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WORLD WAR II AND HAWAII'S CIVILIAN COMMUNITY

A Technical Report in Partial Fulfillment of Cooperative Agreement Order No. CA-8040-2-0001
between the University of Hawai'i and the National Park Service

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This technical report, "World War II and Hawai'i's Civilian Community," is submitted in partial fulfillment of Cooperative Agreement Order No. CA-8040-2-0001 with the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior. This report is based on *An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in World War II Hawai'i*. The five-volume oral history collection, jointly funded by the University of Hawai'i and the National Park Service, is available at the USS *Arizona* Memorial in Honolulu, Hawai'i, the National Park Service/Western Region Office in San Francisco, California, and the National Park Service Interpretive Design Center in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, as well as twenty-seven repositories throughout the state of Hawai'i.

WORLD WAR II AND HAWAII'S CIVILIAN COMMUNITY

Background

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, which plunged America into a global war, is widely considered to be a watershed event of the twentieth century. Under extremely stressful and chaotic conditions, the American government was faced with the difficult task of winning a war abroad, while dealing with a complex situation at home. Shortages in labor and material resources, war-related demographic changes, the perceived threat from resident Japanese (alien and American), and the fears and anxieties of its citizenry all had to be addressed. The need to institute far-reaching policies and regulations to address this situation coupled with the need to unite Americans around a common goal resulted in the dramatic and unprecedented expansion of governmental powers. This expanded role marked the beginning of large-scale, socio-economic change. As one historian commented:

"World War II was the catalyst for the monumental changes that revolutionized the relationship between the American people and their government. Between 1941 and 1945, Washington employed more workers, spent more money, and exerted wider control over the lives of its citizens than ever before." (From: Richard H. Immerman's "The U.S., Hawai'i and Global War: The End of Isolation," in Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities Guide, *World War II's Impact on Maui County* (1991):6.)

Perhaps nowhere else on American soil were the war years more acutely felt and the federal government's influence more pervasive than in Hawai'i. The territory prior to World War II was ripe for change. The changes wrought by wartime policies and conditions were particularly pronounced given the islands' geographic isolation, multiethnic population, plantation-based economy, and highly stratified social order. Two historians commenting on the influence the federal government had over Hawai'i's people during the war wrote:

"The federal government took on immense power in its effort to win the war, often riding roughshod over local authorities, local customs, individual rights, and traditional ways of life." (From Beth Bailey and David Farber's *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i* (New York: The Free Press, 1992): 20.)

The government's imposition of martial law and its seemingly endless string of rules and regulations dictated minute details of daily life. The forced relocation and/or internment of certain aliens and Americans of Japanese ancestry, the movement of workers from neighbor islands to O'ahu, the arrival of thousands of soldiers and civilian war workers, and the departure of thousands of locally-recruited servicemen affected demographics. Full employment in higher-paying defense jobs, high demand for scarce goods, and the opening of new businesses, were all part of the wartime economic boon. Rationing, curfews, blackouts, censorship, etc. all set limits on what were once routine activities.

An oral history project was undertaken to document the experiences of Hawai'i's civilian population during and after World War II. Focused on individual responses, the interviews with thirty-three longtime residents provide us with primary source documentation on the war as a catalyst for social change.

Methodology

Planning for the oral history project began in October 1990 when Daniel Martinez, historian at the USS *Arizona* Memorial, Lynne Nakata of the Division of Interpretation of the National Park Service/Western Region, and Thomas Kleiman of the National Park Service's Interpretive Design Center met with COH Director Warren Nishimoto to discuss the possibility of doing an oral history project to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack.

Discussion centered around the project's focus. Originally, the focus was to be placed on the attack and the civilian response to it. Later, at the meeting, the focus was expanded to examine not just the attack and immediate aftermath but all of the war years. It was decided to study World War II as a period of change—some of the changes were limited to those four years and were of little consequence, others were more permanent and of consequence even to this day. Hence, some aspects of postwar Hawai'i as well as those of wartime Hawai'i were included for study.

After a contract was drawn up between the National Park Service and COH, Nishimoto and research associates Michiko Kodama-Nishimoto and Joe Rossi researched newspaper microfilm for articles and names pertaining to the war, surveyed primary and secondary documents at the Hawai'i War Records Repository located at the University of Hawai'i's Hamilton Library, and reviewed previously published books and articles. This research, along with input from the USS *Arizona* Memorial staff and local resource persons, resulted in a list of potential interviewees.

Because of the large pool of interviewees—the war years affected virtually everyone living during that time—it was decided to seek interviewees reflective of Hawai'i's diverse occupations, lifestyles, and ethnicities, rather than attempt to obtain a representative sampling. COH staff members Nishimoto, Kodama-Nishimoto, Rossi, Jonylle Sato, and Holly Yamada conducted untaped preliminary interviews with over fifty individuals. Thirty-three were selected for taped interviews.

Although a few present and former neighbor island residents were interviewed, the majority of the thirty-three live on O'ahu. Two of the twenty-one men interviewed—Roland Dacoscos and Joe Pacific—are now deceased. All were interviewed for at least ninety minutes, the standard length for one interview session. Most, however, were interviewed in two or more sessions, the longest being five sessions for a total taping time of seven-and-one-half hours.

The interviews were conducted using the life history format. That is, interviewees were asked questions about their life beginning with their family background and progressing chronologically through their childhood, family life, neighborhood, education, and work experiences. As the topic of the war years approached, the questions became more specific and detailed, particularly about everyday life during the war under the military government. They were also asked to describe their work, mobility, and their relations with military and civilian personnel from the Mainland. Interviewees with specific or extraordinary experiences, such as business owners, internees, individuals arriving from the Mainland, women workers, or individuals enduring family hardship such as death or forced relocation, were asked to recall such experiences in detail. Completing their life histories to the present, the interviewees were asked to assess the war's impact on their lives, their families, and their communities.

The interviews were conducted at the homes of interviewees or at other convenient places, such as neighborhood centers or churches, on O'ahu, Maui, Lāna'i, and the Big Island. No set questionnaire was used, interviewers followed an outline of topics designed specifically for each interviewee. The interviews were transcribed almost verbatim by COH-trained University of Hawai'i student employ-

ees, and the transcripts reviewed against the audio tape by the interviewers. Then, after further research to clarify inaccurate statements and slight editing to enhance readability, the transcripts were given to each interviewee for their review and approval. Some interviewees made extensive changes, while others changed little or nothing at all. The interviewers then met with each interviewee to go over their transcripts. After securing the required legal releases (see section under "How to Use the Transcripts" for more information on the legal releases), the interviewees' changes were incorporated into the transcripts, and the transcripts again edited and checked for accuracy. At each stage of the process, names and dates were verified.

The Interviewees

The interviewees selected for this project by no means represent the entire territory-wide population. When examined together, however, they help illustrate the different ways war affected people.

Those interviewed include: workers who either left their regular jobs locally or who came to Honolulu from the Mainland to work in higher-paying federal jobs; business owners regulated by martial law and impacted by the sudden presence of thousands of military and civilian defense workers; women who worked for the USO, WARD, the U.S. Department of Ordnance, the Mutual Telephone Company, and other places; aliens who were interned and Japanese American families who were deprived of their usual livelihoods and/or relocated from strategic military areas; public health, social service, and law enforcement workers who met the needs of the wartime population; and individuals involved in entertainment and recreation (e.g., movies, music, and sports) who were affected by the influx of thousands of young newcomers from the Mainland.

The following includes brief descriptions of each interviewee, in alphabetical order, with some of their contributions to our knowledge of the World War II era:

Catalino Pedro Agliam

Born in the Philippines and raised on Maui, Agliam lived and worked on Maui sugar plantations before moving to Lānaʻi to work for Hawaiian Pineapple Company. During the war, despite its designation as a critical industry, pineapple production on Lānaʻi lost many of its workers to military service and to better-paying jobs outside of the island. Those who remained filled in for those who left:

"Came less and less workers and we couldn't handle whatever supposed to be done. Even the harvesting. Had enough people to harvest, but to ship 'em out, there wasn't enough people to load the fruit that was picked for the day. . . . One crate weigh somewhere seventy and over eighty pounds per crate. . . . And have to throw 'em on a flat deck [flatbed] truck, and there were less and less workers and end up some of us truck drivers had to go give a hand, go work overtime and load the fruit. Put 'em on the truck and load the truck with fruit and then the driver can drive 'em down to the pier and load 'em on the barge. And we work overtime. Sometime we work eight hours one job, then we go to loading fruit couple hours. Was hard work."

Agliam was one of the workers who remained, both out of loyalty to the company and to receive a draft deferment for being employed in a critical industry. He joined the Lānaʻi Volunteers, an island home guard outfit, although he felt neither he nor the island were in danger. His recollections include memories of generally cordial relations with servicemen on the island and an instance of a cultural violation:

"Well, had military people that were stationed down at the pier. Even during working hours. They had one . . . sandbag . . . and they had one machine gun inside. And we was working, middle of the week now. And whale came close to the breakwater, eh. This stupid guy, the whale come up, 'Rat-a-tat.' Had one Hawaiian guy, kind of old man, eh, he tell, 'These guys going feel sorry. He shouldn't do that.' Sure enough, boy, that night big kind of wave. They had to abandon that place because the water was going over, over even including the sandbag stuff. They had to carry the machine gun and all get away from there (chuckles). After that incident, the old man and me we talk story, he tell me, 'See what happened? *Akua* knows—if you not supposed to do 'em, he going get it.' I just don't say nothing. I just smile."

A retiree since 1982, Agliam enjoys fishing on Lānaʻi.

Mary Osterloh Aiton

Aiton arrived in Hawaiʻi from Washington D.C. in June 1941. She was one of many Mainlanders attracted to the islands by the job opportunities that came with the pre-World War II buildup of military installations. Aiton was employed as secretary to the port director at Pearl Harbor. The port director was responsible for organizing USO [United Service Organizations] shows for civilian war workers' camps on Oʻahu.

When war started, Aiton worked for the USO as assistant director of war workers. She was responsible for producing shows, ranging from hula to vaudeville, to entertain civilian war workers in the islands:

"Well, I would go once a week to each camp . . . So we would take whatever entertainment we could dig up. It was paid for by the recreation department of the civilian camps. Of course, the military got Bob Hope and all the good entertainment, but the civilian war workers didn't qualify for that. . . . So we had to dig up whatever we could. We'd take a hula show about once a month to a camp. . . . And then we'd get high school chorus girls to learn a dance routine, and maybe an army band or a navy band, they always like to go. And sometimes we'd make up our own shows and use some of the people at the camp, where they didn't have to learn a lot of lines . . . And any entertainers in the camp, if they could play the ukulele [*'ukulele*] or guitar or anything, we'd use them. . . . Sometimes we'd get some of the girls from River Street to clean up their [burlesque] acts a bit and take them out."

The USO camp shows used the services of 400 local professional and amateur entertainers to put on more than 12,228 performances for 6,171,000 persons. In January, 1943, there were more than 400 performances on Oʻahu alone. Aiton also recruited girls and women who served as dance partners:

"Sometimes we'd have a dance in town—say, at Central Union Church—what they called a candle-light dinner. . . . We would get any unmarried girls around town that we would find to come and dance. And they were usually glad to get out, an excuse to be out at night, because blackout conditions and transportation—gasoline just not available, unless it was essential work. So we had a list of girls that we would usually call and they would come."

During the war, she met and married William Penn Aiton, manager of a civilian workers' camp at Red Hill. After the war, both became members of the local business community: William Penn Aiton bought Rattan Art Gallery and Mary Aiton began her long association with Earl Thacker Real Estate.

Henriette Casanovas Arakaki

After American troops liberated her hometown, Marseilles, France, Henriette Casanovas met Alfred Arakaki, a nisei serviceman from Hawai'i. They were married in November 1945, and she sailed to New York aboard a ship transporting war brides. She later joined her husband and his family on O'ahu. Her story helps illustrate the ways in which war affected families.

She and her own family in France experienced war at very short range and felt the sting and sorrow of another family who lost a father:

"In our country home, we had a neighbor. And during the bombardment—you know, when the Americans bombed my own town, Marseilles—well, it happened that they happened to bomb our neighbor's home, and the father got killed. And these people, they wouldn't even look at me. They was just very hurt, you know . . . Because I was married to American. And the father died because of the American, right? They were very hurt inside. Well, I don't blame them. . . . Yeah, they wouldn't talk to my family."

In the islands, Arakaki was miles from the hazards of war but at short range for culture shock:

"He [husband] told me that he has a farm [in Hawai'i]. His father raises pigs [in Kalihi Valley] . . . When I came here, I was shocked. But what shocked me the most, first of all, is they made a big party for me when I came here. . . . They had a big bouquet of flowers that they made their own, with the ginger and all that. . . . The food, nothing I knew. Nothing that resembles something that I ate all my life. Sushi, I don't know anything about that. . . . Then I went by the main door to go in the house, and I see all those shoes [removed at the front door according to Japanese custom]. I was confused. I said, 'Well, I thought your father raise pig, but I guess he's a shoe repair man.'"

Gradually, Arakaki adjusted to life in Hawai'i. She raised a family of four sons and, in 1990, retired after overseeing domestic and social activities at Washington Place, the official residence of the governor.

Masao Asada

Asada grew up on Pearl City Peninsula, the area between the site of the former Pearl City Tavern on Kamehameha Highway and Ford Island. It included the homes of farmers and workers and the summer residences of O'ahu's elite. Beginning in 1923, Asada helped his half brother in his produce business, peddling fruits and vegetables at commissaries and to military families at Ford Island and, later, Hickam Field. Even after they opened a small grocery store in 1929, he continued his peddling, going to Ford Island daily on a small rowboat.

World War II abruptly ended Asada's deliveries to military bases, but boosted his trade with local residents, navy ship stewards and civilian war workers, who rented houses on the Pearl City Peninsula:

"Filipino defense workers. I think the majority of the place was filled with Filipinos. They quit the plantation and they worked for the navy and the army, like that, defense work. . . . They were patronizing our place too. So the business kind of changed, more into Oriental goods. . . . The Filipinos, they go for rice and whatnot. . . . Oh, we had rice [before the war] too, but we didn't sell too much rice because the majority of our trade was with the *Haole* people. . . . Yeah, war sure can change things."

In a time of wartime scarcity, Asada and his brother and their major supplier, American Factors Limited, were able to meet the needs of their clientele:

“Actually, my brother, he used to like to stock up his warehouse. We had a warehouse full of merchandise. So, where other stores were rationing out, we were giving them [customers] all they want (chuckles). . . . He [brother] had a friend in American Factors. . . . And this fellow . . . he saw, or he felt, maybe he knew that maybe a war can start. So he stocked American Factors with so much merchandise, they couldn’t find any more warehouses. So he was renting the railroad’s [i.e., O’ahu Railway & Land Co.] boxcar, and he was storing goods in there, for American Factors. . . . That’s one reason American Factors had plenty of merchandise, because this fellow . . . was the smart man over there. So during the war, American Factors made money. They had the merchandise. . . . Sometimes [it] costs more. But during the war, price wasn’t the item, price wasn’t anything. It was [obtaining] the merchandise, I think (chuckles). Try to get the goods. So we did pretty good during the war. And we were in good supply. . . . What we were losing on the military side, well, we were getting from the outside. Customers from all over, not only from Pearl City and [Pearl City] Peninsula, but people from other towns, like from ‘Aiea and Waipahu.”

Because of its proximity to Pearl Harbor, Ford Island, and Hickam Field, Pearl City Peninsula was deemed a strategic defense area. Soon after the Pearl Harbor attack, waterfront land owned by Asada was condemned by the military:

“ . . . they went in there and chopped all the trees down and cleared it up . . . then this guy from the court, I don’t know what you call it. Anyway, he came down and said, ‘We’re going to condemn your land over there. The navy wants it.’

“So I told him, ‘You going to condemn the place? You already went in my property already, cleared up my property.’ Then he want me to sign that. I said, ‘No, I’m not going to sign until my brother come home from town.’ And so I told him [brother], ‘These guys are trespassing, because it wasn’t signed and it’s not signed yet, see. They’re trespassing our property, we can sue them.’ (Chuckles) He look at me, he says, ‘You want to go Sand Island [as an internee]?’ (Laughter) So I said, ‘Okay, then you go in and sign it.’” (Laughs)

The Asadas received from the navy less than what they originally paid for the land. The navy eventually negotiated with all Pearl City Peninsula landowners and purchased the entire area. Today the peninsula remains under U.S. military jurisdiction. The Asadas moved to Kailua, where they opened Oneawa Market.

Agnes Eun Soon Rho Chun

The daughter of Korean immigrants, Chun lived in the multiethnic neighborhood of Pālama. She attended Robello Lane School, Ka’iulani School, Kalākaua Intermediate School, and McKinley High School. She was sixteen and a high school junior on December 7, 1941:

“All I remember was I was in bed when we heard planes flying over and then the radio was on. I heard some commotion outside, and I got up. When I went out, they said, ‘Oh, the war. There’s a war.’ There’s planes flying around and when I looked up we saw a plane flying, and it was with the round red circle. So we ran inside and as we were listening to the radio, about 9:00, 9:30 [A.M.], we heard this thud-like sound. We all rushed out, and there was a little store in the front, and there was a lane next to it, and then our cottages, six of them were in that vicinity. Right next to the lane, there

was this duplex. And lo and behold, right under the veranda, there was a huge hole. We all ran and were looking at the hole. While we were standing over there, some kind of uniformed people came running. They told us to [temporarily] evacuate. So the whole neighborhood had to evacuate.”

Chun and her family moved into her brother’s home in Makiki. A few weeks later, she answered a call for volunteers to help in the fingerprinting and registration of civilians:

“ . . . they wanted us to help with the identification process. And so, since I was in a typing class and shorthand, I went to help. They called us and told us to come and help. . . . Those of us assigned to Central Intermediate [School] went there every morning and helped with the identification process. Each one of us had to have a . . . ID, and we were fingerprinted, so this was the process we had to go through. And that was the first time I found out who entertainers were. (Chuckles) We had kids—I mean, you know, we were all young kids at that time. So when people came, you have to ask them what they were doing, their occupation. Many of them were entertainers, and so I just kind of naively said, ‘Oh, what kind of entertainer?’ And then, I was kind of hushed. And then, later on we found out that they were prostitutes, right?”

Employment opportunities for women and students increased dramatically during the war. Although a larger percentage of the total population was working in the islands than in most other parts of the United States, jobs were still plentiful. There were openings for not only domestic and laundry workers, waitresses, clerical workers, teachers, nurses, and other occupations traditionally held by women, but for traditionally men-held jobs such as chauffeurs, mechanics, and storekeepers. By 1942, 1,400 women held federal civil service jobs normally held by men. A survey showed that 52 percent of the women in the territory were working. Only those with small children or physical disabilities did not. With school temporarily closed, Chun was faced with an important decision:

“Oh, my brother-in-law was working for that accounting department there [at Ford Island]. They were hiring kids. So when he heard about messenger positions open, he asked me if I wanted to take the job. . . . sometime at the later part of January, I told him I wanted to work, so they started to send me the paper. While I was being processed, the announcement came that school was going to be opened on February 2, [1942], the first day of school after the war. So I didn’t know what to do, whether to go back as a student in my junior year and pick it up from there. But since I had the job and it was going to pay me ninety dollars a month, it’s ten-eighty, \$1,080 per annum. I still remember that. . . . We had no income, really. . . . So I went to work. . . . Later on, my mother had a job with the [U.S.] Air Force, at Hickam Field. They were recruiting people. This was—I don’t know when it was, but maybe after 1942, when the air force and all of the services were recruiting more people from the Mainland. They were being housed at the cantonment, the navy cantonment at Pearl Harbor area. Hickam Field had their own cantonment too. So they were hiring these ladies, to do cleaning. So my mother, her contemporaries were going to work, they said, ‘Why don’t—’ they asked her if she wanted to work. So she decided to go to work. A whole bunch of Korean ladies went to work. They had their social security [number] and they started working as cleaning ladies.”

Following what would have been her senior year, Chun spent a half day in school and half day working as a timekeeper at Ford Island, which enabled her to graduate in 1944. In her career in government service, Chun held various supervisory accounting positions, including that of comptroller. She worked in Korea as a financial manager with the army before retiring in 1980.

In retrospect, she viewed the war as a turning point:

"In looking back, I really don't know what would have happened to me and our family. At that time, it would have been just my mother and myself. I would have gone to school, and probably looked for a part-time job, and then probably got employment someplace [instead of entering the federal civil service]. But I know the war just turned everything upside down for everybody, and for some people who lost their family members."

Richard Chun

Chun, the sixth of thirteen children, was raised in Wahiawā, O'ahu near Schofield Barracks and Wheeler Field. His father, a second-generation Chinese American, operated several restaurants and managed a fruit and vegetable market at Schofield Barracks before passing away in 1939. Because of its close proximity to strategic military bases, Chun's home was hit by gunfire on December 7, 1941:

"There was damage to the house. One [bullet] hit the roof, one hit the sidewalk, one hit my brother's car. And the rest of the yard was just full of machine-gun bullet holes from the planes. My brother was telling me that when the attack was on, they had a dogfight above. And then later on these planes came down and they were strafing the wireless station in Wahiawā. And adjacent to that area is the Mutual Telephone Company. And anyway, that wireless station was one that communicate with ships at sea. Our home was in line with that wireless station. And my brother had asked my three youngest sisters to come back into the house. After they got back to the house, here comes the machine-gun bullets all through the yard. So luckily he had called them back, or my three sisters might have been injured or killed."

Because of its location, the war probably had a greater effect on Wahiawā town and its residents than on most other O'ahu communities. Wahiawā Elementary School, which Chun attended, was converted into a 500-bed hospital, while Leilehua High School was taken over by the U.S. Army and required its students to attend classes in buildings several miles away. The town was also adjacent to most of O'ahu's pineapple fields—all central to an industry deemed critical at that time.

"In order to save the pineapple industry, all students worked in the pineapple field. I mean every student capable of going to work in the pineapple field. Of course, you have deferments, too. Like my friend, John Lee . . . his family had a laundry [that catered to] the military, so he [worked in the laundry]. There's some other girls that had medical problems. And they work at the hospital. And the rest, they go out in the pineapple field. Well, some people they have farms which was important. And others in the [sugar]cane community, you know, they work in the cane field. But the rest of the school, everybody goes to the pineapple field. And you get graded, too, because there's teachers in the fields. Once a week you go out in the pineapple fields and work. The only time that you don't work in the pineapple field is when there's a storm. You listen to the radio every morning for the announcement, 'There will be no work in the pineapple fields today,' then you go to school."

In 1943, Chun quit school, became an apprentice at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, worked in Shop 17, the sheet metal shop, and eventually became a foreman before retiring in 1982.

Roland Dacoscos

The son of Filipino immigrants, Dacoscos spent his early childhood in the Iwilei, Kaka'ako and Kalihi districts of Honolulu. After quitting school, Dacoscos began his professional music career, playing in Honolulu nightclubs and taxi dance halls. He remembered the lucrative wartime trade:

"Liberty Dance Hall was the very first dance hall I played in . . . They were charging ten cents a dance. . . . The customers they would buy tickets by the dollar's worth, and they would dance with the girl. . . . My wife, she used to sell the tickets. My wife told me it was sixty, forty. The management get 60 percent, the girls get 40 percent. . . . The music has to be continuously. It's not like a dance where you play two or three set and you stop. Because the business is the music. It's continual. The more dances the girl dance, the more she earns. That's how the business goes. . . . And during the war, there was a lot of servicemen go up there."

In 1943, Dacoscos, who was already in the Hawai'i Territorial Guard, joined the U.S. Army. He was assigned to the 298th Regiment band:

"We used to go on the trucks. Yeah, we used to go to the different service place to play concerts. And then, when I was stationed Schofield [Barracks], we used to play concerts over there. And then had the big arena there that they used to have shows, USO shows, to entertain the troops. And they used to call our orchestra to back up, but I wouldn't say name performers. But we played at Schofield, and then our orchestra used to play for the officers. Officers get the dances, yeah, officers' club, play for them. That's about the only thing we did, just play music. That's what I did as a civilian, and that's what I did in the service after a while there."

Discharged in 1945, he resumed his work as a civilian musician at nightclubs and military bases. Like other World War II veterans, he also continued his education under the GI Bill. For a while, he worked as an electrician's helper at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. In 1956, he began his thirty-year career as a saxophonist with the Royal Hawaiian Band. He passed away in 1993.

Ernest L. Golden

Born and raised in Athens, Georgia, Golden is the oldest of four children. After graduating from Athens High and Industrial School in 1942, Golden, with a friend, left Athens for Atlantic City, New Jersey and, later, New Orleans to find work. He saw an ad about federal civil service jobs in Bermuda. When they went to apply, they learned that there were no openings in Bermuda. There were, however, openings at Pearl Harbor. So they decided to travel to Hawai'i to work. Both war and Pearl Harbor were distant to Golden but what was at hand was an opportunity to escape discrimination against African Americans in the South and a chance to earn a considerable amount of money in a short period of time:

"We didn't know anything about Pearl Harbor. The morning of December 7, [1941], by nine o'clock in the morning, for some reason I was listening to the radio, and they said the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. . . . But Pearl Harbor itself had no meaning whatsoever geographically speaking in its relationship with the United States. None. I'd seen the movies of the South Pacific and maybe related it with the South Pacific, but otherwise nothing. So when we saw this wage rate I think one of us made the statement that for seventy-two cents an hour we would go to hell and back.

"I didn't have any idea what Hawai'i was like. And I tell you what I didn't do. I didn't associate Pearl Harbor with Hawai'i. I didn't associate the two. . . . In other words, when it was decided that we were going to go to Pearl Harbor, we didn't say, 'Hey, we're going to Hawai'i!' We were going to Pearl Harbor. Hawai'i happened to be, I suppose, a side benefit (laughs). It was a goodie that we had not counted on. I guess if we had known I would have possibly been a little more eager to come. As I said, the money factor was the motivating, the driving force behind that.

"Our motivation was leaving the South. And I think that being drafted would have served that purpose almost as well as coming to Pearl Harbor [for civilian war work]. I would've gone to either one. It didn't matter to me. . . . I don't think many Southerners—Blacks that came here—came to dodge the draft. From other parts of the country some of those people may have been a little more sophisticated in their thinking as far as going to war and not going to war, but we were not. Looking back, no. Out of all the years and all the people that I've known here in Hawai'i, war workers, guys who came over that were here when I came in and those who came after me, the conversation never came up that, 'Hey, listen, we came over here to get away from the war.' I think we came over here to get away from the South."

After arriving aboard a troop transport ship, Golden was assigned to Ford Island where his first job was to cut grass and clean up. He recalled his civilian work crew—Whites from the Mainland and locals:

"I don't recall any problems in those days. We got along quite well. We got along very well. I made some friendships that I treasure until today although I haven't seen a lot of these people in many, many years. And a funny thing about it, I think now, in contrast, and this was one of the things, I think, that endeared me to Hawai'i . . . was that the friendships that I made would have been denied me in Athens and in Georgia and in the South. I think this was a good thing. That was a good cross section. I made some good friends in those days. . . . it gave me an opportunity to meet other people of different racial backgrounds. . . . Naturally, when you're from the South there was this White and Black thing, and there was always somehow or another you knew or you felt, and I'm not going to say this well, the friendship wasn't on equal basis, the relationship wasn't on equal basis. And here we were meeting on equal terms. It was just a pure, open friendship. And I think it was something that I needed. It was something that I had been looking for. . . . To be able to select and choose my friends."

Golden was assigned quarters in Civilian Housing Area Three [CHA-3], a racially segregated housing complex located near Hickam Field:

"My first impression of CHA-3 was wall-to-wall men, just a whole lot of men all striving to go somewhere and going nowhere. A lot of mud. Looked like money was plentiful. No women. . . . Now remember this was a segregated area. There was some married couples in that area, also. There were very few Black women here in those days. Very, very few. This was one of the things that was noticeable, the lack of any sort of feminine companionship and one of the things that bothered me. I dated quite extensively when I was in high school. All through high school I had no problems with girlfriends. And then all of a sudden to come over here and not have any girlfriends at all was something that didn't set very well."

Golden, who was one of the estimated 30,000 African Americans living in the islands during the war, was in many respects typical of civilian war workers in Hawai'i: a young bachelor away from home with a steady, well-paying job, time on his hands, seeking adventure and companionship. He recalled his days off being spent in Downtown Honolulu:

"Downtown was a honky-tonk. That's the only thing that I can recall. It was one big honky-tonk. Curio shops on Alakea and Hotel Street. . . . There were curio shops where they had cameras, somebody was always taking pictures. And they'd have hula girl pictures in there, and curios, and cards, and knickknacks, and everything, I guess, that a guy wanted to pick up to send back home to show he's been in Hawai'i. There were bars all Downtown. Bars, curio shops, barbershops, tattoo shops, theaters. And from River Street—I think on both sides of River Street—Beretania Street, Smith

Street, Nu‘uanu Street . . . were houses of prostitution. And wall-to-wall sailors and soldiers and civilians. And that seemed to be what I recall Honolulu being like in those days. And lines. There were lines that stretched around the block. And I used to tell people that, look, you got three lines. You get into a line, you’re going to wind up in one of three places. You’re going to wind up in a theater, a liquor store, or you’re going to wind up at a house of prostitution. That was only three lines. You get in one of them, that’s where you going to wind up.”

Golden worked as a laborer on Ford Island until 1946. Later, he married a local-born woman, started a successful airport porter service, and built a home in Lā‘ie, O‘ahu.

Toso Haseyama

The oldest of five children, Haseyama was born in Hiroshima, Japan. When he was three years old, his parents immigrated to Maui, leaving him behind in the care of his grandparents. At age fourteen, in 1921, he joined his parents and siblings in Lahaina, Maui, where his father was a sugarcane contractor. Dissatisfied with plantation life and work, Haseyama moved to Honolulu in 1924 and began learning his trade at Okazaki Tailor. In 1931, he opened his own tailor shop in the McCully area of town, and in 1937, relocated his business to ‘A‘ala near Downtown Honolulu.

World War II brought about an economic boom with many job opportunities for island residents. But many Japanese could not fully participate in this boom because they were excluded from certain jobs. They also suffered losses due to internment and the government takeover of alien assets and property. In all, about 1,400 Japanese were interned during the war. Haseyama, primarily because he was an alien, a business owner, and a leader in the local Japanese community, was interrogated and interned at Honouliuli in Leeward O‘ahu:

“In short, I was anti-American and there was a club called the Ogata *Sonjinkai* where I was in charge of the accounting. After the war with China started, I collected donations to help Japan, which was then a poor nation and sent money to Japan in my name. Quite a bit in fact . . . Because of this, I was investigated at the Dillingham Building. I went there three times . . . In the end, since I was a *teikokujin* [citizen of Imperial Japan] they asked me whether [I wanted] Japan to win or lose, . . . Since I had relatives in Japan and grew up in Japan—if I grew up here my thinking might have been different but—in the end I said I didn’t want Japan to lose. That was the end [for me]. . . . And the next day, they told me to bring my suitcase. They came to get me. . . . Then I went to Honouliuli.”

Haseyama was allowed to bring only his clothing. The cash that he had in his wallet was confiscated. He was given khaki trousers, shirts and shoes. He was also required to work at the camp:

“When I first went in, I cleaned the bathrooms. The bathrooms were inspected to make sure the work was done. The toilets were inspected weekly and had to be cleaned just so. That would be one day’s work. Later, I went to grow vegetables. I would go after eight [A.M.] and come home by ten [A.M.]. that would be one day’s work. I received eighty cents a day in pay. Whatever job I did, I was paid eighty cents. I remember taking care of vegetables, like cabbage, and having to chase away the moths/butterflies. The MPs stood guard to make sure we wouldn’t escape. They didn’t scold us or really check on our work. While we farmed we could sit and talk and the guards didn’t bother.”

Haseyama was released from Honouliuli in February 1943 and returned to his tailor shop, which was run by his nisei sister during his eight-month internment. Haseyama noticed significant changes in the tailoring trade:

"During that period, a huge number of Filipino tailors started up. These Filipinos earned a lot of money as defense workers, so they had money and could make lots of clothes. So the number of Filipino tailors grew enormously."

To combat inflationary tendencies—huge military and civilian payrolls, extravagant spending by servicemen and defense workers, and critical supply shortages—the military government froze prices on all commodities. As a business owner, Haseyama was affected by the freeze. As a Japanese business owner, he felt even more constrained than businessmen of other ethnic backgrounds:

" . . . in business, a law was passed that you couldn't keep raising your prices. In implementing this law, they [government] couldn't decide how to carry it out since it was something new. So I often got together with my accountant to work it out. I went to the government office for price control [i.e., the local administrator for price control, and later, from 1943, the Office for Price Administration] many times. He finally set it for me. He praised me saying it was very good, but we couldn't make much money under those conditions. That was no good. (Laughs) . . . the *gaijin* such as Filipinos, Koreans, Chinese, since they weren't Japanese, they would do bad things. But the Japanese all were scared and wouldn't do anything [illegal]."

At war's end, Haseyama cried:

"They say that on August 15, [1945] Japan surrendered. On that day, I was so sad—that Japan had lost. After all, I grew up in Japan, so my Japanese origin remains in my mind. So on that occasion—whereas around here, because they [America] had won, people put tin cans on their automobiles and dragged them noisily around, I was so sad, I just cried and cried. At least on that occasion—other times I'm not like that—but on that occasion—even when my parents died it wasn't that bad—but on that occasion I was devastated, there was nothing that could be done about it."

Haseyama continued his business until 1980, when he retired.

Mary Samson Hendrickson

The third of five children born to Filipino immigrants, Hendrickson was born and raised on Kaua'i. With the outbreak of war, she quit Kapa'a High School to become a WARD [member of Women's Air Raid Defense] stationed on Kaua'i. Unlike O'ahu, where the majority of WARDS were Caucasian, Kaua'i and the other neighbor islands recruited non-Japanese locals:

" . . . they tapped the principal and the doctor and whatnot and asked for names. So the names that were given were the names of the people at our school who were non-Japanese and pretty good in school. . . . We had to take the oath of office, I guess, by holding up your right hand, like you were going into the army. And besides that, you had lots of these orientation sessions about keeping your mouth shut and not saying what was happening."

As information was picked up on radar, the WARDS, or "shuffleboard pilots," plotted aircraft positions on a huge map:

" . . . when the radar men at the different stations would call in their findings, then you would be plotting their findings on the big board. And of course, it would be in a haphazard manner, and then you'd have to make some sense of it. Figure the direction that the plane was going, and how fast it was going, and so forth and so on. Identify it as friendly or unfriendly. . . . The ultimate objective

was to protect the Hawaiian Islands from another Pearl Harbor secret attack through the means of radar.”

Housed on army posts, these young women enjoyed the camaraderie and social life associated with the presence of male military personnel:

“I think being in the company of compatible gals, it made an adventure of it. And patriotism entered into the picture, but after that, then it was more an adventure, our entertaining one another and then having all the fellows. Such attentiveness to us spoiled us. We were sort of like—well, we were their little sisters and they were our big brothers. At least that’s what was my attitude toward them. . . . You could have a guy go for walks in the morning and have breakfast or one for sandwiches at lunch. You could have three dates or four dates a day.”

Hendrickson continued her education via a tutor and graduated from Roosevelt High School in Honolulu. In comparing her WARD years with her formal education, she reflected:

“Hey, there’s a lesson to be learned. I was put into the WARDeS, and I gained experiences that far outweighed stuff that can be learned in a regular classroom. . . . So I always look at my WARD experiences from that viewpoint. And even when we were in the WARDeS and we would lie at nights on our cots, the lights would be out, and we would be talking among ourselves. And we would say, ‘Hey, what are we gonna do after this? We can’t be plotting airplanes all the time.’ And that was pretty heady stuff for teenagers, first time out of the house and stuff like that.”

Kui Seu Hew

The second of eight children of Chinese immigrants, Hew was born on Maui and raised in Wailuku, Pā’ia, and Kula. He graduated from the University of Hawai’i with a degree in general business and accounting. When war started, Hew was employed at Maui Dry Goods & Grocery Company, Ltd. and T. Ah Fook general store. To combat severe manpower shortages, the government urged every able-bodied resident to take a job and instituted manpower controls to support the war effort. Unlike many others who left jobs in private industry to seek work in defense, Hew was, at first, a reluctant accountant for the USED:

“. . . they told me I was supposed to work for the [U.S.] Engineer [Department]. And I told them I didn’t want to go because although I know the people there, I think I didn’t care to work for the government, to be honest with you (chuckles).

“But they said, ‘No.’ They said, ‘You got to go because you’re drafted,’ or the like. During those days, they just grab you. They tell, ‘You go there work.’”

Later, he transferred to Naval Air Station, Pu’unēnē, and became personnel manager for civilians in the ship service department.

While still in government service, Hew continued to work at T. Ah Fook store, where he observed the seller’s and buyers’ responses to wartime food shortages:

“Well, I know that food was hard to get. And it used to come in dribbles. Like for example, bacon. . . . when we get our quota, I remember, it’d be one carton at a time and then I think there was twenty-five, thirty packets, you know. So what the store did was to ration it off. . . . As I said, in

those days, everybody was on a charge basis. They go right through the [list alphabetically], A,B,C,D, and if they run out, they stop right there. So they get their share of bacon. And then when the next shipment come in, about one, two weeks, a month later, they go down from where they left off and they go right back, keep on going. . . . So this neighbor say, 'Why didn't I get mine?' So they come down and (chuckles) make noise. So we had the hardest time trying to explain to them. Well, some of them wouldn't listen. In fact we lost a couple of customers because they think we were playing favoritism."

Hew also observed that while many businesses which catered to the military and/or civilian defense workers flourished during the war years, they failed with the return of peace.

"Well, I guess all the businesses that sprang up during the war just fold up, close up, all the restaurants, and little antique shops, you know. . . . [But during the war], oh yeah, every little place that they can, they open up."

After the war, Hew started his own accounting business and continued with T. Ah Fook store. He retired in 1984.

Nora Auna Kaaua

Born in Kukuihaele, Hawai'i and raised on a taro farm in Waipi'o Valley, Kaaua was one of many Hawaiian women who performed the hula for servicemen at USO shows during the war:

"We went all over the place, wherever the USO wanted us to go. Whatever the outposts were, I don't remember . . . We just went when they called us. The leader of our group, Leolani Blaisdell, probably had a schedule, I don't know . . . That was fun. We enjoyed it. They'd pick us up in a command car, and they'd bring us home. They would transport us to and from . . . in the evenings. And it was blackout then, you know, so command car, and we whizzed right through . . . We were young then, we weren't old. (Laughs) So we had dates. We had a few dates . . . So we had the pick of the lot. (Laughs) Oh, we didn't go with the servicemen. No, we were with the officers. Well, that's where we entertained most."

At that time, Kaaua also was employed as a clerk with the U.S. Army Ordnance Department. When the war ended, she continued her clerical career at Honolulu Paper Company, Durante-Irvine Company, and Tax Foundation of Hawai'i.

Samuel K. Kamaka, Jr.

Kamaka, president of Kamaka Hawai'i Inc., has carried on his father's legacy as a 'ukulele manufacturer. Kamaka remembered the hardships his father coped with in the business when World War II broke out:

"When the war broke out, my dad kind of closed things down. He went to work to help with the military. I think he was working part-time at Pearl Harbor, and he couldn't get the wood from the Big Island, and a lot of the young people that he had went off and was doing other things. Things that there was more demand for or had to be done—was more urgent. So the 'ukulele shop was like a nonessential activity, so it was hard to get certain types of supplies. . . . And then, also too, he had bought a twelve-acre farm at Wai'anae. . . . And he was busy raising mangoes, starting his mango

orchard. . . . So in the meantime, during the war, he closed down the factory at 1814 South King Street and rented [out] the building. And he moved all the equipment out to Wai'anae, and that's where he lived. And he had, I think, one worker with him, and he did mostly repairing and just building a few instruments, but then he'd commute to Pearl Harbor to help when he can."

Kamaka was working as a freight clerk for Contractors Pacific Naval Air Bases (CPNAB) to save money for college when the war interrupted. He was frozen to his job with the CPNAB. Like many others, the war changed or delayed personal career plans:

"Oh, we were frozen to our jobs, so we couldn't leave or run away and go away to school . . . from then [December 7, 1941] on, we worked twelve hours a day . . . you just stood by and waited for orders. Because we never know when a truck or ship would be coming in, because everything was . . . confidential between the people involved with radios in contact with other people . . . So as far as the employees on the docks, we had a lot of work to do, but we didn't know all the confidential stuff that was going on."

Kamaka was drafted into the army in 1944 and was stationed in Guadalcanal and New Caledonia. After his discharge, he attended Washington State University and Oregon State University. He eventually returned to the islands and together with this brother, Fred, continued the family enterprise, Kamaka Hawai'i Inc.

Fred Kaneshiro

Born and raised on Maui, Kaneshiro lived in sugar plantation camps in Wailuku. His parents, who were immigrants from Okinawa, did sugar work and also raised pigs and vegetables. At the age of fourteen, Kaneshiro quit school and worked as a contract field laborer for Wailuku Sugar Company. Subsequently, he worked as a grocery store delivery boy and a waiter for a hotel. By December 1941, he was on O'ahu employed as an assistant bartender at Honolulu Cafe on Fort and Beretania Streets. In 1942, many non-Japanese residents left their jobs to work for more pay at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. The resulting surplus of job openings enabled Kaneshiro to get a job as a bus driver for Honolulu Rapid Transit Company [HRT]:

"Well, for one thing, all the other nationalities were going to Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. They were making almost double the wage, see. And lot of them—I don't say everyone went, but there's lot of them went, and that left a lot of openings with HRT, see. So we got the job right away, no problem."

HRT saw a dramatic increase in ridership during the war years. In 1939, the average monthly passenger load was 1.2 million. By 1945, this figure rose to 11.5 million:

"You go over there on the weekend, Saturday, you come to the [Pearl Harbor] Main Gate you see all white—all sailors. And we'd go right around area three. We'd pump the doors—open the door. 'Here's for two.' They'd put two fifty-cents on the coin box. 'Here's for two.' They put a dollar [bill]. . . . They rush in, trying to get a seat, because the crowd. I mean it's crowded! All white, Main Gate."

Kaneshiro recalled dealing with drunken servicemen and suspicious navy sentries while driving the difficult Fort Ruger to Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard route, which ran through Downtown Honolulu:

"And when these service guys, marines, soldiers, when they get little high, you know, oh, they see you're an Oriental. They throw all kind of wisecrack. And you can't do nothing, you alone. All these guys are bus-loaded. And they going back to the base feeling high. So we couldn't do anything. That was the worst line [i.e., route] I've had. And that line caused a lot of fighting, too, but those days we were protected by roving protectionists. Had big Samoan guys, Hawaiians. Tough guys. They drove on the car. They just follow some small drivers, see that they are driving okay. No problem. 'Cause I have seen these guys that go out and protect us. I've seen how they've beat up some soldiers and marines because they were giving the young, small Oriental drivers bad time. I tell you (chuckles). But that's one of the things that was happening because we are Oriental.

"Another thing we didn't like was they gave us a black badge. It says, 'Restricted.' And the other nationalities, any other nationalities, all had nice white badges. [The black badges were] just to identify that you are Japanese. And that we didn't like. But that didn't last too long. But anyway, it did last. So when you come to the [Pearl Harbor] Main Gate, the marine with a gun looks at you. Oh, he get a different attitude. You can see it. He comes in the bus [and stops you]. If you had a white badge, he just motioned. You go in. So this is one of the things that those days being a Oriental, and the black badge identified you as Japanese. You have to take it 'cause it's a living. You gotta make a living somehow."

These adverse conditions and the tensions between locals and White servicemen ended his marriage:

"[One day] I went to visit my brother in Mānoa housing. . . . And my brother's wife's sister, single girl, went to one of the NCO clubs, dancing . . . that gal, my brother's sister-in-law, [spoke of seeing Kaneshiro's wife at the NCO dance]. I couldn't believe it. And here I'm driving the bus, taking all this crap from this service people, and I find out my wife dancing over there, see. I'm working nighttime. I just went crazy. I just didn't give 'em a chance. I got so upset. . . . It took me how many years to find out why, and I found out . . . she went with a friend and she went with her younger sister who was single. . . . I was just thinking about the crap I've taken from all these servicemen every day—day in, day out."

Kaneshiro divorced his wife and left Hawai'i for the Mainland where he worked in the aviation industry. Remarried, he returned to Hawai'i in 1972 and eventually resumed bus driving. He retired in 1984.

Elizabeth Kimura

A lifelong resident of Waimea, Kimura is the second oldest of seven children born to Eliza Purdy Lindsey and Kawanakoa Lindsey, a longtime Parker Ranch cowboy. In June 1941 she married Hisao Kimura who, like her father, was a longtime Parker Ranch employee. She recalled how the war impacted local residents, particularly women:

". . . that's when my sister-in-law opened up a hamburger stand called the Chuck Wagon. Several people went into the restaurant business. Waimea was so small at the time, but we had about four or five eating places, fast foods and dining. . . . Then we organized a Parker Ranch Women's Club. All employees' wives became members of this club. . . . Activity was to have programs at night. It's just like USO where they provide some kind of activity for the boys, you know, social, card games. . . . My sister folks were involved with the USO. They did lot of entertainment for the boys. They had to put on programs. They did lot of cooking, too, you know, fast-meal cooking. . . . And the USO would be right outside of the theater, where as soon as they come out, they have coffee and

doughnuts, or sandwiches ready for them. . . .

"I was already married, but for lot of families, it [war] created lot of hardships on them, too, because we had a lot of wartime babies, that's for sure. And for most of them [the husbands] never came back. In fact, we had several girls that were married before their husbands were shipped out. And . . . these girls moved to the Mainland to join their new families, to the husband's family. It didn't work out, so they all came back. The adjustment was just too much for them.

"But, oh, it really changed people's life here, you know, socially, economically. Well, financially it was great for some because I think that's the only time they ever saw money because nobody worked at the time [before the war], except for the men. Those days, only men worked, or schoolteacher, or secretary were employed. All housewives were just housewives. But when the war came on, at least they took in the men's clothes—outfit, you know, did laundry. . . . I helped my mother do the [laundry]. . . . Twenty-five cents for a pair, top and bottom. All starched, and all handwashed."

Kimura herself was able to find employment, beginning in 1944, as an operator with the Mutual Telephone Company. She recalled restrictions the military government placed on communications:

"I thought it was a temporary job, but it became a full-time job, and I really enjoyed it. I worked there for about ten years before the conversion from that crank-type phone to the dial, automatic phone. . . . We were monitored on the line. You know, the military would monitor us, so we couldn't say anything. We couldn't carry on a conversation, or talk about the weather. So, it was just, 'Number please,' and then just connect your party to whatever. You know, and even if somebody would call in, and say, 'Oh, what is the weather like today?' and I would say, 'Oh, it looks nice.' You know, right away we would get cut off. Can't do anything, because the . . . enemy might hear all this conversation on the phone, on the lines. . . . The telephone company was strict. If you were calling Honolulu, and you were talking, and you mentioned something about aircraft, the weather, the enemy, et cetera, parties would be disconnected from their conversation as the . . . telephone company people are listening to your conversation."

She remembered her first paycheck:

"My first paycheck, I came out with eighty-five dollars a month. A month! . . . Parker Ranch employee was getting about almost dollar-a-day things, you know. Yeah. So, I was so proud of my first paycheck. So, that kind of spoiled me, too, you know, that I wanted to keep on working. In fact, I kept on working right through, that way I was helping Hisa with our children's education."

After leaving the phone company, she worked for two years at the Parker Ranch Store, followed by about seven years as a secretary at the Parker Ranch Dispensary, and five years at the Mauna Loa Observatory where she did general office work. In 1974 she began working for her present employer, Kawamata Farms.

Hisao Kimura

Except for a few years spent in Hilo where he attended high school, Kimura has lived his entire life in Waimea, home of the Big Island's Parker Ranch. When World War II broke out, he was a water pump worker. For him and others in Waimea, wartime was a period of unprecedented prosperity and fundamental change:

"I did part-time farming. I went into raising celery. . . . all of a sudden you would hear a story, news go around from one to the other: 'Oh, this month I had a \$1,000 check come in.' That kind of deal. Then the next time you hear, 'No, I had a \$2,000 check.' Income, you know. And not only from the celery but from the income from all the vegetables they sold. So every farmer became—they begin to see money. Of course, the first thing they did, most of them I'm sure, was take care the bills they owe to the store, whatever. You know the debts were all paid up. And some of them after the war, naturally with the money they had acquired during the war, they build a new home. . . . After the war things have changed a lot. So while some people were suffering from the war, some areas they were benefitting from the war. And this is one of the benefits this small little community experienced."

Farmers were not the only ones that benefitted. With up to 50,000 marines at nearby Camp Tarawa there were ample moneymaking opportunities for businesses and individuals. But with this newfound prosperity, came a change in people's attitudes:

"They learn something from the war: that whenever you do things you supposed to get paid. If not paid, well, they want something in return, you know. This is something that the war had taught our sleepy-town people (chuckles). . . . People begin to change. . . . Money can change a person's attitude, character a lot."

Prosperity had deep and lasting effects on Waimea. The marine presence, too, intimately affected the community:

"When the military left us, it left us sort of dumbfounded-like. . . . What are we gonna do now, you know? A lot of unanswered questions comes to our mind. The major one is that, where's our friends? They didn't come back. They went to Iwo Jima and the heavy casualty. . . . Sad. That's the feeling we had, the sadness comes in and the emptiness comes in and all of a sudden we wonder: Is this the result of the war? And the close relationship we had with those boys sort of was a--it's a sad ending. It was sad. . . . And for the people of Waimea, for us . . . we've been here for all our life, we felt that we've broadened our mind quite a bit because we got associated with people from all over the [United] States. And some of them were college graduates, you know. And some, they were good athletes and what have you. And our minds became broader, we learned more. And a small, little sleepy town became a little more of (chuckles) a cultured people now."

Harriet Kuwamoto

Raised in Honolulu, Kuwamoto graduated from McKinley High School in 1928. Shortly after World War II broke out, she and other public health nurses immunized adult civilians against typhoid. Later, she worked as a venereal disease [VD] control nurse for the territorial department of health.

Stating that brothels had existed for many years serving large numbers of plantation workers and pre-war military personnel, the military government and local police virtually ignored laws against prostitution in Hawai'i. Between 1941 and 1944, about 250 prostitutes registered as "entertainers" with the Honolulu Police Department. Each paid one dollar a year for her license and was expected to report and pay taxes on her earnings.

Although opposed to prostitution, Kuwamoto recognized the regulated brothels' role in controlling VD in wartime Hawai'i:

"Well, for our community, I feel that we should close it [houses of prostitution]. However, with the population that we had at the time—we had a lot of single men, military. Some were picking up the girls off the street. Whereas in the houses, they were well supervised. Morally it's not the best thing, but from the standpoint of health, I think they were better supervised so that they wouldn't be infecting the men who were going there. The street girls who visited the bars and just off the street, they never had the examination. They were freelancer. Whereas in the houses, they were examined regularly. Even though prostitution was against the law, they were permitted to work, but under strict rules set up medically. In most of the houses, the madames were very careful about the girls because it meant livelihood for them. And the girls themselves knew that they had to be clean, otherwise they're going to be without work for many days."

With more than 30,000 servicemen and civilian war workers per day frequenting the redlight district on and around Hotel Street in Downtown Honolulu, Kuwamoto's assignment, testing prostitutes for VD and following up on their sexual contacts, was a challenging one.

In the years that followed the war, she continued her career in public health. Retired in 1969, she remains active through volunteer work.

Helen S. M. Kam Lau

Lau was born and raised on her parents' farm in Pearl City. After graduating from McKinley High School, Lau worked as an office clerk for the U.S. Marine Corps laundry. She quit working in 1939 when her second child was born.

On the morning of December 7, 1941, Lau was in her 'Aiea home when she heard an explosion. From the bedroom window, her husband, Ah Leong Lau, saw a Japanese plane flying overhead. Lau, her husband and two sons rushed to 'Aiea Heights, where they saw Pearl Harbor engulfed in flames.

With the islands in the midst of war, Lau found her family suddenly subject to rules and regulations dictated by the exigencies of that time:

" . . . you can drive, but you had to shade the lights. It's hard, nighttime you could hardly see because they watch you on the highway. If you don't have it shaded, the lights like that, they just give you ticket or something. But we don't go out in the night. And then besides, oh, everything is rationed. The gasoline is rationed. My husband them, they working as federal [employees], they have more priority. So they can get so many gallons. If you don't work for any federal or anything that's important, they don't give you that much gas. Lot of people could hardly go out. So they don't drive around.

"[And] oh, the liquor. Liquor and rice. Rice is not rationed but you had to go and get it fast because the shipment doesn't come in so often. And then the people [who have] money they buy bags and bags of rice. And that's how get shortage, eh."

During the war, Lau gave birth to two more sons. Her daughter was born after the war. In 1951, Lau went back to work at the U.S. Navy Exchange. She retired in 1976.

Samuel Lindley

Lindley, a Quaker, left Indiana in 1935 to study at the University of Hawai'i. After a Hawai'i branch of the American Friends Service Committee was established in January, 1942, he advised conscientious objectors. He recalled that, in Hawai'i, where the federal government and the military controlled almost all aspects of life, his pacifist stance seemed out of place and was deemed potentially embarrassing for the territory:

"You had to establish your conscientious objection. Actually, it was not so hard, because Quakers were one of the three peace groups who were more or less automatically granted conscientious objection. My friends were granted conscientious objection status, but when I applied I was already starting a family, so I was given a different status of 'pre-Pearl Harbor father.' They didn't want to have so many COs in Hawai'i. The military was in control of Hawai'i. The military had a stranglehold on the economy of the islands at that time. And so they didn't want [Hawai'i to have] the name of having a lot of COs. Anything they could do to give us a different classification they did."

Lindley also shared his observations about prewar defense measures and wartime suspicions about the local Japanese:

"A week before Pearl Harbor, I was Downtown. And I saw on the front of the railroad station . . . they had set up machine guns. And instead of facing out to the ocean, as you might expect, they were facing the street, where they figured Japanese in Hawai'i might attack the railroad station. And also, there were machine guns set up in the tower of Kawaiaha'o Church. Where the clock is, there were machine guns facing along King Street, in case there was some kind of local insurrection, I suppose. . . . I saw these, and my own inference from the way they were set up [was] that they were expecting some kind of local Japanese uprising. And of course, there were lots of rumors. And the Japanese were suspect."

After the war, Lindley taught at various colleges on the Mainland. He returned to the islands in the mid-1960s and in 1980 retired as a librarian.

Frederick P. Lowrey

Educated at Punahou School, Phillips Academy and Harvard University, Lowrey began his long career in 1934, at Lewers & Cooke, Limited, the corporation his father and grandfather before, served as president. Lewers & Cooke was one of Hawai'i's largest retail suppliers of lumber and building materials. In 1940, on the eve of World War II, Lewers & Cooke began making preparations for war. Lowrey was manager of government sales at the time:

"Well, we realized from reading the newspapers, that with the Japanese expansion into China and so on, that war was possible. . . . So we started our thinking in terms of trying to get ready to plan for anything that might occur. . . . The coordination of government purchases began to increase substantially in 1939 and 1940, and business was picking up quite materially. It all made sense to have got these preparations made. And so our inventories were high because we knew the army, navy was going to need all of these materials to continue building, not only here, but whatever forward bases that they might build. . . . We didn't know what their plans were, these were kept pretty secret. But all you had to do was drive by Hickam Field to see that—Hickam Field and Pearl Harbor were being expanded terrifically, and they needed housing for all of these Mainland workers they were bringing down. They needed housing for all the enlisted men and officers who were going to be here. . . . And so, that meant more and more government orders coming in. So we decided that we

would form a government department and then have every order clear that department and make sure that it was in order, properly signed, legitimate, et cetera. . . . And it turned out to be a very good idea, because we could expand it as the government sales expanded in late '40 and in '41, and when December 7 came, we were all ready. We had the whole thing set up, so that we were ready to take care of the deluge that hit us beginning December 8, 9, 10, and so on.

"December 8, 1941. That's probably one of the most interesting business days of my life. . . . I suppose it was about maybe 9:30 in the morning that this army officer walked in the front door, and went into my father's office. . . . And he gave my father a purchase order from the corps of engineers [U.S. Engineer Department] for all the materials we had in stock, and it was written in such a way that we couldn't sell anything without their approval, because they'd already purchased it. . . . They were just using their governmental authority to say, 'It's now under our control, we need it. We're going to need it and we want you to put a freeze on it for us.' . . . We had to close our home building department, the largest part of the business. We could not build civilian housing or supply much material for residential or civilian maintenance."

This freeze which lasted over a month limited the supply of merchandise and contributed to a sharp decline in sales. The company also experienced a personnel shortage:

" . . . our staff dropped by about a third. Some were drafted, some volunteered. A lot we went and simply told them, 'We have no idea whether we're going to survive. If you can get a job from the corps of engineers [U.S. Engineer Department], from some other government agency or somebody else, and it's a better job, or you feel more comfortable, we're not going to try and influence you to stay.' We didn't want to keep anybody who felt that they had a better opportunity somewhere else. Who knew how long this was going to last? So we did lose a lot of people. And all during the war we had problems retaining enough to keep surviving under the changing conditions."

Among the changing conditions were the rules and regulations and bureaucratic measures passed under martial law:

" . . . we had to get a permit for every single transaction. We had to get a permit to order from the Mainland, and that had to be signed by some organization. Because the buyer that we bought from couldn't sell it to us until he had a military order approving the sale to come to Hawai'i. Then we had to get shipping papers approved to bring it from wherever it was on the East Coast, or the Midwest . . . to a docking facility . . . So it was just one thing after another that you had to get approval on. So the paperwork . . . increased, I don't know, I'd say maybe it went up ten times. Not only to accomplish getting the merchandise down here but then also handling the paperwork in such a way that you could get paid for it. Because if you didn't have the proper . . . purchase orders—signed by proper people, they wouldn't even consider your bill to them. So we had literally hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars tied up for a couple of years in accounts receivable because they couldn't handle the load . . . I'd say some bills we didn't get paid for over two years."

Only in 1957, more than ten years after the war, did the company return to its pre-war profit level. In 1968, Lowrey retired.

In addition to Lowrey's observations regarding the war and its effect on business, his interview included observations on wartime social life and marital relations:

"It was a strain because of hours. I had to get to work early, being an officer of the company and all . . . And I had to drop the kids off at school. And then it was sometimes very late when I got home.

And then the blackout, of course, really disrupted things. All parties ceased, for several months there were no parties. I guess there were more divorces in Honolulu in the early years of the war than in any short period of time. Husbands and wives couldn't get along with each other because their social relationship had been changed. They used to go out and see other people and be able to do other things. Now they were pushed together. They had to be very close. And if they couldn't be close then there was trouble. I remember several of our friends got divorces. And then when there was room on some of the clippers going out, several of the wives who were afraid at being here, they left. They got up and left their husbands. And then they couldn't get back."

Fred and Janet Lowrey married since 1937 raised a son and four daughters. Lowrey is now a widower.

John Meatoga

Raised in Lā'ie, O'ahu, Meatoga is the son of Samoan immigrants who arrived in Hawai'i in 1924 as missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Meatoga was fifteen when Pearl Harbor was attacked, and on his sixteenth birthday, he quit school. He was one of many local boys who quit school to take advantage of wartime employment opportunities:

"There were other younger guys than me. . . . But I do recall there was a lot of sixteen-year-olds. Well, like I say, you know, some of them were old already, they just quit school. Some of them were eighteen, seventeen. They never even graduate yet. So they went to work. So, when this war broke out, that was a cream for them."

Meatoga was assigned to civilian defense work at various locations, including Honolulu, Kahuku, Kāne'ohe, Lā'ie, and Mokulē'ia. At one time, he worked in the sedan pool at the U.S. Engineer Department headquarters at Punahou School:

"[At Punahou], majority locals, not too many *Haoles*. The *Haoles* we had was Mr. Wooten. He was the head supervisor for the motor pool, for the sedan pool. But he lived right down the street, 'cause he local boy, too. Yeah, most of the *Haole* civilians, they all local boys, majority. But up in the hall [i.e., dormitory], one of them halls up there, the campus, had all them *Haole* defense workers, they all come from the Mainland, but none of them work in our sedan pool, we all locals, that's all. In fact, every one of us was local. We had Japanese, Chinese, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, I'm the only Samoan."

In March, 1945, Meatoga was drafted into the U.S. Army and made the military his career, retiring in 1972. In 1960, he earned his high school general equivalency diploma. He went on to receive an associate in science degree in hotel mid-management from Kapi'olani Community College.

Manuel Nobriga

Born in 1898 in Madeira, Portugal, Nobriga and his family immigrated to Hawai'i in 1907, settling in O'ahu Sugar Company's Spanish Camp in Waipahu. He began working in 1913 as an oiler and a cane feeder in the sugar mill. In 1921, he became a machinist. He was a machinist supervisor at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. Nobriga recalled the tension and uncertainties faced in the aftermath of the attack:

“ . . . the plantation manager came down . . . and he asked all of them guys to go in the gym in the evening. We all went in the gym . . . Got together, got in the gym. And Hans L'Orange came in and . . . said, well there's a war on and everything. Everybody got to strictly blackout. He had all the supervisors there and some mechanics, then he said, 'We got to go around the Japanese Camp and tell the people not to get worried. Stay indoors and don't put the lights.'

“So I was asked to go. The mill area, all the guys [living] around the camp close to the mill, I was the one to go. I went to Kimura's and different guys' place. And all those people were all worried. They didn't know what the heck to do. I said, 'You guys, we don't know what this is yet. You guys just stay indoors, cool head, don't come out. Stay indoors.'”

A community leader, Nobriga later joined the Hawai'i Territorial Guard, an anti-sabotage unit composed primarily of civilians.

O'ahu Sugar Company, like other sugar plantations in Hawai'i, had facilities and large areas of land taken over by the military. Its baseball field and gym were utilized by the military as a motor pool:

“ . . . few months after or weeks, I don't remember, military [personnel] came over there. A bunch of trucks and all that. They took over the ballpark [i.e., Hans L'Orange Park]. I had the key to the gym so, [boxing] equipment and all, take all that out. The army going take over. And they brought trucks. They call 'em motor pool. And they came there. From then on they stayed right through to almost the end of the war.”

In addition to the loss of land and/or facilities to the war effort, O'ahu Sugar Company as well as other plantations lost a good number of workers to military service or civilian defense work. Many workers could not resist the higher than plantation wage offered in defense work. Nobriga, too, despite his being frozen to a supervisory position, managed to supplement his income with freelance work:

“The boss allowed Lino Souza and I, we were top machinists then, can do any work. . . . If you can do it, the money is for you. We couldn't go down there [Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard], we were frozen. . . . So I used to do work for a contractor [making] hydraulic lines, you know. Four-inch, three-inch fittings . . . male and female nut, where they put the water hose, you know. So this contractor brought 'em over and they asked me how much would I charge for one. After work, overtime, we go on our own. The [O'ahu Sugar] Company said, you could use the machine and all that. . . . So I told 'em, 'Five bucks a nut.' . . . And so we did that for quite a while . . . I had lot of spending money. My [plantation] wages, I just give the wife that. . . . So during the war I wasn't worried about. . . . The food was expensive, but I had lot of food from the motor pool. They throw 'em in the yard, all that. I used to save money during the war. I lived in the right place at the right time. And I used to tell my wife, 'You know, if it wasn't these guys came and attack Pearl Harbor, maybe we wouldn't be so well-off now (laughs).' . . . In one hour [after work] we used to make five, six dollars. Plantation we were getting sixty-five cents an hour, at that time, house, everything. Equivalent to one dollar, in town, those days. So, we said, 'Bring some more.' So (chuckles) we made more money in three days than the whole week.”

After the war, Nobriga was promoted to mill shift engineer, a management position. At the time of his interview, he had 113 descendants.

Sadao Okamura

Okamura is the son of a Japanese immigrant sugar plantation laborer. At the outbreak of war, his schooling at Hilo High School was interrupted but resumed in 1942 at Hilo Vocational School. In 1943, he left Hilo for Honolulu to work as a welder for the U.S. Engineer Department (USED). He commented on the availability of jobs in wartime Honolulu, as opposed to Hilo:

"Find work at Hilo, but you have to work in the plantation. The plantation, they need welders, mechanic, all that kind trade, but there's no opening. . . . So the only thing you can do is come Honolulu, apply for job or apply for another trade . . . USED—U.S. [Engineer] Department—they always need worker. . . . They were advertising. They need apprentice, so I went to apply. Go to unemployment office in Hilo, they says, You better go Honolulu.'"

During the war, USED was Hawai'i's biggest employer. By Fall, 1943, USED employed 20,000 men locally and 5,200 from the Mainland—boosting the local economy tremendously.

At war's end, Okamura was inducted into the army. Following military service, he completed a twenty-three-year career in civil service at Hickam Air Force Base and worked many years for Sheraton-Waikīkī Hotel.

Joe Pacific

Pacific immigrated to the United States from Rome, Italy in 1921. In 1936 he arrived in Hawai'i and began his shoe repair business. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Pacific was one of a small group of German and Italian immigrants interned on Sand Island, O'ahu with a large number of Japanese suspected of enemy sympathies. His wife, a German, was shipped to the Mainland. The following revealed his feelings about espionage against the U.S. and his own sense of loyalty:

" . . . how the hell you going to spy, go against the country that gave you something? If the old country gave you something, you wouldn't be here. . . . I says, 'If I had something to make over there, I wouldn't be here. But that's why I come over here, to better myself.' And I'm bettering myself. I'm making money, and you know it. . . . Where you going to find another place like this? I don't mean Hawai'i, I mean the United States in general. You're free to do what you want to do. You go to other countries, they hold you down."

In the years that followed World War II, Pacific built up and expanded a highly successful chain of shoe repair shops on O'ahu. He died October 12, 1992.

Etsuo Sayama

Born and raised by Japanese immigrant parents in the Nu'uauu district of Honolulu, Sayama attended local schools and received a degree in sugar technology from the University of Hawai'i in 1937. After graduation, he worked as an assistant agriculturalist at Waialua Agricultural Company but quit because of discrimination by *Haole* management. In 1938, he entered federal civil service as an engineer's aide for the U.S. Army Air Corps Quartermaster Department at Hickam Field. Just prior to the outbreak of World War II, Sayama was transferred to Fort Shafter. Called to work the day after the Pearl Harbor attack, he remembered the hysteria and suspicions aimed at those of Japanese ancestry:

"I know I got there, because I was [then] sent home. And the reason being that when I got to that

gate, I showed my pass, but he [sentry] said, 'If I were you, go home.'

"And I said, 'For what?'

"He said, 'Change clothes.' And I had [on] blue, you know. He said they got rumors that Japanese parachuters in blue were coming down on St. Louis Heights and they didn't know where, but that was the rumor. So you had the face of a Japanese (chuckles), and you in blue. Said, you know, 'Our soldiers might get trigger-happy, you walk around in Fort Shafter.' So I went home, changed clothes and went back to work."

Civilian war workers like Sayama at one time numbered 82,000, a quarter of all persons employed in Hawai'i. Among this number was the first large group of *Haoles*, or Caucasians, recruited to do manual labor. These working-class *Haoles*, who worked alongside local laborers, were a unique departure from the upper-class *Haoles* of island society. Sayama experienced and observed firsthand how the war changed attitudes and relationships between locals and *Haoles*:

"Before the war came . . . we'd be working at Hickam Field. That was with all local boys, but when I went to [Fort] Shafter, then I was in sort of a *Haole* environment, so to speak. . . . when I went there, I didn't feel . . . Because civil service is you take the test and they grade you and all that. They don't discriminate [against] you for color line, see. That was the big difference. So you don't feel it. Of course, the supervisors were all *Haole* people from the Mainland. . . . But, the feeling was entirely gone, you know. And our focus was on—oh, we had to work, work, work. Saturdays and all. And nighttime you don't go out, so. 'Cause we commute, [but] those fellows, I think they rented places. And one thing, we used to help 'em out. Liquor was rationed . . . I don't drink, but I get that [permit] and I buy liquor for them (chuckles). One of the group I knew rented a house on Pacific Heights, four or five guys live in the same house. I used to buy liquor for them. So you know, really friendly. So, you know, when you in the same boat, you get more friendly. Not like before the war when we were on separate strata, so to speak."

Sayama spent the duration of the war years as a draftsman for the U.S. Engineer Department, headquartered at Punahou School. His postwar employment, engineering jobs with the federal government, included two tours of assignment in Japan.

Harry K. Suga

Born and raised in Downtown Honolulu, Suga attended Royal School, Kawānanakoa Experimental School and McKinley High School, where he developed an interest in commercial art. During World War II, he worked as a layout artist for the *Honolulu Advertiser*. As a freelancer, he produced lobby show cards for Royal Amusements, Ltd., Consolidated Amusement Company, and many Japanese theaters around town. This experience allowed Suga to become a keen observer of the movie business in Hawai'i.

Many Japanese theaters were forced out of the business at the start of the war. Others changed their names, covered Japanese-language signage, and showed only American or European films. Kokusai Theater, located in the 'A'ala district of Honolulu, was almost seized by the military because it was owned by Japanese nationals. It was allowed to continue but only with a non-Japanese owner showing non-Japanese films:

"[The Japanese movie theaters in Honolulu] had to close [at the outbreak of World War II], see. Tōyō

[Theater], they had to close for a while, and convert that to English[-language] theater, [renamed] 'A'ala Theater. So that one, ran English [i.e., American] pictures. And Kokusai Theater was fairly new yet, so they were under alien property custodian, and the [U.S.] Navy was going to grab that thing. But Royal [Amusements, Ltd.] stepped in fast. That company is Jewish[-owned]. [Lou] Rosen stepped in quick and he helped Matsuo out. He tell, 'Eh, let me take over the place. Let me put my name over there [as owner]. After the war, I can return 'em to you.' So they were very good friends, see, gentlemen. So he took over so the [U.S.] Navy cannot touch 'em, Kokusai. He saved it. So he ran his pictures war days, . . . American pictures and they made money, selling war bonds and they made the money."

Royal Amusements Ltd. and Consolidated Amusement Company prospered. Independent entrepreneurs also attempted to capitalize on the wartime situation:

"Before 1945, this Filipino guy [E.A. Taok] took a chance and [under more relaxed restrictions] ran Japanese pictures [in Park Theater, known before and after the war as Nippon Theater]. Was silent kind, he brought in through somebody. . . . And New Year's Day, I think they charged five dollars a ticket, or something like that, and they made money, you know, that Filipino guy. Yeah, because Japanese like go see, New Year's. Oh, they went. Even I went too. . . . Mr. [Lou] Rosen is Jewish, he kept some films, the soundies now, no silent pictures. . . . He kept 'em all in his vault. So he tell, 'Eh, Harry, why the Filipino guy making money? Why can't I make money too?' So he rent Kokusai [Theater], New Year's again, sound, music, picture. Oh, the Filipino guy's silent picture all drowned already. Naturally [everybody] go for talkie, get sound, eh."

Following the war, some Japanese theaters remained closed. A few, such as Tōyō Theater, owned by Consolidated Amusement Company, and Kokusai, re-claimed by its original owner, continued to attract audiences who longed for Japanese melodramas and samurai-action flicks. Suga continued his artwork, acquiring a virtual monopoly on the Japanese theater poster business.

Paul Tognetti

A member of the San Jose State University football team, Tognetti arrived on O'ahu with his team on December 3, 1941, to play the University of Hawai'i at Honolulu Stadium. The game, scheduled for December 13, was never to be played because of war, and the team was stranded:

"And we didn't know how much damage was done to Pearl Harbor—we were pretty much around the hotel there—till we heard more about it. And the rumors were circulating, there was an invasion on in the island. . . . And of course, everybody wanted to leave. And there was no planes in those days and they had to go by ship. The *Lurline* was here, it was tied up. . . . But people wanted to get off the island. You could have bought this island or parts of it. Really, take it."

Tognetti and his teammates volunteered for guard duty. Tognetti eventually decided to stay in Hawai'i and joined the Honolulu Police Department:

"And they asked us who wanted to go to work at the police station. And we all decided yes, instead of sitting around the hotel doing nothing, wondering what to expect next. So we all went down to the police station, where they gave us MP arm bands, 1918 steel helmets, riot guns, and put us out on patrol guarding areas. My first assignment was 'A'ala Park. Said to me, 'We expect paratroopers in here tonight.' So I was there with my little riot gun and hoped nothing would come in. . . . There really weren't any instructions or training at all. 'Here's a gun. Use it if you need it.'

"Then after about a week, the word got around, 'Hey, any of you guys want to stay here? The ship is going back on the eighteenth. It's going to take all wounded personnel aboard the ship, and you'll all be first aiders. But if some of you guys want to stay here, okay.'

"And some of us got together and said, 'Hey, let's stay here.' And we all joined the police force, and the rest of the team went back. So for three-and-a-half years we were on the Honolulu police force."

After a two-year stint in the army, Tognetti returned to Hawai'i. He was one of hundreds of Mainlanders who arrived in Hawai'i at the outbreak of war and eventually, he decided to work and raise a family in the islands.

Rosaline Calasa Ventura

Born and raised in Kula, Maui, Ventura is the daughter of Marcellino Nunes Calasa, founder of Calasa Service Station. After completing Kealahou School in 1932, Ventura worked in her father's service station. In 1936, she married Frederick Ventura who joined the volunteer Provisional Police during World War II.

"They had recruited a lot of the men to become Provisional Police, and he [husband] was one of the Provisional Police at that time. In fact, he and my brother belonged in the same group. . . . And when they got the word that the United States and Japan were at war, they came home right away and they had to get their helmets and get their guns and all that, and report to the station. And then they went on twelve-hour shifts. . . . And they had to be watching for any sign of light at night because we went into complete blackout. But some people, poor things, some of them, they were used to doing their cooking out in an open fire, and they used to get up very early in the morning to cook their breakfast and make their lunch cans and all that to go to work, so they had to make that. And my husband said he used to feel so bad when they had to go up to this house, because from a distance you could see the fire going on. And they had to tell them to turn it off.

"They say, 'Oh, but we cannot because we're cooking to go to work.'

"And some of the men were really—the Provisional Police—some of them were really so strict that they would just get a bucket of water and throw it on the fire and said, 'You wait. When the sun comes out, then you cook.'"

Ventura recalled she and other residents were also inconvenienced by the onerous rationing system of that time:

"Well, the thing that most people really had to put up a lot with was the shopping, like for food and things—everything was ration, ration. And you had to have those rationing cards. And certain items that were rationed had to be filled up into those cards. And for the gasoline for the cars, we had to have special stamps. . . . Even for liquor, we had to have special cards."

She couldn't escape the rationing or wartime shortage of goods even after moving to Honolulu:

". . . there were shortages and everything was rationed. Even when it came to bobby pins. . . . People all in line waiting for bobby pins. And then when anyone would say, 'Oh, you know, certain store is having nylons today,' oh my God, that place would be packed. When they were talking about Kmart [Stores] opening over here and how the people packed up, I thought of those days when certain

things came in and how people just rushed over there and stood in line for hours. . . . When we went down to Metropolitan [Meat Market] for meat, we were lucky when we would go through the whole line and get there to the Metropolitan, get inside, that there would still be something in the showcases. And we were happy when we were able to go home with shinbone—shinbone and some, either a little leg of lamb or some lamb chops or something like that—because that [waiting] was horrible. People used to get there, I really don't know how early, because a lot of them had tiny little mattresses and a blanket. That meant that they had spent most of the night there. But that's the only way we would get any of those things. Had to do it that way."

For the Venturas, life in Honolulu was as regulated and restricted as it was on Maui and plagued by material shortages but it afforded them the rare opportunity to earn money that went towards the purchase of their present Kula home:

"My brother called and advised us that we should come down [to Honolulu] because they were looking for [civilian defense] workers for the navy and that he had got himself a job there, and he enjoyed it very much. And the wages were much better than we were getting here in Maui. So my husband decided yes, well, we would go, but he'd like to have the whole family together. So, that's when we planned to go—my husband, my three children, and myself. We went down and we lived in a rent home with my brother and his wife. . . . Well, actually, I was never fond of Honolulu, so it was a big decision to make. But I thought at a time like that, the family should be all together. . . . The highest we were making [on Maui] at that time was fifty-five dollars a month. And going down there, he made a few hundred dollars a week. So that's how it helped. . . . So there were times that we were shocked when we saw a check. My goodness, they brought in a check of \$500, \$600 or over in one week. That was like a dream."

In her interview she also fondly recalled the socializing and the eye-opening exposure the marines of the Fourth Marine Division provided to an otherwise isolated island community:

". . . the local people here, a lot of them had military men that came in as guests, come to their home, have dinner with them and spend time with them. I got to know quite a few of the different service personnel by visiting at my in-laws' homes, at my sister-in-law and her husband's. It was nice, and we learned quite a bit from the servicemen because they could tell us things about the Mainland that we had no idea about, you know. So we enjoyed it."

Ventura still resides in the town of her birth, Kula.

Kimiko Watanabe

The sixth of seven children of immigrants from Okinawa, Watanabe was born on Maui and spent much of her youth living with her family at different locations on Maui, Kaua'i and O'ahu. After leaving the ninth grade, she worked as a laundress and maid. In 1938, she married Kiho Uyehara, a commercial fisherman, and lived in the Kukui section of Honolulu. On December 7, 1941, a neighbor came to tell her that Pearl Harbor had been attacked. Watanabe's husband had gone out fishing on the sampan *Kiho Maru* a few days earlier. On December 8, she was informed that her husband and two crewmen were killed by strafing from American planes:

"You see, fisherman, they stay out [at sea] ten, eleven days and they come back. And when they come back, only about three days they stay home and then pack ice and they go out. So within that three years time that I was married to him, I don't think I lived with him for one year or so. He was

more out in the sea than he was with me. But then the funny thing is, [before] the last trip that he went out, he said, you know, he's going to work on land, this going to be his last trip—fisherman. He said when he comes back he's going to work on land. He told me he felt he missed Dickie [their son], too. That was the last wish telling me. Just like, I don't know if he knew he was going or what. Of course that, nobody knows, but then the last trip was going to be that one.

"The neighbor boy was working [Pearl Harbor Naval] Shipyard and then he came home and he said, 'Pearl Harbor been attacked.'

"And I look out from the window, all bomb exploding, you can see the smoke. Well, I didn't have radio, you know, and we don't know. And then my uncle came and said, 'Oh Kimiko, over there war started, Pearl Harbor was attacked. Hasn't Kiho returned yet?'

"And I said, 'No.' I wasn't worried about him because I figure, oh, they might have shortwave radio and they might know or something like that. . . . And I thought, only Pearl Harbor, they bomb. . . . but I didn't think I would have news like that. We didn't know until next morning. . . . And that was Monday morning [December 8, 1941].

" . . . this Uyehara man came and he told me, 'Oh Kimi, because Kiho has died he's been brought to Queen's Hospital.' I had a rice pot, I was going to cook rice. I dropped that and I grabbed Dickie and I cried.

"My brother was in the service at that time too, so he only come [home] on the weekends. And he didn't know that my husband [died]. He came one day with his uniform, with the rifle. He came to the house and my house was full with people. He was real shocked too. In fact, he wrote a letter to me, telling me to tell Kiho not to go out fishing because it's dangerous. But then I didn't get the letter until after he died. . . . Yeah, those memories, little bit it hurts, . . . "

Grief-stricken and reeling from the shock of her husband's death, Watanabe felt the fears and anxieties of an island community suddenly at war:

"Oh, was terrible. Scary feeling, too. Every time you hear the siren, we have to get our gas mask and I had to get Dickie's diapers and clothes in one bag, so if we have to evacuate, I can just grab that and go. It was real scary feeling. You cannot put light on. Some people had the windows all blackout, but then, they said, 'Oh, there's a light somewhere,' this and that.

"But real scary feeling, especially nighttime. So what I did with my son, when I go to bed, I just put him on my arm and then I sleep. And I say, 'If I'm going to die, I want him to die with me. I don't want him to be alive and I die,' so I used to sleep like that all the time, every night. That's how I wanted. But thank God that we don't have to go through that."

Watanabe, faced with the responsibility of supporting herself and an infant son, found a job as a waitress. She then worked at a pineapple cannery until her marriage to Tadao Watanabe in 1950. She has three children from her second marriage.

She chose not to attend the December 7, 1991 ceremonies at the USS *Arizona* Memorial commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Japanese attack. Watanabe explained:

"No. I didn't want to go. Oh, [people] said, 'Oh the Japanese should apologize,' and this and that. And I told Dickie, 'They [United States] didn't apologize to us. After they killed my husband over

here, our government—they didn't apologize to us.' I didn't feel good so I didn't go. I told him, 'No, I don't think I should go . . . ' So we didn't go."

Lorraine Yamada

The fifth of nine children, Yamada was raised on her parents' poultry farm in Wai'ala'e on O'ahu. She was fourteen when the war broke out and has vivid memories of December 7, 1941 and the fires which resulted after U.S. antiaircraft shells landed on the corner of King and McCully Streets in Honolulu:

"You know that noise was so loud, and the fire outside was so intense. Everybody's with their hose. . . . But there's no water, hardly any water coming out. And there was a service station [McCully Service Station] across these people's house, and they were afraid that something's going to explode. Oh I was so scared . . . we ran out to King Street and we can still hear the explosion now and then, so we went one street above, above King Street which was Young Street. We start running towards Mō'ili'ili. . . . Ho, we're so scared and every time we hear a loud one, we just run under a tree or we crawl underneath and we stay still for a while and then. . . . Because everything came to a halt, King Street, the fire by that time, you know—some of the stores were burning. In fact that whole block burned down."

During the war, she worked at a lunch stand at the Waikīkī War Memorial Natatorium; later she worked as a waitress at Chicken Korner and *Kau-Kau* Korner.

An active singer all her life, Yamada prior to the war performed with the Hawai'i Takarazuka Music Club in various theaters. After the war started, however, these Japanese-owned theaters either closed down or were used for other purposes. With rampant fears of things Japanese, Yamada had no choice but to sing songs in English:

". . . when the war started, you forget everything Japanese. You're not permitted to even speak. Wherever you go, it says, 'Be American! Speak English!' That's the kind of sign all over the place. So I started to study music, and there was classical singing. So, that was the changing point."

American tunes and theatrical productions replaced her Japanese-style singing during the war. In 1947, she married and moved to Hilo. Still a resident of the Big Island she retired from the Kona Surf Resort Hotel and Country Club in 1991.

Mitsuru Yamada

The oldest child of Japanese immigrants, Yamada grew up in Hilo. He eventually became a fisherman working with his father. Soon after, he was hired as a cook on an *aku* boat, working his way up to first-class fisherman. By the start of World War II, he had become skipper and part-owner of another *aku* boat.

Severe restrictions placed on fishing vessels—most of which were alien Japanese-owned—virtually crippled the entire fishing industry. Yamada, an American citizen, was a victim of wartime restrictions:

". . . we made [a] boat somewhere around 1940 or something. When we make the boat, we borrow

from the [Hawaiian] Tuna Packers [Ltd.], so Tuna Packers make the boat for us, then we pay Tuna Packers. And we worked on the boat until the war broke out. But when the war broke out, then we had to leave the boat in the harbor. Just put in the anchor down there and leave 'em. And we cannot go on the boat, the army won't let us take care of the boat. . . . I think only [restriction] was that we cannot go fishing with the boat. Although we can fish from the land [shoreline fishing]. That is okay, but cannot go on the boat and go fishing."

Denied his livelihood, Yamada did various types of unskilled labor for the government, at less pay than what he was accustomed to as a commercial fisherman:

"I think we stayed home less than one month, then they said we gotta work, we gotta work for the army, you cannot stay loafing around. So we start working and they hire us as [camouflage] net maker. So we start to make net. And then they hired us for only fifty cents an hour. They hired women for sixty cents an hour, how come? And then the classification that they give us is unskilled labor. From when I start work and then until I quit, still unskilled labor. They didn't promote us (laughs). . . . Other nationality, I don't know, I never ask their classification. Some Japanese did become foremen, but like us fisherman, Japanese fisherman, Japanese but we second generation, all unskilled labor. . . . I think we used to make more money fishing than working on top the land. . . . Although we work eight hours, only fifty cents [an hour]. How much, only four dollar one day."

Yamada returned to *aku* fishing after the wartime restrictions were lifted and continued until his retirement in 1968. With the wartime interruption of fishing and non-citizens, at one time, barred from the ownership of fishing boats in the postwar era, many of Yamada's friends never returned to their seaborne trade. The island fishing industry never thrived as it once did during the prewar era.

Ruth Yamaguchi

Yamaguchi was raised on the Hind-Clarke Dairy Homestead in Wailupe, O'ahu, where she lived with her father, mother, six siblings and her issei grandmother. Her father Wataru Ishibashi, delivered milk for the dairy. In 1940, Wataru Ishibashi, through the Farm Security Administration, purchased nine acres of farmland in Pu'uloa—adjacent to West Loch at Pearl Harbor—and moved the family into a three-bedroom house in August of 1941.

A couple of weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Yamaguchi's father was questioned by military officers who ordered the family off their land before sundown. Yamaguchi and her family sought refuge at the home of friends. Her father was allowed back for the next couple of days during daylight hours. He was allowed to retrieve only what was stored outside their home, livestock, and unharvested crops. Their furniture and other belongings inside were never returned. Only a teenager at the time, Yamaguchi reflected on the government-imposed forced evacuation and loss:

"I thought that was a real shameful thing that happened to us. I didn't know of anybody else in our neighborhood, in the Hind-Clarke Dairy, or at school, that I knew of that got evacuated. And I thought that it was something that we got punished for or that we got condemned for, and I just didn't want to tell anybody that we got evacuated. It was something that doesn't happen to an ordinary family. . . . I had a real guilt feeling about that evacuation, as though we got picked on and it wasn't a normal thing, and that the rest of 'em were real lucky. . . .

"And fortunately the boys [i.e., Yamaguchi's younger brothers] were too young, and they were carefree. So I was happy that they weren't burdened with what went on too much. Of course, they

knew, because they had to give up so much, too, of their childhood. . . . I remember while staying with the Kawanos, they would ask for their toys, which we weren't able to get for them. My dad could not get the toys out of the house. And when they cried, you know, like why the cold bath, why they had to do so many things outside. Why they always had to wait to eat. Why was Mom busy with only the baby? . . . I felt that they had given up some of their childhood."

In 1944, the family was told that the evacuation was permanent:

"Well, he [father] came home and said that he was trying to make arrangements to move the farm. And I wondered why, why would he want to move their farm when that farm was his. But then I found out that they were told they must evacuate permanently, off the land. And in those days, you just don't fight the government, especially if you're Japanese. You're so afraid. I thought that was real strange. If it's your land, why do you have to get off your land. . . . I questioned my father about it, and I heard Mom ask him, 'Why? That's our farm.' But he said that they had notice from the government, they are gonna condemn the land. . . . And I'm sure most of the farmers didn't have nowhere to go and ask why. My dad said all he knows is he has to move."

To help her struggling family, Yamaguchi dropped out of the tenth grade to work as a salesclerk for the Hawaiian Army Exchange. She later held clerical positions at various military bases on O'ahu. Despite what happened to his family during the war, Yamaguchi's father remained steadfastly loyal to the United States:

"He more or less adjusted I guess. . . . all the different colleges was having all kind of demonstration at the height of the Vietnam War. And that newsreel came on and there were several grandchildren, especially grandsons around. And out of the clear blue sky, I remember him—I was there when he brought up the subject that, oh, Grandpa had four sons who all volunteered for the service, 'I hope none of my grandsons would go and demonstrate against the government like that.' And I thought to myself, oh, my dad, all these years been very loyal to America, regardless of what they did. And I remember one time he did tell me that, he said, no matter what they did, he felt very fortunate they did not do anything to Grandma. She was an alien in the family, . . . he felt very fortunate that they did not do anything to Grandma, because he heard of all these different stories, no matter how old they were, they were taken away and interned. And I thought to myself that he was really grateful they did not do anything to Grandma."

Yamaguchi is among the 136 former Pu'uloa residents whose applications for redress under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 were approved January 1994 by the U.S. Justice Department-Office of Redress Administration. Each evacuee received \$20,000 and a formal apology for being evicted strictly on the basis of race from a designated military strategic area:

" . . . when our evacuation took place, I did not know at that time that it was mostly based on us being Japanese. But I do remember the officers questioning whether we were Japanese, whether Grandma was alien. And after that, everything got to be Japanese. . . . I thought about my father, when he cut off his [dual] citizenship [in 1940], saying that he's an American citizen. And yet I thought about people like my grandma, where, during the war, they were persons without a country. She did not belong to America, she did not belong to Japan. And I thought about that, and I could not help but feel so sorry for people like my grandma. Whether they went with Japan, it was wrong, whether they went with America, it was wrong for them. It must have been emotionally hard for them. And yet when I think about our situation, there were nobody to stand up for us. You didn't dare fight the government, you did what you were told. The only one in my family was my grandma, you know, saying that '*America-jin de, den demo e.*' ('As Americans, you needn't get out.') That

only she should get out . . .

“People who were interned, everybody knew about them. But it seemed as though we were part of American history that happened, and yet unknown or forgotten. But to bring it up fifty years later, it hasn’t been easy, because I guess for people my age, we really remember a lot of things. There’s part of our childhood that we lost.”

Ray Yuen

Born, raised and educated on the Big Island, Yuen began his long career with the *Hilo Tribune-Herald* in 1935 after his graduation from Hilo High School. He worked a variety of jobs with the paper, including advertising salesman, sports editor, police reporter, court reporter, job-printing salesman, circulation salesman, and eventually editor in 1962. During the war years, Yuen was a circulation salesman.

“I went regularly to the office on Sunday mornings to service subscribers whose papers had not been delivered. On December 7, a Sunday, I stopped for a red light en route to the office. Someone at the curb called out, ‘Japan bombed Pearl Harbor.’ Excited, I drove to the office, I became involved with the newsroom, in a way. Editor Jack O’Brien asked me to take some news stories to the FBI office for clearance. I continued doing this daily for a while. . . . The paper had to get clearance before publication. I found time from duties in the circulation department to help Jack.”

For a few days after the attack, U.S. Army censors were stationed in newspaper offices, reading every piece of copy prior to publication. Later, newspapers were subject to voluntary press censorship; each newspaper designated a staff member to be a censor.

Despite the restrictions, circulation increased:

“More people subscribed to keep up with news of the war and for local information—like announcements of regulations imposed because of the war.”

Yuen recalled the government-imposed restrictions being more accepted by the community at the outset of the war. As the war progressed, however, feelings changed:

“Early on, people accepted it. It was the patriotic thing to do. You did what was required. You thought of greater sacrifices by others. It was a difficult period—a lack of freedom of movement . . . a limited choice of things to do. Later as war wore on, there was grumbling.”

Yuen left the *Hilo Tribune-Herald* in 1974 to work for Senator Hiram Fong in Washington D.C. He returned to Hilo two years later for a federal job. He retired in 1982.

How to Use the Transcripts

The volumes contain a glossary of all non-English and Hawai’i Creole English (HCE) words (which are italicized in the transcripts) and a detailed subject/name index. A biographical summary precedes each interviewee’s transcript. The volumes also contain historical photographs and contemporary photographs of the interviewees, and a bibliography of secondary sources consulted.

All interviewees were encouraged to read their transcripts and make any deletions or additions they considered necessary before signing the following legal release:

In order to preserve and make available the history of Hawai'i for present and future generations, I hereby give and grant to the University of Hawai'i Center for Oral History as a donation for such scholarly and educational purposes as the Center Director shall determine, all my rights, title, and interest to the tapes and edited transcripts of interviews recorded on (date), biographical data sheet completed (date), and notes of untaped interviews (date).

The transcripts represent statements that interviewees wish to leave for the public record. The majority are transcribed almost verbatim from the actual taped interviews. Some interviewees made grammatical or syntactic changes in their transcripts. Others attached additions or explanations. Interviewee additions are in parentheses.

Minor editing for clarity was done by COH staff. The flavor and authenticity of interviews were not compromised by this editing. Staff additions are in brackets. A three-dot ellipsis indicates an interruption; a four-dot ellipsis indicates a trail-off by a speaker. Three hyphens indicate false starts.

Audiotape and Transcript Availability

While the transcripts represent the primary documents for archival and research purposes, audio cassettes are available for listening at Hamilton Library's Hawaiian and Pacific Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Researchers should use the tapes only as supplements to the transcripts, since interviewee and staff additions and deletions were not made on the tape.

The identification number, assigned to each audio cassette and transcript, indicates project number, cassette number, session number, and year of interview. For example, Tape No. 22-40-1-92 identifies project number 22, cassette number 40, recorded interview session 1, and the year, 1992.

An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in World War II Hawai'i is available at the following locations:

Hawai'i

Hawai'i Public Library (Hilo)
Hawai'i Community College
Library
University of Hawai'i at Hilo
Library
Kealahou Community Library

Kaua'i

Līhu'e Public Library
Kaua'i Community College
Library

Lāna'i

Lāna'i Public and School Library

Maui

Maui Public Library (Wailuku)
Maui Community College Library

Moloka'i

Moloka'i Public Library

O'ahu

Bishop Museum Library
Hawai'i State Library
Kaimukī Public Library
Kāne'ohe Public Library
Pearl City Public Library
Honolulu Community College Library
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Hawai'i State Archives
Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture
and the Arts
Hawai'i State Department of Land
and Natural Resources
National Park Service-USS *Arizona* Memorial

COH publications include:

Transcript Collections

Waialua and Hale'iwa: The People Tell Their Story (1977)
Life Histories of Native Hawaiians (1978)
Remembering Kaka'ako: 1910-1950 (1978)
Waipi'o: Māno Wai (Source of Life) (1978)
The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua'i (1979)
Women Workers in Hawai'i's Pineapple Industry (1979)
Stores and Storekeepers of Pā'ia and Pu'unēnē, Maui (1980)
A Social History of Kona (1981)
Five Life Histories (1983)
Kalihi: Place of Transition (1984)
Waikiki, 1910-1985: Oral Histories (1985)
Ka Po'e Kau Lei: An Oral History of Hawai'i's Lei Sellers (1986)
Perspectives on Hawai'i's Statehood (1986)
Kōloa: An Oral History of a Kaua'i Community (1988)
Lāna'i Ranch: The People of Kō'ele and Keōmuku (1989)
Oral Histories of African Americans (1990)
The State Foundation on Culture and the Arts: An Oral History (1991)
Public Education in Hawai'i: Oral Histories (1991)
'Ualapu'e, Moloka'i: Oral Histories from the East End (1991)

Books

Uchinanchu: A History of Okinawans in Hawai'i. Published in cooperation with the United Okinawan Association (1981)
Hanahana: An Oral History Anthology of Hawai'i's Working People (1984)

Finding aids

Catalog of Oral History Collections in Hawai'i (1982)
Catalog of the ESOHP Collection, 1976-1984 (1984)
Master Index to the ESOHP Interviews, 1976-1983 (1984)

Other publications

How To Do Oral History (Second Edition, Revised 1989)
Oral History Recorder newsletter (1984-.)

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The staff of the Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, believes that researching, recording, and disseminating the experiences of Hawai'i's people will stimulate further research and foster a better understanding of our islands' history. COH is solely responsible for any errors in representing or interpreting the statements of interviewees.

Honolulu, Hawai'i
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