BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: SAMUEL MOCK CHEW, 54, Honokaa Sugar Company supervisor and taro farmer.

Samuel Mock Chew was born in Waipio Valley in 1924, the fifth of eight children. His mother was Hawaiian-Irish. Sam understands Hawaiian. His father, a Chinese immigrant, was one of the big taro farmers in Waipio when Sam was growing up. Sam helped his father with the family taro and poi business. The father leased large portions of both Waipio and Waimanu Valleys and operated a poi mill for many years.

Sam went to Waipio Elementary School (1st to 6th), Kukuihaele School (7th to 8th) and Honokaa High School (9th). He moved to Kukuihaele in 1948. For the past 29 years, he has worked for the Honokaa Sugar Company, and since 1959 he has, in addition, raised his own taro on a part-time basis on land near the old, still-standing but non-operating poi mill.

He is married to the former Hazel Toko. The Mock Chews have eight children. They live in Kukuihaele. When not working, Sam enjoys hunting and fishing.
VL: This is an interview with Mr. Samuel Mock Chew. Today is April 3, 1978. We're at the church in Kukuihaele.

I wonder if you could start by describing your house [in Waipio] when you were young. What your house looked like.

SM: Well the house, we used to get up and downstairs. I think we had seven rooms top. Seven, I think seven in the bottom. We used to get the Filipinos used to live at the bottom, the working men. We had kitchen, big kitchen....

VL: Up?

SM: Yeah. And real big parlor.

VL: Who built the house?

SM: Well, I don't know who built the house. I think used to be one Chinese guy....Sam Lam Tong, I think was the person who built the house.

VL: So how did you folks get to live in that house?

SM: What you mean, that how....

VL: Did you buy it from him, or say, lease....

SM: No, that was my father's land. So all the lumber that they bring down to the valley, they had to drag 'em down to the valley with the horse. Everything used to drag down. We cannot bring 'em on cars like that.

VL: How would they drag it?

SM: See, if you get the planks, they drill hole and they put wire inside the holes and they drag 'em with the horse. Tie it with rope, drag 'em right down to the valley.

VL: Doesn't it get kind of banged up?

SM: Yeah, you take notice. You look to the buildings, some side is all bang up. But they used the planed side. The thing is one side planed,
one side rough; face the rough side down.

VL: So this two-story house was built all out of wood?

SM: Yeah, all wood. Only the foundation is cement, all cement.

VL: So upstairs had... who was living upstairs?

SM: Usually was the young ones, no? I know my sister went to school Honolulu. My other brother went to Honolulu and one more went, so five of us left.

VL: And your parents?

SM: Yeah. Then the bottom we had Filipinos, working men.

VL: About how many Filipino working men?

SM: Was five or six men, not counting the Chinese. Chinese men had one other building above our house. I can remember, ho, five Chinese. We had one cook, Chinese cook. This Chinese cook cook for the men that pull taro for my father. See, if they go out far, this Chinese carry the food in the basket. They get two baskets, they call that mamaka. They carry that down to the working men. But if close by, get the conch shell. You blow that conch shell, they all come back.

VL: Did this Chinese cook cook for the Filipinos, too?

SM: Yeah, for the whole working people. And they usually cook for us because he cook the rice for us. We never did cook rice. My sister, she used to go up to the house where they used to cook the rice, bring 'em home. Then my father cook the main dish.

YY: Your father did the cooking in the family?

SM: Yeah. You see my mother left when I was eight years old. Divorce. When I was young and my other two sisters was younger than me.

VL: So who took care of you folks?

SM: We took care of our own. We had to wash our own, do everything.

VL: Where would you wash your clothes?

SM: Well, right at the back of our house we had one cement pond. You know, the olden days they used that stone, they used to hit. We used to use the brush. Pants use the brush, soap and... And the olden days I used to hang up the pants. You know, Filipinos do that, without rinsing. Make the lines, eh? You know how if you iron get the lines, eh, the pants. And then hang 'em up. And she was this smooth.

VL: It was soapy?
SM: No, after you wash, rinse all the soap out. And then you hang 'em up like that but you make all that lines already and hang 'em on the line.

YY: Like in the front?

SM: Yeah, you put 'em this way.

YY: Like one crease?

SM: Yeah, like this, yeah. You make 'em like this. The two ends put together, hang 'em up.

VL: So you didn't have to iron then.

SM: We used to do that all ourself.

VL: And who would wash clothes for the working men?

SM: They wash their own. Everybody wash their own.

VL: So as a young boy, did you have your own room in the house?

SM: Yeah, we have our own room.

VL: Downstairs, where the Filipinos stayed, what did that look like?

SM: They all had separate rooms, they all had separate rooms.

VL: Were any of these men married?

SM: No. None. All single. Even the Chinese was all single.

VL: Did you have much to do with the working men?

SM: No. No. We used to go with the men, they used to do all the job. That time, my father was pretty well off so we just go school, come back. But yet my father was real strict. Just go school and back.

YY: Can you talk more about him, his personality, how he raised you boys and girls?

SM: Well, I don't know. We go on our own, but yet he used to be strict with us. We cannot do certain things.

VL: Like what?

SM: Like gamble, all those things. Drink.

(Laughter)

VL: Did other kids in the neighborhood do that?

SM: Yeah. Right next. Right next that building below of my poi shop. There used to be people who always fight, drink. Lot of problems. They
used to fight with the mother, fight with their father.

VL: Were they Chinese?

SM: No.

VL: Your father didn't allow any of that?

SM: No. That's why, my kids brought up the same way. I get one 28 years old boy right now. He married. I know he smoke, but he don't smoke in front me. That much they respect me. Even my girls. My girls they old, but they all come back to me. And we was trained in old, old style.

VL: But when you were younger, did you ever rebel against your father?

SM: No.

VL: Where was your folks' bathroom?

SM: We had bathroom upstairs. All inside. We had cesspool. We had sink on top [i.e. upstairs]. We had running water. We had all that.

VL: Where was the water from?

SM: Used to get one big tank, real big tank. And catch 'em from the rain, from the rain pipe come up to the kitchen. Pretty high our kitchen. That's all gravity flow but she come up. And afterwards, we lay the pipeline. You know where is Nenewe waterfall, eh? Right down to our poi shop. I think if you go you see pipe on the road yet, rotten pipes. You take a good look on the side of the road, you still going see pipes. After you pass that fall, get some pipes.

YY: Do you remember when you put the piping in?

SM: That's in the forties I think.

VL: Can you describe a typical school day [at Waipio Elementary School], when you were young? Like what time would you wake up?

SM: When we wake up? What we do?

VL: Uh huh. From the beginning of the day to the end.

SM: Everything is normal. We get up, eat breakfast.

VL: What would you have for breakfast?

SM: Pancake or taro.

VL: How was the taro prepared?

SM: Boiled and fried.
VL: And who would do this for you?

SM: Well, we used to get one Filipino man and this guy still living. He used to live with us, one of the working men. In the morning, he does that. On a wood stove he make the pancake. And real thick ones. Yeah, he do that every time. I think that guy still living yet.

We go school. You know our place, we got to cross that river. You know where is Araki's building? You know where the school used to be, the Peace Corps? [The now abandoned Peace Corps camp is where Waipio School used to be.] Lunch time we used to go down right in front of that Tom Araki's building, above. You try look where the store was, small store, we call that a small store. Well, lunch time we come there. You can buy one homemade bread, half for five cents, I think. And he's big like that. Homemade. They cut 'em in half. Put jelly on top, and five cents. Or, five piece cracker for five cents, those days.

VL: So every day you bought lunch?

SM: Every day.

YY: Did you put anything on it?

SM: Cracker, no. Just plain. And you know the Hiilawe, the stream still run. And we used to go all over the river and eat the cracker, drink water.

VL: So how would you get your lunch money?

SM: My parents.

VL: Give you?

SM: Every day. Put 'em out. Five cents.

VL: Did you get other spending money?

SM: Well, only unless we come out, no, from Waipio. If you come out, that's from Waipio to Hilo, not Honokaa like that. Once in a great while. Once a year.

VL: What would the occasion be?

SM: Fourth of July like that. That's all. We hardly travel.

YY: When you did that, did you go with your family?

SM: No, we go with the working men. They get day off, then we all go.

VL: About how old were you?

SM: Say about 11, 12 years old.
YY: What kind of transportation?

SM: We used to get bus. Go Hilo. Sleep overnight, hotel. Come back.

VL: And you get spending money for that?

SM: Yeah, and those days everything was cheap. You can buy one pocket knife 25 cents.

VL: Going back to your school day, your clothes, where were they from?

SM: Well, we used to get one store over there, Kaneshiro Store. My father used to deal with this store, foods and everything. So we come pick 'em from the store. Just charge. My father take care the rest. Everything we need, we get.

VL: Were you allowed to charge as a young boy?


VL: (Laughs) So you bought your clothes up here.

SM: All from Kukuihaele Store [Kaneshiro's store].

VL: What kind of clothes was that?

SM: First time we used to wear the real short pants, real short. Then we used to get that jeans, the blue jeans. And most time we used to buy one sweat shirt. Those days, get Mickey Mouse, all that fancy thing.

VL: So you would wear those to school?

SM: Yeah.

VL: Okay, you finished your breakfast. Then, how would you get to school?

SM: In Waipio?

VL: Yeah.

SM: Walk across. Used to walk to school and back.

YY: What if the water was up [after a heavy rain]?

SM: Well, sometime we can tell, the teacher lets us home early. And if the water really big, we used to get this Filipino guy, the guy that cook for us in the morning, come over and pick us up. Good swimmer. But usually they let us go home early. Because you can see that Nenewe Falls start building up. Everybody go home.

VL: So the Filipino would carry you across?

SM: Yeah. He carry us across.
VL: Did you like school?

SM: Well, Waipio was okay. But after we came up Kukuihaele, really hard. You had to get up 4:30 in the morning, go look for the mule in the grass. Real hard life.

VL: Go look for the mule?

SM: Yeah. We get the mule tied. Go in the grass. Early in the morning all wet. I never like that. Because my brother, he used to pick up the animal. He no bring 'em out, I sleep.

(Laughter)

VL: What did your father think of that?

SM: He never bother too much, no. I think he think, you like go school, you go. You no like, no go. But he would let us go school if we wanted to go to school. But I never care. Too hard life, 4:30 in the morning.

VL: At that time, when you went to Kukuihaele School, what kind of lunch would you take, or would you take?

SM: Kukuihaele School, I used to buy. Cafeteria. Three cents for one lunch. Two cents for milk. Real cheap. They used to give us token.

VL: How did that work?

SM: We get round ones is for lunch. Square ones for milk or chocolate. Real cheap.

VL: When would they give you the tokens?

SM: You can buy $1 one time, or how much money you get, you can buy. Dollar's could last you one month. You can afford, you can buy $1. Then your pocket would be really full with coins, that token. Or if you can't afford, three cents, three cents, day by day.

VL: Did your father know how to read and write?

SM: My father cannot read, but all in Chinese, he write. All in Chinese. But he can speak Hawaiian better than some real Hawaiians that live over here. But not English. He can speak English, but he cannot write.

VL: How about at recess at school. What kind of games did you folks play?

SM: Most is baseball, no. Softball. I think that's the only game we play, softball.

VL: You had regular bat and balls?

SM: Yeah.
VL: Then after school, did you have chores at home?

SM: Yeah, my job was to fill up the lanterns with kerosene oil. Wash the glass. That's all. In the afternoon.

VL: And then what could you do after that?

SM: Stay around. Nothing to do.

VL: So were you ever involved in helping the taro, growing the taro [for the father]?

SM: No. When I was young, no.

VL: But later on?

SM: Later on, yeah.

VL: About when was that?

SM: When I was 16 years old.

VL: Then what was your job?

SM: Well, I used to pull, cut wood, pack taro up to the pali. And afterwards, came this poi shop. That was real hard. Got to work seven days a week.

VL: Can you first describe packing taro up to the pali?

SM: I used to use, sometimes, 15 pack mules. See, we used to bring taro for this guy, Kaneshiro [Seiko's father]. And used to place different order for my father. So I used to pack every day. Every day. Sixty, forty bags every day. I got to pack for my father. Then I got to for Kaneshiro. And then he used to pay my father 25 cents a bag for hauling the taro. Get only 50 cents, two bags one mule.

VL: Can you tell us how you actually did it? You know, you would have to go from farm to farm?

SM: Yeah, I had to go to farm to farm. See, these people, they buy food from Kaneshiro. In order to pay Kaneshiro back, they pay him by taro. So we go to like, Kanekoas. Not this William. But plenty more other old-timers used to pack their taro out for Kaneshiro. And in turn he pay us 25 cents a bag.

VL: Kaneshiro pays you?

SM: Yeah.

VL: Now, when you're going from farmer to farmer, do you have all these mules with you?
SM: Yeah. Pull, pull [the mules], yeah?

VL: And it was just you?

SM: Yeah, one man. So we used to... see, we load the mule one side and you have to put one stick, like this, under the bag. Put [under] that bag so she no tip over. Then you go the other side, you throw the other bag on top, then okay.

VL: How do you tie the bag on?

SM: Get certain way. Make one loop in front... draw 'em on top here [he draws a picture]. See the pack saddle, go this way, eh? Get two, eh? Get the loop come right on here, go up here, go this way and go around this way and one single one here. You throw the bag on top here. This loop go over the bag. This loop come over. Pull 'em tight and this loop going be tight. Pull this one down, wrap right around here, come to this one and make one fancy loop like that. Two loops and do the same thing the other side. [See photo of Ted Kaaekuahiwi]

VL: So the corner of the bag goes through here?

SM: Yeah, the bag going be this way. The loop going be right over and this loop go right over. Come back over here. You do the same thing the other side.

VL: All one rope for both sides?

SM: No, no. You get half of 'em this side and half the other side. You split the rope in half. So half going be like this the other side and half on this side.

VL: You split the rope in half?

SM: Yeah. One single rope like this. One rope on this side, one on this side. This thing going out this way. Go around that way and this part come right over. You do the same thing two sides.

VL: So each mule had....

SM: Two bags.

VL: Two bags. And how long was the rope?

SM: Shee, about seven fathom. That's 35 feet. Long rope. Seven [fathom] is about five feet, close to five?

VL: I don't know.

YY: That's about five, yeah.

SM: Seven is what? Thirty-five?
VL: Now, this one rope would go from mule to mule?
SM: No, every pack mule get their own rope.
VL: So you would use all of that rope for one mule?
SM: Yeah. Every pack saddle, you get one rope, on every mule.
YY: And then it would be tied off onto the cross?
SM: Yeah. And then, this is the pack saddle, this is the rope, the rope go to this one. This is the mule, the mule. Same thing. Then they join here. The mule behind here get. So chain.
VL: So the 35 foot rope, you tie the taro and then attach the next mule with that same rope?
SM: No. The mule get their own neck rope. All separate rope. You make two trips a day.
YY: Did you ride one or did you walk?
SM: Ride.
VL: Seven days a week?
SM: Seven days a week.
VL: And then what did your father pay you?
SM: We no get paid. We no get paid.
VL: How did your father get all those mules? Where from and how much did they cost?
SM: Gee, those days the mules really cheap, no? They breed their own mules down there. Afterwards they had to buy the animals from outside from the ranchers, that Kapapala like that. Before that, they used to breed their own mules. They used to get their own donkey, horse. That's how they breed the animals, horse and donkey. And get mule.
YY: Did your father have a lot of experience with horses, mules and donkeys?
SM: Yeah, I think so. He could ride, used to be cowboy.
YY: Where at?
SM: I think Parker Ranch, olden days.
VL: So when you packed the taro up the pali, then what would you do with it once you got up?
SM: We take them as far as Kaneshiro's store, right above Kaneshiro. Get one guy that take the taro into Hilo; used to be Fuji, his name. And
then take 'em to Hilo Poi shop and those people. My father just tell the truck man, "You take so many bags to this poi shop, so many to this poi shop." He divide the taro among the poi shops in Hilo. And I think Kaneshiro had his own poi shop in Hilo, too.

VL: Then the poi shop pays the farmer? How did the payment work out?

SM: He pays my father and he pays Kaneshiro.

YY: Down in the valley, who took care of all the animals?

SM: Well, we used to get big stable. And then the working men used to pull taro, sometime half day. And after lunch, they go out and cut grass. They used to pack 'em on the stick, they used to take two bundles. Or, if real far, they use mules; put four bundles on the mule. Or we get one big place at the back of our stable. We used to plant grass and then we used to get one Chinese guy in the night and in the day. Daytime, take care all the manure, like that. He take 'em out to where we plant the grass, for fertilizer. And he feed the mule. And in the night he come out and feed the mules. All grass. And the mules go out work, come back half day. Take all the thing to the stalls and every stall they get barley inside. Small box with all barley inside. During the afternoon that's when they feed the animals all grass.

VL: Where was the barley from?

SM: Kaneshiro, buy it from Kaneshiro.

VL: Where was the stable?

SM: The stable used to be, you know where my poi shop is? In front is.... you know where is Kelly Loo's patch? Right over there. Get the stable. And that's where we used to get the pasture with better grass.

VL: So all together, your father had about how many working men?

SM: About 12 or 13 men.

VL: Is this full time?

SM: Full time. Dollar a day. But those days, $1 was good money.

VL: And then did he provide housing free?

SM: All free. Free.

VL: And then how much land in taro did your father have?

SM: Gee, I don't know how many acres but he had pretty big place. He nearly controlled the whole valley, no, those days. Used to be Chun. Chun used to get one piece, Akioka used to have one piece. Then my father. Then my father took Akioka's land, then left only Chun. So, had most of the land.
VL: Did he lease all of this?
SM: Most lease land.
VL: The rest was what?
SM: Fee simple.
VL: When he first started taro, when did he buy the land, and who from?
SM: I don't know.
VL: Did your mother's side have any land in the valley?
SM: Yeah, my mother had. But before that, my father had one other wife, then she died. See that's the part, my father got some land from the first wife, but afterwards she died, my father gave the land back to her family.
VL: Hawaiian, then?
SM: Hmm [Yes].
VL: I'd like to talk about the mill.
SM: Poi mill?
VL: Yeah, first can you describe what it looked like?
SM: The first one my father bought from Akioka. This old, broken down poi shop. Old, I don't know what kind engines he had. They had pipe water from Hiilawe.
VL: Where was that poi mill?
SM: No. You know where Steve Mochida's house, that nut field behind? On the Hilo side. Right over there. Had three factory that time. Ah Puck and Chang, the one in Hilo, Puueo Poi. We used to cut wood, pack on the mule. Those days they used to just tie the bundle, instead of put in bags and hang on the mule and people follow behind with bags. What they drop, they put 'em in the bag and carry.
YY: How many per bundle, approximately?
SM: I don't know but kind of big, though. I know it's more than 25 pounds, one bundle.
VL: How was this attached on to the horse, or the mule?
SM: Plenty branches, eh, the taro stalk? Every one you pull, you broke the center and you going only leave one stalk. And going to be thin, eh? You bundle 'em all together then you just put 'em on the pack saddle with the cross. Then afterwards, bags. Bags was easy.
VL: When did bags start coming in?
SM: I think early 1950's.
VL: So then the first mill was up?
SM: Yeah.
VL: How did it work?
SM: The machine?
VL: Yeah.
SM: Shee, I don't know what kind machine they had but I know it's not car machine, it's one old-fashioned machine.
VL: Powered by what?
SM: That machine?
VL: Yeah.
SM: Not motor, you know. Just regular, just like car motor. You know car engine, eh? But this kind different kind engine. Start by battery, run with battery.
VL: So it was not water powered?
SM: Not water.
VL: What did the machinery on the inside look like? I can't picture how it pounded the taro.
SM: Oh, the mill was same as what you see in Seiko's [Kaneshiro] one now, that mill. Same thing. Get belt run around. Only Seiko is one electric, eh? You know the mill, the one the taro go in, was same like Seiko's one. Not including all that fancy thing, get that strainer, all that things. But the mill alone, they get a worm gear, the one with the flat piece, the plate. All same.
VL: To grind it?
SM: Yeah. And used to feed by hand. Can feed the taro in by hand.
VL: How was it steamed, cooked?
SM: Regular cook box. Well, pretty big box. Metal bottom. He get big door. Put the taro in the door and close the door. Then in one other room, put that wood, burn. That's all. That was steam though. Water [in bottom of box], then they get one piece of board [over the water], then the taro on top [of the board]. All racks. Get taro. And then boil. Maybe two, three hours. Then leave 'em over night, she steams itself.
VL: And the next day.

SM: Next day peel. Peel, grind, wrap. And the next day, take 'em out to Waimea. All the way from here. Honokaa to Waimea.

YY: By wrap, what do you mean?

SM: Used to wrap with ti leaf, no? We used to put 'em in the bags, we were talking about the bags. That flour bag, you cut 'em in four, that's four pieces to get one. Twenty-five cents, eh? And then you cut 'em in half, you get half-a-dollar. No, wait, half, you get $2 bag. Yeah, that flour bag, you cut 'em in half, you can make two, and gee, I don't know how they cut that.

Oh, the other one, you can cut in three and you can make that half-dollar bags. And the other one, you cut four in that you make; because that is what, the last I know, we was selling 25 cents for six pounds. Early days was 30 pounds for $1. Afterward, the ending part, when just was left poi shop [1950's], was six pounds for quarter.

VL: How many working ladies worked in the mill?

SM: Used to get three or two, plus three mens. But those people used to come and grind their poi. You know, they cook their own taro, they bring for process, and instead of paying for what you do for them, they come and help you peel. You know, depending, Hawaiians, they come, they bring their taro. They cook their taro, they bring 'em to the poi shop, and then you grind for them. And in turn, they help you peel the taro.

VL: Now, the taro that they brought to grind, was that for their own home use?

SM: For their own home use.

VL: They didn't sell it?

SM: No, no.

VL: How would you keep track of whose poi was whose?

SM: Oh, they bring all this in bags. So you grind this portion first and let his one go out. Then the next one. That's how you can tell. You still can stop.

VL: And what, you have to steam it separately, then?

SM: No, they cook their own taro.

VL: Oh.

SM: They cook their own taro, they bring 'em to you.

YY: And this was a dependable system?
SM: Yeah.

VL: So in exchange for doing....

SM: For grinding their taro.

VL: For grinding, how much would they ask you to grind?

SM: Shee, about one bag, no. One bag taro.

YY: A 100 pound bag?

SM: Yeah.

VL: Then how much work would they do in exchange?

SM: They come, they peel taro, they would work with the whole crew until they finish grinding their taro, they can go home. They don't have to stay the whole day. After they get their taro grinded, then go home. But they usually clean all the taro first, then we start grinding.

VL: This is the first time we heard about that. So you didn't have to pay anyone to clean taro?

SM: No. The guys that working there is all family operation. My brother and his wife used to work.

VL: The poi was strained?

SM: Not strained.

VL: So what kind of poi came out?

SM: Well, I think, better than nowdays poi.

VL: Why?

SM: Real clean. Nowadays you can see, they depend too much on the strainer. I seen in Honolulu how they process their taro. Not real clean. I seen how they work. Compared to our days, our days every taro we clean. Real clean, those days.

YY: Is there anything more about this first mill that you can tell us about?

SM: Gee, nothing else. Only thing what, we never have cesspool, no nothing. Just let, you know all the peelings, all out.

VL: Back into the stream?

SM: No. No stream. Just let 'em flow out. The poi shop is little higher. Then when pile up, you push 'em on the side.
VL: Did anybody want to use the peelings for anything?

SM: The only peelings they use is the one after we hemo the outside part, the peelings they use for feed the pigs or chicken or ducks. But we used to keep pigs; we used to bring 'em out back on the mule. I used to come this poi shop work and you know where the other poi shop is [on Waimanu side of valley]? That's where we used to live. So we used to come all the way this side work [Hiilawe], all the way back.

VL: So you worked in the poi shop?

SM: Yeah.

VL: Doing what job?

SM: Peel, scrub taro. See, the men doing the scrubbing, taking out all the black skin from the taro. Then put 'em in one other trough. Then the ladies peel the taro.

VL: Now how would you scrub it?

SM: We get one square box. The box go this way and get plenty racks go this way, all line up. Put the taro in there, you scrub. All the peelings going drop below. This going be above. The rack here is one space between here. And back of here get one door. See, when you scrub the taro, all the skin go down. Then you open this trap door, the water and all this come out through this door. You go three, four times, peel off all of them. Put all the taro out through this box, this trap; then throw 'em all in the big tub or what. Had one big box in there. And the wahines take care that. And they peel that, they put 'em in one other small box, all the clean ones. You should see, real plenty taro we used to get. Just stack 'em all up big tray on top where grind come to the middle. So carry that box, throw on top. When the thing empty, keep on carrying until you finish the taro.

YY: What size was this box?

SM: This about 3 by 6 [feet].

VL: And what is that rack made out of?

SM: All wood. All lumber. Maybe about two inches, you know, one strip go across. Each strip go across you got to get space so when you scrub the peelings going drop down.

VL: What did you use to scrub with?

SM: Scrub with, all hand work. Yeah, all hand, like that.

YY: So you just like roll it against the grate.

SM: Yeah.

VL: And then the ladies that peeled it, what did they use to peel?
SM: Those days, they use the coconut shell. You seen that, the coconut shell?

VL: What did it look like?

SM: Coconut is just like one football, eh? You cut 'em in four. Then you sharp the edge one side and they hold 'em this way and like that go. But those guys cannot use fancy strokes. Go until the taro out, go. See, they hold it this way and you get the peelings in that coconut shell, eh? So these three fingers throw out the [peelings], [while thumb and forefinger] controlling this and this one take out the peelings from the taro.

VL: Could you do that?

SM: I can. But you know how the thing look like, eh? They call that opihi. Yeah, show her. They cut 'em in fourths. They pick the long football type.

YY: Who made these?

SM: Those days, we used to; the olden days, they cut 'em. They make 'em themself. They use the bottle, eh, scrape all that. Because real nice, the thing going come black and one edge used to be short, real thin. But the modern days, how we used to do 'em; we used to get the horseshoe file; real fast.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

VL: Okay, continue.

YY: Modern days.

SM: You like talk about modern days?

YY: You were saying that you used the horseshoe file.

SM: Oh, horseshoe. Yeah. That was real fast. Within 15 minutes he can make one. One taro scraper.

VL: And then, the second mill that you had was where?

SM: That the one I get now [on Waimanu side of valley].

VL: Did you give up the first mill?

SM: Well, was more easy for us work that side [where present mill building is]. Our building [house] was there, everything was there. Was more easy.

VL: Did you sell the first one?
SM: No. Just went rot, that's all. The building went rot. Anyway, was old building.

YY: How many years did you work there? Or your father?

SM: Oh, we never work there too long. I think less than four years, or four years. Then we moved to the other new one.

VL: Now, the new one, was that built by you folks?

SM: Was built by this guy named Murakami. He died already. He was living Kapulena.

VL: He built it for you?

SM: Yeah. That mill was run by one sampan engine.

VL: Now, who thought of all of these new things for the mill? Like the sampan engine.

SM: Oh, this guy, this guy that built the machine? Our poi shop? Murakami. He made all the plans. He was real good. We had to take that machine down by animal; same way I told you how we bring the lumbers down. We used to drag that thing down piece by piece and we had this mechanic from Kohala. Deaf and dumb. Never know nothing about machine or what. But the machine, we stripped the whole machine out, you know. And he came down and put all together the machine. And he run that machine. And he's a deaf and dumb. And he repair all the machine for us.

VL: Did he live in Waipio?

SM: Yeah, he was living with us. Then he left and he died.

VL: Did the second poi mill have any other changes from the first one?

SM: Well, only the...we get a tray and we put the taro on top and all the pans we got, all changed to stainless steel.

VL: They were what before?

SM: Box. Wooden box. And galvanized. So we stay changed all to stainless steel. Maybe I had couple of better tables and more room. We had four different separate partitions. We had a cook room where we wash the taro. And we had where we mill the poi and then we get separate engine room. Where we peel and grind the taro is one room, but cooking and the engine rooms all separate. Get screens, stay screen eh, on the top. But the other old one never get screen or nothing. Just one old building.

VL: Was it hot, then, the old one?

SM: Yeah, but not too sanitary, you know.

YY: By the time that you were in the second mill, did you have plastic bags?
SM: No, we still had that flour bags.

YY: How much time was spent in making the bags?

SM: Shee, maybe about two hours, no. In the night we do that. But, you see, we take the bags out, you deliver to the store. Those people who come pick up the bags, they have to bring one bag back. And they take one. But sometimes those people lazy. Well, they just forget and leave the bags home and take the poi. Then, you got to make the bags. But usually, at least you get sometimes half, or more than half of the bags come back. And usually they wash the bags and return the bags.

VL: Who would sew the bags?

SM: Well, I used to sew, my brother used to sew, and my sister-in-law used to sew. You know that pump machine, the old fashioned [sewing] machine.

VL: Now, all this time, what is your father doing? What was your father doing every day?

SM: My father usually go out check the taro patches. He regulate all the water. That's his job. And he used to get men to work, take care, cut the grass on the banks like that. But my father usually go out and check the water.

VL: Did he tell you about the importance of the water being checked?

SM: Yeah, that's one of the most important thing, yeah taro. He say you got to get plenty water when the taro is young. And at least three months up to seven months, let the water really run. The water come out here, let 'em go out. And then come to the seven month time, all depend on the size of your taro, how she grow. If she grow nice, seven to eight months you can close the water. You can bring your water in here and build up where you let the water out. Every month you raise 'em up so much. But you just let the taro, the water just run, you just going get one long taro. But to get the round taro, you got to let the running come slow or back your water. You see, if your water coming through here when the taro is young, when you close this here, when you close your water, bring your water from the back. Circulate this way so come around and go out.

VL: So it comes in from a different place?

SM: Yeah. That's why the olden days, they usually get one main, they call this auwai. This is your patch and you get one all main one, you get all your patches. You can bring the water from here, or, when you shut your water, you bring 'em to the end back part. You close this one and bring the water through here, see. Make the water warm and then she go out. And build your water up each time. If you raise the water up then you get nice round taro. But you see the taro come this way, and then come like one pound poi stone. That's mean you shut your water and this bank give or something; the taro grow again. That's how you going come up with one more piece. That's the main thing you got to watch, your water.
VL: Always have to check that it [the outlet] doesn't give way.

SM: Yeah.

VL: That your outlet stays a certain....

SM: You like nice taro. But this good for the regular [full time] farmers who stay down there. They get the attention, they can watch. But once a week we go down. By the time we go down the banks broke.

VL: I'm still not clear on the purpose of bringing it [water] in from this way [through the back of the patch]. This is the stage when you want it to warm up a little?

SM: Yeah. See, when you grow over here, the water going be fresh, going be cold.

VL: This is from the next patch?


VL: Wouldn't it be colder from the auwai?

SM: No, because you bring 'em from the back. You see, this is the end of the patch already. Okay, this is the end. You run the water through the back. By the time she come out, he get time for come warm. But if you get 'em direct from here, the water just going feed, usually over here one or two. You bring this one up, the water stay in the patch, then she overflow, go to the next patch. But that's the way my parents teach me. And this way you get real nice, round, taro. When you get the long ones, come watery.

VL: Did your father ever take the temperature of the water?

SM: No. Never did.

VL: But he knows the different temperatures by feeling?

SM: You can tell the difference. When you do this, you see your taro grow up; in a month or so, you going see the taro coming down. She turn yellow. But you let the water go in and this one go out, you going find your taro always green.

Same like sugar cane. They let 'em grow up and then they shoot the [tape garbled], they stunt the, make 'em ripe. Same purpose. To bring the taro down here, you have to do this. Modern guys nowadays, everything is fast, they dry the patch. Kill the root, too, one time. But you bring this here, you get better taro. Better quality. The taro more solid than the way these modern days people, they dry the patch so that they can pull easy. The whole root, all die. But you can kill the roots doing this way.

VL: How?
SM: Let the water come in, let the water go out slow. She come down.

VL: So how many months do you do that? Let the water....

SM: Well, my father can pull his taro, what, 12 months. From the time you plant until you harvest, he can 12, 13 months is the most my father go. But now, these old people, they go what? They go 14, 15; they go as far as 18 months?

VL: The old people? What do you mean?

SM: The other people. Like my father, that's the way he raise. Nelson Chun, he raise his the old style. You know what? He let his taro go 18, 19 months. But my father can go 12, 13 months, he can harvest. He almost can plant two crops when Chun can plant only one time. If you get 19 months, by time she clean, start planting again, almost 20, 21 months.

VL: So every day, he would go check the water?

SM: Every day, he go out and check the water. What he do is carry one sickle. He put 'em back, behind him, in back, the handle. And the shovel on his back.

VL: And what would he do with the sickle and shovel?

SM: He use the shovel for regulate the water. Cut the ditches, close the over here; build up the bank, where the water go out.

VL: Did he have sort of like foremen under him?

SM: No. Never did.

VL: That means he directed everyone personally?

SM: See, the places that my father used to own, this is one portion, this is one portion. He used to get one Chinese guy over here take care the land. And the other place used to get Chinese guy and used to get Filipino. Not living with us, they get all their houses there. But the land belong to my father and they take care the land. My father come and he check the water. That's all he do.

VL: Then these men who were taking care of that plot, were they paid? How were they paid?

SM: Percentage.

VL: What was the percentage?

SM: Gee, I don't know. Those days was really cheap. Dollar a bag used to sell. Compared to now, before was what--$25, $20 a bag, $15. The lowest is $15 now.
VL: So he would give them a percentage, but he would pay other workers $1 a day?

SM: Dollar a day.

VL: Why was some different, like that?

SM: But you get this style going in Waipio. You own the land, you give the guy raise the taro then you pay them, let's say, 70/30. They get 70 percent of the crop, and you get 30 percent. Same like this, the olden days.

VL: But he didn't want to do all that way? You know, the guys that worked for $1 a day, they didn't want to share crop? Why didn't he share crop with them?

SM: I don't know. These guys was his regular men and these [other] guys was on percentage so they going be different. These guys was regular working men. Because these guys, they got to go out and pull the taro, got to go harvest, got to cut the grass. But these guys they do this only for raise the taro in that area.

VL: Yeah, but....

YY: The nature of their roles was different.

VL: I know. But, why did some choose to do that [sharecrop], and others day labor or $1 a day?

YY: Those that were sharecropping and got a percentage, they didn't stay with your family?

SM: No.

YY: They had their own....

SM: Yeah, on the land we get building and they get their own house.

VL: Were these more family men?

SM: No. All single men. Had quite a bit Chinese guys. All Chinese. As I remember, had only one Filipino man.

VL: What were some of the other things that your father taught you about taro the old way?

SM: Besides farming?

VL: Besides the water. I remember once you told us about harvesting and pulling the....

SM: Pulling the stalk? Yeah. When you pull the taro, better if the taro real solid in the stalk when you plant so you had to pull, get the bottom of the taro and pull with the stalk, so that you get a stalk
real, not too soft. But some people, they pull from the stalk because strain for pull 'em from the bottom. Even I pull for somebody, I still do the same thing. You know, if you think you pulling for somebody, you just let it go and just pull any way. But, real strain that way.

VL: So you pull from....

SM: The bottom of the taro. You put more strength on the taro than on the stalk. Then you get the taro, the stalk real firm, eh?

VL: How about cutting the huli? Did he tell you a special way to do that?

SM: No, he never tell us that. Just by watching, we know already. That's automatic.

VL: Would he cut thick or thin?

SM: My father is thin, no, his taro, he cut. The reason, I don't know why. Real thin. Maybe you get more meat on the stalk come rotten fast.

VL: And did he replant the huli right away?

SM: Yeah, usually. Usually, they pull so fast, they always get one patch always ready for plant. Like how I do, I pull and plant the same patch. But those days, they get so much patches, he get one patch always ready. He can pull from here, he can take the huli here and no need go back to the same patch. We used to pack the huli from one patch with the mule, go to the other patch. That was my job. Cut the huli; you know the leaves, put 'em in the bag, take 'em to the patch and my father used to plant. And my father could plant taro in the night.

VL: How would he do that?

SM: He get the line, eh? And moonlight, he used to plant nighttime.

YY: For a special reason?

SM: No. Time. But he really can plant. I think he was one of the best planters of seed. Real different. I cannot plant that way.

VL: How did he do it?

SM: Well, hard for....He plant two close and one go far, like that. And he come two close again. You know, that's spacing. The only person I think can, now, is George Farm. You can look all angles, you going see one line. Any angle you stand up in the patch, you going see line to all. But I cannot do that.

VL: He didn't teach you?

SM: Well, he taught us but I never learn. All by the feet, he go. Just walk with the feet and measure with his feet and he plant. And real neat. He get two small piece like that; two huli side by side and he
had walk and come that two again. I think George Farm can, that.

VL: So it's like two, two, two.

SM: Yeah, yeah, yeah, and over here you get space.

VL: Two and one and two? And one and two? [See diagram]

SM: Yeah, yeah. Real smooth, how he plant. Stay real nice. See the patch go this way square. I don't know how he make but when my father used to plant. Usually I plant from this way, I go this way. He come one, two, three; then he go back, go that way.

YY: The same line?

SM: Same line. But usually when I start, this is the line, eh? Let's say you get a cord, eh? I start from this here, I go here, here. But when he start his planting, he start from this here; he come one, two, three, then he start go there. He always do that. And you go down there, you watch the people how they plant. They plant this way, they start from the bank, go in.

VL: How about the size of his patches. Generally, were they bigger or smaller, than....

SM: He get some big patches. Some small. Most medium size patches. You went to George Farm's place? That was my father's place. Above George house, George get one house, eh, Waipio? All above that, all below that. Right down to Duldulao's. That whole area, from the top to down, there. My father used to raise taro. That's why I tell you he used to control the whole valley. And then you know where John Loo's place? John Loo's place is the end. Now from [Harrison] Kanekoa's house where Tom [Schreiber] live? From there, that pali right down to that place where John Loo stay. Used to be my father's place. Used to plant taro.

YY: How many acres is that?

SM: I don't know. That's from that place I get down.

And you know where Jason [Mock Chew, Sam's son] living? Get one white building? All that area in the middle go up to, that's Millare or where
Joe Batalona living right now, get his boy over there [Kaai Batalona].
Well, that center portion, right down until Jason's place and where
Suei Kawashima get one piece, that used to be my father's place. Used
to plant taro. Mancao's place was my father's place and deJesus place,
you know who deJesus, eh? Leroy.

YY: I heard about him.

SM: Yeah, that was my father's place.

My father was close with Kaneshiro, that's Seiko's father. They was
friends so my father pass on some of the land, the lease land to
Kaneshiro.

VL: Did he ever rest the patch before replanting?

SM: No. Those days he never get disease. So they keep on planting. Could
pull 60 bags a day, every day, those days. That how much taro he had.

VL: No disease?

SM: No disease before.

VL: How about insects?

SM: No more. Those days we never get poison but they upkeep the patches
real nice.

VL: How did they do that?

SM: All sickle. And animals cannot come in the patch like nowdays. You
see all the animals, all broke the banks. We used to carry the taro
out from the patch, out to the road. You see where my poi shop is?
And you see the patch inside? We got to carry that taro on the back,
outside from the bank.

VL: And then the mules came?

SM: Put on the mule. All the farmers got to do that. They got to put
the taro all out. Nowdays, you see animals running all over the banks,
all broke, plenty grass. But those days, never get grass.

VL: Were the banks wider, or narrower, in those days?

SM: Smaller.

VL: Why was that?

SM: At those days, the animals no go on the bank too much. You let the
animals go on the banks, she going smash the banks, come more wide.
Those days, no more animals. You no get broken banks. You get the
water running, you let your animal pass every time, she going step,
step. She going make one big puka.
VL: Now, water. Did your father create the patches himself, or were they already there?

SM: I think was there already. Should be here. Yeah, been there already.

VL: So the auwaïs were already built?

SM: Yeah.

VL: How about maintaining the auwaïs and cleaning them?

SM: Those days, they get all clean those auwai. They don't have problems with auwai. Everybody used to get their own water head. Take care their own water head. Plenty water.

VL: From the stream, direct?

SM: From the stream direct to the auwai.

VL: Did you ever help to build the water head?

SM: No.

VL: Or an auwai?

SM: Yeah, we used to make some, no. We used to make some auwai. But my father, he really like his water, he raise taro. He like plenty water.

VL: Is there less water nowdays?

SM: Yes. Less.

VL: Why is that?

SM: I don't know. Not enough rain, or something. Before used to get real plenty water. Used to get that Hillawe River. One time by Duldulao's home, one main stream. And one ran from my poi shop, eh? Then one. And one ran by [Merrill] Toledo's. Real plenty water we had before, compared to now.

YY: Any floodings?

SM: Yeah, used to get flooding, but not too bad because the streams all open before. They all clean and wide. Nowdays, they get too much tractor work and what. Disturb the river too much. See, the stuff that's disturb in the river, all the gravel, all come down pile up. You seen it from my place, all the gravel piling up. Caused by the tractor, because you loose the rock; when get flood, she bring all the pebbles all down. Then she going build up. That's what happened to my place, all in front, all that pebbles.

As far as flooding before, you get that flooding, but not too much damage because the rivers all open, eh? But you jam the bottom, she
going back up, she got to go some place.

VL: Before time, were there any squabbles among the farmers?

SM: No. Real good. To me, is real good.

VL: Never had problems with water flowing down, to the next guy not enough or something.

SM: I don't think so. Before used to get plenty water. Everybody had their share. You ask those people old days. They live real good eh, compared to now.

VL: Your father, did he practice customs from China?

SM: No.

VL: Chinese gods or....

SM: Never did. Oh, worship with gods, those things?

VL: Yeah.

SM: Well, my father used to, only thing he used to do is to kill pig, roast the pig and they used to get the Chinese men, take 'em up to the grave and they bring 'em up and chop 'em up and sell 'em. Pork. That's what he used to do, that's the only one he used to do.

VL: How often would he do this?

SM: Gee, I don't know how often. Maybe about three or four times a year. And you know how far they got to carry that pig. You know where is where Bill Keb live, eh? Right below, used to get that Chinese cemetery. Now all the way from my place up there, in one box, they carry with the mamaka, one big box like that, mamaka and carry all the way up, worship that thing and come down again. And by the small store, we used to chop all pork up and if the pig worth $50 or $30; if $30, make 30 package and everybody take.

VL: But first, they would take the pig up to the cemetery?

SM: Yeah, worship.

VL: And do what with it?

SM: I don't know. The Chinese, that's how they worship the dead, huh? The graveyard up there.

YY: Did you used to go?

SM: No.

VL: Did your father have relatives buried there?
SM: I think he get. That Akioka is his family. I don't know how they come related because Akioka and my father is Mock Chew. I don't know how they come related, but they say is related.

YY: What was your father's name when he came from China?

SM: Well, they say is Ah Chew Mock. Supposed to be Ah Chew Mock. My name supposed to be Mock, not Mock Chew. My brother carry Mock. Wilfred Mock, Moses Mock. But I called Samuel Mock Chew.

VL: How about Hawaiian customs?

SM: No.

YY: Going back to roasting the pig, did he do it Chinese style, or Hawaiian style?

SM: Chinese style.

YY: How was that?

SM: Well, the olden days Chinese, they get one big pit in the ground, one puka anyway. And they set stones all around that puka, come all the way to the top. Some almost to one cone, at the cone they get one cement and cement right around. And on top is flat. Now get the puka in there. Now they build 'em like this over here and the bottom, this side is low. The puka go this way, this side going be low. At the bottom of that thing they get one door. They put the wood in the top, they burn the wood and at the bottom they take the charcoal out. At the bottom, get one door, eh? So you can put plenty wood, put wood, wood, until they get the stone all on the side of that puka heated. In the meantime they take out the charcoal from the bottom. When you know it's enough time, enough heat, you put your pork, your pig inside. Whole pig, you know, you put 'em in.

VL: Through the puka on top?

SM: Yeah. Okay, you get the puka here, round eh? And flat on top with cement all around. And each edge get one groove. This is one bar now. You poke this bar right across like that and the pig going be hanging over here. Get one loop, eh? The bar go right through here. That's one wire go right down through the pig and come up and you rest your pig right in the middle of that hole. They cover with board on the puka and they seal the sides all with mud; put mud. And you close it down, the bottom part. That's how they roast the pig.

But in the night, afternoon anyways, they kill the pig, they spice all the pig up, they put all the spice inside, then they put the thing in. And they cover. All depend on the size of the pig. Can be about three hours, two hours. All depend on the size of the pig. And real clean.

VL: Because it's just hanging.
SM: Yeah, real clean.

VL: Now, it's only heated by the heat from the rocks?

SM: Rock, yeah.

YY: Was this char siu style?

SM: Yeah. But those days, you get all the spice. You know that olden days spice. Real good.

YY: Where did he get the spices?

SM: I think they used to sell that, no? Because he get everything. You see, he buy all his stuff, all come in bulk. That oyster; oyster, used to buy that. You know the opihi, the dry opihi? All used to buy that. The shrimp. All by five-gallon can, he used to buy. Those days, I never know about American food, all Chinese food. The shrimp, get the big ones, those real tiny ones, all come in five-gallon can.

VL: Why did he buy in such large quantities?

SM: Those things you can keep, eh? That's all dry. And then we get the working men. They got to buy plenty food. Rice, I don't know how much he buy one month. By the bags he buy. Chinese, all rice; Filipinos, all rice.

VL: You folks wouldn't eat the taro much?

SM: Not too much. We never eat poi too much, too. We make the poi, but we no eat poi too much.

VL: How about planting times? Would your father follow any particular time to plant? When was good.

SM: My father no believe in those things that you plant this month, you get plenty keikis. He just keep on planting. If he can plant every day, he plant every day. I don't believe that thing too, if you plant certain month, you get plenty keiki, certain month you get more keiki. I no believe that. What I believe is that you get time to watch your taro, you get good taro. You bring your taro up and then, when the time for keiki come and you drown the taro, the keiki all make. But if you can catch 'em right time, and these keiki come up and you let the water run, thing going be all right. You drown the keiki, you going make all the keiki. But everybody get their own belief. No, my father used to plant any time.

VL: How would you folks celebrate Christmas?

SM: Well, Christmas not too much, no? I don't know about the American Christmas before, when we used to live down there. We used to know only the Chinese New Year. Mostly celebrate most on Chinese New Year. And then that go for over one week. That's when get plenty food,
plenty candy. And they used to give the money, when small kids. You wrap in red papers to give. The smallest one used to get the most money. And you get plenty Chinese men, they give you plenty money. Firecracker, burn firecracker. All those things.

We used to get one long telephone pole. We used to challenge, you know. Akioka used to get, Chun used to get. Long telephone post, you know. And they like see who burn the longest, whose firecracker burn the longest. And we had one real tall, tall pole. I don't know how many feet, that thing was really long. And that thing real big, the firecrackers. Big rows. Put 'em up with the cord, go up to the top. Every time, when they get dinner or something, they burn that. Then they eat. And all Chinese food.

VL: Now Chinese New Year, who prepared all the food?

SM: Chinese cook.

VL: And who paid for it (Laughs)?

SM: My father.

VL: Then would other people come?

SM: Yeah, they come. You get the working men, kids come.

VL: How about other people in Waipio that weren't working men?

SM: They come. When Chinese New Year, big occasion down there.

VL: Could anybody come?

SM: Oh yeah. My place, they used to come. All the working men.

VL: That must have been a big bill.

SM: I don't know. My father had money, those days. You see, he buy everything in bulk. Plenty. Everything he cook is all Chinese food. Get two tables, two round tables. The Filipinos on one table, the Chinese on one table. Same building. The Chinese all the serve it. They get all bowls. Round table so easy, one round circle. Big pan rice. The wok, the big one for cook with his stove.

VL: Would your father give days off when it was New Year's? Holiday for the working men?

SM: Gee, I don't know that part, though. But usually the celebration is afternoon. Afternoon, real heavy. Plenty food in afternoon. But Sundays, I know, they get off. Sundays they get off.

VL: What would they do on Sundays?

SM: Filipinos, they chicken fight. They come out, chicken fight. Chinese, you know, they smoke that pipe, that bamboo pipe.
YY: Opium?

SM: Opium.

VL: Where did they get that from?

SM: I don't know. My father was smart. And my father no smoke that thing. And, you know everybody...Akioka used to get, Chun used to get and Leslie Ahana [aka Leslie Chang] used to get men working for them. All them get Chinese men. Every afternoon you watch the work men with the opih shell. And they get one small iron, they dip inside that thing. One dollar. Just dip inside, $1 they go.

VL: What is the opium in?

SM: Come in one small square can.

VL: Tin can, like?

SM: Square like that, but more narrow. Odd can. Comes like that Army color, you know those Army, greenish color, that can.

VL: And what kind of iron do you dip inside?

SM: One small wire. Smaller than this, about this size, the lip. Small, pointed thing. Long like this. Put 'em in. And you roll 'em, he get one small lump at the tip, eh? Put 'em in the opih shell, he go like that. Dollar.

VL: Now would these men all line up?

SM: No. One, two, one, two. And the Chinese that work for my father, that's just like their wages already, because $1. And I seen them smoke. Two guys smoke. One guy smoke, one guy on the side get long pipe with one round thing under. The thing round and get one puka in the middle. While this guy smoke, this guy make for him. After all he pau, then he smoke, then this guy make for this guy.

VL: How did he make? What do you mean, he makes?

SM: Fire. With the small, you know the lamp, eh? They roll 'em on the... the thing, you roll, roll; he come hard, you know, the small piece. And right at the base of that, one pipe, it's flat and get small puka in the middle. They roll the thing, they poke that thing right in the hole then push 'em back. They plug the hole up. Now they put 'em on the fire, small fire. And they smoke that thing, they can get bubbles to go through that. And pau. Then they make for the next guy, same thing. After they finish, they take off the pipe. Get small container the bottom part. They clean all that thing, put water, and they drink that.
YY: And how long does that last? The experience.

SM: Oh, when they smoke? About half an hour, two guys. But that happen only in the afternoon, after they pau work.

VL: So then, would they pay cash for this?

SM: All cash. All cash.

VL: When were they paid their wages?

SM: End of the month. They guys who work they get every month and the guy used to take care the book is the cook.

VL: This is almost pau. I'm afraid it's going to stop.

END OF INTERVIEW