

The Queen's "Greek Artillery Fire": Greek Royalists in the Hawaiian Revolution and Counterrevolution

Helen G. Chapin

*Ua makaukau pono 'o Lili'u
Ma nā pōkā 'Ahi Helene. . . .
Noho hou o Lili'u i ke Kalaumu.*

Lili'u is readily prepared
With her Greek artillery fire. . . .
Return again Lili'u to the throne.

This chant, which appeared in *Hawaii Holomua* shortly after Queen Lili'uokalani's removal in early 1893, expressed a strong desire that she regain her throne.¹ "Greek artillery fire" was a classical and heroic allusion by the poet, but it was also, as events turned out, appropriate in that Greek men in Hawai'i during the Revolution and Counterrevolution were loyal to her.

During those years, a dozen or so natives of Greece who were Hawai'i residents were involved in the prolonged and ultimately futile struggle to preserve the monarchy. Seven men were active participants, and the rest were royalist sympathizers. Having in common commercial, political, and social interests, they united with other European residents, with non-missionary-descended, more recent American immigrants, and with royalist Hawaiians. The Greeks came into direct conflict with that small but powerful group of haole men who effectively weakened Kalākaua's government by means of the "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887, then led a revolution against Queen Lili'uokalani's government and in 1895 defeated the counterrevolutionists who attempted to restore her to the throne, and, finally, succeeded in having Hawai'i annexed to the United

Helen G. Chapin is Associate Professor of English and Assistant Dean for Special Programs at Hawaii Pacific College.

States. The "missionary boys" were a "political class," as William Armstrong designated them, that was comprised of the Island-born children of Protestant missionary parents or grandparents and those Anglo-Saxon immigrants who associated with them by marriage, business interests, and religious sympathy.² As unlike them "as a jerky, clattering tramcar from a well-groomed horse and carriage," in Albertine Loomis's words, were the oppositionist Greeks.³ Let us look now at their history from their viewpoint and from that of the receiving culture.

THE GREEK POPULATION AND ITS COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES

Greece and Greeks were known to Hawai'i from the first contact years and perhaps earlier. King Kalākaua, in his *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, theorized that Polynesians originally emigrated from Europe and observed that Greek and Polynesian legends resemble each other, "as in the story of 'Hina, the Helen [of Troy] of Hawai'i'."⁴ It is certain that Greeks began to reach Hawai'i with Captain Vancouver's explorations in the 1790s and on whaling and trading vessels after 1800.⁵ But unlike Greeks, who have always lived close to their own history and have seen their lives in continuity with their ancient past, non-Greeks have made a distinction between the ancient and modern. And in Hawai'i there was a different response according to one's religion. Thus, when the Greek religion was introduced by a Russian ship moored in Honolulu harbor, Hiram Bingham observed the Greek Orthodox ceremony with reservations. He was grateful, he said, for the "adoption of Christianity" at all by the Greek church, "though not in its unobscured glory." The local populace reacted more strongly against "idolators," expressing "levity" and "derision" at an Orthodox ceremony and parade that accompanied the remains of a sailor through Honolulu streets to the cemetery in 1839.⁶

By way of contrast, Alexander Liholiho recorded in his *Journal* the marked difference in values between an austere American Protestantism and a more tolerant European view. When the two young princes, Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha, and their chaperone, Dr. Gerritt P. Judd, were in Paris in 1850, they met the Greek Minister who approved of the princes' desire to wear their resplendant uniforms to the French President's reception. Dr. Judd disapproved of this and of their occasional enjoyment of alcoholic beverages and gambling.⁷ King Kalākaua continued in the princes' tradition. On his world tour in 1881, while in Egypt, Kalākaua chose as his ballroom partner "the beautiful Greek" wife of the Greek consul.⁸

It was not uncommon for travelers to Greece from Hawai'i to be impressed with the classical. Rev. Samuel C. Damon wrote from Athens in 1870 about the grandeur of the Acropolis and Parthenon.⁹ Closer to home, missionary descended William D. Alexander, professor of Greek at O'ahu College, disdained the modern "commercial, ingenious and eloquent, but deceitful, dirty and immoral" Greeks.¹⁰ His remarks to a church group in 1886 coincided with the permanent settlement of Greeks in Hawai'i.

Migration from Greece in the last third of the 19th Century was primarily due to crop failures and a surplus population that caused wide-spread poverty. The Peloponnesus region that contains Sparta was especially hard hit. A Western technological revolution of cheap and fast steamship and rail travel, along with rapid industrialization, made feasible large scale emigration to America and, on a smaller scale, to Hawai'i. The contradiction of a craving for economic betterment and a strong nationalism made Greeks leave Greece but kept them Greek.¹¹ On the other side of the world, Hawai'i's "two imperatives" were population and economic gain, complementary aims that were (and still are) often in conflict.¹²

First, considering population, Hawai'i's numbers in the 1870s were at a low ebb. From then on they increased, and Greek immigration figures reflect steadily rising Caucasian in-migration, except for a brief dip after the counterrevolution when more Greeks departed than arrived.

The first Greek settler arrived in 1878. A few Greeks came in as contract laborers with the Portuguese between 1879 and 1884. Although the Planters' Labor and Supply Company did not recruit in Greece, several Greek men made their way to Hawai'i circuitously, migrating initially to the Azores and Madeira Islands, then to Hawai'i. They married Portuguese or Hawaiian women and essentially lived plantation lives on rural Maui or O'ahu. They were not connected to the main group which colonized in Honolulu and Hilo from 1884 on, although after the counterrevolution one revealed himself to his countrymen: "Me like you, me Greek, not Portuguese."¹³

In 1884 there were seven Greek settlers in Hawai'i; by 1890 there were twelve; by 1895 there were twenty-six. A drop to twenty-one occurred in 1896. Greeks then increased to forty-six in 1900.¹⁴

Those most involved with Hawaiian affairs were single men drawn to Hawai'i by economic opportunity, although adventure played a part. They came from Sparta and three or four nearby villages and were connected to each other by blood or family friendships. The pattern of chain migration was for the older brother or uncle to come, then to send

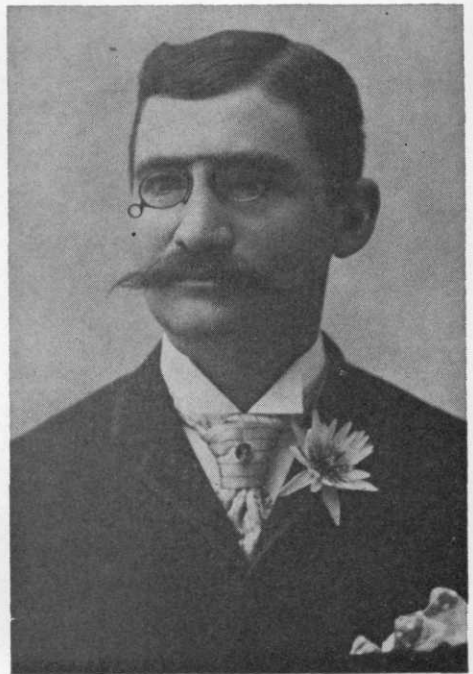
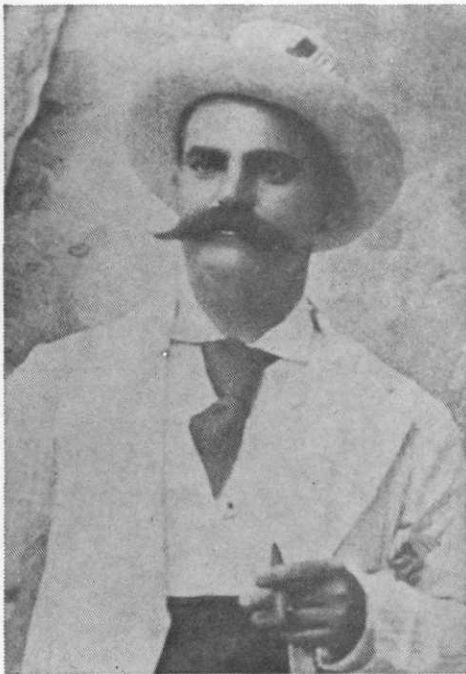
for younger brothers, nephews, or cousins. They generally sojourned in California before sailing to Hawai'i. As Fairchild has said, "Each Greek . . . became the nucleus of a rapidly increasing group of his own kin or neighbors."¹⁵

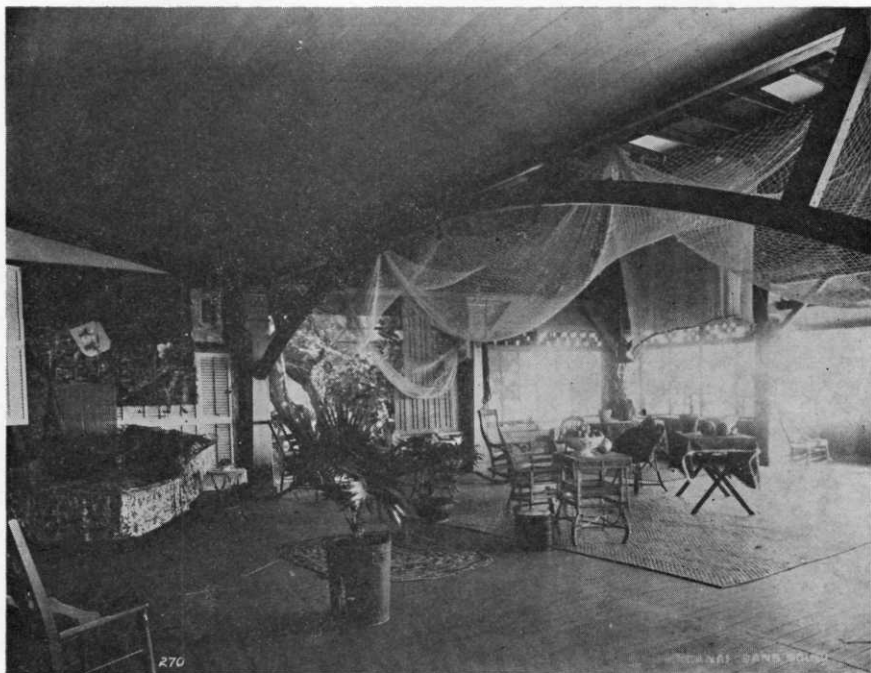
Second, considering commerce, there was a crucial event that set the stage for conflict. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876, which tied Hawai'i closely to the United States, and the resultant expansion of the sugar industry, meant a corresponding growth in general business activity and the need for goods and services. By the 1880s, Hawai'i was the center of Pacific trade, with California the main market for exports. A steamship could ply the ocean between San Francisco and Honolulu in seven days and carry 2000 tons of freight and a hundred passengers. Steamships regularly visited British colony ports in Australia and New Zealand. Imports into Hawai'i between 1882 and 1890 increased approximately from five to seven million dollars; exports in these years increased from eight to thirteen million dollars.¹⁶ To the Greeks, as well as other outsiders scrambling for a spot in Hawai'i, certain commercial activities were favorable for small capitalistic entrepreneurship: exporting and importing fresh produce and other foods, importing wines and liquor, and providing related services like stores, cafes, bars, and hotels.

The first settler from a Spartan village was Peter G. Camarinos who arrived in 1884. An adventurous, ambitious, clever man in his mid-twenties, he was to become an almost legendary figure among later settlers. His older brother Demetrius resided principally in San Francisco, where he had a commission house, and settled in Hawai'i only after the Counterrevolution. But he travelled frequently between the Coast and Hawai'i and became the agent for Greek enterprises in Hawai'i, providing financial and communal support.

The Camarinos moved from a small operation—the "California Fruit Market," at King and Alakea Streets (the present site of Finance Factors), from which they exported one box of fruit worth \$25.00 in September, 1885—to two stores and a substantial import-export business by 1890 of several thousand dollars worth of fresh produce, meat, seafood, and wines in shipments to and from the West Coast, New

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- FIG. 1. Attorney Paul Neumann (1895), who fought legal battles for the Queen and the Greeks. (Bishop Museum Photo.) (*top*)
- FIG. 2. George Lycurgus (1892), owner of the Sans Souci and known to fellow royalists as "the Duke of Sparta." (Author's Collection.) (*bottom left*)
- FIG. 5. Royalist newsman Edmund Norrie, member of the European colony and friend of the Greeks, who was jailed for "seditious libel." (Bishop Museum Photo.) (*bottom right*)





Zealand, and Australia.¹⁷ They occasionally sold fruit and wine to 'Iolani Palace.

As their commercial ventures expanded, the Camarinos found themselves in legal tangles with those trading in the same goods, such as E. L. Marshall, A. J. Campbell, and John Kidwell. The Greeks attempted to combine with them. The first partnership, with "Campbell, Marshall, and Company," dissolved when Campbell hired F. M. Hatch to press a breach of contract suit against the Camarinos for \$6750. Hatch was later to be the prosecutor for the Provisional Government and Republic of Hawai'i. The Camarinos hired attorney Paul Neumann (Fig. 1). Neumann was a Prussian Jew with a wooden leg who entered the Kingdom in 1882 and became Kalākaua's attorney general and *persona non grata* to the "missionary party." He got the suit dismissed.¹⁸

Peter Camarinos also entered into an agreement with John Kidwell, an Englishman who joined the *haole* elite and pioneered in pineapple agriculture. This time Camarinos sued for breach of contract. Hatch defended Kidwell, and Neumann won for Camarinos a judgment against Kidwell. George Lycurgus (Fig. 2), a kinsman and backer of Camarinos, sued to have Kidwell's lands seized.¹⁹ The case embittered and polarized the participants and increased the animosity between the Greeks and the "missionary" *haoles*. From 1890 on, the Greeks entered into either formal or informal partnerships with each other or with Europeans from backgrounds similar to their own. They hired Neumann and another royalist, Charles Creighton, as their attorneys.

While the Kidwell-Camarinos case was still in litigation, Camarinos, assisted by George Lycurgus, developed his own pineapple enterprise. The two largest growers in 1892 were Kidwell in Mānoa and Camarinos in Kalihi. This was reported by the chairman of the Committee on Fruit Culture for the planters' association who happened to be Lorrin A. Thurston, a "missionary boy" with a hand in many enterprises himself.²⁰ Two groups formed competing partnerships that year. Camarinos, Lycurgus, and George Andreos set up the Pearl City Fruit Company with George Cavanagh, a Scot, and two natives of Ireland, D. McLean and C. J. McCarty. Thurston, Kidwell, and John Emmeluth organized the Hawaiian Fruit and Packing Company, Ltd., in Pearl City. The rival corporate rosters were almost a preview of royalist-revolutionist lineups.²¹

FIG. 3. The Sans Souci lanai, scene of royalist conspiracies in 1894. (Hawaii State Archives Photo.)

FIG. 4. Demosthenes Lycurgus (1908) and his shrine to Queen Lili'uokalani, Volcano House manager's room. (Hawaii State Archives Photo.)

Other newly arrived Greeks made the logical step from business to political alliances. George Andreos, mentioned above, from the Camarinos' village, worked for them on the West Coast and then settled in Hawai'i where he was a royalist. He and George Lycurgus established the California Wine Company, and Andreos became manager of the Lycurgus beach hotel, the Sans Souci (see front cover and Fig. 3).

An older Lycurgus brother John had migrated to America first, from a Sparta village during the American Civil War. From California he sent for his younger brother George.²² Then, because of legal and business troubles, he left for Australia. He rejoined his kinsmen in the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1886, had informal partnerships with them, and ran his own enterprises in Hilo: a bar, cafe, and lodging house. The younger brother George turned up and almost immediately assumed a leadership role in the group.

George Lycurgus had parlayed selling fruit and candy on San Francisco streets into a thriving restaurant business in Sausalito. It was a place the convivial sons of Claus Spreckles and other bohemians visited. Late in 1889 Lycurgus boarded a Spreckles boat for a *bon voyage* party for them and a friendly poker game. He always maintained that as a practical joke the Spreckles boys and Hawaiian citizens George MacFarlane and Sam Parker shanghaied him to Hawai'i. In Honolulu, Lycurgus quickly joined royalist circles. He attended King Kalākaua's birthday lūau at John Cummins' place and played poker with the King and his friends.²³ Lycurgus immediately got into the importing and exporting trade, steadily increasing his produce shipments from 1890 on. Soon known as "the Duke of Sparta," Lycurgus in later years ironically summarized the difference between himself and Claus Spreckles, the German immigrant who became a sugar baron and shipping tycoon and a friend and banker to King Kalākaua. Spreckles, said Lycurgus, came to Hawai'i with four million dollars, while he himself came with only four thousand from the sale of his California restaurant.²⁴

There were more similarities than differences, however, among marginal men like Spreckles, Lycurgus, and their associates. One similarity was that although they were from European peasant backgrounds, they had keenly developed business senses. Possessing an abundance of restless energy and an inclination for taking risks, they worked hard and did not much worry about respectability. They accepted monarchies, which many Americans did not, and they felt an easy camaraderie with Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians. They almost all joined the Freemasons, so rapidly gaining in popularity and to which Kalākaua and his brother-in-law John Dominis belonged.

Other Greek men drifted into Honolulu, listing occupations like "cigar maker," "candy maker," "bookkeeper," and "showman." Several lined up with their compatriots and became members of the cast in the political drama. George Coutoumanos, "liquor dealer," denied his own license upon arrival in 1892, worked for George Lycurgus and operated a bath and boating house next to the Sans Souci. When Coutoumanos married a young Hawaiian woman in 1894, P. G. Camarinos was their best man.²⁵ A man named "Joe," who was probably John Karicke and was also known as Joe Kennedy, and a John Phoites were employed by Camarinos. Another Lycurgus employee, A. Carianne, was a cook at the Sans Souci. Chain migration brought a nephew, Demosthenes Lycurgus (Fig. 4), who attended St. Louis College in order to improve his English. All were involved in the events of 1893-1895.

THE OVERTHROW AND ITS EFFECTS

A brief look at political events of the Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani era, insofar as these events pertain to the Greeks, reveals that during Kalākaua's reign, the Greeks were still establishing themselves. A pattern emerges of connections made with other individuals and groups on the basis of common commercial, political, and social interests. Allowing for exceptions, it is fair to say that Kalākaua and previous monarchs since mid-century seemed to prefer to have as advisors or company Europeans or Americans of a non-missionary cast rather than those missionary-descended Americans whom the monarchs were often forced to accept. One grievance against King Kalākaua by the "Committee (or Council) of Thirteen," that included Lorrin Thurston and Sanford Dole, was that he had been unduly influenced by the likes of Spreckles, Walter Murray Gibson, and Celso Caesar Moreno. In 1887 the Committee forced the "Bayonet Constitution" on the King. Moreno was the Italian adventurer who had accompanied three Hawaiian boys to Italy for their education. One of these, Robert W. Wilcox, became the "Hawaiian Garibaldi" who led the aborted insurrection of 1889 in an attempt to restore rights lost in 1887. Among his followers were natives of Italy, Germany, and Belgium. The Belgian, Albert Loomens, was the first foreigner in the kingdom to be convicted of treason (he was slated to be hanged but his sentence was commuted). Three Greeks would be similarly accused in 1895.

Upon Kalākaua's death in 1891, Lili'uokalani inherited the throne and the insoluble problems of the century's closing years: loss of reciprocity for Hawaiian sugar, a deepening economic depression, and an increasing demoralization and fragmentation among Hawaiians. The

Queen cast about for solutions that included opium licensing, a lottery, and the enlargement of the voting franchise. To the haole oppositionists, her proposals were anathema. She, too, had a European advisor to whom they objected, Fräulein Wolf, who had an interest in the lottery proposal. Thurston and the small group who had proposed reforms against her brother now advocated revolution against the Queen and successfully engineered it through their secret “Annexation Club.”

It may well be possible that had sugar prices been higher in 1893, there would have been no revolution. But it is more probable that historical forces of technology, trade, population, and international politics decreed that Hawai‘i could not remain independent and that it would be engulfed by America. Nevertheless, those who tried to stem or reverse the tide did not then believe so.

The immediate cause of the 1893 Revolution was the attempt by the Queen on January 17 to promulgate a new constitution that would have restored rights to the throne and the Hawaiian people. It was a bloodless revolution with only one shot fired. She had no concentrated, single-minded support; those against her had a sharp focus, the element of surprise, and the backing of the United States Minister to Hawai‘i and the U.S.S. *Boston*. On January 17, Thurston, W. O. Smith, and the “Committee of Seventeen” proclaimed the Provisional Government. Cafes, saloons, and other businesses closed early that day, not to reopen until January 20. The new government immediately repealed the opium and lottery laws.

When U.S. Minister John L. Stevens later sought to justify his actions to his own government, he cited the presence during those days of “renegade whites,” “hoodlum foreigners,” “vicious natives,” and other “evil-disposed persons.”²⁶ He meant, among others, the Greeks. The *Hawaii Holomua* and its English version, the *Daily Holomua*, described the situation another way: if a ballot were taken, according to the *Holomua*, less than one-half of the present “foreigners” in Honolulu would support the Provisional Government except for the “mercenaries” in government military units.²⁷ Admittedly, the paper was partly financed by the Queen’s personal funds, but historians Kuykendall and Loomis support the opinion that the oligarchy was unpopular with large numbers of native Hawaiians and foreign residents.

When one considers the effects of the overthrow on the Greeks and to a lesser extent on other Europeans as they interacted with the Greeks, several areas are significant: economic, political, ethnic, and legal.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Greeks and other royalists were undoubtedly harassed and their businesses affected even before the overthrow. George Lycurgus leased twenty acres of Manoa land for banana cultivation. His partner in the Pearl City Fruit Company, George P. Cavanagh, wrote to the *Daily Bulletin* on January 20, 1893, and accused legislators Lorrin Thurston and W. O. Smith of being “murderers” of a bill that would have inaugurated a Hawaiian steamship line with direct routes to Portland, Seattle, Vancouver, and Victoria.²⁸ Cavanagh stated that Lycurgus had attempted to ship fresh produce to those ports, but without a direct refrigerated line these were doomed, and South American direct shipments would win the trade.

After the overthrow Lycurgus embarked on a new undertaking, the Sans Souci, which he advertised prominently. He was shortly arrested, retained attorney Charles Creighton, and was fined \$75.00 for keeping a “disorderly house” and selling liquor without a license.²⁹ Lycurgus had this to say about the incident:

I was a royalist so the missionaries don't like me, want to put me in jail. They tell the police there is too much noise at Sans Souci. They come, and Robert Louis Stevenson says the only thing he hears all night is the telephone.³⁰

Stevenson, who was part of the Kalākaua crowd, “a group much frowned upon by many of Honolulu's ‘respectable people’,” sojourned at the hotel for several weeks in 1893 and publicly praised it in the newspapers.³¹ On the Big Island, John Lycurgus had repeated trouble in the early 1890's securing liquor, victualing, and merchandising licenses.

POLITICS

After the overthrow two Greeks, Coutoumanos and Carianne, joined Provisional Government military units and served about six months each. Too much should not be made of this politically because during the 1893 depression many were probably attracted to the military for its pay of \$2.00 and three meals a day.³² Another political feature of the times concerned the manipulation of the voting process to benefit the oligarchy. Queen Lili'uokalani had attempted to abolish property qualifications for voters and to get rid of denization, a historical practice that gave the vote to male residents without requiring them to be naturalized. Had they been carried out, her proposals would not have particularly affected the Greeks. During their two decades of residence, there were just two denizations—of Greek plantation workers among the

Portuguese.³³ The Portuguese had been given blanket denization in 1887 to vote for the haole reformers. Nor did any Greeks become naturalized, in likelihood because they planned to return eventually to their homeland. As for the voting process itself, this had limited appeal. When the Provisional Government transformed itself into the Republic, it called the method whereby pro-Republic foreigners could vote, "Special Rights of Citizenship." Fewer than one fifth of the twenty-six resident Greeks signed up, four on O'ahu and one on the Big Island.³⁴

Whether the Greeks were against annexation from the beginning of their stay in Hawai'i is not clear. They were probably in the pattern of other Europeans who were for annexation when it seemed economically favorable but took a position against it as they perceived that it would not help their interests. It is possible, too, that they hardened themselves against annexation as Thurston and his group became more in favor of it. In any event, after the overthrow of Lili'uokalani, all evidence is that they strongly opposed annexation and favored an independent Hawai'i.

ETHNIC POLITICS

Ethnic and political matters have seldom been far removed from each other in Hawai'i. The Greeks' role in the ethnic scene is another illustration of the complex system of intergroup relations in Hawai'i.

Each Caucasian ethnic group, although looked upon as haole by non-Caucasians, was a distinct subculture. If there were sufficient numbers, as among the Scottish and Germans, ethnic structures were formalized, as by benevolent societies and social clubs. If there were larger numbers, as the Portuguese, language newspapers were established. When few, as the Greeks and Jews, the subculture existed only informally but was nevertheless tenacious in its internal ties.

Individuals from each ethnic group participated in a larger European colony for purposes of business, politics, and sociability. A definite class division existed between the Caucasian ethnics and the dominant *haoles*, or, as Lawrence Fuchs has said in *Hawaii Pono*, between the European colony and the New England settlement.³⁵ Within the European colony there were few class distinctions. Newcomers were generally welcome regardless of occupation or background by their fellow countrymen and other Europeans—an itinerant showman, living by feats of juggling and magic, was housed and entertained with as much gusto as the touring Prince of Greece.³⁶ But Greeks and other Europeans picked up the racial biases of other *haoles*. Almost all Caucasians of the period were vehemently anti-Asiatic, but Europeans like Edmund Norrie blamed the *haole* elite and sugar planters for large scale importation of Oriental

labor. I might add that Norrie and others were just as opposed to importation of white labor, too, which they considered to be exploitative.

After the Provisional Government takeover, Greeks joined what had been a German club. The original "Schuetzen Club" practiced shooting to defend the oligarchy. In mid 1894 a "radical element" obtained control and called itself the "International Schuetzen Club." This paramilitary organization was composed of two dozen or so European-born royalists from Germany, Austria, Greece, Great Britain, and elsewhere.³⁷ Its president and first lieutenant were German natives, its treasurer a Scotsman, and two Greeks, Coutoumanos and Demosthenes Lycurgus, were respectively a captain and corporal.

There are two final notes in an intriguing and slippery field. Italian grocers briefly shared store space with Peter Camarinos. This might have led a government spy to report that "strange men" who looked "like dagoes" hung around Camarinos' store. And the only Maltese in Hawai'i was employed as a cook at the Sans Souci.³⁸

Two cold wars in 1893 and 1894, in music and the press, embroiled the Greeks. The Royal Hawaiian Band after the overthrow became the "Hawaiian Band" and under the leadership of Henry Berger played the "Star Spangled Banner" and Berger's composition "Provisional Government" at concerts at Queen Emma Square or at the wharf on boat days. The opposing "National Band" was formed by Hawaiians who refused to take a loyalty oath to the Provisional Government. Under Joseph Libornio they serenaded the deposed Queen at Washington Place with "Lili'uokalani March" and "Hawai'i Pono'i." Lycurgus hired them regularly at the Sans Souci where Libornio played his own composition "Sans Souci."³⁹

The war of the press was vicious, with royalists suffering the losses. On one side were the Provisional Government and its spokesman, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. On the opposite or royalist side were Hawaiian editors and publishers like John Bush, Joseph Nawahī, and Thomas Nakanaela, and several haole newsmen. The latter ranged in viewpoint from the moderate Canadian Daniel Logan to the less moderate Canadian Clarence Ashford (who shifted sides from being a Thurston ally in 1887 to backing the Queen in 1892), to the unrelenting, defiant Edmund Norrie.

Edmund Norrie (Fig. 5) was of the newsmen the most closely linked with the Greeks and was their friend and advocate. A native of Copenhagen, Denmark, he lived first on Maui where he married into the prominent Hawaiian Richardson family. He then moved to Honolulu and edited the English version of the *Holomua*, and after the establish-

ment of the Republic of Hawai'i, the anti-establishment *Independent*. Norrie complained repeatedly in the *Holomua* that the Provisional Government was without majority support and that it spied upon its critics and exercised economic boycotts against them, as against Hawaiian musicians in the National Band. He delighted in publicizing secret annexationist meetings. When the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* lampooned Lili'uokalani as a "savage queen" and "Ex Queen Lil," he counterattacked in what was for him mild language, accusing Sanford Dole of becoming President of "the bogus Hawaiian Republic" by treason, force, and fraud.⁴⁰ The government had Norrie arrested several times for seditious libel and succeeded in jailing him before and after the Counterrevolution.

Norrie was active in the European colony. He reported business and social activities of the Lycurgus men, Coutoumanos, the Klemme brothers, the Ashfords, auctioneer L. J. Levey, Neumann, various Scandinavians, and others. He was also indiscreet. By the fall of 1894, when secret royalist meetings were being held at the beach hotel, he ran the slogan in *Hawaii Holomua* for several issues, "Sans Souci Forever." Loomis has described these times well:

At Camarinos' Fruit Store on King Street, at Bush's shop in Printer's Lane, in the saloons along Hotel Street, at the Sans Souci beach resort . . . at the *Holomua* office . . . small groups . . . began to meet for talk of ways and means. . . . There were successful opium smugglers who guaranteed that they could get guns past the customs officials, business men willing to take trips to buy munitions. . . .⁴²

Norrie's indiscretion turned to sarcasm against the police. Just before the Counterrevolution, he reported:

The police were very numerous at Waikiki last Saturday. Evidently they expected that the *Australia* would stop at Sans Souci and land the often promised arms or opium.⁴³

LEGALITY AND ILLEGALITY

It should not be surprising that the Greeks engaged in illicit liquor sales and in gun and opium smuggling. Lily Lim-Chong's excellent study of "Opium and the Law" describes the trade of Chinese opium that was carried on from the West Coast to Hawai'i after 1850 and the dilemma that every monarch and legislature faced—whether to license and regulate the drug or to restrict and prohibit it.⁴⁴ Chong states that opium was at the center of an intensive conflict in values and interests between two very different groups: the cultural pluralists on the one hand, who lived in a multi-ethnic community, and the cultural imperialists on the other hand, who disapproved of the first group and believed

its own practices to be of greater value and worthy of imposition on everyone. One can easily see into which group the Greeks fit.

The trade was incredibly profitable. In the early 1890s opium could be purchased in San Francisco or Vancouver for \$2.50 to \$5.00 per one-half pound tin and sold in Honolulu for anywhere from \$10.00 to \$20.00 per tin. Smugglers such as ships' stewards, seamen, and merchants used ingenious methods to transport the drug in false bulkheads, in canned goods or crates of fruits and vegetables, in barrels of butter or seafood, even in sausage skins. Consignees went down to the boats, identified their goods, and had them carted to their places of business. One unclaimed shipment had two inches of shrimp on top of the barrel and dozens of tins of opium beneath.⁴⁵

People right up into the highest levels of government were implicated, and it was common knowledge that confiscated opium entered the Customs House front door and disappeared out the back. Most arrests were of users, principally Chinese and Hawaiians, while the smugglers themselves were only occasionally caught, fined, and jailed. Many law cases were, in fact, hidden and unreported opium actions, like an altercation and beating incident involving Schuetzen International Club members and the police.⁴⁶

When missionary son E. G. Hitchcock was appointed Marshal after the overthrow, he had his agents simultaneously inform on gamblers, smugglers, and royalists. So did agents in the Attorney General's pay. Among those spied upon and accused of smuggling were George Lycurgus and the Camarinos brothers. Slanted or invented testimony can be discounted, but other evidence warrants consideration. Agent A. J. Smith reported a "conspiracy" in 1892 of W. A. "Will" Whaley, George Lycurgus, the two Camarinos, and E. W. McLean. This resulted in 4800 tins of opium being landed from Whaley's yacht *Halcyon* onto Lāna'i (the very successful Whaley, a friend of Kalākaua's, was widely known as "Opium Brown"). The opium was then transported to Honolulu and sold off in small parcels from the Lycurgus banana plantation in Mānoa. With his cut, said Smith, Lycurgus leased the Sans Souci.

Another piece of evidence rises above common slander. James B. Castle, Collector of Customs and not above suspicion himself, held a memo recording a \$150.00 bribe offered to one of his men by Peter Camarinos for landing opium on O'ahu. Police confiscated 235 tins from the Greek's Kalihi ranch. Camarinos publically denied involvement and was not arrested—Castle claimed he was waiting for "bigger game" before making arrests.⁴⁷

Lycurgus freely admitted to gun smuggling and illegal liquor sales but denied emphatically all his life that he ever dealt in opium. When the *San Francisco Chronicle* referred to him in 1895 as a smuggler, an unidentified informant volunteered that this was untrue and that Lycurgus was "a good man" who ran "a beautiful place" at the Sans Souci.⁴⁸

Regarding licensing the trade, many disinterested people aside from the oligarchy and its followers and aside from those who would have benefitted from licensing, favored legalization because prohibition was ineffective. Such were Clarence Ashford and Charles Creighton, both exiled after the Counterrevolution ostensibly for royalist activities but probably because they advocated licensing.⁴⁹

A final point to be made here is on the concept of legality and illegality. Those who conspired against the Queen in 1892 and 1893 were accused of treason by Hawaiians, Europeans, and some Americans. They were guilty, as Norrie baldly put it, of "the felonious enterprise in the stealing of a country and depriving a monarch by the people and of the people of a crown." But as Justice Albert Francis Judd explained back in 1889 at the Belgian Loomens' trial, only unsuccessful rebels were prosecuted for treason.⁵⁰

THE COUNTERREVOLUTION

The problem of organizing a revolution against the entrenched power of the government was formidable. Chief organizers among the Hawaiians were Samuel Nowlein, Captain of the Queen's Royal Guard, and Robert Wilcox. The "Big Four" among the haoles were: William G. Rickard, British born, retired sugar planter from Honoka's; Charles T. Gulick, business agent and one of the few missionary sons holding royalist sympathies; William T. Seward, American and secretary to John Cummins; and Thomas Beresford Walker, Cummins' son-in-law.

Among the Greeks who joined the Hawaiians and the "Big Four," Camarinos and Lycurgus were the most committed. Peter Camarinos for several months attended planning meetings at Gulick's house which was to the rear of Camarinos' fruit market. Sessions with Lycurgus, Walker, Wilcox, and Rickard were held at the market, too. Allegedly, Camarinos was among the most violent in his antigovernment talk. But he exhibited an instinct for self-protection, as in a deceptively large offer of money for the royalist cause:

I will give half that I am worth to see the damned Missionary sons of bitches hung. . . .
I will do all in my power to restore the Queen.⁵¹

And Camarinos' helpers carried his messages to Gulick.

George Lycurgus was implicated deeply with Nowlein, J. A. Cummins, and other conspirators in the original plan to land arms at the Sans Souci. A chart of the sea entrance to the resort was sent to the mainland. The plan was eventually amended so that Civil War veteran Major Seward took charge of bringing in the arms elsewhere. Lycurgus also provided active support during the insurrection. The Sans Souci manager Andreos played an inconspicuous but supportive role. Coutoumanos and Demosthenes Lycurgus were less embroiled although they met with Wilcox and his men. Carianne joined Nowlein's army. A Peter Velos was to later claim he fought for the Queen, but no other evidence besides his word has been uncovered.⁵²

The insurrection began the night of January 6, 1895. One plan was to take the guns and assemble part of the army at Henry Bertlemann's place on Diamond Head beach near the Sans Souci. Bertlemann, a German-Hawaiian contractor, had second thoughts and ordered Rickard not to bring the weapons there, so they were taken to Kāhala. The government had ample warning of the impending uprising: a spy in Marshal Hitchcock's employ, never revealed, worked at Bertlemann's; another informant, Chester Doyle, lived at the Sans Souci for a year. Police Captain and former royalist Robert W. Parker had his men patrol fences at Bertlemann's the night of January 6, and police blocked the gate to the Sans Souci. Someone from the hotel went along the beach to Bertlemann's to warn him that his place was being watched.

That night the missionary-descended Charles Carter, an attorney and neighbor to Bertlemann and Lycurgus, happened to be walking by Bertlemann's. There were surreptitious noises, and shots were fired in the dark through the shrubbery. Carter was hit. The nearest telephone was at the Sans Souci. Captain Parker rushed there to call for reinforcements, and Alfred Carter hastened there to phone for a doctor for his wounded brother. Charles Carter died of his wounds the next day. This event deeply shocked royalists and republicans. Conflicting testimony was given. Police spy Doyle reported that Lycurgus had refused the use of his phone and told Andreos to hide the pistols that had been used to shoot Carter. Andreos counterclaimed that Alfred Carter had rushed in armed, and Lycurgus asked Andreos to take Carter's pistols, which he did, and then let him use the phone.

Meanwhile, Nowlein and Wilcox planned for a march from Kāhala to the Palace where they were to immobilize the government and arrest the leaders. Haole royalists and bands of Hawaiians were to meet the royalist army at downtown intersections to cut off any government counter-

activity. Over a two-day period the royalists, who had hoped to have a thousand men, gathered fewer than a hundred at Kāhala. Carl Widemann, son of the pro-government judge, and a young American adventurer, Louis Marshall, had been overtaken by rain Saturday night and stayed at the Sans Souci. They joined Nowlein Sunday, January 6. At Kāhala the situation was confused and disorganized. The royalist army's march toward town on Monday, January 7, got as far as the Moiliili plains. There government military forces, which had been quickly assembled, surrounded the rebels, forced their surrender, and took them into town. Among the prisoners, a "little drunk" was "John Correon," or Antone Ciaranne.⁵³ Nowlein, Wilcox, and a handful of followers each, managed to evade pursuers, but Nowlein was captured within a week and Wilcox surrendered on January 20. The Counterrevolution was over.

ARRESTS, JAIL, AND EXILE

After the attempt to restore the Queen failed, *The Friend* expressed gratitude to "Manifest Divine Protection" and the "vastly superior courage and prowess of the white men in battle" for deliverance from "a great and deadly peril." Royalist whites were accused by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of fomenting the revolution for personal aggrandizement and of using the natives as tools. Further, the judge for the military commission that was to try them charged that the royalists were the Republic's

most dangerous enemies [who] had been at home on the night of January 6, and that they were the haoles. ' . . . cowards of the most malignant type . . . white-skinned and villainous individuals who were not in the front ranks . . . but skulking in their holes'.⁵⁴

From the opposite side things looked quite different. The Republic arrested 191 persons in all, among them Sans Souci guests Arthur Peterson, a member of the Queen's last cabinet, and Charles Creighton. Just how many were foreigners is difficult to say because denizens like Rickard were to claim their original citizenship in order to be protected against Republic prosecution. But many foreign residents were arrested, including *Holomua* editor Norrie, German and British merchants, Schuetzen Club members like the Klemmes, auctioneer Levey, Fred Harrison, the Ashford brothers, and American John Radin. Almost all registered with their consulates for protection and representation. Greece, however, had no consulate in Hawai'i.

Ciaranne was taken prisoner of war on January 7. Lycurgus was arrested for conspiracy the morning of January 8. Among other charges against him was that he protested Ciaranne's arrest and tried to aid him,

that he gave government troops stationed at the Sans Souci doped whisky (that some were drunk is beyond dispute), and that he said to government agent Brown when the latter came to arrest him, "You must be a god damned government spy, and I don't want you around the place."⁵⁵ Lycurgus was marched four miles between soldiers with cannon to the Executive Building ('Iolani Palace). Thirteen counts of misprision of treason were filed against him. Camarinos was arrested for conspiracy on January 16 and charged with treason. His Kalihi ranch was sealed off on January 20 when two shotguns and a rifle were found there.

Prisoners were all searched for weapons and herded into the "Reef," the newly built O'ahu prison, two or three to a cell. A cell was six by eight feet and small for one man. Each man was issued a hammock, blanket, and covered bucket. Prisoners were angry and resentful at their arrests and were difficult to handle. Warden Low complained that the Greeks, particularly Camarinos, insisted on wine to drink with his meals as water made him lose his appetite. Visitors on business were permitted at the request of prisoners, and Low allowed Andreos and Neumann to see Lycurgus so the latter could sign business papers. The warden then objected to the Greeks speaking "in their own tongue." In the folklore of Island Greeks, Camarinos was supposed to have had on his person at the time of arrest an incriminating letter and to have sung out in Greek in jail to the others, "Don't worry, I ate the letter." If so, there was a second one he failed to consume, listing gun costs in California.

Still, it was almost impossible for the Republic to prosecute all those accused of crimes against the country. Exile was offered to some foreigners to get rid of them and save the government expense and trouble. In turn, exile offered foreigners escape from possible conviction. Twenty-one foreigners accepted the proposition to leave Hawai'i: the two Greeks, Camarinos and Carianne, nine British, one Austrian, five Americans, one Swede, and three Germans. Three were deported to Vancouver. When the rest departed for California, they were given a resounding aloha with leis up to their ears and music played by the Hawaiian Band. A few refused to go at first, like the Ashford brothers, but eventually yielded because of their own or family members' ill health.

Another group of men were finally released, either because the Republic failed to convict them or tired of holding them in jail. Among the latter were Norrie and George Lycurgus. But they were warned that they were liable to arrest at any time upon the charge of having been

identified with the movement against the Republic. To show where much public sentiment lay, *Independent* editor Daniel Logan remarked upon Lycurgus resuming business at the Sans Souci after fifty-two days in jail, "our Grecian hero" is back.⁵⁶

In California many exiles bent every effort to return to Hawai'i. "They'll make trouble yet," Ed Towse warned the oligarchy. Talk of another uprising did indeed continue through 1895, with filibuster activities and Carianne's presence reported from Vancouver.⁵⁷ Camarinos petitioned through attorney Neumann, was refused, but came back in mid summer anyway. He was detained at the pier but finally let into the country. Editor Norrie reported the Greek's welcome by many friends and a happy party at the San Souci.⁵⁸

Many whom the Republic jailed, forced into exile, or both, now instituted law suits in an attempt to recoup losses they felt they had undeservedly suffered. George Lycurgus and Peter Camarinos filed unsuccessful claims against the Republic through the British consul. Lycurgus' suit was for \$75,000 damages for business losses in California and Hawai'i and for false arrest and imprisonment. Camarinos' suit was for \$50,000 for business losses, damages, and mistreatment in prison. The Hawaiian government brought heavy weight to bear against them, at this point adding to its files affidavits, exhibits, and testimony documenting royalist activities from before the overthrow through the Counterrevolution. It already had on hand agents' reports from those years.⁵⁹

Greeks in California and Hawai'i who were questioned stood by their kinsmen.⁶⁰ A small ethnic unit could band together in the face of attack. Understandably, the larger, loosely-bound European colony and its Hawaiian allies did not. Nowlein and John Cummins regretted their roles in the uprising and testified against the Greeks. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole protected George Lycurgus and himself, too. Kūhiō admitted years after his trial for treason, for which he was not convicted, that had he given complete testimony more royalists would have been found guilty. The prince reminisced that on the night of January 7, 1895, Lycurgus wanted to go downtown to kill the Republican leaders, but that he, Kūhiō, took the Greek's pistols and threw them in the ocean off the pier at the Sans Souci.⁶¹

Neumann fought hard for all his clients, especially the Queen. Norrie's case was fought for four years all the way to Washington, D. C., and was supported by the Danish consul there.⁶² Amid hearsay and wild allegations there was enough documentation of conspiracies, treasonable meetings, and illegal business activities to defeat all claims.

THE AFTERMATH

What happened to the Greeks after the spectacular events of 1893-1895 is less exciting but is part of the story of those years. The events took personal, social, and economic toll. There were two early deaths. By the end of 1896, Peter Camarinos was quite mentally ill, partly manifested in an angry falling out with others in the small colony. They rallied around him, and his brother accompanied him to California. There Peter died in an asylum in late 1897 at the age of thirty-eight. In turn, the brother Demetrius suffered a heart attack at forty-eight at his Tantalus home and died in 1903.

An exodus, forced or voluntary, briefly reduced the number of Greeks in Hawai'i. Carianne dropped from sight in Vancouver. Karicke, Phoites, and Coutoumanos disappeared, too, and Coutoumanos' wife eventually reclaimed her house and land from joint ownership conferred at their marriage.⁶³ Andreos fulfilled his dream of returning to his native land. He returned to Greece in 1908 quite rich, and took with him gold cufflinks decorated with the Hawaiian royal seal, a gift from the Queen, and many stories of a beautiful Hawai'i he always missed.⁶⁴

From 1896 on Greeks arrived in Hawai'i in greater numbers than departed. Men were recruited in California for sewerage and dock labor as Honolulu expanded. Immigrant Greeks were also recruited in New York and Boston for labor on Waialua Plantation.⁶⁵ Most of the members of these two groups left Hawai'i, the Waialua men within weeks of their arrival.

There were recurring patterns involving the permanent settlement which eventually grew to about 125 men and women by World War II. One pattern was of harassment. Denial of licenses to the Lycurgus men (additional cousins and nephews came), D. G. Camarinos and his relatives, and their countrymen, for liquor and victualing, occurred several times in Hilo and Honolulu up to the century's end. In 1898 seventeen-year-old John Detor, newly arrived from Greece, was arrested at the Sans Souci for illegally serving liquor. When George Lycurgus protested, Lycurgus was then arrested and fined.⁶⁶

Lycurgus took this situation and turned it around. In 1899 he instituted yearly dinners for the "Jailbirds of 1895." They met at the Sans Souci the first year, then at the Union Grill which Lycurgus established in 1900. They wore as a badge of honor their participation in the Counter-revolution. Among those who attended the dinners over the years were Clarence Ashford, Fred Harrison, Prince Kūhiō, John Lane, Edmund Norrie, John Radin, Tom Rawlins, Manuel Reis, John S. Walker, John

Wise, and Carl Wideman.⁶⁷ Friendships among these men were enlarged to include the families they acquired. Soon the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* was reporting favorably on the celebration of Greek New Years Day “by the little colony of Spartans.”⁶⁸

Another pattern was that all men who remained or who were brought in by chain migration had royalist sympathies. In politics they were for Prince Kūhiō, when he ran for U. S. Congress, and for Home Rule. Demosthenes Lycurgus maintained a shrine for the Queen in the manager’s room at the Volcano House which his uncle purchased in 1904. Uncle and nephew celebrated her birthday each September 2nd. Years after the Revolution and Counterrevolution, Kalākaua was “the King” and Lili‘uokalani “the Queen” to men and women who had never known them.

There was an adjustment to changing times after annexation but a lingering bitterness. Several events of the early 1900s helped to heal the wounds. After annexation the Greek men slowly applied for American citizenship. “My father was a man without a country,” a Lycurgus son said, “he had to become an American citizen.” When Alfred Carter and George Lycurgus had to do business together on a lease, Carter accused Lycurgus, “You are one of the murderers of my brother.” Lycurgus finally convinced him he had known nothing in advance about it (a man named Poole had eventually confessed).⁶⁹ Carter and Lycurgus became friends, Carter staying at the Hilo Hotel after Lycurgus purchased it from John Spreckles in 1908. Even Lorrin Thurston and Lycurgus were able to set aside their differences and work to have the Volcano area incorporated into the national park system in 1916.

NOTES

¹ *Hawaii Holomua*, 11 February 1893. Nathan Nāpōkā translated the poem in 1980.

² William N. Armstrong, *Around the World With A King* (1903; rpt. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1977), p. 287.

³ Albertine Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii and Friends of the Library of Hawaii, 1976), p. 91. This is the most objective account of the events of 1893–1895. I have also relied for background on Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. III, 1874–1893, *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967).

⁴ [King David] Kalakaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii: The Fables and Folklore of a Strange People* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1888), p. 61 and pp. 67–94.

⁵ John Phocas, also known as Juan de Fuca, from the Greek Island of Cephalonia, sailed with Vancouver. A change of names by immigrants was and is common and occurs by shortening the original name, translating it, or adapting it to the country of one’s adoption—as in Phocas’ case, to Spain.

- ⁶ Hiram Bingham, *A Resident of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious and Political History of Those Islands* (Hartford, Conn.: Hezekiah Huntington, 1847), p. 151; *Sandwich Island Gazette*, 12 January 1839, reported that the dead sailor was taken to Seaman's Chapel burial yard.
- ⁷ Prince Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England, and France in 1849-1850*, ed. Jacob Adler, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967) pp. 59-60.
- ⁸ Armstrong, *Around the World*, p. 192.
- ⁹ Rev. Damon's letter appeared in *The Friend*, 1 April 1870. This newspaper carried a surprisingly large amount of material on Greece.
- ¹⁰ W. D. Alexander, "Bulgaria," F, August 1886, pp. 9-10. The paper was read at the Fort Street Church Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions.
- ¹¹ Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 1.
- ¹² Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 211.
- ¹³ The first settler was Nicholas Zabat, a laborer in the Kohala district of Hawai'i. "Me like you" is attributed to Dela Dagramaticas, also known as Tom Carlos and Tom Karlos; personal interview with Theodore Anastasopoulos, as told to him by an early settler, John Roumanis. The difficulty of identification is compounded by the similarity of Greek and Portuguese names: Costas and Costa, for example, and Capilos and Capellos.
- ¹⁴ The count of Greeks has been extracted from Island directories and handbooks, newspapers, ships' manifests, and oral histories, and has been adjusted to the casual Pacific travel of those years. My count of forty-six for 1900 corrects an erroneous count of fifty-five, listed in the *Census Reports; Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900*, vol. I (Washington, D. C.: United States Census Office, 1901), p. 60. That census included Galicians among the Greeks.
- ¹⁵ Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), p. 79.
- ¹⁶ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, III, 83.
- ¹⁷ The *Hawaiian Gazette* in the 1880's published export consignments. Island newspapers and the *Hawaiian Planters Monthly* carried information on diversified agriculture.
- ¹⁸ Grantor Index, vol. 119, p. 204, Bureau of Conveyances; Law 2907, AH; PCA, 16 October 1890.
- ¹⁹ Camarinos, P. G., vs. Kidwell, John, Law 3043, AH. The case dragged on for four years and was widely reported in the press.
- ²⁰ "Eleventh Annual Report," *Planters' Monthly*, November 1892, pp. 518-526. This was Thurston's term for himself.
- ²¹ DB, 10 January and 17 October 1892. George Cavanaugh kept a "sporting house" on Beretania Street, managed a cafe, and worked for and with the Greeks. A George Cavanaugh was in the police department and the Republic Army of Hawaii and, along with John Kidwell, was a sharpshooter for Company A.
- ²² The name in Greece was "Likouros" but was changed in California; personal interview with Leo Lycurgus, 26 July 1977.
- ²³ Harry Miller Blickhahn, *Uncle George of Kilauea: The Story of George Lycurgus* (Hawaii National Park: Volcano House, 1961), pp. 20-21, an authorized, privately printed biography; HA, 17 August 1947, recounting the events of 1889; HA, 7 November 1941.

- ²⁴ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, III, 6, estimates Spreckles' wealth in Hawai'i in 1882 at four million dollars; Blickhahn, *Uncle George*, p. 23, states that Lycurgus sold the "Oyster Grotto" in Sausalito for \$5,000 and arrived in Hawai'i with \$4,000.
- ²⁵ Interior Department Letters, no. 62, AH; *Hawaii Holomua Progress*, 31 December 1894. Coutoumanos married Emma Davidson of Hana, Maui.
- ²⁶ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, III, 608-609.
- ²⁷ *Daily Hawaii Holomua*, 26 January 1893.
- ²⁸ DB, 20 January 1893.
- ²⁹ Interior Department Letters, no. 62; Criminal Case 1898, AH.
- ³⁰ HSB, 29 August 1956, p. 31.
- ³¹ Edward Joesting, *Hawaii: An Uncommon History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), p. 226.
- ³² *Hawaii Holomua*, 12 January 1893. Coutoumanos was in Company A and Carianne in National Guard Company E. In a deposition taken February 9, 1894 (Attorney General's File, AH.), A. J. Farias, a sharpshooter in Company A, said Coutoumanos was "always running down the government" and bragged "he would take up arms against it in case of trouble." Farias earlier was a plaintiff in a suit, later dropped, against George Lycurgus and the California Wine Company for back wages.
- ³³ Thomas Carlos (Karlos) and Nicholas Varina, Denizations 1846-1898, AH.
- ³⁴ Maude Jones, Special Rights of Citizenship: Notebook 1-1451, MS. (compiled 1940), AH. On O'ahu P. G. Camarinos, Carianne, Coutoumanos, and Varina signed up; on Hawai'i John Lycurgus. Norrie and Cavanagh were denied Special Rights.
- ³⁵ Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), p. 37.
- ³⁶ George or John Hazopulos, also known as "Dr. Hazopulos" and "Greek George," performed at the Opera House and was entertained at the Sans Souci (*Hawaii Holomua*, 9 August 1894); Greek Prince Theodore aroused the enthusiasm of the local Greek colony (PCA, 4 October 1901).
- ³⁷ George Lycurgus was also a member, and Carl and Harry Klemme were president and vice president (PCA, 18 September 1894).
- ³⁸ Attorney General's File, AH. Maltese Joe Frendo's descendants still live in Hilo.
- ³⁹ DB, 20 January 1894; *Hawaii Holomua*, 12 November 1894.
- ⁴⁰ Information on Edmund Norrie is from sources at the Hawai'i State Archives and the Hawaiian Historical Society libraries. He took a consistent stand on behalf of the Hawaiian people, the laboring man, honest government, and civil rights.
- ⁴¹ Penal summons reported DB, 23 March 1894; Criminal Case 1899, AH, Provisional Government vs. E. Norrie (1894), *nolle prosequi*; Criminal Case 1966, AH, Republic of Hawaii vs. E. Norrie (1894), Norrie fined \$100.00; Criminal Case 2079, AH, Republic of Hawaii vs. E. Norrie (1894), Norrie fined \$100.00. HSB, 3 October 1931, said that after Norrie was arrested in 1895 he edited the *Independent* from jail.
- ⁴² Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* p. 89.
- ⁴³ *Hawaii Holomua*, 3 December 1894. The steamship *Australia* was well known as a carrier of opium. It could hardly have anchored off Waikiki.
- ⁴⁴ Lily Lim-Chong, "Opium and the Law in Hawaii: 1856-1900," Master's thesis University of Hawai'i 1978. One of Kalākaua's political problems was that he apparently sold one opium license two times.
- ⁴⁵ DB, 25 September 1889, per "S. S. Australia."

- ⁴⁶ Harry V. Ball, Peter Nelligan, and Laureen Asato, Index to Criminal Cases, First Circuit Court (Supreme Court) of Hawaii 1847-1900, an invaluable index of opium cases; Proceedings in the Matter of Opium Investigation, May, 1890, AH.
- ⁴⁷ Report by F. M. Hatch, FO & Ex File; Attorney General's File; 1895 Documents on Political Prisoners, AH. Camarinos' non-arrest and denial were reported 23 May 1893, PCA, HG, DB.
- ⁴⁸ Blickhahn, *Uncle George*, p. 29; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 and 7 February 1895.
- ⁴⁹ Lim-Chong, "Opium and the Law," p. 61; Judge Advocate William A. Kinney, Attorney General's File, declared the Republic was anxious to get rid of Lycurgus because of his liquor operations.
- ⁵⁰ *Independent*, 6 January 1896; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, p. 258.
- ⁵¹ Attorney General's Insurrection File, AH.
- ⁵² HA, 5 May 1939.
- ⁵³ Attorney General's Insurrection File, AH; PCA, 8 January 1895.
- ⁵⁴ F, February 1895; PCA, 7 and 9 January 1895; Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* p. 191.
- ⁵⁵ Attorney General's File, AH. The ensuing evidence on the Greeks is in this file.
- ⁵⁶ *Independent*, 1 June 1895.
- ⁵⁷ Ed Towse, *The Rebellion of 1895*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: Hawaiian Star, 1895), p. 63; PCA, 16 April 1895.
- ⁵⁸ *Independent*, 12 August 1895.
- ⁵⁹ Attorney General's File; Attorney General's Insurrection File; 1895 Documents on Political Prisoners, AH.
- ⁶⁰ Testimony by Mitchell Vanvales and D. G. Camarinos, Attorney General's File, AH.
- ⁶¹ HA, 8 August 1960; Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* p. 207.
- ⁶² Governor's Letters 14 June 1900 to 26 September 1901, AH.
- ⁶³ Grantor Index, vol. 149, p. 341.
- ⁶⁴ Personal interview with Pota Andreos Coumandarkis, 16 August 1978.
- ⁶⁵ The Planter's Association, through Frank Alvez, recruited eleven men, according to the Manager's Daily Journal: Waiialua Plantation, MS., 1901. Alleging that they were promised more than they received, the men upon arrival broke their contracts. These eleven and the five who came in with the Portuguese should probably be added to the numbers of Labor Immigrants to Hawaii 1852-1905, AH.
- ⁶⁶ PCA, 17 and 21 October 1898.
- ⁶⁷ PCA, 11 January 1899.
- ⁶⁸ PCA, 14 January 1901.
- ⁶⁹ Personal interview with Leo Lycurgus, 26 July 1977.