BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY:  CHARLES KIILAŬ, retired county tax official

Charles Kiilau, Chinese-Hawaiian, was born on July 5, 1902 in Kapaia, Kauai, one of three children of his father, Kiilau and his mother, Kaomealani Kapalehua Kiilau.

After graduating from Kauai High School in 1923, he worked as a clerk-stenographer for the Kauai County Attorney, Abraham Kaulukou, from 1924-1931. Kiilau took part in the questioning of arrested Filipino strikers in 1924 while they were in the Lihue jail, but did not attend the Circuit Court trial.

He was a Court Reporter for the Fifth Circuit Court from 1931-35 and after a brief stint as a commercial fisherman, he worked at the Agriculture Department in 1937-38 and at the Kauai County Tax Office from 1938 until his retirement in 1965.

Kiilau married Lulu Kekilohi Richards in 1924. After her death, he married Haruko Momohara in 1932. He has seven children.

His hobbies are fishing, photography and golf. He was a member of the Kamehameha Lodge, Hawaiian Civic Club, Democratic party and Boy Scouts. He and his wife served two years in Japan as Mormon missionaries. They currently reside in Wailua Houselots.
ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Charles Kiilau (CK)

November 2, 1978

Wailua Houselots, Kauai

BY: Chad Taniguchi (CT)

CT: This is an interview with Mr. Charles Kiilau, at his home in Wailua Houselots. Today is November 2, 1978, and Chad Taniguchi is doing the interviewing.

Mr. Kiilau, first could you tell me a little bit about where you were born and where you grew up?

CK: From my records of information, through my parents, I was born in a little valley in Kapaia. Where surrounded by taro patches, it's a beautiful valley. Thinking of it today, I thought I really came to this world under beautiful conditions such as that. Really, I really think so. For the simple reason, as I grew with my playmates in the vicinity--the make-up of which, [included] the children of plantation employees, and likewise, there were few Hawaiian homes there. Two of whom lived in grass shacks. And there was a beautiful little stream there where we could swim, and that's where the fun was, both in the stream swimming, as well as playing in the rice paddies--which the Chinese grew rice in Kapaia.

As I grew up, my father—who was connected with his cousin, John Kaliloa. As a matter of fact, my father's name is Kiilau. And my mother's name is Kaomealani. Her maiden name—father's maiden name was Kapalehua. My mother's maiden name was Kaomealani Kapalehua. And my father—later on in years, I did not realize and did not have the gumption of asking him why he only had one name. However, talking with my mother, my mother gave me an inkling of why he carried that name. By way of which, my dad was raised by his grandparents, the names of whom I don't really remember. As a matter of fact, I didn't ask my father who they were. They had a son by this given name, Kiilau, who later on in years, as he grew up to adulthood, went on a sailing, whaling boat, and never returned. So the grandparents felt that rather than losing sight of that name, they gave that name to my dad.

CT: How was your dad related to those people?

CK: Well, actually, as I was told that they were his grandparents. The
only name that I could remember that was mentioned was--of the grandparents--was Palaiki. What Palaiki meant, I really don't know. But John Kaliloa was his first cousin. And both my dad and his cousin lived in homes separated on the same locality where I was born. The home that John Kaliloa occupied was a kuleana, and must have inherited from his forefathers. The one on which I was born, another home building, evidently was one built for my dad. And both of them were woodsmen that went up to the mountain and hauled wood for the plantation. Which wood, the plantation supplied their plantation employees with as firewood. As I recall, the wood was lehua wood. Or ohia, I think. I don't know, but it's lehua.

CT: Was your father raised by his grandparents, or by his parents?

CK: By his grandparents. He had a brother older than he was, which I came to know and lived with when I continued my education in Honolulu. He was older than my father. He left home with his dad. As a matter of fact, their dad was Chinese. And my uncle went by the name of Aina. But my dad went by the name of Kiilau.

CT: Was Kiilau---you said was a given name?

CK: It's a given name by the grandparents, of their son whom they had, that went on a whaling boat and never returned.

CT: So your father had just one name.

CK: But the funny thing is that at the age of five years, my father thought of pushing out.

CT: At five years?

CK: At five years. Pushing out of working together with his cousin John Kaliloa.

CT: When you were five years?

CK: When I was five years. So he was employed by the plantation in Hanamaulu, and he moved the family to Hanamaulu and we lived in a plantation home. In Hanamaulu.

CT: Before that, who was he working for?

CK: Just for him and his cousin, that self employment.

CT: Cutting wood and supplying it?

CK: Cutting wood and they supply that wood. Haul the wood down to the vicinity where the plantation would be able to pick it up by railroad. And that's how they earned their livelihood, besides raising their own taro to take care of the home needs.
CT: What plantation were they cutting wood for?

CK: Today, we call it Lihue Plantation. But in those days, the Lihue section was Lihue. The Hanamaulu section was Hanamaulu. And I later found out that the Makee section—which still is a part of the Lihue Plantation—is in Kealia.

CT: So they were cutting wood and supplying it to Makee?

CK: No. For the Hanamaulu Plantation.

CT: And when your father moved to Hanamaulu, what was his job at that time?

CK: As I recall, those days, they had bullocks, of 10 pairs, yoked, you may call it. And they hauled cane in the fields. On to the main track, where the train will pick it up and haul it to the mills. As a matter of fact, they had a mill in Lihue, they had a sugar mill in Hanamaulu, and they had a sugar mill in Kealia. So each of these of plantations managed their own milling.

CT: So what did your father do with the bullocks?

CK: Well, he and a companion would lead the bullocks out into the fields. And as the people who loaded these cane cars in the fields would haul these cane cars onto the main track. Which, they had temporary tracks, I think, they would lay in the fields, to bring out these cane cars. And every time, when they complete a section, they will pull out these tracks and re-lay it at the areas that they are harvesting.

CT: You know, when your father started working for the plantation, what became of the taro patches?

CK: He no longer worried about it. The Kaliloa family—they had numerous children—took care of the affairs there, the taro patches. And from information that I got, that my dad was given a taro patch there by his grandparents. Evidently, the families of these two Kaliloas, and together with my father's grandparents, they were closely related.

CT: Well, after you moved to Hanamaulu, could you tell me [about that]?

CK: Yeah, this is an interesting part of it. There was a Hawaiian neighbor family that lived near us. And another Portuguese family on this knoll. And just three families. And the children of this neighbor Hawaiian family, so is the Portuguese, went to school. And I had a younger sister, two years younger than I was. And I didn't go to school until I was nine years old.

CT: Why was that?

CK: I really don't know. The thing in my own mind, I think it's
because I was so tiny compared to the others. Or my dad didn't push it. So I didn't go to school until I was nine years old. And remember in those days, as I pictured today, why nine years old. And yet, I feel that I was really ready when I went. And the first area they put me in with was with a group, they call it receiving grades. And we sat along the wall of the room. And the blackboards were all there. On benches.

CT: Was that the equivalent of the kindergarten or first grade?

CK: Actually, the first graders were seated on regular desks. But we sat on benches along the blackboards. So every now and then, we'd turn to the blackboard and start scribbling. (Laughs) When I think of it, when we made a little too much noise, [the teacher would] caution us. She'd carry on with the first graders.

CT: So you were combined?

CK: Yeah, we were combined together. And that teacher, as far as I could remember, was Miss Jordan. What her first name was, I can't remember now. Later on in years, she moved to a Lihue school. I went there as a fifth grader one year. And I met her there.

CT: What was the last grade you completed on Kauai?

CK: I was in the seventh grade, when my fellow classman--Mana was his Hawaiian name that we used to call during those days. But later on he went by the name of George Cash. And he was responsible for my going to Kamehameha, partially. And this was his foster parents, Wahinealoha. The wife Aa was his close relative. And she was the one that really was interested in the boy. But the old man Wahinealoha was more---all his thinking was to have somebody do some work for him. So they had cows, horses, and this boy used to go to school late. And our principal Mrs. Bridgewater felt so sorry for that boy. And we were the only two Hawaiian boys in the class, amongst Portuguese, Japanese. And we were the only two Hawaiians that was able to meet up with these others, as far as the study level was concerned.

CT: You mean, were you the only two Hawaiians, or there were other...

CK: There were others. But they were slow. And going back to the receiving grade, though I went at the age of nine, these others who had been there and they were in second grade already, I start moving up so fast that they was still behind when this George Cash and I---those days, he was known as Mana--were in the seventh grade.

CT: So he left for Kamehameha?

CK: No. And then the principal got a hold of the Wilcox sisters, Elsie and Mabel. And must have talked with them regarding this friend of mine, George Cash, of sending [him] to Kamehameha. When that came to a reality, my principal asked me if I wanted to go Kamehameha
School. I said, "I don't know." So she asked me to ask my father, which I did.

And talking with my father and my mother together, after hearing my story, my dad said, "You go."

And the catch there was that the Lihue Christian church people, the haoles, had a special fund to educate—I don't know whether it was only Hawaiians or others—a special fund that they had. And the principal told me that if I wanted to go that they would assume 50 percent of the costs of the school. Tuition as well as whatever the charge is. But my father said for me to go. But my mother said, "No, you don't go."

CT: Why did your mother...

CK: Well, I suppose with me not at home—because as a seventh grader, I was quite big. From the time I was able to move around, I was close with my mother, as far as fishing was concerned. Either down the beach poling, opih, or up the mountain catch opae or oopu. So that was the fun that I had with my mother. There were a lot of goldfish up there. And the water was clean. And you able to chase after them, especially the red, the red-black. The colored ones.

CT: Where is this?

CK: Back here. Well, the names of those places, Kanaha is one of them. And all the way down to where the Sloggett, where that hotel up there. Is there a hotel up there up in Wailua Flat?

CT: I'm not aware of it, but...

CK: Takenaka. There's one there. But further up. The name of the place that we used to go to is, one is Hipawa, Pelehune, and my friend Uemura was born and raised up there. They raised rice.

CT: So you and your mother would do a lot of fishing together?

CK: My mother and I would ride on a horse, just the two of us, bareback. From Hanamaulu, all the way up past Wailua Falls, and go up further to this area that we talking about. Kanaha is that road from the Wailua Homestead agricultural area that you can cross and come to Lihue. Come by way of Wailua Falls.

CT: This fishing, was it just for your home consumption?

CK: For home use. And it was fun. Something I can say that...how should I put it? The life of an individual, if you like it, then you make something out of it. To me, as I think of today, of my health condition now, I owe it I think to that period of time. Of the activities, lot of outdoor life activity. And I think it's there.
Then, poling for ordinary...coral fishing such as hinalea, kupipi, poo paa--which we call "hard head fish." Oh, my mother was good at that. So I used to accompany with her. Tag along with her down to the beach, down where the Nukolii so-called hotel they talking about. All of that flat up to the Wailua golf course, the third tee off. (Laughs)

CT: (Laughs) You know that place well, eh?

CK: Oh yeah. And, the thing was that those are the two places. And all the way back to Hanamaulu Bay. All along that shoreline. Oh, those places, as far as I'm concerned, it's just like looking at a book that's right before me. Picture that, all the way. Even today. And those were my stamping grounds, when I was working, married. Hanamaulu Bay is a beautiful area. To me, it's one of the safest swimming place on the island. Though the water was sort of dirty. But even with that, I think the dirtiness is the cause of the lack of flowing water into it, from the stream.

CT: Anyway, your mother didn't particularly want you to go to Kamehameha?

CK: Oh, she really, she cried. But after I went, it was all right. My sister was home with her. So she wasn't too lonesome.

CT: Who paid the other 50 percent?

CK: My dad. We went in, it was the second semester. As seventh graders. They accepted us, we were seventh grade in the grade school at Hanamaulu. They accepted us as seventh grade at Kamehameha. So we were fortunate. The first portion of the costs my dad took care of. But during that first summer in Kamehameha, I had the opportunity of working. The school provided work so that we can earn some money. So I was able to work that summer.

CT: What kind of work was that?

CK: Carpentry. I wanted to be a machinist. See, the school had manual training. Carpentry, electrician, painting, blacksmithing, machinists, and drafting. So not being able to get into the machine shop area because of the number of students in there, and there was ample room in carpentry, so both of us went to the carpenter shop.

CT: Did you work to build things for the school?

CK: Yes. That first summer, they sent us two of us. George Forsyth and myself to Fresh Air Camp at Waialua. And that first summer, the Kawaiahao's girls spent their summer there. They cooked for us. And we built bungalows for the...Palama Settlement took care of that, I think. So that was our job, the two of us. Oh, we did all right. We stayed there, had a lot of fun.

CT: But somebody was teaching you and stuff?
CK: No, no, no. Somebody was there, a carpenter, a fellow who ran the job saw to it that we were doing it right. Oh, we were lucky. And then I was able to come home for two weeks before school opened. So I saw my parents after the first half of the year.

CT: Where did you stay when you were going to Kamehameha?

CK: Oh, there were dormitories provided for the students. And there were about 150 of us, total.

CT: So you lived in the dormitory?

CK: Yeah. Our first dormitory was Dormitory B, which was next to the dining hall. As a matter of fact, the school there had provided, there's a launderette. Laundry for us. Which, we didn't do it. The Chinese were doing it for us.

CT: The Chinese who were hired to do that?

CK: Yeah. They did the laundry work there for the students. Both for the boys, the girls. The girls did some of their own. But usually, for the boys and the teachers, and we had the boys of younger age. Primary age, I think. They had their own location where the Farrington High School is now.

CT: Did you mention earlier that you were living with a relative in Honolulu?

CK: Yes, but that was later on in years. When I finished Kamehameha--at Kamehameha, my class was the last one in 1920, finishing ninth grade. And all the class that graduate before that was ninth grade. And that was the graduating class. And then, from then on a lot of the students would continue higher education. Some went to Punahou, some went to St. Louis. I went to McKinley. So my sophomore, junior year I spent at McKinley. And I completed Kamehameha in 1920. Then I stayed with my uncle and aunt, and their family in Kalihi.

CT: This was on your father's side?

CK: Yes. My dad. His name was Charles Aina. That was the other half, that went by the father's name. Charles Aina. And lived with them for two years. My sophomore, junior at McKinley. And McKinley High was at the old--opposite Thomas Square. The new one is below King Street now. This is up further in there.

CT: What about your senior year?

CK: What made me come back to Kauai, I don't know. But thinking of it today, I think I made the right change, to come back to Kauai High to finish my fourth year high school.

CT: Before that, had Kauai High already?
CK: Oh yes. Kauai High was going on. As a matter of fact, as a fifth grader at Lihue School, I lived with my uncle and aunt in Niumalu for one year. And during those days, the high school, Kauai High School was going on at that time.

CT: Then, you mentioned last time that in 1920, after you graduated from Kamehameha, that you and several others went to work plantation for a while?

CK: No. Before I went to Kamehameha School, and this was at home, I think I was in the fourth grade at Hanamaulu School. We were talking with the other boys and girls, Portuguese and, you know. They all were set to work for the summer, in the plantation.

CT: Fourth grade?

CK: My fourth grade year. So I went home and asked my father, that I wanted to go work with the other boys and girls. He said, "No, you don't work. You stay home, take care my potato patch."

CT: Potato or taro?

CK: Potato. There was no such thing as taro because we were living up high. And my father was the type of person that very industrious. You'd see him with friends but 5, 10 minutes, and you don't see him no more. And when you find him, you find him in his potato patch or someplace. He's always tickling, moving about. It's either with the plants or with his pigs. Or chickens, or horses. And he had several of those things at home.

Pigs, with him, when we had our picnics down the beach. And this one particular occasion, that's the first time I've seen it done, as a boy, and I haven't seen that done by anyone else after that. Even up to this day. He heated up the stones. Smaller type of imu stones. Prepared his kerosene can in which he was to put this hot stones in. And he had suckling pigs at the time there, so he pulled out four of them, killed them and cut them into chunks. And heating the stones up, putting into this can--I don't know how he did it but he put those chunks of suckling pigs in there--covered it up tightly and told us, "Let's get ready and go down the beach."

And we went up to Nukolii area there, that old dairy site, and spent our time over there sunning, swimming, fishing. And when lunchtime came, opened it up, it was ready.

CT: Portable imu.

CK: Oh yes. Portable imu. Exactly. And that was done. And the nature of that type of cooking is puholo. And that was the only time that I saw it done. For me, it's something that is still perking in my mind. As you have cookers nowdays, eh. Everything is done and then you take 'em down there it's waiting for you. But it was done that way, those days. And just imagine that that was before I left for Kamehameha.
CT: This was really sharp in your mind, eh?

CK: Oh yes. Oh, there were a lot of things that my parents did that it reminded me of this wonderful man that I befriended when I lived in Anahola. By the name of John Hano. Who was once the deputy sheriff of Kawaihau, Kapaa. The Hano family. That he used to be my playmate of cards. He used to come over to my place there and...oh, we'd spend hours. And he'd tell us, "Hawaiians always said this, 'Huli ka lima ilalo ola ke kanaka.'"

CT: What does that mean?

CK: Wait, wait. "'Huli ka lima iluna, make ke kanaka'" In English, it means this, "Turn your hands downward, you'll live. Turn your hands upward, you'll starve." Then he gave the example. You turn your hands down this way, you able to scratch the ground. You turn your hands upward, you only scratch the air. Which is vacant. That saying then--well, this is long after I was married to my second wife. So you can just imagine, nearly my time of enjoying retirement. And yet, this old man was still living at the time, and gave me this information of what Hawaiians used to talk about. Which, I didn't hear as a young boy.

CT: When you grew up, did you grow up speaking Hawaiian?

CK: When I grew up, this is where I...I feel so...ashamed of myself. Remembering what my father said to me as a boy, "Speaking to you in Hawaiian, in our mother tongue, and yet your answer to me is in English."

"Kamailio aku nei au ia oe ma ka olelo Makuahine, aka ka pane ana, ma ka olelo pelekana."

CT: So he was a little disappointed.

CK: In those days, but we were quick to answer because the English portion is all we knew. We heard them talking Hawaiian, and that was all. But our playmates and everything else is all English, eh. So the English came out faster than Hawaiian. But today I'm trying to recover that space of time by trying to speak Hawaiian properly.

And what made that doubly strong was when my late wife and I were in Japan as Mormon missionaries back in 1966, 1968, I watched the Japanese. And though they didn't open their mouth wide, their mouth was just a little opening, the enunciation portion of their way of talking is important. So that reminded me of my Hawaiian, and I'm so backward with it. That I tried to enunciate the words with proper--if you don't pronounce the words right, you don't get the meaning right. So is the Japanese. You accent certain alphabet, it has a different meaning. The Hawaiians the same way.

CT: When you were at Kamehameha did you speak or learn Hawaiian?
CK: (Laughs) That's another funny thing. There the teachers don't want us to talk Hawaiian. The reason for that was we were saying things of them in Hawaiian that they thought we were talking about them.

CT: You mean the teachers didn't understand Hawaiian?

CK: They didn't understand. So they thought we were talking about them. Actually, we did. We were talking about them. Okolepuu (buttocks sticking out), and all of that stuff, you know.

CT: You mean the teachers were haole?

CK: Haoles. So they barred us from talking Hawaiian. But every now and then we would. But still, when you come right down to it, it's so ugly, funny, when I think about it now. I feel that we were doing it not justice to ourselves. Speaking of Hawaiian there. You see, what they trying, you hear them talking about now. And hatsuon in Japanese, or enunciation, is very important. And to me, that's what it is today.

CT: You mean, at that time, the Hawaiian that you spoke was not quite proper?

CK: Oh, it's so---as with Hawaiian, the old folks used to tell us kapulu olelo ana....in other words, you just not there. Sloppy. Which was really so. And speaking English, no different. That's why, they said we have the "pidgin" English over here instead of "da kine," eh.

CT: I remember you mentioning that when you were living in Honolulu--I don't know if it was for a week or something--you went to work plantation.

CK: Oh, speaking of that, when we were waiting for our graduation exercises--and this was 1920--there was a strike on in the plantation there in Waipahu and Ewa. I think even the Aiea. So while waiting for our graduation exercises--that was about a week or so we had to wait--and they were calling for workers. So we would walk from the school campus, where the museum is now, all the way down to the OR&L station. And we'd get there early enough, have breakfast in one of those cafes there, then board the train and go down to....I remember, this was Waipahu Plantation where I went.

CT: How much did you get paid?

CK: Three dollars a day, cash. At the end, when you get off the train, they give you the $3. So that was spending money. Plus, the E. K. Fernandez show was going on in Aala Park. And as seniors, we were able to go in and out of the campus where the others couldn't. But we were actually---thinking of it today, we were actually strike breakers. And the people that used to, the strikers, eh, were made
up of Japanese and Filipinos. And we see them standing but they wouldn't exert themselves, whatever it is. I think we were well protected.

CT: How were you protected?

CK: Oh, I think the plantation must have police officers to guard us, eh. Oh, it was fun. What I mean is, carrying one stick of cane to the railroad track, from the field. So easy, eh. We thought maybe they'd tell us go home.

CT: What kind work did you do?

CK: Carry the sugar cane to the track, in the fields.

CT: One stick at a time?

CK: Yeah, sticks of cane that were left behind by the cane carriers who would carry bundles onto the cars. But these were leftovers behind so we'd picked them up and bring 'em on.

CT: So it wasn't real heavy work, then?

CK: No, no. This was all easy work.

CT: At the time, did you think that you were breaking a strike?

CK: No. At that time, all we think was the $3. No such thing as... those days. Today, you can feel it. But those days, I think that was the first attempt of strikers. And that was 1920. And later on, it spread here, which we will go on [talking about] later.

CT: But you had no idea of it, that you were breaking a strike?

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

CK: When we got back, I think we were considered as scabs. That word was used, those days.

CT: The other students at Kamehameha called you that?

CK: I don't know whether they did or not but we would fire back at them and say, "What's the difference? We got our $3?" We having fun down Aala Park. (Laughs) Well, setting aside that.

CT: Then, you came back to Kauai High School and graduated in 1923?

CK: 1923.
CT: And then, maybe you could tell me about your first job then.

CK: That particular time, as I was walking the old Lihue Store. It just so happened I was walking towards where the Bank of Hawaii is. The Bank of Hawaii was always there. And on this particular lanai of the Lihue Store, facing the Bank of Hawaii, I met up with this fellow by the name of Henry Waiau. Of whom, I found out later that he was the deputy county auditor, under Auditor Henry Blake. So he asked me if I had just graduated. I said, "Yes."

"Can you come over Monday? I want you to work for us."

So on Monday, when I went in to see him, and he was handling the office. And during the two month period that I worked as inventory clerk, I had never met his boss Henry Blake. Until later on in years, after I started working 1924, with Mr. Abraham Kaulukou, the county attorney elected, and who assumed office as of January 2. He was county attorney for the County of Kauai. That I met up with this so-called Henry Blake.

CT: You know, that first job, when Henry Waiau asked you to work, had you let it be known to him that you wanted a job?

CK: No. That particular time there, it was something that came to me without me searching for work.

CT: Although you were hoping to find a job somewhere.

CK: Exactly. You know, graduating. Talking over with my classmates. Seichi Kamei, who died some years later, and others. As a matter of fact, some of the fellows, like few of them who had been temporarily working with the post office and also with the bank, they got their job as soon as they finished school. But for this particular time, it's just something that came to me unforeseen or unknown, which I enjoyed for two months.

CT: How about your next job with the county attorney?

CK: Well, as I was walking down Hanamaulu beach with my fishing pole, fishing gear, who should come along was Mr. Abraham Kaulukou. And he saw me, asked me, "I thought you were working?"

"Yes, I was, but that work was finished at the end of two months. It was only a temporary work as inventory clerk for the county auditor."

"And you're not doing anything," he said. He asked me.

"No."

"Why don't you come in--and this happened to be a weekend--come in Monday and I'll give you something to do in my office." He was
then the deputy tax assessor for the Lihue district. And practicing law privately.

So I went in Monday, and that was in the month of September. And I started working for him. At the time that he asked me to work for him he said, "Well, if you want to, you come in and I'll pay you $50 a month."

CT: Was that good pay?

CK: Well, I suppose so. That's better than the plantation. My dad was getting $1 a day. So if you work 23 days, you get $23, eh. So $50 is good money. Well, as a matter of fact, as I found out later on, that all others that were working were getting $50 and up. I had no inkling at all that he was interested in politics. And yet, I was told---later on in years that I found out that he had been challenging Samuel Kaeo, was the county attorney then, for several times. And couldn't topple that man. So I worked with him. And that year they were campaigning for the office. So he opposed Mr. Kaeo. And he was elected. So he told me that I was going to be with him when he opened his office. So he wrote a beautiful letter to the Board of Supervisors when the Board took office after the holiday. And he made me type that letter. Dictated to me and I typed that letter. The thing that interested me was then that he cited in his letter that the office that I was to assume is clerk-steno. Clerk and stenographer. And elaborated on my ability as a stenographer. And asked for a salary at $175 a month. (Laughs)

CT: Wow.

TK: I roll my head backward, you know. He saw me rolling my head, he said, "Oh yes, you deserve it." That's what he ought to know. Because during that time there, when we were working, he was a great Kamehameha Lodge member. He was an ali'i in the Kamehameha Lodge. And at that time that they were planning a excursion on the inter-island boats, to sail up north at Haena. At one of those high points there that they were to send up two people up there to toss out sticks which they will light at the end, and the fire will penetrate through that special--I don't know what the word is, but evidently it has something like a funnel. And as it burns, the fire will come through that funnel. And the wind out in Haena there will toss this stick up in the air. We had the excursion there, and I met up with my first wife. We were not married then. So she was my companion on the boat. We were on the Kilauea. Inter-island boat.

CT: What is that to do with your salary?

CK: In the mean time, as far as the salary is concerned, going back to the salary, Mr. Wishard who was the chairman of the Board of Supervisors then, asked Mr. Kaulukou, "Is he married?"

He said, "No, he's single."
And then Mr. Wishard said to him, "Well, since he's single, I think $150 would be enough." With that there, I was set up for $150 month.

But some of my immediate friends—I thought they were my friends—they didn't think highly of me. They didn't talk to me.

CT: Why was that?

CK: Well, this particular one who was very chummy before then, Mr. Edward Fountain, the wife was a teacher. He was a police officer with the police department. He was getting $90 a month. And the other clerks of the other offices, that's all they were getting; $90. And for me to get $150, and the county attorney was getting $300. The auditor, treasurer, clerk were getting $250. And my salary so high up there, just ordinary clerk-steno, well that's the way I felt, that they took that reactionary attitude towards me. But like everything else, I thought I was smart enough to keep quiet. But it didn't take long when they came along. And we were good friends in that entire building.

CT: What was your job as clerk-steno?

CK: Well, Mr. Kaulukou started pushing and orienting the deputy sheriffs with the mechanics of conducting the criminal cases held in the district courts. And he was very very specific in the nature of the types of complaint to be drawn. And he was very particular. As a matter of fact, he was a graduate of Yale University. And he was one of the few that I found out later, of Hawaiian ancestry, that really was there.

CT: So he oriented the deputy sheriffs so that they could...

CK: And even drew up the forms of complaints for them.

CT: For example, what do you mean by the "forms of complaints?"

CK: Like for instance, usually they have a set form with insertions made later, as far as names, dates are concerned, and place. And more standard. He didn't like the ones that they had previously carried on by the predecessor. So that was a type of work. And then, at the same time, he put me to do some of the---we'd stay late hours of the night to do some of the typing of work that he was interested in, Order of Kamehameha Lodge. So he used to keep me late hours.

CT: You earned your money.

CK: I earned my money. Indirectly, yes. But I didn't care because the more I was doing, the better for me. It improved my shorthand. I was ordinary, a steno. And you know, 120 words a minute in shorthand is darned good.
CT: Is that what you were doing?
CK: At the time.
CT: Was there anybody else working under Mr. Kaulukou?
CK: No, no, no. It's just him and me. Just the two of us. I think later on, I found as though that I more like was a deputy to him, because when he went out to meet with his deputy sheriffs out in the various districts, I was with him. Any of the time that he went to any cases out in the district courts, I'm with him. He wanted me to take notes of what's going on. For him.
CT: Who were the district deputy sheriffs at that time?
CT: And these were appointed by the sheriff?
CT: And the places that you mentioned, these five deputy sheriffs, is that where the district courts were also set up?
CK: Were located. Like Kawaihau was in Kapaa. As a matter of fact, where the center is now--Senior Center--that was the district court area. And for Koloa, gee, the center in Koloa, I think that was. And then, for Waimea is where the fire station is now, I think. The old courthouse. And Hanalei....Hanalei was opposite the Hanalei church. The corner there where the road goes down to the beach area. Hanalei Pavilion, I think.
CT: And in Lihue?
CK: Lihue, was the County building there.
CT: Could you explain to me,...there were district courts and was there also a circuit court?
CK: A circuit court there.
CT: Maybe you can explain to me what the difference was between the district court and the circuit court.
CK: Well, the district court handled matters of....what would you call it now? Anything that---well, stealing, all of those things, of minor nature, which does not involve the necessity of grand jury or trial jury. If any of those cases appeared before the district court which would require circuit court program, they will be committed to the circuit court.
CT: Was Mr. Kaulukou responsible for handling the cases, prosecuting
the cases in the district courts?

CK: Not necessarily. In this wise, he set up the deputy sheriff with what he wants. If such case will be committed to the circuit court, then he will know or else he will be present with them, with the deputy sheriff handling it. That such things will not be omitted in its presentation, in the district court.

CT: So he was not needed to be there physically at all times?

CK: Not necessarily. Unless it's something of [importance] then the deputy sheriff would ask, "You better be here. And it may not be that so easy for me to handle it so you might advise me accordingly."

CT: Can you give me one example of a case where Mr. Kaulukou had to go to a district court and help the deputy sheriff?

CK: Offhand, no. I just can't remember. Except, if there's any---usually, the cases are presented. Any criminal case of major or minor status is usually presented in the district court. And then committed to the circuit court for further hearing. Because of the nature, and requirement of higher clarification.

CT: How frequent were the district courts held, at that time?

CK: Well, any cases that the police would bring in would naturally require the district magistrate's signature when the complaint is made. He has to write out the complaint. Without it, the police won't be able to arrest 'em.

CT: Then what about actually hearing the cases?

CK: Actually hearing the cases, they would submit the matter, the plaintiff, in the form of this complaint. As I said, Mr. Kaulukou had prepared them to do it. To follow it. And the presentation of it to the district magistrate. And if it's such matter that it's life need not go any further, then the district magistrate would render his decision then and there. If not, he would say "This matter committed to circuit court, period." And that's that.

Then the defendant, if he cannot bond himself out, would be in the county jail until the hearing in the circuit court is...but usually they are bonded.

CT: District courts, how often did they---was there a set day? Like say, every Monday they would have a hearing?

CK: Not necessarily. The deputy sheriff would advise the magistrate that they have a matter, and what would be a good day for him to hear it. Because I know one of the magistrates, the one for Lihue, works. He was a bookkeeper for the Lihue Plantation. So naturally, he has his own chores besides being a magistrate.
CT: Do you happen to remember the magistrates from each of the....

CK: As a matter of fact, for instance, one of them, as I recall, Waimea. The old man C. B. Hofgaard. He was a magistrate there.

CT: The one with the store. How about Koloa?

CK: Koloa, was the old man Chandler.

CT: What was his job?

CK: Magistrate, district.

CR: Outside of that?

CK: Oh, I don't know. But he had his own civilian [job] aside from. He was an elderly person so... The one in Kawaihau was an old man. Puuki of Anahola. That fellow cannot speak English. So the Judge Dickie who usually represent defendants speaks English. So this magistrate, the sad thing about it, his talks was all in Hawaiian, so they had to have a Hawaiian interpreter to interpret on behalf, for Judge Dickie who represents his client. And the one in Hanalei was William Arona. He was another one. You know, for me to think of them holding these offices, personally, I felt that they were not qualified because they can't speak English. And when they do, it's broken. Sad, you know.

CT: How were these district magistrates appointed?

CK: By the circuit court judge, recommended by--those days, politics, eh? And I think these politicians, party lines, eh. And those days were Republican, eh. And all of these guys, as I remember, Charlie Rice was the big man, eh. Not to pinpoint him or put him on a....but evidently, lot of times he has lot of say.

CT: And the circuit judge was Mr. Achi?

CK: William Achi. But that was appointed by, usually, I think appointed by the President of the United States, at that time.

CT: But in turn, the circuit court judge, Mr. Achi, would appoint the district magistrates?

CK: No, he won't. It's not him. The appointment of the district magistrates, as I recall, I think was by the....was it the chief justice? Whose names are submitted to him by--I may not be right there, but....of course, I don't think the circuit judge has anything to do with the district courts. Either politically, by the controlling party have something to do with it. Because they have to put people of note, on their behalf, in these various areas.

CT: Were the district magistrates paid also?
CK: Oh yeah. They were paid. That was a county liability.

CT: So as clerk-steno for Attorney Kaulukou, did you go to, like the Waimea District Court?

CK: Accompanying him?

CT: Yeah.

CK: Yes. Usually, he would have me go along with him.

CT: And what would be your job when you went along with him?

CK: He would let me know what he wants. If he wants me to take notes. Certain testimonies rendered by witnesses, or certain areas, he would ask me to do it. For his own information, that he may use it later.

CT: Not as an official record?

CK: No, no, no. As a matter of fact, the magistrates record all that on their own. It's all hand written.

CT: You mean, there was no court reporter?

CK: No, no, no. District courts, no.

CT: So were you familiar with the different deputy sheriffs and district magistrates?

CK: As a matter of fact, I knew them personally. Because they all were members of the Kamehameha Lodge also. And Mr. Kaulukou, having been an important man to the lodge, so I was also in the limelight, because of him. So with the deputy sheriffs, I was right in the thick with them.

CT: How old was Attorney Kaulukou at the time?

CK: Gee, I really don't know. I really don't know. But for me, in 1924 I was 22 years. I mean, I started to work. Was little over 22 years then. By six months. And I think a lot of the activities from then on, even to the present day, what transpired as far as I was concerned. And how these things have added to my understanding of the government functions, along the lines of politics as well. And to see how these things are being done. And we see a bit of it now with William Fernandez. Which is a common thing in the olden days. I saw those things. And for that reason why, it may be that I wasn't interested in politics. Stayed out of it. And I learned from many of my friends, during that early times there that politics was dirty.

But the first man that gave me the inkling, that was before
Mr. Kaulukou was elected. Mr. Kenichi Umemoto, that clerk-steno for Philip L. Rice, practicing attorney, and I was chosen by the Republican Party to sit as checkers as the voters came in to vote in Lihue. And Senator Charles A. Rice came there. Of course, he addressed me as Charlie, because he knew me when I was in high school playing football and during those years, and I was quite in the limelight, as far as athletics was concerned. So he was the one that gave me that inkling. First thing he said, "You know, Charlie, in politics, you scratch my back and I scratch yours." At the time there, I didn't think too much of it. But today, oh. You won't be there if you're not the person to scratch the other fellow's back. Just forget it. So that man was the one. And he was really handling the stick.

As a matter of fact, he carried a cane. And that wood is kauila. And it's a heavy stick. Beautiful cane. And he told me, "Charlie, this stick here is what the Hawaiians had that will take care anything that is not with you."

CT: What do you mean, "not with you?"

CK: In other words, negative towards. So this was something of kahuna nature. In the Hawaiian language. And the Hawaiians, I used to hear the old folks talk about kauila. And that man there brought that out. I don't know too much about those things, but anyway, enough to understand why they say it.

CT: You know, looking back at that time, his statement of scratching back didn't seem that important?

CK: At that time, no. But today—well, as a matter of fact, even today, that piece of land across the golf course club house, there's a pasture land there. And Charlie Rice got that from the state, by way of exchange. That entire flat there. And that was considered poor pasture land. Originally so because it is partially under water. And the exchange was with kuleanas that he owned here and there in the County of Kauai. Wherever they may be. So he relinquished all his rights of kuleanas that he had. They told me that these kuleanas are situated along the railroad right-of-ways. Acreage, I do not know. But I was told that he relinquished all of that in exchange for that piece of land.

CT: Did he make out well on that exchange?

CK: Oh boy. Pretty soon, I think that maybe the County will buy it. To increase the golf area. Unless they going accept what the people who going to build Nukoli. But the catch in the Nukoli one, that they want that 25 percent of their people to have the first say given to them.

CT: Well, talking about the back scratching in the 1920's, any examples of that you might like to mention?
CK: Well, actually, the back scratching is merely a thing that you recognize the other person. That's the way I look at it. And if you do, that person will recognize you. "If you don't, who are you?" attitude enter into the picture. You are a forgotten element maybe. There are a lot of people are forgotten because of that one feature. And Charlie Rice has forgotten quite a few of those people that I knew should be there. If he didn't like you, he'll show you. Even though you're a prominent individual. And there are a lot of Hawaiians that were prominent whom he didn't care much about. Never got close to him. That, I saw. And for me, it's pathetic. I thought it was sad, to have human beings to carry such attitude, one with another. I feel that the rights of persons, as we are talking today, and more and more is coming out more clearly, and spoken out more by younger people. That "please" is not there, but, "Recognize me. I want you to do that." No more "please." Before, was more courtesy. Today, it's harshness. And really, that, I don't even go along with it. I think the word "please" is beautiful. We can accept that. And I still say. And that goes with the family life. Though you are the father and mother, it doesn't mean that you going to carry an iron hand over your off-springs. So, in politics, no different.

CT: Before this whole Hanapepe incident, was there any circuit court case that you handled with Attorney Kaulukou?

CK: Oh, speaking of that....no, I don't think so. As a matter of fact, that incident there in Hanapepe, that matter didn't go to the district court. If my memory is correct. I really think that that matter was put through directly, as a matter for the grand jury. Rather going through district court first. It wasn't necessary because killing had happened.

CT: But before that Hanapepe shooting incident, were there any other cases related to the strike, that you knew were handled?

CK: No. As far as that is concerned, I think the police department, with the help of the county attorney, Kaulukou was trying to prevent trying to pacify both sides. The strikers and the employers. But like going back to that Waipahu incident, the employers didn't care for the strikers. Really, they were not interested. And the Big Five then was really controlling matters. Now, that's 1920. And this is four years later. And these things was still brewing here and there, throughout the territory again.

With me working as a scab there. And then later on, joining the county attorney in his office there, with the same situation. I never thought of it then. Only now, that I think, "Gee whiz." The strikers were fighting for something that they wanted, better pay. And as I thought again back again, $1 a day that my father was getting. And for them to be out in the field. And those days is rain or shine. With heavy raincoats, regular raincoats. And even though, the water would penetrate. Come home all wet, eh. The shoes all muddy. And yet, when you stop and think, the employers
who was responsible of moving the sugar industry, they had something to think about, their investment. Or people who invested want to see that they won't lose money. I never thought of it at the time there. Even now, I don't know how they manage their business, but I suppose, as I always tell my friends; even today, I say that those early days, 6 percent of profit was considered tops. But today, you talk of 6 percent, they laugh at you. It's just like kids. That you give them a dime or a quarter today, they flip 'em right back to you. They want currency. Same attitude, I suppose.

CT: Can we take a short break?
CK: Yeah. Go ahead.

END OF SIDE TWO

SIDE ONE; Tape No. 5-30-1-78

CT: Now, I would like to ask you about how you and County Attorney Kaulukou and the others in county government handled the case of the 1924 Hanapepe incident. And first of all, when did you first hear about that incident?

CK: That was in—see, the strikers that were settled there in the Japanese School, they were there. This thing was going on, I think it was 1924. What month they went there, I really don't know. And Kapaa had one group, too. But the one at Hanapepe there was....who was the union leader at the time? Do you recall?

CT: No, I don't know. But when did you hear of the shooting itself? What is your recollection of the first time you heard of the shooting?

CK: Actually, to be honest with you, I don't recall just what time of the year this took place. Except what appears in Garden Island now. And as a matter of fact, we went through the other day [preliminary interview], I don't remember the dates.

CT: Okay. Well, that's not really that important.

CK: But the only thing I'm conscious of now is since that recordation there in the Garden Island was in the month of September. So it must have been prior, in July or June. I think they were there long before that. And this activity had been going on. I think the police was sort of....when I think about it now, I think the police may have sort of like bugs to them, the strikers.

CT: "Bugs?"

CK: Bugs. You know, they were bugging the strikers. But to me, as far
as I could think of, it never came to my mind, while during the year 1924 when we were working. Although, Mr. Kaulukou was very close with Deputy Sheriff Crowell, Sheriff Rice, as well as all the deputy sheriffs, for that matter. Which includes---well, John Hano, I don't know whether he was there in 1924. Because he wasn't too long. And Henry Sheldon took over. After John Hano. And I think he was there in 1924, Mr. Sheldon.

CT: When Attorney Kaulukou and you found out that the shooting had happened, did you meet? Or did he discuss with you what your job would be from that time on, for the rest of the...

CK: No, no. As far as with me, no program I had concerning---I was not in the area where we considered that I had specific job cut out. Except that whatever he had to record, that was put to me by way of dictation.

CT: You mean he would say and you would write it out?

CK: He would write, and from those notes he would dictate what he wants. For information that he may convey to the deputy sheriffs. That was the thing then....so I was with him constantly, ready for him to dictate to me, concerning matters that he would want to relay, either in writing. Or if not, he would take me along with him. And then talk the matter over with the deputy sheriff involved. And he would ask me to take notes of certain things. Not all the conversation. Only what he wants to be noted. And that was my [role]....so I was constantly with the shorthand notebook, wherever he went. So my work with him was actually that. His trust of me writing shorthand was such that, so that sort of gave me a lift, more in the limelight, as far the deputy sheriff is concerned. So those old folks, though a young kid amongst them, I was right in the thick with them. That's the way I felt I was so at home. I never felt as though I'm too young for them. Although, they were gray. But they took me as though I knew my job. That's the way I have considered myself then, in their midst.

CT: What do you remember about the case, then?

CK: As far as that is concerned, the case was such that Mr. Kaulukou was very very much on the alert, and advising the deputy sheriff what to expect and what to do with the information conveyed to Sheriff Rice. As a matter of fact, the police department was aware of what he wants. See, Mr. Kaulukou was very particular. He always felt that if was going to the circuit court, he was going with his whole demeanor present, knowing what he's going to do. And he doesn't want anybody coming there not to be apprised of what to expect. He wants them to know these things before they get into action. And that was preparation. That was his way of doing things. For me, I got all of that because of that.

CT: Before that actual shooting incident, what we've heard from other sources and from the Garden Island, is that strikers in Hanapepe
were holding two Ilocanos in their camp, and weren't letting them go.

CK: Since you brought that up, now, I don't know too much about that. I've always felt that, gee whiz, why did these fellows go in there, try to move in. Yeah, since you mentioned that, yes, they were holding on to somebody there, which the police wanted to get them out. I think that's how Sheriff Crowell got knicked with the knife. Came too close for 'em, and they were ready for 'em. I think that was the incident. Now, since you mentioned that. And who these two people were, I don't know. And where they're from, I don't know.

CT: The papers say that they were two Ilocanos.

CK: Where they from?

CT: From Makaweli.

CK: Oh. Could be, it could be they were forerunners for the plantation.

CT: What do you mean, "forerunners?"

CK: I mean, people who advises the plantation what's going on in the strike camp.

CT: Where did you...

CK: No, no. This is only I'm assuming. That's what happened during the time that when the strike was going on. Information through this Filipino fellow that was connected, Agaton. Who was connected with the police department in Koloa. They had informers, which gave the police department a chance to know what's going on behind.

CT: Were these informers policemen?

CK: Well, it could be special. There were such thing as special police officers. And if they were special, they were paid.

CT: Paid by...

CK: The police department.

CT: How were these special policemen selected, as far as you know?

CK: Oh, I think that is done by the police department themselves.

CT: The deputy sheriff could select?

CK: No, no, no. With the information of the deputy sheriffs to the sheriff. It goes through channels, eh. Because, as far as I could remember, they never did things on their own, without knowledge of
the superior. And Mr. Kaulukou was very very particular in that area. No more, that ignoring the top.

CT: Follow the chain of command?

CK: That's right. He was very particular in that regard. Formerly, the others were just going through things haphazardly.

CT: Was Mr. Kaulukou and his office receiving information about the strike?

CK: Constantly. And the deputy sheriffs did a lot of that, right up through Sheriff Rice. A lot. I think they informed their immediate superior, the sheriff. And Kaulukou would get the same information. So whatever is going through the sheriff's hands, it's the same thing that goes to Mr. Kaulukou. So the police department, as far as that is concerned, what transpired in the office of the deputy sheriff's, their superior received that information. So is the county attorney. That, I can vouch, because it's not ignoring the sheriff, and the deputies would come directly to the county attorney and forget their superior. It wasn't that way.

CT: Both people were involved?

CK: That's right.

CT: What kind of information do you know of the Filipino informers would provide?

CK: That, I don't know. Those things, unless Mr. Kaulukou dictates to me, then I would be able to know it. But as far as any other way, I don't know. It's just that I don't go digging for it. It's not my business.

CT: But you are fairly certain that there were Filipino informers?

CK: Exactly. And once in a while, when this so-called individual, Mr. Agaton, was a special officer for Koloa Police Department. And even Reverend....what's his name, now....from Koloa. He was called in as interpreter for the Filipinos always. Duvauchelle's wife's father.

CT: Reverend Cortezan?

CK: Cortezan. He was one of them. He was one of the prominent interpreter. And Mr. Kaulukou always picks him up. One of those can speak good English and be able to interpret the Filipinos' language too, that satisfied Mr. Kaulukou.

CT: Do you know if the police had informers at Hanapepe, or at Kapaa?

CK: Indirectly, no. But I presume they had. I'm pretty sure that they
had people there, ready to or give information when things will happen.

CT: I know this is indirect information, like you said, but do you think that there were informers among the strikers? Or would these informers be outsiders?

CK: I think the strikers was, unless...personally, I think the strikers were well set themselves. But if they had anybody, I wouldn't say yes or no. I would say I don't know.

CT: You feel the strikers were....

CK: Took care of themselves, without---but you see, these two people you say that they were held, were people that who had doings with them, which conveyed information. For that reason why they took hold of 'em. Which, I think...

CT: I don't know that.

CK: No, no, no. But they were some of them that were that way. But like everything else, there were many times that they were people which we heard said, "stool pigeons." There were quite a few of them. Not for that particular incident but there were for other doings.

CT: At that time, were stool pigeons paid for information?

CK: Whether they were paid or not, I don't know. But the thing was this, that information was leaking. It came. But the overall, I think the strikers in Hanapepe, they didn't leak out as the police department would have wanted. I don't think so. So the crisis came to that. At that time there, was not good.

CT: At that time, in Sheriff Crowell's attempt to get those two people from the strike camp, the newspaper accounts say that he went there on a Monday night to try to get them out. And the strikers refused to let them go. And then, because of that, he consulted Attorney Kaulukou as to how to go about getting them released. Do you remember having to work on something getting them released?

CK: No. I really don't know. But if my memory is correct, Mr. Kaulukou wouldn't do anything aside from what the law calls for. And if he did advise Mr. Crowell, he would have done that. Unless he went in with the language of the law.

CT: He was that kind of a man?

CK: He was that kind of man. Not that pushing type. A man that will abide by the language of the law. That was Mr. Kaulukou. So for that reason why, I think that happening there, I don't know. It must have been something else. I think when Mr. Crowell went in with his people there, with firearms, I think that moved the strikers.
CT: What do you mean, "move?"

CK: So that they say, "It's either do or die. And they can't come in here to frighten us." That's what I'm thinking now.

CT: That's what you think the Filipinos may have thought?

CK: So they stood their ground, and they didn't care if they got killed. And all they did was they didn't want to see those fellows come in, and more so, the Sheriff Crowell. So he was the one that got nicked. Why didn't they nick these others that were there. And these others were none other, but special officers that were called. And some of the strikers in there who hailed from Waimea or Makaweli must know these people. So they were friends.

CT: You said more so, they would go for Sheriff Crowell. Was there anything about Sheriff Crowell that would make him more of a target?

CK: If I know that old man, that old man—I mean, Mr. Crowell was very very insistent, you know. It's him, and nobody else.

CT: You mean on who's right, and stuff?

CK: Yeah, because, "I am the man who say things here, and not you." Well, you see, the thing why I'm saying this is that every time [in the 1920's] we go to Waimea we have lunch at his home. And his wife is a beautiful woman. And very quiet. Disposition is so calm, and a good mother, you might say. And for me, as a kid going in there—and every now and then, this particular time, Mr. Crowell said, "Give him coffee."

And the wife is a Mormon, see. And I'm a Mormon. So for me, I flipped right back at him and said, "Well, you don't want me eat at your table with you? If you don't want me to eat at the table with you, just let me know. I always can walk out."

CT: You said that?

CK: I said that. Oh, I was very forward, those days. For me, I was not the type, you shrink. And those days there, 10 feet away, if we get to talking and I don't like you, you'll git. That's me. And for me, at that time there, I was just beginning life, eh. And that old man Crowell used to have lot of fun with me. He'd turn on the side, he'd start, you know, smirking, or I used to catch him a lot of times. Oh, this is the way you doing to me.

CT: He knew you were Mormon?

CK: Oh yes.

CT: He deliberately said, "Give him coffee?"
CK: And the wife was very strong. Mormons. He used to out in Waimea Valley.

CT: What happened at the time, when the coffee...he was joking with you?

CK: No, he was telling the wife that. And the wife was sitting on the side there, looking at me. Then I would dish it out to him. Said, "Why, you know I don't drink coffee. And if you don't like me here to eat with you, at this table here, I always can walk out." The wife looking at me and smiling.

CT: What did Sheriff Crowell...

CK: And Mr. Kaulukou and this other--there was another man, Nick Hoopii's father. Well, he was another that always go to Waimea. And this particular incident, Mr. Hoopii was there with us. And he heard this crack, he said, "Oh, come on Chief. Let the boy be comfortable." (Laughs)

You know, I had lot of good times with all of them. As a matter of fact, all of the older folks, the deputy sheriffs. All of them. As a matter of fact, I think from boyhood, even till now, to me, the elderly person is important figures. I always looked up to them, consider them as though I am part of them.

CT: But you said that Mr. Crowell was an insistent type person.

CK: He just let it go at that. No more conversation. So we went on with lunch. Oh, but those days, how I picked up this gumption is because I feel that it's something that I'm possessed with. Quick with the tongue, eh. And do not hesitate to dish it out. As I said, 10 feet away, if I don't like you, you go. And you know it. Lot of time, I say to my friends, "I'm lucky that I never got licking yet." Because those people I talk to are all huge guys, eh.

CT: Okay. You didn't participate in whatever advice Attorney Kaulukou gave to Sheriff Crowell?

CK: No, no. You see, what transpired between them is between them. Although I sat in with them. But sitting in with them is merely to take notes. When it was for me to take it. And only on the advice of Mr. Kaulukou that I do. Otherwise, I don't bother.

CT: At that time, I assume there were telephones. Was there a telephone to Waimea to Lihue, so that Sheriff Crowell and Attorney Kaulukou could telephone?

CK: Yeah, they converse. As a matter of fact, the telephone is between Kaulukou and the deputy sheriffs. Conversation going on.

CT: So there was ability to know of anything going on.
CK: When I pick the phone, it's for him, it's for him. Period.

CT: Say it was late at night, and Sheriff Crowell had to talk to Attorney Kaulukou, could they have called each other up?

CK: As far as that is concerned, it may be. You see, another thing that Mr. Kaulukou used to always say, "You keep me advised. So that I know what to do next." And to me, that line of thinking is, he doesn't want somebody to slap his head. In other words, going in cold, unprepared. "You let me know what's going on, so when we go before, and I can speak without worrying what they're going to do to me next." That's Mr. Kaulukou.

CT: Very thorough.

CK: He was that type.

CT: After the shooting incident, what I know from the newspapers, is that most of the male strikers were brought to the Lihue County Jail. From then on, you must have had some contact with them.

CK: Yeah. Down there, with Mr. Kaulukou present.

CT: Where was the jail, at that time?

CK: Where the bulk sugar is now.

CT: In Nawiliwili?

CK: Yeah. On top. That's where the county jail was. And Mr. Kaulukou's home was near there. Kanoa Estate land. See, the bulk sugar is overlooking the bluff. But no, it's the entrance of that bulk sugar, that's where the county jail was.

CT: Can you tell me what you remember about going there with Attorney Kaulukou, and what you folks did with the strikers?

CK: Yeah. What you call...certain people that interviewed by Mr. Kaulukou, I was with him. And then, there were certain one interviewed by Mr. A. G. M. Robertson. He was in the next room. As a matter of fact, there were these people that were closeted in various rooms of the jail. So the thing is carried on in there.

CT: Would Attorney Kaulukou and Mr. Robertson go to the jail cell, or would they bring the prisoners into a separate room for questioning?

CK: Yeah. Into a separate room where the cells are set back. But they were separate, both Mr. Kaulukou and Mr. Robertson. They carried on their interviews separately.

CT: But the strikers were brought in individually to...
CK: To each of these areas where Mr. Kaulukou or Mr. Robertson were in. So the interviews were carried on in that way.

CT: At that time, did you have a job to do?

CK: When Kaulukou is interviewing any, I sit in with him. And take notes for him.

CT: The Filipinos must have spoken in...

CK: Broken [English]. But they have interpreters. Like this special police, Agaton and this other, Reverend Cortezan. And some others like...Albao, Cecil Albao. He used to be at Puhi. Camp police there. These are menfolks that are able to interpret. And the other fellow used to be a camp police of Kilauea Plantation. Filipino. That's another one that he used to bring in.

CT: Do you remember his name?

CK: Offhand, I can't think of it now. But he was one of those.

CT: Well, you're saying that Agaton, Albao, Reverend Cortezan, and another one at Kilauea, that served as interpreter.

CK: That one, no. Not for that particular time.

CT: The first three, though.

CK: Cortezan was with Mr. Kaulukou. And I think, as far as Mr. Robertson, I think there was somebody else. I don't think it was Reverend Cortezan. I think it was somebody else.

CT: Can you remember what they were asked, when they were brought in?

CK: Well, some of the things they were asked is...if they saw, and as far as Mr. Kaulukou's interviews were concerned, is...I think one of the things that was mentioned there concerning who hit Mr. Crowell. And the answer was, "I don't know." So this was some of the things that nobody knew who chopped Mr. Crowell. As far as the strikers were concerned. They wouldn't reveal. That's one of the problems that they had. But from the special officers, they remembered who.

CT: You mean, the...

CK: The people that were with Crowell. And they know the people, some of them.

CT: They know who did it?

CK: Who did it, yeah. But with all of that, I don't know if that fellow who knifed 'em was ever---whether he went to jail or not. That, I don't know.
CT: Did they ask everybody who came in, that question? Every striker?

CK: Yeah, whatever question that is raised with one person is the same thing with the next, and the next, and the next.

CT: Do you remember what the other questions were?

CK: Gee, even to remember that now....I'm sorry.

CT: Well generally, did they concern the fighting, the shooting incident itself? Did it concern their general opinions of the strike as a whole?

CK: I think one of the things that Kaulukou was interested in, how did this thing all start? What caused it? So I really don't know. Their reply, they would say they do not know, some of them. But the ones who really were responsible, that, I don't know. Because I don't think I would go handle that. Went to somebody else. But lot of this information that indirectly, to Mr. Kaulukou, not at that jail, but from conversation with the sheriffs, deputy sheriffs. That all of these things are coming to. So with that there, Mr. Kaulukou was prepared to go along, and Mr. A. G. M. Robertson handling the case, and they discuss themselves. Without my sitting in with them.

So actually, the whole thing in a nutshell, as far as the 1924 strike is concerned, for me, I think I have very little doings there. Except to see the movements of both the government and the strikers.

CT: How many prisoners do you recall there being?

CK: To tell you the truth, I can't give you the number.

CT: As far as the newspaper says, there's about 130 in the jail.

CK: Was it all in Hanapepe?

CT: Hundred-thirty males were arrested, and most of them were sent to the county jail.

CK: Gee, did they have that many down Hanapepe, in that Japanese School? I didn't realize. I know the county jail was too small. And they were packed there. And that county jail was not made for a big huge body.

CT: Somebody was mentioning that they might have built a new one, or an extension or something?

CK: The only extension I can imagine would be a tent. And which I can't see, the location of the jail is such that immediately in the back of it is a drop. It could be to the right of it, where the bulk sugar plant is now. And Mr. Kaulukou's residence is right
close by. So is the residence of jail keeper. Was next door to this little jail. Thae county jail there was bigger than any of the district...the one in Waimea was only three room or four room, I think. Small, little. And that's the way it was with Kapaa. But the one in Lihue, there's a building.

CT: How many strikers do you remember interviewing, or being part of the interview?

CK: Gee, we pick up about, one day, about 10, 12. And for that whole week, I think. They only pick only certain ones, rather than questioning all of them.

CT: Not everybody was questioned?

CK: Not everybody. And I think the advice that Kaulukou got from the Deputy Sheriff Crowell, and the others, they say---there was one that they said that Jim Lymana who was a police officer located in Hanapepe. I think he was the one keeping that Chief Crowell apprised of the strike camp.

CT: So maybe 10 or 12 a day you interviewed, and for several days, up to a week?

CK: Well, the interviews were, in my opinion...my thought there was trying to find the person or persons involved in actually leading that strike down there. And from them, then we could see who actually led the show. And that was the thing that both Mr. Robertson and Mr. Kaulukou was trying to find.

CT: When you had the interviews, you said like they spoke mostly broken English?

CK: They both would speak proper English. They won't talk the "pidgin." The interpreters would convey the information. And the reply is done the same thing. With the interpreters relaying the witness' testimony.

CT: So they don't try to communicate directly with the person being interviewed.

CK: The witness. No. I don't remember Mr. Kaulukou, that time or any other time, when he spoke to anyone, trying to use broken English. That fellow there, he stayed with his English. Like us, often times we break off and go to the "pidgin." No, not him. As far as I could remember. Either that, English, or Hawaiian. He speaks fluent Hawaiian.

CT: But in that case, he relied on interpreters?

CK: And that was his ways. Even with other nationalities. He throw 'em with the proper English.
CT: Do you recall approximately how long each person was interviewed?

CK: No, not too long. All, they had the questions already all set for them. And what they were interested in is the cause of the incident there. On that day. What caused it. And they were trying to get that.

CT: Fifteen minutes, half an hour, one hour?

CK: Per person?

CT: Yeah.

CK: Could be. Could be 10 minutes. I wouldn't think they'd go 20 minutes. They wouldn't keep 'em too long because if they put forth the questions that they really is interested in, that all that's first they go along with the usual thing, the name and what plantation you belong to, etc., etc., So that he would be recorded, as far as the record with that information. Then, what transpired.

CT: Do you remember interviewing any of the women? Any of the wives?

CK: No, no.

CT: What was the reason that Mr. Robertson got involved with the case, as far as you know?

CK: He represented the Robertson....his attorney group represented American Factors, I think. Or the Big Five. I think each plantation had their own. But Robertson, I think was for American Factors, I think. See, T. H. Davies had their own. Somebody else. There were several big attorney units in Honolulu. Garner Anthony was one of them that was involved with A. G. M. Robertson.

CT: What's that?

CK: Garner Anthony. He was one of those. He was young.

CT: Robertson was young, or Anthony.

CK: No, no, no. Anthony. But Robertson was old. One thing with that man that I observed, in all that interviews down there, his face was red several times.

CT: Who?

CK: Robertson. And you could see that even the earlobes were red. You could see that he was hot under the collar, angry. The answer that he was getting was not what he wanted. And to him, I think---for me, I would feel that this fellow is lying.

CT: He might have been thinking that the Filipino is lying?
CK: Lying. Even the question he posed on 'em, you know. The answer was coming and was so that the answer was not on the question that he posed. So you could see that. But his tone of voice...

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

CT: Okay, you were talking about Mr. Robertson having a red face and red earlobes when he thought that maybe the striker, the Filipinos were not saying the truth.

CK: Yeah, and his demeanor, his tone of voice, it never showed that he was angry with the person. That voice was so constant, more on the...you can't feel that he's angry. To me, I thought of that man as very cool. Though he was not receiving what he expected, which my boss, Mr. Kaulukou, sometimes he'd really chew the fellow up, you know. I know one incident down there, my boss, his pencil in the hand there, he banged that fellow's mouth. So he was angry. And the voice was kind of kind of loud. But Mr. Robertson was no; cool as a cucumber. Really cool. But Kaulukou is, he just (makes motion of flicking and hitting with pencil).went flip like that and the pencil caught the mouth, eh, that witness, that person that he was interviewing. I saw that, I said, "Gee whiz. That not nice." For me to think of it at that time. Even now, I think about it. Comparison of both Mr. Kaulukou and Mr. Robertson, the two are different in that. One is hot under the collar, the other one there, though hot, but maintain coolness. That was Mr. Robertson.

CT: You said that you think Mr. Robertson worked for American Factors. But at that time, was he an individual lawyer, or was he...

CK: No, no, no. It's....what they call it now....it's a group of them. Robertson, etc., including Garner.

CT: What I'm asking is, was he in the capacity of the law firm, or was he appointed as a...

CK: Special prosecutor for the government, on behalf of his law firm, of course. I don't think he would relinquish his part of the law firm. A representative of the law firm, to represent the government as special prosecutor. I'm pretty sure of that.

CT: Do you know how he and Attorney Kaulukou worked together?

CK: Oh, I think whatever questions they have in mind, I've seen them often talking to each other. Even Mr. Rice is also included in their conversation. Because Mr. Rice represented the Lihue Plantation and Kipu Plantation, and I don't know whether that Grove Farm. I doubt it, but I think the American Factors.
CT: Which Rice is that?

CK: Philip L. Rice. He was the circuit court judge, later in years.

CT: Oh, later. But at that time was Achi. And Charlie Rice was the overall sheriff?

CK: No, no. William Henry Rice. Charlie Rice was the senator.

CT: I see. Right. So you say Robertson, Kaulukou, Philip Rice?

CK: Philip L. Rice, yeah. And Garner Anthony would come in with Mr. Robertson; they from the same firm, eh.

CT: Was there any resentment on the part of Mr. Kaulukou, that a special prosecutor had been appointed?

CK: No. If he did have, I didn't know.

CT: Do you feel that if a prosecutor hadn't been appointed, that Attorney Kaulukou would have been able to handle the whole thing?

CK: Oh, I believe so. I believe so. And I wouldn't have been surprised that he would have consulted Philip L. Rice just as well. And I wouldn't have been surprised that...I'm pretty sure C. Brewer of Makaweli, eh. Because I think some of those fellas from there too, all these strikers, eh. So A&B [Alexander and Baldwin], which is McBryde, I think some of those people involved. I don't know whether Kekaha---could be Kekaha too.

CT: In any case, Robertson and Kaulukou pretty much worked together?

CK: Worked together....as the case progressed.

CT: Did you mention earlier that Mr. Robertson was the one who interviewed those who were more likely to be the leaders?

CK: Well, both of them interviewed those people whom they....I don't know whether they agreed with each other, who and who they should interview. But I'm sure if they did and then they knew just whom they want to call.

CT: So there wasn't any particular distinction that Mr. Robertson would interview certain...

CK: I wouldn't have been surprised at all that they must have concurred with each other, concerning what they would like to ask people.

CT: Right, that's logical.

CK: As a matter of fact, to me. I think the whole thing that was done, was done under a professional way of doing things.
CT: What I read from the newspaper also, is that of the approximately 130 that were arrested the first time around, that 57 were released, and allowed to go to work at Hanamaulu and...

CK: Back again.

CT: Do you know on what basis those people were allowed?

CK: I don't know. There again, the two attorneys, with the understanding that these people were not responsible. So they were free to go.

CT: It's not as if they offered everybody there the opportunity to go back to work?

CK: No. All they were interested in was who were leading the whole thing. When they were satisfied who they were, and then they let these others go. As a matter of fact, I think the idea was not to hold the whole body as a whole totally responsible of the whole thing. It's got to be somebody that led them. And these others just merely followed them. So on that basis there, I think they...

Yeah. For me to think of it even now, and I'm pretty sure that that's the way that both attorneys followed that pattern, and finding the responsible person. And him only would be taken care of—should be handled with the idea that they were responsible.

CT: After the interviews were done, then I suppose they held a grand jury...

CK: Yeah. And then they went through the process of grand jury and trial. The whole thing went on.

CT: In the circuit court, when the circuit court had a trial, what was your job?

CK: No, I was still with the county attorney.

CT: So you would just...

CK: Merely sitting in the office, waiting for Mr. Kaulukou to [give me] what next he has.

CT: Did you attend the trial?

CK: No. No.

CT: After the interviews that you did, that Attorney Kaulukou and Robertson did approximately 57 of them went back to work, and the rest were indicted by the grand jury for the offense of, "riot." Do you know what was necessary at that time to prove for a person to be convicted of riot?
CK: Right now, I can't....all I can think of is that....what caused that riot and who was responsible for it. All I can think of it now. At the time there, I thought there were....they admitted riot because somebody else stirred their hornets' nest. As I said again, because the police went there with firearms, and although I don't think....as far as I could remember, I don't think Mr. Crowell went with firearms either. I think he was minus that. I don't know, I may be wrong.

CT: He had a pistol.

CK: But because of his....maybe the way he talked to those leaders of the strikers. And maybe they didn't like it. What caused them to force the issue by way of knifing Deputy Sheriff Crowell, I cannot say. I really don't know.

CT: At that time--this is a matter of opinion, but--how would you say relationship was between Filipinos and Sheriff Crowell, or people in the police force?

CK: To me--this is for me now--I really look at it this way here. The police officers under Deputy Sheriff Crowell, they go along with their duties as instructed. Instead of going on their own initiative. Unless instructed, they won't move. You get what I mean? And the reason for that is Deputy Sheriff Crowell was very particular in his conduct of the office. And his tone of voice was not that of--in comparison to Mr. Robertson. That again is one reason why that his officers under him fear him. You follow me? If I was feeling the same way as his officers were, at the time when he told the wife to give me coffee, but instead, I was not. I said my peace. Without hesitating. But these officers wouldn't, to me, as I saw it at the time, they were very obedient. And unless told, they won't do it. That's the way I look at it, as far as his officers were concerned.

And so were many other people in this community. They seemed to be afraid of him. Why, I don't know. To me, that man is just as--he's just like anyone else. And that's the way I took him for, that morning when he said, "Give him coffee." He was no different from any other people. And I was able to talk to him. I didn't know anything about his police officers fearing him. I was just beginning to work with Mr. Kaulukou. And later years that I realized that's what they were. They seemed to be afraid of 'em. And it's because he was very very forceful in his assignments. He said, "I want this done." It has to be done. Or, "I don't want this done." It's not to be done. And that's his way of conducting his office. But if you understand him, he's a wonderful man. For me, I've considered him all the way, even Kamehameha Lodge. He was very very particular in his ways too. But, like everybody else, I've always considered that a person is no different from the other. And for me, I'm no different from the other. And I've always taken the attitude, if spoken to, speak to 'em and don't let
any stone unturned. Turn 'em. And that's the way I look at it with Chief Crowell.

The other deputy sheriffs was a little more freer in this handling of their men. Although they were specific in their instructions. But their men were---you know, so free, and come in and....more of a casual way. Rather than tight. The Waimea group were tight. That's my comparison of these different areas.

CT: Was it common to get special police. I mean, for certain special occasions?

CK: I think for instance, different---like Koloa, they had one old man Teshima. Although he was there long before that. But he was Japanese. I think he was one of those picked up because of the Japanese population. With the Filipinos, because of the Filipino population. So that's the reason why these different people were called to service. To be able to meet these various ethnic groups.

CT: Coming back to that trial, the circuit court trial, you didn't sit on it, right?

CK: No.

CT: Would you know anything about jury selection; how the jury was selected, and things like that?

CK: On that particular one, no; I don't know how they were selected. But as a court reporter of the circuit court years later, I served in the capacity in the circuit court little over three years. The selection of the jurors was such that each counsel [had a chance to question] the juror, whether they be accepted or not. It all depends on the questions put forth to them.

CT: At this time, who was the defense attorney?

CK: The court reporter was James K. Burgess. Jimmy Burgess.

CT: Who was the defense attorney?

CK: One of them was Aiu. There were several of them, some from Honolulu. Who they were, I don't know. I think the Garden Island would name them, wouldn't they?

CT: I think they mentioned...

CK: But I know one of them, local, Eugene K. Aiu.

CT: And these people were appointed? Probably.

CK: Yeah, they were appointed by the judge, to represent various defendants.
CT: I think Judge Lyle Dickie was a defense attorney.

CK: Was one of them. He was a private practitioner at the time.

CT: From Kauai?

CK: Yeah, he was from Kauai.

CT: Why did they call him Judge Dickie?

CK: He was a judge before.

CT: In the circuit court?

CK: Whether the circuit court or not, I don't know. When I knew him, he was already addressed "Judge" Dickie. But as far as---I think he's a full-fledged lawyer.

CT: So you don't know anything about the trial itself?

CK: Very dim.

CT: Can you think of anybody who might have been there at the trial?

CK: Those people that were there....as a matter of fact, I....no, I can't think of any.

CT: I guess you're very unique in that you were young, and yet you were involved in that particular job, in that particular time.

CK: Yeah. I think I give that to Mr. Kaulukou. As a matter of fact, I was saying Mr. Waiau to give me that first opportunity to work in that temporary inventory clerkship job. And then with Mr. Kaulukou giving me that lift as a steno, and with the added strength of clerk. That was a difference. Because most of them were clerks, but he emphasized steno. That's how I got additional money, as far as the pay was concerned. Oh no, he thought that I did well, as far as that part. As a matter of fact, he proved later on that he really made me do a lot of that steno work. And that pounding on that typewriter was constant.

But with that way of him carrying me through his office, gave me the opportunity to take over the court stenographer or reporter, in those days. For the circuit court. Although I refused when Judge Achi offered that job to me. I said, "I can't qualify what the law requires of me. Hundred seventy-five words a minute? No. I can't even get close to 150. And I don't want to be chopped down by attorneys in the trials. No, Judge. You pick somebody else." I turned him down flat.

And he offered me the job. He said, "I give you six months to do it." And it just happened, I don't know who gave me but somebody had a shorthand book. The Gregg shorthand, that's my shorthand I
am living with. Shortcuts, where a lot of phrases are there. One word can spell out maybe half a dozen words. And boy, I really went into it. And Judge Achi represented the—he went down to fill in some of the judges job in Honolulu. That judge went on a vacation. For three months, those summer months. So we'd go down and come back weekend, then go down. And I was his court clerk down there. But this was years later, after that I was familiar with shorthand, eh.

CT: Just a final question. Looking back on this Hanapepe shooting incident, 54 years later, you have any commentary about it?

CK: Well, the only thing is this, that I'm sorry that the incident did happen. But whatever caused it to happen, I think the ends of both sides have been met.

CT: You mean now?

CK: Now. You see, more and more, that time there and with that experience that I had in 1920—working as a scab. I'm glad I'm mentioning this because thinking of it now, I learned that 1924 strike. Those outside were scabs, eh. And the word "scab." But thinking of it now, union has actually come into being today.

But sometimes I feel this way about it, I think they're going little too far sometimes. And yet, I suppose that's the way life is to a person. We either go too far or not enough. And whichever it is, for me, I think I've gone far enough on both sides, and enjoying immensely on both sides, that life to me is beautiful today.

And the thing is this, to see my children carrying themselves on as I did, when I carried my own end. During their birth and on down, what they are now, is interesting. And to see the people around me, moving about. Especially some of them who are retired and concerned, illnesses that they have. So for me, I always feel that life is only how you make it. And my daughter Molly at home here, said, "Daddy, if I have to eat what you eat, I get tired."

So I told her that, "Getting tired is one thing, but knowing what the thing is doing for you, that it's good for you." And I'm enjoying it today. While I was doing, see all the leftovers, I said, "Don't throw 'em away." I steam it. You see that steamer is there. Whatever we have in the refrig, it goes in there.

So going back again, all of these things here, instead of eating choice foods, I think of the old folks before. The old folks used to...their luau, they used to roast 'em. And they put it where no ice box. In calabashes and hang 'em up. Keep it cool, eh. And when it comes to using it, they take a portion of it and go on that way. The old folks used to do it so I'm doing it today. And the thing is, is just merely to see how long I can prolong this life. But simple living is the best. I've come to that conclusion.
CT: When you look at the strike from now, from the viewpoint of today, what was its significance in Hawaii's history, or Kauai's history?

CK: When I think of it, the strikes that occurred back in 1920, and the occasion that had over here in 1924, and the formation of the unions today, I think the employer-employee have formed themselves to the point where they have to understand each other. It's just like a family. A family has to do the same thing. Parent and children, children and parents. And there's no more this, "You do this," as I got this in my early days. "Or else." Today, we say, "Let's all do it together." Before, no. "I'm telling you." But today, we don't tell people. We ask.

CT: So you feel that it's sort of a parallel thing with labor?

CK: That's right. Today, labor is coming to that. That's what we're having. You see, Meany is pouncing on the President now, certain things. And yet, he's not roughing 'em up to the point that it might disturb what the President's trying to do. But he's bringing some highlights to think about.

CT: Okay. Thanks a lot for spending all this time.

CK: Well, thank you for being patient. And I hope and pray that everything's okay.

END OF INTERVIEW
The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai

Volume I

ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Ethnic Studies Program
University of Hawaii, Manoa

June 1979