

RONALD C. WILLIAMS, JR.

“Aole Hoohui ia Hawaii”: U.S. Collegiate Teams
Debate Annexation of Hawai‘i and
Independence Prevails, 1893 to 1897

ON THE DAY OF MAY 18, 1894, Kānaka Maoli¹ [Native Hawaiians] who opened their copy of the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* were greeted with an article titled, “Aole Hoohui ia Hawaii” [Not to Annex Hawaii].² They would continue on to read a story, printed in their native tongue, which concerned a recent event described in the U.S. newspaper *The Washington Post*. Barely a month prior, the front page of that periodical had described the following scene. On the evening of April 13, 1894, an excited and raucous crowd gathered mere blocks from the U.S. White House at Metzert Hall to witness a relatively new but growing passion among many of

¹ Note Hawaiian words are not italicized in keeping with the recent movement to resist making the native tongue appear foreign in writing produced in and about a native land and people.

² “Aole Hoohui ia Hawaii,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 18 Mei 1894: 3.

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the finest colleges in the country. A collegiate debate was in the works, and this contest was between two hometown rivals. The law department at Georgetown University was taking on its heated adversary from Columbian [later named George Washington University].³

The topic of the evening's debate was an issue that was filling newspaper columns across the country: "Resolved. That the United States government should annex the Hawaiian Islands."⁴ Early on in the evening the hall had filled "beyond its capacity" and the police turned hundreds away. Inside, many stood throughout the entire three-hour program. The two teams of four specially chosen representatives had trained for months and would now present their best academic arguments for and against this extraordinary action that their country was considering.⁵

This collegiate debate, and several others across the nation, examined a timely and divisive issue. Research for this article revealed that towards the end of the 19th century, eight of the most prominent universities and colleges across the United States held debates over whether or not the nation should annex the Hawaiian Islands. In all of the contests, those who presented arguments against annexation were victorious.

This article examines the debates as displaced voice. A look at the arguments presented in these collegiate forums works to confront the hegemonic, master narrative that sought to create a harmonious and controlled history. This congruent view of an unproblematic union between these two distinct nations was achieved by displacing forms of resistance to annexation on both Kanaka Maoli and American sides of the discussion. While not a Native voice, the academic arguments made in these collegiate debates are part of the totality of resistance to annexation that would later be displaced in order to naturalize the

³ Founded in 1821 as The Columbian College, the institution changed its name to Columbian University in 1873 and later to The George Washington University in 1904. The original name remains however; as of 2001, all arts and sciences programs at G.W.U. are housed under what is called The Columbian College of Arts and Sciences.

⁴ "Not to Annex Hawaii," *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

⁵ "Not to Annex Hawaii," *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

idea of Hawai‘i as an American place. One example of the genesis of this master narrative comes from the mission newspaper *The Friend*. Immediately after the overthrow that publication claimed “The natives have shown no disposition to resist the new government. . .” “The news of the Revolution appears to have been received by the natives on the other islands without demonstration of feeling.”⁶ The relatively recent work of Noenoe Silva and others has thoroughly refuted these former claims by shining a revealing light on the pervasive existence of powerful resistance by Kanaka Maoli. Work is also being done to highlight the plethora of contestations to annexation in forums such as U.S. newspapers and journals. This article furthers this process by examining resistance at yet another site of discourse: the highest level of academia.

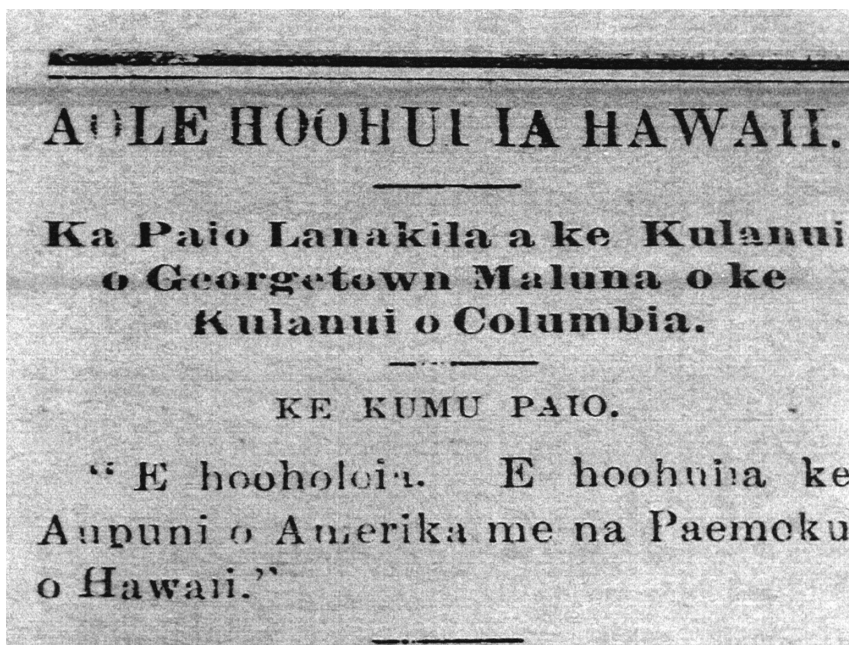
At the time of these events, debates between the major educational institutions of the United States were a new phenomenon and this novel form of discourse was growing. These structured debates, at some of the most exceptional universities in the United States reveal, among other things, how strong arguments in opposition to the idea of taking Hawai‘i were. While some of the most prominent arguments against the annexation policy were racist or paternalistic, significantly, many Americans saw the taking of Hawai‘i as immoral and unjust. These voices have been displaced.

The prominent narrative that was later constructed to explain the annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States speaks of opportunity, progress, and a smooth and celebratory union. This master narrative might occasionally mention small pockets of resistance and a few malcontent Natives but quickly pushes those stories aside to be replaced in our minds with glorious stories of flag-waving patriots and present-day melting pots. In truth, Americans themselves were bitterly divided over the idea of taking this new territory and their newspapers and journals were filled with editorials on both sides. Judge Thomas McIntyre Cooley, president of the American Bar Association, a chief justice of the Michigan State Supreme Court, and a man referred to by the *New York Times* as, “the highest authority on constitutional

⁶ “Helpless Collapse of Royalty,” *The Friend*, Feb. 1893.



Masthead from the May 18, 1894 issue of *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* in which readers were told of the college debate between Georgetown and Columbian universities and its outcome.



Headline of *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* article announcing victory for the anti-annexation argument in the Georgetown and Columbian universities debate.

law in the United States,”⁷ wrote clearly on the unconstitutionality of the proposed annexation.⁸ In the newspapers one writer stated, “The affair was born in sin and conceived in iniquity” and declared the very idea of the annexation of Hawai‘i, “a new and evil departure for this land of Washington.”⁹ A letter to *The Washington Post* offered, “The annexation of Hawaii would be an act out of harmony with the principles of a republican form of government; it is undemocratic—it is imperial.”¹⁰ This strong moral and legal opposition was repeated at the sites of academia, within these inter-collegiate debates. After military and economic desires seemed to win with the taking of Hawai‘i in 1898, this past testimony of dissension, at a variety of sites, did not promote a very harmonious mingling of nations. A new story was needed.

CREATING A DOMINANT NARRATIVE

Standing in the present reaching back in an attempt to understand what came before us, all we have are stories. Published academic research and grandma’s nighttime tales are both examples. Television news is a story, a favorite biography is a story, even science is a story. The “history” that we get from these stories creates an understanding of who we are as a people. As Thomas King repeats at the start of each chapter of *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative*, “The truth about stories is that that’s all we are.”¹¹ Stories define people, they define nations. As a country forms a unifying nationalist identity it works actively to collect stories. These stories are pieces that come to form a narrative, a national history. These narratives serve an essential function in shaping future understanding of the nation’s identity. As Edward Said has written, paraphrasing one critic, “nations themselves *are* narrations.” Said goes on to write, “the power to narrate, or to

⁷ “The Constitution and Annexation,” *New York Times*, 26 May 1893: 4.

⁸ Thomas M. Cooley, “Grave Obstacles to Hawaiian Annexation,” *Forum* (Jun 1893) 389–407.

⁹ W. Allen Johnson, “Letter to the Editor,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 31 Dec. 1897: 1.

¹⁰ Samuel H. Smith, “Letter to the Editor,” *Washington Post*, 26 Feb. 1893.

¹¹ Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them."¹² Control over the forming of the national narrative means the ability to displace and often even erase contradictory or resistant narratives. Creating a singular, master narrative can work to not only quash debate at home on the probity of past actions but also serve in assimilating peoples from the new territories. The historical erasure of contention removes a stumbling block to acceptance.

Part of the power of master narratives is in their scope. A vast collection of congruent stories makes any dissenting voice a minority. This minority voice faces a huge uphill battle for validity because it does not fit what we already know to be our history. As Eileen Hooper-Greenhill writes in *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*:

Master narratives are created by presenting a large-scale picture, by eliminating complicating and contradictory detail, by disguising difference, by hiding those elements that don't quite fit (emphasis added), and by emphasizing those that do. Unity rather than difference is emphasized; gaps that emerge when the story doesn't quite work are filled somehow, and those things that would have shown a different interpretation of events are excluded. The whole is naturalized through links to other supporting discourses. These master narratives are therefore naturalized as universal, true, and inevitable.¹³

Effective creation of an exclusive narrative is accomplished not only by directly removing historical accounts of resistance, but also indirectly, by the mere production of materials. As narration is produced, that production removes a possible venue for contradictory voices. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes in his book on Haitian history *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*:

As sources fill the historical landscape with their facts, they reduce the room available to other facts. Even if we imagine the landscape to be forever expandable, the rule of interdependence implies that new facts

¹² Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993) xiii.

¹³ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) 24.

cannot emerge in a vacuum. They will have to gain their right to existence in light of the field constituted by previously created facts.¹⁴

This production of narrative is very much an unnatural, active process. Silences in a particular national narrative are created by choices. Trouillot explains this by writing,

. . . the presences and absences embodied in sources or archives are neither neutral or natural. They are created. As such, they are not mere presences and absences, but mentions or silences of various kinds and degrees. By silence, I mean an active and transitive process: one “silences” a fact or an individual as a silencer silences a gun. One engages in the practice of silencing. Mentions and silences are thus active, dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis.¹⁵

By sheer mass production of narrative, any differing record can be covered over. And massive well describes the patriotic unification material turned out in the century since these dissenting voices arose; selecting stories of territorial joy to start the century, moving on to the unifying call to arms of the first two World Wars, ignoring anti-statehood sentiment of the 1950's, marketing an explosion of tourism in the later decades, and selling the “*Paradise of the Pacific*”¹⁶ throughout.

19TH CENTURY COLLEGIATE DEBATES

While debating had existed in academic forums within the United States since soon after the first schools were established in the Republic, it was just prior to the turn of the 20th century that collegiate debates between the finest institutions in the country began to gain real popularity. The *Georgetown College Journal* termed the growing passion for these debates a, “new form of energy that is passing like a tidal wave from end to end of the student portion of the land.”¹⁷ In

¹⁴ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995) 49.

¹⁵ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 48.

¹⁶ Literally the title of the 1888–1966 magazine, figuratively a common marketing phrase used to describe the islands.

¹⁷ “Intercollegiate Debates,” *Georgetown College Journal* no. 4 (January 1894) 66.

December of 1893 representatives from three of the oldest academic institutions in the country, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, to agree on conditions for a series of debates. Harvard and Yale had begun contests between the two institutions a year earlier in 1892. Nearer the U.S. capital and only a month later, advisors from Georgetown University met representatives from Columbian to plan for a succession of debates.¹⁸ Out west, the newly established Leland Stanford, Jr. University and the University of California met and formed the Stanford-University of California Debating League. Nearly a year prior, in May of 1893, they had held what was described as, “the first ever inter-collegiate debate on the west coast . . .” U. C. Berkeley newspaper *The Berkeleyan* declared, “to say it was a success is putting it mildly.”¹⁹

The sporting teams of most of these colleges had already established traditional rivalries that elicited the passionate support of their respective student bodies and alumni. The schools now hoped to transfer some of that same school spirit and passion to more academic pursuits. The premier scholarly institutions of the United States were seeking to build a reputation of distinction that might eventually rival the august intellectual forums of Europe. Universities like Oxford and Cambridge, both of which had long traditions of debate, were cited as models of excellence. The *Yale Daily News* of February 4, 1898 addressed the importance and significance of these scholarly contests by printing an editorial from the paper of a rival institution:

They serve as the criterion by which the outside world may judge of the comparative intellectual standards of the colleges, and while an athletic victory may prove superiority in physical power and prowess, the successful issue of one of these intercollegiate debates has a far deeper meaning. . .²⁰

The Yale paper goes on to call for a process of determined and thorough preparation. “Let teams be formed among the other members

¹⁸ “Intercollegiate Debates,” *Georgetown College Journal* no. 4 (January 1894) 66.

¹⁹ “Intercollegiate Debate,” *The Berkeleyan*, May 1893: 184.

²⁰ “Yale-Princeton Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, no. 92, 4 Feb. 1898: 1.



Members of the 1897 Princeton debate team prepare for a coming contest with Yale. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

of the Halls to study the question in its every possible phase and from every point of view and then alternately meet the chosen debaters in regular contests. Such training and practice cannot fail to be profitable to all concerned. . .”²¹ Excitement surrounding debates was also growing at other universities, “And so the fad is on, the epidemic is spreading, and very soon there will not be a university, college, academy, or even bit of university extension that will not have its schedule for debates, as it has now foot-ball and base-ball contests.”²² This enthusiasm was echoed on the West Coast at Berkeley:

It is imperative that the matter of success in this inter-collegiate contest be not left to the chance ability of the speakers, and there seems to exist no reason why somewhat of the system of football training shall not be brought to bear in the preparation for that less prominent, but no less important, forensic contest.²³

²¹ “Yale-Princeton Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, no. 92, 4 Feb. 1898: 1.

²² “Intercollegiate Debates,” *Georgetown College Journal* no. 4 (Jan. 1894) 66.

²³ “Inter-Society Debates,” *The Berkeleyan*, Nov. 1893: 150.

This diligence in preparation seems to have been prevalent at all the colleges. At Yale University preliminary trials were held in departments throughout the campus. The best men from the scientific and academic departments, along with the theological school, and the school of law, were chosen. From this group of around 70 aspirants, a panel selected the most outstanding four.²⁴ Soon afterwards, conferences were held to plan the work ahead and briefs for both the negative and affirmative sides were drawn up. Different parts of the topic were given to each participant and they delivered these arguments at mock debates that were reviewed. Alumni of the university were also brought in to critique the speeches. The weakest parts of the debaters' arguments were pointed out. Afterwards, further coaching from professors on style and choice of words made sure these young men, and their arguments, were very well prepared.²⁵

DEBATE TOPIC: QUESTIONS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

These teams of some of the best and the brightest collegiate minds were primed for intellectual battle and were well-prepared to present on the weighty topics of importance that faced their nation at the time. In the case of all of the debates described within this essay, the topic question chosen by the squads was the same; should the United States of America pursue the acquisition of lands far exceeding its own natural borders, in the pursuit of what some saw as its economic and evangelical destiny? While many within the United States were swept along by popular tides of renewed Manifest Destiny, evangelical burdens of the white man, and the competitive pursuit of capitalist gains, there was also a large chorus of resistant voices that over time have been lost within a new popular and patriotic narrative.

Expansionist fervor prodded by Manifest Destiny did not die out with the successful stretching of American borders to the West Coast in the middle of the 19th century. Calls for Americans to continue to reach out and take what was "rightfully theirs" had many setting their sights beyond the waters' edge. Amy Greenberg describes in her book

²⁴ "Honors for a Poly Boy," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 8 Nov. 1897: 4

²⁵ "The Yale Speakers," *Yale Daily News*, no. 52, 1 Dec. 1897: 1.

Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire the, “uneasy position of sovereign countries within filibustering range of the United States in the 1850s and the continuing health of Manifest Destiny in the decade after the U.S.–Mexico War.”²⁶ She further explains that “. . . expansionist lust reached far into the Pacific in the antebellum era.”²⁷

These strong-arm tactics were neither new nor secretive. Many newspaper articles of the time, both in the United States and Hawai‘i, mentioned armed groups looking to threaten the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The *San Francisco Daily Evening Picayune* of October 15, 1851, reported, “a party of restless young bloods numbering about 160, are about sailing from this Port for the Sandwich Islands for the purpose, it is said, of revolutionizing the government of his Kanaka majesty.”²⁸ Eager imperialists, in denial of their country’s official recognition through treaty of the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, saw an invaluable prize and exhorted the citizenry to make haste in acquiring this asset. An April 1851 editorial from the San Francisco *Alta California*, reprinted later in the Honolulu newspaper *Polynesian*, stated, “The pear is nearly ripe; we have scarcely to shake the tree in order to bring the luscious fruit readily into our lap.”²⁹

Hawai‘i’s appeal for some Americans was multi-faceted. There were fortunes to be made in fields such as trade, shipping, and agriculture. Many Americans in the Kingdom had already blazed a path to success by quickly rising to the top of the Kingdom’s economic and political arenas. Those who sought U.S. dominance as a world military power were eyeing the deep water landing at the Pearl River basin as a near perfect port in which to supply, retool, and possibly anchor the growing U.S. naval fleet. American interests secured exclusive lease-access to this jewel with the 1887 renewal of the Hawaiian–U.S. Reciprocity

²⁶ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 232. Note that the term “filibustering” in this case was used to describe unsanctioned attacks by private American mercenaries.

²⁷ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 232.

²⁸ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 233.

²⁹ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. I, 1778–1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1965) 408.

Treaty, and with the rapid United States naval buildup of 1880–1910, the Islands’ military appeal grew. Beyond these two desires, lust for the Hawaiian Islands was also being stoked by a plethora of Hawaiian travelogues and published journals.³⁰ Open access to paradise was at the end of this expansionist road.

In 1893, after decades of eyeing this prized booty, the United States finally stood on the doorstep of action. A January 17 coup d’état, led by a group of predominantly U.S. and other mostly foreign-born businessmen and assisted by the United States minister to Hawai‘i, John L. Stevens, forced Americans to face the question; Is this what we as a country should do? Despite a latter-day national narrative that attempted to erase a discordant history, in truth the debate raged in forums throughout the country. As the academic elite prepared their best arguments on the topic, many other citizens were loudly voicing their opinions in newspapers throughout the country. A December 27, 1897, letter to the editor of the *Brooklyn Daily News* gives opinion on the proposed annexation of Hawai‘i:

So far as the present writer can recall the Eagle has not discussed the question or met the powerful reasons against annexation otherwise than by the claim that the islands are a desirable acquisition for the United States, and will conduce to their well being . . . and you cannot ignore the moral equation in a Christian land and in the nineteenth century. Ought not the Eagle, then to tell us: What right we have to annex Hawaii against the protests of its native owners? It is understood it cannot pass the Senate, but is to be jammed through Congress by a majority vote on a joint resolution.

W. Allen Johnson. Brooklyn. December 27, 1897.³¹

A letter sent to *The Washington Post* voices similar testimony:

To one who has been a student of history and who has watched for some years the drift of political matters here and in other countries it is a matter of profound regret that such a line of action as that involved in the proposed annexation of Hawaii should be seriously entertained.

³⁰ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 243.

³¹ W. Allen Johnson, “Letter to the Editor,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 31 Dec. 1897: 12.

The annexation of Hawaii would be an act out of harmony with the principles of a republican form of government; it is undemocratic—it is imperial.

Samuel H. Smith, Baxter Springs, Kansas. February 15, 1893.³²

These resistant testimonies were neither few in number nor out of sight. The June 1897 front page of the *New York Times* carried this report: “Opposition to the Hawaiian annexation project has broken out much more violently than was anticipated by the Administration, and the treaty will be roughly handled when it comes up in the Senate for ratification.” The article goes on to mention that one of the sources of opposition comes from those who are, “opposed on principle to the embarkation of this government upon colonization schemes. . .”³³ The paper would later publish a front page article with the title “It Was Stevens’s Act of War” that strongly criticized American actions.³⁴ This heated argument, being voiced in public and governmental arenas throughout the country, was a natural topic for academic debate.

THE DEBATES

This article focuses on three specific inter-collegiate debates that were held between 1893 and 1897, with the question for contestation being “Resolved, That the United States should annex the Hawaiian Islands.”³⁵ In each instance, one team chose the debate topic and the other chose which side it would defend. As mentioned previously, all three of the debates ended with victory for the side opposing annexation. While some of the debate arguments against annexation were racist or paternalistic, much of the academic argument revolved around issues of justice and upholding the nation’s honor. These extremely competent and well thought out points of view were presented again and again in these forums.

³² Samuel H. Smith, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Washington Post*, 26 Feb. 1893.

³³ “Treaty Strongly Opposed,” *New York Times*, 18 Jun. 1897: 1.

³⁴ “It Was Stevens’s Act of War.” Editorial. *New York Times*, 19 Dec. 1893: 1.

³⁵ “Not to Annex Hawaii,” *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

Georgetown vs. Columbian: Friday April 13, 1894
Metzerott Hall, Washington D.C.

“Resolved, That the United States government should annex
the Hawaiian Islands.”

The academic battle of minds that the May 1894 issue of *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* had reported on took place in historic Metzerott hall on Pennsylvania Avenue near the National Mall, blocks from the White House. This infamous meeting hall was also the site of Frederick Douglas’ and Susan B. Anthony’s speeches at the National Women’s suffrage meeting. On this particular night the hall was overflowing. Nearly an hour prior to the event, police started turning people away, fearful that with such a large and excited crowd could cause “an accident.” Hundreds were left to mingle outside.³⁶ Inside, an excited throng of thousands jammed both the floor and the upper galleries, anxiously waiting to hear skilled and well-prepared arguments for and against the U.S. annexation of Hawai’i. The *Georgetown College Journal* in detailing the debate, reported the scene:

It was a noisily appreciative audience which filled Metzerott Hall on the occasion of the third joint debate between the students of Columbian and Georgetown law schools. The hall was taxed to its utmost capacity. Many stood throughout the entire three hours of the program. Huge flags of the colors of the respective universities hung from the front of each delegation, and the air was kept vibrating during the evening successively with the hoarse “hoya, hoy,” of Georgetown and the quick “whang-bang” of Columbian.³⁷

The topic of the night’s debate had indeed fired a passion in the crowd and the *Washington Evening Star* of April 14 noted the, “series of yells which would have done full credit to any wild west show” that accompanied good points made on either side.³⁸ Three representatives each from the law departments of both Georgetown and Colum-

³⁶ “Not to Annex Hawaii,” *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

³⁷ “Third Georgetown Columbian Debate,” *Georgetown College Journal*, no. 7 (Apr. 1894) 123.

³⁸ “Law School Debaters,” *The Evening Star*, 14 Apr. 1894: 16.

The Washington Post.

WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1894.

NOT TO ANNEX HAWAII

Victory of Georgetown Debaters Over the Columbians.

THE POLICE TURN PEOPLE AWAY

Fearful that a Greater Crowd in the Hall Would Result in Some Accident, Admissions Were Stopped—Strong Arguments Advanced by the Champions of Each University—When the Decision Was Given, Georgetown Tried to Raise the Roof.

COKE STRIKE UNWINDING.

Some Holding More Unsettled, but No Trouble Reported Elsewhere.
Uniontown, Pa., April 13.—Two hundred strikers left Oliver this morning before daybreak. They were joined by several hundred others and attempted to prevent the men at Lament, No. 2, from going to work. The deputies were too numerous, however, and drove the raiders away. This body then started for the plants south of this place. At 11 o'clock a. m. another crowd of strikers, numbering over 1,000, passed the Atlas works, near Hopwood, going south to join in the attack on the southern plants.
At the Oliver works to-day Constables Chick and Wilson were set upon and beaten by more than a hundred Slav women. They were there to arrest a striker for his part in the Youngstown riot. They were driven away without seeing their man.
Connellsville, Pa., April 13.—There is not the slightest stir in this part of the region to-day. The mobs which marched across through the Letecuring districts

MORE FIGHTING IN SAMOA

Skirmishes Between the Government Troops, the Aanaas, and the Maralians.
San Francisco, April 13.—The United Press correspondent at Apia, Samoa, writing under date of March 27, says: As predicted in my last letter, civil war has again broken out in this kingdom. On March 10, while two men and a boy of the Maralian party were bathing in a small stream they were fired upon by an ana bushed party. One man fell dead and the other two were wounded slightly. The attacking men crossed the stream, and hastily returned to cover. The cries of the wounded natives brought the parties into a collision and a fierce fusillade followed, during which two Maralian natives were wounded and three Aanaas wounded and one killed.
On the 12th an attacking party of 200 Maralians, in thirteen boats, landed opposite the neutral town on a high bank called the Pasa. The attacking party fired into the houses of the neutral town, where thirty Aanaas rushed out of the bush and drove them into their boats, which pulled some

ALMA MATER HONORS

Graduates of the University of Virginia Celebrate.

SECRETARY HERBERT PRESIDES

The Alumni of the Historic Institution Held an Enthusiastic Anniversary and Hear Words of Wisdom from Dr. Randolph and Vote to Raise Money for a Fellowship—A Memorial Hall to Their Classmates Who Fall in the War.

Front page article of the April 14, 1894 issue of *The Washington Post* reports on the previous night's debate, including its enthusiastic crowds and victorious argument.

bian universities battled. Columbian argued for the annexation of Hawai'i while Georgetown held against. For Columbian, Messrs. Paul T. Gadson, president of the debating society; Harris Dickson, secretary to Representative Andrew Price of Louisiana; and Fred Achenbach, employee of the War Department, presented. The Georgetown combatants consisted of Daniel Kellogg of Wisconsin; William J. Cronin, a professor of phonography from Rhode Island; and Archibald Myott Willet, a previous first honors graduate at University of Alabama. Mr. Thomas Gresham, president of the Columbian University Law School Debating Society and an award-winning former debater, presided. The judges for the evening included both military and political heavyweights. The panel consisted of Civil War veteran and South Carolinian Senator M.C. Butler; Confederate veteran and Kentucky Congressman James B. McCreary; and General John Gibbon.³⁹

The opening speaker for Georgetown was Daniel Kellogg. Mr. Kellogg was the former principal of schools in Kansas and an award-

³⁹ "A Joint Law Debate," *The Evening Star*, 12 Apr. 1894: 7.

winning orator who had gained a high reputation in the west as a political speaker. *The Washington Post* characterized Mr. Kellogg's effort as "powerful" and wrote that he declared, "It would be highway robbery to annex the islands; scarcely 4,000 out of the 14,000 voters there were annexationists, and those who advocated the policy dare not put the question to a popular vote."⁴⁰ The *Georgetown College Journal* reported that Mr. Kellogg continued by arguing that:

. . . the present proposition was without precedent in the history of the country. He maintained that the Constitution of the United States contemplated no addition to its territory such as that proposed by the affirmative. He said that the annexation of Hawaii would establish a precedent which might result in the annexation of many other small nations, and instead of the United States of America we would become the United States of the whole earth.⁴¹

Mr. Kellogg repeated his appeal to the honor of the United States by demanding that "honesty and justice required that Hawaii be allowed to carve out her own destiny as an independent nation."⁴²

On the other side, much of the pro-annexation argument clearly depended on removing Kanaka Maoli thought and desire from consideration and focusing solely on what might be the effects on the American nation. Columbian's Fred Achenbach reviewed the past economic growth of the United States and named the commercial advantages of taking Hawai'i. Mr. Dickson recited a popular argument based on the necessity of obtaining Hawai'i to be used as a coaling station for the U.S. Navy.

Georgetown's next speaker eloquently challenged this silencing discourse. Mr. Willet, himself a former captain in the military, recognized Native Hawaiians by reviewing the matter from their point of view and asking if annexation would truly benefit them.⁴³ This was

⁴⁰ "Not to Annex Hawaii," *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

⁴¹ "Third Georgetown Columbian Debate," *Georgetown College Journal*, no. 7 (Apr. 1894) 123-24.

⁴² "Law School Debaters," *The Evening Star*, 14 Apr. 1894: 16.

⁴³ "A Joint Law Debate," *The Evening Star*, 12 Apr. 1894: 7.

an adept strategy as the thinly supported Provisional Government back in Hawai‘i had staunchly refused to put the matter to a vote of the Hawaiian people. In fact, when Annexation Commissioner William R. Castle had visited Washington only months prior to negotiate the 1893 treaty, he declared in an interview with *The Washington Post*, “There is one condition that we very much desire shall be contained in any agreement that may be determined upon, and that is that the right to suffrage shall be restricted. We want no universal suffrage on the islands.”⁴⁴ However, as Noenoe Silva writes, “between 1893 and 1898 Kānaka Maoli mounted vigorous and organized opposition to the annexation of their nation by the United States.”⁴⁵ This powerful opposition would come to be blatantly manifested in the Hui Aloha ‘Āina anti-annexation petitions that contained 21,269 names and were presented to the United States Senate in the midst of the 1898 annexation hearings. Keeping the debate, both here and in the larger forum of public opinion, focused away from Kanaka voice would be an essential strategy.

Mr. Daniel Kellogg returned to close out the debate for Georgetown and *The Post* declared, “it was plainly seen that Mr. Kellogg had the best of the closing round.”⁴⁶ The judges conferred while the Columbian Mandolin Club entertained the crowd with the “Sinforosa” waltz. *The Washington Post* described the scene as the judges returned and Senator Butler announced the decision:

When he announced that in the unanimous opinion of the judges the negative side had won, perfect pandemonium reigned for several minutes. Finally the Georgetown boys made a rush for the street, and as each member of the victorious trio appeared he was hoisted on the shoulders of his friends and carried triumphantly away. Later a procession was formed and they marched about making the night hideous with their yells . . .⁴⁷

⁴⁴ “To Plead Hawaii’s Cause,” *New York Times*, 4 Feb. 1893: 1.

⁴⁵ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004) 123.

⁴⁶ “Not to Annex Hawaii,” *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

⁴⁷ “Not to Annex Hawaii,” *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1894: 1.

Harvard vs. Yale: December 3, 1897
 College Street Hall, New Haven, Connecticut
 “Resolved, that the United States should annex the Hawaiian Islands”

In this academic contest, held the winter prior to the heated United States Congressional hearings that would examine the same issue, representatives from Yale had chosen the debate question. This left Harvard the opportunity to choose which side they would argue. The debaters from Harvard preferred to argue for the annexation of Hawai‘i. The *New York Times* noted, concerning the upcoming debate, that Harvard’s pro-annexation arguments would find many supporters among the Yale student body, as there were a large number of students from the Islands at Yale.⁴⁸ This contest did indeed hold particular relevance for some in Hawai‘i as many of those who had taken up the practice of law and government in the islands had either attended Yale or had Yale connections. The Chief Justice of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i Supreme Court, Albert Francis Judd, was a Yale alumnus. His swearing an oath of allegiance to the new Provisional Government and later the Republic of Hawai‘i had cast a much deliberated shadow across the judiciary of this new political entity. Judd’s two sons, Albert Francis Judd, Jr. and James R. Judd, were students at Yale at the time of the Yale-Harvard debate over Hawaiian annexation. A November 23, 1897 letter from Lorrin A. Thurston, leader of the earlier coup that displaced the monarchy, spoke to their father of the coming contest:

The Yale–Harvard debate this year is to be upon the subject of the Annexation of Hawaii, as I presume your boys have notified you. I have furnished a large amount of material to both colleges. Considerably to my disappointment the affirmative has been taken by Harvard. There are so many of our boys at Yale that I should have preferred to see the affirmative go there.⁴⁹

A little more than a week after Thurston’s letter, the two teams gathered at College Street Hall in New Haven to deliver their much-

⁴⁸ “Yale-Harvard Debate,” *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1897: 2.

⁴⁹ Lorrin A. Thurston letter to Hon. A.F. Judd, 23 Nov. 1897. Judd Manuscript Collection, MS Group 70 Box 62.5, BPBM Archives, Honolulu, HI.

anticipated arguments. Preparations at both universities had been exhaustive and the *Yale Daily News* of the morning of the debate sounded a confident tone: “This evening at 8 o’clock in College Street Hall Yale is to meet Harvard in the annual debate. As we look back at the work which our representatives have done in preparation, we can find no words but those of commendation and congratulation; they have worked faithfully and well.”⁵⁰ The rules of the debate stated that each man was allowed twelve minutes for his opening speech, and five minutes for a rebuttal. The Yale side consisted of Herbert A. Jump ’99, of Albany New York; John K. Clark ’99, of Brooklyn; and Herbert W. Fisher ’98, of Connecticut. The contending Harvard crew consisted of Mr. Wilbur Morse ’00; John A. Hull Keith ’99; and Charles Grilk ’98. The Honorable Chauncey M. Depew presided. Admission to the debate cost 50 cents.⁵¹

Links between these academic contests and political thought in Washington were palpable and the topic of Hawaiian annexation had drawn a full and boisterous crowd. The *New York Times* reported, “Many of the distinguished alumni of both universities were in attendance, while many statesmen of National reputation were interested listeners to the discussion of the question by the collegians.”⁵² In a short opening address, presiding official Honorable Chauncey M. Depew, “expressed the hope that the intercollegiate debates might restore oratory to its old and proud position in the legislative halls of the Nation.”⁵³

After initial introductions, the first debater for Harvard, Mr. Wilbur Morse, launched immediately into an argument that seemed destined to completely erase Native Hawaiian agency. He stated that the United States needed to annex the Hawaiian Islands because it was, “necessary to the successful carrying out of our naval and commercial policy” and “the only guarantee to the perpetuation of American civi-

⁵⁰ “Editorial Note,” *Yale Daily News*, 3 Dec. 1897.

⁵¹ “To-Night’s Contest,” *Yale Daily News*, 3 Dec. 1897.

⁵² “Yale Debaters Win: Hawaiian Annexation Unsuccessfully Defended by Harvard,” *New York Times*, 4 Dec. 1897.

⁵³ “Yale Debaters Win: Hawaiian Annexation Unsuccessfully Defended by Harvard,” *New York Times*, 4 Dec. 1897.

lization and American supremacy in the islands” and added that it was “the only final solution of the Hawaiian problem.”⁵⁴

Mr. Jump opened the arguments for the anti-annexation side and hit hard on an argument that sought to hold the United States to its declared ideals of democracy. Obviously democracy meant a government by the people and in his speech Jump declared, “The obstinate unwillingness of the annexationists in Hawaii to refer the matter to a plebiscite shows that the majority of the inhabitants do not want annexation.”

Mr. Morse’s partner for Harvard, John Keith echoed his teammate in harkening back to a call towards Manifest Destiny as he stated, “It is for the United States to decide the destiny of Hawaii. Annexation means that it shall be an Anglo-Saxon community.” The third member of the Harvard team would continue to hammer home the theme. Mr. Charles Grilk declared, “With the friendly help of our government, our citizens have brought the natives out of barbarism into civilization, so that now American customs predominate.”⁵⁵

Although the pro-annexation debaters focused on rhetoric that assumed the natural superiority of the United States, the orators for Yale kept introducing the Native Hawaiian as legitimate voice and questioning the morality of annexation without consent. Mr. Fisher, Yale’s third speaker, reminded the audience of America’s growing imperial reputation. He said that foreign powers entertained, “a growing discontent with what they call our arrogance, and hence an inclination to demur at any unestablished and incipient policies of American aggrandizement.” He further stated, “we whose habit of unnecessary peremptoriness toward other nations makes us peculiarly liable to bungle with such untried and delicate responsibilities.”⁵⁶

The situation that evening in 1897 was truly ironic as Jump, a student in the theological seminary at Yale, and Fisher, the son of a Congregationalist minister, used arguments of justice and morality in a rebuttal to the planned annexation of Hawai’i that was actively sup-

⁵⁴ “Yale Wins the Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, 4 Dec. 1897.

⁵⁵ “Yale Wins the Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, 4 Dec. 1897.

⁵⁶ “Yale Wins the Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, 4 Dec. 1897.

ported by many who were descendants of the first Congregationalist missionaries to the islands.

After a brief recess, the judges returned and announced a unanimous decision in favor of Yale’s arguments against annexation. The *Yale Daily News* reviewed the debate the following morning as, “the best ever held in the Harvard-Yale series.” It went on to comment, “It was direct all the way through, it never hung on the wording of the question, and it was not marred by any slip of either side. Another characteristic was the intense interest aroused by every speaker and maintained throughout the debate by the exact knowledge of the subject shown on both teams . . .” The paper summed up the reason for Yale’s victory as being due to, “the spirit and earnestness of her speakers, and also to their thorough preparation to meet any line of argument at any point, with a concise and exact refutation.”⁵⁷

Stanford vs. University of California: May 13, 1893
Topic: The Right of the United States in the Proposed Annexation
of the Sandwich Islands

Less than four months after the coup d’état that forcibly removed the sovereign Queen of Hawai‘i, Her Majesty Lili‘uokalani, representatives from the University of California (a combined team of Berkeley and Hastings Law) met a team of opponents from Stanford University in what was reported to be the first intercollegiate debate on the West Coast of the United States.⁵⁸ The topic of this contest was the proposed annexation of Hawai‘i.

The University of California system of schools, created by the California State Organic Acts in 1868, strongly desired to gain some of the same academic prestige as the well-known institutions back East. Soon after the formal creation of annual debates between the Ivy League schools, the California schools followed suit. U.C. Berkeley’s school newspaper *The Berkeleyan*, speaking of a debate held between two member institutions of the U.C. system, wrote in March of 1893:

⁵⁷ “Yale Wins the Debate,” *Yale Daily News*, 4 Dec. 1897.

⁵⁸ “Intercollegiate Debate,” *The Berkeleyan*, 19 May 1893: 184.

The first joint debate between Berkeley and any of the affiliated colleges was held last Friday night in Stiles Hall. Again, it is an indication of what is yet to come, for there is no reason why we should not have two or three intercollegiate debates a year. Certainly, public speaking is to be encouraged and we may confidently look forward to the time when oratory shall be esteemed as highly on the Pacific coast as it is now regarded at Princeton and Cornell.”⁵⁹

Less than two months later, proud students from the University of California would take on representatives from Leland Stanford Junior University; an institution in only its second year of operation.⁶⁰ Stanford, like Yale, had several interesting Hawai'i connections. In early 1893 Leland Stanford was a U.S. senator and friend of President Benjamin Harrison. On February 15 of that year President Harrison had submitted a Treaty of Hawaiian Annexation to the Senate asking for prompt and favorable action. Realizing that the president was nearing the end of his term, and eager to obtain such a prominent political figure to boost the reputation of his new school, Senator Stanford solicited Harrison to become one of the two professors that would establish the school of law at the university. On March 2, 1893, two days before the inauguration of incoming President James Cleveland, Harrison sent word to Stanford that he would accept the position, along with a reported stipend of \$25,000.⁶¹ Harrison would begin in the fall by delivering a set of lectures on constitutional and international law.⁶² It was assumed that the soon-to-be former president would also preside over the upcoming Stanford–U.C. debate.⁶³ Not to be outdone in procuring topical “news makers” to lecture in academia, the students at Berkeley proposed to their university the idea of engaging Queen Lili'uokalani to lecture at the U.C.⁶⁴ On

⁵⁹ “Durant-Neolean Student Congress,” *The Berkeleyan*, 10 Mar. 1893: 87.

⁶⁰ Leland Stanford Junior University opened on 1 October 1891.

⁶¹ Moore, Anne Chieko, *Benjamin Harrison: Centennial President* (Nova Science Publishers, 2006) 152.

⁶² “President Harrison’s Plans,” *New York Times*, 3 Mar. 1893.

⁶³ “Inter-Collegiate Debate,” *The Berkeleyan*, Feb. 1894.

⁶⁴ “Editorial Note,” *The Star*, 13 May 1893.

March 9, days after Harrison left the White House, the new president, James Cleveland withdrew the annexation treaty, sparking what would become a tumultuous battle centered around this very pertinent policy. The stage was set for a heated debate.

The spirited fervor that characterized the East Coast debates was present here also. A reported 1100 people attended and cheered throughout the evening. The rules set up for this debate stated that each university would have three speakers and that each speaker would be allowed 20 minutes, excepting that the leader on the affirmative would have ten minutes additional to close. A panel of three judges would decide the outcome. Each college named one judge with the debate officials naming the third. Former President Harrison had been delayed and did not make the debate. Stanford had chosen the topic, which allowed the University of California representatives to choose which side they wanted to argue. The debate students from U.C. chose to defend annexation. Stanford would be forced to argue against.⁶⁵ Interestingly, as in the other two debates reviewed here, the university that had the option to choose which side to defend chose the pro-annexation argument; all three of those teams lost.

The speakers representing Stanford, and opposing annexation, were Mr. R.L. Gruwell '93; Mr. A.H. Barnheisel '93; and Mr. Ward Bannister '93. The judges for the evening were Samuel Knight, Judge W.W. Morrow and the Honorable Jackson Hatch. After initial introductions, the burst of sustained applause that cascaded around the room left the opening speaker for the U.C., Mr. Reynolds, waiting. Once started, he and the other speakers arguing for the annexation of Hawai'i set forth arguments that centered around the strategic value of the Hawaiian islands to the United States and what pragmatism lay in taking them. Mr. Solomons, U.C., illustrated these economic and military-based points with a map drawn by a, "rising engineer of this coast." These arguments for a detached and pragmatic view of this contentious issue were the same ones being touted by those who had planned and carried out the overthrow of the monarchy in Hawai'i months earlier.

⁶⁵ "Intercollegiate Debate," *The Berkeleyan*, 19 May 1893: 184.

Part of the strategy of the Stanford debate team was re-introducing Kanaka Maoli as legitimate “owners” of their own destiny and therefore their own nation. They sought to incorporate into this debate issues of justice and morality. Stanford’s closing speaker Mr. Ward Bannister, made a powerful and emotional speech that seemed to retrieve the crowd from the grasp of the University of California’s last two speakers. Having rested with this strong appeal to justice, the Stanford team retired to await the decision. The U.C. Glee Club serenaded an anxious crowd while the judges deliberated. The *Berkeleyan* records what happened next:

As they filed back upon the stage, everybody began to breathe rather quickly. Hon. Jackson Hatch came forward and after complimenting the two Universities on the masterful and scholarly way in which the arguments had been presented by their representatives, said in conclusion, ‘we have come to the opinion that the negative have won.’⁶⁶

Anti-annexation arguments had won out. This debate and victory, on the West Coast, by those arguing against the United States’ annexing of Hawai‘i, is important evidence that this argument was prevalent, prolific, and compelling: The exact characteristics of resistant voice that a hegemonic, nation-building narrative would need to displace.

Other academic debates concerning the issue of the annexation of Hawai‘i, not detailed in this essay, took place in different forums around the United States. The Philonomosian Society at Georgetown University ended its debating schedule for the year 1894 with a “prize debate” that had as its topic, “the Hawaiian question.” In this contest, according to the *Georgetown College Journal* “Mr. Burke for the negative defended international and *moral law* (emphasis added) as regards to the rights of both nations and individuals.”⁶⁷

This divisive international issue was also being debated at the high-school level. In late 1897 one of the foremost high schools in New York, Polytechnic Preparatory School, met Brooklyn High School at Adelphi Hall in one of the contests that would decide the champion-

⁶⁶ “Intercollegiate Debate,” *The Berkeleyan*, 19 May 1893: 184.

⁶⁷ “The Philonomosian Debate,” *Georgetown College Journal*, May 1894: 1.

ship of the Inter-scholastic Debating League. The topic for this final-round debate was “Resolved: That the Republic of Hawaii Should Be Annexed to the United States.”⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

There is absolutely no doubt that at the time of the proposed annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States, voices of opposition, in both nations, were present, numerous, and made heard in a plethora of differing forums ranging from the popular to the academic. These voices were neither hidden nor made inaccessible to historians. How then, could our late 20th century national narrative speak of a trouble-free and accordant union?⁶⁹

In the Hawaiian-language newspaper account of the 1894 Georgetown-Columbian debate, the editor of the paper, after translating the *Washington Post* story, wrote:

HE HOAILONA KEIA

E ka lahui Hawaii; ke olelo nei makou: E like me ka hana ana a na kula o Kaleponi i paio ai no keia ninau o Hawaii, a hoole lakou mamua: mahope mai koho ka Ahaolelo Makaainana o Amerika e apono ana i ko Cleveland hoole i ke kuikahi hooahui aina; pela no ke koho ana ma keia ninau ma ka Aha Senate mahope o ka apono ia ana o ka ke kula o Georgetown.⁷⁰

THIS IS A SIGN

To the Hawaiian people; We say: Like where the schools of California debated this question concerning Hawai‘i, and negated it beforehand: following that, America’s House of Representatives voted to approve Cleveland’s refusal of the annexation treaty: The vote will go the same on this question in the Senate, following the approval from those at the University of Georgetown.

⁶⁸ “Polytechnic Preparatory School,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, 31 Oct. 1897: 30.

⁶⁹ William Russ, *The Hawaiian Republic (1894–1898) and its Struggle to Win Annexation*, Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1992 [1961] is one book that does mention resistance to annexation.

⁷⁰ “Aole Hooahui ia Hawaii,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 18 Mei 1894: 3.

The overjoyed editor of *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, in telling the story of debates held in a foreign country over the fate of his nation, implored his fellow citizens to see this result as a hoailona [sign]. He urged his countrymen to action and hoped that this victory would be carried on to the halls of the United States Senate and that his paper would soon be able to print the headline “LANAKILA” [VICTORY]. Yet imperial passions, fanned by the Spanish-American War in 1898, were to overpower the morality and justice arguments and bring about the taking of the Islands.

These voices, this testimony, were silenced in order to justify a United States governmental policy that many Americans had seen as valuing pragmatism over morality. A need to stifle future debate concerning these decisions led to the production of “clean” histories concerning the taking of Hawai‘i. Photos of smiling crowds attending Annexation Day ceremonies quickly made their way to the U.S. and celebratory headlines filled newspapers throughout the country.

Less than two months after Annexation Day in Hawai‘i, representatives from the United States and Spain met in Paris to negotiate a treaty that would end the Spanish-American War, cede former Spanish colonies to the United States, and signify America’s emergence as a dominant power on the world stage. Hawai‘i’s role as a coaling station and staging point during the war would be trumpeted. The budding national narrative would praise the decision to take Hawai‘i and leave behind any mention of contention. As later involvement in World Wars I and II demanded a unified nation, this cohesive narrative was amplified as leaders in the United States and Hawai‘i sought to represent the islands as truly an American place.⁷¹ Popular and academic histories, including newspapers, radio and television shows, tourism materials and school textbooks, drove the production of the harmonious narrative and worked to displace stories of dissension.

⁷¹ This dedicated promotion of the idea of Hawai‘i as an “American place” would be an essential part of the justification for an expanding military presence in the islands that would later draw the focus of an attack on Dec. 7, 1941. Interestingly, in memorializing the U.S. troops that died in that battle, the National Park Service, which oversees the *U.S.S. Arizona* War Memorial site, exhorts visitors to “Experience Your America.” Thus millions of U.S. citizens arrive annually from thousands of miles away to experience “their America.”

These voices were left behind in order to convince newly “annexed” peoples to leave the love of their own lāhui [nation] behind, to further a cry for statehood, and to conceal a stolen nation from modern-day claims of Kānaka Maoli seeking recognition of the occupation of their nation.

But those voices, and many others, are being heard clearly today. Scholars such as Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Noenoe Silva, Noelani Arista, Leilani Basham, the late Kanalu Young, Davianna McGregor, Carlos Andrade, Noelani Good-year Ka‘ōpua, Keanu Sai and many, many others are allowing the voices of the ancestors to be heard once more. This work of “writing back” against the master narrative can explode the neatly packaged history that has long been handed to those outside the halls of power and loose a plethora of Native voices that compete for space on the discursive landscape.

As to why this work is important, why with all that needs to be done, I’m still fascinated by stories, I return to Thomas King’s book where he quotes Nigerian writer Ben Okri:

In a fractured age, when cynicism is god, here is a possible heresy: we live by stories, we also live in them. One way or another we are living the stories planted in us early or along the way, or we are also living the stories we planted—knowingly or unknowingly—in ourselves. We live stories that either give our lives meaning or negate it with meaninglessness. If we change the stories we live by, quite possibly we change our lives.^{72,73}

⁷² Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories*, 2000.

⁷³ I am grateful to University Archive staffs at Yale and Berkeley for loaning their materials and especially to Lynn Conway, Georgetown University Archivist for her generous assistance. I also thank the Hawaiian collections staff at Hamilton Hawaiian Library, U.H. Mānoa for their support and Karen Peacock, John Rosa, and Haunani-Kay Trask for reading and commenting on this essay. Lastly, I am grateful for the continued guidance and academic support of Noenoe Silva and for the Kānaka Maoli who left the amazing legacy of the Hawaiian-language newspaper archive that we have barely begun to encounter.

