PRESS

Post World War II Hawai'i and the 1950s brought major changes that affected the papers: unionization, mechanization, centralization, the decline in power of the plantation oligarchy, and the Communist scare. During this period, the plantation press, producing the greatest number of papers, was in its heyday, but its decline was already in sight. In 1946, there were 33 sugar plantations; by 1959, there were 27. For pineapple in 1946, Hawai'i claimed 75 percent of the world market; by 1959, that share had decreased to 57 percent.²⁵ In 1945, one out of every four persons in Hawai'i was dependent in some way on pineapple or sugar for his or her livelihood; on the eve of Statehood, one out of four depended on defense spending. In other words, the plantation paper's audience was decreasing.

Were these papers meant to help stem the tide of the two industries' decline? Were they also in part an attempt to offset the influence of another information medium that would sweep the Islands—commercial television, which began broadcasting in late 1952? In any event, between 1945 and 1959, plantations expanded their industrial relations departments specifically to deal with

FIG. 3. Staff of the *Onomea Echo*, undated. Front row (*left to right*): Janet Hisano (Osaki) Souza, Hifumi (Ishimoto) Yoneda, Itsuko (Kaya) Osakoda, Lillie (Takemoto) Tsuchiya, Georgina Sutherland, Dorothy (Leite) Kaloi; second row (*left to right*): unidentified boy, George R. Saito, Genevive Arruda, Kenneth Florencio "Flo" Alcosiba; Emiko (Minamoto) Lee, Nancy Yoshie (Maebo) Masada; third row (*left to right*): David Kai, William Ferreira, Charles A. Brenamen, Tadao Okimoto, Kimie (Okimoto) Aoki, Stephanie (Alicuben) Ibarra, Lily Alicuben, Clemente Ramos, Faye (Muramoto) Takiue. (Tadao Okimoto photo collection.)



labor and to court workers' loyalty. Management in these years produced 40 papers: nine on Kaua'i, ten on O'ahu, four on Maui, one on Lana'i, and 16 on Hawai'i. Of these, 17 alone were started in the 1950s. Many were bi-lingual, in English and Filipino.

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

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

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

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

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

. . . father read the plantation paper in order to improve his English. But he subscribed to the *Hawaii Hochi* for main information. I read the plantation paper and the Hilo *Tribune-Herald*.²⁸

The *Voice of Hakalau* achieved what few others did: an air of objectivity toward the first Territory-wide strike in 1946. It gave space one week to ILWU contract demands—"ILWU Serves Strike Notice"—and the next week to management—"Sugar Industry Submits Counter Proposal to Union Contract." The *Hakalau* staff also reported and photographed the destruction to Hilo and the Hamakua Coast by the 1946 tidal wave. One story, picked up by the dailies in the Territory, covered the dramatic rescue at sea of a 15-year-old who had been adrift for 30 hours.²⁹

Increasing plantation centralization had an intriguing dual effect on the papers. On the one hand, the agencies, in an effort to economize, printed the papers of individual plantations together. AMFAC for its plantations on Kaua'i and C. Brewer for its plantations on the Big Island thus used "boilerplating" and "slipsheeting" of material, such as columns on "fashion" and "recipes," and distributed all the papers to each community inside a cover sheet.³⁰

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

We did all kinds of stories and features. We printed up to 4,000 papers, and we used as many names as we could—no long columns of names, but we wanted to use readers' names legitimately. We tried very hard to publish basic English, too—no long words.³¹

Management assigned a staff of five to the paper which was printed at the *Maui News*: "The Baldwins felt it was an important effort," Foss explained. That readership could be resistant, however, is reflected in the comment of Charlotta Hoskins who lived on Maui at the time: "I think they (the workers) wrapped their fish in it. The paper made no impression on me."³²

Foss had a particular interest in journalism. Even as a youngster of 11, he had created his own newspaper, the *Hamakua Poko Call*.

At its height it reached 150 subscribers. "It was a scandal sheet. I had a lot of subscriptions and a lot of flak."³³ After finishing college on the mainland, Foss returned to work for the Baldwin plantation in Kahului and was assigned to the paper. Today he looks back on those years, as do the other editors interviewed for this study, as happy, productive, and rewarding.

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

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

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

It was not a 'natural event.' Plantations did this to solidify employee and company relations. About 2,100 copies were printed of each issue, then we'd put them into post office boxes and distribute them to the churches and places of business. I brought in others to assist—the staff was half men, half women. By this time we had the photos printed professionally.³⁴

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

Candy Palmer, retired Assistant Public Relations Director for AMFAC, said of Shiramizu:

He was very good. He turned out excellent copy. He had a wonderful imagination. One year he won the Industrial Editors' award for the best plantation newspaper for Kaua'i, then for the State of Hawai'i, and then all industry.³⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIG. 4. Chiyozo Joe Shiramizu, editor of the award-winning *Lihue Plantation News*, Kaua'i. (C. J. Shiramizu photo collection.)





OL. IX—NO. 47

SEPTEMBER 6, 1957

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Goat Hunting Season To Open Sept. 15

HS Fall Term Begins

by Irene Dalida

With the addition of many faculty members, Lanai High and Elementary School began its fall term on Wednesday, September 4, 1957. Following are the classes to be taught:

Miss Ruth Blazel and Mrs. Jean Nakamoto, Kindergarten; Miss Margaret Chang and Miss Jane Okimoto, first grade; Miss Rosa Vitaya and Miss Margaret Silva, second grade; Mrs. Kijoshi Matsui and Mrs. Aileen Kuboyama, third grade; Mrs. Jean Nakamoto and Miss Donna Boomer, fourth grade; Mrs. Anchin Ito, fifth grade; Mrs. Ruth Sady, fifth and sixth grades; Mrs. Patrick Escrito, sixth grade; Mrs. Evelyn Takata and Mrs. Janet Bertram, seventh grade; Mrs. Donald Matsui and Mrs. Helen Fujie, eighth grade; Mrs. Ellen Kuya, home economics department and ninth grade advisor; Mr. Kengo Takai, agriculture department and ninth grade; Mr. Edward Abrams and Mr. Jose Berumen, both English and social studies teachers and tenth grade advisors; Mr. Shuichi Saka, science department and eleventh grade advisor.

Lanai AJA Club Honors Yankees

Gwan Kim Swans Away

The Lanai Midget League Champions, the Yankees, were honored last Sunday night by their sponsors, the Lanai AJA at the YBA Hall.

120 Lanians enjoyed a feast of kalua pig, honi salmon and sashimi. The pig was donated by Tony Mendez while the portions of the players donated the liquid refreshments. Plenty of food and a good time was had by all who attended.

Mr. Takao Anbe was the able chairman of this affair.

The Lanai Club of the Lanai Korean Church.

The Lanai Community Welfare Association handled the burial arrangements.

A goat hunting season will be opened on portions of the Lanai Game-Management area beginning September 15, 1957. Hunting will be permitted on Sundays only on September 15, 22, 29, and October 6 and 13 from sunrise to sunset. The tag limit will be two goats of either sex per hunter for the five day season. Permissible weapons will be rifles that supply at least 1,200 foot pounds muzzle energy, 12, 16, or 20 gauge shotguns using slugs of hunting bows and arrows that meet legal specifications.

All hunters must obtain permits and tags at the Kooie Hunter checking station on Lanai. Permits will be issued each Saturday prior to hunting days between 4 and 6 p.m. and all day on each hunting day. All game taken must be tagged. Special rules will be given each hunter when he receives his permit. Hunters may be asked to bring their game to the checking station so that game technicians can gather certain biological information.

Miss Caridad Martin, commercial department and eleventh grade advisor; Miss Elise Martin, social studies and English and twelfth grade advisor.

Librarian is Mrs. Takao Wong, Cafeteria manager, Mildred Escrito with assistant Miss Boris Sakoda; Secretary will be Mrs. Jeannette Akamichi and Mrs. Marjory Honda as substitute; Principal Mrs. Erwin Wang will be assisted by Mr. Kitoto Minaba.

28 Rank Awards, Merit Badges Presented At Court Of Honor

Mr. Masashi Tsunamura, Advancement Chairman of the Lanai District Boy Scouts of America, presented the Eagle Rank awards to Robert Park of Post 124, Arlen Matsui, Post 188 and Alvin Oyama, Post 156, during a Court of Honor held Friday evening, August 23, at the Lanai School Cafeteria. Mr. Tsunamura was assisted by Messrs. Norman Endo and Tamotsu Mitsuaga, Review Board Members.

The following awards were also presented during the program:

LIFE SCOUT RANK to Pedro Dagoy of Post 124, STAR SCOUT RANK, Meneco Dagoy, Post 124, FIRST CLASS RANK, Jerry Caluya, Post 124 and Michael Sado, Post 124, EAGLE, S-C-O-U-T AFFILIATE, Jerold Matsui, MERIT BADGES—Explorers, Douglas Okada, Gilbert Agaran, Dennis Nakafuji and Edwin Nakamoto of Post 124 and Harry Morimoto (Home Repairs-Air-

letic), Alvin Oyama (Art) and Harold Sato (Pioneering) of Post 156; MERIT BADGES (Scouts), Robert Abuel, Troop 24 (Book Binding), Jerold Hayashida (Pioneering), Art, Elton Matsura (Pioneering), Stephen Nakai (Pioneering), Calvin Tamashiro (P. & B. 11), Health) and Walter Yamataka (Art, Pioneering) of Troop 58; FIRST CLASS RANK, Raymond Park, Troop 24, SECOND CLASS RANK, John Park, Jr. and Rodney Rabang of Troop 24, THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AWARDS, Raymond Park and Robert Fern, Troop 24, Intermediate Swimmer, and Garry Yagi and Geryold Sakamura, Troop 58, Intermediate Swimmer.

The program ended with the showing of a colored movie entitled "Our Islands" that was shown through the courtesy of Mr. Herbert Pregill, Hawaiian Airlines' station manager on Lanai.

PTA Meeting Next Wednesday

The Lanai PTA will hold its first meeting for the new school year on Wednesday, September 11, 1957, at 7:30 p.m. in the school cafeteria. PTA president, Kengo Takata, and his Executive Board are planning a special welcome for the faculty of the Lanai High and Elementary School.

The PTA Cottage Clean-Up Committee headed by Mrs. Warren Hobby wishes to thank all who cooperated and worked hard in the final clean-up of the teachers' cottages. In addition to the previously mentioned helpers listed in the last edition of the Lanianai, the following helped with the final touch-up: Mr. Shuichi Tanaka, Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Schrader, Wendame Adams, Singleton, Naoko, Nobuo, Matilesworth, Sakoda, Garcia, Gima, Misses Margaret Oaaka, Donna Boomer, Ruth Blazel, Faye Nagami, Carolyn Miyamoto, Maybelle Morimoto, Rosalie Nakamura, Audrey Miyamoto, Merle Soraka, Nancy Okamoto, Marsha Choi, Mitzie Akahoshi, Irene Hayashida, Doris Anbe, Carol Nebuta, Joyce Okazaki, Phyllis Morita, Janet Anbe, Arsenia Okamoto, Mildred Yagi, Dorothy Nishiyama, Geraldine Hirayama, Joy Maile, Margie Morita, Edna Karahage and Marlene Morita.

HAPCO NEWS

The U. S. food industry is going through one of the most stressful periods in its history, Henry A. White, president of Hawaiian Pineapple Company, told stockholders at their annual meeting in Honolulu today. And there's no sign of immediate relief, he said.

"In the company's annual report, I reported to you that earnings in the past fiscal year were down substantially because of the effects of the severe competitive marketing situation on our profit margin," said Mr. White. "As the first quarter of the new fiscal year ends, these conditions continue."

He added that, as of now, he can detect no developing trends that will change this picture in the next three quarters.

In explaining the market, Mr. White said that an increased supply of Mainland fruits and vegetables has resulted in a succession of years in which crops and canned pack have exceeded demand. Excess of supply over demand inevitably exerts a strong downward pressure on prices, he said.

"The ability of many packers to hold the price line has been

further impaired by marginal packers who are inadequately financed. These operators move their annual packs quickly, at almost any price, in order that they can recover their packing costs.

"All too often such packers, although they control only a minor part of the pack, have been the price bellweathers for the entire industry. Thus, overproduction and ensuing pricing have rendered packers like ourselves unable to sell goods at levels calculated to cover steadily increasing production costs and still return adequate profit."

The peach pack—one of pineapple's most potent competitors—will be slightly smaller than the record pack of last year, yet it will be one of the largest in history, stockholders were told. The industry packs of peaches and fruit cocktail will probably be close to last year's record levels. All these conditions affect the price and demand for pineapple, said Mr. White.

The Dole president reported that this company is extending the distribution of its new frozen pineapple-citrus blends and plans to introduce other new Dole products this year.

Last Rites Held For Mrs. Selsu Morita

Services over the ashes of the late Mrs. Selsu Morita were conducted by the Reverend N. Nagao, last Tuesday afternoon at the Lanai Hongwanji Church. She died Sunday afternoon, September 1, at Kapiolani Hospital in Honolulu.

Born in 1902 in Japan, she is survived by her husband, Tozoku Morita, a daughter Mrs. Sumiko Uno and two grandchildren.

These are aimed at increasing the profit potential, once they are established.

But, establishing new products is expensive, said Mr. White, citing that the high cost of introducing new products.

(Continued on Page 2)

Small town Kahuku was Yonemori's life. Born there in 1906, he went to work after seventh grade, at the age of 14 and a half, as a lab sample boy. His parents before mechanization did *hapai ko*, the hardest work. His own work shifts prior to the 1935 Wagner Act were 12 hours. He rose to become Boiling House Supervisor and helped with the paper during World War II:

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

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

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

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

FIG. 5. The community-minded *Lanaian*, Hawaiian Pine company-sponsored paper. (George Bacon photo; Hawaiian collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.)

The pineapple industry was then at the height of its power, with 75,000 acres under tillage throughout the Islands. Nine companies operated 13 plantations and nine canneries. There were 6,000 agricultural and 4,000 manufacturing laborers, and during harvesting season, June to September, another 11,000 were employed.⁴³

Because of its remote location, the ILWU urged Lana'i workers not to walk out and told them a strike was "unwinnable." ILWU and pine leaders agreed on a contract. The workers, however, fighting for their dignity as well as better pay, refused to ratify it. Lana'i strikers held out for seven months while the entire island rotted under 100,000 tons of unharvested pineapple. They defeated the divisive unit-by-unit bargaining proposed by management and won, instead, an industry-wide settlement. It is an ironic footnote in local history that management believed that the Lana'i strike was a "master stroke" by the ILWU.⁴⁴

What made Lana'i unique in labor annals made it produce an excellent newspaper. Worker solidarity carried over into its publication, although management did not intend it do so. Management's position was clearly stated on the paper's flag that featured a pineapple circling the company motto: "A debt of gratitude is an obligation that's seldom liquidated."⁴⁵ The paper was published under the auspices of management's "Lanai Community Welfare Association." But one gets a view of Lana'i life unavailable elsewhere. The staff wrote up soap box derbies, court cases, births, marriages, and deaths, and boxing cards and bowling league results. The paper announced student honor rolls and the celebration of Aloha Week. It printed social notes on parties and celebrations and of visits of former residents. It ran photos and stories of young Lanaians serving in the Korean War. Regular features included hunting news columns and "big fish" stories accompanied by pictures of proud workers standing beside their catches (strikers had helped to feed themselves in 1951 by fishing and hunting).

When job changes required that a new editor be hired, the qualities given as desirable for the position were revealing of the *Lanaian's* success; one, be honest and sincere; two, be able to get along with people; three, be able to officiate and handle athletic

events; four, have news writing ability; and five, have administrative, executive, and social abilities.⁴⁶

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

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

The *Naalehu News* began as a tabloid in 1944 under James S. Beatty's managership, but it soon was a full-sized paper of six, eight, even ten pages. Its early years featured stories on the manager's and assistant manager's dinner parties. Just prior to the 1949 ILWU strike, it turned to anti communism for its main theme:

Mr. Beatty . . . is deeply concerned over the possibility of a strike . . . and also over communistic leaders who are trying to destroy our American Way of Life.⁴⁹

The paper invited readers to "Join the Anti-Communist League of Hawai'i." In both its English and Ilocano sections, it featured photos and stories of "loyal" employees and "faithful" oldtimers.

During the 1949 strike, Mrs. Hansen ran headlines like "Good Unions With Good Leaders Are What We Need," "You Cannot Be A Communist And An American" and "It's Fun To Live In America." A "news story" asserted:

Mr. Hall and others who told you the plantations were out to break the unions told you another lie.⁵⁰

After several years of this kind of coverage, the *Naalehu News* won the Industrial Editors' Association's top award in June of 1956, probably a political choice rather than for merit.

The day of extremism in establishment papers was waning, however. Statehood was in the offing, and anti Communism was becoming a counter-productive subject. The concept of the plantation manager's role was changing, too, to that of "coordinator of activities." After the 1956 strike, Roy W. Replogle became Industrial Relations Superintendent and newspaper editor at Naalehu. He brought a lighter, more reasoned tone to the paper, advertising Naalehu as "The Southernmost Community in the U.S.A." Replogle had been editor of the *Laupahoehoe Observer* in the 1940s and would later edit the Pahala paper, demonstrating a truism about journalists—they enjoy a mobile trade.

FACING HISTORY: THE 1960S AND 1970S

Statehood in 1959 ushered in major changes for Hawai'i and the decline of the plantation paper. In the 1960s, 17 papers were in print; in the 1970s, 14. The Big Island, with the most acreage still in cane, led in numbers; 14 in the 1960s and seven in the 1970s. The *Ka'u News* replaced both the Naalehu and Pahala papers and

also represented corporate C. Brewer holdings in the Ka'u-Volcano region. It headlined on February 16, 1973, "Cable TV Arrives in Ka'u."⁵¹ The paper folded in October of 1976.

Island-wide development and urbanization ate up agricultural land. Tourism rapidly replaced sugar and pineapple as the principal Island economic activity. (Tourist newspapers would soon become a widespread establishment type.) The new multinationals ushered in external ownership of Hawai'i and the "passing of local paternalism," which, as Noel Kent has said ironically, at least had had "a fatherly concern for Hawaii."⁵²

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

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

As they declined in numbers and influence, the papers became aware of the historical role they had played. From 1961 until its closing, *Plantation Hi-Lites* on Maui printed a "History From Our Files" column. The *Waialua Sugar Scoop* in 1973 printed a "Commemorative Issue" that documented the 75th anniversary of the plantation and the 25th anniversary of the paper.⁵³

NEWSLETTERS: THE PRESENT

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact publication date of the last newspaper, on newsprint, without a cover, and topical in nature,

because of mergers and conversions to bulletins and reports. By 1978, Hawai'i seemed to be without any plantation newspapers.

Newspapers in general still serve the public and are still considered good businesses. As Hawai'i becomes ever more urban, its newspapers are changing to meet new social, economic, and demographic demands. People from Lihue to Kohala continue to read them for their local interest as well as their national and international information and their ads.

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

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

NOTES

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

¹ Helen Geracimos Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From *He Liona* to the Pacific Cable," *HJH* 18 (1984): 47-86.

² Helen G. Chapin, Annotated List of Plantation Newspapers, 1988, ts., is to date the most complete listing. Nancy Morris and Claire Marumoto, NEH Newspaper Project Inventory of Newspapers Published in Hawaii, 1982, ts., contains a preliminary list. Sophia McMillen and Nancy Morris, *Hawaii Newspapers: A Union List*, Prepared by the Hawaii Newspaper Project, 1987,

is now the official list for online data use by U. S. and Canadian libraries but does not include newspapers the authors did not actually see nor for which no holdings have been found.

- ³ J. Albert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (New York and London: Longman, 1984) 141.
- ⁴ Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1985) 177-195. For plantation history, I have relied upon Beechert and upon Roland Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1983).
- ⁵ Takaki, *Pau Hana* 103.
- ⁶ Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976): 114-16 and 142.
- ⁷ Donald Bowman, General Welfare Work, HSPA Record 23 (1919); and Donald Bowman, Betterment of Industrial Relations, HSPA Record 25 (1921).
- ⁸ Takaki, *Pau Hana* 105.
- ⁹ HSPA Territorial Survey, *Plantation News*, 13 Feb. 1948.
- ¹⁰ Hawaiian Sugar Company Journal—General; *HA*, 27 Nov. 1923.
- ¹¹ *Makaweli Plantation News*, 1 Nov. 1919.
- ¹² *Makaweli Plantation News*, 1 Apr. 1920. Damkroger later moved to Maui where he was Executive Secretary of Kiwanis and active with the Maui Community Chest; *Valley Isle Chronicle*, 3 May, 1949, UH Hamilton Library.
- ¹³ Makaweli Manager's Report, 8 Jan. 1920.
- ¹⁴ Makaweli Manager's Report, 31 Dec. 1920.
- ¹⁵ *Makaweli Plantation News*, 1 Nov. 1919 and 1 Jan. 1920.
- ¹⁶ *HA*, 27 Nov. 1923. Management spent, industry wide, an estimated one million dollars between 1921 and 1924 on camp life. See Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961) 225.
- ¹⁷ Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono* 234-35.
- ¹⁸ See Sanford Zalburg, *A Spark Is Struck! Jack Hall and the ILWU in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1979), for the best account of Jack Hall, Edward Berman, Robert McElrath, and Arthur Rutledge as labor organizers/editors. The *Voice of Labor* was not the first labor paper in Hawai'i: that distinction belongs to the Japanese language *Rhodo Shinbun*, in 1904.
- ¹⁹ *KAA News and Kekaha Weekly Bulletin*, Mar. 1938. Kekaha Athletic Association Treasurer's Report of 30 Apr. 1938 said the newspaper cost \$59.52 to produce for the month.
- ²⁰ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii* 265.
- ²¹ Olaa Annual Report, 31 Dec. 1943. R. S. Blackshear is not to be confused with Roy C. Blackshear, Big Island businessman and developer.

- ²³ *Leo O Honomu*, 14 Nov. 1945.
- ²⁴ Robert Cushing, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. He is former Director of the HSPA.
- ²⁵ Tadao Okimoto, interview, 20 Feb. 1985.
- ²⁶ Zalberg, *A Spark Is Struck!* 141.
- ²⁷ Onomea Annual Report, 8 Mar. 1948.
- ²⁸ Newspaper circulation figures are from N.W. Ayer & Sons *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Fort Washington, Penna.), published approximately at ten-year intervals.
- ²⁹ Ernest Oshiro, interview, 21 Dec. 1987. He is an Associate Professor of Business and Economics at the University of Hawai'i-West O'ahu.
- ³⁰ *Voice of Hakalau*, Apr. 1946.
- ³¹ AMFAC on Kaua'i: *Brydeco News*, *Grove Farm Plantation News*, *Lihue Plantation News*, *Kaumakani News*, *Kekamana*, *Kilauea Life*, and *Namahana News*. C. Brewer on Hawai'i: *Hilo Sugar News*, *Maka O Pepeekeo*, *Naalehu News*, *Onomea Echo*, *Pahala Community News*, *Paauhau News*, and the *Voice of Hakalau*.
- ³² Harrison Foss, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. He is retired and lives in Honolulu.
- ³³ Charlotte Hoskins, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. Her father was the plantation doctor.
- ³⁴ Harrison Foss, interview.
- ³⁵ Chiyozu (Joe) Shiramizu, interview, 15 Dec. 1987. He is retired and lives on Kaua'i.
- ³⁶ M. Beryl (Candy) Palmer, interview, 14 Dec. 1987. She is retired and lives in Kaneohe.
- ³⁷ Harriet Iwai, interview, 14 Dec. 1987.
- ³⁸ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii* 304.
- ³⁹ *Kahukuan*, 25 Jan. 1952.
- ⁴⁰ Soichi (Eso) Yonemori, interview, 19 and 20 Dec. 1987. He lives in Aiea.
- ⁴¹ *Kahukuan*, 17 Nov. 1961.
- ⁴² *Ka Maka O Kohala* did not list staff names.
- ⁴³ See Zalberg, *A Spark Is Struck!* 185-86 and 311-19 for the best description of Lana'i during these years.
- ⁴⁴ Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History From Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (1948, rev. Edgewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1976): 239.
- ⁴⁵ Zalberg, *A Spark Is Struck!* 311-19.
- ⁴⁶ The *Lanaian* continued to publish irregularly through strike periods. A complete file of the paper is held at Hamilton Library.
- ⁴⁷ *Lanaian*, 14 June 1957.
- ⁴⁸ Besides Jack Hall, who was affiliated with several labor papers, there were: Jack Kimoto, reporter for the *Hawaii Hochi* and the *Yoan Jiho*; Koji Ariyoshi, muckraking editor of the *Honolulu Record*; and Dr. John Reinecke, who wrote for the *Record* and other pro-labor papers.

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

- ⁴⁸ *Paauhau News*, Feb. 1950 and Aug. 1951.
- ⁴⁹ *Naalehu News*, June 1949.
- ⁵⁰ *Naalehu News*, June 1949.
- ⁵¹ *Naalehu News*, Jan. 1972.
- ⁵² Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review, 1983) 118.
- ⁵³ *Sugar Scoop*, 12 Oct. 1973.

APPENDIX

NEWSPAPER	PLANTATION OR COMPANY	DATES OF PUBLICATION
<i>Brydeco Digest</i>	McBryde, Kaua'i	1960-1974
<i>Brydeco News</i>	McBryde, Kaua'i	1951-1958
<i>ERA Weekly Bulletin</i>	Ewa, O'ahu	1947-1948
<i>Ewa Bulletin</i>	Ewa, O'ahu	1947-1949
<i>Ewa Hurri-Cane</i>	Ewa, O'ahu	1949-1970?
<i>Ewa Life</i>	Ewa, O'ahu	1946
<i>Grove Farm Plantation News</i>	Grove Farm, Kaua'i	1951-1968
<i>Hamakua Mill Pond</i>	Honoka'a, Hawai'i	1948-1968
<i>Hana News</i>	Hana, Maui	1944
<i>H C & S Breeze</i>	H C & S, Maui	1948-1968
<i>H C & S Bulletin</i>	H C & S, Maui	1953-1960
<i>Hilo Coast News</i>	Hilo Coast, Hawai'i	1976-1977
<i>Hilo Sugar Co. News</i>	Hilo Sugar, Hawai'i	1931?-1963
<i>Hilo Sugar News</i>	Hilo Sugar, Hawai'i	1964-1965
<i>KAA News</i>	Kekaha, Kaua'i	1938
<i>Kahukuan</i>	Kahuku, O'ahu	1944-1961
<i>Ka'u News</i>	C. Brewer, Hawai'i	1972-1976
<i>Kaumakani News</i>	Kaumakani, Kaua'i	1950-1968
<i>Kekaha Weekly Bulletin</i>	Kekaha, Kaua'i	1938
<i>Kekamana</i>	Kekaha, Kaua'i	1947-1951
<i>Kilauea Life</i>	Kilauea, Kaua'i	1961-1970
<i>Lanaian</i>	Hawaiian Pine, Lana'i	1948-1958
<i>Laupahoehoe Observer</i>	Laupahoehoe, Hawai'i	1949-1959
<i>Leo O Honomu</i>	Honomu, Hawai'i	1937-1946
<i>Ka Leo O Kopa'a</i>	O'ahu Sugar, O'ahu	1970
<i>Ka Leo O Ookala</i>	O'okala, Hawai'i	1948-1956
<i>Ke Leo O Waipahu</i>	O'ahu Sugar, O'ahu	1949-1970
<i>Lihue Plantation News</i>	Lihue, Kaua'i	1948-1957
<i>L. P. Co. Progress</i>	Lihue, Kaua'i	1958

APPENDIX—Cont'd

NEWSPAPER	PLANTATION OR COMPANY	DATES OF PUBLICATION
<i>Ka Maka O Kohala</i>	Kohala, Hawai'i	1950-1972
<i>Maka O Pepeekeo</i>	Pepeekeo, Hawai'i	1937-1960
<i>Makaweli Plantation News</i>	Makaweli, Kaua'i	1919-1923
<i>Moloka'i News</i>	? Moloka'i	c. 1935 (nhf)
<i>Naalehu News</i>	Hutchinson, Hawai'i	1944-1970
<i>Namahana News</i>	Kilauea, Kaua'i	1951-1958
<i>Namakana News</i>	Kilauea, Kaua'i	1951-1956
<i>Ka Nani O Pioneer</i>	Pioneer, Maui	1948-1965
<i>The Observer</i>	Laupahoehoe, Hawai'i	1956-1959
<i>Olaa News</i>	Olaa, Hawai'i	1943-1951
<i>Onomea Echo</i>	Onomea, Hawai'i	1939-1965
<i>Paauhau Communicator</i>	Paauhau, Hawai'i	1963-1968
<i>Paauhau News</i>	Paauhau, Hawai'i	1960-1968
<i>Pahala Community News</i>	Pahala, Hawai'i	1943-1971
<i>Ko Pepa O Wailuku</i>	Wailuku, Maui	1965-1972
<i>Pioneer Mill Co. News</i>	Pioneer, Maui	1969-1983
<i>Plantation Hi-Lites</i>	Wailuku, Maui	1939-1961
<i>Plantation News</i>	Waimea, Kaua'i	1946-1950
<i>Plantation News</i>	Paauiilo, Hawai'i	1949-1950
<i>Sugar Scoop</i>	Waialua, O'ahu	1970-1983
<i>Voice of Hakalau</i>	Hakalau, Hawai'i	1941-1961
<i>WACO Flash</i>	Waialua, O'ahu	1950-1958
<i>WACO News</i>	Waialua, O'ahu	1942-1958
<i>Wahiawa News</i>	? O'ahu	1949 (nhf)
<i>Waialua News</i>	Waialua, O'ahu	1946
<i>Wailuku Plantation Record</i>	Wailuku, Maui	1939
<i>Waimea Ptanter</i>	Waimea, Kaua'i	1956-1960

nhf - no holdings found