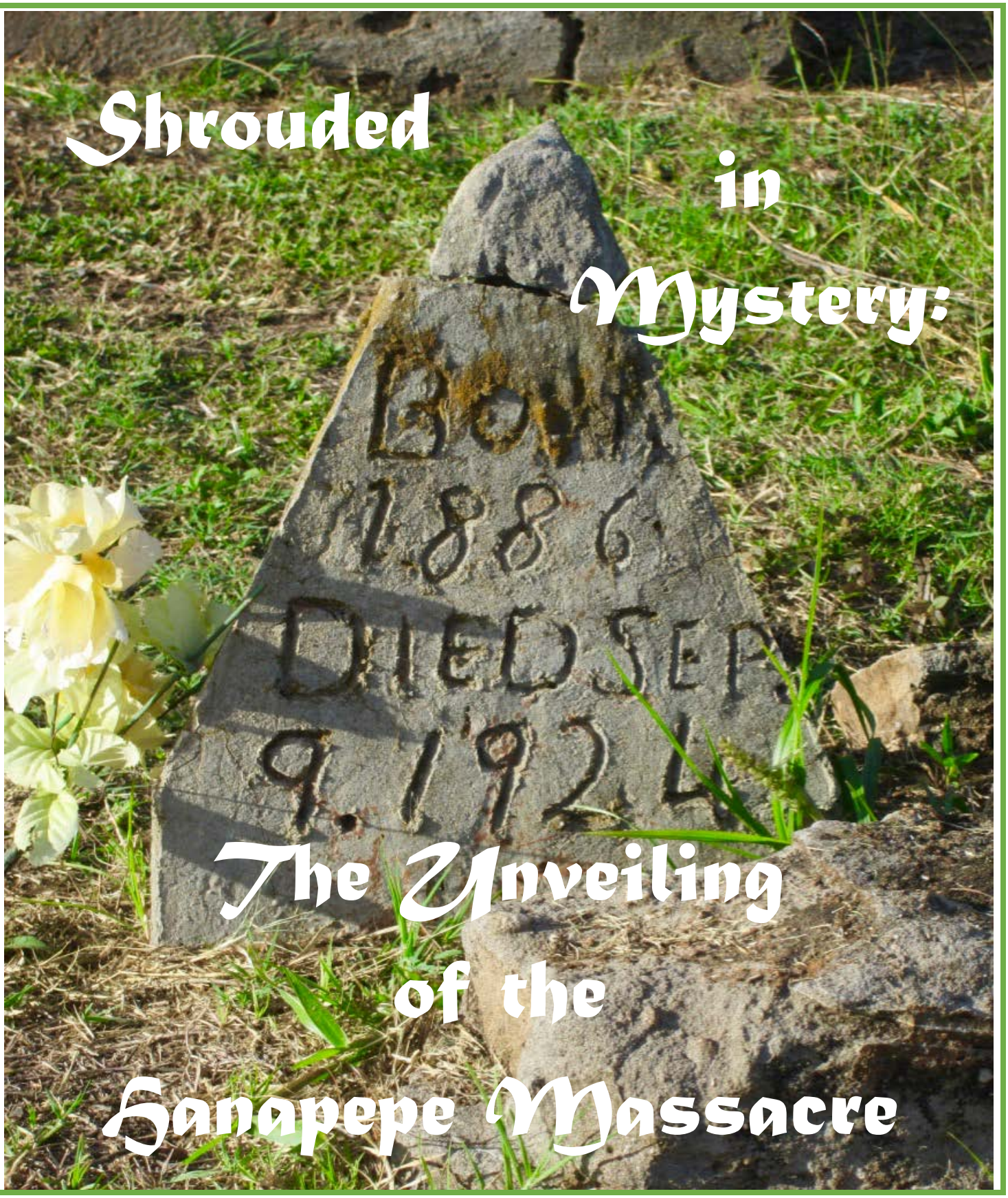


Catherine Pascual Lo & Karl H. Y. Lo



The Long Grave
April 22, 2023



The Long Grave
Sept. 21, 2024

Karl Y. Y. Lo Photos

Shrouded in Mystery:

The Unveiling of the Hanapepe Massacre

Catherine Pascual Lo

and

Karl H. Y. Lo

K & C Co.
Kōloa, Kauaʻi, Hawaiʻi
2026

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Revised Edition
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Catherine & Karl Lo
P. O. Box 887
Kōloa, HI 96756
Email:
cath.khylo@iCloud.com

Design & Layout
By
Catherine Pascual Lo

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Front Cover: On Thursday, September 12, 2019, Catherine and Karl Lo walked around the Hanapēpē Filipino Cemetery in the company of Ed Edwards of Kekaha to look for this gravestone, which Ed photographed six years prior. The grave marker led the researchers to this site on October 20, 2019, on their field trip to the cemetery to locate the long grave, with the help of Jerry Nakasone and Kawika Wilson with their Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) equipment.

November 7, 2019 | Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.

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INTRODUCTION

September 9, 2024, marked the 100th anniversary of the Hanapēpē Massacre. It was imperative for the Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee to commemorate the centennial of September 9, 1924, and honor the 20 precious lives that were cut short on that tragic day.

With that sentiment, Catherine and Karl Lo printed in August 2024, their research under their K & C Co. imprint -- a limited edition of 100 copies in observance of the 100th anniversary of the Hanapēpē Massacre.

To give a brief background, the Filipino-American National Historical Society (FANHS) Hawai‘i State Chapter asked Michael Miranda to form a committee to look into the Hanapēpē Massacre for presentation at the FANHS July 2020 National Convention in Honolulu. A volunteer committee started meeting on Monday, February 18, 2019, to research and understand the 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua‘i and the events that led to the Hanapēpē Massacre on September 9, 1924, when 16 Filipino plantation workers and four county deputized special police lost their lives.

The committee, which reflected Hawai‘i’s racial diversity, included Michael Miranda, Filipino (Puhi); Raymond Catania, Filipino-Italian (Puhi); Fern Holland, Caucasian (Kapahi); Catherine Lo, Filipino (Kukui‘ula), and Karl Lo, Chinese (Kukui‘ula). The committee invited Chad Taniguchi, Japanese (Kailua, O‘ahu), to join the committee. Ed Edwards, Caucasian (Kekaha) took on the role of associate committee member.

In July 2019, the committee focused on locating the burial site of the 16 plantation workers, on researching the names of the 16 Filipino plantation workers, and on ascertaining the names of the four County of Kaua‘i special police and their burial sites.

Each member of the committee wrote independently without pretense at being scholarly, as in academic study and pursuit. However, the committee planned to compile the articles for possible publication, especially after the committee located the long grave and ascertained -- as much as available sources made possible -- the names of the 16 plantation workers.

FANHS cancelled the convention because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Likewise, the research committee stopped meetings in March 2020, and the preparation of the book and its publication was delayed.

However, the manuscript -- a collection of five chapters -- was ready for publication in 2021, with FANHS Hawai‘i State Chapter, and individuals, including committee members, funding a limited first printing, with print-on-demand for future printings. The research committee wanted its findings published with dispatch in 2021 and had the manuscript ready for editing and proofreading in June 2021. Regrettably, the manuscript languished in Honolulu for six months without explanation from FANHS Hawai‘i State Chapter.

After six months of waiting, the committee changed course in an effort to get the research published. In January 2022, Chad Taniguchi took the leadership role, and the University of Hawai‘i Department of Ethnic Studies took steps to review the manuscript and to evaluate its merits as a publication of the department.

Editors reviewed the manuscript, and the authors made needed corrections, adjustments, and re-writes. Moreover, the editors added two or more writers to the project. With that said, the committee acknowledged with gratitude the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

On July 17, 2024, Taniguchi, one of the editors, in response to Catherine's inquiry on July 10, emailed the committee: "It is unlikely we will be able to have a published book by 9/24. … I am committed to publication as soon as possible and we will figure out a way to get it to [the/a] printer before end of 2024."

On that note, Catherine sprang into action, in keeping with what she wrote to Taniguchi in their exchange of emails on May 4, 2024, that if the book was not published by September 2024 -- the centennial of the Hanapēpē Massacre -- Karl and Catherine would publish the Lo chapter independently.

Again, it was imperative that the research committee commemorated the centennial of September 9, 1924, and honored the 20 precious lives that were lost on that tragic day.

Moreover, many on Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, and the mainland, helped the research committee with the project; they continued to wait for the results. We owed them our aloha and gratitude. We were bound by duty and conscience to publish the results of our research -- a tangible way to acknowledge and thank the many kind individuals who helped with the project. And our expression of gratitude was long-overdue.

As I write, it is the eve of the 102-year anniversary of the Hanapēpē Massacre. We have stopped waiting for and looking forward to the publication of the entire research project by the University of Hawai‘i Department of Ethnic Studies. We resigned ourselves to wait; the waiting is over. We must move on.

Catherine Pascual Lo
September 2025
Revised September 2026







Hanapēpē Massacre Talk Story, Saturday, August 30, 2025
At the Labor Day Observance
In Honor of Hawai'i's Plantation Workers & Labor Unions

Līhu'e Public Library Conference Room
10:30 AM – 1 PM

Left: Raymond Catania listens to Catherine Lo -- who was surprised by a kind and generous lady with a haku lei -- after introducing her to a very attentive and appreciative audience.

Right: Michael Miranda.

Recorded by Hō'ike for future broadcast.

Karl H. Y. Lo Photos.

PREFACE

JANUARY 2025 PRINTING

Several individuals asked if we would be printing more copies of the Lo chapter. "No" was the ready and firm response.

But after the inventory of 100 copies was depleted in December 2024, we received requests for more copies of the Lo chapter. We were poised to move on, and printing additional copies was not in our plans. However, to honor the requests, and with the desire to make the Hanapēpē Massacre common knowledge an ever-present hope, the call for more copies moved us to consider printing a limited January 2025 edition.

Catherine Pascual Lo
January 2025

SEPTEMBER 2025 PRINTING

We are grateful for the continuing interest in *Shrouded in Mystery: The Unveiling of the Hanapēpē Massacre.* This is the fourth printing, with some revisions.

We acknowledge with gratitude Raymond Catania, a member of the volunteer Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee, who continues to publicize the book to friends and acquaintances on Kauaʻi, Oʻahu, and the mainland who are members of unions or supporters of unions and workers' rights. For example, Ray's friends at Hawaiʻi Workers Center, Honolulu, of which he is a board member, have bought copies of the book or made donations in support of the publication. Also, Ray continues to schedule committee members at talk story events on Kauaʻi, and we are grateful that some in attendance buy the book.

Likewise, Scott Sagum of Kōloa, a friend, continues to order copies for family and friends. We are grateful for his continued interest and spirit of aloha.

Moreover, the Filipino-American Historical Society of Hawaiʻi (FAHSOH), based in Honolulu, invited Catherine to talk about the Hanapēpē Massacre at the society's Authors' Day on June 21, 2025, and ordered 10 copies for the event.

Notably, the Kauaʻi Historical Society (KHS) purchased 12 copies in November 2024, and ordered 20 copies in August 2025. The society's store, prominently positioned on its website, makes ordering books online convenient. The KHS's description of *Shrouded in Mystery: The Unveiling of the Hanapēpē Massacre* reads: *"The Hanapēpē Massacre on September 9, 1924, was a tragic episode in the history of labor in Hawai'i. The massacre was shrouded in secrecy for almost a century." So, begins Catherine and Karl Lo's account of this mysterious episode in Kaua'i's history revealing not just the names of the Filipinos who were killed but recounting the actions of labor leaders, sugar plantation management, business and the government. All of these contributing to the tumult and subsequent secrecy.*

Foremost, we want to acknowledge interested readers who contacted us to request copies of the book. We are truly grateful to all who want to know more about the Hanapēpē Massacre and disseminate their knowledge of this tragic, momentous, and consequential event in Hawaiʻi's history.

With aloha and gratitude,
Catherine Pascual Lo
September 2025

DEDICATION

To
the 16 Filipino
plantation workers
and four county deputized police
who lost their lives
in the Hanapēpē Massacre
and to the
families and descendants

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!"

From "Man Was Made to Mourn: A Dirge"(1784)
Robert Burns (1759-1796)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS*

With the aid of accessible print and online sources, and with the help of many individuals, pieces of the massacre mystery came into focus, and on Sunday, October 20, 2019, with the use of a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) equipment, Hawai‘i Utility Locators, with generosity and aloha, located the unmarked long grave, or what remained of the original 90- or 96-foot long trench, on the hill overlooking Hanapēpē Bay.

The committee acknowledges with deep and sincere gratitude and appreciation the many individuals on Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, and on the mainland who helped with the completion of the project in 2021.

Renee Aguiar, LDS Kekaha Ward Family History Center Consultant
Delia Akaji, Kaua‘i Historical Society Administrator
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Stephanie Castillo, *Hanapēpē Massacre Mystery* Filmmaker
Celia Cheung (Mrs. Waihang Lai), Translator
Ed Edwards, Research Associate
Sierra Hampton-Eng, Līhu‘e Public Library Manager
Nicole Kamalu, Research Assistant (O‘ahu)
Robert Li, Translator (California)
Caleb Loehrer, *The Garden Island* Staff Writer
Leslie Lopez, Ph.D., UH-West O‘ahu Center for Labor Education and Research
Jerry Nakasone, Hawai‘i Utility Locators
Elaine Yang, Translator (California)
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Donna Stewart, Kaua‘i Historical Society Researcher
Wayne Tochiki, Līhu‘e Public Library Technician
Kawika Wilson, Hawai‘i Utility Locators

*Kaua‘i-based, unless noted otherwise

PROLOGUE

The Hanapēpē Massacre on September 9, 1924, was a tragic episode in the history of labor in Hawai‘i. The massacre was shrouded in secrecy for almost a century.

The names of the four deputized special police and where they were buried were published in *The Garden Island* and in three Honolulu newspapers, but the Filipino plantation workers were not fully and correctly identified in the Honolulu newspapers. *The Garden Island* did not publish their names.

Moreover, the newspapers mentioned that the 16 Filipinos were buried at the then Hanapēpē Catholic Cemetery, which is referred to today as Hanapēpē Filipino Cemetery, or Hanapēpē Public Cemetery, but the gravesite was left unmarked, and the burial site was some kind of a guarded secret, shrouded in mystery for almost a century.

Many questions on the Hanapēpē Massacre and its aftermath remain unanswered today.

1. What really happened on September 9, 1924, and in the days, weeks, months, and years after that fateful Tuesday?
2. Why were some 40 police deputized for the strike called to join Deputy Sheriff Crowell in Hanapēpē?
3. Why were the strikers indicted for rioting, with 56 found guilty, sentenced to serve two to four years in prison, then deported to the Philippines?
4. Why was Pablo Manlapit, who was not on Kaua‘i during the massacre, convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to a two-year minimum, 10-year maximum at O‘ahu Prison?
5. Why was no one held accountable for the Hanapēpē Massacre?
6. Why did Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association give to each of the families of the killed deputized special police $500 (*The Honolulu Times,* September 11, 1924, p.1) but gave the families of the dead Filipinos only $75, less than $5 per dead striker? (Hill, *Honolulu Magazine*, January 2010, p.3).

Basic to the answers to these largely rhetorical questions was the fact that the Big Five of Hawai‘i were “really controlling matters.” (ESOHP 1979: Kiilau, 22). They owned or were the agents of the plantations, controlled and shaped politics, government, business, shipping, education, information, and everything else in the Territory of Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association, which was the face and long arm of the Big Five, wielded power and influence. It even paid the special prosecutor for the strikers because the territorial government had no funds. (*The Honolulu Times*, Sept. 12, 1924, p.1).

Moreover, ingrained plantation mentality, suppression of information, intimidation, and covert retaliation filled the toolbox of Hawai‘i’s power base before, during, and after the strike and the massacre.

For example, *The Honolulu Times* sympathized with the strikers and supported as reasonable their demand to increase their wages from $1 to $2 a day and to reduce the workday from 10 hours to eight. The newspaper wrote truth to power. As a result, friends and commercial supporters of the newspaper were threatened by their suppliers that had links to the Big Five. Newsprint supplies shipped from the mainland through Matson Line, of which Alexander & Baldwin was a stockholder, were held up. Advertisements

that provided the life blood of the newspaper stopped. Unable to print the newspaper and meet the payroll, Willard K. Bassett, editor and publisher, closed *THT* on September 18, 1924.

With *The Honolulu Times* closed, the voice of empathy was silenced. The two Honolulu English newspapers and *The Garden Island* continued to call the strikers rioters. The truth was suppressed, and the massacre took on a shroud.

The strikes by plantation workers in the Territory of Hawai‘i in the 1920s were for worker rights. Likewise, today, teachers, nurses, hotel workers, fast-food workers, airline pilots, flight attendants, public employees, and other workers in manual and nonexecutive work strike for better pay and better working conditions when their bargaining unit representatives and employer representatives cannot come to a resolution for their grievances.

The Filipino plantation workers who went on strike in 1924 did not have the benefit of having a union or a bargaining unit to represent them. They took a bold step, a big leap in faith for worker rights. They went on strike, and 16 lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre that abruptly ended the 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua‘i.

The Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee respects the reticence of descendants and individuals in the community who may have heard about the Hanapēpē Massacre but chose to remain silent. The committee respects their stance but cannot understand the silence of many on a tragic event that happened a century ago.

Descendants of the Filipino plantation workers on Kaua‘i who went on strike in 1924, including descendants of married strikers who lost their lives, live on the island, in the state, on the mainland, and in the Philippines. We say to you: Be proud of your ancestors who went on strike to fight for worker rights: reasonable wages, shorter workday, shorter workweek, and better living conditions. They were among the rare breed of early worker activists. Many may believe that the Hanapēpē Massacre brought shame to the families and descendants of the strikers. On the contrary, we must honor them for their part in helping start the beginnings of labor unions in Hawai‘i that have improved labor conditions over the years, especially with the 1946 strike led by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU). The Filipino plantation workers who had the courage to go on strike in 1924 left a legacy of activism worthy of praise. We celebrate them! We honor them!

It should be noted that newspapers printed biased, erroneous, and contradictory accounts, too many to catalog here. They consistently called the strike a riot, and authorities arrested and indicted the strikers for rioting. Today, those who are moved to write about the Hanapēpē Massacre fail to check the facts and compound biased accounts and inconsistencies, and they have the penchant for embellishing their narratives.

The Hanapēpē Massacre researchers look upon their findings as small steps in bringing to the surface newly unearthed details of the 1924 Filipino Strike and the Hanapēpē Massacre. They hope that their findings serve as mainsprings for further fact-findings into these important events in the history of labor in Hawai‘i.

Catherine Pascual Lo, Member
Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee
May 2022

THE FILIPINO STRIKE OF 1924

There were two sides to the 1924 Filipino strike: the Pablo Manlapit, a Tagalog, and the Visayan side, and the Cayetano Ligot, an Ilocano, and the Ilocano side.

The two leaders came from different backgrounds, manifested two different perspectives, and demonstrated two opposing approaches. On that note, Visayan plantation workers answered Manlapit's call to strike. On the other hand, the Ilocanos listened to Ligot's advise not to go on strike because they were better off in Hawai‘i than they would be in their native land.

During that fateful year, the Visayans in 23 of 45 plantations in the Territory of Hawai‘i went on strike to call attention to low wages, long workdays, long work weeks, and poor living conditions.

An estimated 1,600 Visayan plantation workers went on strike in 1924 (Thrum 1925: 125) out of a Filipino workforce of 24,000 in the Territory of Hawai‘i.

Pablo Manlapit (1891 - 1969)

Pablo Manlapit, native of Lipa, Batangas, was 19 when he arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. Mongolia* on February 17, 1910. HSPA assigned him to Hawi Mill and Plantation in Kohala, in Hawai‘i Island, and he subsequently worked in the sugar cane fields of Hamakua Mill Co. in the Hamakua district of Hawai‘i Island. In June 1912, he married Annie Kasby, a German-American (*Wikipedia* 2019), and they started a family in Hilo. Manlapit later left his plantation job, moved to O‘ahu and worked in various offices while studying law. The Manlapits had four children born between 1913 and 1921 (*Wikipedia* 2019).



1930 Photo. Source: Public Domain.

Manlapit's first effort was starting the Filipino Labor Union on O‘ahu in 1919, and working with Japanese labor organizers in 1920, when Japanese and Filipino workers went on strike in Waipahu, Kahuku, Waialua, Waimanalu, and ‘Ewa. (Alegado "Blood in the Fields" *Positively Filipino* 2012, p.7). But Manlapit pulled out the Filipinos from the 1920 strike because of a dispute with the Japanese leaders. (*loc. cit.*).

In 1922, he organized the Filipino High Wages Movement. Some "6,000 Filipino plantation workers [signed] the petition asking for a minimum wage of $2 per day, an 8-hour workday, equal pay for equal work, equal pay among men and women, abolishment of the bonus system or a reduction of required days, union recognition and right to collective bargaining." (ESOHP 1979: A-3). Likewise, the High Wages Movement petition brought no results. (*loc .cit*.).

On September 19, 1922, Manlapit wrote a letter to **Manuel Luis Quezon (1878 - 1944),** First Senate President of the Philippines, requesting the appointment of a Resident Labor Commissioner for Hawai‘i. The response was the appointment of Cayetano Ligot as Labor Commissioner in Hawai‘i.

Cayetano Romero Ligot (1877 - 1973)

Cayetano Ligot, native of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, and Governor of the Province of Ilocos Norte from 1919 to 1922, was subsequently appointed Resident Labor Commissioner in Hawai‘i by **Leonard Wood (1860 - 1927)**, a U. S. Army major general, who was the Governor General of the Philippines. Ligot arrived in Hawai‘i in March 1923 to look into the conditions of Filipino workers at the plantations. In his report to Wood: *Authoritative Statement Relative to Filipino Laborers in Hawaii, March 31, 1923 – March 31, 1924*, Ligot expressed his satisfaction with Filipino labor situations in Hawai‘i, after visiting plantations across the Territory of Hawai‘i.

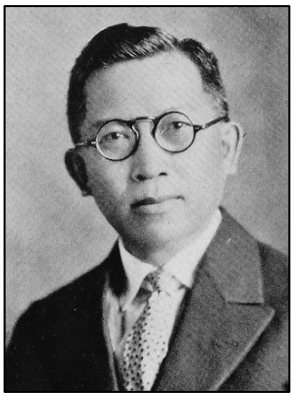


Photo Source: *Men of Hawaii* 1930: 308. (Public Domain)

Strike on O‘ahu

Answering Manlapit’s call to strike, Visayans on O‘ahu started the Filipino Strike of 1924 on April 1 (April Fool’s Day!) with three plantations affected: Kahuku Plantation (Alexander & Baldwin, agent), where more than half of the workers walked out; Waialua Agricultural Co. (Castle & Cooke, agent), where five or six small camps walked out; and at Waipahu Plantation (American Factors, agent) an estimated 650 to 725 walked out. (Reinecke 1996: 38).

As John Reinecke in *Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike of 1924-1925* put it, the strike on O‘ahu “began on April 1 not with a bang but with a barely audible whimper.” (Reinecke 1996: 38).

Reinecke called the Filipino Strike of 1924 “hopeless, irresponsible.” (Reinecke 1996: 27).

Strike on Hawai‘i Island and Maui

On June 19, Visayan plantation workers at Kohala Plantation (Castle & Cooke, agent) on Hawai‘i Island walked out, followed on July 11 by workers at Pioneer Mill Co. (American Factors, agent) at Lahaina, Maui, and at Wailuku Sugar Co. (Brewer & Co., agent).

In addition to Honolulu, Hilo had High Wages Movement headquarters before the strike. As a result, the strike in Hilo turned out to be “truly largescale, prolonged, and relatively well led.” (Reinecke 1996: 50).

Hawai‘i Island was crucial for Ligot. “On June 8, 1924, after ten days’ preparation, he held a convention at Hilo attended by over 80 delegates from East Hawai‘i plantations. It passed resolutions supporting Ligot and requesting $l.25 daily minimum and the other point of his November 1923 convention.” (*loc. cit*.).

“Agitation and meetings continued and some men were paid off when they did not work, but an actual strike did not begin until July 11, coinciding with Manlapit’s departure for Maui. The *Maui News* reported only 50 to 75 men out at Pioneer Mill but a larger number at Wailuku Sugar Company.” (Reinecke 1996: 68).

Strike on Kauaʻi

Manlapit was counting on the Visayans at Makee Sugar Company in Kealia to go on strike, but on the night of April 11 or 12, some 400 workers met secretly at Kapaʻa homesteads and overwhelmingly voted against striking. (Reinecke 1996: 71).

Manlapit came to Kauaʻi from July 18-26, but the front page of *The Garden Island* on July 22, 1924, declared: "Kauai Filipino Strike Fails; Few Laborers Answer Call." And on July 29, the local newspaper's front page read: "Strike Still Confined to Lihue and Koloa; Situation Unchanged."

Makaweli Plantation

On August 19, *The Garden Island* announced on the front page: "Strike is Called on Makaweli Plantation." The workers at Makaweli Plantation who went on strike did not only lose their livelihood, they were also evicted from their homes, along with their families. They ended up homeless, lived at the beach, and fished for food. Many took shelter at a vacated two-story Japanese Language School in Hanapēpē, which became the strikers' camp. Others rented affordable housing in Hanapēpē, or stayed with friends and relatives at other parts of the island.

The community empathized and sympathized with the strikers and their families. Several interviewees in the UH Oral History Project (ESOHP 1979) recalled that Japanese and Chinese individuals and businesses donated food and money to the strikers and their families.

Moreover, the Reverend **Jacinto Relles Runes (1893 - 1981)** recalled during his interview with Chad Taniguchi that one afternoon he and the postmaster in Waimea, a Filipino, went to the camps to ask for donations for the widows and children. Businesses and folks of all nationalities – Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiian – gave $1 or 50 cents, and after one-and-a-half to two hours, the two men collected over $170 to give to seven families. (ESOHP 1979: 270 - 271).

Benjamin Douglas Baldwin (1868 - 1928), grandson of early missionaries to Hawaiʻi, was manager of Makaweli Plantation -- a position he had held for more than 20 years by the time of the strike – having been appointed to the position on January 15, 1903. (*Men of Hawaii* 1921: 29). He left the position in 1928, when the company was "one of the most profitable and progressive" in the Territory of Hawaiʻi with the company producing 27,057 tons of raw sugar that year. (imagesofoldhawaii.com).

Interestingly, Baldwin was a major in the 3rd Battalion, 4th Regiment of the Hawaiian National Guard. (*Men of Hawaii* 1917: 29). That may partly answer questions on how, why, and what-for elicited by "More than 80 guardsmen off for Kauai" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* September 10, 1924, p. 3) the evening of September 9 to arrive on Kauaʻi the following morning.

Hawaiian Sugar Company at Makaweli was founded in 1889. Makaweli Plantation, as Hawaiian Sugar Company was widely known, became Olokele Sugar Company in 1941, with new owner Gay & Robinson Company. Gay & Robinson was also in Makaweli and in sugar cane production for decades.

Today, we know Makaweli as Kaumakani -- renamed in 1956. (*Wikipedia* 2019).

Kōloa Plantation

On the other hand, Kōloa Plantation workers who went on strike were not evicted from their homes. Also, HSPA records show that those who had second thoughts were allowed to go back to work. Nonetheless, Kōloa Plantation record shows that the plantation lost 86 workers to the strike. Many moved to other plantations after the strike. Regrettably, three Kōloa Plantation workers died in the Hanapēpē Massacre.

John Troup Moir, Jr. (1894 - 1985?) born at Onomea, Hawai‘i -- to John Troup and Louisa Silver Moir -- Kōloa Plantation manager during the strike, was at Kōloa from 1922 to 1933. (*Men and Women of Hawaii* 1954: 465).

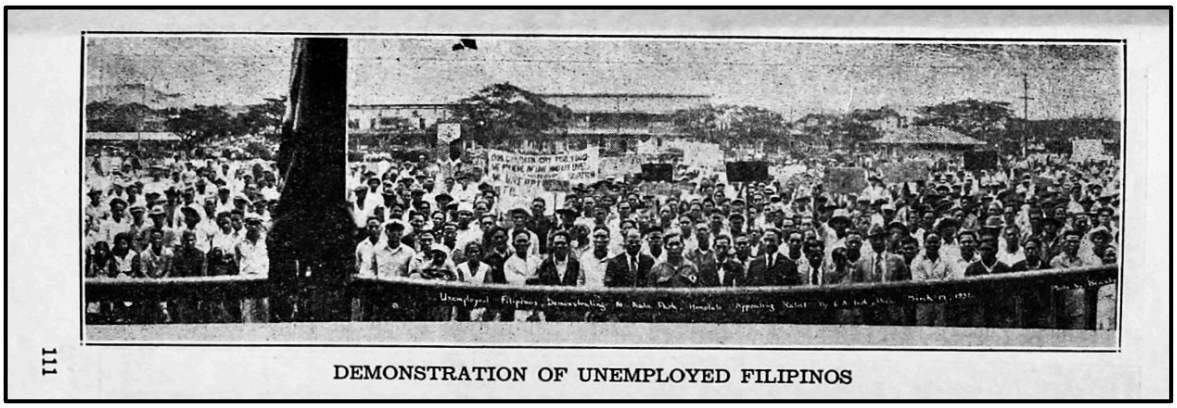
More on Manlapit and Ligot

Manlapit stayed in the news long after the 1924 strike and the Hanapēpē Massacre. He was not on Kaua‘i on the day of the massacre -- he was in Hilo -- but he was arrested, tried for conspiracy, convicted, and sentenced to a minimum of two years, maximum of 10 years at O‘ahu Prison. He was paroled in 1927 on the condition that he left the Territory of Hawai‘i. He moved to California, where he continued his passion for worker rights.

On April 29, 1932, Manlapit, having completed his parole, returned to Hawai‘i from the mainland. (Manlapit 1933: 108). At the “Filipino Mass Meeting” at A‘ala Park, Honolulu, on May 8, 1932, to welcome Manlapit, the Filipino leader’s address to the large gathering included among other labor-related suggestions the recall of Cayetano Ligot. Likewise, at the meeting on July 24, 1932, Filipino laborers in Pa‘auilo, Hawai‘i Island, demanded the recall of Ligot. (Manlapit 1933: 112). The Filipino laborers at Kōloa Plantation made the same demand at their “mass meeting” (*loc. cit.*), which may have been held on October 23, 1932, when Manlapit met with and addressed the laborers at Kōloa. (Manlapit 1933: 110).



One point of contention with Ligot was the number of unemployed Filipino laborers in the Territory of Hawai‘i. Some ten thousand Filipino laborers in the territory were unemployed, but Ligot reported in September 1932, that there were only 252 unemployed or unemployable Filipinos in the territory. (Manlapit 1933: 104).



111 DEMONSTRATION OF UNEMPLOYED FILIPINOS

In mid-1934, Manlapit, once again found himself in another legal battle. Financially unable to carry on a legal fight, he requested the court to place him on probation, and he would leave for the Philippines. Instead, Judge **Edward K. Massee** sentenced him on October 8 to serve a one-year prison term at O‘ahu Prison. On October 10, Manlapit, 43, left for the Philippines. (Kerkvliet 2002: 77). In effect, he “was forced to go back.” (Kerkvliet 2002: 2).

Without financial resources for travel, Manlapit’s wife, Annie, and four children – Alice, 11; Pablo Jr., 13; Sophie, 16; Annie, 19 -- remained in Hawai‘i. He settled in Manila, and he worked for the Philippine government before and after World War II.

However, Manlapit came back to Hawai‘i briefly in 1949. And after appealing to a succession of the territory’s governors, he was granted “full and free pardon” by Governor **Oren E. Long (1889 - 1965)** on June 20, 1952. (Kerkvliet 2002: 104). Long was governor of the Territory of Hawai‘i from 1951 to 1953.

Manlapit, who raised a second family in the Philippines, died of cancer on April 15, 1969.

On the other hand, Ligot remained in Hawai‘i, where he died in 1973. The “1930 United States Federal Census” listed Ligot, wife, three children, a manservant, and a maidservant as residents of Honolulu. His employment was listed as Filipino Labor Commissioner. However, records show he was recalled to the Philippines from his position as Resident Labor Commissioner to Hawai‘i in 1933.

The 1940 census listed Ligot, his wife, four children, son-in-law -- who was a draftsman at the Navy yard -- a cook, and a helper as residents of Honolulu. Ligot was listed as a print shop proprietor, with his 20-year-old son as print shop helper.

In hindsight, “old-timer” Ilocano plantation workers thought it was a mistake for the Ilocano plantation workers not to have gone on strike in 1924. Over the years, during talk story times, “mistake ni Ligot” (Ligot’s mistake) was often used, and the three words became a saying even among “new-timer” plantation workers who arrived in 1946 and participated in the ILWU strike of 1946.

Even today, among Ilocanos, “mistake ni Ligot” is a handy expression that is used in daily life when a mistake of any kind is made -- a legacy of sort from Ligot and the 1924 Filipino Strike.

THE UH ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT (ESOHP 1979)

For more than half a century, the Hanapēpē Massacre was virtually forgotten. However, 53 years after that tragic Tuesday in 1924, the Filipino plantation workers who went on strike who lived to tell their stories, strikers' wives, plantation manager and other workers who had knowledge of the strike and massacre, well known individuals in the community at the time of the strike, non-strikers who heard about the strike and the massacre; a total of 32, plus two anonymous -- were interviewed for the University of Hawai'i Ethnic Studies Oral History Project (ESOHP 1979).

In 1979, after two years of research and interviews by Father Edward Gerlock, interviewer and translator who was a Maryknoll missionary to Davao, where he learned Visayan; Gael Gouveia, research coordinator and interviewer; Chad Taniguchi, native of Waimea, Kaua'i, Ethnic Studies Oral History Project coordinator and interviewer, the University of Hawai'i published *The 1924 Filipino Strike on Kauai* in two volumes. Gerlock and Taniguchi took photographs of the interviewees.

As is often the case, the relevance and accuracy of oral histories depend a great deal on the questions asked and the recollections of interviewees. Often what interviewees remember as fact may not be what actually happened, especially when the event happened many years in the past. The Hanapēpē Massacre researchers were cognizant of this. However, the researchers found some interviews very helpful; they shed some light on what may have happened and make up for the dearth of information on the strike, the Hanapēpē Massacre, and its aftermath. Also, several of the participants showed clear recollection of what they did, or witnessed, or heard.

For example, **Sulpicio Venyan,** who arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. Taiyo Maru* on February 21, 1922, as a 19-year-old, was assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company. (HSPA Records). The native of Boljoon, Cebu, went on strike, was evicted from his housing at Camp 6, and the Makaweli Plantation camp police, who was of Hawaiian ancestry, gave him a ride to the strikers' camp at Hanapēpē. He hid in the banana patch during the duration of the massacre, was arrested by Sheriff Rice and his men after the massacre, and was jailed for one month. He was indicted for rioting but was found not guilty. After he was released from jail, he found employment at Gay and Robinson Plantation, where he worked until he retired. In hindsight, Venyan told interviewer Gerlock (EG) on May 22, 1979, at his home in Makaweli that he thought the strike "*was in bad taste*."

Venyan, in hindsight, thought the kidnapping of the two Ilocanos was a "*mistake*"; that it was "*stupid*" and "*foolish*" and led to the "*violence*." (ESOHP 1979: 812-813).

EG: *As you look back on the strike what do you think about it now?*
SV: *It was bad. It was in bad taste. There were too many who died . … It would have been a good strike if we didn't make a mistake. But we did with the violence, and so that's what ruined the whole thing. It was bad.*
EG: *Who made the mistake do you think?*
SV: *Us strikers. We're really the one who made the mistake, with the violence. In my opinion, it was the strikers who really made the mistake. If they hadn't [done something] stupid or something foolish with those two Ilocanos, this whole thing wouldn't have happened. The mistake really, there, was that Filipinos were not capable of uniting themselves together. …*
EG: Do you regret having participated?
SV: *No, I don't. Que sera, sera.*

Another interviewee recalled:

". . . And when I heard the shooting, I began to run. Why should I go over there to the road? I didn't even have a knife. I had nothing to defend myself with. There were others who had guns, but they only had two bullets. Those who were acting tough were courageous; they're the ones who died. I'm a coward. Those who ran away, they didn't die." (ESOHP 1979: 608] – Agapito Bakiano.

Agapito Bakiano (1902 - 1986), who was with Kōloa Plantation in 1924, later worked for and retired from Līhu'e Plantation. He was jailed in Nāwiliwili for two weeks after the strike, but he was not indicted for rioting. The resident of Hanamā'ulu was 76 at the time of the interview.

Mauro S. Plateros (1900 - 1984), born November 30, 1900, in Loon, Bohol (Ancestry.com), arrived in Honolulu with his wife, Isabel Relampagos, on the *S. S. President Cleveland* on November 8, 1923. (HSPA Records). Having decided to go on strike, he and his wife, and their six-month-old son, Abondio, were evicted from their home at Camp 4, and took shelter under the Hanapēpē Japanese Language School, which served as the strikers' camp. Plateros was arrested after the massacre and was indicted for rioting. He spent two months in jail at Nāwiliwili (ESOHP 1979: 341), but he was found not guilty.

After he was released from jail, Plateros found work at Līhu'e Plantation. He and Isabel moved to O'ahu in 1929 and later divorced. Plateros worked in Kahala as a yardman and for Pearl Harbor from 1942 to 1969. He retired from a pest control job, and he was a resident of Kalihi at the time of the oral history interviews with Gael Gouveia on October 12, 1978, and January 10, 1979. (ESOHP 1979: 341).

Likewise, **Isabel Relampagos (1903 - 1999)**, born November 19, 1903, in Loon, Bohol, whose second husband was **Balthazar Ganade**, was interviewed on October 18, 1978, at Kalihi by Gael Gouveia; Ed Gerlock, fluent in Visayan, served as translator. (ESOHP 1979: 71).

"... So when I woke up, I was looking out towards the door. The special police were there, and you could see they had guns. Laurencio [Lorenzo] was with the two Ilocanos down there, in the downstairs of the school. There were many police there. The sheriff wanted to see the two Ilocanos, and when they were produced, there was not a great deal of discussion. He didn't say anything, he just grabbed the two Ilocanos and started running out towards the car. The sheriff took 'em directly to his car. The car was parked outside and a little bit ahead, on the highway. It wasn't directly in front. It was facing towards Makaweli. When the shooting started, we were all hiding underneath the beds.

(**Note:** The distance between the Hanapēpē Japanese School and the bluff at the approach to today's Hanapēpē Heights, where the deputized special police positioned themselves and started shooting, may be about half-a-mile. Brodie's Banana Patch, where the strikers ran for cover, was mid-point from the strikers' camp to the bluff.)

" ... When the sheriff grabbed a hold of the two Ilocanos and started dragging them out to the car, I was looking at them. There were other Visayans who were saying to the sheriff, "You cannot take them. You cannot <u>hapai</u> [carry/take] them." ... The last thing I heard, before the shooting started, was a voice shouting, "Go ahead, shoot! Go ahead, shoot!" ... I don't really know if it was a Filipino, or whether it was Hawaiian. You know, the police were Hawaiians. Going towards Makaweli there, there was a banana field. On the other side, there is a hill. The only thing growing on that hill was cactus. That's where the police went up. And the Filipinos were down below in the banana field. That's how they started shooting the Filipinos. The Filipinos were also stupid. Even though they didn't have any guns, they're going close over there. They were also afraid of Laurencio [Lorenzo], because if they were trying to get away, he

would send them back again, even though they didn't have any gun. (ESOHP 1979: 703-104)). --Isabel Ganade, wife of Mauro Plateros.

Sheriff Crowell received a cut on the head and arm during the massacre. He was taken to Makaweli Hospital for treatment, and his head was bandaged, but his wound must have been superficial; he was at Waimea Hall, where he told Pastor Runes not to hold services for the dead Filipinos.

Junzo Kojiri (1901 - 1980), transported many of the special police to Hanapēpē and was at the scene of the massacre and described how Crowell was wounded.

"Somebody, they shooting already, eh. And so we run back. We [were] looking too, you know. This old man Crowell [was] inside the Japanese School yard, eh. And then the Filipinos, eh, all surround [him]. And then old man Crowell, he go inside there. And he all right, though; he get guts. Bumbai, he [a striker] was going to chop down old man Crowell's head with the cane knife, like that, already. One guy from the mountain, he shot, eh. He drop the cane knife, eh; that's when he cut. Not by force, you know." (ESOHP 1979: 571).

Kojiri's recollection was echoed by **Samuel Kahiki Aipoalani (1913 – 1984)**, who was 11 years old when his father, **Samuel Kanio Aipoalani (1893 – 1972)**, who was with Kekaha Sugar Company, was persuaded to be a deputized special police, went to Hanapēpē on September 9, 1924 , and killed a Filipino with his rifle. Kahiki must have heard his father recalling what happened.

"Because they [were] firing on top of the hill. ... He had a 30/30 Winchester rifle ... . That was used for hunting only. ... He had his peep-scope. ... Then, all of a sudden, when this fellow raised up his arm higher, when he made a motion to hit, his head came up right over the shoulder of Crowell, and that's when my father shot him in the forehead. So this fellow fell, and when he fell, at the same time he let go the cane knife. So that's how the cane knife caught Crowell in the back of his head." (ESOHP 1979: 743).

The Reverend Jacinto Relles Runes (1893 – 1981), an Ilocano, native of La Union, was a Methodist minister in Waimea from 1924 to the early 1960s. He was one of 34 interviewees for the UH Oral History Project. He recalled during his interview with Taniguchi at his home in ʻŌmaʻo on September 15, 1978, that Sheriff Crowell was at Waimea Hall when the bodies of the Filipinos were transferred from Waimea Jail -- where the first 11 dead, who were picked up from the road and transported to Waimea, were initially taken. Pastor Runes was assisting [Dr. Tuttle] with the dead when Crowell came around and said, *"Runes, you don't have service over here*." (ESOHP 1979: 268). Pastor Runes told Taniguchi that Crowell did not want a service for the Filipinos. The pastor continued, "*But we had [a] service just the same. The Salvation Army, one minister from Makaweli, Reverend Ramos, [were] there."* (ESOHP 1979: 269).

Pastor Runes also officiated at the funeral service at Hanapēpē Catholic Cemetery the following morning with the Reverend Father Hermann of Makaweli Catholic Church. If asked, the pastor could have shown the interviewer where the long grave was located.



THEIR STORY MUST BE TOLD

The tragic event at Hanapēpē on Tuesday, September 9, 1924, started as a strike of Visayan workers of Kōloa and Makaweli plantations, 14 of whom died that day and two more on September 10. Three worked for Kōloa Plantation; 12 for Makaweli Plantation; and one, an Ilocano, worked for Hakalau Plantation in Hilo, Hawai‘i Island. He must have joined the strike on his own volition.

Their story must be told. This episode in the history of labor in Hawai‘i -- what happened on September 9, 1924, the events that lead to the massacre, and the aftermath -- should be part of Hawaii's written history so it becomes common knowledge, in the hope that history does not repeat itself.

The Unfolding of a Consequential Day

Justice was denied to the plantation workers who went on strike, especially the 16 who lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre -- the unexpected, bloody, and tragic end of the 1924 Filipino Strike on Kaua‘i. The event did not happen in a vacuum. Historical and human factors embodied in plantation power and plantation mentality -- which dictionaries define as "an attitude . . . on plantations operating with slave labor, especially in accepting or condoning racial inequality or paternalism" -- reared their ugly heads.

On September 8, the strikers at Hanapēpē held hostage two non-striking Ilocano Makaweli Plantation workers, who went to Hanapēpē on their bicycles to buy shoes.

The Ilocanos on all the plantations in the Territory of Hawai‘i did not go on strike largely on the advice of Cayetano Ligot, Philippine Labor Commissioner in Hawai‘i, who was an Ilocano. On the other hand, the Visayans answered the call to strike by Pablo Manlapit, a Tagalog labor leader. On April 1, 1924, Visayans on three plantations on O‘ahu went on strike. Visayan workers in the plantations on the other islands joined the strike on different dates. Visayans at Līhu‘e and Kōloa plantations went on strike in July. The Visayans at Makaweli Plantation went on strike in August.

Failing to get the two kidnapped Ilocanos from the strikers' camp on the night of September 8, Waimea Deputy Sheriff Crowell, who was notified of the missing men by the Makaweli camp police, returned to the strikers' camp on the morning of September 9 with arrest warrants for the two Ilocanos, issued for their protection.

Joining Sheriff Crowell were some 40 hunters and sharpshooters, mostly Hawaiians, who were deputized by the County of Kaua‘i as special police. As Sheriff Crowell and his assistants returned to their cars with the two Ilocanos, a group of strikers armed with cane knives, sticks, and a couple of pistols followed them. Witnesses said that several special police climbed atop a small bluff across the road from the strikers' camp and began shooting into the crowd of strikers, who quickly dispersed, many fleeing into a nearby banana patch and a pigpen.

"Battle of Hanapēpē" is a misnomer for what happened on Sepember 9, 1924. There was no battle because the strikers were not armed with rifles to return the burst of rifle firings by the special police.

Forty (40) special police whom the County of Kaua‘i Police Department under Sheriff **William Henry Rice (1874 - 1945)** deputized during the strike -- mostly hunters and sharpshooters -- were transported on

September 9, from Kekaha, Waimea, and Līhuʻe to Hanapēpē, and they were all provided with rifles by the county when they arrived in Hanapēpē.

Clearly, what happened at Hanapēpē was a massacre, which by definition is "an indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of people."

Why were armed 40 special police at Hanapēpē on September 9, 1924?

When we began our research, we thought we may never know who fired the first shot on September 9, 1924 – the strikers or the special police. But as we continued searching for information and reading more sources, we became convinced that we would find the facts and arrive at the truth.

For example, a few days after the massacre, "Police declared only two Filipino carried guns at the time of the clash." (*The Honolulu Times*, Sept. 15, 1924, p.1) It turned out that the owner of one pistol with two bullets was killed before he could fire a shot. The other pistol had no bullets.

Then, we got hold of the death certificates, which told us that the 16 Filipino plantation workers died from gunshot wounds, and four died from multiple wounds in different parts of their bodies. Also, three of the special police died from gunshot wounds – two on the head and one on the abdomen. Such injuries could only have been inflicted by rifles.

To digress: Deputy Sheriff **William Olin Crowell (1873 - 1935),** was one of five deputy district sheriffs for various districts on Kauaʻi. Born in Honolulu to John W. and Julia Palaile Crowell, he attended Waimea School, Kauaʻi; and Iolani School, and Kamehameha School in Honolulu (Siddall, *Men of Hawaii*, 1917: 80). He was deputy sheriff of Kōloa from 1900 to 1902, before his assignment as deputy sheriff of Waimea in 1902 (*loc. cit.),* serving in that capacity until his death in 1935. (Hank Soboleski, "Island History," *The Garden island*, February 5, 2010: p.A2).

In 1924, the police officers under Crowell feared him and carried out their duties as instructed. They did not move unless instructed. Even some folks in the community were afraid of him. (ESOHP 1979: Kiilau, 149).

Kojiri**,** whom we mentioned earlier as a participant in the UH Oral History Project, was a car and taxi driver with Waimea Stables, forerunner of Waimea Garage. His recollection of the events was clear and detailed. He recalled that the special police were picked up from Waimea and Kekaha in three cars and a Graham truck -- a vehicle like a mini-bus -- and transported to Hanapēpē on the day of the massacre. Likewise, special police were picked up at the Courthouse in Līhuʻe and transported to Hanapēpē, with the county paying the bill. (ESOHP 1979: 569-570).

Kojiri, speaking about the rifles said: "*I see one car with a rifle, you know, in the car. Oh, the mountain, you know, behind seat*." Taniguchi asked: "*One mountain of rifles?"* Kojiri responded: "*Rifles*. . . ." (ESOHP 1979: 574). The car was parked in front of Pong Hong Kee, a restaurant in Hanapēpē, and the special police went, one by one, to get a rifle. (ESOHP 1979: 575).

We met with Kojiri again on September 10, when he drove one of the trucks that took the coffins to Hanapēpē Cemetery for burial. (ESOHP 1979: 581).

Also, in his interview for the University of Hawaiʻi Oral History Project in 1979, **Lindsay Anton Faye Sr. (1898 - 1979)**, manager of Waimea Sugar Mill at the time of the massacre, told Taniguchi that he was in Līhuʻe the morning of September 9, and when he got to Hanapēpē at about 2:30 or 3:00 in the afternoon,

the dead plantation workers were still on the road, and six or eight special police were still on the bluff emptying their bullets into the banana patch, where the strikers took cover when the shooting started that morning, and where they continued to hide knowing the special police were still on the bluff shooting at them. The strikers, of course, could not return the police fires. Sheriff Rice left Līhu'e for Hanapēpē shortly before Faye did and was at the scene of the massacre as his special police continued shooting. (ESOHP 1979: 469-472).

". . . they had the advantage because they had rifles, and the Filipinos had nothing but pistols. It wasn't a real battle; it was a slaughter, really." -- Lindsay A. Faye. *(*ESOHP 1979: 470).

"Well, there were couple of policemen that had been killed. And so they [special police] were naturally angry at the Filipinos there for having killed their own people. So there probably was a little unnecessary slaughter there. Because they were naturally sore about it. Because actually, what was happening, the Filipinos had run up in the banana bushes. And there was no protection there, because whenever a policeman saw somebody moving the banana bush, they'd take a pot shot a 'em." (ESOHP 1979: 472). -- Lindsay A. Faye.

Faye was manager of Waimea Sugar Mill Co. from 1922 to 1927; assistant manager of Kekaha Sugar Co., 1927 to 1935; manager, 1935 to 1963. (*Men of Hawaii*, 1954: 229). Faye was 80 at the time of the interview.

Some of the strikers were armed with clubs and knives, but many had nothing to defend themselves with, so at the first sound of gunshots they ran to the banana patch or pigpen nearby. Several may have been killed as they tried to escape.

For example, William J. Senda, a photographer with a studio in Līhu'e, developed someone's photograph of a dead striker hung up on a barbed wire, perhaps at the pigpen, taken on the day of the massacre. *(*ESOHP 1979: 886).

Officer Oneda's recollection does not reflect the declaration of the police that "only two Filipinos carried guns" and one "was killed before he fired a shot." (*The Honolulu Times*, September 15, 1924, p.1).

Oneda said: *"The Filipinos were right up against us when they started firing. They had flourished guns and brandished knives … . When they began firing we returned the fire, but they kept coming until as one after another fell they scattered and fled into banana grove beside the road. From their shelter in the grove the rioters continued to snipe at us with scattering fire for a quarter of an hour."* (Reinecke 1996: 77).

From most accounts, the massacre lasted about 10 minutes, contrary to Oneha's account that the strikers continued to snipe at the police "for a quarter of an hour." (Reinecke 1996: 77). If one asks: With one revolver? With two bullets? The answer would be: Not likely! Impossible!

Two strikers were killed by the first volley of the special police. When the massacre ended at about 10 a.m., 11 strikers and two special police were dead. The wounded were taken to Makaweli Hospital. Three strikers and two special police died later that day, bringing the total to 18 dead. Two strikers died on September 10, bringing the number of those who lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre to 20.

According to *The Honolulu Times*, "17 were killed and 25 were reported wounded." (September 10, 1924, p. 1). Do the math: 22 who were wounded survived the massacre, one of whom was special police **Henry Kiopaki Naumu (1890 - 1982)**. Regrettably, three of the 25 who were wounded died.

The Honolulu Advertiser on September 11, 1924, called the event a "massacre." The front page read: "Pathetic Scenes as Families Left Destitute by Kauai Massacre Bury Dead; Eye Witness Tells of Battle." Likewise, *The Honolulu Times* on its front page on Thursday, September 12, 1924, announced: "Gov. Farrington and Matthewman confer on Kauai Massacre."

Wallace Rider Farrington (1871 - 1933), a native of Orono, Maine, was the governor of the Territory of Hawai'i in 1924, having been appointed to the position in 1921 by the newly-elected President of the United States, Warren Harding. Farrington was governor until 1929. Prior to his appointment, he was the editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, after serving as editor of the *Honolulu Advertiser* for three years.

John A. Matthewman was Attorney General of the Territory of Hawai'i from 1922 to 1925. As provided by law, Hawaii's AG is appointed by the governor.

Finally, we want to underscore that what happened on September 9, 1924, was a massacre – not a clash, not a riot, not a conflict, not a battle. Reading the gory details on how the 16 Filipino plantation workers were killed, how the gunshot wounds that killed them were inflicted, that three special police were killed accidentally by special police, the impact of what happened on the lives of families on both sides of the struggle, was like watching a horror movie. After a century of euphemisms that covered up the truth about the tragedy, it is time to learn and accept the facts. We empathize with the families of the strikers and with the families of the special police. As we look back on what happened, we choose honesty rather than silence or euphemisms as we try to share what we have learned, and hope that acceptance of the facts bring peace and healing, if they have not already taken place.

Massacre is an uncomfortable word to many, but history requires accuracy.

They Lost Their Lives for Worker Rights

Their lives mattered. They left grandparents, parents, siblings, relatives, and neighbors in their homeland. Eight were married. One couple had two sons, 7- and 4-year-old. Another couple had a nine-year-old daughter. And another couple had a 1-1/2-year-old son. Another couple were parents to another infant son.

Who were they? Where did they come from? How old were they? Why were their names not recorded properly in keeping with human decency protocol for the dead? The 16 must not remain nameless, and their story must be told.

The youngest was Santos Zacarias, whose age the Makaweli Hospital staff estimated as 22; and the oldest, Pedro Montecillo, may have been 38.

Unveiling the shroud that obscured the names was a very long process.

Starting with Emme Tomimbang's 2006 documentary, *Mabuhay with Aloha*, which celebrated the Filipino Centennial in Hawai'i, we learned the following list of 16 names: Salvador Acupan, Grigorio Anoy, Balentine of Koloa, Andres Canitay, Pedro Monticillo, Poinciano Quizon, Isidro Cabalido, Grigorio Ates, Andres Batron, Roqui Ramos, Mauro Plateros, Belaz, Tiopilo, Ciano, Leoncio, Sacarias.

With six single names, and with Mauro Plateros listed among the dead, we knew we had some searching to do. Plateros survived the massacre and lived to tell his story to Gael Gouveia on October 12, 1978, and January 10, 1979, for the University of Hawai'i Oral History Project. (ESOHP 1979: 341-389).

The more pressing consideration was how to research the dead with only first or last names.

On Wednesday, September 10, *The Honolulu Times* published a list with 14 names in its "20 Killed in Kauai Riot" article: Balenten of Koloa, Andres Caniaty, married; Pedro Montesilio; Balas; Ponsiano Quezon, Teopile; Siano Leoncio, married; Salvador Ucupan, strike leader; Gregorio Anoy, strike leader; Isadro Cabaidol; Gregorio Ates of Koloa; Andres Batron, married; Roque Ramos, and Sazarias.

On Thursday, September 11, *The Honolulu Advertiser* published a list of 14 names provided by the Reverend Jacinto Runes: Valentine, Andreas Canite, Pedro Monticello, Balas, Ponciano, Ciano, Leoncio, Salvador Acopan, Gregorio Anay, Isidro Cabalido, Gregorio Atis, Andreas Batron, Roque Ramos, and Santos.

And on September 11, *The Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published 15 names, with A. G. Kaulukou, Kauaʻi County Attorney, as the source: Salvador Acupan, strike leader; Grigorio Anoy, strike leader; Balentin of Koloa; Andres Canitay, Pedro Montecello, Belaz, Poinciano Quizon, Tiopilo, Ciano, Leoncio, Isidro Cabalido, Grigorio Atea of Koloa, Andres Batron, Roqui Ramos, and Sacarias.

All the lists had six names that were first or last name only. Moreover, most of the names had variant spellings. And why only 14 or 15 names? Sixteen (16) died; everyone should be accounted for.

Lest readers wonder, *The Garden Island* published the names of the deputized special police who died, but the local paper did not publish the names of the Filipino plantation workers who were massacred.

Catherine's training and years of experience as a librarian compelled her to spend long, countless hours for six months researching the names of the 16 Filipinos who lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre. Giving up was not an option.

Efforts to verify the names in three sources that list Filipino laborers -- 1) the card records of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association which is now the "Filipino Laborers Collection" in digitalized format at BYU Library in Utah, cited in this chapter as HSPA Records, 2) "Hawaii, Index to Filipino Passengers Arriving at Honolulu, 1900-1952" and 3) "Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953" -- were examples of the proverbial looking for a needle in a haystack.

After five months of research, hope in finding the names of all 16 began to grow dim until November 6, 2019, when Ed Edwards, research committee associate, went to the LDS Kekaha Ward Family History Center to get the death certificate of Moke Kua, one of the deputized special police who died on September 9, 1924. Lo and behold, when Renee Aguiar of the center printed a copy of the Standard Certificate of Death for Kua, a partial death certificate of Valentin Tendoy [sic] (i. e., Tindoy) appeared! What a serendipitous find that turned out to be!

The Standard Certificate of Death for each of the 16 Filipino strikers and four special police provided a virtual complete list of the 20 who died, answered many unanswered questions, and corrected misinformation on the cause of death for both the strikers and the special police. But the problem with misspellings of names and incomplete names prevailed. For example, one certificate had the first name only; and one, only the last name. And misspelled and incomplete names prevailed.

The names were verified on the three lists mentioned above, and the Territory of Hawaiʻi Standard Certificate of Death was a fourth source. The certificates were signed by **Dr. George Bass Tuttle (1871 - 1959)** of Waimea, a plantation and a practicing physician from 1912, and by **Dr. Paul J. Peniston (1893 -**

?) of Makaweli Hospital. Born in Neuman, Georgia, he arrived in the Territory of Hawai‘i in 1921, and married Sarah W. Cheek in Līhu‘e on June 26, 1923. (FamilySearch.org).

The death certificates helped a great deal, but with the exception of Roque Ramos, they raised additional questions with the following 11 names: Salbador Acupan, Elias Amor, Gregory Anay, Gregorio Ates, Balas, Andres Batron, Isidro Cabalida, Caciano, Andres Canite, Ponciano Ponci, and Valentin Tendoy.

However, the death certificates were the only sources for four of the dead: Leoncio Laspina, Pedro Montecillo, Teofilo Sacarias, and Santos Zacarias. Because they were not listed in any of the available sources, the authors depended on the death certificates, and used the estimated age, the reason for the ? (question mark) after the estimated birth year.

Catherine spent one more month doing further research in Ancestry.com, which required a subscription. “Honolulu, Hawaii, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959” and the 1920 U. S. Census clarified discrepancies, especially in deviations of the spelling of names. Her familiarity with Filipino names and knowing how they are generally spelled, greatly helped in what seemed like a futile exercise in patience and persistence.

Fortunately, perseverance brought desired results. First, the long search revealed that 12 worked for Makaweli Plantation and three for Kōloa Plantation. Second, 15 were Visayans, and one was Ilocano. Third, the Ilocano, a native of Baguey, Cagayan, worked for Hakalau Plantation in Hilo. Questions about Balas, an Ilocano, exist: Did he travel to Kaua‘i to join the strike? Was he already working on Kaua‘i? The Ilocanos did not go on strike; why did he join the Visayan strikers?

Fourteen strikers died on September 9. Two, Elias Anor and Pedro Montecillo, died on September 10.

Elias Anor died at 9 a.m. on September 10 at Makaweli Hospital. His name did not appear on any of the lists released by three Honolulu newspapers. However, his body was taken to Waimea Hall from Makaweli Hospital, and his coffin was loaded in one of the trucks that took the 15 coffins to Hanapēpē for burial on Wednesday morning, September 10. (“16 Filipino Rioters Buried in Long Grave.” *The Garden Island*, September 16, 1924, p. 5).

On the other hand, **Pedro Montecillo,** who was wounded on September 9, but managed to make his way to the home of a friend in Waimea, also died on September 10. His body was taken to Waimea Hall after the trucks with the 15 coffins had already left for Hanapēpē Cemetery. He missed the funeral procession, so to speak, and the burial service. But *The Garden Island* reported that his “body was sent to Hanapēpē and was buried with the fifteen dead in the same trench.” (*TGI*, September 16, 1924, p. 5).

The authors question the burial of Montecillo with the 15 in the same trench. His coffin may or may not have been made yet. Montecillo was married. It is unthinkable that his loved ones did not attend to his death with some Filipino cultural observance, like giving him a proper burial.

It is conjecture on the authors’ part, but he may have been laid to rest under the “BORN 1886. DIED SEP. 9. 1924” triangular cement gravestone, shown on the cover and on pages 27 and 33, which is perpendicular to the long grave.

We may never know when the gravestone was erected, or who was responsible. The inscription shows that the lettering was not an easy task. Also, September 9 was the date of the massacre, but the person responsible for the gravestone may not have known that Pedro Monticello died on September 10.

Below is the list of the 16 plantation workers who died in the Hanapēpē Massacre, including information on each one gathered from accessible sources. It should be noted that the card records for eight of the dead plantation workers are not in the digitalized HSPA Records.

1. † Acupang, Salvador (1889 - 1924)

The native of Capiz, one of the strike leaders, registered with the U. S. Army on March 7, 1911, in Iloilo. (United States Registers of Enlistments in the U. S. Army, 1798-1914). Acupang, 35, was single and lived at Camp 4. Having died at the scene of the massacre from a gunshot wound of the head, Certificate of Death No. 1168 says that his death was "unattended" and occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9. (See Note 4 below)

2. † Anor, Elias (1889 - 1924)

He arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. Rakuyo Maru* on January 22, 1922, with his wife Cresencia Campomanes (28), and two sons: Filomeno (5) and Celestino (2) from Barrio Alcoy, Cebu. ("Passenger & Crew Lists, 1900-1959). HSPA assigned the family to Hawaiian Sugar Co. on January 23. (HSPA Records). Certificate of Death No. 1180 lists him as Elias Amor [sic], with Hanapēpē as his residence. That meant the Hanapēpē Japanese Language School, which was used as the strikers' camp for those who were evicted from their plantation homes. Anor died at 9 a.m. on September 10, from shock and hemorrhage due to ankle, head, and neck gunshot wounds. Dr. Paul J. Peniston of Makaweli Hospital, who did surgery, signed the death certificate.

3. † Anoy, Gregorio (1896 - 1924)

The native of Iloilo, born on February 28, 1896, enlisted in the National Guard on April 19, 1917, served with the Makaweli unit, and was honorably discharged on July 11, 1919. ("Hawaii, World War I Service Records, 1917-1919"). The 1920 Census shows he lived at Camp 4 of Hawaiian Sugar Co. at Makaweli. Anoy, who was married, was one of the strike leaders. He died at the scene of the massacre from a gunshot wound of the chest. Certificate of Death No. 1169 classified his death as "unattended" and occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9. (See Note 4 below).

4. † Atis, Gregorio (1889 - 1924)

The native of Cebu, born on September 5, 1889, came to the Territory of Hawai'i in 1921 on the *S. S. Shinyu Maru*. ("Passenger Lists, 1900–1953"; "Filipino Passengers, 1900-1952"). The Kōloa Plantation worker died at the scene of the massacre from gunshot wound of the head, and his death at about 10 a.m. was categorized as "unattended." Certificate of Death No. 1166 shows he was married. (See Note 4 below).

5. † Balas, Juan (1900 - 1924)

He came to Hawai'i on the *S. S. President Cleveland* on October 4, 1922, and was assigned to Hakalau Plantation in Hilo, Hawai`i Island. (HSPA Records). Born on November 6, 1900, in Buguey, Cagayan, ("Filipino Passengers, 1900–1952"; "Passenger Lists, 1900–1953") Balas was Ilocano, not Visayan. Certificate of Death No. 1178 lists only Balas on the space for full name, with Hanapēpē as his residence. The 24-year-old, who died from gunshot wound of the neck on September 9, at about 10 a.m., may have come from Hilo to join the strike and was living at the strikers' camp in Hanapēpē.

6. ✝ Butron, Andres (1897 - 1924)

A native of Bullones, Bohol, the 27-year-old Sakada was married to Anastasia Jaspe. The couple arrived on the *S. S. President Cleveland* on January 8, 1924, was assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company on January 11, 1924 (HSPA Records), and lived at Camp 8. According to Certificate of Death No. 1163, Butron died from shock and hemorrhage due to gunshot wound on the leg; his leg was amputated, but he died at 2 p.m. on September 9. Dr. Peniston of Makaweli Hospital was the attending physician.

7. ✝ Cabalida, Isidoro (1890 - 1924)

The 33-year-old Sakada was married to Valeriana Lastimosa. Natives of Cebu, they arrived on the *S. S. President Lincoln* on December 7, 1923. Assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company on December 10, 1923, (HSPA Records) they lived at Camp 8. He died at the scene of the massacre from gunshot wound of the abdomen at about 10 a.m. on September 9. Certificate of Death No. 1165 classified his death as "unattended." He left behind his wife and an infant son Crispino.

8. ✝ Canete, Andres (1887 - 1924)

The native of Sibunga, Cebu, arrived with his wife, Feliciana Ortez, 34, on the S. S. *Rakuyo Maru* on January 23, 1922, (HSPA Records) with their nine-year-old daughter, Eugenia. ("Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959"). The 35-year-old Sakada, born May 26, 1887 ("Passenger Lists, 1900-1953"), was assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company on the day the family arrived in Hawai‘i. (HSPA Records). Certificate of Death No. 1173 shows that he died from gunshot wound of the head, and his death occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9.

9. ✝ Jambo, Casiano (1893 - 1924)

Certificate of Death No. 1170 lists only Caciano [sic] on the space for full name. However, HSPA has a record for Jambo, Casiano, who arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. Shinyo Maru* on February 5, 1917, and was sent to Hawaiian Sugar Company on February 20. He came to the Territory of Hawai‘i at the age of 24 ("Filipino Passengers, 1900–1952"; "Passenger Lists, 1900–1953"). The thirty-one-year-old died at the scene of the massacre from shock and hemorrhage due to gunshot wounds of the neck and chest. His death was categorized as "unattended" and occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9.

Jambo and Potenciano Peson arrived in Hawai‘i on the same steamer and both lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre.

10. ✝ Laspina, Leoncio* (1900? - 1924)

Certificate of Death No. 1167 shows that the native of Siquijor Island, who was employed by Kōloa Plantation, was single and was about 24. Having died at the scene of the massacre from gunshot wound of the chest, his death was categorized as "unattended" and occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9. (See Note 4 below).

11. ✝ Montecillo, Pedro* (1886? - 1924)

Certificate of Death No. 1179 shows that Montecillo was a native of Leyte, lived at Camp 6 and was married. He died on September 10 at about 10 a.m. from gunshot wound on the chest. Dr. George B. Tuttle of Waimea signed the death certificate.

"Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959" shows a Pedro Montecillo, born in 1903, who arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. President Lincoln* on September 27, 1924, and assigned by HSPA to Hawi Mill & Plantation

in Kohala, Hawai`i Island. Clearly, this was not the Pedro Montecillo who died in the Hanapēpē Massacre. Regrettably, Makaweli Plantation's Pedro Montecillo is not listed in accessible sources, including HSPA Records.

12. ☥ Peson, Potenciano (1894? - 1924)

Listed as Ponciano Quizon and Ponciano Quezon on the newspaper lists of the dead, and [Ponciano Ponci] on the Certificate of Death (No. 1177), Peson arrived on the *S. S. Shinyu Maru* on February 5, 1917, and was assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company on February 20, 1917. (HSPA Records). The Cebu native lived at Makaweli Camp 8 and died at about 10 a.m. on September 9 from gunshot wound on the chest. He and Casiano Jambo arrived on the same steamer, and both lost their lives in the Hanapēpē Massacre.

13. ☥ Ramos, Roque (1899 - 1924)

A native of Cebu, he was married to Apolonia Garcia. The couple arrived on the *S. S. Rakuyo Maru* on January 23, 1922. (HSPA Records). The 22-year-old Sakada was assigned to Hawaiian Sugar Company on the day he and his wife arrived in Honolulu. ((HSPA Records). According to Certificate of Death No. 1164, he died from "shock and hemorrhage" due to a "stab wound of abdomen." But in Francisco Ceballos' interview with Taniguchi at the Ceballos Family home in Kalaheo on September 10, 1978, for the UH Oral History Project, Apolonia went to Waimea Hall to identify the body; Rogue was "shot in the lower back and the bullet exited through the stomach." (ESOHP 1979: 870). Roque left behind his wife and 1-1/2-year-old son, Francisco. He died at 11 a.m. on September 9.

14. ☥ Sacarias, Teofilo* (1900? - 1924)

Certificate of Death No. 1176 shows that the native of Iloilo was about 24 and was single. He lived at Makaweli Camp 4. He died at about 10 a.m. on September 9 from shock and hemorrhage due to gunshot wounds of the back and abdomen. Dr. Tuttle signed the death certificate on September 10. (See Note 4 below).

15. ☥ Tindoy, Valentin (1900 - 1924)

Single, the native of Tagbilaran, Bohol, arrived in Honolulu on the *S. S. Tenyo Maru* on March 11, 1922, at age 22 under the auspices of HSPA. ("Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959"). Employed by Kōloa Plantation, the 24-year-old died from gunshot wound on the chest at about 10 a.m. on September 9. Dr. Tuttle signed the Certificate of Death No. 1174). (See Note 4 below).

16. ☥ Zacarias, Santos* (1902? - 1924)

Certificate of Death No. 1161 shows that the native of Bohol was about 22 years old, single, and lived at Makaweli Camp 4. He died at Makaweli Hospital at 6 p.m. on September 9, from shock and hemorrhage due to gunshot wounds of the back and abdomen. Attending physician was Dr. Peniston of Makaweli Hospital. (See Note 4 below).

Clearly, what happened at Hanapēpē was a massacre, which by definition is "an indiscriminate and brutal slaughter of people." According to the death certificates, 11 of the strikers died at 10 a.m. on September 9, at the scene of the massacre from gunshot wounds on the head, neck, neck and chest, chest, back and abdomen, abdomen; and head, neck, and ankle. Consider these gunshot wound details: **head**: Acupang, Atis, and Canate; **neck**: Balas; **neck and chest:** Jambo; **chest**: Anoy, Laspina, Peson, and Tindoy; **back and abdomen**: Sacarias; **abdomen**: Cabalida.

Three who were wounded and hospitalized died on the day of the massacre: Ramos at 11 a.m. from **gunshot wound on the lower back, with the bullet exiting from the abdomen;** Butron at 2 p.m. from **gunshot wound on his leg;** at 6 p.m., Zacarias from gunshots on his **back and abdomen**.

On September 10, 9 a.m, Anor died from gunshot wounds on his **head, neck, and ankle**. Wounded but found a way to a friend's house in Waimea, Montecillo died on September 10, at 10 a.m. from gunshot wound on his **chest.**

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*Name not listed in any of the sources, except on the Standard Death Certificate

**Estimated age

? Not certain

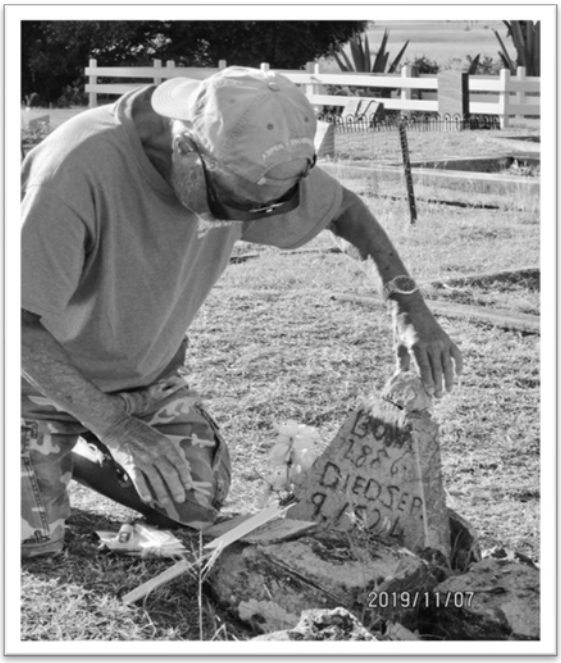
Notes:

1. Based on the death certificates, 11 of the strikers died at the scene of the massacre, and their deaths were categorized as "unattended," and/or the death occurred at about 10 a.m. on September 9. The 10 a.m. on the death certificates as the time of death is a good indication of the time the massacre took place. Also, Isabel Ganade recalled: "The shooting was about 10 o'clock." (ESOHP 1979: 105).

2. Based on Lindsay Faye Sr.'s recollection, the dead were still on the side of the road in the afternoon of September 9, at about 2:30. With 25 wounded, in addition to the number who were killed at the scene, Makaweli Hospital was busy attending to the wounded. Other physicians on the island, like Dr. **Alfred Herbert Waterhouse (1877 – 1948)**, physician at Kōloa Plantation, rushed to Makaweli Hospital to assist, but Dr. Peniston, Makaweli Hospital's physician, was the main attending physician; he signed the death certificates for the wounded who later died.

3. Dr. Tuttle of Waimea attended to the dead after they were picked up from the Hanapēpē roadside and transported to Waimea Jail at an unknown hour after 2:30 p.m.. The dead were later moved to Waimea Hall, where Pastor Runes assisted Dr. Tuttle, who signed the death certificates, indicating "unattended" or death occurring at "about 10 a.m."

4. Not listed in the digitalized HSPA Records.



Thursday, November 7, 2019
Karl Lo applies enough epoxy to glue the top of the **BORN 1886. DIED SEP. 9. 1924,** gravestone that laid at its base.
Catherine Lo Photo.

The Strikers Were Indicted for Rioting

In the Circuit Court of the Fifth Circuit,

Territory of Hawaii

January Term, 1924

The Territory of Hawaii

vs.

Teotimo Aboloc, Ceriaco Anil, Damaso Anses, Maximo Aligado, Francisco Alcano, Andres Berdon, Modesto Bermoy, Lucio Bismanos, Domingo Berana, Dominador Boro, Gregorio Cruda, Mamerto Codera, Juan Diquito, Felix Dapa, Toribio Espinosa, Felipe Gonida, Albino Gonida, Donato Hicale, Apolinar Ginebraldo, Cesario Makidato, Pastor Mansueto, Felipe Nesperos, Mauro Plateros, Juan Paglinaon, Melesio Pelen, Juan Fetalino, Eustaquio Ramos, Julian Ramones, Moises Rosal, Simplicio Signap, Sofronio Sososco, Blas Tagbo, Sulpicio Binian, Esteban Lomongsod, Rejino Abinido, Feliciano Bayot, Vicente Celestino, Bonifacio Caballeda, Engel Gripon, Felomino Canomay, Fernando Endab, Enrique Lumaghan, Martiliano Redoble, Pedro Celestino, Tomas Renio, Francisco Atanoc, Braulio Sator, Cesario Villanida, Lorenzo Alcorcon, Juan Olbina, Adriano Galupo, Sabas Bacole, Mariano Campomanes, Aurelio Jenayon, Eusebio Pastoril, Felix Rinando, Leon Turino, Gavino Turino, Mariano Gripon, Jose Baso, Mariano Dayagdal, Hermogenes Rondillos, Eugenio Magsayo, Angel Tabada, Narcizo Dacay, Benito Imas, Braulio Granada, Agapito Dayon, Mateo Ewan, Trineo Bascar, Evaristo Acebes, Macario Embasis, Daniel Fernandez, Juan Salazar, Placido Sugabo, Gabino Ipon,

Defendants.

Riot

ORIGINAL INDICTMENT

The Grand Jury of the Fifth Circuit of the Territory of Hawaii do present that Teotimo Aboloc, Ceriaco Anil, Damaso Anses, Maximo Aligado, Francisco Alcano, Andres Berdon, Modesto Bermoy, Lucio Bismanos, Domingo Berana, Dominador Boro, Gregorio Cruda, Mamerto Codera, Juan Diquito, Felix Dapa, Toribio Espinosa, Felipe Gonida, Albino Gonida, Donato Hicale,

The rest of the list of defendants is a repetition of the names listed at the top.

The plantation workers from the Philippines were not schooled in the English language. They were not schooled in reading and writing English, and authorities judged them illiterate. But they knew their arithmetic. Their lives as plantation workers were marked with more minuses than pluses.

They were illiterate by Western standards, but they were schooled in common sense, in matters of life, and in matters of the heart -- like kindness to others and respect for authority. They came from hardy stocks; they were children of the land in their homeland who learned patience and perseverance as they worked in the fields.

They were grateful for the opportunity to come to the Territory of Hawai‘i to work on the sugar plantations under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, but when man's inhumanity to man defined their lives as plantation workers, being paid the lowest wages, working long hours in the Hawaiian sun, and living for the most part in sub-standard living conditions, they rose and stood up against plantation injustice and oppression.

With their pittance pay of $1 a day very inadequate, they wanted to be paid $2, and they wanted to reduce the 10- to 12-hour workday to eight hours. Thus, leaders among the plantation workers called a strike against plantation power – the Big Five, who owned or were agents of the plantations, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. Little did they know that government power would hold hands with plantation power to teach these seemingly insignificant and non-consequential Filipino plantation workers a painful lesson.

The odds were against the strikers from the first volley of rifle shots to the final judgement meted out for striking for worker rights for which authorities indicted them for rioting.

The Grand Jury of the Fifth Circuit Court of the Territory of Hawai‘i meted out trumped-up charges to the strikers.

The Grand Jury of the Fifth Circuit Court of the Territory of Hawai‘i presented an Indictment for Riot to 76 defendants who "unlawfully and feloniously, being more than three in number, were of their own authority assembled together with disturbance, tumult and violence and striking terror and tending to strike terror into others then and being to wit: William O. Crowell, Harry Oneha, David Nakoa Jr., Waiwaiole Koani, James Kaneihalau, Puulei Manini, Kalua Aiai, Moke Kua, Ah Boo Dang [sic], Kepe Naumu and others, and being so unlawfully and feloniously assembled, did then and there join in using and did use menacing language and gestures towards them the said William O. Crowell … and others, and did then and there join in showing and using and did show loaded revolvers, knives, cane knives, daggers, sticks, clubs, and stones, to upon and against said William O. Crowell, … and others in a threatening, menacing and violent manner, thereby striking terror and tending to strike terror to said William O. Crowell, … and others, and did and there and thereby endanger lives, limbs and health of the said William O. Crowell, … and others, and did and then and thereby committ [sic] the crime of riot, contrary to the form of the Statute in such case made and provided."

"And others" included Kalei Makawela, Puaokina Taniguchi, and William Kauhane, "another goat hunter, whose work with the rifle took a heavy toll." (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p. 8). Undoubtedly, with some 40 deputized special police at the scene of the massacre, "and others" included many more, like Kanio Kanakaole *(Honolulu Star-Bulletin* September 11, 1924, p.1). Take note that the indictment, dated September 23, 1924, signed by Deputy Attorney General A. G. M. Robertson and R. D. Moler, Grand Jury Foreman, includes the four deputized special police who were killed on September 9, three of whom having died from friendly fires.

Moreover, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association paid for the special prosecutor. (*The Honolulu Times,* September 12, 1924, Noon and 4 o'clock eds., p. 1). The court appointed one defense attorney – former Judge **Lyle Alexander Dickey (1868 – 1946)** of Līhu'e -- after **Fausto N. Caralde,** one of the strike leaders on Kaua'i, who served as one of three interpreters, insisted that a counsel represent the strikers who were indicted. (Reinecke 1996: 85).

The Survivors and Descendants

The story of the survivors should be told as well. What happened to the widows? How did the children who were orphaned grow up?

The strikers and their families were helpless. The odds were stacked up against them. The wives of the dead grieved in silence. They suffered unspeakable pain and took guarded knowledge to their graves.

Those who empathized and sympathized with those who went on strike and with the widows and their families were afraid to speak against the injustice. It was the worst of times. Certainly, there must have been outrage for what happened. But it was a different time. Public protests were not an option.

According to interviewees in the UH Oral History Project, families and friends were afraid to go to the cemetery to pay their respect to the dead after the massacre. Afraid of whom? Afraid of what?

Fear, grief, anger, frustration, and outrage had to be kept in check and seemingly packed away into oblivion. However, a century later, as researchers and historians look back to better understand what happened, and learn that those who died were in their 20s and 30s -- just starting life -- they are moved to act; they are moved to tell the story of the dead, of their families, and of their descendants. Moreover, they are moved to find as much information as possible on the aftermath of the tragedy.

The widows found refuge at Waimea Sugar Mill camp, where they stayed with fellow Visayans. Manager Faye was opposed to the development, but Pastor Runes persuaded him to let them stay because they were homeless. Mr. Faye allowed them to stay for one month. When the month was over, the manager asked the pastor if the [visitors] were still there. Pastor Runes told Manager Faye, *"You cannot drive them away from your camp." "Why [not]?"* the manager asked. *"Well, some of them [are] in love already with the men. You cannot drive them away."* Pastor Runes recalled that Mr. Faye just laughed. And he punctuated his interview with Chad Taniguchi with: *"And sure enough, they [are] still there."* (ESOHP 1979: 269).

Who were still there were Apolonia, the widow of Roque Ramos, and Baleriana (Valeriana in HSPA Records), the widow of Isidoro Cabalida. Apolonia was invited to stay in Waimea by her second cousin, Segundo Delanoza. Likewise, Baleriana Cabalida was invited to stay in Waimea as well. (ESOHP 1979: 871).

Apolonia Garcia Ramos (1896 - 1979), married **Marcelino Ceballos (1888 - 1961)**, a carpenter with Waimea Sugar Mill who helped make the coffins for the dead Filipinos. Marcelino and Apolonia Ceballos had four children -- Clemente and Lorenzo Ceballos, Sally Edayan, and Betty Parraga -- Francisco's step-siblings. (ESOHP 1979: 871).

Over the years, **Trinette Parraga Kaui**, the granddaughter of Apolonia and Marcelino Ceballos, has been in the news as area manager and broker in charge for Alexander & Baldwin Properties Hawai'i on Kaua'i, and in her service to the community as a board member of several non-profit organizations, including Kaua'i Philippine Cultural Center in Līhu'e. In 2022, Trinette joined Brue Baukol Capital Partners as director of Land Assets for McBryde Resources and Kukui'ula Realty Group. Trinette is married to

Wesley Kaui, who was a detective with the Kauaʻi Police Department, now retired. They have two adult sons. The Kauis are residents of Kapaʻa.

Francisco (Kikoy) Ceballos Sr. (1923 - 2001) grew up using his stepfather's surname, and had to formalize and legalize it in 1943 when he married **Lucia Semana**. (ESOHP 1979: 871).

Lucia Semana Ceballos (1925 - 2023) -- Lucy, as she was called – was well-known for her participation as a vendor in Kauaʻi's Farmers' Market for many years. Also, she participated in the dedication of the Hanapēpē Massacre plaque at Hanapēpē Park on September 9, 2006, as part of the Filipino Centennial Celebration in Hawaiʻi. Francisco and Lucia Ceballos were parents to four children. Lucia was survived by son Errol (Rose Tatiana) Ceballos, three daughters-in-law, five grandchildren, many great-grandchildren. (https://www.kaumakani.com/obituaries-for-friday-september-14-2023/).



Apolonia Ceballos and son Francisco Ceballos. Courtesy of Chad Taniguchi. 1979 Photo.

At age five, Francisco become aware that his father, Roque Ramos, died in the strike. Every year on All Saints' Day — November l — his mother took him to visit his father's grave in accordance with Christian tradition. In the Filipino tradition, food and prayers were offered at the grave. Also, Marcelino Ceballos, Francisco's stepfather, made a fence around the grave and planted a cactus-type plant on the spot. (ESOHP 1979: 870).

A study of these details makes one wonder how the long grave disappeared from memory and from sight over the years.

Apolonia and **Marcelino Ceballos** of Waimea were laid to rest at Kekaha Cemetery. **Francisco Sr.** and **Lucia Ceballos** of Kalāheo were laid to rest at Kauaʻi Memorial Gardens on Maʻalo Road in Kapaia.

Moreover, Isidoro Cabalida's widow, **Baleriana Lastimosa Cabalida (1901 - 1985)** became the wife of **Segundo Delanoza (1899 - ?)**. Delanoza, native of Sibonga, Cebu (FamilySearch.org), and Marcelino Ceballos were first cousins. The Delanoza and Ceballos families lived only two houses away from each other at Waimea. (ESOHP 1979: 871).

Furthermore, an entry in FamilySearch.org under **Julian Legaspi (1901 – 1963**), shows him in the 1950 United States Census as head of household, with **Baleriana** as his spouse. They were residents of Kapaia, Kauaʻi, and **Epifania Legaspi**, **Augustine Delanoza**, **Catherina Delanoza**, and **Vicente Delanoza** were listed as their children. In all likelihood, Julian was employed by Līhuʻe Plantation. The company had employee housing at Kapaia until the 1950s.

In addition, **Elias Anor**, 35, who died the day after the massacre, left a 31-year-old wife, **Cresencia Campomanes Anor (1893 - ?)**; a 7-year-old son **Filomeno (1917 - ?)**; and a four-year-old son **Celestino (1920 - ?)**.

I (Catherine) came upon **Filomeno Anor**, age 9, in my research as having returned to the Philippines on the *S. S. President Pierce* on March 11, 1927. The names listed near his name in the "Honolulu, Hawaii, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959" did not look familiar, and I wondered how the nine-year-old could have sailed to the place of his birth unaccompanied.

A second and closer look at the passenger list revealed that the Anor child was in the company of **Cresencia Abanto**; **Celestino Abanto**; and **Felicidad Abanto**, 1 year-7-month-old.

HSPA has records on Felicidad Abanto, 1, born in Makaweli; **Celestino Abanto**, age 7, and **Filomeno Anor**, 9. Records show that the three children lived with their mother, **Cresencia Abanto**, at Hawaiian Sugar Company (Makaweli Plantation) and returned to Cebu on the *S. S. President Pierce,* on March 11, 1927.

Cresencia Campomanes Anor married a Makaweli Plantation employee named Abanto; a daughter was born as a result of the marriage, and the younger Anor son was registered under the stepfather's surname.

HSPA has no record under **Cresencia Abanto**. There is a record on **Dionisio Abanto**, married to **Macaria Fernandez**, who was at Makaweli Plantation from September 1918 to 1927, when he moved to Honolulu. He returned to Camarines in November 1929. Fernandez was not mentioned as returning home with him. A Visayan, Dionisio Abanto may not have gone on strike; he is not listed on the "Original Riot Indictment." Regrettably, further research on him and Macaria Fernandez brought no results.



THE SEARCH FOR THE LONG GRAVE

Where were they buried? That was the recurring, pressing question. That the gravesite of the 16 Filipino plantation workers who died in the Hanapēpē Massacre was unmarked defy understanding. Certainly, families and friends must have visited the gravesite in the early years.

When the Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee started the research, legends on the location of the long grave competed for attention. Five sources familiar with the Hanapēpē Cemetery promoted the base of the hill at the center of the cemetery as the location of the gravesite. A sixth source told a committee member that he knew the location of the grave, but he was not willing to show it to the committee. And a seventh wrote a letter to *The Garden Island* on October 4, 2019, that the "Hanapepe Massacre victims . . . [were] buried mauka [inland] behind the Olokele's manager's house just below the "big ditch" near the domestic water pump/tunnel."



It was Thursday, September 12, 2019. On that consequential Thursday, Karl and Catherine went traipsing at Hanapēpē Filipino (nee: Catholic) Cemetery) in the company of Ed Edwards of Kekaha who responded to Michael Miranda's press release – "Investigating a massacre" -- in *The Garden Island* on September 9, in observance of the 95th anniversary of the Hanapēpē Massacre. Edwards went to the cemetery in 2013 and took a picture of a 1924 gravestone, but he could not remember the exact location, having been to the cemetery six years earlier, when there were less gravesites in the vicinity of the marker.

But the "DIED Sep. 9. 1924" caught Catherine's eyes, and she yelled to Ed, who was ahead of her, and to Karl, who was behind her: "It's here!" She asked Karl to take pictures. After he took three, she realized the top of the headstone was broken off. Miracle of miracles, a cement piece she picked up at the base of the headstone fitted perfectly, although the years had chipped away some of the concrete; Karl took a fourth picture.

Indeed, the trio found the triangular cement gravestone on which "BORN 1886. DIED SEP. 9. 1924" is inscribed, every grain of it showing 95 years of exposure to the elements.

The gravestone has been there for almost a century, and loved ones must have placed it there, but it remained insignificant until the Hanapēpē Research Committee recognized its connection to the events of September 9, 1924. The location of the gravestone fits the description where the Filipino plantation workers were buried "on a sandy hillside overlooking alluring Hanapēpē Bay." (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 10, 1924, p.1).

The coffin of the 16th plantation worker who died on Wednesday, September 10, at Waimea – Pedro Montecillo -- missed the trucks that took the 15 coffins from Waimea Hall to Hanapēpē Cemetery for burial on Wednesday morning. He may have been buried under the triangular headstone near the long grave. (*See Also* Montecillo, Pedro on pages 21, 23, 25, and 27).

Saturday, September 28, 2019
Hanapēpē Filipino Cemetery Field Trip
Catherine Lo, left, shares what she knows about the long grave and the location of a headstone on the hill with Fern Holland, also on the research committee; Christopher Ballesteros, a Kaua‘i native now living in Boston whose undergraduate thesis at Harvard included the Hanapēpē Massacre; and Ed Edwards of Kekaha, research committee associate. Also listening (with her back to the camera) is Rosemarie Bernardo, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* staff writer.



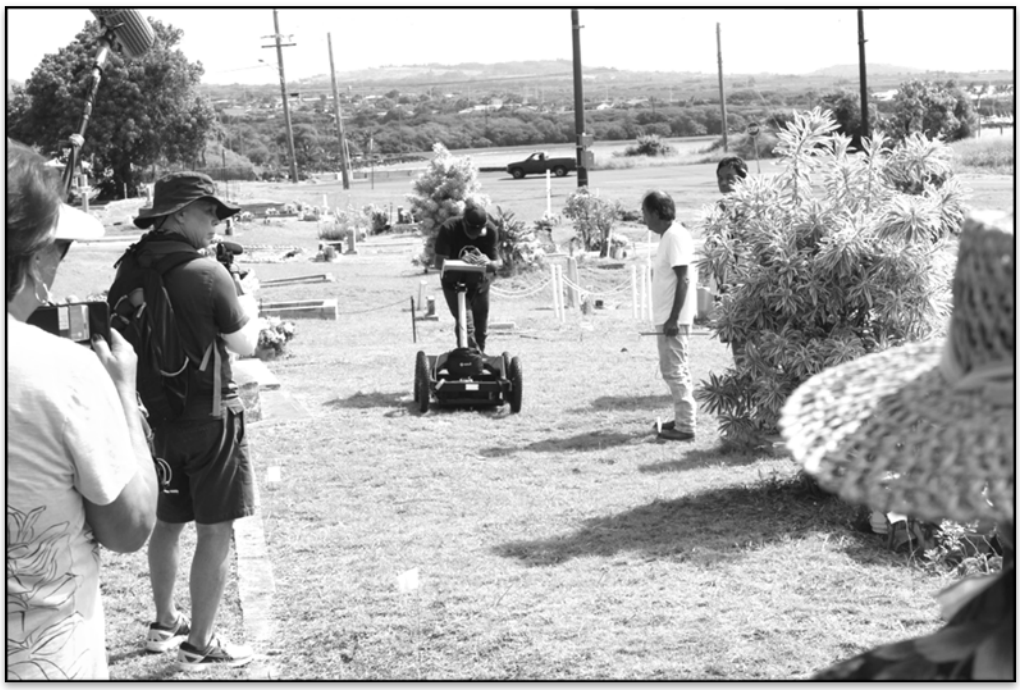


Catherine Lo, Fern Holland, Christopher Ballesteros, and Ed Edwards on the left end of what some folks thought was the location of the long grave, with the rock believed to be a marker of sorts.

All photos on these pages by Karl H. Y. Lo.

Sunday, October 20, 2019
10 a.m. - 12 :30 p.m.
Ed Edwards, Kawika Wilson of Hawai‘i Utility Locators, Tim Savage of Stephanie Castillo’s film crew, and Catherine Lo at the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) field trip.





Jerry Nakasone of Hawai‘i Utility Locators, in white T-shirt, among others, watches Kawika Wilson as he slowly goes over the long grave repeatedly, now marked with white flags. The long trench -- about 3 feet deep, 90 feet long -- was where 15 of the killed strikers were buried in single file, their coffins laid end to end. With that said, the 16th coffin, which missed the trucks that took 15 6-foot-long coffins from Waimea Hall to what was then Hanapēpē Catholic Cemetery may have been buried under the Sept. 9, 1924, gravestone, which lead the research committee to the long grave on Sunday, October 20, 2019, when the GPR showed no “voids and anomalies” at the base of the hill believed by many to be the location of the long grave. (Karl H. Y. Lo Photo)

Finally, on Sunday, October 20**,** 2019, Jerry Nakasone and Kawika Wilson put an end to the gnawing doubts on the burial site when Nakasone used a divining rod to locate trenches and voids in the ground, and Wilson used a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) equipment to confirm the location of the long grave.

The gravesite mystery was finally solved! In conjunction with the burial narrative, contrary to island legends on a “mass grave,” the 16 Filipino plantation workers were buried in coffins in a “long grave.” The carpenters used 1 x 12 lumber, piecing two side by side to make them 24-inch wide. The foot-deep coffins were braced on the top and at the bottom. (ESOHP 1979: is, p. 582). The coffins were placed in the trench end to end. The grave diggers could dig only three to four feet deep because the sandy soil kept caving in.

The long grave was 90-foot -- or 96-foot long, if one believes that all 16 coffins were buried horizontally end to end. The GPR detected only “12 voids and anomalies,” based on the assumption that three burials were made over three of the 15 coffins on one end of the long grave. However, by actual measurement only 25 feet remain of the original long grave. That was bound to happen, given that the long grave was not marked off in any way. Also, the question remains: Did the long grave start closer to Hanapēpē Bay than the research committee has on record based on what the GPR detected?

Credit must be given to the grave diggers and the carpenters, who made the coffins. One of the carpenters was Marcelino Ceballos, who was employed at Waimea Sugar Mill, whose manager at the time was Lindsay Anton Faye. One would like to think that Makaweli Plantation, Kōloa Plantation, and/or HSPA

also provided manpower and supplies, and paid the drivers who transported the coffins from Waimea Hall to the cemetery.

Right: October 20, 2019

Ed Edwards marked the long grave – the 25 feet that remain of the original 90-foot-trench (perhaps 96-foot) – after the GPR event.
Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.



The October 20 event was an awesome and a splendid way to celebrate Filipino American History Month on Kauaʻi and in Hawaiʻi in 2019!

October as Filipino American History Month was first introduced in 1992 by the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) of Seattle. In 2009, the United States Congress recognized October as Filipino American History Month in the United States and is widely celebrated in Hawaiʻi and California, where large numbers of Filipino-Americans reside.

A concluding thought: Someone commented that the dead should be positively identified. That would be ideal, but digging up the gravesite to positively identify the dead is not an option. First, the gravesite must not be disturbed. Second, the project would be a huge undertaking. Third, the Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee, which consists of volunteers, is not equipped to handle such a costly and far-reaching undertaking.



GPR Day, October 20, 2019
(Ground-Penetratring Radar Day)
Many assembled near Kawika Wilson of Hawaiʻi Utility Locators as he locates the area where the Filipino workers were buried with his Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) equipment. Catherine Lo Photo.

THEY ANSWERED THE CALL TO DUTY

Sheriff William Henry Rice (1874 - 1945) was Kaua‘i County Sheriff in 1924. He was deputy sheriff for five years before his appointment as sheriff on July 1, 1905, and he served in that capacity for 34 years. (Newton, *Who’s Who of the Counties of Kauai and Maui*,1940: 45).

The grandson of **William Harrison Rice (1813 – 1862)** and **Mary Sophia Hyde Rice (1816 – 1911)**, who arrived in Hawai‘i in 1841 as missionaries, he was born in Līhu‘e to **William Hyde Rice (1846 – 1924)** and **Mary Waterhouse Rice (1846 – 1933)**.

The heading of an article in the Tuesday, April 15, 1924, issue of *The Garden Island*, front page, states: “Twenty special policemen were sworn in yesterday by Sheriff Rice in case that any emergency might arise.”

Sheriff Rice had 200 special deputies. (Reinecke 1996: 83). Some 40, who were hunters and sharpshooters, were deputized as special police during the strike. Regrettably, four, three of whom were widowers, died in the line of duty.

The Deputized Special Police, Their Families, and Descendants

Kalua Aiai (1884 - 1924)

[No Photo Available]

Based on the Certificate of Death (No. 1162), Aiai, who was born in Kekaha, was a resident of Waimea. He died from gunshot wound of the head at about 10 a.m. on September 9. The 30-year-old widower was survived by a 15-year-old adopted daughter, Violet, who was a student at Waimea School. (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p.1).

George Ah Boo Dung (1883 - 1924)

Listed on the front page of the September 16, 1924, issue of *The Garden Island* as George Ah Boo Dang [sic], and as Ah Boo Dang [sic] in the caption under his portrait from the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* Archive*s*, George Ah Boo Dung (Certificate of Death No. 1171) was born in Hanapēpē, where he lived for many years.

He was a mail carrier for the westside of Kaua‘i before he moved to Honolulu, where he worked for Hawaiian Contracting Company. (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p.1).



George Ah Boo Dung. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* Archives. Courtesy of Dr. William Puette & Raymond Catania.

The resident of Hanapēpē married **Emma Gilman Dung (1883-1920)**, and the couple had a son: **Edward Ah Boo Dung**, born on December 17, 1915 (Territory of Hawaii, Record of Birth 10433). Also, U. S.

Census 1920 lists a son, **George Aboo**, who was three months short of his fifth birthday. Dung was a driver for Buildings Co. (U.S. Census 1920).

Dung died at about 11 a.m. on September 9 from shock and hemorrhage due to stab wound on the abdomen. (Certificate of Death No. 1171). He was buried at Hanapēpē Chinese Cemetery. (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p.1).

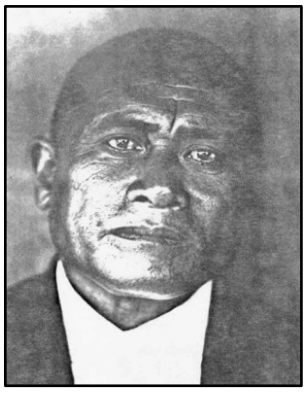
Moses Moke Kua (1880 - 1924)



Moke Kua, a laborer, was born in Kekaha. A widower, he was survived by a brother, James, and a son, **Hosea Moke Kua (1907 - 1957)**, who at 17 was also deputized as special police. (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p. 1). Word was that Hosea shot and killed "the Visayan who stabbed his father in the abdomen," but Certificate of Death No. 1175 states that Kua died from a gunshot wound on the head at about 10:30 a.m. on September 9.

Moke Kua. 1920 Photo.
Courtesy of Ed Edwards.

William Kipe Naumu (1871 - 1924)



According to Certificate of Death No. 1172, the 52-year-old native of Kekaha was employed by the County of Kaua'i as a road laborer. He was shot on the abdomen, hospitalized, and died at 5 p.m. on the day of the massacre from shock and hemorrhage. Naumu was survived by two sons and his wife, who was in Honolulu at the time of his death. (*The Garden Island* September 16, 1924, p. 1).

Kipe Naumu. Undated Photo.
Courtesy of Kenneth Robinson.

Henry Kiopaki Naumu (1890 - 1982), 34, was wounded during the massacre, survived, and lived to be 92.

Samuel Kanio Aipoalani, who was with Kekaha Sugar Company, was reluctant to be deputized as a special police. Regrettably, he killed a striker in the line of duty. (ESOHP 1979, pp. 74-761). His eleven-year-old son, **Samuel Kahiki Aipoalani**, remembered that his father feared retaliation from Kekaha Filipinos. The Visayans at Waimea Sugar Mill and Kekaha Sugar Company did not join the strike. Of course, nothing happened; the Filipinos would not have added insult to injury. Moreover, young Aipoalani remembered that his father could not eat for a few days because of remorse for having killed a Filipino striker with his gun. (ESOHP 1979: 749, 755).

Furthermore, **Samuel Kahiki Aipoalani** recalled a story his father told about 17-year-old **Hosea (Moke) Kua (1907 – 1957)**, who was also a deputized special police:

" ... one of the special police, Moses Kua., happened to come out from where he was. And he was shot right on the main highway. He was shot. And his son, from the hill, running down the hill, calling the father right there. Grabbed the father in his arms. And you imagine, right in the midst of the firing. And nobody shot him. So he hold his father. And right next, there was a wounded Filipino. He was lying down. And this fellow was wounded, and he came around and he-said for excuse him, he's sorry, and all that. But Moses Kua, Junior, didn't pay any attention. All what he had in his .44 revolver, all the bullets he had in there, he just shoot this fellow right in the head. And he's crying, crying for the father. ... And the other one got killed while up the hill. That's Naumu, Kipe Naumu, got killed." (ESOHP 1979: 744).

Puaokina Aukai Taniguchi (1890 – 1944), was remembered at Waimea Public Library on November 21, 2019. **Julia Nakaya (1939 - 2021)** of Waimea, seated in front of television set in the photograph below, was interested in the Hanapēpē Massacre because her mother's brother, Puaokina Aukai Taniguchi, was a sharpshooter who was one of the 40 deputized special police at Hanapēpē on September 9, 1924 -- to the dismay of the family. He married **Elizabeth Kapeka Charman Taniguchi (1892 – 1970)** of Kōloa in 1915. Four of their eight children grew to adulthood. The first child was born in 1916 and died in 2002. The fourth child was born in 1924 and died in 1971. The last four children died in infancy. (Find a Grave).

Watching with Julia Chad Taniguchi's *The 1924 Kauai Filipino Strike* slide presentation of 1997 that Kaua'i Historical Society converted to a DVD and made available for the presentation, were Karl Lo, Wayne Odo, Ed Edwards, and Catherine Lo -- behind the camera.

Casey Agena, library assistant, set up the equipment.



Today, like the descendants of Apolonia Ramos Ceballos and of Baleriana Cabalida Delanoza Legaspi, the descendants of Puaokina Taniguchi live on Kaua'i. Foremost, descendants of Moke Kua, Hosea Kua, and Samuel Kanio Aipoalani live in Kekaha today.

The descendants of both sides of the struggle may not have heard their elders talk about the tragedy at Hanapēpē and may know little or nothing about it. However, they may be hearing or reading about it now with recent news on the research by the volunteer Hanapēpē Massacre Research Committee, but the tragedy that happened a century ago belongs on the pages of textbooks to be studied and to learn from, not in the hearts of descendants. They are innocent.

If "ignorance is bliss," it has been better for the descendants to not know about the Hanapēpē Massacre than to have known about it. They were spared feelings of unwarranted guilt, hatred, and ill will.

The Searched for George Ah Boo Dung's Gravesite



Sunday, September 22, 2019
Hanapēpē Chinese Cemetery
Ed Edwards, Karl & Catherine Lo
searched for
George Ah Boo Dung's gravesite
in a neglected cemetery.
Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.

Tired and sweaty, Karl and Ed rest in weed overgrowth among the gravestones while searching for George Ah Boo Dung's gravesite. Catherine Lo Photo.





Friday, September 20, 2019
An obelisk, now lying flat on the ground,
one of a few that remain of countless
obelisks that once occupied
a prominent portion of
Hanapēpē Chinese Cemetery.
Ed Edwards Photo.



The gravestone is made of cement, like the "SEP. 9.1924" triangular gravestone at the Filipino Cemetery. With all details considered, this is very likely George Ah Boo Dung's tombstone.

Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.

September 22, 2019

Ed, Karl, and Catherine spent 1-1/2 hours at the Hanapēpē Chinese Cemetery on Sunday, September 22, 2019, in an effort to locate George Ah Boo Dung's burial site in dense, overgrown weeds, dried thorny bushes, and neglected graves.

Three translators looked at the inscriptions of four gravestones, and they saw the gravestone on the left as very likely Dung's. One read the name as DENG, HUA JUN; the other, KUNG, TANG WAH.

A third translated the name as DONG, HUA JUN.

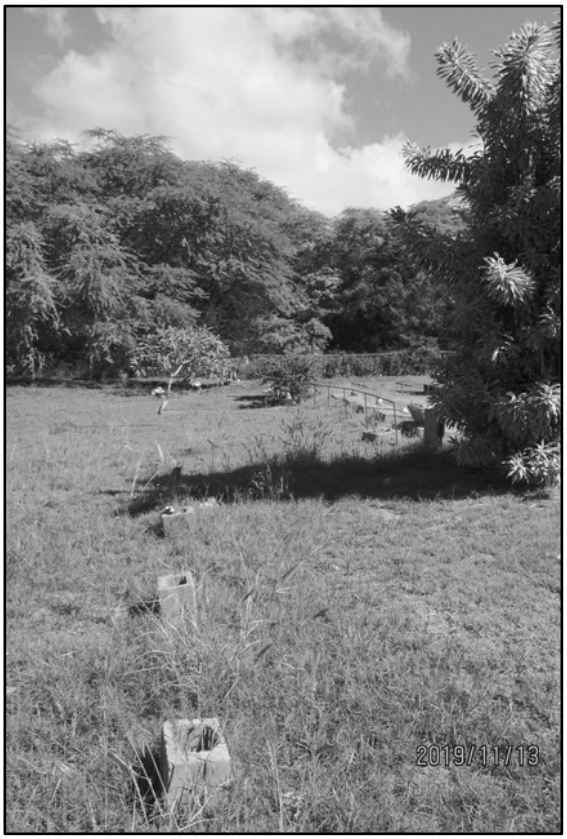
One translator explained that Chinese dialects account for the variations in spellings and translations.

November 13, 2019

Right: Three unidentified markers at **Kekaha Hawaiian Cemetery** where Kalua Aiai, Moke Kua, and Kipe Naumu may have been buried. Another possible site is a clearing above the Song of India on the right, bookended by two plumeria trees. Also, perhaps at an older part of the cemetery adjacent to the Hawaiian Home Lands homes. With the burial site or sites considered sacred, researchers may never know the guarded secret of 100 years.

Ed Edwards of Kekaka, who married **Eileen Kua (1938 - 2013)**, daughter of Hosea, Moke Kua's son, showed Karl & Catherine the unidentified markers shown on the right. The native of Indiana came to Kauaʻi in 1958. He was computer systems supervisor at the NASA Tracking Station at Kōkeʻe.

Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.



EPILOGUE

The agencies in power in 1924 controlled the narrative and kept the Hanapēpē Massacre from public view. The Kauaʻi County and Territory of Hawaiʻi justice systems, the Big Five, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association chose to deny the Filipino plantation workers fair, reasonable, and just treatment. This report underscores this miscarriage of justice.

The HSPA recruited for the plantations Filipinos who came from the farms with little or no education**.** Of course, they lacked the facility for the English language. When the Filipinos decided to call a strike, they needed interpreters to help them dialogue with plantation management and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, but those in the community who could interpret for them were not proponents of the strike because of their connections to the plantations.

Lacking organized and coordinated leadership on both the local and territorial levels, the strikers were doomed to fail, but they were willing, ready, and determined to fight for higher pay, shorter workday, shorter work week, and better living conditions.

On the surface, it sems the 16 plantation workers who lost their lives died in vain; that the plantation workers who sacrificed their livelihood by going on strike completely failed; that the Filipino Strike of 1924 in the Territory of Hawaiʻi brought no improvement for plantation workers. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In hindsight, the Filipino Strike of 1924 and the unforeseen Hanapēpē Massacre that abruptly ended the strike on Kauaʻi, planted the seeds of courage that germinated into action by plantation workers to organize across ethnic lines. The lesson learned from the events of 1924 initiated by Pablo Manlapit and those whom he persuaded to go on strike was for plantation workers to organize across ethnic lines and to fight together for the common good -- higher wages, shorter workdays, better working conditions, and humane treatment by plantation owners, managers, and overseers.

The legacy of the Filipino plantation activists of 1924 was the organization of workers' unions in Hawaiʻi, especially the eventual organization of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) -- a milestone in the history of labor in Hawaiʻi.

The long grave was located. The 16 Filipino workers who died have been identified. These new findings have lifted the shroud of mystery on the Hanapēpē Massacre. It is fitting that we honor the dead and the sacrifices of the strikers and their families.

Today, a century later, workers from all job sectors in Hawaiʻi and on the mainland -- teachers, hotel workers, fast-food workers, airline crews and staffs, nurses, etc. -- continue to fight for higher wages, minimum wage of $15.00 or more an hour, instead of $10 or less, to be able to pay rent or mortgage, feed and clothe their families, afford medical insurance, and plan for retirement and security. The struggle of workers continues, and those in control continue to live well, with no shame or guilt for the disparity they create between themselves and the working masses. With that said, not much has changed; the struggle of workers for better pay and better working conditions continues. Thus, workers organize protests and go on strikes. The legacy of the early activists lives on.

In May and June 2020, large groups in cities across the United States protested for days prompted by the death of **George Floyd**, 46, of Minneapolis, who died on Memorial Day, Monday, May 25, 2020, after a police officer held him down and pinned his head on the pavement near the rear right tire of a police car and knelt on the back of his neck for at least eight minutes, 46 seconds. Floyd begged, "I can't breathe," but mercy did not come. Three other police officers watched like lookouts during a crime in progress as their colleague committed police brutality, an act of inhumanity to another human being.

"Many and sharp the num'rous ills
Inwoven with our frame!
More pointed still we make ourselves,
Regret, remorse, and shame!
And man, whose heav'n-erected face
The smiles of love adorn,
Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!"

From "Man Was Made to Mourn: A Dirge" (1874)
by Robert Burns (1759 – 1796)

Two paragraphs in "The Story of Sugar" No. 16 -- "Workmen in Hawaii's Sugar Industry: The Filipinos" in *The Garden Island* on Tuesday, November 24, 1925, by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association is apropos as a final comment in view of how the HSPA and plantations handled the tragic labor events in September 1924. After more than a year after the Hanapēpē Massacre, the HSPA wrote a belated acknowledgment of Filipinos.

"Today the Filipinos out number all other races among the workers of Hawaii's sugar plantations. There are now 24,000 Filipinos employed in the sugar industry here. The nearest race of men to them in point of numbers has a total of about 13,000 employes [sic] *on the plantations.*

"The Filipinos are doing an important work in Hawaii today and they have proved themselves good workmen for the job."

It was generous of the HSPA to praise the Filipinos in 1925, the day before Thanksgiving, but the belated praise was meaningless and gratitude would have been hard for the Filipinos to master, in view of the fact that HSPA, plantation management, County of Kauaʻi and Territory of Hawaiʻi governments did their best to break the spirit of the Filipinos during and after the Filipino Strike of 1924.

As families and friends mourned the 16 who died in the Hanapēpē Massacre, authorities indicted the strikers for rioting, jailed them, deported them, and put undue hardship on their families. The plantations, under the control of HSPA, continued operating with no meaningful change for the Filipinos and other ethnic groups. It was not until the 1946 Sugar Strike organized by ILWU that the Big Five finally agreed to give plantation workers and their families much needed economic help.

We are grateful for the privilege of looking into what happened on September 9, 1924, and wish that the events had unfolded differently and that the massacre could have been prevented.

APPENDICES

Newspaper Clippings

The Honolulu Times September 10, 1924, p. 1

MACHINE GUNS SENT TO COMBAT FILIPINO STRIKERS ON KAUAI

Leaving Honolulu at 8 o'clock this morning, one company of the National Guard and two squads of machine gunners will arrive at Lihue, Kauai tonight, creating what will amount to a state of war between United States militiamen and Filipino strikers, following a riot between police and Filipinos at Hanapepe yesterday in which 17 men were killed and 25 were reported wounded. The militia was in command of Colonel Sidney S. Smith, U.S.A., chief national guard instructor.

"I do not anticipate any reaction on Oahu from the disorder and riots on Kauai, but I am going to be ready to meet any emergency that may arise," said Sheriff David Trask this morning in discussing the trouble between police and strikers at Lihue.

Up until now Sheriff Trask has received no call for help from the police in Kauai, but this morning he said he had plenty of well trained men in case help was wanted. "At 9:30 o'clock this morning Trask started on a trip around the island to have

The Honolulu Times September 11, 1924, p. 1

VOLUME I, NUMBER 166 THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 11, 1924 5c THE COPY—$7 THE YEAR

KAUAI STRIKERS TO BE DISARMED

JUDGE WILL NOT ORDER FIRPO'S ARREST

MANLAPIT TO INVESTIGATE KAUAI RIOT

Determined to make an impartial investigation of the Lihue tragedy which cost 20 lives last Tuesday, Pablo Manlapit, strike leader, will leave Honolulu for Lihue, Kauai tonight. Manlapit returned this morning, departing from Hilo when news of the riot on Kauai reached Hawaii

Filipinos Bury Dead In Single Trench On Hill Overlooking Bay

(Special to The Times)

LIHUE, KAUAI, September 11.—Disarmament of all strikers was the law on the Island of Kauai today which will be put into effect by members of the Honolulu National Guard units now encamped at the Lihue guardhouse. While there have been no indications that an outbreak among the strikers will result from the imprisonment of 100 or more strikers following the riot of Tuesday, it is feared that the Filipinos may resist the dictates of the guardsmen.

An atmosphere of solemnity pervaded the Lihue district yesterday. Simple funeral services were held for 16 Filipinos and four special police officers killed in the battle Tuesday between strikers and the special police. The Filipinos were buried in a trench on a sand hill overlooking Hanapepe bay.

SCHEDULED FIGHT READY FOR OPENING; ARGENTINE FAVORED OVER PANTHER

NATION'S WAR STRENGTH MOBILIZATION WILL BE CARRIED ON TOMORROW

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 11.—Fifty million people are expected to participate, directly or indirectly, in the Defense Day demonstrations all over the United States tomorrow, in spite of the strenuous objections of the peace organizations of the nation, the administration is today mobilizing the national war strength tomorrow.

The Honolulu Times September 10, 1924, 4 o'clock ed., p. 1



THE HONOLULU TIMES 4 EDITION

VOLUME I, NUMBER 165 WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 10, 1924 5c THE COPY—$7 THE YEAR

TWENTY KILLED IN KAUAI RIOT

MACHINE GUNS TO CHECK STRIKERS

LEOPOLD AND LOEB ARE SAVED FROM NOOSE BY LONG PRISON SENTENCE

(United Press, By Radio Corporation)

CHICAGO, Sept. 10.—Nathan Leopold, Jr., and Richard Loeb, 19-year-old sons of Chicago millionaire families, were sentenced to life imprisonment by Chief Justice John R. Caverly in the criminal court this morning, for the murder of Robert Franks.

HOW CLASH ON KAUAI STARTED

Yesterday morning Marcelo and All Pily two Filipino strikers were held captive in a Japanese school house at Hanapepe, Kauai. They were released from the school house, and today 20 men are dead as the result of efforts made by compatriots of the detained men to obtain their freedom.

Charges were made to Sheriff Rice at Lihue that the men were detained at the school house by strikers because they refused to join the striking forces.

Following information to the Lihue county attorney, Matthewman advised him to warn strikers that "no interference with court process would be tolerated."

Matthewman's wire read: "Your legal advice to sheriff correct; recommend that nothing be done to observe the inside fact; no interference with court process will be tolerated."

tion in the case of emergency thus eliminating hte loss of time usually involved in habeas corpus proceedings.

In sending this information to the Lihue county attorney, Matthewman advised him to warn strikers that "no interference with court process would be tolerated."

Matthewman's wire read: "Your legal advice to sheriff correct; recommend that nothing be done to observe the inside fact; no interference with court process will be tolerated."

JEWELS TAKEN FROM PARTY OF ENGLISH HEIR

(United Press, by Radio Corporation)

NEW YORK, Sept. 10.—Detectives are today investigating the theft of jewels worth a quarter of a million dollars owned by Lady Mountbatten and Mrs. Richard Norton from their Long Island home last night.

The women are members of the Prince of Wales party which came to New York to attend the international polo matches at Meadowbrook opening Saturday.

DEATH TOTAL MOUNTS AS NATIONAL GUARD UNITS RUSH TO GARDEN ISLE

(Special to The Times)

LIHUE, KAUAI, Sept. 10.—The total number of casualties resulting from the riot between civil authorities and Filipino strikers at Hanapepe yesterday reached 20 at noon today, when another of the wounded died at a hospital.

Four police officers and 16 Filipino strikers are dead, accord-

The Honolulu Times September 12, 1924, 4 o'clock ed., p. 1



CHINA IMPERILLED IN CIVIL WAR

SCORES OF SAILORS GO DOWN WHEN JAPANESE TORPEDO BOATS COLLIDE

(United Press, By Radio Corporation)

TOKIO, SEPT. 13.—APPROXIMATELY TWO HUNDRED JAPANESE SAILORS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE DROWNED TODAY WHEN TWO TORPEDO BOATS COLLIDED IN YOKOHAMA NAVAL HARBOR.

THE VESSELS SWIFTLY SANK FOLLOWING THE COLLISION AND CARRIED NEARLY ALL OF THEIR CREW TO THE BOTTOM. A FEW WERE SAVED. THE DEATH LIST HAS NOT BEEN PLACED AT A DEFINITE NUMBER ON ACCOUNT OF THE UNCERTAINTY ATTACHED TO THE FATE OF A SCORE OF SAILORS.

(Hochi Service)

TOKIO, Sept. 13.—Eighteen persons were killed and 40 seriously injured near Hiroshima city today, when an express train running on the Tokio line overturned after switching off the tracks.

The accident occurred when the locomotive swerved from the tracks after hitting a dirt pile which had rolled down from a hillside.

GOV. FARRINGTON AND MATTHEWMAN CONFER ON KAUAI MASSACRE

Following a conference with J. K. Butler, secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Governor Wallace R. Farrington today conferred with Attorney-General John A. Matthewman relative to the strike situation on the island of Kauai.

It is understood that Butler made a report to Governor Farrington on the riot of Tuesday in which 20 men were killed. After this consultation Matthewman was summoned for a conference with the governor. This was the first direct meeting with the governor and his attorney to consider affairs of the Territory since the attorney-general was requested to leave a meeting of the cabinet two weeks ago.

After the conference with the governor, Matthewman was in consultation with W. H. Heen, city attorney, and Norman Godbold, his assistant. Heen declined to disclose the nature of the discussion. Matthewman did not see reporters this morning.

Following the conference with Matthewman, Governor Farrington issued the following press notice:

"On representation made to the governor this morning, he became convinced that there is an organized program to prevent laborers on plantations from returning to work, and that program includes threats of violence, persecution and all those conditions that are associated with threats, backed by revolvers, knives and daggers.

"The governor called the attorney-general into conference and requested him to take such vigorous steps as were necessary to see to it that this situation is investigated and properly controlled.

"This will be done immediately.

"The governor said that the time has arrived when we have to determine whether an aggregation of leaders operating under a false idea of their authority to establish a government of their own are to prevail or whether we shall maintain our reputation for allowing the workers to work and go about their business without danger of life or of personal persecution."

CHEKIANG ARMY GAINS ON CHI FORCES; CAPTURES CITY NEAR LAKE TAIHO

(United Press by Radio Corporation)

SHANGHAI, Sept. 13.—Chekiang forces under General Lu have captured the city of Ichang near Lake Taiho and are threatening Chi's communications with Nanking, according to information issued by Lu's headquarters today.

International troops are being rushed to Nanking in order to protect the lives and property of foreigners in the city. It is known here that Lu will throw he principal part of his army in the Nanking campaign as soon as the railway is gained by turning Chi's left flank.

With Nanking as a basis the Chekiang general will be in a position to carry on a destructive campaign against the Peking government.

(United Press by Radio Corporation)

PEKING, Sept. 13.—Pekin is under martial law as Marshal Chang Tso-lin, war lord of Manchuria, is advancing southward from his province against the central government with mobilized forces.

General Wu Pei Fu, war minister of the Tsao Kun government, is understood to have prepared for withstanding a prolonged campaign against the rebel generals dealing in

WHY DID BEN HOLLINGER CHANGE?

Barrulers and conjecturers are flying thick and fast at city hall this morning on the why of the sudden change of heart on the part of Ben Hollinger regarding the reinstatement of Joe Durao and Herman Meeks, Jr., in their old positions in the city waterworks department.

"Was it the ruling of the city and county attorney's office that changed Hollinger's attitude?

"Was it a move to force the hand of Mayor Wilson into signing the vouchers in payment for the Kalmuki fire station, by showing that Hollinger was setting an example in abiding by the decision of the city's legal adviser?

"Was it the belated and unexpected call before the grand jury yesterday morning of Durao and Meeks that caused the change?

Sugar Planters Pay For Special Prosecutor For Territory in Riot Case

Former Judge Alexander G. M. Robertson, who recently returned from the American Bar association convention in London, has been appointed as special prosecutor for the Territory by John Albert Matthewman, attorney general, in Kauai riot cases. Funds to pay for the lawyer's services were provided by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' association.

Announcement of Judge Robertson's appointment was made by the attorney general yesterday. It was made after Matthewman had expressed his opinion that a special attorney would be needed, but that there were no Territorial funds available for such an appointment. Furthermore, Matthewman declared, he could not spare a deputy attorney from his office. This state of affairs resulted in the offer of aid from the planters' association, which was accepted by the Territorial official. The associatin said that it would be perfectly satisfied with any appointment Matthewman might ask.

In handling the cases the Territory

U.S. RETAINS DAVIS CUP; WINS GAME

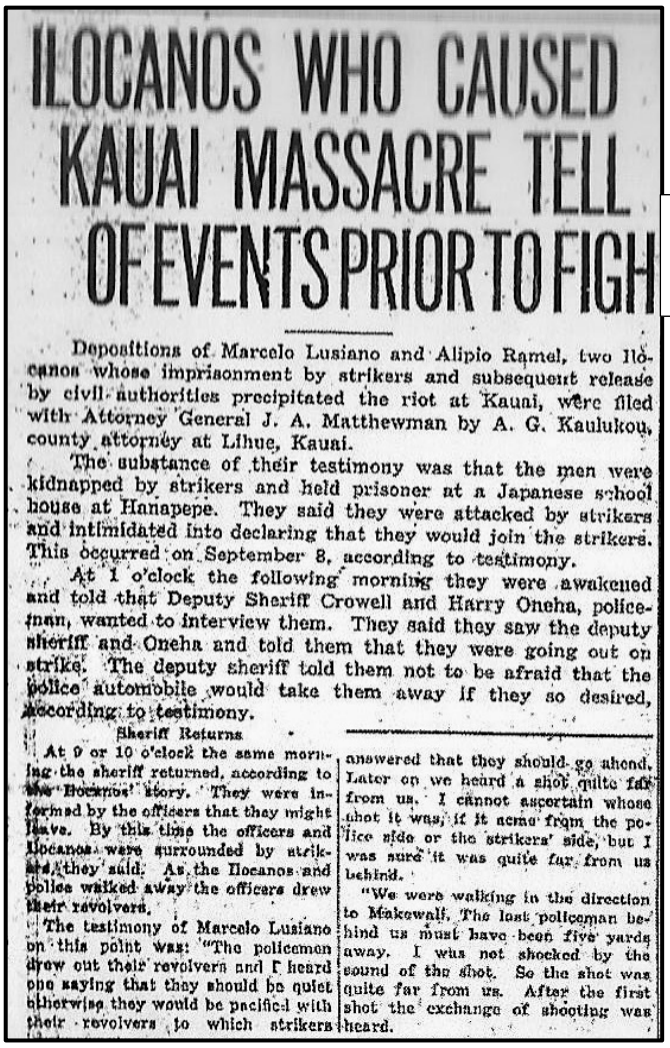
(United Press, by Radio Corporation)

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12.—America retains the Davis cup, William

CONSULATE OFFICIALS NOT UP ON PRESENT LAW

The ignorance of American officials regarding the immigration visa required under the present immigration law of the United States is causing a great deal of inconvenience and a certain amount of embarrassment to travellers from other shores, it is being charged about the waterfront. Within the last 30 days five persons, with the best of intentions and every desire to conform with the rules and regulations of the United States government, have felt the heavy hand of the law. They were not to blame it is said, and the immigration authorities of the Territory could not be blamed for carrying out the duties prescribed for them under the law which became effective on July 1.

The first victims of circumstances were German subjects. They went to the United States officials to get the proper credentials since they desired to come here and live for some time. They embarked on the Oceanic liner, Sierra and arrived here on the morning of August 19. They too had the consular visa but lacked the immigration visa. They were detained. Fortunately, Commissioner Barrett found a way out for them. They had here in the city a relative who is a citizen of the United States. After he had agreed to be responsible for them while their case is pending in Washington, the commissioner agreed to let them go. They are now



ILOCANOS WHO CAUSED KAUAI MASSACRE TELL OF EVENTS PRIOR TO FIGHT

Depositions of Marcelo Lusiano and Alipio Ramel, two Ilocanos whose imprisonment by strikers and subsequent release by civil authorities precipitated the riot at Kauai, were filed with Attorney General J. A. Matthewman by A. G. Kaulukou, county attorney at Lihue, Kauai.

The substance of their testimony was that the men were kidnapped by strikers and held prisoner at a Japanese school house at Hanapepe. They said they were attacked by strikers and intimidated into declaring that they would join the strikers. This occurred on September 8, according to testimony.

At 1 o'clock the following morning they were awakened and told that Deputy Sheriff Crowell and Harry Oneha, policeman, wanted to interview them. They said they saw the deputy sheriff and Oneha and told them that they were going out on strike. The deputy sheriff told them not to be afraid that the police automobile would take them away if they so desired, according to testimony.

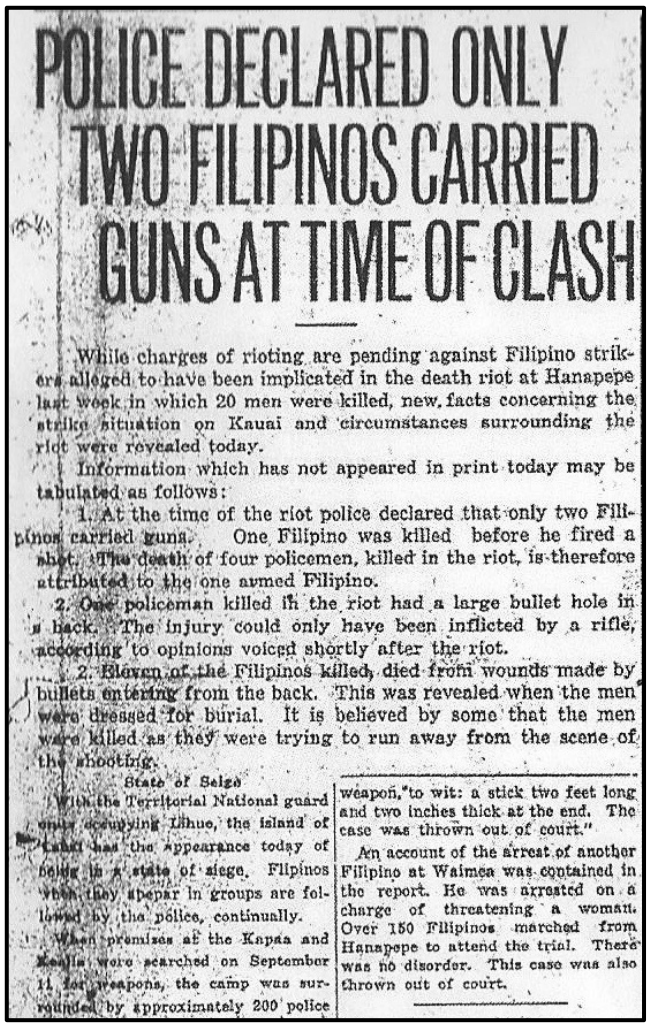
Sheriff Returns

At 9 or 10 o'clock the same morning the sheriff returned, according to the Ilocanos' story. They were informed by the officers that they might leave. By this time the officers and Ilocanos were surrounded by strikers, they said. As the Ilocanos and police walked away the officers drew their revolvers.

The testimony of Marcelo Lusiano on this point was: "The policemen drew out their revolvers and I heard one saying that they should be quiet otherwise they would be pacified with their revolvers to which strikers answered that they should go ahead. Later on we heard a shot quite far from us. I cannot ascertain whose shot it was, if it came from the police side or the strikers' side, but I was sure it was quite far from us behind.

"We were walking in the direction to Makawali. The last policeman behind us must have been five yards away. I was not shocked by the sound of the shot. So the shot was quite far from us. After the first shot the exchange of shooting was heard.

The Honolulu Times Sept. 12, 1924, Noon ed., p.1



POLICE DECLARED ONLY TWO FILIPINOS CARRIED GUNS AT TIME OF CLASH

While charges of rioting are pending against Filipino strikers alleged to have been implicated in the death riot at Hanapepe last week in which 20 men were killed, new facts concerning the strike situation on Kauai and circumstances surrounding the riot were revealed today.

Information which has not appeared in print today may be tabulated as follows:

1. At the time of the riot police declared that only two Filipinos carried guns. One Filipino was killed before he fired a shot. The death of four policemen, killed in the riot, is therefore attributed to the one armed Filipino.

2. One policeman killed in the riot had a large bullet hole in a back. The injury could only have been inflicted by a rifle, according to opinions voiced shortly after the riot.

2. Eleven of the Filipinos killed, died from wounds made by bullets entering from the back. This was revealed when the men were dressed for burial. It is believed by some that the men were killed as they were trying to run away from the scene of the shooting.

State of Seige

With the Territorial National guard units occupying Lihue, the island of Kauai has the appearance today of being in a state of siege. Filipinos when they appear in groups are followed by the police, continually.

When premises of the Kapaa and Koolau were searched on September 11 for weapons, the camp was surrounded by approximately 200 police weapon, "to wit: a stick two feet long and two inches thick at the end. The case was thrown out of court."

An account of the arrest of another Filipino at Waimea was contained in the report. He was arrested on a charge of threatening a woman. Over 150 Filipinos marched from Hanapepe to attend the trial. There was no disorder. This case was also thrown out of court.

The Honolulu Times September 15, 1924, p.1

12 September 1924, Page one, center

MORE FILIPINOS BROUGHT HERE TO FIGHT STRIKE

When the Korea Maru arrived at Pier 7 yesterday morning she had onboard 181 Filipinos. Of that number 180 were destined the Sugar Plantations and the odd man was a stow away who was discovered at Yokohama. The 180 were taken to plantation centers where they will be used to help break down the strike and the fate of the stowaway depends upon the action of the immigration authorities.

The men who arrived on the Korea Maru do not know anything about labor conditions on the plantations and of the strike that has been going on for some time. Most of them know very little English and in there small party one portion cannot understand the other's dialect.

12 September 1924, **Editorial page**

The Times deeply laments the fact that it was financially unable to send a representative to Kauai to get the truth about the encounter between Filipino strikers and the special plantation police. The special correspondent of the Advertiser this morning gives us directly opposing information to that he sent to his paper yesterday and even Honest John Matthewman's representative over there has delivered himself of a deposition, said to have been obtained from one of the Filipinos, alleged to have been man handled by the strikers, telling in "his own words" of the occurrence; "his own words" qualifying him for a job in the English department of the University of Hawaii. Hogue [Charles E.], who told us yesterday that no other weapons but two or three clubs and a pair of brass knuckles were found on the Filipinos after the shooting, now informs us that somewhere in a grove and entire arsenal of small arms has been discovered. We assume that they were all properly stacked and ready for use, but we can't understand why they were not on the job when the great and premeditated attack on the "police" was made. But the truth of the whole affair will come out eventually–it is possible that we will be able to get it by word of mouth from Charlie Hogue or Walter Doyle when they come back from Kauai and the hands of their friends who have a disastrous effect on their pens. What Advertiser and Star-Bulletin say when they are free and untrammeled would make a much truer history of Hawaii than any we happen to have now.

THE HONOLULU TIMES

Saturday, September 13, 1924, **Editorial**

LABOR TYRANNY IN HAWAII – WHERE IS GOD?

The old cry of "intimidation by agitators" is resounding from island to island and is expressing itself in printer's ink in the Advertiser and Star-Bulletin.

It is the same old bromide that is flung from the headquarters of capital when labor rises up and endeavors to assert itself.

"Agitators deceive and intimidate the workers," says an anonymous plantation manager as quoted in the Star-Bulletin last night. "Our job is not to keep the workers on our plantations– if they're left alone– it is to keep off these bullies and agitators."

And Riley Allen sums up his editorial argument, based on the above quotation, with the statement:

"This form of labor tyranny forces on Hawaii an issue which must be faced, resisted and defeated. There can be no compromise with terrorism."

Tyranny is a dangerous word for Mr. Allen and the sugar planters to be bandied about at the present time.

What is it, may we ask, when a regularly employed assistant in the office of the city and county attorney of Honolulu, is virtually granted a leave of absence in order that he may become a special prosecutor for a powerful organization against poor and unprotected individuals?

What is it when this same powerful organization can organize a police department of its own, from men indiscriminately picked from the class of the unemployed and given authority by sheriffs as regular members of his department?

What is it when an attorney, always aligned with

Simplicity Marks Funerals Of the Four Slain Officers

The funerals of the four police officers who were killed upholding the law in the riot at Haeapepe last Tuesday, were held on Wednesday. The three Hawaiian officers were held on Wednesday. The three Hawaiian officers were buried in the Kekaha cemetery, while George Ah Boo Dang as burieh in the Hanapepe Chinese cemetery.

The funeral of George Ah Boo Dang was held at Hanapepe at the same time as the 16 Filipinos who were killed in the riot in which Ah Boo met his death. The Filipinos were buried in the Catholic portion of the cemetery, while Ah Boo was interred in the Chinese section.

Ah Boo was born at Hanapepe and spent a greater portion of his life there. He had made many friends during his residence at Hanapepe and practically everyone of his friends turned out to pay their last respects to him at his funeral.

Ah Boo was 47 years old at the time he met his death and is survived by two small sons. He was a widower, his wife having died in 1920. Ah Boo was at one time a mail carrier for the west side of the island before the days of automobiles. Later he moved to Honolulu where he worked for the Hawaiian Construction Co.

The funerals of the three Hawaiian officers were held Wednesday afternoon at the Kekaha Hawaiian cemetery. The funeral of Moki Kua was held by the Latter Day Saints under the direction of Louis Kilauano.

Moki Kua is survived by a borther and a son. His son, Hosea, was also acting as special policeman and took part in the riot. It is said that he shot and killed the Filipino responsible for the death of his father. He was formerly employed by the Kekaha Sugar Co.

Kalua Aiai was a widower and is survived by an adopted daughter, Violet, who is now attending the Waimea school.

Kipe Naumu, the fourth officer, who died of his wounds on Wednesday, was also buried that same afternoon. Naumu is survived by a wife and two sons. His wife was in Honolulu at the time of the riot, but arrived Wednesday morning on the Kinau. Mrs. Naumu plans to make her home in Honolulu.

J. K. Butler, secretary of the H. S. P. A., stated that an investigation will be made by the H. S. P. A. in

16 Filipino Rioters Buried in Long Grave

The funeral of the sixteen Filipino rioters, who met death in the clash between the police and strikers last Tuesday morning at Hanapepe, was held Wednesday morning at the Catholic cemetery at Hanapepe.

The bodies of the nine men who were killed outright in the riot were taken to the Waimea jail after the wounded had been transported to the hospital. After the men had been identified by one of the strike leaders it was decided to move the bodies to the Waimea hall, which was used as a temporary morgue. Later the bodies of the Filipinos who died at Makaweli hospital were brought to Waimea.

One Filipino who was wounded in the riot, managed to make his way to the home of a friend in Waimea and died there early Wednesday morning. His body was also brought to Waimea hall but arrived there after the fifteen bodies had been sent to Hanapepe for burial. This body was sent to Hanapepe and was buried with the fifteen dead in the same trench.

Fifteen rough board caskets, each of which contained a body of a dead rioter, were transported to Hanapepe on trucks, where they were placed in one long trench that had been dug to receive them.

A few friends and relatives followed the bodies to the cemetery. As far as could be learned [illegible] the dead rioters were married, but two widows were present at the funeral. There were no demonstrations of any sort at the funeral. The two widows sat on seats of one of the trucks sobbing quietly while the caskets were placed in the grave, while one Filipino, who had lost a close friend, sat on the second truck apparently overcome by his grief.

The majority of the Filipinos appeared only mildly interested and assisted in placing the caskets in the grave under the direction of Father Hermann of the Makaweli Catholic church, who conducted the funeral services. Services were also read in Filipino by Rev. G. N. Nunes, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal mission at Waimea.

The majority of the Filipinos at the funeral were from Waimea, while there was a sprinkling of men from Makaweli. None of them were strikers.

Thirteen of the fiteen dead Filipinos were formerly employed at Makaweli, while two had been employed on Koloa plantation.

While the fifteen Filipinos were being laid to rest, the funeral services of Ah Boo, the special policeman who had been stabbed to death in the riot in the riot, was being held about one hundred yards away in the Hanapepe Chinese cemetery.

Ah Boo was followed to his grave by a larger number of people than those that attended the burial services of the Filipinos.

The funerals of the three dead Hawaiian officers Wednesday morning at Waimea.

The Garden Island
September 16, 1924

Left: Page 1

Right: Page 5

The placement of the articles, the difference in tone, and font sizes, show *TGI's* prejudice against the Filipino strikers, who were consistently referred to as "rioters."

The Garden Island, with **Kenneth C. Hopper (1880 - 1961)** as managing editor, and **Charles James Fern (1892 - 1995)** as reporter, eulogized the sharpshooters, but they could not find space in the local paper to list the names of the 16 dead Filipino plantation workers.

With the exception of *The Honolulu Times*, no voice articulated the cause of the Filipino laborers who went on strike. And that lone voice was silenced on September 18,1924, with the closing of *THT.*

The Two Ilocanos

Marcelo Luciano (1902? - ?), native of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, and **Pio Ramelb (1897? - ?)** (Alipio B. Ramel, alias), native of the neighboring town of Bacarra, were the two Ilocanos kidnapped and held hostage by the strikers on September 8, 1924.

Deputy Sheriff Crowell and Police Officer Harry Oneha went to the strikers' camp in Hanapēpē to get the two Ilocanos, but the Ilocanos, under the watchful eyes of the Visayans, refused to leave with the officers.

The next morning, Crowell returned to the strikers' camp with arrest warrant for the two Ilocanos, issued for the Ilocanos' safety. With him were some 40 hunters and sharpshooters, mostly Hawaiian, deputized as special police.

One account was that Crowell took Luciano and Ramelb by their arms and without explanation walked them to the police car. A large group of strikers armed with cane knives, sticks, and a couple of pistols followed them.

Marcelo Luciano said during his deposition: *"The policemen drew out their revolvers and I heard one saying that they should be quiet otherwise they would be pacified with their revolvers to which strikers answered that they should go ahead. Later on, we heard a shot quite far from us. I cannot ascertain whose shot it was, if it came from the police side or the strikers' side, but I was sure it was quite far from us behind."* (*The Honolulu Times* September 12, 1924, p. 1)

"We were walking in the direction to Makaweli. The last policeman behind us must have been five yards away. I was not shocked by the sound of the shot. So, the shot was quite far from us. After the first shot the exchange of shooting was heard." (*The Honolulu Times* September 12, 1924, p.1)

Marcelo Luciano arrived in Honolulu on *the S. S. Tenyo Maru* on May 28, 1922. ("Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900 – 1959"). On the other hand, records show Pio Ramelb, 39, born circa 1891, as having arrived in Hawai'i on April 10, 1930, on the *S. S. President Taft,* and returned to the Philippines on the *S. S. President Hoover* on May 30, 1936. ("Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900 – 1959", HSPA Records). That is, after working for Hawaiian Sugar Co. at Makaweli for one year, and Maui Agricultural Co. and Maui Pineapple Co. the rest of his HSPA employment. (HSPA Records). Ramelb's recorded arrival from and return to the Philippines raise questions. Where was he in September 1924?

Moreover, the 1930 United States Census shows that Pio Ramelb, single, was a resident of Waimea, living in the same household as four other male Filipinos. No record puts him at Makaweli Plantation at the time of the strike. To have been involved in the strike, Ramelb had to have arrived in Hawai'i by September 8, 1924, and working at Makaweli Plantation.

However, the absence of records on Ramelb in the HSPA file that show he was at Makaweli Plantation in September 1924 is not unusual. Gaps abound in the HSPA "Records of Filipino Laborers" that the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, maintains in digital format, cited in this publication as HSPA Records. Notable is the nonexistence of records on a number of the Makaweli Plantation workers who died in the massacre, and the note "See File 645" at the bottom of the cards of many laborers who joined the strike, including those who died, makes researcher curious about the file that they cannot access. Nonetheless, researchers are happy to have access to the HSPA records on Filipino plantation workers and their families.

Filipino Immigration

The first group of Sakada (Filipino laborers) came on the *S. S. Doric* and arrived in Honolulu on December 20, 1906. Albert F. Judd, the agent of Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), could recruit only 15 Ilocanos, mostly from Candon, Ilocos Sur, five of whom were from the same family: Simpliciano Gironella (56) and his four sons: Mariano (23), Vicente (19), Francisco (18), and Antonio (14). HSPA assigned the entire group to ʻOlaʻa Plantation on Hawaiʻi Island. (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 26).

On February 20, 1907, a group of 30, including two women and two children, arrived in Honolulu. (*Ibid*., p. 41). More Sakada arrived in Hawaiʻi in 1909: 544 men, 57 women, and 28 children. (*The Filipinos in Hawaiʻi* 1981: 46).

HSPA stepped up its recruitment of Filipino laborers in the 1910s and 1920s. The Filipino population in the Territory of Hawaiʻi in 1910 was 2,261; 21,031 in 1920. (*Hawaiian Annual* 1928: 19).

From 1909 to 1934, 118,556 Filipinos came to Hawaiʻi under HSPA sponsorship, and by 1932, 34,915 of the territory's 49,947 sugar plantation workers were Filipinos -- an impressive 69.9 percent. (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 46). But for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, only 26,681 of the plantations' 43,502 workers were Filipinos. (*Hawaiian Annual* 1939: 19).

Clearly, a large percentage of Filipinos left the Territory of Hawaiʻi. Some left for the mainland; a large number returned home to the Philippines. The hope and desire of the Sakada was to earn enough money and return home to enjoy the fruits of their hard labor. Contrary to expectations, the Sakada received low pay, worked long hours, and lived in substandard housings. Disappointed, hundreds returned home.

It should be pointed out, however, that immigration increased in 1925, the year after the Hanapēpē Massacre, and also in 1927 and 1928. (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 46).

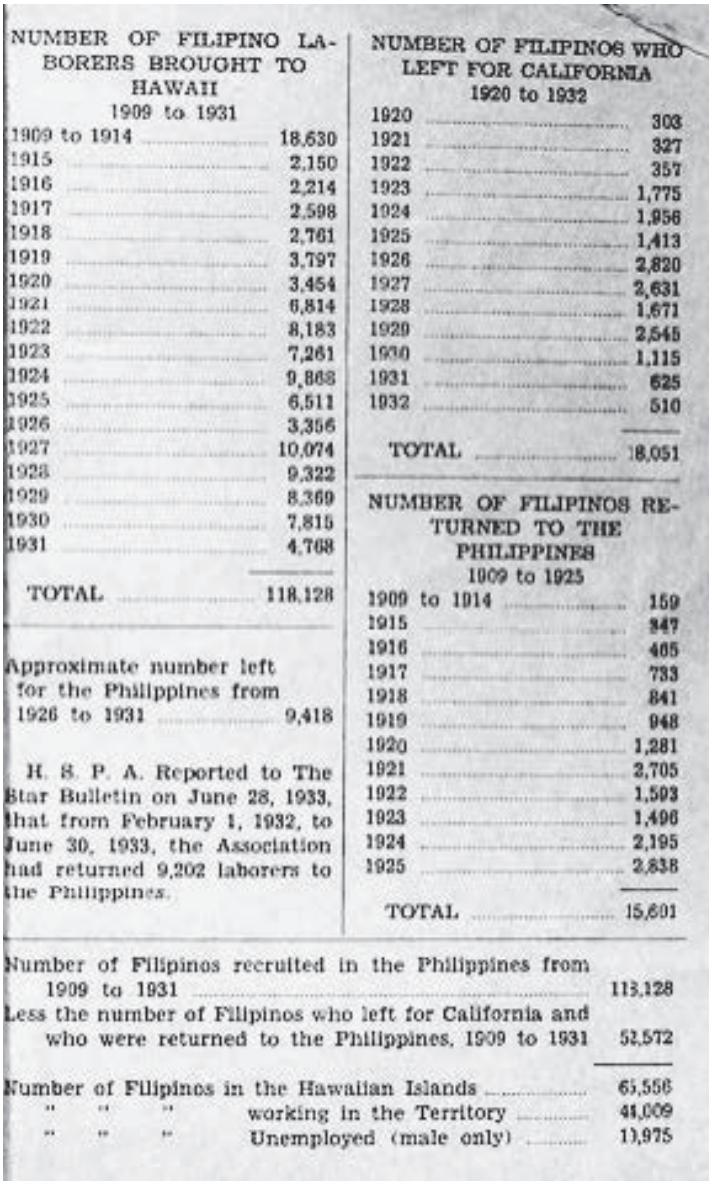
Filipino immigration to Hawaiʻi for the plantations under HSPA sponsorship slowed down in 1933 and 1934, when the Tydings-McDuffie Act, enacted by the U. S. Congress that year imposed a quota ceiling of 50 on Filipino immigration to the United States. No new laborers came to Hawaiʻi from 1935 to 1945. (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 46).

In 1946, HSPA brought 6,000 Sakada to replenish plantation workforce throughout the Territory of Hawaiʻi. (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 46). The *S. S. Maunawili* made four voyages from Port Salomague, Ilocos Sur, between January 14 and May 27 to bring the men. Families of the Sakada -- 446 women and 915 children -- (*The Filipinos in Hawaii* 1981: 46) -- arrived on the *S. S. Marine Falcon* on June 1 after 11 days at sea.

The Year 1946 marked the end of laborer immigration to Hawaiʻi under HSPA sponsorship.

In retrospect, many ask, and rightfully: How did the Hanapēpē Massacre affect the Filipino population in the Territory of Hawaiʻi?

Some believe that the Hanapēpē Massacre compelled Filipinos "in the thousands" to leave Hawaiʻi for California or returned to the Philippines.



NUMBER OF FILIPINO LABORERS BROUGHT TO HAWAII
1909 to 1931

1909 to 1914	18,630
1915	2,150
1916	2,214
1917	2,598
1918	2,761
1919	3,797
1920	3,454
1921	6,814
1922	8,183
1923	7,261
1924	9,868
1925	6,511
1926	3,356
1927	10,074
1928	9,322
1929	8,369
1930	7,815
1931	4,768
TOTAL	118,128

Approximate number left for the Philippines from 1926 to 1931 9,418

H. S. P. A. Reported to The Star Bulletin on June 28, 1933, that from February 1, 1932, to June 30, 1933, the Association had returned 9,202 laborers to the Philippines.

NUMBER OF FILIPINOS WHO LEFT FOR CALIFORNIA
1920 to 1932

1920	303
1921	327
1922	357
1923	1,775
1924	1,956
1925	1,413
1926	2,820
1927	2,631
1928	1,671
1929	2,545
1930	1,115
1931	625
1932	510
TOTAL	18,051

NUMBER OF FILIPINOS RETURNED TO THE PHILIPPINES
1909 to 1925

1909 to 1914	159
1915	347
1916	465
1917	733
1918	841
1919	948
1920	1,281
1921	2,705
1922	1,593
1923	1,496
1924	2,195
1925	2,838
TOTAL	15,601

Number of Filipinos recruited in the Philippines from 1909 to 1931	113,128
Less the number of Filipinos who left for California and who were returned to the Philippines, 1909 to 1931	52,572
Number of Filipinos in the Hawaiian Islands	65,556
" " " working in the Territory	44,009
" " " Unemployed (male only)	11,975

The statistics on the left clarify the numbers. Take for example the statistics for 1924: 9, 868 Filipino laborers came to Hawai‘i; 1,956 left for California; 2,195 returned to the Philippines.

In 1925, 6,511 arrived in Hawai‘i; 1,413 left for California; 2,838 returned to the Philippines.

Do the math. For every Filipino who left for the Philippines in 1924 and 1925, three arrived in Hawai‘i. And when the departures for California and the Philippines for the two years are combined, arrivals in Hawai‘i from the Philippines were roughly double the number of departures.

Clearly, “thousands” did not leave Hawai‘i because of the Hanapēpē Massacre.

Source: Manlapit, Pablo. *Filipinos Fight for Justice: Case of the Filipino Laborers in the Big Strike of 1924, Territory of Hawaii, 1924.* Honolulu: Kumalae Publishing Co., 1933.

Courtesy of Leslie Lopez, Ph.D., Center for Labor Education and Research (CLEAR) & Raymond Catania.

The Big Five of Hawai‘i

Hawaii's Big Five were: 1) C. Brewer & Co. (1826), 2) Theo H. Davis & Co. (1845), 3) German-owned H. Hackfeld & Company (1848), renamed American Factors Ltd. after WW I (1918), 4) Castle & Cooke (1851), and 5) Alexander & Baldwin (1870).

As pointed out in the Preface, questions on the Hanapēpē Massacre and its aftermath abound, and basic to the answers to these rhetorical questions was the fact that the Big Five of Hawai‘i owned or were the agents of the plantations, controlled politics, government, business, shipping, education, information, and everything else in the Territory of Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, which was the face and long arm of the Big Five, wielded power and influence. It even paid the special prosecutor for the strikers because the territorial government had no funds. (*The Honolulu Times* September 12, 1924, p. 1).

This is one example of how agencies in power in 1924 controlled the narrative on the strike, the massacre and its aftermath.

Also, as stated earlier, *The Honolulu Times* sympathized with the strikers and supported as reasonable their demands to increase their wages from $1 to $2 a day and to reduce the workday from 10 hours to 8. The newspaper wrote truth to power. As a result, friends and commercial supporters of the newspaper were threatened by their suppliers that had links to the Big Five. Newsprint supplies shipped from the mainland through Matson Line, of which Alexander & Baldwin was a stockholder, were held up. Advertisements that provided the life blood of the newspaper stopped. Unable to print the newspaper and meet the payroll, Willard K. Bassett, editor and publisher, closed *THT* on September 18, 1924, five days after the publication of the editorial, "Labor Tyranny in Hawaii -- Where Is God?" Part of the editorial is on page 47.

With *The Honolulu Times* closed, the voice of reason and empathy was silenced. And the two Honolulu English newspapers continued to print unchecked their anti-strikers' bias and their one-sided view on the Hanapēpē Massacre and its aftermath.

The only way plantation workers could fight the Big Five and their interlocking directorates, the only way to protest low pay, poor working conditions, and racial segregation was to organize across ethnic lines, with all racial groups organized as one, and to speak with one voice under one strong, united leadership.

The strikes of 1924 did not bring meaningful change to the lives of plantation workers in the Territory of Hawai‘i. It took plantation workers 22 years to organize into a united front, and finally on September 1, 1946, which was Labor Day, some 26,000 sugar workers and their families – a total of 76,000 -- began the 1946 Sugar Strike against the Big Five and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The 79-day strike, under the leadership of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) shut down 33 of 34 sugar plantations in the Territory of Hawai‘i. Gay and Robinson of Makaweli was not unionized; the workers did not join the strike.

In fairness to A & B, who owned The Shops at Kukui‘ula in our neighborhood, the company was a good neighbor. The Shopping Mall sponsored cultural and other events for the benefit of the community. A & B showed its largesse on Kaua‘i by contributing generously to the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the founding of Kōloa Plantation in July 1985, and providing major funding for the Sesquicentennial Monument near the 1841 Koloa Mill stack, a permanent memorial to the history of sugar in Hawai‘i.

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AFTERWORD

Thank you for reading this far. You have become acquainted with some basic facts on what took place at Hanapēpē on September 9, 1924, some details on the 1924 Filipino Strike in the Territory of Hawai‘i, especially on Kaua‘i, and information on the aftermath of the Hanapēpē Massacre.

What we have shared are our findings and conclusions on events that took place a century ago after seven years of searching, researching, endless reading, questioning, understanding, writing and re-writing.

We appreciate your patience as we updated the publication with four printings, and made revisions with each printing. For example, for the 4th printing in September 2025, we added borders to the photos on the front and back covers, updated the Contents page again, added a recent photo of the long grave on the verso of the front cover, tweaked the back cover again, updated the introduction, added a preface, and posted photographs of the research committee at Līhu‘e Public Library Conference Room on August 30, 2025, in observance of Labor Day and in honor of plantation workers and labor unions, with committee members speaking on the Hanapēpē Massacre.

The text is basically the same, but we tweaked here and there throughout the manuscript as we saw needed revisions with every re-reading before each printing. This has been an ongoing project, with this 5th printing published as Revised Edition because of the addition of new information and a revised view of the massacre and why “Battle of Hanapēpē” is a misnomer for what happened on September 9,1924. We trust we are finishing well.

The cost per printing goes up, but we have kept the price at $25.00. Regrettably, the cost of priority mailing continues to go up.

We did our best to ensure accuracy of facts and precision in typing on our iMacs. We regret all errors.

With aloha and gratitude,
Catherine & Karl Lo
September 2026

The end of a matter is better than its beginning
and patience is better than pride.
Ecclesiastes 7:8
New International Version (NIV)

Mabuhay!

Aloha!

THE AUTHORS

The Authors did their best
to ensure accuracy of facts, citations, spelling, etc.
and regret all errors.



Catherine Pascual Lo, author of *The Filipinos of Koloa* (2017), *Lihue Lutheran Church: Centennial Album* (1981), and *His Name Was Absalon: A Family Odyssey* (2024) attended Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania, where she majored in English and minored in history. She transferred to the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for her senior year and earned a Bachelor of Arts in English.

After earning a Master of Librarianship from the University of Washington, Seattle, Catherine served as a public librarian for six years -- in Honolulu, Kaua‘i, and Michigan; as a school librarian on Kaua‘i for one year; and as an academic librarian on Kaua‘i for 18-1/2 years. She retired from Kaua‘i Community College as head librarian.

Catherine was born and raised in the Philippines. Her father came to Hawai‘i in 1946. Catherine’s mother and five daughters joined him on Kaua‘i in 1954 after eight years of separation. Catherine graduated from Kaua‘i High School.



Karl H. Y. Lo served in the United States Coast Guard for 20 years and three months, serving at LORAN (Long Range Navigation) stations, and on ships, icebreakers and tugboats. His service in the Coast Guard gave him the opportunity to work and live in Alaska, California, Washington, Okinawa, Japan, Michigan, Italy, New York, Canada, Cuba, Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Hawai‘i -- of course! – and other places.

Karl was born in Makaweli, Kaua’i – in what was Makaweli Hospital, where plantation workers and special police who were wounded at the Hanapēpē Massacre received medical care and attention a decade earlier. He grew up in Kukui‘ula and graduated from Kaua‘i High School.

After earning two Associate in Science degrees from Kaua‘i Community College after he retired from the Coast Guard as Senior Chief, Karl enrolled in the liberal arts program and needed only three credits in one subject to complete the requirements for an Associate in Arts degree when his hobbies and other interests – community volunteer work, gardening, fishing, carpentry, wood and other crafts, reading, photography, etc. – prevailed. And he never looked back!

The Los reside in Kukui‘ula
on Kauai’s South Shore,
a short distance from the birthplace of
“The Prince of the People”
(Ke Ali’i Maka‘āinana)
Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalania‘naole Pi‘ikoi
(1871 - 1922)

They lost their lives for worker rights.

SALVADOR ACUPANG (1889 – *)

ELIAS ANOR (1889 – **)

GREGORIO ANOY (1896 - *)

GREGORIO ATIS (1889 – *)

JUAN BALAS (1900 – *)

ANDRES BUTRON (1897 – *)

ISIDORO CABALIDA (1890 - *)

ANDRES CANETE (1887 – *)

CASIANO JAMBO (1893 – *)

LEONCIO LASPINA (1900? – *)

PEDRO MONTECILLO (1886? – **)

POTENCIANO PESON (1894? – *)

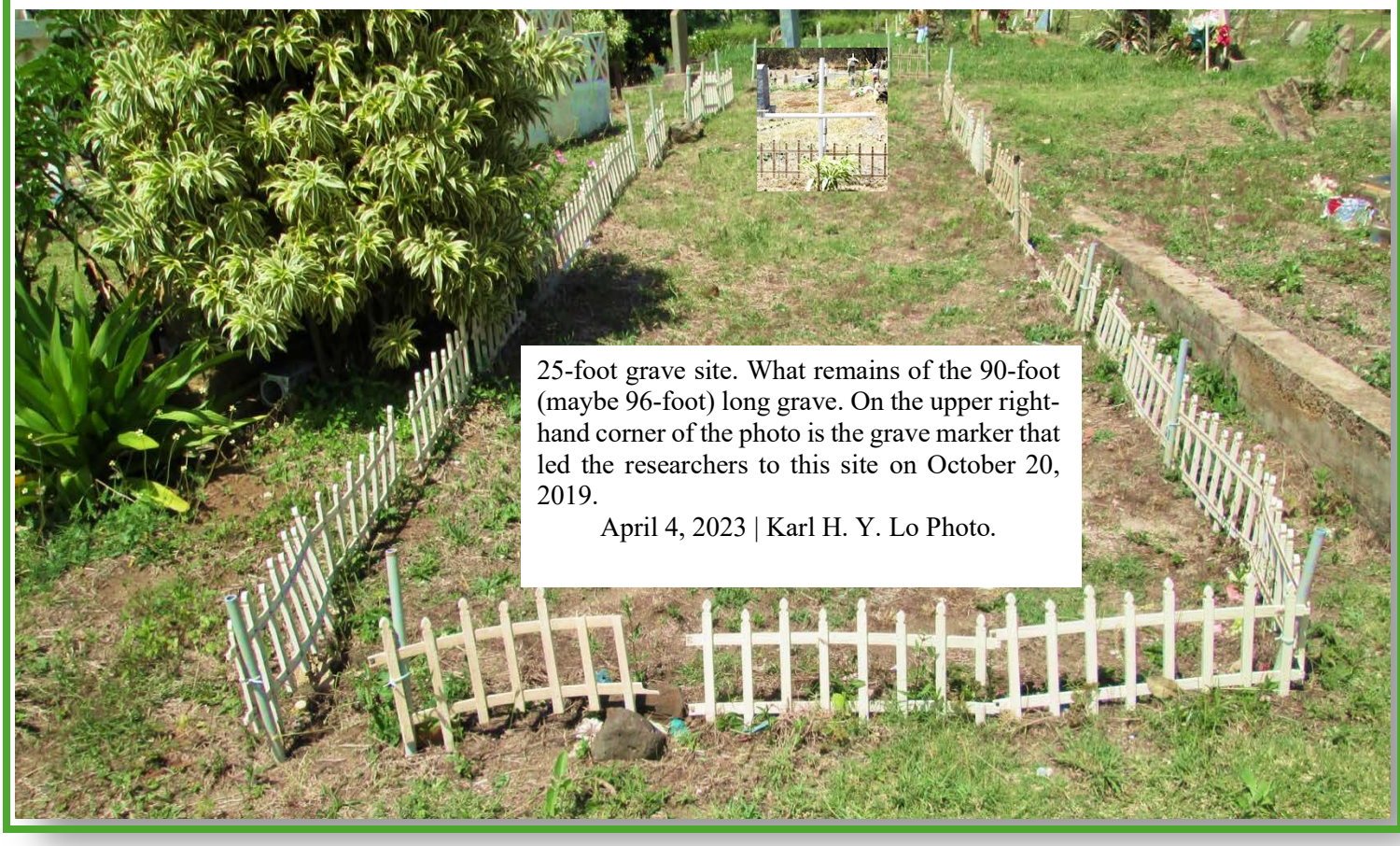
ROQUE RAMOS (1899 – *)

TEOFILO SACARIAS (1900? – *)

VALENTIN TINDOY (1900 – *)

SANTOS ZACARIAS (1902? - *)

***Died September 9, 1924 **Died September 10, 1924 ?=Estimated Year of Birth**



25-foot grave site. What remains of the 90-foot (maybe 96-foot) long grave. On the upper right-hand corner of the photo is the grave marker that led the researchers to this site on October 20, 2019.

April 4, 2023 | Karl H. Y. Lo Photo.