"I come over here [Lāna'i, in 1926], I learn cowboy. I work with the cowboys. The cowboys most they talk Hawaiian. Then I learn from them... Most the Hawaiian word, they talk Hawaiian. All the cowboys. They no talk English too much. Sometime I no understand, you know, the Hawaiian. You no understand but you listen, bumbai sometimes you ask... Then, when I marry my wife [Rebecca Kaopuiki Richardson], I ask her any kind Hawaiian word, she know plenty; then she tell me most about the Hawaiian word. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much."

The third child of George Samson Richardson and Mary Ellen Louisiana Napaepae Richardson, Ernest Samson Richardson was born July 1, 1910 in Lahaina, Maui. As a child he learned to ride horses from his father, a cowboy for Pioneer Mill Company sugar plantation. He completed the fifth grade at Kamehameha III School in Lahaina.

In 1926, Ernest came to Lāna'i to work in Hawaiian Pineapple Company's fields, joining his older brother John and uncles and cousins who had arrived from Lahaina earlier. Soon after arriving, Ernest began working for Lāna'i Ranch. He planted Norfolk pine trees, put up fences throughout the island, and helped the older cowboys whenever he could.

He married Rebecca Kaopuiki, a lifelong Lāna'i resident, in 1932. The couple moved into one of the houses brought up to Kō'ele from Miki in 1937. Formerly occupied by pineapple plantation laborers, the house was transported to the ranch as part of new manager Ernest Vredenburg's ranch reorganization.

One of the last cowboys on payroll by 1951, the year the ranch closed, Ernest helped round up the remaining cattle and assisted in the closing up of operations. He then worked as a truck driver for Hawaiian Pineapple Company until his retirement in 1976.

Ernest and Rebecca lived in their house until 1988, when the construction of The Lodge at Kō'ele forced them to move into a refurbished house provided by Castle & Cooke, Inc. on the northwest portion of the former ranch site, a few hundred feet from the new hotel. His brother John and John's wife Hannah Kauli Richardson live next door, also in a company-refurbished house. The four are the last remaining residents of Kō'ele.
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Ernest S. Richardson (ER)

June 27, 1988

Kō'ele, Lāna'i

BY: Mina Morita (MM) and Warren Nishimoto (WN)

MM: [This is an interview] with Ernest Richardson at Kō'ele, Lāna'i on June 27, 1988. Interviewers are Mina Morita and Warren Nishimoto.

Okay, let's start off again. When were you born?

ER: I born July 1, 1910.

MM: Where were you born?

ER: Lahaina. Lahaina, Maui.

MM: Can you tell us your parents' name? Your mother and father's name?

ER: I only know James, James Napaepae. I don't know . . .

MM: That's your grandfather?

ER: He's my grandfather. My mother's side.

MM: Uh huh. And then your mother and your father. Who's . . .

ER: My mother and my father?

MM: Their names?

ER: My father's name is George Richardson. And my mother's name is Mary Ellen Louisiana Napaepae [Richardson].

MM: And where did you live in Lahaina?

ER: I lived with my grandfather, only part-time but we lived in Māla Village. Māla Village, way down past the cannery. Almost when you going turn, the road go Kā'anapali side. You know, when you get near the beach there, open beach and go Kā'anapali side.

MM: That's by Māla Wharf? Is that . . .
ER: Yeah, past Māla Wharf.

MM: And then, what kind work did your mother and father do?

ER: My father used to be cowboy for the [sugar] plantation.

MM: Which plantation was that?

ER: That Pioneer, Pioneer . . .

WN: Pioneer Mill [Company].

ER: Yeah, Pioneer Mill. The plantation, he work cowboy for them. But their place was more outside Pu'ukoli'i side. Way up Pu'ukoli'i.

MM: And then did your mother work?

ER: No. My mother no work since I stay with them, they never work, until she died. She died first, then my father.

MM: How old was she when she died?

ER: Shee, I don't know how old. I don't know how old she was.

WN: How old were you when she died? Do you remember?

ER: Maybe about fifteen or fourteen.

WN: So just before you came here [in 1926], she died?

ER: Yeah, she died, I think one year I stay with my uncle. My uncle take care us.

MM: Who was your uncle?


MM: And tell us how many brothers and sisters you had.

ER: Me?

MM: Yeah. And their names.

ER: Ah, I get two sisters and four boys, with me make four. Six all together.

MM: And what were their names?

ER: My sister, the first one is Primrose. And then come my brother John. Then me the third. Then my sister Elizabeth behind me. Then my brother Chester. Then Lew Richardson, he the last.

WN: So, you said that your father was a cowboy?
ER: Cowboy, yeah.

WN: What about your grandfather [James Napaepae]? What kind of work did he do?

ER: Oh, that I don't know. When I small time, I never hear what he work. I don't know what kind job he get. 'Cause that time, us born time, he old man already, all white hair. See, I don't know about his story.

WN: Did you help your father at all? As, you know, when he was cowboy, did you go with him?

ER: Yeah, I go. I used to go with my father when I small boy time. I used to go maybe [from] about ten years [old], like that. And when he drink, and he fall down from the horse, the horse stay there and I got to sleep over there until he sober and he can get up and then we go home.

MM: He pack you in the back of the horse?

ER: Yeah.

MM: You two guys go?

ER: Two guys. Or sometime I get my own. I ride, I follow behind him.

MM: And you wait till he wakes up?

ER: Yeah, until he wake up. I no can carry him. Him too big. No can do nothing, so I gotta sleep over there too, until he get up, then we go home. So my mother used to scold me every time I follow him. But him, every time like take me go. He like make me one cowboy, I think. (Chuckles)

WN: So what did he do as plantation cowboy? What kind work?

ER: They go chase cow, they go butcher for the plantation. In the evening sometime they go, because sometime they no can catch all the cow because all in the bushes, eh, all up in the mountain. So the cow come out in the evening. So in the evening sometime they go, they go rope 'em and they bring 'em down to right where Māla Wharf stay. Over there get one slaughterhouse, eh. They bring 'em down there by the slaughterhouse. If they no can bring 'em in the night, they tie 'em someplace, then in the morning they go get 'em.

MM: They tie 'em to the tree?

ER: To the tree someplace. But usually every time they like try reach over there [slaughterhouse] because nighttime cold, eh, 'cause come daytime going be hot, eh. Or sometime they pull 'em till near by the cane track, and they load 'em up on top the, what you call da kine, the empty kind, you know the sugarcane kind [railroad]
Car...

WN: Car?

ER: Yeah, they put 'em on top. And they bring 'em down [to the] slaughterhouse. Every time I used to go follow them, eh. Sometime pau school, then they go up, I go, too, I ride. But sometime come dark, I scared because bumbai I get lost, eh. (Chuckles) But every time he tell me if I no can find them, go by the [railroad] track. Stay by the track, so they can find me on the track, eh.

MM: So what kind job they give you?

ER: Oh, only go follow them, watch them. Sometime I go behind chase the cow, eh, make 'em run for them because I stay fool 'em and I go behind. I only follow them, go look how they wen go.

WN: The cows was only for beef?

ER: Yeah, for beef.

WN: What about like for push [i.e., pull] the cane car, like that? They use mules or what?

ER: Well, when I small time, I look the plantation, they use mule. They no use cow. They use mule for pull the cane car [from the cane fields] to the main train track. Sometime they get small one from inside the cane field and they go out, so the train [locomotive] no can go inside, eh. So they bring 'em out to the main track. They come down the hill, eh. They get brake, yeah, the cane train. So they ride on top and they bring 'em down slowly like that, until they get [to] the main track.

WN: And your father took care of the mules, too?

ER: Ah, no. They get the stable. The stable man take care all the mule. Them guys [ER's father] no take care the mule. Sometime, daytime, they only stay home sleep, 'cause nighttime they work most of the time.

MM: Your father, he take care his own horse?

ER: Yeah, he get his own. But the plantation give him the feed. You know the cane top, they cut and they throw 'em by our place, eh, da kine feed. They feed the horse. Then sometime, they give him barley. Us go feed the chicken with the barley (chuckles). But usually give him cane top [for horse feed]. The truck bring, not the truck, but they get the wagon. Some get wagon, they pull the cane top and bring 'em over there.

MM: So, at your house, you folks had your own garden for kaukau, and chicken, you raise your own chicken?
ER: Yeah, we get chicken. Because our place, at the end of the yard, get, I think, maybe two acre only kiawe, so the chicken go wild inside there. The chicken go any kind place.

MM: So, who take care the chicken?

ER: Us guys, us small boys. When we pau school, we go feed the chickens. Morning time before we go school, we go throw kaukau.

MM: You had any other kind animals you keep?

ER: We get pig. The time we small boy, we get one pig, and the horses. My father get three horse. So us guys, sometimes, we gotta go cut grass, too, for the horse when we pau school. We cut grass, go way inside the plantation place where the [irrigation] ditch run, eh. Plenty grass grow, we go cut grass for the horse.

MM: So, where did you go to school?

ER: Kamehameha III School. I went up to fifth grade, that's all. I no go school until now. That's why I no more, no more smart now. (Chuckles) Don't know too much pencil and paper.

MM: But get plenty common sense. (ER chuckles.) You can fix any kind.

ER: Well, I learn from the way I work. I learn from people, what they do, I watch what they do, then I learn from them when I work.

WN: That's the best way to learn.

ER: Yeah. I learn from them.

MM: So, your other brothers, did they go out with your father, too, or only you?

ER: Most time only me and my oldest one, Johnny [Richardson]. I think the two youngest one, they no go, 'cause they was too young.

WN: What about the girls, did they go out, too?

ER: One girl went school until came schoolteacher. The oldest one.

MM: Primrose?

ER: Yeah, she was schoolteacher. Then she wen teach school Konawaena School. She was in Konawaena School until she marry. She marry to this Yates.

MM: Yates?

ER: Yates, yeah, Yates. I think some big family over there.

WN: Oh, Julian Yates?
ER: I think so, yeah, the last name Yates. She marry one to the boys.

WN: Oh yeah?

ER: Yeah. Then bumbai, I don't know, them two guys divorce. And my sister marry one different guy, and she died. She marry, I don’t know, no more one year, and then she died. Then my second sister [Elizabeth] stayed Lahaina. Then she went school. I don't know what school she went. But she wen go follow my sister little while. She went Konawaena, too. When she died, then they wen come back Lahaina, stay with my uncle. And my uncle take care them. And then when I wen come about sixteen I came Lāna'i.

MM: How old were you when your father died?

ER: He was still living Lahaina when I came over here [in 1926]. When he died, was about the wartime [World War II]. Then us, over here, no more airplane, eh, and no more boat for go, so I never go to his funeral, 'cause we no can reach over there [Maui]. At that time the wartime was only certain time you can ride on the boat for go over there. So they no can take too much people. So me and my brother [John], we never go to his funeral until maybe one year later. Then everything kind of little bit slow down. Then get boat we can go. We only go by the graveyard, go look his grave, and then we come back. Same thing, like my sister, too, died Kona in Hawai‘i, we never go, too. We never go visit. Only Chester went, from Honolulu they went, go over there. Only him went for the sister.

MM: When did she die?

ER: Shee, I don't know what year, though.

MM: Around same time as your father?

ER: No, I think behind of my father. I think behind and then she died. I not too sure, 'cause I no keep record that time, when the parents going die (chuckles). I don't know exactly when. Then my other sister [Elizabeth] wen marry somebody up Kula Ranch. She married about two month, then she died. And that one, I never go, too. So only one time I meet my brother-in-law. Until today, I no see him. I don't know how he look like. So that, I don't know.

When I start working over here [Lāna'i], I work over here maybe about three year, I think, then we pick up my two [younger] brothers from Lahaina, 'cause my uncle get too many kids, eh, hard. So me and my older brother, bring the two guys here, and then we send 'em school. Then we take care them, go school over here until they graduate from over here. One wen graduate, then he wen go Lahainaluna School. And the other one, my sister wen take him Kona. Chester went Kona school. Then he went Konawaena little while, then when she wen die he wen go Lahainaluna School. Then them two guys wen stay, no more one year, they run away from school. They wen go
work for, what you call da kine car on top the road. Honolulu before they get the . . .

WN: Oh, [Honolulu] Rapid Transit?

ER: Yeah, Rapid Transit get that kind [trolley], just like train track, eh. Them two guys wen go get that kind of job. They were working there. They never go school. We stay here, we don't know. Bumbai afterward, we heard they wen take off from school. They no [go] high school, they wen go work for [Honolulu] Rapid Transit.

WN: What about you? Did you want to go school? Continue school?

ER: No, I never think about that. I only think about work. I gotta take care two brothers. I never think about school.

MM: No, but when you were ten years old, still Lahaina?

ER: I no like go school too much. (Chuckles) I like go ride horse every time with my father.

MM: I heard you were kolohe?

(Laughter)

ER: Yeah. I like only ride horse. When my father leave me home, I cry.

(Laughter)

ER: And I know where they go. I like go follow them. I no go school. I walk, walk, go find.

MM: You run away from school?

ER: Yeah, no go school. (Chuckles)

MM: But, were they strict? Did the school come look for you?

ER: No. I no think so because nobody bother me that time. Maybe they tell my father, but my father he no bother me. He no say nothing, eh. Only he tell me, "You gotta go school tomorrow." That's only what they tell me, but that time, I never like go school. I like ride horse. Every time I like follow.

WN: What kind of school was that? Was it Kamehameha, branch of Kamehameha School? Or another Kam . . .

ER: Well, this Kamehameha is da kine, what you call, grammar school kind, I think.

MM: Yeah, it's an elementary school.

ER: Yeah, I think so.
WN: Kamehameha III School?
ER: Yeah, Kamehameha III. That's what they get. Kamehameha III.
MM: I think it was a regular public school.
ER: I think so, yeah. I think that's not da kine high school, eh. Because you only go till eighth grade. In the eighth grade when they graduate, then they go up Lahainaluna [High School] or something like that.
MM: You remember little bit about the [Kamehameha III] School? About who the teachers were or . . .
ER: Well, I know some, but I don't know most all. Get some Haole from Mainland. And some Japanese from over there. Some Hawaiian teacher. Get Hawaiian kind teacher there. I know some Hawaiian teacher, when us school, they strict, though. They take bamboo, they whack 'em on top here. If the guy, he stay like this, then whack you with the bamboo.
WN: Oh.
ER: Ho, you yell, when they whack. (Chuckles) I know the teacher used to be strict, you know, this Hawaiian kind teacher. But the Haole teachers all right. Da kine come from Mainland. But the Hawaiian kind teacher, ho, you kolohe, they make you stand in the corner. (Chuckles)
WN: That happened to you plenty times?
ER: Yeah. Happened to me. I know happened to me when I was . . .
MM: And how big the classes? How many children in the class?
ER: About forty to fifty.
MM: In one class?
ER: In one class.
WN: Hoo, big.
ER: Big.
MM: All different ages?
ER: Yeah, all different ages.
MM: And they what, they put you in groups or they teach you all one time?
ER: All one time. Maybe if you fourth grade or third grade, the whole
room is third grade. Maybe they get "A" and "B" and "C." The class. Third grade. Two, three classes, "A," "B," and "C." The "A," little bit more higher, yeah, little bit more smart. Then the "C" is the little bit more low grade, eh.

MM: So all inside one, one . . .

ER: No. They get one room. Maybe the "A" one room. The "B" one room. The "C" one room. I think they go from second grade, or first grade go up till to eighth grade. Only up till the eighth grade, that's all. Then, eighth grade when they graduate, then they go Lahainaluna School or go someplace else.

MM: What kind stuff they teach you at the school?

ER: Well, they teach you spelling, arithmetic, da kine English, shee, I no can remember all, though. To me, that time I stupid little bit. (Chuckles)

WN: Did you speak Hawaiian at home? Or English?

ER: No, no, no. I learn Hawaiian from over here [Lāna'i]. From my wife. But over there, no, my grandfather he no talk Hawaiian to us.

WN: All English?

ER: All English. They talk all English to us. They no talk Hawaiian.

MM: Did your grandfather know Hawaiian?

ER: I think he know because he read every time, nighttime, he read Bible. He read Bible, but he read Hawaiian. His Bible all Hawaiian. But he no talk to us Hawaiian. He talk English to us.

WN: What about to your father? When your grandfather talk to your father, he talk in Hawaiian or English?

ER: Yeah, sometimes them two guys talk and with his son [ER's uncle], the one the name Ernest. He's with his son, every time they talk Hawaiian.

MM: How about your mother? Did she talk Hawaiian?

ER: Yeah. My mother talk Hawaiian. She can.

MM: But she didn't teach you?

ER: They no talk most Hawaiian to us. They talk to the older people. You know when people come by your house, visit, and then they talk Hawaiian. But us guys, every time they call us in English, not Hawaiian.

WN: Can you understand what they saying?
ER: No. I come over here, I learn cowboy. I work with the cowboys. The cowboys most they talk Hawaiian. Then I learn from them. I learn from them what they talk. Most the Hawaiian word, they talk Hawaiian. All the cowboy. They no talk English too much. Sometime I no understand, you know, the Hawaiian. You no understand but you listen, bumbai sometimes you ask. You ask them, they tell you what. Then, when I marry my wife, I asked her any kind Hawaiian word, she know plenty, then she tell me most about the Hawaiian word. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much. If the people talk, I know what they talking about. But for me answer them, sometime too hard for me. The easy kind, I can, (chuckles) you know the regular common kind, but the hard one sometime I don't know.

WN: And your teachers at the school, did they try to tell you talk good English, or anything like that?

ER: No. They no tell me like that because me kolohe boy, you know, that time.

(Laughter)

ER: Too much rascal. Every time get licking. (Chuckles) That time I go school, I no study too much, I don't know. Even when I come over here work, eh, I don't know how to write too much. Only I learn from people what they talk. Then bumbai I write little bit, I read little bit. But sometime, I don't know. I don't know how to spell the word or what.

MM: So, only you the one by yourself or did you go run away with some other boys?

ER: No. Me by myself. I no go with other guys. I run away by myself. (WN chuckles.) Yeah, by myself every time. Sometime go inside the cane field get mango, eh. Go in there, climb, you get. So long you can eat, no hungry, eh. Go inside the cane field, climb mango, stay on the mango tree, eat. Then get enough, you go down. Those days you know where all the mango stay, eh, then you climb on top. And then sometime da kine guys on the road, they take mango, they sell. But they no can go [climb]. I pass by [and they ask], "Boy, you can climb mango?"

"Yeah."

So I go climb for them. Pick up for them, eh. They give me quarter. Quarter, that's plenty money, eh. So I can go movies, sometime. Get quarter. Only ten cents, eh, down the theater. Bumbai the guys on the road, every time they see me they know I can climb mango. Bumbai tell, "You come Saturday. You go climb mango?"

"Okay."

MM: And you make your quarter and then you go movies?
ER: Yeah. Then I can go movies Saturday night, eh. Can make money. And sometime go buy maybe soda or something. Maybe two or three guys tell me go climb mango. But each time they like only so much so they can sell, eh. They no like plenty bumbai waste, yeah. They give you quarter. I go pass the other side, then bumbai I kinda know, eh. I look all this kind table, eh, I go over there. "You like I go climb mango for you?" (WN chuckles.)

Bumbai he tell, "Why, you can climb?"

"Yeah, I can." I tell, "But you gotta give me quarter, eh."

"Oh, okay, okay."

(Laughter)

MM: What kind man sell the mango?

ER: The Japanese people most time. And get some Hawaiian, old kind people. That kind Hawaiians, they get their own tree in the yard. They go with the long stick catch 'em. But sometime they no can catch, too high. I go climb for them. I hang around over there whole day until he like mango. He tell, "Come, come. You go." (Chuckles)

WN: Who they sell the mango to? Who buys the mango?

ER: All da kine people that come on the road with the car. They buy.

WN: Plantation people?

ER: Yeah. I don't know who all that kind people. Maybe da kine people who go maybe Wailuku, they pass and they buy the mango. I don't know . . .

WN: Tourists or . . .

ER: I think they make five or six, eh. Maybe half a dozen, then they sell. I don't know how much like that. I don't know if ten cents or fifteen cents one bundle.

MM: But Lahaina mango was good, huh?

ER: Yeah, was sweet. And you know when the navy boat all come inside, all the navy guys they buy. Sometime I go climb, they like one bag, eh. Oh, one bag, they give me one dollar, that's plenty money, give them one bag. Say one bag, I go up the tree. We put rope, eh. Tie this corner, tie this corner and I go up. Then I put the bag over there, the rope down, eh. And then I fill the bag. Then when full I go call the man, eh, so he pull 'em down.

MM: So, how old were you when you were doing this?
ER: Maybe fourteen or thirteen.

MM: Any other kind fruit you did this? How about pear [referring to avocados]? You pick pear?

ER: Yeah, pear. I used to go climb pear for this guy Cockett. Lloyd [Cockett] them grandfather. His yard get pear. And every time, he like me go climb pear. They like me go climb there, maybe only six only like this, six 'nough. He no like put all down, eh. He put six. That one, maybe he give me ten cent, sometime he give me fifteen cent. (Chuckles)

MM: So he lived in Lahaina, too? Cockett?

ER: Yeah. He lived near our place, too.

MM: What's his first name, you remember his first name?

ER: What his name? I think Charlie. Because the one stay over here is Dudie [Robert Cockett]. And that one I think . . .

MM: Charlie.

ER: Yeah, that one is Charlie Cockett, I think. And then in the cane field too, get plenty coconut. I used to go climb coconut, too.

WN: Oh, yeah?

ER: Where I stay, Māla Village, get plenty coconut tree, eh. Every time pau school or something like that, we go up there. I go eat coconut.

WN: People used to sell coconut, too?

ER: No, I no remember they selling coconut.

MM: So, you go get the coconut just to eat?

ER: Yeah, I go get the soft kind meat and the water I go drink 'em. The old kind, I no bother. Some plenty on the ground. But I don't know, maybe people they go pick 'em up for make something, I don't know.

MM: Haupia.

ER: Yeah, maybe. Every time me, I go climb on top the tree, I no knock. If I find one good bunch, sweet, sweet, I cut 'em one [at a] time, make one hole, I (drink the water). Then I make one big hole, my hand go inside get the meat. I get the meat, then I throw down. If I eat . . .

WN: Soft meat?
ER: Yeah, the soft meat (the inside of the coconut). You make 'em big until the puka, your hand can go inside, eh. Scoop (the meat portion) with your hand. Then when you pau, just throw (the shell portion) down, and you go down (the tree). And you know over there get one good bunch, eh. Every day you going climb up, you eat one, drink the water. Sometime no can drink all the water, eh, throw 'em down. Throw away. Bumbai the people see me every time climb, they like, eh. Tell me go climb, eh, they give me money, I go.

(Laughter)

WN: What else you did to make money when you were a kid, small kid time?

ER: Small kid time?

WN: Yeah.

ER: Only mango and coconut, I go climb coconut and the pear tree. That's all I know, for make money.

WN: What about your father, did he pay you for helping him?

ER: No. My father only can keep us, buy kaukau for us. He no can buy candy. (Chuckles) No can buy jelly. You know me, I collect mango, I used to go cook the mango. I put little bit sugar, brown sugar. I cook 'em and then put 'em all in a bottle. And then bumbai when I go drink coffee, I take the bread, I make the mango on top. Put mango, was my jelly, I ate 'em. And sometime da kine ripe kind mango, eh, I peel 'em off, I slice 'em, I put 'em inside the bread. I eat sandwich. Oh, my brother them, they telling me, "How come you eat the mango like that?"

No more jelly. You eat this, just like jelly, eh, the mango. (WN chuckles.) Even today, I still eat mango like that. All my grandchildren, they come. Sometime they look. They tell me, "Papa, how come you put the mango in there?"

I tell them, "This Big Mac."

(Laughter)

ER: I tell them, "This Big Mac."

They tell, "Nah, not Big Mac." Bumbai I get one big mango, I leave 'em over there, eh, somebody take my mango.

I tell them, "Eh, who ate my mango?"

"Me, I make Big Mac."

"Oh, you like my Big Mac." (MM chuckles.) Now all the kids around here, every time they eat mango, they tell me Uncle Ernest say that's Big Mac. Put mango inside, put 'em, I eat 'em. (Chuckles)
They watch me, bumbai they eating all like that. Eating the mango, the banana, I put 'em inside the bread, I eat 'em.

WN: Somebody taught you to make that or you . . .

ER: No, me. Because no more nothing, eh. No more jelly when I small boy time. So, I go get mango. So when you eat, put 'em in the bread, oh, just like jelly, eh.

MM: Where you got the bread from?

ER: The bread from the store. You know, before we get da kine condensed milk. You know what is condensed milk?

MM: Yeah.

ER: Yeah, we go make puka (in the can), we blow (the condensed milk) on the bread, put 'em on top the bread, eh, and put one more bread, you eat. Because the thing little bit sweet, eh, the condensed milk. You eat 'em with the bread. And like before days, the bread, they no slice like now. They get the whole [loaf] like that. So you know behind the end like this, eh. So, you cut 'em maybe about that big, and you hemo the middle and then you blow the cream inside there, then you put back this one inside. (Chuckles) Like now days, you no can do that because they cut all the bread, so you got to put only on top.

MM: When you was small boy, did you go fishing?

ER: Yeah. When maybe I was about thirteen, fourteen. I go help da kine guys they surround net. They go catch akule.

MM: Where?

ER: Way outside Lahaina Poko. When you going go to . . .

MM: Lahaina Poko?

ER: Yeah, Lahaina Poko there. Before over there get one camp, yeah? You know they get one plantation camp, they used to call Lahaina Poko.

WN: Oh, yeah?

ER: Now, I don't know. I no go Lahaina. Before get all da kine pine tree line go down. Before you get to the cut mountain, you know, halfway between there, the people used to go catch akule inside there early in the morning before sun up. That's why, too, sometime I no go school. I run away, go over there. I go fishing. And then, all da kine akule that's stuck on the net, you can take 'em. The one no stuck on the net, they sell because no broke, eh, all the fin, da kine no . . .
MM: No bruise or . . .

ER: Yeah, that kind, they sell 'em to the market. And the one on the net you can take 'em off. And you can wehe, even if you get one bag you . . .

MM: That's how they pay you?

ER: No, they no pay me. I go over there, make fish for us and take home my house. I tell 'em I like go, I know they going fish. My friends used to tell me, eh, more better go get akule today cause they surround akule. So you go there, you help them take off from the net, you cleaning the net, so that they no lose time, eh. So we go there, we take off all. So us we can swim, we go inside the water and take 'em off. No wait till you reach up [on shore]. Get plenty people up, they wait, eh, then they wen take off. So the one we take off, they no care. But the one all stay inside the bag like that, they bring 'em to the tub and the fish market trucks, they over there already. They take by basket, by basket and they . . .

MM: What kind people go catch fish?

ER: Hawaiian, Filipino, Japanese. That kind guys, they surround, the old man. They surround. And before I hear da kine story. Like you, you one boss for the akule. Him one boss for the akule. But if this akule belong you, and he go surround, he no get nothing. Only what's stuck in the net again. Something go broke his net, either the shark going come inside there and bust his net and the fish go out.

MM: Oh, so they get their own area?

ER: Something like that. Not own area, but you know before this kind, the Hawaiian guy, they call devil, akua, yeah, they call that? Some guys they get . . .

MM: Some, the fish, they feed the fish.

ER: Yeah, [as] akua, some guys get shark. Maybe your boss, eh, you get shark. And him boss, maybe he get different kind. That's why, if you take his fish, the shark going broke your net. Because, that's your boss, eh. That's what I hear, I don't know, I never see. Then bumbai morning time, they said when the shark, he come hit the beach, he come man. And from the water you can see the foot mark going. And this guys, they feed, you know, the boss guy, he going feed this one. And this one he go back again. Just like come one shark. They call 'aumakua or something like that. That's what I hear when I go, but I no see. So far no bother us when we go.

WN: So they said--so you not supposed to steal fish from somebody else's . . .

ER: Yeah, yeah. Maybe you not stealing, but you see the fish, that fish
is not belong to you, so you go surround. When he go outside, you
know that fishes not belong to you, was belong to him, because him
the boss for that fish. But sometimes, like you, you the head man
for your workingman, eh, she the head man for this bunch, you know
get certain crew. Sometime you go out early in the morning, eh, you
go by the beach, you see the akule. So, you go back, you go get
your bunch and your net. You go surround. But that fish no belong
you, belong her. So you go surround, even if you surround, you get
'em all inside, bumbai you come, all stay outside. They outside of
your net. So, you no own that fish. You know that's not your fish.
Then pull out all your net you go away. Then, she see you, eh,
watch how the fish go away. Then, she know that's for her. And she
go up there, she catch 'em all. She catch that fish. I don't know,
just like akua kind, eh. Just like devil kind fish.

That's why this kind old style before, akua, yeah, that kind. And
they feed 'em. Sometime they kalua pig. You know, they make one
small pig, and they eat. You know, the pig head, they throw 'em
inside the water. They throw 'em for the guy for eat. [First], you
eat all what you [want to] eat. The balance of the pig, you throw
inside the water. When you get good luck, you catch plenty fish,
eh. And you make plenty money, eh. So you make one small little
party for the workingmen. But before they eat, they cut the head,
they throw 'em inside the water. They say they going feed the
'aumakua or something like that. (Chuckles) Then when they eat,
they pau. All the balance, da kine, they throw 'em inside the water
for the guy. That's why this good, this akule kind. But now days,
I don't know akule, how they go. The guy, he see the fish, he just
pick 'em up. Now they go with surround, big kind boat. But before
time, they come by the shore, eh. They come near the shore.

WN: So you used to help surround and then because you help them, they
give you fish?

ER: Yeah. They give you some. Even sometimes you go help them pull the
net. Sometimes they get money, they give you some money. But the
fish, all the fish that stuck on the net, you can take all what you
like. You take, you fill up your bag. But me, I used to get
bicycle, eh, I take only one bike, only can put on top the
[handlebar], and I go home. (Chuckles)

WN: How far away did you live from the beach?

ER: Chee, I don't know, maybe about three mile, I think. You know, from
the town and go down, maybe about three mile, I think. But I ride
bicycle, eh. Me and my friend, every time, we ride bicycle.

WN: You never ride horse?

ER: No, over there no more horse. Get horse but stay home. But I no
ride horse for go outside there, for go fishing. I ride bicycle.

WN: How come? How come you didn't ride horse, too?
ER: I ride bike because my place too far, eh, for go. Then I bring home the fish. I give my father. I never ride horse because slow, eh, the horse. Bicycle more better. And bicycle those days, yeah, us kid, we can hang on the car. (WN laughs.) You know, the car stay pass like over there. No more sports car, eh. The car pass, yeah, we chase the car, then we hold 'em behind, and stay by the side. The car pull you go.

(Laughter)

ER: But sometime the driver yell. When he stop, you take off on your bicycle. Bumbai he going make crooked, crooked the car, I think you let it go, bumbai you go in the grass, eh. Some guys, they no like you hold the car. Somebody no bother you hold the car. You chase the car and hold 'em. Then when one car coming [from the other] side, you gotta let go (chuckles).

MM: Akule is the only kind fish they catch?

ER: Yeah. That kind bunch, they only catch akule. That's only their job, akule. Then if no more fish, then you go help them go dry their net, eh. You go help them dry all their net. They look and then take your name bumbai if they get money, they give you some money. That's what I do before I came over here. Every time I run away from school, more better go get fish, eh. 'Cause my uncle, they get plenty children, eh, for take care. So, I go help go get fish. My aunty see me, when I bring fish, then she no scold me. (MM chuckles.) I bring back fish, eh. (Chuckles) I give the bag, "Here," I tell my aunty.

MM: What other kind kaukau you eat?

ER: Over there? I eat poi, eat fish . . .

MM: Where you get the poi from?

ER: From the poi shop. They go buy. Buy poi every time, they buy poi, and they buy barrel. You know da kine ten-gallon crock.

MM: They call it kelemānia.

ER: Yeah, kelemānia, da kine crock. Some they get five and ten, eh, so they mix the poi inside there. And then my aunty, where the one I stay, the cousin, they get taro patch. So Saturday, sometime my aunty tell us go pull taro. Then come home go cook. Then my uncle them go pound the poi. Some, they get da kine, for you grind meat, for make hamburger. So they get that kind too. They put the taro inside and . . .

MM: And they grind.

ER: . . . you go help grind. Yeah, crush 'em. Then you no need pound too much, eh. If not, you gotta pound all day. Us guys kid time
they go make us go grind 'em, then come little bit soft, eh. Then bumbai they finish 'em up.

MM: So most of your kaukau you buy then?

ER: Yeah, most buy. My uncle them buy. Only the fish, make free fish, I go. And sometime, the 'opelu kind boat eh, sometime I hang around there. They tell me, "You like go ride boat?" Okay, I go. Go inside the canoe, go catch 'opelu. 'Opelu, they get da kine long like that, stick. And then when they see the 'opelu, then they feed with the pumpkin. They put 'em way down. Then they open the net, then they make the net round, just like throw net. They had all the thing get string, eh, then they let 'em all down. Then one guy put pumpkin, eh, so the fish stay over there.

MM: Don't they wrap up the pumpkin inside the flour bag?

ER: Yeah, in one bag. Da kine before they tell 'eke huluhulu, eh.

MM: What they call that?

ER: 'Eke huluhulu. That's da kine pineapple bag. You know the barley bag, before they get barley bag [i.e., gunnysack]. But now days, all paper, eh? Before they get that kind barley bag. They put [pumpkin] inside, little bit. And they put one stone or lead inside there, the bag, so (the bag) can go down. So they roll 'em up and let 'em go down so much where the fish stay, then they pull the rope, the bag open then the pumpkin . . .

MM: All the bait come out?

ER: Yeah. Then the pumpkin all gone. Then the fish eat, eat. Then two guys making the net for go down. Then they pull down. The guy, he feeding the fish, eh. Then bumbai the net stay down of the fish then they try put 'em right in the net. So they put in the net, all the fish go inside the net. Then while the fish stay eating, he pull the net. This guy still feeding the fish yet, so they no go out. Then when he come little bit about maybe two feet more, eh, all pau. Then no feed already, because they all in the net already, because the net, just like one throw net and go down long way. And underneath, they tie, get bag. Then when they pull the net up, they put 'em inside the canoe, they put 'em inside there, sometime the canoe only about like that. The water go, oh, yeah because when they put . . .

MM: Heavy?

ER: Yeah, heavy, heavy, you go down. And sometime us kids, we go ride boat, they make us jump inside the water. And when you jump in the water, you scared, you think about the shark, (chuckles) you jump inside the water you hold the stick. Ho, every time you look down, you like climb up.
(Laughter)

ER: I know when I go down, I scared bumbai I no like go. Every time when he get good luck, plenty, plenty fish and the boat too heavy, he make you jump all inside the water. He tell you jump inside the water, you hold the boat (chuckles). Ho, you think about shark, boy (chuckles). And you know me, I scared like that.

WN: How far out you used to go?

ER: About one mile.

WN: One mile?

ER: One mile from the shore.

MM: Between Lāna'i and Lahaina?

ER: No.

MM: Where?

ER: Right by the Māla, you know where you . . .

MM: By Māla Wharf?

ER: Yeah, by Māla Wharf, this side. Just about outside there. The one going to Kā'anapali. Right outside there.

MM: Oh.

ER: Right around there. Maybe one mile, some maybe half a mile.

MM: That's all the kind of fish people like? ʻōpelu and akule?

ER: Yeah, akule.

MM: That's the two fish that people . . .

ER: And aku.

MM: Aku.

ER: Aku, kawakawa. That's da kine Lahaina guys [like] more. But that time ʻōpelu and akule cheap. You can buy [for] fifteen cents, maybe forty [fish], forty they tell that's one ka'au, eh. I don't know what one ka'au means. But they count forty, and they sell you. They tell fifteen cents or quarter. Sometime when you go over there, you like buy fish too, eh. Then when the fish come inside, you just go with them. You tell you like buy fish. How much? A quarter or half dollar.

MM: And what, you take home, you folks dry the fish?
ER: Dry or eat raw or fry, either way. And my father sometime maybe they get the cow that make, maybe they skin 'em, they bring home meat, and inside all the intestine, they bring home. He bring 'em home for us. And then, the intestine, you know when he bring, he no wash good, you know, my father make us go in [the seawater to clean it] . . .

(Taping interrupted, then resumes.)

WN: So the plantation didn't give your father free cow or free . . .

ER: Sometime they get. They get free meat. All the inside stuff, when they kill, all free. They bring home. And he make us go inside the water. You know inside the seawater go wash all the intestine inside the sea. But you know, when you wash like that, sometime puhi, he come, the eel. They call puhi, and the puhi smell eh, he come, eh. Or da kine crab, you know da kine flat crab. Kuahonu, they call that kind. The flat kind crab. That time, you go inside make that, plenty come out, we get net, eh. We go over there scoop the crab. And sometime get [cow] fat, we tie them to the string, and we put board on top and we leave 'em like that. And then sometime the crab go under that, then you pull that thing up and then you put the net underneath the crab all climbing, you get the crab inside, eh. You know you tie the fat, eh, little bit, you throw 'em inside while you stay making all the thing smell, the crab he eat, he going go eat. We tie it with the string and we leave 'em down. If the thing float up, we tie little bit stone underneath so he stay down. Then we tied up stick, eh, then we leave 'em like that maybe about ten, fifteen minute we go check, eh. If we see get crab, we take the scoop net. Lift 'em up little bit and put the net underneath. He fall down inside the net. (Chuckles) Used to get good fun, small time.

MM: How about limu. You go pick limu, too?

ER: Yeah, we go pick limu, da kine you have to chop-chop. My mother used to go make chop-chop. What kind, I don't know, I forget the name. You go pick up, long, eh, like that. And then you come home, you chop-chop. Then when we put in the water like that, he going come purple just like. The water soft. They cut-cut. And you know da kine green, what you call that?

MM: 'Ele'ele?

ER: No. Wawae'iole, eh, they call it?

MM: Oh, the fat one?

ER: Yeah, the fat one. And they chop-chop little bit and mix 'em up inside there. Oh the . . .

MM: So who go pick limu, you or your mother?
ER: Us go pick. Small boy time. Us, all my brother them, all we go. We pick. When we pass over there, we see long kind, we go pick 'em up. We take home, then my mother clean. But sometime us go clean, too, inside the sea, eh. Just let 'em float, eh, like that so all the sand go down, eh. And then you just grab the limu, you just go there, you throw 'em down a little bit then you make like that. All the sand go away, eh. And you put 'em in the bucket. Then bumbai she go home, then she go make again to find if get little bit rock, sometimes stay stuck on top the end. She broke 'em up. And we go inside the water.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

WN: How did you folks eat the limu?

ER: Us guys put salt.

WN: Salt.

ER: Yeah, put salt, little bit salt, and leave 'em like that. Put 'em in the icebox. They put with the limu in the raw fish. But me, I like certain limu, I like put 'em in the stew meat. Put 'em in the stew while you making stew meat, eh. I like with that, stew meat with da kine poi gravy, or flour gravy.

MM: So you said you had icebox?

ER: Yeah, you can put the limu inside the icebox.

MM: You folks had icebox?

ER: That time we no more icebox. We just bring 'em and leave 'em inside the bottle, in the salt. No more icebox. Just leave 'em like that until that thing come dry. If [too] dry, no good, I throw 'em away.

MM: How you guys keep the food from spoiling?

ER: The food from spoiling?

MM: Yeah.

ER: I don't know too much about that. But us guy, like me, we cook the meat, put salt inside, and we hang 'em up. Put 'em in the bag and we hang 'em up, 'cause no more icebox. We hang 'em up. Then when we like eat 'em, we go get 'em and warm 'em up. Warm up, eat 'em, put 'em in the fry pan. Or if you like make gravy kind, you make gravy kind. If you like fry pan kind, only with the oil. Then when cook 'em pau, we hang 'em up.
MM: What kind stove you use for cook?

ER: Oh, that time we use outside kind stove, firewood kind. We no more stove, we get firewood. We gotta go outside, cook. Like this kind small shack, you make small shack. If it rain, you gotta put something on your head, raincoat or what, go outside cook. Then bumbai time you learn, then you make the roof iron more long so you can stand under, no catch you with the rain, eh. The fire way down, and this one more long.

MM: How did your mother wash your clothes?

ER: No more washboard, eh, that time. They get stone. So they hit with the club for make soft the dirt. They boil the clothes, then they put 'em on the stone, then they whack it, put the water over there, whack, whack, and then they wash 'em on top the stone.

MM: So where did she wash the clothes?

ER: Where they wash? Oh, they make one place. Just like over here so the water run down, no run in the yard, run down someplace.

MM: So out by the side of the house?

ER: By the side, or if you get plant, then the water run in the plant. And they get stone and every time they wash inside there. That's how they wash clothes on the stone.

MM: Where did the water come from?

ER: Oh, this kind pipe.

MM: Oh, so they . . .

ER: They have pipe.

MM: . . . they bring the water to the house.

ER: Yeah, the pipe and the hose and they put the water. The house all get pipe, yeah, inside get pipeline. Get sink inside the house you can wash inside. But only for cook, you gotta go outside cook. You cook outside. But then bumbai somebody make da kine cook house near by the side like this. But only trouble, they make cook house there, bumbai inside here all going come black. And then when all the smoke go inside the house, come black. Then bumbai they move from over there.

MM: Did you folks own your own house or the plantation owned it?

ER: No, no. Plantation house.

MM: I see.
ER: That time I stay time, we no own house. Only my grandfather, he own the place, his place, yeah. But my father them, no. The plantation. Then bumbai, the house too far for us go school, then we move house. We go inside da kine Joman [Albert Reinicke] father, he get big house Maui, and nobody stay. So he tell my mother, go inside stay. But I don't know if my mother pay the rent or no pay rent, I don't know. Then we go buy Joman father's house.

MM: That's Reinicke? His father is Reinicke?


MM: I thought that was the stepfather.

ER: Yeah, that's his stepfather.

MM: So that was in Lahaina?

ER: Yeah, in Lahaina. I think they still get the place Lahaina. I think she stay rent 'em over there. That's where we used to stay before I came over here. Stay going Lahaina Poko Road. I don't know. Now I forget. Before Lahaina time, small boy, yeah, I go all around the place, but now I no go. I don't know how many . . .

MM: Plenty new buildings now.

ER: . . . I don't know how many year I no go over there.

WN: The people that lived around your folks' house was mostly Hawaiians, or . . .

ER: Hawaiian, Portuguese, because Portuguese the next neighbor to us. And the other side neighbor, Japanese. He get big land, he make garden. That's why sometime I go inside there, go help the old lady. Sometime he give me cabbage or lettuce, eh, and da kine eggplant. The papaya sometimes high, he no can climb, he call me go climb papaya. The Japanese get one big land over there.

WN: Your father was luna?

ER: No, he not luna.

WN: Not luna.

ER: No, only cowboy. He not luna. Even when I come Lāna'i, he was still living there.

MM: So about when you left Lahaina?

ER: Yeah, when I left Lahaina [in 1926], I came over here, Lāna'i.

MM: How did you come?
ER: That time, they was picking up schoolboys for come pick pineapple. So I told my uncle I going go Lāna'i. He tell okay. So I reach over here Saturday.

MM: When did you come? What day, what date?


MM: Okay, so August 28, what year now?

ER: That year '26.

MM: Nineteen twenty-six.

ER: Nineteen twenty-six. That's when I came over here for go work pineapple.

MM: Where did the boat leave from in Lahaina?

ER: Māla Wharf.

MM: Māla Wharf.

ER: From Māla Wharf to Lāna'i.

MM: And whose boat was it?

ER: The company.

MM: Dole company [Hawaiian Pineapple Company]?

ER: Dole company. They get two men on top, one captain. Every Saturday and Tuesday, I think, they go Maui.

MM: Look for workers?

ER: Workers, and passenger go, come back. If you like go, come back or you like stay till Saturday, then they can go, come back.

MM: Do people have to pay for the trip?

ER: No. The company, I think that's free boat for all the working guys.

MM: So, when you came, you didn't have to pay?

ER: No, no. They wen go pick up boys. So I came, too, with them. Then we come down here, then they give us one house, yeah, for go sleep.

MM: Okay, where did you land, with the boat?

ER: What you call, harbor.

MM: Kaumalapau.
ER: Yeah, Kaumalapau. And that time they was fixing [i.e., building] yet, yeah, the harbor. And they was making road to go down [from Lana'i City to Kaumalapau Harbor]. Make da kine stone road kind.

MM: They had truck down there, or car down there?

ER: The company get one car for bring people up. Every time the people go, they get the bus. You gotta go down there [to] catch the bus. They no go by your house [referring to a central pick-up area]. And then when they come back, then they take you where the block. They call down here [Lana'i City] all the block, eh. What block, what block the boys went. So when we wen come, we stay Block Eleven. So I sleep over there one night. I know I get (relatives living on Lana'i), uncle them over here.

MM: Which uncle is that?


WN: They were here as cowboys on the ranch?

ER: My cousin [William Kauwenaole] and my uncle [Henry Gibson] was cowboy. The other cousin [John Kauwenaole], he was driving dump truck and the roller. The one for make the road. He was working on the road.

MM: How many boys came with you?

ER: I think maybe about thirty.

MM: Thirty?

ER: Yeah, for go work. So when we came inside, I think four boys [to] one room. And they get da kine single bed, eh. They get the boarding house. You can go over there eat. They going take off wages from you when you work. Then, Sunday morning I wake up. I know I get uncle, I go. I ask somebody where the ranch, because I know they working cowboy. So I walk, go up [to Ko'ele]. Down here where we coming up now, this side all pasture. All get cow inside. But us guys, we young, yeah, scared eh, we no go in the pasture, we go on the road. (Chuckles) I go walk on the road bumbai come inside this camp. Plenty guys. Then I go ask some of the men I see outside. I go tell 'em if they know who Henry Gibson. They tell me, yeah.

"Right up here, you go up here." Tell me, "You go up here, you see the two house way up here [left corner of ranch area below ranch cemetery]." So, I walk on. Bumbai I walk up there, my aunty see me, 'cause my aunty she know me. When my aunty tell to the husband, she tell, "The boy look like Ernest, yeah, coming up."

My uncle tell, "Nah, that's not him. He no stay Lāna'i."
"But look like that's him. He coming." Bumbai, I see, I come near the house. I laugh, I make my hand like that (ER waves). My aunty tell my uncle, "Yeah, that's him, look, he waving." (MM chuckles.) I go in there.

Then, "What time you came?"

"Yesterday."

"And where you stay?"

"I wen stay down there, Block Eleven."

"Block Eleven? Nah," he tell me, "ey, go get your things, bring 'em over here." But those days no more car, yeah, over there. They no more car. They only get working car. One Ford car and one for the boss.

So my cousin tell me, ah, more better he go borrow the boss's car. He go ask (for borrow) one car.

I tell, "I no more nothing. Only my clothes." And then going carry only one bag. (Chuckles) I say, "Bumbai I go get." Then I stay up there. So Monday I gotta go down there, eh, go where they going tell us, what place for go, what place for work. My cousin, he come go see the [ranch] boss. He tell the boss, because he get one cousin, but he tell me how old, eh. And he go ask the . . .

MM: He come see [George] Munro?

ER: Yeah, Munro. He wen go see Munro in the morning because every morning they go by the office, go get their job for outside. So he ask. So the boss tell, yeah, he need some young boy.

So he come home and he tell me, "Ey, get up. Go drink coffee. Go make sandwich." He tell my aunty, "Make sandwich for him. He going work." So I came down there. The boss tell me, "Oh, okay, you go with one," get one Hawaiian man, eh, and two young boys, just like my age, about my age . . .

MM: You remember who they were?

ER: Yeah. Sam Lalawai and Sam Paa. Two Sam. And the boss for them guy, Maka, but I don't know what his last name, I forget. Mama--I think she know. Bumbai I go ask her. [Maka Likua.] Then we go with them, go cut grass. The first day, they take me way outside north end. North end, we go only dirt. Dirt and way inside here this pineapple field, get grass. But get the seed, so we go cut seed, cut seed and put 'em on top the . . .

MM: What kind grass is that?

ER: Any kind grass. Before over there all dirt, eh. Any kind grass
that get seed, we cut 'em, we load up the Ford truck. Then after that, when we get 'nough load, then he say we go. So us three young boys, we stay behind [the truck]. While he driving the truck all by the dirty place we throw all the seed. You know, what we wen cut, we throw all the seed. Any kind place we go where get grass seed, we stop, and go cut. Cut and throw all by the dirt place.

MM: For grow?

ER: For grow. That's how over here little bit get grass, eh. We go throw. That's what I went work. And they go up the mountain, plant trees. Over here we get one nursery. They plant trees over here. Eucalyptus tree and da kine Norfolk pine. Maybe about that big. But they put 'em inside one paper kind bag. You know, one cardboard bag, only about that big, about that high.

WN: Six inches high? About what, six inches?

ER: Yeah, about there in small paper bag. So we go over there. They tell us we go ride horse. So we go ride horse. William [Kwon] father [Gi Hong Kwon], eh, used to be the boss for the mountain. We go pick up tree. Then we put 'em in the bag. The bag, we cut 'em like this. Cut like this.

MM: Slide your finger, you slit the bag?

ER: Yeah, just slit the bag so you can put the trees all inside here, and the tree stand up between like this, yeah. Then you lay 'em down on the side the horse like this, and then you tie. Then the tree stay on the side like this. And then you take 'em off.

MM: How many trees you carry?

ER: Hundred.

MM: On one horse?

ER: One horse because only small. About fifty in one bag, and you carry hundred. And us, one day's job for you. You go up there plant.

MM: You plant one hundred trees in one day?

ER: One day.

MM: Each man?

ER: Each boy. The luna take you over there. Okay, you plant all your tree over here. You, you go over here, you plant all over here. Then, he go show us how to dig. He go and take the pick. We take the pick . . .

MM: Munro, show you?
ER: No, the luna.

MM: The luna.

ER: They go pick up one luna, the guy called Kwon. William's father, Kwon. He go over there, then the big boss tell him, "You get so many boys go with you. You take 'em mountain, you go plant tree." So him the luna just like. So he go up there, he show us how you plant over here. Every time they take trees they plant near the fence. The cow stay below the trees, he plant 'em up. Plant up side. Just so . . .

MM: On the other side of the fence?

ER: Yeah, other side of the fence. So bumbai we plant the tree, each time we going, bumbai the old man Kwon tell us, "You know why the boss plant this one over here?"

We tell, "No. We don't know why."

ER: Because when the tree all growing, eh, and the fence, the post all broken, eh, you can put the wire on the tree. You put 'em on the tree . . .

WN: Smart.

ER: "Oh," I tell, "that make sense." Because with the fence over there, before they gotta buy redwood post from the Mainland. And then they gotta pack 'em with the pack mule up there. So, bumbai this boss he like plant tree, so when the tree big, the post all rotten, and then he can nail 'em to the tree, or he can cut the tree or put 'em back by the place where [the post] rotten. That's his idea.

MM: When they brought you up here for work, what did you tell the [pineapple] company guys?

ER: I no say nothing.

(Laughter)

ER: I never tell them where I go. Only I tell my cousin. I tell him, yeah, but they told me go work, he tell, "Ah, no need, they not going find one boy, they no going lose one guy." (MM chuckles.)

WN: But you knew, you thought you was going to come here to work pineapple.

ER: Pineapple. Yeah, pineapple, but I start off with cowboy.

WN: How come you wanted to come here to work pineapple?

ER: Well, because Maui no more job for the kids. Only inside Baldwin packing [i.e., Baldwin Packers]. They get pineapple workers inside
there. But over there, they [only] take so much age up. Maybe eighteen, not my age. I no can make 'em inside there.

MM: So you were sixteen?
ER: Sixteen.

MM: And they never like hire sixteen.
ER: Sixteen. But maybe they hire go the other side pineapple but they no more notice, eh.

WN: What about sugar? What about the sugar plantation?
ER: I no like. I go try little bit. Ho, the itchy inside there. I wen try when maybe about fourteen or thirteen, they figure us kids gotta go work. Two year I work inside there. Ho, the hot inside there, the itchy inside there.

WN: What you did, cut cane?
ER: No, pull grass.

WN: Oh.

ER: And I go clean . . .

MM: They make you weed?
ER: Yeah. Us go weeding, go pull all the grass inside. The cane big, eh, big and get da kine thorn inside.

MM: They call that hō hana, too?
WN: Yeah, did you hō hana. Was it hō hana or you had to . . .
ER: Yeah, hō hana and pull. Some by the wide place like this, you can hoe. But some inside the plant they no like you hoe. You gotta go cut 'em. And that's the itchy part. All the cane, just like, ho, the itchy. You go home, ho boy, more better go inside the sea. Just clothes and all, I go inside. You no like wear the clothes again go work, eh, next day. (WN chuckles.) Itchy that thing. Me, I no reach home, like that, I jump inside the sea. Everything (chuckles). My mother tell, "How come you make like that?"

"Ho, itchy this clothes. No can wear this kind clothes go work." Then more better go wash 'em inside the sea. Then bumbai go make fresh water. I usually jump inside the sea because we stay near the sea, eh. Jump inside the water. (Chuckles)

WN: Did you want to do what your father did, cowboy for the plantation or anything like that?
ER: Well, when I small, I like ride horse. When they been telling me go over here, go plant grass over here, go up the mountain, and when my cousin tell me, "You gotta go ride horse today," ho, I no tell no. I like ride horse (chuckles). Tell me . . .

MM: You couldn't be cowboy Pioneer plantation?

ER: I too young, I don't know. Maybe my father them, they no take me. I never try ask. Maybe could, but I don't know. So, when I come over here Lāna'i, pau, I stay here until today.

WN: So when you came to Lāna'i, did you--you knew you was going to come here for long time or you was only going to come for little while and go back Lahaina?

ER: Well, I don't know. That time, I no think nothing. I only think for go work. I only think work. And when I come over here work, I only start with eighty cents a day. For eight hour, you know, only eighty cents.

WN: Over here?

ER: Over here. This land. I start with eighty cents.

MM: How many--from what time you work till what time?

ER: Oh, we work eight hour. When we go plant grass, we work eight hour. Most time about six o'clock, we go out. About three o'clock, we pau hana already.

WN: How much would you have gotten for the pineapple plantation?

ER: Chee, the plantation, I don't know. I don't know how much they make. But when they tell me work for the ranch, I like go, I like cowboy. I like ride horse, 'cause when I small, every time, I like ride horse. Every time, I get chance ride horse, I like ride horse. So that's what I was doing. When they bring me over here, cowboy, we go plant grass. Then we go take care the mountain. We take trees every day, we go up [plant] the tree. Bumbai every day we go plant trees, my wife brother, he older than us.

MM: Jerry?

ER: No, Daniel [Kaopuiki, Jr.].

MM: Daniel.

ER: Yeah, I think me more old than him. But that time, Lāna'i, he was working first, just like him more old than me, eh, what, they [call] seniority.

MM: Seniority.
ER: Yeah. So, we go plant tree. Over there get plenty goat. So the Korean boss [Gi Hong Kwon] ask the boss for give him one gun. Can shoot some goat. We go plant tree, about hundred tree. The old man teach us how to dig the hole, eh. So about after lunch, we like pau, eh, finish our job [fast], then we can go hunt goat. He get the gun, eh, so we go hunt goat. So you know what we do? Only about one feet we poke the tree [in], we step by one feet, (chuckles) hurry up and plant, otherwise you gotta dig deep, eh the hole, clean good, us guys only one feet. One feet and get small hole, put the tree, just step on top and then go, go, go, go.

WN: So you planted hundred trees in the morning then?

ER: Yeah, in the morning. Before lunch, we finish. Then he can go hunt goat, we follow him. You know, get plenty goat up there. Because you shoot, you stay ten minutes, another bunch stay come around. He shoot, maybe he get three goat, he figure 'nough, yeah. You know us guy, every time, "Let me use the gun. Yeah, yeah, I like shoot." So he give the gun, we shoot, everybody shoot, everybody get goat (chuckles). So Bumbai the boss, the Korean man, he look us. How come so many goat. Bumbai he go ask Daniel, "How come you shoot plenty?"

He tell, "No, the boys like, I let them. The guy, he shoot two, he shoot two." All us get goat, we going home. We going take for the family.

"Oh," he tell, "okay."

Then about one week later every time we get plenty goat, so he tell the boss, "Eh, maybe more better you give all young boys gun, so no need the cowboys go up there. Cowboys go drive cattle, [only] if the cowboys see goat they go shoot." So he ask, they give us gun. Then when they give us gun, ho the tree, more fast plant.

(Laughter)

ER: Bumbai maybe one week later, the old man he go check, eh, the way you plant. He tell, "Hey, boys, today, nobody take gun. Today no can shoot. Boss no like shoot today. No shoot goat." Bumbai he go up there, he know who plant over here. "You know, you plant over here, eh, you plant over there, you plant over there. You kāpulu. Only one hole you make, the tree all coming make. Dying all, no 'nough deep." (WN chuckles.) He tell, "No can hunt. You guys make good job, you guys can hunt. You no make good job, I no give you gun." He catch us over there, because he go check, eh, the tree, how the tree grow. He look all the tree coming dry. And he said supposed to take off all the paper, eh. Take off the paper and dig and put 'em inside, but us, we just put the paper inside like that (chuckles) and the root no can go in (chuckles).

WN: How deep had to be? About how deep had to be?
ER: Well, maybe about one feet down and maybe about one feet square around, eh, make soft, the ground, supposed to be.

MM: So the root can come out.

ER: Yeah, so come little bit soft eh, at least one feet. And about maybe about this round enough, yeah, but soft and broke the paper. If you no like broke the paper all, you only broke the bottom. See, the main thing is the bottom take off. Then bumbai he go check, he hemo the tree, eh. He pull 'em out then he like look, yeah, we did 'em. Then, every time he check, he tell, "Okay, you, you, you make good job. You can take gun. You, you no make good job."

He tell, "How come I no make good job?"

"You no make good job, I go look your tree. Some get the bottom, some no more. I look, I check. You no more gun." Ho boy, feel bad because he never get gun, bumbai you gotta work make good job, then you get good record, eh (chuckles).

MM: So he was good boss.

ER: Huh?

MM: He was fair then.

ER: Yeah, he was right because the guys who make good job, he give 'em the gun. So he figure you kāpulu guy, no give you gun. So you learn. That's how we learn.

WN: You guys went shoot goat for kaukau, yeah?

ER: Yeah, we shoot for kaukau.

WN: You shoot for what, had too many goats so the plantation, I mean, the ranch wanted you . . .

ER: Yeah. They like shoot 'em all because they spoiling the forest, too. And what you plant, they go eat 'em too, see. So they like try get rid all the goat. We work half day, half day we go shoot goat. Then bumbai, we only shoot two, eh, bring home for the family. The family no more icebox, we salt 'em up, put 'em inside the barrel or in the crock and put 'em inside there. That's how I learn how to salt. I bring home, I give 'em to my uncle. My uncle salt. I go over there, I watch how he make. He tell me, "Come, you go over here. You roll 'em." They cut big piece like that, cut all like that, then throw the salt all in the middle, then roll 'em maybe with all the salt all stuck inside. But sometime, the salt too dry, you no can roll 'em. Us guys go throw little bit water inside. And the salt, when you roll 'em, the salt all stuck underneath, then you put 'em in the barrel. And then bumbai the barrel when you put 'em inside, maybe two or three day, get water come out. So they said, "If get water come out, that's mean you wen
salt 'em good." But sometime no more water, the thing too dry. You gotta go make 'em again. But if get little bit water, the water make all the salt, the thing all good. That's why bumbai after that, I learn little bit. I put water little bit, so he can stuck, the water can come out. Then the meat no spoil. You can leave 'em for one month all right.

WN: You ate goat in Lahaina, too?

ER: Yeah, I take [to Lahaina]. They tell weekend, Saturday, I go.

MM: Oh no, but growing up you never eat goat. Only when you take, go visit.

ER: Yeah and over here, I keep some. And then when I like go Maui, I going take meat, I make plenty meat. I shoot. I should have plenty. Salt' em up in the barrel. In the barrel I take 'em.

WN: The first time you ate goat was over here?

ER: Yeah over here. I eat goat from over here.

WN: Was 'ono? Did you like . . .

ER: 'Ono yeah.

WN: Better than cow?

ER: Oh, bumbai later, I no care cow meat. I rather have the sheep. The sheep meat more better, goat taste. You can make pulehu. You know, barbecue, you pulehu with the meat. And that time was free, yeah, for us, the ranch time. So that time I work eighty cent, with all the meat I get, I live. Maybe you get ten dollar. Ten or twelve dollar one month. (Chuckles) 'Nough. And over here, free, yeah, all the house and the kerosene free for you cook. See, everything free. So only the work money you make, you can go buy canned stuff or cracker or sugar.

MM: And you have to buy your poi, too, huh?

ER: Yeah, you gotta buy the poi and you gotta buy canned goods. And over here used to be store right inside. The house now, they move up there, that used to be the store. Every Friday the poi come. Then you go over there with your bowl or tin. Then they go pick up inside, put inside, how many pound you like. Bumbai after that, we order regular. Regular, steady, that's your pound, they put 'em in the bag. Then like us, four guys we was staying, we order thirty pound. Thirty pound for the week.

MM: For your whole family?

ER: Yeah, for us. That time I was single with my brothers. I stay all, the four boys.
MM: Four single boys stay one room.

ER: Yeah, then we take thirty pounds.

MM: Well, how long did you stay with your uncle?

ER: With my uncle? Only about one week.

MM: Oh, and then . . .

ER: Less than. Then, my brother was staying, he working over here.

MM: Johnny?

ER: Yeah, he get his own room. He wen stay over here one year. He was over here one year.

MM: So he was living by himself already?

ER: Yeah, in a single boy house. But get about six room, but one kitchen. Six room. I came bumbai, I stay with him. He tell, "More better you stay with me," then I wen stay with him.

MM: So who lived in the single boy house?

ER: Oh, used to be Ben Kaaikala, and his brother Charlie, you know one room, two boy. And get this Arnold [Anderson]. All full inside the house.

WN: Gotta take a break yeah, it's about . . .


END OF INTERVIEW
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Ernest S. Richardson (ER)

June 27, 1988

Kō'ele, Lāna'i

BY: Mina Morita (MM) and Warren Nishimoto (WN)

MM: This is tape number two, an oral interview with Ernest Richardson at Kō'ele, Lāna'i, on June 27, 1988. Interviewers are Mina Morita and Warren Nishimoto.

ER: Now stay ready.

MM: Where did you learn how to be a cowboy?

ER: When I start planting tree then they had two young boys, eh, the time I came over here, they was working here. I go three guys, eh. Then they start pick up some more boys for go up there plant tree. So they pick up Jimmy Nishimura, this Arthur Apiki. But the two first one, them two guy sometime they go help cowboy, eh. The two Sam [Sam Lalawai and Sam Paa]. They help cowboy, eh. So bumbai they like pick up one more young guy. They make me go drive cattle with them. So I go drive cattle with the cowboy.

MM: They promote you almost, huh?

ER: Yeah. Bumbai I go with them, I like da kine cowboy kind job. So after I go with them, then bumbai the chief cowboy, he like me because I little bit lively, little bit quick. Then the other two first guys, the two Sam, they kinda leave back go plant tree. Then me, every time, I go with them. That's how I learn cowboy. Every time I go with my cousin, he like take me, too, eh. I follow him, Bill, Bill . . .

MM: Bill Kauwenaole.

ER: Yeah, Henry [Gibson] is my uncle, Bill is my cousin.

MM: And the chief cowboy was . . .

ER: Kauila.

MM: James Kauila.
ER: James Kauila, Aunty Hannah's [Richardson] father. He was the chief cowboy over here when I come over here. Then the old man, he kind of like me, because I little bit lively, eh, I like ride horse and I like quick. And I no fool around too much. Bumbai we go start, they go start branding calf. So I go inside, I don't know how to brand, so they go put us down, go help, go knock down the calf. When they rope and the rope pull, then we go hold 'em. So they go put the iron on top. They mark 'em Lāna'i City. Get "LC," yeah, on top the brand. They put the mark on top.

MM: How come--you know, only had one ranch on Lāna'i. How come they had to brand the cattle?

ER: Well, because sometime they ship, yeah.

MM: Oh, so when they ship 'em off the island . . .

ER: Yeah, ship off, they know where this cattle come from, eh.

MM: I see.

ER: The first time when I came over here. Then bumbai after that, when [Ernest] Vredenburg time [beginning in 1935], then they no put Lāna'i City. They only mark the ear. They put, like now, '87, eh, they put seven. By the time come another ten year, the thing all gone already. So they put one by one. One, two, three, every year.

MM: I see.

ER: Then from that, I learn how to go cowboy. They train horse. The regular cowboy, they ride bucking horse, yeah. So me and the other two boy, three young boy, we like ride, eh. So lunchtime we no go home eat. We take sandwich in the stable. We eat over there. We eat pau, we go ride them guys' horse. The cowboys, they go lunch, eh. We go ride bucking horse. We go ride, we fall down, the other guys laugh, "What, you get sore?"

"No." (Chuckles) We laugh.

MM: When you young boy learning how to be cowboy, they give you good horse?

ER: No, they give us the junk kind. (WN laughs.) They give us da kine horse they pension (MM chuckles). You know, the cowboys get the good kind, what they no like, they put 'em out, eh, they pension the horse. That's the kind horse we ride. But all good horse because the horse know the job, eh.

MM: But not lively.

ER: Not too lively, they kind of old, eh. You go in the pen, they know what they doing, eh. You think you like go for the cow but when the cow turn, you fly off them because you don't know, eh, if the cow
turn, the horse see, eh, he turn. The horse is smart, because the old guys use 'em, every time, the horse come smart. When the horse come old, and the cowboys get breaking horse, so every time, they get new one. They get young kind horse, so the old kind--my cousin sometime, eh, he let me his horse. He tell, "You ride mine today." I ride his. His one all good kind horse, eh.

But us young guys like only run because the horse good, eh. No, he scold you. He tell, "No, you no run too much with the horse, because your horse got to last all day, eh." You gotta slow down, not only run because bumbai no can take care the job, eh. You only run around, bumbai you tired. That's why some of these young boys, run, run, bumbai little more pau hana time, the horse tired, they gotta walk home. My cousin, he teach me, eh. He tell me, "You no run too much boy, go easy."

MM: Who teach Uncle Bill?

ER: Oh, I don't know. They was cowboy when I come over here. They all old already. They know how to work. Maybe Uncle Henry teach them. Maybe him, old guys, cowboys, teach the young guys, yeah. My uncle, he teach me. He tell me what to do.

MM: So each cowboy has how many horses they take care?

ER: Well, the more you can train, the more horse for you. Some guys maybe own eleven, about ten over, for their work. And some guys, they get their horse only for Sunday ride. They no ride weekdays. They no use 'em work. Only as their Sunday horse. They go over here Sunday, get baseball, eh, all around here. The cowboys, they no walk. They ride their horse go down, go baseball park, go watch baseball, come home.

MM: So Sunday horse for show off?

ER: Well, for show off. Well, that's their nice horse. They no use their working horse. They only use one horse for Sunday, and every week, the stable boy bring the horse inside. Then Monday they let 'em go. Like before, the old boss time, eh, any amount horse you get, you can ride. Sunday, you can take your friends go.

MM: That Munro time?

ER: Munro time. If you get friends, they like go ride horse, you can lend 'em your horse. But you no 'nough horse, then you can go borrow from your friends. They ride go Keōmuku. Come up. Before down there plenty people, eh. So they go, they go sometime Saturday evening, pau hana, they go. Then they sleep down there by the beach. Then Sunday, they come home.

WN: So when you moved to Kōʻele, what was down Keōmuku at that time? Still had some of the ranch down there?
ER: Just like branch. They get some guys down there take care the cattle down that area. Down the beach area. And up here, when they like drive, everybody drive, together, they combine. When they make big drive for bring up, up here cowboys go down there [Keomuku] and help them bring 'em up. And they bring up over here, some place halfway. They get feed by Maunalei, eh, you know where the road you just come up, over there get one big corral. So they put 'em inside there overnight. The cowboys over here [Ko'ele] come back this side, the cowboys over there [Keomuku] go back. Then if they no need them for help them bring up, only this side guys they bring 'em up. But if they need them guys, then them [Keomuku] guys come help. Come over there help. Then pau hana, they gotta go home back again.

MM: So like during certain times of the years, you do certain jobs?

ER: Well, during the summertime like now, that's branding season. That's when they divide all the heifers, the young bull and they cut 'em, and they move pen. They move pen all in the summer. Come winter, eh, they no use, they no brand too much. They only go get fat kind cow, put one place for butcher. So butcher all the fat kind. When wintertime like this, they breed 'em, eh, they breed . . .

MM: Wintertime, they breed?

ER: About wintertime they breed. But come summertime, the calf all big, all weaner size. So that's when they separate all from the mother. And they pick up the young ones, the young heifer, for breed. And the one they think not so good, they send out and they kill. I don't know how they know, but when they divide, they look the good for make baby, for make good mother, they pick up. And if no good mother like that, then they shut 'em up and they butcher to the people. And sometime they take all da kine good weaner size. You know when they take off from the mother, get plenty good kind, eh. So the young kind meat, they kill 'em and they sell 'em to the butcher. 'Cause sometime they like veal. Soft meat, eh for the Haoles like that, they buy. Then they pick up all the young kind again, the good kind. They going breed, they keep. But when they look no good, then they fat 'em up and they butcher.

MM: Who's the one that looks at the cow?

ER: Ah, the chief cowboy.

MM: Kauila?

ER: Kauila. Him the one pick up all the one. And then he tell the boss how much, how much get for this. They put all the record, eh. Inside the record. The boss take care all the record and the secretary. Before get the Forbes, eh.

MM: Forbes?
ER: Mrs. [Helen Jean] Forbes. She's the secretary, yeah. So that's how they keep record. They keep record of the cow, how they growing, what the breed. Then sometime maybe, they like change breed, maybe over here come inbreed, yeah, like that. So they buy bull from Parker Ranch. They buy maybe ten bull, then you keep 'em.

MM: Only from Parker Ranch?

ER: Most time they get from Parker Ranch. Parker Ranch, the bull, then they keep. Then sometime, they keep some over here. The young ones they try keep. Then if they look good, then they keep 'em. But if they say no good, then they butcher. That's how they...

MM: The bulls, this is the bulls?

ER: Yeah, the bull, they butcher the bull. But this other bull come in maybe two year, they going send for breed. Then they look how the meat, how heavy the bone or that one. They go by the weight, eh. They look this one, maybe smaller, eh, smaller body or what. Not enough, they butcher. Every time, they pick up like that.

Then us guys, eh, the boss, the chief cowboy, he train us. Train us, look this one, what the body, some big, some broad. See, the broad kind, that's heavy. That's da kine they like. They like because they figure get weight, yeah, on the meat, when you take to weigh. Some they look, narrow, they say no good, this bull. Then sometime us guys, we don't know too, we ask questions. Why no good? He say why no good, because the bull, just like lean, no more weight. You raise 'em up maybe two year or three year, by the time you kill 'em, no more weight. And this other one, you look the body, broad. This guy, even small, he get weight. They go according to weight because you going sell the meat by the pound, eh. They go by the weight. So you study. Me too, I study, I look how like that, how the bull.

Then sometime he tell you, "Okay you pick up ten." So you go inside there you look. One guy follow you, eh. So, you think this one maybe get, you point. You just point, this guy take 'em away. Maybe two guys stay follow you, they go try take 'em away, separate 'em, eh, from the bunch. Then you look, you point, you say this one, this one. Maybe he tell you pick up ten. That's why you pick up ten, they put 'em inside one pen.

Then the chief cowboy, he go look. He look, he look. If he think okay, he tell you, "Okay you get 'em all, good." But if he think this one no good, then he call you come. He tell, "You look this one, you compare this one to this."

So I look what's the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, "Shee, I don't know the difference. To me, look like the same."

"No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy."
This one long, no more." He tell you all this kind, and you gotta
think every time, eh, how they tell you. What kind big, what kind
this one.

And then, he tell you, "This one how many pound, you think?" So,
like me, just like I guess, yeah. I tell 'em, maybe this one 500
pound, and he tell you how you know if 500 pound. How you know?

Then you tell, "Oh, because he look bigger than this guy."

No. He tell, "No, you wrong. You look by the weight. You figure
out how much weight this guy. You no guess." You gotta come close,
eh, when you figure out. They tell you how the meat look like, in
front, the back, the back hip, how the broad for this kind. That's
where get the weight. But you look this guy, he narrow, this guy,
they get no more weight. Now, you keep this one two year. This
kind, not supposed go butcher already. Go breed--no can go breed
too much. Even this kind, you pick 'em up, send butcher, but you
lose weight on the meat. But this one, if you pick up, you look,
look, look, and you pick up if you think that's worth about 600
pound or 500 pound. You get weight in there. You no lose. But
sometime this one get 500 and then come out only 400 pound. You
lose 100 pound weight. So you gotta study. Every time you gotta
think when he tell you and look the size of the meat. The way they
walk, you can tell heavy build, the meat all shake. They get plenty
fat, eh, inside, the body. Some you look, but over here not too
much. Not too much fill in already. Kind of hard the first time,
when you study. When you look, gee, how come. But they study.
They tell you this one, this one, this one.

When you go butcher, they no lose the weight. The way they look the
meat, the weight all close. Maybe [only] ten or fifteen pound
different. But you get the weight, you no lose on selling the cow.

WN: So the no-good ones that you butcher over here, where does the meat
go?

ER: Well, if they going butcher, you still gotta sell 'em. But you no
make money on that. Like now you pick up two. You think the two
about the same. To you, you see same because big. Then you tell
him, "Ah, this two about the same."

Bumbai, he look, he tell you no. This guy, you get about 100 pound
different from this. This one you make money, this you no make
money. About the same family, you raise 'em up, and this one no
make money. This one you make money. And so you like kill the two
now, you can leave this one for another six month, this guy weight
can bring inside for double of this. This one you kill 'em, you
leave 'em this for another six month. So this two, the weight
almost going come even when you kill this other one [in six months].
Then you no lose, you see. Like us guys we think, ah, only you
kill. But he say no. You have to make profit for the ranch. You
pick up this two, if this two no come even, then you lose on this
one. But this one you keep another six month, this guy weight can come back on here. Then you can level up the, I don't know what you call that. Level out the money for the cow. Like the steer, the steer get more weight than the cow. The cow every time maybe about 100 or 150 pound different from the steer. So you gotta look 'em broad, the leg, the joint over here, short, those guys heavy. From over here, long eh, the meat like.

MM: So when you look at the cow, the cow can only put on so much weight, then pau?

ER: Yeah, go about 600. Most about 650, they can go.

MM: And so once you reach that weight then it's . . .

ER: You gotta kill 'em. If not, he going lose weight already. If two year old, and you can get that weight, about there, about 500 to 600 pounds, between there, you can get the meat, you gain, making profit. See, every time, you gotta think that. So every time the chief cowboy, he call me. "You come. Okay, over here you look, you pick up." So I start pick up. And afterward, all ten inside, then he go look. Sometime they take about five, half and half. He tell me, this one little bit long. No 'nough feeling. Some, the steer is all right, but they no 'nough grassy, no 'nough full. Smart, the old man, Kauila.

WN: So the chief cowboy, Kauila, he was a strict man?

ER: He good man. He church man too. He minister.

WN: But he was strict to you folks?

ER: Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, "Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad." Like me, I wen go school, eh. I no learn in school. But I learn all from work. What I work, I learn from the old people, I try pick up from them.

WN: And the other older cowboys, were they . . .

ER: Well.

WN: . . . taught you plenty too?

ER: Yeah, some, the old guys good, but the chief cowboy good. He good to me. Every time he like something, he call on me. Because me, when I young time, I like this kind. You know I like every time go inside. I like steal somebody job just like.

(Laughter)
ER: You know, they like be right there every time. To me, just like I like steal somebody's job. But that's not stealing eh, because I like learn. Because every time I go around there, and he call me, quick I stay near, eh. (Chuckles) I like learn about cowboy, eh.

WN: So the head cowboy was right underneath the manager?

ER: Right underneath the manager.

WN: Nobody in between?

ER: No, nobody. Yeah, him right inside. Then he get one more, I don't know what you call that. Next to Munro, eh, and him the one take care the ranch down there.

MM: Is that...

WN: Keōmuku.

MM: ... Cockett?

ER: Yeah, Cockett.

MM: Robert Cockett?

ER: Yeah, Robert Cockett. I think he was the number two man. The chief cowboy only for the workingman, eh, the chief cowboy. But I think the boss like him too for up here. Because he was manager for down there, that Cockett.

MM: Keōmuku side.

ER: Yeah, for that side. He was Cockett.

So that's how I learn how to cowboy. I learn how to look the meat, tell you about the meat, this kind. Sometime inside the meat, sometime when you kill too, the meat get da kine TB [tuberculosis]. So I ask him, "How come you know if the meat get TB?" He said you look by the liver. The liver, you know, when you kill, just like small little puss. Sometime you press 'em, all bust. That's mean they...

MM: So when the meat go to the slaughterhouse, he checks the liver?

ER: He get inspector come look. They get inspector. What his name? You know the Pake guy used to take care the inn, the hotel before.

MM: Oh, Wally Au.

ER: Yeah, Wally Au, yeah. Him the inspector.

MM: But that was what, uh, 1940s. Later on?

ER: Yeah, later, later. But before, just like no more. I never see
inspector, but they get, but I don't know who. They get inspector for inspect the meat. Sometime the meat, they condemn, eh. No pass for go the butcher. Then they gotta throw 'em to the pig. Go feed the pig. I think had some Haoles, but I don't know the name. But I know when they . . .

MM: So, they keep some beef over here, for slaughter over here?

ER: Yeah, plenty.

MM: And then the rest they send away?

ER: No, no. Before days when I came over here, no more meat go outside. Only over here. 'Nough for all the people over here. All for the butcher.

WN: Only the cows go?

ER: Only the cows. The cows, they go because some guys like breed. They like the breeding in the cow. But the steers no go. Most all over here. They butcher over here because over here had two butcher before. Da kine, Okamoto, I think was the one.

MM: Okamoto Store?

ER: Yeah, Okamoto and Yet Lung, yeah. Had two butcher. Every time, every week, about fifteen. Fifteen, they kill.

WN: So, you folks used to--the ranch used to ship meat out from Lāna'i?

ER: No. They no send.

WN: They only ship the animal?

ER: Only they sell the cows. But I don't know if they butcher the other side. But only cows, not steer. Steer because more heavy, and more cost money, eh. So they send, maybe, they like for breed. Because over here was the second biggest ranch, you know, from Parker Ranch. Parker one the biggest and over here the second. That time I come, I hear the story, this the second biggest in Hawai'i.

MM: But so they use all the beef to feed Lāna'i?

ER: Lāna'i, yeah. Lāna'i was taking all the meat. Sometime fifteen or seventeen a week. The two butcher.

WN: Oh. So to feed the pineapple plantation laborers and everybody?

ER: Yeah. All for this one. The meat no go out. Then bumbai later, later come too much beef over here, then they sell. They sell the alive kind go. They ship 'em Honolulu. And Honolulu, they butcher.

MM: I see.
ER: Honolulu they butcher. But that time they was shipping the meat from Mānele, I never work down there. I never go ship cow outside from Mānele. Only the old-timers. I never see. But only I hear they rope and drag 'em to the boat. They get the small boat. The big boat stay outside and the small boat come inside. And the cowboys rope 'em from the corral, drag 'em in the water and then they throw 'em on top the small boat. The small boat, tied all the heads by the side. Then they take 'em to the big boat, then the big boat sling 'em up. They put rope underneath.

WN: So the cows are on the side of the boat?

ER: On the boat, on the small boat. Then they put rope underneath, then they sling 'em up on 'em. One by one.

MM: Lift 'em up.

ER: Lift 'em up.

WN: Just before the chute was built?

ER: Yeah, bumbai after that, they make chute. They make chute down there. Then the boat come right on the side, then from on top here, the thing go inside the chute. The guy, he slide right down [onto the boat], eh, because they make 'em down [an incline]. No make 'em straight. Make 'em go. See, when they come inside there, they like turn back, but as soon as they go inside there, they slide down.

MM: So, when they were using the chute, were you working over here?

ER: I working here already, but I never work down there.

MM: Down Mānele.

ER: Yeah. When I came over here, they had the chute and they had down. When too rough, the boat no can go by the side [of the chute], so they go by the sand side, everybody go swim. Over there, they rope 'em and drag 'em inside the water.

MM: Did Uncle Johnny Boy [Richardson] work?

ER: Yeah, he went down there, but he work on the truck. He was truck helper.

MM: I see.

ER: He was truck helper and he go down with them and they take the saddle, the horses, when somebody come back or go down. But the truck used to go down, too. And he used to go . . .

MM: So, they take mostly the older cowboys.

ER: Yeah, the old-timer. Like us guys, we all new, I never work down
there. I never see how they rope and tie to the boat.

WN: So that was like hard job, then?

ER: Yeah, I think so.

WN: Round 'em up and bring 'em down.

ER: Yeah. For take 'em down, eh. Because when you take down like that, you no can rush 'em. Maybe you gotta go one day early. You gotta go slow. They no like you chase 'em behind, make 'em run. Try keep 'em slow and go down. Because they say if you rush 'em go down like that, you losing weight.

WN: Oh.

ER: They lose weight the more you make 'em run, eh, you gotta keep 'em slow, go down.

WN: How many cattle at one time they used to take down?

ER: Maybe about thirty or fifty.

WN: And how many cowboys you need to send down to . . .

ER: About ten. Most time about ten guys go down there. Then most time, the chief cowboy, the one he rope take inside, then when his horse tired, then he give the next time cowboy like my cousin and his son Abraham [Kauila]. Them the guys go pull in the water. They go inside the sea little bit. As long as they can throw the rope on the boat, the boat guys pick 'em up, then they pull 'em. As long stay inside the water, float already, easy for go, eh, the [cow] no fight too much.

WN: Still had cattle Keomuku side, too?

ER: All around this island.

WN: So they had to go from Keomuku, they had to ship?

ER: Bring 'em over here, yeah.

WN: Hoo, that's long.

ER: Yeah. If you going bring 'em over here [Kō'ele], then you no can ship 'em right away. Maybe you keep 'em up here two month or one month. Cool 'em off first. You round up all around the island, pick up all the big ones and the fat one, and then put 'em inside one fence over here. Maybe one month, if they going ship 'em, then they go pick up the fattest one inside there. The little bit lean one, they leave 'em back again. Then bumbai they go around again. They go pick up. Every time up here gotta leave about one or two months rest, or maybe three month. Then they ship.
pau, you round up everthing again, then find the big kind, ship 'em. Leave 'em over here, maybe three or four fence, you gotta put. Then almost shipping time, you go from the four fence, then you go pick up all the good one and bring 'em together live. Then bumbai almost ready for go, then you take 'em down. Take 'em down slow, maybe halfway down there get pen, you leave 'em inside overnight. Then go down. Until that boat there, then you reach down there.

WN: And where did the cowboys sleep when they go halfway?

ER: If they stay halfway pen, they come home.

WN: Oh, I see.

ER: Yeah, leave 'em inside the pen, come home. Maybe two days rest down there, then they go down pick 'em up again. But when they go down for ship, they go sleep down there until the morning. Stay down on the beach. In the morning they come home.

MM: They had house down the beach?

ER: No more. No more da kine house for sleep.

MM: They just go camping?

ER: Yeah. But sometime one car sometime take lunch for them. They bring the lunch. For take down.

WN: I wonder how many--when you first came in 1926, how many cowboys had on the ranch? About?

ER: Up here [Ko'ele] maybe thirty. Down there [Keomuku] maybe about the same. Because cowboy and fence man and da kine tree planting, little more all about the same because they pick up from little bit over here, little bit over here, go help cowboy. Maybe they get three or four from fence guys, and three or four from the tree planting guy. That's the more young kind guys. Then they bring 'em go inside with the cowboys.

WN: Fence man, they knew how to be cowboys--they were cowboys, too?

ER: Some stay in the cowboy. Some no more. But used to all the fence man, kind of old man. Most all Korean working. All Korean and Korean luna for fix the fence. But sometime they...

MM: Who was the luna for the fence?

ER: Korean, Kim. I forget his first name, but I know Kim. That's William [Kwon] them uncle, because William's mother and...

MM: No, you thinking Shin.

ER: No. Shin is different. Kim is different. [Bon Soon] Shin, he take
care pig. He take care the pigs. And this guy Kim, he take care the fence. Was most all Korean working, the fence man.

MM: This Kim, is it the same one that Betty's father?

ER: I think that's uncle, I think.

MM: So had two Kims, then.

ER: No. Only one. Kim. One Shin and one Kim and one Kwon.

MM: (Chuckles) Oh, I see.

ER: [Gi Hong] Kwon, that's William them father. I think they come from Hawai'i.

MM: I know Kwon is from Hawai'i.

ER: Yeah. From Hawai'i. And the wife [Elizabeth Napuehu Kwon] too, I think from Hawai'i.

MM: Moloka'i.

ER: Oh, Moloka'i, the wife? Oh. I thought was Hawai'i. Kwon and Shin, yeah, they married the two sister. The other Kim, different, I think he come from Ni'ihau. I think from Ni'ihau side he come. [ER thinks Kim was related to Simeon Kauakahi.]

MM: You think he came--which of the cowboys was with--he came with the Gay family? You know?

ER: Oh, that cowboy, when I come over here, the Gay family just about all pau the ranch. They move away.

MM: Oh, I see.

ER: They move out, but some cowboy was still yet. Some I know, like John Kane. I know John Kane was cowboy for them guys. Gee, I forget the other guy's name. I know his brother, too, but the name, I don't know the brother, I forget.

MM: Moke?

ER: Yeah, this guy, I think, Akuila [Kane] father used to work for them guys.

MM: That's Moke Kane?

ER: Moke Kane, yeah. And John Kane, the two brothers. The Gay cowboys, I don't know too much. When I come here, they all broke already. The Gay go away. Only the boys and the girls some I know the name only but, I don't know by face. Only the name they tell you, this guy Lawrence [Gay], and this guy who was up there. Only the old
cowboys talk, but I never see them too much. I don't know the sisters, too, all.

MM: So in this area, what kind buildings did they have?

ER: The building, all this kind? Most the kind just like Uncle Johnny Boy one. Da kine the roof go up and go down like this, like that. And all da kine one by twelve. This kind lumber, not this kind small lumber. [Describing the house John Richardson lived in and comparing it to ER's home which was brought up to Ko'ele from Miki in 1937.]

MM: So you remember, like had the manager's house?

ER: Yeah.

MM: And then next to him . . .

ER: The office.

MM: The office.

ER: Yeah. I know all the house over here. The first house before right over here, by the big Norfolk pine tree, eh, that's the manager house. Then you go over here, he get one da kine house for the cook lady. You know, for the manager cook lady.

MM: Where the manager's house, so right next to it was the cook house [i.e., quarters]?

ER: Yeah, right next, the cook house. Then, right behind this one, that's where the office, the big house up there.

MM: The office.

ER: Yeah. Then, you go in front, little bit, straight line with that that where . . .

MM: And inside the office had the store?

ER: No. Inside--the big house over here was, that's for the secretary.

MM: Oh, okay.

ER: That's Forbes' house. Then, the front one go inside, that's the store and the manager's office.

MM: Okay.

ER: Get inside there. Then, from over here, you go from this lime tree, you know this lime tree over here, this side, this side all our garage. The long kind garage, the one I was telling you the other time. The long garage, from Pablo house [referring to the
store/office], the store . . .

MM: And that garage only for the cars?

ER: No. [The building was sectioned off.] One long one, till the road go, get one long one. The first one, that's tool house. Then the second one, is carpenter shop. Then the next one is blacksmith shop. Then the next one to the corner of the road, that's one truck stay inside there. That truck, get wire fence around, they use 'em for mail car, and for carry dog. You know the dogs when you go work cowboy like that, the boss, he put all the dogs on the car. The car take 'em down. Where you going start driving in the pen, the car wait for you. All the cowboys, who own dog inside there, throw down the dog, and the dog go with the owner, go work. And then when pau hana, the driver know where you going come out. He come down there, he pick up all the dog and he bring 'em home. He bring home and he feed all the dog and he lock 'em all in the pen.

WN: The dogs herd up the cattle?

ER: Yeah. That's the dog for go help round up cattle. Yeah. Like now, if you get one dog, or two dog, the dog work with you. And you go one place over here so the dog help you bring 'em up. So only you on one ridge down, you work with your dog, help you bring 'em up.

MM: And they take good care of the dog?

ER: Dog, they take good care. If you own two dog, they take care, they feed, they put 'em on the truck and bring home. They no make the dog walk home pau hana. Pau hana [truck], not for man ride. Only for the dog.

(Laughter)

ER: Not for man. The boss, he take care all the working dog.

MM: What kind dogs did they use?

ER: They get da kine Mainland kind. All long hair. Just like da kine dogs when they show inside TV like that. Da kine get long hair with the white. Brown with the white. Some small. But good cattle dog. Smart, all smart.

WN: They use dogs only when they started to get cars? What about the old days when they only had horse? They had dogs, too?

ER: That time I come over here, they get truck for pick up the dogs.

MM: How about, when your father was working in Lahaina, did they use dogs, too?

ER: I don't know, I never see dog over there. Only here they use just like da kine sheep dog. You know da kine, they take care sheep,
that's da kine dog more. And da kine dog, they smart how to work. They work with you, the cattle... Like the cowboys before, they get dog. I had two, too. Sometime the dog only stay behind you. You see one cow running outside or way outside, you just point. You just point 'em like that the two dog go get 'em.

WN: You train 'em yourself?

ER: Yeah. They go get the one and bring 'em up in the bunch.

MM: No, but you trained the dog?

ER: Yeah, I had dog.

MM: But who trained?


WN: How you train one dog to round up cattle?

ER: Well, if you going train dog, like now, you get new dog, you get smart dog, eh. You get smart dog, well trained. I put my dog with your dog. Your dog take my dog for go work. (WN laughs.) If you see the owner you stay near him, eh, you see his owner point the hand, your dog watching, eh, this dog like go, you point 'em too. He follow this dog.

WN: On-the-job training (laughs).

ER: Yeah. The other dog, smart dog, training your dog, see. But you gotta know when to send 'em. And you gotta watch him, too. When you see one cow stay outside, the old-timer, eh, he like go get 'em. But he wait for the order, from his master. As soon as the master make 'em then, he go. Soon he make his dog, you see him go, you know your dog like follow, you make 'em go, too. So every time he see your hand going, he know he gotta go help that one, eh? So he go over there. That dog like bring 'em this side, your dog like catch 'em this way because they don't know how to work, eh. They catch 'em. You scold 'em, "Go around," you tell, follow the other dog. Because the master, sometime he no talk, he only make his hand. He tell the dog spin 'em around, the dog spin 'em around. Then, you gotta yell your dog, "Spin 'em around, spin 'em around." Then bumbai he going understand, he see the other dog, he look. And the dog bringing back. And when the dog bringing back the cow, eh, you make your hand like this. Come, you know. He watching you, then he coming too, eh, he coming, then he know. Then bumbai every time he bring 'em back to the bunch, eh.

Sometime you see one run outside, you never even make your hand. The dog, he running away. You tell him, "Hold it." He stop, he turn around right back. If he no stop, you go back over there, you jump down, you pull 'em by the ear. I see the old-timer guys, they grab 'em, pull 'em by the ear. Or they grab 'em, they lift 'em,
make 'em yell little bit. So he get sore ear. Next time, as soon you tell pau, he stop. He scared he going get pulling in the ear.

WN: Dogs used to get hurt? (ER chuckles.) Did they get hurt when they were . . .

ER: Yeah, you take 'em and you slap 'em.

MM: No, no. The dogs used to get hurt?

ER: No, the dog too smart for the cow. They run around, the cow like hook 'em like that. They jump right around behind the feet, they grab 'em. They bite the feet over here, the cow, he jump. He run quick. Then once they stay behind, they follow right behind. They follow right behind, and they bite on top here. The cow slow down or like turn around, he get 'em over here.

MM: Bite 'em in the back of the leg?

ER: Yeah, right on top the leg, you know, back leg, he bite 'em, and the cow, he jump. Some dogs stay in front, the cow like hook. The behind one--some stay behind, they bite 'em. They bite 'em inside.

MM: So, they watch for the other dog . . .

ER: Yeah, so they no can hook. Then bumbai the dog know every time he gotta stay behind. They come smart. Sometime, they no bark. He just go behind, bite by the leg. When the cow jump, you know one dog wen bite 'em, because they too slow. They no bite in front or make 'em blood, only by the leg behind, yeah.

MM: So, all the cowboys up here, they only keep dog for work?

ER: For work.

MM: Nobody keep dog for stay home?

ER: No. That dog all gotta work. (WN chuckles.) If only for stay home, they shoot 'em. (Chuckles) This kind dog, only for work. And pau hana, they get all dog fence. All down there by the slaughterhouse. The guy bring home the dog, he feed the dog.

MM: Who was that?

ER: [Simeon] Kauakahi, the stable boy. And then get helper. Like us, when we young time, we go helper, too, eh. Then we go down there, we go help feed dog.

MM: They feed the dog good?

ER: Yeah. All get meat, that kind dog.

(Laughter)
ER: They cook the meat, the piggery guy cook the meat. He cook all the slop for the pig, eh, and the meat they cook for the dog. Bumbai they . . .

WN: The piggery what, that was for ship out too, the pigs?

ER: No. For butcher over here. They butcher all the pigs over here.

MM: How many pigs they keep?

ER: Gee, I don't know. About 1,000 pigs, I think.

MM: Yeah? That big?

ER: Yeah. About 1,000 because they gotta get the big kind, yeah. The mother pig and they get one fence, they let her go all inside. Then they get the baby from young, and then grow up. Then the little bit big one, they start kill. Then every time they breed, the pig get baby. They keep 'em little more small, then they separate 'em. Take from this mother, the little bit big size. And go down and they keep 'em. They feed 'em. Then, come 'nough big, they kill 'em. They figure get . . .

MM: [Bon Soon] Shin take care the piggery?

ER: Yeah, Shin take care the piggery.

MM: And then, who work with him down there?

ER: He get his workingmen.

MM: How many people work for him?

ER: One, two, three, four, about six. Then Sunday, they get day off. Their day off, the cowboys go over there help feed. Maybe this week I go. I go feed pig Sunday.

MM: Everybody take turns?

ER: Yeah, everybody. They take turn. Maybe if you no like go, eh, you tell you no like go. I go take your place, I go work Sunday.

WN: You get paid extra for that?

ER: Yeah. You get extra day. Yeah, just like Sunday, they get double time, eh, just like. But before days, no more double time.

MM: So about when, when you started doing cowboy job, about how much do you get paid?

ER: Well, I start from eighty cents, then I went ninety cents, then I went dollar quarter [$1.25]. Dollar quarter [$1.25], that's when I working cowboy. I work cowboy till I come dollar and a half [$1.50],
until we get union. The cowboy get union. Then they pick up. Top cowboy, all two and a half [$2.50].

MM: About what year was that or how old were you?

ER: What year? Nineteen thirty-seven. I think about 1937, the Vredenburg come inside. You no get record about Vredenburg when he start the ranch?

MM: I didn't go look yet.

ER: Not yet. I think 1936 [1935].

MM: So when Vredenburg came in, then they get union for the cowboys?

ER: Yeah. [ER probably means that ranch workers joined the ILWU in 1946, along with the pineapple workers.]

ER: Yeah. That time the Vredenburg come over here, '35, he came over here. Then about two years [later], then he kind of rebuild inside here. So this kind houses, our houses before da kine high, and go down like that, eh. You know the kind old-style house they get.

MM: Oh, the roof?

ER: Yeah, the roof [corrugated] iron. Only roof iron inside. So when heavy rain like that . . .

MM: Plenty noise?

ER: Plenty noise and plenty water come down. Sometime you sleep one place, all the water coming on top you, when rain, cold.

MM: So no more ceiling, only iron?

ER: Yeah, only iron roof. No more ceiling, you know da kine, old-style house. Miki Camp, the [pineapple] plantation used to keep mules there for plow. Then bumbai all most Caterpillar come inside, the mule kind of pau, eh. So da kine houses they brought up here [from Miki to Ko'ele]. They bring ten houses on the truck, brought over here. Then they broke one by one, eh, the house. Broke the house, put another house over there. Broke the house and put inside here.

MM: What union did you belong to?

ER: The union, the union, [local] 152, I think. I forget this, 152.

MM: Under who? Same as the pineapple people?

ER: Yeah, the pineapple people had union, eh, da kine they . . .

MM: And cowboy same one?
ER: Then bumbai the cowboy get. Because the new boss come in here, started make us go work two o'clock in the morning. You know, two o'clock in the morning we go out, go out, and come home. Reach home about ten o'clock. And . . .

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

ER: . . . I think that's steward. So they pick up Abraham.

MM: Kauila?

ER: Abraham Kauila. They pick him up, go steward. So he go down there, he go learn. You know, learn about, what da kine. Then afterward that, he know all da kine, then he ask all the cowboy. We go join. Join the union. Because the union, bumbai the boss no can push us too much, eh. And then we going get raise. Yeah.

MM: When you were working Munro time, did you folks have to go out early in the morning?

ER: No, no. We go regular, regular . . .

MM: Regular day.

ER: . . . six o'clock, yeah. If six o'clock, we leave, we go. We go and then when pau hana, supposed to be about eight hour. But sometime, we no can reach the cattle in the pen. Little bit too late, no can leave 'em, eh. We gotta make reach first before we pau hana.

MM: Yeah.

ER: So that time, too, he no pay us overtime. We gotta reach. We gotta reach so the cow can reach in the pen and rest.

MM: You didn't get overtime, but did they pay you extra time or they only pay you eight hours?

ER: They pay only eight hour, but sometime maybe Saturday, they give us one day off.

MM: Oh, they pay you for Saturday, but you can take off?

ER: Yeah, they give us one day off. Then one day off, like us guys no make too much money, eh. So we go work for the [Maui] County Saturday. Only one day, we work for county. County used get about two, two and a half [$2.00, $2.50], I think, when you work for county. So only we go one day.
WN: What you used to do for the county?

ER: Road. That time they building road, too. We go work Saturday and make road. Mānele road going down. And they get the roller and you gotta go carry big stone, load the truck.

MM: So which road were you working on?

ER: Mānele one. The straight one from that, you know from that Johnson turn. When you going turn Pālawai side.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

ER: Every Saturday, we go over there work.

WN: So, where was the slaughterhouse?

ER: Slaughterhouse right down here.

MM: In front of the banyan tree?

ER: Yeah. You know when you come on the road like that, just when you come on top the stone road that going go Keomuku. You know right down there. Inside that low place. Little bit, maybe about 100 feet.

MM: There's a line of pine trees that goes straight across lining--where the [Ka Lōkahi 0 Ka Mālamalama Ho'omana Na'auao] Church is.

WN: Yeah.

MM: Where they relocated the church, right across.

ER: Yeah, but little bit more this way. You know when you come in, just this stone road, the one all loose one. Just about you get the main road, right down. Inside you know the ditch going down, get one ditch, eh.

MM: There's a little gully. Past.

ER: Yeah, yeah. Right down there, maybe probably about 100 feet down. That's where they keep pigs too, inside there. They get the pig in the lower place. But now they been kind of fill up with dirt, eh. So in the low place, they get the piggery and get the slaughterhouse.

WN: How did they used to slaughter cows?

ER: Oh, yeah, we slaughter cow Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

WN: I mean, how they used to do 'em?

ER: We get one box, like this, right here. From the pen, you open the
door, the cow going run in the box. When the cow run in the box, then you shut the door. The door get da kine weight, eh. You just push the weight, the door slide down. Then we go on top, we go shoot 'em. By the hole we shoot 'em right over here.

WN: Oh.

ER: Shoot over here.

MM: Shoot 'em in the head?

ER: Yeah, shoot 'em in the head. Either the head or right on top here, you know. Then you open the door inside, then the guy fall out. But sometime, you no get 'em right, he like stand up, but inside wet, eh. He slide, fall down, then you grab 'em, you got to hold 'em and broke the neck. Then bumbaj after that, we no shoot. We spear. They make one spear, just like one harpoon, eh, come down like that, sharp. And then the cow runs, you come from on top. We take the spear, you just cut 'em, the cord over here.

WN: In the back of the neck.

ER: Yeah, right over here. Right back of their horn. About two inch right back around here. They poke 'em inside there, and they catch 'em right there, and he drop right down.

WN: So how many years you had to shoot 'em before you . . .

ER: Well, the first time I come inside here, they was only shooting. Until the new boss come inside here.

WN: Oh, Vredenburg?

ER: Then he no like shoot. Yeah, Vredenburg. Then he like only spear. He like you spear.

MM: So who take care the slaughterhouse?

ER: Oh, the slaughterhouse, nobody. But . . .

MM: All the cowboys together?

ER: Yeah, all the cowboys go work down there. Sometime they send six guys down there. But the regular boss, Bill Kauwenaole, he take all the weight, he write down everything. Then the butcher man come pick up what they like. Maybe Okamoto Store, they order three. Maybe Yet Lung, he like four. So get seven. So the first three, that's for Okamoto. Then the second. So Bill the one write all the weight. Us guys only kill. And then we kill pig. Maybe the two store like three pig each. So we kill six. We get our hot water inside.

WN: You kill pig same way?
ER: No, the pig, we just hold 'em, we just hold the leg up and poke 'em. Poke the knife inside.

WN: Poke 'em in the throat?

ER: Stab 'em in the heart. We hold 'em. Some guys hold 'em sideways. But plenty guys, if you hold sideways, sometime when they poke 'em, they miss, eh, the heart. And then go inside the leg. And all bruise. Inside, when you cutting over here, bruise. So you turn 'em upside down, you hold 'em like this, straight. Over here straight, you can catch the heart, eh. You can see, over here, the chest, eh?

WN: Right by the chest?

ER: Yeah, right by the chest, over here the heart, and over here soft. That's why you just poke the knife right inside and pull 'em up and just let 'em go. Sometime he stand up and he lean, and then he gone. Pick one over there, poke 'em, put one another one, poke 'em, put another one, poke 'em. No more noise. They no yell. Get two guys hold 'em out like this. One go with the knife. 'Cause they no like you poke and like that, 'cause you going bruise all the meat. They like you one time you poke 'em. If you feel soft, eh, you know that's the straight place you going. You just poke 'em straight and then just leave 'em go. He bleed until he gone.

(Taping interrupted, then resumes.)

MM: Who... Let's see, what was I going ask you?

ER: Yeah, try look your paper, how going. But I was looking, too. I look, yeah, I know all this kind. (Chuckles)

MM: At the end of the day, pau work, what you folks do?

ER: Oh, when we pau work, like over here, just go show, 5:30 [p.m.], you know 5:30 [p.m.].

MM: In Lāna'i City?

ER: No. [Second] show 5:30 [p.m.], [first] one 2:30 [p.m.]. You get 2:30 [p.m.].

MM: Matinee.

ER: ... we run away from work (chuckles). Us young guys like go look movies, yeah. Movies, 2:30 [p.m.], eh. And we supposed to work, work till five o'clock, we pau. But get 5:30 [p.m.], second one, but we no like go. Too late. So we hurry up. When we butcher the meat, everything, we try make fast. Everything, we gotta clean the tripe, all that. Wash 'em, make 'em all clean, all come white, white, and then put 'em inside the water can. Before 2:30 [p.m.], we like the butcher man come pick up everything and go. As soon go,
we take off, go show. (Chuckles) And sometime the boss he come, us no more, eh. And we walking on the road, go. He stop us, "Where you guys going?"

"Show."

MM: Which boss is this?

ER: Ah, Vredenburg. (Chuckles) He see us, we all walking go show, eh, we no pau hana yet, but we walking, going show. "Where you guys going?"

"We going show."

"Why, you guys job all finish?"

"Yeah, all finish. We no more nothing to do. We going show." So he no bother. Bumbai I think he no like the idea, eh. So us hide when we going. We see his car coming, more better we hide.

(Laughter)

ER: Because he no like the idea, but we make all our job pau, we no more job. We only going sit down over there till pau hana. More better we go show. And just like Bill was the luna too, for us, eh. Because him the one make all the paper. We tell, "Eh, Bill, we going show."

"Eh, go."

"The boss no wild with you?"

"We no more job, same thing. Only going sit down 'til pau hana, eh. More better, go."

He tell he take care, eh. So maybe the boss talk to him, well, he tell the boss all the boys work hard. They go finish their job, they go. We go because all pau take care. So every time us five guys. Bumbai we look him, 2:30 [p.m.], he [Bill] stay in the show, too, watching show.

(Laughter)

ER: And then when we pau show eh, he call us come, he bring us home. (Chuckles)

WN: What about Munro's time, had movie theater?

ER: No, no more.

WN: Oh.

ER: Maybe in the '29 or '28 had movie. But I know that time, when we
pau hana from Munro time, us guys young then, we go down there play basketball. When we pau hana, we like pau hana early every time. We run away sometime. We go down there, we play basketball. We get team, eh. The city get team. They get about three teams. Us guys, we get cowboys for team. We go down there play.

MM: So the cowboys had their own team?

ER: Own team. We go down there play basketball. Bumbai we had pretty good team. Come champion around here. Like us guys, young boys, when we go there, Sunday no more work, from in the morning about nine o'clock, we go down there.

MM: Play basketball?

ER: Play basketball.

MM: Where, in the gym?

ER: In the gym. That time get the new gym eh, that time, what this Haole name now. I forget his name now. Good guy, he take care the gym. Then we go there. Bumbai he like our team, too, because we use da kine name, the golf ball name. Proflite, yeah, golf, the name of the ball.

MM: Top Flite?

ER: So we used that name for go play [Proflite]. The Haoles, they like, yeah, that name. So every time us go play, they like come look us play because of that name. Only because the ball.

(Laughter)

ER: Hey, bumbai they like us. But go down there Sunday. Like Sunday all the pineapple workers can go eat in any boarding[house] on Sunday. But weekdays, they gotta go eat in their regular boarding. But Sunday, where they stay, this end, or stay that end, the nearest boarding they stay, they can go eat inside there. So us guys Sunday, we not pineapple workers, eh, they don't know where we come from, so the pineapple guys, we get friends stay down there. He tell, "We go eat."

"Ah, we no more money go buy inside here."

He tell, "No, free. Anybody over here can. They tell what block you come, you tell them you come from Block Eleven. They going feed you (chuckles)."

So us guys every Sunday, we go down there. Lunchtime we go follow them, we go eat, take our plate follow the line go. (WN chuckles.) But the cook, they don't know from what boarding you come, eh. That's why every time the boys and I, if they ask you what boarding you come, you tell 'em Block Eleven. Because at Eleven, most all
the single boys stay. So they no ask. We go inside there, go get plate and go over there, eat.

WN: Had good kind kaukau?

ER: Yeah, good kind kaukau but sometime we play basketball, the workers like that, they know what restaurant [i.e., boardinghouse] get the good kaukau. They tell we go the Chinese boardinghouse get good kind kaukau. We walk to the Chinese one, go eat.

(Laughter)

MM: So like every block had different kind group?

ER: Yeah. Different boardinghouse. You know da kine big kind house now, you look, eh, now.

MM: The old houses.

ER: The old kind, the big kind. (Child cries in background.) Come, why you cry? They run away from you?

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: You was telling us before about when you folks used to go movies, and you folks used to come straight from work . . .

ER: Yeah.

WN: . . . and then you guys, get the smell, huh, (chuckles) . . .

ER: Yeah, you know us, we go drive cattle like that. Sometime we go branding. We go branding, you sit down the wrong place, sometime you sit down on the doo-doo, eh? When you knock 'em [cattle] down, sometime you fall on the doo-doo, all smell doo-doo, eh. So, when we pau hana like that, we no can catch the 2:30 [p.m.]. Most time we catch the 5:30 [p.m.] one. We tie the horse because before, all over there where the block, get fence. All fence where you tie the horse by the fence. We tie the horse, we go inside. In the show place, eh, get steps like this, go up, yeah, inside steps. But us guys, every time we go this side. We sit down way behind here. When we clean, we go in there. So we, usually, we go up there. We all guys with the spur and all, walking, clonk, clonk, clonk go up there. We sit down on the step. Bumbai everybody come inside, eh. All stink, yeah, smell cow doo-doo. All the ladies and da kine (Chuckles) We sit down. One by one, they stand up. When they stand up, we tell them, "Thank you."

(Laughter)

ER: All the boys, every time when anybody stand up, go, we know why they stand up. They no going come back. They going for find another seat. (Chuckles) So we go on top, we sit down little while, we sit
down by the seat, little more, all the cowboys on top the seat, sitting down.

(Laughter)

ER: Because they smell doo-doo in the front. Sometime two row no more people. They go the other side. (Chuckles) They no like smell the doo-doo. Us guys, never mind stink, we used to da kine smell, just like nothing, eh, for us.

(Laughter)

ER: Go inside there, sit down, everybody gotta run away from us. Give us all the seat. (Chuckles) Pretty soon everybody going talk, "Ah, good, eh, these guys all run away." Every time when they come, they keep seat for us. But some man, they no go away. They no care. But the ladies (chuckles), they no can take 'em. (Chuckles) Yeah, we go inside there with the spurs. Go 5:30 [p.m.] show, as soon pau, come home on the horse, going on the road. The guys walk on the road give us room, we go. (Chuckles)

MM: So did . . .

ER: Those days, young days, we enjoyed. I enjoyed my fun with all the young boys. We chased everybody away. (Chuckles)

WN: You used to go mostly with the young boys or you used to hang out with the older cowboys, too?

ER: No. Most time, we only go our age kind. When we come home this way, we no more place for go. Then we go hang around with those guys. Those guys, more they drink.

MM: So which was the cowboys around your age? Who was your gang?

ER: They all the young guys over there. Sam, the two Sam, Arthur.

MM: Arthur, now Arthur who?

ER: Arthur Apiki.

MM: Apiki.

ER: Apiki and Nishimura, James Nishimura, the one was in the garage side there, him, too. And his . . .

MM: Where was Susumu?

ER: And his brother, Tsuneo, but stay Moloka'i, the brother. All about our age. Some maybe one or two year older than us. Some little bit young. Only us young boys every time one bunch. But sometime the old kind guys, when they like look cowboy show, they sit with us. They tell you, oh, they going inside show. Then when come home
time, they tell, "Where you guys go?"

"We going show."

"Ah, I no bring money."

"Oh, I get, here, we go." (Chuckles)

MM: And then, when Munro time, you folks used to go shoot goat, too?

ER: Yeah, we go shoot goat.

MM: On weekends?

ER: Yeah, every Saturday.

MM: When pau work?

ER: Yeah, when Munro time, that time we go plant tree, Kwon used to give us gun. Then, we can go our own. Saturday, we go on our own and we can take friend. Then bumbai, Mama [ER's wife's] brother, Jerry, he was working cowboy, too.

MM: Kaopuiki.

ER: Jerry Kaopuiki and Daniel Kaopuiki, [Jr.]. But Daniel, he stay down there [Keomuku] with the mother and the father. But Jerry, I come good friend with him. Then him the one take me down his house. Every time him the one take me down. Every Saturday, me and him go together, we go shoot. And then we get goat like that, we take 'em down to the father house . . .

(Child enters. Taping stops, then resumes.)

ER: . . . take me down his house. So me and him come good friends, every time together. Then me and him—he come sleep my house, sometime I go sleep his house over here. He get his own room, eh, down there. Then I go his house, and he come my place. Because me and him, we no drink eh. The other guys, they drink. So me and him no drink, so me and him go together most of the time.

MM: So when they pau work, all the cowboys go drink?

ER: Yeah, well, all the older people, they drink. Sometime they drink right over here by this corner.

MM: By the garage?

ER: No, right this corner over here, right here. Before, you know, when you come up here and over here get one lane eh, right over here. Over here going get one house get one lane from the garage come right inside, right up to this post over here.
MM: By this light post right out front?

ER: Yeah, the light post. Right over here get one light. And then the other side get the toilet. No more toilet in the house kind, only over here, one big toilet for everybody. So all the boys stay under here drink. The men, they sitting down there. Sometime pau hana, they drink down by the stable. Bumbai they kind of pau, they come way up here by the light. Then they drink, bumbai they go home. Then come Saturdays like that, some guys they drink by their house, so all us go over there, go listen how they sing. The cowboy, they sing good kind music, them guys. All old kind songs. And me, I like listen...

WN: What kind songs? What kind songs they used to sing?

ER: Any kind Hawaiian song. All the old Hawaiian song, they sing. Sometime all night. I stay over here, little more all night too, but I no drink. But I like listen music. And I don't know how to play music. Every time they give me ukulele, guitar, "Here, go play." I don't know, I no can learn (chuckles), I like only listen. Stay over there, listen, sometime eleven, twelve o'clock, then go home sleep. Sometime they go by the single boy house, play over there. Bumbai they no like go home, they sleep all on the veranda. Get long kind veranda. Stay over there, sleep. All pile up. Saturday night, most time we get good fun. Then we go down there, go basketball, pau basketball, we go saimin house. Saimin, not da kine restaurant, but in the house. The guy he make his business inside his kitchen, eh, then we go inside there. And then get...

MM: Who was that?

ER: That time, Munro time.

MM: No, but, you remember the man's name that make saimin?

ER: No, I don't know even his name. Only we go inside, one Japanese man with his wife, and they cook saimin.

MM: And sell from their house?

ER: Yeah, from inside their house, in the kitchen. And then they make liquor and they sell liquor, too. Sometime the liquor guys stay inside there. You go get bowl saimin, go outside the veranda, eat.

MM: But, not---the liquor kind not legal, huh?

ER: Yeah, I don't know. I no think so. I think they make their own and they give the liquor outside. Because sometimes they make da kine swipe. And they make 'okolehao eh.

WN: Used to make pineapple swipe?

ER: They make pineapple swipe, too. They make what they call
"kickapoo." (Chuckles)

MM: Kickapoo.

ER: Yeah, kickapoo, the pineapple kind. They make, they drink. And sometime they come in the stable. Sometime the cowboys, they make their own with da kine rice, I think, yeah. But no good, the cowboys' one. Sometime when they ready for it, they go inside there, plenty cockroach. They make the cockroach like this and put the (laughs)...

WN: Oh, they clean up the side.

MM: Push it aside.

ER: Yeah, clean up, the side, the rice. The rice, they clean up little bit, put the bottle underneath, eh, and then just fill up. They go over there, put the gallon [bottle]. They make their own kickapoo, pineapple. They hide 'em inside the stable. Bumbai come smell, eh, that (chuckles).

MM: You was saying, when you folks used to go hunting, they only give you so much bullet.

ER: Yeah, the boss give you one box bullet. About one box bullet, at least you get to shoot about ten goat or five goat.

MM: How many bullets in one box?

ER: Twenty. Get twenty in one box. So bumbai us, we come smart. I come smart. Because every time I take one box, if I shoot about four or five, I ask 'em for new box. He ask me, "How many you get, how many you shoot?"

"Five." Well, he figure maybe I get only two or three, but I get about half box left eh, see. I keep so I get plenty bullet, eh. Bumbai every time you go ask, ask, eh, he no going give you bullet. But sometime you no more, eh, and sometime you get, eh. You gotta pile up your bullet. And sometime you get friends, eh, for take. You no can ask bullet for them, eh. But goat, you go up there, you no can miss. Too much goat, plenty goat. You shoot over here, even you pau, he stay come, he come over there, passing by you. And you let him go. The goat, you no can whitewash. Us guys, that time I go start hunting, no can whitewash. That time I know my gun, no can white wash. And every time me and my brother-in-law, we go down there, we shoot two each. We take 'em down for the mother and the father. And sometime I take for my girlfriend. (Chuckles)

MM: Who was your girlfriend (chuckles)?

ER: Yeah, same time I take da kine meat for my girlfriend house. (Chuckles) Every time he tell me, "We go down my house," my friend--the brother, eh. Every time, "We go down over here."
"Ah, more better we go tomorrow morning then." So we go shoot goat, we take them, get something for eat eh.

"Ah," he tell me, "okay we go in the morning." Some guys, they go in the night. Because down there kind of big, the people used to stay. Kind of plenty people, eh. And down there get good fun, too. And sometime he tell me, "Ey, we go down tonight."

"Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat." Give some fish for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh. (Chuckles) And then I tell, "Nah, we go shoot goat. You and me." Sometime he like go in the evening. I tell, "You go in the evening. I come in the morning this time. And you come up halfway." He know, eh, what place me and he go, he come halfway. Sometime he coming up, he shoot already, he get. Because he going from the down. Then I come down, I shoot, I get, then he meet me. Sometime when I coming down, he make the hand, come, come, no go shoot, because he wen shoot already. So me and him go pack, go down.

MM: So when you used to go from Kō'ele to Keōmuku, had trail or had road?

ER: Well, had only da kine horse trail. No more the car road.

MM: Where was the horse trail? Still get over here?

ER: Up here. You can go through here, go right on top.

MM: Go in the back of the ridge. Get...

ER: Yeah, back of the ridge, and go right on the ridge, and go ride down. Over here, more quick you can get on top. About half an hour, forty-five minutes you can reach.

MM: Get name for this area?

ER: Yeah, supposed to get. What this place's name? No, too long.

MM: Can still see the trail?

ER: The road, yeah. Still get. Guys go holoholo. Even us guys we used to go ride. But now, I don't know, maybe the fern come. Long time I no go. Every time I used to up here ride, then go up by the guava tree, you know da kine waiawī, the white one. Go eat guava. Then you catch the car trail.

MM: Go up Lāna'ihale trail?

ER: Lāna'ihale, you gotta go across the gully. You gotta go where the picture you wen show me, the one, Maunalei Gulch...

MM: Maunalei?
ER: Maunalei Gulch, you gotta stay the other side. Other side and go up. But you can come from the mountain and come down, and catch the trail.

MM: So you come up this side and you come down by the graveyard side?

ER: No, you go up this side. You going come down on top Maunalei Gulch. You know where the pump stay? Other side. You not going be the beach area. You only going stay on top. So if you going go through the mountain, you know where Hauola Gulch . . .

MM: By Hauola. Okay.

ER: Down Hauola Gulch. From over there, you stay that side, that side any place you come down to the beach. But if you stay this side or Hauola, you're going to over here.

MM: You gotta go makai side of Hauola?

ER: Yeah. And then you can come outside Hauola. Then you come Nāhoko, then you come Ka'a, then you come Kehewai. Kehewai, that's the one come right down to the coconut trees, where Tutu [Daniel Kaopuiki, Sr.] them [lived], where the church house.

MM: [Ka Lanakila O Ka Mālamalama] Church.

ER: Yeah, then you come little bit more the outside, then you come down. Come down by Sol's [Kaopuiki] them place. All inside there, you can come down. And all inside there, before, all before, no more kiawe tree. All clear from on top, you see, all clear, no more the kiawe tree. Kiawe tree come later. When I come over here first time, only little bit kiawe tree by the beach. Not too much. Then bumbai, the cattle eat the kiawe and take the seeds. That's why most the kiawe come up. That's all from the cattle bring. They no plant. But only few, down the beach yet. Most down the beach all open. Just like how the picture you was showing me. The Gay one. All like that, open. The sea was little bit more up, the sea level, land. Some place, the stone, only little bit, the water over there. But now, kind of way down, eh, the land grow. Dirty come, all this kind and go down. Before all open. You get open until you reach Naha, no more kiawe. Then bumbai, all this kind koa, Vredenburg bring this kind.

MM: So the cowboys had to go plant [haole] koa?

ER: Yeah, but you no plant, you just go throw 'em. You gotta carry two bags on the horse, eh. Yeah, like us guys, every time, you gotta make one puka on top there and catch 'em, and spray 'em. You go any kind place.

MM: How come he brought the koa?

ER: I don't know. He like for the cattle. But the koa no good because
the time I young I see plenty ranch, they no like. They like try hemo 'em. But he maybe like koa for the cow. But he no think the koa going come big. Bumbai, the stick about like this, you no can go through. Hard, you know. If only the young one like that, all right, the cow can eat 'em, eh. But now, you look, all hana pa'a. Hard for go through.

MM: That's haole koa.

ER: Yeah, the haole koa. You know all over here, [used to be] all clear. All right around. No more the koa. But now, you no can go with the horse too much. Before, our days, with the horse, we can go all around. I go all around this area, right around Lana'i with the horse. No trail, because you know where all the cow trail come up. You know where all the water trough for the cow. Everyplace get water trough. So where the water trough stay, plenty trail for the cows to go up and down, because they go for the water, eh.

MM: Who put in all the water troughs?

ER: For take care? Kwon, or sometime the cowboys, sometime us we go.

MM: And they make the pipeline, too?

ER: Oh, the pipeline when I come over here, was [there] already. Only we go patch if get puka. Sometime we no busy driving cattle, then cowboy take piece by piece. Maybe you go this end, and you come this end, they figure where you can pau hana. Then the other guy, he start from this side. Either he like start this side, and you start that way, then we meet together, pau hana, we come home. Because if you go over there, inside, only one by one, eh. So at the end, he tell you, you going end on top here. So this guy, he going end this side. So this guy tell me, "Ah, I going come this way. I meet you over there. You wait for me and I wait for you to come." So that's how we go. We join the two, then come. Like this, more better you go two guys. Sometime you get one big broke over there, eh, and you no can--so you wait till you reach then you tell, I get broke over there, we go fix 'em. Sometime only you one, the pipe go down like this and go up like this. Sometime he broke over here, he run away eh, and hard time one guy only bring.

MM: The pipe?

ER: Yeah, for join 'em together. Sometime hard for bring 'em together. Why, you tired, you like sleep? (Chuckles)

WN: No, my eye. Something in my eye.

ER: Come this side. Maybe the sun hitting you.

WN: No, no, no. Just, I have dust in my eye, that's why.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)
MM: When you were living down in the single boy house, who cook for you folks?

ER: Us, we cook our own. Each room, the boys cook their own. You know, you cook your own, he cook his own, he cook his own. Sometime we eat only our side. But sometime, we cook. The other guys never cook yet, you call, "Come eat." Then they come eat. Then bumbai, we join everybody.

MM: What kind kaukau you make?

ER: Any kind. Maybe eat sardine or sheep or goat, cook, salt 'em up, and then boil 'em. Cook the goat meat, or the sheep meat. Because we no go store buy cow meat. Most we eat all the wild animal. My days, I eat all wild animal.

MM: What about vegetables? You get vegetables?

ER: Over here get garden. And if we like, we go borrow some.

(Laughter)

ER: The company had big garden over there, so Sunday morning sometime, we like eat spinach. Most time we go get spinach.

MM: So the pineapple company had big garden.

ER: Yeah, the garden, that's for their boardinghouse. You know all the boardinghouse, they take this kind over there. They get any kind inside there.

WN: Never have, the ranch?

ER: The ranch, no, no more. Only the pineapple. So Sunday morning, we like some, we go over there borrow some. Go get some round cabbage, pick up one, cook with your salt meat. Sometime we get pig, too, yeah, pork. Mix 'em up with the goat meat, you know da kine salt meat, then cook 'em. Put cabbage inside. Mix the poi. But sometime, us guys, you know before you only get da kine crock. But us, da kine crock, the top broke, eh, already, the cover. So we only put rice, eh, inside rice. But sometime when you come home, the small mice, eh, they make puka. (Chuckles) They make puka, eh, but you no see. But he go inside, eh, inside the poi, stay inside the poi. So you come home, you eat the poi, you know. But when you see one lump, you think maybe you mix poi, eh, get lump. You push 'em away. Bumbai one guy, he push the thing and see the tail, "Hey, get mice in..."  

(Laughter)

ER: Everybody run outside, go make ah, ah, (laughs). One guy he push that thing, he think that's when the taro come get da kine lump, maybe we no strain 'em good, eh. Bumbai he push away, he see the
tail, he say, "Ey, we eating rat!"

"Where?"

"Look the tail!"

"Eeeeeee." Everybody run outside, go ah, ah, no can (chuckles). Tell, "No sense, you eat already."

Bumbai some other boys tell, "Ey, we no say nothing. Leave 'em go the other guys go eat."

"Nah, no good, throw away. No eat 'em, throw away!"

(Laughter)

ER: "Throw away this whole thing." He go tell them guys go eat 'em while we know. (Chuckles) We no tell, we no tell nobody we wen eat that kind mice (chuckles), no tell. Bumbai everybody tease us. We tell, "We no talk about it. Forget it." (Laughs)

MM: Up here, when you folks stay up here, you folks get fish, too?

ER: Yeah, because we go Keomuku, yeah. After that, I go with Jerry, eh, every time. Every time we reach down there, the boys every time like go fishing. The father every time go fishing, so we go inside swim. We go catch mullet, moi, weke, manini, we go with them.

MM: I forgot to ask you, how long did it take you to go from Kō'ele to Keomuku? How long take for reach?

ER: For reach? Oh, maybe about one hour or hour and a half.

MM: Go slow.

ER: But if you gallop, you reach fast, about one hour. One hour go, on the beach. Because that time no more kiawe like this, only straight, eh, you run around on the beach. Just run slow. So maybe about hour. But about hour and a half. Maybe sometime you gotta walk, walk. But when you come home time, yeah, the horse, they little bit quick. They like hurry up, come home, eh. Go home time, they little bit quicker. But when they climb up the hill from Maunalei, come up, yeah, little bit slow. Until you reach little more halfway under, about the trough water, the wind, they catch the top wind, eh, then they like go, because they get the cool air, eh. The horse come home. They come home quick. Go down, they little bit slow.

MM: Gee, I think would be the opposite. Uphill and downhill.

ER: No, I used to go down every time with the brother. Me and him every time, most weekends I go down. So, Rebecca father [Daniel Kaopuiki,
Sr.] and the mother [Hattie Kaopuiki], I every time go down there, they treat me just like their son, too, eh. They keep me, I go down there and then I take goat. Sometime we go buy cracker from over here. We take 'em box of cracker. Sometime we reach down there, smash, eh. All grind, smash eh. (Chuckles) Sometime I go buy flour, and take flour. She fry pancake. So every time I used to go down there. So them guys, I think they take me just like one boy, too, for them. Me too, I think them, that's my father. That time I no marry her [yet], eh. They my father and my mother. I think them just like father and the mother for me.

MM: So when you folks used to go down there, Sunday, you go church?

ER: Yeah, we go church too. Sunday we go church, pau church, we go fishing.

MM: The Keomuku church?

ER: Keomuku [Ka Lanakila O Ka Mālamalama] Church. I go plenty time inside that church. And sometime they make just like Sunday school. You know sometime they start the church early, and then they go make money for the church. They make little bit for they can buy something for the church. Maybe book or fix the church.

MM: So, how used to raise the money? What kind stuff?

ER: Just for go sing, they no sell something or what.

MM: Oh, just sing and people give money.

ER: Yeah, sing, and when you pau sing, maybe you go put down what you like put down, quarter or half dollar. Every time they tell us, just like one group. You get your own group, you go sing. And them guys, they get judge, you know, the minister.

MM: Like concert?

ER: Yeah, just like the minister, they judge [i.e., song contest]. Then bumbai they figure out who get the nice song, who sing good, who you see, all this kind. No use paper [memorize the song] or all da kine. Then they make you the winner, and these guys, maybe number two or number three. So, every three months, yeah, they do that. So every three months, you get same group, you like win this guy, win this guy, everybody like go sing eh, you know what I mean? Before days, that's how they go. But now days, the young guys, not too much like that. Before the young girls and boys, eh, they figure next three months they like beat you. Then some church, they come from outside island, too. Maybe from Hawai'i, from Maui, they come, then they all sing together. But if you come win, ho, you feel good, eh. The young guys they feel happy eh, because they study . . .

MM: When you were going church down there, who was the minister?
ER: Oh, he get one blind man. Alika, they call. But he can read, and then he can hear the voice of the people. Every time you go, then he know. Introduce the name, then he know who you. And he listen by your voice, but he blind.

MM: I think his name was George, yeah, Alexander [Alexander George]?

ER: I think so. I don't know. I only know, I only hear every time, they tell Alika, but I don't know his regular Haole name or what, English name. Then after when he make like that, then the other assistant, da kine, I don't know what his English name, but they call him Kini.

MM: Kini?

ER: Yeah, Kini [John Nakihei]. That's Hawaiian name Kini, but I don't know what his English name. Kini take over. Then bumbai after that, [James] Kauila. The chief cowboy take over the church over there. Then after him, then Rebecca's father, Daniel Kaopuiki, [Sr.].

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: You know, like when you was single and you live in a single boys' house . . .

ER: Yeah.

WN: . . . like Christmastime, how did you folks celebrate Christmas?

ER: Oh, Christmas, we go the older people house. You know, the older people who they making Christmas tree, or they make pig. Then we go over there. Most time over here, when Christmas and New Year, the chief cowboy, he make pig. They kalua pig. Everybody go over there eat.

MM: Everybody go Kauila house?

ER: Yeah, Kauila house.

MM: Where did Kauila live?

ER: Kauila live, stay right inside here. Right inside this area had one line house, you know I was telling you before get . . .

MM: In front of what. That was in front of the single boy house?

ER: No, single boy house this side. Right here where the washhouse stay. Right in front that big tree [banyan]. That's where the single boy house is. But get some over there, line like that, but get da kine old Japanese man that stay inside there. Da kine guys no more family. They stay inside there. They can stay, and Korean. And so, his house . . .
MM: So everybody---wait. Kauila was . . .

ER: Come out the line. You know where the line I tell you that
Japanese . . .

MM: The line of pine trees?

ER: Yeah. And the line, the corner one was his house. From down side
when you come up, get tree line, eh.

MM: Okay.

ER: Tree line, you get the Morita, and the cook lady. Then his house.
Then Koa, this side. Then the line go Koa, Piimoku.

MM: Got him on the map.

ER: Yeah.

MM: And . . .

ER: That's where he used to stay.

MM: So everybody in the camp go to his house?

ER: Yeah, go his house kālua pig.

MM: Did Munro come up?

ER: No, no, the boss no come. They take some piece down for him. Every
time he take some piece down for them. But he no come up.

MM: So the Haole people pretty much stay by themselves?

ER: Well, over here not too much Haole that time. Only the . . .

MM: Only Munro.

ER: Only Munro the Haole stay down with . . .

MM: And the bookkeeper.

ER: Yeah, the bookkeeper. Only them. Yeah. Only this guys, they take
meat for them. But everybody inside drink together. Inside here,
just like no more policeman. Only Munro take care.

MM: Get trouble in here? People make trouble?

ER: Yeah, if they get. You know the cowboy sometime they drink, they
like fight. So if they like fight and you no can stop 'em, you go
call Munro.

MM: They no call Kauila, they call Munro?
ER: Munro.

MM: How come they no call Kauila?

ER: Oh, Kauila no can handle. They no going listen him. They call Munro. Munro just like the father for all the guys. He call all the cowboys his children. And he walk with his ko'oko'o. He come down, he talk one time to you, you no listen, he whack you with his ko'oko'o. One whack you get, pau, everybody silent.

MM: His--you call it koko?

ER: Ko'oko'o, they tell, the cane.

MM: Ko'oko'o.

ER: You know the cane, the walking cane. The Hawaiians tell ko'oko'o, when you walk, eh. He come over here, he whack you with the stick one time and then you quiet one time. No more fight, everybody no more fight. He go home, no more noise. No more noise. Everybody go good.

WN: So everybody listen to Munro?

ER: Munro. He just like the policeman over here. And to him, just like all the cowboy that's his children. And these guys all respect him just like father. The one time he talk to you, you worse than one baby.

(Chuckles)

ER: Yeah, no matter how big this guy, one time he talk to you and he point the stick to you, you just like you baby. You drop dead, you baby. After he go home, no more not one voice from you come outside. No more that kind fighting business. He talk to you, take you over here, he talk to you something, pau. You go back over there, they go back sit down, and be quiet. He go home. And the guy stay over there just like one lolo.

(Laughter)

ER: Yeah, they no make noise. And he get one big, big Hawaiian man inside here. Big Hawaiian. His name [Sam] Koa. Him too, he quiet guy. But if anybody fight and they no listen, he grab one bugger, or two bugger like that, bang 'em. Pau. You sit down over here before they go call the old man [Munro]. Sometime inside his house, yeah, he no like the old man blame inside his house. He catch the two guys, he bang 'em one time together, and make 'em sit down. And no more noise from you two guys. No like the old man come over here by the house. He come by over here, just like in his house they stay drinking inside, and they make trouble inside. Maybe they talk about job, bumbai they like fight. As long he stay around, he going make them guys no fight. 'Cause he no like the old man come up.
(Chuckles)

MM: But mostly everybody get along.

ER: Get along, yeah. Oh, the house to house people, all you can go inside the house. Just like your own house. You know, eat together. Sometime, guys, they bring kaukau, they go over there, everybody go eat together. Everybody eat together on top the veranda or outside on the grass. They drink. Pau, when they get 'nough, everybody go home. Come dark, everybody go home. The people inside here, when I come young time, just like they all one family. Everybody together, just like one family.

WN: What about Thanksgiving time?

ER: Thanksgiving, same thing. Any kind, any kind . . .

WN: Kauila's house?

ER: No. Sometimes Koa's house, sometime Kauila's house. Where the one guy going make party, then everybody chip in, all go inside. But most time, they make the chief cowboy place.

MM: When somebody sick, where they go?

ER: The sick people?

MM: I mean if---who take care you if you sick?

ER: Oh, get hospital down here. You go down the hospital was [Lāna'i City].

MM: How about around Munro time? Early time?

ER: Yeah, Munro time get hospital. Get the doctor.

MM: Anybody make Hawaiian medicine?

ER: Ah, that, I don't know too much. But, I only know when I go Keomuku, my mother-in-law make Hawaiian medicine. She and the father make Hawaiian medicine. Every time when I go down there, they make. Even me sometime I get sick, they make. Sometime I no like take sour, huh, but I take. They give me Hawaiian medicine. Even my sister, my half-sister.

MM: Hawea?

ER: Yeah, my half-sister. Because my father had two wife. Like me, I was in the second, second mother one. And them guys in the first. Had one girl and one boy from his first wife. I get half-brother, too. Then from my second mother, we had six of us. Two girl and four boys. And the first wife had two. One girl and one boy. So the boy, I think he wen make long time because I don't know too
much.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 16-8-2-88; SIDE ONE

WN: When you first came here, were you homesick?
ER: No.

WN: You missed Lahaina?
ER: No.

WN: You missed your father?
ER: Ah, no, because I no stay with my father that time. When my mother make, I stay with my uncle.
WN: Oh.
ER: I stay with my uncle. So I no miss them when I came over here. I no think about home. I never think about home when I go. I only think where I'm going live, where I going try help my uncle. That's only what I think, for help him.

WN: You had to send money back to your uncle?
ER: Yeah, I send some for help him for take care his family, 'cause he had plenty children too, eh. And him da kine sick man, too. Every once in a while he sick. He no can go work. But used to work rubbish car. Lahaina rubbish car. In Lahaina town, eh, they go pick up rubbish. That's his job. But he sick man, kind of sick all the time.

MM: When you was single boy, you used to pick up the mail?
ER: No, no.

MM: No, you told me when it was day off, sometimes you go get mail?
ER: Yeah, sometime if they like--over here, he get one regular mail boy from here, take Keomuku, take the mail. But sometime every day he go, he tired, sometime he sleep, eh, so they call me.

MM: Who was the regular mailman?
ER: Abraham.
MM: Kauila?
ER: Yeah. Abraham Kauila every time take the mail. And then sometime, they pick me up.

MM: I see.

ER: Sunday, maybe him day off, eh. So Sunday sometime they tell me take the mail.

MM: So the mail used to go every day?

ER: Not exactly every day. Sometime go on top the Naia, eh, go this way. But sometime if they need some important mail, you know, go Lahaina, gotta go quick kind, then you take 'em to Keomuku. Then Keomuku, you reach over there. The small boat take 'em to Lahaina. The small boat take.

MM: So this is the mail for all of Lāna'i City, and the ranch, Kō'ele? Or only the ranch mail?

ER: Gee, that, I don't know. I don't know whose mail. I only know they tell me for deliver the mail down, and then come home.

MM: And you used to go by horse?

ER: Yeah, by the horse. Sometime I take two horse. I lead one down, till reach, Maunalei. Maunalei, the one I wen ride, I tie 'em. Then I used, the one I lead, I used 'em go Keomuku. Go Keomuku. Then I come back reach over here, I jump on top this horse, then I come home. Because before for me young time, I scared, yeah. Coming dark, eh, gotta go hurry up. So the boss tell me, "You gotta take this mail, and you come back." Ho, I no like only one horse, eh. I figure if one horse going go, tired. So I ask him, "I can take two horses?"

He tell, "Up to you."

So I take two horse.

MM: You leave one horse down there?

ER: I leave one horse halfway. Then I ride the other one, the one I lead, I ride and go, come back. Reach over there, I jump on top the other one, I come back.

MM: And the next day you go get 'em?

ER: No, I bring home the horse with me.

MM: Oh, you lead 'em?

ER: I lead 'em. Because come home time, when you ride 'em from that way, even you let 'em go, he going home.
MM: Oh.

ER: You know, you let 'em go, he going run in front you. He pass you, he going home. (MM chuckles.) If you let 'em go.

MM: How come you was scared?

ER: Well, you young boy time, eh. Down there, every time you look, no more nobody, and people used to talk story, eh. They talk story sometime in the evening, or early in the morning, plenty mynah birds make plenty noise. Certain place, plenty mynah bird. So when you think da kine, you think ghost, eh, obake. The way they. . . . (Chuckles) Tell how come the bird all make noise like that. They tell maybe get da kine, eh. So you come scared. When single boy you stay here, all nighttime, they talk story, eh, the old people talking story, you go listen. Sometime you think too spooky, ah, more better go home for sleep. (WN chuckles.) You no like listen, bumbai you come scared, eh.

WN: What kind stories, like what?

ER: They talk about devil kind, about old kind story on the road going down.

WN: To Keomuku?

ER: To Keomuku. Certain part sometime the horse no can move. That's why you certain place you go, the horse know. Just like they call one place over there, they name 'em, Pohaku'o. They tell 'em that's Pohaku'o. I never get that kind yet, over there, but all the people they pass over there, they tell the chicken crow inside there. That's why I come scared, eh. But the people, they hear, I never hear.

MM: No more chicken?

ER: No more chicken, no more da kine chicken crow. Halfway when you going Keomuku, they said the chicken crow. Every time you pass over there, the chicken stay crow, crow. But I never get da kine, because that time I stay over here, I stay learning little bit, eh. The chief cowboy tell me, "Every time this guys, they talk ghost kind story, you no believe them. No believe what they tell. If you believe, you catch 'em." Sometimes the guys believe, that's why they catch 'em. No believe what they say. That's why, every time when I go, sometimes I no like believe. Sometimes I know this the place, this the place they talking about, ah, I gotta forget about it. Just go. And then they say, when you go way down, when you hit the kiawe now, just about the kiawe, the end of the oil road in there, they said over there kind of spooky place there, all the mynah bird make plenty noise inside there. You gotta watch out the mynah bird, plenty spook stuff around there. You know when I go down there, plenty mynah bird yelling, yelling, eh, but I no think nothing about. I figure, well, all the bird all maybe making noise
themselves, eh. So I just pass. But when I pass da kine place, I no walk. I dig (chuckles), so I reach the other side quick. I give 'em the gas.

MM: So that's why never have car for take the mail. Didn't have road. Had road to Keōmuku?

ER: Yeah, I take to Keōmuku, the mail.

MM: No, no, but the car can go?

ER: No, that's why, no more car, only wagon trail. Only the wagon kind over there. The automobile like that, no can. No can go down. Till later, bumbai some Filipinos they started make, follow the wagon trail and go down. Then they reach right by the beach. They reach by the beach right over there, get sand hill. And when they come back, they no can climb up the sand. The sand come soft, then they try throwing stone, they try make the road so they can go down. That's why soon I reach down Keomuku, I take my mail over there, I reach, I give him the bag, I tell if okay, he tell me, okay, no more nothing to go up, I turn around, I go home. I ain't talking story, I going home.

(Laughter)

WN: About how long took you from round-trip?

ER: Well, maybe about little over two hour. Coming back time, more faster. Because the horse going up the hill, they know they going home. You let her go, the empty horse, you let 'em, go. So he run, eh, go, go home. He like run go home. The other horse, he see, more he like go too, eh, so you just let 'em go, go. But you pull 'em, the two guys go more slow, eh, but you let 'em go, he going home, eh. But go down time, eh, you no can leave 'em. Saddle up two over there, when you reach over there, just change horse, just jump down, tie everything on top, let 'em go. Then you ride your horse, he going home. The other one, he see, follow, ah, he like go too. Take about two and a half hour. But sometime less, less than two and a half.

WN: They pay you more, extra, for doing that?

ER: Well, they pay me on my day-work pay. How many hour, maybe how many hour that. Maybe they give you half-day, half-day pay. (Chuckles) That's all.

WN: I wonder, when did they have electricity?

ER: Oh, the electricity about '35, when Vredenburg came, then him the one make this kind. You know, Munro time only lantern, see. Thirty-five, between '37 and '38. Because when he start building this house from down, Miki, put 'em on the truck, bring 'em. About that time. Maybe by '39, we had light already. We had light, then
we had toilet in the house. Before we get toilet all outside. That's why early in the morning you like go toilet, you got to knock on the door, all the door full. The guy knocking inside too. Get about four door, four toilet. One side lady, one side man.

WN: So when Vredenburg came, you had running water or . . .

ER: Water for drink?

WN: Yeah.

ER: We get water, but we no more [flush] toilet. We had kitchen, we had water. We had water, but we used to cook outside da kine wood stove kind. The Munro time, all cook outside. When Vredenburg time, then you get kerosene stove. Get kitchen, stove. The other time, only lantern or gas light.

MM: So, some cowboys, you know like Kauakahi, he used to make the saddle, you said, Kauakahi?

ER: Yeah, Kauakahi used to be the saddle maker for the ranch.

MM: So he only take care saddles?

ER: Saddles, the stable boy, everything on the stable, that's his duty. He take care the stable, but he get one helper. One young guy like us going helper one week, every week he get one helper for him.

MM: And he changed helper every week you said, what? Only one guy stay with him?

ER: Yeah, one guy stay, clean the stable, put kaukau for the horses, barley every time. Then every morning about three o'clock, them two go out feed the horses. Bring all the horse in the stable for the cowboys. When you going out, then you go pick up your horse and go out.

MM: I see.

ER: Pick up.

MM: They had like, okay, Kauakahi take care of the stables.

ER: Mm hmm.

MM: Ah, Kwon take care the planting?

ER: Yeah, planting.

MM: And then Shin take care the piggery?

ER: The piggery.
MM: And let's see . . .

ER: The piggery that's when Vredenburg time, then Shin take care the piggery.

MM: Oh, but before . . .

ER: But before Munro time, get pig, eh, but one Japanese man, [Morikazu] Kawano, no not Kawano, that's the mechanic [carpenter]. Gee, I forget his name, but I know the one Japanese was taking care the pig up here. Only up here. Up here had pig, only for Munro time. Down there, when Vredenburg come, then he wen make pigpen.

MM: They open up the piggery at Pālāwai?

ER: Down there, he put all the cement. That's Vredenburg time. Yeah.

MM: And then, so who else were like the foremen?

ER: The . . .

MM: Who else had specific job for be foreman like?

ER: When Munro time?

MM: Yeah.

ER: Munro time only Kim. Kim and Kauila. Kauila foreman for the cattle, and Kim foreman for the fence, fix fence, put all fence. And Kwon, Kwon used to be the water boy for all around the cattle. From here, right around the island, halfway about the island, the water line all go until reach Mānele. He take care the water.

MM: And then the trees?

ER: Yeah, and the tree. Then they--the water all good, and then maybe sometime Saturdays like that, the cowboys no too much busy, then the boss, Munro, send cowboys go check the water. Then him, he go plant trees with the young boys.

MM: Munro go plant trees?

ER: No, Kwon.

MM: Kwon.

ER: Kwon go plant trees with the boys. Because Kwon the one take care all the water line, eh. Then sometime, the cowboys no busy or driving cattle like that, then he take care the cowboy, take you go look all the water line, look if water good, or the pipe broke, gotta go fix. That's the cowboy job too, they go help.

MM: Had anybody else that had special job?
ER: No, I don't think so. Because, those days, if no too much busy on the cowboy, eh, each cowboy go shoe their own horse. When they no busy go outside, no more job like that, so you go shoe horse.

MM: So who teach you how to shoe horse?

ER: Well, you go over there, the cowboys teach you. How to hold the leg, and how to go carry in the back. How to hold and follow the horse, and how to make the shoe. Sometime you hold 'em under here, and you file it, you no can hold 'em good, the feet bounce, eh, and you file, you no can make 'em level. So they tell you squeeze 'em together and you try push the file. Push 'em. So the more hard you push, the more he bite, because the thing get big teeth, eh. He bite, he pull more on the feet, then you gotta make little bit light. They show you how to go shoe, how to nail. Because the nail get one side. One side you gotta put the right way. Because the nail, one side, just like they sawed 'em down. So, when you nail 'em, he going outside like that. Just like us, yeah, when we cut fingernail. We cut it, if we go deep, sore, eh. So if you go just right, no sore. So same thing like the horse. When you go make 'em, you gotta make just right. No make 'em too close to the meat. If not, when he going press, he going come sore.

But before the olden days, the Japanese, was more Japanese used to be blacksmith. I watch the Japanese, when they fire, they burn 'em. You know, the hot, the shoes, they burn 'em, make 'em red, eh. Real hot red, then press 'em, right on top. Press 'em. They know how much for press. So they say, when they cook the thing like that, the hoof slow to grow, because they burn 'em, kind of slow.

MM: So did--was the Japanese a blacksmith over here?

ER: No. All the cowboys. But I don't know . . .

MM: So, didn't have blacksmith.

ER: Yeah. I don't know when I came time. Maybe they had, or no more. But I never hear story. But when I come here, I look all the cowboys, they shoe their own. And who no can shoe, eh, maybe somebody help them shoe the horse. Maybe some guys too old, eh, and they no can shoe, no can carry. So the young boy, yeah, every time they make us, "You come over here, go over here, hold 'em." Make you learn how to shoe. So I go learn. But only the hardest part, I no can hold the back leg. I scared, bumbai, kick me. (Chuckles) That's why they tell you how to follow the leg. You know sometime the horse pull back, eh. Just hold 'em and lift 'em up little bit. You lift 'em up like that, they no like kick because they get the weight on top here. But if they jump up the two leg back, yeah, then they kick. But if not, he only going try move, but his weight stay on top this side. That's what they tell me, the weight. And sometime when he shake-shake, you gotta try lift 'em up. Hold 'em up, no let 'em go down. He go down, then he get the weight, he can go down. So you gotta try hold the weight.
WN: You gotta keep 'em off balance.

ER: Yeah, yeah, something like that. Just like throw 'em off. They show you how to hold and how to let her go. Sometime you let her go wrong, then he kick, he catch you, eh. And sometime they tell you right here by the hoof, eh, when they kick away, you bend 'em up, he come sore, eh, then he keep still, then you file 'em. They keep still if you hold 'em near the hoof, eh, right by the joint. And you bend 'em up like that. That's why . . .

WN: By the ankle then?

ER: But cowboy, you gotta learn plenty, because even you go outside like this, eh, you have to make one small bag. One bag that you can put two shoes inside, small leather bag and the nail, and one hammer, that's all. Then when you go outside, the horseshoes open, if you open it stay right there, if you lose 'em, well, you get one for replace. Then no need file. Just put the nail inside, 'nough. So long he can come out from the stone. Bumbai when we reach home, next day, then you make 'em good.

WN: Just like spare tire then?

ER: Yeah, just like spare tire, yeah.

(Laughter)

ER: Gotta keep spare.

WN: So Munro's time, about how many employees, you think, the whole ranch had?

ER: About thirty. About thirty or little over thirty.

WN: That's cowboy . . .

ER: Cowboy.

MM: Only in Kōʻele, though?

ER: Yeah, in Kōʻele, about thirty.

MM: So with Keōmuku how much?

ER: Yeah, maybe about the same or little bit less.

MM: So about sixty people working.

ER: Yeah, maybe. Sixty cowboy.

WN: Cowboys . . .

ER: Fence man.
WN: . . . fence men . . .

ER: Water man. They call water man, the one go look the . . .

WN: And then the saddle maker and the fence . . .

ER: Yeah, and the fence man. All together. Then sometime they get big drive like when you go far place, big drive, they take some men, down there they leave 'em. Then they come walk only by the top, go help drive, make noise. But some, they put 'em on the horse, who can ride one horse, put 'em on the horse.

MM: Oh, they go Lāna'i City get man if they need extra?

ER: Ah, only Vredenburg time, then they wen go borrow the guys. But Munro time, no. Only he 'nough, all his guys. He never borrow man from the city. Only Vredenburg time. Even sometime he go borrow boys for go fix fence, 'cause that time he came, he like [fence] all around. All around the pineapple, he like da kine net wire, net wire fence. Not this kind fence.

MM: Keep the cow out.

ER: Yeah, he like the net wire kind. So the cow no can come inside the pineapple. That's why he was making all the big job, put all net around. And then some place for run down the beach, he wen like make stone wall. That's why down Mānele, half up, they get stone wall.

MM: This is Vredenburg?

ER: Yeah. Vredenburg time. He wen like put all stone wall, instead put wire.

WN: By the time Vredenburg took over, they still had the operations down in Keomuku?

ER: Yeah, was still yet. Then him the one knock 'em off.

WN: Oh, okay.

ER: Yeah, him the one knock off that. He never like down there, he like only up here.

WN: Oh, I see.

MM: So now, how did you meet Mama [ER's wife]?

ER: With the brother. The brother . . .

MM: Every time you go down there?

ER: Yeah, take me go their house, and go take . . .
MM: Keōmuku?

ER: Yeah. Then that's how I meet Mama, go there. And the sister Lei them and some other girls, I meet her. Then her come up [Kō'ele] every weekend, she come up, pick up the brother them clothes, take home down for the mother go wash. Either Saturday or Friday, she come up. She ride her own horse come up. Well, that time I go down there, I meet her little bit, then when she come up by the brother house, ah, more better for me, eh. Because more near, eh. (Chuckles) No need go far, eh. Yeah, the brother, they had two brothers go, and the uncle, because the uncle, they get their own house down here, big house go down. So she come up, he come up, come pick up the clothes, then Monday morning she go home. Take the clothes, or Sunday afternoon she go home. Take the clothes home.

WN: Somebody when try match-make you folks?

ER: No, no. (Chuckles) I wen find my own.

(Laughter)

ER: Maybe the brother wen match-make me. Every time take me his house. (Chuckles)

WN: Oh, yeah?

ER: Yeah, every time he tell me, "We go down, we go down," 'cause every time he like make me go with him, eh.

MM: So, tell us about how you wen get married. Where did you get married?

ER: Well, I get married because I was going with her maybe about one year, so she had big stomach. (Chuckles)

MM: (Chuckles) But what, you had to go play basketball first, I heard.

ER: Well, well, every time, we go down play basketball, eh, when she come up Friday. Saturday, we go play basketball. So, I go with her, eh, and go down, and then come home together. Then bumbai sometime I go by their house, I go sleep over there, eh. (Chuckles)

MM: But I heard you wen get married, then you wen play basketball. (Chuckles)

ER: Well, well, you see. I go out with her. Then she had big stomach, but she [lived in] Keomuku. But the father no like tell me nothing. So he tell the uncle, the uncle tell me, "Eh, boy, I think you gotta marry this girl." He tell, "You make 'em big stomach, eh?"

So I no say nothing. So I come home. I ask my brother them, because I going get married. But they know, eh, which girl going get married, they tell, "Up to you. You going get married." So
that night, we get game. Then I play basketball that night.

So, that's June 10. June 11, the uncle tell me, they going make party. He tell me, "You no need buy nothing. We buy the pig and everything." Then me and her gotta go down [Keomuku]. But those days, no more car. We gotta ride horse. So okay. So I gotta play basketball, eh.

So June 10, she was up here, yeah, I tell, "More better us two go marry now. We go Japanese minister, so nobody know. We go Haole minister, everybody know, so we go Japanese minister. So we wen go.

I go down there, I go talk to the minister. I tell him, "Because I like get married." And he look me, but he talk Japanese, eh. Eh, I no understand too much. "Ah, bumbai," I tell him, "you wait, you wait." I get one Japanese boy, he play basketball with us, eh. Maybe he know. I go by the gym, I go call him, because right next, eh. I call him, I say come. "I like you go be best man for me."

"Why?"

"I going get married. I like you best man for me. So the Japanese minister going talk, you tell me what."

(Laughter)

ER: He tell me, "Eh, you bluffing, you joking."

"No, wait. Before the game start, come on, we go." He think maybe I joking. (Chuckles) Because he no see her, her stay by the church, eh. He no see her. I tell, "No, come on, come on, we go." So me and him go, we go in the church.

"You sure you going get married?"

"Yeah, going get married."

"Where your girlfriend?"

"Inside that church. That's why the minister talk Japanese to me, I don't know, maybe you can understand, and you tell me, eh."

He tell, "Oh, okay, okay." We go in there, he see her, he tell, "Okay, for sure I believe you going get married." (MM chuckles.) So we go inside. So the Japanese talk with him, then he tell me, eh. And he tell me, I think when he be talking Japanese to him, then he tell me, because Japanese style, one year behind, eh?

WN: Mmm.

ER: You know, one year behind. So when we go marry, in 1932. So he tell me, "You know what the minister say, just like you going marry 1931."
I tell 'em, "How come, this is 1932?"

But he tell, "No, Japanese style, they go from the day you wen born. Your year go down when born, so now they go back. From over you wen start. Not from '32. You live one year already, eh." Because I wen '32, eh, and then he tell me, you gotta start from '31 because you born on '31. So you, the paper going be 1931, not '32.

MM: So the date on your marriage certificate is different?

ER: Yeah, different. I marry '32, but the paper is '31. Because the boy tell me, the minister tell him, because you going start marry from '31, because you get one year in front.

MM: Hmm (chuckles). Okay.

ER: That's what he tell me, the boy. He listen what the guy tell me, you know, the Japanese style says, you have to count from one year. And now you gotta go back one year. I marry '32, but just like we wen marry from '31. (Chuckles) He explain me. Ah, so, I like go play ball too, I tell, "Okay, okay."

(Laughter)

ER: Anything. I tell him, "Anything what you make the paper, we make the paper is okay already. You tell him, okay. We go so we can finish this." So just pau marry, I go play basketball already. Go inside there, almost game start.

WN: And what your wife did while you was playing?

ER: Sitting down watching us.

MM: I hope you wen win.

(Laughter)

ER: She sitting down and stay watching me until we pau play and we come home. Then the next day, in the morning, we catch horse, we went Keomuku.

MM: But after you went play basketball, then what did you do? You went eat, where did you eat?

ER: Nah, we no go eat, we come home. Unless we wen go eat saimin.

MM: Yeah, Mama said you went eat saimin.

ER: Oh, saimin, yeah saimin. (Chuckles) Only over here get saimin, no more da kine restaurant already, we gotta eat saimin. Yeah, I think so we wen go eat saimin. So the boys stay over there, I go treat them go eat saimin. We go eat saimin. All the basketball player. I think about eight guys had.
WN: They went to the wedding, too?

ER: They no go because only me and the other Japanese boy. The guys was all in the gym.

MM: Who was the Japanese boy?

ER: The minister—ah, the boy, I don't know. He came from Hawai'i and then he go school over here, eh. So he pau school over here, then he work over here. I think da kine, [Eizo] Abe, you know the yard boy for, for . . .

MM: For Munro?

ER: Yeah, for Munro. I think [Abe's] nephew or what. Then he graduate from school, but he no like go home, eh, so he stay over here. We play basketball. So only him the Japanese boy with the Hawaiian guys play, because he live up here the ranch, eh. So only ranch guys, eh.

MM: So they had how many . . .

ER: Only one city guy play for us.

MM: How many different teams they had?

ER: Oh, get plenty, because those days, when come summer like this, all school children come over here play. So they get their own team, so we go out, we go play with them.

WN: Oh, the pineapple workers?

ER: Yeah, pineapple, they get own team. So we go play. But when this kind pau summer, we no more. We only play with—get two team over here. They call one Lana'i Pine, and one Filipino team, but I forget who the Filipino, the name. So only get three team, eh, for play together, but when come summertime, plenty. So summertime, we go down there from about nine o'clock. We stay until the evening time we play, 'cause summertime get plenty boys, eh. So we play da kine two out of three. You know two out of three, you lose, you go. Us, sometime we go inside there, we stay till we tired, no can play. Nobody can beat us.

MM: Who coach you folks for play basketball?

ER: No more coach, we play our own.

WN: You get uniforms?

ER: Yeah, we get our uniforms, black and yellow. (Chuckles) And on top here get the golf ball, Proflite.

MM: Proflite.
ER: Yeah, then behind get the number. Get all the number.

WN: What was your number?

ER: My number, number three. (Chuckles) Number three.

MM: He remembers all the important stuff.

ER: Yeah.

(Laughter)

ER: Yeah, we play basketball. Then we go over there, every team come play, you going play one team, the loser go out, eh, go out, go out. Us go inside, no can lose. (Chuckles) No can lose.

MM: So who was on your team?

ER: On my team? The four brothers. Four brother and one da kine . . .

MM: So Johnny boy . . .

ER: Johnny.

MM: Chester.

ER: Me. Chester and Lew.

MM: Lew.

ER: And me. Yeah.

MM: You. And who else?

ER: And then one more Hawaiian boy from over here, Kalua.

MM: Kalua.

ER: Yeah. I forget his name. Kakalia Kalua. But his Haole name, I don't know. He play for us. Five, and we get eight. And the guy Kruger, Kruger boy, and the Japanese boy over here, and who was the other one. Get one more. Eight of us every time. Oh, Jerry.

MM: Oh, Kaopuiki?

ER: Yeah, Jerry. Him was the other. But he don't know too much basketball. The one that most, only the seven guys. But when Sunday, ah, let 'em play. (MM chuckles.) Any kind. We had pretty good team. Lana'i Pine was strong but we lick 'em. But one year they lick us. (Chuckles) One year they lick us, the rest, they no lick us. That time we had strong, strong team, though.

MM: That's about it?
WN: Yeah. We going stop over here, and then we going maybe come back one more time.

ER: Yeah, okay.

WN: Finish up.

ER: Yeah. Okay.

MM: Next time we talk about Vredenburg time.

ER: Yeah, okay.

END OF INTERVIEW
MM: ... on Sunday, October 30, 1988. Okay, you ready?

ER: Ready. Okay.

MM: The last time we came, kind of long time ago, we talked mostly about Munro time. There's still little bit questions I wanted to find out about and maybe you can remember. You know when you first came when you was a young boy [in 1926]?

ER: Mm hmm.

MM: Were there people living all over the island or only in certain places?

ER: Well, when I came here time, only they live in Keomuku [side]. Most, Keomuku. The other part no more people over there.

MM: Had some people up Kō'ele side, too?

ER: Oh, up here Kō'ele, yeah. Just like the big place of the ranch. And then Keomuku, that's the other half of da kine [the ranch]. They get cattle all around, but they get men, Keomuku. The men [at] Keomuku, take care all Keomuku area. And then up here, Kō'ele the main place for the cattle. And the big boss stay over here [at Kō'ele], then get another boss down there [at Keomuku]. [Robert] Cockett was the boss [at Keomuku]. [George] Munro the head boss for all, eh.

MM: Cockett was where?

ER: Only Keomuku side.

MM: Keomuku. And Munro up here.

ER: Up here. But up here and down there, Munro boss all. But Cockett only take care the men down there. Take care the water, the
windmill, most all the seaside, all windmill, eh. So the water run with windmill, da kine brackish water, yeah.

MM: So, was there anybody still living down Pālāwai side?

ER: Ah, when I came over here, nobody by Pālāwai side. Only, just when you going on top and then you going down Mānele?

MM: Mm hmm.

ER: You know when you hit the bend and you come right on top there, get one house. And one man live inside there.

MM: Who was that?

ER: Um, I don't know the last name, but they call him Pedro.

MM: Pedro.

ER: Pedro. Only him, I know he live up there, but maybe, I don't know, maybe he take care all down there.

MM: He didn't work for anybody?

ER: He worked for the ranch.

MM: Oh, he did work.

ER: He worked for the ranch and he live down there, just like he take care up there area for the water, down Pālāwai side, go up, go up on the bench. He take care all down there. And he live down there. Only one guy.

MM: How about Mānele? Did anybody live Mānele?

ER: Ah, Mānele, they send nobody. Nobody, only the pier stay, but only for the boat, bring the food for Lana'i. Like Keomuku get the boat. They send 'em Maui. And then Maui, they go get the poi and certain kind food, any kind canned stuff like that, bring Mānele. Then the trucks go get 'em, bring up here.

MM: I see.

ER: And this house [referring to ER's present house which was once the ranch office/store that he moved to in 1988] had one partition go outside, that's the store. They get the store right by the cement. Get the cement come over there, that's where our store. That's for the ranch, you can go buy any kind inside there. Open Monday, Wednesday and Friday, every other day.

MM: Every other day. What time?
ER: What time? After work. After work, most time they pau work about five o'clock. You go after five, maybe one hour or hour and a half.

MM: I heard they ring the bell.

ER: Yeah, ring the bell. They ring the bell, then you know the store stay open. Then the Haole lady [Helen Jean Forbes] stay inside take care. Then you come with your can, you know da kine cracker can, you go down there, you fill up the cracker inside. What you get, any kind pot, you go down there, you scale [i.e., weigh] the pot, and then you fill up everything, then you scale back.

MM: So what kind of stuff did they used to sell in the store?

ER: Any kind. Get any kind canned stuff. They get corned beef, sardines, jelly, cracker, but only Friday, I think, get poi. So like us guys, we take thirty pound, eh, enough for the whole week.

MM: Thirty pound feed how many people?

ER: Only four.

MM: Four, four men?

ER: Yeah, yeah.

MM: Single boys?

ER: Yeah.

MM: Four single boys.

ER: Da kine, Uncle Lew and Uncle Chester, and only me and Uncle Johnny, we work.

MM: Oh, the four brothers.

ER: And the two boys [i.e., the younger brothers, Chester and Lew] go school. They go school and them the one come home cook. They cook for us. But [if] we reach home early, we cook. But sometime they come home, pau school quick, they cook for us, see. That's how we was going.

MM: I see. And Uncle Lew and Uncle Chester, where were they going school? Which school did they go to?

ER: Oh, he wen go school over here [Kōʻeʻele Grammar School]. He wen graduate from over here, then he wen go Kona, Konawaena School 'cause my sister was . . .

MM: That's Chester?
ER: Yes, Chester. He went Konawaena School because my sister was teacher. Then Uncle Lew, when pau school, he went Lahainaluna [School].

MM: I see.

ER: They went Lahainaluna only little while before they run away. They go . . .

MM: But when they were going to school on Lāna'i, where was the school?

ER: Up here.

MM: At---where the old [Cavendish] Golf Course . . .

ER: Yeah, way up there, where the school was [Kō'ele Grammar School], that's where they wen go school. And then when the two guys wen pau school, I think they no like the working hour, eh, they run away; they went Honolulu. They never go school Lahaina. And then Uncle Chester, too, I think one time he wen pau school, he went Honolulu. He wen work for [Honolulu] Rapid Transit, streetcar kind.

MM: I see. I hear--Robin Kaye [author of Lanai Folks] had given me one tape with Susumu Nishimura on top and he said his job in the morning was to round up all the horses.

ER: Everybody.

MM: Everybody.

ER: Everybody take turns every week. Every week they pick two guys go up. Every morning you gotta go house all the horse inside. Drive 'em in. About three o'clock, three o'clock . . .

MM: In the morning?

ER: . . . in the morning. Then you go up there. But the horses know already, eh. When you go over there, you whistle, they come. They go in the gate. And then they go in the stable, get all the fence around, eh, the horse, you drive 'em over there, go in the stable. Then, some, you feed. Before that, they no feed. Morning time, you gotta go catch your own horse inside the pen. The first time I come, you gotta catch your horse, bring and saddle up and go. Then bumbai later, they build da kine stall. Then the horse, morning time, you gotta go feed. You go over there, you bring 'em all inside the pen. Before that, in the [previous] evening, you know you going go work, going be your chance. In the evening, you go fill up all the barley . . .

MM: In . . .

ER: In the bucket, fill up. So morning time when you go drive the horse, all come inside the pen. From the pen you open the gate, the
horses going go inside the stall, eat. But sometime they fight. The horse stay eating, you go over there, get the rope on top already, you just go tie 'em. Sometime the horse you tie up, the other horse like go inside eat, too, eh, he kick. When they go inside, you gotta put two horse inside one [stall], just tie up. Then morning time, the cowboys come, they go pick up their horse and they go put saddle, then they go out.

But in the morning when you wake up, you [first] go down the office. About five o'clock, the office open. Then you go over there, you go get your assignment, where you going work. Then you go home, you make your lunch and eat and you go. But sometime you no going outside, no need make lunch, eh. Sometime you going work inside there. If you going out, then you gotta go home make lunch.

MM: So, one of the things Susumu said is, in the old stone church, the mules used to hide inside there. He said every morning he'd go inside and the mules all stay inside.

ER: Yeah. Sometime they go inside because get stone wall, eh, just like warm. But, like us guys, young time, we no like go over there, we scared. Because they said just like graveyard, eh, over there. And you know, the old people every time tell you that kind stories, spooky kind story. And sometime you no like, you scared. That's why, all right, two guys go, but one guy supposed to go around. But sometime you scared, (laughs) and two guys go together.

MM: But what they used to use the mules for?

ER: The mule? They use for ride. And some, they used for the wagon. You know, the wagon for go haul pipe and post because no more car. First time I come up, only the [ranch] boss get one car and one car for the dog. Only two car. The men no ride on top car, you know, only the dog. (Chuckles) When you going work far place like that, he put all the dogs on top. Take the dog over there, then the cowboys go over there, then you pick up your dog. Call your dog come, then he go with you, go work. And then when pau work, the car reach over there for the dog. So they ride the car, they go home. And the stable boy gotta feed the dog. They lock 'em up in the pen so they no can go any place, eh. Then in the morning, when you going drive cattle, the stable boy take the dog where you going. Over there, you meet the car, then you pick up the dog.

(Voice in background.)

MM: I was talking about different places people live. How about by Kaumalapau side, anybody lived down there?

ER: Kaumalapau [Harbor] side, only the guys work for the [Hawaiian] Pineapple [Company]. They live down there, work for down the pier. That time I came over here, they was fixing [i.e., building] the pier, so they live down there. And halfway over here, get one da kine they call Lumber Camp. Those guys only for fix [i.e, build]
the road [between Lāna'i City and Kaumalapau Harbor]. They get all
the Japanese, they broke stone all like that. Before, no more
crusher. They have to broke 'em with the hand. Bumbai later,
they . . .

MM: They were making all the roads by hand then?

ER: By hand, yeah. By hand and they cook the tar, put tar on top when
they was making the road. And so those Japanese, they work hard.
They smart how they work the road. You know, they cut the stone
only with the hammer and small little stuff. When you look, easy,
they make 'em straight, yeah, all the stone. Just like carpenter.
They know the grain of the lumber, how the way lumber run, just like
they know the stone, how the grain run.

MM: So when they broke 'em . . .

ER: And when they broke 'em, they know just how--where he going. They
smart, those guys, how the work. Like now, all machine, cement.

MM: Okay. So had some people--had one man down Pālāwai, Pedro.

ER: Yeah, Pedro.

MM: Had the guys working down the harbor.

ER: Harbor is only for the plantation side, eh, not for the ranch.

MM: Okay.

ER: They work for the pineapple.

MM: And then had that Lumber Camp.

ER: Yeah, Lumber Camp, right halfway. You know when you going down the
road and then get one house over there, right down below had one
camp over there. Had most only Japanese was living in there.

MM: And then had Lāna'i City.

ER: Yeah, then come the Lāna'i City here. And one more camp was way
down Miki. Way down Miki side. And Pālāwai had, but that's only
for the mules for the plantation. When they pau hana, the mules no
need come way up here, eh, so they get one station down there. The
mules work only down that side, and they pau hana and they go over
there. And they get the people that live over there, too. Pālāwai,
they get stable, only four, but over there, the people no live, only
the mules live and the stable boy. But, Miki side had camp, had all
the plantation workers, the wagon guys who drive wagons and they go
cultivate the land with the mules, for plow.

And they get Caterpillar, too, but the Caterpillar the time I come
was only [used for] breaking panini Pālāwai side. All going down
Mānele, eh, halfway from the top. Mānele, all inside that area where the pineapple, [was] all panini only. So get two Caterpillar, they go broke panini. And us, too, used to go work over there with the panini. We go with the torch, we go burn the panini, burn all the kuku. The Caterpillar knock 'em down, the cow go eat 'em. All the cow stay inside, they eat. First time, you scared, eh, because every time you go burn, the cow come behind you. He like eat. Me, I come scared because sometime plenty cow all around you, when you burn, they like go eat. (Chuckles) I come scared. Then they make two Caterpillar, they get big chain. And the two guys just go like that and knock 'em down, all the panini. They knock down, the cows go eat 'em.

MM: And then they planted the pineapple down there?

ER: Yeah, then bumbai everything good, then they plow the land for pineapple. The first time, only one lane, only the car go inside, go and come back. Just like only one road, they go straight down. The way . . .

MM: And get pasture on two sides?

ER: Yeah, two side pasture, all around, the pasture.

MM: And so--and just panini on two sides?

ER: Yeah, but all full. You no can go through. Even me, when I work, I go drive cattle, I [get] lost inside there. I no can come outside. The panini so thick. Only the cow get trail, eh, go inside and they know where the water trough. And the cowboys who know over there, every time they know how go outside. Me, I go inside there, I get lost, they gotta come find me. (Chuckles)

MM: So, okay. Then, when did [Ernest] Vredenburg come here?

ER: Vredenburg, either '35 or '37. I think '37. Anyhow, between '35 and '37. [Vredenburg replaced George Munro as ranch manager in 1935.]

MM: So when you first came [1926], all the way until Vredenburg came [1935], Munro was the ranch manager?

ER: Yeah.

MM: Okay. How come they brought Vredenburg in?

ER: Because Munro was going retire, I think, something like that. His time for go. I think was retire, then they need one boss, eh. For bring. I don't know who owned the ranch that time.

MM: Hawaiian Pine.
ER: Oh, maybe that time, eh. Not Baldwin? Baldwin pau? [Baldwins owned the ranch between 1917 and 1922.] Maybe Hawaiian Pine, eh?


ER: I think so, maybe Hawaiian Pine 'cause the cattle was, I think, Hawaiian Pine. Then I think maybe his time, old already, I think retire.

MM: Okay.

ER: Then he gotta go, then, that's how Vredenburg wen come over here.

MM: Okay. And then when Vredenburg came, they made plenty changes, huh?

ER: Yeah, he made plenty change.

MM: So, what were some of the things that you did different or what happened to the ranch when Vredenburg came?

ER: Well, when Vredenburg come, just like the ranch was going down, I think something like that. So he try bring 'em up again. I don't know, I not sure, but I think maybe was going down.

MM: Before Vredenburg came, how much head of cattle had?

ER: That cattle, gee, I don't know. Maybe about 5,000 or more, because that time I come over here, they say this was the second biggest ranch in Hawai'i, from Parker Ranch. So must be plenty cattle.

MM: You remember about how many horses there were?

ER: Gee, horses we had plenty. Plenty young horses outside, never train. When Munro time, he had plenty young horses outside the pasture. Some no pau train yet when Vredenburg came. And they try sell 'em. Vredenburg try sell some out. I think Munro had plenty horses. I know was plenty young horses, plenty never pau train yet, and plenty trained. And then they get cowboy, they get about three--Bill, Abraham, Frank, Moke, I think about five guys, five or six guys, they train horse. But they train horse for Hawaiian Pine, for the luna. The horses they can ride already, they give 'em to the lunas.

MM: So you had five cowboys, they only train horse?

ER: Only train horse. And their job only train, and they get more higher pay.

MM: And so who were the five cowboys?

ER: Uncle Bill.

MM: Kauwenaole.
ER: Abraham.

MM: Kauila.


MM: Six guys. Was Kimo, Kimo Roberts?

ER: Yeah, Kimo Roberts.

MM: And Moke is who?

ER: Moke, the one you was telling me first time from Maui side.

MM: Oh, from Kahakuloa [Maui]?

ER: He from Kahakuloa, yeah.

MM: Kaauhaahaa.

ER: I think so. Eh, what Moke last name? Kaauhaahaa?

MM: Okay. And who you said? Frank Anderson?

ER: Yeah, Frank Anderson.

MM: And one more name you said.

ER: Johnny Hana.

MM: Who? Who's that?

ER: Johnny, John Mano.

MM: Oh, Johnny Mano.

ER: Yeah, they call Johnny, "Hana." But John Mano his name, yeah.

MM: So those guys only train horses?

ER: Only train horse. But when cowboy time, big drive, then they take them guys go cowboy. When they pau cowboy, they only train horse. If the horses maybe half break in already, and they think the cowboys can ride 'em, they give the cowboy, then they take another one. Every time they take two. When they think the horse 'nough finish, the cowboy can handle, they give 'em. And some, they gotta make 'em for the [Hawaiian Pineapple Company] lunas. Some lunas don't know how to ride horse too much, eh, so they gotta make real tame and then they give 'em.

MM: So when the lunas ride horse for work, it's for their work?
ER: That's *da kine* field bosses [i.e., field superintendents], not the luna, you know, the more higher kind guys. Because those days, no more car, eh. They gotta ride the horses, go around, go check all the luna, so they get horses.

MM: So, who take care the horses for them? They ride during the day and they bring back to the ranch?

ER: They get their own stable down there where Lālākōa, the big house stay there, yeah, that's the stable. And Oyama used to be their stable boy. Him the one take care all the horse.

MM: That's Mike Oyama?

ER: Yeah, Mike Oyama father [Takeshi Oyama]. Him the stable boy. Get about two, one more other Japanese, too, but I don't know who that Japanese. Get two guys inside there take care all the horse, the mule, because up here get mule, too, for the wagon, they go, them guys take care. And he get his own house over there, too, eh.

MM: Okay. And then, when Vredenburg came he bring new people with him, too?

ER: Only two. The first time he never come with people. He come only him, then he wen work, work little while. Then he bring this guy, I think you know, [Kuniichi] Sakamoto?

MM: Yeah.

ER: He bring Sakamoto as his stable boy, eh, because that's his right-hand man for over there, I think. Then after that he bring two cowboy, Lindsey and Lincoln.

MM: From the Big Island?

ER: From the Big Island where he was working. I think he know them cowboys so come. Because Lindsey them like come over here, eh, so he came over here, work.

MM: What's his first name?

ER: Charlie.

MM: Charlie Lindsey?

ER: Yeah, Charlie Lindsey.

MM: And then the other one was Lincoln?

ER: Albert Lincoln. But when Albert Lincoln came over here, he was single boy. I think the boy never come for work. He wen come stay with the sister little while. Then Vredenburg see him then make him go work. Charlie came over here because, you know Nina?
MM: Cockett?

ER: Yeah, Cockett, Nina, the sister, that's Charlie's wife. I think they came holoholo over here, then Vredenburg ask him if he like go work for him. Then that's how the two guys wen go work, because they know them from Hawai'i. Yeah, I think so, the boy wen come over here for holoholo Lloyd's [Cockett] house, then they work.

MM: When Vredenburg first came, that's when everybody got the houses from Miki?

ER: Yeah. I think [the houses] wen come '37. Nineteen forty-one, the time had the war, you know, the war break out, I think just three or four months before the war break in, we move all inside the house they wen bring from Miki. Then bring ten house, all on the truck. Bring 'em up here.

MM: What did they--they fixed up the house for everybody?

ER: Yeah. But they subdivide all the place, eh, how they going put, because some house, one over here, one far, and then one maybe over here far, maybe two house can go inside. And so they make like that. So my house where I was staying inside, they wen broke [in] half. The kitchen side, I think they wen broke the half, so the house can go fit right inside. And then only the bedroom we stay inside and we cook outside. So the half of the house where ours was, where we was living, half they wen broke. The other guys' one, all good, they stay inside till their house finish, then they move. But us guys no can move because half broke. Then they fix this side, put all the stuff inside.

MM: So they did one house at a time?

ER: Yeah, bring one, make finish. They no can bring all one time, no can broke everybody house one time, eh, so one by one. Some, maybe no more house was over there, then maybe they can put inside there, and then the guys stay move, they move. So, then bumbaj he [Vredenburg] change all da kine job, make us go out about three o'clock in the morning, maybe pau hana about ten o'clock in the night. Just like we no see the children. I live home, I no see all the kids. I come home, they sleeping. I go, they sleeping. Only maybe Saturday night, then all right. If Saturday we no work late, then Sunday you can see the kids.

MM: So, like during Munro time, you pretty much work steady. You work certain hours?

ER: Oh, Munro time, yeah, we work about eight hours, and we start about six o'clock and we go out. We go out maybe we pau hana three o'clock like that, eh, we reach home three o'clock pau hana. We no stay outside [untill] three o'clock and pau hana and come [home] all the way. Maybe [from] where we stay [working], maybe [it took] one hour for us stay come home. By the time reach home going be three
Eight o'clock. Three o'clock or four o'clock. I think four o'clock we pau hana.

MM: And then with Vredenburg, you work long hours?

ER: Long hour.

MM: How come . . .

ER: I don't know.

MM: . . . that change?

ER: I don't know. When he . . .

MM: Did he pay you for overtime?

ER: No more.

MM: No more.

ER: We work all the long hours, eh, no more pay, only regular pay. We work long hour. Until the union [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] wen come over here [in 1946], the union wen go for the [pineapple] plantation, eh. Then the union, I think they hear people work the long hour. So the union tell us we join union. Then we join the union without the boss know. All us we join union and they make one guy from our job, steward, so him the one look everything and to report them guys.

MM: Who was the steward?

ER: Abraham.

MM: Kauila?

ER: Yeah, Kauila. Abraham was the steward. Then bumbai Abraham gotta go talk to the boss, eh, because he gotta pay overtime, so the boss get mad with him. But, he no can fire him out because he union already, eh, so he go report the union. Then that's how we get paid. We get overtime or sometime he give us off. You know, we work, bumbai he give us maybe half day off. No work long hour. Yeah.

MM: So how come--how long did you folks have to work with no paid work overtime?

ER: Yeah, I think maybe about three, four years, I think, without [extra] pay. Go work like that until the union wen come make union for the plantation, eh, and then bumbai the union hear us, we work late hour, no more pay, too, eh. So they tell us if we like go join union. So us guys all join union.
MM: The man all no mad when they have to work like that?

ER: You mean, what?

MM: The men. All you folks cowboy, you folks didn't grumble?

ER: No. We no can grumble because we had nowhere for go. We gotta stay on the job. We (chuckles) no more job and we like cowboy job, eh. You never hear nobody grumble about the late hour. Maybe they grumble among themselves, with everybody, maybe we grumble, but I forget. We go, how come we get like that. But the boss he come maybe smart. Sometime we come home quick, he give us pau hana. He tell us pau hana.

MM: Oh, and you come home early?

ER: Yeah, you gotta knock off early.

MM: And you get paid for the full day?

ER: We get pay for the eight hour. Because he no like pay overtime, eh. Then bumbai we get overtime, then not so bad. But he was still going like that.

MM: So, before the union came in, how much you get paid?

ER: Two and a half [$2.50].

MM: Two and a half [$2.50] an hour?

ER: Eight hour.

MM: For eight hours?

ER: Eight hour.

MM: Two dollars fifty cents [$2.50] for eight hours?

ER: Eight hour.

MM: Oh.

ER: When I started work over here [in 1926] eight hour only eighty cents. Eighty cents.

MM: When you was young boy?

ER: Yeah, only eighty cents for eight hour. Only enough for buy kaukau. But lucky, kaukau over here was cheap. Corned beef, those days, only ten cents. Spam, fifteen cents. Fifteen cents about the highest, I think. And then, you get free mutton. You get free kerosene, so you no buy too much stuff. Most, most free, eh. Like the sheep, they go send cowboys go outside hunting, bring plenty
sheep, maybe about ten, fifteen sheep. Come home skin, they give you one, they give you one. All the sheep. And the meat [beef] maybe once a month. Once a month, they kill one whole cow and cut piece for everybody. Everybody go down there pick up your meat, they put pile, everything. Make pile, you, you, you, you, and put your name on top, this your pile. Uncle Bill [Kauwenaole], that time me, too, I go helper, go cut meat and go divide the meat. Put some meat, some bone. I make all even, eh. But sometimes, somebody grumble. "How come only bone?"

"No can help. That's how you figure out, eh." You gotta put da kine steak, one piece. Not easy job because you gotta cut, cut, cut, cut plenty because you gotta count all the people, eh; how many people and make one pile, one pile. The rib, you cut. And I wen go work that kind job, not easy job. People grumble like hell. They chew you out, yeah.

(Laughter)

ER: They no can grumble, that's all we can do, and you got to try make your best, eh. Then when people grumble, grumble, okay, us was working down there, "Who grumble?" Bumbai we going report the boss, "You know this guy, he grumble too much. Give him chance go cut meat." Give him chance go cut meat, he go divide the meat. Let him go find out how he going do. So he go cut, cut meat. Bumbai, us guys, we know he's the guy grumble, we tell him, "How come, me, I only go get bone, too?" (Laughs) "How come I only get bone?"

Then he started come mad, eh. He say, "How come you guys grumble?"

"Before, you the one every time grumble, now we give you this job, go ahead." Go see the boss because these guys, they grumble, let them go handle the job too. So everybody get chance, eh, pau. From that, bumbai, nobody grumble. What they put, that's what you gotta go. Sometime when you going cut, inside going get one piece bone, eh, you know in the ham when you cut someplace bone, someplace come small, eh, the bone, so only going be one small bone. Someplace going be big bone, you know. Well, we tell, we make the best. Like Uncle Bill, he put all the name, eh, who wen get this kind. Next time, he try put, you know...

MM: Somebody else.

ER: Yeah, give this other bone. Last time, I think this guys had one big bone. So the next guy who had the smaller one, then he try figure out, eh. Hard job, yeah, figure out this kind. (Chuckles) Bumbai, you give everybody chance, pau, no more nobody grumble. And you take what you get on the table, that's why he put your name again.

But Uncle Bill, he was smart, though, him and Abraham, how they figure out the meat, where get bone, where get this, this. Try make
all, and they cut. They tell, "Eh, this for this guy, eh." Only you go look the name, you (chuckles). Smart, the way they work.

MM: Yeah. Uncle Bill Kauwenaole, who teach him how for be cowboy?

ER: I don't know. When I came over here, he cowboy already. But I know when I was young boy and he went to Lahaina, he was carpenter, da kine that send out lumber for the house. You know, when the plantation going build house, eh, him the guy going send lumber. I hear he was good on sending out lumber for the houses. When he figure out everything, eh.

MM: That's in Lahaina?

ER: Lahaina. Lahaina [Pioneer Mill Company] plantation, he was working. Then from over there, he wen come over here. I think, maybe he wen come over here, then he went work cowboy. And I know he was good. I hear [about him] every time on the plantation because he wen graduate from Lahainaluna School, eh, and then he wen work plantation. I think maybe in the school, he was taking up carpenter, eh. Then they give him job, send out lumber for the houses. And the way I hear, he smart how to figure out lumber for these houses. I don't know how he figure out all da kine, then he send the lumber and order the lumber, little more, everything come right for the house. No more too much waste. And he good carpenter, too. The time I come over here, he teach me how to carpenter. He go make some small kind of house, he teach you how to make 'em. I learn from him, too, when I come over here. I like make some small kind house. I go over there, I cut, make. He look me, he tell, "No, no do that." He tell, "You make your floor first. From the floor you go." But us guys, we like from the (chuckles)...

MM: Make the roof first.

(Laughter)

ER: Yeah. He tell, you make on the floor first. Smart though, how he make. You make from the floor bumbai you get the floor, then you like do the wall, up. You take from the floor, you measure, then you cut your board. Then bumbai when you stand 'em up, everything all right. You measure from the floor, that side and this side. Not easy kind. He teach me. That's why I know how to make carpenter, too, little bit.

MM: Yeah, so you have to learn lots of different things, yeah.

ER: Yeah. You learn from everybody, anybody.

MM: So, okay, after you folks moved into your new house, then when did you folks get electricity?
ER: Gee, I don't know what year, though [1939]. I know when we moved in the house, we was still yet with the [kerosene] lamp.

MM: When you folks moved into the Miki house, did you have your own bathroom, washhouse?

ER: No, they wen make the big one over here where the garage, you know where I was putting all my car in the garage, they had inside there for everybody. And the toilet was outside. [ER's garage was once the camp washhouse.]

MM: So when you folks had your old house, you had your own washhouse and your own toilet.

ER: Yeah, own toilet.

MM: Outhouse or whatever.

ER: Each house get their own toilet, small toilet outside.

MM: And then when they moved the house from Miki, everybody had to go one place?

ER: Yeah, everybody go one place. Had one big toilet over here. Where my garage was, and where the wall stay like this, this side was the shower, where I wen put wall, over there was the shower room. And this side, everybody go wash clothes. They get plenty tub, eh, for go wash clothes.

MM: How come they did that? How come they made everybody all together one place?

ER: I don't know. That time, they never make new toilet inside the house. Then the toilet, I think one, two, three, I think about five hole, I think, one side. I think about ten hole. One side for the lady, one side for the men. Outside, right by the corner, right behind the washhouse, they make heater for bathe.

MM: Heater, what kind of heater?

ER: Da kine hot water heater. The...

MM: Wood kind?

ER: No, not wood kind, the iron kind. Da kine shower kind. You gotta go in the shower. But the old house, you get the tank inside the house. But this one, get one tank outside.

MM: Outside, the hot...

ER: They burn 'em with oil, crude oil. Then you light the fire. Then the [camp] yardman, before he pau hana, he light the fire. He put the oil inside, only by drop, drop, drop in the fire.
MM: So who--the yardman is [Gi Hong] Kwon?

ER: No, the yardman one other guy. Kwon, he used to be water man, the one go look all the cattle in the pasture, go look water. Him and [Bon Soon] Shin. He and one more other Korean, Soo. Them the one, they go check up all the water, and if the pipe broke like that, then they ask for cowboys. Cowboys go help, go fix the pipe. Then you gotta take one pack mule, maybe carry some pipe for the broke part, take down all the machine, you know the welder, I mean, the pipe wrench, then you go with them.

MM: So who was the yardman then?

ER: The yardman for over here? One more guy they tell, Yu. He take care all the camp, the yard, all the camp. But in your [own] yard, you take care all. He only check outside of the yard [referring to the common areas]. Because you get fence, outside the yard, he clean all our--he take care all the yards [with the] lawn mower, all in front where the big tree, where the church house was before, in front there, he take care all.

MM: Okay. And then, when they make the washhouse and all that . . .

ER: Yeah, him the one clean the washhouse, the toilet, all that kind. And the yard, all where the bathhouse was, all around get fence, he take care. And then we get one hall for you go inside play Ping Pong, play billiard, play ukulele. Everybody go inside there, they play ukulele, go sing. Yeah, everybody go inside, they get one. Just like what you call that reservation hall or something.

MM: Recreation.

ER: Yeah, hall, yeah. You go play card inside there, you like play card, you go play card until you tired, like go home sleep, then you go sleep. So every time, evening time, everybody stay inside there. Even the old kind people. (Chuckles)

MM: So nighttime when you pau work, everybody go over there?

ER: Yeah, everybody pau.

MM: You go home, eat dinner.

ER: Yeah, maybe you go home, you go eat, drink coffee little bit, pau, you go over there. Till your time for go bathe, then you go bathe, then go back inside, stay until you tired. Go talk story or play card. Any kind game you like play inside there.

MM: Now, everybody go there? The big people, young people?

ER: Yeah, young people, old people. Sometime the old people like go listen, too, eh. All the old people go listen. Sometime they get inside, they wen go drink beer. But most time they drink beer, they
drink outside under the post light. The old kind people, they stay
drink. Bumbai they little bit feel good, they come inside make
plenty noise.

(Laughter)

ER: We had good time with the hall use. Pau hana time, we go play
billiard. Get billiard inside there. The loser go out. Bumbai
sometimes, you play partner, partner.

MM: And then what about the children? What kind stuff they do?

ER: Oh the children, they get the swing, and they get da kine, you know
the wheel go around, the kid go on . . .

MM: Merry-go-round.

ER: Yeah, merry-go-round. I think only swing and the marry-go-round. I
think that's all, only two kind for the kids. Oh, and sandbox, you
know, the beach sand, go play sand. They make sand for their
castle.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

ER: But only trouble, he [Vredenburg] make you work late. That's only
the stuff us no like. Ho, every time work, work, tired.

MM: What, six days a week, seven days a week?

ER: Most time six days, Sunday off.

MM: Okay.

ER: Most time we get Sunday off, six days.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

ER: But him boss. He work hard, hard-working man, you know, that. And
he make you work for your money, boy. (Chuckles) You work for your
money. Because him, he can work too, you know, he work.

MM: He go out and work with you folks?

ER: Work, go fix fence. He work, carry post. Everything. Even us, no
more strong, we gotta carry, too, boy. He carry post. Because him,
hard worker, you know, real hard-working man, that.

MM: When you folks pau work, come Saturday, Friday night or Saturday
night spend, you folks then go Keomuku?
ER: Yeah.

MM: Every weekend?

ER: Yeah, we go Keomuku.

MM: And then . . .

ER: But we go Keomuku, with me, he good, you know. To me, he good. Every time I like go Keomuku, I go ask him one car, he lend me. He lend me car go Keomuku, Sunday come home. Then every time I go ask car. Every weekend he see me, "What, going Keomuku?"

"Yeah. I like borrow car."

"Yeah, okay." And least he lend me car, though. Every time I go, Saturday, go down and use the truck. Get one small truck and one Ford car. Until bumbai I buy my own jeep, then pau, I no borrow car, I go with the jeep.

MM: During Vredenburg time, how many car get? Everybody get car or no more car?

ER: No more car over here. I think only me, the first guy get car up here. No, Uncle Billy's brother, Kauwenaole.

MM: Oh, Johnny Kauwenaole?

ER: Yeah, he had one station wagon. And inside here, this camp, one Japanese man had one car too, his own car. Yeah, then bumbai later, I don't know what year, then I wen buy one jeep. Then I use jeep go Keomuku.

MM: So every weekend, you folks go Keomuku?

ER: Yeah.

MM: What you do down there?

ER: Go fishing, go hunting. Every week, Saturday, soon we reach down there, take the guns, we go shoot goat. Because in the evenings, they come way down near the kiawe. Oh, where the best is that you shoot two or three, come home. We shoot 'em, skin 'em, cook 'em, everybody eat goat. In the morning wake up, go shoot goat again. Maybe you get about five or six. Maybe three or four guys go. Bring home, skin 'em, hang 'em all inside the bathe house. When you go home [Ko'ele], drive come home, bring home meat, everybody take meat, maybe half a goat. Yeah, 'cause us, we go down, me and my family. Every weekend all us go. When come Saturday pau hana, going down.

MM: And then Sunday's for church?
ER: Yeah, we go fishing, sometime we go catch turtle. We come home, maybe we get about four or five, we kalua. In the night, as soon as we go out and we catch one turtle, we get one paddle, we put 'em out, we tie the shirt on top. Every time the home guys know we get turtle, they go make fire.

MM: In the imu?

ER: Yeah, imu ready, make fire, only. Put all the stones, burn the fire. Then, inside the water, while we stay fishing, somebody go cut 'em. Cut already the turtle.

MM: Make 'em ready?

ER: Make 'em ready, cut. You reach home, the fire almost ready, put 'em inside.

MM: So that's the signal, you put the shirt on top the paddle?

ER: Yeah, you know the paddle, tie 'em on top, the shirt, put 'em up and hold 'em up little while. The house guys they look, they tell, "Eh, them guys get turtle, gotta go make fire." (Chuckles) They go make fire. Every time they tell us, "When you get, no wait. Make quick so can come home eat." Sometime even we come little bit late, the fire already down, eh. And then over there they go get coconut leaf and rip 'em up and they go get what you call, the kauna'oa, that tree [i.e., a vine], that's because moist, eh, put 'em inside the fire underneath.

MM: Used to make steam.

ER: Yeah, no more banana for make [sure] the fire no burn the stuff [turtle] eh. Put that inside go get pohuehue.

MM: Oh, that's morning glory?

ER: Yeah, yeah. Put 'em inside. Then put some coconut leaf under, put the turtle, the back, everything, put 'em inside.

MM: Whole like that?

ER: Yeah. We clean the stomach and like that we leave 'em [while out fishing]. And then we reach home, we only cut the wings [i.e., fins]. Leave the meat [i.e., body] like that. We just cut the wings and then throw 'em on the fire, cover on top, put the coconut . . .

MM: So you put the whole shell inside?

ER: The whole shell.

MM: You put all the fins and stuff inside after you pau clean . . .
ER: Yeah.

MM: ... and then you put the bottom of the shell on top?

ER: On top, and then you put coconut leaf on top and then you cover [with] the [burlap] bag, then you . . .

MM: Put the sand on top.

ER: Put the sand on top. Then you wait. If good, strong fire, about hour and a half, cook. Bumbai when cook, when you going take off, the shell all going be smashed, eh, like that. So what we do, we take the bowl poi inside there by the imu, hemo all and eat over there.

MM: You eat around there.

ER: Only the meat, you put 'em inside the bowl or the bucket. The wing stuff all underneath, and maybe the back get plenty fat, eh. You go over there eat, put your hand over there eat, all the bone. (Chuckles) Everybody like go by the imu eat, they no like hemo outside. But sometimes, you can hemo. Get coconut leaf, and then go get the paper cardboard, you know, put [coconut leaf] on top the cardboard. And then go, maybe two shovel, you lift 'em up and put 'em [turtle] right on there [cardboard], then you can carry. But otherwise everybody sit down, they eat on the grass. (Chuckles) Yeah, that time good.

MM: 'Ono? Just like kālua pig?

ER: Every time we like make kālua. Every time we go down there, we can kālua. Maybe somebody no like go fishing, eh, somebody like go shoot goat, so they go shoot goat. And when they come home, they see the fire get going, oh, the goat put inside the imu, too. Put the goat in the imu with the turtle.

MM: And what the turtle taste like?

ER: Yeah, the turtle good. You never taste turtle yet? Kālua?

MM: I taste turtle, but not kālua.

ER: Not kālua? Good. And then if get, maybe we stay outside there, maybe we get about three like that, we clean 'em all, we come home. Nighttime we eat, morning time, Rebecca them take it home to the mother house, then they strip all the meat. They throw little bit salt on top. Then they dry 'em. Bumbai dry, evening time dry, all da kine guys drink beer, they like for pupu. And us guys, we no drink beer, we put 'em inside our pocket, chew, chew like some candy.

(Chuckles)
ER: Even you look all the kids, all the young boys, any kind, you look them chew, chew, you know they chewing turtle. (Chuckles) The turtle good. And good for eat with the poi, too. But the wings and you know over here where you cut and the stomach over here, kind of soft. So that thing, when you kalua pau, then you peel up all the, you know that peel here, and then you put with the meat, you boil 'em and then inside the pot, all that stuff over here come soft, just like the wing. I eat 'em all, I eat up.

MM: Like soup mix.

ER: Make soup, yeah, good. Before Sonny them, all Suki them [ER's children], every time kalua turtle, they like turtle. Even you fry turtle, Mama fry any kind, all week they can eat turtle, these guys. They no like chicken, only turtle. Before easy go catch turtle.

MM: Plenty?

ER: Plenty. On top the papa, you know on the papa, the cattle place. We go spear. We walk until soon you see the back, the head come up because sometime the water little bit red, eh. Only the back come out. You chase 'em over there, you see the back, hit 'em with the spear and the handle, the row kind boat, the handle [the oar], that's how we make. You hit 'em, the spear go down. He come up, eh, because heavy yeah, the spear. I used to go grab 'em like that, you know. You look the other guy, you watch where the head stay, he go like that, you come from behind. You poke your hand, right over here by the back, you poke your hand on top the back [near the turtle's tail] over here, he squeeze, they make like that, and then stuck, you only press 'em down, he go right up.

MM: And he don't turn around bite you?

ER: Nah, they no bite, because you only grab over there. He no bite. So far I never get one bite. But somebody get. He bite because he go near over here. You press 'em down, and you hold 'em like that.

MM: Press by the tail side down?

ER: Yeah. That same side, you press 'em, you grab 'em like that, you press 'em down, he come right up.

MM: Oh, so he swim to the surface?

ER: Yeah. If you hold 'em down like that, he going swim, he fight you, he going put you down.

MM: Hold 'em under the water?

ER: Yeah.

MM: I see.
ER: Every time you grab 'em and you try push the turtle down like that, then when he go like this, he come right up the water, he no more strong already. (Chuckles) Every time when I go catch turtle time, I tie rope with me. I put rope on top here and then I go. If I see one, I follow behind. I catch 'em pau, I tied the two wings. I tied 'em to me, I go. I huki, go. If I see one more, I catch 'em again, I tie 'em. Sometime I get three, I pull 'em go up. Easy, you know, for catch turtle. Even if get more wind, more better.

(MM greets someone.)

MM: So then, what--then you go fishing down there, too?

ER: Yeah.

MM: Throw net?

ER: Throw net, surround net. Bumbai I go learn how to make net.

MM: Who teach you how to make net?

ER: Uncle Bill.

MM: Kauwenaole?

ER: Bill, yeah. 'Cause every time I look at him, he make net. I go over there, look, bumbai he tell, "You like learn?"

"Yeah, yeah."

"Here, make like this, like this, like this." Pau. Then I learn.

Then, the old people said if your first net you make, and you go throw and catch the fish, the first fish you catch, you gotta go eat 'em. They tell me like that. What this kind, I don't know. But they tell me the first fish you catch from your net mean you going get good luck because you eat the fish. Because the fish you wen catch maybe you get ten, eh, inside, but the first one you catch, that's the one you gotta keep. And you gotta eat that fish. That's what they tell me.

MM: Is that what you did?

ER: Yeah.

MM: What kind fish was?

ER: I catch manini.

(Laughter)

ER: I catch manini, I go home. And I cook this one, special, you know, I gotta eat myself. Bumbai he tell me, "Why?"
"Oh, I don't know, that's what the people tell me. Tell me the first fish you catch from the net, you gotta eat 'em. I eat that fish."

Bumbai, all da kine people around they tell, "What kind fish you wen catch inside there?"

"Manini."

So they tell me, "Manini, you gotta eat 'em." The guy tell me, "Manini, you manini. You not going get fish because you manini guy." Gee, any kind they tell me, you know. (MM chuckles.) Any kind.

Eh, bumbai, I go ask Aunty Hannah's [Richardson] father [James Kauila]. Aunty Hannah's father minister, eh. He minister and he know, yeah. One day I ask him, "Eh, Tutu Papa, I make net now. My first net, I go throw, I catch fish. And they tell me I gotta eat all the first fish I catch. They tell me I wen catch manini, but they tell me I manini, manini guy, my net, just like you no like lend or give anybody. The net going be da kine style."

He tell me, "The people talk, you no believe. You believe what you think you make." He tell me, "No believe what people talk. When they talk any kind, they make you just like you no more fight on your net." He tell me, "No believe."

Bumbai I tell 'em, "You guys all bullshit." (Chuckles) "I no believe you guys." Just like bumbai my net all come junk. Then bumbai I make one more net, I make one more net. I go throw fish, I catch, catch fish. Yeah, you know, catch, catch fish with my net. Them guys tell me, "Eh, your net good luck."

"No, you guys tell me my net manini. You guys, I no believe this kind. I no believe what you guys tell me. I no believe."

Then they tell me, "No believe anything you make. You no believe what people tell you. You believe your own self what you think your net get." Ho, bumbai Uncle Sammy [Kaopuiki], eh, every time he like go fishing too, but he no more net so I let him my net. He catch plenty fish. Bumbai me and him come out, we come by the shoreline, get plenty fish, so we go eat. But every time he go, I make net, I give them guys. I tell 'em, "Only you guys gotta go find lead. You get lead, I make the net." But sometime I lazy, I make net nighttime, eh, you know, I make net, finish. Bumbai they tell me, "Eh, how you get one new net?"

"Why, you like 'em? You go get lead. I no more lead." Ho, quick, they hustle go find lead. (Chuckles) Some they go buy. And they buy lead, I give 'em. So all da kine net I make, I give them guys, they catch plenty fish. Bumbai I go Honolulu my brother tell me, "Eh, I hear you know how to make net?"
"Yeah, I can make net. Why?"

He tell me he like net. "How long you can make one net?"

"Oh, I don't know. If I only stay home like this, maybe about three or four days I finish one net."

He tell me, "I like one net. You make because little more you going home."

So I tell, "You go get string. Go buy string."

"What kind?"

"Number three all right." He go buy string. I tell, "Yeah, I make." By the time he come home pau hana, I stay about halfway. Next day I no finish 'em, the third day I finish. I tell 'em, "But you gotta come home go cook [i.e., melt] the lead, you know, so make ready. You go trim the lead." So he come home pau hana, he go make lead. Then he get da kine, stone, yeah. But him, he make inside the sand. But me, I make iron. I get iron at home but no stay down there. I tell I make iron because before I get one friend Morita, yeah, the one working inside the shop, he make for me, yeah, da kine lead.

MM: That form?

ER: Yeah, the cone with the stone. With the iron.

MM: So can pour?

ER: Yeah, pour 'em inside. Easy that one. So I tell my brother, "Me, I get stone but stay home, but over here no more." Bumbai he tell me he know somebody get, he go borrow, he get.

MM: Which brother is this, Chester?

ER: Uncle Lew.

MM: Oh, Uncle Lew.

ER: Uncle Chester, he no go throw net, only Uncle Lew, he go. Bumbai I make for him, the next day was Sunday and I come, he tell me, "We go fishing."

"Go." We go. Boy, he catch plenty moi.

(Laughter)

ER: He catch plenty moi. One time he throw, I think little more over twenty. He call me, "Come help me." I no like go inside water. Me, I scared, eh, Honolulu kind water, I no ma'a, eh.
MM: So, where he wen go fishing?
ER: Down, what you call that place. That's where now he stay.
MM: Oh, 'Ewa?
ER: Yeah, 'Ewa Beach he wen go. But, he went with the brother-in-law. You know, his wife, the sister husband. Them two guys go. But you know the sister husband, he da kine style just like over here, da kine guys they tell any kind, the net manini or this kind, that kind. Him da kine type he believe this kind. So, like me, I no believe any kind, eh, so I was going I asked Uncle Lew, "Where the bag?" He hear. He talk something, but I don't know what he wen talk. I never hear.
MM: In Hawaiian, he talk something Hawaiian?
ER: Yeah. He wen talk but Uncle Lew wen hear, eh. Uncle Lew tell me, "You asked for the bag. He said bad luck already because when you going carry the bag, just like get the fish in the bag already."

I said, "Ah, I no believe da kine." I tell, "We go, take 'em you net, go try throw." But him, he tell because I like carry bag, that's mean bad luck already. But when Uncle Lew wen one time throw, get about over twenty moi. I tell Uncle Lew after we go pick up the fish [and] come out, "See, if we no bring bag, how we going hold the fish go home?" (MM chuckles.) The guy over there no talk nothing. Tell, "Lucky I bring the bag. Look now, put the bag and carry the fish. If no more bag, how we going carry the fish." I tell Uncle Lew, "Ah, he believe da kine, no believe da kine. You just go. Good luck, good luck." (Chuckles)

Bumbai we reach home, bumbai, maybe them guys they talk story when we go. Bumbai Uncle Lew he look, no more the guy, he go tell me, "Eh, you know what he said? He said the net no good because catch moi. Moi no good fish, you know."

"Eh," I tell him, "You don't believe, you don't believe . . ."

MM: Moi 'ono fish.
ER: Yeah. I tell him, "You no believe what the guy says. You going for fishing, just go. If you get good luck, that's good luck."

Bumbai I stay home here, he call home, he tell me, "Eh, the net you make, Brother, good luck. I catch any kind fish."

(Laughter)
ER: I tell, "Yeah, because you no believe your brother-in-law. If you believe your brother-in-law, you no can get." (Chuckles) "No believe your brother-in-law."
That's why, Uncle Lew tell me, sometime they going fishing and them guys stay carry the net. They going inside the water. Uncle Lew them, he ma'a already now, he tell, "I take bag." He call the wife, "Bring the bag."

The guy said, "We go home." (MM laughs.) Take all the net, he go home. He tell me, ho, real hard-luck guy, he tell me he like go home. He tell me pau, next time, he no like go surround net [with Lew]. He go his own.

I tell, "You go your own. No believe." He go, he catch with his net, any kind. (Chuckles) He no like listen the brother-in-law. (Chuckles) I tell, "Yeah, no listen."

MM: So down Keomuku side, all along there, when you go certain place, you catch certain kind fish?

ER: I go Keomuku from Naha. From Naha side until the lighthouse, all inside there, I go fishing. I catch moi, I catch weke, I catch kala, I catch manini, any kind fish I catch.

MM: But you gotta go certain place for certain fish?

ER: Well, you see, when you go, to me all the area get fish. But you no can cover the whole place, eh. So maybe you going fishing only by the lighthouse, only outside there 'nough. And then maybe you going Keomuku, by the white stone, maybe you like go outside there, 'nough. You no need go way far. I only go about there, maybe about quarter mile, maybe no more quarter mile, you know, back and forth. And sometime only by the shoreline. I go only by the stone kind place. Near by the stone kind place, near the shoreline, maybe you only can catch mullet, moi and weke, and sometime, maybe papio. That's only you can catch up stone kind place. But you go way outside, by the breakers, then most you going catch manini, or uhu kind fish. That's da kine fish most by the breakers. Sometime get maybe small kind pond like that, maybe weke stay inside. That's the one by up shoreline kind, all that stone kind, most mullet and weke, I mean, and moi.

MM: I heard weke, on Lāna'i, no can eat the head?

ER: Ah, bull liar. I eat.

MM: You eat. (Chuckles)

ER: I eat.

MM: No more bad dreams?

ER: No. (MM chuckles.) That's why, the old man he tell me, "I hear the one you was telling me, eh." They said, weke, you no can eat the head. You get bad dream or you go someplace.
I asked the tutu man [James Kauila], the tutu man tell, "Because you believe. Some guys, eh, weke, that's just like their god. You know old Hawaiian place, Hawaiian time, they get god, eh, inside this kind. So, the family, they believe in the weke. You eat the head, you get da kine because you believe. Your grandparents all wen believe this kind. So, that's just like they tell makua, eh. Just like that's their god. That's why he tell me, "You no believe that kind because you get only one God."

That's all the God you get. Because he said, "Everybody get own god. They keep their own god." That's why you believe. That's why, you no can. You no can because you believe and then going come on top you, generation, generation, generation, because you believe. But if you no believe these things, nothing. That's why he tell, you only believe one God, one God and the Son. The Father and the Son. That's all you believe.

But somebody get any kind. Somebody get da kine fish, 'o'io. He tell me plenty guys get any kind. You know the old people, they keep. So the old people, maybe they never cast 'em off. They no cast that thing off, so that thing going by generation, generation.

Yeah, that's what he tell me. That's why now I no believe now days in any kind. He tell me you only believe you get only one God, the Father and the Son. That's what he tell. That's why, me, anybody tell any kind, eh, I no listen. I no like believe them guy what they talk. Because I know my friend he wen tell me the god idol. Just like idol, eh. Everybody get any kind. Sometime you don't know. Stay inside your house, they keep da kine, eh, stay inside. So, the house going get spook because he keep. He keep and then go on the children, on the children's children. He said, no believe. You believe, then going be strong in you because the thing can work because you believe. That's why, me, I no believe anything. I only believe one Father and the Son. You pray, you pray to the Son. If the Son he okay, he go to the Father. Then the Father the one take care. That's what he tell me.

MM: So down--so Saturday night, everybody have good time down there. And then Sunday morning, everybody go church down Keōmuku?

ER: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Go church Sunday. And pau church, we go fishing. Usually church ten o'clock. Then ten o'clock, just like they go school for learn. Then eleven o'clock they give their high mass. That's why, this [Ka Lanakila O Ka Mālamalama] church, they go take three one time. Everything one time pau. Like some church they go in the morning receive their service. Then they go afternoon. Then they go in the evening. They going get three, so they go. But ours one, we take one time all, one hour, one hour, one hour. Take one time that three and finish.

MM: That's how that church was, Keōmuku?

ER: Yeah. The first one just like for you go learn how to read Bible. I don't know what you call that. That guy who making the school for
learn Hawaiian. Him the one going tell you read. Maybe he going
give you, this week, one chapter for read. Maybe in the reading you
only can make two for one day. Then next week you continue.
Continue until pau. So that's why, this Sunday, if you going take
one, he going tell you all. Maybe get about ten verse inside. So,
you go read. Then you know the story, what, what, what. And then
bumbaj, he going read the one, then you go answer. What you wen
read and what you know. Maybe if the first one finish by one hour,
so next week you take the second one. But if you can finish maybe
three this week, next week you start on top number four until you
pau the whole story. He go answer, answer.

MM: How many people go down that church?

ER: Down there? Oh, used to get plenty people down there. Get full
church. They get full down there because that time get plenty
working guys, eh, down there. And they get their children, get
family. Some, the children go Maui, go school. And they stay. They get plenty family down there.

MM: Oh, so, when you talking about going church down there, still had
families down there?

ER: They get minister, yeah.

MM: The minister wasn't [James] Kauila?

ER: Kauila. Kauila, every time he go down there church, too. But,
before that when I come over here, had one down there yet.

MM: Oh, had one minister there.

ER: Yeah, had one there.

MM: What was the name? You remember the name?

ER: Ah, Kini [John Nakihei]. Kini. He used to. But the time I came
over here, had one blind man too, down the church. But the time I
came over here he no was already. I think he stay go Maui or
Honolulu. I no remember.

MM: Moloka'i?

ER: I don't know if he go. . . . I only know Kini was there, one old
man, and they said had one blind man. The name Alika [George].
Alika means Alex [the minister's name was Alexander George]. So
they said Alika was good, but I don't know if I saw him, that blind
man.

MM: So, let me see. Let's come up, back up the ranch side. During
Vredenburg's time . . .

ER: Oh, Vredenburg time.
MM: Did they still have the store? When . . .
ER: Down the city?
MM: No, when after Vredenburg came up here, did they still have the store for the ranch people?
ER: Oh, no more. That time Vredenburg come over here, he cut off all the store stuff. And then down there [Lana'i City] had Okamoto Store and Yet Lung Store, so we gotta go down there store, buy. When Vredenburg time come, no more [ranch] store.
MM: So when Vredenburg came, they closed the store?
ER: Yeah, we no buy nothing already. He closed everything.
MM: Okay.
ER: Then you gotta go . . .
MM: How you folks go to the store then?
ER: Truck. That time we get company truck.
MM: The ranch truck?
ER: Yeah. Every pau hana, everybody like go store, everybody go one time.
MM: How big the truck? How many people carry?
ER: Oh, big truck. Da kine one-ton truck with the big fender, our big truck.
MM: Everybody go on top?
ER: Yeah, go on top there.
MM: How many people carry?
ER: Oh, little more all the working ranch guys. Ranch guys maybe about thirty guys.
MM: All go one time?
ER: Everybody like go store one time. But most every time only the mens go. Not the lady.
MM: How come?
ER: (Chuckles) The lady no like ride truck unless can go in front, maybe one, two lady, they go in the front. But most time, ladies, they no go, you know. Only us men. And then sometime, maybe Mama
like store, too, she write down all, I go by the store, I give the store [the list], they deliver. Yet Lung Store and Okamoto Store, if you give them [an order], they deliver. Because us, no more telephone, eh. I come home, I ask 'em what she like, so she write down everything what she like, I go down there, I give the store guy. Then bumbai, they deliver. They get everything, they deliver.

MM: That's the [delivery man]--what's that name, Joe Lee?

ER: I think so, yeah.

MM: Joe Lee, he said that he used to deliver the poi?

ER: No, not Joe Lee.

MM: Not him?

ER: No. Joe Lee, he work for the company lighthouse. Only Yet Lung, get one Filipino guy deliver. And Okamoto, he get one Japanese boy, he deliver. He called Joe something. The Filipino guy, I don't know--Yet Lung, he get Filipino deliver. But I don't know the Filipino boy.

MM: So what, you folks used to go store every day?

ER: Yeah, little more every day the truck go. (Chuckles) Sometime, only go down holoholo. But sometime I no go. I come home, I ask her what she need, then we go. If not, I no go. But most all the drinking guys they go. They like go buy drink. (Chuckles) And then, they come home, they drink down there by the stable. They go buy one gallon or maybe every day different guy buy, I think, I don't know. Because me, I no drink I just. .... They come home, they park the truck inside the garage, pau, they sit down over there on the grass and drink.

MM: So then, when the war [World War II] came, when they had the war, how did it affect you folks? Did you have to do special things?

ER: No. When the war break out, they make us go special police. And me and Rebecca brother, Alex [Kaopuiki], we take Keomuku side. They make us patrol on the beach with the horse nighttime, go look if can see boat with light or this kind. They give us one car. If we see any kind light in the ocean like that, we gotta come up here go report by the office, by the police station. But we no see nothing. First time, eh, scared, you know, da kine.

MM: You gotta go in the dark. No can . . .

ER: Yeah, you no can make light. You gotta go in the dark. But I can use car. But the [head]light, only gotta show down[ward]. Where your wheel, you can see. And you go through the kiawe, only you gotta guess. The kiawe open like this, that's the road. (Chuckles) Yeah. Bumbai, I come good, though, drive inside the dark. Because
you know only you get one flashlight, yeah, and you only look the side of the road. The side of the road and go.

MM: Oh, (chuckles) you cannot look in front.

ER: Yeah, you no can look in front. And when you go inside the kiawe, you know because like this, the center, just like stay open, eh. You only follow the bright like that, that's the road. And when you go by the beach, you know, the beach there, Maunalei.

MM: So how often you had to do that? Every night?

ER: Every night, and daytime we sleep. And then nighttime we gotta go patrol, we go outside. From Keomuku, we go Naha and from Naha, we come back until reach Maunalei, we come back, we reach home, was morning time already.

MM: Gee.

ER: We gotta go all night, go way down this side, see Naha, and come back, go way till Maunalei and go back.

MM: And go work?

ER: Daytime, we no work, we go sleep. That's our work already.

MM: Oh, so they pull you away from cowboy?

ER: Yeah, They take you go special police. Yeah, they tell me go sleep. You no can go all night and then go daytime, go work. No can.

MM: So, only certain cowboys they pull off and put special police?

ER: Yeah, they pulled me and Alex. From me and him work ranch, eh. They pull us go down there. The boss tell us gotta go down there work. They give us horse and they give us one truck. Sometime we no go on the truck, we ride horse. Ride horse more better go slow, eh, easy eh. Right by the beach. But only trouble, us guys we no scared car, we no scared nothing. Any kind no scared. But we scared da kine alive man. Bumbai they get gun, they shoot us, what? (Chuckles)

MM: Why would they shoot you?

ER: Well maybe them guys da kine.

MM: The enemy?

ER: Yeah, the spy or what. That's da kine guys we scared. Sometimes we stay go, maybe we look, "Eh, one man walking over there. That's one man." You know da kine Japanese, the one they stay Keomuku, sometime they holoholo by the beach, yeah. We look, "Eh, Papa, you
no can go. You gotta stay home inside the house." Sometime he like go by the sand, go look, eh. (Chuckles) Most the time when we stay down there, most Japanese, might be them enemy, you don't know, eh. That's why me and him, we look, we see Japanese, we stay hide, yeah. We like see, maybe in the water, they make sign or what. (Chuckles) We watch him, eh, until he go already. Maybe he tired stay in the house, he go walk by the beach, yeah. We thought maybe they go make signals, eh, maybe these all Japanese, eh. Me and him, every time, bumbai sometime, we no see, we go, bumbai in the morning we coming back already, we see all the mark, the feet mark, go over here, go by the water, go here. What this guy doing? So next night, we check by his house. We go over there, we like watch what he do. (Chuckles) And him, he say, no, he no do that. Only he go walk way by, sit down. (Chuckles) Thought maybe he go make sign or what, eh.

First time I go work da kine, the first week, well, me and him kind of scared. I tell him--see, I still no scared the boat guys, but if they going come, plenty guys going come, eh, we can run away, eh. In the boat, we can see they coming. But the guys who live around there, bumbai they shoot us, too. (Chuckles) So that's da kine guys we scared. Otherwise, no more nothing scared.

MM: So how long you do that job? All through the war or...

ER: No. I think maybe we wen stay over there one month, I think, little over one month, then pau.

MM: And then pau, you go back your regular job?

ER: Yeah. I think about one month, I think, we wen stay da kine. Once a week, I think, two time one week, we gotta come up [Lana'i City]. You know, two time one week in the night, we gotta come up. Come by the office, come report or come get something for eat. They give you something for eat. Up here, they eat every time free kaukau, eh. But...

MM: Who you have to report to?

ER: Police station.

MM: Oh.

ER: You go by the police station. They stay inside there, you go inside there. Get some guys every time stay in the office. They like know what happened down there, what get or light. They said two time one week in the night, we gotta come up, what we see gotta come make report, yeah.

MM: And then, oh—one thing I wanted to ask you, is only this morning when I was reading through Suki's paper, I didn't know Mama's brother Jerry [Kaopuiki] had leprosy.
ER: Yeah.

MM: You know when he went Kalaupapa?

ER: He was in Kalaupapa until he make.

MM: What year did he go?

ER: Wait. I think he wen work for Vredenburg maybe about one year. After one year, they put him off because he had fits, da kine huki sick, huki. Every time when he go, he get huki.

MM: Epilepsy?

ER: Eh? No, not that, huki, get the fits, the eye roll.

MM: Like seizure?

ER: Yeah, da kine fits he had. So the boss lay 'em off. He scared bumbai ride horse like that, fall down, and get accident so he put him off. Then he went Honolulu, he wen work for stevedore. He work for the stevedore, the wartime. Because wartime, had plenty job, eh, stevedore job. So he work for stevedore.

Then the same year, the wartime, my first boy [Ernest, Jr.] get sick. He get sick by the head. His head get da kine, tumor. So I gotta rush him Maui. We wen take him, Maui, they wen operate. When they wen operate, I think they find tumor or something. But they no more machine. They tell me, gotta rush him to Honolulu. So, that time, I don't know Honolulu. But good thing my cousin was over there. Then she wen hear I was going Honolulu. Then she tell me, she know, oh, okay, she take me to the hospital.

Then my cousin tell me, he know where Uncle Lew and Uncle Chester stay. She tell, "More better I take you down their house."

I tell, "Okay, more better."

She tell me, the bus stop right under here, and from about three o'clock something, the bus going come around here, stop over here. She tell me, either one of them two guys stay on top the bus that kind hour. Stay going come over here, maybe that's their last run going home. And one of them . . .

MM: Oh, they driving the bus?
ER: They driving the bus. So she tell me, about this kind time, you go outside, you wait, and then you go. She tell, "You know how your brother look like?"

"Yeah, yeah, I know them."

So I go over there, I stay by the store, right by the corner. I stay, one bus came, another bus came. I think about number four bus came. Then he come, he open the door. I look, eh, Uncle Chester. He look me, I make my hand like this [ER waves]. Yeah, and he go shut the door. I make my hand like this. He look again, then he open the door. He make come, so I go on the bus.

On the bus, he wen tell me, "Eh, I never know was you. I look, just like was you but I no sure." Then bumbai, he broke one ticket, he tell me, "Here, you put inside here." Some ticket or just like put in here, bumbai the people look and tell the boss, eh. He give me one ticket. So he tell me, "How come you stay here?"

I tell, "I stay with Mahoe up here."

He tell, "Oh, yeah, Mahoe."

"Mahoe tell me come over here."

So me and him go. I go on the bus, he tell me, "Oh, I pau hana, this my last work."

MM: Aunty Mahoe [Rebecca Benenua]?

ER: Hah?

MM: Aunty Mahoe?

ER: No, not this Mahoe. This is my cousin from Maui, Napaepae. And then he wen take me over there, then he tell me, "Me and you go home." I mean, "Go down the yard." He going take back the bus, then he pau hana. Then he go. Then on the way, me, he tell, "How come you come over here?"

Then I tell him, "My boy stay hospital." He ask me where, then I wen tell him where, eh.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 16-17-3-88; SIDE ONE

MM: Okay.

ER: Then, we go hospital, then we wen take him home.
MM: What hospital was that?
ER: Gee, I don't know. I no can remember the name now. I don't know.
MM: Long time, yeah.
ER: I don't know, but.
MM: So when he was real sick, he went to the Lāna'i Hospital, he went to the hospital over here?
ER: Yeah, from over here, they wen send 'em go Maui.
MM: And then Maui no can take care so they send . . .
ER: Yeah, Maui they wen cut [surgery], but they no can take care, so they tell me gotta take 'em Honolulu. So that evening, they make all da kine doctor or where I gotta go, eh, on the paper. Tell me go give this to them. But I tell them guys I don't know Honolulu. I don't know where and where. Then bumbai my cousin wen hear I going, then she tell me, "Oh, I know. I take you." She tell she was going home, eh.
MM: You folks had to ride the boat from Maui to Honolulu?
ER: Yeah.
MM: When he was--from his operation on Maui?
ER: Yeah.
MM: Oh, hard.
ER: Hard, though, yeah?
MM: Oh, hard.
ER: I take on the boat, they wen cut him already. Maybe that time no more airplane or what. Maybe get airplane, I don't know.
MM: And then, so how long you stayed in Honolulu?
ER: I think less than one week.
MM: And then he was all right to come home?
ER: Yeah, because--less than one week because Mama [Rebecca Richardson], I don't know how we--I think that time get telephone, eh, already. So Mama talk telephone to Kaula, then he tell Mama, for me and Mama go ho'o ke 'ai, fast. Me and Mama fast for him. He tell me if I like take from nighttime, maybe six o'clock in the night until six in the morning, you know. So me and Mama make [until] morning. Morning time, we finish six o'clock. Me and her from six to six.
And then morning time, six o'clock when we pau, and Mama pray, everything we pau, he stand up and walk. He stand up, no more sore, nothing. Then bumbai, Mama call, come home. So afternoon, me and Mama came home. Then he was all right till about, I don't know how long. Maybe three months, I think. Then one morning, he no like wake up, he no can. He sore, he get sore, sore, sore. Then I don't know what happened. I think we wen take 'em back doctor. Go back doctor, I think. I not sure, I forget already. (Pause) Then I think from that, pau.

MM: He didn't go? He just stayed Lāna'i?
ER: Yeah.

MM: You put back in the hospital?
ER: We take hospital, but they no can do nothing already, too late. I don't know what wen happen. (Pause)

MM: So how long after that then he died?
ER: Yeah. After that something happen, I don't know.

MM: He was in the hospital long time?
ER: No, he never stay in the hospital too long. So me and Mama go try fast again. We wen go make, but never come out. Maybe we no make 'em right, I think. So never come out, then we lost him. (Pause)

MM: Okay. We was talking about . . .

ER: No, I think I went back again Honolulu. Yeah, we went back in Honolulu when he came sick again. We went back, take to the doctor. Then the doctor, they put da kine heater on top. I think something just like heat—then the hair all fall down. The hair all come out. Then you can see the skull, yeah. I stayed down there almost two week. But still yet, in the hospital, no can come out.

So then, I wen go work. I wen go work because wartime, yeah. Jerry [Kaopuiki], because he was working stevedore, he come up the house, he tell me, "More better you go [to Honolulu] work with me, go try, go look job." So I went with him. So we wen go over there and then they stay pick up men for go work. So he wen go tell the boss, me his brother-in-law, maybe he try me. So I wen work. So the first day I wen go work over there, I wen work on the boat. So pau hana, like him, he never tell me, eh, what to do pau hana. I come home, pau hana, I don't know where I going, I lost. I don't know where I going. All the guys going on the truck, but where I going? So one guy he tell me, "You know where you live?"

I tell, "Yeah, Kalihi someplace, but I don't know how I going."
Gee, the boy, he look me, he tell me, "See, this bus, they no going Kalihi, you know." He going, I don't know, certain place by the yard or someplace. So he tell me, "Gee, I like help you, but I no can, I don't know how."

Ah, I think to myself, more better I stay on top the boat. Maybe if I stay on the boat, that's the only safe place for me. So I stay over there on the boat. I no go. And when we was working under, I go under there. I go under there, I work. Bumbai, he get the foreman, eh. He get the foreman for that gang. He ask me, "How come you stay over here? I never bring you."

I tell him, "No, I was over here from the daytime, but I new man inside here. I don't know how to go home."

He tell me, "Where you stay?"

"I only know I stay Kalihi, but what place, I don't know. But I know Kalihi."

He tell, "Where you come from?"

"Oh, I come from Lāna'i and only today I work. But I don't know how da kine."

He tell me, "The foreman that pick you up don't know where you come from?"

"No, I don't think so. They tell me they gotta go by the yard."

"And by the yard, you no more the guys for pick up?"

"No more, I don't know who." I tell, "Only the safe place I know, more better I stay on the boat. Maybe in the morning they come look for me." (Chuckles)

Bumbai he tell me, "Ah, no mind, you go work over here with us. And if you tired, tell the boss you tired. And you go behind there, go sleep, rest. And then you wake up, you like work, you work." So I work with them, I no come tired because just like my mind, I scared, eh, I don't know where I stay, I lost. Work [until] about two o'clock or three o'clock, something around there. He come back he tell me, "You not tired? You go rest."

I tell him, "No. I not tired."

He tell, "No, I think more better you go rest. You go over there, you go lie down. Maybe bumbai you sleep. I tell the boys watch you." So he tell them guys let me go sleep. In the morning I wake up, the same luna come. He going take me home, you know, the luna. He tell me, "I take you if you know where you stay."

But I tell him, "I only know Kalihi."
"You know the house number, all this kind?"

"No, I don't know. I only know they stay Kalihi, by the jail house [i.e., O'ahu Prison]." I tell him, "behind someplace."

Bumbai he tell me, "Ah, maybe we can find. Maybe you know the people who stay and what the house." Then he take me, he get his car. Bumbai he tell me, "Now this the jail house [O'ahu Prison]. How you stay?"

"I think someplace behind this road someplace. We go behind."

Then he go behind, he go easy. "You look what you can remember, you tell me." We go, we go easy, easy. Bumbai, we pass the house.

I look, I tell, "Try wait. I think this the house. This one." Then he back up again. Then he stop. I look good, "Yeah, I think Chester house. I think this one." I jump down, I go with him. I tell him, "I think this the house because they get the kitchen over here." Oh, I see Aunty Dot. And then I tell, "Ah, yeah, we get the right house."

And he tell me, "Oh, lucky you can remember."

"Yeah, because I only wen come a few days." And I know daytime the house how stay. And I wen go walk around, eh. I know where the jail house. So I figure the jail house was behind this side. So he take me. Bumbai he tell me, "How come you come over here?"

"Ah, I get my son, stay sick in the hospital. Now I stay over here, I like go work, make money."

Ah, he tell, "Never mind, if you like go work, you work with me. You come down there, I bring you home."

But I tell, "Humbug, eh, for . . . ."

"No, no, no. I bring you home. I take you, you work for me. And you no go outside with them. In the evening, you come down there by the fish market. You stay down there." He tell me what time over there. He tell me, "You know how to catch bus?"

I tell, "Yeah, bus I can. I know how with the bus over here, then by the jail house, I jump down someplace over there then I walk, I know where I stay. I tell, "I think I can now."

Because Uncle Chester them tell me, "If you come with the bus, you look for the jail house. You jump down, then you walk. If you no can, you ask the driver."

Then they give me ticket, da kine for go on the bus. He tell me, "You look what this name, that's the one you catch, the Kalihi bus."
And then you ask the driver drop you, where the jail house, right over there, you going jump down one station."

So I tell driver, "Because me new man over here, you can tell me where the jail house, where you going jump down, and then I can walk across."

He tell me, "Okay." Then from over there, I wen go home one night, I go, I can find. I tell the luna, "That's all right, now I know how for go home, and what bus for catch."

MM: So how long you had that job?

ER: I stay down there little more one month. One month for go make heater for him. They got to make heater every time, and take about one month.

MM: And then . . .

ER: No, over one month, I think. I wen work over there maybe little more three months. Then bumbai, this boss [Vredenburg] go ask them guys, eh, where I stay. They tell 'em if I quit that [cowboy] job or what because take too long, eh. Then I tell, "No, I no quit, but my boy still in the hospital. Then they tell me I gotta come home [Lāna'i] go work. So I leave Mama and him over there, so I came home. I work about one week, I tell the boss I going back Honolulu again. So I went back again.

MM: So when you and Mama stay Honolulu, who take care the children?

ER: Over here? Ah, Tutū Mama them, Keōmuku.

MM: So did you like that job, the stevedore job?

ER: Yeah. Big pay, was good pay.

MM: What happened to Jerry? He take you down there and he went. Where he went? (Chuckles)

ER: Well, he no work over there, but he work different company, that's why. He only wen take me to where he know his friend them.

MM: I see.

ER: So he leave me over there, but he no tell me how to go home. (MM chuckles.) I get stuck. I stay inside there, but lucky the foreman inside there was good man, that's why.

MM: You remember that man name?

ER: No, I don't know his name. I only know they call him "D," I think, "D" or something. I don't know what his name. David or what.
MM: But what company was this?

ER: That company, [McCabe, Hamilton, and Renny]. But good though, the boss, that luna, I wen work for him two night. But he look the way I work, just like I know all this kind job, like rope kind job, eh, little more same cowboy kind job, eh, any kind thing, I hook up. He look me from on top, just like I know what I doing, what I work, I know. [ER eventually became a winch operator.] Bumbai he ask me, "You drink? We go drink beer."

I tell, "No, I no drink." That's how come the boss more he like. (MM chuckles.) More he like because I no drink. I said, "No, I no drink. I only drink soda water and milk." (MM chuckles.)

He tell me, "You sure, you no like beer?"

"No, no, no. I no drink beer." And that's da kine the boss like. That kind guys no moemoe. (Chuckles) He tell me, "You going get our kind pay, you know, the way you work over here."

MM: So when you first went—that first day you work, how much money you make?

ER: The first week I wen go, I think about hundred something, little over hundred. Hundred ninety, I think.

MM: Oh, big money.

ER: Big money the stevedore, because they get overtime, too. I think almost hundred ninety dollar. So I take home my paycheck my first week and show Uncle Lew them, he tell me, "Eh, big money you make." And then bumbai, I no tell him I winch operator already, eh.

MM: So then, how come you like come back Lāna'i if small pay?

ER: I wen like quit, but I think bumbai pau the war or what. I wen like, though. I look bumbai, Chester and Uncle Lew tell me, "Gee, more better quit your [ranch] job. Over here, look, big money." But I was thinking bumbai pau the war, eh. Us, only new men, maybe us good, maybe I going get chance, eh, because I no drink, yeah.

MM: So only three months?

ER: Yeah. Only three months. I was making good money already. And I kinda know all the place because Uncle Chester tell me what bus for take, what one for go home, eh, and what time. Bumbai they give me one book, you know da kine transfer book.

Yeah, the stevedore was good job, but stevedore job, little more like cowboy job, eh. [Work] with cable, but same principle, just like the rope. Just like cowboy, you gotta rope the cow, you gotta take the slack, eh. When you going make tight so you bring in the slack. That's why same thing like this. You gotta make tight and
you gotta bring in the slack. The way I figure, the way they tell me, little more same principles as in cattle. Because rope kind stuff, I can, any kind.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)
ER: Oh, talk only about Vredenburg.
MM: Yeah.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)
ER: You ask me any kind about him, then I tell you.
MM: You know, after you came back to Lāna'i after spending so much time in Honolulu, then . . .
ER: Yeah, then I wen come back work again.
MM: Same job?
ER: Yeah, I come back to the job.
MM: No more changes?
ER: No, no more. Because he tell me, bumbai I lose my seniority, eh. So I gotta come back work, show that I still working.

MM: So during Vredenburg's time, after the war like that, did they increase the cattle, they bring more cows or did the ranch get smaller? What happened after the '40s, after the war?
ER: After the war, he wen increase plenty stuff. Like the pigpen, you know, like come more the pigpen, and then . . .
MM: Where was the pigpen?
ER: Down where Palumbo stay [i.e., Nicholas Palumbo's home].
MM: Ah, Pālāwai?
ER: You know where Palumbo stay now, that was the ranch pigpen before. One Pāke [lived there].
MM: Ah, Look?
ER: Yeah, Look. Yeah, the Pāke wen take over, see. Then after Look, then Palumbo go stay. But he no raise pig, only he live down there. I think he rent the place, eh, but not the pigpen. Only Look wen raise pig after the ranch pau with the pig. Then Look wen take.
MM: But first the ranch started up the piggery, then Look took over?
ER: No, the ranch wen make the piggery, then the ranch was going like that with the pigpen. Until little more he going pau, you know, Vredenburg going pau, that's was in the . . .

MM: Oh, 1950s?

ER: Fifty-one, I think, when the time we get the big strike. That's when we go slow down little bit. Us all go on the strike, too, eh. We was on the strike.

MM: Okay.

ER: And after the strike yeah, the pigpen wen go down.

MM: I see.

ER: Then I wen go work for the [Hawaiian Pineapple] Company for drive truck.

MM: Okay. So when the pigpen--so that's right around after the war, everything was going good?

ER: Yeah, was going good, yeah. It was going good until something was going down, I think. Maybe was making too much expense, eh, the pigpen, all that kind, and fix up new fence. Maybe he use too much money, I think, maybe was going in the hole. Something like that. Then that's why they was going make the ranch pau. Only pineapple. When the ranch wen pau, then they keep only three guys, me, Ernest Keliikuli, and [Kuniichi] Sakamoto stay back on the ranch, try go clean up, clean up [i.e., herd up] the rest of the cow, because they was selling, selling and selling, eh. You know, three and one other Hawaiian guy from Honolulu. And when he wen start pau, [W. A.] Cleghorn wen come take over. Cleghorn. So Cleghorn wen hire one man from Honolulu or from Kaua'i. That's the guy, George, George . . .

MM: George Kaeo?

ER: Yeah, they wen hire him come over here. So he wen come over here. He brought two men, and with us three guys, get six men work together, try go clean up the cow.

MM: Clean up what, the stray cows?

ER: Yeah, yeah, clean up the balance, what they get on Lāna'i, the cattle. But we wen try go catch, catch, catch [but] never pau yet. Never pau yet, then Hawaiian Pine wen come ask me [in 1951] if I like go drive [truck] because the war, I mean, the what . . .

MM: The strike.

ER: The strike wen pau. Now they need driver. If I like, I can go now. That's why I went. Well, that's only the chance I get, yeah,
because they say, if I going stay back on the ranch, maybe no can get that kind chance, yeah, for driving.

MM: Who came see you for job?

ER: Botelho.

MM: Oh, Johnny Botelho?

ER: Yeah, because he was the top boss, eh. So he come see me if I like go drive truck because get room now for go inside. Because the cowboy pay was same kind pay with the truck drivers.

MM: How much was that?

ER: That was--what, we talking truck driver, eh--how much we wen get? I think, two dollar, two dollar seventy-five cents [$2.75], I think. The truck driver and the cowboy.

MM: Two seventy-five [$2.75], one day?

ER: One hour.

MM: One hour? Oh, okay.

ER: No, no, no. By the day they was going.

MM: Two seventy-five [$2.75] a day?

ER: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

MM: This was 1951?

ER: Nineteen fifty-one. So that truck driver, you know, they was same pay with the cowboy. So they ask me if I like go drive now, get room now. But if I going wait bumbai, maybe no more room. Ah, more better I take 'em. So I went.

MM: Let's go back. When they started closing down the ranch . . .

ER: Yeah.

MM: . . . where did all the people go?

ER: The people, they went--who like go anyplace and go any kind ranch, work. And this cowboy place over here, they recommend you go any kind place where you like. If you like go Hawai'i cowboy, if you like go Honolulu, you like go Maui, so the company, the ranch company over here, they go recommend you, where you like go work. Because they ask, if they like cowboy there. So they ask us if we like go, what place we like go. I never like go. I say I going stay Lana'i, go work plantation. So some guys wen go Maui. Some guys went Hawai'i. Some guys went Honolulu. Ernest Keliikuli, he
went Honolulu. He wen go work for Hawaiian Meat Market. He wen go
slaughter cow. That's what he ask for--he like go work on the
slaughterhouse.

MM: So when the ranch closed down, did people still live up here?

ER: Yeah. You can stay up here. If you go work, you go work down the
pineapple, eh, you can stay up here.

MM: They never kick anybody out?

ER: No, no. You stay where you like. They never kick. So, Uncle them,
the first guys they wen put 'em out, like that, so he wen go drive
truck.

MM: Uncle Johnny [Richardson]?

ER: Uncle Johnny. He wen drive truck. Uncle Biggy [Junior Kaopuiki]
them wen go drive da kine small kind truck inside the pineapple
field. I think Robert [Kauila] he was down the piggery running the
boiler. So, he know how to run boiler, they put him inside the
powerhouse 'cause he know how to run all da kine steam, eh, the
engine, da kine, about the steam, eh. So he went powerhouse. Yeah,
plenty guys wen go, but not so bad. But Uncle Sammy [Kaopuiki]--no,
when that time pau, he was in the army. When he came back from the
army, then he went truck driver. He wen go apply for truck, eh.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

MM: You know when the pineapple had the big strike [in 1951]?

ER: Yeah.

MM: Did it affect you?

ER: No. We was all right. Yeah, everything was okay because over here
[ranch] went on strike, too, eh. Everybody, one time. So we get
free kaukau, we go down union hall, eat. But in the morning, you
gotta go stand in line, what they call picket? Yeah, picket. You
gotta go picket until all the labor yards kind of cool off, yeah,
then you go eat, lunchtime. Evening time you can go eat. But still
yet, you gotta go show up by the union hall. Sometime they like you
go picket, then you go picket. Then you go stay around; if not, you
come home. Bumbai, you gotta go down. They going tell you what
time for come around. So, the time they wen strike, no affect us,
nothing, because we had kaukau. They give us free kaukau. We go
eat down the union hall. Sometime you get certain day they make you
go work, eh. You gotta go wash dishes. And they get just like
gang.
MM: You go help in the kitchen.

ER: Department, maybe get one day, eh, for go, for clean up down the union hall. Only one day. Then you rest maybe two, three weeks till your time come go around, eh, like that. Everybody get chance.

MM: So, how—that time, nobody worked?

ER: Nobody work until the company, maybe get da kine freight, you know, come inside. Then the company going like some drivers for go. Then they going ask the union. Then the union going send some drivers go help.

MM: That's when they bring in the kaukau and stuff?

ER: Yeah. Then I think maybe the pay, the union wen take some, I think, what you make for the day, for the hour, how many hour you going work. But, I never go work. They never call us because, us, that time, we no work down there, we only get ranch job, eh. Only the—down there the Hawaiian Pine drivers. They go take so much guys. That's all in the strike time. But with us, no, never get nothing, because us, we go down there, we eat. Bumbai we come home, we stay around by the stable. Then bumbai somebody, da kine maybe steward go tell all us gotta go down, get meeting or something they going talk about. Then we go down there, go listen what they say.

MM: Okay.

ER: So the strike time, never affect us, nothing. Only I heard the harbor guys sometime they like go work, eh. The boss tell go work, they go work. So up here guys, they go down and they go lick 'em. They told me that they jump all inside the water. All they guys. (Chuckles) They jump inside the water because they go down there. But us, we never go. Us guys, the ranch guys, they never bother too much.

MM: Did they say they no like you work ranch cowboy?

ER: No, no. They never tell nothing, no, no. They no bother us. But they know the ranch, yeah, just about being supposed pau too, eh. The ranch was kind of pau already, going down, eh. And that time we stay up here, that time was strike time, only we stay go help for find the leftover kind cow. We try go catch. Then the Hawaiian Pine guys, da kine guys no work, they strike, they go help. They go ride. Us, we give 'em horse, they go help us. They like go drive cattle, eh, go find.

MM: Yeah.

ER: So we catch some. But the leftover was only little bit, I think, less than twenty. So no can catch up, so they wen give 'em to the hunters. For go hunt cow. So us, we wen go hunt. So, we ...
MM: When was the sheep pau?

ER: Oh, the sheep wen pau long time. That time was Munro time. Munro time kind of pau. When Vredenburg wen come, get little bit more sheep.

MM: Wild kind?

ER: Yeah. Had some more sheep, but they was shooting the sheep for the pig. Feed the pig with the sheep. They go out with a pack mule, shoot. Yeah, Vredenburg was making that, go outside and shoot. But come home, he no give you meat. He get all for the pigs. Us gotta take 'em. (Chuckles) We gotta take some for us, bring home. We gotta hide 'em.

(Laughter)

MM: Okay. Around 1950s, I hear you the first one on Lāna'i to get TV?

ER: Yeah me, up the ranch, but I don't know the city. Maybe the city had, but up the ranch, me was the first. By that time, was still the cowboy time. Maybe more early than the '50, I think. Maybe '50 or '49, '51. Then, all the cowboys pau hana, they like come my house. Everybody go home eat, 'au'au pau, come go listen cowboy, especially Tutu [James] Kauila. Tutu Kauila, every evening he there early. He come here to see TV. And then when cowboy time pau, every day, talk about cowboy, cowboy.

(Chuckles)

MM: So when you get TV, did people still use the recreation hall?

ER: Yeah, they go down there. They come, they like early part, because had what you call, Lucky Luck, I don't . . .

MM: Oh, Lucky Luck?

ER: Yeah, Lucky Luck. Every time, they like look that show, eh, Lucky Luck because he talk Hawaiian, too, eh. And so when that show pau, everybody go home. But if get cowboy [show], ah, they like look cowboy. But if no more cowboy, then (chuckles).

MM: They all go home?

ER: Yeah. Lucky Luck was about five o'clock or six o'clock. Pau hana, everybody bathe, ready for come inside here look TV.

(Laughter)

MM: How about--everybody was still going movies, too? You still go movie?

ER: Yeah, because over here, the movies was only Saturday.
MM: Oh.

ER: Only once a week. Then bumbai, then we get the whole week kind picture. Then they get two show, eh, 5:30 and 7:30, I think, 7:30 or 7:00. Between there. So us guys every time we like pau hana early, too, because we like go 5:30 show.

MM: What kind movies they show? Any kind movies?

ER: Yeah, any kind movies because first time get talkies, eh. You like go look the talking picture, eh. (Chuckles) So every time we go, but if cowboy [movie], everybody go. If you know going get cowboy today, even you work, you like hurry up, pau hana. And then if little bit late, we come straight with the horse, tie the horse over there, and go inside the theater like that. Go inside the theater with the spur, everything. And you know sometime, us go branding, get plenty doo-doo on top you, too. We go inside the lane [aisle], you know when you going up the--like that, yeah, the theater. You go inside there, you sit down on top there, all the guys on top here, bumbai they stand up, they go away. They no like smell us, eh.

(Laughter)

ER: Then us get all that chair. Bumbai, every time we going out with the dirty clothes and all, we go up there, we sit down, bumbai everybody run away. Run away, you go sit down. (Chuckles) They no like sit down over there because they smell doo-doo, eh. Every time they go away, we tell 'em, "Thank you, thank you." (Chuckles) They no like sit down. They know the cowboys every time go over there, sit down, eh, make them stink. More worse if get all ladies around there. Pau, quick, they stand up, run away.

(Laughter)

ER: The man, little bit slow. Bumbai they go away.

MM: And then so like, after the ranch pau and then you wen work plantation . . .

ER: Yeah.

MM: . . . pineapple?

ER: Pineapple.

MM: And you stayed truck driver?

ER: Stay truck driver. Then sometime when no busy like that, then we gotta go picking, too. If the season slack off, too much driver, they send so much driver one day. The next day, other driver, he go drive. Then sometime you gotta go ho hana and you gotta go hemo slip [i.e., pulapula]. That time I go hemo slip, I don't know how
to hemo slip. I hemo any kind. Sometime the guys, they look by how he grow, they know about the weight. But some guys, they can feel, hemo one, they feel that's the size, they broke all and they put in. You gotta know what the ounce and the weight so that all go one place, yeah, the plant. So when they going plant in the fields, they say, no can this, small one and big one. Bumbai the pineapple no grow right. Sometime they give you scale, small scale. If you doubt, you go scale 'em. If too low, then you no pick da kine. You leave 'em for next time. Maybe grow bigger, eh.

First time, I don't know. I pick any kind. (MM chuckles.) Bumbai the luna, he come, "Ah, this one no good, this one no good." He stay all throw away, too young yet, no 'nough weight. Like them, they only look, they know, eh. They just look. And some, sometime, too big, overweight, you gotta throw away.

MM: So but, did you like go work for the plantation or . . .

ER: Yeah.

MM: It was okay?

ER: Yeah, bumbai after that when you learn, and then all right.

MM: Did they teach you how to drive truck, too?

ER: Oh, yeah, the first week they train you. I wen go in the morning, Johnny Kauwenaole was my teacher. But he was the driver, not me. One truck was coming, the truck bang, bang because we was backing up, and the truck was coming down. So the truck, he see us back up, we wen come down. He bang 'em. So when he bang 'em, then they call the truck boss. So, all the station guys, they hear from the radio. They thought, ah, the cowboy the one, he bang 'em.

(Laughter)

ER: They blame me. But I no was driving. He was driving. But you go by the station, everybody know me, eh, all the guys, "Eh, cowboy, you bang, eh, that one?"

"No, no, no. The driver."

They tell, "No, no, no. We no believe. The driver know how to drive, he no going bang."

(Laughter)

ER: But the behind truck guy, the one the fault. You know, he wen see us backing up, 'cause we no can see, over there get one hill. He was backing up, he still coming down. He still coming down and he wen bang up. Bang the radiator and puka the radiator. Then the picking machine, they get radio, eh. They call the station, what number truck wen bang. Then the guys, they know, eh, what truck I
went on top because they know me, too, eh. Ah, they tell the cowboy wen bang 'em.

(Chuckles)

ER: He wen tell my name. I come back in the station, "Eh, cowboy, what happened? How come you bang?"

I tell, "I no go bang. The driver wen." They no believe, eh. They figure the driver no bang, gotta be the new man. (Chuckles)

MM: So . . .

ER: I never take too long for [learn how to] drive because I wen drive this kind truck already, eh. You know when the ranch go cut poles like that, the driver stay come, they lazy, they let us drive. We go carry the poles, bring up, we drive. So I wen drive da kine truck already. So I know how to drive the truck. But, only maybe go under the [harvesting] machine, I don't know how the speed, yeah, you go for the guys pick [the truck moved the harvesting machine as pickers walked behind the boom, loading the picked pineapples]. So he went one load, we went one load. We take another truck, and we went one load. Then he tell me, under the truck, how to go, what gear, and what the speed. You gotta watch the man. He only one load. I come back to the station because they need driver, no 'nough driver, eh. So, Botelho ask John if I can handle under the machine. He tell he can. And then I went. But when trouble, I don't know where the field, where the [harvesting] machine, where to go. The machine call the station, they like one truck. Then they tell me, "You gotta go this field." I tell them I don't know the field, all the number. So they tell me wait.

Then another machine call then they tell me, you follow this way. They tell the other driver, "Take him, too, and show him the machine, tell him how." Bumbai the driver he go, he tell me, "You go like this, you look on top, they get flag. If the flag come out, then you look the number of the [harvesting] machine. If that's that number, you supposed to go." And you gotta learn the field too, eh. So I wen go the first load. He take me over there, and pau, I went back to the station.

Then the second load the field I went because they get 53-11. And they get 54-11. And they get 55-11, you see. But I went 54-11, my first load. Then the office called me, tell me go fifty-five. But I wen go 54-11. I went down there, I go find for the machine, where get flag. I look this flag, I go over there, but that's not the number. You know, I go look. Get three machine, bumbai all by the machine, no more the number. No, get one number out there, but 54-11. So the machine, just about he going load. So I go over there, I go behind because I look, eleven, eh, 54-11. I went behind. I wait, the Luna come over there. He tell me, "I never call you. Not your truck. This truck just wen come inside. Eleven fifty-four."
I never listen the first number. I listen only--I hear the eleven so I wen go down there. Then I went fifty-four. The luna come tell me, I tell him.

Bumbai he tell me, "You know, get three field, eh. Get 55-11, get 54-11 and get 53-11. Maybe they wen call you go one of that machine." Ah, but he tell me, "Never mind. I call down the station ask what number you supposed to go." Then he tell me, "You supposed to go 55-11." If 55-11, that's right down here by the schoolhouse. Machine eight. He said, "Ah, but right now, you gotta go back to the station because they wen send one truck over there because you too late." The luna call for truck but I no reach over there so they don't know where I stay, but I stay way down Pālawai side.

MM: Wow, far.

ER: Then bumbai I go station, the station guys, they correct me. They tell me, "Every time you gotta listen where the first number." Sometime get 55-11, 55-12 and then the three field, they wen tell me, fifty-three, 53-00, that's all this side area, going down this side area. From the harbor road, go that side. That's all fifty-three.

MM: Harbor road toward north end side?

ER: Yeah, north end side. That's 53-00. That three, that's all 53-00. Fifty-four hundred, from the station go down, get one road, all road going down Miki way. You know from the airport, all like that. All that side that's fifty...

MM: That's towards Mānele side?

ER: Yeah. No. Toward Mānele Road.

MM: Kaunolu side?

ER: No, not Kaunolu, that's 55-00.

MM: Oh.

ER: You know when you going down the airport, almost you reach the station, get one road going down, eh. You go down and you come around Mānele, all that road up.

MM: Oh, okay, I know where.

ER: Up there, all 54-00, this 54-00. And from that road below, go airport way, that's all 55-00. Then bumbai, I study little bit then I catch on, eh. Sometime, they tell me, "You go 53-17."

I stay look, I tell, "What place the machine stay? Fifty-three this side, or below or way down the top?"
They tell me, "The straight road going up." You know from the station, going up one straight road, you go straight up there, then you going see the machine. The machine all inside, you go look what number you supposed to go. Then that's how I go learn. So you ask 'em, "What road I going take, more easy for me?"

They tell me, sometimes, "You go harbor side, take by the rubbish pile, right over there get one road, yeah, going in there. You take that road, you go. You follow that big road, then you going see the machine. Then you go look the machine number, what number you supposed to go."

MM: They don't give you names for? They don't tell you what name?

ER: No, they no tell you the name. Only the number of the [harvesting] machine. They just tell you the number the machine, where you go, then you go over there, then bumbai, you see the luna. Bumbai every time you talk, you going know who the luna. They no tell you the luna. They only tell you the number. So you gotta learn all the number of the machine and what the field the number.

MM: So you like this job better than cowboy job?

ER: Oh, yeah. When I wen go drive truck, I figure the truck driver was more easy. You pau hana eight hour or eight and a half hour. You come home, you no tired. Before, you tired. You reach home sometime, you go sleep. (Chuckles) That one was good.

MM: So you--and then so when you pau work, what, you keep horse?

ER: If pau work from the truck?

MM: When work truck driver, you still keep your horse?

ER: Yeah. Every time I pau work, I go ride horse. Every evening I ride. Because the truck, only you sit down one place, yeah. I drive truck, come sore back. Because you only sit down one place and sweat, yeah, the back. But then bumbai, you use da kine spring, yeah, da kine air kind. No more sore. So when I come home, I go ride horse. More better the horse. Shake you up, yeah. (MM chuckles.) The body all come loose, yeah. (MM chuckles.) That's why every evening I ride horse. Drive pau hana, I ride. Sometime I ride two horse. I leave one way down the grass field and then one home. So every day, I go change. I ride one down there and I come home. Sometime I go around the pasture way come home. But, like the summertime, good, the sun way up, plenty time, eh. Sometime you can ride three horse. But when he come this kind time, the sun quick, yeah, go down. So when I come this kind time, I come home, maybe little bit dark like this, I come inside the house I go eat. I eat pau by the time, the horse stay rest, eh. And when I pau eat, I can go take 'em off already and go tie 'em and go bathe. The truck driver was more better. More better long ago I wen go truck driver.
(Laughter)

ER: Instead of work cowboy, late, late. Truck driver was good.

MM: So you work how long truck driver?

ER: I know from '51. From '51 until '76.

MM: Twenty-five years.

ER: Yeah, '51 to '76. Oh, yeah. Little more twenty-five year. Then I retire. Then they call me go back work. Three year, I went back work. The summer kind. They no 'nough driver; eh, so I wen go back. They come get because they like you drive truck, the one go harbor. So three year I wen go back work.

Then the third year I wen go back work, they make me go inside the hole go connect pipe. You know, go work plumber job. You know, the field was making big kind pipe. Go inside field with the water truck, for go take water. So they wen make me go in the ditch. But, the boss from the truck wen tell me I going over there go drive one truck. Go drive one truck, da kine crane truck. You know, the operator going make the crane, and then I go drive the truck. That's what the luna wen tell me.

But already, they wen change boss. Before, my boss was [Toshio] Onuma, eh. But this boss was new guy from Moloka'i. So he wen tell me I going up there for drive one truck, and the operator going operate, then I go drive, go haul pipe with the truck.

So, when I wen go over there, the boss from the utility side tell me go with the plumber, with this guy Kawasaki. Go down with him down there and go wait. So I wen go down there. He get the truck stay over there. But I never go on top [the truck] because they never tell me go yet, yeah. So I was waiting for the operator. But when the operator wen come, they bring one more driver for drive the truck. So the operator and the driver go start the truck and he start the crane. But I no say nothing. But they wen tell me I gotta drive the truck for the crane.

So bumbai the plumber come down, he tell me I gotta go inside the hole. When the driver go and they going put the pipe down, eh, then we going go connect pipe. I tell the plumber, "They never tell me come over here work this kind job. They tell me I going drive."

He tell me, "What truck you going drive?"

"I supposed to drive this truck. But now get one different driver they wen bring." But I no can go tell the driver go away because he get his order, too, eh. So I never say nothing. So the plumber tell me, no, according to his boss, tell me I gotta go connect pipe.

Then I tell him, "More better you take me go up the utility office."
He tell me, "Why?"

"No, I get some kind problem with the boss down there. I like go see him."

He tell me, "All right." So he take me up.

I wen go see the utility boss. I tell him, "You know, my boss send me up here for I go drive the crane truck. But now, they tell me go in the hole, go work plumber." So I tell him, "You know, I retire from this kind job already. So the company like only us guys go drive truck, not for this kind. But if they get 'nough truck driver already, I no need work. So you make pau paper for me." I tell him, "You make pau paper because somebody lying to me. Either the truck boss or you."

He said, "No. They tell me you gotta go in the hole."

"Well, you make pau paper for me because they hire me only for drive truck. For help them, kokua them, help. But now you going tell me, no. I retire from this job. I no like."

He tell me, "Okay. You sure you like pau paper?"

"Yeah. Because I never ask for this kind of job, go make plumber job. That too heavy job for me. I no like go carry pipe and make in the hole, no." I tell, "I pau." So he make pau paper.

"Okay, if you like pau paper, I make for you."

I tell, "Yeah." So from that day, I come home, I no work.

Next morning, I run away. I go beach. (MM chuckles.) I go down, they telephone Mama. Ask where me, tell me come work. She tell, "He no stay, he went beach." So I come home afternoon, she tell me, "Eh, they call you. They like you go back work."

"No. I pau. They no need driver. They make me go in the hole. No, that not my job. Me driver. Me not going work that kind. They hire me. They tell me in the office, 'We only need you for drive,' okay."

I go home. I go run away, go see beach. (MM chuckles.) They never find me. When I come back in the evening, little more pau hana time, they telephone. The truck boss telephone me. He tell me, "Eh, how come you go home?"

I tell, "I no like. You guys no need me. You guys no need me on the driving. You guys make me go in the hole. No, I retire already, I no make. I going stay home rest. But if you fellas ask me, you guys like driver, kokua. Kokua, what means kokua?" I tell
him. "What means kōkua? Help, eh. Help you guys for drive, but not go in the hole and do this kind work. I pau working."

Then he tell me, "No, you come back tomorrow."

"No, I pau. You get some more driver. I no like." From that, pau, I no work.

Bumbai he catch me on the road he tell, "You no can help us again, go drive?"

"No, I pau. You guys give me bad deal. You guys not honest. Give me bad deal. Tell me only drive, but."

Bumbai, he get one more other Filipino guy, Daguay. Me and him, every time drive same car, every time we talk story, talk story. Bumbai, he ask some of the drivers, "Eh, where the kanaka? Where the kanaka?"

"He quit, he went home."

"How come?"

"I don't know."

Bumbai he catch me by the store, he see me. Every time he call me kanaka, eh. "Eh, kanaka, what happened? What happened?"

"Oh, they send me go inside go plumber go in there. I tell 'em, I driver, not plumber. I go home."

"Sure, you no go work?"

He, too, he go tell he make him pau paper. He follow me. He tell me, "Eh, kanaka, I follow you, you know."

"What you mean you follow me?"

"I no go work. They wen tell me go hō hana." (Laughs) "I tell them, no way I go hō hana. I go home, just like kanaka. The kanaka boy, he go home, I go home, too. Go lomilomi my chicken." He get fighting rooster. He tell the guys, "No. I go home, lomilomi my chicken more better. If the kanaka, he go home ride horse, I go lomilomi chicken." Bumbai he catch me just like, "Eh, kanaka, you okay, though. Now me okay, too."

"Why?"

"They tell me go hō hana. I follow you, boy. I tell 'em, no way I going hō hana." He make like me pau paper, too, he quit, too. (Chuckles) But all the other guys, they went. They wen go. Me and him, we never go. Supposed to get seven of us go drive. The two guys . . .
MM: All retirees?

ER: Yeah, all retire guys, seven guys. So two guys never go work.

MM: So, after that, pau with the company?

ER: Yeah, from that, pau. They no come get me already. They no come. They wen try again, try catch me and ask me again. I tell, "I 'nough already. You guys give me raw deal."

MM: So now, what you do?


MM: Vegetables.

ER: Now, yeah. Plant garden, work on top my yard. Since that time, I move from down there, until today, I work every day. I wake up about six o'clock or five-thirty. I eat, pau just about bright, I can see, I go outside. I go work. I work till five o'clock in the evening. All day work. But, not da kine, open up kind, eh. Easy, easy. Work little bit, rest little bit. I make one job. Maybe this kind job, I walk around and work. And if I come tired, I leave this job. I go one another job. I no work too much or carry too much. Every time, I make little bit this job till I finish. I finish one job, then I go make like this. Sometime I make, one day, about three job. But three job, little by little. Maybe this job heavy, I go carry lumber, all this kind carry, too heavy for me, eh. So, I quit. I go find light kind job, maybe go hō hana, or go sit down, plant. And if I tired over there, I go the next one. I leave that for the next day. I go little bit, little bit.

MM: So, what you think about all the changes happening on Lāna'i?

ER: All the changes over here, up here?

MM: All over. The whole island.

ER: Well.

MM: Talk about up here [Kō'ele] first.

ER: I don't know too much about because I don't go around. I only stay home, inside here. Sometime I go down there by the hotel [The Lodge at Kō'ele], by the old house [where ER lived from 1937 to 1988], go look what I like, pick up sometime, bring home. Bumbai I know they going broke the house.

MM: You feel sad you have to move from your old house? You feel sad you have to move?

ER: Well, now, now I okay already. But the first time, little bit hard, eh. But good thing Melvin every time he come over here, help me,
eh, replant the plant. Every time he bring his boys, they go plant the plant. Ask me where I like, I tell him. Tell him go down there. I go show 'em where for take off. They go take off because them all carry everything, bring us. Only I show 'em where, over here, over here, I like plant.

MM: So what? You think this hotel good?

ER: Yeah, now all right. Then bumbai the grass, by the grass, yeah, I wen go Honolulu, go take me go buy seed. Then we wen buy seed and come over here.

MM: All these changes, you think--what, you think it's good for Lāna'i? All the new stuff coming in?

ER: Well, to me, I think, I not sure, but I think maybe come worse. Worse than the way before we was. I think, bumbai get too much people. Over here too much people. Like us before, when we go like that, we no lock the house. We just go out, we leave the door open, we go store come back, nothing much. But now, I think, you stay over here, when you go, you gotta shut the door, you gotta lock. You don't know who come around. Because sometime we no stay every time cars come around, eh. Sometime they come around, they look dead end, they go back. Then some guys, they just come in the yard, they tell, "Where this road going?"

I tell, "You no can see the road? Over here stop, no more road. Dead end. If you like you can go right through in the tree. This is only for these two house, this road." Sometime they like go up the mountain, eh. I tell, "You gotta go by the cemetery way or go this way, go up. Gotta go reach the cemetery and then go up." Every time they come over here ask me, eh.

MM: You think get 'nough water for everything?

ER: The water?

MM: Get 'nough water?

ER: Well, I don't know. According that now, they digging plenty hole, eh? Now, they getting water up here too, eh. And they getting water over here.

MM: Up by the . . .

ER: Yeah, up--right up there. I think they going use plenty water, eh, this hotel. Use plenty water. So, I don't know about the water system, how they going. Right now, they coming from Manele come up. That's only the main water, yeah, come up. But now, they get plenty hole, eh, digging. Palawai get one, up there get one. Over here get one, over here get one. Maybe if they use all this kind water, I don't know, they say some, just like half brackish. If they use this kind water for us for the toilet, maybe for the yard, maybe the
good water, they keep 'em for drinking water. But if they use all da kine water over here, I don't know. I don't know what happen bumbai. The problem [on] this island is the water.

MM: Because when you young boy, did they have water problem, too?

ER: Yeah, sometime guys go up the pump, if they no take care the water good. Because the water, only dripping, eh, only dripping. Then he fall down, fall down, the water run plenty. And the water from the mountain, just like only dripping, dripping. I don't know too much about the water. But I know they digging plenty well all around the place. They getting water but some maybe brackish water. So if they use that kind water most for the housing, the cesspool water, maybe okay. But they use all the good water, I don't know. Over here, is the water system, how they take care the water. That's what I think, but I don't know.

MM: So just in the last what--how many years, ten years?

ER: What that?

MM: Wait, no, only the last year, yeah, plenty new people come?

ER: Yeah. And now you seen how plenty Haoles, yeah, around here. Before not that much. Now get plenty. Even plenty Haoles, they buy houses, yeah. So this, I don't know too much, but, only in me, I think. 'Cause I see the old people before, how they go, yeah, with the water, they take care the water.

MM: So, all pau, I think. I think all pau. (Chuckles)

ER: Yeah.

MM: You have anything else to say about all the changes you seen around here?

ER: Yeah, now plenty changes, yeah.

MM: You have anything else to say about it?

ER: Let me see now. Even I no go Mānele long time, I don't know how they look like down there. But every time these guys, they go work down there, they come back, they talk, I only listen.

MM: Oh, you know one thing I wanted to ask you, you know in Susumu Nishimura tape, he called Hulopo'e, he said he never used to hear that name before. He said his time they used to call it Vancouver Bay, Mānele side, White Sand Mānele.

ER: I don't know. Before when I come over here, the Hulopo'e, they only tell Cut Mountain.

MM: That's what they used to call it?
ER: Yeah, the Cut Mountain. So, I don't know. All the old people, they tell, "I go down Cut Mountain." That's only I hear they talk. But I never hear the name Hulopo'e until now days. I don't know if that's the right name. I only hear on top there. And on top there, they said get graveyard on top there. But, how they wen put that on top there, they don't know how. How the guy wen climb up there.

MM: Oh, you talking about Pu'uPehe?

ER: Yeah, Pu'uPehe, yeah. That's Hulopo'e, eh?

MM: I thought Hulopo'e was White Sand side?

ER: I thought they call Hulopo'e right over there by the, you know, White Sand, where that mountain--where that bay going?

MM: But you never heard it called Vancouver Bay?


MM: Hmm. How come Venus and Violet, they call it Lālākoa?

ER: Hah?

MM: Venus and Violet Gay, they call it Lālākoa.

ER: Not Kalālākoa? Because I first come over here, I hear Kalālākoa. Up where they stay, too, from up there, that's Kalālākoa. All that area road, see. That's only what I hear, you know when I come over here, only I hear they go tell Kalālākoa. Now, they cut off. They go Lālākoa. [According to some Lāna'i residents and Larry Kimura's study on Lāna'i place names, both pronunciations are used and acceptable.]

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 16-18-3-88; SIDE ONE

MM: ... you get Ka'ena?

ER: Ka'ena, then ...

MM: Then Kahe'a?

ER: Then you know, where you tell Polihua, that's Ka'ea. To us before, that's Ka'ea, that white sand beach, that's Ka'ea. Then in the middle, that's what you call Polihua.
MM: Polihua?

ER: Yeah. That's Polihua, the road going down for the sand beach? What the road go down the sand beach?

MM: Manele side?

ER: No, straight by where Ka'ea, now, I telling you. Before, our time, that is Ka'ea. Ka'ea Beach.

MM: Is that where you told me you folks used to go throw the goats to the sharks?

ER: Yeah, where they catch the big kind turtle. The big kind turtle before, come on the beach over there.

MM: Ka'ea?

ER: Yeah, over there come on the beach. And the cowboys, when they go over there, they see the big kind turtle, they go dig hole. They go behind and dig hole. Then they go put their rope on top the wings, and try pull 'em up with the horse. But the thing strong.

MM: Oh, it's heavy?

ER: They go dig behind so they fall down inside. So the wings, big long kind wings.

MM: How many pounds you think?

ER: I don't know. But long kind wings. My uncle, he used to bring home. He go down there, he see da kine, he try go pull with the horse, no can pull. So he go dig hole. So the thing go straight, fall in the hole, then turn 'em upside down. They no can turn 'em upside down, you know [but when] they fall in the hole, can turn, then they can drag 'em up, by the back. But if you stay down, you no can turn 'em. The wings hold.

MM: How many pounds you think it was, the turtle?

ER: Gee, I don't know. Maybe over 100 pound, I think. Because, oh, only if one wing, then maybe get fifty or sixty pound.

MM: One wing?

ER: One wing. Long, you know, the arm. Big. And the meat big. I think get fifty or sixty pound. Because he used to bring home, big. The horse heavy you know, for carry bring home.

MM: When you was young boy, you folks used to go fishing down that end?

ER: No, I no go too much that end. Only from lighthouse, where Polihua come back to go Keomuku till Naha. All in that area, I fishing.
But not the whole place one day. Maybe by section. Only by that section, I go until I reach Naha. Sometime, you only go by Naha you hang around. Then bumbai you come back, maybe next time, you go see Kahemano. And Kahemano, little by little, space by space. But sometime, if you go work [and] you get net, when you pau hana, yeah, you coming home straight, so you only go over there, you see fish, you jump down. Throw, and keep on going. See. That's how.

MM: So, long time ago, not too many people go down that side?

ER: Yeah, not too much. Because no more too much road. Only horse trail, no more car road.

MM: I see.

ER: Only horse guys, they go. Walk kind maybe from where Starr place [Club Lāna'i area], maybe get guys from over there, they live over there, they walk, go down, go fishing. Maybe they go till... I kind of forget all name now. Long time no go by name, only go by number. (Chuckles) You work pineapple field, only go by number. They go throw fish, go throw moi, weke or manini or kala or turtle. Because turtle all around there. I used to go over there, too, with the horse, I go look windmill. I see turtle. Sometime no more chance take off the clothes. Go, clothes and all, shoes and all. Bumbai you ride on the horse and you coming home, you come dry. (Chuckles) 'Cause down there, hot, eh.

MM: How come? Everybody they like eat turtle more than fish?

ER: Well, I don't know. My children before, they like turtle, any kind way cook turtle, kālua or dry or like that, they eat. They all eat turtle meat. Before, you know, easy for catch turtle. No hard. Before when high tide, eh, they come way in the shoreline.

MM: But now no more, yeah?

ER: Now no more. But now, coming back plenty, but kapu.

MM: Yeah, kapu.

ER: Yeah. But now, coming back plenty, but kapu.

MM: Plenty fish, too?

ER: Before? Before, yeah, plenty. Before, when I come over here, I young boy time, us, just like we get bunch, yeah, boys. Sometime Saturday evening pau hana, we walk. Go down Maunalei. And we no more net. You know the mullet, we go cut da kine kiawe stick, da kine skinny kind, long like that. You stay by over here, you stay like that, [the fish] pass. If you whack 'em on the body or whack by the head, they no make. You gotta whack 'em by the tail. You hit 'em on the tail, broke the tail, they no can swim, you go get.
MM: So you whack 'em with the stick?

ER: The tail. You hit behind the tail, the tail broke, they no can swim.

MM: And that's how you folks used to catch fish?

ER: Before we whack by the body or by the head, they run away. You no can find 'em.

MM: What you find, one big school, and you hit inside the school?

ER: No, one by one. When one pass, that's why you stand like this, you see one come. You turn like that, one, sometime you no touch the water, he gone. But you catch 'em near by the tail, you get 'em because he wounded, eh, he no can go. But you try hit 'em on the body, any kind, ah, the guy go. Before we go down Maunalei, eh, we go sleep, we go camp. Morning time, we come home. We go evening time. We take only bread. Carry bread. Go down there, go catch crab or what, pulehu. (Chuckles) Put 'em on top charcoal, pulehu, eat, sleep, by the beach. Early morning time, maybe eight o'clock, wake up, come home. Walk, come up the hill. But that time, you young, eh, just like nothing, eh, only walk, walk. Sometime you like run. (Chuckles) Go down time, more easy, eh, go down the hill. Then morning time, you gotta come early, bumbai come hot, yeah, you no like walk, go up. Us guys, every time we come home early. No like stay late, bumbai come hot. And we no stay evening, bumbai come dark, we no see. (Chuckles) You go walk down there. We used to walk till by Maunalei where the house stay. Before get Japanese guys stay inside there, eh, so we go inside there. Bumbai afterward, get Filipinos, they stay inside. Before only that Japanese, and they plant watermelon. Sometime when you go over there we take bread, da kine, we give them bread, they give us watermelon, and we go sleep over there by the beach. Yeah, our days we get good fun, good bunch. Walk go down pau work. Saturday, make up your mind, "Eh, we go Keomuku tonight. Okay, pau hana, everybody ready." So morning time, you make ready everything, you pau hana, pick up your stuff, go. (Chuckles)

MM: This is only young boys, school boy?

ER: Yeah. No make late, bumbai come dark, eh. You like reach down there before dark, eh. But when you go down the hill someplace, you like run, eh. (Chuckles)

MM: You used to take the mail sometime?

ER: Oh, yeah, yeah. I go. But he get the regular mail guy.

MM: Who was the regular mailman?

ER: Ah, Abraham Kauila. Him the regular mail boy. But sometime maybe they give off, they tell us for take. And sometime you gotta take
some guys they like catch the boat, they like go Maui. That’s why sometime you take ladies like that, slow, you gotta go. No can go too fast. But if men, all right, they like go quick, eh, catch the boat go. But lady—time I take one lady, schoolteacher or nurse. She gotta go Maui. Oh, she don’t know how to ride horse, go slow. (Chuckles) Then reach by the beach, not so bad, yeah. And me that time, I go take da kine guys, I scared. You like, bright, come home already, eh. You no like go dark, dark already coming home. That’s why not one time I come home dark, at least the sun stay up. (MM chuckles.) And when I go, I take two horse. I took one by Maunalei, before get one corral, I tied him over there. And then when I reach over there, I take the lady horse and my horse, I run. I run, already come halfway maybe by Hauola, I change horse. I ride the lady one, I come up. And then when I reach over here by the corral, the two horse, I let ‘em go. They going come home, and you going get ‘em by the gate. Then the horse you ride, he see the other horse run, more he like go too, eh, so follow up. (Chuckles)

MM: How long used to take you to ride down from up here to Maunalei?

ER: Well, if only me one, less than one hour, maybe forty-five minutes because you run, eh. You go walk, run, walk, run. But every time when I go myself, I take two horse. But every time they come get me about three o’clock something. But if more late than that, I tell ‘em I no like go. (Chuckles) Bumbai come home, dark, eh.

MM: So now days, you still can find all the old horse trails, the trails you folks used to go down on? Can find?

ER: Well, you go Maunalei way, yeah, I can, I know where. But maybe go from ridge to ridge, come up, maybe now the kiawe and the lantana hana pa’a all the road and hard for find. Maybe you know where you supposed to go, but maybe too thick now. No can make the trail go up. Maybe the deer can go through, eh, they puka through. But they make small puka eh, and the branches maybe all big, maybe . . .

MM: But you used to be able to come up from like Hauola side, yeah, and come straight up.

ER: Yeah, Hauola side, you can. From the top, you can go down till the sea beach. From the sea beach, you can come home. Hauola side and Kalulu side, but that’s the same, same kahawai, Hauola kahawai. But if you stay on the right-hand side, come up, you stay on Kalulu side, that’s going to Maunalei. And the other one, that’s the big gulch. Hauola Gulch, that’s the deepest gulch on Lana‘i, deep. Deep. And the widest one is Maunalei.

MM: Maunalei?

ER: Maunalei Gulch, that’s the widest.

MM: But they didn’t put pump in Hauola, huh? Had water pump in Hauola?
ER: No, no. They no use water pump. No more pump. Only Maunalei.

MM: Only Maunalei?

ER: Yeah.

MM: But if it's so deep, how . . .

ER: Yeah. Hauola, I no think so get water.

MM: No more?

ER: I no see. Get water maybe only hole for the goat or for the rain water. But I no think get fresh water for drink. Because I went way inside there, way inside till the end, the road. Walk, go inside but narrow. Get water inside there, but I think maybe that's rainwater. That's not spring water. I walk inside there when I go hunt goat. I like see, eh, how inside there. But deep. But spooky because . . .

MM: You find anything in there?

ER: No, because spooky.

MM: You scared?

ER: The goat all on top, eh. And me, I never know that.

MM: Oh, so the rock fall down.

ER: Yeah, the rock fall down, ho, you no more place for hide. Narrow. You gotta go near the wall. The stone, he bang like that, bang like that. And I went way inside there.

MM: How old were you when you go inside there?

ER: Oh, I don't know.

MM: Young time?

ER: Oh, that time I go inside there, I think I marry already. Over thirty-one, 1931, Nineteen thirty-one we get married, yeah, maybe.

MM: And you wen go hunting in there since?

ER: I wen go inside there, ho, come deep and narrow. Spooky. Narrow when the stone roll down, he going bang, bang. I went way inside there. And I went Maunalei Gulch, way inside, too, till the water, till the end. And this one [Hauola Gulch], I wen go till the end, till you no can climb, no more. Because I like go hunting, eh, I like go look inside there. Because from the top, you look, ho, deep. So I walk one time, walk go inside there. Two of us, but I forget who the other guy.
MM: Jerry?

ER: No, no. I no think so he wen walk inside there. I think me and one Filipino boy. Because he like go hunting. I never go with cowboy inside there. I think one Filipino boy from Maui someplace. I forget already. I know me and him going walk, was way inside there.

MM: Okay, all pau. Pau.

ER: Pau, good story.

(Laughter)

END OF INTERVIEW
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