BIографICAL SUMMARY: IGNACIA LAGMAY, housewife

Ignacia Lagmay, Spanish-Chinese-Visayan, was born August 20, 1903 in the Philippines. She was not overjoyed about the prospect of moving to Hawaii but came with her first husband, Manuel Alejado in 1922. They were at Ewa Plantation for a brief period before moving to Makaweli, Kauai in 1922.

Ignacia held a variety of plantation jobs before and after the 1924 strike including field work and from 1937 to 1941 she assisted in the "baby house," tending young children.

The Lagmays were evicted from the plantation at the time of the 1924 strike but rented a house several blocks away from Hanapepe strike camp.

Ignacia is the mother of ten children; she currently resides in Hanapepe with her second husband, Catalino Lagmay.
NOTES FROM UNRECORDED INTERVIEW

with

(Mrs.) Ignacia Lagmay

March 9, 1978

Hanapepe, Kauai

BY: Gael Gouveia and Chad Taniguchi

ALSO PRESENT: (Mrs.) Basilio Fuertes

Mrs. Ignacia Lagmay, 74 year old Visayan woman who came to Hawaii in 1922, gave birth to her oldest son on July 1, 1924. Visayans had to leave Makaweli Plantation camp (eviction). Because of the baby, they rented a house rather than living in the strike camp, at the Japanese Language School hall. She was married to Manuel Alejado at that time.

On the morning of September 9, 1924, they were visiting at the strike hall. Her husband was playing cards. She was talking story with the other women when the police came and the trouble started. She was so scared, so grabbed her husband and they ran away, back to their house.

Her husband had worked in the mill machine shop for Hawaiian Sugar at Makaweli.

They were so scared they hid in the house for one week, having taken all the slippers inside "so people wouldn't know what kind house [Filipino] was."

[Continuation of her story is on tape.]
Tape No. 5-2-1-78

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

(Mrs.) Ignacia Lagmay (IL)

March 9, 1978

Hanapepe, Kauai

BY: Gael Gouveia (GG) and Chad Taniguchi (CT)

GG: Could you tell us your name again?
IL: Ignacia.
GG: Lagmay.

IL: Now, not then. [Was Alejado in 1924.]
GG: You came to Hawaii in....
IL: 1922. I arrived here October first.
GG: And how old are you now?
IL: I going be 74, because I born in 1903.
GG: In the Philippines?
IL: Uh huh [yes].
GG: Can you tell us what happened the morning of the strike? Do you remember when that was?

IL: Yeah, I know. I remember that day because my husband always go there because no more nothing to do. Always go there in the hall play, you know, play card. And then, happened I didn't follow him. I got small baby. And then, I see the policemen because, you know, around got plenty people, plenty wahines joking, playing. And then, I see the policeman. Ai. And then, people talk, "Eh," Somebody bin scream. Oh, this and that and then. And then, he [policeman] got gun.

So I tell my husband, "Come on, get out here, go." Because this is not our place. So us bin go back in my house, and hide over there. And my husband too smart too, you know. All the Filipino slipper, he put 'em inside. And then policemen pass, people pass, this and
that, this and that. I listen what the people screaming—somebody died, you know. How many died. You know, I so scared, so scared. Lucky thing, I think, really, God bin help me because the baby, he no cry. Just only one month old. And oh, I so worry. Worrying, worrying. Because, you know...and my husband name stay inside the strike, eh? [She is referring to the fact that her husband had been a plantation employee and was probably listed in their records as on strike.] But the one thing is good, because the owner [of the] house bin just like witness [reference] us. Us bin rent the house, pay them. Because my brother bin live [in the same house] before he go Honolulu, because, strike too but he bin go Honolulu. He said, "No go inside the hall, go rent house." So I bin rent the house.

RF: [Mrs. Fuertes, also present at the interview.] What your brother did?

IL: I don't know. Building....Bolo. But now, pau. He only dies, stay Philippines.

CT: What his last name?

IL: Bolo. Me, before, single--my name [maiden name] is Bolo. I married this man Alejado.

GG: Who owned the house that you rented?

IL: I no can tell you now....I know one Portuguese. The name is....

RF: Not Carvalho?

IL: No, not Carvalho. Coney.

GG: How far was your house from where the hall was?

IL: Oh, far away. Not so close, but I can hear. The time I stay inside the house, I can hear the gun. "Pak, pak, pak, pak."

RF: Whose house that was now?

IL: The Japanese house, now? The one I bin live before? I don't know. Pau, no more. [That house is broken down already.]

GG: When you and your husband left to go from the hall to your house, the policeman never stop you?

IL: No. Because no more...no, the policemen busy shooting, shooting, over there. Because [police] in front and us behind.

GG: How many policemen came? Only one came inside the hall before you left?

IL: No, I'm not mistaken, plenty policemen. You know, already, I'm so worried, I like save my life, to see my children, that's why us bin run away, I no see.
And I reach home, you can hear people screaming, screaming, screaming. And you can hear,"Pak,pak, pak, pak."

GG: Could you understand anything they were screaming? Were they screaming words?

IL: No. Screaming, da kine people, you know the one, the strikers---he run away. See? And then, I can hear more, oh somebody name, name. Only call husband. That I can hear clear. Die already, died. Died in the wife's arms. The bullet go inside the stomach.

CT: What the name?

GG: Odeja, was that the one?

RF: That's....the one....Clemente....

CT: Ceballos?

IL: Ceballos. But before is not. The man's name is---the second husband not Ceballos. Ramos.

RF: Ramos, the first [husband's] name?

IL: Yeah. She get one boy, the one, Lucy is husband. But I don't think so because she's got the baby, too.

GG: Were the Filipinos in the hall that day expecting trouble, or did they think something was going to happen?

IL: No, I no think so because as soon as he bin, that one Filipino bin go inside already. That's the one start the trouble [the Ilocano] because the leader of the strikers, he no like make him go out, because them he know, he get the law. You go inside, you no can go out.

GG: Who was that leader, do you remember?

IL: No, I think he die, that one.

RF: Not Badong? I remember you was talking about Badong.

IL: Yeah, yeah, that one. Badong. I think he die.

RF: He was the leader that time?

IL: Uh huh. But before us bin leave, about one week us stay there. Before us bin leave, the men so nice, so good. He bring us in where us going. Us bin going Niumalu. And then, the man, he wen...."Us bin go visit?"

I said, "No, I going visit the dead people." I could see the, one row only. [Where strikers were buried.]
And before I leave, I going pray first because, you know.

CT: Where the grave?

RF: No...

IL: No, [the dead were] in the grave already because one week already. One week before us can go out. Because I scared.

GG: Did you go when they buried them?

IL: No, I scared. I no see but only, that's why I tell my husband, "Before us going leave, more better us go see."

GG: So you stayed in the house the whole week after...

IL: Yeah, the whole week. And so scared.

GG: The policemen came back later and they arrested a whole bunch of people. Did they take...

IL: No, not us, not us. Because already us out. I don't know. Terrible, my experience.

CT: You know who that one that they never like go out? You know that man...

IL: No, I don't know. That one Ilocano. I don't know that.

GG: Was there one or two?

IL: What I know, one bin go in.

CT: What he went in for?

IL: Oh, maybe he find trouble, I don't know. Somebody tell me plantation bin go, you know, plantation, they like humbug people. Them, he know got the law over there. You go inside, you no can go out. I think maybe somebody bin spy, you know, something like that.

RF: Maybe he was sent to spy on them. [The strikers]

IL: Yeah, maybe spy. That's why he no can go out.

RF: The people over there never like him go out after that [after he was caught]?

GG: The Visayans no like him to go out. Where did they keep him?

IL: No, because got big hall. Got food, got everything.

GG: But how did they keep him from going out?
IL: Because got watchmen.

GG: Where did you get your food at the hall?

IL: No, us no take the food in the hall. Us go buy our own.

GG: Right, you had at your house. But the strikers that stayed in the hall, how did they get their food?

IL: They get food. Somebody supply, somebody, you know.

GG: Do you know who supplied?

IL: No, I don't know that.

CT: Where you got your food?

IL: Yeah, I got my own food. I buy my own.

CT: From what store?

IL: Any store, got plenty store, Hanapepe. Because I promise, my brother told me, "No go inside, no go inside." My husband, his name out because he bin out from plantation, his name out from plantation [records] but not inside the strike area (because we didn't live in the strike camp).

GG: How come your brother left to go Honolulu? Was this before the strike? During the strike?

IL: Yeah, during that thing.

GG: Before the riot, though?

IL: Yeah, before that. And said he [brother] going inside and he going Honolulu because the wife--he got there--Honolulu.

GG: So he could get a job, or....

IL: Uh huh, he got job. And then after he come back, after for how many year, he come back here.

RF: But during the strike time, he wasn't in the plantation?

IL: No, still New Camp. Same house with us, same road. His house is number 2, mine number 10. See, New Camp.

RF: So he moved out after the strike?

IL: Move out because that strike.

CT: What camp that was?
IL: Before, called "New Camp." Now is Kaumakani one.

CT: That house still stay?

IL: No stay.

RF: That was only few houses and they call it New Camp. That's near the railroad track.

IL: I think about that, one minute—how many house? Maybe no more than 20 house.

GG: Do you remember what was right across the street from the Japanese hall, where the strikers were? Was there anything right across the street?

IL: Because like this the hall, the big hall. Over here is the mountain.

RF: Until today, no more nothing yet over there. It's still the same. Except you know the Japanese graveyard? Right around there, the other...

IL: They got plenty chance for shoot because them here.

RF: No more nothing building.

IL: No more building and then he stay in the up, in the mountain.

GG: Where the graveyard is, the policemen were right above there?

IL: No, because already the strikers this side, the policemen this side. Came here, I can see because people over there got plenty banana patch.

GG: The banana patch was on the down [makai] side of the road?

IL: Yeah.

GG: And where—is it Nakashima Store?

CT: No, Nishimura Store.

GG: Was that close by?

IL: That, I think, no more store.

RF: He never had store yet, that time. Just one small house where he—they was fishermen and they used to peddle fish before. That building came up before the war, or right after the war, no?

IL: You know that, across the hall, now he get beer parlor, you know
da kine small? Over there is no more nothing. No more nothing house, nothing building there.

RF: He mean the one across of the garage.

IL: Yeah, across the station, the gasoline station.

RF: Over there was all bare, no houses.

GG: And what did the strikers do during the daytime? You said they played cards; did they do other things too?

IL: No, just them play card and find some firewood, because still cooking over there. Nothing, is only, you know.

GG: What did the ladies do?

IL: Oh lady, nothing. Somebody cooking.

GG: Did they help? Did everybody like eat together...

IL: Yeah, uh huh.

GG: And they had so the women helped together to cook for everybody?

IL: Yeah, yeah.

GG: Do you know where they got their firewood?

IL: Got plenty firewood over there, you know. The Camp 3, got plenty firewood over there.

GG: And it didn't belong to the plantation? They could just...

IL: No, not belong plantation. That's the County.

CT: How many strikers you think had?

IL: No, I don't know. Only the one what I know, the one pass away, about 16 or 15. But plenty strikers. All, you must think, Kampo 5, Kampo 8, Kampo 2. See? All only Visayan.

CT: Even if Visayan no like strike, they still no can stay in the plantation?

IL: No can, no. Because you got to get out. Because that day get the trouble, Ligot bin come down, ride plane. And then, he go speech; he said, "No, leave 'em alone, the Visayan go strike." Yeah. This is his word, "Leave 'em alone, the Visayan is strike," He just like, he's the talk for Ilocano, you no go for Visayan.

GG: And Ligot came to Kauai that day?
IL: Come Kauai that day. The Ligot, the...what the name, that....
RF: Legal counselor. [Commissioner for the Philippines]
IL: Yeah.
CT: Cayetano Ligot?
IL: Uh huh. He come down right away there.
GG: Did he come to Hanapepe that day?
IL: Yeah. He got meeting, got meeting. "Leave 'em alone."
CT: That meeting in New Camp?
IL: No. Any place he go, make meeting.
RF: As long get group of people, he would meet them and tell them, "Let the Visayan strike, let them go. Don't bother with them."
CT: You and your husband were living together that time?
IL: Yes.
CT: What did your husband think about the strike?
IL: What can you do? No can help because all the Visayans, all go out and he no like somebody [call] him "scab," huh? Got to go out because all New Camp most Visayan. The father is supervisor.
CT: Mr. Lutao?
IL: Yeah, Mr. Lutao. Supervisor. I said so far, maybe most Visayan go out, only them.
RF: Only my father no go.
IL: Yeah, I think so.
RF: Then, I remember, at night, get some who would knock the door and then Papa would give them codfish, food and coffee to drink. Give whatever he get, go help the....
IL: Because you about four years old, or five?
RF: About six, I think. But I remember going. My nino had bring me over there too, by the hall. And then, when they see the police, he had hide me by one Japanese house, Okino house. I remember the last name of that guy, Okino. And he tell Okino, "You malama my baby until I come back for her." And he didn't come back for me until late that
night because I cried sleeping, waiting for him. And then, the next day, he brought me back to my father. That is my godfather.

CT: Who was your godfather?

RF: Gregorio Majayat.

IL: Died already, in Philippines, eh?

RF: But I always used to follow him because he's my godfather. They heard about many people died, my father said, "I going town to see who and who died." So I tag along with him, and was Waimea Hospital where all the people were laid on the grass. And then he opened one by one, to find which one his friend, who and who died. The last one that he opened and cried was Ceballos' husband, because they were kompadre, I think. Kompadre means that he was the godfather of one of his child.

IL: I think if she able to talk, I think more better because she know everything. She stay inside the hall. Like me, only I stay there that day and then the different trouble. But I know I remember the policemen, they attack us [the strikers].

GG: Did they not arrest everybody that was staying around there, then? Because they did not arrest your husband, right?

IL: No, because my husband no stay there inside. I knows he got the paper from plantation, but no inside the strikers....out.

GG: Were there many others like you that were renting their own place?

IL: No, I don't think so because hard, no can afford to. Got plenty children. But my brother bin warn me. He said, "No, I going Honolulu. I no like you going inside the hall. Go rent house."

GG: How did you manage? Must have been hard, too.

IL: Oh yeah. But, well, anyway, you can manage. Because no can do nothing.

GG: You had other children, then, too? Or just the one baby?

IL: No, only one. Just one, just baby yet. The boy born July 1; and then following month is the strike.

CT: You remember how much rent you paid?

IL: Oh, I think this man so nice, $5. So nice guy, he bin bring us while us going. Because he beg us go out because now the striking is finish, I can be the witness. He said, "Go out," because bumbai, the baby going sick. So us bin go out and then us go try for go someplace.
And he did bring us in Nawiliwili because us got friend too, there. He bin strike but out too, he no going inside there. That's just the friend over there, us live over there until my husband get job Grove Farm.

GG: So how long after the trouble here did you go over there?

IL: Oh, about the trouble here, only after one week. And then us bin go up. No can live, eh, because my husband got to find job. Anyway, can manage. I know is hard.

CT: You know, the food for the strikers, did they try get food from the river, the ocean?

IL: I think so because them most fishermen, eh?

RF: The Visayans are noted for fishing, divers. They were good divers.

IL: Yeah, he find way to...you know. Well, I think plenty guys who going give. Especially store, Japanese store going supply, help.

RF: And Japanese stores and businessmen always help.

CT: You remember what store?

IL: No, because before, so...you know, store there too. Between 1924 and now, oh boy. [Long time ago.]

CT: But you think some Japanese store would help out?

IL: Yeah, I buy Japanese store, my food. But lucky thing, that week, us got food. So much stay inside the house. Even for go shit, because you so scared. [Only stayed inside; didn't go out of house for anything.]

CT: You and your husband and the baby?

IL: Yeah, and the baby.

CT: You know, that the time shooting, nobody try come in your house?

IL: No, because...no nobody. Only I came here, somebody run away already. You know, I like see this life, eh. You can hear, I can hear talking, you can hear talking, screaming. But so far, I think no more police follow because police is in front them.

GG: What about any of the other strikers tried to come your house to hide, too?

IL: No, because nobody know. Nobody know because my husband so smart, all the slipper—you know Filipino slipper—put 'em inside. And then, lucky thing the baby no scream. Lucky thing, really. Thanks to God, because he no cry.
RF: They can tell, you know; you can tell if you are Filipino or Japanese by your slipper.

CT: What kind slipper; Filipino slipper?

IL: Oh, Filipino slipper. You know the kind.

RF: Leather, made from the Philippines.


RF: And the Japanese slipper is just that regular kind and they don't use the....

CL: [Catalino Lagmay, IL's husband.] The pointed kind.

IL: Yeah, pointed, that. I no more already. Wen broke, mine.

RF: Is a leather like this and just a covering like that. That's the men's kind slipper. The lady one is where get criss-cross, like this.

GG: So they think that yours must be...

IL: They think nobody stay because...

GG: I see, because no more slippers out there.

IL: No more, no.

RF: But the whole area is covered [front part of foot.]

IL: Then nobody know, even my friend. Nobody know I stay that house.

RF: It's from the slipper they can tell if that's Filipino of Japanese house.

CT: What if somebody come knock on your door?

IL: No, so far, I ask...."Oh, please, my baby sleeping." Lucky thing, really, the baby. I don't know why, no cry. I didn't know he's alive.

GG: Maybe because you holding so tight.

IL: Ho boy! Now, my son is going be 54, July 1. See? Now he working Pearl Harbor, he supervisor.

GG: Do you know whether the police took everbody else, all the Filipino men, from around that place that day?

IL: Yeah, gone all. Bring 'em in the jail. The one he get hurt, bring 'em hospital.
RF: All the one left back, they take 'em away, all to the jail.

GG: Everybody except your husband had to go jail?

IL: Yeah, but my husband.

CT: When your husband still working in Makaweli Plantation, what if he wanted to stay?

IL: No, I don't think so because he get the feeling too, eh. Same. Because all Visayans is strike, except the father [Mrs. Fuertes'].

GG: And do you know if the plantation told your father not to strike because of his job, or....

RF: Because he was the big boss. He wasn't supposed to be with the working gang because he was supervisor.

CL: Supervisor only to the company.

RF: And during the strike, when my husband was the leader, they had some kind of conflict between my father and my husband. My father is a supervisor and my husband is the labor union president.

CT: That's the 1946.

RF: Yeah, the one the paper you [Chad] had.

GG: And you think the Ilocano that came inside might have been sent there on purpose?

IL: I don't know.

GG: Were they scared, do you know? Or did you ever see the Ilocano....

IL: No, I no see that because all time I stay inside the....that morning, my husband go play card. Get plenty people; wahine, baby. And he said, "How come?"

"Oh, because got one Ilocano who inside. He like take 'em out. No can."

I wen go peep. Oh, the policeman stay there. Oh. I grab my husband, "Come on, us go now!"

CT: The policeman was inside the hall?

IL: In the road, because near. Yeah, near.

GG: And the policeman wen call somebody outside, or somebody was outside already?
IL: Yeah, he got out but already fighting talk, but. Me, I bin go. I like save my life, that's why I bin go out. That's why what I know. Not the Filipino bin. What Filipino got? Only knife. What the policeman? He got gun. He can kill 'em, even how many feet. See? That, that's only that I know. Not Filipino bin go after them.

GG: Do you remember hearing the police or the Filipinos talking loud to each other, or...

IL: Yeah, talking loud, but no bother me because I like go home. I like go home. So scared. Oh.

RF: The police went there for take out the Ilocano man?

IL: Uh huh. That's spy.

RF: But the strikers never like let the Ilocano man out. Because the Visayans think that he was sent in as a spy.

IL: 1924, no more Ilocano strike; only Visayan.

GG: Do you know why that was? How come only Visayans strike?

IL: Because Visayan like more money, eh. He like only what Manlapit ask, only dollar-quarter [$1.25].

GG: And the Ilocanos didn't care about getting more money?

IL: No, he no care. Then he can giving them all 50 cents and no care. But no, Visayan not.

CT: How come like that?

IL: I don't know.

RF: The Ilocanos were influenced by Ligot: (Pablo Manlapit, I mean). And tell them that "You lucky that you have..."

CL: Because he no want every so many months, come from Philippines. Because so many people here already, too much. Ligot order the people from the Philippines, that's why no more job here already. Because so much already, people. That's the case. The Ilocano have to work because just came from the Philippines.

IL: Because Ligot bin tell, "You lucky you come Hawaii. You go work, you get shoes." And you know, too much propaganda.

CL: He knows that...

IL: But Visayan, no.

CL: To come to Kauai to find job to earn money. He no care how much they
give, so long they stay here. Because the news from here go to the Philippines is just like pick up the money in the way.

IL: Just like you pick up the money in the road, and then you no have hard life. I working in the field, only 75 cents one day. Oh!

CL: For less than $1.

GG: You worked in the field, too?

IL: Yeah, I working.

GG: What was your job?

IL: Huki lepo kalai*, water boy. Same, 75 cents.

RF: But the Visayan came way back in 1910 and they worked more longer time and they felt the hardship of how little the pay and how hard the work was. That's why they strike.

GG: And did very many, when they finished their contract, go off the plantation? Or they stayed still on the plantation?

RF: Most stayed. And at that time, they have somebody to come and wake you up. Kick you door, "Get up. Go work." They were treated like animals.

GG: That was the camp police?

IL: Yeah, the....you no going be up, he going come your house. "Get out!" So mad.

CL: They whip you just like, you know. They got the whipper, the long whipper. Just like the one holding for use the horse, eh. He got that. So he ask you why you no work. You no going hospital, he going whack 'em already.

IL: So mean, plantation people.

CT: You remember some day when you no go work?

IL: No my time brother, I work already. No more that kind. But them time--my husband time--ho, you sick, no sick, no believe that. You got to go.

GG: How long did you work for the plantation? Do you remember what years you worked?

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*Huki lepo kalai - Literally, pull dirt hoe; describes one of the plantation's field jobs. Source: Mrs. L. Villatura, Mrs. Lagmay's daughter.
IL: No, I worked. I got the baby, I go stop working. And when better, I go work. And the longest I work—1937, I working baby house until 1941. And already my husband been away, my first husband.

RF: They had this baby house where they keep those babies for the parents interested to go out to work. The mothers sent them there.

IL: Over there, I work over there for how many year. I trying only $1.05 one day. From 6:00 [a.m.] until 4:30 [p.m.].

GG: And how many babies they had over there?

IL: Sometimes 36. And five wahine watch the baby. So really—well, I'm strong. Young, you strong.

CT: Hawaiian Sugar made that baby house?

IL: Yeah, Hawaiian Sugar. And our boss, Mrs. Carter. She's a nurse. She was so nice.

RF: That time, they were trying to be good to the laborers. Change their method, not like the way they did the beginning—treat them like animals. That's when the Visayans started this. "We better do something because we treated like animals; we working hard, little pay." Then we thought of striking.

IL: If my husband go work 23 days and then get bonus. Two dollars. Only $25. And how many baby? You see our life, what kind life?

GG: And what happened if he only worked 22 days or 21 days?

IL: You see, that only ends up you got $1 one day. You buy rice, one bag, you going work for three days or four days. Not like now. Now, the children are so very lucky. That's why, sometime I tell my children no; I say, "Ho, if only I got this kind life before. Plus, have everything." But God help, still I'm alive. That's why, I'm thinking, "Eh, only me the old-timer here. Eh, the shame."

RF: Not shame. You supposed to be proud.

IL: And I going be 74. Oh, I go remain manong. Sometime, I say, "Oh, Maria." Now you can take 'em. Now my children are... oh... automatic, everything. Me, I no try washing machine. I working, I go start take laundry somebody. You know how much the pay, the people going give me? Dollar-half [$1.50] one month. And so dirty clothes. You scrub, scrub. [Did laundry for laborers when she was a new immigrant.]

GG: And how did you scrub it? Or where?

IL: No, we scrub 'em. He got the something.

RF: We have that regular scrub brush.
IL: Yeah. And then boil 'em, the clothes. Oh my, my, my God. But God helps. Still I'm ticking.

GG: How many people did you wash clothes for?

IL: I remember, I got 10 people, dollar-half.

GG: That was you stayed home with the baby to do the washing.

IL: Uh huh. And that time already, the baby, he go to somebody, watch. I work again plantation, is better. Even 75 cents one day, you finish, you going relax. But the washing, ho, take you for how many days. Wash and scrub, scrub. No more washing machine.

RF: And she beat the clothes.

IL: Yes, beat the clothes and then boil 'em. Really.

GG: And you made your own soap, or you bought the soap?

IL: No, I bought the soap.

CT: How many times a week they bring you the clothes?

IL: One week, one time. Then, every Saturday, bring 'em. And then I got to wash 'em, that for how many days?

GG: Everybody bring 'em all one time, all one day?

IL: Yeah, because that's my contract. I like wash one time.

RF: Saturday is the day they bring the dirty clothes and pick the clean clothes. So within that week she has to clean it all, that laundry.

IL: I said my children all so very lucky.

CT: How much they bring?

IL: Oh, sometime two pants and two shirt; and the pants and the shirts. Especially, the men da kine....kukae, all kind. Oh, sometime got plenty. But you no can squawk because you like the money. You like or not, you got to do 'em.

CT: Even if little bit or plenty clothes, still dollar-half?


GG: And did only Filipinos bring their clothes, or you washed for Japanese too?


GG: And did you wash for Ilocanos and Visayans, or...
IL: I got the tub.

GG: A small tub, or the galvanized....

IL: Got big tub. Big tub. I got to buy my own, too.

RF: Plantation give you that big tub.

IL: One day soak 'em in soap with water. And next day, you going rinse 'em, again brush 'em and then boil 'em. Put 'em in the pot. Hard life.

GG: No more bleach, then, either?

IL: No, got.

RF: If get grease, you put kerosene little bit, in the boiling water.

GG: And then you hang 'em up or....

IL: Yeah, hang 'em in my veranda. I get so many lines.

CT: So, first day, soak 'em; second day, rinse 'em.

IL: Rinse 'em good because free water.

RF: While rinsing, you shake it and take out some of the dirt. And then, you start...

IL: That's how I like.

CT: Then what the next one?

IL: Next one, you going hit 'em again. And then, put 'em in the big kind tub, hot water. Got that soap, eh? Yeah, he going.

GG: How do you get the hot water?

IL: Oh, get plenty firewood.

RF: We had the tarai; put fire underneath.

CT: And then, you got to starch too?

IL: Oh yeah, yeah. Filipino.

(Laughter)

IL: Not like now. But me, even now, I starch my clothes. I go starch. My son said, "Well, you still using this kind?"

I said, "Well, too bad. I am not the young generation."
RF: They like their stiff clothes. Like my husband, I starch clothes sometime on his shirt. It looks neater and when you wash it the next time, the starch seems to absorb the dirt. So when you wash it the next time, easier to clean.

IL: You know me, I no believe this wash and wear. That's true. I going tell you the truth. I got wash-wear. I got to iron 'em. Because I going approve it, the wash-wear, no iron; and iron is better.

GG: Okay, you hung 'em up after you starch 'em. Then you bring 'em inside. Did you just fold 'em up, or you had to iron them for them too?

IL: No, you got to sprinkle.

GG: But you had to iron them before you give 'em back to the men?

IL: Oh yeah, I got to iron 'em. Because iron all nice, see. And then go to deliver.

GG: Oh, you deliver?

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

GG: So you iron them for the men, too?

IL: Yeah, everything. Handkerchief, undershirt.

GG: And then you deliver them or they come pick 'em up?

IL: Yeah, I deliver.

RF: They put it on their head and you walk.

IL: Yeah.

GG: Did you wrap it in something?

IL: Yeah, because always them, he got wrap in the rice bag. Wrap 'em and got to wash 'em, that. And then iron 'em. And that's the one for wrap 'em again. And finish, everything.

RF: You have to wash that wrapper.

GG: And how many did you deliver at one time?
IL: If that Saturday, if go wash 'em, and next Saturday, got to deliver again.

GG: Right. But how many did you take? Did you have car to deliver, or you walked?

IL: No. Oh, no, no. My children, they go deliver. This and that, this and that...

CT: Same time they deliver, they pick up?

IL: Yeah, pick up.

GG: And then, when do they pay you? On the Saturday too?

IL: No, after plantation pay.

GG: Oh, after pay day.

RF: But some, they don't pay. They go dance.

IL: Some, he no pay yet. He go dancing, dancing.

GG: And if they don't pay, then what? You don't do their laundry next time?

IL: I got to talk nice, you know. But sometime, two month he no pay, three month. And then I going come, already I get plenty over there to do. You folks very lucky.

CT: What year you did that?

IL: Whole my life I do that. Until now. I am pensioned, but I doing yet, my husband clothes. Everything, bed sheet. Before, no more bed, no need da kine, eh....

GG: Sheet.

IL: Yeah. But now, ho. Got the bed sheet, get that everything. The time, my children still yet; ho, my God. Every week got to wash the bed sheet, everything in the house. I supposed to be pensioned and more relax, but no, same thing. Still I'm working. Now I go doing this patchwork [quilts]. My husband no like but is not good too, you only sit down. Because you got to do something. I got to do something. I forget what my life before. Because if I no going do something, only I sit down, waiting for cooking, no. Especially, I got plenty kid and now me, even one no stay. And you think what the mother no going broken heart? I suffer my whole, my life, and now what? My children stay Honolulu, one up Mainland, one stay Japan. I try make busy my mind because if only I going do something, I think that's I going to come crazy. Think only my children. So I got to do something.
GG: Keep busy.
IL: Uh huh.

CT: You went to Grove Farm one week after the strike?
IL: No, not one week yet. After that, maybe one month. And then, my husband go apply there, Grove Farm. Lucky thing he bin take 'em. And then I stay there--Grove Farm--for how many year. And then nineteen twenty....the time Baldwin die, us bin come back here. 1928, us bin come back Makaweli.

GG: How come you came back?
IL: Because I like Makaweli.

GG: And how come you didn't come back before then?
IL: No can. No, the Baldwin, the old man, you know, the manager. That's the stinker bugga, that. He know, huh, all that...

GG: Remembered from the strikers before, so wouldn't take anybody back.
IL: Yeah. That's why bin come back. I come back over here, I was in Camp 4, I got three kids already.

CT: How come you like Makaweli?
IL: I don't know. Now, sometime my children say I should sell the house, go Honolulu.

"Too bad, I like Kauai." See, it's better too, the family far away. Because more close, give you trouble.

(Laughter)

IL: Yeah, that's true. Give you trouble. It's better the one far away because one time he come, so happy the family this kind. But close to you, ai; bring your grandchildren, ai.

You know how many grandchildren I got? Forty-two. And great [grandchildren], that's 20. I got 20 great-grandchildren. That's why, I don't know what time God going take me.

GG: Strong yet, though. You probably'll outlive 'em all.
IL: I don't know what the time God take me. Because I think I suffer, enough.

RF: And before, we used to make extra money. I used to do it with her. We used to make Filipino candy.
IL: Yeah, make kankanin.

RF: We used to make it and we used to sell...

IL: Ho, you got to. You got to make extra, for living. Because a wife is working, big help. I know that. I make this kind, Filipino kind. I can sell. All what you sell. We can buy meat. No can eat meat every time.

GG: How did you make it? [The candy.]

IL: Oh, the Filipino, I know how to make the Filipino rice cake. I know how to make Filipino kind. I going do something because it's better.

GG: And how often did you make it? Only before pay day?

IL: No, sometime I go make two time one month. And then go sell. And then after pay day, I got money.

RF: And then, we collect after pay day.

IL: Yeah, collect. Because sometime sad, eh? That's true. We selling, the mother [Mrs. Fuertes' mother] too. Me, I living, the time I come back, 1928, I living next door to them. Because I know them, Visayan. Because most Ilocano inside already. Then I living with them, next door.

RF: And had many bachelors that we could sell them and... they hungry when they come home from work. And we there to bring them something nice and hot. We go ride the bicycle.

GG: Was there very much problem because there were so many bachelors and only few ladies in the camp?

IL: No, not. Before, people nice. No bother. Nice, you talk nice to them.

RF: At that time nice. But get one year, you remember when they used to "cowboy" the ladies?

IL: Before that. 1910, I think that. I no stay Hawaii yet. Yeah, that's true. Even your husband stay there like that. If the men attack me, they take me because got the gun. 1919, 1915, no?

RF: Yeah, somewhere around there.

IL: Before trouble. The time I no stay yet.

RF: They were showing free movies to the Filipinos, and cowboy picture. So the Filipinos, they imitate that one. They steal the ladies, cowboy the ladies. Sometime, when the ladies not there, and then, "What happened to so-and-so?"

"Oh, they cowboy her."
IL: Maybe the husband open the eye. If he said he like the wife. Especially beautiful. "I take 'em." But not now.

GG: But that was before you came?

IL: The time I come, already pau. The people already settled.

CT: When you make the kankanin, how much you sell 'em for?

IL: Oh, sometime I can sell $15, sometime $20.

CT: How much one?

IL: One block.

RF: By bundle.

IL: By bundle, quarter [25 cents].

RF: Was 15 cents, 25 cents. Then come up to 50 cents. The 50 cents that we used to sell, now the other ladies selling now for dollar one. Because the mochi rice is expensive too, and sugar. Everything is expensive.

GG: Do you remember what years, what time you were selling it?

RF: That was 1930's.

IL: Whole my life, I selling that one. I get laundry, I get that.

CT: The laundry, even when your husband was Grove Farm time, you was doing?

IL: No, Grove Farm, I no working already [at home]. I working in the Grove Farm already. I working cut seed.

GG: But you were doing laundry when you were living Makaweli, full time?

IL: The time I come back--1928--the time, I doing the laundry. Because already got so many mouth for feed. The one before, the first one, only one. Only $1 one day and going spend maybe 50 cents one day, got the 50 cents.

I try water boy, I try hapai ko, huki lepo kalai. And then, the luna, he go scream yet. He said, "Ai, karaho." Yeah.

CT: What is that, karaho?

IL: Karaho mean devil. Yeah, you doing that and then he going... he going scold you. If I going huki lepo kalai, the thing too tall, eh. So I going sit down there. And then the luna smart, go peep to you. (Laughs) Ai, you fella very lucky.
CT: Plenty wahine working that time?

IL: Yeah, got plenty wahines working because...

CL: Japanese, Filipinos, all mix up.


GG: And they let some ladies do hapai ko?

IL: No, us going pile the cane and then the men going carry. Before got to carry, eh. But not now, because machine.

RF: And some ladies, the Portuguese, German, Hawaiians from the Portuguese Camp used to go out and work, the young girls. They used to do those.

GG: Carry the cane?

IL: Yeah, that's true.

CT: The time in the hall, your husband go play card with them. Did he go everyday, play card with them?

IL: No, only some time. I don't know what that day, why us go. Go down because I like go store. Us bin go store, buy something, and then us bin drop over there. Bumbai play card, no more nothing to do. And then, the devil bin come.

(Laughter)

IL: That's why, yeah, that's true. I bin sit down and carry the baby. Got plenty wahine, talk story and laugh.

CT: About how many wahine you remember?

IL: Plenty, because most married men, the one in there.

CT: Ten, twenty?

IL: No, I think more than. I know one lady I know still alive yet. The one stay Kilauea.

RF: Which one that?

IL: She married. Because the husband, bin send 'em Philippines. And then, she no like follow.

GG: He got deported, sent back by the plantation?

IL: Yeah. And then that lady, she no like go back. She married to.... she still alive, you know. Stay Kilauea. The name is Donata.
I think you know that. Donata, the name. Married to....I don't know, forget. She stay Kilauea, still alive. The husband, send 'em [was sent to the] Philippines.

GG: And he never came back?

IL: No. How can? No can, no can come back. He get bad record. And then, the wahine, she no like follow.

GG: Then Donata was her first name or her married name?

IL: I don't know. I know is first name, that name Donata. But I no remember the second name. I don't know already. But I know because once in a while, I go see her sometime. And she still remember me. And she said, "Oh, you still alive."

(Laughter)
She said, "How are you?"
I said, "Still ticking."

RF: She's Visayan?

IL: Yeah, Visayan.

RF: Live Kilauea?

IL: Yeah, Kilauea got. I forget the name.

CT: When the last time you went?


CT: Still can talk?

IL: I think so. Can talk because the time I meet, oh, she go laugh, joke. "Eh, how are you?"

"Oh, still kicking. You looks nice." But I don't know. Because long time I never see her. She stay Kilauea. The husband is deported for go Philippines already, and then she no like follow.

RF: You have the list? Maybe I can see her name.

GG: She married again?

IL: Yeah, she married. She get plenty children from this husband now.

CT: So the husband was striker too?
IL: Oh yeah. The first husband. But this one, only married this man and already get children.

CT: He went jail? Her husband went jail?

IL: Yeah, go jail and then send 'em Philippines. That's why, lucky thing us no go inside there and strike. I think don't see me, we stay Philippines already.

CT: So plenty wahine and small children?

IL: Yeah, no got baby. I think that's why the policemen bin go run to on top. Because plenty kid, eh, in the hall.

CT: If they fight over there.

IL: Yeah, if fight over there the plantation....

RF: Oh, Feliciano Bayot was there too?

IL: Oh yeah, but already pau.

RF: Stay Waimea.

IL: Yeah, but the lady stay....

RF: No.

IL: Nah? Why you no go try.

RF: Not Batay? The last name.

IL: I don't know. She living in, now Kilauea people, but she lived next to you mother [Mrs. Fuertes'] place. That same place, she live in Camp 4. In the middle in the camp. That lady. I know still alive because I bin see the other year.

CT: Mrs. Fuertes, you think you can read all the names. Might take long time but maybe she remember. This other one.

IL: Yeah, get the husband and wife; he put the name too?

CT: Only husband.

IL: Only the husband....

RF: Like this one here, Teotimo Aboloc?

IL: I don't know who that.

RF: Ceriaco Anil? Damaso Anses?

IL: Damaso, the one wen take Imig? That's the one? Yeah.
RF: She wasn't there in the strike.
   This Maximo Aligado? That's supposed to be Manuel, I think, that....

IL: Only one Aligado there?

RF: Only one.

IL: Oh well, that's my husband.

CT: No, but this the one arrested.

IL: Oh, the arrested. Then not my husband; not arrested.

   That one on West Eleele, eh, Dominador Boro? But he died already.

CT: That not your relative?

IL: No.

RF: Gregorio Cruda? Mamerto Codera? Juan Diquito?

IL: What you mean, this one the alive one, this?

CT: We don't know. Was arrested anyway.

RF: This the one wen go jail.

IL: Oh.

   Apolinar Ginebraldo? Cesario Makidato? Pastor Pansueto? Felipe
   This the ones that was...

CT: Get two more page.

   Esteban Lamongsod? Rejino Abinido? Feliciano Bayot--the mother
   of Feliciano still in Waimea.

CT: The wife still around? Feliciano Bayot...

RF: Mrs. Bayot still alive.

CT: That's his wife?

RF: That's the wife of this Bayot.

GG: Where does she live?
RF: Waimea.


These other strikers over here?

CT: They wasn't arrested.

IL: Now, no more Visayan now.

RF: This Acebes, Evaristo; you remember him?

IL: (No reponse.)

RF: Alcorcon, Leandro? Had one Badong, that's the leader.

IL: Yeah.

CT: You remember Badong?

IL: He no even bother. Nice guy. He die, eh?

CT: He was the leader, that time?

RF: He was the one who got the Visayans to da kine. Because one time, I remember he knock at the door and then my father said, "Who are you?"

He said, "Badong."

Then my father gave rice, gave food. So some of the food for the strikers were from the people in the camp. They would come at night. And they not put his last name, only Badong. But he was the real strong leader, that time.


CT: That's all I think. The rest is different.
RF: Plenty. And the other rest is Kanio Aipolani. He's the one that died, eh?

CT: This the police side, now.

IL: Aipolani, that's the one police, eh?


IL: Oh yeah.

RF: Cecilio Basan. The husband died in the strike, I remember. She was telling. You know the old lady used to come vacation; but the daughter still stay.

IL: That's what, the daughter. She don't know nothing.

RF: Stay Honolulu. But same age with manong Eddy.

IL: What before he live camp?

RF: He every time come, but I think that's manong Eddy Macarenas, the... because he come last year, vacation.

CT: She was the daughter of Cecilio Basan?

RF: Yeah.

CT: And you think he died.

RF: Well, they call her "wahine," that lady, because....

IL: Oh, still alive?

RF: Yeah. She get about three houses, Honolulu. Waipahu side.

GG: And that's the daughter or the wife?

RF: That's the daughter of this Cecilio Basan. He's the one that died in the strike.

Vicente Boiser? Reverend C. C. Cortezan was....

IL: How come stay there?

RF: He was the one who da kine the people who died. He was the one make the service.

CT: I think was Reverend Runes.

RF: Reverend Runes. You remember who?
IL: Who can remember. I stay in the room, I'm scared.

RF: Fernandez, Esteban? Gabriel, Prudencio? This is the Ilocano that they tried to take out from the striker place.

IL: Where he stay now? He stay alive? Good for kill him.

(Laughter)

RF: She say, "Good for kill him."

IL: That's the one trouble maker. You know, I think he spy. I think spy, that son of a gun. Why he wen go inside?


Caronilla, Miguel was in the strike, too.

IL: Eh, but the old lady still alive.

RF: The old lady hard to understand when she talk.

IL: Where stay now? She no stay Koloa?

RF: Stay Kilauea, sometimes.

IL: She stay with the daughter.

RF: Yeah.

CT: What name?

RF: Miguel Caronilla.

IL: Ai, pass away already, that old man.

RF: No, she stay yet.

IL: The old man?

RF: The lady.

IL: Oh yeah, the lady. But the old man.

CT: And she still living Kilauea?

RF: Yeah, she stay with the daughter's house.
IL: I think but hard, though.

RF: I think Basilio go call the Batanes guys and ask one last name. Can find out.

And Father Hermann. He was the one I think wen....

Charles Hogue?

Oh, was Dr. Paul Penniston was the doctor that time. Dr. Penniston and Reverend Runes. The Reverend Runes was one of them who buried the strikers.

IL: And how pity, only one puka.

RF: They went in da kine...

IL: Yeah, in that one hole.

RF: No more coffin. They no make coffin. Just lay 'em down.

IL: I think so. After one week, I wen visit the....

CT: You know where stay now?

IL: Yeah, I know the place but...

RF: Stay right behind the---you know the house Papahea Street?

IL: No. Mistake. Stay up.

RF: Yeah, behind of the place but more up.

IL: You know got Bolo, huh, my nephew? That place. Because I bin go there after one week. He still, you know. But now, no more name, no more nothing.

CT: But you know where?

IL: Oh yeah, I know where. Only ground. No more stone. Maybe somebody die, you know, he long time ago.

RF: Because they just made one ditch and just lay them down and then cover them with dirt.

CT: So when you heard all that name, that Donata husband, you never hear?

IL: No. I no remember that Donata husband, but I know Donata stay in Kauai. She stay in Kilauea. Because she married somebody.

CT: Oh, married somebody again?
IL: Yeah, she married one. Because the husband, he got to go home Philippines, eh?

GG: Do you know what the now husband does? What his job or....

IL: No, I think retired already and getting pension. What was the name?

RF: But this, she stay Waimea.

IL: Who?

RF: She stay Waimea. She talk good, she remember everything yet.

IL: Who, Bayot?

RF: Bayot.

IL: Yeah, why you fella no try? She's not da kine....

RF: No, she still strong in the mind yet, and she can talk.

IL: Not like Mrs. Ceballos. Mrs. Ceballos, she don't know already, you.

RF: Yeah, Ceballos don't know nothing already. And Miguel, maybe she can remember, but when you talk to her you got to know her way of talking. So you can understand. Because she talks like she has.... but that's her way of talking.

CT: But the mind...

RF: The mind is still strong.

IL: She no die already.

RF: No, because I seen her last year, I think.

IL: Bayot?

RF: No. Bayot every time come my house. She come sell eggplant, tatane, kankanin. I help 'em because father, eh, no more. Widow.

IL: If only I can help you, but I don't know the name, the husband. I know she's married.

CT: We can try find out. We can ask.

IL: The name is Donata. But I don't know the name now.

CT: How old you think she must be now?

IL: Maybe same age as me, I don't know. But small wahine; small. Dark.

CT: She wear glasses, too?
IL: I don't know. Because the time I seen, she no use eyeglass.

RF: Yeah, get some Filipinos, their eyes are--although they're past 80--they don't wear eyeglass. Who's the teacher that teaches weaving? He's 79 and he teach weaving without glasses.

IL: Yeah, look that manang mother; 89, she still no use eyeglass. Yeah, 89.

GG: Do you think this lady might go to Senior Citizens activities, or....

IL: I don't know.

RF: You mean Bayot?

GG: Uh huh.

RF: No. She's always home.

IL: See, the daughter die in the plane crash.

RF: Yeah, the plane crash from Vietnam. She had one daughter died.


CT: You know, you said Badong. You remember him?

IL: Yeah, I remember him, but die, eh? Pass away, eh? Nice guy.

RF: But he was a good leader.

IL: Yeah, he's nice guy, that.

CT: They never send him to Philippines?

IL: I don't know. Because I know he's....maybe.

RF: Because when Aggie Elisibi and my parents used to talk, and some of the strikers used to talk, they mentioned, "Oh, Badong said we must do this," and this and that. And he's the very one that knock the door for food for the strikers.

IL: That, you mean the one you bin read, that all that in 1924? Ai, plenty. Plenty Visayan.

RF: Was most Visayan. My nino name no stay inside. My nino.

IL: Stay inside? Not, eh? Yeah. Because his name....like our one, no more inside.

CT: This only arrested one.
RF: Arrested and the one died, eh?

CT: The one tried.

IL: Us bin only go out in the plantation, and us no go inside the hall.

RF: My nino never go in the hall, too.

CT: Who is that?

RF: My godfather, Gregorio Innaparida.

CT: Is he still?

RF: He's dead. He went back Philippines.

CT: We think, see, had 130 people arrested, but that list is only 72. That's the one that was tried. So get another 58 people--the names, we don't know--that were there and were arrested, but they let 'em go. So we trying to find those names.

GG: And then, we've also been hearing other names from people that aren't on the list. So we're trying to piece it all together.

CT: You know this Bakiano? From Hanamaulu.

IL: Yeah, I know that, but. Look familiar, good friend with my daughter, Bakiano.

CT: Agapito Bakiano.

IL: The policeman?

CT: That's the son. He was over there.

IL: Yeah. Yeah, I know, that name look familiar because Hanamaulu. That's a good friend with Nora, that Bakiano.

RF: But the father was in the strike.

CT: The father still alive.

IL: Yeah.

RF: You didn't talk?

CT: We talk little bit with him.

RF: And he remembers?

CT: Yeah.

IL: The mother smart make kankanin, yeah?
CT: I think so. With the coconut? Yeah. I saw her. She get the machine, eh? And then, she hold the coconut, take out the meat?

IL: Yeah. She smart to make the bibingka. The mother. Make good business, that. So she get the grinder.

RF: Not very much people have that stone that grind the mochi rice.

IL: Yeah, she get the stone for grind 'em.

CT: She does that yet?

IL: Yeah, she's doing.

RF: If you seen her doing that with the coconut, she must be doing. She's the best lady that makes that bibingka.

IL: You know that official occasion. Get party, something like that, she going order from me, sometime 100 or what. Good money. She get the special stone.

RF: You cannot find that stone that grind the meat from the coconut.

IL: Eh, finish?

CT: Yeah, okay. Thank you, thank you.

IL: No, no. Go drink juice.

END OF INTERVIEW
[This is the second interview with Mrs. Ignacia Lagmay. Today is August 16, 1978. The interview takes place at Hanapepe, Kauai.]

GG: So now, let's see, we got through part of this, that I wanted to ask you. You are Visayan, right?

IL: Yeah, I'm Visayan.

GG: Okay. And, how did you happen to decide to come to Hawaii? You didn't tell me that yet.

IL: Oh no, I no like come Hawaii, you know. But my brother stay here already. Before, I'm single, my brother like bring me here. And, you know, just like partner-partner somebody. I no like, you know, because that's not nice. I going marry and make believe, and you know; me, I no like. And then, my husband, he said, "After us bin marry, more better us go Hawaii." I no like, he got good job in Philippines, you know. He working in the jobbers.

GG: In the what?

IL: The....you know, that pier. In the pier. And then, he like come Hawaii, I got to follow, eh. See. And I stay in Manila, go come Hawaii. Sick and sick. Oh.

GG: Seasick, you mean?


GG: What did you hear about Hawaii, when you were there?

IL: He said---everybody tell me, "You going Hawaii, you no can go home already. No can go back."
You know what, in my mind so unhappy, because he said, "Gold." He said, "In Hawaii, gold money, he get."

I reach here, no more gold. That's true, you know. That's true. I said, "Aiyaa, they said in Philippines, he said, 'you go in Hawaii, only the gold,' but, how many months I stay, how many year I stay here, I no more gold." You see.

GG: Who told you those kind of things?

IL: Oh, in the news. You know, people talking. This kind Hawaii, this kind.

GG: That came down there to recruit people?

IL: Yeah. "Oh, you going Hawaii, you no can go home already." See, that's true. Because now stay here, how long? I got here 52 year; and that's the time I bin go back, in 1974. You know, reach---I reach in Philippines, in Manila; really, I bin cry first, me. I think that's why I bin sick. Too excited, and so long, you like see in your home. And then, ah. I wen cry, I said, "Oh, my God."

GG: When you came from the Philippines, what did you bring with you? Do you remember?

IL: Nothing, only clothes; that's all.

GG: Very many clothes?

IL: No, only Filipino kind. Terno, but all broke already. Yeah, no can bring nothing. Because the Immigration, he going supply you shoes, or kaukau, anything. You no can bring. Only the clothes, how much you can bring in your own one.

GG: How about if you had any special--oh, I don't know--like something that your mother made for you, or special kind of art work?

IL: Yeah, yeah, yeah [I know what you mean]; but no. No. [I didn't bring.]

GG: Why didn't more women come? Do you know?

IL: I don't know about that. Now?

GG: No, I mean way back then, not very many women came. Did you ever have any of your lady friends back there tell you not to go, or...

IL: Oh, yeah; plenty. You know, plenty. Even this, the time us bin go back in Philippines. Oh them, before, he talk about Hawaii, eh. And the time I come back, in Philippines, he jealous. Oh, he like come Hawaii. I said, "No think Hawaii is easy life. Not easy. Hawaii not you going pick up the money. You got to work hard."

GG: Did you speak any English, when you first came?

IL: No. I speak Filipino, really Filipino. You know, but, you go store, I bin learn how to, you know, talk da kine broken English. But the time my children go school, they go school already, I go talk Filipino, they going answer me English. That's the time I catch on. Because after all, because I bin go school. I stay learn that. I been school for only one month. And my mother die, already hard living. You got to earn you living, but nothing, see. And then, my children bin come big, you know, I go tell him, you know, and then he understand Visayan. But he answer me English. That's the time I learn.

GG: Do they still understand or speak Visayan now, your children?

IL: Some. But some not. This one now, the one, the Puhi one. She understand, I talk Visayan. Because the mother-in-law is Visayan; no can talk good English.

GG: I see. Okay, I had a few questions [from the first interview] on, you know, things that you told me before, that weren't clear. I wondered, at one point, you were talking about... you said, "and I see the policemen, and then the people talk, and somebody bin scream. And then, he got gun." Did you mean that the policemen had the gun, or did you mean---did any Filipinos have guns? [Refers to information about September 9, 1924 Hanapepe incident.]

IL: I no see, the Filipino got gun. But only the policemen.

GG: I see. And, you were talking about---oh, I know; what made you think that the Ilocanos that they were holding were spies? Remember, you said those two...

IL: Yeah, because only---that time, only Visayan bin go strike. Only the Visayan bin strike. Ilocano no like, see. Because, I think, you know, maybe plantation, I don't know. That's what I hear. He like trouble, eh. He bin go inside that, spy. Wen go inside spy. That's why, he start the trouble.

GG: And then, when he went inside, then they kept 'em, and wouldn't let them go. Is that it?

IL: Yeah, he like---he no can go out.

GG: And also, you talked about the house you lived in, that you rented, rather than staying in the strike hall--that your brother had
stayed there before. Now, why did your brother go to Honolulu?

IL: No, my brother, he no---he stay there. My brother, he told me, "You go in rent house, no go and stay there [in strike camp]." My brother bin go Ewa---no, Aiea, because he get uncle. The wife, he got uncle.

GG: Oh, in Aiea Plantation?

IL: Yeah, Aiea Plantation.

GG: So, had he been to---had he lived on Kauai at all?

IL: Yeah, before in---just like in New Camp, too. But then, he go away, because he no like go inside the strike. He go Honolulu, and he leave us here. But before he bin leave, he tell, "No go inside [strike camp]." That's why, even though how hard life, us got to rent house, eh.

GG: Yeah. And where was New Camp, where you lived? Approximately where?

IL: Oh, New Camp, you mean? The old camp. Now, the one, that's the Kaumakani one, that is. But over there, only one line. There, the house here. I think about.... no more [than] 15 house, I think, there. That house, maybe. Because my house is Number 10. My brother is Number 1, see.

GG: And was that, only Filipinos lived in that camp?

IL: Yeah, only Filipino. Yeah, Filipino. Ilocano, Visayan, but only...

GG: That's what I was going to ask, did they have Ilocano and Visayan living next door to each other?

IL: Yeah, same. Ilocano or Visayan, yeah. Because next door to me is Ilocano. See?

GG: I see. Okay. And, where is the Japanese graveyard?

IL: Oh, in Camp 1.

GG: And that's by Makaweli, too?

IL: Yeah, Makaweli.

GG: And then, you talked about a plane. And I wondered if they had planes at that time. That was---oh, you were talking about when Ligot came down. And you said he rode a plane, the day they got trouble. Now, I wondered, it was a plane, or a boat?
IL: No, not boat. Because get small, just like helicopter. Before.

GG: Oh, I see. They had the small planes. And then, where did he land?

IL: I think, in the, over there, the Burn's Field. You know, the Hanapepe one. Near the Salt Pond. Yeah, there. This is Filipino graveyard, no. Or other side, that is the one got the planes, and going land in here.

GG: We were talking about Mrs. Fuertes' father didn't go on strike, but he was Visayan. Can you tell me why he didn't go on strike?

IL: Because he supervisor.

GG: I see. And did the plantation management tell the supervisors they couldn't go on strike?

IL: I no think so. You know, the father is da kine type, too, you know, him.

GG: Were there some other Visayans who didn't strike too?

IL: All Visayans bin strike.

GG: All except him?

IL: Yeah. In the camp.

GG: Yeah, that was in your particular---New Camp, right?

IL: No, them stay in the camp, Camp 4. Us, New Camp. But all the Visayan bin go strike. I know, all Visayan bin strike. That's---only that Lutao no strike.

GG: And what was the feeling, about other Visayans. You know, how did they feel about him not striking.

IL: Rotten. But, you no can do nothing, because he's just like--he's supervisor. Supervisor, that, father, that Mrs. Fuertes. That's why, the Filipino tell him, boto boto.

GG: Also, do you remember having dancing around the camps anywhere, for people?


GG: Do you know who put on the dances?

IL: Ai, only da kine Filipino, you know, that Filipino holidays. Some time, Rizal Day. That kind. For only for good fun.

GG: And what kind of dances did they have?
IL: Da kine, the haole dance. And some got Filipino kind dance, you know. I watch all that, I don't know. Lajota.

GG: Did they have taxi dancing?

IL: Oh, before. Before, no more the strike yet. No more. After the strike, got taxi dance.

GG: And also, you never did tell us exactly how to make the candy, that you used to make to sell. Can you tell me, at least, what went into it? That was, like, mochi rice?

IL: Yeah, mochí rice.

GG: And then, sugar and other things too?

IL: Yeah. I know—how many kind, I know, Filipino candy, you know. Some, the mochí rice, you cook 'em with the coconut. And then, half cook only, you wrap 'em with banana leaf. And then, after that, you go steam 'em again. Some, cook 'em just like the rice. And mix up with the coconut and with the sugar, and put 'em in the oven.

GG: And did it take a long time to prepare these things, then?

IL: Oh, that is the other one. Because got two kind. The other one, he take so easy, you know. But, before you going—for example, tomorrow, I going make that—you know, the one, he put 'em inside the oven.

GG: Which kind is that? What's it called, the Filipino name.

IL: The bibingka. Before I going cook that, today is especially—tomorrow, I going cook 'em; today, I going cook the coconut with the sugar. You know why, because after that, you cook 'em, the coconut with the sugar, and then after—next day—he going come out, the gravy. The gravy; and then, that's the one, you put 'em on top, and with butter. And then, in oven; put in the oven.

But the other one is more easy, but more hard; because take so long. You got to wrap 'em, you know. Wipe good, wash 'em good, you know, the coconut and the banana leaf. And then, after that, you going, hmm, plenty get, that. Plenty, get.

GG: Then also, this huki lepo kalai, do you know how to say that in English, or what it means?

IL: Oh, I don't know that, but because, that's what he said, huki lepo kalai. I think Hawaiian, that. You know, you going scrub the grass, and then bring 'em up in the line. That's why, huki lepo kalai. [Literally, pull dirt hoe; describes a plantation field job.] See.
GG: And, where were the stores in Hanapepe, around strike time? Or, what stores were there?

IL: The old store. Before, no more store, you know, this side here. No more nothing, no more store. Because, I know that before, the Japanese hall, the one, Filipino strike, no more store yet. Only the pake store, the one have the bread.

GG: Is that where like Seto's is now?

IL: Yeah, yeah, yeah. That one.

GG: And was Watase Hotel there, already, then?

IL: No, I no think so.

GG: What about, was there a plantation store anywhere nearby?

IL: Oh, plantation store is Camp 4, yeah, the camp.

GG: Why did they have to come clear to Hanapepe, instead of—I mean, was that the closest place to the plantation, when they got kicked out? When you got kicked off the plantation?

IL: No. Because that people, the one working plantation, you got you own store, eh. See. And that time, all that people, the strike, no can. You got to go near. Especially before, no more car.

GG: Where the nearest store is?

IL: Yeah, the near store.

GG: Because when you got kicked off the plantation, you couldn't shop at the plantation store.

IL: You know, before plantation, you do something, no, mistake. He kick you out, throw you outside. That's true, you know. Because so many time. After the strike. That's true. You do something wrong, no excuse. Take—hapai you melitas, take your suitcase, go bring, throw you in Hanapepe. Because so many of them. That's why, people Filipino, scared. Scared happen. Especially, family one.

GG: The ones with families. The Filipinos were afraid of, like the managers, and the lunas?

IL: Yeah.

GG: Did that happen to people that you knew?

IL: No. All, most single, single men.
GG: And what kind of wrong things would they have to do, to get kicked out?

IL: I don't know that. Sometimes, you wrong, do something in planta­tion. Before, he go whip you yet. You know, sometime, you no going work, eh; policeman going come. The police in the camp, police. He whip you.

GG: This was before your time, or...

IL: Before our time, that. That's what us bin hear. Because, before, I think Filipino, we start coming here 1910, eh.

GG: About 1906, I think. And then, it was 1908. These weren't very many.

IL: Yeah, because this Lutao, one. The one Rosario, Mrs. Fuertes' father. 1910, he wen come Hawaii. Yeah. And then, the mother, 1914. And then, the time he married, the father.

GG: And was the strike camp, now, was that mostly married people stayed inside there? Or, mostly single people?

IL: Yeah, married, single, got. Yes.

GG: Some of both. And was there any other strike camp close by? Or, only the Japanese School?

IL: No, only over there. Only there.

GG: Oh, I know, something else, too. You said something about, "Damaso the one wen take Imig." And I didn't know what that meant. I wondered if you could remember.

IL: Yeah, that's Damaso, that's the one now, he stay Kilauea. He stay Kilauea. Same place, that. That's the one, he bin take, yeah. That's the Damaso, that. Why?

GG: Well, I just wondered what that meant. If it meant take to the Immigration Station, or Imig is somebody else's name, or...

IL: No. That Imig, she get this husband. And that Damaso wen take the, you know, somebody wife. Yeah, that's the one. I know that. Now, she stay Kilauea. That family. I know that.

GG: I think that pretty much covers the ones from the last time. And I have some others. Let's see. Before the strike time, when you were staying in the camp; what kinds of things did you folks do for fun, or for recreation?

IL: My husband work garden, plant something. You know. Me, I no do nothing. Only I wash the clothes, and then I take care my family. I take care my baby. See.
GG: And did you ever do things with friends or neighbors? Did you get together with the other people in the camp and do things?

IL: No. My time, like this. Somebody, he need my help, I'm willing to help. And after the strike, I babysitter, I take care somebody who need my help. That is my time. I no can refuse, because that kind person, he need help, that's the time you going help 'em. I do that; I take care my nephew. The time, I stay in the, before the strike, I take care my nephew because my niece, because the mother, hemo baby.

GG: Talking about just before the strike, did you hear of the High Wages movement? Did you know what that was?

IL: I don't know.

GG: And, the strike itself, now, did you have leaders in the strike camp...

IL: Yeah.

GG: ...from---not Manlapit or Ligot. Not Manlapit from outside.

IL: Yeah, not Manlapit, but somebody.

GG: Do you remember who they were?

IL: No. I know that...he call this Badong, but he die. He dead, that. That's the one, the leader inside.

GG: Do you know how he got to be the leader inside?

IL: I don't know.

GG: And when you first found out about the strike, what did you hear about it?

IL: I hear screaming.

GG: No, I mean the strike. Just before you moved.

IL: Oh yeah. He said, "Is strike, is strike." He got to go out plantation, got to go out plantation. Or, you no can do nothing. Go out. And only Visayan go out, because only Visayan going strike.

GG: And you all had to go out on one day?

IL: Yeah.

GG: And did the plantation trucks come and take your stuff out?

IL: No. Us go our own.
GG: And what did you pack up to take with you?

IL: I pack up everything what I need, what inside my house. And then, I know the hall is full up; only people and children, you know. But, I go inside the hall only once in a while. Not every time, because I get my own house.

GG: How did you carry what you packed up to take with you?

IL: Well, he manage. Carry the baby, carry all the, you know, the bundle. My husband, he get somebody help 'em up.

GG: And how did you bundle things up? In what kind of...

IL: I don't know, I forget that one. Is bundle 'em, and then, you know.

GG: And did you ever hear of George Wright?

IL: Uh uh [no].

GG: I think he was with Manlapit.

IL: That Manlapit, still alive?

GG: No, I think he's dead. Do you know how many went out on strike, from your plantation?

IL: Oh, plenty. That one, I think you folks, he get the list, eh. Plenty.

GG: Yeah. I just wondered if you recalled. Did you all walk down together, to the strike camp?

IL: Not us, not us. Other person. Them inside, but not us. Because, beginning, us bin go---my husband bin go somebody, find house, you see. And before that. And then, us go stay at the house.

GG: I see. So, did you go to the house you stayed in, a little bit before everybody else got kicked off the plantation, or right at the same time?

IL: No, the time he kick out, the time already, people go out. Us got to go out, too.

GG: I think I asked you before, but I can't remember what you said; about how the strike camp got it's food. Do you know?

IL: He get food. Somebody give.

GG: Do you have any idea who gave it?

IL: No. I don't know. I think I go give that, but that Lutao supply
After that, no, all people pass by. Lucky thing, my husband brainy, too. He bin take out our slipper--Filipino slipper--put 'em inside.

GG: And nobody tried to come in your house?

IL: No, nobody.

GG: None of the strikers tried to come in there to hide, either?

IL: No. Only the owner house, on top. He said, "Already is clear, everything." That's not good for the baby, that's not good for the mother.

GG: Did you know a Mr. Gooc, I think, his name is?

IL: Gooc? No.

GG: I don't think he was a striker.

IL: Where he live, that?

GG: I think he lived Koloa. If I'm not mistaken. Okay, and you went to--was it Lihue, that you went to, after?

IL: Us bin go Niumalu. And then, us got friend, eh, over there. Had the family living over there. My other friend, he stay there, he no go inside strike. But already dead. Us bin go stay there for how many day. And then, my husband go apply in Grove Farm. After he take 'em, and he get the job Grove Farm, us bin live in the pake camp. Pake camp, over there, us be there 11 year.

GG: And what camp was that, now?

IL: Pake camp. I don't know. Pake camp, that's what they said. But now no more, nothing.

GG: And did all different nationality people live in there?

IL: Yeah, Chinese, Hawaiian--kanaka--that live in there. That's why, he call Chinese camp.

GG: Do you think the strike helped the Filipinos, in any way, after it was over?

IL: I think so.

GG: Can you tell me how you think it helped?

IL: About how wen help, because if not that Ligot, Manlapit bin ask only quarter, $1.25. Only $1.00, eh. And then, what I hear, all
sometime. We drink coffee, get meeting. But us, our own. Us no can. I no take nothing from the strike, because---and first of all, I no like my name stay inside here. Our name stay out from plantation, but us no inside the strike, eh.

GG: Do you know what the women did, that stayed in the hall? Did they have to cook all the meals for everybody, and...

IL: Oh yeah, he cook inside there.

GG: ...did they do it like, so that, like a soup kitchen; everybody eat one time?

IL: Yeah, yeah; I think so, I think so.

GG: Were you ever there at mealtime?

IL: No, no.

GG: I see. You fixed your own, at home, for your family.

IL: Yeah, I fix at home. Because I scared, because, you know, I got the small baby, just my boy born.

GG: Do you recall if there was any trouble in the camp, the day before the shootings happened?

IL: No.

GG: Was there any trouble the night before; you know, like did anybody go marching up the street, or anything like that?

IL: No, no.

GG: As I recall, you said you stayed inside your house for one week, right, [right after the trouble,] before you went out?

IL: Uh huh. That's right.

GG: How did you decide when it was safe to come out?

IL: No, because the house, that's the owner of the house, he's nice, very nice guy. Us scared go out, eh. He said, "You fellows go out because that's not good for the baby." You know. Go out, and then, he bin help us out, that man.

Oh, so terrible, I no like. And first of all, I no like remember that kind time. Oh, really, you know. I think God help me with the angel; my boy, he no cry. The time, all the people run away from over there. "This man die, this man die' Help!" But you can hear, you know, (makes the sound of bullets whizzing) the gun.
that story, the plantation bin give to that, the quarter, all, Ligot bin get 'em. All the Filipino bigshot. That's what I hear, I don't know.

GG: Do you think that after the strike, conditions changed and were better?

IL: Yeah. He wen change.

GG: I think, that's just about it. Unless you've got any other memories that you want to add in...okay, well, I think we can stop there, then.

END OF INTERVIEW
The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai

Volume I

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