BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: EXEQUIL CABINATAN, retired dairyman

Exequil Cabinatan, Visayan, was born in Pardo, Cebu, April 10, 1902. He attended primary school and worked in the Philippines with his father as a carpenter until he came to Hawaii in 1922.

He married in the Philippines; his wife and baby accompanied him on the arduous journey to Hawaii. Exequil was very ill on the trip. He was assigned to Makee plantation at Kealia. His first job was kalai. He later worked with portable tracks, and then for the Lihue Plantation dairy.

He went on strike in 1924 and lived at the Hee Fat building strike camp in Kapaa. He helped collect food for the strikers while there. Toward the end of the strike, he went to work at the dairy in Hanamaulu.

He currently lives in Hanamaulu with his wife Gertrude. They are parents of seven children.
Tape No. 5-14-1-78

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Exequil Cabinatan (EC)

September 11, 1978

Hanamaulu, Kauai

BY: Gael Gouveia (GG)

GG: This is an interview with Mr. Cabinatan in his home in Hanamaulu. The date is September 11, 1978, and the interviewer is Gael Gouveia.

First of all, can you tell me when you were born?


GG: Where were you born?


GG: You went school in Philippines?

EC: I go the school, that one, Filipino school only.

GG: They didn't teach English, that time?

EC: No. Not that English. I bin go other place, Samar. I get company, about 21 men. Some, he know, he bin in school, eh. That eighth grade. And then, in meeting over there, and then he tell, "More better I go make one picture." Then, that one there, he get the high school, they call it. That's the one, he wen go teach me fellow. And I be able to visit (Samar) one month.

GG: What kind of work did you do there?

EC: Oh, this da kine, he call....lanot.

CE: [Mrs. C. Estenzo, assisting with translation.]

They have some kind of abaca fiber, that they clean up and make that into ropes.

GG: And how long you had that job?

EC: About two year, I was over there.
GG: How did you hear about Hawaii?

EC: Oh, somebody tell me, eh, over here good. But the time I stay over there, Samar, I going home because my father, he send me paper. He said, "You come home because your mother sick." And then, I stay about two days yet. I went to the steamer, eh. When the steamer come, I going home. Bumbai I reach home, my mother no sick. She like look to me, that one. [Lonesome for him.]

GG: How far away were you from home?

EC: I don't know how far that was; Samar. Until Cebu.

GG: Different island, though?

EC: Different island. This Samar, they call Calbayog (large town in Samar).

GG: So your mother homesick for you to come home?

EC: Yeah.

GG: And then, how long you were home?

EC: I stay home? Oh, I stay about three year, I think.

GG: Did you work at home?

EC: Yeah, I work. I work, because my father carpenter. He tell me, "More better you no work. You no go someplace already. You go help me over here."

Then, I work about two years, my father, he push me all time for marry. I tell, "No. I wait until about 21 years old."

"No, you can support now. Because I know you can support, because you work everyday." Everyday, even da kine holiday, like that, I work. I get one peso, 65 cent, one day. Before, 80 cents, me. One peso 65 cent. I make $9 one week, $9.90, I think. One week. From Monday until Saturday.

GG: So that's like over $36 every month. Nine dollars one week or $9 one month?

EC: No, one week.

GG: So then, you found girlfriend?

EC: Oh. This my wife, small yet, before. Make kompon kompon. That's why I married her.

GG: Your family arranged for you to know her, or how did you arrange to get married?
EC: Oh, I tell for my family, "I marry to this girl." My mother, she no like yet, because I stay working everyday, and my money, I give pay from job to my mother, when pay day. I no give my father, I give to my mother. So my mother, that's why she no like I go married yet. She hold me back.

Well, no can help because I tell already, eh, to the mother. My father, too, he follow me, eh. And he like I go marry. And then, I marry, only I stay about two days, my father house. I go move to her [wife's] mother house. She got her mother house empty, nobody stay there.

GG: Only the mother?

EC: The mother, get the father.

GG: And you got married in church?

EC: Yeah, in church. Catholic church. He no like, the priest, he go marry yet, because young, this one. Fourteen, no more 15, yet. They label, put 15, on the paper. And me, 17, no more 18 yet. And then, he put 18.

GG: And your mother had to sign paper, too, or just the priest?

EC: No, no. Yeah, priest.

GG: But he put different age because you were so young?

EC: Yeah, yeah. Also, the priest, he know me, eh. He know my father. That's why.

GG: So then, how long after that you heard about Hawaii?

EC: Oh, about... no more one year. About six month, eight months, I think.

GG: Because your baby was born already, right?

EC: Yeah, born already. Because I married 1921; 1922, I got baby.

GG: But if you had good job in Philippines...

EC: Yeah, I got good job. I no like come.

GG: Oh, you didn't want to come to Hawaii?

EC: Because my friend, he tell me--carpenter, same thing to me, eh. He tell me, "Exequil, I go to Hawaii because over there somebody tell me, 'good'." And then, bumbai, I send you letter. If was good, I send you letter. More better you come." He stay Makaweli.

Then he send me letter. He tell, "Good, over here. The hanawai place, that's only you lay down, like that. Watch the water."
Then, I come over here. I reach over here, Nawiliwili, I cry, boy. Because I look, all mountain. Cebu no can look mountain, eh. Mountain too far, eh. And good fun too, eh, over there. "Well, no can help." I come, I stay, I work.

GG: Let's go back a little bit, now. Tell me again about how you came. The recruiter told you was good, at Immigration?

EC: Immigration, yeah.

GG: So you decided to come because you got your friend's letter saying was good, too. And then, you get on the boat. And your wife, at first, didn't want to go with you, right?

EC: Yeah. Suppose she no like go with me. Because I tell her, "More better you stay here, I go alone."

But here, she no can come. Because you need that wife. So I go to the market. Get plenty girl over there. I go catch the girl, "If you like go Hawaii, go with me. Because I go Hawaii."

But my wife, she stay home yet. So the girl, she go with me; go to Immigration, everything....I don't know what he call that one. The banns.

EC: Yeah, he was waiting for the announcement of the marriage.

GG: Oh, the partner-partner kind at Immigration?

EC: Yeah, yeah. That was for the new one, for the other girl.

EC: Then, I sit down. They are like this--he get the pen, eh. The girl, he sit down with me, too. Bumbai, I look the kalesa (horse-drawn cart), he parking by the door. Then my wife, she come down, she carry the baby, she got the umbrella--because little bit hot, eh. When she come down, she go inside the doorway, she give me the baby. When she give me the baby, she tell me, "Oh, I no like stay home. I like go with you. No care, us go stay there make. Two guy make. As I can look you, and you can look me too. I go."

The girl, she know already that's my wife, because she give me the baby. She run away, she no tell me nothing. Yeah.

GG: So your wife came on the ship with you, and you came to Hawaii. And how long did it take to come?

EC: Oh, about one month, from the Cebu until to Manila. And then, from Manila until to Hawaii. To Manila until to Hawaii, one month.

GG: You got seasick on the boat, or your wife got seasick?

EC: Yeah, I got sick. I sick, my wife no sick. And my baby stay sick.
I don't know what kind sick, that one, my baby. The eye da kine, eh, funny kind looking, eh. So even I sick, I go hold the baby. I go outside to the room, I go on top. I make the baby fresh air, like that. Bumbai he come good. But me stay sick. My wife no sick.

GG: Get doctor on the ship?

EC: Yeah, he got doctor on the ship. So I stay in the bed. And then, my wife, he got one man, could talk English, that one. Siquijor man. That's the school teacher, he tell him. Okay, my wife tell him, "I no can talk English to the captain. More better you go talk for me about to my husband."

And then, he follow, he go talk the captain. And the captain go call for the doctor. Doctor, he come to me. Say, "More better go, when he reach to the Hong Kong, more better go down the Hong Kong, this one." [Get off the ship to get well.]

Bumbai, I no go down [get off] yet, the man [interpreter], he go help me for talking to the captain, die. Die.

GG: You remember his name?

EC: No.

GG: He got sick too, then?

EC: I don't know. Got sick, I think. But just only to help too, eh. He die, no more two hour I go for tell to our captain. He die. Nice boy, you know, that one. Hoo.

So, when he reach to Hong Kong, I go outside, I go to the hospital. And then, I sick over there. Doctor, he like fix me, but me too much sick. Maybe I stay about three days, I thought I going die. Because I look my eye, like that, eh. [rolling upward] Look already up like that. But my wife, she tell me all time pray for that, by the wall. Pray, pray, pray. Bumbai, about afternoon, like that, same time now, afternoon; my eye, he can look good already.

And then, I look to the wall, get all same... get fence, eh, over here. But over there, vision already. He get one car--I dream that one. Not dream, just only I look, look my eye. The car, he stay up to the post, one side tire. Then, I look, I pray I call to the God. I tell, "God, you help that one, the wahine. Because if you no help, this one, the baby going make, too." He carry baby, eh. He get da kine, the nice.... The time he stay the car, he pick up, come out. Because I call the God, eh. That's when, that's the funny kind only [explaining a vision he had].

Then, when the car, he go, the baby he get out. And the mother,
too. No more... but he drive the car. The baby, he look like that way, he laugh. When he laugh, no more over there already. I come good. Yeah.

GG: So did they ever tell you what kind sick you had?

EC: Oh, I think this kind flu, or what. Because from Manila, that one. I get sore head already. Before, he get plenty sick, eh. The time I go Hong Kong, I land over there, get plenty Chinese make. Flu, I think.

GG: Did you get back on the same ship, or you had to get on a different ship?

EC: No, other one. President Lincoln, from Manila. Bumbai, from Hong Kong, [tape garbled] -maru.

GG: So then, when did you reach Honolulu?

EC: Same year, eh, 1922, July 3. And then, I stay over there July 4 yet, eh. Immigration. July 5, they bring me over here, Kauai.

GG: And you came to Nawiliwili?

EC: Yeah, Nawiliwili.

GG: And then, you had to get off the big ship and get on a small ship to come in.

EC: Yeah, small ship, yeah, yeah.

GG: And feeling good, okay, then?

EC: No. I reach over here, I cry. I no feeling good. I cry.

GG: And what about your wife?

EC: My wife, she no talk, like that. Because....

GG: She's just glad to be with you.

EC: Yeah. She no care. Hard time, hard time.

GG: So then, where---which plantation did you go to?

EC: Kealia, Makee Plantation.

GG: What was your first job there?

EC: My first job... is kalai. Bumbai, the luna, was kanaka, I think "John." And he help me for go work that kind side.
You know before, the cane car, he go inside the field, eh. I work that one, for make the rail for the cane car go inside.

GG: Like the portable tracks?

EC: Yeah, yeah, yeah. I work over there with all the Japanese. Some Filipino.

GG: Now, you had education. Did that cause you any trouble? Because from what I understand, when they were recruiting Filipinos to begin with, they didn't want the kind that went school. But because you were carpenter, you had hands that looked like working man? Is that right? Because I know some people told me they had to rub their hands because maybe they were school teacher, but they rubbed their hands to make look like they were working man.

EC: No, no. My hand all da kine, what you call, all, you know, dirty.

GG: You were working man?

EC: Yeah, working man, eh.

GG: And then, what camp did you live in, when you first came?

EC: Pueo Camp.

GG: And what was the camp like? How many houses had inside that camp?

EC: Plenty. He get one house, all same stable. Just pake one, the time. And the house, about...all same. Make all same stable, too. I get about some, four room. One here, one there, one here, one there.

GG: All four rooms was for your family?

EC: No. One room, one room. I get the kitchen, too, eh. Room over here, outside kitchen.

GG: So then, you had your own stove, or did several families share a stove?

EC: The plantation make, provide the stove.

GG: You had your own?


GG: And plantation provided the firewood, or you went collect your own?

EC: No, he get firewood. They have kerosene, too, before. For make start fire.
GG: What did you bring with you from the Philippines? Anything you brought with you?

EC: No, only clothes.

GG: So, no pots or pans, blankets?

EC: No more. The plantation, he get pantalon, pants; clothes, like that, and the blanket.

GG: They give you, or they charge you for that?

EC: They give. The cigarette, like that. My wife, she got cigarette, about one box. Ho, plenty, you know. [unintelligible] All same. My kid, he small yet, she give.

GG: In the camp where you stayed, had only Filipinos, or had...


GG: At that time, had plenty Chinese?

EC: Yeah, plenty Chinese.

GG: More Chinese than Japanese?

EC: Yeah. The Chinese, they work the---cut the cane, like that. Me too, all same, I going work different job, Chinese like that.

GG: And do you have any idea how many houses in that camp? Maybe, like 20, or more than that?

EC: Oh, about 100, I think, or over. Over 100.

GG: And had plantation store right there, too?

EC: No. Plantation store, Kealia. But me fellow no go over there. Only stay Kapaa. He get the Japanese store, pake store, like that. Go over there, go charge, and then pay day time, he go pay.

GG: So you didn't have to go to the plantation store, then, because you had Japanese store in your camp.

EC: Yeah.

GG: And how were the conditions? Did you find it pretty good, or.... after you had been here a little while, everything was okay, or were you still missing the Philippines?

EC: Sure I miss in Philippines, because before, when we fellow come, he got the contract. Three year. And then you reach three year, you got can petition for go back Philippine Island. That why, I like
work until I get the three year. Then I like go back. Ah, bumbai long time. I stay work, work, work. I no like go back yet because no more money. Because only $1 a day. Yeah. No can. So I stay over there about 8 month, Pueo Camp. Her father [Connie Estenzo's], he know I stay there, and he take me bring home to the dairy. I work over there, the dairy.

GG: Where was the dairy?

EC: Over here. Lihue Plantation, the dairy, that one there. Lihue Plantation.

GG: But you were working Makee.

EC: Makee, I quit over there, I come over here. But same thing, company, that one. My [bango] number from Makee, he no change.

GG: So you still were on the same contract.

EC: Same contract, yeah. So bumbai, I no think already for go back Philippine Island. Maybe bumbai, long time, I have money, I go back. But no can get money. Even I got pay over here, the dairy, $1.05. Before $1.00, eh. Everyone $1. Only me, $1.05. Because the boss, he like me, eh.

GG: But after the strike time that you went dairy?

EC: No. No more strike yet. Bumbai, I stay over there. I like little bit more money. Was contract, eh, over here, the time, cut the seed, pula pula. Cane, eh. So I stay working at the hanawai, over here. Bumbai I applied for the seed, the pula pula, like that. Because sometime he make one dollar half [$1.50], one dollar quarter [$1.25], like that. But hard time, too. Because too much job, that one. Bumbai, the strike call. I like ask da kine, other kind job, eh. No more. No can give. Ah, more better go strike.

GG: So Manlapit came over here?

EC: Yeah, he go meeting. Meeting over here, go Kapaa, like that. Lihue.

GG: Did you go to any of the meetings?

EC: Yeah, I go.

GG: Did you hear him talk?

EC: Uh huh.

GG: Do you remember what he said?

EC: Ah, no.
GG: But other fellows went with you, and you went to the meeting, and heard what he had to say. Then you think better strike.

EC: More better strike because he ask $2 one day, eh. Little bit good, eh, $2. Suppose that $2, he go Philippine Island, he come $4.

GG: Did you send money home to the Philippines?

EC: No. My wife, she stay, I no can send money over there. If no more, my wife, she stay there, maybe I go send. Hard for support to your family, over there, the Philippine Island. Now, okay, because little bit more.

GG: So you heard, then, about the strike, and you thought perhaps, "Better go on strike, then, so maybe can get more money."

EC: Yeah. And get the more money. So, no can. Hard head, you know, the plantation boss. Moyer name, that one, plantation boss.

GG: As I recall, you didn't go strike right at the beginning. You kept on working for a while, or you went right away at the beginning?

EC: No, because he stay little while yet, the strike. So I feel over here have time. The job only $1 a day, more better I go. I go. Over here, nobody go, I think. Only me. This Bakiano, I don't know why he stay, before.

EC: Hanapepe.

EC: Only me, I think....Hanamaulu Plantation....he go. And this brother-in-law. Biton, name.

GG: Where were you living, right before you left to go on strike? Where you stay, where your house was.

EC: Over here, my house, before. I no strike yet. Because I go to the dairy already. I stay working here, eh. Like there, Hanamaulu. That's why he got house over there.

GG: This stable house area?

EC: Other side.

GG: On the other side of the area or on the other side of the street.

EC: Yeah.

GG: And then, when you went on strike, do you remember how you got to the strike camp? Where you lived on strike, how did you go down there?

EC: I don't know. I forgot. I don't know. I forgot how I go.
Company, I think, because he got truck. It was too far to be walking. It must have been a truck.

GG: And then, you stayed in that long building down in Kapaa?

EC: No. I stay over there little while. Bumbai, the boss that house, and he look to my wife. Tell, "This your wife?"

"Yeah."

"Oh. Chinese, eh, your wife?"

"No. This Filipino." Because all same Chinese looking, my wife, before. And small eye, eh, that one before. She had a light complexion. And no too big, the body. That's why I tell, "No, this Filipino."

"No, no, no. This your wife. More better no stay over here, in that house. You go. Get one house over there, you stay over there." Because I get two baby, eh.

I stay over there. I get the kitchen.

GG: Okay, here's the big long building, the Hee Fat Building. Now, where's your house, in relation to...

EC: About this one here, the building here, the big building. Over here got door. Right there, about 50 feet, I think, from the....

GG: On the left side. But it was one building? Not one that you had to build with boxes or anything. Already built with kitchen.

EC: Uh huh. But only one room, too. Yeah, stay that house.

GG: So what did you do in the strike camp?

EC: Over there, make good fun only. Play baseball, like that. Bumbai, time for go collect to da kine, for the strike men, I go around. [To Mrs. Estenzo,] Ponce, he no tell he go around with me?

CE: Yeah, he tell. He go collect. Rice.

EC: Yeah, collect. Rice, money. Suppose money he give, take the money. But I get the timebook; I put name over there, what he give, eh. "Give rice." Sometime two cup. You know, this kind, gatas one. Milk.

GG: The canned kind, like Carnation [evaporated milk].

EC: Carnation, yeah. Put that one there.

GG: Then, the cup, what? Like kaukau, tin cup, or your lunch can cup, or what kind cup put the rice in?
EC: The kind, the cup, eh.

CE: Kaukau tin?

EC: No.

CE: Rice bag?

EC: Oh yeah, rice bag. They put 'em in one rice bag. Before rice bag.

CE: They give two cups of rice and put it in the rice bag.

EC: And one, he carry like this. He got da kine too, the can kind, he give, eh. Tuna, sausage, bakalaw. Iriko. Most, the Japanese he give. Filipino, he give some.

GG: From the house to house, or like the Japanese store gave too?

EC: Yeah, the store, he give.

GG: They give maybe more than house to house kind?

EC: Yeah, sometimes they give one box, Japanese. He get one Hawaiian man over here, he work the County, he give every month, one box. Yeah, one box.

GG: And then, I think you told me about, like you had to hide it on the side of the road so the camp police wouldn't see.

EC: Uh huh. He no can see, yeah.

GG: And you said Mrs. Estenzo's father was the camp police?

EC: Camp police, with the Porto guys. Amorin. Yeah. That one, she know me. Her father too, he know me. But some Filipino, he stay working, he no going strike, he going report. Scared. "He come over here last night and he go collect over here." So the policeman, his father, he watch me. That's why, if I go over there when I come home, I go inside to the (unintelligible), no can do nothing. No can catch me.

"You smart, eh, you go collect over there?"

"No, I no go." (Laughs)

GG: And Mr. Ponce went with you to collect?

EC: Yeah. Some daytime.

GG: Two of you went together, usually?

EC: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Sometime two, sometime three.
GG: Do you remember who the other man was?
EC: Oh. No more already. Pantaleon name, before. Pantaleon.
GG: Did they have strike leader over here? Not Manlapit, but in Kapaa side?
EC: Yeah. The Kapaa, the leader. Over here Kapaa, and to Hanapepe, too. This Ceralde. I don't know, second name, I think that one. The first name, I don't know. They call Ceralde.
GG: Was it Fausto, or something like that? I heard his name before. Was he the main one?
EC: Over here? Yeah.
GG: And did you see him or talk to him?
EC: Uh huh. See him. The time we got trouble, every morning he come over here and go that side.
GG: Did he stay inside the strike camp?
EC: Yeah.
GG: But then he went, like, to Lihue and other places to see how things are going?
EC: Uh huh.
GG: And you said you kept record in the book or who donated.
EC: Yeah, I got the record. But he no can check up that one. That's only---I put that so everybody he know, I go collect, I no go crook. I take over there.
GG: Keep a record of the money. And who did you turn the money over to?
EC: Give to the....I don't know who's that one I give to the money over there. The leader.
GG: But not the one you told me the name of.
EC: No, not that.
GG: Somebody else. You don't remember his name?
EC: Yeah, I no remember that one.
GG: And then, what did he do with the money?
EC: Oh, he give the people, like that.

GG: What did the people use the money for?

EC: Oh, he buy something, too. Sometime he like meat; no more meat, eh. No more...he no can kill pig over there. So he get the market, he go buy. Me too, I buy meat. Because I keep sometime money, about 25 cent. Twenty-five cent, before, you buy meat, over for eat already.

GG: So whoever was in charge of the money would give it out as people needed it, or they gave everybody same amount....

EC: I don't know, that one, if he give all same. I don't know.

GG: When strike time pau, who did you turn that record book over to?

EC: Ah, throw away that other kind. The book no worth nothing.

GG: What a shame. Would be good if you still had that record book.


GG: I think you had told me, before Hanapepe, Kapaa had some trouble.

EC: Yeah.

GG: Can you tell me about that?

EC: The first time, Kapaa, he got trouble. Maybe the boss, he going tell to the camp police. Camp police, Kealia. The name Sanchez. Maybe he go tell to Sanchez, the plantation boss. Walter, the boss. Big man, that one. Maybe he going tell, "More better us do like this. Broke 'em, the strike."

Sanchez say, "How we going broke?"

"You make this kind. You call two men, you bring this kind mosquito punk, like that. Go bury over there, under to the rice mill." Because the rice mill, when he grind, he get plenty opala, eh. Nighttime, that one, about 12 o'clock, I think. Then one man, he stay outside. One man, he go over there, he crawl over there. That mosquito punk get fire already. You know, mosquito punk get bundle, eh.

GG: They put something around it so it would catch fire?

EC: No, that different. Not the kind round kind. That one is stick. Yeah. Is stick but he get the paper, that one, eh. All same package, eh. He put all fire that one, on top. And he bury over
there, the opala place. And then, somebody he look, the name that one, Dadong, Bítői, and then 'nother one. Brother, two brother, that.

GG: And that was like camp police and security guards from the plantation?

EC: No. Me fellow, he get security guard over there, too. That one, the two guy from plantation, that one. Sanchez say, "Yeah, yeah, that for like broke the strike." Light fire to the rice mill.

And me fellow, he get security guard. Tecson, eh, that one. The two. Other one, he look, he get the men, he stand up there. He thought company, that one he strike man, eh. And then he look under over there, he get one man, he make the fire. So he shoot the flashlight, eh. "What you do over there?"

But other one, he run away already. He going go run to Kealia. Get main road, eh, over there, before. Bumbai, tell 'em, "You come outside. If you no come outside, I shoot you." Well, come outside. But the mosquito punk, he bring 'em back. Outside, he kill 'em, eh, the fire. Somebody hold you, somebody hold you. He get the knife, hemo the clothes, poke 'em like that, over here. [Indicates poking knife into side of captured individual.] He scared that he go inside [the knife], no. No make go inside. For make sore only. Bumbai, he hemo the pantalon, he get the other one. He go tie like this one. Tie over there with rope. No can move. Get plenty mosquito. (Laughs)

GG: They took all his clothes?

EC: Yeah, take all the clothes. And then, that man he run away, he go tell over there. "My companion, maybe they catch 'em. Because the guard, he da kine already." So the policemen he come. Plenty policemen from Lihue.

GG: You remember how many?

EC: About six, I think. They ride car. He got ride car, he go inside over there, the yard. Because he got road, eh. And he got one, he ride the horse. Go look. That one, that's the number one pilau, that man. Hawaiian. And then, the small man is....hmm, I forgot already. [Ambrosio] The small man, he got gun. And then, this one, he ride horse, and he look like that. Got light, eh, because the car all open, the light, eh.

Oh, Ambrosio, "Oh, this man, he got gun." He stop him right away, that policeman, he grab to Ambrosio. Ambrosio, he fall down. He stay down like that. And (unintelligible) he stay on top. But he (unintelligible) the gun, he point to him. He like shoot the feet,
but the heart he hit 'em. He got puka, he fly away, the heart.
And then, he stand up, he make like that the hand. (Puts his
hands up.)

GG: So they no shoot him.

EC: Yeah, no shoot him.

Ambrosio name, that's---Moro, I think his name. Small man. Like
that. Because he stand up like this only low. [Less than five
feet tall.] Small man but tough bugga, that one. He no scared.

GG: So then, what happened? Did the policemen take away the...

EC: Oh, he like take away that night but no can. Because he got one
man, he sit down over there. I don't know what kind. This man
hard head, too. He said, "If you take 'em this one, somebody make
over here bumbai."

He no take. Bumbai tomorrow, National Guard, I think that one.
They stay by this road here, this house there. They stay this
side. He got the machine gun. Machine gun this side, machine gun
that side. About four machine gun.

GG: That was the policemen or the National Guard?

EC: National Guard, he got. The policemen, no more.

GG: That was Kauai National Guard? That was, they didn't call 'em from
Oahu?

EC: Kauai, I think, yeah. And then, somebody go on the house like
that. About two, I think, or three. He go open and he make....
over there. If he got the gun, he got the knife, or what he got.
The knife, he got. He take the knife. No more gun. He take 'em.
After that, Ceralde, he come. He talk over there. Surprise, I
think, that one he come. And Sheldon. Sheldon the sheriff over
here, Kapaa. I think you know? You don't know Sheldon.

GG: He was like another leader?

EC: No. This Sheldon sheriff to da kine, that one, Kapaa town. So the
policeman he come. He go ask Ceralde. And then Ceralde, he talk
over there. Ah, he give the man. But the time no more da kine
yet, daytime. Menes, he tell, "More better kill 'em, this man."

Then I stand up over there. I tell, "No, no, no. No kill this
man. Suppose you kill 'em this man, everybody over here.

Bumbai, he come to me. "Ah, this man boto boto. All same this
man. More better kill 'em this man too."
I tell, "Well, up to you. You know, I got wife, I got the two baby. Suppose you kill me, my wife he go look to me bumbai. She go call the policemen. Bumbai he kill you all over here, too. This man, us keep this man. More better bring 'em to the court-house. And then, the sheriff, if this man he got something wrong, how big his wrong, bring 'em over there, he got the sentence, too. All same big his wrong. Bring 'em over there."

He bring 'em. No more trouble.

Bumbai, two weeks, trouble Hanapepe.

GG: So, but when they have that trouble at Kapaa, nobody got arrested, nobody had to go calaboose?

EC: No, no, no. He like bring 'em calaboose, everybody, because he tell, "If you no go back plantation, I bring you calaboose."

"Okay. Bring." He like go, all, over there...

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

GG: And then you said they had more than one strike camp because too many people at the Hee Fat Building. So they had some Waipouli.

EC: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. Some Waipouli. They stay Waipouli.

GG: Where was the strike camp at Waipouli?

EC: He had da kine, gasoline station over there Waipouli. And this.... the one by the, before go to the hotel. That one pake, that one before. But he no go stay there. He stay to the other house over there.

GG: And then, they had another strike camp at the old St. Catherine's Hall.

EC: Yeah, he got over there.

GG: Had plenty over there, too?

EC: Yeah, he got about 40, I think.

GG: And what about the beach side? Had some that stayed only by the beach?

EC: Yeah, that's the one including to the Kapaa one [behind, beach side of Hee Fat Building]. Because over there, by the beach, he
make one house, eh, all same, eh. By the road too. This side. He got. Own room. Not so high. Only box kind, eh. [Strike shacks made from boxes.] The Japanese, he give that one.

GG: That's the one that stayed close by the beach. Had mostly house made out of box?

EC: Yeah, box. And some tarpaulin, big kind tarpaulin.

GG: And how long were you actually in the strike camp? Do you remember when you went and then you left in December, I think?

EC: Yeah. I bin, if I no mistake that one, April I go over there. April 16....

GG: When is the Santa Cruz? [De Mayo celebration]

CE: Every May.

GG: And so, did they have celebration, even though you were in the strike camp already?

EC: No.

GG: In 1923 they already had that kind celebration?

EC: Yeah. All time, that one.

CE: It started 1921.

EC: No more 1921, that one, he start.

GG: But they didn't have that year, because of the strike, no more celebration?

EC: Yeah. He got celebration here but I no come.

GG: Oh, they had it but since you were in the strike camp, you didn't.

EC: Yeah.

GG: And do you remember when they had the trouble at Kapaa? You said that was about two weeks before Hanapepe?

EC: Yeah, I don't know.

GG: So must have been, maybe, end of August.

EC: I don't know, that one. I forgot.

GG: Yeah. But September 9 is when they had the trouble in Hanapepe. Do you remember what you heard about that? How did you find out about what happened at Hanapepe?
EC: Oh. The two men, he work to the Waimea Plantation. He ride bicycle, he come down to Hanapepe. Maybe he like something buy to the store, that one. Then the strike men, get the guard, eh, over there by the road. He like catch 'em, that man. But he catch other one. Other one he no can because he go back right away. He ride bicycle, eh. Then that's the one, the one he go back, that's the one he go report over there. "My companion, the strike men wen go keep." See. [Talking about the Ilocanos who were caught and held by the strikers.]

And then, the policemen go come. When he come, that one, he no can take yet, the man. He [police] like take 'em, eh. He [ strikers] no give yet. "Bumbai, tomorrow." I don't know how many policemen. That's the time is the trouble. The sheriff, he no like get trouble. He like take 'em [the Ilocano], eh, he like bring 'em to calaboose, or what. But some, he no can understand. The sheriff, Crowell, name. Crowell. He no can understand. And then the watchmen [strike guard] over there [Hanapepe], he going tell over there already, "The police he come. He like take the men."

And then somebody, he come over there, "Ah, suppose you take 'em, this one, somebody get make."

And then, that Punso, he come down. He tell, "No. You no make trouble, you fellow. Wait, wait, wait." Bumbai, one man, that one is stay sleeping [striker], somebody wake 'em up because that one everybody know he got pistol, two pistol. He wake 'em up. And then they open the....take the pistol. Punso make like that. He said, "Nobody go cross." After that, trouble already.

One lady, she wild, I think, that one. He got the knife, he go turn by the sheriff, he cut the head over here. Lucky he no cut big. Small only.

GG: And then, how did you get the news? Somebody came Kapaa and told you what happened Hanapepe?

EC: No, nobody tell over there. But maybe outside guy, eh, he tell like that. "Get trouble Hanapepe." Or telephone, or what.

And then everybody over here, all same....he like out already. He like go over there. He no can. Because over here, close to the bridge he get one flume, eh. He get the machine gun on top the flume.

GG: That was like next morning when the National Guard had come?

EC: Uh huh. The time the trouble. Bumbai, nobody can cross.

GG: So you all start walking towards Hanapepe, and then you can't go because of the machine gun.
EC: Yeah, machine gun. No can go. That's why we all go back. He get the truck, the truck all full, eh. We like help, eh, for Hanapepe.

GG: And then, you go back to the [strike] camp, and you folks try to talk about maybe what you could do, or?

EC: I don't know. He shut up, that one already. Because the Hanapepe guy, and the strike men over there wen bring 'em to the Nawiliwili calaboose. And that the wife, some he tell, "If you no like go back plantation, your wife, you bring 'em calaboose, too."

GG: They going to take the wife calaboose, too?

EC: Yeah. And then, the husband he said, "Ah, more better I go back plantation." So he got over here, come from Hanapepe, he no go calaboose. He stay working Hanamaulu Plantation. Some, he go back Waimea. Some, Koloa.

GG: Did they send some home to Philippine Islands too? Some, the ones that went in the calaboose?

EC: I don't know....if you no go calaboose, the one, he no like go back to plantation. Maybe he send 'em Philippine, I don't know if he send to Philippine Island.

GG: And then, what about the National Guard came to Kapaa to check the camp, to look for guns or weapons? Do you remember that? The National Guard, after Hanapepe, did they go look your camp for...

EC: No. From the time we got trouble over there, National Guard he no come back already. Because shake up already, all the strike men thing, eh. If he got something, gun, knife like that.

GG: But that was before Hanapepe or after Hanapepe?

EC: No. Before over here, trouble first. And then Hanapepe.

GG: And then, did they come and tell you after a while, that you had to get out of the strike camp?

EC: Uh huh. The owner to the house, he no tell go out strike camp. The boss, plantation boss, when they send Philip Rice. He go to the boss. He tell, "More better broke 'em, this house here [the strike camp shacks]. And this one, bring 'em back, going send 'em to plantation. The people here."

This Agia, he tell, "No, no, no. No broke this house. The strike men, he got business for build house up by the road." Because this man, he work plantation before, he pay to the tax. He no can force the plantation boss for broke the house. Agia, he hold back. And the Sheriff Rice, he no care too. He no talk. Only him. And when he there he like the strike men he going go back. That's why
he broke on to the house. And the owner to the house, too see. "He stay here until what he like."

Bumbai, maybe the strike men he think, "No can win this one." Maybe he think already, eh, "More better go find job." Some like go back plantation, he work to pineapple, like that. Pineapple men who like hapai that. Give pleasure that one, before. Up cannery, too, got. That's why he apply over there. He work over there.

GG: And what about you, what did you do?

EC: Ah, I think too, "More better go back. Go work to the pineapple." Bumbai, this dairy boss, he know got trouble already. And he go take me over there. He ask me if I like go back to the dairy. Tell, "Okay."

"Ah, I go take you, then." He got car, eh, him. "I take you bumbai, afternoon." He go over there afternoon.

Everybody he look because I bring the clothes, eh, but no more baggage, eh, then. Only me, my wife, the two baby go inside to the car to my boss. Bumbai everybody tell, "Why you go?"

"Ah, this my boss. He tell me he like me do something over there."

"You come, you go back?"

"No, I no go back." After that, I stay over there already. I tell my boss, "How about this one, my sewing machine?" [Left behind in strike camp.]

"No worry." The company go take 'em, that one. Because no pau pay yet, eh. Company take 'em that one.

GG: So where did you stay, then? You had plantation house when you went back to the dairy?

EC: He got house over there, the dairy. Got good house, got nice house, though, dairy. Yeah.

GG: When you left in December, do you remember how many were left in the strike camp, then? How many men still stayed?

EC: I don't know. I no go back there already. I know some already go work someplace. This Ponce, I don't know why he work. Maybe he go stay the barber shop, I think, this fellow.

EC: Yeah, he had quit. And then he make his own barbershop.

GG: But he had to go calaboose one day, he said. And stay overnight.

EC: Why he go calaboose?
GG: Because he wouldn't get out of the strike camp, I think. And they told them they had to get out but he wouldn't go so they took 'em calaboose.

Do you remember what the ladies did during the daytime in the strike camp? The wahines, what did they do in the strike camp during the daytime.

CE: What did the wives do? Did they cook food?

EC: Yes, they cooked the food. Then he go play baseball like that. The sakura, any kind. Poker-poker. Yeah. No more other kind job.

GG: And was anybody sick when you were in the strike camp? Anybody get sick or had baby?

EC: No more, no more. No more sick, before.

GG: And can you tell me more about where you went to collect food, places you went to collect food.

EC: Over here, up to the Hanamaulu Store. I go collect food over there. And this...19, Kapaa. Plantation house.

GG: It was called Camp 19?


CE: "Waterfall" Camp?

EC: Waterfall, yeah.

CE: And Okinawa Camp?

EC: Okinawa. Over here...19; he got 19, too, eh, over here. Waterfall. Other one over there, and then Okinawa. Over here, the camp over here. We got that kind obake. Obake, and this...by the church over here. He got plenty house there before. I go.

GG: And did you walk or ride car?

EC: Yeah, walk.

GG: So how---was it long way to walk?

EC: Yeah. No can help. You got get rice. And then over here I go down over there too. Hanamaulu, too.

How many miles--maybe it was around three miles. No more tired, for walk like that. All same good fun. Over here, I collect over here in the camp, Japanese.
GG: And you ever had close call with the camp police watching you?

EC: Yeah, watching me. Suppose today he tell, somebody. "This fellow, he go collect that side." He go watch, eh, over there. He go. But I no go over there. I go this side.

GG: So somebody would tell 'em they were going one way, and then you'd go another way?

EC: Yeah, uh huh. Yeah.

GG: So throw 'em off the track?

EC: So no can. No can catch. Sometime over here, he [one person] go report, "He come here last night." He go over there, ah, me too, we stay other side. No can. No can catch me.

GG: And how long everyday did you usually go out to collect food?

EC: Oh, sometime from the morning. Sometime half day. Bumbai, from the afternoon, sometime 8 o'clock go home. But they got the car, the truck, he make that one.

GG: Somebody had a car?

EC: Yeah.

GG: So help you out sometime?

EC: Uh huh.

GG: How many strikers in the camp had car?

EC: Only one. But he got the old truck. Corporation, that one, I think. That one, the truck for ride someplace like that. Go Kokee. He got camp, eh, over there, Kokee, before. For when he work to the... That's the one. Suppose you go over there, he give sometime two bag rice. That big money, eh, that place. Pay the man. And he give the money, I give the money too. That's why me go over there.

GG: Do you remember the name of the man who had the car?

EC: No.

GG: In the camp, where they had toilet and where they had bath where you could take bath?

EC: Oh, he got. He got. He got five for bath, and he got toilet. Because he got the rice pot, eh, the rice mill. He got the toilet over there, too. And the house, now they stay make new one yet,
that one. He got the toilet, he got the bath. New one, that one. Nobody stay that house. Only the strike men go inside first. [Hee Fat Building]

GG: Did the strike men have to pay the owner of...

EC: No, no, no. Give free that one only.

GG: He just let the strikers there for free?

EC: Yeah, yeah.

GG: Manlapit didn't have to rent the place?

EC: No, no.

GG: You know the strike kind organization, had a Filipino name?

EC: I don't know, that one, if Filipino name only.

GG: And when Ceralde came to talk to you folks, what kind of things did he say? Or, he had meetings when he came to see you?

EC: Yeah. Just only tell you, "No come weak, you thing. Because bumbai, us go come up the pay, this one." Little more, you know, he going give $2 one day. If no more trouble, that one, he going give.

Because plantation came all da kine already...dry. Because some workers, the plantation, he scared, he no can work good. He got one man over here, he stay working, eh. He come outside the road. And the truck--my strike truck, eh, strike men--he get the rope, The man, he run away. That's why he no like work already. "The strike men, he going catch me with the rope."

(Laughter)

GG: And any Ilocanos over here went on strike?

EC: No more the Ilocano go strike. Only Visayan.

GG: And anybody went hungry in the strike camp?

EC: No, no more hungry.

GG: Even that long time, always had enough to eat?

EC: Yeah. Because the Japanese, the people, the one he no go strike like that. He no work plantation, too, eh. He go help. Japanese, yeah, plenty. Because he figure suppose he win the strike, that store he lucky too, eh. Plenty sale, eh. But ah, no can win.

END OF INTERVIEW
GG: This is an interview with Exequil Cabinatan, at his home in Hanamaulu. The date is November 2, 1978. Ed Gerlock is doing the interviewing.

EG: Can I ask you once more, what is your first name?

EC: Exequil. E-X-E-Q-U-I-L.

EG: I'd like to just ask you what made you decide to come here to Hawaii, while you were still there in the Philippines?

EC: Because I was looking to make money. That's why I came here.

EG: Were there agents, or something like that, that convinced you?

EC: Oh yeah, there were agents going around the Philippines at that time. If you go to Hawaii the work there is not easy; it's very difficult. And if you have no callouses on your hands you will not be accepted. I myself had plenty of callouses on my hands. Because of the work; I was a carpenter there in our place. I was a carpenter, following the occupation of my father.

EG: When you left the Philippines coming here to Hawaii, what did you bring with you? What were the things that accompanied you?

EC: We rode the ship coming from Cebu, going to Manila. The only thing I brought with me was a suitcase. Do you understand what I mean by rattan?

EG: Yes.

EC: We were given a suitcase made out of rattan.

EG: You didn't pick up any souvenirs or something like that from your own family?
EC: No. Not at all.

EG: You didn't bring along any kind of religious items or something to remember your family by? Pictures, something like that?

EC: No.

EG: Did you have friends or people that you knew here in Hawaii, before you came here?

EC: Yes. I had friends, but he's already very old. Ceriaco Duterte was his name. He was a friend of mine. I had lot of friends, but I don't know where they are now. There was one here also, an Ilocano. Amoste is his last name.

EG: But were these friends of yours from the Philippines yet?

EC: No. These were people that I got to know here.

EG: When you arrived in Honolulu, were you given the choice of where you would like to work here in Hawaii? Or were you just assigned to go to certain places?

EC: They were the ones--the people there at Immigration--who told us where we would be going. We had no choice. And that's how I came to be assigned here in Kauai, because it was up to them. It was not only up to them what island you would be coming to, but the particular plantation. And so at that time they told me to come here to Kealia.

So I was assigned to Kealia, and my first kind of work was to kalai. And while you were working, the luna was standing right there behind you watching you. I forgot the name of the first one, the luna who was supervising me. Our boss before--the overall boss--was a German.

EG: Is it not true that you were one of the collectors of food and things like that during the strike?

EC: Yes. We were very many; it wasn't only me. We were the ones who went around to the different plantations to collect food for the strikers. Here in Hanamaulu. And then there were other collectors who went to other places. We were three who would go around. We would go around in groups of three. One would be the one to carry things. And then, my job was to list down the people and what they gave.

EG: Wasn't that dangerous before, this kind of collecting things?

EC: Oh yes, it was very dangerous. If you were seen, they would even shoot at you. We would enter the plantation and then begin to collect. So if we knew that the police were looking for the
collectors or trying to trap them, then we would go to different plantations. It was a matter of avoiding them and trying to know where they were or where they were looking.

EG: Was there some kind of system of collection, where a family would be giving regularly? For instance, every Friday they would give a certain amount?

EC: There was no guarantee or no kind of schedule like that, that people would give. It was just we went there when we could go there, and we asked each time anew. And people would give whatever they could give. Sometimes they would give canned goods, sometimes they give sardines. Because sardines were cheap at that time.

EG: So what did you use, in order to carry these things like canned goods and rice?

EC: Yeah, we put 'em inside of a sack. And our companions would carry them. Then, if it got to be too much—we had too many sacks—then we would begin to hide them on the side of the road. We put them there in places where they couldn't be seen. Then later, we'd get a car and go around and pick them up.

EG: Now I understand. What you did in the beginning was you went around on foot to try and solicit goods. And then you hid the goods and then you used the car to pick them up. So on foot to solicit and by car to pick up the things.

EC: Yes, that's right.

EG: Seems like a very bright system.

GG: And Ponce was one who went with you? Mr. Ponce?

EC: Oh Ponce, one time he go with me, that one. One time he go with me. Daytime, that one. I go waterfall, bumbai he go this side. Kokee. He go the Kapaia. And then pau, that one. Because of the---the garage over here. Because he got one friend, eh, the Filipino over there.

GG: Did you ever go all the way to Kilauea.

EC: No, I no go. One time I go by the Kokee, Kokee side. But the Kokee---before the road not too good, yeah. One time he stuck over there. The car.

EG: Manong, before during the time of the strike, were you also going out fishing?

EC: Yeah, some of our members also went out fishing. There was a lot of fish in the sea before.
EG: But you yourself, you didn't fish?

EC: No, I didn't.

EG: You were not a fisherman?

EC: No, I am not. But there were people who gave us fish also. And those who caught fish shared them with us.

EG: Manong, there's a lot of stories; people tell different versions. Some say that there were a lot of guns inside the camp there, and others say there wasn't any guns at all, no pistols at all. There was just bolos. What is your opinion?

EC: No, no. There weren't any guns there. Yeah, but there was one small fellow. Very short. Can't remember his name. He had a pistol.

EG: Was he a Muslim?

EC: Yeah, I think he was. Ambrosio was his name. That's it. He was one. He's the only one I ever saw with a pistol.

EG: So there weren't that many guns there?

EC: No, there were none.

EG: Isn't it true that the Visayans are well known for making their own guns, and particularly in Cebu there are many gun manufacturers? People who make them at home?

EC: Yeah, that's true but that was after the second World War. There was none of that kind of a thing around 1924.

EG: Let's talk about another thing. Is it not true that there was one particular evening where they caught some people who were trying to burn down the rice mill? [At Kapaa, Hee Fat strike camp.]

EC: Yes, there was. There were two men who had been ordered by the camp police. One's name was Sanchez. Also a Filipino; he was Visayan but Ilongo. Both of the men who were going to burn down the rice mill were also Ilongos. Sanchez was told by the boss and he told the two Ilongos that's what they were to do there at the strike camp, or near the strike camp, so that the strikers would be bursted up and they will be busted apart. [Break the strike.]

So right there near the rice mill was our camp. And these two men were going to burn down the rice mill. Now I don't know exactly what hour it was but it was late at night. And we had guards who were watching over the camp. We called them "security guards." Bitoi and Dadong, both nicknames of the guards of the strikers.
They were brothers. They were the ones who were on guard at that time. They looked underneath something, underneath the house. They could see a flame, something burning. They figured it must have been a match. Because there was a mosquito coil [punk] that was burning so it must have been a match, in order to light the mosquito coil. When they looked underneath there, there was a person. There was somebody underneath there. So when they came close, one of them got up and he ran away very fast. So one got up and ran away. But the other one stayed there. And underneath, of course there wasn't a very big space and so it was difficult to get up and to run away. So we caught him. Only one person.

So they caught him. And they got a hold of him. And the guards had a bolo. So they got a hold of him and they took him inside of the house. And so he was also given a big punch. And they said to him, "You know it's good that we're only punching you, and we're not killing you." They took off all his clothes except for his underwear. They put him in a chair and they tied him up. And they said, "Let him be eaten by the mosquitos." It was night at that time, and there were plenty mosquitos around.

Around 7 o'clock in the morning they had some kind of meeting. Yes, there was one of the leaders there, Jiminez, who's already.... he was the one who said, "You know, the best thing to do with this guy is to kill him."

"Yeah, let's just shoot him."

I said to them, "What do you mean, kill him? If he's done something wrong, then take 'em down to the municipal hall, where the police are. Or down to the judge. If he's done something wrong, take him down there and of course, they'll take care of it. But if he hasn't done anything wrong, then there's no reason to kill him."

Then somebody said well, they ought to kill me also.

I said, "Go ahead. Sure, if you want to do it, go ahead, just kill me. I have a wife, I also have two children. If you kill me, then my wife and my children will be looking for me. If you kill him, kill me too." Nobody could say anything. "This person that we've caught. Take 'em down to the jail. Take 'em down to the police. It's the job of the police to give punishments for people who commit crimes. Not ours."

They were real dizzy from all that talk.

There were some men who came, some police. I guess that was the National Guard. [Possibly government police.] And they all had guns. They had plenty of guns. They were also looking for guns from us. There was also one who was riding horseback. Maybe he was the captain of these troops. He was out in the yard riding
around on his horse. And of course, it was very light at that time. That Ambrosio, the one I was telling you before, the little short man who had a pistol--Ambrosio pulled out his gun while this guy was riding around the yard there on his horse. And he took a shot at him. And it was good that it only hit his hat. When it pierced through his hat it didn't hit him at all. And he wanted to get a hold of the Ilongo that we had caught, who was trying to burn the rice mill. It was the sheriff to whom we turned over this Ilongo that we caught trying to burn the rice mill. His name was Sheldon. [The sheriff.]

But the National Guard had nothing to do with it. The only thing the National Guard did was they inspected upstairs. They were looking for who had a pistol. Ambrosio was the only one who had a pistol. Everybody else had bolos.

EG: Are you from Samar? The island of Samar in the Philippines?

EC: No, I'm not.

EG: But you were working there?

EC: Yes, I was.

EG: What were you doing there in Samar?

EC: I had a job stripping abaca. [Abaca is manila hemp; it's like a banana plant, and the fibers are pulled out from the trunk of the stalk, and it's used for making rope.] I was 14 years old when I went to Samar to do this kind of work. We were 21 persons who went there to do that kind of work. We sailed on a ship from Cebu to Samar. We were invited to work there by this company for abaca, for fiber. I forgot the name of the company. So the company was looking for workers there in Cebu, and the uncle of my wife found out about it and he's the one who got the volunteers--including myself--to go with him to work in Samar. The name of the uncle of my wife is Kabisilia.

EG: What was your situation there in Samar?

EC: Our situation was actually very good. When we were still working in Cebu, we would get 80 sentabos a day. There in Samar we were able to make as much as 2 pesos in one day. The work was done by contract. Sometimes in one week we would make as much as 16 pesos, sometimes 18. Every Saturday. It was good.

Finally, I went home again because my father was complaining that I wasn't coming home at all. My father was saying that if I didn't come home to see him, I might not see him again. He was sick and it was a possibility he might pass on. Because I am the son, you can understand my feelings were deeply hurt. So I went to the dock and waited for the ship. And as soon as the ship came, I left.
So I went home and visited the family, and went back to Samar again. The second time when I went home, after working in Samar, I never went back again. My father said to me, "You know, it would be better if you just accompany me in my carpentry business."

EG: What is this place in Samar you're talking about?

EC: Calbayog.

EG: So, in other words, your situation in Samar was pretty good.

EC: Oh yeah, it was very good. But it was okay also when I went back home again, because I was able to work everyday.

END OF INTERVIEW
The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai

Volume I

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