

ANASTACIO LUIS

## The Last Mass Migration of Workers to Hawai'i

FIFTY YEARS AGO, in the last mass migration of laborers to Hawai'i, the Hawaiian sugar and pineapple companies brought six thousand men to the Islands from the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> Anastacio Luis remembers vividly the events in 1946 involving the transport of these Filipino field workers aboard the ss *Maunawili*, a former troopship. It took four voyages to ship these laborers—from Vigan, Ilocos Sur, the staging area, and Salomague, the port, to the ports in Hawai'i—beginning on January 14, 1946, and ending on June 14, when the last voyage was completed in Hilo. Luis was aboard each of the voyages as an interpreter, the link between the hiring agent, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), and the recruits, who were destined for the sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawai'i.

Confronted with a critical shortage of workers at the end of World War II, the sugar and pineapple companies in Hawai'i looked to the Philippines for labor, as they had in the past. The sugar companies had received a large number of field workers—nearly 125,000 since 1909—from the Philippines, and they had proved to be a reliable, responsible, and hard-working group. Emigration from Japan and China, which had supplied the bulk of the farm labor, was stopped by law; immigration of Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Spanish, Portuguese, and persons of many other European countries was discontinued because of dissatisfaction either on the part of the plantations or the recruits themselves. The Philippine government monitored the con-

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FIG. 1. Anastacio Luis in 1946 during one of the voyages bringing workers from the Philippine Islands to Hawai'i. (Photo courtesy of Anastacio Luis.)

ditions under which its nationals were laboring, and the agreement between the planters and the government was modified periodically to correct undesirable conditions. By 1927, however, the planters had sufficient labor, and recruiting from the Philippines came to a stop, although in the ensuing years many Filipinos gained entry to Hawai'i and the plantations through other means. The end of the war in 1945 created severe unemployment in the Philippines. At the same time, existing U.S. law and regulations permitted large-scale immigration outside the regular Philippine Islands quota for the purpose of meeting the labor needs of employers in Hawai'i. The Philippines were, indeed, the only source of readily available labor.

Anastacio Luis was born in the Philippines. He was eight years old when his father died. At eleven, he came to Hawai'i with his uncle, who went to work at HC&S in Pu'unēnē, Maui. He attended school at Maui Standard. Among his classmates were Robert Hughes, who later became president of the HSPA, and the late Wayne Richardson, who was an executive at C. Brewer and Co. and Alexander & Baldwin. He then attended Lahainaluna, where he became student body president, besting another popular student who later became a longtime

Republican political leader, Joe Garcia. He went on to the University of Hawai'i and graduated with a B.A. degree in finance in 1937. After serving as YMCA secretary in Hilo, organizing club activities on the plantations, he left for Chicago to undertake further YMCA training. He was short of a thesis in completing his master's degree when he decided to return to Manila with his bride, Librada, whom he had met in Chicago. She, too, was from the Philippines and was getting a master's degree in library science. They were married by the Rev. Seido Ogawa of Honolulu, and singing the wedding song was the Rev. Abraham Akaka.

When war broke out in the Philippines, they were stranded. They did a variety of jobs, mostly in YMCA and welfare activities, during the Japanese occupation. When the Americans landed in 1945, Luis became a guide for an American combat unit. He was wounded by shrapnel in Manila, a leg injury that left him with a distinct limping gait. He recalls that it could have been worse. The injury had swollen so badly that the examining military physician wanted to amputate. Because of heavy fighting, however, there were severe casualties that had to be tended to that day, and the amputation surgery was delayed. Early the next morning, the doctor noticed the swelling had subsided and asked if Anastacio would like to postpone surgery. He happily agreed.

Luis had in the meantime written to a colleague in Hilo about returning to Hawai'i for a job on the plantation. In response, A. D. Ednie, late C. Brewer executive, whom he had met while in Hilo, asked him to contact Slator Miller, executive in charge of the recruiting in the Philippines, for a job helping with the recruiting project. He could thus return to Hawai'i and a job at Hilo Sugar.

After completing his shipboard activities, Luis was hired by Hilo Sugar as a personnel supervisor. He retired in 1974 from Mauna Kea Sugar Company as industrial relations superintendent. (Mauna Kea was the C. Brewer sugar company that combined the farms of the four Hilo coast plantation companies. Mauna Kea has since shut down, as have all sugar operations on the island when Ka'u Sugar Company closed in 1996.)

Today, Anastacio and Librada Luis live privately in Hilo, after more than eight decades of accomplishment. Nothing in his career is

as interesting as the experience of accompanying six thousand workers on the four voyages to Hawai'i in 1946. Following is his account of it.<sup>2</sup>

#### ANASTACIO LUIS'S STORY

After the war ended in 1945, while I was in Manila recovering from my leg wound, I received a reply from the president of the Hawaii Island Planters' Association, A. D. Ednie, who was then manager of Pepeekeo Sugar Company. (Sugar managers on the island rotated among themselves in serving as president.) I had met Mr. Ednie when I was in Hilo as a YMCA secretary. He told me that if I wanted to return to Hawai'i I should contact Slator Miller, who was in Manila arranging to recruit six thousand laborers for the pineapple and sugar plantations in Hawai'i. Because transportation to Hawai'i was hard to get, I wrote Mr. Miller and he told me that I could assist Bob Trent, who was in charge of the recruiting center to be set up in the city of Vigan, Ilocos Sur.

We were fortunate to be able to rent several fairly large buildings with spacious yards where we could dig latrines and put up large tents for the cooking and dining facilities. (Vigan, about 260 miles north of Manila, was an ideal location because it was one of the few spots in the Philippines left unscathed by the war and nearby was a port, Salamogue.) When the necessary preparations were completed, we opened shop about the end of November.

At first recruiting was very slow because of the approaching holiday season (Christmas and New Year). Not too many of those notified by their relatives in Hawai'i showed up. They had been given hiring preference by the recruiters. We were concerned that we could not fill the quota of fifteen hundred for the first trip, which was set to sail about the middle of January. So we sent recruiters to nearby neighborhoods and barrios. In fact, many of those who eventually boarded the ship were practically pulled into the center. As a result, many of them were professional people such as teachers, accountants, and even an engineer. As the news of our recruiting spread, more and more applicants showed up.

After the first priority, which was persons (family members)



FIG. 2. Anastacio Luis, right, poses with a crew member of the *ss Maunawili* during one of his 1946 voyages between Hawai'i and the Philippines. (Photo courtesy of Anastacio Luis.)

requested by the sugar workers in Hawai'i,<sup>3</sup> the next group were those who had previously worked on Hawai'i plantations. Whoever was responsible for these policies, I believe, must not have considered the fact that the sons, brothers, and nephews now had far better educations than their fathers, older brothers, and uncles had many years ago when they left for work in Hawai'i. Their relatives were not inclined to do the manual jobs the older immigrants were still doing. As for priority two, many of them were advanced in age, and as we had set age forty-five as the cutoff, many were disqualified. When the priority policy got out, many of the applicants tried to beat the age limit by getting false affidavits of birth from mayors, politicians, relatives, and so on. Many also came under assumed names. Because of the war, documents had been destroyed or lost. Things were highly disorganized. So we relied a great deal on the applicant's

physical appearance. If he looked strong physically and had average mental alertness, he was accepted.

We soon were able to fill our quota of fifteen hundred for the first batch and sailed as scheduled.<sup>4</sup>

We set sail shortly after lunch, and the ship was still in calm waters when supper was served. The recruits were hungry and soon the cooked food ran out, but they kept going back for more. I told the chief cook to boil wieners, and I asked the diners not to eat too much at one time. There was plenty of food aboard the ship, but I don't think they believed me, for I did not see anyone in the line step out. We decided that more food should be prepared the next day. But as the seas rose, seasickness began to take its toll. Very few showed up for dinner, and we had to refrigerate the food for the next day. So we had the same meal for three days, which did not seem to bother anyone. Remember that these people had been deprived of food during the war.

After about two weeks (the voyage took about sixteen or seventeen days, depending on the seas and weather) on the high seas, we landed at Port Allen on Kaua'i, where we had a good reception. Many people came to the wharf to see us, perhaps more out of curiosity to see how we looked after the war. The recruits looked like scarecrows—they were ragged and thin. I myself weighed about 110–115 pounds. Many were wearing shorts made of burlap bags, and their belongings were carried in carton boxes. They were given toothbrushes, soap, and other toilet articles. I heard that they were also given receptions at the various plantations where they were assigned.

After unloading those who were assigned to Kaua'i plantations, we proceeded to Hilo to discharge the rest of the recruits. They were also received warmly and given the same types of gifts. Having lived in Hilo before the war, it was truly a homecoming for me, and I was very happy to see many of my friends.

Assigning the recruits to the various plantations was often difficult because many of them had their minds set on where they were going. The referrals wanted to be with their relatives. Those who were not able to go where they wanted moved before long. Their relatives either came to get them or sent them their fare to travel to another island. Consequently, there was considerable transferring from one

plantation to another. As a result, some plantations had more than their share, but these inequities were corrected with subsequent assignments from succeeding batches of recruits.

We had a rough time with the first batch. As I said, many of them were educated and were not to be pushed around. Giving orders or making announcements was difficult because we had no public address system on board. We had to have all the paper work—shipping manifests, assignments, and so forth—completed before we reached Hawai'i. We had no system of checking the number of meals, so after they recovered from their seasickness, they were able to get more than one serving. I knew also that these people were still hot under the collar with the Japanese who had occupied the Philippines during the war. There was one Japanese crew member aboard, and the recruits sized him up menacingly. Afraid that he might be seized and thrown overboard, I advised him to stay away from the recruits unless he was accompanied by someone. He heeded my advice and kept within the confines of the kitchen, where he worked, and when off duty, he stayed in his room.

I realized that something had to be done because these people would be working and coming in contact with many Japanese in Hawai'i. So I tried my best to talk to the group to try to convince them that the Japanese whom they would meet in Hawai'i were not the same Japanese who occupied the Philippines during the war. The Japanese in Hawai'i were American citizens, and they fought for the United States in the war. However, using a megaphone, the type that ship captains use, made of cardboard, to talk to fifteen hundred men assembled on the top deck and with the wind blowing, it was impossible to be heard. Also, there was no game equipment of any kind to keep the recruits busy, except tug of war, but they got tired of this.

On that first trip, several people got sick aboard the ship. In fact, we had one death. He was buried at sea wrapped in canvas, weighted, and slid down a plank over the side with the ship's captain saying a few words. Death is an event that the Filipinos consider very solemn, and witnessing the ceremony aboard ship had a considerable emotional impact upon the recruits. We also had one who was not able to urinate because the sulfa drug which the doctors gave him did not dissolve in his system and, instead, plugged his urinary tract. In spite



of the limited medical facilities aboard the ship, the doctors operated (we had a surgeon, a Dr. Garcia) and inserted a tube in his side through which the urine flowed into a pouch. When we reached Kaua'i, he was immediately transferred to the hospital. He survived.

Because of the difficult time we had with the first batch, I went to see Chauncey Wightman, secretary of the HSPA, in Honolulu. I told him that I was not going back for the second batch unless a public address system was installed to allow me to speak to (and be heard by) the fifteen hundred recruits from my room on any subject such as announcements, conditions on the plantations, description of the jobs to which they were likely to be assigned, and the people in Hawai'i, especially the Japanese. I also asked for game equipment such as boxing gloves, checker boards, volleyball, and the like. My requests were granted. We also had meal tickets printed, which I designed, indicating the number of meals to which the recruit was entitled. Each recruit was given this meal ticket upon boarding the ship. No meal was to be served him if he did not have a meal ticket. These tickets were punched as they lined up to get their food. Because of this, we were able to apprehend several stowaways. With the added equipment, and because of better organization, subsequent trips were not as difficult to handle as the first.

Although the succeeding recruiting had picked up considerably, still it was slower than expected. Applicants, I felt, should have been flocking to the recruiting center. Instead, I was told that rumors about the first batch were that of the fifteen hundred, five hundred had died and the rest were taken to Japan to fight the war. The five hundred who died had been dumped into the ocean. So we had to do something to dispel the rumors. Fortunately, letters from the first batch of recruits mailed back to their families disclosed otherwise, and they were encouraged to come to Hawai'i. There was no difficulty in filling the subsequent quotas.

I returned to the Philippines on the *Maunawili* to aid in the transport of the second batch of recruits. Word had already reached the recruiting center that many of the first group were not the type who would work at jobs requiring considerable physical exertion and had left the plantations to work outside. Many went to work at Pearl Harbor. Even those who remained on the plantations did not take long





FIG. 3. Floating mines continued to make Pacific waters dangerous in 1946, and workers traveling from the Philippines on the ss *Maunawili* were taught how to use the life jackets and lifeboats the ship carried. (Photo courtesy of Anastacio Luis.)

before they moved into jobs requiring less physical effort. I was not surprised because, as I said, we had difficulty filling our initial quota. People who are educated are more likely to be more adventurous than those who are not.

The recruiters were hence instructed to observe the applicants carefully and recruit laborers, not office workers. Look for farmers—men who looked rugged and had rough hands. So the first thing the recruiter or interviewer then did was to examine the applicant's hands. If his hands were soft and smooth without calluses, he would be considered white collar, or lazy, and would be told to step aside. This did not apply to the referrals from relatives in Hawai'i; they still were accepted without this additional "rough hand" check.

During the war, trickery, cunning, and the ability to lie your way through were traits quickly acquired in order to survive. So what happened when those applicants with soft hands were rejected? They would roughen their palms by rubbing them on the ground or even actually performing manual labor. Others tried to obtain an order (referral) from Hawai'i from those who had received them but did not want to come to Hawai'i. I was told later that one of the recruiters

assigned to seek recruits in the neighboring towns made copies of the order form and sold them at one hundred pesos or more each. At first the applicants were proud to state their educational attainments, but not after it was known that a "rough hand" test was used.

While the recruits were waiting for the ship, they were assigned work projects to keep them busy. One of these projects was the clearing of the mouth of the river that flowed through the town. It had been clogged with water lilies, making it an ideal place for mosquitoes to breed. No one was required to work on these projects; it was voluntary. All those who were available volunteered, however, perhaps partly due to their desire to impress the recruiters that they could and were not afraid to do manual labor. Too, this gave those with soft hands an opportunity to keep them rough and callused.

By the time the third batch was being processed, there were more than enough applicants. They flocked to the recruiting center in such numbers that it was necessary to hire more deputies to keep order. Consequently, the recruiters could be more selective, but falsification continued. Those who were waiting for their physical examinations would try to be certain that their specimens would be accepted by using the urine sample of those who had already passed. Infestation with intestinal worms or parasites was sufficient grounds for rejection because there was no time for treatment. There were those also who were ready but decided not to come, so they sold their papers to those who wanted to come. As a result, there were many using assumed names.

The second-priority group, those who had previously worked in Hawai'i, also came in for its share of deception. When I was still doing the interviewing, I asked the other interviewers to send all such applicants to me so I could inquire whether they had indeed been in Hawai'i. I would ask the applicant where he was and what kind of jobs he did. Usually, he would be able to answer where and what jobs such as cut cane, *hanawai*, *hoe hana*, or *hapaiko*. If he said, "I lived in Camp 5, Pu'unēnē, Maui", I would ask him "How many smoke stacks does the Pu'unēnē Mill have?" If he said Kaua'i, I would ask him where Barking Sands or some other well-known Kaua'i spot was. This helped to cull out those who had never been to Hawai'i before, but I did not continue long at this task.

With the public address system, game equipment, and better organization aboard the ship, especially the meal line, handling the second and remaining voyages was much easier. We had about two weeks on the ship to prepare all the necessary papers, such as the shipping manifests and lists of assignments that were required when we arrived in Hawai'i. The second group went to O'ahu and Maui. Again there were many transfers from one plantation to another because those who were requested wanted to go to where their relatives were located, and many of their friends or those from the same town went with them. I am sure that some plantations got more and others less than what they had asked for. Because of these movements between plantations, the plantation assignments were changed with each subsequent voyage. I remember that the fourth or last group of recruits were distributed among the four large islands—O'ahu, Maui, Kaua'i and Hawai'i—in order to even out the distributions.

With the P.A. system, it was much easier to talk to the group, to make announcements, or to page any of the recruits or crew members. Following supper was the time I chose to talk to the recruits about Hawai'i. I especially emphasized the fact that they would see many Japanese in Hawai'i, but these were not the same Japanese that occupied the Philippines during the war. I told them about the multicultural and ethnic mixture of the population, about the labor structure on the plantations—the gang system with a “capataz” who is called “luna” or overseer; and about the school system and encouraged those with families to send their children to school. I talked about the labor contract with the HSPA that they had signed before they left the Philippines. I was not aware that the HSPA was going to collect one hundred dollars from each recruit as reimbursement of his fare, which would be done by payroll deduction, so I did not tell them about it. This was not part of their contract as far as I knew, and besides, we were not told that this amount would be collected. I don't know how the HSPA collected from those who left the plantations and went to work elsewhere.

Of course, what I told them was what I knew about the conditions in Hawai'i prior to 1941, when most of the foremen were Portuguese and skilled jobs were held by nationalities other than Filipinos; that the plantation communities were divided into camps and that the

camps were subdivided into various ethnic groups—the Portuguese occupied the better houses in one section, followed by the Japanese in another section; that the Filipinos, being the last immigrants, were assigned older houses. Of course, there were a few exceptions. When I came to work for Hilo Sugar after I got off the ship, my immediate superior showed me the tiny house to which I had been assigned. I told him that I wanted one of the supervisors' houses which I had known was vacant or I would leave. I got the house I wanted.

Juan Valentin, who was with me aboard the ship from the beginning, was an employee of HSPA. He also took turns talking to the group. The recruits were mostly Ilocano, and since Mr. Valentin and I both were conversant with Ilocano, we found it easy to communicate with them. Juan was a good sailor and a great help aboard the ship in organizing and getting the necessary paper work done before the ship landed. However, he crossed me up. When the ss *Marine Falcon* was ready to sail to bring the women and children to Hawai'i, Mr. Miller in Manila (or someone from his office) wired Mr. Wightman to put me on a plane so that I could arrive in the Philippines in time to accompany my family on the *Marine Falcon*. I was never told about the message. When we were on high seas, Mr. Valentin told me about it and apologized that he was, perhaps, the cause of my not getting on the plane. He said that he begged Mr. Wightman not to let me leave the *Maunawili*. He claimed that I was the only one who could control the group, having experienced the same hardships that the recruits did during the war. I could not quite get over it, however, because that would have been my first airplane ride and, more important, I would have sailed with my wife and daughter.

I noticed that crew members on the ship were approaching the recruits beginning with the first trip. I did not know that they were members of the ILWU signing up the recruits. There were several Ilocano-speaking Filipinos among the crew, and with the help of those who had previously worked on plantations in Hawai'i and had participated in labor organization under Pablo Manlapit, they were successful. Of course, they were able to gain favor with the recruits by handing out hard-boiled eggs and fruits, so getting them to sign up was not difficult. So the stage was set as far as the six thousand recruits were concerned when the union called a strike in 1946.

When we reached Honolulu, I asked Mr. Wightman if we could do anything to discourage the recruits from signing up. He told me to lay off because of the labor laws protecting union organization.

Recalling the wages paid during the 1920s, I was not entirely against unionization if this was the way the workers were able to better themselves. I recalled that the wage for those engaged in cultivation or manual harvesting was one dollar for a twelve-hour day plus the time it took to walk to the place of work, which in some cases was quite far. If the worker worked at least twenty-three days during the month, he was given a bonus of ten cents for each day.

When my father died I was eight. I went to live with my uncle, who brought me to Hawai'i in May 1922 as a member of his family. I used to get up at 2 A.M. to cook his breakfast and lunch. Imagine a boy of eleven getting up at that hour. We did not have electricity until much later, and we had to cook on a makeshift wood stove placed on the ground. There were times when I fell asleep while waiting for the rice to cook. After getting a good lashing, I had to cook again and take his lunch to the field. I had to run in order to get to school, which was about four or five miles from home. I hated it and I made a vow that I would finish my education and work at a job other than a plantation job. Well, I was able to make good on the first part of my vow, but not the second. I worked during summers as weeder on the plantation until I was old enough to be accepted for work in the pineapple cannery. When I finished college, I worked as a YMCA secretary, both in Hilo and Manila. While I had to fulfill my obligation of serving on the plantation as I was considered one of the six thousand recruits, I could have gotten out for I was offered the executive secretary position of the Hawai'i County YMCA. I did not accept mainly because I did not like fund raising while at the same time carrying out the YMCA program.

One amusing episode occurred with an aide assigned by the HSPA from Pioneer Mill. He was no help really for he was seasick all the time he was on the ship both going and returning. I felt that he accepted the assignment because he wanted to see the Philippines or he wanted to make money selling ballpoint pens, which were then new in Manila. He had a big box of pens. Before we reached Manila, I had told him to buy several cartons of cigarettes from the ship px

at fifty cents a carton and place one on each piece of his luggage as a means of expediting his customs inspection. He did not heed my advice. When we got to Manila, we were told to line up and stand by our packages for inspection. It was about mid-day and hot. The wharf had no roof because it had been destroyed by the bombing. When the inspector came to me, he picked up the cartons of cigarettes and passed my packages without even opening them. We all waited for the Pioneer Mill aide, and it was quite a while before he came out. He was perspiring in his woolen suit, and his suitcases were in disarray, his carton of pens was partly empty, and he was mad. When asked what happened, he told us that the inspectors ganged up on him and made him open all of his luggage and packages, inspecting the contents an item at a time.

We also had emergency drills aboard ship just in case we hit one of the floating mines that were prevalent in the Pacific at the end of the war. The ship radio operator would report to me whenever he heard of a ship striking a mine and sinking.

Except for the first voyage, controlling the group aboard the ship wasn't difficult. They were used to obeying orders under the Japanese military occupation. We also enlisted the help of several of the more aggressive and vocal ones who we thought would make good group leaders. Besides helping to maintain peace and order, they served as messengers and in general kept us informed on what was happening among the recruits. They also helped in the kitchen and in keeping the ship sanitary, especially in the sleeping quarters. To give them recognition, they had their meals apart from the rest and were given other minor favors. Of course, the union made use of this group in persuading the recruits to join the union. Some of them later became union leaders on the plantations.

The doctors and male nurses assigned were young and sports minded. Besides monitoring the health of the group, they organized sporting events, of which boxing was most popular. (Fortunato Teho, another HSPA aide assigned from Hutchinson Sugar Company, besides being a good sailor and a great help in controlling the recruits, was active in arranging boxing matches.) Some of the medical staff participated in boxing matches themselves. We sponsored talent shows (amateur hours). There was a lot of musical talent

aboard. Playing checkers was popular among the older and more sedate group.

When we made the first trip, there were sufficient life vests for everyone aboard ship; the lifeboats were well supplied with food rations, candies, and so forth. By the time we made our third trip, there were not enough life vests to go around and the supplies—the rations and candies—were mostly gone.

We were about a week from Manila on our way back for the third batch when the April 1, 1946, tidal wave struck Hawai'i. The sea was rough and the ship was slowed down to almost a standstill for fear the propellers would break loose. The ship was light when returning to Manila, so it rolled and bucked like an empty tub. When we returned to Hawai'i with the third group of recruits, which was destined for Kaua'i and Hawai'i Island, we saw the damage done by the tidal wave to the Hilo wharf.

I don't recall if there was a stowaway on the first trip; there were one or two on the second trip, and I remember that there were two on the third voyage, one of whom had a father in Hilo. All of the stowaways were taken back to the Philippines except for the one who had a father in Hilo.

I remember that there were fifty-four who tried to stowaway on the last trip. Recognizing that this was their last chance to come to Hawai'i, they must have boarded the ship during the night before we sailed. We discovered some of them by the meal tickets, but I had to use a ruse to get all of them. I announced over the P.A. system that we needed more men to fill our quota for the trip and that we knew there were many who did not have their documents. If they would have their lunch, we would then go ashore on the launch and return to the pier to get the necessary papers to enter Hawai'i. There were fifty-four of them. To prevent their catching on that I was lying, I told them to leave their belongings aboard ship since they were coming back. They boarded the launch willingly. Then the launch returned for their belongings and we sailed.

The recruits were encouraged to bring their families to Hawai'i. I recall that after I had talked to them about the benefits of having their families with them, many of them came to my cabin asking me to send telegrams to their wives telling them to go to Hawai'i. Before



the messages could be sent, however, a number of them changed their minds. When asked why, they said that the former Hawai'i workers had told them that their wives would be kidnapped "cowboy style" when they were at work. Well, I knew that this was true in the 1920s. As a boy, I had witnessed one of the few women in our camp being abducted by cars instead of by horses. It was easy to own a handgun then. Those who changed their minds about bringing their families regretted it since they found it costly and involved a lot of red tape to bring them later.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> This introduction was written by Harold S. Y. Hee, who in 1975, having learned from Anastacio Luis about his involvement with the 1946 Filipino migration, encouraged Luis to record an account of his experience. Hee helped in the editing of Luis's manuscript, then filed it until 1995, when he decided to complete some research on the subject and submit Luis's essay to this journal. Hee is a retired vice-president, industrial relations, at C. Brewer and Co.
- <sup>2</sup> These recollections began as an oral history recorded in 1975, shortly after Luis's retirement. Luis subsequently made extensive revisions to the transcription of that recording. The resulting account is presented here with minor editing.
- <sup>3</sup> Of the six thousand workers who ultimately sailed to Hawai'i, 2,655 were reported to have been requested laborers. About 60 percent of the six thousand were married. Only a few (452) wives, however, came in two later, separate voyages aboard another ship, ss *Marine Falcon*, with their 909 children. Data from Slator M. Miller, "Report to the President, HSPA, on the 1945-1946 Filipino Emigration Project," 1946.
- <sup>4</sup> According to HSPA statistics, the ss *Maunawili* carried 1,523 workers on that voyage. Official figures for the subsequent voyages were: second voyage, commencing February 28, 1946, 1,526; third voyage, commencing April 11, 1946, 1,526; and fourth voyage, commencing May 27, 1946, 1,393. In addition, thirty-two messmen sailed on the *Marine Falcon* and were assigned to the plantations. See Miller, "Report to the President."