

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: Lani Lopez Kapuni

"They never have shrubberies like now, yeah. All cover up. Before was real nice. This ['Ualapu'e Fishpond] is real nice fish pond. The sand nice, you no see rubbish kind tree grow around. Real clean. Sakanashi was really good. He kept the pond. Everytime when anything, rubbish come in the fish pond, oh, he rake 'em and take it away. He kept the pond clean. I think maybe Duvauchelle tell him, you know, keep the pond clean. Nothing on the stone wall."

Lani Lopez Kapuni, the only child of Delmacio Lopez and Keanu Kapakaha, was born June 10, 1915 in Kīpahulu, Maui. When Lani was five years old, her mother died. Lani was raised by her maternal grandmother in Kīpahulu. After her grandmother died when Lani was about ten years old, she lived with her father in Mākena and later with an aunt in Kanaio. She attended schools in Kīpahulu and 'Ulupalakua.

In 1931, Lani's father took her to Moloka'i, where they lived in Ho'olehua for a few months. Lani's father then sent her to 'Ualapu'e to live with the Kapunis, a fishing family. She married Panila Kapuni in 1936 and raised four children.

Widowed since 1968, Lani still lives in 'Ualapu'e on property her family owns.

Tape No. 19-4-1-90 and 19-5-1-90

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Lani Lopez Kapuni (LK)

January 18, 1990

‘Ualapu‘e, Moloka‘i

BY: Warren Nishimoto (WN)

WN: This is an interview with Mrs. Lani Kapuni on January 18, 1990, at her home in ‘Ualapu‘e, Moloka‘i. The interviewer is Warren Nishimoto.

Okay, Aunty, let's start. Why don't you first tell me when you were born and where you were born?

LK: Oh, I was born in Kīpahulu, Maui on June 10, 1915. You ever went over there?

WN: No.

LK: No, okay. But that's after you pass Hāna, the bridges that you gotta come through. That's between Hāna and Kaupō; Kīpahulu. One small, little Hawaiian village. Just get my *tūtū*, and then another *tūtū*, and the three families that lives over there. But they get *mo'opunas* that live with them. So I'm the only one that stayed with my *tūtū*. So the other one, get about eight people. And then the next one, oh, they had more than eight in their family. So three family; quite a bit of people where I come from. I was born there with my *tūtū*. I was told that I was born in a grass shack. I didn't see the grass shack, my *tūtū* told me. I know my *tūtū* didn't care for my father. So he cooked, I think, and you know, sparks flew on the roof and burnt this house. She said, "That stupid father of yours." Now, she talking all in Hawaiian. She cannot talk English, my *tūtū*. That's why that grass shack went down. So I didn't say anything. (Chuckles)

WN: What was your *tūtū*'s name?

LK: Ahulemoku.

WN: This was on your mother's side?

LK: This on my mama's side. At that time, immigration came in. The Filipinos, and the Japanese, and the Chinese. My mother married a Filipino. My father is Filipino, Chinese, Spanish. That's my father. His name is Delmacio Lopez. But the thing was, when my mother was pregnant with me, she told her mother—that's my *tūtū*—that if it's a boy, she would like to name him Lili'uokahonua. And if it's a girl, Lili'uokalani. I didn't know that we have a little

bit *ali'i*, you know, bloodline. I didn't know that. But then my *tūtū*—I was about eight I think, my mother died already. She said the names that I was supposed to have; this Lili'uokalani, I was a girl so it was supposed to be the name. But my name goes Kalani because my mom married the Filipino and there's the bloodline, out. Because he's not Hawaiian. If he was Hawaiian, maybe my name would be Lili'uokalani and she said that's why they didn't want to give me that name. And then if it's a boy, it's Lili'uokahonua. That's "king of the earth." Well, then she tells me, "Well, your father come from different country. He's a foreigner and he's not Hawaiian blood. So you cannot have that name [Lili'uokalani]." So they named me—they cut off the Liliu and put Kalani. So that's how I went to school, with Kalani. It's been Kalani, then after, they cut again, came to Lani. (Chuckles)

WN: And you had English name, too?

LK: Yeah, well. I always still tell this, even to my *mo'opunas*. I don't like my English name because, well, it don't sound good to my ear. Because I'm Catholic, the name is Cecilia. I don't use that name. Legally I gotta put that name down. So in Hawaiian it's Kikilia. The Hawaiian name for Cecilia. But I really didn't like that name, so I went just by Lani.

WN: So you went by Lani Lopez?

LK: Lani Lopez, yeah. So that's where I was born [Kīpahulu]. I went to school over there, you know. My mother died when I was the age of five. And then my *tūtū* took care of me. Just my *tūtū* lady. My *tūtū* man already died. I didn't see him. So I started off to school when I was at the age of six. And that was kind of hard 'cause, I don't know why my *tūtū* kept me [home] till six, I mean not six, seven. Seven. Everybody going to school and it didn't bother me, you know. I was more close to my *tūtū*, so I didn't bother. I had the hardest time going to school. Just leave my *tūtū* at home and I go school. I had a hard time to stay in school all day. When I first went to school—when I think about it, it's really, really funny, 'cause I didn't know how to talk. I can say few English words, but not that good. The pronunciation is bad. My cousin them, they talk, but when they come home they had to talk Hawaiian. We all have to 'cause *tūtū* don't understand and we cannot talk to *tūtū* English because we get scolding. She always remind us, "You folks know that I don't know how to speak English. And I don't want to," she said. So everybody was Hawaiian. And the worst part of it, my teacher was my aunty.

(Laughter)

LK: And it took me one month to learn all these English words, one month. I had to, 'cause my aunty always said, "Make sure you go home and memorize all these words." And then I ask my *tūtū*, "*He aha ka hua 'ōlelo?* [What does this word mean?]" Oh, and she would yell at me. I forgot, you know. I said, "*E kala mai, tūtū.*" You know, I sorry, yeah. And then afterwards she start lecturing, see, so I said, "Ah." So I get nobody to ask to help me at school. But I made pretty good, though, you know. The words that I really had hard time was sister, brother, father, and mother. So my aunty come over, she stand right in front. She said, "Okay, what's this word?"

"Madda," you know.

She said, "What is that?"

I said, "Madda."

"It is mo-ther. Make sure your tongue is between your teeth." So she put the ruler right in and said, "Open wide, your mouth. Like that, wide your mouth. So the word will come out right." So when I go home from school I use the word. Oh, I keep repeating it till I finally mastered the word. (Chuckles) It was hard, I tell you. It was really, really hard.

But I remember, you know, when the bell ring, we line up out in the yard 'cause get all different rooms and all different children go into their rooms. So we sing the song, "Hawai'i Pono'i." And then when we come in the room, then we pledge allegiance. I remember, that was really—to me was good. And then, you know, pledge allegiance. And then we say prayers at that time. Then afterward, gradually, it went and went and then they stopped [prayers], you know. So we still stand outside, but then we pledge allegiance out there and then come into school.

And that's why, the other day I was thinking, chee, at the time when I was born, I missed lots of things from during my *tūtū*'s time. Because I didn't understand when they were talking about—they never had books about how the Hawaiians lived at that time. Like, they mention about those days men and women were not brought together. They get separate house. The women don't eat with the men and the children. All this, you know. But then I wondered, how did they have their children, you know? The wives are separated from their husbands. But their lifestyle, that was good, to me. When I think about it, the women take care the children, the menfolks go out and bring in the food. Of course, the women is right alongside of them. And then, the boy goes to the father at the age of what? Seven, I think. He goes to the father. I know there's a history book about that. And when I hear these stories, I say, oh my. I don't know. I never lived at that time. We just were really, fully into *Haole* lifestyle. Fully. Because I remember when I go school and there's English. Okay, so I used to talking Hawaiian. In between the English there's always couple of words of Hawaiian. So get this *Haole* teacher. Eh, she make us pull weeds, you know, if we say Hawaiian.

(Laughter)

LK: This *Haole* teacher, I tell you.

WN: You had to speak all English.

LK: All English. Completely English. No Hawaiian.

WN: You couldn't even say like, *pau*.

LK: *Pau*, no. That's where our *pilikia*. You cannot say *pau*. And there's one word that I'll always, I don't know, it's a habit. Of course, now I old so I don't use it. I always say, "*Ia*." I said, "Oh, call *ia* you," you know. It's a habit that I had. I always used that word. And so after school I gotta go [pull weeds]. I gotta pull how many words that I said that whole day. If was ten words, well, ten weeds. If hundred words, hundred weeds. But I dare not go home and tell my *tūtū*, you know. Because they [teachers] were trying to stop us, not to speak

Hawaiian in school. So as the Japanese. The Japanese kids, they talk Japanese, you know, amongst themselves. Which we do the same. So them too; they cannot. No Japanese language, no Filipino, no Hawaiian. Nothing.

WN: So had Japanese, Filipino, and Hawaiian at Kīpahulu School?

LK: Yeah, yeah. Because plantation. That was plantation over there. When I grew up, well, right around where our house is, all sugarcane. All sugarcane. And my papa was working as a laborer for the sugarcane. And so in the morning, I believe the walk from my house to school is almost fifteen miles, you know.

WN: Oh, yeah?

LK: Yeah, it's far. So when they start hauling sugarcane and stuff like that, we run and catch the wagon. And they get two horse drag the wagon. And we run and chase them and they stop, you know. They stop and pick us up and drop us off at school. So that's extra. You know, you feel good, you don't get over there, at school, tired, you know. Usually we get tired. Sometime on the way, rain; we get wet.

WN: What about coming home?

LK: Walk home. Still walk home. The only thing is when I get up and I know I kinda late, my *tūtū* tell, "You better go on a horse." My cousins, they all gone already. So I catch a horse. Sometime I get to school about nine, after nine, you know, 'cause I slept too late. So that's transportation from school; from home to school. That's how it was.

WN: So you speak English at school and you speak Hawaiian at home.

LK: At home I had to with my *tūtū*. I have to. And, of course, I had another *tūtū*. When you go her house, *tūtū* man and *tūtū* lady, you gotta talk Hawaiian. And the kids talk. They all *mo'opunas*, the same like us. We were grandchildren so we all talk Hawaiian. Have to.

WN: And your father lived in the same house, too?

LK: After, well, yeah. When my mom was [alive]. But when my mother died, he moved out.

WN: And then you stayed with your . . .

LK: My *tūtū*.

WN: . . . *tūtū*.

LK: Yeah, I stayed with my *tūtū*.

WN: Did you know your father well?

LK: Oh, my father, I kept him until he died. Oh yeah, I kept my father. Because he keep in touch with me every now and then. So that was no problem. Then, when I was about sixteen, he

came and picked me up. I was still underage. My *tūtū* died, and then I stayed with my aunty. Of course, I stayed with all different families. So he came and picked me up. Then he moved over here to Moloka'i because he worked with the pineapple field. So I moved over here with him.

WN: Uh huh. So your *'ohana* on your mother's side, they were originally from Kīpahulu?

LK: All from Kīpahulu. At that place—the Hawaiians, I realized, I think that's why we all marry within family. The community, all, everyone is family. After they introduce you, this and this and this your uncle, this your cousin, this your everything. I realize now, when I think about it, we all relatives. That's why, they talk about family marrying into family. Sisters, brothers, cousins, uncles, aunties; they all marry. Because nobody go away. And if anything, you cannot go from Kīpahulu to Hāna. It would take you days, I think. With my *tūtū* we rode a car. Somebody pick us up to go to Hāna to catch the boat to go Honolulu. The boat used to come in, I think once a week. The boat come in and then goes over to Hāna 'cause they haul sugar. So from Kīpahulu, if you like go Honolulu, well, you gotta go to Hāna to catch the boat.

WN: So Hāna was like the main town?

LK: Yes. Then funny, at that time, slowly Kīpahulu was just like fading out. Just like the plantation was moving more to Hāna. So people say, "Eh, Kīpahulu we had sugar mill." [The sugar mill in Kīpahulu closed in 1922.] They grind the sugar. My grandmother, she get her sugar from the mill. She won't go to the store. She had the sugar from the mill, see. So when I was small. . . . my cousin them, they older than me, so I was the young one. So when my *tūtū* not around I put my little hand in and feel all around, where is the molasses. There's chunks of (chuckles) molasses inside there. Oh, I bring 'em up; everybody share. So everybody gotta eat so nobody can tell, yeah.

(Laughter)

LK: But I was the only one. I always was the one that goes in there, put my hand inside there, feel around for the molasses. So we buy the sugar from the mill.

WN: So how did you folks live in Kīpahulu? Like, for example, what kind of farming was done by your family?

LK: Well, we plant mostly it's just for home use, yeah. I know my *tūtū* get little patch of onion, a patch of cabbage, and stuff like that. And then beans, that we had. We had watercress. Watercress was, oh, plenty. Because there's this spring that flow out from by the side of the mountain. This cliff you can go from where my other *tūtū* [lived]. You can go over there and you go on the side of the cliff and you go way down. But along the way you going down, there's this spring water coming, shooting out from the side of the wall there of the cliff. And over there, my *tūtū* them plant the watercress. Oh, so plenty. They hang down the wall there. So you get one stick and go hook 'em and bring 'em up. 'Cause if somebody pluck all on top, then the nice ones all way down, yeah. So that's plentiful, watercress.

And then we eat that and then fishing, of course. My cousin go fishing. And then of course,

my *tūtū* go fishing. And then we have food from the river, too. Get 'o'opu and shrimp. We get shrimp; we get 'ōpae. And of course, my cousin plant the taro patch over there. And then they had these goldfish. I don't know where they got the goldfish, that stays in the ditch. I never seen them eat that fish. But when I came over here [Moloka'i] they said they eat the goldfish. I was thinking, how can they eat 'cause they're pretty-looking fish, you know. But they said they eat that. Oh, I didn't know that.

So anyhow, we eat that and then we had the taro top and the sweet potato top. And we have sweet potato. That's the main food that we have. If no more poi we get sweet potato. And [if] no more, plenty 'ulu—breadfruit. And breadfruit tree you no need plant in your yard. The people just plant up the mountain, just anybody's place. You just plant the tree. And where I come from, over there rain. Every time rain, yeah. So the 'ulu tree, when get fruit, all the family they go pick. Not everybody eat 'ulu, you know. But my *tūtū* goes up there pick up 'ulu. And then also mountain taro. They call that 'āweu, that taro. So when my *tūtū* and I go up the mountain, I used to like that. That's the good part of going up the mountain. I always tell her, "Don't go up the mountain when I go school." We have horses, so we take the horse and go up the mountain and maybe pick up one or two bag of taro. Just me and her.

WN: That grows wild?

LK: Yeah, that you no need taro patch; no need water.

WN: Oh, dry land.

LK: Dry land taro, yeah. So when you cut off the root, you make sure you put it in a place where it's gonna grow again. Because the next family going come and they can—somebody else can use it. There's always patch here and patch there. And my *tūtū* go pick that up. I would stay all day up the mountain. I like that, spending the whole day up the mountain 'cause I'd go all over the place. Because she finding for the taro and I, well, she didn't even [have to] call me to help her, you know. So I felt that I free to go all around. First time I went to the mountain, when you one young kid like that, you run crazy all over the place. So I start screaming, you know. And then I yell again. And then somebody answered me, and then I yell again. And then my *tūtū* said, "Hah, 'nough noise already." First time I heard echo. (Chuckles) See, I had good fun. And then looking around for different kind fruit trees. (Chuckles) Yeah.

WN: What kind fruit trees had?

LK: Well, some places they get sweet guava and sour guava, and then they have—I don't know what you folks called it. That small little—inside just like guava. Red, they red. Oh, *waiawf*.

WN: Oh, *waiawf*.

LK: Yeah, *waiawf*. Get plenty up the mountain. And *liliko'i*. Now you folks call that passion fruit. But this is the purple one. That's the sweet one. So get plenty food that you don't have to pack lunch and go up the mountain. There's always something. And then my *tūtū*, well, we gotta eat lunch so she go down the river and scoop some 'ōpae and come back. We sit down eat raw 'ōpae and sweet potato. And then she sit down and she rest little while. And we go

home, late; when we get home dark, you know. I don't know why, but I liked it. (Chuckles)

WN: What about like poultry and livestock?

LK: Well, we had this Portuguese guy, he was raising cattle, I know. And of course, the Chinese. They raise pig, yeah. But my *tātā* didn't raise any pig. The only animals I had was, I don't know why, but she let me keep the dog. When *tātā* harvest potato, she pick up plenty and then she hangs it up on the net to keep it dry. So that potato can stay there maybe two, three, or four days. The thing no come sour, it just stay fresh. So one is for the human and one is for the animals. So when she go in the morning, she grab 'em, smash 'em on the ground. The chicken come running, the dog come over there. That's my dog, yeah. So the chicken and the dog; they all eat together. I never see the dog chase the chicken. They were friends, see.

And then us, when we at home, like during summer, there's no lunch. There's always fruits, plenty—summertime plenty. Mangoes bearing, papaya bearing, avos bearing. So much things. I don't know whether if you know this kind of fruit. It grows down the river, mostly. They call that *poha*.

WN: Um hmm.

LK: Oh, that's 'ono. If you find one patch, you don't open your mouth.

(Laughter)

LK: And then down the riverside you'll find the pumpkin, they just grow wild. So when I find one or two, I tell my grandmother. Too big for me for carry. And she go get and bring 'em home. Because our house kinda near to the river. So that's the kind that we eat. And there's other kind, you know. That *pōpolo*, you know, the tree? We eat that. And then, they call that *pakai*. The kind we had, no more *kukū*, you know, that thorn. I don't know if you know. They feed that for the pig. So we eat that as greens. And then we eat the milkweed. She pick 'em all up; nice, you know, the young ones, though. Nice juicy leaves. So she bring that home, wash 'em clean. And then she squeeze out the water and then keep dry. So we take that. We ate plenty green stuff that my *tātā* go pick up. There's some stuff I don't even know. But it taste all right.

(Laughter)

LK: I didn't question her. Was all right.

WN: What about chickens? You had chickens?

LK: Chicken? Yeah. My *tātā* had chicken. When we cook one chicken for all of us in the family, well, that whole chicken would last us about almost maybe a week. Because you put more gravy in there than anything else.

(Laughter)

LK: Yeah, sweet potato and chicken. Or sweet potato with poi. Then, of course, we get all these

green stuff on the side that we eat. But you see, I still have that habit. For instance, I see all these guys. Okay, they eat hamburger and maybe whatever else. They can eat 'em all together. I cannot do that. Until today, I cannot. And my grandchildren, they so used to with me. "Oh yeah, Ma. I forget you only eat one thing at a time."

(Laughter)

LK: So I don't know. It's a habit, see, I have. So if I eat rice, that's it, you know. Rice with whatever stuff and that's it. My *mo'opunas*, rice, poi, salad, and, oh. I see you eat like that, spoil your appetite. For me it would. I would stop eating already.

WN: 'Cause you eat one thing at a time.

LK: One thing at a time, yeah. Sometime if I eat this and I'm full, that's it. I ain't going eat those other stuffs, because that's how we ate when I was growing up. We ate like that. And another thing, I never [used to] see fat, fat kids. Us guys, we were skinny. I think if those days they would see us, they would think we all underweight, you know. We were all skinny kids. Skinny leg, big head, and everything. Of course, to me, we were healthy because, eh, we get plenty energy, you know.

You know, I was about nine, ten, I think, when my first tooth came off. But at school, they get hygienist that come in. And I still get my, what you call that? Not permanent teeth, the other one.

WN: Baby teeth.

LK: Yeah, baby teeth, right. I still had, so she pulled one. But didn't hurt, though. So I went home and asked my *tāta*, "Oh, you know, look my teeth. The hygienist." I just tell her, "*Kauka wen* pull my teeth," doctor.

And then she said, "Pull your teeth! What for?"

"I don't know."

That was when she said, "That teeth move?"

I said, "No."

Oh, she was so mad. And then she asked, "What happened to that teeth?"

"Oh, I don't know. The doctor took 'em, I think."

Oh, she was mad. She said, "You going get rat teeth because the rat going eat your teeth." Aww.

(Laughter)

LK: Aww, shoots. And I learned so much from my *tāta*. Even at one time my tooth was kinda

loose, yeah. So I seen her go get the thread and tie 'em to my teeth. And then she tell me stand by the door and tie the—well, I didn't know. Then she tell me slam the door. Slam the door? Oooh!

(Laughter)

LK: She tell me to slam the door!

(Laughter)

LK: Oh, no. No ways. But that was all right, you know.

WN: What about when you folks get sick? What kind medicine did your *tata* give you?

LK: I tell you this. Some kind of stuff she give me, and I don't even know what it is. And it's really good. I know one time, funny, I suppose the parents and grandparents they watch when their children play. And I used to scratch my *'okole* every time, you know, I used to do that. And then one day I came home from school and then she tell me, "You drink this." Just like one bottle pint. And the color is orange color. But it taste real good. Two, three times I think I had. And then so, when I sleep nighttime I get drawers and she tie the underneath, the leg part. So in the morning she take it off. And all those little hookworms all came out with me sleeping. I asked her, "What that?"

She tell me, "*Ko'e*." That's worm.

I said, "Oh." So that was all right.

And then I know one time, that was chicken pox. I was all over with blisters. The thing itchy, you know. So she pile up all these ti leaves on the bed. She pile it all up and she had all plenty ti leaves on the side. And she took all my clothes off and she tell me go lie down on this ti leaf. Oh, nice and cool. I felt good. Then she piled the rest of the ti leaves from my face down. She said, "Keep still, no move. Just stay like that." Didn't take too long. I don't know how long was that. I know wasn't that long. If was long I would ask her when I would get out of the bed. But wasn't that long. And then she took off [the ti leaves]. Eh, all the blisters all bust, yeah. And just like dry. And then she make me get off and she wipe my body up. And then let me walk around like that. Go naked, yeah. Just dry up all the blisters. She had some other kind medicine that she used. And then next day was all right. Only thing, when the healing part start, you know, sometimes itchy, yeah. But other than that. . . . That was ti leaf.

And then there's another medicine that you take for opening. They called that *koali*, it's morning glory but it's a different type morning glory. You find that down the river, I think. And then she bring it home and then she pound it. And then the juice of that, you supposed to drink 'em down like that. But for me, like any kid, she put little sugar inside. She make scramble, just like scrambled eggs with that juice. I ate it all and that whole day eh, I tell you. I ran to the toilet every time. (Chuckles) Oh yeah, and that is not every time, you know. Maybe for couple of years and you get another shot of that.

WN: Hmm, like a laxative.

LK: Yeah, laxative, right. That's what it is. So that's the kind medicine. Other medicines I don't know, that she give.

WN: How many *mo'opuna* were living in that house?

LK: Get me, my other two cousins. Oh, five of us.

WN: Five?

LK: Yeah, five of us.

WN: Plus your *tūtū man* and *tūtū lady*.

LK: Yeah. My *tūtū man* was dead already. Just only my *tūtū lady*. She was the only one.

WN: So she raised you folks then?

LK: Yeah, she really did, you know. I used to remember when she go fishing, she dry the fish. And when we eat, she always cut portion. If dried fish, this is yours and pass it all to us, the *mo'opunas*, and we eat that. And funny, it was always filling. And then we have, like for instance, salt salmon. And I get one teeny-weeny piece because that thing is salty, so you eat more poi, yeah. So that was all right. I cannot finish mine. We all cannot. Just that piece she give. And that was filling; that was all right. But our yard was full of fruit tree. That's why, when we bought this [Moloka'i] land, I plant all the fruit trees that I had. There's only one or two fruit tree that I don't have. I get guavas. Of course, guavas was growing wild, but that's what I have. Mango tree, orange tree, avo tree, lemon tree, and what else. Oh, I never had star fruit, but, of course, we have. But then there's this other kind of lemon. I don't know, real rough. Real lumpy outside. And then I see her use that for dandruff. She washed her hair, *pau*, and I asked her, "Why you do that?" You know, she squeeze the juice on her head. She called it in Hawaiian, *kēpia*. So that's for dandruff. Stop the itch, I think.

So that's why everybody come in my yard. They say, "Oh, your yard full of trees." But because my grandmother's philosophy was: she plant all these things so that we don't go to the next door. Everybody's yard have the same kind fruit. But if you don't have, you go ask if you want. You just don't go and steal. That's one of the laws that we had, don't steal. Go ask.

WN: Was there a doctor nearby?

LK: No, no more. No more. Plantations had doctor. Their hospital in Hāna. So, I never see doctor till how old was I? I was teenage, I think, at that time. I scared doctor. Nobody tell me doctor going help you, you know, it's gonna make you feel good. Nobody tell me that. All I know, oooh, you don't know what he going do to you, you know. Whether he going make me feel good or make me feel bad. Nobody tell, "No, he going heal you." That's why with my *mo'opunas*, when they go doctor I always tell them, "No, no, no, no. Doctor going make you feel good," you know, so they understand. So they stop crying. I get my two little

ones—two *mo'opuna*—I used to take them to, every month, I take them for that typhoid and all that kind of injections. Oh, I get two. One crybaby, one no cry. She cry but the tears just roll down. So the first time when I took, I gave the wrong guy first. So afterward I learn. I make the one no cry first, then the next one, see. Because the other one she cry, this one going cry, see. So you gotta use wisdom in that case. (Chuckles) Then they come home, "Ho, Ma. You said no going get sore."

I said, "Yeah, I know. But gonna make you feel good. That inside your body going make you real feel good. Then you no going get all that different kind disease." I don't know, but they know. So you cannot fool them. They tell you.

WN: How did you folks cook?

LK: Oh, outside. We had the outside kitchen. Wood stove. That's another thing. I used to remember when we *pau* school, on the way coming home. Okay. Funny, when my kids they children, they kinda pull fast one on me, you know. We do things too, but not without something good come out of it. Like we went swimming, see, after school. And we swim, we swim, we swim. And then when we *pau* and then we come home, my *tūtū* know we swim 'cause the eye all red, eh. But then we all go pick up wood on the way coming home. Couple of guava branches and all—every one of us—with all these guava branches drag home. So when my *tūtū* see us coming home with the wood she no say nothing. She no question, but I know. Now when I think, I know she knew. She knew where we were, but she didn't question. Because we brought home something. Something good for us to cook. Even sometime after school we used to have these wild beans that grow, and that's '*ono*, you know. They don't have it anymore. I think they said the cows all eat 'em. And then we see if there's one patch growing. One kid run inside there, "Eh, wait, wait, wait. I going check." If the thing ready; if the beans ready. "Eh, ready." So everybody go, pick up, fill up the clothes, we go home. So that's part of the food that we going eat. Because when we have those beans, I cook that in the evening and then I put 'em all together and make like one ball. So I take that for lunch. That's lunch for me in school. But my cousin, she live at the plantation place so she and I always make deal. Let's say if I bring the poi, she bring the salt salmon. So all us guys, even Japanese kids, you know, they bring their lunch too, yeah. Everybody bring lunch.

WN: Yeah. So for light you used the what? Did you use kerosene?

LK: Kerosene. Yeah, we had kerosene. I never see the *kukui*. They had *kukui* oil, yeah. And how did they use it? I don't know. I never see. Of course now, they show you how they used the *kukui* oil. Those days they had, but when I came, no. They had kerosene already. So that's the kind my *tātā* have, that kerosene. But we don't have kerosene stove. Wood stove, yeah. And then we have our own coffee tree. I get one coffee tree outside here. They have a certain time the thing can bear the beans and then we pick it up; they all ripe. [As long as] I can remember, I drank coffee. Small kid. And then we had goat for milk. And I remember when I used to go school because we drink goat milk, yeah. And if you drink goat milk, you smell [like a] goat.

(Laughter)

LK: Some of the kids I played with, "Oh, go away from me, Lani. You smell goat." 'Cause the goat milk is really *'ono*. They're thick, yeah, heavy. You can taste the sweet of the goat milk. So we used that for the coffee in the morning, run outside. As long the baby never get the mother, you lucky. If you never tie the baby goat, ah, you no more milk. She get 'em first. So that's what you used the milk for, the coffee. Or we had tea. You know the Spanish needle?

WN: Yeah.

LK: Yeah. That's tea. We go pick 'em up and put 'em in the hot water. Then we drink that for tea. And then, if that not growing, she pick up orange leaves. That's good because it has a different smell, but almost get the smell of the orange. So anyhow, that's what she make us for tea. So we get coffee and tea and pancake. That special pancake in the morning we get. Not every time *tūtū* going fry pancake, yeah.

WN: How'd she make the pancake?

LK: Well, with baking powder and flour. And she add little sugar inside. But you see, we used to buy that Crisco and she has this stick with nice clean cloth that she wrap 'em around, yeah. So it's not like us today. We get the spoon, we scoop, yeah. Scoop the whole chunk. That one, just to wipe the fry pan. Get the oil in the fry pan and then you pour your batter inside. It's not the kind, slam the oil inside there. No, not like that. And that oil, I'd say about six-pound can. And that last, I don't know how long last us. At the rate how my *tūtū* used. I never did eat fried fish. We had *pālehu* fish, but never fry. I never eat rice till I was about ten and eleven years, I think. 'Cause everybody eat their own kind of food, yeah. But I never know there was rice.

(Laughter)

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

WN: What was your house like?

LK: Eh, I tell you. You know, my other *tūtū* them there, their house is just one—I hate to say—shack. But my *tūtū* house, there's a parlor, there's a bedroom, and there's the back part that's supposed to be the dining room. But we didn't have table, so we eat on the floor. There's a small little-sized mat that 'nough only for us. My *tūtū* weave, yeah. And that for us to eat on it. Bring all our food, put on the table, she bless the food, and then we eat. And then, oh, we had spoon. (Chuckles) I remember we had spoon, but we never had fork. I never see fork with my *tūtū*. And then knives. Knife is for her to use for cut the fish or whatever she get for cut. And then of course, the machete—cane knife—that we used outside. But never other kind utensils.

(Laughter)

LK: So mostly you pick with your hand, you know. And we had spoons for soup. So we never had plenty stuff on the table. Of course the poi right in the middle of the table, so everybody dig in with same bowl poi. But very particular, my *tūtū*, I tell you. When you dip your spoon in the poi—or your fingers—you make sure you dig in the middle. She don't want you drag the spoon and come by the side and make all mess the side. Don't do that. She get her spoon, she whack your finger, you know, she see you do that. So then you learn. That's how we all eat in one bowl, the poi. If no more poi, well, we have sweet potato. But we always have sweet potato on the side. I used to like sweet potato with coffee. I like that. I still do that, you know. It's real good. And then breadfruit, when we pound—when she pick up 'ulu for us make poi, we always save couple of pieces for breakfast. 'Ulu with the coffee or tea.

WN: You had 'ulu poi, too?

LK: Yeah. Oh, my *tūtū* pound her own poi. No more my *tūtū man* but she pound. So I help her pound, just was mash, not to make the poi real smooth. But she do the finishing part, or my other cousins, when they stay.

WN: Did you have chores around the house that you had to do?

LK: Yeah, clean the yard; rake the rubbish. We never had rake. We had this one tree. I know I used to see 'em around, but I don't see it anymore. This one particular tree, real bushy. You would cut one stump and then chop the top. And then you just get any kind for tie. And I know bananas, you know the dried banana? You get that and you tie. Tie 'em together and they all bunch up together, just like one rake. So you go ahead. You bend your back and rake that rubbish. Because plenty mangoes. Pile 'em and then burn the rubbish. And then we had about eight, ten orange trees. Well, that only need go underneath there and pick up all the dry branches that fall down. And then we had two rose apple tree in the yard. So that, go rake, yeah. As long we gotta keep the ground where so you can see the grass. Underneath the mango trees, no more grass. So we just rake and then pile and go to the next one. Rake, pile, and burn. Yeah, I had chores. Another thing we didn't have was faucet, pipe water. No more. We have to haul the water from the river and bring home.

WN: How far away was the river?

LK: I'd say maybe three, four miles. Even though I remember I was five years [old], my *tūtū* had me a little bucket. I even had to haul water, too. Today these *mo'opunas*, five years [old], they ain't doing nothing (laughs). Oh, shucks.

(Telephone rings. Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: Okay, was there a community of people in Kīpahulu?

LK: What you mean?

WN: Well, was there like stores, and churches, things like that?

LK: Yes, yes. There were stores because the plantation moved in. But the churches was there before the plantation, I think. That's what I believe. But anyhow, we had Catholic church and

we had Protestant church. Two churches. But we were Catholics and my grandmother was a Catholic. She claim that she's a devout Catholic. But she cute though. Every weekend, she like to go with her friends and gather with them and go have party. When comes Sunday, the priest come over and stop. Come over through Kaupō and then stop our place. And this how the priest say, "*He hālāwai kā kākou kēia Lāpule a'e* [We will have services next Sunday.]." Smart how he talk Hawaiian. He come on the horse, yeah. So my *tūtū*, we all sit down and she feeds him. We get sweet potato and dried fish. And then when he leave, she get one little *pā'olo*—one little package—and put a little sweet potato and fish for him in the package. And he leave, go. Because he gotta stay at the parsonage for about one, two days. So whatever the members have, we give him food for him to stay over there. And then Sunday come. And imagine, the church is far away from our [home]. And that's how far my *tūtū* and I gotta walk. And along the way, there's some family, you know, come. And then we all walk go church. And that's how far. Oh, that church is almost close to the Seven [Pools], I think. That's how far. And then me and my *tūtū* we go and we walking. And I remember I had these shoes, and those days the shoes were all buckle. You get button, you know, from way down. Just like leggings, see. And I'm all dressed in white.

(Laughter)

LK: And my *tūtū* all in white. And we going church, see. And then I'm walking, walking. Once in a while I'd look at her. Of course, she walks kinda slow but we start early in the morning, I think it's five-thirty or six o'clock. 'Cause still kinda dark yet. So we both walk and then we reach church. And I sit in church. And no talking, no nothing. No move around. You just sit there. That's how strict. My *tūtū*—my grandmother's time they're real strict. When they tell you don't do this, don't do that, you better listen. If not, she put her hand down close by me and she pinch. And, oh, worse than the crab pinch. Yeah, and skin come off, you know. (Chuckles) So I keep still. Then I never did ever went and performed. Like for instance, before you take holy communion and all those rituals that the Catholic go through. I never did because my *tūtū* died so I didn't have to, I think. So I asked my *tūtū*, "What is that little, where the priest go inside?" You know, that little pigeonhole.

And then she tell me, "No talk."

We cannot talk inside church anyhow. But I like know why, 'cause everybody go over there and kneel and what are they doing, you know. I watch; I observe all these things, but I like know why. And then all everything *pau* and then we go home. And this I never forget. I asked her, "What for that little room you go inside and talk to the father?"

So she said, "That's where you go over there and confess your sins." So I never asked anymore.

(Laughter)

LK: I have a bad habit of asking questions. So I no like ask some more. Now I know. So that was our religion, Catholic.

WN: How big was the congregation?

LK: Oh, eh, I'd say, full that, because plenty Filipinos.

WN: Oh.

LK: Plenty Filipinos. And I think a good thirty, thirty-five. Full, you know, the church. Filipinos and Portuguese.

WN: So your *tātā lady* was Catholic . . .

LK: Catholic.

WN: . . . from way before? You know, like you weren't Catholic because of your father, for example?

LK: No, no. I went Catholic because of my *tātā*. Not my father. I don't even know what kind religion he had, you know. But I know Filipinos, they all Catholic. Most of 'em.

WN: As a young child growing up in Kīpahulu, what did you do to have good fun? I know you told me you used to go up the mountains, but what about things like games?

LK: Games? Oh, we create. We used to play hopscotch, you know. The kids play that hopscotch. And then we used to play rope. We had one little hill. Not little, kinda high, yeah. And we used to play slide on that hill. Once in a while, all whole bunch of us kids. Yeah, we get good fun. 'Cause when you go back up on the hill, you gotta grab the grass to pull yourself up 'cause kinda little steep, eh. And you run and jump and sit down, and you slide right down. So you get big kind leaves, but because thick with grass, you don't need that. That's one spot that we always get over there and play.

We never went swimming because, I think, where we lived the water is rough. There's no swimming spot for go. But we swim in the river, though. That's where we swim. Not the ocean. When I first came here [Moloka'i], that's a difference. I didn't know about [the difference between] ocean water and river water. Because the river water [i.e., fresh water] is heavy, you know, when you swim.

LK: And then when I stayed with this other family I call *tātā*, Mākena side, get nice swimming place. And the first time I swim, chee. I took a dive down, eh, I came right up, you know.

(Laughter)

LK: But you know, I didn't want to say anything to them, maybe they think, "Chee, where she came from?" (Chuckles) Yeah, it was such a difference, you know. I don't know if people know that, but that I found out for myself. The fresh water and salt water. And then, of course, you read the book, then you are okay. Now I know more. But mostly the time was taken up, not play. Once in a while we all can play, but most of the time is, you gotta go help and find food. That was the main thing in every family. Everybody gotta go, you know, because there is food. There's no such thing no more food. You get fish that is for you. You gotta learn how to dry the fish, you gotta help *tātā*. She teach me how to—not that *tātā* that I was born with, these other *tātās*—how they get fish. I was about eight, no nine, I think. I

cleaned the fish, but they fillet the fish. But this time, no. We got to. Everybody get knife. They no tell you, "Okay, face the fish this way." You just grab the fish. "Okay, look." So you watch how she put the fish and you watch how she get the knife. Okay, how she fillet the fish. And then she give you one more. She fillet. You watch. Now the third one, you do 'em. So okay, the first one you make you know all going mushy, yeah. Because no going straight and you miss the bone and you go back again. So all going be mushy, yeah. But then she no talk. You better no do junk the next one. Then my cousin tell, "Eh, you. The next fish you make sure good, eh?"

"Okay." So I make good, you know. And she look. The mushy one she grab 'em and she put 'em on the side. But the good one, yeah, you cut. Your first and second, that's all. You no make any more mistake. She get the knife, aah. They get a habit of whacking your hand, yeah. I still remember in school, every time the teacher for everlasting pulling my ear, 'cause I not listening, that's why. She always pinching my ear, pull my ear.

WN: This was *Haole* teacher?

LK: Nah, my aunty.

WN: Oh, your aunty.

LK: Yeah, my aunty. Pinch my ear or pull my ear because I not listening. And I used to wonder why she do that to my ear. Sore, you know. Real sore when pinch. The Filipino—my father always said, "Don't pull the ear." But my *tātā* don't slap the head. See, my father said, "Don't pull the ear. You might damage the ear." And my *tūtū*, "Don't slap the head or she or he going be stupid."

(Laughter)

LK: But maybe she has a point, maybe, yeah.

WN: Yeah, I think she's right.

LK: Yeah, maybe she had a point. (Chuckles) So that's my *tātā*. But my father, because the Filipinos they hardly hit the kids. They never hit the children. They only talk, talk, talk, you know. My father didn't hit me until I had stepmother. Then she hit me. But he never did hit me. He hardly did.

WN: When did your *tātā* die? Your *tātā* lady?

LK: Between nine and ten, I think.

WN: So then after that . . .

LK: Then I have to stay with my father.

WN: In another house?

LK: Another place. He was staying in Mākena at that time.

WN: Oh, Mākena.

LK: Yeah, Mākena. Taking care of somebody's---oh, this rancher. Angus MacPhee. He has piggery, he get cow, and, oh, all kinds. I know they were raising turkey and sheep. That's what he was raising down there. So my father worked for him.

WN: I see. So your father moved from Kīpahulu Plantation to Mākena?

LK: Yeah, to Mākena.

WN: So was it only you who moved?

LK: Well, my cousin them, they all big. They married; they left.

WN: Oh, you were the youngest?

LK: Yeah, I was the youngest. I was the last one with my *tūtū*.

WN: Oh, I see. So you moved to Mākena when you were nine or ten, yeah?

LK: But then I didn't stay there too long. I stayed with my aunty. Then she stay up Kula. Not Kula, Kanaio. That's a different lifestyle. At that time, I was already teenage. I was thirteen, fourteen, I think, when I stayed with my aunty. Now this was more a serious life with her. Different, yeah. So I go school at 'Ulupalakua.

WN: Oh, how different was your life?

LK: If I was raised with my *tūtū* all the way, there's that love, yeah. That love. Now, this is my own aunty. She didn't raise me. So that's my way I look at it. When I look back at my life—I look at it with her—I was just like a niece staying there. Well, I gotta stay with her because I gotta help with the chores and everything. That's for my keep, for staying over there, see. But to me, I learned plenty, even though there was no more warmth in my lifestyle staying with her. But then I learned plenty from her, see. It's hard, you know. That's why my heart go out with other people's children when I see other people take care. That's not their own child, see, so you know they going abuse the kid. Well, that's just like how I was.

But I'm the kind person that I get that strong feeling that I gotta survive. (Chuckles) I have to, 'cause living with my *tūtū* I learned so much with her. Because we have to live, we have to eat, we have to do all these things. We have to. It's a must. This what my grandmother told me. At that time I was just a child. But today, this is what I push with my grandchildren. Even with my children. My *tūtū* tell me, "You do the best you can. Study hard. And then when you get to learn plenty, you go and you learn and you keep it. There's nobody's gonna help you. You study hard because when you come old and you go out to school and you get some kind of a job, that's gonna be your husband. See, you don't need a husband." So, I kinda think back lot of times. Now I sort of see it. Well, that's right. If you get job you can support yourself if you divorce or if anything happen and you all alone. And if there's no

education you cannot do nothing.

In my family, with all my grandchildren, I push. I push them. They have to. It's a must. Now my great-grandchildren. I push. I keep telling the parents, "Eh, don't be slacking you folks' way with your kids. The kids come home, work with them, you know. Have to. And then learn to talk to them. You have to talk. Talk to them continuously." You know, sometime no more time; the parents they always on the go. But this grandchildren I get close by me, that's why I get on top of them. I go over there, make it my business. (Chuckles) As long the mother no grumble, that's all right. If the mother grumble, then okay, I cut out. But other than that, my grandmother, this how she said in Hawaiian, "*Noho 'oe a nui. 'Imi 'oe i ka na'auao a kā kou kāne kēlā.*" See, you come. You stay and you grow up and you search for knowledge. And that's gonna be your husband. I didn't know why she said that. Now I know. (Chuckles)

(Telephone rings. Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: Auntie, how did you feel when your *tūtū* died?

LK: Oh, I felt bad. Yeah, that's when I realized, "Oh, this is not easy." That's when I realized that I was all alone even though I had family. Even though the family was around, I felt so alone. Because when my *tūtū* was sick I took care of her. I go wash our clothes. I gotta go down the river, wash clothes. And see what she wants to eat. I don't know if she died of cancer because she was sick not too long. And then she died. Wasn't too long. Then I felt I was all, all alone. I felt, "Oh, what am I to do?" All I know is, I have to go to whoever, you know, the family that come pick me up. I was supposed to go and stay with my uncle in Honolulu. But, the Saturday—that was the day I was supposed to catch the boat to go to Honolulu, that was the same day that my father came and picked me up. Because somebody wrote to him that my *tūtū* died. So he come and pick me up.

But in me, I was thinking, no matter where I went, still, you know. My *tūtū* was a very loving lady. Very, very. And I no think so I would get that from anybody, to any family, even with my own father, you know. See, my father married with my stepmother and then he listened more to her than to see what my needs are at that time. I was growing up as teenage. So I really struggled staying with my father. The life was real hard. But I was that kind of person that I always grab any kind book or what. I keep my mind going by reading. I always like to read anyhow. So that's my life with my father. It wasn't too good of a life. But the family, they were really good with me, yeah. My stepmother's family. I go over with them and stay with them. Oh, they real nice to me.

Of course, the same thing. You gotta do the chores. Do what need to be done. But I was taught, when you go to anybody's house or to any family's house, you don't stay idle. Whatever they're doing, you put your hands together. That's the Hawaiian style. Put your hands together. When you go family house, they ask you over for dinner, when everybody clean up the table, you stand up and go help. Yeah, you got to do that. So that was how I was raised up with my *tūtū*. Never sit idle; do something.

But then I realized, with my cousin them, my *tūtū* scold them, but never with a loud voice. I know my cousin was fooling around with this boy. And I don't know if she was happy with

that, but I was never around when she's there. There's always privacy. She always called them that she want to talk to them. And they, well, my cousin talk, you know. Only listen, my *tūtū*. But I never hear her yell, because I know she no like that guy. But then afterward they got married, see. So maybe that was the thing she talked to them, about getting married. 'Cause she no believe in the kind you just stay together. But never a loud voice. Never, never a loud voice. She never did yell at me.

I go crazy, you know, when I go home and my *tūtū* not home when I *pau* school. I start running around the house, no more her. Look down the potato patch, no more her. Run my cousin them house, no more her. And then run down. Ah, there. I find her with her boyfriend, so that's all right. But I get all upset when she's not around.

WN: So you went school at 'Ulupalakua School?

LK: Yeah, 'Ulupalakua School.

WN: For how long?

LK: Uh, wait. I was, wait now, fourth grade, fifth grade, sixth grade, seventh grade. Then no can, 'cause my aunty cannot support me with my book in the seventh grade. So I stayed home. Maybe after one year, then my father came and picked me up. I was about sixteen then.

WN: Sixteen. Yeah, 1931, yeah?

LK: Yeah, 1931.

WN: And then you folks moved to Moloka'i.

LK: Yeah, that's when he came to move over here. Sixteen. So I stay over here with my father. So he, "Well, you young girl so you go all over the place." He go work pineapple, eh. And then they had this little restaurant up there that I work over there for little while.

WN: Oh, where?

LK: At the camp, you know.

WN: Oh, Ho'olehua?

LK: Ho'olehua, yeah. Because they feed all the people over there. So, go over there, help. Because the boss go over there eat. The other guys serve your own, but the boss, they gotta get somebody to serve. So I work over there for little while. I stayed with these people where my father; where we both were staying. Then he said that he was going come up here ['Ualapu'e] with some of his friends, so well, I stayed with these people because I had plenty stuff you can do, eh, when your father no stay. (Laughs) So I think was about two weeks he was up here. And then he came back, he says, ah, he went fishing. And he likes fishing, my father. So I said, "Oh, okay." So we moved. Everything what he tell me I need to do, I did. No questions asked. Just pack our stuff and then we move up here.

WN: To, you mean, this place ['Ualapu'e]?

LK: Yeah, to this place. Of course, not this land. The beach land. We moved over here, then that's when I met my mother-in-law, not knowing that she was going to be my mother-in-law. So he went fishing. Oh, well, those days they make money, you know, catching fish and stuff like that. So was good. Then over here was like a different lifestyle that I had. It was funny, you know. When I first came here, when you from different island and different places, pimple didn't develop on my face, came on my back. Was so strange, you know, my back was real oily. I was thinking, what's the matter with this place? And then I find out because the water that we use was more brackish water. Yeah, brackish water. They get pipe water, but you gotta go haul water. The courthouse used to be up here, where the road going up to the [Kilohana] School. All alongside: the courthouse and the tax office and the county [offices]. Was all up here, 'Ualapu'e. So we haul, just for drink water. But the wash clothes and cooking we use the brackish water. So then, of course, afterwards naturally you get used to to it.

WN: So your father was only Ho'olehua pineapple little while, then?

LK: Yeah, just little while. It wasn't that long.

WN: Then you folks moved East End . . .

LK: Moved East End, yeah.

WN: . . . because he wanted to go fishing.

LK: Fishing, yeah.

WN: Oh, and did he make money fishing?

LK: Oh, yeah. It's 'nough for him. 'Nough for us to live. It's more than enough. Wasn't hard, 'cause my father-in-law is a fisherman.

WN: Oh, I see. How did you feel about leaving Maui?

LK: When I think back, because I was young, I think, that didn't bother me. Well, living with my aunt was not a happy thing, living with her. Today, you know, for me, even my children and my grandchildren, as long as you at the age that you think you want, it's only natural, boyfriend, girlfriend. That's human feelings that (chuckles) you have. But my aunt was so strict with me. She hold me down, I tell you. She's really, really strict. Maybe if I was staying with my *tātā* and I leave, I no think so it would be a good move for me, yeah, to leave my *tātā*. No. But with my aunt, I was happy to get out of there. (Chuckles)

WN: So you were here at 'Ualapu'e, yeah, afterwards.

LK: Yeah.

WN: Did you go to school at all here?

LK: I had intentions of going school, but then already you like the free life. I didn't want no obligations. I should have gone to school, but ah, you forget about going to school. Maybe if the girls that I was hanging out with were going to school, maybe I would have gone, too. But the girls that I was hanging out with, they were older than I am. I'm sixteen. They're about eighteen, nineteen, you know. So I didn't have somebody to coach you to go, you know.

WN: So how did you meet your husband [Panila Kapuni] and his family?

LK: Well, I first met the mother and the father. I met them first. My husband wasn't here at that time. He was working in Honolulu. So we stayed with my mother-in-law about the same year that we moved, I think. Maybe about---'cause he go and come, yeah. He don't stay Honolulu. That's when the first time I met him. Oh, there was nothing, you know. Just like anybody else when I first met him. So, well, took quite a while before we sort of kinda get feelings. Of course, he had feelings for me. I didn't have. So (chuckles) that's how we met. Like I told you, I used to read *True Story* and *True Romances*, and in there it says, "Love at first sight," yeah. So that was secretly in me. I never make advances, eh. He did, see. When I first, I said, "Oh, that's what it means." Love at first sight.

(Laughter)

LK: That was funny, though.

WN: Yeah.

LK: I tell my *mo'opunas*. Tell them stories and stuff like that. And they laugh, you know. They think it's funny. I say, "Yeah, it's funny to you, but wasn't to me."

(Laughter)

WN: So where were your in-laws living at that time?

LK: Well, they had two house. Just like how my *tūtū*. My *tūtū* get the big house and the cook house. So they had, one is a net house. That net house is where they cook, everything, eat, you know, at that house. Everything over there. Then the other big house, that's where they sleep and everything else. So there was two house. So we stayed in the big house. The parents stayed where the cook house is. 'Cause get one bedroom in that house. The floor was---it's dirt, but they fill it up with little pebbles. Small kind rocks, eh. And we used to get, we call that *pūlumi nī 'au*. The coconut sticks that form the leaf. You clean a whole bunch, make one handful, and you tie 'em together. So that was to sweep. Because when they smoke cigarettes and match, they throw 'em all on the floor. It look ugly, yeah. So every day I get the coconut broom and sweep the thing, fly out. So keep the floor clean.

WN: And what did they grow?

LK: My father-in-law, they had taro patch, and sweet potato, and bananas, and stuff. Not much. But he was more fisherman, that's why, was not much for grow. He spent his time more fishing. When they get fish, the sampan come over and pick up the fish. They get *ō'io* and *akule*. That's what they surround. So that's the kind of fish they got. Of course, that kind fish

come season. The *akule* season and the *ʻōʻio* season, too. That's why my husband tell me, "You know, if my father was the type that no party, they would be pretty good, you know. Not the best, but at least little better than worse." (Chuckles) 'Cause every time party, party, party. You buy this, you buy that, you buy liquor. But they make their own liquor, see, those days. He said, "Spend more money by making party, and forget about the family." That was the problem with his father.

And then at that time, because he go fishing, he don't work, see [Maui] County. So what had happened, my husband went and worked under his [father's] name. He was only fourteen at that time, he said. So he go work. And those days the county, for one month, they give you, maybe, seven days [of work]. And if you not married, you just a single person, they give you three days—a month now. So that's how it was. So my husband go work, maybe for a week for my father-in-law. So that was the good part. He helped the family by him doing that.

WN: Was the lifestyle here, with your mother- and father-in-law, similar to the lifestyle you had on Maui with your *tūtū*?

LK: No. Far different, far different. Over here [Moloka'i], real hard if you don't hustle, you know. Like me and my *tūtū*, the river is right there. We can go pick up *ʻōpae* or we can go get plenty all kind of green stuff. Always there's something for eat. But like my mother-in-law, she's the kind that real—the Hawaiians are the giving-kind type, yeah. When the family come, that can be the last dry squid; they give 'em, you know. And my husband come home from working, he get mad, you know. He said, "How can you give that? What we going have this evening for dinner?" So, I have to grab the bucket and go down the beach and pick up crab. That's the good part. There's always something; you gotta hustle though. So go down the beach and catch one bucket crab. And then come home and clean and cook or whatever. And then that's what we have for dinner. It's real hard, you know, living over here this place.

Another thing different from where I come from, like the *ʻōpae*. My mother-in-law say, "Oh, we go catch *ʻōpae*." And I looking around, "Chee, where's the river, this place?" (Chuckles) So I don't ask her. I learned that from small time. No talk, so okay. So I grab the bucket and then we walk down the beach. And we keep walking and then to that fish pond, that 'Ualapu'e Fishpond. We went over there to the opening of the fish pond. The tide was low and then she start scooping, you know, the net. "Ho," I said, "Wow! That is *ʻōpae*." But it's funny *ʻōpae*. The shrimp they all jump, jump, jump, yeah. And the kind from the river, they crawl, you know. They don't jump like that. So these buggers, they really frisky-looking things. (Chuckles) But that's how I felt, you know. That's my true feeling of that. Then we came home. Well, we had one bucket, plenty. Come home and we clean. And then, chee, they want to grab the *ʻōpae*. Oh, get that sharp point, just like one spear, you know. The thing sharp. Just like *kāka* in front there. I said, "Oh, this is a strange *ʻōpae*." So I cannot help it. I tell my mother-in-law, "Funny, yeah, this *ʻōpae*. Look in front here, just like get *kāka*."

She said, "Yeah, this different from the river *ʻōpae*."

So I said, "Oh." That's one different thing, the *ʻōpae*.

And then [another] different thing was, you know, *hthtwai*, yeah?

WN: Um hm [yes].

LK: Yeah, okay. When somebody brought *hthtwai* to our house, then I said, "Oh, *hthtwai*."

Then they said, "*Wt*."

So I said, "*Wt*? We call this *hthtwai*."

"Oh, yeah. *Hthtwai*, *wt*, same thing." So then I realized, even in our language. Even in our language. That's why I have this Hawaiian-language students, that I teach them: if at any time people correct you on certain word, and you know it in one word, you accept that. Because different island have different . . .

WN: Word.

LK: . . . yeah. Different understanding. Well, different word. Yeah, you're right. Different word. And it means the same thing.

WN: Besides *hthtwai*, were there other words that they say differently on Moloka'i?

LK: Another one, green stuff we used to eat. They call that *pohole*. Did you hear about it?

WN: *Pohole*?

LK: *Pohole*.

WN: No.

LK: Oh.

WN: What is that?

LK: That is this one fern. The *hapu'u*, they eat that young shoot. I don't know how to fix that, but I know how to fix *pohole*. These young shoots, you pluck. And it's real crunchy, '*ono*. You eat that with the '*opae*. My *tutu*, when we go mountain, she pick up that and pick up the '*opae*. And then mix 'em up with little water or just add a little salt. Just like eating onion, real crunchy. That '*ono*. But the Filipinos, what they do is, they pluck 'em and then they add little *bagoong* inside. The *bagoong* '*ono*, though. And add the shrimp, yeah, '*opae* inside. That thing taste good. But that's Hawaiian; we eat that, yeah. So over here, the *pohole*, they call that *hō'i'o*, you know. So then they tell me, "Well, *hō'i'o*, *pohole*, same thing." Just like I one foreigner.

(Laughter)

LK: So they different, yeah. That's the two different things that I know. I know *wt* is a fruit. But I never know that. But they say, no, Moloka'i [people] say *wt* is *hthtwai*. And then *hō'i'o* is

what you call?

WN: *Pohole.*

LK: *Pohole, yeah.*

WN: Were you treated like an outsider when you first came?

LK: Over here?

WN: Yeah.

LK: No, they were nice. They're nice. Nice when I never get married to my husband. But when you get married and, you know, when we were going together, my mother-in-law didn't care too much for me. Because, there I go again, because I'm part Filipino. That's where the problem, at that time. Sometime you think, yeah, they not partial with any nationality. Because Hawaiians, they invite anybody for come and sit down, eat. But when come to the *koko*, you know, come to the family get married or something like that, they're very, very particular, because they like keep that blood, you know. Because no can mix with other blood, eh. So they like keep the blood pure. But that's where my problem was with my mother-in-law. But then when I had my first child, oh, she changed her attitude.

WN: Oh.

LK: Yeah. So we became good friends after that.

WN: Oh yeah? What year did you get married?

LK: Uh, 19. . . . I stayed with my husband a couple of years before we got married. Uh, wait, 1935, '36, I think, when we got married. And then we gotta get married because he became policeman at that time.

WN: Oh.

LK: So that was a rules and regulation, I think. I don't know. You gotta stay within the law, eh?

(Laughter)

WN: I'm gonna change tape, okay. Hold on.

END OF SIDE TWO

TAPE NO. 19-5-1-90; SIDE ONE

WN: From here, where was your husband's family's home?

- LK: Well, that land that they have, that belongs to my father-in-law's father, I think. Stepfather, yeah, stepfather. That's right. That's that little piece of land down the beach, where we lived.
- WN: Oh, it's on the beach.
- LK: Yeah, down the beach. That's why this land go all the way down [to] the beach. Because we bought this land. We bought this from the Rodrigues family; we bought this land.
- WN: I see. And how big was the property?
- LK: The one down there?
- WN: Yeah.
- LK: Oh, I think, almost quarter of an acre, I think. I don't know. But this one is about three-quarter of an acre. 'Cause it was the two piece of land that we bought.
- WN: So what was the community of 'Ualapu'e like? You said that there were the [Maui] County offices down here?
- LK: Yeah, right. That's right. Right at that corner, before you turn up to the [Kilohana] School, right there was the courthouse. And in the back of that was the tax office. And on the left-hand side, those days they had horses, wagons to haul all their tools. But after, then they have trucks. That's where the county, they keep all their tools and everything. Then they moved it out to Kaunakakai.
- WN: Oh. When did they start moving things to Kaunakakai?
- LK: Ho, let me see. Well, I had my first baby, they were still here. Second, my boy, he's about fifty now. He was born 19. . . . Oh, forget his birthday. He's about fifty, fifty-one, I think, now.
- WN: He was born about '39?
- LK: About that, yeah. So at that year, I think, between '38 and '39. So roughly, I'm saying. That's when they moved everything to Kaunakakai. And there's nothing up here. So we just have the school. This school also was moved from up that side [Kalua'aha]. But before that, I don't know if they moved the same time. This was a hospital.
- WN: You mean, where the [Kilohana] School is now?
- LK: The same building, yeah. That was a hospital. And then afterward, when they used it for school, then they had a dispensary. A little hospital where family can go give birth and stuff like that. And then, of course, in the meantime, we had Ho'olehua [i.e. Shingle Memorial] Hospital. Yeah, so then that [dispensary] was closed down. And then they had a preschool. First preschool was at that dispensary. First preschool that we had on this island.
- WN: Oh, so before, it was a hospital, then it became a dispensary . . .

LK: Dispensary.

WN: . . . then it became a preschool.

LK: Preschool, right. That's right. Well, of course, it was just a small building. There was a doctor's office, so they made it as a dispensary. Was a hospital before that, but I think was only four beds, I think, in there. I forgot.

(Taping interrupted, then resumes.)

WN: What about stores?

LK: Stores. Oh, Ah Ping Store.

WN: Ah Ping.

LK: Ah Ping Store, yeah. Ah Ping Store, can tell you big stories; plenty story, you know. I remember when I used to go church and you listen to how the preacher talk. I almost can tell that the storekeepers, they talk to the preachers. 'Cause he say, "If you earn \$200, don't go spending \$300." (Chuckles) He was a good preacher. He said, "You buy all your stuff from the *Pake* store, you got to pay. That man gotta get that money for buy the next food for us to eat." He was really good preacher, that man. So that was Ah Ping Store. Because that store, all the people around here charge. All, even the Filipinos and Japanese. Everybody charge, yeah. They give credit. Afterward, they realize who the good and bad creditors are. But they really good, this Ah Ping Store. They help the family; they really do. Really down and out, although they no pay their bills, but you can see they really need help. That's where our problem, you know, Warren. That when we had these stores, and we had a little money, we became a little bit lazy. The people stopped . . .

(Telephone rings. Taping stops, then resumes.)

WN: Okay, you were talking about the store and people getting lazy because of the money.

LK: Okay. Because of the money. Well, people was working. Ho'olehua has pineapple. And of course, county [work]. County wasn't that much. But they forgot to clean their taro patch. The taro patch was getting overgrown. They forgot to plant sweet potato. Even my friend, you know, she was telling me about what had happened with that family. They were living next door, neighbors. But when she was growing up, they cleaned their taro patch 'cause they need the poi. But the family all moved and they went work for Pu'uoHoku [Ranch]. At that time, pineapple was growing up there. Okay, this family move up there. And then, I don't know, the husband got fired from the job, came back. No more nothing food, and they had to go ask them for taro and sweet potato. See, when they went, they never think of upkeeping the taro patch and plant some potato or stuff like that.

In my family we had taro patch. That taro patch really took care my father-in-law during their time, and then came me and my husband, and then came my children, and then came my grandchildren. Then now I cannot do nothing. I don't want to go in the water. But my daughter planted. She planted the taro patch. But only she work and she get hard time plant

taro. But otherwise, that's how we raised our children. From our children, from our grandchildren, and now our great-grandchildren. From that taro patch. So that's what happened with us, the Hawaiians. We forgot that that's our basic food. So that's why it's going to be a problem. And then like how our minister say, "When you get \$200, you no spend \$300." So you owe too much, so your credit is bad. That's where it's wrong. To me, I look at us Hawaiians, that's where our problem is. We forget our old basic kind lifestyle. Yeah, we forget all that. We went all for all the nice stuff, all the good food, all that. But we forget all how we used to live. That was good; it's still good for me today, you know. I plant my little garden, even though my back sore. I told Zelda, "You bring home your spinach, you know, seeds that I can plant." Those the kind of things that we forget, to make garden. That's sad.

(Visitor arrives. Taping interrupted then resumes.)

WN: Do you think we can finish here now, today? And then maybe I come back one more time and finish up?

LK: How much more? What . . .

WN: Talking about 'Ualapu'e.

LK: Oh, yeah, yeah. Okay, that'll be fine.

END OF INTERVIEW

Tape No. 19-9-2-90

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Lani Lopez Kapuni (LK)

February 22, 1990

'Ualapu'e, Moloka'i

BY: Warren Nishimoto (WN)

WN: This is an interview with Aunty Lani Kapuni on February 22, 1990, at her home in 'Ualapu'e, Moloka'i. And the interviewer is Warren Nishimoto.

Okay, last time, we ended up right when you were getting to 'Ualapu'e. We talked little bit about 'Ualapu'e. What I want to do first is talk, first of all, about coming over here to 'Ualapu'e. I know you came because of your husband.

LK: Well, my husband was born (in Honolulu). I came here because of my papa. My father worked here for the pineapple company that was Libby, [McNeill & Libby]. He came here first, and then I came after. He came back and picked me up from Maui, because I come from Maui, and I moved over here with him working in the pineapple company.

WN: So you first lived in Ho'olehua?

LK: Ho'olehua. Yeah, with this Hawaiian family. Kekahuna family. (That's where we) stayed. Those days they had camp where they have all the Filipinos. A Filipino camp. My father didn't live in there. But because he made friends with the Kekahunas, he stayed with them. So that's where we stayed, (in the) family home.

WN: That time, were there quite a number of Hawaiian families in Ho'olehua?

LK: Ho'olehua. Oh, yes. At that time, yes, lots of them. Most, they were the original Hawaiians that started the homestead in Ho'olehua. Yeah, had plenty families I know up there.

WN: So Ho'olehua was mostly Hawaiian . . .

LK: Mostly . . .

WN: . . . and Filipino?

LK: Yeah, mostly Hawaiian and Filipino. Of course, Japanese. They had Korean, too, that worked for the pineapple [company] there.

WN: And how long did you live at Ho'olehua?

LK: Oh, about a year. About a year we stayed up there, me and my father. He's that roving kind, you know, he get tired of this and then he like do something else. That's why he moved up here ['Ualapu'e]. He found this Kapuni family. They were fishermen, this family. So he moved up here and stayed with these people. But I stayed with my friend at Ho'olehua when he [father] was up here. He asked me that I had to come home up here with him, so I move up here with him at that time.

WN: I see. And you were right near the—well, right near the fish pond. 'Ualapu'e Fishpond.

LK: Yeah, 'Ualapu'e Fishpond. That's right.

WN: What do you remember about the fish pond when you first came [in 1931]?

LK: Well, the first time when I came here, before that, had Japanese—Sakanashi took care of that fish pond. But prior to that, well, was [Edward] Duvauchelle, I think. I [believe] the Duvauchelles (leased the fish pond and), they hired [Sakanashi] to take care the fish pond. But before that, I don't know. There was some Hawaiian people that took care of the fish pond. My father-in-law was saying how they had kept that fish pond in the old days. Because [the fish from] the fish pond, they take to Maui. They used to take 'em to Maui plantations. They know when the day of payday. They get the fish from this fish pond. But when I came here, it was not as bountiful as the way how he tell me the stories of that fish pond. See, when they get the fish—well, of course, the best time, he said, is high tide. High tide and they get that trap [i.e., *makaha*] over there. They get all the fish in there and they scoop the fish and put 'em on the canoe, that time. And then they fill up their canoe full with the fish and they cover that up with those morning glory that you find down the beach. That is old. Those was always here. I don't know whether it was brought over here or what. And that kept the fish, just like keeping on ice. And they leave over here—Moloka'i—early in the morning, like say, four o'clock. And they reach over there maybe, say eight, ten o'clock. And then they wait over there till all the people *pau* work. And they come and then they buy their . . .

WN: This is on Maui?

LK: On Maui, in Lahaina. And so they sell all their fish. And all the people from over here, those going over there, well, they ask them to buy stuff. Because over here didn't have store at that time, I think. I don't know when Ah Ping Store came here. So they buy flour, material, thread, all those things that they don't have. And then so the husbands buy all these things to bring back after they get their money. That's how they used this fish pond. They say the mullet stays solid almost all day with that morning glory cover on top. They call that in Hawaiian, *pohuehue*, that morning glory. So they find out that that's the best thing to preserve the fish. But this fish over here, I don't know, they were saying that it's more solid than like the other rest of the fish ponds. They compare the fish because this other family from the other fish ponds, they take their fish. By the time they get over there, when hot, the thing all soft. The fish come more or less spoiled. But this the only fish pond that has its fish stay solid all day with the covering on top. Yeah, it's the only fish pond. Well, they were saying that, like I told you, in that fish pond there's a freshwater spring in there. Right in the middle of that fish pond. So, well, they figure because of that. The water stronger than salt.

So more little bit brackish. So they think that's why, from that.

WN: So the more fresh water the better?

LK: Yeah, better, yeah. We have this well that we use for our taro patch. 'Cause on this side of the island, because all swamp land, we don't have running river. But we have well that they dig and then they make taro patch. So in that well, they throw mullet in that. Eh, the mullet come big, you know. And the water is pretty not that much brackish, you know. That's what we use for cooking, washing clothes, and stuff like that.

WN: Oh, so almost fresh?

LK: Yeah, almost fresh. We get our drinking water from the county line. So yeah, almost fresh. So, that's true, the mullet hard, you know. The Hawaiians like eat raw, yeah, so when you salt, the thing stay soft. But not this fish pond. It's not like that. Real solid.

WN: What about *awa*? They like that fish, too?

LK: I never see. They never had *awa* inside there. The only fish they had was mullet and *āholehole*. That the two kind of fish I seen inside there. So . . .

WN: So you said that when your father-in-law was fishing they used traps.

LK: Trap for . . .

WN: What kind of trap?

LK: What, chee, I forgot what was.

WN: Was it trap or net that they used to catch the fish and put on the canoe?

LK: Yeah, well, that's the gate, you know.

WN: Oh, I see. The *makaha*. [LK meant that they would trap the fish by closing the two gates in the *makaha*, then scoop out the trapped fish.]

LK: The *makaha*. Yeah, I forget tell you the word. That's a trap. They house all the fish inside, and then they close the trap[door], because get one door inside. The fish no can run out again. And then they scoop the fish, put 'em on the boat. I think the *ali'i* time they have to use that trap. But afterward, then they had [drag]nets. They used to drag because the Duvauchelles used to sell the fish. And I seen my father-in-law, you know, when they standing over there. And if they see the kind fish just like deformed behind, on top the back, one little lump way in the back, almost to the tail. He pick 'em up. Well, those are the humongous ones. He pick 'em up and he throw 'em [back]. And I was wondering. When they come home I ask him, "Why you throw that fish back?"

He said, "Ah, that's a *kama'āina*. They the *kama'āina* of the fish pond."

I said, "Oh. I never know."

He said that fish you not supposed to eat. They the ones that supply the fish pond with the fish.

WN: So what? They throw 'em where?

LK: They throw 'em back in the pond. 'Cause when they drag the fish, no drag 'em on the land yet. They look for all those fish with the deformed tail, and they throw 'em back in the pond. Then they pull 'em all *mauka*, yeah. On the shoreline.

WN: So they throw the *kama'āina* back because . . .

LK: Back.

WN: . . . because what? No taste good or . . .

LK: No, those are just like they're special; just like they're the mamas and the papas of the fish pond, yeah.

WN: Oh, I see.

LK: That's why they say they're the *kama'āinas*.

WN: But why—how come *kama'āinas* are deformed?

LK: I think maybe that's their marking, I think. I don't know that. He [father-in-law] just said. I think that's their marking. He worked on that fish pond, he worked with all the old people, and then he learn, I think. So that's why he said that all that goes back to the pond. That not supposed to be eaten.

WN: I see. So the *mākāhā* had two gates. One at the outside part of the wall . . .

LK: You see the wall is like this. You know, you get the wall there. The inside of the wall get that opening and then outside get opening.

WN: Two openings . . .

LK: Two openings.

WN: . . . within the same . . .

LK: The inside and the outside, yeah.

WN: I see.

LK: But the outside they have this special kind wood. They bring from up the mountain to block the outside. But the inside, no. That's the only time they close, is when those days, they go

take for sell in Lahaina. That's why they house the fish in there. That's why, you see, was so much fish, he said, "You put one rock on top this fish in that trap, that stone no can go down."

WN: Oh.

LK: So thick with fish. Well, they go try, yeah. (Chuckles)

WN: So when high-tide time, when time to harvest, they close both gates.

LK: Both, yeah. But the outside gate is closed.

WN: Already closed.

LK: Yeah, have to, because they don't like the fish go in and out. They stay in there. They supposed to stay only in the fish pond. The outside is closed. They have, I don't know, there's wood . . .

WN: Grate.

LK: Yeah.

WN: Wood grate.

LK: I think so. I don't know how they do that, but real neat, you know.

WN: So when they trap 'em they only close the inside one.

LK: Just the inside, yeah. That they cannot go outside, yeah.

WN: So when the tide is going out.

LK: Well, when the tide is full, you know, when it real high tide. The water high, yeah. Almost level with the stone wall. Oh, then you get more fish inside. Because the fish pond was so plenty of fish. Was so plenty.

WN: And the inside gate was the kind wooden . . .

LK: Wooden kind.

WN: . . . sticks.

LK: Yeah, wooden sticks, right. Put trap in so *pa'a*, yeah. They cannot run back outside. And that fish in that fish pond, you open the gut. Just like the belly of the pig. How fat! That's how fat. Even the *aholehole*.

WN: 'Ono, eh?

LK: 'Ono, yeah. You steam. (Chuckles)

WN: Oh, yeah.

LK: You steam that, yeah. The *āholehole*, after you *pau* clean, between your fingers all oily. That's how fat it is. Well, the pond was clean, you know, everything was clean.

WN: When they trapped the fish between the, in the *makāha* . . .

LK: Uh huh.

WN: . . . what did they use to scoop it out?

LK: They had scoop net.

WN: Scoop net?

LK: Yeah, they had scoop net at that time. My father-in-law said they get scoop net. Just put 'em down. Two guys put down and then one time lift 'em up and put outside. Or they lift 'em up and take 'em on the canoe.

WN: And the canoe was right over there.

LK: Right over there. High the tide, yeah. You cannot put your canoe too near the stone [wall] because water go in and out. You bang, so you park 'em little bit out and then you haul your fish in the canoe. And when that thing full and if still some more fish, then let 'em go or [give it to] whoever else need the fish. And so . . .

WN: And you folks used to take for yourselves?

LK: Oh yeah. Actually, we didn't need fish from over there. Outside [the pond] was full of mullet. Used to have this Filipino man, was more or less family, yeah. They all stay together with us. And when he cook his rice, then he call one more other guy. Of course, my father-in-law take care all the Filipinos. They fishermen, yeah. And he call the other guy and they get one short net. They go outside and drag and they pick up maybe two or three and let the rest go. You just need so much. That's how plenty. Mullet was plenty.

WN: How big was the average-sized mullet from the pond?

LK: You know, first time when I seen the mullet, I thought that was *awa*. The bugger was big. I don't know how many feet. I looked, real big, you know. So you only need one for one big family. And that's what I mean, you split the knife, eh, the gut. It's so fat. Oh.

WN: And how did you prepare the mullet?

LK: Well, we eat raw. But mostly it's boiled. Raw and boiled. At that time, nobody learned how to steam.

WN: Oh.

LK: Yeah, nobody . . .

WN: How you boil mullet?

LK: I seen my mother-in-law, so I learned from her. She put water on the stove and let the water boil and then you throw in [salt]. When the thing is real boiling, then you throw your fish inside. To me, there's lot of difference when you do that. Yeah, the mullet. And then . . .

WN: And you just eat 'em like that?

LK: Yeah, well, sometimes you put onion or stuff like that inside, just to make the flavor. And then, of course, what they usually do, they cut the tail and the head, that's for soup. But the middle part, you know, the belly part, they *poke* that. And salt, then put it away so when dinnertime, that's ready. They like that part because that's the fat part.

WN: And *āholehole*, same thing?

LK: The *āholehole* is same thing. You clean the *kukū*, two side all *kukū*, you know, that fish. And then you *poke*. Hawaiians love *āholehole*. I like *āholehole* fried, though. I like fried. That's the only two kind fish I know inside there. Outside [the fish pond], yeah, *awa*. Used to get lot of big school of *awa*. Big school. My father-in-law, well, he's a fisherman so he catch plenty fish. And then sell. Of course, people come by. When they know that he going fishing, everybody come by. But he's not the kind for only for sell. When see family or friends like that, he give. He give fish, you know. If they like more then they have to buy. He always give. We used to catch 'oama, eh, in front here. This big kind school. And then my sister-in-law, she's small. Her job was to take one bucket to this family, that family, all along the way; take to the (chuckles) families. He [father-in-law] always do that.

WN: You used to catch 'oama with the pole or with net?

LK: No, I never know that they bite hook. I didn't know that.

(Laughter)

LK: All I know was that way; catch with the net. I didn't know about poling. To me that's different way of fishing, poling. Over here they had more net. But like Hālawa places and stuff like that, well, they get pole. They used bamboo. And they used net, too, but more so over here. 'Cause over here they get *awa*, they get 'ō'io, they get *weke*, they get *moi*, all these different fish that they catch with the net.

WN: Had 'ō'io and *weke* in the pond?

LK: In the pond, no. This ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond never had 'ō'io and *weke*. That Kūpeke Fishpond, way up *mana'e*, over there get 'ō'io and *awa* in there. I don't know how, but must be some got in there or they threw 'em in there. I never see big ones, but they pretty good-sized 'ō'io.

- WN: So when you first moved over there, it was actually Sakanashi who was watching the pond?
- LK: Um hm. Watching.
- WN: What was his job?
- LK: Well, see that nobody come in the fish pond and pick up fish because at that time, [Edward] Duvauchelle paid for the lease. So Duvauchelle owned the pond. People was not like today. Today more people go poaching. That's why I told Walter [Ritte] you gotta get somebody to take care that ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond, if you plan to plant fish inside there. No, it's not like before. Before, everybody respect. There was respect, you know. When Duvauchelle drag net and catch fish, the people all around here get fish. Yeah, he give fish. But only he needed to watch maybe the gate, or something. You know, if something go wrong or stuff. That's why he needed a watchman.
- WN: Could your father-in-law fish in there anytime?
- LK: No, no.
- WN: Well, your father-in-law fished outside.
- LK: Outside, more outside. And then they planted clams inside there. So that, yeah, you can go pick up for eat; not for sell. Anybody can. Not for sell. They catch you selling, no more you going in there, which is nothing but right.
- WN: Who would enforce that? Who would tell . . .
- LK: Uh, Sakanashi.
- WN: Oh, yeah?
- LK: He the boss. He the boss man over there. I tell you, *kaukau* all right, yeah. Okay, you go pick up. If you going sell, no. So we just go with our little bucket. Just 'nough for dinner or for lunch or whatever. You don't have to take any more than that.
- WN: And where did Sakanashi live?
- LK: Well, by the side of the fish pond there was one little house they had built, yeah. Nice little shack over there [*hale mākaʻa*]. Those days, we no more faucet, no more pipe water. So they used well water. There was one well not too far from his house. They used that for cook and stuff like that. But then Shinichi them was staying over here, Watanabe. So Sakanashi, he come over here, at that time where these Japanese was. He comes over here and 'au'au, eh. They have the Japanese *furo*. So every evening he comes over here.
- WN: So did Duvauchelle come around? Did you see him?
- LK: Well, the only time I know is when he come for drag, catch fish. That's the only time. He was a pretty good guy, to me. But some people no like him, so.

WN: Did Sakanashi ever catch anybody poaching or anything like that?

LK: Uh, not actually poaching. We had this one family over here. Well, if Sakanashi get up late, ah, then no more fish in the trap. Because the fish, when the gate stay open, they all stay inside. When the tide low, cannot come back again in the pond. So they stuck in the trap. So, well, if he get up late, well, the Hawaiian pick 'em up, eh. (Chuckles) That's where the problem. They just pick 'em up, see. But at least they just pick 'em up for eat. I know this family right over here.

WN: So was much easier to steal fish from the [*mākaha*] then it would to go inside, eh?

LK: Oh yeah, why you go fool around inside the pond? It's right there. You waste your time. (Chuckles) My father-in-law, he really, he *aloha*, you know, Sakanashi. This one particular family we get that loves to take things; some people's stuff. (Chuckles) So for Sakanashi, he would rather if you asked. He tell them, "You ask, I give you." But we always buy from him, because I like the *aholehole*, that's why. That, I buy. I don't care for the mullet.

WN: Oh, so the fish that Sakanashi folks caught in the pond he sold?

LK: Oh yes, yeah. That's what for he . . .

WN: Oh, to Moloka'i residents, too?

LK: Well, yeah. Some people give him order, yeah. Then he sell the fish.

WN: He sell right there?

LK: Yeah. Or he bring 'em over here and I don't know who. Maybe whoever get and then they come pick up their orders, yeah. Sometime he tell, "Ah, no can. Somebody ordered already, yeah."

So we said, "Oh, oh." What I like is the *aholehole*. I like fried crispy and that thing is fat, yeah.

WN: Mm. Ah, sounds good.

LK: (Chuckles) Yeah, so he sell and of course, I think Duvauchelle have to pay him for taking care of that fish pond.

WN: And Sakanashi spoke English?

LK: Oh, little bit, you know. He can. He can talk English, whereby we all understand one another. Yeah.

WN: And so after Sakanashi and Duvauchelle, who took over the pond?

LK: Uh, Harry Apo.

WN: And you know when about that was?

LK: Chee, I can't even remember the year.

WN: Before the war?

LK: Oh, yeah, yeah. They was before the war, yeah.

WN: Before the war.

LK: Before the Second World War.

WN: So did anything change after . . .

LK: Yes, when we had that 1946 . . .

WN: Tidal wave.

LK: . . . tidal wave, that's when it changed. That's when even the clams *make*. Part of the fish pond [wall] was broken. Not too much (damage). The tidal wave (went) over (the wall). So plenty rocks from inside the fish pond are (pushed) in the middle of the fish pond. So that was the time when everything changed.

WN: What about when Harry Apo took over? Any changes in, you know, how the pond was run or anything like that?

LK: Yeah. Well, when he was—I don't know, maybe the Hawaiian *mana* still strong, you know. The guy is stingy, you know. Eh, the fish, no more.

WN: You mean after Apo took over?

LK: Yeah, after he took over. No, get fish, but not as plenty as when Sakanashi was.

WN: Yeah, and when Apo took over what happened to Sakanashi?

LK: Uh, what had happened? I really didn't know what happened to him after. I think he stayed with the Watanabes for little while. I think he died. I don't even remember when he died. Sakanashi, yeah. He's a good man. I liked that old man.

WN: And did Harry Apo, when he took over the lease, he was also the manager or did he hire somebody?

LK: No, no. He's a caretaker, he's everything. He never hire anybody to manage the fish pond for him. But he stingy, see. People go ask him. That causes people to go steal. They wait when he go home then everybody go inside pick up the clams. So when had this tidal wave was, chee, bust up everything. And change. And the clams all *make*. Yeah, no more. So I was thinking, chee, the *mana* still good yet. (Chuckles) Yeah, from that day, from that time, until today, no more. They don't have mullet like how was before.

WN: So you think was maybe something bad, when . . .

LK: Well, because my father-in-law talk, that's why. He said, "That fishpond was not---there's time for *kapu*, yeah. When the *kapu pau*, then they free to go inside (to pick up) balloon fish (and 'ōpae)."

WN: Yeah.

LK: Yeah. You know the Hawaiians (in the old days, after the *kapu* they were free to go and pick up 'ōpae, 'alamihi and balloon fish. They just took what they needed).

WN: You mean, before had *kapu* on balloon fish?

LK: No, but the *kapu* (was for) the fish pond.

WN: You mean the *kapu* under Duvauchelle?

LK: Well, Duvauchelle, no. Duvauchelle didn't keep those Hawaiian traditions, he didn't. But before, during the *ali'i* time, yeah, they keep. But when Duvauchelle time, uh uh [no]. You can go over there. You can go pick up the balloon fish. He no stop that. As long as you no fool around the [other] fish. He don't care. But when Harry Apo, nothing. You don't climb on that fish pond. Unless he like you. If he like you, yeah, okay. You gotta be friend to Harry Apo. Then you all right. Other then that, uh uh [no].

WN: So had more *kapu*—more restrictions—with Harry Apo.

LK: Yeah, you cannot go inside there. Before when Sakanashi, you like pick up 'o'opu hue or pick up clams, you go get. But he watch, you know. In the meantime, he look how much you taking home, too, you know.

(Laughter)

LK: You no blame 'em, you know.

WN: Yeah.

LK: Yeah, so us, we just take one bucket. Take more than 'nough. You cannot eat all, even though one bucket.

WN: So the *kapus* that your father-in-law was talking about, do you remember any of them?

LK: You mean, in what way?

WN: I mean, you know, the different kinds of—during *ali'i* times—what kind of *kapus* or legends?

LK: I don't know. He just tell me about the *kapus*. He no even tell me what and what, you know, in details. He just tell me the *kapus*. You see, if I ask him little bit more question, he no say nothing. What I wanted to know, when is the time for the *kapu*, you know. I know they go

by the moon. Because Hawaiians everything is by the moon, the star, and everything. Certain time they change the trap [i.e., the gate in the *mākāhā*]. They change 'cause they can tell getting not strong, so they cut [sticks] from up the mountain. And that's another thing. They have special time for that. So that's all he say, you know. They have special (trip) for that.

WN: You said that your mother-in-law claims to have seen a mermaid in the pond?

LK: Not the fish pond. There's a spring over there. That spring is where before all the Hawaiian people on 'Ualapu'e and I don't know how far, they go get their drinking water, cooking water. From that one. Get two pools (from that well). One is used for drinking water and cooking and everything. The next one is for wash clothes and take a bath, too. Right over there. And they call that Lo'ipūnāwai. Right where the big house. See that house right close to the road?

WN: Yeah.

LK: Across the fish pond?

WN: Um hm.

LK: Yeah, it's in that lot.

WN: And they used that for washing clothes?

LK: Yeah, but get two pools, see. One pool is for drink water and cook. People, they live kind of far. They go over there, haul water for take 'em to the. . . . And that water taste just like mountain water, yeah. And then another pool, next to that pool, that's for wash clothes. And all around there is all taro patches.

WN: And who owned the taro patches?

LK: At that time, well, that's the Kaaui family. They owned that and they sold it. Oh, I wish that was my land. I wouldn't have sold it. Because get history; get story about that place. That fish pond and that Lo'ipūnāwai. That story that was told to me—I don't know how true—but this person tell me the story about this Lo'ipūnāwai. And there's one other spring well. It's way up, where that Japanese man (lived. Matayoshi was his name.) It's on, oh my goodness. I forget names. I getting old. I better not talk (chuckles). Every time I talk like that, all the time I forget. But anyhow, there's a story where they said this boy and this girl fell in love. And the parents didn't like the boy, so they try keep the two kids away from one another. So this old man, *kama'āina*, tell 'em—because they like run away but they cannot run away—you cannot walk on the road, people see you. So the old man tell—they call that Wai'alalā, that well over there—he said, "You dive down and you swim all the way. And you going come out one place." So the two kids made a plan that they run away. So they got into that well, dove down, and swam. And swim, swim, swim, then came out to this well over here. That's the story.

WN: And what? Did they get married?

LK: Well, you see, they tell you story just according to how it happened.

(Laughter)

LK: That's what my father-in-law tell me, and I no ask him any more. I kinda . . .

WN: You don't know the ending then.

LK: Yeah, you don't know the ending. Then you gotta assume they got married, you know. You gotta think like that. So in other words, the god had brought them out of there and came out and they stayed together, see. So that's how he tell me the stories. So I no ask questions. The Hawaiians are funny, if you keep asking questions. My father-in-law is a quiet man. And if I keep on asking, then when he no say anything, then I stop asking him questions. So maybe wasn't meant for me to hear.

WN: Your father-in-law was Christian?

LK: Uh huh [yes]. Very much so. I learned so much from him about Christianity. Of course, he tell his son, but his son, he's not into that. But he say, "Whenever you amongst people, when you talk, don't put up an argument. You don't know what kind power that other person have." Now we talking about the old days. You don't know what kind power that person have. So the less you talk, the better for you. He used to tell me things like that. And then, of course, he quote the Bible too, eh. He's Catholic.

WN: I'm just wondering, you know, whether because he's a Christian, if talking about the old legends was sort of, you know, so different from his religion that he didn't want to talk about it. I don't know.

LK: Uh huh [yes]. Yeah, well, maybe so. But you see, my father-in-law performed lots of (Hawaiian rituals. He was a *kahuna*.) But that's the stories he tell about, like for instance, for fishing. He had idol. Fishing idol is not like these other kind. They get these other kind *kahuna*, to kill, to heal, to curse, to everything. And that's all the bad kind gods. But this is fishing; fishing god. And so when I amongst all these people around here, you know, "Oh, you know, your father-in-law one *kahuna*."

I said, "Chee, I don't know. I no see him do anything."

Well, you see, although he's a Christian, he still perform because he feel this is the fish god. So, well, we had (a *ko'a*). Early in the morning, I get up, and get breakfast ready. So that was about six, seven o'clock, I think. So I got to the kitchen, because we get one house with kitchen and one sleeping house. So I got into the kitchen and get the wood, start the fire. And then my mother-in-law, she say, "Don't do that." You see, when you brought up in that kind life, when they tell, "Don't do that," you just stop. Don't ask questions.

So my father-in-law got food ready. But this is the extra room that they had prepared all the food inside. So we walk inside, just only us. Me and my husband, my father-in-law, my mother-in-law, and the two *hānai*, and of course, one Filipino fisherman. He just happened to be there, so we all got into the room. And we sat down and we ate *kālua* pig, poi. Just *kālua*

pig and poi. Of course, he pray first before we ate, and then he said, "Try eat as much as you can." That's a small little pig. I think that pig is about, oh, ten, fifteen pounds. Small little pig. So we ate and cannot eat that much, yeah. And then after *pau*, he gather up all the bone of the pig—all the balance—that was not to keep. We cannot (keep) the balance.

And then in the evening, he took all the balance of this and go feed the other god, I think. That's the one in the ocean. He went down there by Keawa Nui. Over there, that deep blue outside there. They call that Keawa Nui, sand island, over there. This is nighttime, and then he throw that (*pā'olo*) way in the middle of that blue. And then he said, "It's a spooky feeling." But he pay no mind because at that kind time he said you can hear somebody, just like big mouth clamping down trying to catch the boat, or stuff like that. So he pull the boat fast up on the shore, on the coral side. And then he can rest, eh. Then he come home.

Then after that, he always go up the mountain, up on the hill, and look down to that place. That is to watch the fish come in. So when he come back from over there, he say, "Ah, the fish inside already." But it's not the place that he want the fish. Then sometime maybe one, two weeks after that, and then he come home. He tell everybody get ready the net. So they go down there and surround. The *akule* was the fish. Yeah, so that was from that *kālua* pig for breakfast we (chuckles) had. That was my experience. I really sat down and ate with them, you know. That's my first experience when we talk about *kahuna*. That's why nothing happen. Because when they tell don't do this, don't do that, you just listen; follow what they tell you to do.

WN: So you more or less, didn't really understand what . . .

LK: No, I didn't understand.

WN: . . . why it was done.

LK: Uh huh, why it was done. But that was actually, what they say, that is sacrifice. Not sacrifice, offering. Offering to their god. So that this balance, they take 'em down to feed their other god. Their god is shark. So, ho, there's so many things when he tell me stories. I enjoyed talking with him, but as I say, when you ask questions, he no say any more.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

WN: Okay, we started talking about your mother-in-law seeing the mermaid. You know what she told you about that?

LK: Well, that's what she said. That's what she seen coming back from church. From Ah Ping Store, those days, not that much trees, you know. Everything was real clean. Not like now, overgrown, yeah. So you can see from over there. You can see the ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond clear from the Ah Ping Store. And she was walking, coming back from church. And she just happened to look towards the fish pond. And then her eyes went to where Lo'ipūnāwai, that

pool over there. She seen this lady sitting down. Well, she keep walking and she keep watching that lady. But her back was towards her, towards the East End side. But as she was coming nearer, the pool, just like her hair was inside there. Real 'ehu the hair, 'ehu hair she get, she sat down. And she was coming close, she said she don't know. She just blink her eye little bit, she wasn't there. And so people say, "Yeah, there is."

And I said, "What happened?"

She said, "I don't know. Just I only blink and I cannot," you see. But that's one just like full-grown lady. But she cannot see where her leg. All she seen was her sitting on the edge of the fish pond. She said the pond was in back of her and she was facing towards 'Ualapu'e. And then the hair all cover inside, 'cause that's one big pool, you know, that.

WN: Yeah, how big was the pool?

LK: Ho, how shall I say? Maybe, oh well, maybe you know *da kine* big kind washtub? It's not that big.

WN: Oh, small like that.

LK: Yeah, yeah. That kind big kind washtub, yeah. Not that big. So inside there get the mountain 'opae, you know.

WN: Yeah?

LK: Yeah.

WN: Still get the [pool]?

LK: Yeah, still get but you know what happened when that *Haole* bought the land? Well, he *wen* fill up. But the thing is, I don't know, maybe they intentionally wanted to fill up that spring water, or what. But get stone inside there. They just threw [stones] inside. But actually if that guy use his head, I would rather use that water for my house and my yard and everything. Because that water never any time run out of water. Eh, I would save water, you know. The Hawaiian people that [used to] own over there, they used to plant watercress. And wow, the healthy kind. So the water still flow out, though, all from the cracks. The water still come out.

WN: How far from the ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond were these pools?

LK: Over here the fish pond and the pool is right . . .

WN: Right next?

LK: . . . yeah, right next. That's where the water go drop, right in there. Yeah, go flow right inside there. So I say, maybe, oh, about ten feet away from the fish pond. Somewheres around there.

WN: And you said had mullet inside the little pools?

LK: The pools, yeah. We used to throw mullet inside, even *awa*. They come big.

WN: How did they wash clothes in the pool?

LK: Well, you take your tub over there and you fill up your tub from the pool. And then you wash. Get stone, eh, over there. Wash on the stone. The old days you wash on the stone. Where I come from [Maui], we get river so we take all the clothes down the river and wash the clothes. But these guys, they get all well, so that's their way. Hālawā, that's how they wash, down the river, eh. Take all their clothes down the river.

WN: They use soap, too?

LK: Oh yeah. What was the first soap? Oh, they call that Crystal. Get one picture of one goat outside there.

(Laughter)

WN: Crystal?

LK: Crystal. That's a soap. And we no used to 'au'au with soap, you know, my time. No, you just go bathe, wash yourself in the water and everything. Scrub your feet.

WN: Where did you 'au'au?

LK: Down the river.

WN: Oh.

LK: Where I come from.

WN: Oh, where you come from [Kīpahulu, Maui]. What about over here ['Ualapu'e, Moloka'i]?

LK: Over here, we had well water. We would haul the water and fill up in the tub and take a bath.

WN: Oh, so you take a bath inside.

LK: Yeah, not in the well. That well is used for cook, you know, water for cook, yeah. And we used to have two goldfish inside there for keep the walls clean, eh.

WN: Oh, so these pools had walls?

LK: Yeah.

WN: It was like a well.

LK: Yeah, all get stone wall. They wall the pool.

WN: And you could reach the water by hand or you had to lower something . . .

LK: Well, ours, maybe about two, three feet, I think. From on top and get the water. But this one in our yard, I think that bugger get twelve, thirteen. This Shinichi [Watanabe] them, their one, I think, twelve or thirteen feet deep. And that one is wall, too. All the wells, they all walled up. I seen Shinichi them's one. They get the bucket, of course, on the rope, and then they get just like one fork, the stick. And then they tie the bucket to the rope, up to the stick, and then let the bucket go down. And then bring this thing down and then you no need pull 'em up. Yeah. I thought that was good. But then some of the Hawaiians, well, they bought pump. So they use pump. But, ours one just shallow; you no need dig way down. Only thing is, if the tide is low and the water is down, you careful how you drop your bucket. Because get dirt, eh, underneath. So you drop slowly and you bring up your water. But sometimes without knowing, you throw the bucket down. Oh, the water dirty.

WN: Oh, 'cause how deep was the well?

LK: That well we had? I think about three, four feet. That's all. But I think that they dig as long the water start oozing out and then that's it. They no dig anymore.

WN: So besides taro and watercress, what else was growing near the pond?

LK: You mean, around the fish pond?

WN: Yeah.

LK: Nothing, we never have anything. They never have shrubberies like now, yeah. All cover up. Before was real nice. This fish pond is nice fish pond. The sand nice, you no see rubbish kind tree grow around. Real clean. Sakanashi was really good. He kept the pond. Every time when anything, rubbish come in the fish pond, oh, he rake 'em and take it away. He kept the pond clean. I think maybe Duvauchelle tell him, you know, keep the pond clean. Nothing on the stone wall.

WN: So the mangroves, didn't have the mangroves?

LK: Never had. What you think about that? I don't like that tree.

WN: Mangrove?

LK: Uh huh.

WN: Oh it's a pest.

LK: Yeah, it is a pest. They said it preserves the land. But not to me. In what way, I like know? I like know what way. That's all from Down Under, yeah?

WN: Yeah?

LK: Yeah, well, in Guadalcanal or all those islands down there. They have these trees. And this fish and game warden came back with these things and said it's good. But it's not good. We get one place down here, where Smith and Bronte [Landing] we have, that's the grounds for the 'ele'ele, that dark green *limu*. Okay, because of that [mangrove] growing around there, now how are they going to do it? We cannot go way underneath there and pick up the 'ele'ele. No ways. The thing grows a root; everybody's root growing across one another. So I don't know. Because they don't want you to pull. You know, if you see that thing growing you not supposed to pull.

WN: Mangrove?

LK: Yeah.

WN: Why?

LK: Well, that against the law, they said.

WN: Oh.

LK: I pick 'em up. I throw 'em inside the fire or chop 'em up so the thing no grow, you know. 'Cause no value to nobody. But the flower is pretty. Pretty flower. They make lei. But other than . . .

WN: What about the bulrushes?

LK: 'Aka'akai they call that. I remember they used that when, before, the old days, they get big party. They cut all that and throw that on the ground. Sometime walk, walk, walk. I don't know what, but they used that. But I don't know nothing else about what they used with that. That was always there.

WN: So from Ah Ping Store, before, you could see the ['Ualapu'e] Pond?

LK: Oh, yes. You [could] see the pond from over there. No more the *kiawe* trees and no more. . . . Those bulrushes, never used to be as plenty as now. Yeah, not that much. Just few of 'em we had. But now, oh, the thing grow like mad.

WN: So when did you start noticing the mangroves taking over the pond?

LK: Oh my goodness. When we go down the beach, and this fish pond we have right below here, by Wavecrest [condominiums]. Get one fish pond over here and I used to go catch 'alamihi, yeah, everytime over there. But because the mangroves, you cannot go chase the 'alamihi underneath there. So I just go where the place get stone. But get plenty 'alamihi hole, you know, underneath there. I don't think so it's a help to us if we like catch what we like eat. 'Alamihi, those small [black] crab.

WN: Yeah.

LK: Yeah, that fish pond get plenty. I always go down there, yeah.

WN: This one ['Ualapu'e] no more?

LK: This one get, too. Yeah, this one get, too. But that one down there good because when you find little bit pool water and the stone, all inside there, you find plenty underneath. And they get plenty *pukas*, yeah. You can dig them out.

WN: What about along the wall of this ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond? Had different kind fish? Had eel or anything like that?

LK: Oh, plenty of them. Plenty. They were saying, you know, certain time that there's a sign to that fish pond. The eel, I never see, but my father-in-law talk about that. He said that something wrong because these eel come and all the babies hanging onto the mother. They call that *puhipuhi 'alu'alu*. I don't know what that mean, but they all hanging onto the mama and they swim alongside the fish pond. He said they don't come every time. He said if you see that, the pond is *make*. I think the people that take care of the fish pond not good. Yeah, that's a sign.

WN: Oh, so when you see eel, no good.

LK: Yeah, yeah. The owners that take care of the pond. So that's why they say *make*, eh. Dead. That's why he said when the last time he seen [eels, it was] before Duvauchelle went to jail. Yeah, it was before that, he seen that. Then after that, ah, he seen this eel going, going. Then he wonder what's going to happen. And then they found out about Duvauchelle. That was during Sakanashi's time.

WN: I see. So nobody ate eel?

LK: We never eat. (Chuckles) I never eat eel. No. With my *tūtū* I eat eel, but this family, this Kapuni family, uh uh [no]. That's their god. His mother, my husband's mother, they no eat eel. Oh I remember, one time, the story was told to me: Filipinos they like eel. The white eel, they catch 'em and then they bring 'em home, and they cook. And she wasn't home. When she came home, she seen that, oh, the pot and everything, fly out in the ocean. Because our kitchen stay right next to the ocean. She yell at the top of her voice, they said. They were so scared. Throw away the pot, everything. Even the plate they had 'em in. Oh my. Because they never know that was her god. They never know. My father-in-law, no. His, their [family's] one is shark.

WN: So you stayed in this area with your husband, your father-in-law, and mother-in-law?

LK: Yeah.

WN: And then when did they pass away?

LK: My mother-in-law died in, wait, between '34 and '35.

WN: So not too long after you came here?

LK: Yeah, not too long, yeah, and she died. She had goiter. I don't know if she died from that.

She took a trip to Maui and was real nice. And then she had an attack and she died in Maui. My father-in-law died in 1956. He lived longer than my mother-in-law.

WN: So after your father-in-law died, then it was your husband and yourself and the kids.

LK: And the kids, yeah. Just only us.

WN: You said that in '46 you acquired some land in this area?

LK: Uh, yeah. This land.

WN: Oh, this land. Oh, I see.

LK: Yeah, this land. We bought this land.

WN: And then you built this house?

LK: Ah, no. We had an old house and then after he [husband] died then I had to put this house.

WN: When did your husband die?

LK: Nineteen sixty-eight.

WN: Twenty-two years.

LK: Yeah, about that. So only me and my grandchildren. I get great-grandchildren. I hope to see great-great-grandchildren. (Chuckles)

WN: Is that coming soon? I mean . . .

LK: No, no sign. They too young yet.

WN: Oh, oh.

WN: I read about your thing with the adverse possession. [See *The Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser*, September 13, 1981, p. A-3 for information concerning LK's involvement in a court case over ownership of a parcel of land.]

LK: Oh, with that [Harold] Hustace?

WN: Yeah, where is that land, in fact?

LK: That is up in Kalua'aha. That is where my mother-in-law was born and raised, I think, up there in Kalua'aha. So they had land. And those days, yeah, it's so sad when you think about it. The old days was so free. Okay, this is your land. You can give to anybody; your word is good. The Hawaiians was always noted, if you give your word, that word have to be good, because otherwise they curse you to (chuckles) death, you know. So everybody scared, see. But her, her uncle gave her this piece of land, three acres. Small little land, but still that's

land. And she had no more *palapala*; no more nothing where the uncle says he's giving it to her, see. We didn't understand the law of adverse possession, that we have to fight these people, cut the line, and stuff. We didn't know that. I really didn't know. Had I known first, shucks, I ain't going let that fence wire [stay up] over there. But we didn't know. We were kept in the dark, really. Maybe some people knew, but nobody saying anything.

WN: Did you know all that time that your mother[-in-law] had the land, owned the land?

LK: Yeah, I knew because my husband was paying the land tax. We were paying the land tax for that land. Yeah.

WN: Yeah, the article came out in '81 and I was reading it. But after reading this I didn't know what became of it, whether you won or lost.

LK: No, I lost. I lost because I never perform what how the law of adverse possession. You have to be more or less fighting against these people. Yeah, you have to fight against them for putting up that fence. And then afterward I found that out, long afterward, you know.

And then I found out about this family. They were telling me what they did, you know, because they had road from the beach to go out. And they been using that road for many years. And then the *Haoles* bought the land in front of them. Well, they [*Haoles*] *wen* fence 'em up so the father went and cut their fence line. And every time they put 'em up, he keep doing that, doing that, until they gave up. So the road is a right of way for the people from the beach. See, I didn't know that.

WN: So that Kalua'aha land is used for cattle?

LK: Cattle, yeah. It's a rolling land. Kind of on the side of the hill. It's a nice place, you stand on top and you look down. Maybe the Hawaiians not supposed to go up there, yeah. Gotta be down here, yeah.

(Laughter)

WN: I think Hawaiians belong everywhere.

LK: Oh, shoots. I don't know, really. But, anyhow, that's how I lost.

WN: Is that—I guess there's probably more of that going on, on Moloka'i?

LK: Yeah, on Moloka'i, yeah.

WN: I think maybe now people are more . . .

LK: More aware, yeah. More aware. As long as they know that if get multiple claim, you go over there and check out. If that's your land, you better cut that wire off.

WN: Yeah, well good that, you know, you fought it and this article came out, you know, so that people know.

LK: Well, yeah, benefit for some people, yeah. That's all right. I teach my children and my grandchildren. I say, "Any land you fellow get, don't ever sell it. That's your birthright." Like, we bought this land for \$3,000, I think. It's almost an acre. Almost an acre. We used to have to pay seventy-one dollars every month. That was hard, you know. (Chuckles) We feed chicken, we feed pig. We sell pig and chicken eggs, yeah. We sell all that just to get extra money. So my husband's paycheck goes to pay that loan that we had.

WN: So what became of your father-in-law's land?

LK: That's the one down the beach. This land goes straight, all the way down the beach.

WN: Oh, so you have this land and . . .

LK: That land, yeah.

WN: Oh, good.

LK: I tell my family, if you don't want your share of the land, you sell to your brother or your sister. I tell my son, "If you folks don't like, sell 'em to your sister or sell 'em, you know, amongst. Not outsiders. If they cannot buy 'em from you, well, sell 'em to the nieces, nephews. They old already. They working; they get good money." Just to keep the land, you know. Now days it's hard for get land with the Hawaiians. I just don't understand. To tell you the truth, Warren, I feel sad for the Hawaiian people. I really do. 'Cause they get land and they sell. Money is just now. Today you see it, tomorrow no more. That's money. But your land going be over here forever and ever, as long if you keep 'em. Take care of the land. You can say it's your land. Not you go pay rent. Look all the problem they having, rent. To me, it's not right. I feel *aloha* for the Hawaiian people. Me, I feel *aloha* for all the native Hawaiians. And here we get all the land, look what they doing. Why is it like that? I question myself, why? Because, well, we get a system. We gotta live within the system.

But then the Hawaiians, they no come together. I don't know. Come together and answer my prayer that God raise up. We have the body, the Hawaiians all together, but we don't have a head. Gotta get one head. You have to have a leader. A man that get patience, *aloha* for the land, for the people. That kind okay, but otherwise, ah. We still going stay the same place. Hawaiian cheat Hawaiian. That's what happen. I feel bad, you know, really. I feel sorry. That's why, any kind thing that goes on with Hawaiian, that's why you see my picture over there. They come ask me for go bless, yeah. I go. Whatever the young '*ōpios* have for, you know. Okay, if that's a historical site, that's ways and means to protect that portion of land. Maybe not much, maybe it's something, yeah. I go. They ask me go. Tell, "Go over here, go over there." I go all over the place. Okay, I follow the '*ōpios*. But they have their own mind, yeah. They young, so they not like us old folks. We can wait and be patient. Someday it will come to pass. But ah, these guys, when you fight, you disturb the whole thing. Sit down and meditate about these things. Reason together with one another. Reason. You don't have to fight. I used to remember my father-in-law 'cause they get meetings. 'Cause they get *hui* land over here, where they keep cattle. Everybody, all the Hawaiians around here. It was nice. The Hawaiian people all get their cow; they lease this land from Bishop Estate. And every year they pay the lease so they get meat.

(Taping interrupted, then resumes.)

LK: Sometime when I watch these young 'ōpios, oh. You know, funny. I tell you, Warren, I watch these guys. They argue, argue. And in my thoughts I say, just like two dogs, you know. These two animals is dogs fighting. And you Hawaiian. Why? Why can't we sit down and reason these things? And I think of my father-in-law. Reason, reason. Sit down, we can talk. Sometime if your mind is clear—your mind, your heart, your everything—you can think better. But when your inside is not good, ah, no ways. That's why my *mo'opunas*, you know, they have arguments amongst them.

I always tell them, "Don't hold your grudge against one another. That's your brother. You fellow, get it right. Sit down, talk about it."

So *bumbai* afterward, "We all right, Ma."

I say, "Oh, okay." All my grandchildren call me, "Ma," yeah. 'Cause I raise them up; seven of them. The mother became a widow, so she have to go Honolulu, work. So I kept the children over here. My husband was dead. Well, my husband was [alive] when she had all these kids. When he died, well, left me with all these seven children. So I took care of them. So I raised them up to learn to love. You blood relation, you know, the best time is when they small like this. I always go, "Hey, that's your brother! My goodness! You folks just like animal." I don't know why I say that. I always, (chuckles) because you ever watch two dogs fighting?

WN: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

LK: Mm, their teeth, their mouth, their everything show, yeah.

(Laughter)

LK: So that's why, that's where us coming, us Hawaiians. Sometime inside of me I cry. I watch news every time. And when I hear about that Wai'anae family, oh sad. Why they have to be out there? We never had that kind, homeless people before. The family always bring 'em in. But then the living lifestyle today, different. The people are lazy, Warren, to tell you the truth. Really lazy. I'm glad I made my grandchildren work. From small time they work. Today [some children say] "Oh, I lazy go work." Too much *pakalōlō*, so no can go work, eh. But with my grandchildren, I make them work in the taro patch, clean yard, do anything. Plant garden, all that. It was hard raising them up, you know. Because he [LK's husband] had social security and I had welfare, see. So we split [expenses], you know, try manage all whatever money we had. Just for take us through.

I told them, "I can take you folks as far as over here, high school. After that, you folks old enough. Continue on." Education is very important, as far as I was concerned. Very important. Okay, when they graduate, this what happened. One tell me, "Oh, I no like continue on 'cause I gotta go find myself." And here me, one old lady, don't know what she meaning.

"Find yourself? Where are you?"

And then she look at me she say, "No, I need to go on my own."

And I said, "Well, okay. You go on your own as long you no come home. You go on your own, go ahead. See how far." Now, they like go school. They like go college. But my time of days of talking, *pau* already, yeah. Now they have their children; now they like go school. I don't know. That's why I still say today, "What that mean, 'find myself'?" You know, I question, 'cause I old and I don't know what they talking about. But they can work. At least, well, at least get associates, yeah. What you call that kind degree? At least . . .

WN: Associate degree, yeah.

LK: Yeah. At least one, two have. At least they can get little job here. I tell them, before, "Well, main thing you finish high school." Then afterward I realize, no, it's not high school. It's more than that. As I told you, my grandmother told me that I make sure that I educate myself. And then when you learn, what you get from school, when you come big you don't have to have a man. Eh, funny, you know. And today, all what she tell me, I looking, that's true. But you see, my husband was a good husband so I didn't have nothing to grumble about. But I look at my grandchildren. One divorce, two divorce. You see what I mean? And then when they divorce, what? Lucky get welfare, you know. But now they working on their own so that's all right. But it's hard. But that's why, I told one of my *mo'opunas*, "Had you had that bachelor's, it will open many doors for you. Right now, well, lucky get this little bit degree you have, but then at least you have a job, you know." That's important. So now they getting down on their children. I always checking up on them. And I talk to my *mo'opunas*, my great-grand *mo'opunas*. I say, "You fellow learn, please. The world is not—home here is nice, not out there." I don't raise them up just teaching them how to work. I raise them up also in the Christian side too, yeah. Because they need spiritual help. Because my *mo'opunas*, you know, divorce, like that. And he call home and he says, "Oh, Ma, I don't know what to do."

I said, "Pray." I said, "I know you going get hard time, but don't do anything foolish." Because desperate, eh, now. He stay far away. He was in Kaua'i, see, my *mo'opuna*. And I worry, yeah. If otherwise, you come home then, for that matter. Come home. I try to manage and take care all my children and my grandchildren together, in that way.

WN: It's a big job.

LK: Yeah, it is. Still today, I still lecture them, now and then. (Chuckles) Because I *aloha* and then looking with all us Hawaiians, it's sad, you know. Yeah, it's very sad. Now we talking about blood quantum. Everybody crazy. They ask me. I said, "You know what you do? You think about it. Think about it both ways. Not only positive. Look on negative, too. Two side. And then you balance that thing and you get answer. To me, I look at it this way. If you get Hawaiian blood, as long that child can show his genealogy, find his *tūtū*. And he all white or he all slant-eye or whatever, he supposed to have the same rights. He got Hawaiian. That's his tree; he came from there." I said, "Okay, look at it again, another way. If they going vote, who they going ask? Only the half-Hawaiian and the full-Hawaiian? They going ask all the Hawaiian. You think that's fair? I don't think so that's fair." Because I get plenty great-grandchildren only get little bit [Hawaiian blood]. Say, "Eh, please, try marry something get quarter Hawaiian. Maybe one-sixteenth or 18 percent or whatever, you know. Save some

Hawaiian blood." But cannot help, so that's . . .

WN: That's a hard question, yeah?

LK: It is, it is very hard. Hard question. But I don't fancy that. Because you cut off this guy, he get 25 percent [Hawaiian blood], and maybe more or less. That's the part I fighting. That's where all those small little percentage Hawaiian. That's where it is. It's not the half and the full-Hawaiian. You not gonna find 'em over there. No ways. That's why, I get *mo'opunas*. So, okay. Get Filipino [blood], get *Haole* [blood]. But that's all right, you know, but I feel that as long that kid can say, "Wait a minute, I going find who my *tūtū*." Well, you go find, you get 'em. Eh, I entitled to that rights, too. That's how I feel. I don't know what other people feel. People will not talk like that.

(Laughter)

LK: Yeah, they no talk, you know. Me, eh, I voice my opinion. You can tell me, "Nah, we no agree with you." That's all right. I like it that way. You tell me so I know where you stay. Yeah, life is hard today. I feel sorry for my *mo'opunas*.

WN: I have one more question, Auntie. And that is the fish pond project that they're doing with Billy [Akutagawa], and Walter [Ritte] them, they working on. What's your feelings about it and what kind of advice would you give to them?

LK: Well, I told Walter already, because they had an incident. Because this ['Ualapu'e] Fishpond is not like the other rest of the fish ponds. This fish pond, the Hawaiians, they worshipped this fish pond. I think that's why, get all this kind incidents happen. So because, they had fire permit. So they came up. They just went ahead and burned the fire, not thinking. What about the homes around here?

WN: Fire permit for what?

LK: For burn fire, because they *wen* bulldoze all.

WN: Oh, oh, yeah, yeah. Clear up the land, yeah?

LK: Clear up the land and that. So they *wen* like burn. No can. The house is right over there. And one of my *mo'opunas* stay over there. And inside there, all smoke. The clothes, everything inside there. To me, it's damaged. I told Walter more better you go find one *kupuna* go bless that fish pond. Maybe some things over there is *kapu* or what, you know. Ask God remove all those things, and then you fellow free to do anything. See, gotta remove all what *tūtū* them had, because my father-in-law talk so much of that fish pond. So whatever else they had done in that fish pond, well, only God can remove those things because he is the creator of everything. So he said, "Oh, okay."

I talked to Walter because of that burning. They're not thinking, that's why no more *aloha*, you know. Look around over there. If I going burn this fire, oh wow, look at that house. I better go call these people and let them know so they close up the window and things like that, you know. Just be nice about it. It's the Hawaiian people that they're trying not to hurt

the next neighbors or stuff like that. Me, I always still tell this: no can beat the Japanese. You know, when the Japanese were here they were very humble people, the old Japanese. Of course, now days—you guys' generation—you find some are good, some, you know, they're—well, no can help, yeah. That's how it is. But the old folks, no. They were very nice. That's why the Hawaiians, they had good relationship. They get good friends. I know my father-in-law had a nice Japanese friend. And they all respect, they respect one another. And I no think so they would like that, they see house they would go burn big pile rubbish like that. No, no, no. That's why everything was harmony, those days, even though had Filipinos, Chinese, and the Japanese, the Hawaiians, they live. I never hear them fight, you know. But this young generation, so that's why I told Walter already.

And then I told him about—okay, they have the name [Hui o Kuapā], yeah. I said, "You know what that word *kuapā* means?"

So he said, "That's fish pond, eh?"

I said, "Fish pond is *loko*. *Kuapā* is a stone wall."

WN: The wall, yeah.

LK: Yeah, that word means "stone wall." The *mākāhā* is the gate. So he said, "Oh."

And I said, "Yeah, *bumbai* you go change. You get 'em right."

WN: Hui o Loko then, should be.

LK: Hui o Loko, yeah. Yeah, right. That's right. That's right. Yeah, that's a good way of putting it.

WN: *Kuapā* is the pond wall, though, . . .

LK: Yeah, that's any kind. You know, even the stone wall out there.

WN: Oh, any kind [of stone wall] is called *kuapā*?

LK: Yeah, *kuapā*.

WN: Oh.

LK: Stone wall, *kuapā*. So I already talked to Walter, yeah.

WN: Is he taking your advice?

LK: Yeah, he listen. That's why that ['Ili'ili 'ōpae] *heiau* up there, he came to ask me [about it]. So, I told, "Oh, yeah, yeah. We should go over there and bless and take care all." What *tūtū* did. The Hawaiians was always everything, the stone, the area, all, everything. When they doing, they praying, see, to their god. Their god is whatever god they have. Their stone, and wood, and whatnot. They have all this. And the earth, itself, is god to them. So that's why

the ground sometime, like that. Especially when get *heiau* like that. It's just like that *heiau* up there, 'Ili'ili 'ōpae, that one up there. First time I climb. Of course, me, I Christian, so I *pule* first—I pray first, and then climb on top. In spite of that, ho, my hair stand up, you know. (Chuckles)

WN: Oh, yeah?

LK: Yeah. I said, "Oh, okay." I said, "*E kala mai*," I'm sorry. But I never say anything about that, maybe because I say that I'm Christian, so just like I more better than them, you know, their guardian. Maybe because I said that. So that was all right. That's why, any place you go Warren, if it's a *heiau* or stuff like that, you always, you talk to yourself. "Oh, I sorry. I'm just over here to check this thing out." You know, same like over there behind Billy [Akutagawa] them place. Because that's one *heiau* over there, before. But the people that [once] stayed over there, they used all the stone [for other purposes]. There was so many things that happened to that family. Bad life, they had on that land. I went inside for pick up coconut. Go pick up, and trying to look on the—and, oh, behind, my hair (chuckles) start going up.

WN: Oh.

LK: Yeah, I said, "Oh, no, no. *Kala mai*," I said. "I sorry. I just only come over here look for coconut, yeah." So I walk all the way and then come this side because Kitty [Akutagawa's] mama was still [alive], you know, so I walk and I come inside, sit down, talk story with her. So I tell her. So she tell me her story. I said, "Oh, okay. Now that's all right." But you see, the power is still there.

WN: Yeah.

LK: So anytime when you go places, like you don't know if the Hawaiians used to be over there or not, you tell, "I just come over here. I'm *malihini* this place." You just tell. Yeah, even me, even places that I don't know, I always tell, "I *malihini* this place. *Kala mai*." You say, "Excuse me, I'm sorry."

WN: Okay Auntie, thank you very much.

LK: Okay. Whatever little I can try and preserve, yeah. Maybe you find some other people get almost the same story.

END OF INTERVIEW

‘UALAPU‘E, MOLOKA‘I

*Oral Histories
from the East End*

Volume I

**Center for Oral History
Social Science Research Institute
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa**

June 1991