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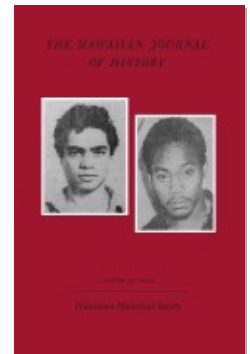
## The Watchers: How Espionage Doomed the Counter-Revolution of 1895

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The Watchers: How Espionage Doomed  
the Counter-Revolution of 1895

RALPH THOMAS KAM

‘Auku‘u kia‘i loko.

Pond watching heron (said of a spy).

—Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert,  
*Hawaiian Dictionary*

ALTHOUGH SUPPORTERS of Queen Lili‘uokalani vastly outnumbered proponents of the Republic of Hawai‘i, the revolutionaries who toppled the monarchy employed espionage to suppress counter-revolutionary activities following the overthrow. Spying provided the key advantage that doomed the armed attempt to restore Lili‘uokalani to the throne by forcing the rebels to start fighting before they had fully prepared and later provided damning evidence that helped convict participants in the uprising.

Called variously a rebellion, a counter-revolution, an insurrection, and an uprising, the armed attempt to overturn the government of the Republic of Hawai‘i lasted less than a week, from Sunday, January 6, 1895, to Wednesday, January 9, 1895. The brevity of the conflict belies the much longer preparation for the uprising that had involved

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royalist supporters recruiting forces, soliciting funds, ordering arms and determining battle plans in the months leading up to conflict. Ever anxious about their government's precarious position, leaders of the Republic of Hawai'i employed a cadre of spies to monitor their opposition. The spies, officially called "specials" or "special policemen" were part of the marshal's office, under Edward Griffin Hitchcock, son of Harvey Rexford Hitchcock, member of the fifth company of missionaries sent to Hawai'i by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). He was the husband of Mary Tenney Castle, the daughter of Samuel Northrup Castle and Angeline Loraine Tenney Castle, members of the eighth company of missionaries. S.N. Castle was one of the founders of what became Cas-



FIGURE 1. Edward Griffin Hitchcock, Marshal of the Republic of Hawai'i, created or published before October 30, 1896. Courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives (AH).

tle & Cooke, one of the Big Five corporations that controlled much of the economic life of Hawai'i. Hitchcock served as marshal starting March 23, 1893. The marshal reported to the attorney general, William Owen Smith, son of yet another ABCFM missionary, James William Smith, a physician with the tenth company of missionaries.

#### ANCIENT PRACTICE

Spying certainly was not new to Hawai'i. The Hawaiian word for spy, "kiu," existed before contact with the West. Kamehameha no doubt used kiu in his conquest of the island chain. Indeed, the use of women as spies was part of the poem, "A Legend of Kamehameha the Great," published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in January 1894.<sup>1</sup> The Hawaiian word for spy was included in the earliest Hawaiian language dictionary compiled by missionary Lorrin Andrews, namesake of revolutionist, Lorrin A. Thurston. Referencing a practice that had been in existence for millennia, Andrews cited the Biblical use of the word regarding spying in the ancient kingdom of Egypt. The modern Hawaiian-English dictionary includes another highly applicable word, kiuho'opulu, translated by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert as, "To spy cunningly in order to entrap, perhaps by pretense of cultivating friendship."<sup>2</sup> The espionage of the Republic of Hawai'i relied heavily on developing friendships with royalists and their allies.

#### WATCHING QUEEN LILI'UOKALANI

The spies especially kept constant watch over the deposed queen, Lili'uokalani. She complained about the constant surveillance in her 1898 autobiography, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*:

Spies were in my household, and surrounded my house by day and by night; spies were also stationed at the steps of the Congregational church opposite my residence, to take note of those who entered my gates, how long they remained, and when they went out. My respect for true religion prevents my stating the active part one of the preachers of God's Word took in this espionage.<sup>3</sup>

The identity of her household spy is open to speculation, but at least one of the specials asked whether the government would want just such

an operative inside Washington Place. John Henry Van Giesen asked in his report to the marshal: "Shall I join Madam's [Lili'uokalani's] guards if opportunity offers so as to be near her person?"<sup>4</sup>

The location of Central Union Church, then on the southwest side of Beretania Street opposite Washington Place, made it an ideal location from which to monitor the queen. Special policemen fre-

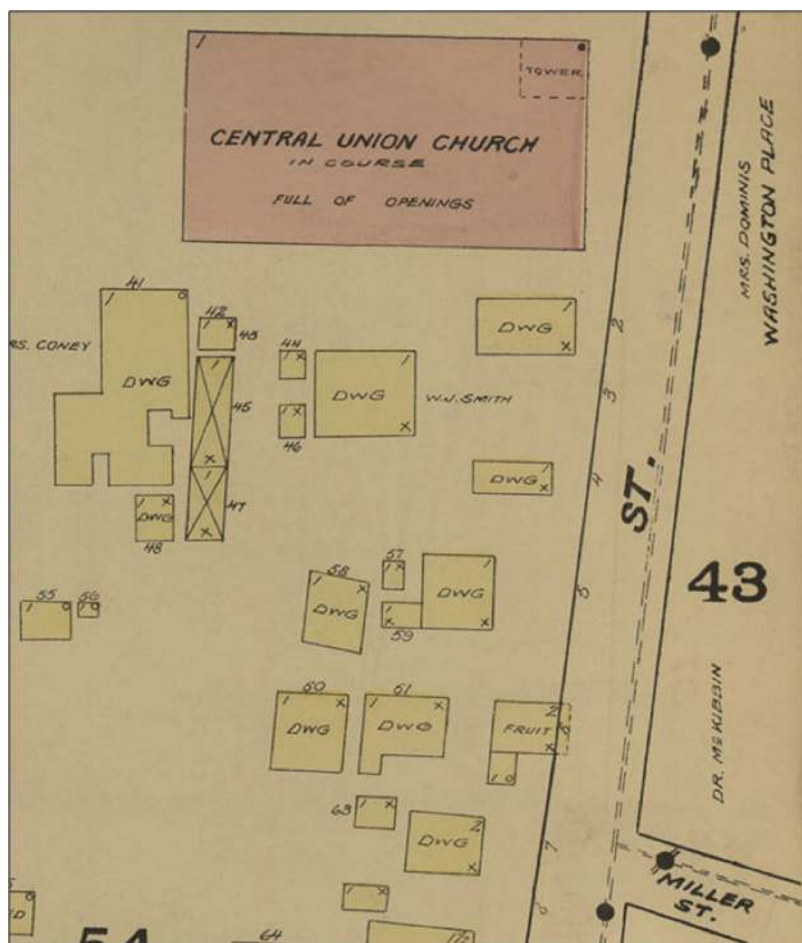


FIGURE 2. "Spy alley" was just below Central Union Church on an 1891 Dakin Fire Insurance Map. Another spy location, the building marked "Fruit," was the two-story Chinese store across from Dr. McKibbin's house. AH.

quented the site so often that an alley on the Waikikī or southeast side of the church was “christened the ‘P.G. [Provisional Government] spy alley.’”<sup>5</sup> Ironically, the Rev. Edward Griffin Beckwith, calling her “Dear Friend and Most Gracious Sovereign,” had invited Lili‘uokalani to the laying of the cornerstone of the Central Union Church edifice on June 3, 1892. Lili‘uokalani wrote on the envelope: “Did not go because I was in Hilo on my tour to the people.”<sup>6</sup>

Another location for monitoring visitors to Washington Place was across the street from the Queen’s neighbor, Dr. Robert McKibbin. The *Daily Bulletin* sarcastically suggested raising money to “buy a seat for the weary P.G. spy who has to stand on his feet all day in front of the Chinese store on Beretania Street, opposite the McKibbin premises.”<sup>7</sup> The following month’s *Daily Bulletin* continued to bemoan the cost of the spies assigned to watch Queen Lili‘uokalani:

It would be a satisfaction to inquisitive tax-payers to know why their money is being continually spent on the salary of spies who are kept day and night watching the Queen’s residence on Beretania street? The only duty of these spies is to keep a record in a little pocket book, of all persons who enter into the Washington yard, the time of entrance and withdrawal. What the Government expect [*sic*] to gain in this way is impossible to realize, for even if there were royalist conspiracies, they would certainly not be held at Washington Place! These spies are either stationed [. . .] in the steeple or the back cottage of the Central Union Church—which has gained the honorable name of “Spy Church” or, in rainy weather, they are to be found in the Chinese store opposite Miller lane, either upstairs or downstairs, always intently spying the Queen’s gate. Is it not time for that costly tom-fooling to be *pau*?<sup>8</sup>

The futility of the effort may have been realized by the government as the *Daily Bulletin* announced in May 1894 that, the “spies stationed near Washington Place have all been removed.”<sup>9</sup> The respite, however, was short-lived, with the same newspaper reporting in August 1894: “There are two spies on night and one on day duty always on watch near Washington Place now. What are they watching for anyway?”<sup>10</sup>

*Hawaii Holomua* even identified the spies at Washington Place by name, reporting in April 1894: “James Nott, Jr., lately a bankrupt, is now a police spy at the Queen’s residence. Unlike other watchers, he is rarely in sight, the surrounding dark yards and corners offering safe

vantage points.”<sup>11</sup> Later, in August 1894, it revealed another name: “[John] ‘Alabama’ Mitchell who is ‘anything but a spy,’ as he says, is at present ‘keeping cases’ on Washington Place. Looking for burglars, probably.”<sup>12</sup>

Because the newspapers routinely revealed the identities of spies, the information relayed by the spies must have been severely compromised. The *Daily Bulletin* made just such a contention when it reported: “The P.G. spy who is living at a certain King street rooming house is being well stuffed by royalists, and in consequence has been carrying some horrible tales to the P.G. Inquisition headquarters.”<sup>13</sup>

Foreign-born editors headed both of the newspapers that routinely criticized spying and often revealed names of the spies: Daniel Logan served as editor of the *Daily Bulletin*; Edmund Wright Norrie edited the *Hawaii Holomua*. Born in Nova Scotia, Logan came to Hawai‘i with his wife, Annie Lyle Logan, in 1884. His obituary noted that he “had edited the Independent, which was a royalist newspaper started in 1885.”<sup>14</sup> Norrie, a native of Denmark, had arrived in Honolulu from London in 1883. He had closer ties than Logan to the royalist community. In 1885 he married Fanny Richardson, a member of the Kaa-humanu Society,<sup>15</sup> and sister of Colonel John Richardson, one of the royal commissioners who went to Washington to press for the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>16</sup> He died in 1939 at age 81. His obituary called him a “retired journalist.”<sup>17</sup>

Helen Geracimos Chapin noted the role of the two journalists and the impact of government spies in her 1981 article titled, “The Queen’s ‘Greek Artillery Fire’: Greek Royalists in the Hawaiian Revolution and Counterrevolution” in the *Hawaiian Journal of History*.<sup>18</sup> Her focus on the Greek royalists narrowed the focus of her discussion of the activities of spies. Given the active attempts by the editors of the *Hawaii Holomua* and the *Daily Bulletin* to expose their secret employment many spies resorted to clandestine methods to hide their true identities.

#### SECRET NAMES

The spies who submitted reports to the marshal often signed them using pseudonyms or initials. Using abbreviations for their names, Charles W. Johansen signed his reports C.W.J. and his partner, John

L. Xavier, J.L.X.. Others signed their reports using pseudonyms. John Dunn picked H. John as his alias; Joseph R. Mills used J.D. or D. Munn; and H.H. Allen went by J.G. Blaine. Some used single word monikers for their reports: Charles Hawkins chose the code name, "Buffalo"; and Frank Godfrey signed his note "Cypher."

One spy signed his reports using "O. Henry" the alias of short story writer, William Sidney Porter, but the informant was not the famous writer, who was living then in Houston, Texas. An Ollie Henry, an upholsterer and painter is listed as living in Honolulu in 1894.<sup>19</sup>

Another pair of spies used names from the U.S. Revolutionary War: "Adams" (James B. Johnstone) and "Washington" and "Geo. Washington" (Van Giesen). Despite his secret name, Van Giesen feared the clandestine nature of his job might one day put him in jeopardy, and he pleaded for a badge and written proof of his status as a spy. "The time may come when they will be useful in showing who I really am and if it comes to a row, and a stand up for it."<sup>20</sup>

The fears of Van Giesen were not unfounded. William Hickey reported in December 1894 that royalist E.B. Thomas had remarked, "That's a spy, and before New Year's day he will be in his grave along with the rest."<sup>21</sup> Van Giesen would not stop signing his reports "Washington" until after the uprising had been suppressed.

The man who used the surname of the first president of the United States was not even an American. Born in Germany on August 4, 1846, Van Giesen, came to Hawai'i about 1870.<sup>22</sup> He was the "first school teacher to be sent to Molokai."<sup>23</sup>

He married Beke Ihihi in Lāhainā in 1872.<sup>24</sup> They were divorced in 1882, with desertion cited as the reason. Van Giesen was then working as supervisor at the medical facility for Hansen's disease patients at Kaka'ako. He next married Caroline Kealalaina Philip Sweetman, with whom he had three children.<sup>25</sup> After the death of his second wife to Hansen's disease in 1885, he married Elizabeth Keliipilani Mossman. When he started spying in November 1893, Van Giesen and his third wife were raising five children under the age of eight, including a daughter born the previous month.<sup>26</sup> Only after the counter-revolution ended would Van Giesen serve, no longer in secret, as a policeman.<sup>27</sup> Although on the roster as a patrolman, he worked as a stenographer for the department.<sup>28</sup> He died June 14, 1903. His obituary made no mention of his life as a spy, only that "he had been a mem-

ber of the police department since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893.”<sup>29</sup> Among his pallbearers was A.M. Brown, then High Sheriff, who had been a deputy marshal over the spies.<sup>30</sup> Even in death, his name is disguised, spelled “Van Gieson” on his marker at Saint John the Baptist Catholic Church Cemetery instead of “Van Giesen.”

While Van Giesen had been an island resident for more than two decades when he started as a spy, the hiring of many newcomers as

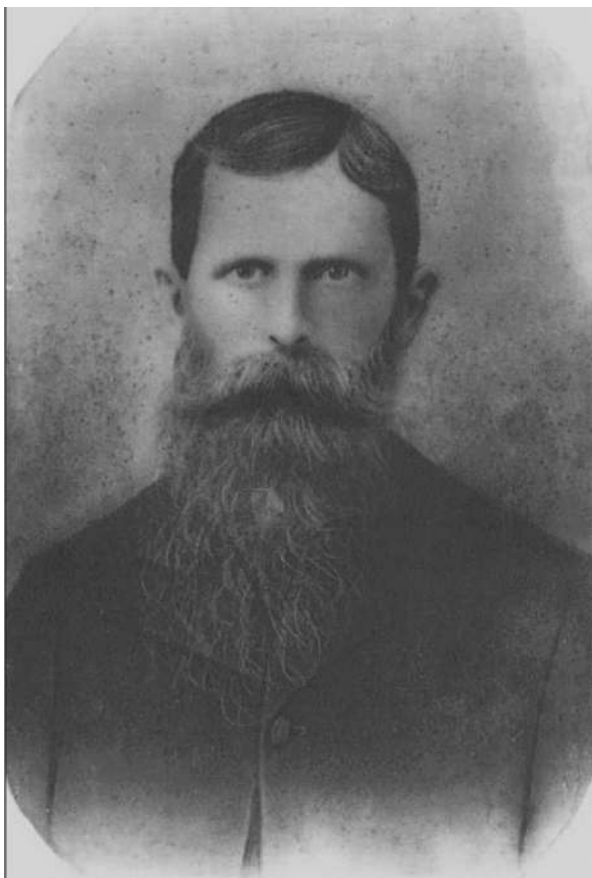


FIGURE 3. John Henry Van Giesen, n.d. Photographer unknown. From “John Henry Van Giesen,” Find a Grave, added June 6, 2014, [https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/130981908/john-henry-van\\_giesen](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/130981908/john-henry-van_giesen).

spies resulted in widespread public suspicion of the recently arrived malihini. One of the earliest denials appeared in the *Hawai'i Holomua* on December 30, 1893: "Mr. F.L.G. Harden desires to state that he is not in any way connected with the special or secret police."<sup>31</sup> T.R. Mossman also wrote to the same newspaper in January 1894 to deny the charge of being a spy. He wrote: "Sir, kindly allow me a little space to contradict a rumor that I am a spy for the 'Provisional Government.' I am not, never have been, in the employment of this or any other Government in any capacity whatsoever."<sup>32</sup> Still another accusation prompted Antone Cloys to write to the editor of the *Daily Bulletin* in February 1894 and declare: "I am not in government service and never was, and furthermore I never received a 5c. nickel from the government."<sup>33</sup>

Not all spies were haole, foreigners from distant lands. The wholly Hawaiian spy who signed his name "Dave" was David Koi, also known as David Koi Unauna, born in Lāhainā, Maui, in 1871, during the reign of Kamehameha V. He had served as a midshipman on H.H.M.S. *Kaimiloa* in the navy of King David Kalākaua. He was the husband of Minnie Kahakukaalani Sheldon, the daughter of John "Johnny" Graves Munn Kahikina Sheldon and Amy Ho'ola'i Cummins Sheldon.

Just what motivated individuals, newcomers and longtime residents, to spy on their neighbors remains a mystery. Even the most prolific of report writers, Van Giesen, did not reveal what moved him, despite his fears, to conduct surveillance of his fellow citizens.

#### QUESTIONABLE EXPENDITURES

No one would deny that spies, both kama'aina and malihini, were well paid for their jobs. The compensation for the "specials" is listed in the budget for the Marshal's office as an average of \$60 a month,<sup>34</sup> though some were paid more, some less. Alexander D. McEvoy testified that he drew \$75 a month.<sup>35</sup> A receipt for F.H. Wagner also recorded \$75 for the month ending October 31, 1894.<sup>36</sup> W.O. Smith authorized Simon Von Topaz to pay F. Heunoch [Honeck] "at the rate of Seventy-Five Dollars (\$75) per month."<sup>37</sup> The budget for the spies represented a large expense by the very people who had complained about the spending of the monarchy. In January 1894, a year after the overthrow of Lili'uokalani, the number of the "Hitchcock

brigade of spies" was reduced to ten.<sup>38</sup> After the counter-revolution had been quashed, the 1896 statement of the attorney general listed the number of specials at six.<sup>39</sup> The *Hawaii Holomua* editorialized against the government's use of spies, calling it "an act which is both unnecessary and expensive. Further than that, many of the men thus clothed with authority, or supposed to be, are not of good character, and their training and instincts make them an undesirable element for the peacefully disposed citizens of Honolulu to come in contact in the light or dark."<sup>40</sup> The *Daily Bulletin* noted the ironic employment of John Maloney, a recently hired special policeman: "It will be remembered that he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment at hard labor. He was released six months ago and now he is a 'man in blue.'"<sup>41</sup>

The *Hawaii Holomua*, the primary newspaper critic of the use of spies, continued its complaint about them, especially the failure of the police to enforce existing opium and gambling laws:

Marshall Hitchcock who is about the poorest official which we have ever had devotes his time in listening to dilapidated spies who stuff his ears with the most impossible yarns and make the poor gullible man see conspiracies and smell treason in every corner and in every house. If the government ever expects to gain the respect leave alone the confidence of the community they should begin to eliminate politics from the administration and look forward to an efficient and honorable execution of old laws.<sup>42</sup>

The presence of spies at a peaceful, political gathering also drew the ire of Antone Rosa, a speaker at a large meeting held April 9, 1894, convened to discuss the constitutional convention that would establish the Republic of Hawai'i. On April 9, 1894, Rosa spoke to the crowd in in Palace Square:

What is the meaning of the menacing attitude of the Government this evening, in posting special police all through and about this gathering? Have not the Hawaiians proved their right to assemble peaceably for the consideration of their rights, by their perfectly peaceful conduct ever since the revolution? Why, then, should special police be peering into this meeting from every side, and listening to hear something that will give them an excuse for arresting somebody?<sup>43</sup>

Among the things heard at meetings, a popular song no doubt piqued the interest of the marshal. One of the requests of the spy chief fulfilled by "Washington" was the "native song of which [he] wished a copy." Van Giesen included a handwritten copy of the protest song, "Kaulana Nā Pua,"<sup>44</sup> dated February 4, 1894, in his "Report 22." Why Van Giesen produced a manuscript of lyrics that had already appeared in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* of February 24, 1893, is unknown.

### BRITISH FOCUS

While Lili'uokalani and Hawai'i royalists received the most attention from the spy corps, the activities of the subjects of another monarchy, that of Queen Victoria of Great Britain, also received scrutiny from the secret service of the government that overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Theophilus H. Davies, British citizen and guardian of the heir apparent of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Princess Ka'iulani, shared his opinion regarding spying to a reporter of the *San Francisco Call* in March 1894: "The spies of the Provisional Government are everywhere, and there is an atmosphere of distrust over all."<sup>45</sup> The Hawaiian language version of *Hawaii Holomua*, offered a less diplomatic description, calling the spies "na ilio pololi," or hungry dogs.<sup>46</sup>

Another British resident, Francis Leo G. Harden, complained in a letter to the editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* dated February 24, 1894. He had arrived in Honolulu via Sydney, Australia, in July 1893. Harden had rented a cottage on Emma Street next to residence of Sanford Ballard Dole, president of the Republic of Hawai'i. When Harden went to inspect the property, he was confronted firsthand with the extensive espionage network. He wrote: "this loafing, shady, seedy, secret service spy dispatched a mounted officer to my Stronghold of Virtue, asking for reinforcements."<sup>47</sup> Harden confronted the spy later that evening near an Emma Street concert:

I questioned him sharply and he apologized for breaking and entering my premises. [...] I ordered him off but he refused to go until I forced [Police Captain] Andrews to dismiss him.

The point of this story lies in its application. Has a resident here no rights; is he to be subjected to insult and outrage without any redress?

What has become of the liberty and equality which our glorious Constitution is supposed to fling around the individuality of peace-loving citizens like myself? I want to know!<sup>48</sup>

Despite Harden's vehement protests, the Hawaiian government may have quite appropriately spied on him. In August 1894, the *Hawaii Holomua* revealed, "Lieutenant Francis L.G. Harden, late H.B.M.N.R. [Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Reserve]" had "recently aided the royalists of Hawaii, for which he was deported."<sup>49</sup> Harden subsequently offered his services to the Chinese consul in San Francisco and at a meeting at the consulate "entered bearing a beautiful gold-mounted sword, which was presented to him by the fallen Queen of the Hawaiian Islands."<sup>50</sup>

#### CHAMPION PLOT

The espionage effort that focused broadly on the British may have prevented the execution of a plan by Captain Eustace Rooke of the British man-of-war HBMS *Champion* to aid Queen Lili'uokalani. The purported plot entailed the United States flagship *Philadelphia* and the HBMS *Champion* departing the port of Honolulu together with the latter ship circling back and landing men and arms. The account came from one of the marshal's spies, Alexander D. McEvoy. First arriving in Honolulu on December 15, 1893, McEvoy was hired three days later as a police officer in the secret service.<sup>51</sup> According to his affidavit, McEvoy had befriended Marchant, a British spy and chief gunner from the *Champion*.<sup>52</sup> After gaining the British spy's confidence, McEvoy submitted a report, which eventually came to the attention of the U.S. commander of the *Philadelphia* and resulted in the U.S. ship remaining in port.<sup>53</sup> Since the alleged British plan never came to fruition, the veracity of McEvoy's reports cannot be confirmed or denied. Later events and the reaction of the Republic of Hawai'i, nevertheless, would indicate at least the perception of a real threat. On August 23, 1894, the *Hawaii Holomua* reported that the beach from Honolulu to Waikiki was "patrolled by mounted police-men and spies" to "prevent the landing of men or arms" from the HBMS *Champion*.<sup>54</sup>

## KATZER PLOT

Another reputed scheme involved employing a foreign military advisor. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported on November 17, 1894, of a royalist plot that enlisted a twenty-four-year-old Austrian military officer, Stephen M. Katzer.<sup>55</sup> The anonymous author of the article revealed that the government had secured the allegiance of Katzer: "On the arrival of the steamer [*Alameda*, on August 30, 1894], the Austrian officer was put on pay, with a promise of receiving a considerable amount of money just before he attempted to carry any project into execution."<sup>56</sup> On October 1, 1894, S.M. Katzer was introduced as the newest member of the mounted patrol, but his job with the government was short lived. Katzer left Hawai'i on the *Australia* on Saturday, November 10, 1894.<sup>57</sup> Also on the same ship, was the presumed author of the anonymous article, Claude H. Wetmore. Behind the scenes, Attorney General Smith had paid Wetmore \$350 on November 9, 1894, for "Information, plans etc. related to the Government."<sup>58</sup> The *Hawaiian Star*, soon after the publication of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, declared "the sensational account in the morning paper is known to be largely false, although founded on a substratum of truth."<sup>59</sup>

A month after his departure from Hawai'i, Katzer received one last moment in the spotlight when he was interviewed about the plot in the December 9, 1894, issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The article generated several responses in Hawai'i. The *Hawaii Holomua* mockingly called him "one of the 'liberators' of the Hawaiian monarchy," and ridiculed the article, noting: "He [Katzer] draws upon his imagination."<sup>60</sup> Even the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, which had published the original story about the supposed plot, wrote: "No man of any sense will believe this statement. This story is like many other absurd stories, which have to some extent, disturbed the peace of the community, and, especially confused the natives, and led them to expect restoration, and a 'beheading' if they took the oath of allegiance."<sup>61</sup> William H. Rickard, one of the persons quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* article wrote to the *Hawaiian Star* on December 21, 1894, to dispute the comments attributed to him about the British Commissioner and the participation of the HMS *Hyacinth*. He added, "And I

emphatically deny having made any such statements either to Katzer, or any other person or persons in or out of the country.”<sup>62</sup>

On December 27, 1894, Katzer sent a letter to Rickard from the Eureka Hotel in Oakland, California, that attempted to rehabilitate the erstwhile military advisor’s reputation. He blamed the betrayal squarely on Wetmore:

Now, Mr. Rickard, I am going to tell you something about Wetmore, this man in whom we both placed confidence but how did he deceive us. I had long suspicion on him [. . .]. I expected that he was going to do some crooked business in connection with our plans. For the day after our last meeting at your place he requested me to draw plans similar to those I made for Maj. Nolan [Samuel Nowlein]. He said that they got lost and Nolan wants them for future reference. If Nolan got those plans I dont [*sic*] know but I doubt it as there was no use of making those plans again after the whole thing had been declared “pau.”<sup>63</sup>

If true, the incident marks another plot that had been foiled by the espionage efforts of the Republic of Hawai‘i; if false, it represents one of the many false news accounts that circulated during the early days of the Republic of Hawai‘i.

#### EXPOSED SPIES

Although ostensibly a “secret” service, the identities of the spies of the Republic of Hawai‘i were regularly revealed. Besides appearing in print, as had the names of James Nott, Jr.,<sup>64</sup> and John “Alabama” Mitchell<sup>65</sup> and Simon von Topaz,<sup>66</sup> the names were also passed by word of mouth. The testimony by Joseph Nāwahī published in the newspapers in December 1894, revealed knowledge of at least two other spies, John Henry Van Giesen and Alexander D. McEvoy. Nāwahī said, “During past year McEvoy has borne reputation of being a spy. Was told so by Bob Wilcox. [. . .] After that, on same day, Pendergast told witness to beware of McEvoy.”<sup>67</sup>

Van Geisen’s own testimony revealed his dual employment; he stated that he was “a police officer in the service of the Hawaiian Government; been such since November, 1893; employed by the Marshal.”<sup>68</sup> He added that he “made reports to the Marshal during this period, very frequently.”<sup>69</sup> The most prolific spy, Van Giesen

sequentially numbered more than a hundred reports, starting with an undated "Report 1." Van Giesen signed his reports, including "Report 47," on a Hui Aloha Aina meeting, "I remain, Yours to command, Washington."<sup>70</sup> He signed "#98" with a Hawaiian language closing: "Me ke aloha nui, owau no ka oukou kauwa haahaa ["With great aloha, I am your obedient servant."] Geo. Washington."<sup>71</sup>

Epitomizing the meaning of *kiuho'opulu*, Van Giesen befriended one of the royalists he had been assigned to watch, noting in his report to Hitchcock: "C. [Crick] is well watched by me, he probably trusts me more than any other person in town, is with me nearly all the time."<sup>72</sup>

The most active member of the cadre of spies, Van Giesen also established a code system for oral communication with Hitchcock over the telephone, including "17. Be careful!"; "75. Mrs. D. [Dominis] is moving"; "120. Danger, be on watch"; "150. I am watched and can not come"; and perhaps most important to Van Giesen, "275. Am in trouble send me help." Van Giesen ended his report: "I will ring you up Thursday morning about eleven o'clock to try this code and see how it works."<sup>73</sup>

The lawyers for the defense of Nāwahī and other royalists contended that since the individuals on trial knew the identities of the spies, it would have been unlikely that they would have said anything criminal in front of them. The judge acknowledged validity of the argument but concluded that their actions themselves corroborated the statements regarding their guilt.

Concerning the knowledge of the identities of the government spies, John Dunn reported on November 7, 1894, that at a meeting held at Waikīkī Beach, the speakers "cautioned us not to trust anyone, especially McEvoy, Mitchell, [. . .] S.V.T. [Simon Von Topaz]."<sup>74</sup>

Despite the unmasking of a number of spies, the hired watchers continued to reveal actual and imagined plots to the government. The *Hawaii Holomua*, just days before the commencement of the counter-revolution, made fun of the reaction of the marshal and his spies. The paper reported:

The marshal's pets had been idle for sometimes and many of them were afraid of getting the "sack" when pay day came around, and consequently rumors were set a-flying and reports were as numerous as mosquitoes. The result was satisfactory to—the spies.



FIGURE 4. Robert Parker Waipa. Courtesy of AH.

The marshal has evidently not very much discernment, he seems at least to swallow every report which comes to him about the wicked royalists. We are aware of one report brought in by an ingenious spy, which probably convinced the marshal of the existence of a "plot." The spy had scoured the town last Monday. He had watched the natives especially and behold! He had counted 200 *imu* in preparation for the cooking of the festive pig or dog. That clenched [*sic*] the matter. [Adjutant General John Harris] Soper donned his uniform and the guard made their wills and went on duty. That it was New Year's Day yesterday and that the Hawaiians always feast themselves and friends on that day was immaterial.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the concocted conspiracies, the reports of the spies also disrupted real Royalist activities. The government broke up a mass meeting on January 4, 1895, which the *Daily Bulletin* credits to the presence of government informants. The newspaper reported: "The Marshal had been previously notified of the congregating of natives, and Senior Captain Parker [Robert Parker Waipa] and other officers were sent down to *spy* [*italics mine*] on them."<sup>76</sup>

Even the day before the counter-revolution commenced, the *Hawaii Holomua* continued to complain about the government's use of informants. "The system of spies is the ruin of the country. We can assure Messrs. [Attorney General William Owen] Smith and [Marshal E.G.] Hitchcock that the spying and sneaking scoundrels now in the pay of the government have done more to make the republic unpopular and hated than has any other of the tyrannical measure of our missionary oligarchy."<sup>77</sup> The paper was not at a loss for negative descriptors of the practitioners of the ongoing surveillance efforts: "The employment of thieves, rascals, bums and thugs creates simply a feeling of contempt and disgust for a government, that bases its existence on such despicable [*sic*] support."<sup>78</sup>

The *Hawaii Holomua* concluded on January 5, 1895, quite erroneously considering the events that transpired the next day, that: "We don't believe that there is the slightest reason for fear of uprisings."<sup>79</sup> On January 5, 1895, the day before the conflict commenced, the *Daily Bulletin* informed its readers: "One of the reports made by the spies to Marshal Hitchcock is that prominent business men, whose names were mentioned, were providing the natives with arms and gin to aid them in the revolt against the Republic."<sup>80</sup>

One spy tasked with monitoring a top leader of the counter-revolution was George Markham. He had accompanied Robert Wilcox to the residence of Henry Franz Bertelmann, where the opening salvo of the counter-revolution took place. His appearance there would not have been out of the ordinary. He was, after all, the brother of Emma M. Markham, who was married to Bertelmann. So close were the two siblings, that George Markham and his sister had married their spouses in a double wedding ceremony.<sup>81</sup> The Bertelmanns would have known his occupation. Even the publicly available city directory printed in 1894 lists his occupation as a policeman.<sup>82</sup> The *Hawaii Holomua* noted, "What the object of these hirelings of Mr. Dole



FIGURE 5. George Markham, published November 5, 1900. Drawing from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA).

is remains a mystery that in provin [*sic*] themselves traitors to their country and their Queen.”<sup>83</sup> Markham, part-Native Hawaiian, was born May 3, 1862, in Kipahulu, Maui, the son of William Archeson Markham, born in Ireland, and Konale Kaiahua Kalanioumi Kapule, born in Hana, Maui.<sup>84</sup>

Although certainly in the position to view the comings and goings at the Bertelmann compound, Markham had years earlier been branded as a spy. An anonymous author of a letter to the “English Version” of Hawaiian-language *Hawaii Holomua*, using the pseudonym, “Loyal Native,” called Markham “a spendthrift, a sot, and lastly, a spy.”<sup>85</sup> Given his identification as a spy nearly two years before the counter-revolution began, it is highly likely that leaders of the uprising would have been wary of Markham.

Even Markham’s allegiances, however, are open to speculation. Makanui testified that “George Markham came out on Sunday with a lot of natives and half whites—he superintended the cleaning of guns and had a hand in the whole business, he was there all night and I saw him again next morning. About noon he came over to Bertelmann’s with a gun and a lot of other people.”<sup>86</sup>

#### DAY ONE OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, SUNDAY, JANUARY 6, 1895

The first skirmish of the uprising took place at the Bertelmann residence in Waikiki on Sunday, January 6, 1895. In his account of the insurrection, titled *The Rebellion of 1895: A Complete and Concise Account of the Insurrection in the Republic of Hawaii*, Ed Towse (who himself had been paid as a spy<sup>87</sup>) noted the importance of the special agents on the first day of the rebellion: “A spy had reported the arms to the marshal and Deputy [Arthur Morgan] Brown, Capt. Parker and a half-dozen native police were sent to make search.”<sup>88</sup> It was at the Bertelmann residence that the only death of a government supporter during the counter-revolution occurred. Charles Lund Carter died there when gunfire erupted after the government agents tried to search the property.

The *San Francisco Call* credited the spies with forcing the revolt to start too early. “Their leaders in Honolulu and in the field were undoubtedly far advanced in their preparations, but a day makes a

great difference in a conspiracy, and the Government spies came upon them a day too soon, forcing Robert Wilcox and Sam Nowlein to take the field with their Kanakas but half armed and not provisioned at all.”<sup>89</sup>

Though the identity of the informant went unreported in the accounts, Hitchcock made a special effort to secure a reward for the spy after the counter-revolution had failed. He wrote on June 25, 1895, a letter circulated to several prominent businessmen:

I deem it advisable to remember in a pecuniary manner, the services of the person (a native Hawaiian) who above all others rendered the police department, the knowledge on Jan 6th 1895, whereby the Republic was enabled to take such quick measures, as to save great blood shed & pecuniary loss to this city.

I deem it wise to raise a purse of say three hundred dollars for the above person, & shall be glad to receive the sum of twenty or twenty five dollars each from those to whom I present this.

The back of the letter includes the names of individuals and amounts contributed to the effort: J.B. [Joseph Ballard] Atherton, \$25; H.P. [Henry Perrine] Baldwin, \$25; C. [Cristel] Bolte, \$25; Inter-Island Steam Navigation, \$25; J.T. [John Thomas] Waterhouse, \$20; E.O. [Edwin Oscar] Hall & Son, \$25; E.D. [Edward D.] Tenney, \$25; F.J. [Frederick Jewett] Lowrey, \$25; C.M. [Charles Montague] Cooke, \$25; Wilder’s S.S. [Steam Ship] Co., \$25; Henry Waterhouse, \$20; G.N. [George Norton] Wilcox, \$25; and G.P. [George Parmalee] Castle, \$10.<sup>90</sup>

Baldwin and Wilcox were sugar planters, Bolte, a member of the Committee of Safety; and the remainder businessmen. A note reads “Kahekili informant of the uprising of Jan 5–6, 1895—Paid \$300 for services in June 1895.”<sup>91</sup> Kahekili signed two receipts for the money, one for two hundred and seventy-five dollars “as gift from friends to me” dated June 28, 1895,<sup>92</sup> and a second for twenty-five dollars “from friends,” dated July 15, 1895.<sup>93</sup> The three hundred dollars equaled a full year’s salary for a special police officer. Very little is known about Kahekili. The 1896 edition of *Husted’s Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* includes a listing for “Kahekili David, laborer, r Kekaulike nr King.”<sup>94</sup> On August 24, 1897, Kahekili was

“sentenced to one month’s imprisonment at hard labor on the charge of assault and battery on Kaaua (w).”<sup>95</sup> Of course, like the other spies “Kahekili” might have been a pseudonym adopted to obscure the true identity of the individual. It would have been unusual, however, for a person to sign receipts using a pseudonym.

DAY TWO OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION,  
MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1895

A chance meeting almost exposed as a spy, John Dunn, who played a crucial role the next day. Dunn had been monitoring since Christmas Day, 1894, a hack-driver named Charles E. Dunwell, one of the informants for the royalists, when he ran into him at a military camp. According to Dunn: “On Monday, January 7th. I met him [Dunwell] at Camp Ziegler at Moiliili, he asked me what I was doing there, I replied that I had been captured and wanted to jump the camp, he then said he was carrying messages for the Government, and in doing this he was able to keep the rebels informed of the movements of government troops.”<sup>96</sup> Judge Advocate, W.A. Kinney asked for Dunwell to be brought before him from Oahu Jail. McKinney noted, “When he came, I found that the party was a colored person born abroad. Up to that time I had supposed he was a white man.”<sup>97</sup> His reticence to reveal his role resulted in severe treatment for Dunwell. James A. Low, jailor, testified, “I confined Chas. Dunwell in a dark cell by order of Marshal Hitchcock, who had [. . .] telephoned me that he was sending him back to be so confined, because of his stubborn insolent and lying manner. [. . .] This cell had been used up to that time by some of the political prisoners and has since then and is now being used by the political prisoners less the shutter covering the transom which was used to darken the cell.”<sup>98</sup> British Commissioner A.G.S. Hawes, who sent Vice Consul Walker to interview Dunwell in prison, learned that Dunwell was “not permitted to dress or even put on his shoes” and on the orders of the marshal was “stripped of all his clothes except his under flannel and drawers.” In addition, Hawes decried “his being imprisoned in a dark cell where he had to sleep on the cement floor.”<sup>99</sup>

Another government spy, J.B. “Long” Johnstone, was arrested the same day, on Monday, January 7, 1895, suspected of being in sym-

pathy with the royalists. According to the *Hawaiian Star*, Johnston, “failed to report for duty when the trouble began. Mr. Hitchcock had reason to believe his man was wanting to act with the other side.”<sup>100</sup> Eventually Johnstone would be deported in lieu of a trial, on February 2, 1895.<sup>101</sup>

#### DAY THREE OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1895

Perhaps the most crucial contribution of the spies took place on Tuesday evening about nine o’clock.<sup>102</sup> The brazen spy effort netted information from the highest levels of the counter-revolution, from Robert Wilcox, himself, concerning the plans of the rebels to regroup and capture Punchbowl. The strategy was revealed by John Dunn, “who under the direction of the Government, entered the camp of Wilcox and, as a trusted sympathizer and supposed recruit, obtained a statement of that chieftain’s plan.”<sup>103</sup> The spy likewise shared his story at the highest level of the Republic of Hawai‘i. “After a hurried consultation with the officers there [at the police station], Dunn was taken up to President Dole’s residence [on Emma Street], and there recounted his experiences.”<sup>104</sup> The house of the head of the Republic of Hawai‘i sat in the shadow of Punchbowl, the object of the rebel plans. Because of the report, the government bolstered its forces protecting Punchbowl and its magazine, sending Companies B and E along with field pieces.<sup>105</sup> The capture of volcanic hill overlooking Honolulu might have provided the insurgents with a key tactical position. The *Daily Bulletin* presciently concluded: “The movement will probably foil the rebel commander’s plan completely.”<sup>106</sup>

#### DAY FOUR OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1895

Based on the testimony of spies a number of royalists, some prominent, were rounded up by the police. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole was arrested on Wednesday morning, January 9, 1895. The uprising was effectively over that day, though the main leaders were not captured for another five days.

### MOPPING UP OPERATIONS

Following the end of active military encounters, the spies set out to discover the locations of the remaining rebel leaders. The specials were included prominently in list of the various government forces that on the morning of January 14, 1895, surrounded Sam Nowlein, Will Greig, Carl Widemann and Louis Marshall at Kānewai Spring.<sup>107</sup> Wilcox was found that afternoon at a house in Kalihi. Even after the arrests of all of the leaders of the uprising, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* emphasized the continuing need for spies: "There will be no relaxation of interest or diminution made in the ranks of the specials until all the rebels have been captured."<sup>108</sup>

### PRISON INFORMANTS

Spies, too, played an important role immediately following the arrests of the rebel participants in helping to secure their convictions. In an alternative to interrogation, spies were placed in prison to befriend the newly incarcerated and gather evidence against them. The *Daily Bulletin* reported: "he [Markham] was there with the rest of the prisoners; no one had any faith in him; he was pointed out as a Government spy. [. . .] Heard talk by some of the men to shoot Markham because he was a spy."<sup>109</sup>

Even after hundreds of the participants in the Counter-Revolution of 1895 had been jailed, the spies continued to operate. The numbers arrested from January 4, 1895, to February 25, 1895, totaled 430: 143 as prisoners of war, 149 for conspiracy, 114 for investigation and 24 for treason.<sup>110</sup> With the objects of their surveillance in prison, subsequent reports contained far less actionable intelligence. J.R. Mills, in a report to Hitchcock dated March 21, 1895, recalled "In my last interview with you, you told me not to report anything to you unless it was important and definite, therefore I have delayed for some time, and even now I can give you nothing definite—with the Exception that beyond all manner of doubt there is another move on foot amongst the adherents of the Queen."<sup>111</sup>

## PUTTING SPIES AT A DISTANCE

Although a necessary evil for the republic, spies were not warmly embraced by the government. This certainly was true for the man who helped tamp down one of the last rebel moves of counter-revolution. John Dunn, the spy who had revealed the Punchbowl plans of Robert Wilcox to the government, was not accorded the thanks of a grateful nation. Instead, his former handlers turned into his jailors. In May, the *Evening Bulletin* reported, Dunn was arrested for vagrancy by the very entity that had employed him as a spy. The paper explained: "John was told some time since that the police had no further use for him, but when on the 14th of the present month [May 1895] he was arrested as a common vagrant his heart was broken and it has not mended yet, although on the day following his arrest a nolle pros. [a nolle prosequi or abandonment of the prosecution] was entered in his case."<sup>112</sup>

Another special policeman was forced into exile. Frank Honeck was a member of Company A, National Guard of Hawaii. Honeck "was a member of the secret service of the Hawaiian government, where he had made a record for himself by discovering the firearms that had been smuggled into the country by royalists, only to be thrown into the dungeon later and then deported to the United States [. . .]."<sup>113</sup> He left with ten others on February 23, 1895.<sup>114</sup>

## ASSESSING THE SPIES

Assistant Marshall A.M. Brown asked Van Giesen to conduct an assessment of the secret service. His report, titled "#132," gave a comprehensive look into the shortcomings of the operations, including detailed descriptions of the methods of his fellow spies. Of Dunn, he wrote that the longtime spy "considers that he can not work or obtain information without the use of liquors and having 'a good time,' until he is nearly all the time in a chronic state of drunkenness."<sup>115</sup> His main conclusion was that public knowledge of the identities of the spies rendered them useless for espionage. Van Giesen concluded that McEvoy held interviews with newspaper reporters "until one would imagine he is the editor of the local column of a sensational newspaper rather than that he is in the employ of the secret service; there is nothing secret about him."<sup>116</sup> Charles W. Johansen and F.H. Wagner "are from their being too well known [. . .] useless in the political arena."<sup>117</sup>

The former spy chief, Hitchcock, died on Sunday, October 9, 1898. Among the plaudits given after his passing, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* included one related to the espionage program he headed: "It was he who followed the plotters against peace and law and order with unrelenting vigilance and with a keen alertness and vigor that caused many of their plans to miscarry."<sup>118</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In spite of sometime bumbling espionage efforts and often overblown and exaggerated reports, the spies of the Republic of Hawai'i ultimately forced the royalists to begin the counter-revolution before rebel forces had been properly provisioned and armed. Additionally, spies revealed strategic plans and positions of the insurgents, intelligence that doomed the efforts in 1895 to restore Lili'uokalani to the throne of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> "A Legend of Kamehameha the Great," *PCA*, January 6, 1894, 6.
- <sup>2</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 156.
- <sup>3</sup> Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), 245.
- <sup>4</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, 667, n.d., Series 506-2-11, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 661–680, AH.
- <sup>5</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, January 26, 1894, 3.
- <sup>6</sup> Letter from E.G. Beckwith to Liliuokalani, n.d., Series 401, box 2, folder 17, document 200, AH.
- <sup>7</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, February 7, 1894, 3.
- <sup>8</sup> "Spying on the Queen," *DB*, March 9, 1894, 2.
- <sup>9</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, May 8, 1894, 3.
- <sup>10</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, August 8, 1894, 3.
- <sup>11</sup> "Local Notes," *Hawaii Holomua*, April 11, 1894, 4.
- <sup>12</sup> "Local Notes," *Hawaii Holomua*, August 9, 1894, 3.
- <sup>13</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, February 28, 1894, 3.
- <sup>14</sup> "Veteran Editor of Honolulu is Dead on Coast," *HSB*, January 23, 1925, 5.
- <sup>15</sup> "Mrs. Norrie Passes Away," *HA*, July 26, 1929, 4.
- <sup>16</sup> "Death Ends Career Of Col. Richardson," *Maui News*, June 29, 1917, 7.
- <sup>17</sup> "Deaths," *HSB*, October 4, 1939, 13.
- <sup>18</sup> Helen Geracimos Chapin, "Queen's 'Greek Artillery Fire': Greek Royalists in the Hawaiian Revolution and Counterrevolution," *HJH* 15 (1981).

- <sup>19</sup> *Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892 [1894]), Supplemental, 76.
- <sup>20</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, 670, December 31, 1893, Series 506-2-11, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 661-680, AH.
- <sup>21</sup> Extract from report of William Hickey, 978, Exhibit 4, December 9, 1894, Series 506-3-6, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 961-980, AH.
- <sup>22</sup> 1900 U.S. Federal Census.
- <sup>23</sup> "Elizabeth Van Gieson Dies; Rites Saturday," *HSB*, April 30, 1943, 5.
- <sup>24</sup> Marriages: Maui (1842-190), M-15a:3, AH.
- <sup>25</sup> "Investigation at Kakaako," *PCA*, March 3, 1884, 2.
- <sup>26</sup> 1900 U.S. Federal Census.
- <sup>27</sup> *Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1896), 306.
- <sup>28</sup> "Death of Van Giesen," *PCA*, June 15, 1903, 7.
- <sup>29</sup> "Died," *Hawaiian Star*, June 15, 1903, 7.
- <sup>30</sup> "Van Giesen Funeral," *EB*, 5.
- <sup>31</sup> "Local News," *Hawaii Holomua*, December 30, 1895, 3.
- <sup>32</sup> "Correspondence," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 3, 1894, 4.
- <sup>33</sup> "Is Not a Spy," *DB*, February 9, 1894, 3.
- <sup>34</sup> Report of the Attorney General to the President of the Republic of Hawaii, 1896, 36.
- <sup>35</sup> "The Conspiracy Case," *Hawaii Holomua*, December 19, 1894, 2.
- <sup>36</sup> Oct. 30, 1895, Series 506-3-27, Insurrection of 1895, Detective Service Receipts, 1894-1896, AH.
- <sup>37</sup> Interview Between W.O. Smith and Frank Honeck, February 9, 1895, 833, Series 506-2-17, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 816-835, AH.
- <sup>38</sup> *Hawaii Holomua*, January 2, 1894, 2.
- <sup>39</sup> Report of the Attorney General to the President of the Republic of Hawaii, 1896, 36.
- <sup>40</sup> [Editorial], *Hawaii Holomua*, January 11, 1894, 2.
- <sup>41</sup> "One of Them," *DB*, January 2, 1895, 3.
- <sup>42</sup> "Something Rotten," *Hawaii Holomua*, February 28, 1894, 2.
- <sup>43</sup> "Large Mass Meeting," *DB*, April 10, 1894, 4.
- <sup>44</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, 677, February 4, 1894, Series 506-2-11, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 661-680, AH.
- <sup>45</sup> "Latest News from Abroad," *PCA*, March 29, 1894, 1.
- <sup>46</sup> *Hawaii Holomua*, January 13, 1894, 2.
- <sup>47</sup> [Letter to the Editor], Francis Leo G. Harden, "Harding Has a Kick," *PCA*, February 27, 1894, 2.
- <sup>48</sup> [Letter to the Editor], Francis Leo G. Harden, "Harding Has a Kick," *PCA*, February 27, 1894, 2.
- <sup>49</sup> "Irrepressible," *Hawaii Holomua*, August 11, 1894, 3.
- <sup>50</sup> "Irrepressible," *Hawaii Holomua*, August 11, 1894, 3.
- <sup>51</sup> "Trial for Conspiracy," *DB*, December 19, 1894, 2.
- <sup>52</sup> Affidavit of A.D. McEvoy, #26, Feb. 10, 1895, Series 506-1-3, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 1-20, AH.
- <sup>53</sup> John Roy Musick, *Hawaii, Our New Possessions* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1898), 458.

- <sup>54</sup> "Another Scare," *Hawaii Holomua*, August 23, 1894, 3.
- <sup>55</sup> "A Plot That Failed," *Nebraska State Journal*, December 10, 1894.
- <sup>56</sup> "A Great Plot is Laid Bare," *PCA*, November 17, 1894, 1.
- <sup>57</sup> Passenger Lists, 1843–1898, AH.
- <sup>58</sup> Nov. 9, 1895, Series 506-3-27, Insurrection of 1895, Detective Service Receipts, 1894–1896, AH.
- <sup>59</sup> "Katzer and Wetmore," *Hawaiian Star*, November 17, 1894, 3.
- <sup>60</sup> "Local Notes," *Hawaii Holomua*, December 20, 1894, 3.
- <sup>61</sup> "An Absurd Story," *PCA*, December 24, 1894, 4.
- <sup>62</sup> "From Mr. W.H. Rickard," *Hawaiian Star*, December 21, 1894, 3.
- <sup>63</sup> Statement of St. M. Katzer, Dec. 27, 1894, 521, Series 506-2-6, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 521–550, AH.
- <sup>64</sup> "Local Notes," *Hawaii Holomua*, April 11, 1894, 4.
- <sup>65</sup> "Local Notes," *Hawaii Holomua*, August 9, 1894, 3.
- <sup>66</sup> "Bullet Through His Head," *DB*, December 1, 1894, 2.
- <sup>67</sup> "Still on the Defense," *Hawaiian Star*, December 21, 1894, 3.
- <sup>68</sup> "Van Giesen's Story," *DB*, December 18, 1894, 2.
- <sup>69</sup> "Van Giesen's Story," *DB*, December 18, 1894, 2.
- <sup>70</sup> "Affidavit of Van Giesen, #703, June 10, 1894, Series 506-2-13, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 701–720, AH.
- <sup>71</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, 751, Dec. 3, 1894, Series 506-2-15, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 746–780, AH.
- <sup>72</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, 692, Apr. 12, 1894, Series 506-2-12, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 681–700, AH.
- <sup>73</sup> Statement of Van Giesen, #710, Jun. 10, 1894, Series 506-2-13, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 701–720, AH.
- <sup>74</sup> Report of John Dunn, #439, Nov. 7, 1894, Series 506-2-3, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 436–460, AH.
- <sup>75</sup> "Fooled Again," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 2, 1895, 2.
- <sup>76</sup> "Great Scare Last Night," *DB*, January 4, 1895, 1.
- <sup>77</sup> "A Poor Policy," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 5, 1895, 2.
- <sup>78</sup> "A Poor Policy," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 5, 1895, 2.
- <sup>79</sup> "A Poor Policy," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 5, 1895, 2.
- <sup>80</sup> "Local and General News," *DB*, January 5, 1895, 5.
- <sup>81</sup> "A Double Wedding," *EB*, August 12, 1886, 3.
- <sup>82</sup> *Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1892), 189.
- <sup>83</sup> "Another Club," *Hawaii Holomua*, September 28, 1894, 3.
- <sup>84</sup> Ancestry.com
- <sup>85</sup> "Correspondence," *Hawaii Holomua*, March 4, 1893, 4.
- <sup>86</sup> Statement of Makanui, January 28, 1895, 71, Series 506-1-5, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits 61–80, AH.
- <sup>87</sup> Receipts from James A. Kennedy to Ed Towse, July 2, 1894 to October 29, 1894, Series 506-3-27, Insurrection of 1895, Detective Service Receipts, 1894–1896, AH.
- <sup>88</sup> Ed Towse, *The Rebellion of 1895: A Complete and Concise Account of the Insurrection in the Republic of Hawaii* (Honolulu: *Hawaiian Star*, 1895), 15.

- <sup>89</sup> "Uprising of Royalists in Hawaii," *San Francisco Call*, January 19, 1895, 1.
- <sup>90</sup> Letter from E.G. Hitchcock, June 25, 1895, Series 506-3-23, Insurrection of 1895, Correspondence, 1895, AH.
- <sup>91</sup> Letter from E.G. Hitchcock, June 25, 1895, Series 506-3-23, Insurrection of 1895, Correspondence, 1895, AH.
- <sup>92</sup> Receipt from E.G. Hitchcock to Kahekili, June 28, 1895, Series 506-4-26, Insurrection of 1895, Receipts, Other, AH.
- <sup>93</sup> Receipt from E.G. Hitchcock to Kahekili, July 15, 1895, Series 506-4-26, Insurrection of 1895, Receipts, Other, AH.
- <sup>94</sup> *Husted's Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (San Francisco: F.M. Husted, 1896), 190.
- <sup>95</sup> "Police Court Notes," *PCA*, Aug. 25, 1897, 6.
- <sup>96</sup> Affidavit of John Dunn, #24, Feb. 21, 1895, Series 506-1-3, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 1-20, AH.
- <sup>97</sup> Letter from A.G.S. Hawes, Series 506-3-29, Insurrection of 1895, Dunwell, Charles E., 1895, AH.
- <sup>98</sup> Affidavit, 531, Series 506-2-6, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 521-550, AH.
- <sup>99</sup> Affidavit of W.A. McKinney, 528, Series 506-2-6, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 521-550, AH.
- <sup>100</sup> "Three Deported," *Hawaiian Star*, February 2, 1895, 3.
- <sup>101</sup> "Three Deported," *Hawaiian Star*, February 2, 1895, 3.
- <sup>102</sup> "In the Hills," *Hawaiian Star*, January 9, 1895, 3.
- <sup>103</sup> "How Goes the War," *DB*, January 9, 1895, 5.
- <sup>104</sup> "Plans of the Rebels," *PCA*, January 9, 1895, 2.
- <sup>105</sup> "How Goes the War," *DB*, January 9, 1895, 5.
- <sup>106</sup> "How Goes the War," *DB*, January 9, 1895, 5.
- <sup>107</sup> "Captured!" *Hawaiian Star*, January 14, 1895, 1.
- <sup>108</sup> *PCA*, January 15, 1895, 2.
- <sup>109</sup> "Twenty-eighth Day," *DB*, February 19, 1895, 1.
- <sup>110</sup> Arrest During Rebellion 1895, n.d., 647, Series 506-2-10, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 641-660, AH.
- <sup>111</sup> Statement of J.R. Mills, Mar. 21, 1895, 640, Series 506-2-9, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 601-640, AH.
- <sup>112</sup> "John Dunn Kicks," *EB*, May 20, 1895, 4.
- <sup>113</sup> "Wants Damages from Hawaii," *PCA*, June 8, 1895, 3.
- <sup>114</sup> "Ten to Go," *Hawaiian Star*, February 23, 1895, 3.
- <sup>115</sup> Statement of J.H. Van Giesen, April 16, 1895, 819, Series 506-2-18, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 816-835, AH.
- <sup>116</sup> Statement of J.H. Van Giesen, April 16, 1895, 819, Series 506-2-18, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 816-835, AH.
- <sup>117</sup> Statement of J.H. Van Giesen, April 16, 1895, 819, Series 506-2-18, Insurrection of 1895, Statements and Affidavits, 816-835, AH.
- <sup>118</sup> "He Died on Duty," *PCA*, October 13, 1898, 1.