

KA NUPEPA KUOKOA

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, the Hawaiian language newspaper with the longest publication history, first appeared in 1861. While published with Christian mission support and demonstrating a haole, or European-American stance, it had a long history of publishing information about Hawaiian, or Kanaka Maoli, tradition and culture. This essay briefly relates its history, its contents, and the social context in which it appeared. Terms used throughout are those found in the newspapers, and used by the native people to refer to themselves, such as Kanaka Maoli, or kanaka, and the term they used to refer to Caucasians, haole. **The use of the 'okina and kahako is determined by the method utilized by the newspapers and the sources used as references in this essay.**

Hawaiian language newspapers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century present to a growing audience of readers a rich source of Kanaka Maoli history and culture. Among the more than 80 titles currently available in various states of completeness and formats can be found viewpoints on religion, economics, culture, and politics of Christian missionaries; haole business and political leaders; and Kanaka Maoli scholars, leaders, and the general population. These newspapers serve as a primary source of information on issues facing Hawai'i in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Presenting a native view of historical events in Hawai'i and the world, and a Kanaka Maoli perspective on their own culture, they tell the readers of today about their concerns of a changing society.

Early Hawaiian language newspapers in Hawai'i

Prior to 1861 Hawaiian language newspapers in Hawai'i were educational vehicles of western religions. *Ka Lama Hawaii* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii* were the papers of the ABCFM, or American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, mainly New England Calvinist missionaries, but produced by and for their students at Lahainaluna School in Mau'i. *Ka Nonanona* and *Ka Elele Hawaii* were both edited by Reverend Richard Armstrong, who later became the superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction. *Ka Hae Hawaii*, official newspaper of that department under Armstrong, also conveyed a Protestant slant. *He Mau Hana i Hanaia*, the first Roman

Catholic paper appeared irregularly in 1852 and was followed by *Haimanava* in 1858.¹

Non-religious Hawaiian language press

In 1861 appeared Hawaiian language newspapers in opposition to the religious press of the missionaries. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (started in September), edited by David Kalakaua, was followed shortly by *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in October. This latter newspaper was to become the longest lasting Hawaiian language newspaper, published monthly in October, November, and December of 1861, and weekly thereafter until December 29, 1927. In the course of its history it would absorb a number of its rival newspapers. According to Helen Chapin the editors of *Kuokoa*

...published what turned out to be materials of the greatest importance to Hawaiian history....In *Kuokoa* are genealogies, tales of gods and goddesses, vivid descriptions of Hawaiian birds, bird catching and fishing practices, instructions on canoe building, summaries of medical practices, accounts of travel through the Islands, and how to speak the Hawaiian language correctly. In its pages, too, first appeared the of John Papa Ii and Samuel M. Kamakau, which were later gathered together respectively as *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (1959) and *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*²

Early English language newspapers in Hawai'i

The Hawaiian language newspapers were not the only early papers in Hawai'i. Although *Ka Lama* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii* were the first two newspapers to be published in Hawai'i, English language newspapers soon followed. These early English language papers were commercial ventures, published by businessmen to promote their economic and political ideas. The *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce* (1836-39)

¹ Esther Mookini's *The Hawaiian Newspapers* presents a more detailed history of Hawaiian language newspapers, a list of Hawaiian language newspapers published every year from 1834 to 1948, and a list of principal editors of the papers. Honolulu: Topgallant, 1974.

² Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, 56-57.

was aimed at the foreigners living in Hawai'i. It was the first newspaper to contain advertising. It advocated freedom of the press, discussed the declining Kanaka Maoli population, and supported freedom of religion for Roman Catholics in Hawai'i. The *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette* (1839-1841) was supported by American businessmen.

Some English language papers supported Christianity. The *Polynesian* (1840-41, 1844-64), was published by James Jackson Jarves of Boston. From 1844 to 1860 it became the official printer of laws and notices of the Hawaiian government. The *Friend* (1843-1954) was begun by Reverend Samuel Chenery Damon. In contrast, the *Honolulu Times* (1849-1851) published by Henry L. Sheldon, originally of Rhode Island, opposed the influence of American Protestants, as did the earlier English language newspapers supported by the business community. After the *Honolulu Times* ceased publication, Abraham Fornander, who had written for Sheldon, published the *Weekly Argus* (1851-53). Fornander's objective was to provide in the *Weekly Argus* a voice against the government's *Polynesian*. From 1853 to 1855 it was published as the *New Era and Weekly Argus*.³

In 1856 Henry Whitney began the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (1856-), which was renamed the *Honolulu Advertiser* in 1902. In 1882 Whitney also started the *Daily Bulletin* (1882-) which was later renamed the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. In 1861, while he continued to publish the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Whitney commenced publication of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa has been described as "the first independent Hawaiian newspaper", in the sense that it was independent of American Protestants, French Catholics and the government of the Hawaiian kingdom.⁴ However, Rubellite Johnson considers *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* to be the successor to *Ka Hae Hawaii*, which had succeeded *Ka Elele Hawaii* as the official paper of the Office of Public Instruction.⁵ She refers to an announcement by the editor of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in October 1861, that the *Kuokoa* would continue where *Ka Hae Hawaii* had stopped. Noenoe Silva classifies the *Kuokoa* as

³ See Chapin, 19-52 for a discussion of early English language newspapers, their publishers, and positions.

⁴ Mookini, vi.

⁵ Rubellite Kawena Johnson, ed. *Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a; A Chronicle of Entries October, 1861 - September, 1862*. Honolulu: Topgallant, 1975, xii-xiii.

"establishment," as opposed to *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, which she describes as "resistance," and *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1856-61) as "government."⁶ She points out that *Kuokoa* was owned and run by Henry Whitney, son of missionaries, and that his paper was endorsed by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. She writes, "*Kuokoa* was popular because of its rich content, and in spite of Whitney's attitude of superiority over the Kanaka Maoli."⁷ John Reinecke writes, "The *Kuokoa* (1861 to 1927) in particular was for the long while a journal of opinion as well as information and afforded an outlet for the literary and didactic ambitions of Hawaiians."⁸

Publisher Henry Whitney

Henry Martyn Whitney (1824-1904), son of Samuel and Mercy Whitney of the Pioneer Company of ABCFM missionaries, was born on Kaua'i, and educated in Rochester, New York. He worked on the American newspaper *New York Commercial Advertiser* and for the publisher Harper and Brothers, then returned to Hawai'i where he served as head printer at the Hawai'i government printing plant and business manager of the English-language newspaper, *The Polynesian*.

In July 1856 Whitney began his own English-language newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA). He described the PCA as a free press, independent of the government.⁹ From July till September 1856 the last page of the PCA was printed in the Hawaiian language and called *Ka Hoku Loa o Hawaii*. Whitney's influence was wide-ranging. He is described by Johnson as a

...man who was a true and experienced journalist rather than a mission or government educator. What he achieved in 1856 was two-fold: the liberation of the press from the mission and the government, making journalism a commercial enterprise independent of the church and the state,

⁶ Noenoe Silva, *Ke Ku'e Kupaça Loa Nei Makou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization*. Ph D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1999, 25.

⁷ Silva, 58.

⁸ John Reinecke, *Language and Dialect in Hawaii; a Sociolinguistic History to 1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969, 30.

⁹ Mookini, vi.

and the liberation of the Hawaiian reader
(or writer).¹⁰

She concludes that Whitney elevated the position of the Hawaiian-reading audience on the same level as the English-reading audience by printing the same news for the two groups. "He opened a bilingual dialogue through *Ka Hoku Loa o Hawaii*...Whitney approached the Hawaiian audience ...with secular, rather than religious or academic, appeal.¹¹ An opposite opinion, quoted by Silva, was that of J.H. Kanepu'u, one of the authors of the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. He wrote that the subscription price for readers of both languages was the same, \$6 per year, even though the English readers got three-fourths of the information.¹² Five years later, in 1861, Whitney commenced publication of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, with three monthly issues in October, November, and December of 1861, then weekly issues for the next 65 years.

Contents of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*

Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a; a Chronicle of Entries October, 1861-September, 1862, edited by Rubellite Johnson contains a listing of one year's publication history of this paper. She presents a page by page annotated list of the contents of each issue published during the period covered. Johnson notes that the newspaper demonstrated a similar format in each issue. She classifies articles in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* into several categories.

The first section, called *Kela Mea Keia Mea o ka Aina e Mai*, later titled *Na Mea Hou no na Aina e Mai*, consisted of foreign news, which took two weeks to arrive in Hawai'i, and in the first year consisted of news of the American Civil War. The second section, titled *Kela Mea Keia Mea o Hawaii Nei*, later titled *Na Mea o Hawaii Nei*, presented news of Hawai'i, such as the marriage of Lydia Kamakaeha Lili'uokalani to John Owen Dominis; the death of Prince Albert, son of King Kamehameha V and Queen Emma; and the retirement of John Papa 'I'i from public office. The third category identified by Johnson were letters to the editor, and the fourth category consisted of *olelo hoolaha*, or announcements and

¹⁰ Rubellite Kinney Johnson, ed. *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, 58.

¹¹Johnson, 1976, 58.

¹² Silva, 25.

advertisements. Also featured in each issue were serialized literature, both European tales and traditional Kanaka Maoli stories, which according to Johnson came from *Mooolelo Hawaii*, the manuscripts written by Lahainaluna students. Poetry in the form of *mele inoa* (name songs) and *kanikau* (dirges) were often published, as were fillers of Christian or Kanaka Maoli maxims and jokes; announcements of births, marriages and deaths; and shipping lists.¹³

Johnson's 1976 *Kukini 'Aha'ilono*, a compilation of articles published in Hawaiian language newspapers that were selected and translated by her Hawaiian language students, includes articles of history and culture and letters of political debates, and demonstrates the variety of information published in the newspapers. Included in this volume are sample articles from issues of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 1861-1873. From the October 24, 1861 issue are transcribed and translated "He Mele No Ka Nupepa Kuokoa," (A Song for the Newspaper Kuokoa), by G. W. Kahiolo of Kalihi; "Na Luina Pukiki Ma Hawaii Nei," (Portuguese Sailors in Hawaii); "I Ke Aupuni a Me Ka Moi," (To The Government And The King), by S. D. Keolanui, who requests that the government welcome the independent newspapers. From the November 7, 1861 issue is "No Ka Hoku Loa Mai," (About the Morning Star), by Puninupepa, questioning why the people of Mau'i and Moloka'i reject *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. From the November 11, 1861 issue is "He Manao Hooakaka," (An Explanation), by Waianuenue, which is a letter to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in response to a letter in the *Hoku* about Waianuenue's earlier letter in the *Kuokoa*. Letters back and forth between *Kuokoa* and *Ka Hoku* arguing the relevance of each of the two papers to the Kanaka Maoli readers continued through the publication life of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, until 1863.¹⁴

This volume also contains from the January 11, 1862 issue "No Loko Mai O Ka Olelo Geremania; Ka Moo Alii," (From the German Language; The Frog Prince). Johnson notes that in its initial year of publication, a number of European folktales were published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, and she lists 14 that were published in this year.¹⁵

In the October 4, 1862 issue is an article titled "He Make Kupanaha," (A Strange Death), regarding the death of its rival, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, because the people had chosen

¹³ Johnson, 1975, xiv-xvi.

¹⁴ Johnson, 1976, 187-199

¹⁵ Johnson, 1976, 204-205

the *Kuokoa* over *Ka Hoku*. Then on October 11, 1862 appeared a letter by R. Saderoka of Kaua'i, reminding readers that subscribers of *Ka Hoku* were still owed issues of the paper.

Rivalry between *Kuokoa* and *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*

Beginning with the earliest issues of the *Kuokoa* and *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, intense and eloquent debates were conducted through editorials and letters to the editors. As described by Silva, rivalry between the two papers began when Henry Whitney tried to control the content of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* by first raising his quoted prices for printing that paper at the government printing press, which he headed. When he was unable to take control, Whitney began *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in opposition to the *Hoku*. Silva further describes the situation in terms of missionary desire to control the *Hoku*, and refers to an editorial in it charging that the objection of the Calvinist community to the *Hoku* was that Kanaka Maoli controlled its content. "It would, therefore, be much more to the liking of the missionary community that Whitney control any new so-called independent newspaper, especially since Whitney was one of their own; he was the son of missionaries of the 'Pioneer Company' (the first company of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions)."¹⁶ She then quotes from Abraham Fornander, editor of an English language newspaper, *The Polynesian*:

It is true that a foreign publisher...has offered to issue a journal in the Hawaiian language to supply the intellectual wants of the native people, and that his offer has been most warmly seconded and espoused by the Missionaries, but...the natives repudiate it...because it is calculated to drive their own paper out of the field, and because they apprehend that it will not be a true reflex of their own opinions and thoughts.¹⁷

Whitney's position toward Kanaka Maoli

Born in Hawai'i and schooled in New England, Henry Whitney loved Hawai'i yet not its culture. He felt that Kanaka Maoli should follow the model of Americans and

¹⁶ Silva, 35-36.

¹⁷ Silva, 37-38, from *Polynesian*, 1861, 23 Nov.

Europeans. In the first issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* Whitney listed his objectives in publishing the paper.

First. The publication of all important and good things that happen in foreign lands, [thereby] extending the morality of the Hawaiians who witness [these].

Second. Haole ideas of these various lands will be announced; their way of life, work, education, strengthening, prosperity, etc., so that Hawaiians can know these, and become like enlightened people.

Third. Proper agriculture will be published, to demonstrate to those of good industry in order that they can cultivate like enlightened haoles. This paper will also encourage work without laziness.

Fourth. And upon obtaining cameras, the paper will be beautified by pictures showing the nature of people and things of foreign lands.

Fifth. The people of this paper are loyal to truth, and arguments of the various religious factions will not be printed.

Sixth. This paper stands for loyalty to the King, the Queen, the Lord of Hawaii, and the chiefs; will teach obedience to the laws, and loyalty to the sovereign, which is the first duty of all Hawaiians.

Seventh. Also news of this archipelago which Hawaiians want to read will be published in this paper. The main idea of this paper is the publication of all things educational for the benefit of Hawaiians so that their way of life will resemble that of the haole.¹⁸

Editors of *Kuokoa*

Henry Whitney's far-reaching influence as publisher of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* is described by Helen Chapin as being due to his practice of "hiring capable Hawaiian editors, such as Joseph Kawainui, S.K. Mahoe, and J.M. Poepoe, who published what

¹⁸ Silva, 58-59 has included and translated parts of the objectives printed in *Ka Hoku Loa* by Whitney. She points out that Whitney used the word *kanaka* to refer to Hawaiians, since foreigners in Hawai'i required no such education. Silva also presents "Text of the Objectives of *Nupepa Kuokoa*, as published therein, October 1861, 213.

turned out to be materials of the greatest importance to Hawaiian history."¹⁹

In 1861 the editor of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was L. H. Gulick. He announced in the paper that *Kuokoa* would continue where *Ka Hae Hawaii* had left off, in its support of the missionary position. In 1866, while still editor of *Kuokoa*, Gulick started the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ke Alaula*, with co-editors Anderson O. Forbes and Lorenzo Lyons. All three were also agents and distributors of *Kuokoa* on outer islands. *Ke Alaula* was the organ of the Hawaiian Board of Missions.

In 1870 Gulick was joined by co-editor Joseph Kawainui. Then in 1871 Henry Whitney took over as editor until 1873, when Joseph Kawainui became co-editor again. The following list was compiled by Esther Mookini, and is taken from her work *The Hawaiian Newspapers*²⁰. She lists editors and notes other papers absorbed by *Kuokoa*, as well as the accompanying name changes.

1861-65	Luther Halsey Gulick
1870	L.H. Gulick and Joseph Kawainui
1871	H.M. Whitney
1873-83	Joined by <i>Ke Au Okoa</i> and called <i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa me Ke Au Okoa I Huiia</i>
1873	H.M. Whitney and Joseph Kawainui
1877	J. Mott-Smith
1878	Rev. H. H. Parker and S.K. Mahoe
1879	Sam G. Wilder
1880	Samuel Kaaikaula and H. Aea
1883	Thomas Thrum
1890	H.M. Whitney
April 4, 1891-December 24, 1896:	Joined by <i>Ko Hawaii Pae Aina</i> . The weekly was called <i>Ka Nupepa Kukoa me Ko Hawaii Pae Aina I Huiia</i> . The daily was called <i>Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa me Ko Hawaii Pae Aina I Huiia</i> . Editors were H.M. Whitney and Joseph Kawainui
1894	J. Kawainui
1895	J.M. Poepoe
1899	A.W. Pearson
1900	W.J. Coelho
1901	D. Kanewanui
1902	D. Kanewanui, then D. A-i
1904-05	S.K. Nawaa and D. A-i
1906	D. A-i and S.K. Nawaa
1907	D. A-i and Solomon Hanohano

¹⁹ Chapin, 56-57.

²⁰ Mookini, 36.

1908-18 Charles Crane and Solomon Hanohano
1918-27 Solomon Hanohano

In the following section is reported the scanty information available on the various editors of *Ka Nupepa Kuoka*. Standard sources of information for biographical information about people in Hawai'i were searched. Results were mixed, for most the editors with haole names were listed in these publications, but the editors with Hawaiian names were not listed. Two exceptions are Simeon Nawaa (co-editor 1904-05 and 1907), and Solomon Hanohano, who was a co-editor with D. A-i in 1907, with Charles Crane in 1908-18, and the *Kuokoa's* last editor 1918-27.²¹

- Reverend Luther Halsey Gulick (1828-1891)
- Joseph Kawainui. (No dates available). From Hana, Mau'i, trained in printing at Lahainaluna School, he also taught there.²²
- Whitney. Noted in a previous section of this essay.
- J. Mott-Smith. (1824-1895). A dentist from New York, he arrived in Hawai'i in 1851 and practiced dentistry in Honolulu. His other positions included editor of the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1866 when it was started to defend the constitution of King Kamehameha V, minister of finance 1869-1872, minister of the interior 1876-78, friend of Kalakaua and Lili'uokalani who was sent to Washington D.C. to support the cause of the kingdom. In 1891 he returned to Hawai'i to become minister of finance under Queen Lili'uokalani, later he became minister plenipotentiary to Washington until 1893.
- Reverend H.H. Parker, Also served as editor of *Ka Hoku Loa* (1859-1864), *Ke Alaula* (1870), *Ka Lau Oliva* (1871-1873), *Ka Lahui Hawai'i* (1875-1877).
- S.K. Mahoe
- Samuel G. Wilder. (1831-1888). Arrived in Hawaii in 1856 and was a prominent business man in Hawai'i, involved in fertilizer, a sugar plantation on Oahu, interisland shipping, railways on Mau'i and Hawai'i island. He was appointed by King Lunalilo to the House of Nobles in 1873 and continued until 1887. Served King Kalakaua as minister of the interior 1878-1880; also served on the board of health.
- Samuel Kaaikaula
- H. Aea

²¹ The sources checked were in English; a search through *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* may yield information about its editors.

²² Helen Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From "He Liona" to the Pacific Cable," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 18 (1984), 53.

•Thomas George Thrum. (1842-1932). Brought from Australia by his parents in 1853, at the age of 11. In 1875 published the first *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* (known as "*Thrum's*"), and continued to publish it until 1932. He edited *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in 1883; started *Paradise of the Pacific*, a monthly magazine in 1888 with James J Williams (it later became the *Honolulu Magazine*). Thrum located and listed 500 heiau, collected and published numerous Hawaiian folk tales, and completed and published Fornander's *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*.

- J.M. Poepoe
- W.J. Coelho
- D. Kanewanui
- A. A-i

•Simeon Kahaulemauna Nawaa. (1871-1961). Born to Hawaiian Congregationalist missionaries on a missionary ship in the Marshall Islands, he came to Hawai'i at the age of 12. He was a lay pastor, had his own church in Waimea, Kaua'i, did missionary work on Ni'ihau, and was president of the Sunday School Association of the Congregational Church of Hawai'i for 40 years. He spoke Hawaiian, Samoan, Gilbertese, Trukese, and English, and was considered "a brilliant Hawaiian of photograhic memory who delighted many readers by his enlightening letters to the editor on matters of Hawaiian history, lore, language and religion."²³

•Solomon Hanohano (1871[?]-1941[?]). Born in Kealia, Kona, Hawai'i, he was raised in Honolulu, and educated at Kamehameha Schools. According to his obituary he co-edited the *Kuokoa* with his father-in-law, John K. Nakila.²⁴

•Charles Crane (1869-1958). Son of a settler in Hawai'i, studied at Punahou School, he worked for the Mutual Telephone Co, and joined the Advertiser Publishing Co. in 1897. Elected supervisor of the City and County of Honolulu in 1932 and 1934. Completed Mayor George Fred Wright's term in 1936 and was elected for one term in 1838.

Oral histories and *Kuokoa*

²³ Reverend Abraham K. Akaka, quoted in Nawaa's obituary, *Hawaii Newspaper Agency Clippings Morgue. Persons*. December 3, 1961 [Available in Hamilton Library, Microfiche D98050.] It is often difficult to determine the newspaper in which the article or letter was published. The morgue also contains Hanohano's letters to the editor of the *Star-Bulletin*, articles on Kanaka Maoli culture and language, and a letter greeting Governor Samuel Wilder King in Hawaiian, from the *Star-Bulletin*[?].

²⁴ *Hawaii Newspaper Agency Clippings Morgue. Persons*. November 1, 194[1]? [unable to determine title of newspaper].

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa played a vital role in the lives of its Kanaka Maoli readers through the years. Among the people living in Hawai'i of the 20th century who vividly remember the *Kuokoa* is one of its editors, Simeon K. Nawaa, who in 1955, at the age of 83 recalled his days as a newspaper boy when he was 12 years old. He delivered the *Kuokoa*, *Elele Poakolu*, and *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*.

With other boys young Simeon waited for his papers at the press building on the site of the present King theater. As they came off the press he helped fold them by hand, then stuffed the papers in leather saddlebags. Each week he carried over 500 papers, requiring the use of two horses to cover the long route. If he received his papers at noon he would be finished by 9 at night. There were many streams to be forded. At crossings he avoided wet papers by balancing the saddle bags on his head.²⁵

Mrs. Lilian Nowelo Napoleon of Moloka'i, speaking to Larry Kimura on his Hawaiian language radio program *Ka Leo o Hawaii*, recalled that she learned to read Hawaiian from the *Kuokoa* while reading to her grandparents:

...ko'u a'o 'ana ka heluhelu hawai'i ma ka
nupepa ku'oko'a... 'ale vau ho'omaopopo 'o
vai la..ka mea ke ola nei..ho'omapopo kela
nupepa..nupepa ku'oko'a

Her grandfather worked for the *Kuokoa*, writing news of Moloka'i and sending it to editor Hanohano in Honolulu:

...na mea nui, mea hou o ka 'aina o
molokai...nana e kakau..pau..ho'ouna 'o ia
i keia ke'ena i honolulu nei...²⁶

In another interview on the *Ka Leo Hawaii* program, Mrs. Esther Kekela Kakalia Westmoreland told Larry that her maternal grandfather Jonathan Nakila worked for the *Kuokoa* with her uncle Kolomona Hanohano. And Mrs. Annie Kini, of

²⁵ *Hawaii Newspaper Agency Clippings Morgue. Persons.* October 5, 1955 [unable to determine in which of the two Honolulu papers the article was published].

²⁶ Lilian Nowelo Napoleon, *Ka Leo o Hawaii* interview with Larry Kimura, January 1, 1981, Tape HV24:273.

O'ahu recalled that her uncle Galston Kilion Poepoe worked for *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.²⁷

Locating articles in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*

The two publications by Rubellite Johnson and her Hawaiian language students are important sources of information on the partial contents of the *Kuokoa*. The first is *Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a: A Chronicle of Entries October, 1861-September, 1862*, published in 1975. Johnson and her students translated and indexed the first year of this paper's publication history. It is a page by page; column by column listing of the articles published in each issue, with the author's name, the title in Hawaiian, the title translated into English, and abstracts for selected articles. Johnson writes:

The single impression which this list first creates is the sheer magnitude of Hawaiian journalistic production, roughly over one hundred newspapers, and the long duration of this activity for a little over a century. It also dispels a notion entertained by many of us that the Hawaiians "lost" their culture. The newspapers demonstrate otherwise, that, liberated by the knowledge of writing and trained in the operation of the printing press, the Hawaiians, with the same characteristic anxiety over the loss of their traditions, spurred on by the successes of Lahainaluna, wrote with a passionate determination to stall or to circumvent that possibility so long as they were able to find pen and paper.²⁸

In 1976 Johnson and her Hawaiian language students' work of compiling and translating selected articles from Hawaiian language newspapers, appeared in *Kukini 'Aha'ilona [Carry on The News]: Over a Century Of Native Hawaiian Life and Thought From The Hawaiian Language Newspapers of 1834 to 1948*

²⁷ Esther Kekela Kakalia Westmoreland, *Ka Leo o Hawaii* interview with Larry Kimura, September 23, 1984. Tape HV24.345. Annie Kini, *Ka Leo o Hawaii* interview with Larry Kimura, October 21, 1984. Tape HV24:349.

²⁸ Johnson, 1975, x.

Published In Honor Of The Bicentennial. Articles from the *Kuokoa* during the years 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1868, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1876, and 1876 are transcribed and translated. These articles demonstrate the variety of information published in the paper, for there are articles commenting on political events, such as "Ka Hoalii Ana Ia Ka Mea Kiekie Ke Alii W. C. Lunalilo I Moi," (The Crowning of the High Chief, W. C. Lunalilo as King," (January 11, 1873); "Lanakila ka Moi a na Makaainana; Ke Anaina nui 12,000....," (The King and the People Win; A Throng of 12,000....," (January 11, 1873), *kanikau* (dirges), such as "He Kanikau No Ka Moi 'Iolani Kamehameha IV!" (A Lament for King Kamehameha IV!), by Queen Emma (January 2, 1864), and *mele* (songs), and articles of interest, such as "No Na Inoa," (Pertaining to Names), on the law of 1860 to regulate names (June 13, 1863). The *Kuokoa* articles treated in this volume are interspersed with articles from other Hawaiian language newspapers of the period.

Series in *Kuokoa* located by Hawaiian language students and teachers

At present a detailed published index to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in its entirety is not available for consultation. The resulting difficulty in locating articles on specific topics may be alleviated by two incomplete but useful indexes by the Bishop Museum Library and also available at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library. *Index to Hawaiian Ethnological Notes*, known as HEN, is an index on microfiche. It was reproduced from a card file index of ethnological information published in Hawaiian language newspapers and other sources, some of which were translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i. In this index it is possible to search topics, such as "birds-bird catching, calendars, canoes & canoe building, legends, plants, prayers, tattooing, warfare," etc. Also in this index are references by newspaper titles, so that it is possible to check the microfiche for *Kuokoa*, and locate some articles, although these references are sparse in number. In addition, there are references to authors. See appendix 2 for a list of the subject headings and titles of newspapers that are partially indexed. The references found in this index are to Hawaiian language newspapers such as *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, as well as notes and translations available at the Bishop Museum Library.

A second index, also based on a card index at the Bishop Museum Library, is *Bishop Museum Hawaiian Language Newspaper Index*, compiled by the Bishop Museum Library staff. Currently a paper copy and a database are available at the Bishop Museum

Library and the Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Articles in a number of Hawaiian language newspapers are listed, by topics such as "awa, land division, aliis, birds, hulas, language," etc. See appendix 3 for a partial list of articles in the *Kuokoa*.

Students and teachers of the Hawaiian language have found in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* many serialized mo'olelo, or historical stories, to study and publish. Among the most recent is Thomas K. Maunupau's *Huakai Makaikai a Kaupo, Maui (A Visit to Kaupo, Maui)*, published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* June 1, 1922-March 15, 1923.²⁹ Another recent publication is Samuel Kamakau's *Ke Kumu Aupuni: Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i no Kamehameha ka Na'i Aupuni a me Kana Aupuni i Ho'okumu Ai*, also called *Moololo Hawaii no Kamehameha*, serialized in the *Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa* from October 20, 1866 to October 13, 1869.³⁰ Other serialized stories are listed below in the following format: Title of story; *Kuokoa* dates; Author if available. They are listed in detail, for because of the lack of a complete index it is difficult to pinpoint specific articles in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in a systematic manner.

- Title: *Kalelealuaka: ka Ihu Kae-a-e-a o Lihue, Kauai, ka Olali Hoi o Kona Mau La U-i*
Date: April 9-June 4, 1870
- Title: *He Moololo Kaao no Kahikinaakala: Ka Mea Nona ka Oleloia Ana, Ka Hiwahiwa o ka La Hiki Mai*
Date: November 13-December 11, 1875
- Title: *He Kaau no Pikoikaalala!: Ke Keiki Akamai i ka Pana*
Date: December 16, 1865-March 10, 1866
Author: S.M. Kauai
- Title: *Ka Moololo no Kepakailiula*
Date: October 22, 1864-June 8, 1865
Author: S.W.P. Kaulainamoku
- Title: *He Moololo no Aahoaka ke Koa a me Kona Hanau Kupanaha Ana: He Moololo Kahiko no Kauai*
Date: December 30, 1876-March 3, 1877 (incomplete)
- Title: *He Kaao no Kauilani: Ke Kupueu o ka Uka Waokele o Kawaikiui i Wailua, Kauai, a me Kana Poe Mamo Aku*
Date: September 18, 1869-January 12, 1870
Author: Samuela Kapohu
- Title: *Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I; ka Moololo o na Kamehameha; ka Moololo o Hawaii*

²⁹ Naomi Noelanioko'olau Clarke Losch editor, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998.

³⁰ Puakea Nogelmeier editor, Honolulu: 'Ahahui 'Olelo Hawai'i, 1996.

Date: October 20, 1866-January 9, 1869
Author: Samuel Kamakau
•Title: *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I*
Author: S.N. Haleole
Title: *He Mau Olelo Mua no ka Mookuauhau o Kamehameha I*
Author: Samuel Kamakau
Date: April 20 and May 4, 1865

Shorter stories and articles have also been republished as Hawaiian language readers:

•Title: *No ka Pohaku Paepae Kapu o Liloa*
Date: November 3, 1870
Author: Samuel Kamakau
•Title: *He Mau Keiki Hakaka me ka Mano*
Date: December 2, 1861
•Title: *Kekahi Mau Hana Aloha a Kamehameha*
Date: June 15, 1906
•Title: *Kekahi Mau Olelo Hawaii Naauao*
Date: May 18, 1922.³¹

Additional articles on Hawaiian culture and biography have been located and reproduced for instructional use:

•Title: *Lawaia Mahiai ame Kalepa Hookahi no ia Kino,*
Author: J.K. Mokumaia
Title: *Na Ano Lawaia*
Author: Rev. H.B. Nalimu
Date: April 30-September 3, 1925 and July 22, 1926, edited by Theodore Kelsey (on fishing and agriculture)
•Title: *Ka Ninau Ia ma Hawaii Nei: Oi Ae ka Pii o ke Kumukuai Mamua o na Wahi e Ae. Na Kulana Ano-e ame ka Noho Naauo na Kumu. O ka Hoonauao ke Kumu i Hoopakeleia Ai,* Date: August 13-September 10, 1925
Author: Lorrin A. Kakina
•Title: *La Hoihoi Ea*
Date: August 11, 1866
Author: Samuel Kamakau
•Title: *Na Olelo Pane a S.M. Kamakau. Kupaa Oiaio! Kupaa Oiaio!! Kupaa Oiaio!!!*
Date: October 24-31, 1868
Author: Samuel Kamakau
•Title: *Ka Papa Kuhikuhi Makahiki: O na Mea Kaulana o Hawaii Nei*
Date: July 13-29, 1865

³¹ Published by Hale Kuamo'o, Kikowaena 'Olelo Hawai'i, Kulanui o Hawai'i ma Hilo, 1990-94.

- Title: *He Mau Mele Koihonua a me na Mele no Kauilanuimakehaikalani Kamaialii*
Date: October 3-November 7, 1868
Author: Samuel Kamakau
- Title: *Ka Make Ana o ka Mea Kiekie ke Kama Aliiwahine Victoria Kamamalu Kaahumanu: Ke Ola a me ka Make Ana iho nei o Victoria K. Kaahumanu*
Date: June 2-August 4, 1866, (incomplete)
- Title: *Ka Moololo o Heneri Opukahaia*
Date: September 9, 1865-March 24, 1866
- Title: *Ke Ola Kino*
Date: December 10, 1864-March 10, 1866
- Title: *A Typescript of "Ka Hoomana Kahiko", chapters 2-34*
Date: January 12, 1865-April 14, 1866.

Brief chronology of events in Hawai'i during publication history of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1861-1927

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa's influence can be seen in the mo'olelo, chants, and articles on native culture, published at a time of diminishing knowledge of their own culture among the Kanaka Maoli. Today these materials provide a wealth of information to the reader of the Hawaiian language. In addition, in its pages can be read news articles, editorials, and letters to the editors, which report and comment on the events of the day. Birth, marriage, and death notices provide genealogical information. Its lengthy publication history enables the modern reader to learn about how Kanaka Maoli who lived during the period of 1861 to 1927 thought and felt about important events of the day. The following is a brief historical chronology of an important time in Hawai'i, which can help to identify time periods in the newspaper files to scan for relevant articles.

- 1863 Kamehameha IV dies November 30 and is succeeded by his older brother, Lot Kamehameha.
- 1864 Kamehameha V (Lot Kamehameha) decrees a new constitution which contains property qualifications for the elected representatives and the voters, August 20.
- 1866 The first leprosy patients taken to Kalawao, Moloka'i, on the Kalaupapa peninsula.
- 1868 The first Japanese arrive on June 24.
- 1871 Henry Berger arrives from Germany on June 11 to conduct the Royal Hawaiian Band.
- 1872 Kamehameha V dies on December 11, with no successor.
- 1873 William Lunalilo is elected king by the legislature on June 8, the first elected king, and ends the Kamehameha line of succession.

- 1874 King Lunalilo dies on February 3. David Kalakaua is elected king on February 12 by the legislature. He departs for a goodwill tour of the United States on November 17.
- 1875 A reciprocity treaty is signed on January 30, allowing sugar and other products to enter the United States without customs duties.
- 1876 The U.S. Senate ratifies the Reciprocity Treaty on August 15.
- 1877 Prince Leleiohoku, heir to the throne, dies on April 19. Princess Lili'uokalani is proclaimed heir by King Kalakaua.
- 1878 Portuguese contract laborers arrive on September 30.
- 1879 Cornerstone of 'Iolani Palace is laid on December 31.
- 1880 An eruption of Mauna Loa threatens Hilo in November. Princess Ruth Ke'elikolani asks the gods to spare Hilo, and the lava flow stops.
- 1881 King Kalakaua's trip around the world begins in January.
- 1882 'Iolani Palace is completed in December.
- 1883 King Kalakaua and Queen Kapi'olani hold a coronation ceremony in front of 'Iolani Palace.
- 1887 King Kalakaua is forced by the Hawaiian League to sign the "bayonet constitution" on July 6.
- 1889 Robert Wilcox leads an unsuccessful revolution against the Reform Government on July 30 to restore power to the King.
- 1890 King Kalakaua departs for San Francisco on November 25.
- 1891 King Kalakaua dies in San Francisco on January 20 and his body is returned to Hawai'i. Lili'uokalani is proclaimed queen on January 29.
- 1893 Queen Lili'uokalani is deposed on January 17; a provisional government is established under Sanford B. Dole. On March 29 James H. Blount is sent by the U.S. president to learn the facts of the overthrow of the queen. President Cleveland sends a message to Congress condemning the overthrow and annexation of Hawai'i on December 18.
- 1894 Republic of Hawai'i is established on July 3 by the provisional government. Sanford B. Dole becomes president on July 4.
- 1895 Robert Wilcox fails to lead a revolt to restore the monarchy. Lili'uokalani is arrested, and abdicates on January 24.
- 1897 A petition against annexation, with 21,269 names, is presented to the U.S. Senate in December.
- 1898 President McKinley signs a joint resolution of Congress on July 7 to annex Hawai'i to the United States. Hui Aloha 'Aina for Men, Hui Aloha 'Aina for Women, and Hui Kalai'aina send a resolution to

- President Dole and U.S. Minister Resident Sewell, protesting the annexation of Hawai'i in August.
- 1899 An epidemic of bubonic plague breaks out in Honolulu on December 12.
- 1900 A fire intended to rid Chinatown of the plague burns out of control and destroys 38 acres. President McKinley signs the Organic Act on April 30, and the Territory of Hawai'i, headed by Sanford B. Dole as its first governor, is inaugurated on June 14. Home Rule Party of Kanaka Maoli nationalists wins a majority in the first legislature and sends Robert Wilcox as the first territorial Delegate to Congress. Puerto Ricans are brought in to work on sugar plantations.
- 1901 First territorial legislature convenes in Honolulu in February.
- 1902 Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole becomes Hawai'i second Delegate to Congress. A Pacific cable is laid between the U.S. mainland and Hawai'i.
- 1903 Koreans begin to arrive in Hawai'i.
- 1906 James D. Dole builds the first pineapple cannery in Honolulu. First Filipino plantation workers arrive. First movie theater, Orpheum, is built.
- 1907 Walter F. Frear appointed governor. College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (later the University of Hawai'i) is built.
- 1909 Municipal government begins for the City and County of Honolulu, Joseph James Fern is elected the first mayor. First major plantation strike (Japanese) lasts 3 months.
- 1912 Duke Kahanamoku sets world record in the 100-metre event at the Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden.
- 1915 Bus service is introduced by Honolulu Rapid Transit Co.
- 1916 Waiahole Tunnel is built, bringing windward O'ahu water to central O'ahu plantations.
- 1917 Queen Lili'uokalani dies on November 11.
- 1918 United States enters World War I.
- 1919 Prince Kuhio introduces in Congress the first bill to grant statehood to Hawai'i on February 11.
- 1920 12,000 Japanese and Filipino workers strike separately. 19th amendment of the U.S. grants suffrage to women.
- 1921 Congress passes the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, setting aside 200,000 acres for homesteading by Kanaka Maoli.
- 1922 Hawaiian Pineapple Company buys most of the island of Lana'i for growing and processing pineapple. Ala Wai Canal is dredged and Waikikī wetlands are filled in.
- 1925 First non-stop flight from the U.S. mainland to Hawai'i is completed.

Among the authors published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau is listed often. According to Thomas G. Thrum, Kamakau was born at Mokuleia, Waialua, O'ahu, October 29, 1815. In 1833 at age 17 he became a student at Lahainaluna Seminary, and remained there for 7 years, as pupil and teacher's assistant. In 1841 he helped to found the Hawaiian Historical Society at Lahainaluna at the teachers' request for historical information on the origins of the Hawaiian people. He later served as principal of a school at Kaupipa, Mau'i, then as an official in Nawaieha. From July 1855 to November 1856 he was a district judge of Wailuku, but was removed from office due to "malfeasance in office."³² In 1848 until 1850 he was a member of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, a member of the Legislature of 1851 representing the district of Hana and thereafter served numerous times in the Legislature until his death in 1876. He moved to O'ahu after 1862. According to Thrum, Kamakau's career in journalism began in June 1865, when the *Kuokoa* began to publish a series of his articles on tradition and legend connected with different places. Thrum comments:

Kamakau was a voluminous writer, and must have had a rare acquisitive talent and studious dispositon [sic], with the added blessing of a remarkable memory. And it is to his writings we are indebted for much data relating to himself, brought out in newspaper communications and controversies, for he was self-confident to a fault bordering on conceit that brooked no criticism...³³

Thrum cites S.N. Haleole's defense in the *Kuokoa* of June 1, 1865, of Kamakau's historic writings from an attack in the paper *Au Okoa* of May 29, 1865, that Kamakau began his researches in 1836 till 1848. Thrum further writes "...these and subsequent years of research made Kamakau a veritable storehouse of Hawaiian history and folk-lore, though at times of doubtful character."³⁴

In 1866 Kamakau began his history of Kamehameha I, which he continued through the death of Kamehameha III in October 14, 1868. He also began a new series in this issue, treating antiquities and traditions of Hawai'i. This series ended in

³² Thomas G. Thrum, "Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S.M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian," *Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report for 1917, 1918*, 44.

³³ Thrum, 45.

³⁴ Thrum, 45.

January 9, 1869 in the *Kuokoa*, but continued in a rival newspaper, *Au Okoa*, under the title of "Ka Moololo Hawaii," and which continued until February 2, 1871. Thrum refers to the many "legends and biographies of noted aliis are embodied in these series, as also ancient genealogies." Appendix 4 is a list of articles in Kamakau's two series published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, with dates of publication, and a list of additional articles located by Malcolm Naea Chun.³⁵

Conclusion

The long history of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and its practice of publishing articles of interest to its Kanaka Maoli readers has left a rich legacy for all students of the history and culture of Hawai'i. Genealogy and politics, poetry and geography, moral teachings and economics, all affected the daily lives of kanaka and haole. As written in Thrum's *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904*:

Persons interested in the study of the usages, customs and beliefs of Hawaiians will find much instructive material thereon from their own writings in the native papers prior to 1870, notably in the scarce volumes of the *Kuokoa*.³⁶

Through *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and other Hawaiian language newspapers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries readers in the twenty-first century are able to see Hawai'i through the eyes of the Kanaka Maoli who were experiencing a swiftly changing world in which their culture appeared to be disappearing. Research utilizing this first-hand information will undoubtedly transform Hawaiian history as it is written.

³⁵ Thrum, 53-61; Malcolm Naea Chun, *Na Kukui Pio 'Ole; The Inextinguishable Torches: The Biographies of Three Early Native Hawaiian Scholars Davida Malo, S.N. Hale'ole and S.M. Kamakau*. Honolulu: First People's Productions, 1993, 25-26.

³⁶ *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904*. Honolulu, 1903, 9.

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