

Notes & Queries

Incarcerating a Nation: The Arrest and Imprisonment of Political Prisoners by the Republic of Hawai‘i, 1895

RONALD WILLIAMS JR.

Aloha aku i kuu Moiwahine a me ka lahui a‘u i aloha ai . . .
E hoomau i ke kupaa no ke aloha i ka aina.
Give my aloha to my Queen and the nation/
people that I have loved . . .
Continue to be steadfast in your love for the land.
—Iosepa Kaho‘oluhi Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u

THE SOUND OF GUNFIRE erupted outside the Ka‘alāwai, Waikiki, home of Henry Bertlemann just after dusk on the evening of January 6, 1895. The German-Hawaiian building contractor was a Hawaiian Kingdom subject by birth and had been a staunch supporter of the

Ronald Williams Jr. holds a PhD in history from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa with a specialization in Hawai‘i and Native-language resources. He is a former faculty member at the Hawai‘i Muiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and a past president of the 129-year-old Hawaiian Historical Society. He currently works as an archivist at the Hawai‘i State Archives and serves as Ho‘ōpa‘a Kū‘auhau (Historian) for the grassroots political organization, Ka ‘Ahaui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina. He has published in a wide variety of academic and public history venues, including The Oxford Encyclopedia of Religion in America, The Hawaiian Journal of History, and Hana Hou! Magazine.

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monarchy both prior to and following the January 1893 coup that deposed Mō‘ī Wahine (Queen) Lili‘uokalani. A significant number of royalists/loyalists¹ had been preparing to launch an attempt to unseat the minority, white-led oligarchy now in power. Three nights before, on January 3, 1895, over 300 Winchester rifles, shipped from San Francisco, had been covertly landed and hidden in nearby caves. An attack on government sites in downtown Honolulu was imminent and rumor was that they would proceed that very night. Men mingled around the Bertlemann home. As tension built, with armed men coming and going, the rebel group was discovered by a Republic of Hawai‘i patrol. Both sides opened fire and soon a Republic officer, Charles L. Carter, lay prone in the yard with two bullet wounds that would prove fatal.² The rebels were surrounded and captured. Several skirmishes followed over the next ten days, before the last of the armed opposition surrendered or were captured.³ One hundred twenty-three men were taken into custody on the various battlefields and designated by the Republic as Prisoners of War (POW).

Over the next several weeks, the mass arrest of nearly 300 more men and women led a move that sought to break the back of the political resistance against the ruling oligarchy.⁴ These later arrestees were designated by the Republic as “pio kalaiaina” (political prisoners)—the most famous being Her Majesty Queen Lili‘uokalani.⁵ One hundred seventy-five of the political prisoners were charged with “treason,” a crime punishable under the constitution of the Republic of Hawai‘i by death.⁶ The majority of the remaining prisoners faced charges that included “conspiracy” and “misprison of treason.”⁷ In March 1895, a military tribunal convened for the occasion, convicting 170 of the 175 prisoners charged with treason and sentencing six of these men to be “hung by the neck” until dead.⁸ The others received sentences that ranged from five to thirty-five years imprisonment at hard labor. Those convicted of lesser charges received sentences ranging from six months to six years imprisonment at hard labor.

THE LIST

As part of a larger book project focused on the arrest, imprisonment, and legacy of those seized during and following the 1895 Kaua Kūloko, I have compiled the list offered below. Total arrests related

to the 1895 *Kaua Kūloko* number 406 on a summary list of statistics—without names—published by the government of the Republic of Hawai‘i.⁹ Name lists have been published—most notably within the 1895 Hawaiian-language publication *Kaua Kūloko* from Thomas Spencer—but they are decidedly partial.¹⁰ In an effort to not leave any names behind, the attached list was compiled by accessing the voluminous government and private records created from the relevant events such as: Records of Prisoners Received and Discharged [O‘ahu and Hilo Prisons], National Guard, Military Commission 1895; 1863–1916; Foreign Office & Executive, Insurrection of 1895; Attorney General Files, Republic of Hawaii; Records of Prisoner Descriptions, 1859–1915; Daily Record [O‘ahu Prison]; Petitions for Pardons; and others. A complete listing of sources is offered with the endnotes.

LISTING OF REPUBLIC OF HAWAI‘I
KAUA KULOKO ARRESTEES
JANUARY 6 – MARCH 11, 1895

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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Aea, John | 20. Baker, John K. |
| 2. Aea, Joe | 21. Balaunu, James |
| 3. Ahia, Joseph | 22. Bartow, Charles |
| 4. Ahia, William | 23. Bartow, T. |
| 5. Ai, Tommy | 24. Beni, G. K. |
| 6. Aikike | 25. Bertlemann H. F. |
| 7. Alapai | 26. Bill, William |
| 8. Alona | 27. Bipikane, J. W. |
| 9. Analuhi, David | 28. Blackburn, F. |
| 10. Andrade, J. S. | 29. Bowler, John F. |
| 11. Apelehama | 30. Boyd, Robert |
| 12. Ashford, C. W. | 31. Brown, Jim |
| 13. Ashford, Volney V. | 32. Bush, James H. |
| 14. Aulia | 33. Camarinos, P. |
| 15. Awa, Keoni | 34. Carianne, A. |
| 16. Aylett, James | 35. Chee, Yong |
| 17. Mainalulues | 36. Chong Wa |
| 18. Bailey, C. M. | 37. Clarke, Joe |
| 19. Bailey, M. S. | 38. Clark, Charles H. |

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| 39. Cockett, K. (w) | 76. Hikiau |
| 40. Crabbe, Horace | 77. Hikilea |
| 41. Cranston, J. | 78. Hill, Allen |
| 42. Creighton, Charles | 79. Ho Sing |
| 43. Cummins, John A. | 80. Hokii, Paulo |
| 44. Damien, Daniel | 81. Hola, Sam |
| 45. Daniels, W. H. | 82. Holo |
| 46. David, E. M. | 83. Honeck, Frank |
| 47. Davis, William | 84. Honolulu |
| 48. Defries, Henry | 85. Hookano, Peter |
| 49. Defries, John | 86. Hookano, Samuel |
| 50. Dominis, Liliu (w) | 87. Hookiekie |
| 51. Drew, Edward | 88. Hoomahele |
| 52. Dunwell, Charlie | 89. Huihui, Hola |
| 53. Durrell, James | 90. Hutchinson, Wm. |
| 54. Edward[s], Henry | 91. Ihu, Bill |
| 55. Elia | 92. Inch, John |
| 56. Enoka, Henry | 93. Iniha |
| 57. Fernandez, A. | 94. Inoaole |
| 58. Fitzgerald, Arthur | 95. Iosepa, William |
| 59. Fook, Chun | 96. Isugawa |
| 60. France, Edw. | 97. Jackson, George |
| 61. Fredenberg, John | 98. Joe |
| 62. Gabriel | 99. John |
| 63. Grant, J. B. | 100. Johnny |
| 64. Greig, William H. | 101. Johnstone, J. B. |
| 65. Gulick, Charles | 102. Joseph, William |
| 66. Haha | 103. Juen, Harry |
| 67. Hakalaau, William | 104. Kaae, Junius |
| 68. Hakuole, Kamuela | 105. Kaae, Mrs. (w) |
| 69. Hanere Fero | 106. Kaae, William |
| 70. Hanupau, J. | 107. Kaaea, Sam |
| 71. Hapinuia | 108. Kaaha, H. |
| 72. Harrison, F. | 109. Kaaihue |
| 73. Haui | 110. Kaaikike |
| 74. Haumea | 111. Kaanaana |
| 75. Hewett, Alexander | 112. Kaanapu |

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| 113. Kaanoi | 150. Kalei, Pita |
| 114. Kaanuu | 151. Kalia |
| 115. Kaapuni | 152. Kaliloa, Hoopii |
| 116. Kaaua, John | 153. Kaloa, Samuel K. |
| 117. Kaauwai | 154. Kaloio, J. |
| 118. Kaawa | 155. Kalua |
| 119. Kaha | 156. Kaluahine, Sam |
| 120. Kahahawai, J. | 157. Kaluapele |
| 121. Kahaiiao, J. W. | 158. Kama, J. |
| 122. Kahalewai | 159. Kamaehu |
| 123. Kahananui | 160. Kamaeu |
| 124. Kahikikolu | 161. Kamai, Solomon |
| 125. Kahilau | 162. Kamaka, J. |
| 126. Kahimalani | 163. Kamali, J. K. |
| 127. Kahoa | 164. Kamali, John W. |
| 128. Kahoeka, John | 165. Kamalu |
| 129. Kahoiwai, Kaai | 166. Kameakane, Liwai |
| 130. Kahole | 167. Kameenui |
| 131. Kaholu | 168. Kamiko |
| 132. Kahoomahele | 169. Kamuela |
| 133. Kahoomanawanui | 170. Kamukamu |
| 134. Kahopuwaiki, Joe | 171. Kanaana |
| 135. Kahue | 172. Kanahеле, Sam |
| 136. Kaia | 173. Kanakaole, Wm. |
| 137. Kaili, Samuel K. | 174. Kane |
| 138. Kaimi, John K. | 175. Kanehe, Herman K. |
| 139. Kaimimoku | 176. Kanekoa |
| 140. Kaka | 177. Kaneuu |
| 141. Kakaio | 178. Kaniela |
| 142. Kala, Peter | 179. Kanoho, James |
| 143. Kalaeoia | 180. Kanuha, D. |
| 144. Kalalau, Samuel | 181. Kaohe, Henry P. |
| 145. Kalanianaole, J. | 182. Kaohimaunu |
| 146. Kalaukoa, John | 183. Kaohiwaena, S. |
| 147. Kalauohi | 184. Kaolowi, John |
| 148. Kalauwalu | 185. Kaona |
| 149. Kolehua | 186. Kapena, Koia |

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| 187. Kapiioho, Solomon | 224. Keoni |
| 188. Kapu | 225. Ki |
| 189. Kapu, Hiel J. | 226. Kia, Samuel |
| 190. Kapuna | 227. Kiakahi, Ioela |
| 191. Kauahi, J. | 228. Kiamanu |
| 192. Kauai, Solomon | 229. Kiao |
| 193. Kauainaole, Wm. | 230. Kiha |
| 194. Kauaua, Dan | 231. Kihi |
| 195. Kauhahi | 232. Kila, K. |
| 196. Kauhane, H. | 233. Kilionia |
| 197. Kauli | 234. Kilohana |
| 198. Kaulia, James K. | 235. Kim, Chang |
| 199. Kaumai | 236. Kina |
| 200. Kaunamano, J. K. | 237. Kini |
| 201. Kauwenaole, Wm. | 238. Kipa, G. C. |
| 202. Kawananakoa, D. | 239. Kishano |
| 203. Kawelo | 240. Klemme, Carl |
| 204. Kawika | 241. Knudsen, Andrew |
| 205. Kealakai, W. H. | 242. Ko, Chong |
| 206. Kealoha, David | 243. Koa, David K. |
| 207. Keamalu | 244. Kokete, D. |
| 208. Keamupohaku | 245. Kolomona |
| 209. Keanu, Sam | 246. Kuaiwa |
| 210. Keaunui, David | 247. Kuakaula |
| 211. Keaupuni | 248. Kuhia, J. |
| 212. Keawe | 249. Kuhio, Manuel |
| 213. Keawepoole, L. | 250. Kukalahiwa, J. |
| 214. Kekaha, Sam | 251. Kulia (w) |
| 215. Kekala, Isaac | 252. Kuna |
| 216. Kekaula, John | 253. Kupihea, Solomon |
| 217. Keki | 254. Lane, James C. |
| 218. Kekipi, Kema | 255. Lane, John C. |
| 219. Kekoa, William | 256. Lane, Lot |
| 220. Keliikuewa | 257. Lane, Patrick |
| 221. Keliinoi, W. | 258. Lane, William C. |
| 222. Kenyon, G. C. | 259. L bo, M. |
| 223. Keoho | 260. Levey, L. J. |

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| 261. Lilikoe, John K. | 298. Molteno, Charles |
| 262. Limahopu | 299. Moon, Yee |
| 263. Liwai | 300. Mossman, William |
| 264. Lycurgus, G. | 301. Muller, A. |
| 265. Madden, G. | 302. Naaieono |
| 266. Maele, Ben | 303. Naheana |
| 267. Mahoe | 304. Nahinalau |
| 268. Mahoe, Henry | 305. Naiwi, Jack |
| 269. Mahoe, Kini J. | 306. Nakaikuahine |
| 270. Mahuka, F. | 307. Nalei |
| 271. Mahuka, John M. | 308. Naluai, Peter |
| 272. Maile, C. B. | 309. Namahana |
| 273. Maka, Alani | 310. Niolo |
| 274. Makaio, J. K. | 311. Nip See |
| 275. Makaeha | 312. Norrie, E. |
| 276. Makakoa | 313. Nowlein, Samuel |
| 277. Makalena, George | 314. Ohule |
| 278. Makanui | 315. Oili, William |
| 279. Makauahoa | 316. Olepau, William |
| 280. Makia | 317. Olohia, J. L. |
| 281. Manuia (w) | 318. Opunui |
| 282. Margerie (w) | 319. Paa, David |
| 283. Markham, George | 320. Paakaula, S. |
| 284. Marshall, Louis | 321. Paoao, Keoni |
| 285. Matsumoto | 322. Pahau, Alex |
| 286. Matthews, John J. | 323. Pahia |
| 287. Maui | 324. Pahua, Ioane |
| 288. Maunaloa | 325. Pahukoa |
| 289. Maunaloia (w) | 326. Paiaina |
| 290. McDowell A. | 327. Palau, Robert |
| 291. McGuire, James | 328. Palea |
| 292. McNabb, Mrs. | 329. Palolani |
| 293. Mendoza | 330. Paoo |
| 294. Meyers, Fred | 331. Papoko |
| 295. Mio, Sam Pua | 332. Pedro, Tom |
| 296. Moepali, Buff | 333. Pehu |
| 297. Mokuhia, J. | 334. Peterson, A. P. |

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| 335. Peterson, N. | 371. Spencer, Thomas |
| 336. Pihena | 372. Stillman, O. K. |
| 337. Piipiilani | 373. Swinton, H. |
| 338. Pikelo, Peter | 374. Sylva, Hakuole R. |
| 339. Piko, John | 375. Sylva, John R. Jr. |
| 340. Pila | 376. Tatsiro |
| 341. Pio, John | 377. Testa, F. J. |
| 342. Pipi | 378. Thomas, E. B. |
| 343. Poepoe, Kilionā | 379. Ting Sing, Ed |
| 344. Pohaka | 380. Tong, Lee |
| 345. Poole, Thomas | 381. Townsend, George |
| 346. Poonika, Albert | 382. Tsunoda |
| 347. Poor, H. F. | 383. Ulukou, Hoa C. |
| 348. Prendergast, J. K. | 384. Ulukou, Tom |
| 349. Pua, S. K. | 385. Vierra, Joe |
| 350. Pua, William K. | 386. Von Wehrtern, H. |
| 351. Pueo | 387. Waha |
| 352. Punalua | 388. Wahia |
| 353. Radin, John | 389. Wahiawa |
| 354. Rawlins, T. | 390. Waianae |
| 355. Redward, F. A. | 391. Wailama |
| 356. Reis, Manuel | 392. Waiola |
| 357. Reynolds, W. F. | 393. Waiwaiole, Joshua |
| 358. Richardson, John | 394. Walker, J. S. |
| 359. Rickard, Wm H. | 395. Walker, Thomas B. |
| 360. Ritimana, J. L. | 396. Warren, Charles |
| 361. Rogers, Henry | 397. Welewele |
| 362. Rooney, P. M. | 398. West, Henry |
| 363. Rosa, Antone | 399. White, Arthur |
| 364. Rosa, Manuel K. | 400. Widdifield, Wm. |
| 365. Ross, John | 401. Widemann, Carl |
| 366. Schnack, J. H. | 402. Wilcox, Robert W. |
| 367. Seward, William T. | 403. Wiliokai, C. D. |
| 368. Silva, Manuel | 404. Waisa, J. C. |
| 369. Sing, E. T. | 405. Wise, John Henry |
| 370. Smith, Alexander | 406. Wunderberg, Fred |

NOTES

- ¹ While variant supporters of the 1895 attempt to overthrow two counts of treason. row the Republic are often homogenized as “Royalists,” there were Hawaiian subjects that supported the continued independence of the nation under Kānaka ‘Ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) rule, but did not support the continuation of the monarchy. Robert Wilcox, one of the central leaders of the rebellion considered himself a “loyalist” and not a “royalist” at various times.
- ² Charles Lunt Carter was born in Honolulu, the son of Hawaiian diplomat H. A. P. Carter and a Hawaiian Kingdom subject. He had served as an Annexation Commissioner to the United States for the Provisional Government of Hawai‘i in 1893.
- ³ Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox and the last of the rebels surrendered on January 16, 1895. Mō‘iwahine (Queen) Lili‘uokalani was arrested the same day.
- ⁴ Of the 406 total arrests, seven were women. Their names are accompanied on the list with the designation (w) for wahine (woman).
- ⁵ On January 31, 1895, John H. Soper, Adjutant General, National Guard of Hawai‘i formally charged the Queen with two counts of “treason.” The charges were later amended to “misprision of treason” [Having knowledge of a treasonous plot and not informing the government].
- ⁶ Act 3, Section 2 of *Laws of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands*, begins: “Every person guilty of treason shall suffer the punishment of death, or, at the discretion of the Court, shall be imprisoned at hard labor for any term not less than five years, and fined not less than five thousand dollars.”
- ⁷ “Misprision of Treason” is defined in Act 3, Section 4 of *Laws of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands* as, “If any person owing allegiance to the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands and having knowledge of the commission of treason against it, conceals the same and does not, as soon as may be, disclose and make known the same to some member of the Executive Council, or to some Judge of a Court of Record, or to the Marshal, or to some Sheriff, he is guilty of misprision of treason.”
- ⁸ National Guard, Series 146 Military Commission 1895, Court Martial Case Files 1-189: H. F. Bertlemann, case 54; Charles T. Gulick, case 48; Samuel Nowlein, case 53; William H. Rickard, case 49; William T. Seward case 50; and Robert W. Wilcox, case 52.
- ⁹ “Recapitulation of Political Arrests During the Months of Jan. and Feb. 1895” in *Report of the Prison Inspectors to His Excellency W. O. Smith, Attorney General, 1895*.
- ¹⁰ *Kaua Kuloko 1895* contains an appendix titled: “Ka Papa Inoa o na Poe i Hopu ia ma ka Haunaele Kaua Kuloko o Ianuari 7, 1895.” (A Name List of those arrested in the Civil War of January 7, 1895.) that totals 313 names. The list is prefaced by the line: “O keia ka papainoa o na koa aloha aina.” (This is the list of names of the warrior patriots:”

REFERENCES

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Department of Interior Collection, Hawai'i State Archives: Int Box 34 Prisoners, Jails - n.d., 1852-1899

Department of Public Safety Collection, Hawai'i State Archives: Series 298, Records of Prisoners Received and Discharged, 1863-1916; Series 299 Department of Public Safety, Records of Prisoners' Descriptions, 1859-1915; Series 310 Daily Record, 1851-1941

Foreign Office & Executive Collection, Hawai'i State Archives: FO&Ex Boxes 45-46 1895 Political Prisoners, Documents On; Series 419 Correspondence of the President (Republic)

Governor Files, Hawai'i State Archives: GOV1-1 Prison Inspectors; Gov1-2 Pardons; Gov1-3 Petitions and Protests; letterbook

National Guard Collection Hawai'i State Archives: Series 127 Orders and Letters of the Commander in Chief 1893-1896; Series 128 Incoming Letters to the Commander in Chief 1893-1900; Series 146 Military Commission 1895, Court Martial Case Files 1895; Series 147 Military Commission 1895, Minutes 1895; Series 148 Military Commission 1895, Proceedings 1895