BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: JOSEPH BATALONA, 56, Honokaa Sugar Company employee and taro farmer

Joseph Kua Nahelua Batalona was born in Waipio Valley on April 12, 1922, the oldest of nine children. His mother Miriam Kaimi was half-Chinese, half-Hawaiian. His father Andoi Batalona was an immigrant from the Philippines and "one of the greatest bootleggers in Waipio Valley."

Joe attended school in Waipio until the sixth grade. In order to help support the family Joe labored in other people's taro patches. At age 17, he moved to Lanai and then to Honolulu where he stayed until about 1945. In 1945 he married Harriet Hauanio of Waipio. They have eight children.

Since 1970, Joe has worked for Honokaa Sugar Company as an operator of the overhead irrigation system and has also raised taro part-time.

When not working, Joe plays guitar, bass and saxophone, and sings professionally and at luaus.
VL: This is an interview with Joseph Batalona. Today is June 29, 1978. We're at his home in Kukuihaele.

JB: Well, when we were down in Waipio Valley, we were living all kind of places. And, as I say, I don't remember the places all where we used to live. The first house we had, where Bill Hippie [Luhnow] lives [now]. That was the first house that we stayed. All of my family. Then we begin to move down where Olepau lives [further toward the ocean]. Right across of Olepau. We stayed there. We stayed there pretty long. And from there, I went to Waipio Valley School. My teacher was Samuel Kaaekuahiwi. He was the roughest teacher that I ever come across for the many years. But he was all right.

VL: What do you mean, "he was rough?"

JB: Well, when you don't do your lessons right, you not interested, he pound you on the wall. That's the kind of life we went through.

VL: Did you like school?

JB: Oh yeah. I sure wanted to go to school. But because my father and my mother had a pretty hard time. They had lot of children.

VL: What did your father do for a job?

JB: Well, he was a taro farmer. And he was one of the greatest bootlegger in Waipio Valley. And he does keep the taro farm, and he does make okolehao.

And then, when you wanted to go to school, you have to catch oopu. You ever heard of oopu and opae? Sometimes we do take sardines.

VL: Is that for lunch?
JB: That's right. Sometimes we got to take warabi with rice and shoyu and so forth. And the reason why we have to take this, because my father didn't have a steady job. And Mother was a very drunkard woman. I'm the one have to keep all my brothers and sisters. And I stayed with my father. The life that I had gone through was a pitiful life, a life that nobody knows. I'm the only son that's still living now, the older son. From the rest of my brothers I'm the only oldest one. I still living.

As I said at the early beginning, if I wouldn't go away in the Waipio Valley [i.e., if I had never left], I would be 56 years old down in Waipio Valley now. But because I have to, of this rough life that we have, and I have to quit school to take care of my poor brothers and, I didn't have sisters at the time. I only had my brother. And to be honest, I didn't know about changing baby diapers and sewing clothes.

The reason I don't want to say it much, because I felt so sorry of how we used to live. Pretty rough. Sometimes, I talk to people and they see me having a tears out. They know that I went through that rough life that nobody did go through the rough life.

VL: Did you folks ever go hungry?

JB: No. As far as hungry, no. We always had the food. But because only of my parents was drunkard and they didn't care. I don't know how drunkard look like. Because, you know, when you young, I'm not the drinking type when I was young. But when I came old, then I begin to started do those things. And....

VL: Where would you folks get your food?

JB: Well, sometimes we go down to the river. We have that, you call that upena. That, Hawaiians say that's a net. I don't know how to explain it but they call that upulu upena, means the lay net. That you put it in the water. And you put a guava stick between like this, just like the v-shape. And you let the net stay below the ocean, way down in the bottom. Then about five or six of you, or whoever maybe down Waipio Valley goes with a stick and start poking into the river to send all the fish down.

You be surprised, sometimes we catch lot of oopu. And I don't know how to explain it in English what oopu mean. But I know it's a fish now. And we do that and then we get Hawaiian salt, whatever salt that we could get. And then, when we have a poi, we didn't use the poi factory, those days. We used to pound our own poi. Yeah, that pound poi board and pound poi stone. Too bad, I don't know what happened to the pound poi board and the pound poi stone that we had.
VL: Now, who would go fishing?

JB: All of us.

VL: Is that your family?

JB: Yeah, my family. All of the family. Because my mother and my father teach us. No matter whether they were a drunkard or what, but they teach us the right way to go fish.

VL: So it was your brothers and yourself that went fishing?

JB: Yeah. And my mother, my father. We had some of my grandfather and grandmother. But I don't know their names. They left, and kind of pretty long [ago], eh. And I don't remember how long my grandparents died. Because I had a grandmother died in my hands. In Waipio Valley, where we used to live. They call that John Kealoha. That's my uncle, John Kealoha. He was one of the family. They used to live in Waipio Valley too. But they don't stay that longer as my father and my mother. We were the pretty long in Waipio Valley. Between us and Mock Chew. Who was the rest? Chun. I think we were the longest people that lived down there. There were about, gee, let me see, about a thousand people used to live down in Waipio people.

As I said, if we want to play a sport, especially on the Fourth of July, they have a good sportsmanship that you come across. We get together young people and anybody. And Waipio Valley, you can live together and nobody fool around one another. That's the beauty in Waipio Valley. Not this kind of generation that we have now. And we always get together, especially like come Friday and Saturday night. Some of the Waipio Valley people. John, I know he wasn't a drinking fellow. Like they used to have this rough guy, they call him Luther Makekau. He was one of the worse guy in Waipio Valley. He always cause the trouble. Fooling around other woman and making trouble with the other family. But, he was one of the biggest drunkard in Waipio Valley. And he's still living yet.

VL: When somebody like that would get out of hand, what would the other people do?

JB: You mean when they fight among one another? They had one special police. They used to get this fellow, I forgot his name. It is... Sam... I forgot this guy name now. I can just picture his face, though. Not Akana. You know, it's pretty hard to remember because it's too long. Because I wasn't so interested until lately I went back now.

VL: Going back a little bit, you folks never did go hungry, you said?
JB: No, no, no. As far as, because we used to go down in the river. Not only the net that we use. We usually goes with the torch. The torch that we have. We make it out, we tie the string and whatever we can and then we use it nighttime. We used to use the torching light, the Hawaiians call it lamalama. In English, they say that's the torch light. We usually go down and then we bend down and start poking the fish. And then sometimes we catch Waipio Valley frog. They used to have lot of frogs in Waipio Valley many, well up to now. But because of the toad came in, I don't know what happened. We eat all kind. We eat oopu, we eat opae, we had mosquito fish and we eat...except the tilapia now. We eat frog. And what other kind fish we eat?

Oh, sometime, I had one brother that goes hunting. He David Batalona. He's the one go hunting most of the time. And he goes up to Papala, up to the mountain. And then he goes up to Nenewe Falls, and then he rides the horse, and then he comes down. Wait, wait. He walk, go up. And then when he catch the pig, he roll it down to Waipio Valley, they call it the place Papala. The name is Papala. And he roll the pig down. And then when he come down, until he reach to the bottom, then he brings back to us.

VL: You mean he rolls the dead pig down the hill?

JB: Yeah, yeah, yeah. That's what he do. And sometimes we use that as a salt pork. We make it to a salt pork. And then we mix it up with the taro stalk. The Hawaiian call that the haha. And then, we English, we call it that's the taro stalk. We did all kind, we'd mix it up with hoio, they call it warabi. Is that right?

VL: Yeah.

JB: And then Hawaiian call it hoio. They got lot of name on that but I don't know, the shortest name that I know it's hoio. And then we mix it up with sometimes with the oopu. Sometimes we mix it up with opae. And sometimes....that's the only thing I remember.

VL: How about a garden, did you have a garden for vegetables?

JB: Well, we have but not the biggest garden, no. We have only just enough for the family to eat. Maybe we plant beans, cucumber, or the easiest one that you can come across. That's all I remember. Oh, corn. Might be that, if we come to a corn. Papaya wasn't so much, no. We didn't bother the papaya the most.

VL: Did you raise animals?

JB: Yeah, we had a....well, in the years, in the 1930's, in the 1940's, we didn't have. As I said, we didn't have a caterpillar to go in the taro farm. We had a horse. We have the harrow, and then we had the harness they put on the neck. And then we had the bridle,
we have the rope. We let the horse go in the front of us and we at
the back. All we got to do is hold the rope and let the horse go
through the taro patch. And let him do the work. We harrow the
taro farm, back and forth, maybe about 10 times. You know, to get
the land all flattened up. It's not like now, because they using
most of the time, they have that Iseki machine [tractor] and
whatever machine they use. Many other things, because some of the
things that I kind of forget. Because kind of pretty long. I
didn't go down.

VL: You're saying a lot of Hawaiian words. Your
father was...

JB: Oh yeah. Filipino. See, my father was a Spanish-Filipino. My
mother was a Hawaiian. My mother has a royal blood. We had the
alii blood, you ever heard of alii? But I don't know how to explain
what is alii mean. Alii is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian
people, I don't know how to explain it, but I can try, though.
Because my family, we are from the alii family. Alii means....that's
why I wanted my wife to come back [and be interviewed]. Because
she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn't speak like me but at
least she knows something. I have the alii blood, I have Hawaiian
blood, I have Filipino blood, I have the Spanish blood. Oh, my
mother is not pure Chinese, only partly I think.

VL: Now, did you learn Filipino also, when you were growing up?

JB: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. But I didn't go to the school, though. I
learned when the Filipino says a little bit word.

VL: Were there a lot of Filipinos in Waipio, as you were growing up,
going to school?

JB: Oh yeah. Let me see....there were Domingo, there were Dorico,
there were Posto, there were Felix....Pili. There so many, I don't
know the name, they all pass away. Oh, Ventura. Ciberu Ventura.
And who else? So much more that I don't remember. Because kind of
forget, no.

VL: Did they all know your father?

JB: Oh yeah. The reason why they know my father, because my father is,
as I say, he was one of the greatest bootlegger in Waipio Valley.

VL: Did these other Filipino men and your father get together?

JB: Yeah, they do. The only time they get together, when they putting
the okolehao. They start drinking and put a gallon out. And all
of the Filipinos comes together and drink with my father.

VL: And would they only drink, or what else do they do?

JB: Oh sometimes they play the, call the mandolin. They get together
and plays the Filipino style. That's what they do.
VL: How about sports? Do they ever play sports together?

JB: Oh yeah. My family, my father was the manager of the Naalapa team. But I never know how to explain the alapa. Oh, "naalapa" is "the light." [Naalapa is also the name of a waterfall near to where the Batalonas lived.] My father was the manager for all of my brothers. We had all the family, all of my brothers. I had one stepbrother now. But he passed away. We were nine of us and the sport that played. My father.

VL: What kind sport?

JB: Baseball. We took the champion Waipio Valley for the Naalapa team.

VL: Oh. You mean the Naalapa team was only the Batalona family?

JB: Yeah, yeah.

[Telephone rings. Taping stops, then resumes.]

VL: Oh, so you were saying that your dad managed the Naalapa team.

JB: Yeah, he was the manager. And my brother was, he was my stepbrother, John Meracado. He was the pitcher and I was the catcher for him.

VL: Now, was this all Filipinos on this team?

JB: Yeah, yeah.

VL: These Filipino men, would they get together for anything else?

JB: Oh yeah. They would come to a drinking party. Come to a sport, like I say, baseball sports. Some other things like digging ti root. They usually dig the ti root, now. And they have to dig the ti root above this pali here. Below of Hiilawe Falls. And that's where we roll the ti leaf down. But we don't make the, we cannot make an okolehao with the raw ti root. We have to cook it, we have to put it in the...Hawaiians had an imu. We have to put it in there for about maybe, if we going to do it tonight, maybe tomorrow afternoon, we going to take it off.

VL: Can you use any kind of ti root? Any shape, any size?

JB: Oh yeah. As long as it's a ti root and we use it.

VL: These Filipino men, do you know if they were Ilokano or Visayan?

JB: Oh yeah. They were, some of them is Ilokano, some of them is Visayan. That's all I know. Ilokano and then the Visayan.

VL: How about your dad?
JB: My dad is a Visayan. He's a Cebu. He's from Cebu.

VL: Would they speak the same language to each other?

JB: Well, if I was Ilokano and my father is a Visayan, my father have to speak the Visayan word and the Ilokano guy have to say the Visayan dialect that how my father is saying. Now, supposing the other fellow is Ilokano and he says the Ilokano dialect. My father couldn't speak the Ilokano dialect because it's kind of hard for him. The only one that he knows is the Visayan language. That's the reason why he got to speak only Visayan with the Ilokano fellow. Whoever the Ilokano fellow may be.

VL: But they could communicate okay?

JB: Yeah, they do that, yeah. Because they have some kind of Filipino, they have Filipinos that plant the taro too. Like Posto, but he died. Like Dorico, that's the only name that I know. Like, who else, Domingo, Pedro, Felix. All of these Filipino were taro farmers too. Not only Hawaiian people, now.

VL: They have their own taro? They weren't just working men for someone else?

JB: Well, some of them were working men with Mr. Chun, Nelson Chun. Some of them had their own taro farm. They were using the Bishop Estate property to plant the taro. Like Chun has, I was working for Chun. And how I begin to learn the taro farm when my father and mother was in Waipio Valley. Not only my father and mother, I had this fellow too. That was Tommy Araki's, I forget the father's name but I know he's Mr. Araki.

VL: Ginji?

JB: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Oh, we had a hard time. We sure work hard. Mr. Sonny Ah Puck, both of us was just like a jackass, pulling the....

VL: How old were you then?

JB: Oh, I was about 17 or 18, I guess. We used to pull that harrow. And Mr. Ginji Araki at the back, pressing that harrow down. He command myself and Sonny Ah Puck. Calls by the name, he says, "Sonny, it goes on the right, you pulling right. Joe Batalona, you pulls on the left." And we got to pull together. And you know, the taro farm [mud] is so deep, he come up to you, between the hips. And we used to struggle. After that, when we work so hard, he cooks for us. We eat with him. Did you ever try to eat the middling food? You know, that's not a pig food but it depend how you cook it. And Mr. Ginji Araki is good on that. He mix it up with the pancake. And that's a middlings. They feed it. Not only the pig ate it, but we eat it as human. But Mr. Ginji Araki make
it clean. And he do that for pancake use. Because, you know, we work so hard. And we work in the taro patch from 7 o'clock till 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

On our property, my wife and I, we sure work hard. Had this John Kealoha, William Kanekoa, get so many farm that we took out. Tolaro.

VL: Can we go back little bit again?

JB: Sure. Whatever.

VL: Okay. I'm still interested in the Filipino men. Were they married or single, most of them?

JB: Well, Mr. Ciberu Ventura was a married fellow. And Domingo, he was a single fellow. Dorico was a single fellow. But they all died now. They not living. Pedro was a partly married. In other words, he was just shacking around. And there're many more. Who else? There were so many Filipinos. I kind of forget, but. I don't know how much.

VL: Did the Filipinos have a church to go to?

JB: No; as far the church, I didn't see them go to the church. The only one, only us, we had a church. The Mormon church in Waipio Valley. That church used to be at the Napoopoo Valley. Let's say it's Napoopoo. That's where the new houses, where Mrs. [Rachel] Thomas' house is built? Right on the right hand place. On the right hand side, where the coconut trees, that's where there used to have a Mormon church. Well, they had all kind of church. They had a Mormon church, they had a Kaluna [?] church. What other church did they have? I think was, I don't know how many church was there but I remember that I used to go to the Mormon church.

VL: Did you go every Sunday, every week?

JB: Oh yeah. I used to go every Sunday.

VL: Did your parents go also?

JB: Yeah, my mother. And that's how they begin to change their life. From that being a drunkard. From there on, yeah, they begin to go to church.

VL: Do you know if the Filipinos ever got together and did things with the Hawaiians or the Chinese in the valley?

JB: You mean....getting together like parties stuff or so forth?

VL: Yeah, for fun or...
JB: Yeah, the Filipinos, they goes with the Chinese and with the Hawaiian people too. They mingle together. And they don't have any trouble with it. Because, some of the Filipinos were working with the Chinese people, Mr. Ah Wo, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Ginji Araki. And... did I say about Chun?

VL: Uh huh. So they all got along pretty well?

JB: Yeah, they do. The only time they had a trouble, when they over drink themself. Then when they so drunk, that's when they get the trouble. But if they control themself, as far as the trouble concerned, they don't get into that trouble. The only one, as I mentioned the early beginning, was Luther Makekau, was one of the roughest guys. He was the fellow that does the trouble. He's a pure Hawaiian. And he's the only one that does the trouble, doing all kind of mischief. That's why we bar him out of Waipio Valley. And I still remember that.

VL: You mean, how did that happen, that you barred him?

JB: Because he's so rough, eh. He doesn't respect people. When he drinks, he thinks he's one of the bull in Waipio Valley.

VL: So what happened?

JB: We kick him out of Waipio Valley. And he had to move out of there. And he have to go someplace. I think he went to Maui. But he's back down in Hilo. He's about 80 years now, I think.

VL: You folks had enough to eat. And you played baseball and went fishing. In what way was it rough for you? You said earlier, it was a rough life.

JB: Oh, because of my father and mother, when they drink, no. That's the only rough part that we have, when they start drinking. And when they don't care for the children.

VL: Oh, I see.

JB: That's the rough part that we had. My father knows that, he knows. But my mother is not living, she passed away. She died. But, I guess, she realize it. But no matter what my mother used to be, and my father, we still have our food. No matter what. As far as food. And my father and mother used to give lot of people too. In spite of the hardship that we had. Because my father and mother, although they were a drunkard family, but they have a heart so soft that even the people, they even love my father and my mother, no matter what kind of condition they were up to.

VL: They gave food away to other people?
JB: Oh yeah. Could be their last. And my father, especially my mother and my father.

VL: Were there some other people in Waipio that were hungry, going hungry?

JB: Well, so far no. I don't see people in Waipio goes hungry. Because, you know, they so alert on go fishing. That's how we usually do 'em. Not only my family now. Because get the Kanekoa family. They had the Nakanelua family, they have a Thomas family. But the Chun family, I didn't go see them go down, or goes with the upena net. They call that upena, that's the net that they use it go down on the Waipio Valley. I didn't see them. But most of the family in Waipio Valley, the Hawaiian family and all the mix family, I see them do that. Goes down to the fishing. Some goes to the throw net. But to be honest, I'm not a throw net that good. But I'm good on a bag boy, though. As far as bag boy. Poking the fish and dragging the fish with the family. My brother folks was all, they were a good fishermen. And they were one of the best spearer brother that I have in Hawaii here, in Waipio Valley.

VL: You're the oldest of eight children, right?

JB: Yeah, right. I have eight. Eight children with 17 grandchildren.

VL: I mean, you're the oldest of the brothers.

JB: Right.

VL: You said before, that you had to quit school?

JB: Yeah, I have to.

VL: After sixth grade.

JB: Yeah, I went up to only sixth grade. My teacher, as I say, was Samuel Kaaekuahiwi. He was my teacher. Oh, I had Mr. Hayakawa. Forgot about him. Mr. Hayakawa, one of my school teachers. And he used to be a good musician, he used to be a good steel player. The Hawaiian steel, they call it.

VL: Hayakawa was?

JB: Yeah. He was this teacher in Waipio Valley too. Oh wait, I had Mrs. Ragsdale, she was a school teacher. Mrs. Ho, she was a school teacher in Waipio. Not only Samuel Kaaekuahiwi, I forget about the rest.

VL: What kind of work did you do after you quit school?

JB: You mean in Waipio Valley?
VL: Yeah. You were only 13 or so.

JB: When I quit school, I was still helping my father, working at a taro farm. Until I begin to make my 18 or 19 years age, then.

VL: And then you went to Honolulu?

JB: No, I went to Lanai. I had to run away from my father.

VL: Oh. How come?

JB: Well, I had a pretty....I hate to bring this in my....just....

VL: Okay.

JB: Because Waipio Valley, you can't beat that place of living. One of the best, no matter where you go. As long as you have the salt, rice, shoyu, the frying oil. That's all you need. Or, well, let's see, sugar, coffee, cream. But in the early beginning, we didn't have cream. We used to have a cow, we used to keep cow. Had to milk the cow in the morning and put in the jar. And then we didn't have ice box at all. We didn't have no stove. We were having the outside stove. The firewood, the guava wood stove. That's what we used to do. Cook with the guava, we cut the wood and make couple of bars goes across and let the smoke go. As long as it doesn't burn the house. And when the smoke goes out, that means the people are cooking.

They had a Waipio rice farm too, in Waipio Valley. Not only on Mr. Chun's place. They used to call this place Rice Mill at Hiilawe Falls. I forgotten where these people used to live there. Because over there had lot of taro farm too. I think when you two went down there, you don't see any taro farm, eh. From the Hiilawe Falls, they used to have lot of taro farm. Oh, right down the line. Waipio Valley used to be, truthful and honest with both of you, Waipio Valley used to be the home of the taro farm. You don't see it like now because all the people left and with all this tidal wave came in [1946], they have to move away.

But at least my wife and I, and my oldest daughter and my second daughter saw the tidal wave in the year of 1946. And I still remember that. Family used to come up the place where my wife and I used to live, they call it Kaau [a section of Waipio]. That was my grandmother's place. That's where my second daughter, my wife gave birth to my second daughter and I was the doctor to cut the belly band, what you call that?

YY: The umbilical cord.

JB: Right. I did that and had to cut it myself. Step on the bag and do the rest. Let my wife do the rest. And my daughter....hey.
YY: What do you mean, "step on the bag?"

JB: You know, don't let the bag run back to my wife, to the womb, whatever they call it. If you don't step it, he going to run back. So what you got to do is stepping on it and get a spoon or poke your finger in it until they take it out. That's the experience I had. I didn't have no doctor. Two of my daughters born in Waipio. I took care one. That's Lorraine Shibata. Now she's married.

VL: How did you know what to do?

JB: Well, because my in-laws taught me how. That's my wife grandmother, Mrs. Hattie Nakanelua. She passed away. They were nice people.

VL: Mr. Batalona, what were your happiest times in Waipio Valley?

JB: Sports and music.

VL: Can you tell us about music? Where did you first learn your instruments?

JB: Well, when I went to this church, they call that Mormon church, we used to have this fellow, they call the name of Joseph Auna. But he passed, he died. But usually, when they have that MIA [Mutual Improvement Association--a youth program], they call it in the Mormon church. We goes to the church and then certain times they put you on the side. Maybe that's the night they have the church night and certain night they have the musicians night. So when I got in touch with this fellow, he was the one that taught me how to play this music and how to sing and so forth.

And I begin to....but we didn't even learn the generation now, you know, these kind of chords they use. We used to learn that, in the 80's, they call it. In 1918, those old type of holding the chords. Not this kind of type that we playing now. So when I learn from him from the old chord, then I begin to go on my own. And then, we usually have the concert in Waipio. Like dancing, hula dancing and so forth. We used to build it up in the Waipio Valley School. We put it up on a Friday and Saturday. And that place in the Waipio School, did you two see that place in Waipio Valley, the school at Waipio Valley. Did you folks go up there?

YY: Oh, where the Peace Corps camp is?

JB: Right, right. The school is on the back. But not anymore. Because it's all covered up and maybe it's all broken down. And then, when we come on the night of Saturday, that place is packed. You don't know where the people come from. That's how we had the party. And I really enjoyed it.

VL: What instruments would you play?
JB: Guitar. I play the upright bass, I play the bass guitar. I do
teel too. But the only instrument, as I say, I couldn't
play is piano. That's the only one I couldn't.

VL: So those were your happiest times?

JB: Yeah, right.

YY: A lot of the instruments you were self-taught? You just learned by
yourself?

JB: Yeah, right, right, right.

There's so much more. If I only could remember, then would be all
right. As I say, the both of you want to find the history of
Waipio Valley, the only place I can recommend is, if it's there,
the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, I think they do have the Waipio
Valley. You know who is that, Kelly Loo? He has all the pictures
in Waipio Valley from the years of eighteen-something. And, you
know, if you can get in there, you can have all the record. You
can pick it up, all about the names of the Waipio falls and so
forth. Because as I said at the beginning, it's not only Hiilawe
Falls now. Because that fall that they have over there, it's all,
they have all the Hawaiian name. Like the both of you will remember,
that place that where we fix the water, Koiawe, Kawainui, Alakahi,
Haole Make. The reason why they call that place Haole Make,
because somebody died there. They still have the grave of that
haole fellow that died in Waipio Valley. Oh, I think he wasn't
the first guy, there were lot of. They used to have a Japanese
family died in Waipio Valley. But I don't, we don't remember.
It's many, many years.

END OF INTERVIEW
WAIPÍ'O: MĀNO WAI

AN ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

Volume I

ETHNIC STUDIES ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, MANOA

December 1978