BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: Jose Callo Cabanayan, 67, retired plantation store employee, Puunene

"They tell me go take order house to house. I go. Because not too easy, too. You write the bills, and then you go collect the groceries. Mark 'em on the box—who the owner and what house to deliver. You got to mark all that one, because we get the deliver man, eh? So, if you make mistake, the deliver man make mistake, too. He don't know where to deliver. So, we got to make the right person, and the right house number."

Jose Callo Cabanayan, Ilocano, was born April 13, 1913, in Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, Philippines. He came to Hawaii in 1930 and worked in the sugar fields of Makaweli, Kauai. After three months, he moved to Puunene and worked for the HC&S plantation in the dairy, the mill and the fields for nine years.

In 1939, Cabanayan started working as a gas station attendant, store clerk, and order taker at the Camp 5 Store. In 1950, he transferred to the Kihei Store.

Ten years later, as the plantation camps were being closed and residents were moving to Kahului's Dream City, Cabanayan began selling building materials for the A&B Commercial Company.

Retired since 1978, Cabanayan and his wife, Angeline, live in the sixth increment of Dream City. He keeps himself busy with tennis and yardwork, and is a member of the Fil-American Athletic Club, and the Fil-American Tennis Club.
WN: This is an interview with Mr. Jose Callo Cabanayan. Today is March 9, 1980, and we're at his home in Kahului, Maui.

Mr. Cabanayan, where were you born?

JC: I was born Philippine Islands. April 13, 1913. In a province of Ilocos Sur, town, Narvacan.

WN: What were your parents doing? What kind of work?

JC: Farmer. Plant rice, vegetable. Raise pig, raise cow. That's it. Because not too much. My mother used to raise about two, three pigs for our use, and then my father get about five cows and the two karabaw. That one, we plow the ground. And then, planting rice time, we plant rice. Harvesting time, then we harvest.

WN: Wait, just a minute. I was wondering if we can close this door over here?

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: Okay, you were talking about your parents' work?

JC: Yeah. Well, we not too bad. Because the whole year, we get enough supply of rice from our property. We get about four acres property, I think. We plant rice.

WN: You said that your mother had pigs, and your father had cows?

JC: Yeah, we raise anything. We raise pig, we raise chicken, we raise cows, and we raise karabaw. The karabaw is Caterpillar for us. You know, for plow the ground? If you no more that one, you no can do nothing. That's why we keep two. Two karabaw, we keep. That one, we pull--you know the plow?--we pull, eh? Yeah.

WN: And the rice that your parents grew on the land, was it only for
your home use?

JC: Yeah. But as I said, we get enough supply for the whole year, because only me, my sister, my father, and [my mother]. Only four in the family, that time already. All my other brothers and sisters married. So, the leftover rice, my mother sell 'em to somebody else when not harvesting rice time. Because we harvest the rice from the end of November until the end of January. Or maybe we get some more in the first week of February. That's it. Then, all dry season already, eh?

So, we got to prepare for it for the wintertime, because sometimes, rain over there the whole week, you know. You know the stem from the rice? The straw? We bundle 'em up, we put 'em in the big building--barn, you call, eh? We pile 'em over there. So, when we no can go out [and] get something for the karabaw for eat, we just go get that one, and we give 'em. We give the straw to the karabaw for they eat. Because wintertime, rainy season time no stop, you know. Even if stop, you no can go find grass, eh? So, more easy if you get the dry straw. You just give 'em, they eat. That's why.

WN: Regular time, what do you feed them?

JC: Oh, green grass. Because the rain going to stop May, and then the grass start growing up in the land we plant rice. And then, you get plenty grass already. No need you go find grass for them. Only thing, when we finish plant the rice, you no can let your karabaw to the rice field already--all fence up already. Nobody can go. So, you got to tie up your karabaw, and you find something for they eat.

WN: What about the cow and the pig, what did you folks feed them?

JC: My mother used to cook slop for the pig. Because we plant corn. We had corn, too. You know the flour when we pound the rice? Not real flour, but husk, they call. Come to more like flour, the one we use for mix up the slop for the pigs. The cows, we let 'em go to the mountain already. Only once a week, we go check them up if they stay around, because they no go away.

WN: You used the cows to eat beef or for milking?

JC: For milking and for eat. They kill 'em. My father, sometimes, he sell 'em. And then, sometime, we need meat. We just kill 'em and sell to the people who like buy. Plenty. Because over there, you no can find money unless you sell something. You work, but you no get paid, because we only working in our land, eh? But when we finish plant rice, well, we . . . . Because we finish plant rice August--the end of August--all finish already plant rice. So, we wait from August, September, October--three months.

Then we get rice for harvest. Because the first rice we plant, by
November, the end of November, December, stay ripe already, ready for harvest. And then, the late one we plant, maybe we plant 'em in August, we harvest 'em between January and February. But as I said, if you no work over there, hard life. Yeah, hard work, but you must think, you work about three months, and then you got to wait for three months for harvest the rice, and when we finish harvest the rice, that's it. No more job again. You just go, maybe, beach, find something for your eat. But rice, we get barn like this.

WN: Barn about how big?

JC: Like this. I think big like this, but high, eh?

WN: How many feet by how many feet?

JC: Twelve feet by twelve feet, I think. Then, high is about over ten feet. So, we would bundle up the rice, and then we pile 'em up. When we need rice, just pick 'em up, and we go hemo the husk—we'd pound 'em.

WN: You go plant 'em?

JC: No, pound 'em. When we need rice for eat. That's how we keep. We no go husk all one time the rice. When we need, then we go husk 'em again. You know, big stone, eh? Marble stone. Like the way the Japanese make mochi rice. That's how. We husk the rice. But now, they said, they get the machine already for husk up the rice. So, not hard.

WN: What were the jobs that you did?

JC: What I did when I was small boy? I used to help my father go find grass for feed our karabaw when they need grass. Then, when I went school, in our place, more like one camp, yeah? We get a school over there. We reach fourth grade, we go to the private school for sixth grade, seventh grade, and eighth grade. I walk from here to Lahaina for morning time, and then, afternoon, I walk again, go back home. That time when I go school.

WN: Oh, you mean, the same distance from Kahului to Lahaina, you used to go?

JC: Yeah. Because when I finished fourth grade, and then I got to go to the private school for the fifth grade, sixth grade, and seventh grade. But as I said, hard, because we got to buy all the books we need. The government, they no lend us books. Only from first grade to fourth grade, they give us the books. But from fifth grade, sixth grade, to seventh grade, you buy your own. So, well, I bought my fifth grade book. But the thing kinda hard, eh? Rainy season time, go school. Early in the morning I go. I reach over there, the school just like ready to open. And then, pau school in
the afternoon, I go back home again. Walk.

WN: That's long way, eh?

JC: Long way. So, I tell my father, "Ah, I no think so I can finish school."

"Up to you," he tell me.

"Okay."

So, I bin help him plant rice that year when I bin quit sixth grade. Because I took--sixth grade--three months. Then, I quit. Because I no can take 'em already. Tired, you know. Walk back and forth.

WN: What about the other children that were growing up in your area? They had to walk the same distance?

JC: Yeah.

WN: Did many of them quit, too?

JC: Sure. They even no go because they know already hard to walk. Especially rainy season time. Sometime, I stay in the school all wet. You no can use shoes. You no even use slipper. Summertime, yeah. Because school is finish over there on April. Yeah, because we start over there June. Hard. If like this over here [Hawaii], rain little bit, that's all right. But over there, when it start raining, the whole week raining.

WN: So, the rice that your parents cultivated, and the beef, and the pork, and stuff, they would sell to friends, or would you folks sell to . . .

JC: To our neighbors.

When they ask my father, "Ah, we kill one?"

"Go ahead."

They kill 'em. Because [if] they go in the market, same thing. And the market is far away, too--as I said, [the same distance] from here to Lahaina, the town. Then, when my father like kill pig, he just catch our pig. That's it. You like eat chicken, he just catch our chicken. Because we had plenty chicken. The chicken, they sleep under--all around our house get big trees, eh?--so, they go sleep over there. That's it. The chicken, we no give them kaukau. That's not hard. So long you work, not hard, though. I enjoy 'em--stay over there.

When I reach in Kauai--when I going to start work--the day I bin
start work, I said to myself, "You think I can reach three years for stay over here? Cannot. Maybe even no can reach one year, I go back Philippine Island."

WN: Okay, wait now. So, the cows, and the pigs, and the rice that your parents sold to other people, that was the only means of income?

JC: Yeah. Even my mother, sometimes, sell rice, too. That's the only income we get if we need money. You know, the vegetable. Summertime, my father plant vegetable, eh? He sold the vegetable, too. Sell 'em to the market. And then, the money he get, he buy what we need. Our house, mostly kerosene, because no more electric. We had kerosene lamp. And we need match. You know, the match, eh? Make fire. And some household, maybe, clothing, like that. My mother buy.

WN: What kind house you folks lived in?

JC: We get lumber. The wall is lumber. The rafter, all lumber, too. But the roofing is grass. Very different kind grass, you know. Long, like this, the grass. And no broke, no leak.

WN: The grass was on the roof?

JC: Yeah. That's for the roofing. That's the roof, the grass. And then, we get the bamboo. Sometimes, the bamboo is the floor, you know. But we take off the skin from the bamboo and polish 'em up, and line 'em up like this. Same thing. Over there we get big kind bamboo. We slice 'em up. Some bamboo big like this, you know, over there.

WN: As big as your leg?

JC: Yeah, our place. I don't know other place, but my place, I know. Because I used to make stool. When I go school, that's the project we make. You know, the stool? Round over there and round over here.

WN: For sit down?

JC: Yeah, for sit down. That's one joint, you know, from the bamboo. My project when I was fifth grade at school, because we need project, too. So, as my project I finished .... They allow us to finish. The teacher tell us finish two the whole year. But my father, he help me make the bamboo round like this. My father smart for make. He help me make, so I can sell.

WN: You sold what?

JC: Sell the stool.

WN: How much you made selling one stool?
JC: Oh, five dollar. Five pesos, Philippine Island money.

WN: Five pesos?

JC: Mmm [yes]. That's it.

WN: You said that the floor on your house was made of bamboo?

JC: Some houses, they make bamboo.

WN: What was your floor made of?

JC: One by twelve [foot] lumber.

WN: The house was up? Elevated? Not dirt floor?

JC: No. From the dirt to the floor, you can stand underneath. So, we buy the big tree--my father bought the big tree--and then, we slice 'em up to one by twelve. What they call? Oh, yeah, one by twelve. Maybe two by twelve wide. Long, about twelve feet. If no 'nough long, we can join 'em up, too.

WN: How many people lived in your village?

JC: Oh, plenty. Some people over here lived by my village before.

WN: Some people living here in Kahului?

JC: Yeah. Some guys stay Kahului. My village about 100 [people]. And then, camp by camp, like. You know, Camp 12, Camp 11, like that.

WN: Just like here almost?

JC: Yeah. Like this one, that one camp, and this one camp. That's how.

WN: Most of the people that lived in there, they did rice, too?

JC: Yeah. If they no more land for plant rice, they rent. Because plenty people, they rent their own land to plant rice. But for the product they make--the rice they make--half-half, you know. Half to the owner and half to you. If you make 2,000 pound rice, the owner take the 1,000 pound and the [remaining] 1,000 pound is for you. And you do all the job.

WN: So, your father didn't own the land?

JC: No, we own the land. That land, we own 'em already.

WN: So, you folks could keep all your rice, then?

JC: Yeah.
WN: Did you folks have other people farming on your land?

JC: No. Because my father can handle. Because my father, when farming
time--planting rice time--he hire about ten men to plow the place.
Not only my father plow. He pay one peso a day for they plow the
land. Even plant rice, sometime, we hire about ten people, plant
rice. And only I do is distribute the seedling from the rice. We
bundle 'em up like this big. And then, you stay planting over
there, I know already how many bundle you need, so I pile 'em up
over there. When you need the rice seedling, you just go get 'em
right behind you. Because you plant the rice like this, eh?

WN: You stand--yeah.

JC: Yeah. I distribute the bundle of seedling rice to everyone.
That's all I do.

WN: Did your father give you any money for that?

JC: I no need the money. (Laughs) Where I going spend the money?
Only Christmas time, yeah, because over there, Christmas time big
holiday--Philippine Island. Because they celebrate the Christmas
Day, they celebrate the Rizal Day, the same. But I no need too
much money for go to the town for play.

WN: Christmas time, what you folks did?

JC: My mother used to make Filipino candies. And then, we go serenade
with the young, small kids. The whole week, go serenade, all
around. (Laughs) No more school, eh? We get two weeks vacation--
school.

WN: What about Rizal Day? What you folks did?

JC: Well, we just go see the program. In the town, but not in the
village place. Got to go to the town. That's where the program
stay--the celebration.

WN: What kind of celebration?

JC: The same thing that they make over here. The queen. They crown
the queen. That's it.

WN: What did you folks do, when you were small, to have fun?

JC: I play baseball. In the school, we had. That's how I know how to
play baseball. The teacher--you know, the softball, big ball?--
that's how he teach us to play.

WN: You folks used to just play on your own?

JC: Yeah. No more toys, but you play your own. We fly kite summertime.
As I said, if you work, Philippine Island not so bad. Only thing, no more money. But if you work [and] you get your own place, you all right. Only thing, if you no more own place and you no 'nough supply rice for the whole year until the new crop come inside, you be in trouble. My mother used to keep enough supply for us, and she can sell some, yet. Because plenty people, when June like that--June and August--plenty people run short rice. In the town, they get for sell, but if you no more money, how can you buy? No can, eh? So, you know what they do--those people who no 'nough rice? They borrow the rice--one bundle rice like this--and then, when he return, harvesting time, he give you. You take two.

WN: One bundle?

JC: One bundle is for pay the interest. (Laughs) So, when my mother give one bundle, when they pay 'em back, you get two. Two bundle, he take back. That's why, my mother, she smart. When the harvesting time, plenty people like sell rice cheap. So, my mother used to go buy, and then we put 'em all in our barn.

WN: So, lot of people used to borrow from your mother?

JC: Yeah. But sometime, our family come first, eh? So, my family first.

WN: Did people used to buy seedlings from your mother? Bundle of seedlings?

JC: No. Before May, rainy season already. Start rainy season. So, we plant the seedling already. So, we know already what time the seedlings is ready and the land is ready for plant. So, like this, the seedling already big, we pull 'em up, and then bundle 'em up, and put 'em to the planting rice place. So, if we hire about ten men for tomorrow, we know already how many bundle rice go to that place--that land.

Because the seedling, we get all different rice, too. Not all mix up. That land, we know what seedling growing over there. Because some place, quick dry, eh? And some place, slow dry. So, the place that slow dry--October get little bit water yet--we put that long kind term rice. We plant 'em in August, and then we harvest on February. But the quick dry place, we give 'em the quick one. Three months, we harvest already. So, my father no more paperwork, but all these things over here, even we plant the rice for seedling, we know already what kind rice, that one. All mark already. So, when we put 'em in the bundle already the rice, we supplied the rice for seedling already. That's how.

WN: What about the medicines when you were small?

JC: I never did take medicine. Over there, the place I stay was, no more doctor.

WN: What happens when you got sick? What your mother gave you?
JC: When we get diarrhea, my mother used to give us the rice water. When you cook rice, you wash 'em up, eh? The fresh water. That's the one, they give us drink, morning time.

WN: Would it work?

JC: Work. Even the guava shoot. You know the guava shoot? The young leaves of the guava. When you get diarrhea, you try chew that one. Stop. I see the old people, they get headache, but what they going do? They got to stand 'em. I no see no medicine.

WN: So, had no more kind root or anything medicine to take for headache?

JC: No. I never did see.

WN: What made you decide to come to Hawaii?

JC: I get plenty neighbors Hawaii. Sometimes, they send money over there [Philippines], hey, double. That time was one dollar make two dollar--two pesos over there.

WN: Double what?

JC: The one dollar, when reach Philippine Islands, get two pesos, eh? Hey, not bad. And then, some guys from Hawaii, they show off. They show off good.

"Hey, I came Hawaii--good," he tell.

Yeah, any kind they bring, you know, from here that we no more over there. So, my brother wrote to me, "If you like come, you can come." I pay 150 pesos, come.

WN: Who paid 150 pesos?

JC: Me.

WN: They didn't pay your way?

JC: No. That time we paid, the plantation no pay already. So, if we like come, we pay our own. When we stay on the boat, they supply clothes already.

WN: On the boat? What they supplied?

JC: Anything. Underwear, shoes, like that. Some clothes, we no can use 'em over here already--from Philippine Islands--so, they give us the one we can use on the boat.

WN: You said that people used to come back to Philippines with nice clothes, like that?

JC: Yeah. That's why, make jealous, eh?
WN: What kind stories they told you about Hawaii before you went?

JC: Oh, one guy, he tell the story, "Hawaii is good." He no tell how hard the job. One guy come back. And then, he come back again Hawaii. Hey, must be Hawaii good. That's how. Our neighbor, he stay over there three months, eh? Bumbai, he come back again Hawaii. Maybe he bring back $500, and then they bin make one house, too. Nice house, they made. And then, after he pau make the house, he come back Hawaii again. Must be good. But that time, I was sixteen already. So, I tell my father if he let me go, I go. Because my brother was over here already. If my brother no stay, I no come.

WN: So, how long before you went that your brother went? How many years before?

JC: My brother was six years over here already in Hawaii. So, I like see him, too, eh? That's why I like. So, I bin come, follow him.

WN: Your brother wrote letters to you?

JC: Yeah, he wrote to us. My mother and my father. And then, I bin come. I tell them I like go Maui--Puunene. "No way. You got to go to [Makaweli], Kauai." (Chuckles)

WN: Wait. Your brother was where?

JC: Over here, Puunene.

WN: Oh, Puunene? So, you wanted to go Puunene.

JC: So, I want to come over here, Maui, but they tell no can. You got to go the place they like--the company put you. And then, they show us the contract--three years. I reach over there, I work. The first day I work, ay. No can reach three years. I no can work three years for this kind job.

WN: When you left Philippines [in 1930], you thought you was going come back after three years?

JC: That's what he said. The time I stay in Kauai already, I no think so I can stay for three years. I like go back Philippine Islands already if I got money, but no more.

WN: What kind job you did on Kauai?

JC: Ay, cut grass with the big hoe. You know, the heavy hoe? Hoe dig up grass. You know, grass in Kauai? Big like this.

WN: About two feet high?

JC: Two feet high. And then, no can make 'em quick--clean up. Only
thing, you take a rest when you go sharp the hoe. But, the next
day, they give me [the job of] water boy. Only gave water.

WN: You only worked hō hana one day?

JC: Yeah. And then, when they take off me from water boy, they bin
take me flag boy. They pau cut cane over there, they throw 'em in
the flume, eh? So, go down to the train car with the water. So,
when block up, I put up the flag for they--the one throwing the
cane up high--they stop, so no block up more. When they take out
all the cane, then I put down the flag, and they throw again the
cane. That's how. So, I worked that one one month, but hey, too
much easy job.

WN: Easy job?

JC: Yeah. Only sit down, eh? You watch the flume. No block up the
flume, no more job. (Chuckles)

WN: What you did while you was waiting for the block up?

JC: Sitting down over there; sometime, walk around. But when block up,
then we work hard. I go help them take out the cane from the
flume. But if no block up, no work. One day, sometimes, about
three time block up.

WN: One day, three times block up?

JC: Sometimes. Sometimes, no block up. The water strong, eh? Because
from the hill, go down like that, you know. Yeah, that's how I bin
stay over there little bit longer.

WN: How much you got paid working with the flume?

JC: Same. Dollar one day. But I went work every day, though. Twenty-
four days a month. So, I get $2.40 bonus, so going be twenty-six
dollar a month.

WN: What kind of housing you had, living on Kauai?

JC: We get the old two-bedroom house. But no more stove. We get that
small stove, but you got to cook with the wood. No more kerosene
stove, that time. So, you know what we do for we get the lumber?
You know the broken flume? That's all pine tree. We go home time,
maybe I carry two, three. That one easy for cook [with].

WN: You folks could do that, or you folks wen . . .

JC: Yeah, I did. Nobody do it. You got to do it. We reach home, you
bathe. Pau bathe, you cook your own supper again. And then, you
pau eat supper, you got to make ready for the next day for your
kaukau tin. Three thirty [3:30 a.m.], you got to wake up already.
You got to get the alarm clock for wake you. Because you got to catch the train before 6 o'clock, bring you to the working place. If you miss the train, you got to walk.

WN: What you folks cook?

JC: Rice. I buy da kine can goods. That time, cheap. You know, one sardine, five cents.

WN: Where you bought the sardines from?

JC: Get the store in the camp. Every camp get store. No need you worry.

WN: Plantation store?

JC: Yeah. You just tell your number, charge. (Laughs) Because only one time, one month, payday over there. So, they charge. "What your number?" That's it. When your payday time, they take off already how much you bin buy. But you got to figure how much you buy, because you no go over. Bumbai, you no more pay. (Chuckles)

WN: When you folks get paid, they automatically . . .

JC: Take off already. Yeah, you paid--automatic paid. But you no pay light, no need pay water, no need pay house. Only the one, maybe I buy fifty-pound rice, that's two dollar. And then, I buy one piece codfish--twenty-five cents, one big one. And then, other kind. Sometime, I buy dry fish because I like dry fish, before. Every Sunday, one Japanese man come around the camp, sell pork. You know, the five-dollar kind, huh? Cut big--plenty--five dollar, but mostly I buy two dollar. He cut and he give me two dollar worth. Because no more icebox. Those days, no more icebox. No can buy plenty because no more icebox. In the cane field, you know the small tomato one? When I see plenty, I collect 'em all, put 'em in the kaukau tin. No need buy tomato.

WN: The tomatoes was growing wild?

JC: Yeah, over there. Before, no more poison [herbicide] yet. All same, Puunene. They no poison yet. Puunene, plenty, that kind, before. The onion, yeah, you go to the store, you buy. The onion cheap. Maybe you buy twenty-five cents onion, enough for me for the whole month.

WN: You used to send part of your paycheck back to Philippines?

JC: I send. When I was over there, I send only thirty dollar to my father. When I come over here, Maui, then I send--me and my brother send.

WN: So, you was in Makaweli for three months, yeah? And you sent,
altogether, thirty dollars to your father?

JC: Yeah, I sent.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

JC: ... that's all, because I bin keep thirty dollar when I come Maui. From Kauai to Honolulu, that's five dollar [fare], and then from Honolulu to Maui, five dollar.

WN: You said when you first left Philippines, you had to pay 150 pesos?

JC: Yeah, I bin pay for the boat, that one.

WN: Who paid that?

JC: Me.

WN: You parents didn't give you the money?

JC: They give me the money. My parents give me the money. They bin make money for I come. Because in the place we wen apply for come Hawaii, next town to our town. They tell us already how much we got to pay. But first time, no pay, you know, when you come Hawaii. The plantation, they pay. But that time already, they no need too much Filipinos. That's why they tell the Filipino pay. Still plenty people come here to Hawaii. They pay their own. That's how.

WN: That was 1930, yeah?

JC: Nineteen thirty [1930], yeah.

WN: So, then, after three months on Makaweli, you moved to Puunene, yeah? Why did you move to Puunene?

JC: Well, as I said, my brother stay over here. I reached Puunene, I asked my brother where I can go apply for job. He work nighttime, that time. So, daytime, he stay home.

He tell me, "Now, you go to the hospital first for checkup, and then from there, then you can ask what kind job you like."

"Okay."

So, me and him walked from the Alabama Camp to Camp 4 Puunene Hospital. Was Puunene Hospital--plantation hospital. We walked. And then, they examine me.
"Okay. You can go work."

So, then I go to the personnel office for ask job.

"You like go cut grass?"

"What kind grass?"

"Alfalfa grass for the cow in Puunene Dairy."

"Okay."

So, not bad. We work with the schoolgirls. The schoolgirls, they like make money--seventy-five cents--when they like go school. So, easy cut grass for the alfalfa kind.

WN: More easy than cutting grass from the hō hana?

JC: Yeah, because you can sit down. Cut grass and sit down. You know, alfalfa like this high, eh? But you sit down . . .

WN: About two feet high?

JC: Yeah, and you cut 'em with a sickle--Japan sickle.

WN: When you left Kauai, the bosses didn't mind that you left?

JC: No, I never told them. I never told them that I coming Maui already.

WN: So, what you did?

JC: When they give me my pay, pau. The next day, I never go work. I make ready already for go Honolulu. I bin pay my bill in the store. Then put in my luggage, and go Honolulu already. They no care where you going. Anyplace you go, you get job. That's why, I no worry.

WN: Had people who left without paying the store bill?

JC: Some. They just left, and they no care already. But the plantation, they no care--plantation store. Because the first day we reach Kauai, direct to the hospital--physical examination. Lunch time, they give us lunch. After lunch, all right, we go to the store already. Pau, eh? Ready for go work already tomorrow. So, they take us to the store. I'd say, about fifty guys, I think, was. One truck, you know. We went to the store.

"All right. Take what you guys like buy."

They gave us the [employee] number already from the hospital, you know.

"You keep this. This your number. If you go work and you don't
know your number, you no can get your pay."

Yeah, they give us the number. Go get, charge 'em. They charge. I buy rice; I buy some can goods--the one I know I like eat, the sardines.

WN: You talking about Kauai?

JC: Yeah. The first day we reach Kauai.

WN: So, the first day you reach Puunene, you did some kind of things?

JC: No, my brother get kaukau already. Because I stay with my brother already. He get his own house, eh? He get room. He get one house mate. Because Puunene house was only two bedroom. So, one guy can stay one room, and one guy can stay one room. But if like me and my brother, we can stay together, eh? So, you know the serviceman's bunk? That's what I get, and my brother get the same one. Same thing. Then, bumbai, we bin buy bed.

Yeah, I was sixteen years old. I go my own, already. I cook my own. Only thing I no can do is wash clothes. So, in Kauai, I know one Filipino lady, wash my clothes over there. Two dollar, one month.

WN: When you came Puunene, how you did?

JC: My brother, he get that Japanese lady already--laundry. Good lady, though. When Saturday, they come collect the dirty one, they come take the dirty one and bring the clean one.

WN: Once a week?

JC: Once a week. So, we just hang 'em, all the dirty clothes over there, and she go pick 'em up. Get money inside the pocket, she just put 'em on top the bed.

WN: Oh, she come inside the house and gather the clothes?

JC: Yeah. She no scared because she know my brother was .... Old lady. All good men, that's why. We no bother. Some people, they no pay too much. That's why, payday time, they stay like that, the laundry already. Us, no. When she come bring the clothes, she take the money.

WN: How much you paid her?

JC: Me and my brother, three dollar.

WN: So, $1.50 apiece?

JC: Yeah. But if only one man, two dollar.
(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: So, how much were you making, cutting [alfalfa] grass for Puunene Dairy?

JC: One dollar. One dollar, one day. But I used to work Saturday, Sunday, too, because I used to go feed the cows Saturday. Sunday, used to go feed the cow. They take me go feed the cow. Help the driver from the wagon with the horse. We load up the wagon [with] grass, and then we distribute to the place where the cow eat. Saturday, Sunday. But 10 o'clock in the morning, Sunday morning, we finish already. We start 6 o'clock in the morning. If we finish 'em up quick, we go home quick. The same pay--one dollar. What they call that? Ukupau. (Laughs) You pau, you go home. Saturday and Sunday, we make like that. That's why, sometime, I work thirty-one days a month. Thirty days a month. How many months [have] thirty-one days, and how many months [have] thirty days? All, I make. Sometime, payday, get thirty-three dollar. Because they give ten cents bonus, eh? One dollar if you work over twenty-four days a week. But every time, I work every day. Thirty days a month. Thirty-one days.

WN: Which camp you folks lived in?

JC: Alabama Camp, Puunene.

WN: You folks could charge at the plantation store?

JC: Yeah. Even you get balance--what you call "balance"--still, they give you because you got to eat; you got to go work.

You just tell the manager from the store, "How can I go work if no more eat? You got to give me [something to] eat."

"Go ahead."

Some family men, they get four children or six; thirty day, twenty dollar or thirty dollar a month, you make, you think enough? No 'nough. But me, single, that's why all right. But that's the plantation store, that's why you can buy--charge 'em. But as I said, if you no more payday, no can help. You got to feed your family. If you got baby, you got to feed the milk. Every day, they go deliver milk to your house--plantation Puunene Dairy. I don't know how much there they charge one month. No more icebox, that's why they got to deliver milk every day [to the] plantation people. And the nurse come every day, go around to the camp--those people who get baby--check up. Plantation nurse, they call.

WN: They go every day?

JC: Yeah. They go check every day. Because, maybe, this camp, you go today; another camp, you go the other day.
WN: The store used to come take order?

JC: Yeah. I used to take order every day.

WN: What other jobs you did in Puunene? Before you started working Camp 5 Store, what kind jobs you did?

JC: I wen go work in the [Puunene] Mill. From Puunene Dairy, then I bin go work in the mill. When I went Filipino strike, 1937, then I go back to the job, no more job. So, I went go outside [in the fields]. They get the cane loader already, with the crane, so I work over there. Cane loader. Clean up.

WN: What you did in the mill?

JC: Get the sugar centrifugal. I start over there, 1933, and then, 1937, I pau in the mill.

WN: What is that "centrifugal"?

JC: Dry sugar. Because after I give up the dry sugar, I bin go the filter machine. You know, da kine separate the juice and the mud. That one easy job. That's why, I always sleep (chuckles) nighttime.

WN: How come was easy?

JC: Because the machine is working for me. I just watch the juice and bagasse if stay coming in. If the bagasse not coming in and no more bagasse for mix up with the juice, I got to blow the horn, and then they send me the bagasse with machine. The pump suck the bagasse. Then, go together with the juice. If too much bagasse, block up, too. That's why you got to balance that two--juice and the bagasse. And the machine, you can clean 'em good. Big drum, you know. Three big drums. The one clean the juice.

WN: So, all day, you would watch that?

JC: Yeah. All day, I watch that. And then, I pau 5 o'clock, the other guy come take care. Two guys--day and night. No stop. Then, Saturday, pau. Friday night, all pau. We clean the machine. And then, if something wrong, we tell the supervisor what is wrong. So, Sunday night, ready for start again, because we start Sunday afternoon, 5 o'clock.

WN: So, you work six days a week?

JC: Ah, yeah.

WN: And the mill work, the pay you got, was it better than field work?

JC: Same thing. Little bit up, but you must think, you work twelve hours a day.
WN: And field work was what? Ten hours a day?

JC: Outside? Yeah. From 6:30 [a.m.] to 4:30 [p.m.], outside field. Half an hour lunch. But in the mill, from 5 o'clock to 5 o'clock. So, they pay us thirty-six dollar, one month. But at least, in the mill, more easy job than outside field. As I said, if you go cut cane, or carry cane, or cut grass, ay, that's it. That time, you no stop. You no can take rest. But plenty Filipinos, they go take care cane--hanawai. They call "hanawai." That one, not bad. Easy job. But, I no like centipede over there. Got big kind centipede, before. You know, no more poison frog, yet. Just only one dry stuff. Get big centipede over there. That's why, I never like go hanawai. But now, they get poison frog, no more. Not too much, already.

WN: You said, you worked in the mill until 1937, when they had the strike?

JC: Yeah. When 1937 pau the strike, then I bin go work outside, cane loader, until 1939.

WN: How you first heard about the strike?

JC: We was good. The whole plantation in Maui--Lahaina, and Hana, and Paia--all strike. Nobody work. But only Filipinos no work. The other nations, the work. Japanese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian, they work. But even the plantation, they give the men the milk--free milk--in the cane field. But still, they no can cut cane.

Then, came in that ... . You know, they rake the cane, and then the big cane loader load 'em up on top the cane car. That's how, when I start work. When I start work that way, that one, little bit, the pay not too bad already. Not one dollar, one day, already.

WN: Getting back to the strike, how come only the Filipinos went strike?

JC: Well, the other nations, they no like strike.

WN: How come they no like?

JC: I don't know. They never join us. The Japanese, they never like; the Portuguese, they never like; the Hawaiians, they never like. Well, only the Filipinos went strike. Because only the Filipino, the leader, that time.

WN: Who was the leader at that time?

JC: Antonio Fagel. Yeah, not bad. Sure, nobody bin go work. Some, only little bit Filipino go work, but afterwards, they bin stop. They scared. That's why, not bad.

WN: How long did the strike last?
JC: I think, three months. And then, the plantation, they bin negotiate with the Filipinos, yeah? I don't know too much about what the agreement, but I think, one line cane, ten cents, if you cut that one.

WN: Before was what?

JC: Before, ay, straight one dollar, one day. Even how many line you cut. (Chuckles)

WN: Oh, so you got ten cents, one line, then?

JC: That is the agreement.

WN: Just like contract, then?

JC: That's contract. Afterwards .... Yeah, came up. We had little bit good.

WN: So, you never go work for three months?

JC: Oh, yeah. That time strike, yeah. Because no more cane, the mill no can work. They no go work.

WN: So, Filipinos in the mill walked out, too?

JC: Yeah. Even the Japanese, they got to stay home because no more job in the mill. Only the one work outside, yeah, they got the job outside. They go hanawai cane. But in the mill, only the one for repair damage, they can work.

WN: The plantation wen tell the Filipinos go out, and they wen camp out on the beach?

JC: Yeah.

WN: You had to do that, too?

JC: No, they never tell me. Only some, they tell them go out. So, they bin go Kahului side. You know, that by Maui Dry Goods Store, before, now Hata warehouse. That's the place they bin put all the Filipinos over there. The plantation collect them all, go bring 'em over there--with all the luggage, everything.

WN: How come over there?

JC: Maybe that's only the place they can get. But me, no. They never tell me go out. I go holoholo. I get car, that time. I go holoholo, I come back, go straight to my house. Go around. No more job. My brother bought one bag rice, 100 pound, pau. No need worry about the fish, meat. Go fishing. Because anyplace, you can go fishing. They no bother you because you strikers. "Me, strike
man." Pau. You can fish anything. That's why, I go hook fish, and then go back home, sleep. For three months. They never bother me, because they know already I work in the mill. I never did strike because no can help. No more job, already. The mill no work. That's how.

WN: So, this Antonio Fagel, he was on the beach, too?

JC: Oh, he stay all around. He got his rent house in Wailuku with the other kind people. You know Domaso? The one president ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union]? Him, the one, too, you know. One of them. Domaso. Some more Filipinos, but the other Filipinos, I didn't know. Only Domaso and Fagel. I don't know where Fagel stay, now.

WN: And who? Who's the other one?

JC: Antonio Fagel. The president of the strike. That Domaso is one of them, too. But I give them credit, though. All the Filipinos, they went with them, though. When they bin shut the five plantations in Maui, that's it. All shut.

WN: They never try get scab?

JC: No. Only some get scab, but they no make bother. Because we get da kine already, that they tell us already no make trouble.

WN: So, the outside-working Filipinos, when they striking, the Japanese and the other nationalities, they continued to work?

JC: Yeah. They never strike. They go work. But we never bother. So long the Filipino no go work, that's all right. No bother, but the Japanese, Portuguese, the Hawaiian, Chinese, all go work. But I told you, they no more cane coming inside the mill.

WN: So, the mill shut down?

JC: Yeah. They no can cut cane.

WN: This Antonio Fagel, he tried to get the Japanese and the other nationalities to strike, too?

JC: I no think so. Maybe he bin talk to somebody else that he know, but they turn him down, maybe. But I don't know. You remember the Japanese strike, too, before? I don't know. I no stay in Hawaii, yet, when the Japanese bin get the strike. They told me, though, but.

WN: Nineteen twenty [1920], eh?

JC: That time, you know, 1924 was, they get payday da kine gold kind, yet. Gold kind money, 1924. My brother told me, because my brother
was over here already, 1924. (Chuckles) That's how I know. Now, you try to get the [gold] money now. You no can get 'em. Worth plenty, now.

WN: After the strike was pau, you tried to go back to the mill, first, to work?

JC: Yeah. But I never did like go back already, the same job. So, I bin go outside already, because I no like work twelve hours a day. And then, when go cane loader and [receive] little bit more money, so I went over there. At least, we get little bit more money in the cane loader already, eh? So, only thing I do over there is watch the bucket for grab the cane. Got to watch that. Hold the rope. Make 'em so no swing too much. That's how. I bin stand 'em for 1937 until 1939.

WN: What you folks did for recreation when you was living in Alabama Camp?

JC: Oh, every weekend, we get da kine. Sometimes, get party, we go party. But no more car, no can go no place. So, only thing we do is cockfight. (Laughs) But me, I no go gamble. I only watch. Even after work, afternoon, they stay cockfight already in the camp. Because, those days, outside policemen, they cannot come until they [first] contact the camp police--plantation police--that they can come inside the plantation. Because we get camp police, before.

That's why, when you no go work in the morning, the camp police come [and] knock your door. (JC knocks on table.) "Hey, how come you no work? You sick?" If you sick, they take you the hospital. That's why, every morning, the camp police, they check the record, the one no work. So, they go check in the camp. Like us, plenty single Filipinos, they don't know what we get--sick or what--so he go knock the door.

"You sick?"

"Oh, I not feeling good."

He bring to the hospital.

WN: The camp police never mind that you folks did cockfighting?

JC: He mind, but he close the eye, because that's only the recreation the Filipino get--the single Filipino. People work, what they do? Sit down and eat? So, he let them go. But sometime, the outside police--the county police--they come around. But as I said, they ask permission first to the plantation if they can come inside.

WN: What else had for recreation?

JC: Oh, what else? No more nothing. Not only the Filipino no more
recreation. But Japanese, they get the bon-odori in August, eh? So, when the camp we stay, the Japanese church stay, we go, too. Enjoy yourself over there, watch them dance. If not, we go to the movie. The movie not talkies yet, you know, that time. Thirty cents, you go inside, see the show. But silent, eh? That's all we can do. If get good show, we go show, because 9 o'clock, 10 o'clock [p.m.] the show pau, and then we get plenty time.

WN: How often had cockfight around the camps?
JC: Mostly Saturday, Sunday. They get weekdays, but not so much. Maybe two time, pau. Dark already, eh? That's it.

WN: So, 1939, you started working Camp 5 Store, yeah? How you got that job?
JC: You know the Filipino Laureano Sison? I bin see him if they need one guy for work in the store.

WN: Who's this? Laureano?

WN: What was he?
JC: He was working already in the store. He's a salesclerk. So, I ask him if they need [someone] working over there.
"Yeah, they need for work service station. You come."

So, I went the next day.

And then, the Japanese boss tell me, "Go ahead. What your name? What your number?"

I tell my number.

And then, "Where you stay?"

"Alabama Camp, over here."

"Okay. You can start work."

They just take my number, my name, that's all. Then I start work.

WN: How come you wanted to work store?

JC: I like more easy job, little bit. Not in the sun. You work outside, you got to catch the wind; you got to catch the sun. Sometime, you eating, and the leaf coming into your kaukau tin. Ay! And sometime, you go work, rain. That's all, you know. Big difference--work outside and inside. Yeah?
You know those Filipinos and Portuguese--the one I know over there in the camp?—[although] they more young than me, you try look them. They work outside, yeah? Big difference, you know, the work. Maybe, me, I stay sixty-six years old now, eh? If I work outside, the looks, now, not the same looks. That's what I figured.

And I wake up more late. Seven o'clock [a.m.], the store open, then I can wake up 6 o'clock.

WN: Before, what time you woke up?

JC: If you work outside, ay, 5 o'clock, 4:30 [a.m.], you got to wake up already. I wake up 6 o'clock, the truck coming in over there (laughs), now, (laughs) collect those Filipinos go all the time.

So, I like the place. I like the store because more easy job for me, and I no take the sun, and no need bring kaukau tin--12 o'clock [p.m.], we go home, cook your own. That's it.

WN: How far away you lived from Camp 5 Store?

JC: From here till that building over there.

WN: Oh, about 150 yards, then?

JC: Yeah. Not too far.

WN: How come you never had to bring kaukau—oh, you went home, cook?

JC: Yeah. Twelve o'clock, I pau. And then, I go home. I cook my lunch, and then make ready for go take orders. Make story--the Filipinos--that's why, [taking orders] take time, eh? Any kind story, they make.

WN: "Any kind story"? What you mean?

JC: (Laughs) Yeah. Sometime, they talk about where they going cockfight and where they going. You know those Filipinos who work in the field? The hanawai men? They get little bit easy job. Like now, more easy job. They get the small car, too, for go around now. Before, no more. But the plantation truck, they go pick them up, put 'em to the place they go hanawai cane.

Then, when I start work in 1931, I bought one Model A.

WN: Oh, yeah. I forgot to ask you about that. How much your Model A cost?


WN: That's from all the money you saved?
JC: Yeah. Because when I was working in the mill, I bin save little bit money. My brother was working in the mill, too. He saved money. Me and my brother save. We put 'em the same amount.

WN: So, when you had the Model A . . .

JC: Model A. Five hundred dollar, I pay twenty-five dollar a month. Me and my brother pay in the Valley Isle Motors.

WN: Valley Isle Motors? So, in 1935, when you bought the other Ford, you folks had two cars then?

JC: No, the other one, we sold 'em. We sold the other one, and then we bought the 1935.

WN: Those days, lot of Filipinos had cars?

JC: No. Even Japanese no more. They get the Model T--the Japanese. Not so much people get car, you know, in the camp. When people, they go visit the sick in the Puunene Hospital, they come ask me for take them to the hospital, nighttime, when they know I work daytime. I bring them down. Sometime, they give me ten cents, twenty-five cents. I tell 'em, no? Because I got to buy the gasoline, too, eh? That time, the gasoline was no more twenty cents.

WN: You used to get discount because you was working Camp 5 Store?

JC: No, no more discount. Only the one you get discount, only the cloth. You know, when you buy material for make dress, or pants, or any kind clothing, yeah. Then, you get discount. But food, no more.

WN: Food no more? Gasoline no more?

JC: Yeah. No more. The clothing, yeah. You get discount. Maybe you buy furniture, you get discount--25 percent. Me, the first Filipino buy icebox. Nineteen . . . . What? What year, that one, already? Forget. You know why they sell me the icebox? Because [when] I get my first baby--need milk. So, I bin go ask the doctor if he can give me paper for I need the icebox. So, the doctor give me the paper, and then I wen give to the manager from the store. And then, they sell me the icebox.

WN: Your first baby was born in 1943?

JC: Yeah. Nineteen forty-three [1943], that's the time the first icebox come in in Maui. Kelvinator, the icebox.

WN: So, how you know you was the first Filipino to have icebox?

JC: Not first Filipino, but me, the first one to get icebox in our camp. Maybe me the first one, because the other people--the
Filipinos—they don't know yet if they can get icebox or not, because you got to get paper from the doctor for get icebox.

WN: You got to get what?

JC: Paper. Permit. You know, paper from the doctor that you need the icebox already. If he give you the paper, you go give to the manager. But me, I was working in the store already, so easy, I can buy the icebox.

WN: Because, what? You got discount?

JC: No. No need discount. Those days, not too much icebox sell, yet, you know. Only that A&B [Alexander and Baldwin] Store selling the icebox, yet.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 7-64A-1-80; SIDE ONE

WN: So, you got married in 1932, yeah? Two years after you arrived Puunene?

JC: No, not 1932, I got married. Just after the war, you know. Was wartime.

WN: Oh, 1942?

JC: Nineteen forty-two [1942].

WN: Okay. I marked it wrong on this paper over here. How much was the icebox?

JC: Oh, I forget already, the icebox. I pay 'em by month. (Laughs) Oh, about $150, I think, was. Good icebox, you know.

WN: It was big kind?

JC: Yeah. Like that icebox over there.

WN: Regular size, then?

JC: Yeah. But the name of that icebox Kelvinator. Good icebox. I get 'em yet. When I bin come over here [Kahului], 1960, I get the icebox, yet. One time, never broke.

WN: Oh, yeah? Still work, you mean?

JC: Still working. But when the appliance guy tell me that, "The icebox almost give up. No sense you fix 'em up." So, I buy new
one, and then I throw away the other one. You know what kind
icebox they [other people in the camps] get? Wooden box. Those
people who need cold, they get the wooden box, and then the iceman
deliver the ice with the fifty-pound ice and put 'em in the icebox.
That's how they make the icebox, those days. No more ice. But
that time, they been sell me the icebox because I got one baby, and
they need milk. Put 'em in the icebox. I work in the store,
that's why I get first chance. (Laughs) That's right.

WN: When you started working Camp 5 Store, what was your first job in
there?

JC: Sell gasoline.

WN: What you had to do, in those days, to sell gasoline?

JC: Those days, little bit too much car already, eh? So, I work from
Monday to Sunday. But Sunday, half day, I close. The store open
Saturday, too, you know, those days.

WN: Plantation store open Saturday?

JC: Yeah.

WN: Sunday, open, too?

JC: No. Only the service station, I open until 12 o'clock. I sell
plenty gas, too, that time. Plenty people get cars, already, eh?

WN: Nineteen thirty-nine [1939]?

JC: Nineteen thirty-nine [1939]. The cars came in, was 1929. Plenty
people, they--outside people, they can afford to buy cars already,
eh? Plantation people, kinda hard, because the pay not too much.
Only doctors and da kine can buy cars already, those days. Plantation,
the haoles, they get cars. Some plenty Filipinos, too, can buy.

You know, the Filipinos who take care the cane? They get contract.
From the month they plant the cane until the harvest, that Filipino,
he take care that one--how many acres, yeah? And then, when pau
cut cane time, sometime they get contract money--one thousand, over
thousand dollar, below thousand dollar.

WN: This kompang?

JC: They call "kompang," yeah. That's how they can buy car, before,
the Filipinos and the Japanese. Because mostly Filipinos and
Japanese kompang, you know. Portuguese, they don't know how to
hanawal. They no like that kind job. They like drive truck, and
that's it. That's how the Japanese and Filipinos can buy car.
Because when they pau cut cane, they get so many hundred dollar
[and] that's how they can buy car. Plus, they get, every month,
payday. See? That's why was good. I like the job, too, before, but—as I said—you know the centipede? Like this big. That time, no more poison frog, yet, ay. The dry 'ōpala [rubbish], you hemo from the ditch. Watch out. Plenty underneath. (Laughs)

WN: But the people, kom pang, when they got their big pay—over thousand dollars—they had to pay the bills, too, eh?

JC: What bills? They no more bills.

WN: How about the store?

JC: The store, they pay 'em every month from their payday. (Laughs)

WN: The plantation store never give them break? Maybe after the harvest, they can pay the whole thing or anything like that?

JC: No. Because they can pay 'em every month. They get paid every month, too. The same pay, they going to get. So, if that field—that cane—if too much ton sugar he make, more money, he get. That's why, he take care the cane, eh? No let some places get dry. You got to hanawai good. Crabgrass, clean 'em up. But, I think, 1946, they bin hemo the stuff.

WN: Nineteen forty-six [1946], they what?

JC: Nineteen forty-six [1946], they all pau already, that kind.

WN: Kom pang?

JC: Kom pang. When the union came inside.

WN: Kom pang man, by the day, they got same amount as the other outside workers?

JC: Yeah. So, you kom pang, when the plantation, they take off the expense—they hire the people go clean, cut grass little bit, and put poison, and put fertilizer, because you got to put fertilizer with the bag, like that, not now—they got to deduct all those stuff, and then the leftover is for you. That's how they make money, before.

WN: So, the people who stopped by to fill up gas was mostly haoles?

JC: No, mostly Japanese and Filipino, already. Portuguese. Some, the luna, they get little bit more pay, eh? So, they can buy car. That time, the haole can buy car already, those days. They can buy. Plenty can buy. So, that time, gasoline cheap, they no care where they going, all around.

WN: How much was gasoline, again?

JC: One gallon, I think, was twenty-nine cents. No. Five gallons is
WN: Oh, twenty cents, one gallon, then?
JC: Mmm [yes]. I remember that. Five gallon, $1.05.
WN: When the price started coming up?
JC: Oh, I don't know when came up. Because until I pau over there-- finish in Camp 5 Store--that's the time pau already. I don't know how much already.
WN: How long you pump gas?
JC: You mean how many year? Oh, from 1939 to until the war [World War II] pau. Because wartime, I was working yet in the pump.
WN: Gasoline? So, that's all you did? Pump gas?
JC: Yeah.
WN: So, when you became take order [man]?
JC: I became take order, was 1945. Then, they bin take me inside, go to the store.
WN: So, you pumped gas from 1939 to 1945? From 1945, you went inside the store?
JC: Yeah.
END OF INTERVIEW
This is an interview with Mr. Jose Callo Cabanayan. Today is April 21, 1980, and we're at his home in Kahului, Maui.

Okay, Mr. Cabanayan, last time, we talked about your work at the Camp 5 Store. You started out in the service station, huh?

JC: Yeah [in 1939].

WN: When did you transfer from the gas station to the store side?

JC: When the war [World War II] start in December, after the war [started], and then I go to the Camp 5 Store.

WN: So, after December, 1941, then you went to the store?

JC: Yeah.

WN: What kind of jobs did you do in the store?

JC: Salesclerk. I worked about one year, salesclerk. And then, after one year, then I go take orders from the camps. Every day I go take orders.

WN: What job did you like better?

JC: Same. Because that's same store. The Camp 5 service station and that store stay together. So, they close the service station, and then I go inside the store.

WN: How come they closed the service station?

JC: Because they get the plantation service station by the mill. So, they close 'em up--the service station. Then I go inside the store [as] salesman.

WN: What kind of things did the Camp 5 Store sell?
JC: Oh, groceries, anything. We get anything the plantation people like buy. Grocery. After that, they tell me go take orders house to house. I go. From 1 o'clock [p.m.] to 5 o'clock [p.m.]. Or sometime, dark already when I go home--when I no finish take orders, yet. Because, sometime, I will sell [to] all the people [after] they get through working. Because 4:30 [p.m.], the people all pau work. That camp, I take all the orders from the camp, and then I go home. Then, the next day, I make the orders from 7 o'clock [a.m.] to 12 o'clock [p.m.] before I go home again, lunch time.

Because not too easy, too. You write the bills, and then you go collect the groceries. Mark 'em on the box--who the owner and what house to deliver. You got to mark all that one, because we get the deliver man, eh? So, if you make mistake, the deliver man make mistake, too. He don't know where to deliver. So, we got to make the right person, and the right house number. Even right person in the bill, but you mark different house, so the grocery go to the different house. Not the same person you charged.

WN: So, on the bill, you put the person's name . . .

JC: Yeah, and his plantation number, house number.

WN: What about the camp?

JC: Oh, yeah, we put, too. The person's name, and his plantation number, and then the house number, and what camp. That's what we all put in the bill.

WN: So, from 7 o'clock to 12 o'clock, you had to get the groceries together?

JC: Yeah, I got to make 'em ready before I go home. So, the deliver man go delivery. Sometimes, we get finished already, and second deliver. Especially, they call "new month." You know, when new month time, the people, they like all buy, eh?

WN: When did new month start?

JC: Start on the twenty-fourth of the month. Every month, you reach the twenty-fourth, you got to make new month order already. That's what we do.

WN: New month time, did you have more help?

JC: No help. You got to do it yourself, because the other people, they get their own bill to take care.

WN: So, how many salesmen [order takers] had in Camp 5 Store?

JC: We get four. Two Filipino, three--oh, no. Five. Get three Japanese men. Three Japanese and two Filipinos. We take care the
Filipino side, and they take care the Japanese side.

WN: What camps you went to?

JC: Ah, how many camps I get? Ah Fong Camp, Camp 6, Camp 8, Camp 13, and Church Camp—by the store. Church Camp. Five camps, I get. Five days I got to go take orders.

WN: Those camps had mostly Filipinos inside?

JC: Mix up. The Japanese and Filipinos stay. But we take care only the Filipinos, and then the Japanese, the Japanese take care.

WN: For example, you go Camp 8, you go to only the Filipino families in Camp 8?

JC: Right.

WN: And then, the Japanese salesmen [order takers] . . .

JC: Go over there, too.

WN: . . . go in Camp 8 and take the Japanese?

JC: Yeah. And that way more easy for us, so no mix up.

WN: The other Filipino, what camps he went?

JC: Oh, he get other camps, too. He get McGerrow Camp, he get Alabama Camp, he get Spanish Camp, he get Spanish B, Spanish A, and Camp 4.

WN: So, the other guy did all that?

JC: Yeah. That's why, we know all already the camp we going, eh? And we know how to deal with your customer, already. When payday time, we change the check.

WN: You folks changed the check?

JC: Yeah. And then we take off [deduct] their own bill. How much they get owe to the store, we get all the bill already, eh? So, we showed them the amount they owe. From there, we take out the money they owe, and the change, we give them. They no go to the bank. We take care all the paycheck, before.

WN: You get the paycheck before— you get 'em from the plantation?

JC: Yeah, the plantation deliver to them. And then, we know already what time payday, eh? So, when we go, we change their check.

WN: They give you the check?

JC: Yeah. Because they wait for us. Not too much car, yet, that time,
you know. No more automobile. They got to wait for the store man. When payday time--today, payday--then the store give us so many, maybe, $3,000 or $4,000 cash for change the checks [of] that one camp.

WN: When you folks went to take orders, you folks carried cash in your car?

JC: Only payday time. But not payday, we no carry. Yeah, that's all we do.

WN: About how many houses did you go to in one day?

JC: Oh, depend how many houses in that camp. Maybe get twenty, or fifteen, or twenty-five, or thirty. We got to take care all that, the same, one day. You no can go already to the next day, because you go to the other camp. You got to take care all that day--that camp.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: So, when you go to the person's house on payday time, they give you the check, and you pay back, just like you giving them change?

JC: Yeah, they give the check and the bills they get. Because the store send them the bill a month, how much they got to pay that month. So, if he tell, "I pay 'em all," then you take all the bill. But, "Oh, I no can pay all, I get someplace to spend some," then, maybe, he get forty dollar [bill]. "Oh, I pay about thirty dollar," so you receive the thirty dollar, and then you give change to his check. And then, next month, he going catch 'em up. You no can tell 'em no, because plantation people, the plantation take care them. Even some big-family men, if only one man working, his pay not enough for pay his bill. Still, the store give 'em groceries. They no can stop 'em. You got to give 'em.

WN: What if he doesn't have his bill? What if he lost his bill?

JC: Well, we get the copy. They get the record in the store. If he lose his bill, still we get our record, too, you know. The store give us all the list from the one camp in one piece of paper. So, if the man no more the statement, we can check in . . . . We get the copy.

So, "This much--how much your bill."

"Okay, I pay 'em."

He sign his check, and then you give the change. That's all we do.

WN: What happens if somebody never pay? What you folks did?

JC: No, if he no going pay 'em, if he been change his check someplace
else, you got to ask him why he no pay his bill? But, he tell, "Ay, I no more money already. Next payday, then I pay." Up to you. Yeah, because you no can run away. If you no pay every time, the plantation take 'em out from his pay. He no can run away. Unless he still working. If he no work, you no can do nothing already. If he no work.

WN: So, when they take out from the pay, that's only the guys that no pay their bills?

JC: Yeah. That's only the guys no want to pay their bill. But mostly all, they pay. As I said, the big-family one--not enough, his pay--well, he no more payday because the store take 'em all. But still, he can come buy groceries. He charge 'em [by] the number. That's it. That's why, the plantation people, before, they no worry. They always can buy.

WN: So, average plantation worker, about how big was the paycheck? About how much?

JC: Oh, before the war? Before the war, they get, sometime, fifty, forty dollar a month.

WN: And then, about how much was one average bill from the store?

JC: Oh, sometime, only twenty. That's single men, before, eh? Because mostly I take care the single Filipino. Very few get married--Filipino. Sometime, twenty dollar, thirty dollar. They get little bit change. But after 1946, then they get good pay, so every time, pay all the bill.

WN: So, after the union came in, 1946, did that change your job at all, or you had to do anything different?

JC: No. The same thing, but only thing, our pay little bit--after the strike--then we get little bit good pay, that time already.

WN: During the strike, you folks had to work?

JC: Yeah, we worked. We never strike. Store never strike.

WN: How come? Was same union, eh?

JC: Yeah, same union, but the people, they got to eat, eh? So, the union leaders, they said no close the store. So, we worked. Even the people not working, but still we give them kaukau--groceries. They can come buy.

WN: What about collection time, though?

JC: Collection time, the strikers, you no go collect because you know already no more (laughs) money. After the strike, then they pay
all the bill. Little by . . .

WN: The store manager never tell them they got to pay or anything like that?

JC: No. No can help. The store manager said, "No can help. They got to eat." But when they strike already, the Filipinos, they no buy too much. They no come buy. They pay cash. You deliver the goods, and they pay. Only those people no more cash, then they charge. But not too much. Because they get soup kitchen, they call, strike time. After the strike, then they all come buy again. And they get little bit good pay already. Because they bin get sixty cents, one hour, I think, that time. And we bin get $1.18 one hour. Came up by the strike.

WN: You folks [i.e., store workers]?

JC: Yeah. From that time, from now on, come up, yeah? Because we get three year's contract, and sometimes, two year's contract, one year contract.

WN: So, you folks worked during the strike. You folks had to pay anything to the union?

JC: Yeah. You take 25 percent [of your pay], and you give to the union 75 percent. That's why, then they let us work, eh? So, we take 25 percent, and the union take the 75 percent.

WN: Do you think, during the strike, lot of the customers went to other stores? The private kind stores?

JC: No. They always come buy. They no go, because strike time, not too much people got money, so still they come in the store, charge. They never change. Because when they come in the store, "Ah, we no can give you already because you strikers,"--we no can do that. We give what they like. After the strike, they come pay 'em. No more trouble. The store never get trouble with the people. Because, before, no more supermarket, yet. Only some small stores.

WN: When you went out, take orders, had other stores coming in to take orders, too?

JC: Yeah, outside people, but mostly, they [plantation workers] buy from the plantation store. Mostly, they come buy to the planatation store, so they no care too much outsiders. Only thing, when they like something that the store no more, and then they can buy from outside. They go buy outside. But mostly, they buy from the plantation store.

WN: You said, they sold other things, not only groceries, [at the] plantation store?

JC: We sold groceries. Anything. We get some clothing, too, you know.
Anything people need, we get. Shoes, slippers, anything, we sell. You know, that tire shoes--working shoes--(chuckles) that one, we used to sell. Three dollar, one pair. The working people, they used that as the shoes they used before, you know. The tire shoes.

WN: Tire shoes?

JC: Yeah, that's what they call tire shoes because all tire, eh? The sole is tires. (Laughs) I don't know why, long time I never see that kind shoes, already. I think nobody like use, that's why the company no like make. And then, come the boots--rubber boots. The one who hanawai the cane field, that's the one they use. Anything the working people need, the store sell. Hat, clothing, working clothes--all, the store sell. Denim pants. (Laughs) Anything, we sell. You know, the blue working shirt? That's the one we used to sell. And the demin pants.

WN: You used to take order for clothes, too?

JC: Yeah. "I like one working shirt." Mark 'em.

WN: What about the size, though?

JC: Mostly, the workers, too, we know already what size they use, because every time, they buy from us the working clothes. If we got the size, we get. But if no more, well, tell 'em we all out of the size. Before is cheap. Fifty-pound rice, two dollar. Yeah.

WN: Before the war?

JC: Yeah. Then, little by little, come up. Coffee, like that. One can, I think, the three-pound one, $1-something. Cigarette, one dollar half [$1.50], one carton. That's why, all those days, all cheap, eh? So, the bill--single men--no reach twenty dollar (laughs). His bill.

WN: New month time, you know if the outside stores, maybe, tried to make new month a little earlier to get people to buy or anything like that?

JC: The same thing. Same thing. They wait for the plantation store go give them the new month. Maybe, sometime, new month time, they buy plenty, eh? So, no need, every time . . . . Like can goods, family men, they buy one dozen Vienna sausage, one dozen sardines, one dozen cream or two dozen cream, one pound butter, like that. They all buy. Those stuff. And then, after new month time, they buy only little bit, little bit. That's what they do. But family men, they buy one bag rice. Sometimes, chicken feed, barley, like that--they got pigs. We sell all those stuff. Barley, I think, only two dollar, one bag, before. Barley. You know, da kine food? Two dollar, I think, one bag. (Laughs) Seventy-five pound.

WN: So, about new month time is when they bought that kind?
JC: Yeah. If they get plenty pigs and plenty chickens, yeah. They buy all one time.

WN: Did anybody come up to you, like maybe one or two days before new month, and ask if they can have new month early?

JC: We can give 'em, but we got to keep the bill, and when the new month come in, then we put the date—twenty-five or twenty-four. We got to hold the bill. We no give him the bill yet. But we got to hold the bill until the new month time.

WN: Where you hold 'em?

JC: In the office. In the store office, they get three office girls, and the manager, and the assistant manager take care the bill. So, when he like new month, we go give to the girl. "You keep this one until new month." Only number twenty-two or twenty-three, yet, eh? Tomorrow is new month already. So, she just keep 'em, and then new month time, she come give us the bill, and we see 'em. Mostly family men, you do that. Because they no can wait already. So, you know, the pay no 'nough, eh? We give. Anything they ask, according to their own bills, we no care. We give 'em. You know, da kine big ham? Maybe ten pound or twelve pound? Only six dollar or five dollar, one ham. But for icebox kind [i.e., perishables], you no can give 'em too much, because, before, not too much people get icebox.

They figure already, only one time, one week, I go to the house. So, they figure already that one week. The whole week, he get. Because one week, one time, I go that camp. All is schedule already. When I go over there, they know already this the day. Sometime, they make their list already. Just give me the list. "This is the one you supposed to deliver tomorrow." (Chuckles) That's it. Family men, eh? Family men, new month time, that's the one who give us the list. We just copy. No need ask him what you going buy. They get the list already. The wife give you the list, and you make 'em. Only thing, when that item they like, [if] you no more in the store, you got to tell so they know. Bumbai, they think you wen charge 'em and you never deliver. Sometimes, they no check the bill, you know. "I order this thing and then never come in." They don't know that no more, so you got to tell them—go special [trip]—tell 'em, "No more that item."

WN: Had that kind problems sometimes? Maybe you folks never put one can of something inside the box, and the customer gets mad or something like that?

JC: No, sometime, you short of your order, they check. Customers, they check their own order with the bill, because the grocery go with the bill, eh? When the delivery man deliver the groceries, get [the bill] over there. So, when they check and something no more, well, you got to give 'em. Because you charge 'em, maybe, you miss
'em--you never put in the box, in the order. That's how--what we do. We never tell them, "No more. You never order this." If they tell you they wen order and you never put in the bill, that's it. You got to charge 'em again and give 'em.

WN: You got to charge 'em again?

JC: No. You check in the bills. Because they check the bills. And then, sometime, the grocery, if no more in the bill, but that item, they bin order, that's your mistake.

WN: The salesman's [order taker's] mistake?

JC: Yeah. So, you got to make the bill, and you [personally] go deliver. You the deliver man, not the deliver boy. You, order man, you got to go deliver that item to the person because, that day, he no can go already, that camp. But you got to go because you got to give the item he [customer] bin order that you never charge and you never give 'em. So long they ordered.

"I order this stuff, and you never give me. You never charge me. How come? No more in the store?" But you know already got in the store.

"Oh, that's all right. I go make 'em, and then I deliver to your house."

That's it. You no can tell 'em, "Wait till next week." Because next week is the one time you go. It's only one time, one week, you got to go that camp. If they need 'em, you (chuckles) got to go deliver, yourself.

WN: You go one camp, one week?

JC: Yeah. Because every camp, you get already. All scheduled--one day, one week. So, like today, Monday, I go Camp 6. And then, tomorrow, I go Camp 8. Wednesday, I go Camp 13. And then, Thursday, I go Ah Fong Camp. Friday, I go Church Camp. Then, all finished. Next Monday again, then I go the same Camp 6. So, that's why, the customer, they know already what time you go to the camp. They wait for you.

WN: Any time you had any arguments with customers about them not ordering something or something like that?

JC: No. Only thing, sometime, they make mistake. Sometime, in the store, when they pay the bills, and you make the receipt. And the office, they never mark it's paid. The next month, they going send again the same bill. That's how. So, when the customer [said], "Hey, how come? Last month, I bin pay this bill," then you take the bill, and then you check to the office. "This man, he bin pay this bill already. How come you guys send one more statement
that he never pay?" Then, they check, because the receipt and everything stay inside there. All pile up. That's what one girl do every time.

WN: When you went to take orders, how long did it take? About how long did you spend at one house?

JC: Oh, maybe about ten minutes or fifteen minutes, depend how the customer tell you what to do, eh? Because you got to wait--how many . . . . If he got to think what item he going order--maybe cigarette, or cigar, or tobacco, match, like that--he got to think what no more in the house. That's why you got to wait. You no can rush 'em, "Hurry up, hurry up, I got to go." That's why, sometime, one take time. We wait. Sometime, "Oh, I forget something else. Ten pound potatoes, onion, match."

WN: But you had a set number of houses that you had to go, eh?

JC: Yeah.

WN: So, what if you never finish by, say, 5 o'clock?

JC: I got to finish 'em up by 5 o'clock. No can go home.

WN: But you got paid by the hour or by the day?

JC: By the day.

WN: Before the union?

JC: Before the union, yeah.

WN: After the union, what happened?

JC: Same thing.

WN: You got paid by hour, though, eh?

JC: Yeah, but sometime, when you go out from your house, maybe, you got to figure already working men, when they pau work--4:30 [p.m.], eh? Only you go early, but you only catch those family men first.
Because they stay home--the wife or the children. Because the single men that no more nobody in the house, you got to wait till they pau work--4:30. That's how. That's why, take time.

WN: But after union came in, if you had to work after 5 [o'clock], you got any kind overtime or something?

JC: No, that one no more overtime, because the store, they give you from 1 o'clock to until you finish. Because you know already, you no can go take order 1 o'clock, or 2 o'clock, or 3 o'clock. Not too much people yet in the camp. But you got to go out already for you catch the family men.

WN: Housewives, too?

JC: Housewife. Because housewife is the only one take care the bill. So, she give you the orders already.

WN: So, you got most of your order taking done between 4:30 and 5 [o'clock]?

JC: Yeah. But by the time you get through with the family men, little more, all the single men come in [home]. The people--no one who stay home yet--the working people.

WN: After the union came in, you still had to go finish between 1 and 5 [o'clock]?

JC: Same thing. Same thing, no change. Because the store manager, they know already when the people, they stay home. So, more like you not doing something early part--1 o'clock or 2 o'clock. So, that much break you going get, but you got to finish your job. Right? Not because the store manager tell you, "You go out 1 o'clock, and then 5 o'clock, you go home already," if you never take orders yet from all the people. Because you in trouble. When you go back to that camp and you never go take order from that house, they come see you, "Hey, how come you never come my house?" Then, they go talk to the manager, and you going be in trouble. Make sure you got to get the order.

WN: But the union never say anything like, "You working overtime, so you should get over?"

JC: No. They know themselves, too.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

WN: Did the [store] managers keep track of your sales? You know, as a
salesman [order taker], did the managers know how much you were selling every month, like that?

JC: They know. Because they know the size of the camp. If not too much order, well, they no can say nothing, because the know the size of the camp, and they know what people stay in that camp. Like some camps, mostly all family, so they get big sale. But they no bother, because they know what the size of the camp you stay going. Because they schedule you one camp, that's it. One day, one camp. You no can push the people to buy if no like buy. Right? And mostly, they buy what they need.

WN: They [store managers] don't tell you something like, "Hey, Jose, maybe you should be selling little more," or something like that?

JC: No. Because they know already we working hard. And we sell plenty.

WN: You have any kind competition with the other salesmen [order takers], like who can sell more? Stuff like that?

JC: No. You no can tell competition because some salesmen [order takers], they get big camp. Some salesmen [order takers], small camp. That, you no can do nothing. The manager no can tell you nothing. Because one camp, maybe, get only thirty, and the other camp got forty or fifty people. That, you no can compare. Right? So, that's why. The one, he no can say nothing. Because the manager, he know already the size of the camp. They know.

WN: When you went out to take orders, what kind car you drove?

JC: Model A. I bought one Model A.

WN: You bought?

JC: Yeah.

WN: Oh, you use your own car?

JC: Yeah. Plantation, they no give you car.

WN: So, all the salesmen [order takers] had their own car?

JC: Yeah. You buy your own car. One Japanese old man, he get the Model T! (Laughs) Old man.

WN: So, to be salesman [order taker], you had to have one car, then?

JC: Yeah. Because some camps far away from the store. From our house. Some, near--that no need car, eh?

WN: What about gasoline?

JC: No. The store manager, they never [give] gasoline. Gasoline--
maybe a Model A, you fill up ten gallon, no more two dollar.

WN: You had to pay your own gasoline?

JC: Yeah.

WN: The plantation never supply you with gasoline?

JC: No. They no tell you take your car. You can walk. (Laughs) That's the part.

WN: Kinda far, though, to walk, eh?

JC: Some far away camps, they give allowance, but the one near all around the store, they no give.

WN: How about the delivery trucks?

JC: That's plantation store trucks. The store get two trucks--deliver man. One truck go certain camps, and the other truck go certain camps. They divide. Suppose one truck go Camp 13, Camp 12, Camp 8. Come one camp, Camp 6, he take care only that camp. Then, the other truck will take care the other camp. But new month time, that's the time they work hard.

WN: So, you left the Camp 5 Store about 1949?


WN: How come you left?


WN: When you left Camp 5 Store in 1949, how come? Because there was less business or something like that?

JC: Yeah, they was cutting down. Too much working. And me, the less seniority, so me, the first one go out. Either I go back to the plantation or I go Kahului A&B Commerical. I no like go work plantation. I wen go back to the A&B warehouse. And then, 1950, they like me back--go to Kihei Store. Then, when Kihei Store closed up, 1960, I wen go back to A&B Commercial Warehouse, again.

WN: What you did in the Kihei Store?

JC: Salesclerk.

WN: That's HC&S [Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Company], too, huh? Kihei?
JC: Yeah.

WN: Any big differences between the Kihei Store and the Camp 5 Store?

JC: Oh, a little different is, Kihei Store, no need go take orders. I only stay in the store.

WN: But had people taking orders?

JC: Yeah, but they telephone. Then, I deliver orders. Afternoon, then I go deliver. Because mostly, the people, they get all telephone already, that time--1950. So, in the morning, they give us the orders, and then we make the orders, and then, afternoon, we go deliver.

WN: But when you were at Camp 5 Store until 1949, people didn't call in?

JC: No more. No telephone. Very few people get telephone.

WN: In Camp 5?

JC: Yeah.

WN: But Kihei, more people had phones?

JC: Yeah, mostly outside people already. All outside people, they got telephone.

WN: You mean, non-plantation people?

JC: Mmm [yes].

WN: Then, 1960, you moved to . . .

JC: A&B Commercial Warehouse.

WN: The hardware?

JC: Yeah.

WN: And what did you do over there?

JC: Oh, sell A&B building material. Lumber, electrical, plumbing—anything to build house. That's how we sell. Until retire in 1978. (Chuckles)

WN: So, as you look back, all those years that you worked for HC&S, what do you have to say about those years?

JC: Those days when I was working in the plantation, A&B, especially the store, no hard. That's why, all those I worked—the boss or
the supervisor--they always like me for I work. Even over here [A&B Commercial Company], before I retire, they bin ask me if I can work until seventy. No way. (Chuckles) "I like retire sixty-five," tell 'em.

"But you can retire when you reach seventy. You still young, yet."

"No . . . . (Chuckles) I get enough already."

WN: What did you have to have to be a good salesman all those years?

JC: You got to know how to approach those people. Like the hardware, you got to know where the item stay, what item--when they ask you one certain item, and you don't know--and how to use 'em. You got tell them how to use 'em. Like building material, like that. But grocery, yeah, that's all right. No need explain how to use 'em, they know already, eh? But building material--like plumbing or electrical, like that--certain item, they know they like that one, but they don't know how to use 'em. If you don't know how to tell them how you use 'em, you lose. No can buy the stuff. Even you, you no like buy the stuff if you don't know how to use 'em, eh? That's why. Instead, you sell him one item, if you do something good, you sell three items to him. Right? That's how.

They say, "The customer is always right," they right. Even you wilding, but no wild to the customer. Sometimes, the customer, they come wild, eh? But no can help. But like me, as I said, from the A&B Hardware--because we sell anything, building material or improvements in the house from electrical to plumbing and something else--I know all the material. You tell me about plumbing, what kind material you like, you let me know. I can tell you.

WN: How you learned all this?

JC: Oh, I bin learn fourteen years. You know, the A&B warehouse, the one selling the building material. From there, I bin learn when I bin come from Kihei Store. Little by little, every day, I learned. Electrical stuff and everything. I bin learn, little bit. I keep learning, learning.

That's why one guy tell me--Honolulu guy, salesman--"Shee, you try come Honolulu. They no pay you what they pay you over here. No way. Come Honolulu, you going get good pay. What you know."

I tell him, "Ah, no can help. I no like go away from here."

(Laughs)

WN: What job you liked the most? Of all your jobs?

JC: Well, I like the store job. (Laughs)

WN: Which store?
JC: Grocery store.

WN: Camp 5 Store?

JC: Camp 5 Store, Kihei Store. I like the job over here, too, because I bin learn plenty.

WN: The A&B Hardware?

JC: A&B Building Materials. But when I wen retire, I wen transfer over here--A&B Hardware. But same thing. Get building material, too. Yeah, I bin learn plenty. Even paint, you no tell me what kind paint. I can tell you what is good paint. And I can tell you why the contractors, they buy the cheap paint. Because they like make money. But if you paint your own house, you got to buy the good paint. But contractors, they no use good paint. (Laughs) They buy the cheapest paint they can get, because paint is paint, yeah. Because the same color, but no more [last] three years. No more already. Fade already. You look this one [JC's home]. Right?

WN: You painted, yourself?

JC: Yeah. I make. Even the house, we make 'em, ourself. Because I was working already in the A&B Building Materials.

END OF INTERVIEW
STORES and STOREKEEPERS of Paia & Puunene, Maui

Volume I

ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Ethnic Studies Program
University of Hawaii, Manoa

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