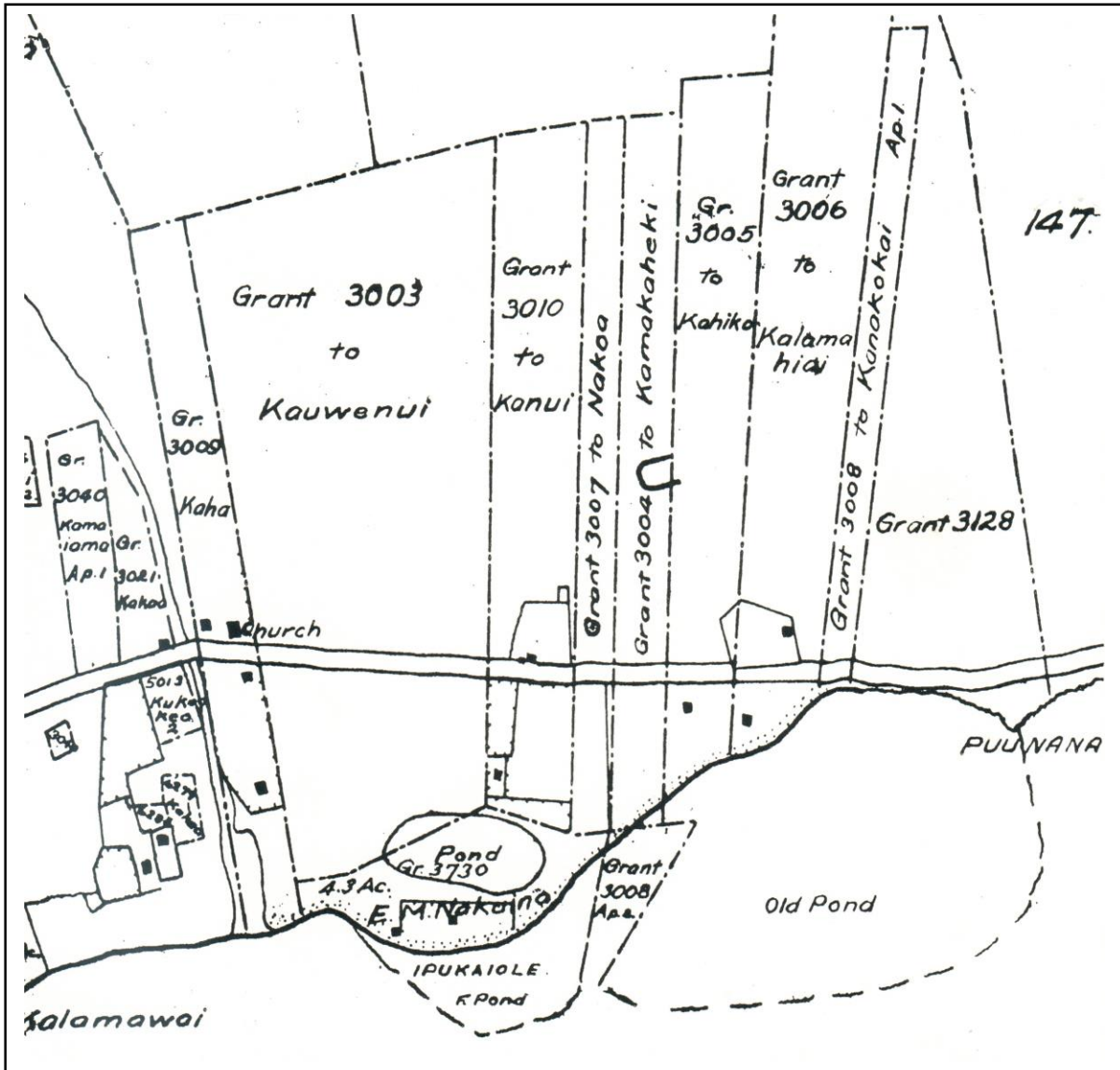


# AN ORAL HISTORY STUDY: IPUKAIOLE FISHPOND RESTORATION PROJECT



Portion of Register Map 1725, Showing Kainalu, Moloka'i and the Ipuakaiole Fishpond Study Area; Tracing by Blake, 1916 (State Survey Division)



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# AN ORAL HISTORY STUDY: IPUKAIOLE FISHPOND RESTORATION PROJECT

**Ahupua'a of Kainalu,  
District of Kona,  
Island of Moloka'i (TMK:5-7-04:8)**

BY

\_\_\_\_\_  
Kepā Maly • Cultural Resources Specialist

PREPARED FOR

\_\_\_\_\_  
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JUNE 5, 1997

\_\_\_\_\_  
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## Executive Summary

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At the request of Francis Nakamoto, Esquire, on behalf of his client Mr. Lance (Kip) Dunbar, Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted oral history interviews with three individuals known to be knowledgeable about the land, shores, and fisheries of Kainalu, in the Kona District of the island of Molokaʻi. This study was done in conjunction with Mr. Dunbar's efforts at restoring the ancient fishpond (loko iʻa) known as "Ipukaiole<sup>a</sup>," which fronts the ahupuaʻa (a native land division) of Kainalu—which has been owned by three generations of Mr. Dunbar's family.

On April 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, 1997, the author met at Kainalu, with three Hawaiian and part Hawaiian residents of the Kona District of Molokaʻi. The interviewees were:

- Mr. John Dudoit Jr., is descended from native residents of the Kainalu area, with ties to neighboring lands as well; he has fished the shores of Kainalu all his life.
- Mr. William H. Kalipi Sr., is a native Hawaiian stone mason who was trained by his kūpuna (elders) in the arts of fishpond and heiau restoration. He was raised in the lands of Ualapuʻe-Manawai-ʻŌhiʻa, and as a youth regularly fished the Kainalu area. Based on his expertise and knowledge, Mr. Kalipi was also hired under contract by Kip Dunbar to manage and implement the restoration project at Ipukaiole.
- Mr. William Bowles Dunbar, is a part Hawaiian resident, and subsequently owner of the Kainalu ahupuaʻa. For approximately 75 years, he has observed the changes to the Ipukaiole Fishpond, the larger Kainalu coastal zone, and the East Molokaʻi community. His interview provides readers with a rich look into the history of Kainalu in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The interviewees share similar knowledge of the antiquity of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, describe how it's condition has changed over the last 80 years, and confirm that substantial changes have taken place along the Kainalu-Kawaikapu shoreline since the 1960s. The latter changes, have been the result of two primary factors: (1) natural forces of nature; and (2) the construction of cement and stone walls, and extending of the beach front property of the lot bordered by the west bank of the Kainalu Stream (TMK:5-7-04:52,19,54,20).

When asked about their perspectives on the restoration and management of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, the three interviewees stated that they support such work. The interviewees feel that fishponds are a valuable cultural resource, and in ancient times, they were engineered in such a way as to protect an area's natural resources—something that is needed today. It is also believed that fishponds are important to long term sustainability of the Molokaʻi community.

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<sup>a</sup> – Ipukaiole: To-date, the original pronunciation of the name of this fishpond remains uncertain. It is generally pronounced "Ipukaiole" with no apparent emphasis on a particular vowel(s). Several possibilities exist (e.g., Ipu-kai-ole or ʻIpuka-i-ole), that by their pronunciation, could tell us the meaning of the name, but without the benefit of early native documentation, these variations in pronunciation are speculative. It is possible the further archival documentary research may shed some light on the meaning and source of this name.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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This oral history study, conducted in conjunction with efforts to complete restoration of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, has been made possible in part, because a group of people shared a common interest in caring for, protecting, and/or learning about the Ipukaiole Fishpond. For several of the individuals, particularly those who participated in the oral history interviews, this interest in native fishponds has a deep cultural attachment that is rooted in Hawaiian antiquity. Indeed, in the 1860s, Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau (1976), recorded for us a traditional perspective as to the value of fishponds such as those of Kainalu and Ipukaiole, and their importance to the native people of the land. He observed:

Fishponds, loko i'a, were things that beautified the lands, and a land with many fishponds was called "fat" land ('aina momona). They date from very ancient times...The making of fishponds and their walls is very ancient. It is known which chiefs built some of them, but the majority of their builders is not known. However, one can see that they were built as "government" projects...Pu'uone ponds and taro patch ponds, loko i'a kalo, belonged to commoners, land holders, and land agents, the maka'ainana, haku, and konohiki. The ponds cultivated for a chief, pu'uone haku ko'ele, belonged to the holder of the land, haku 'aina, as did the taro patch ponds [on ko'ele lands].

The pu'uone ponds near the sea (loko kai pu'uone) were much desired by farmers, and these ponds were stocked (ho'oholo) with fish...the "native sons" (keiki papa) of places that had taro patches and pu'uone fishponds loved the lands where they dwelt...(Kamakau 1976:47-50).

To each of you who shared your time, aloha, mana'o, history, and commitment, so that some of the history of the Kainalu-Ipukaiole fishpond complex could be recorded, and so this study could be undertaken—Aloha 'oukou:

Russ Apple, John Dudoit Jr., Kip and Leslie Dunbar, William Bowles Dunbar, Russell Hirata (TIG Insurance), William H. Kalipi Sr., Virginia MacDonald, Francis Nakamoto (legal counsel), and Kamakaonaona Pomroy-Maly — Mahalo ke Akua!

'o wau nō me ka ha'aha'a — Kepā Maly

O ka mea maika'i mālama, o ka mea maika'i 'ole, kāpae 'ia  
(Keep the good, set the bad aside)

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## **INTRODUCTION: IPUKAIOLE ORAL HISTORY STUDY**

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### **Background**

At the request of Francis Nakamoto, Esquire, on behalf of his client Mr. Lance (Kip) Dunbar, Kepā Maly, Cultural Resources Specialist (Kumu Pono Associates), conducted oral history interviews with three individuals known to be knowledgeable about the land, shores, and fisheries of Kainalu, in the Kona District of the island of Moloka'i (TMK:5-7-04:8) (Figure 1.). This study was done in conjunction with Mr. Dunbar's efforts at restoring the ancient fishpond (loko i'a) known as Ipukaiole, which fronts the ahupua'a (a native land division) of Kainalu—which has been owned by three generations of Mr. Dunbar's family. Of particular relevance to Mr. Dunbar's efforts at restoring the Ipukaiole Fishpond, and to a law suit subsequently filed by Harold S. Wright (Civil No. 97-00137HG), the interviews provide detailed documentation of community knowledge of the Ipukaiole pond, and transitions in its physical integrity between 1917 to the present. Additionally, the interview with Mr. William H. Kalipi Sr., provides readers with a detailed account of the cultural significance of Hawaiian fishponds (i.e. their role in native land management practices; fisheries management; and the traditional and historic beliefs, customs, and practices associated with Hawaiian fishponds).

The present oral historical study of was conducted to comply with Federal and State laws and guidelines for such studies (i.e., the National Historic Preservation Act {NHPA} of 1966, as amended {16 U.S.C. 470 [cf. Sections 106, 110, 111, 112, and 402]}; the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "Guidelines for Consideration of Traditional Cultural Values in Historic Preservation Review" {ACHP 1985}; National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" {Parker and King 1990}; and the criteria, standards, and guidelines currently utilized by the Department of Land and Natural Resources-State Historic Preservation Division (DLNR-SHPD) for the evaluation and documentation of cultural sites {cf. Title 13, Sub-Title 13:274-4,5,6; 275:6}).

### **Interview Methodology**

Oral historical studies of this nature seek to record information pertaining: to land-use; traditional sites; cultural practices; and to record traditional values, experiences, and events in the lives of both native Hawaiian residents and other individuals with several generations of residency in the lands of the study area. In the particular case of this study, the interviews were conducted to record knowledge about the Kainalu shoreline; uses of the Ipukaiole Fishpond; historic and recent changes to the shoreline; and record information pertaining to the restoration of the Ipukaiole Fishpond. Interviews also help to demonstrate how certain knowledge is handed down through time, from generation to generation, and provide both present and future generations with an opportunity to understand the relationships shared between people and their natural and cultural environments.

Often, because the experiences conveyed are personal, the narratives are much richer and more animated than those that are typically found in purely academic or archival reports. Thus, through the process of conducting oral history interviews, we learn things that are often overlooked or omitted as "trivial" in other forms of studies. With the passing of time, common knowledge and personal experiences change—what was once important is no longer so—and when evaluated from perspectives other than those of the native culture are often further diminished. While this oral history study has succeeded in recording a depth of cultural and historical knowledge of an otherwise

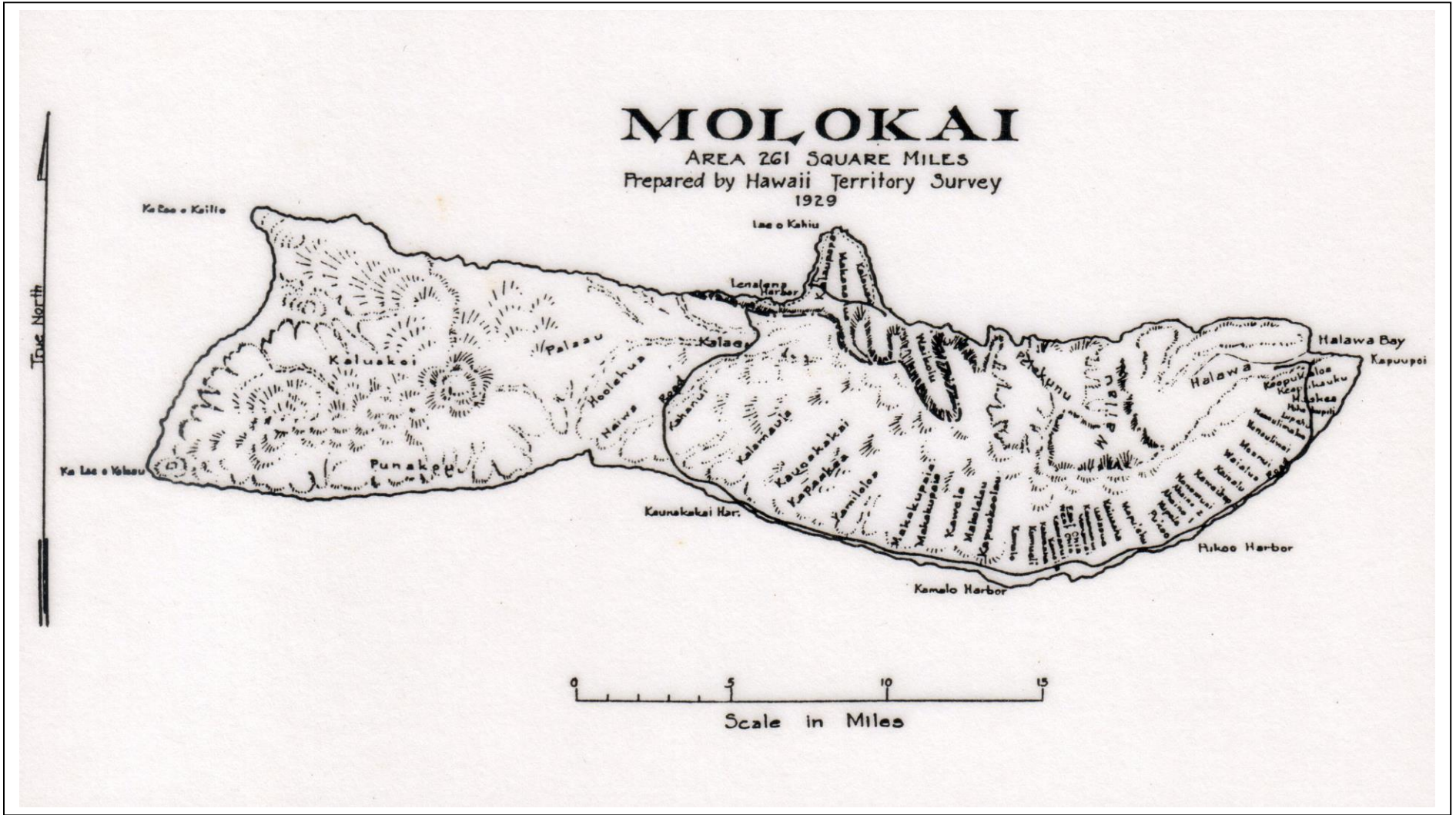


Figure 1. Island of Moloka'i; Kainalu (Ipukaiole) Study Area

poorly documented period of history for the Kainalu and larger Kona District of Moloka'i, readers must still be mindful of the fact that this record is incomplete. In the process of conducting oral history interviews, it is impossible to record all the knowledge or information that the interviewees possess. Thus, the records provide us with only a glimpse into the stories being told, and the lives of the participants.

Prior to visiting Moloka'i, a list of questions was formulated—based on the author's experience, and through consultation with Francis Nakamoto, Esquire—to focus the interviews on discussions on the study matter. Figure 2, below presents the questionnaire outline that was followed for all three of the interviews.

## Figure 2. Ipukaiole Oral History Interviews: General Question Outline

The following questions are meant to provide a basic format for the oral history interviews. The interviewee's personal knowledge and experiences will provide direction for the formulation of other detailed questions, determine the need for site visits, and/or other forms of documentation which may be necessary.

### General Information:

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone #: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

What is your name? \_\_\_\_\_ When & where born? \_\_\_\_\_

Parents? (father) \_\_\_\_\_ (mother) \_\_\_\_\_

Grew up where? \_\_\_\_\_ Also lived at? \_\_\_\_\_

If not a resident of the Kainalu-(Ipukaiole )-Kawaikapu study area, how did you become familiar with the area?

Ipukaiole—Information learned/activities participated in, and how learned (specify time period)?

Traditional land residency, land use, practices, and gathering practices?

Naming of the Ipukaiole fishpond (pronunciation); accounts of pond construction; use of mākāhā; other associated features; pond management; and relationship of Ipukaiole to the Kainalu pond?

**Changes in:** (a) condition of the pond walls; (b) **neighboring shoreline**; and (c) marine resources?

Heiau—Ceremonial sites or practices? — land based ko'a (cross ahupua'a) — ocean based ko'a; locations and types of fish? (e.g., Kū'ula, mo'o, or pond guardians...)?

Names of native families that lived near fishponds?

Who were/are the other families that came to collect area resources, and protocol?

Knowledge of Other Sites and Practices:

## Figure 2. Ipukaiole Oral History Interviews: General Question Outline—continued

Place names of neighboring areas?

Agricultural sites, practices, and crops?

Burial sites, practices, beliefs, and areas or sites of concern (ancient unmarked, historic marked/unmarked, family)?

Gathering plant materials or traditional accesses?

Salt making, including various locations?

Shore line and mauka-makai trail accesses?

Relationships with neighboring ahupua'a and residence locations?

Stewardship of Cultural and Natural Resources

Comments and recommendations on caring for Hawaiian cultural resources and changes to the cultural and natural landscapes. . . ?

Recommendations on care of and/or restoration of the Ipukaiole fishpond?

Francis Nakamoto—Suggested Areas of Inquiry (Specify Period of Time)

Kainalu Stream: Changes observed over life time / Sources of change.

Smith Family Property: <sup>(a)</sup> Changes on property over years; <sup>(b)</sup> Changes to shoreline fronting property; <sup>(c)</sup> Vegetation lines; and <sup>(d)</sup> Source of changes.

Wright Property—Parcel Adjacent to Kainalu Stream: <sup>(a)</sup> Changes on property over years; <sup>(b)</sup> Changes to shoreline fronting property; <sup>(c)</sup> Vegetation lines; and <sup>(d)</sup> Source of changes (construction / modification projects in stream and coastal zones).

Wright Property—Parcel to West, Owned Jointly by Wright and Others: <sup>(a)</sup> Changes on property over years; <sup>(b)</sup> Changes to shoreline fronting property; <sup>(c)</sup> Vegetation lines; and <sup>(d)</sup> Source of changes (construction / modification projects in stream and coastal zones).

Feelings or Comments of individuals who share joint ownership of above parcel.

(Kepā Maly, 04/09/97 – MI06-qa.doc)

## ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS AT KAINALU

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In preparing to conduct the oral history interviews for this study, the author spoke with Lance (Kip) Dunbar to elicit recommendations on who would be most knowledgeable about the study area. Several criteria were used in trying to identify potential interviewees, among them were:

- a. The potential interviewee's genealogical ties to lands of the study area (i.e., descent from families awarded land in the Māhele of 1848, or descended from recipients of Land Grants from the Kingdom or Territory of Hawai'i);
- b. Age—the older the informant, the more likely the individual is to have had personal communications or first-hand experiences with even older, now deceased Hawaiians; and
- c. An individual's identity in the community as being someone possessing specific knowledge of lore or historical wisdom pertaining to the lands, families, practices, and land use activities in the study area.

Thus, Mr. John Dudoit Jr., Mr. William H. Kalipi Sr., and Mr. William Bowles Dunbar were contacted, and asked if they would consider participating in the present oral history study. Each of the potential interviewees were told the nature of the study, and informed that that the interview records might also be entered into the court record on the part of Kip Dunbar, in Civil No. 97-00137HG.

On April 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, 1997, the author met at Kainalu, with three Hawaiian and part Hawaiian residents of the Kona District of Moloka'i. The interviewees included:

- Mr. John Dudoit Jr., is descended from native residents of the Kainalu area, with ties to neighboring lands as well. He has fished the shores of Kainalu all his life, and helps us understand the history of the families of this land.
- Mr. William H. Kalipi Sr., is a native Hawaiian stone mason who was trained by his kūpuna (elders) in the arts of fishpond and heiau restoration, was raised in the lands of 'Ualapu'e-Manawai-'Ōhi'a, and as a youth regularly fished the Kainalu area. Based on his expertise and knowledge, Mr. Kalipi was also hired under contract by Kip Dunbar to manage and implement the restoration project at Ipukaiole.
- Mr. William Bowles Dunbar, is a part Hawaiian resident, and subsequently owner of the Kainalu ahupua'a. For approximately 75 years, he has observed the changes to the Ipukaiole Fishpond, the larger Kainalu coastal zone, and the East Moloka'i community. His interview provides readers with a rich look into the history of Kainalu in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

While conducting the interviews, several visual aides were referred to. Among the primary resources were: Register Map No. 1725, depicting the Kainalu Ahupua'a, with the Ipukaiole Fishpond; two 1991 photographs of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, prior to the beginning of restoration work; and two historic photographs (c. 1940), from the Munro-Dunbar

collection. These various figures are called for in the interviews below, and included with the narratives or at the end of the study.

Each of the individuals who participated in the oral history interviews were given draft copies of their typed transcripts, which they were asked to review. During their review, the interviewees were also asked to mark any areas which needed clarification, correction, or deletion on their draft transcripts. Following telephone reviews and incorporation of any corrections, additions, or modifications that were needed, the interviewees then gave their written release and permission for use of the interview transcripts in this study (Appendix A – Signed Release of Interview Records). Copies of the complete study have also been forwarded to each of the interviewees for their family collections and records.

## Overview of Information Gathered as a Result of Oral History Interviews

Table 1 below, provides readers with a quick reference to interviewee knowledge of: site use; features of the Ipukaiole Fishpond and vicinity; and changes to the shoreline fronting Kainalu Ahupua'a. A review of the full interview transcripts will put the comments into their context as discussed by the interviewees.

Table 1. Ipukaiole Fishpond and Vicinity: Overview of Key Interview Site Documentation and Comments

Topic	JD	WK	WD
Has known since youth, that Ipukaiole was an ancient fishpond.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Recalls that the Ipukaiole Fishpond walls stood higher than the present height.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Has fished within and around Ipukaiole walls.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Knows of Ipukaiole fishpond god and/or guardian(s).	No	Yes	Yes
Always understood that rights to Ipukaiole Fishpond were tied to the ownership of the ahupua'a of Kainalu.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Attributes shoreline erosion to the Ipukaiole Fishpond.	No	No	No
Has witnessed erosion along western Kainalu shore since the 1960s, when groins and land fill were built on the H. Wright property.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urges restoration of Ipukaiole, and other fishponds along the Moloka'i coast line.	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table Key: JD=John Dudoit Jr.; WK=William Kalipi Sr.; WD= William Dunbar

## **Ipukaiole Oral History Interview Transcripts (April 1997)**

The following section of the study presents the formal oral history interviews with John Dudoit Jr., William H. Kalipi Sr., and William B. Dunbar. As noted in the release of interview record forms (Appendix A), the transcripts in this study supersede the recorded narratives. This is because upon review of their individual transcripts, each interviewee made minor corrections or additions to their transcripts, and also asked that certain sensitive family information be removed from the public record. To help facilitate a quick review of the interview documentation, a limited index—square bracket enclosed title heads—is inset within the interviews.

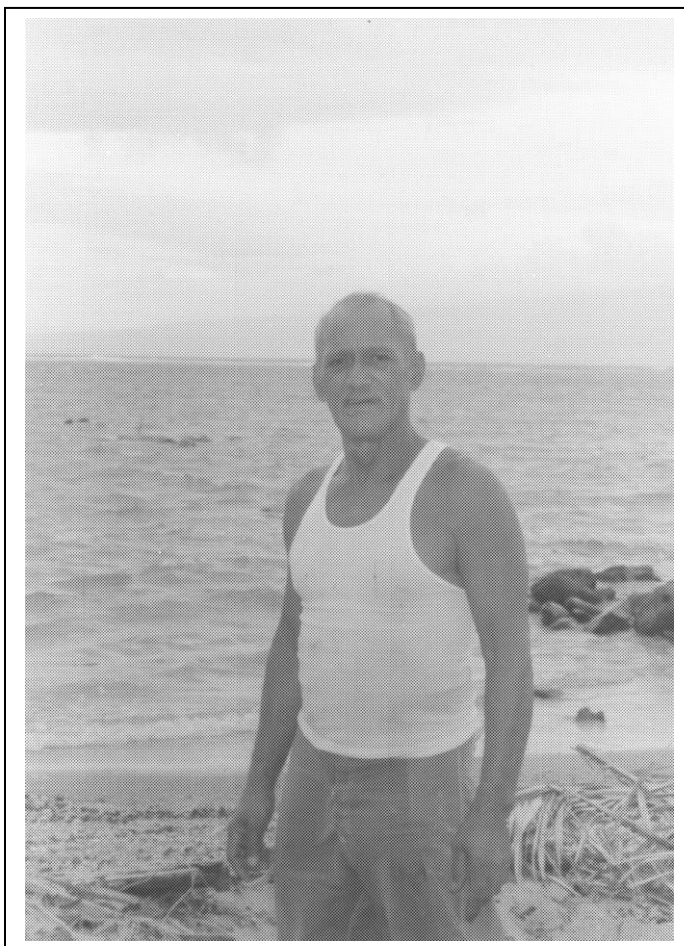


**John Dudoit Jr.  
Ipukaiole Oral History Study; at Kainalu, Moloka'i  
Interview with Kepā Maly  
April 11, 1997; 2:38 p.m.**

John Dudoit Jr. (affectionately called "Johnny Boy"), was born at Kamanoni in 1934. His family has lived in the Kona and Ko'olau districts of Moloka'i for generations, and his kūpuna (elders) live in Kainalu.

Uncle Johnny's earliest memories of the Ipukaiole Fishpond and larger Kainalu fishery go back to when he was about six years old. As a child, his kūpuna and father taught him various practices and customs of fishing, and he has fished Kainalu and environs for his entire life.

In the interview, Uncle Johnny provides detailed descriptions of the Ipukaiole fishpond, and transitions in it's condition that he has witnessed in his life time. He also provides description of changes to the Kainalu shore line, brought about, by both natural and man-made causes.



**Figure 3. John Dudoit Jr., at Ipukaiole Fishpond (April 11, 1997)**

Most notable of the man-made impacts on the shore line has been the construction of a stone wall and extension of the shore line fronting the property of H. Wright, on the western side of Kainalu Stream.

The first part of the interview was conducted while sitting under the heliotrope tree on the shore of the Dunbar's Kainalu property. Following a brief rain, we moved to the patio of the home of Kip and Leslie Dunbar, facing out to the ocean. Selected references of discussion matter are marked in the following interview transcript with square brackets; this allows readers to do a quick scan for specific topics. Following his review and identifying necessary changes, Uncle Johnny Dudoit, gave his formal release of the interview on May 19, 1997 (Appendix A).

[Tape 1, Side A]  
Counter #

& Name

000 KM: We're doing an oral history interview about some of the memory, the recollections of the history here in Kainalu-Kawaikapu, and we're going to talk about your home in Kamanoni, you know, and things. But uncle, could you please give me your full name?

JD: I'm John Dudoit Jr., I was born at home, at Kamanoni.

KM: 'Ae [yes].

JD: And raised at the same spot in Kamanoni. And visit other islands, got married when I was 26 years old, that's when I got married. My wife was from Moloka'i also, we got together and got married. And we have six children, three boys, three girls. They're all of age, on their own now. But then, I lost my wife in 1989.

KM: Ohh—aloha.

JD: She had cancer, and then I lost her. Now, I've remarried again...

KM: 'Ae.

JD: So, she had six children of her own.

KM: Ohh, so all together...

JD: And I got six, so all together, was twelve [chuckles]. Big family.

KM: Yeah.

JD: We're happy. Plus, we've adopted three girls, and they're living with me. One almost graduate, she grad this year. And we got two more, and one mo'opuna [grandchild] too.

KM: Wonderful. What year were you born, and your birth date?

JD: Oh yeah, May 26, 1934.

022 KM: Ahh. Now, so you were born at home, in Kamanoni?

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: And so we're here along the east side of Moloka'i.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: As a child, what were some of the... In fact, if we go back for a moment, who was your mama and papa, and was your Tūtū also living with you?

[kūpuna lived at Kainalu]

JD: Oh, oh yeah, my grandmother used to live up here, Kainalu. That was Kala Davis, yeah. That was my grandmother.

KM: Kala?

JD: Kala Davis, uh-hmm. And George Davis... Well, before that, Kahakuwila was my grandfather. He passed away, he was from Maui. See, My mother was from too yeah.

KM: Ohh. So mama's name?

JD: Esther Kahakuwila, maiden name. Then, got married to my dad.

KM: Ahh. And daddy was John Dudoit Sr.

JD: Dudoit Sr.  
KM: Do you carry a Hawaiian middle name?  
JD: [shaking his head] No I don't, no more.  
KM: Ohh. So mama and daddy them never gave...?  
JD: No.  
KM: Did they give any of your brothers or sisters have?  
JD: Oh yeah, yeah, my other brothers and sisters have Hawaiian name, except me.  
KM: Oh, funny yeah.  
JD: Uh-hmm. Just the Junior.  
KM: So your Tūtū, you said was Kahakuwila...?  
JD: Uh-hmm.  
KM: And then she married later Davis?  
JD: Yes, she was married to Kahakuwila first. That's where my mother is from.  
KM: Oh, I see.  
JD: And then she married to Davis after.  
KM: This George Davis, was he Hawaiian too?  
JD: Hawaiian.  
KM: From the Kona [Hawai'i] Davis' like that?  
JD: [thinking]  
KM: You not sure?  
JD: Kind of hard, I'm not sure.  
KM: Oh interesting.  
040 JD: Both of them were buried down here at Honomuni, has one cemetery down there, a grave yard yeah.  
KM: Is the cemetery still there?  
JD: It's still there.  
KM: By a little church?  
JD: No, it's right, oh below this bridge [thinking] Pāikalani.  
KM: Okay. [looking at the interview map to get bearings] Here's Honomuni.  
JD: Okay, it's right around here. Kamanoni, Honomuni.  
KM: Ohh, and this is Aha'ino.  
JD: Aha'ino, well that's too far over.  
KM: So Pāikalani?  
JD: Pāikalani.  
KM: When you were young, did dad and mom speak Hawaiian

JD: Yeah, my dad, my dad yeah. 'Cause we used to go to the Hawaiian Church, and then he was almost to become a minister... [chuckles]

KM: So as a youth, as a child, did you go out in the ocean here.

JD: Oh a lot, plenty, even when I was going school.

KM: You folks were fisher people?

JD: Yeah, yeah. I learned from my grand folks, my dad.

KM: Kahakuwila and Davis?

JD: Yeah.

KM: George Davis, now he's passed away?

JD: Yeah, yeah, he did, uh-hmm. George and the wife Kala Davis.

KM: Kala Davis. Now we're sitting here in front of... Well, we're in Kainalu eh?

JD: Right.

[fished Kainalu shoreline from when he was approximately six years old has always seen the fishpond walls]

KM: We're in Kainalu, on the ocean down here, and we're sort of in the vicinity of some fishponds and things. Can you share with me some of your memories about this shoreline here, and fishing? Had stone walls, pā pōhaku out here?

060 JD: Oh yeah, yeah, always been. Yeah, always been, this pond was here ever since [chuckles] I was...ever since when I came down to the beach yeah.

KM: Yeah, from small boy time, then?

JD: Yeah. I think I started to fish maybe when I was about six or seven years old.

KM: You go dive like that?

JD: Everything, dive and all kind. Throw net, all kind, until today.

KM: You go fish with some kūpuna [elders of the grandparent generation], or mākua [elders of the parent generation] them?

JD: Yeah, yeah, friends, family. They like to go with me [chuckles], I don't know, they said, "You get the eye for see the fish." They always telling me "How can you see the fish?" "I don't know, maybe was gifted." Yeah.

KM: 'Ae, 'ike [yes, the sight].

JD: Yeah.

KM: Now, when in you time, when you came out here, you said you saw...you knew there was fishponds here, did you hear anyone talk about the fishponds at all, or... You'd mentioned too, that you used to come and bring the mail to Kip Dunbar's grandma [grand aunt] Bella.

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: Can you describe some of your memories of here, you know?

[inshore pu'uone pond was also a source of mullet; had a mākāhā leading out to the ocean]

- JD: Oh yeah, as far as this old pond here [pointing to the area of the inshore pond, on the Dunbar property, to the east of Kainalu Stream].
- KM: The little pu'uone [an inland, dune banked pond]?
- JD: Yeah, used to get plenty mullet in there.
- KM: Oh yeah, even the inshore pond?
- JD: Yeah, 'cause, they had one mākāhā [sluice gate channel] over there, where the water used to go in and out.
- KM: Oh yeah, ohh!
- JD: Uh-hmm. So I ask, "I can go get some mullet?" [mimicking Grandma Bella's voice] "Go ahead." She used to call me "Sonny boy," you know.
- KM: Oh, so that was Grandma Bella?
- JD: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: So in this little dune, inside shore pond here...?
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: And had one gate for the water to come in and out?
- JD: Yeah, yeah, for drain like.
- KM: Did it go by the house like?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Where did the mākāhā or the kahe [the actual channel between the pu'uone and the shore]...?
- JD: Just go out, straight out.
- KM: Straight out, right out to the ocean?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: How about outside of here, 'cause you'd mentioned that the Grandma's house was...
- 080 JD: Outside, yeah, yeah.
- KM: Outside. Had a stone wall in front of their house still yet when you were...?  
[describes Ipukaiole Fishpond; types of fish caught there; and the protocol of taking fish]
- JD: Oh yeah as far as I remember, yeah, yeah. [pointing out to the present western facing alignment of the Ipukaiole pond wall] That's the same wall that one.
- KM: The same wall, ahh.
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: But no one was using the fishpond, or was anyone using the fishpond over here then?
- JD: Umm [thinking], no... Well, used to get plenty fish in there too, out there.
- KM: Oh, what kind of fish?
- JD: All kind.

- KM: All kind.
- JD: Yeah, mullet, weke [goat fish], even moi [thread fish] used to come in there before, long before. And then when I used to come throw net, maybe only one throw, and I get 'nough and just go home.
- KM: Oh. So you don't just take, take, take plenty...?
- JD: Oh no, no, no.
- KM: How come?
- JD: Too much.
- KM: Too much, okay. But when you go out, your Tūtū them, how did they teach you, you take care, or you take every...?
- JD: Take care.
- KM: No 'ānunu [be greedy]?
- JD: No 'ānunu. "Oe maopopo" [you be aware, understand what you're doing], they say, "Ho'omaopopo!" [learn, understand].
- KM: 'Ae. So, no one was working the fishpond though, in your childhood...?
- JD: Oh, at that time, no, no, 'cause was there already.
- KM: Ahh. And how about, was the wall still in pretty good shape...?
- JD: Oh yeah, yeah.
- [describes Ipukaiole Fishpond and deterioration of walls in his life time]
- KM: You know how they're trying to restore it now?
- JD: Yeah right.
- KM: Do you remember, that had some wall around there?
- JD: Oh yes, was still there. Well, as it goes by the waves.
- KM: Broke down?
- JD: Yeah, broke 'um down with all this kind weather we get now. Yeah, that's what happened. So what people usually do, is the rocks fall down, they put 'um back. [chuckles] Just like the house, if the house, something fall down, you have to put 'em back up.
- KM: Yeah, I see, but if no one was around to take of the pond, then, just hāne'e [fall down]?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Did you... When we walked out on the beach, 'cause we walked a little while ago, down the ocean, and you'd mentioned, this was a big fishpond [said with emphasis]...
- JD: Oh yeah.
- KM: You said, went from here all the way down the other side.
- 100 JD: Yeah, ah-haa.
- KM: Did you hear a name for these ponds here before, do you remember?

JD: [pauses thinking]  
KM: Did they give name for the ponds?  
JD: Well, that I never hear.  
KM: You never?  
JD: No, no.  
KM: Yeah. Later, did you hear?  
JD: Then, yeah, yeah, after they said oh this pond is, you know, and then the other pond, yeah.  
KM: So now, if they use the Kainalu, of course...  
JD: Yeah we just call 'em Kainalu pond.  
KM: Kainalu is the name of the land eh?  
JD: Yeah, we just go Kainalu pond, that's all yeah.  
KM: 'Ae. Did you ever hear anyone one use the name, Ipukaiole, that you remember?  
JD: Hmm [thinking] no.  
KM: Not that you remember in your time already.  
JD: Yeah, yeah, ah-haa.

[speaks of residents in Kainalu and vicinity in c. 1940]

KM: Were there still some old Hawaiian people, you know, I mean Grandma Bella, you mentioned was here.  
JD: Uh-hmm.  
KM: And your own Tūtū was here.  
JD: Uh-hmm.  
KM: Were there still old people?  
JD: Yeah! Oh yeah. Ka'ahanui, Charles Ka'ahanui, that old man over there [pointing to the east, Waialua side of Kainalu]. Over here, the old man Smith, Aitake.  
KM: Oh, Aitake, so Isaac?  
JD: Uh-hmm, Isaac.  
KM: And you said, Ka'ahanui, so they were on the east of this property?  
JD: Just on the...where the house is [Wm. Dunbar's], right next.  
KM: Ahh. [looking at the sky, and the wind picking up] You know what, we going get ua [rain] eh.  
JD: Nah, I don't think so.  
KM: No, okay. So and then Smith, Aitake...  
JD: Was right next [pointing to the lot along the Kainalu Stream].  
KM: Was he an old man to this place?

JD: Oh yeah, yeah. In fact, the house was way down over here, right on the side here [chuckles], but the tidal wave took 'um all the way up there. And he just went put 'um up over there.

[continues describing former residents; protocol in fishing; and impacts of 1946 tsunami on Ipukaiole and the Kainalu shoreline]

KM: Oh yeah, ohh! Amazing. [pauses] No problem when you were young, if you wanted to go fish here, did you folks go ask, or you never did need to go ask anybody?

120 JD: No, no, because only outside, walk along side the wall over there. No need ask, and walk down here, that's all. One throw 'nough, that's good enough.

KM: Lawa [enough].

JD: Yeah, lawa.

KM: Nice.

JD: Yeah.

KM: Was the wall better when you were young, was there more wall evident?

JD: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah.

125 KM: Did you see the tsunami come ... Oh you know, we're going to have to run [starts raining, tape off—we relocate on the shoreward facing lānai of Kip and Leslie Dunbar's home]

[tape rolls without recording for counter # 126 to 146]

KM: So we've...I'm sorry, I just had to check something on the recorder here. So we check now, we had Ka'ahanui, and you said, "Ki'ohinu" was your Tūtū?

JD: Yeah, my father's father. Let's see...

KM: [pointing to the interview map] This is the old road or trail here.

JD: Yeah, yeah. Where's the stream?

KM: Kainalu Stream, it must come off the gulch...

JD: Kainalu, it's somewhere in here [pointing to location on map].

KM: Yeah. Oh, so he lived mauka [inland] of road?

JD: No, no, this side [pointing shoreward].

KM: Makai of the road. Oh, maybe one of these, see these dots, they represent houses here [in 1897].

JD: Yeah, house, okay.

KM: And your Tūtū, so Ki'ohinu.

JD: Ki'ohinu.

KM: So he was native here in Kawaikapu-Kainalu area?

JD: Yeah, yeah. He was an old timer.



KM: Ohh. Did you ever here your Tūtū, or any of the old people talk about Kū'ula [the fishermen's deities], or about...?

JD: Oh, that I don't know, mostly he was talking in Hawaiian [chuckles], and I never understand.

KM: So you were a small kid and they never encouraged you to talk Hawaiian?

JD: No, no.

KM: Oh.

JD: 'Cause, that's all he been talk, fluent Hawaiian. Good Hawaiian.

[remembers Ipukaiole Fishpond from when he was six years old; walls were in better condition]

160 KM: So, we were also then leading up to, we'd mentioned that you remembered when you were young, like from six years old, you would go fish with some of your papa and the kūpuna them?

JD: Yeah, that's how I learned.

KM: And you saw the fishpond walls up here.

JD: Oh yeah.

KM: And they were in better condition then?

JD: Uh-hmm.

[1946 tsunami; impact of fishponds and coastal area]

KM: Do you remember the 1946 tidal wave, the tsunami?

JD: [thinking] Yeah, uh-hmm.

KM: Was your folks house, you folks were okay?

JD: Oh yeah, yeah, was all right, only the wave came up under the house.

KM: Under the house. Here though, like the grandma's house, Bella...?

JD: Oh well, that house was moved.

KM: Moved. And Smith's house went move too.

JD: It moved.

KM: How about the fishponds out here then, Kainalu and Ipukaiole?

JD: Ahh, I think it went break up a little bit. The rocks fell down yeah.

[erosion has changed shore line; H. Wright builds wall extending his property]

KM: Hmm. As we go along this area, along the shore, going towards the west then... There have been some changes to the land in general yeah, over the years?

JD: Yeah, yeah. The place [gesturing the beach in front of Dunbar's] was eating up too.

KM: Been getting eaten up?

JD: Yeah. That's why he haul some rocks over there [pointing to the Wright property].

KM: The neighbor?

JD: [chuckles] Yeah they build that thing too. Yeah, all that rocks is all...

KM: Oh, so the made that pā pōhaku [stone wall] over there?

JD: Yeah, they brought in all that rocks.

KM: So the land wasn't like that before?

JD: No. Was kind of eating up, so he try to save 'um eh.

KM: Sure, sure, sure.

JD: He brought in rocks.

[supports restoration of fishpond; importance of ponds in old Hawai'i]

180 KM: How do you feel about these fishponds here? Is it good to, you know, just leave things, or do you think it's good to...?

JD: Well, if it's back like how it was before, I think it will be all right. And that way, maybe we can raise some fish here, inside.

KM: Oh, how come your Tūtū them made fishponds, out of curiosity? How come they made fishponds?

JD: To raise the fish inside.

KM: So they could feed the people?

JD: Yeah.

KM: So sort of like how you mauka, you make lo'i kalo [taro pond fields]...?

JD: Yeah, yeah, kalo [taro] for feed the family. I guess that's why they build all this ponds.

KM: Ahh. Plenty ponds along this shoreline eh?

JD: Plenty, plenty.

[Kainalu area was rich fishery]

KM: Was it a rich, good fishing area?

JD: Oh yeah. And still yet, I mean, well it's not like maybe 20, 30 years ago.

KM: What are some of the sources... How come the fishing here has changed, you think?

JD: Well, before, never have commercial guys, you know fishermen. Now too many commercial. I guess...

KM: You take too much.

JD: Yeah.

KM: What kind of fish did you used to get out here?

JD: All kinds.

KM: What kinds?

JD: Just enough to feed the family.

KM: 'Ama'ama [mullet], you mentioned moi [thread fish].

- JD: Moi, mullet, weke [goat fish], 'ō'io [bonefish], kala [surgeon fish], enenuē [rudder fish], manini [surgeon fish], all kind.
- KM: Hmm. You have special holes, or ko'a that you...?
- JD: Well, you just go out any place outside there.
- KM: Any place on that papa [reef] is rich eh?
- JD: Any place on that papa.
- 200 KM: You know, when you go out in the ocean, and sometimes you look inland?
- JD: At night or what?
- KM: Oh day time too like, you know, when you look, you know, how you try to mark one point, so you know where your hole is, you have that kind?
- JD: Yeah, well yeah, yeah.
- KM: So the relationship between looking from ocean to mountain is important?
- JD: Yeah, true. Uh-hmm. I know all this spots around here. Even my sons when I tell my sons, "Okay, you guys going out?" Yeah, they like squidding. "Okay, no go down that side, now you go in front the house, straight outside, on that papa, the one every time show. Over there 'nough." So they go outside dive a little while and they get enough.
- KM: Uh-hmm, that's good. When you were still in young time like that, so you never heard the Tūtū them talk about Kū'ula or anything over here?
- JD: No, hardly.
- KM: But you'd mentioned too, what, papa was for a while, was going to be kahu [minister] of a church yeah.
- JD: Oh yeah.
- KM: So maybe they don't want to talk about those kinds of old things.
- JD: Yeah. Well, maybe he say to my mother or...but.
- KM: Yeah. Had any heiau [ceremonial sites or temples] around here that you ever heard of?
- JD: Oh yeah, a couple like Mapulehu, that big one, and down at Aha'ino that side get one, just below, what's his name [thinking], Gary Galiher. Yeah, behind there got a big one.
- KM: Ohh. How about inside, where we are here, Kainalu area?
- 221 JD: Hmm, no, I don't think down here got.  
[Kainalu stream formerly flowed, almost year round; was a source of 'o'opu]
- KM: Hmm. You know this stream, Kainalu Stream that comes down, did it ever used to run, in your life time, all the time, or was it only seasonal, when rain?
- JD: Ohh, used to run all the time.
- KM: The stream used to run all the time?
- JD: Yeah, yeah, long before. That's where we used to go catch 'o'opu [goby fish] before.

KM: Oh yeah!

JD: Over here and Honomuni, used to get.

KM: So you go mauka get 'o'opu, like that?

JD: Yeah.

KM: What, had wī [a fresh water grainy snail] inside too?

JD: No, no, just 'o'opu. Like Honomuni, used to get running water.

KM: Where'd the water go. No more water now eh?

JD: All dry up.

KM: All dried up.

JD: All dried up, I don't know. Over here, Honomuni dry up. Only when rain, then get.

KM: How about Waialua, get water yet, or no more?

JD: Off and on. Yeah, that's why they gave up the patches up there. Before, used to get running water.

KM: Lo'i [pond fields]?

JD: Yeah.

KM: For kalo eh?

JD: Yeah, but after that went dry up and pau, they gave up.

KM: In your life time, it's dried up in your life time?

JD: No, no, always been running, had stream.

KM: But it's dry now?

JD: Now it's dry.

KM: So just...you were born 1934, so since 1934, the water has changed?

JD: Yeah, maybe about 30 years ago, I think.

KM: For real?

JD: Yeah, about that.

KM: Did the forest, you see a lot of change mauka, in the forest? Has the forest disappeared? Were they grazing cattle mauka here?

JD: Yeah, yeah, before used to get plenty cattle on this side. Even Kip them had cows.

240 KM: Oh yeah?

JD: Yeah, a lot of cattle. And my uncle Dudoit, Morris, he used to raise cattle.

KM: Oh, for Morris Point?

JD: Yeah. They was raising cattle. We had a few, but only enough for house use.

KM: Yeah. What happens now then, when the stream, when has big rains, and what happens to the stream and the water out front here?

JD: Well, a lot of rubbish and all that comes from the mountain.

KM: So the water, ocean, turns all red?

JD: Yeah, yeah. Like now, all the rubbish eh, all came from up mauka. And then after a while, she'll clear up.

[Kainalu Shoreline has changed in his lifetime; restoration work on Ipukaiole Fishpond is where wall was formerly]

KM: Yeah. Have you noticed any change in front of the ocean here, 'cause they've tried to begin to do some restoration of this fishpond. How they are restoring the fishpond, is basically where you remember it? You know this fishpond, that they are trying to restore here?

JD: Yeah, uh-hmm. Well I guess it's still the same. You know, I mean even...if they try to fix 'um, nothing wrong with that.

KM: Nothing wrong?

JD: I don't think so. No.

KM: And the alignment, you know how they're making the pā pōhaku [stone wall]?

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: That's basically what you remember, when you were young?

260 JD: Uh-hmm, yeah. 'Cause already got the outline there.

KM: Ahh, so you could see it?

JD: Yeah.

KM: So you don't need to make it up.

JD: Yeah, yeah, uh-hmm, it's there.

KM: Oh.

JD: That's all they did, just put the rocks back on top, that's all. Not hauling any rocks.

KM: Ahh, yeah.

JD: Uh-hmm. Those rocks is all there.

KM: Yeah. Good too, you make fishpond, I guess, 'cause you can hānai, take care the fish like that...

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: And then at least you can get food eh.

JD: Right, right.

KM: So interesting though. So of the old people, your Kūkū, your kupuna Kī'ohinu...

JD: Kī'ohinu.

KM: Smith and Ka'ahanui...

JD: Smith and Ka'ahanui

KM: Now Grandma Bella, was here...

JD: Bella and Munro, that's the old man. [chuckles] I remember them because, they were nice, nice people.

[Ownership of Ipukaiole]

KM: What was your sense about the ocean, the fishpond area, out here? Did you ever hear... Who owned it, do you remember hearing, kind of who owned this area here?

JD: Well, I always thought that it was Dunbars.

KM: The Dunbars, or Munro eh?

JD: Yeah, Munro, yeah.

KM: You've seen a lot of change yeah?

JD: Oh yeah.

[thoughts on restoration of Ipukaiole Fishpond]

280 KM: Is [pauses] I'm sorry, I'm just trying to think of how... I'll ask again, if it's okay. How do you feel about the restoration of the fishpond? What do you think?

JD: You mean to restore?

KM: Yeah, to restore, to rebuild the fishpond, how do you feel about that?

JD: I think it's all right. It's all right. Nothing wrong about putting up the pond again, because I think it would be better, and then you can store fish. Because right now, like for Moloka'i especially.

KM: 'Ae, hard, the work, food and everything.

JD: Yeah.

KM: You mentioned something too that's interesting, earlier, 'cause you said "The fish today, not like before."

JD: Yeah, it's not like before.

KM: So, if they reuse some of the fishponds, maybe it will help...

JD: Yeah, then you can bring back, it would, I'm quite sure. It would.

KM: [pauses, thinking of additional questions] Can you share, what's something fun, you know, a fond memory about the families, or this place in the ocean here, you know.

300 JD: [chuckles] Oh, okay. Well, before I used to come up with the inch and a half throw net, or smaller eye [chuckles]. I remember Kip and the other brother, they were young, and I used to catch fish over here, and the mother used to mix poi before eh. The dad's wife [laughs], I used to catch and then I used to call and then they used to go with the scoop net and catch small fish. Yeah they come, they take 'um home. The mother know how to mix poi, and then every time when they come down, and I call and give them some fish. I don't know if they still remember, but I never tell him [smiling].

KM: Yeah, that's nice.

- JD: Where the house used to be over there, see? [pointing to location closer to the shore]
- KM: Down by the ocean, the inshore pond yeah?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Was that this house?
- JD: That's the grandma's house.
- KM: Ahh. Nice though yeah, when you aloha kekāhi, kekāhi [love one another]...
- JD: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: Where they take care, and...Did you folks, did the families work together with Munro or Dunbar them?
- JD: Oh yeah, yeah, yeah. Like even when I was young, I used to come up here go help chase the cows.
- KM: 'Ae, huli pipi eh [yes, round up cattle].
- JD: Yeah, yeah. Just make noise and chase them in the corral. Like for branding and they used to go castrate. And we used to go burn that kiawe wood.
- 320 KM: 'Ae.
- JD: So we can pūlehu [broil] the testicles.
- KM: The 'ala'ala. [laughs]
- JD: [laughing] Yeah. We get good fun, every time when they say they going brand, so we all there. Make the charcoal ready [chuckles].
- KM: And what, 'ono [good]?
- JD: Yeah.
- [tells of fish and limu Kainalu fishery noted for; today, resources have diminished]
- KM: What's the famous fish for this place here? Is this place particularly known for one particular fish? Like here in front of Kainalu and the pond here?
- JD: Yeah, mullet, 'ō'io.
- KM: Oh. And what kind of limu [seaweeds] had? And have you seen in a change in the kind of limu...?
- JD: Oh yeah, used to get 'ele'ele, get limu 'ele'ele [Enteromorpha spp.] over here, and manaua [Gracilaria coronopifolia].
- KM: Here at Kainalu?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Now what, no more?
- JD: No.
- KM: How come, you think?
- JD: I don't know, don't know.
- KM: Well, limu 'ele'ele need fresh water, plenty fresh water?

- JD: Yeah. Get plenty fresh water over here.
- KM: Still yet? But not above surface you said now?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Interesting. And you said had manauaea, on the papa [reef].
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: How about aloalo [Psuedosquilla ciliata...], you know?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Get pāpa'i [crabs] and things?
- JD: Used to get, but not anymore. All this place, over here, Aha'ino. Yeah, used to get limu, but I don't know how come.
- KM: So the limu, not like before then also?
- JD: Not like before.
- 340 KM: Ohh—I wonder how come yeah?
- JD: Ahh—I really don't know.
- KM: On the papa out where the wave action...?
- JD: We still get that līpehu [also called līpa'akai], that limu that the fish eat, yeah.
- KM: Oh, līpe'e [Laurencia], like that?
- JD: Yeah, līpe'e like that, and limu kohu [Asparagopsis sanfodiana], it's not the limu kohu, līpehu they call that.
- KM: Oh, similar to limu kohu?
- JD: It's about like the limu kohu, but it's not as strong as the limu kohu.
- KM: Oh, and you call that līpehu?
- JD: Yeah, līpehu. That's what the fish eat.
- KM: Ahh—but 'ono?
- JD: Oh yeah, yeah. Very seldom, because that limu is not strong iodine like the ones Hālawa, or behind the other side.
- KM: Oh. But had limu kohu also?
- JD: Still got outside here.
- KM: And līpehu also?
- JD: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: And so the 'ō'io good out here, the 'ama'ama or mullet...?
- JD: Oh yeah, yeah, ah-haa.
- KM: What kind...you'd mentioned, when we were at the water, we saw some pua [fingerling fish], but you said that was something else?

[Australian mullet introduced]

- JD: Oh yeah, that was Australian. The Australian mullet, yeah.



KM: Who brought that in?  
JD: I don't know, but I think they brought that in. I don't know what for. They don't grow big, maybe this sized the biggest [gesturing with his hands].  
360 KM: Oh, about...not 12 inches then, not even?  
JD: No, I don't think so, I don't think it grows 12 inches.  
KM: How's that pua though, 'ono?  
JD: Oh yeah, yeah.  
KM: It's okay?  
JD: All right.  
KM: Like a Hawaiian mullet, or not?  
JD: About, I think.  
KM: So those [other fish mentioned above] were the good fish for this area here?  
JD: Yeah, yeah.  
KM: Still get 'ama'ama, a little bit?  
JD: Oh, very few, not like before though. Not like before.  
KM: Oh.  
JD: All kind fish.  
KM: Awa [milk fish] come in here too?  
JD: Awa, yeah, but it's not like before. Before you surround maybe, four or five, you know, but now [shaking head].  
KM: I wonder if they do some fishpond restoration, if maybe the Hawaiian fish will come back, if they get sheltered and protected for a while?  
JD: Yeah, yeah, I think it would.  
KM: 'Cause you folks said, plenty commercial, and it they come in 'ānunu [greedy], they just take everything, then pau yeah.  
JD: Pau, yeah. That's what happening now.  
KM: So you've seen change then?  
JD: Oh yeah.  
KM: How do you feel about this land here?  
JD: You mean about the...?  
KM: Well, you aloha this land?  
380 JD: Oh yeah, yeah, I do. That's still...I get my oldest girl living over here at the house now. In fact, I get one homestead down Kaunakakai.  
KM: Oh, you get homestead?  
JD: Yeah.  
KM: Oh, so you're living...?

JD: Kaunakakai, Kapa'akea. My oldest girl is living up here at the house. But, I get everything up here. My net, the boat...

[Kip brings some water and dried he'e {octopus} out for us].

KM: Oh, mahalo.

JD: Eh [chuckles]! Yeah so, I always come up here and fish.

[uncle has deep aloha for this land]

KM: Ohh. Good, so this land, you aloha?

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And the ocean like that?

JD: Yeah. That's why [chuckles] even my wife tell me, "Where you going?" "East end." "You not tired go East end?" "No honey, I get half of my body up there" [chuckles]. Yeah, I always come up. Everyday.

KM: Oh, mahalo. Thank you for taking the time to talk a little bit.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: Could you please, just like how you shared the story a little bit about how small time, when the boys them were small, you know. What are some...could you share a couple little stories you remember about this place and the things that happened, you know?

400 JD: Oh yeah, before, we used to get that Mormon Church across there [gesturing across the other side of the road]. We used to meet every Monday night, used to get MIA meeting. Ahh—I forget what MIA stands for [thinking]...

KM: I'll find out [MIA stood for "Mutual Improvement Association"].

JD: Yeah, yeah. every Monday nights, we used to come up and play volleyball and talk story, we used to get good fun. And then weekends, we used to play baseball in their part, we used to ask the father, Billy, if we can use the pasture for play baseball. "Go ahead." And we used to play baseball, good fun. Used to get plenty people, used to live up here too.

KM: Had plenty?

JD: Oh yeah.

KM: Hawaiian people too?

JD: Hawaiian people, plenty. Like our ages, used to come over play volleyball, baseball, and we used to get a lot of fun. A lot of fun. And after a while, never have job, everybody is moving out.

419 KM: Ahh. What's the most unusual thing ever happen to you out here? Like you go ocean, fish, something like that?

JD: [chuckles] Oh well, sometimes I get hard luck, I go out and come home, nothing! Yeah, unusual that [laughs]. That's an unusual thing.

[Tūtū told him not to be afraid of sharks; story of Pauwalu]

KM: Had manō [shark] out here?

JD: Oh yeah, get. I see a couple sometimes when I diving.

- KM: Did your Tūtū them ever talk to you about...did you ever hear anyone talk about...?
- JD: Yeah, they talk in Hawaiian, “No maka‘u,” or something like that. No be scared.
- KM: ‘Ae. The pu‘u [hill] mauka of here...?
- JD: Pu‘umanō, the shark-god hill.
- KM: Shark-god hill?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Oh. Is there a story...Pauwalu eh?
- JD: Yeah. That’s a legend, yeah.
- KM: Did you hear a story?
- JD: Yeah, my grandfather told me about that, long time ago.
- KM: Ohh— do you remember a little bit about what he told you?  
[shark stone across from his house]
- JD: [thinking] Oh, kind of long story that. In fact that, and then right across from where my girl living, right across the road, get one...the rock, the shape of the head, the mouth. It’s still there.
- KM: So right in Kamanoni?
- JD: Yeah, yeah, right across from where my girl live.
- KM: Right across?
- JD: Right across the road, right side of the road.
- KM: Oh, that’s important to take care of then.
- 440 JD: Yeah. Well yeah, when I was living up here, every time, I used to clean around.
- KM: You know, I mean just to make sure that the bulldozer doesn’t go and...
- JD: No, it’s right inside the fence. I always keep that clean. In fact, I planted ti leaf around there when I was living out here, and then after I moved out, nobody take care that.
- KM: Ahh. But you heard your Tūtū say “Mai maka‘u” [don’t be afraid]?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: They tell you “Mai maka‘u.” So maybe they get ‘aumakua or something you know?
- JD: Yeah, they said “No scared that manō.” I see ‘em a couple of times, but they just swim by.
- KM: How about pūhi [eel]?
- JD: Ahh—before, I was kind of scared, when I was young with that. But after that, that’s why I no bother them eh.
- KM: Yeah. Sometimes, you know, they talk about fishponds...?
- JD: Yeah, always get.

KM: And sometimes, they say, like the mo'o [water form deity that can assume a lizard-like body], pūhi, or honu [turtle], sometimes they're the guardians...

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: They take care of the ponds like that.

JD: Yeah, uh-hmm.

KM: But you don't remember your Tūtū or anyone talk about something like that here?

JD: No, no.

KM: Ahh.

460 JD: Even some times we go in the pond, like Kupeke Pond down here. We go inside catch crab, night time eh. They let us go inside lay net. We walk in the pond eh.

KM: Uh-hmm.

JD: I know the pond get pūhi inside, but ahh—I not scared of that. Just don't bother...  
[Kip Dunbar comes outside]

[discusses the pu'uone pond]

KD: This picture strike a familiar note?

KM: Here's a picture of...

KD: This is a picture of the inland pond over here.

JD: Oh yeah, yeah.

KM: Ohh!

KD: There's the same coconut trees.

JD: Yeah, uh-hmm.

KM: Oh, the coconut trees right there. Wow, it was all clear.

KD: Big yeah.

KM: You can see the 'aka'akai [Scirpus validus] the big bullrush on the edge of the pond.

JD: Yeah.

KM: Maybe by-and-by, we'll try and make a copy of this. And look, a little canoe inside, or boat inside there.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KD: Ka'ai lived right behind there. Mary Nagai.

JD: Hmm. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

KD: I didn't mean to interrupt.

KM: No, no. Oh nice yeah.

KD: This is a smaller picture.

480 JD: How come, your father never take some old pictures?

KD: We have, up at his house.

JD Oh yeah, yeah.

KD: I'll bring you another map, I'll show you a bigger one.

KM: So interesting though to see the little things here and there.

JD: Yeah.

[as a youth always fished around the Ipukaiole pond wall]

KM: But you're very clear about this Ipukaiole pond, you remember that as a child...?

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: You remember as a child, you'd swim around and over the wall...?

JD: And walk.

KM: Walk over, throw net like that?

JD: Uh-hmm. Like even my boys, they know this place already too. My three boys.

KD: [brings out Register Map 1725 of the area between eastern Honomuni to western Moanui]

KM: 'Ae. Oh this is great. This is...

KD: This is [map no.] 1725.

[discussion on sites and residents in the Kainalu vicinity]

KM: Register Map 1725, or by Blake, traced in 1916, but this is off of...probably of the old Alexander-Monsarrat... [maps]

502 KD: See, here's that little pond that I told you that they don't say when, and you see how this one, how they have this map.

KM: Sure. Well, what we would try to do is take a look at...

KD: And this just has "Old Pond," no name.

KM: That's right.

KD: This is...see how this Grant 3730 here.

KM: Yea, I see that small pond.

KD: And this is that 3003 [Grant to Kauwēnui], this is that inland pond. And here's this Ipukaiole.

KM: 'Ae, 'ae. Good, good. So I see what you were describing when we walked out. The wall came down...

KD: Yeah.

KM: Up to the shore line, like that. And there's the opening, this extra opening in here. And then the Grant [3008 to Kanakaokai] extended out into the ocean here. I guess that's assuming fishing rights.

JD: Hmm.

KD: And this closed. But I'm saying that this pond came and closed right here. This one closed up to there [pointing to the eastern boundary of Ipukaiole, adjoining Grant 3008].

- KM: 'Ae. Uncle, this is you here [pointing to the location on the map] in Kamanoni eh?
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- 520 KM: So is Piakalae...?
- JD: Yeah, yeah, before Piakalae. Piakalae is by the corner, that point.
- KM: I see. [reading names off of the map] So Kalamawai...I'm just looking, and here's a name Pa'akai.
- JD: Yeah, Pa'akai is right below...
- KD: 'Cause this is your piece right here eh?
- JD: Yeah, over here.
- KD: But anyway, I only brought that out to show some of the...
- KM: Uh-hmm. See, this is the kind of stuff that I would go to take a look at, and also try to find the record... Oh, here's "Heiau Weloka" [identified near the western, kula boundary of Waialua], up here.
- KD: Interestingly enough, here's my grandmother's house, and here's my great aunt's house.
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- KD: Out in front of that old pond.
- KM: Yes.
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: The house site you were showing us.
- JD: Yeah, yeah.
- KD: Near the shore now.
- KM: Here's Kaha here, get land, and you'd mentioned a Ka'ahanui eh.
- JD: Yeah.
- KD: Ka'ahanui would be...
- 540 JD: By the [back of the ] pond somewhere eh.
- KD: [pointing to a house on the map] That one. Oh, one over...
- JD: A little over eh.
- KD: ...this one.
- JD: Uh-hmm. That's 'A'ā them eh?
- KD: Yeah, 'A'ā them. And they might even be one over from that.
- KM: Uncle was saying also, across from his house one stone, like the head of a shark.
- JD: Yeah, the shark.
- KD: Oh yeah?
- JD: The shark mouth, you didn't know?

- KD: No, I didn't know. Right on the side of the road?
- JD: Right across, over here, where Kim them staying?
- KD: Okay.
- JD: Coming out, right across.
- KD: Oh that is?
- JD: Yeah.
- KD: Oh neat.
- KM: Did you ever hear a story about that?
- KD: Ko'a [fishing deity stone or fishing ground marker]?  
[Pu'umanō–Shark God Hill]
- JD: I think there is the story, it goes with Pu'umanō.
- KM: Ahh. And you said "Shark-god hill" yeah, like Pu'u-manō.
- JD: Pu'u-manō, Shark-god hill. Yeah, that's the name of that place.
- KM: [pointing to the map] There's the trig station up here. Oh, nice this map.
- 560 KD: This is just a tracing, but...
- KM: Yes, we can go look at the original, and we would take a look...it's probably around that Monsarrat-Alexander period. Go take a look at the original field note books.
- JD: Yes.
- KM: To see what... 'cause it's interesting, this is 1916, look at how clear the definition is [pointing to the drawn outline of the Kainalu-Ipukaiole fishpond complex]. Although it's broken, indicating that there was...that the wall was in disrepair...
- KD: Right.
- KM: But this... [speaking to uncle Johnny] When a fishpond used to be taken care of before, did you hear, did a lot of people work the ponds, or was it...to take care of a fishpond is a big job eh?
- JD: Yeah, but the pond was there already.
- KM: Sure, sure.
- KD: But the repair and the maintenance.
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Yeah, that takes a lot of people, a long time. Oh mahalo.
- KD: You can have this [pointing to the map].
- 580 KM: I'll make a copy of this. Nice yeah. Nice to see all of this [detail on the map]... [speaking to uncle Johnny] Is this Pa'akai, is this your 'ohana?
- JD: Yeah, that's right.
- KM: Pa'akai is one of your Tūtū?

JD: Yeah, I think so [chuckles]. Ki'ohinu, Yeah, Ki'ohinu [thinking, looking at the map], the house is, let's see, the road...yeah, over here some place. Pa'akai is way down Kamanoni, this.

KM: Yeah, right on the edge, Honomuni.

JD: Yeah.

KM: Here's Kamanoni, this is just close to the boundary between Honomuni and the...

JD: Yeah, Piakalae...Piakalae, that's the corner right over here.

[discusses changes in Kainalu shoreline in his life time]

KM: You know, this shore line over here, has this shore line between Ipukaiole and your house changed in your life time?

602 JD: Yeah, a little bit.

KM: What is the change.

JD: Only eroding yeah.

KM: Erode away. So between say, Kainalu Stream...

JD: Yeah.

KM: And your house, it's eroded away some.

JD: Uh-hmm.

[H. Wright's wall extended his shore line; wall is source of erosion problems]

KM: Now, the neighbor next door, built a wall out here...

JD: [pointing] That one there.

KM: Does the wall extend further than the land used to?

JD: I think...Yeah, I think so, it's way out.

KM: Beyond where the land was before?

JD: Yeah, uh-hmm.

KM: The shore line was behind the wall?

JD: Yeah. That's what jamming up that place over there [chuckles]. And it's not from this side [pointing towards Ipukaiole].

KM: Not from the fishpond?

JD: No, no, ah-ah. No.

KM: [pauses, looking at the map] Hey look, Pu'umanō, more mauka, this says "Kaimumano."

621 JD: More up, on top.

KM: Yeah more mauka. Ka-imu-manō, the-shark-oven, yeah.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: Did you hear the story about Pauwalu, remember you said you heard a little something about it, maybe from you Tūtū or... [end Side A, start Side B]



627 ...We were just talking about...did you hear a story about someone baking one shark?

JD: Hmm, no.

KM: No [chuckles]. 'Cause that's what the name would imply yeah. They make one imu [earthen oven] eh, for the...

JD: Manō [shark].

KM: But you don't remember hearing that?

JD: No.

KM: Oh, okay.

JD: I was young that time too [chuckles].

KM: Yeah, I know. See, that's why...

JD: Yeah, nobody had...if somebody had carry on and knew about that, and tell the next person, they remember.

KM: Yeah, see, that's why even why we try to do this now...

JD: Right.

KM: These little oral histories and things. A little bit here and there, 'cause the children can at least remember, they here who the family...

JD: Yeah, I see.

KM: Where you gather and... Who taught, who was the most important person for you to learn fishing?

JD: Oh, my father.

KM: Your father. Did he have some peculiar things that he would do? [voices in the background] In fact, did he gather and some times bring fish back and set it some where, make ho'okupu [offerings] like?

[heard of people using Kū'ula to catch fish]

640 JD: No he don't do that, no. Of course I heard about people, if they like the fish come inside, they had the fish stone eh. I don't know what they call that.

KM: Kū'ula eh?

JD: Kū'ula, yeah.

KM: You heard about that in here?

JD: Yeah, yeah, they had, they had stone. And they put 'um out, and the akule [Trachurops crumenophthalmus] used to come inside.

KM: Oh yeah, so the akule come inside?

JD: Yeah, the pile, the pile akule. Like Honomuni Harbor, always, Honomuni and Pūko'o Harbor. Every time they used to take the stone out and leave 'um out on the wall, and plenty fishes... [would come in]

[Leslie Dunbar comes out to say hello; tape off, then back on]

KM: So you remember that some people kept stones like that?

- JD: Yeah.
- KM: Do you remember who any of those families were?
- JD: Ahh—even my brother Duprey, he had one stone too, from his step father. Uh-hmm, gave him the stone. And what happened to the stone, I don't know. Nobody could find the stone. I don't know if he had buried the stone or put 'um someplace. Nobody can find it.
- KM: Ahh. What's your brother's name?
- JD: Duprey. He passed away, maybe about two-three years ago. He used to live down Hālawa and he used to take the stone outside, and every time the akule come inside. HE surround and take 'um to the market.
- KM: Amazing. Those old people, they mana [have spiritual power], they believe that kind.
- JD: Yeah, they take care of the stone, that's why. I guess his stepfather told him what to do with the stone, How to take care of the stone. And then sometimes we go down...
- KM: Who was the stepfather?
- JD: Yeah, he was adopted by Peter Dudoit.
- KM: Ohh!
- 660 JD: He was adopted, that was my brother.
- KM: And you know, sometimes they make bait eh...did you folks go kā mākoi or kākele [methods of pole fishing], fish line at all, or anything, pole like that?
- JD: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: You know how sometimes, they make the 'ala'ala [octopus liver], the he'e for bait?
- JD: For hauna [bait] yeah, yeah.
- KM: What kind of hauna or maunu [baits] did you folks use?
- JD: Pūhi [eel] like that, white eel like that, pūlehu [cook] and chop 'um up. Use for hauna.
- KM: 'Ae.
- JD: We used to do that for 'ulua [crevalle or jack fish] like that.
- KM: Oh good, well mahalo.
- JD: Yeah, all kind fish and now, all change.
- KM: All change.
- JD: I bought some deep nets, but I hardly did use 'um. A couple of times, but it's not like before, you know. You buy net and you can use 'um almost every time. IN fact now, if I catch fish, I don't go sell. No. I just give 'em away to family and who ever go with me. They take 'em and then, what ever extra get, I ask the boys that go with me, if you folks can sell 'um, get a little it money, for buy beer or cigarette for them [chuckles].

[salt gathered from Kaunakakai and Kalaupapa areas; not made in Kainalu]

- KM: Good, that's old style though yeah. You share, you take what you need, and you share the rest. How about, did you folks make pa'akai [salt] down here anywhere.
- JD: Oh no, no more.
- KM: No more salt making place like that?
- JD: No more.
- KM: You know, in the yard here, there's that stone with the poho [bowl-like hollow]?
- JD: Uh-hmm, yeah.
- KM: The bowl-like there. What do think something like that may have been used for, do you know?
- 680 JD: [thinking] I don't, I think they could pound kukui [candle nuts] in there.
- KM: Yeah.
- JD: Yeah. And in fact, for a little bit poi, I think can too in there.
- KM: Nice bowl yeah. So you folks didn't make salt out here. Where did you get your salt from?
- JD: From the market.
- KM: The market! Ohh [chuckles].
- JD: [laughs]
- KM: Too easy. Kaunakakai, they used to have loko pa'akai [salt ponds] eh, before, or not in your time already?
- JD: Yeah, I think long before they used to make salt there.
- KM: But not up here?
- JD: Pau, no. Kalaupapa, yeah. Get summer time, you know, get that water come up in the rocks yeah. Make good salt.
- [restoration of fishpond may help to bring the fish back]
- KM: 'Ae. So, mahalo, thank you. So in your mana'o, it's okay, you think it's good to go ahead and restore this pond then?
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: You were sharing earlier, that idea about maybe can bring fish back...
- JD: Back, like what Kip was saying, if get the pond, raise the mullet, and come big, maybe get for or five dozen and let go half, you know. And then breed the rest. It's a good idea, sure.
- KM: Good.
- JD: 'Cause now, you hardly can find mullet, no more. Few, few. I guess, I say like before, used to get mullet, oh all kind fish. Well, because the commercial guys, yeah.
- KM: Hmm. I wonder though, you think still 'nough freshwater out hear even though the streams not flowing?
- 700 JD: I think yeah.

- KM: It would be okay.
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Interesting you notice the limu 'ele'ele gone.
- JD: Yeah, really.
- KM: 'Cause that an indicator eh of plenty fresh water.
- JD: Fresh water. But down here, Aha'ino, still get fresh water. But what happened to the limu, I don't know.
- KM: Hmm.
- JD: And I wanted to bring some, not manaua, what's that chop chop limu?
- KM: 'Aki'aki [Ahnfeltia concinna] kind?
- JD: That black limu, the one they mix with the ake [liver].
- KM: Ohh—huluhulu waena [Grateloupia filicina].
- JD: Yeah, huhulu waena, down Kaunakakai get plenty see. So I wanted bring 'um come and try...
- KM: Transplant.
- JD: Yeah. Maybe I going try one of these days, 'cause used to get plenty huhulu waena, up here.
- KM: Oh yeah, and now, no more.
- JD: No more.
- KM: Oh yeah, so if used to grow up here...
- JD: Yeah.
- KM: That's a kind of restoration also, you bring back life too...
- JD: Yeah, yeah. I going do that. I told myself that, but, every time when I come up this way, I forget stop down there.
- KM: Ahh—a little piece pōhaku [stone] with a little a'a [root].
- JD: Yeah, get plenty on the 'ili'ili [pebbles] down Kaunakakai, plenty on the 'ili'ili, all growing. And then people go pick up.
- KM: Yeah, and that huhulu waena is 'ono, like you said with ake like that.
- JD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Mahalo. Uncle, what I'm going to do is, I'll take this tape home and I'll transcribe this, and I'll send it back to you.  
May I please get your mailing address?
- JD: P.O. Box 1074; Kaunakakai, HI 96748.
- 722 KM: Your phone number?
- JD: 553-3478.
- KM: What I'll do is, I'll transcribe this and I'll send this back to you in the mail, so maybe you and your wahine [wife] can sit down, read through it and if you

remember something, or "I better not leave this in..." You know, we can take out, 'cause the wealth is that there is information here, and just stories, the familiarity with the land.

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: And that's important for everybody...

KD: [comes back outside] These are pictures of the pond before I did anything to it [Figures 4a and 4b; Appendix B].

[discusses size and condition of Ipukaiole Fishpond walls when he was young]

KM: Oh, so look at this, you remember that?

JD: Yeah.

KM: What year was this taken?

KD: Oh that's about 1991.

KM: You remember that?

JD: Uh-hmm.

KM: When you were a small kid, the wall was pretty big eh?

JD: Yeah.

KM: Did you walk along there and throw net?

JD: Yeah, ah-haa.

KM: So you walked along this wall then?

JD: Yeah.

KM: And go throw net like that?

JD: Was bigger, bigger, but every year it changes.

KD: It fall, fall, fall, fall.

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: Spread out.

KD: The big thing was the '46 tidal wave.

JD: Yeah, yeah, yeah. That's what went knock 'um down.

KD: That's what really knocked it down.

KM: Oh interesting.

KD: But the reason why I have this picture, the reason why I brought it up, is they say I "put all this stuff up." If you went out there right now and you stood on the wall and you held this picture up and you look back, what you'd see [chuckles]...

JD: Yeah, yeah.

KD: It would be...all we've really done is taken the two sides and stacked 'um up, and aligned them again.

- 740 JD: Yeah, uh-hmm.
- KD: Now I mean, we did bring in some stone too, and we had the backhoe...
- JD: Yeah but, plenty was all there already, original.
- KM: Sure, well look at all the stone. Look at how wide it is yeah. So it was a wide wall then. You even remember that, yeah?
- JD: Uh-hmm, uh-hmm, yeah.
- KM: Small kid time, could you walk along the wall and not get wet?
- JD: Yeah, uh-hmm.
- KM: Was it up high enough so you still don't get wet?
- JD: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.
- KM: But that tsunami then, the tidal wave, 1946...
- JD: All that yeah.
- KM: Did the 1960 tsunami affect here too?
- KD: It came right up to here [pointing to the bottom step of the verandah.
- KM: Nineteen-sixty too, wow.
- KD: It didn't float the house, it came right up under the...
- KM: What are, about 60 feet from the shore?
- KD: A little more.
- JD: Over that.
- KM: Seventy-five?
- KD: Seventy-five, 80, 90.
- KM: Oh wow. So the water came this far in.
- KD: Oh yeah, you know Hurricane Fernanda, that we had. Hurricane Fernanda came up to here, 'cause it's an eastern storm.
- JD: Yeah.
- KD: That was about 1993, '92 or some where in there.
- JD: Yeah.
- KD: The one that was 350 miles to the east of us. If it's from the east, we get hit.
- JD: Yeah.
- KD: That's where we catch the brunt of it.
- KM: 'Ae. Mahalo eh. Thank you so much for taking the time...
- JD: Yeah. [speaking to Kip] I was telling him [Kepā] about before, you and Gordon were young, [chuckles] so I used to go catch fish and give some to you and Gordon...
- 759 KM: [Asks to take picture while uncle is speaking to Kip; tape off, end interview]

**William H. Kalipi Sr.  
Ipukaiole Oral History Study; at Kainalu, Moloka'i  
Interview with Kepā Maly — April 12, 1997; c. 9:00 a.m.  
(with follow-up questions by Francis Nakamoto)**

William “Billy” H. Kalipi Sr., was born in 1942, on O’ahu, and brought home to Moloka’i when he was two years old. Both his parents were native residents of Moloka’i, and Uncle Billy was raised in the lands of ‘Ualapu’e-Manawai-‘Ōhi’a. As a youth, uncle was taken and trained by his uncle, John Kawai Cockett, in the practices, customs, and beliefs associated management and restoration of fishponds and heiau (temples). The elder John Kawai Cockett had been born in 1893, and was himself taught by his kūpuna (elders); thus Uncle Billy was instructed in carrying on his family’s traditions.

As a youth, uncle Billy worked with his uncle and elders on several fishpond restoration projects, among which are the ‘Ualapu’e, Keawenui and Kalua’aha ponds. In those years, he gained a detailed knowledge of native stone work, and the ancient beliefs and practices associated with fishponds. The interview provides readers with a richly detailed description of the workings of fishponds; how pond, land, and water resources were interrelated; and the customs associated with the various gods and guardians that were called upon to ensure the abundance of the fish harvest. Today, uncle Billy Kalipi is known around the state of Hawai’i as an authority in fishpond management and restoration, and as an expert native stone mason.

From as early as the 1950s, Uncle Billy began fishing in and around the ruins of the ancient Ipukaiole Fishpond. He shares clear recollections of the condition of the walls in the 1950s, and how they have changed over the years, to the present. Because of his expertise in fishpond work, Kip Dunbar contacted Billy Kalipi, and asked him to help prepare for and implement the restoration of the Ipukaiole Fishpond. During the interview, uncle Billy describes the process he followed in initiating restoration of the Ipukaiole pond in 1991; observing that the original alignment of the ancient pond wall was clearly visible, and remains so to this day.

The interview also provides readers with documentation of how the Kainalu shoreline has changed over the years, particularly since the 1960s, when stone and cement walls were built to extend the property of H. Wright, to the west of Kainalu Stream. Uncle describes the difference in the effect of native stone walls versus solid cement reinforced walls today. He also records that because of their resistance to the wave action, modern walls significantly increase the erosional problems in neighboring shore lines.

The interview was conducted at the home of Kip and Leslie Dunbar. Selected references of discussion matter are marked in the following interview transcript with square brackets; allowing readers to do a quick scan for specific topics of interest. Following his review and identifying necessary changes, Uncle Billy Kalipi, gave his formal release of the interview on May 20, 1997 (Appendix A).

[Tape 1 of 2, Side A]

Counter #

& Name

000 WK: [asks that we open with pule {prayer}]

011 KM: Mahalo. You've been telling so many wonderful stories, just in the time, since we were talking, may I just start, with you sharing you name, date of birth, where you were born like that?

WK: Okay. My name is William H. Kalipi Sr. I was born on O'ahu, Honolulu, and was brought to Moloka'i when I was age two. And from age two till today, I became a child of the land—aloha, keiki o ka 'āina of Moloka'i. I was raised by my father Philip Kalipi, also known as Philip Ka'iliuli Kūalapa'i. My mother was Phoebe Agnes Cockett and we were raised in the district of 'Ualapu'e.

022 I had an uncle named John Kawai Cockett. He was my teacher in renovating fishponds, renovating heiau [temples]. So he taught me all these things. What else you like know?

KM: What year, what's the date of your birth?

WK: I was born in April 5<sup>th</sup>, 1942.

KM: Hmm, you just had a birthday.

WK: Yeah.

KM: Aloha ke Akua [God is love].

WK: [chuckles]

KM: How did your 'ohana [family] come to Moloka'i, how come mom and dad came? Were they tied to this land?

WK: My papa was born in Hālawā Valley, Kalipi. My mama was born in 'Ōhi'a, Moloka'i. They come from there. My father, my real father was William Cockett. My mom's brother, so when I was two, mom over to over to Honolulu and took me from the brother, John. She's actually my aunt, but she adopted me legally, then I became a Kalipi. They went hānai [adopt] me all the way.

KM: Ahh. So you grew up at 'Ualapu'e?

WK: At Manawai-'Ōhi'a.

KM: Okay. And now your uncle [father] John Kawai Cockett, he practiced old style 'ūhauhumu pōhaku [native stone masonry]?

WK: Everything.

KM: What are the things that stood out in your life, growing up, he'd talk to you about the loko i'a [fishponds]? What kinds of things did he share with you?

[kapu and protocol in working on loko i'a (fishponds), heiau, and in all aspects of traditional life]

040 WK: My uncle, never did talk too much, 'cause he knew the pule, prayers for the plants. Everything is green. It's just like he lived in a garden of Eden, everything he planted was bountiful. And then, he also can interpret dreams. He had that gift. He taught me many of the signs, the omens.

KM: 'Ae, 'ailona [yes, portends].

WK: Yeah, all that kind. The do's, the don'ts, 'cause he was real quiet. When we went out to mahi'ai [cultivate] or work on the loko [ponds], he'd teach me how to set the rock, look for the face of the rock. How to pule. Pule when we go inside the pond, for cleansing, before work. So my uncle always taught me to be pono



[upright, of good nature and practice], when we do Hawaiian stuff. We worked on one heiau [temple], and my wife went at the heiau and she fell asleep. But it was kapu [restricted] for the wahine [woman] to come on the heiau, so we took her out of the heiau, and then she got up. So certain signs...see, everything we do, is a sign. But you make the last decision. Your decision going be what you going...how you going take that sign. Good sign, bad sign, and what you going do with it.

He taught me the kapu [restrictions] of the fishpond, like wahine no can go in when they get their ma'i [menstrual cycle]. Or you get kākī'o [sores], you no go inside. And it was technically, like common sense, because this is where your food going come from. So you no moe lepo [make dirty] the place.

060 You no go inside mimi [urinate] or desecrate the pond. No matter what, you respect the pond. The ponds that we renovated was 'Ualapu'e Pond, Keawenui Pond, and one pond up...Kalua'aha Pond.

KM: Kalua'aha, 'ae.

WK: Yeah, that pond. So that's the pond that we worked on.

KM: With your uncle?

WK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: About when was this?

WK: This was in the '50s.

KM: Nineteen-fifties.

WK: Nineteen-fifties.

KM: You were 'ōpio [young] still then.

WK: I still yet one 'ōpio, young, learning all this kind. And I come from a family of five of us. Myself and two brothers and two sisters. And only myself was cut off from speaking the language.

KM: Ohh!

WK: 'Cause the school came in, and that stopped my papa and mama from...so they never did talk Hawaiian to me. The rest of brothers and sisters can speak fluent Hawaiian, but only me took on the culture itself.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: I was the one who worked in the lo'i [pond fields], plant the lo'i. Everything about the taro, I the one go mauka, pick up the 'alae [ocherous earth] make the net, all that kind stuff with my father...

KM: So you would take the 'alae to color the net?

WK: Yeah. So all that time, I was the one who took the initiative, I wanted to learn. So all this, you know, I was happy, this was one gift yeah, that was given to me.

KM: Yeah.

080 WK: [pauses] You know, at one time in my life, I was strong in Hawaiian culture. I believe in everything of the Hawaiian, and I went astray. What I mean, I went

astray, we belonged...my parents, my uncle, all of us, belong to the Apostolic Faith Church, or Jesus is Coming Soon.

When I was young, looking at my parents, I knew they worshipped two gods. I know how my mother pule, she two sides. And then my uncle is another one who worship two gods. So anyway, what went happen, just to give you an example of where I was coming from, is, I wanted to be one kahu [steward] for this manō [shark] at Keawenui. So everything I did was Hawaiian, what I mean, in the morning I get up, I worship Kū. In the lunch time, I worship Kāne, twelve noon. In the evening, I went worship Hina, the goddess Hina.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: So I have these rituals, everyday. I was unemployed, I live off the ocean and the mountain. I was one hunter and a fisherman, and I was one farmer, I planted. And the plants, the same thing... [100]

...[O]ne evening, I was staying Keawenui, and we had had kukui hele pō [lantern] that time. I hear my uncle, about nine o' clock, talking, he stayed with me. And I get up and I tell my wife "Hey listen." We listen, "Who that with uncle?"

120 Had three guys inside the room. All in Hawaiian, so I said...I know already, that's not man, that's spirits. Spirits come see my uncle. Because the animals in the yard, the dogs, the horses, everything, just stay going crazy. So you know something's going on. I said "Ahh, that's all right, tomorrow..." My uncle, he get up four o'clock in the morning, drink coffee. So I get up, we had one step and then down patio, down side. So I come down stairs make coffee, sit there on the table, and as soon as I looked at my uncle, I see, Ohh—his face red! He pissed off, he mad. I no say nothing. So he look at me, he tell me "You like be the kahu for this manō [shark] over here?" So I look at uncle, I say "Yeah, how you know?." He said, "He came see me last night." "Who came see you last night?" The manō and two kūpuna [ancestors or elders]." Ohh, I get all excited. He told me that, ahh—man, I think I stay on the right track. So I tell my uncle, "So what?" They asked, they went question him, the was questioning my uncle, "Who me? Who's this keiki [child], how come I come from 'Ōhi'a, how come I stay Keawenui?" but I was the care taker for Bishop Estate, that's why I went go live Keawenui. But I actually come from 'Ōhi'a. That's where my parent all born. So they like know everything about me. So my uncle said, "Ahh, this kid don't know nothing, go!" So they said "Okay," and they left. So my uncle tell me that, I stay on cloud nine already, all excited.

140 "Uncle, uncle, what the manō's name? What's his name?" So my uncle tell, "Oh shee, I never ask him his name." But quick, he understood that I like kahea [chant his name], if I can kahea, I can communicate. [Uncle said] Kaa! I went send 'um away." I feel good inside already, "Okay uncle." I happy, everything I did was Hawaiian. So okay, then four days later, four days after that incident, my kids get up, they tell me "Daddy, daddy, something wrong with papa." "What you mean?" "Come look." I come down stairs look, hey, my uncle all black and blue, bruised, his whole body. And I went look at that, "Hey kepalō [devil] that, that's not real." Different kind, you know, you can tell. When you see one devil kind, you know that's not normal. So the first thing I went ask my uncle "What happened?" He tell me "Ahh, my sister Mary came last night." When he said "his sister," the first thing in my mind, "my Aunty?" "Who is my Aunty?" I was calculating in my mind, Aunty? Mary? That's the first born of the Cocketts, she

was the first born. She died in 1942 or '43. And that's the first time in my life I hear of one spirit physically hurt somebody. So I tell "What happened?" "She went pākī [pound] me on the floor."

160 Shee! So the next question I ask my uncle, "What we going do uncle, we going put bamboo? We going for Hawaiian salt, ti leaf? What is the remedy? So he tell me, take him home. "I born with the ti leaf, the ti leaf going help me." So I took uncle home, drop him home in the morning at his house, then I went, and evening, I come pick him up. That evening when I went pick him up, he was brand new. No more one bruise, nothing! Brand new. So I looked at uncle, and I tell "Uncle, you gotta teach me this, I gotta learn this kind stuff. What if this happened to me and my kids?" So he look at me a long time, and he tell, "Boy, I keep telling you, you stick to Jesus Christ, nothing can harm you. Nothing! You pa'a [be resolute], no come to the past, stay with the Lord Jesus." From that day till today, I never go back for Hawaiian religion. I stayed strictly with Jesus. And I praise the Lord, 'cause he just went fill me with the Holy Ghost, and I all excited.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: You know. But, when we come back, when my uncle said "I born with the ti leaf, and the ti leaf going heal me." Okay, now when we turn the clock back, I did one genealogy for my family. When I went through the Cocketts, my mom's side, my aunty Mary was first born, Phoebe was second born. And then had three more kids after that, and three boys, and the three boys disappeared from the pregnancy. Ninth month, no more the baby, lilo [gone].

180 So my grandma, they know kāne [male] or wahine [female]. So was three kāne, lilo. So they go see one kahuna [priest], "How come, how come no more the baby?" So what went happen, is the 'aumakua for my grandma is the manō [shark], and the manō come and take the baby, take the boys, and say, "Because they angry at her husband, we going take the baby, you no can get boys. You no can carry boys so no more the name." So my grandma cry, she like one boy, "How can she get boy?" So the kahuna said "Okay come, I help you. Nine months, when you come nine months, make everything around you ti leaf. Your garment, everything is made out of ti leaf, you bed, all ti leaf. And that's what she did on the ninth month. Nine months, she gave birth to her first son. That's my uncle, John.

KM: Hmm. So that's why he said, "He's born of the ti leaf, and he'll go back...?"

WK: Yeah, 'ae. So now, all the boys is born with ti leaf. My grandma put ti leaf. But she still yet never win the 'aumakua [ancestral deity, family god], 'cause all of them, no more sons. All of them got to adopt...

[Kainalu-Ipukaiole Ponds]

200 ...So this is where he come from, on what had transpired with our 'ohana. And I remember many times, we going holoholo [travel], plenty 'ama'ama...in fact over here, this fishpond, this Kainalu Pond, we come up one time, had one big school mullet, big school mullet! Over here. Me and my friend, we surround the mullet, this one whole school. Soon as we surround we all happy, we get the school. "Hey, all right!" We young eh, we only teenagers, jumping up and down, we get 'um! Then we look, we no see the mullet. Hoo, we put on our goggles, for look if hakahaka [has gaps in] the net. Hang up on the rocks eh.

- KM: Yeah, yeah.
- WK: We jump in the water, we dive right around, no more nothing.
- KM: No more puka [hole]?
- WK: No more nothing, nothing! But no more the mullet. We reach home then I tell my uncle, "Hey uncle, we saw one big school mullet." He tell "What?". "Oh, we had and we was talking up." And he said "Ahh, you was greedy, greedy you guys, the spirit go play with you guys, they take away 'cause you no jump until the fish inside the boat [laughs]. If not stay inside the boat, you no make noise. You humble yourself."
- KM: So uncle, that time when you came here...?
- WK: 'Ae [yes].
- KM: You could still see the walls?
- WK: Oh yeah, yeah.
- KM: Even this small Ipukaiole?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: So you could still see the walls.
- WK: Still yet see the walls.
- KM: And had the 'ama'ama, mullet inside?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: So you were a teenager, this was the '50s?
- WK: Yeah. So, you look at 'um, this was during the kapu [restricted] season. When kapu, the mullet all run.
- 220 KM: 'Ae.
- WK: So they all over the place. Before days you can count the hūlou, all the pile mullet from all around. Today, no more, no more nothing. Lucky you going see one pile. Only because us man, hana 'ino [treat the resource disrespectfully], we take, take, take.
- KM: 'Ae, ' ānunu [yes, greed] eh.
- WK: We no put back. So that's why today, you no can blame the developer, no, no, nothing to do with development. That is us, our own self no mālama [take care], only take, take, take.
- KM: Hmm. Earlier, you were sharing a story that you heard from your uncle paha [perhaps], that they had a way that they would drive the fish...certain pō Kāne [no moon night] or something...?
- [Role of Kū'ula in fishpond management]
- WK: No, no, no. Okay, this wahine is kupuna Duvachelle. An old lady, used to get one store at Pūko'o, old store over there. And their great Tūtū used to come down to the pond with one Kū'ula [fish god stone], shaped like on man. When she put the Kū'ula down it face east, before the sun rise. And she pule [pray], when she pau pule, she open the gate and all the akule [Trachurops crumenophthalmus] come

inside the pond. Then she hana pa'a [close] the gate, then she go make her children call all the neighbors, "come, come take what you need, bring your pākini [tin tubs], fill up your pākini, take..." All the families, all the people over there, all come around Pūko'o, start harvesting what ever they need.

240 When everybody got what they needed, she hemo [remove] the gate and let go all the fish. Then she take her Kū'ula and go home.

KM: So that's how she would take care everybody, and she'd pule...?

WK: Yeah.

KM: Kahea [call in prayer], and the akule all come in?

WK: Yeah.

KM: Now, is that Pūko'o Pond?

WK: Lagoon now.

KM: And so that's the one, was that Mr. Wright...?

WK: Yeah.

KM: They went dredge 'um and bust open the wall?

WK: Right, yeah. They went convert 'um into one lagoon, 'cause he was going to build a hotel.

KM: Ohh—aloha!

WK: But, the whole thing went down.

KM: How...the family didn't try to tell him had Kū'ula, and had special stuff there?

WK: No, nobody... carry over the tradition.

KM: Ahh, nalowale [lost].

WK: Yeah, no more... So that's the pilikia [trouble].

KM: Ahh. How about, earlier you had mentioned, and I was asking Kippy if he had ever heard any story... The ponds had kia'i [guardians] you said?

WK: Yeah.

KM: Guardian-like...?

WK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And even 'aumākua [ancestral deities]...?

WK: Yeah.

[Ipukaiole and restoration work]

KM: What kind of stories did you hear about the ponds here, and had you heard anything

about this immediate area, Ipukaiole?

WK: The only thing we heard about here, is the manō [shark].

KM: The manō this side?

WK: The manō that eat the eight kids.

- KM: Oh, Pauwalu?
- WK: Yeah, Pauwalu. So that's the only thing we hear.
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- 259 WK: But about the pond itself, I'm not familiar. All I know is, that by looking at the foundation, the kumu [base], then I know what type of structure, wall that this pond needed. And so this how we took up the 15 foot width.
- KM: So you followed...you said had the kumu [foundation] or the pae [alignment]?
- WK: Yeah, the kumu or the footprints of the width of the pond already, exists. And you can see 'um plain.
- KM: [showing uncle Figures 4a and 4b; Appendix B] These are photographs of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, before the 1991 work, and look, you see the alignment of the stone yeah? So you remember had the...?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: Had the...you could see the base?
- WK: Yeah, you could. Certain place, the tidal wave went really helele'i [scatter] all this pōhaku [stone], but when you walk on top here, you can see maybe three, four stones, all in [gestures in line with his hands] place.
- KM: Set.
- WK: All set. And that's the base rock on the bottom. So you know...
- KD: [came back into the room] As we cleared away that stuff, the rubble...
- WK: Yeah. So when you really look at 'um, you can see. And then you can see from here, maybe right there get one, then way down here get another one, and then you line this and that one up, that's the line. It's right in line.
- KM: Right.
- WK: Right in line.
- KM: Had, you said, if you go out a way, you could see evidence of mākāhā [sluice gates]?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: You could see where the mākāhā... What, was it kind of hollow-like, or you still see something of the opening of the mākāhā?
- WK: Only the foundation.
- KM: Just the foundation. How about more out, you said had one hale kia'i [guardians house]?
- 280 WK: Oh yeah, on top here [pointing to the remnant wall in the photograph], going be on top this wall, by the [eastern] corner.
- KM: Ahh. What was the purpose of this extra kahua or this platform-like?
- WK: That extra kahua was for the kia'i's [{the pond} guardian's] place, where he open the gates from the mākāhā to let go the 'aumakua.
- KM: Okay. What did the 'aumakua do ...?

[Fishponds tied to land management and ownership]

WK: Okay, the purpose of the 'aumakua is to go out and gather fish to bring back into the pond. Now, you know, the main pond of this Ipukaiole, I think Kainalu is the main pond.

KM: Yeah, it's more big.

WK: Yeah no, but that pond belong to this land, Kainalu eh.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: And all the ahupua'a, and I no can see why the state own Kainalu Fishpond when they [Munro/Dunbars] got the land.

KM: Ahh, mai uka a i ke kai [from the uplands to the sea] eh?

WK: 'Ae, automatic.

KM: Ahupua'a [a complete native land division] almost eh?

292 WK: Yeah, ahupua'a, so Kainalu Fishpond belong here, and Ipukaiole could be one hatchery, because it's adjacent to the main pond.

KM: Ahh, that's right, even how you... 'cause if I understand, did the wall where it comes towards Kainalu...?

WK: If the chief went own up there, mauka, he owned makai if its the Kainalu. And that says Kainalu Fishpond, you know.

[Different gods and their role in fishpond management]

KM: 'Ae. What kind of...if had a...and the kia'i was like the watch person, the guardian?

WK: Yeah.

KM: A man?

WK: Right.

KM: When he opened...was there a special time, or night, something when he opened...?

WK: Yes. Normally, they open during the pō Kāne night, and it's three nights. That pō Kāne.

KM: That's the night when all dark?

WK: Yeah, that's the dark nights.

KM: No moon?

WK: No moon. And you get three nights. You get one small crescent moon, the moon of Hilo. Hilo is close to the pō Kāne.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: Then you get Maui, I think, but you get three moons that falls all pō Kāne. The three nights. And this is his job, during those nights, for open.

KM: So he open the 'īpuka [gateway]?

- WK: He open the 'īpukai, let the 'aumakua go out. He open that at night, eight o'clock, as soon as pō'ele [dark], he open 'um. Before the sun rise, hanapa'a [it's] closed]. Four o'clock he close 'um already. The sun not up, he close the gate, stay home already.
- KM: What kind of 'aumākua did some of the ponds have?
- WK: Well, 'Ualapu'e had one pūhi [eel], pūhi ūhā [Conger cinereus], belong to 'Ualapu'e.
- 320 So what happened with that one, is they plant one hau [Hibiscus tiliaceus] tree, and the hau tree stay yellow, "Oh he stay home." If stay green, "Ahh, he went, he not inside." So by the color.
- KM: The color of the...
- WK: Yeah the color of the leaf, for determine if the 'aumakua stay home or not. And same like... [looks at Kip Dunbar] Buchanan's pond]?
- KD: Kupeke.
- WK: Kupeke, that one, the he'e [octopus], at that one. And that one is the hala [pandanus tree], and when the hala [fruit] ripe, the he'e is there.
- KM: Ahh, ai no ka he'e i ka loko [that means the octopus is in the pond]?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: Oh.
- WK: So then you get other ponds, is the manō [shark] itself. But the manō he go underneath [gesturing].
- KM: Ahh, a cave-like?
- WK: A cave underneath. Keawenui has one cave underground for go into the pond.
- KM: Hmm. Honu [turtle], I think you said earlier [before the recorded interview]?
- WK: Honu, yeah.
- KM: The honu. And so what, they would go out to the ocean and they...?
- WK: Gather and bring back.
- KM: Ahh, so they would drive like the fish...
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: Come back through the 'īpuka or the mākāhā, and come inside?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: And is that how they stocked the ponds in the old days?
- WK: That's one method, one method. The other way, because they no more...like us modern, how we make our trap, we make with funnel eh.
- KM: Yes, yes.
- 340 WK: Funnel, the fish go in, no come out. [gesturing making layers with his hands] This one was all overlap.
- KM: Oh, so the lā'au, the wood like the fence...



WK: Yeah the wood. And so, his [the guardian's] job too, see that nobody go over. So you put your torch, and you bring in certain fish baby. The torch also take out the barracuda.

KM: Oh, so the light attracts...?

WK: Yeah. So that's another method of working the pond. When the work inside the pond, they use lau [seine net], the lau. So the lau, the only thing kapu in the pond, is the 'ama'ama [mullet]. The 'ama'ama belongs to the ali'i [chief]. So that, you no can touch. So you use the lau. Lau take everything except for the 'ama'ama and the aholehole [Kuhlia sandvicensis fish].

KM: 'Ae. So if they catch, they throw away, or throw back?

WK: No, no, no throw nothing. They go the make their lau and everything for feed the village. See...all you get workers eh. The pō'alima [individuals who dedicate a day of work each week to the care of the pond for their ali'i], all the guys got to come, go mahi'ai [cultivate and work] the ali'i's pond, and one of their rewards is, when they harvest the pāpio [young crevalle or jack fish], the weke [a goat fish], and all that, they kept those fish.

KM: So all that kind i'a [fish] was inside the pond too?

WK: Yeah, all inside there.

KM: But the 'ama'ama, that was reserved for ali'i?

WK: Ali'i, yeah.

360 KD: And it wouldn't get swept by the lau. The aholehole and the 'ama'ama would puka [escape] through the lau. The others, maka'u, they're afraid to go through the lau.

WK: So they all come.

KD: The 'ama'ama and the aholehole would stay behind.

KM: Ahh, interesting.

WK: So one good method eh?

KM: Yeah, no. Now, how come they made the fishponds to begin with?

[Role of fishponds in cultural and natural landscapes]

WK: Oh, the ponds play a couple of roles. I would look at the first principle, is to protect the land, where the lo'i kalo [taro pond fields] stay. 'Cause ponds, where ever get fishponds. Wherever get fishponds, they get artesian wells, or get running streams. And where they get running streams, they get lo'i. Mauka all the taro patch. Now, to preserve that so the tidal wave no hit 'em right away, their engineers started building these big ponds. That's one, protect the taro. Two, supplement food for the ali'i, the chief first. 'Cause the chief's job is to protect the people [with his mana and relationship with the gods]. So he get all this food ready for feed his warriors. Three, every month, you get sacrifice if anybody bust kapu.

380 If they break the kapu, they're sacrificed in this system. But this month, nobody went break...nobody broke the kapu. They go to the fishpond, now they look for the ulua, 100 pound ulua signify man. They take the ulua to the sacrifice altar. Now this is where...another thing where the pond play a major role. They take

'um and here, sacrificial to the gods. Fourth, the pond play a major role during the rough season. The ocean rough, no can go, then you get your ice box. Now we call the fishpond our "ice box."

KM: 'Ae.

WK: So all you get, can keep, continue for live.

KM: So they always get this source to care for.

WK: Yeah, yeah. Again the concept of you just take what you need. Ancient time, was easy because no more ice box, no more the ice.

KM: Yeah, no can just throw in the freezer.

WK: No can. But again, if you look at ancient, November [to] January, February, March, kapu, Makahiki [the season of the god Lono, harvest celebrations, and when the kona, or southerly storms bring rough seas].

KM: 'Ae.

WK: Kapu! And under the kapu, no body go fish! Nobody can fish during the kapu season.

KM: So no fishing canoes like that?

WK: No can, no body. Summer time, go ahead, you stock pile your house. Kaula'i [dry] everything.

400 'Cause what you doing, you preparing for the winter months, the Makahiki. Come Makahiki, you stocked, you get plenty food all kaula'i already, 'cause you no can work, kapu eh. So, if you look at ancient times, even in the '50s, during the winter months, you can predict the storm. Today, we look TV, oh, you see the storm [chuckling] before, we don't know, that's one hurricane coming, we stay 'au'au kai [swimming in the ocean]... But you know, that winter months was...we can predict storm, thunder, lightning. Why you think that storm come in the winter months?

KM: [pauses]

WK: During that time [striking the table seven times, like the beating of a pahu {drum}], worship of the gods.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: When you worship gods, the elements start coming. They eventually dying, because our kūpuna dying. And we no more this ancient practices.

KM: 'Ae, the ho'omana [worshipping] and that kind pule [prayer].

420 WK: Yeah, no more. But, where you see this, where you see the storm come now? The storm come only once, during one month [pauses] during the Merrie Monarch. Merrie Monarch, and you get the right spirit, thunder and lightning start. But plenty guys no understand what they dealing with, in the spiritual way.

KM: 'Cause even when you take the old 'oli, mele [chants] like that eh, still mana [spiritual power].

WK: Yeah.

KM: The word get mana.

WK: Yeah, yeah. So all this thing massive, massive you know. Plenty guys no understand this kind. But same with the fishing, when the kapu time come, get the strong Kona [southerly winds]. Strong Kona come, all the mullet, nothing going stop 'um from traveling in Kona storm time.

KM: So in your time, in the '50s, '60s like that, with you uncle mā [them], these kinds of...?

WK: All existed.

KM: Still perpetuated, they watch, they observe kapu like that?

WK: Oh we even see the akua lele [fire balls, a traveling form assumed by various deity] still yet going during that time. We were taught not to hang up our inner garments on the line, you know. We got to put them in the house. The woman's panty, no can leave out side. All, everything.

440 KM: All those kind, because they no like 'um for be maunu [bait used in sorcery], bait eh?

WK: Yeah. So all stay inside.

[fishpond management and importance in landscape]

KM: So, over the years, in your time, you've watched the shoreline, you said you've worked as a youth, young 'ōpio...

WK: Yeah.

KM: You worked on restoring fishponds with uncle, and some of the heiau. Why did they feel it was important to care for these places, and what was the value, you know, as a kanaka [Hawaiian]?

WK: Well, as a kanaka [pauses]...Okay, maka'āinana [commoner, a person of the land], what happened is, we work the pond, because the pond feed us. Who ever own the pond, they like help, they no can do 'um. So we go do 'um and in return, we can go fishing any time we like.

KM: 'Ae, that's right. So that was the pay back, you get the right because you were responsible?

WK: Right, right. So we...and the Yuen's, Y.K. Yuen, is still out there yet, at Keawenui fishpond, they lease the pond from Bishop Estate.

460 So my uncle, helped Yuen anytime he needed help. Up the pond, Mary Jone's ponds, that was owned by Mary Jones, Jones family, the Nakis, that's all 'ohana with us. So we come up help whenever they need help. And then [pauses]...

KM: So uncle, like, what you're saying is that in order to have a fishpond, needed to have people to take care right?

WK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And the incentive to take care then, was because you were able to feed, you could get your food?

WK: Yeah, yes.

KM: And you were also talking about the way that fresh water...the ponds were built... So the ponds helped to protect the shore?

WK: Yes, it definitely helped to protect the shore line. I guess the waves not going erode the shore line. And so, with the artesian wells adjacent, within the pond now, it plays a major role...

[Prior to beginning the recorded interview, uncle mentioned that in the pu'uone or inshore ponds, the growth of the aka'akai [bullrushes] and other native sedges like makaloa {cyperus laevigatus}, were important in the pond ecology. The pua, or fingerlings found refuge from the larger predators in their growth.]

...Because the freshwater come down from the 'auwai [water channels] to the pond.

[ecosystems—importance of fresh- and salt-water quality]

480 The aholehole and the baby pua [mullet fingerlings] all go up there so the predators no can attack them. See, the kākū [barracuda] no can go up fresh water, the barracuda. So what happen is all this pua, the aholehole all go up to the lo'i [pond fields] and while they going up, the fresh water cleansing the 'ama'ama, the pua.

KM: Ahh, they get something inside?

WK: They get on their gills, they get some kind disease, parasite that hangs on top them.

KM: [referring to his comments prior to the recorded interview] So what do you see when they in the river, the 'auwai?

WK: Hey, you see silver yeah, they huli [turn over].

KM: So what, they rub up against the side?

WK: Yeah, they rub against the pōhaku [stones]. Some times when you throw net, you look, you can see the silver shining.

KM: Yeah, the glitter.

WK: The kine [aholehole] cleaning them. And also, the mullet play one major role for the limu 'ele'ele [Enteromorpha spp.]. 'Cause the mullet eat the limu 'ele'ele and spawn the eggs.

KM: 'Ae, the seeds spread yeah.

WK: All over, wherever get, so it's compatible, all this. And like I talk about the, you know, before time, no more doctor. So the doctor was our kūpuna, they all lā'au lapa'au [make herbal medicines].

[Kū'ula, Hina and fishpond deity]

500 Sometimes, certain type fish go to the fishpond, aholehole, or you can find red fish [e.g., moano, 'āweoweo, and kūmū etc.] in the pond. All this kind get one major ritual, spiritual service when you gather and bring for the ho'okupu [offerings]. When they ho'okupu to their 'aumākua, gods or what ever yeah.

KM: Hmm.

WK: So the pond plays one major thing for that. Also, on the walls, the fishpond get Kū'ula [fishermen's god stones] too, on top the wall sometimes. So if you can find this Kū'ula, ahh—that's the one spiritually, prayer.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: The fishpond walls, normally get two gods; on the pond. One is Kū, which is located east section of the wall. And one is Hina, which is located on the west section of the wall. The rising of the sun and the setting of the sun. So these two pōhaku [stones {representing Kū and Hina}], play a major significant under the religion for the fishpond.

KM: To revitalize and make...?

520 WK: To revitalize the prayer. So the kia'i [guardian], before the sun rise, he pray to Kū. And when the sun set, he pray to Hina.

KM: Were these generally upright stones or...?

WK: The upright is Kū and the one lie down is Hina.

KM: Ahh, so Hina, she moe, she lay down?

WK: Yeah.

KM: And Kū...?

WK: He stand.

KM: And to the east?

WK: Yeah. Beautiful stones.

KM: And that's how the style, they make the pond like that?

WK: Yeah.

KM: And how they how they set their stone?

WK: That's how today, you can identify if this one modern fishpond or one ancient fishpond.

KM: Ahh.

[types of fishponds and relationship to the landscape]

WK: But again, you get five different types of fishponds. 'Cause you get the 'umeiki kind fishpond. The 'umeiki type fishpond is many traps, you know, many mākāhā [sluice gates]. All the one facing east, the mākāhā running in. All the one stay west, the mākāhā running out.

KM: 'Oia [is that so]?

WK: So they go with the current, you know.

KM: So the fish come inside the loko 'umeiki [fishpond trap], and they trapped 'um; what, they'd lay net or...?

540 WK: Okay, some they get trap, they trap 'um right inside the kine, the mākāhā. So when the running tide, the tide coming up, all the fish inside the pond all turn for go.

KM: Oh, 'cause get the fresh water coming in?

WK: No, no. The salt water coming in, but because of the current, the current moving, it bringing in food too. So the fish come against the current and come inside the mākāhā. So you get a couple methods, you can go over there and just entrap them with one piece of net or you can close this gate and then you harvest right from inside the mākāhā.

- KM: I see, so inside the channel, the kahe like.
- WK: Yeah. So right there. So they had a couple method, yeah, they use in harvest. And normally, they do it at night, 'cause the fish no can see you. So they come and close 'em in, then when they come with the kukui [torch], you see all the fish.
- 560 KM: 'Ae. So get the 'umeiki, and what other kind?
- WK: You get...the 'umeiki is the different traps eh.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WK: Then you get the kuapā. The kuapā is land to land, with sometimes, two three sluice gates.

[Kainalu-Ipukaiole Fishponds]

- KM: Is that something like this [Ipukaiole]...?
- WK: No, not necessarily, sometimes you can get land to land, but the thing is how the mākāhā stay. 'Cause if you get sluice all coming in, sluice going out, and you get many mākāhās, then you know this one 'umeiki.
- KM: Ahh, trap kind.
- WK: But the kuapā get only one or two entrance.
- KM: Oh, I see. So was Kainalu a kuapā type?
- WK: Kainalu is one 'umeiki.
- KM: 'Oia, oh. 'Cause get plenty old mākāhā?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: Interesting. But see the way the way, I guess the water flows over the papa [reef], it comes yeah, so it would be able to flush, wash through.
- WK: Yeah. And just like, if you look at all fishponds, always mākāhā mauka, on the east side, and mākāhā on the west side.
- 580 And that is for protect the contour of the land. You no block, you no block and then mākāhā outside here [gesturing to the open ocean or mid wall side]. 'Cause when you going do that, you going change the shore line. You going jam up, so you no can do that. You gotta keep your, maybe ten feet from the shore line, you get one mākāhā start already. Same with mauka.
- KM: Ahh. So it allows for some flow?
- WK: The current, the current move, you know. It follow, you no affect the shore line. If not, you going affect 'um, definitely. So you need this continuation of flow, of the current yeah.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WK: In fishponds.
- [Ipukaiole Fishpond]
- KM: So like the wall out here, you were mentioning earlier too, like Ipukaiole, when you followed the foot print, it was a wide wall, naturally what was left behind...?
- WK: It was eighteen feet. Eighteen feet.

- 600 KM: Ohh! How come they made it that wide? And then sometimes it's not.
- WK: [smiling] "Kai-nalu!"
- KM: Ahh!
- WK: "Kai-nalu!"
- KM: And that's the name of this place too.
- WK: The name of this place, "The-big-wave."
- KM: "Big-wave, Ocean-wave."
- WK: Ocean waves coming in.
- KM: So you need...it was obvious, you have to have a thick wall...
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: ...because it will protect and keep...
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: Behind here now, has another type of fishpond, I was told...
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: A pu'uone type?
- WK: Pu'uone, that's on land, with one sluice gate coming into the ocean.
- KM: Oh, so had one kahe [channel] like, go out?
- WK: Oh yeah.
- KM: Ohh—and is that how they bring fish, or sometimes did you folks even...did you go out and gather fish...?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: ...and then stock the pond too?
- WK: Yeah, that's the modern technology.
- KM: Modern, ohh—'cause you no call your 'aumakua?
- 619 WK: We no call see. But like, I had one Samoan, I had a class one time of Pacific, South Pacific, all the Pacific Rim, they all came. I was talking, I was telling about this, and they tell me "Oh you guys still yet practice the tradition?" I said, "Oh we practice, but not that way." "So, how you got this?" I say, "Oh the Hawaiians, you got to pray to all the different gods, 'cause the gods jealous. Us we get only one god now, and we pray to that one god... [#628—end Tape 1, Side A; begin Side B]
- 629 KM: ...Over here in Kainalu, the dune is in front of it, get the fresh water...
- WK: That's right. If we turn this clock back, turn 'um back.
- KM: 'Ae.
- [Kainalu—Ali'i and ancient village site-cultural resources; and ahupua'a ownership]
- WK: Who went own this ahupua'a [thinking], I think Kalama, I'm not sure.
- KM: Oh, Kalama [wife of Kauikeaouli]

- WK: One of them.
- KM: Yeah, so one of the ali'i in the...you just talking pre, or around the Māhele [of 1848] time?
- WK: Yeah, would be prior to Māhele.
- KM: Oh, 'cause some people said that Pākī had been born here?
- WK: Yeah, yeah, yeah. The kind Kamehameha, Kamehameha-nui. 'Cause up...he raised up Waialua, that's where he was raised get his bath tub, everything up there. And his food come from down here, the taro yeah.
- KM: Oh, the lo'i.
- WK: The lo'i, so why I saying, because it's not recorded, but, we living [sitting] right now, on one village, a village site, full of artifacts.
- 640 You dig any place, we found, my friend who went live here, he went bury 'um all back. When he went move, he went put everything back in the ground. One Kaua'i stirrup, poi pounder.
- KM: Oh yeah, the stirrup kind?
- WK: Yeah the stirrup.
- KM: They say only on Kaua'i, but you found one here?
- WK: Here, right here on this land. Any place you dig, you find all kind 'ulu-maika [disk stones], you find poi ponders, you find war stones, polish stones, on top here. So I know this is one village. You know, this whole ahupua'a, this land right here, is rich.
- KM: 'Ae.
- WK: You know, it's priceless.
- KM: 'Ae. Well you know, you get the wai [water]...
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: ...You have the fresh water, you get the loko i'a [fishponds], you have the kula [flat, or plains land], the lo'i, and all of these things. So it could support people, yeah.
- WK: Yeah. It's amazing, this place, you know. Amazing. And you know, sometime, you feel happy that they went preserve this place as is, and sometime you get scared, 'cause what if they like sell 'um to one developer. And one time, the father had the sign up, "For Sale." You know, million bucks eh. And then you going get guys from the mainland, actors and all that, they buy, just for write off the tax eh. But you scared boy, we lose this kind eh.
- KM: Hmm.
- WK: Hoo!
- [Restoration of Ipukaiole and other fishpond—community and economic benefits]
- KM: So this place really is a treasure, and part of it, I imagine, has to do with, again, caring for the fishponds. What do you think, should they just let all the fishponds go...?



WK: No, no.

KM: ...or should they try and care for and restore, like they want to do here?

656 WK: We should renovate. Okay, I talked to DLNR, the Department of Land and Natural Resources. And my concern was, the demolishing of the welfare system; we no going get welfare. So the question came up is, "What going happen to welfare recipients?" So, the welfare guys told me, "Well that's the law, that's the law!"

660 I said "Heyyy! No talk law to me, boy. If no more welfare, you no more job. You know, what you got to think of, the federal made one decision, on the federal entity. The state get their own responsibility. You not going get the matching from the federal any longer. That's where the law coming in, of doing away with welfare. But, the state still yet get the sovereignty in taking care of their own responsibilities of how you going work the welfare system out." So they look at me, "Oh yeah, yeah." I said, "Well, I like recommend something. I like recommend that when I went look at the welfare system, and I thought about it, I no can get the welfare... I think about the ancient pō'alima system. I look at 'um, and I think 'Why should the welfare [recipient] go Kaunakakai, when they can work right here. Right in their ahupua'a, or whatever, in their own district. For cut the transportation costs out.'" So I said "Okay, let's get the welfare..." And I no can put 'um in the parks or on the road, because I going get conflict with the union. I no can, guarantee I going get the union on my back. So I recommended that "They build one new agency, and this new agency would be a shore line management."

They said, "We get." I said, "No, you coastal shore line on the palapala [documents], but I talking about labor. Labor maintenance. Shore line management, where this welfare recipient put in time for go clean the streams and clean the beach. All the mangrove, the fishpond owned by the state, get in there and start cutting the mangrove, get rid of this mangrove. Now I guarantee I going get jobs for them. And it doesn't infringe on union, because its a completely new agency, that going mālama the 'āina [care for the land], taking care of the shore line." So my job, plant seed, so I plant seed in government over there.

680 If they do 'em, fine, you know. Because I tell them, "You know, our major problem today is drugs. We know drugs is a major problem, what going happen if you take away the welfare recipient? You cut back the welfare, they no can pay their house rent. They going get kick out of Kūhiō Park Terrace. Where they going live? They going down the beach, they going all over. What make it worse on crime, is now, the crime going double, "I got to eat. I going steal, I going kill so I can feed my family." So all that kind stuff that's for sale, you can see the writing already. So what you going do? What you can do for help the welfare guys? Oh, I agree, we shouldn't give 'um hand out. No, to me, the welfare went broke the Hawaiians back. When they on welfare, that kill the Hawaiian, 'cause the Hawaiian figure, "Why should I work the lo'i when I get free poi?"

You know, so now who going put that back? But now I need agriculture department come in help me for renovate the lands, get the lands back together so they can start planting the taro. 'Cause taro is one good industry, they demand is greater than the supply. The Hawaiians own land with water, but they don't know how to put 'um back, because their generation is generation is dying and the new generation was taught "Go school, go school. Education is too

important, never mind the land." So plenty, you lose, you lose. And then the young generation, "Hoo, work so hard in this? For what, I can plant pakalōlō, and can make fast bucks, you know. So all this kind stuff is obstacles, and come... So I look at it, "Oh man!"

700 The first thing I taught my kids was survival. Everyone of my kids know how plant. They know how to pound poi with stone. Everyone know how to throw net, look squid, fish. That's the first thing I taught them, survive. "Now, you go get education. Then if you get stuck, you know how to feed yourself." Now, they know how to fish and all that. So I thought was too important for just neglect.

KM: So for the fishponds then, you got to revitalize them, it's a way to feed the people.

WK: It should, it should. But, when you look at fishponds, you got to look at 'um, the government no can... The worst thing you can have is government involved. Because the government get plenty red tapes. And laws that contradict your culture. "You no can do this! You no can pull out the mangrove, going come all muddy and 'quality water'." [smiling]

KM: [laughs]

WK: "Quality water." The federal went impose that, now the state got to carry over that. Even, "I like build one small shack for get out of the sun." "Oh no, you need fire department." I could care less if this damn thing burn down, I build one new one. We no care about that... "But that's infringing on..." But the tourist hotel, they can build small shacks. But us who live the life style, we no live in history, we implement 'um. That's the big difference between Bishop Museum and us.

KM: Yeah, yeah.

WK: You know, Bishop Museum, you go over there for look at the past, but we living the past. We pound our poi, this kind stuff. And that's the contradiction we get from society today. And then, if we talk about giving back the fishponds, fine. Identify who like work the ponds, but brah, you do 'um. You make the commitment, that's yours. You no ask me for money. Bring your family together, work the land.

720 KM: 'Ae. Well uncle, that's something that you said, that I think is real important. Before we started the interview, you shared with us a little bit, that you folks, a group of people had worked to revitalize a fishpond, and before the kuapā, or what; before the pā [wall] was pau, they started stocking the fish already. But, what happened? "First thing you know, all the guys who never kōkua, went take all the fish."

WK: 'Ae.

KM: That's 'ano 'e, that's not the way of your old people eh. They aloha.

WK: You know that, I know that, you know, hard, hard. The kūpuna, they cry. They only take, they cry, they no can do nothing, 'cause they old. But one of our goals was to take care the kūpuna. So whatever fish I can get out of the pond [gestures, giving].

KM: 'Ae, eia ka i'a [yes, here's the fish].

WK: 'Cause they no can go fish, they kūpuna. So that was one of our goals. Plus, once a year, ho'olaule'a [celebration]. Ho'olaule'a, everybody come, huki lau [conduct a seine net harvest], for eradicate all the junk.

[Ipukaiole and fishpond restoration; types of fish in ponds; and water quality]

Now, if we look at Kaipukaiole, we look at this pond, it's different than 'Ualapu'e pond. And what is the difference? It's the quality water. Quality water. And when I say quality water, the i'a [fish] over here and the i'a over there are two different i'a. Over there, 'ama'ama, aholehole, all this kind fish. Over here, no, kūmū, moi. Moi, kūmū, this, the reef fish come up close to the...they come up night time. This kind kūmū [gesturing], and inside the pond.

740 KM: Nearly two and a half foot kind.

WK: Yeah. Inside here, you get lobsters, all inside this pond. And the water clean at all times. Only time this water going come dirty, when the kahawai [stream] run.

KM: So when Kainalu, the stream...?

WK: When Kainalu come heavy, ahh—that's only Kona [storm] time eh. All muddy, all brown. But other than that, this water is clean, clean water. He'e [octopus] like this water. Plenty he'e, plenty.

747 FN: The wall hasn't changed it?

WK: No, no. The wall make more come.

KM: Made it more protected?

WK: More fish. I think over here [gestures], the water above the wall, this high. School, you look school, you come throw net. Unreal, unreal.

[Kainalu Stream]

KM: So what's changed this land now? And one thing is, I notice this stream Kainalu, doesn't flow now, dry time?

WK: Okay.

KM: Did it flow before, all the time?

WK: Yes it did.

KM: What happened to the water?

WK: I don't know if Pu'uohōkū Ranch, or even Kip them, diverting mauka.

KM: Kip them said they're not. And they don't know where the water went.

WK: Okay, it's been diverted mauka.

KM: Is this forest...you know, you look kula?

WK: Yeah.

KM: And then you look kuahiwi [mountain]?

WK: Ahh.

KM: Has this land mauka changed in your life time, the forest?

WK: Not really, no.

- KM: Not that you recall. I wonder where that water went then?
- WK: No, no, 'cause behind, Pu'uohōkū Ranch can convert [divert] that for wherever he like 'um.
- KM: Funny, you would think they couldn't because the ahupua'a get those water rights, the forest, access...
- WK: If you don't know nothing about your rights, and I'm one big rancher, I can do what ever I like up there.
- 760 FN: There's a ranch up on the mountain?
- WK: Beyond. Supposed to be Land and Natural [Resources], right? But, no more fence, so the pipi [cattle] run wild mauka.
- KM: From Pu'uohōkū Ranch side. Now, when this water comes down now then, because the river doesn't flow all the time, is the water that pushes out here messy now, when get storm like that?
- WK: Well, get messy because nobody maintaining the stream, clearing it, and making the water come down good. Honolulu you no more problem, they cement the whole river.
- KM: [laughs]
- WK: Yeah. Over here, no can because we get our 'o'opu [goby fish], our hīhīwai [freshwater grainy snail], our fresh water prawns, we get all that kind stuff, we no like hana 'ino desecrate that.
- KM: Yeah.
- WK: [laughs]
- KM: But now, if the water don't flow, pau, the 'o'opu like that no can go.
- WK: Well mauka, he stay. [smiling] He stay, he no going make [die]. He no make, 'cause normally, when the kahawai run, you run down and get the 'o'opu eh, over flow eh.
- KM: Yeah. So this place then, you'd say that the fishpond here, is not going to cause...?
- WK: No. If a pond, like I said, "All the pond will protect the shore line."
- KM: That's why they were made then?
- [Wall built on west side of Kainalu Stream, on H. Wright's property]
- WK: But again, the controversy going be on the cement yeah. The cement. Like the neighbor Wright, he went build one retaining wall, and he went cement 'um. Now that cement, what happened, it can protect his land, but that wasn't his land to begin with, 'cause he added the wall come out, and he went bring in top soil for fill in.
- 780 KM: Oh so he went fill in? [phone ringing; KM answers, uncle keeps speaking to Francis Nakamoto]
- WK: He went fill so he made his own land, private land. And by extending one private land like that, that belongs to the state. That's one new land that he went grow.
- FN: Where was the property line before?

- WK: Oh, way in. Way in, not how stay now.
- FN: And his land mark, you remember?
- WK: Supposed to get...well, I can...I know one guy who worked the property, who made that wall.
- FN: Who's that?
- WK: Alvin Kamake'e'āina.
- FN: Alvin?
- WK: Alvin Kamake'e'āina.
- KM: Oh, Kamake'e'āina, he made that, the wall out here?
- WK: He made this wall out here.
- KM: For Wright?
- WK: For Wright, he was employed by Wright. He planted all the coconut trees, he went make the extension of the...bringing the trucks.
- KM: Hmm. So there's a difference yeah, between cement and the Hawaiian style wall?

[Erosion increased when waves hit cemented walls]

- 790 WK: Yes, there is a difference, and that difference would be, as the waves keep pounding, when the waves come in, it causes, when hit the wall, a backlash. And that backlash comes to the neighbor across the stream, and erode his land.
- KM: Oh, so like next door, Mr. Smith's 'āina [land]?
- WK: Mr. Smith's 'āina, and even Kip's 'āina, when no more retaining wall, was just one beach front, all that been eating up.
- KM: Because that cement wall went in?
- WK: Because of the backlash of the backlash form the cement wall.
- KM: Oh, I see.
- WK: Se really, really...Now, if he was smart, he would leave holes in the wall, for get one cushion, you know, form one cushion for the waves.
- KM: 'Ae. Well, that's like what you were talking earlier about the hakahaka [hollows and openings left in native dry stone masonry] eh?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: The water go inside...?
- WK: Go inside, yeah.
- 800 That's how, when you build your walls, you no build, you got to keep 'um hakahaka. So you get one good flow going into the pond and coming out of the pond, for two sides. And then you going get all the different things, crustaceans, the 'ōpae [shrimp], the small little fishes, the pūhi [eels], everything all live inside this wall. And the wall become a sanctuary for all this kind.
- KM: That's right, it's a living wall.

- WK: Yeah, it's a living wall. It's a sanctuary for the ecology of the fishpond.
- KM: Ahh, this, when get cement on top, pau everything make right there?
- WK: Well, maybe 'ōpihi [limpets], 'a'ama [Grapsus tenuicrustatus], but you know, limited yeah. But you get more destruction than good with one cement wall. And if you make one cement wall, then you better get on good engineer for get the right tilt.
- KM: Ahh, so the tilt even in the cement...how about in the kuapā [walled fishponds]?
- [Fishpond wall construction; how work done on Ipukaiole]
- WK: Oh same thing, same thing.
- KM: So did you look to try and make angle?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: So you angle your wall?
- WK: You need. It's just like, we was looking at fifteen (15) feet on the bottom, the top would have been maybe six to eight (6 to 8) feet. So you get one mean angle coming up, you know.
- KM: Yeah, slope like yeah.
- WK: Yeah. If not, you no more the angle, then the wall going come tumbling down.
- KM: Oh real fast, 'cause the wave just going strike [slaps hands], one place rather than run up?
- WK: It going undermine eh. And when undermine, he going pull the wall down.
- KM: Hmm.
- WK: What time is it?
- FN: Ten-ten [10:10 a.m.].
- KM: How are you?
- WK: Eleven o'clock, I got to go.
- KM: Okay, well good, we're doing really good. You've shared so much wonderful history.
- WK: [chuckles]
- 820 KM: Make wai [thirsty]?...
- WK: Nah, nah, nah.
- [Stewardship—fishpond restoration]
- KM: So generally, if we talk about kahu and stewardship of the land like that.
- WK: Uh-hmm.
- KM: To care for the fishponds, to care for the land like that, is pono [it's right]? That's the way its got to be?
- WK: Uh-hmm, 'ae. Here, but, okay. Because we living in a new generation, Kippy, got to get more open to people living here. 'Cause people look, look, and they only

see the big white man. And they hear false rumors. All this kind stuff, the community can make or break you.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: The community themselves doesn't understand culture.

KM: Uh-hmm.

WK: That's how. What you got to realize, this pond wasn't renovated, and when it wasn't renovated, many people eat on this pond. This means they come, they go throw net on top the pond, 'cause high tide, the fish all come up eh. Now, you going build one wall, where they going throw net? "Hey, no more my ice box. I no like you build the pond, bumbye I no can come throw net."

840 See there's a little bit advantage, disadvantage eh?

KM: Sure.

WK: On man.

KM: When people no take care, everyone come...

WK: Yeah, and it becomes public.

KM: That's right.

WK: Everybody go inside. Any time you like kaukau [food], "Ahh, high tide get plenty fish right over there. Over there get the he'e, guarantee." Guarantee get the he'e over there when the squid running.

[Ancient construction of fishponds]

KM: Hmm. Well, before days, this is I think, an important thing, because you talked about community. If the community worked together, like they share in the ownership yeah, there's pride in that. Who made fishponds before, not one person eh?

WK: Kahea [the call went out].

KM: Kahea.

WK: The King kahea...Pūko'o fishpond, Kamalō to Hālawa, kahea, the King kahea and they build 'um in one week.

KM: So all the people come and that's how the community work together eh?

WK: Ohh, but no, no [chuckling], they no come because they no like come. No, no, I come because I must.

KM: [chuckling] Mahope, pa'i [bumbye, struck down].

WK: Yeah, right, so all come. One week, pau. Bumbye, Māhele came, Māhele came, the commissioner claim the land. Ohh! The people all piss off. No nobody should get this land, we should give this land to the school, Kalua'aha School, for our children. Big court case, fight, fight, the people lost. The commissioner who was supposed to collect taxes for all this kind, he wanted it.

KM: So you mean, like the konohiki [a land executor of the ali'i class] then?

860 WK: He want the land, he took the land away from the people. So we had our corruption in Hawaiian, so you know [chuckles] never change.

KM: Sure. So you know, fishponds, the ali'i who controlled the land before, was the one who controlled the fishpond.

WK: He own the fishpond and he get the konohiki, mauka. He's the caretaker, overseer. The Konohiki, the kia'i [pond guardian], but, you got to remember, the ali'i, konohiki, kia'i, all that, all 'ohana. All same family, controlling, that's where the power play come in.

KM: But, interestingly, if they're ali'i, but they no get people underneath them, they got to go do the work right? So was it in their benefit then to take care of the people, you know, the let the people feed...?

WK: No, no, no, you got to remember, you as one maka'āinana, [a commoner, one who lives on the land] you look at your ali'i as god. God. He communicate directly to god, so what he says is the law. You no can say, "Oh, no more me, what you going do?" No more you [laughs].

KM: [laughing]

WK: "I tell you what I do; sacrifice this buggar. Bumbye we go Maui, we raid Maui, we bring the slaves back." [laughing] They were warriors. So they go island to island and cause trouble. From here, we get Mana'e, Ho'olehua eh. We get war from Kalawao, from behind Pelekunu, Wailau, they go to Kaluako'i to get the salt. Salt.

[Salt making resources]

KM: Is that...how about salt here, you made...

880 WK: No, no, over here no more that...the salt all come from Kaluako'i.

KM: So the families from here all had to go out Kaluako'i?

WK: Trade! You take your lo'i, the kalo [taro], down there no more water, no more taro. So, I take my taro, I give you, you give me salt. But the guys said, Pelekunu-Wailau, they just went like take; war! Internal affair war, no more kūkākūkā [talk story or discussion], for the chief and this chief talk story. So when they go steel, ahh! Fight!

KM: So most of the salt then, that was used along here, was gotten by trading to Kaluako'i?

WK: Yeah.

KM: 'Cause they had good salt beds all along the side eh.

WK: Yeah, it's pure salt too. And they get, during the summer, the heat is beautiful, heat up, make quick eh, the salt. Kalaupapa had plenty salt too.

KM: Oh yeah, in the kāheka [shallow shore line pools], the natural poho [basins] like that.

WK: Yeah. So all that play a major role yeah. Then you get your...on you land, you supposed to get your medicinal herbs, and you get makai and mauka, [like] kōwali [morning glory].

[Ownership rights]

KM: Still in your time, as a youth, in your time, if someone lived on the land, like, let's just say, if the old grandma them Bella them, or somebody was here. Before they would go fishing inside this pond here, did people come ask? Kind of like respect,



konohiki before, they would go ask, "Can we go fish?" Did you hear, or did you see that?

900 WK: Well, let me put it this way, if I look at the pictures in here, in your [Francis Nakamoto's] book, this is when the white man ruled. The brown man, no can come.

KM: Hmm.

WK: We had discrimination on our island, where we had the whites and the kanaka. The kanaka were servants, so they really never had that much rights. They really never had that much rights. Sad to say, but that's true, you know.

FN: So whoever owned the land would...?

WK: Enforce, enforce. Keep out, this mines. Western culture, "me, myself, and I."

KM: [chuckles] pololei [right].

WK: Sad.

FN: The government wouldn't come in and say "That's mine"? It would stay with the land owner?

WK: Yeah, yeah.

FN: Kepā, can I ask some questions?

KM: Please.

FN: You want to leave it on tape, or...?

KM: Sure.

916 FN: You can do it? Okay. I just need to get some more background on you.

WK: Okay.

[How Uncle Billy Kalipi learned about restoration of fishponds]

FN: You know, you were hired by Kippy to help him rebuild this fishpond wall.

WK: Right.

FN: You mentioned three ponds that you worked on before?

WK: Yeah.

FN: And your...?

920 WK: Uncle.

FN: John Cockett. He showed you...

WK: Yeah.

FN: ...how to build.

WK: Yeah, yeah.

FN: How did he know how to build it according to the ancient design?

WK: He was one of the old folks, he was born in 1893, and he went with other kūpunas for renovate the heiau and fishponds.

FN: Hmm.

WK: So he had his on-site training.

KM: 'Ae.

WK: From the kūpunas prior to him.

FN: So he taught you how they built it and what to look for...?

WK: Right, right. How to...what to look at the face structure of the rock. How to set 'um in.

[The god Kū — Types of fishponds]

FN: You mentioned the Kū rock?

WK: Kū. Kū is one upright pōhaku [stone], representing the god Kū.

FN: Okay, and every fishpond had the Kū?

WK: No, no, no, no. Not every fishpond. 'Cause you got to remember Kū is not the ancient god. Kū is the new wave of the Tahitian that came...was coming up. Prior to Kū, the gods were spiritual and the heiau were different. They never had structures of temples. They had structures on the ground, of building their own type of rituals.

940 Same like the 'umeiki. The 'umeiki fishpond is more old than Kū. The fishponds that, you know...

KM: That style of fishpond was more old?

WK: Right. So when you get the Tahitian come in, they diverted that pond into Kū. So they took all the mā kāhā, they say, "Ahh, just three mā kāhā 'nough." So they converted the walls, they changed the face of the contour wall, from one 'umeiki to one kuapā, and they went erect their gods when then went make the change.

[Ipukaiole—Process followed in beginning restoration of fishpond]

FN: Did anyone tell you when the first Kainalu and Ipukaiole fishpond was built?

WK: No.

FN: So how did you...how were you able to locate the foot print? Exactly, what did you look for?

WK: Okay, the first thing I went look for, is the rocks that is on the bottom in the sediment, it's protruding out of the sand, and it's in one perfect alignment. And that alignment, because of the tidal wave, the whole wall stay scattered. But you look at that alignment and you go 20, 30 feet, you see another alignment, that is consistent with this alignment, then we just match that up. And common sense says this is the wall, going. So the wall no going be like that [gesturing all zig-zag].

FN: No going be crooked eh, going be straight?

960 WK: Going be one nice regular fishpond. But, it differs in size. What I mean, we started off at 18 feet, but as you come out, the wall came into eight (8) feet. So the base, close to shore line was wide, going out. And then as it go way out, it came in. But it had, like I say, altars, platforms that was maybe 20 feet; adding the platform.

KM: Built off to the side?

- WK: Yeah, adjacent, connected to the wall going toward your big platform coming out.
- FN: You could see the base of the platform out there?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- FN: And you did by what? You went...?
- WK: Observation, went right up on the wall and look. And I even took [pauses thinking], that historian, who that wahine?
- KM: Virginia?
- WK: Who that wahine, Maui?
- KM: Oh Donham, Theresa?
- WK: Theresa, she came out and go look at the walls too.
- FN: So you folks swam out there, or...?
- WK: No, no, in low water, you can walk, during low tide. You can walk the whole pond.
- FN: So actually, you're the one that plotted the course of the wall?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: By following...?
- WK: Following whatever evidence that showed.
- FN: Hmm. And no doubt in your mind that that's the path of the wall?
- WK: Yeah.
- FN: Now, we were told that the outer wall of the fishpond was wide, but then there's a separator wall that...
- 980 ...divided Ipukaiole from Kainalu. Is that right?
- WK: Well, the wall going merge together, and also going get one more kia'i [guardian] platform, by the mākāhā.
- FN: What does kia'i mean?
- WK: The caretaker. The caretaker, he get his big platform where he get his house, and he's the watchman eh, for the 'aumakua.
- FN: Yeah.
- WK: So he get his platform over there, and then the big Kainalu pond come in, going connect with this small Ipukaiole pond.
- KM: Hmm. So between Ipukaiole and Kainalu, the Ipukaiole came pa'a [secured] right there, or did it hook in a little bit?
- WK: Yeah, it went bend, but this one went in yeah.
- KM: Ahh, it did, so hook in a little bit.
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: But that was enough like a kahe [a flow channel] where you could watch and keep...
- WK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: between Kainalu wall and Ipukaiole?

WK: Yeah.

FN: When you...Oh, why don't you tell us how you [said with emphasis], built this part of the fishpond that has been restored? How did you go about doing it?

1000 WK: We went gather big rocks, stock pile 'um up, rocks on the shore line, and we had, one of my friends with a hop-toe, brought the stones and dropped 'um and we hand set the stones. Then, from time to time, we never like bring the wall right up. So we brought the wall just so high, that even when high tide got through, at least one and a half feet over the wall. And the pay load or the hop-toe can still yet run on 'um. 'Cause we figure, when we finish every thing, then we do the finishing of coming up all the way.

FN: So what you were building now, is just the base?

WK: The base, the base foundation. Just so that it would be easier for us to bring the rocks out to us. Just work on the base foundation.

FN: So that's during high tide, the water flows right over the top?

WK: It covers, covers every thing.

FN: So it doesn't really impede the current completely.

WK: It doesn't.

FN: Did anyone else work with you that had experience in fishpond construction?

WK: No, not really.

FN: So you're the man that was making the decisions?

WK: Yeah.

FN: Did Kip rely on your judgment?

1220 WK: Yeah.

[restoration of 'Ualapu'e Fishpond]

FN: Okay, good. When you folks restored the 'Ualapu'e Fishpond...

WK: I was the luna [supervisor].

FN: ...did you do the same thing?

WK: Yeah.

FN: Did you...How did you folks restore that one? Did you use any heavy equipment?

WK: No, manual.

FN: Totally manual?

WK: Wheel barrow, 200 wheel barrow a day, all by the kids.

FN: Wow.

WK: All kids.

FN: How many workers were necessary?

WK: [thinking] We had only about five workers.

- KM: Hmm.
- WK: Five workers, but the kids came in, through Alu Like, through the summer time, through the whole two years, I think we run through 20, 30 kids. Summer job, they come. And one day, we no work at all. And all I do, is train, how to build one wall. I draw on the wall, six feet, seven feet [long], four feet wide and tell the kids, "Build me one wall three feet high." All the piles, so all the kids get their own, and they all building. All the guys building.
- FN: On the land?
- WK: On the land.
- FN: Just to train them?
- WK: Just to train them, and when they pau, I go over there and I knock the wall down.
- 1040 I do anything for show them, "the wall broke, why the wall broke." And you get some kids, they like big rocks [with emphasis], do fast the wall come up. But, no more strength, 'cause they don't know the technique. Out of the five kids, I get two kids who passed with flying colors. Beautiful, the walls, sturdy, every thing. That two kids today, get side job building people's stone walls.
- FN: [chuckles].
- WK: Well, you know, I know I went plant one seed... And how I look at the fishpond eh, when you work on the fishpond, you take your time, number one. You pono [make right] yourself when you go work, and you get your pride. Pride in your job. Because under this culture, I told my kids "I going die, the wall going stand." My grandchildren going say, "Oh, my grand papa went work on that wall." That becomes one of your trade mark, when people look, "Eh, nice, this wall, who's this?" That's you, represent you, your culture.
- FN: What was the condition of the 'Ualapu'e fishpond walls before you folks started working on it?
- WK: Never had, flat.
- FN: I heard...
- WK: You know how...see this [holding Figure 4a; Appendix B], that's just how 'Ualapu'e was.
- KM: So that's the same thing, Ipukaiole?
- 1060 WK: Same thing, the only difference, the only difference, we had all mangrove. The whole wall had mangrove.
- FN: On top?
- WK: Inside.
- FN: I heard George Peabody had some interest in that one at one time?
- WK: Okay, he had the pond, but they went like use 'um for commercial...what you call, wind surf, inside the fishpond.
- FN: So people wind surfing inside the fishpond?
- WK: When he had the pond [said with emphasis].
- FN: What kind of control he had? Did he lease the pond...?

- WK: He had the lease from the state.
- FN: Ahh.
- KM: So the state knew that he went puka through the wall like that?
- WK: No, the state don't know nothing, they don't care, the main thing you pay your the kine eh.
- KM: Limalima, lease.
- FN: Were you at that [U.S. Army] Corps of Engineers hearing on the Ipukaiole Fishpond [c. November 1991]? George Peabody, I remember, made some statement that he knows how to build fishponds, he was an expert. Okay, what do you know about his expertise?
- WK: Nothing. He one expert in the mouth!
- FN: [chuckles] Okay.
- WK: He probably know common law you know, pretty good in common law.
- 1080 FN: But he didn't do anything to fix the fishpond?
- WK: No, in fact, he went built one cement step right over the wall.
- FN: That's not Hawaiian design eh [chuckles]?
- WK: No, [chuckling] not with "GP," George Peabody, initials in the water.
- KM: 'Auwē!
- WK: So the guys tell me "Hey!" You know, we working the wall, and we get to that step, I running right across that step, we made the wall come up. "Hey, Peabody, you going fight Peabody, open his wall?" I said, "Let 'um go, let 'um go."
- FN: Why do you think Peabody is against Ipukaiole?
- WK: He no like Kippy. He no like Kippy no more, personal. Personal. He figures he's a banker, he make good money, he manipulating money here and there. He think the worst of a person.
- FN: Did he have any problems with Kippy's father before?
- WK: No. Kippy's father was one quiet man. He's a rancher eh, not a banker. You know, guys like George Peabody, they enjoy trying to knock down the next guy eh.
- 1100 FN: What about Mr. Wright? What do you know about Mr. Wright?
- WK: [thinking] I don't know. I don't know the guy.
- FN: You never met him before?
- WK: No, I know the mother Brownie [Harold Wright's mother].
- FN: They owned their property a long time eh?
- WK: I guess so.
- FN: Thirty, forty years.
- WK: 'Cause I know Brownie was trying to get him to one meeting. When I was young, I was one activist in outlaw.

- KM: [laughs]
- WK: [laughing] I went to a meeting, because we like sit down, we like talk with him, we like go mountain. She said, "I catch you in my land, I shoot you." "Well, bullet flies two sides..."
- FN: Who had the property that Wright has now?
- WK: I don't know, I don't know.
- FN: Did he get it from a relative, or...?
- WK: I don't know.
- KM: You don't know.
- FN: You don't know how he got it?
- WK: I guess, all these guys in the 1920s, steel 'um, including this land. They all stole the land, yeah.
- [construction extended H. Wright property out into ocean]
- 1120 FN: Do you remember what the condition of the Wright property was at the time that you first knew he lived there, or he bought the property?
- WK: It was smaller. It was way smaller, never had that big section. He went build, I think, almost one acre, you know, extension.
- FN: So was the shore line close to the house?
- WK: Yeah, way, way close.
- FN: How close? How close to the house was it before?
- WK: [thinking] Back door.
- FN: Okay, a few feet away?
- WK: Oh yeah.
- FN: So actually, that house was right on the shore before?
- WK: Yeah.
- FN: Then eventually it got filled in?
- WK: Yeah.
- FN: So the first thing he did was build the...?
- WK: Retaining wall.
- FN: That's what the...
- WK: The retaining wall, then he went back fill in.
- FN: You saw him fill 'um in?
- WK: Oh no, my friend went work for him.
- KM: Kamake'e'āina eh, you said?
- WK: Yeah, Alvin.
- KM: Alvin Kamake'e'āina.

FN: So is Alvin like a contractor or something? Or just a builder? What does he do?

1140 WK: He's a maintenance man.

FN: Ahh, okay.

WK: He worked odds and ends eh.

FN: He got hired to build the whole wall by himself?

WK: No, no, he had guys working with him, building the wall.

KM: So basically, they hired a crew and they went work?

WK: Yeah.

[H. Wright used dredge material from Pūko'o Pond as fill for his Kainalu-Kawaikapu property]

KM: And I guess that some of that fill, when they were dredging Pūko'o, or something, they brought inside here?

WK: Uh-hmm.

FN: Where'd they get the fill from?

WK: From Pūko'o.

KM: The fishpond, that he [Wright] was making the marina in. He had to dredge the marina...

FN: Ohh—he used that?

KM: He dredged the fishpond, bring 'um here for fill?

FN: Hmm, so a lot of coral and silt and everything.

WK: Yeah.

FN: Just dump 'um in there?

WK: [nodding his head]

FN: Yeah. And then Alvin would also plant trees?

WK: He planted all the coconut trees.

FN: Okay, before, you know, I think there's a line of big rocks way inside. You know, between the current shore line and where the Wright property is?

160 WK: Was there, before, a line of...?

WK: I don't know, I don't know.

FN: You never saw that?

WK: I don't know.

FN: Okay. I was wondering what is that, or who put that in? Do you think Alvin might know?

WK: Yeah.

FN: Alvin still lives on Moloka'i?

WK: Mainland.



- FN: Oh mainland, you know where?
- WK: Oh, I can find out where.
- FN: Oh good, 'cause we may want to contact him. Yeah he may be very important on this one.
- WK: Oh yeah, he's crucial.
- FN: So actually, if Mr. Wright complains about his shore line being eroded by any fishpond construction, I mean, he's not talking about the original shore line that he...
- WK: No.
- FN: ...first had.
- WK: Yeah, he went fill up.
- FN: Have you noticed any changes in the current...the shore line, you know, where get the sand now and...?
- WK: The only thing I notice, is the erosion on Smith's property and Kip's one.
- 1180 FN: Okay, and that's...you're talking about east of the stream?
- WK: Yeah, yeah.
- KM: So this side of the stream, rather than Wright's side.
- WK: This side of the stream, 'cause when he [the waves] hit, you get one backlash, backwash going come.
- FN: And you didn't notice that before he built that wall up there, that Mr. Wright built?
- WK: I don't know. I no can say I notice anything, because Kippy went clean this stream at one time.
- FN: Yeah.
- WK: So I don't know how it was good, it was bad, or anything. I just never notice.
- FN: You remember where the shore line was for Smith before the wall was put in?
- WK: No. No, all I know, I seen deer come on the ocean, running in.
- KM: Oh yeah, the deer come down?
- WK: Yeah, come down and run in the water eh. So you see 'um swimming down and running.
- KM: The deer come off the mountain.
- WK: Oh yeah.
- FN: How come they come down to the ocean?
- WK: Somebody chasing them with dogs eh, so they run and hit the water eh. They swim out and then go around.
- [Ipukaiole Site Visits by State archaeologist and Army Corps engineers]
- 1200 FN: Okay. Do you remember Theresa Donham, she came out, and you showed her where...?

- WK: That's her name? One small little woman?
- KM: The curly hair, little...?
- WK: No, look like one Indian or Filipino.
- KM: Oh, that's Annie Griffin.
- WK: That's who, Annie Griffin.
- KM: Okay, yeah, she doesn't work with DLNR any more.
- WK: Oh, pau already? Annie Griffin, that's the one.
- FN: This was about the time wall was being built?
- WK: Yeah. We came out with Stanley Arakawa...?
- FN: Arakaki, from the Corps of Engineers?
- WK: Yeah.
- FN: Let me ask you...that's my next question. At one point, Mr. Arakaki...he came out here and he saw "no evidence of any fishpond ever being out here." Do you know how he got that...?
- WK: Okay, I know how he got that. We gotta move the...we got to turn the clock back to William Kikuchi.
- 1220 Okay, now when William Kikuchi made the statement about the fishpond. Kippy got a hold of Russ Apple.
- KM: Apple?
- WK: Russ Apple. Russ Apple was the boss of William Kikuchi. Russ Apple got a hold William Kikuchi, he forced William Kikuchi for make one statement that he was wrong. Okay. Now, when Stanley came over, me, Stanley, and Kip went out, we were walking out on the shore. Kip, without realizing, was saying "You know, William Kikuchi doesn't know, how can he make one decision, he never even came over here." Bang, bang, bang, he talking. And I was looking at Kippy...right by the pond. You no can tell one Japanese about another Japanese...
- FN/KM: [laughing]
- 1240 WK: You no can. Go, go, go, one time Stanley just went blow. Blow his mind, 'cause he could only take so much, and this guy, he no can understand culture, so Kip went bury himself. Stanley went nail him, his project shut down, period! He never care, he no need look nothing, it's personality involved.
- KM: Hmm.
- FN: So it wasn't based upon...?
- WK: No.
- FN: Any evidence out there right?
- WK: No, nothing.
- KM: All you've got to do, is look at any old photograph.
- WK: So anyway, to me, the only way Kip could have get back on the right track, is to fly to wherever Kikuchi... [# 256—end of Tape 1, Side B; begin Tape 2, Side A]

[that Kip Dunbar should have flown to Kaua'i to speak directly with William Kikuchi, and shown him the historic-to-1991 photographs]

000 FN: Between Russ Apple and Kikuchi's first opinion, who was right? Russ Apple says he found evidence, right?

WK: Okay, yeah, yeah.

FN: Do you agree with...?

WK: I agree with Russ, because we found one...oh, I forget what you call that, one pāhoa, one kind of rock, that they cover for stop one big... I don't know. Had one rock out there, and they said is for cover the puka that preserved certain things. Inside the wall [a cupboard]

FN: What did you mean by "Apple forced Kikuchi to change?"

WK: Yeah, because Kikuchi went make one statement, that no fishpond is more than three to four feet wide. So Russ Apple got a hold of Kikuchi and I guess, they went kūkākūkā [discuss it], so, Kikuchi went make his restatement, that it wasn't that way. So what you're doing now, is humiliating one guy, and you no do 'um that way. And then when somebody else come, you no keep counting about 'um. You no keep rubbing the salt in.

FN: You're talking about Arakaki...?

WK: Arakaki and Kip. 'Cause Kip rubbing the salt on top of Kikuchi, and you don't do that [said with emphasis]. You got to love one another, and if you no more that, then no more pono [justice]. You know. So...and then, like me, I'm...just like I'm the outsider looking in. And me, what I do, I do because of the Lord. And I think if it's pono, it's right, then I just do 'um.

[State archaeologist visits and approves restoration methods at 'Ualapu'e]

020 One good example is 'Ualapu'e Fishpond, we get our brothers who get the contract with the state, and they going renovate this pond. So they hire my son, because they know they going get me.

KM: [laughs]

WK: So, two guys with one stone.

FN: [laughing]

WK: So I become the consultant. I work one whole year free, volunteer, help the project. So I come over there, my son say, "Oh, how we going do this, what we going do?" The wall is like this [pointing to Figure 4a; Appendix B], all mangrove, "What we going do?" I say, "Come, come boy, pull one mangrove out." I started. "Here the other one, pull that one." One by one. "Now, let's look, how long this pond? Let's make one target, we go 20 feet everyday. Twenty feet, we pull." So 20 feet everyday, we got to make measure, "Okay, this where we going reach today." Ahh—the power saw cutting the trees down, moving the rocks, pulling the mangrove, and here come one guy tell me, "Hey, you no can do that." "What?" "You no can pull out the mangrove." I say "Why?" You got to go through the Historic Sites [Division, DLNR], they going tell you what you can do, what you no can do." I tell, my next question, "Did the Historic Sites built one fishpond? Did any of them build one fishpond? If they never, I going pull, and you send 'um to

me. This is not one indigenous Hawaiian plant. This is one 'ōpala [rubbish; said with emphasis], that kills the pond! So inside my heart, I not doing wrong, I pull."

So they all worry, you know, these guys all with the system eh. At that time I was strong sovereignty eh. I had my sovereignty plates, everything sovereignty. Then I start building the wall in the same concept. I looking at the wall, how I going build 'um, where the kumu [original foundation] stay. But that wall was more better, because you get some intact and some like this [pointing to Figure 4a; Appendix B]. You get some wall up, and then down. So, way easier for calculate 'um. So I make 'um.

040 Then they come again, they tell me "You no can start on the wall." I told [Walter] Ritte, "Why not?" "Billy, you need the Historic Engineer come out." "I tell you Walter, I going do 'um, I'm not going just stand around for politics and this bull[###]. The guys who went built fishpond, no other ones living. You send 'um to me." So I build the wall, I keep building the wall. Then, I finally meet Annie Griffin, she come. So Annie Griffin look, "Beautiful job! How you went learn this?" "My uncle Johnny." "Beautiful, how'd you know where...?" "You see, you see that stone over there, you see that stone way over there, in line. You see 'um?" "Yeah." "I just put the line and I start working." "Beautiful job, you doing an excellent job [slaps hands], continue the good work." I tell "Oh thank you" [smiling].

But, the key is the pono [right; setting one's self right prior to initiating work]. Believe in your heart the Lord is with you and you doing one right thing. Then you do 'um. If you going stop and put politics, nothing going get done. So my job...and the board they worry eh. The board of directors, Hui o Kuapā, "But we going lose our permit." "How you going lose your permit, you get one crazy Hawaiian work on the wall, you guys no can control. Just blame me."

FN/KM: [laughing]

WK: "Just blame me. They no can do nothing. What they going do, lock me up?" The job went.

KM: 'Ae [chuckling].

WK: But again, pono...

[restoration of Ipukaiole]

060 FN: When Kip hired you, did he tell you, make sure that you rebuild the pond the way it was before? Was that the instructions to you?

WK: No, he never give instructions, all he did was, he told me, "Brah, you got to help me, I don't know nothing about the pond."

FN: So he relied upon you, you expertise?

WK: Yeah, yeah. So...and we used the hop-toe for set the big boulders that one man can handle. So we went by hand, fill around, set 'um in the ground, the hop-toe move 'um, we lock 'um in, everything. So get the right foundation.

KM: Hmm. How do you feel about that, using contemporary modern equipment, versus, you got to go hāpai [carry] everything?

- WK: Okay, my feeling is, if our King Kamehameha had this equipment, the fishpond would be outside that reef. It would be huge, the fishpond. It wouldn't be this kind ponds like this. No way!
- KM: So what you were saying, you follow the original...?
- WK: Yeah.
- KM: But if you get new equipment, you use it, because you can take care yeah?
- WK: Kamehameha went use gun for his conquest.
- FN: That's true.
- WK: Modern technology, you no be damn fool and...you know, all these historians they like you work like slave. They like work like slave, let me kahea [call to work], you come, I call you, you come. They no like. But if I kahea, and they no come, then you no tell me how to work. You do the simplest, easiest method. And if had this kind [environmental] "quality" [laws] in ancient time, Hawaiians no can built their wall, all coral inside. They took the whole coral and put 'um in the wall. Today, you no can touch one coral. You try put in your wall, shee! You know. All the difference eh.
- FN: I heard on the Big Island, there's a fishpond that's 20 feet wide.
- KM: Kaloko.
- WK: Kaloko.
- 080 FN: So the width of the pond wasn't standard, around the islands eh?
- WK: No can, because Kaloko, right. Behind, drop deep, blue already. So you can imagine, what kind of waves going come up from the Kaloko Fishpond. The depth coming right out of the...come right into the pond already. No more way, get reef before you hit the pond. So they need a better, the kine eh, over there Kaloko is deep.
- FN: So you've got to adjust to the conditions of the area.
- WK: The geography of the area eh.
- FN: It's not like how Peabody says it's got to be only four feet wide?
- WK: No, no. You go down west end side, the ponds small, all the kine four feet wall.
- FN: Why is that?
- WK: No more wave, that's all west end.
- KM: It's all protected by the whole island and the papa [reef] eh.
- WK: Yeah. No more.
- FN: And here, you get more wave action?
- WK: Oh this side, yeah.
- FN: Good. Okay, it's eleven o'clock...
- KM: Mahalo... the history that you've shared here will go to benefit, I believe the people of Moloka'i. Not just Kippy here...
- WK: Yeah, yeah, no I agree with that.

KM: It's a benefit to here, but by sharing this mana'o [thoughts] and instilling some of that aloha, and not...Like you said, you talk about this ethic that your uncle then taught, how you learn, how you set the stone, how they work, you know. "Maika'i ka hana a ka lima, 'ono no ka 'ai a ka waha."

WK: 'Ae.

KM: "The hands do good work, the mouth eats good food."

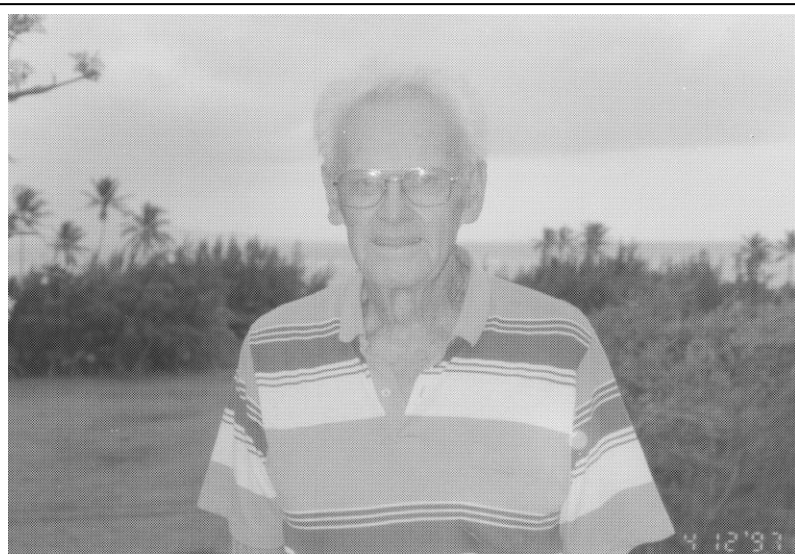
WK: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And so, mahalo! Mahalo nui! [# 109—end of interview]

**William Bowles Dunbar**  
**Ipukaiole Oral History Study; at Kainalu, Moloka'i**  
**Interview with Kepā Maly — April 12, 1997; c. 1:50 p.m.**  
**(with follow-up questions by Francis Nakamoto)**

William Bowles Dunbar was born in 1914, and is of part Hawaiian ancestry. In 1915, William moved to Moloka'i with his mother and brother, and his family lived with his maternal aunt Bella Mutch-Munro, wife of James Munro.

In c. 1916, the Munros purchased the ahupua'a (land division) of Kainalu, and by 1917, William and his family moved to Kainalu where he lived until 1928. In the period between c. 1929 to 1946, William lived off-island, attending school and serving a tour of duty in the Navy.



**Figure 5. William Dunbar at Kainalu (April 12, 1997)**

William Dunbar provides readers with a record of approximately 75 years of observations of the land and fisheries of Kainalu. The interview includes detailed accounts of the size, shape, and condition of the Ipukaiole Fishpond, and how it has changed over the years. One of the interesting pond features described by William is a large black stone, that was pointed out to him as being the “guardian stone” of Ipukaiole (see “black stone” identified on Figure 6). William notes that as a youth, the pond walls were always above the water level, but as a result of the 1946 tsunami, the wall began to deteriorate. He also observes that even today, the pond alignment can still clearly seen.

In describing the overall changes to the Kainalu shore line, William notes that the most significant impacts since the 1960s have been associated with the construction of walls, extending out into the water, and filling of the property fronting the residence of H. Wright. William has a series of historic photos showing the shore line prior to construction of the Wright extension, and photos afterwards (copies of the photos are now in the files of Francis Nakamoto, Esquire). He also notes that the Isaac Smith property as well as the Dunbar property have suffered erosional problems which are attributed to modifications to the shoreline fronting the Wright's property.

The interview was conducted at Mr. Dunbar's home, overlooking coastal Kainalu and the Ipukaiole Fishpond. Selected references of discussion matter are marked in the following interview transcript with square brackets; allowing readers to do a quick scan for specific topics of interest. Following his return from a trip to the mainland, Mr. Dunbar reviewed the

interview transcript, made the necessary corrections and additions, and gave his formal release of the interview on June 3, 1997 (Appendix A).

[Tape 1 of 2, Side A]

Counter #

& Name

000 KM: We're here with Mr. William Dunbar.

WD: Right.

KM: Aloha, and thank you.

WD: Aloha to you.

KM: 'Ae, mahalo. We're going to be talking story about who you are, about your association, your life on this land here.

WD: Yeah, yeah.

KM: And I'd like to ask you some questions, but more importantly, I want you to feel free to just talk story. Share with us the things that make this place special in your family and your history and life, you know. So we can talk about the land and the fishponds and things here, okay. And if I ask you something that you don't want to answer, just give me the eye [smiling].

WD: Ahh [chuckles], no, I'll tell you everything I can.

KM: Okay, mahalo.

WD: I think it's important.

KM: Could you please give me your full name, and date of birth?

WD: Yeah. William Bowles Dunbar. Born in San Francisco, January 15, 1914. I'm 83 years old today.

KM: Oh a blessing. Now you were born in San Francisco, how did that happen?

WD: Well, my mother went to school in San Francisco. My grandfather was...of course, I don't know if you want to go into grandfather.

KM: Yes, yes. My grandfather was a pure Scotch, came over here on a sailing boat. He was a carpenter-contractor, and he built the Moana Hotel, I've been told, the Young Hotel, sugar mills over on the Big Island, and the first hospital at Kalaupapa.

020 KM: What was your grandfather's name?

WD: William Mutch, M-u-t-c-h.

KM: Ahh. So he was a contractor, Scottish, came to Hawai'i...?

WD: Yeah, I guess...I mean he started that when he was over here. And he married a pure Hawaiian.

KM: Ahh, what was her name? And this was your grandmother then?

WD: My grandmother, Mikahala Ma'au, M-a-a-u. And she supposedly was born on Ford Island. She was an educated woman, and she had three children. My aunt,



Mrs. Munro who owned this place, with Mr. Munro. My mother Lucille, and my other aunt, Marie Peters.

Then when my youngest aunt was only about a year and a half old, my grandmother died. She died at an earlier age. So then my grandfather remarried and he married Sarah McDuff from Maui, a part Hawaiian woman. Okay, and then he had one daughter with her, Adeline, and then Sarah died. She is buried in the cemetery at Kawaiaha'o Church.

KM: Oh yes.

WD: Then my grandfather came over here to build a hospital for the lepers down at Kalaupapa. And then he met one of the Meyer girls, Eliza Meyer.

040 So he married Eliza Meyer, German-Hawaiian, and he had four children with her, three girls and a boy. And now, there's only one left of the Mutch family and that's the youngest daughter, who was 97 years old on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April.

KM: Wow, so this is your aunty?

WD: I called her on the phone and wished her a happy birthday.

KM: Your aunty?

WD: Yeah, my aunt. Well, my half aunt, once-twice removed. She is the last of the Mutch's.

KM: And does she live here?

WD: No, she lives in Sonoma, California.

KM: Ahh, and she has her children, family with her?

WD: She has one girl. She lost her husband quite a few years ago, but she does all her own work, and still gets around, her mind is just as sharp whistle.

KM: Amazing. So, when your grandfather was here building the hospital at Kalaupapa...

WD: Uh-hmm.

KM: Where did the family live then?

WD: [thinking] Exactly...I guess, at the time he built the hospital, I think is when he met the Meyer girl and he lived up at Kala'e. And when they were married, I don't know. I haven't gone into that part of it. I don't know. But then, they moved back to the mainland, to San Francisco

060 I guess it was 1911 or 1910, something like that. Some time in there. And then my mother, she got married in, I think it was 1908, she married Dunbar. And Dunbar, how she met Dunbar...Now Dunbar was married to one of the Dowsett girls, Genevieve Dowsett.

KM: Oh, so here in Hawai'i then?

WD: Here in Hawai'i. He had a penny arcade on [chuckles], on Hotel Street, and he met her... I've forgotten what the Dowsett girl's name was. But anyhow, they moved back to California and my mother knew this Dowsett girl very well, they were school mates. But anyhow, he had a sail boat, they lived at Belvedere, by there. And the Dowsett girl...somehow, she fell off the boat and she got hypo...what is it?

- KM: Hypothermia.
- WD: Hypothermia, yeah. So then later on...what year that happened, I don't know, but later on, that's when he married my mother.
- KM: What was your mama's name?
- WD: Lucille.
- KM: Lucille. And papa's first name?
- WD: Stuart.
- KM: Stuart Dunbar. Is the Bowles a family that was here also, in Hawai'i?
- 080 WD: No, no. Bowles was the doctor that...I was born in San Francisco, in the hospital there. He was a doctor. First, Boyd was the Dunbar name, Stuart Boyd. They wanted to name me Boyd, but they'd already named me Bowles. But I always did go by Bowles, but when the war came along, and I had to go to...I joined the Navy, went through Pearl Harbor. They asked me where my dad was, and I told them where he lived. And they asked me what my name was, and after all that, they come back and say, "Hey, your name isn't Bowles, it's Boyd." So my mother had to write San Francisco and explain it all, what had happened and so it's Bowles now, it never was Boyd [chuckles].
- KM: Yeah. So, you were born in 1914, now your mom and dad, were there, but in 1916, you came back to Hawai'i?
- WD: Yeah, I came back in 1916 or 1915. My aunt and uncle, James Munro, and my aunt Bella Munro, came up to the World's Fair in 1915. Okay, in San Francisco. So I don't know, I just hear this, I don't know how true it was...But there had been trouble between my parents... [section removed]
- 100 So, my grandfather was tee'd off, and he told my aunt Bella, "When you go back to Honolulu, after the fair, I want you to take Lucille and her two boys." That's how I came to Hawai'i.
- [Munros purchase the ahupua'a of Kainalu]
- KM: So that's how you came back. Now, when did your uncle James and aunt Bella acquire this land here at Kainalu, and is this where you came back to?
- WD: Yes 1916, I came to Moloka'i. My uncle was manager of Molokai Ranch.
- KM: Oh, were they up Kauluwai?
- WD: No, down where the Pau Hana Inn is now. That was the old ranch manager's house, there. The big banyan tree, and others were planted by Aunty Bella.
- KM: Yes.
- WD: They were all planted by my aunt. I have pictures of when I was a kid down there. But anyhow, After that, and George Cooke became manager of Molokai Ranch, and George Cook stayed at Kualapu'u. Then he built a house up in Kauluwai. So after they moved up to Kauluwai, then we moved to Kualapu'u. And so they must have bought this in 1916. Because we moved out, my mother and my brother and I, moved out here, and stayed here in 1917. And then, oh we stayed here, 1917, and then I think it was during the war, we moved to Kualapu'u, and stayed with my aunt and uncle, and my mother was teaching at the school which was up at Kala'e.

- KM: 'Ae. So you folks, did you still come down here some times, or during the war...?
- 120 WD: Oh we came down every weekend, we drove out here.
- KM: Ahh. What was the road like, coming out here?
- WD: [chuckles] Dirt.
- KM: Dirt. How long did it take you to come from Kualapu'u?
- WD: It was long, and then if it rained so bad, I can remember one time, we went in and it was raining so bad, we got stuck right there by Meyer's place. You no, where old man Meyer lives, Wayne Meyer, right there. We had to spend the night with an old Japanese guy that was raising some pigs down there. Couldn't even move the water was just running right across the road.
- But anyhow, then in 19... I think it was 1921, we moved out here permanently with my uncle and aunt. He got let out of Molokai Ranch, and moved out here. We stayed here and I went to school here, down here at Kalua'aha. And then in 1928, my mother and my brother and I moved to Honolulu and I went to school.
- KM: Ahh. Can we talk a little bit about...by 1921, when you moved down here to Kainalu permanently...
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: You were what six, seven years old already, so you were getting some memories of this land yeah?
- WD: Right.
- KM: What did this place look like then, particularly if you compare it to today? What you see today.
- 140 WD: Well, it's like that picture we saw, there wasn't anything.
- KM: Ahh, so it was wide open?
- WD: The people who owned this before, which was Bowen and the other guy was Vincent, they were the two guys that owned this and the raised pigs. And this low pasture in here [pointing to the pasture on the shore side of the roadway] was nothing but Peking ducks. This was...looking on this lower part here, it was just white [chuckles].
- KM: Oh boy!
- WD: They had these little wooden fences to keep the ducks in.
- [Kainalu pu'uone pond]
- KM: And so all this pond area here [the pu'uone {inshore pond}], was all wide open, clean?
- WD: All wide open.
- KM: How about the bullrush ['aka'akai], had little clumps, or no more?
- WD: Well, there was a little along the edges, but it wasn't completely covered like it is now.
- KM: Hmm. Did you folks catch fish in that pond some times?
- WD: Yeah, uh-hmm.

- KM: What kind of fish had?
- WD: There were mullet and...oh, we'd catch gold fish, you know, and raise them the bucket and that kind of stuff, and then throw them back when they got too big.
- KM: Ah-haa. So mullet, awa [milk fish]?
- WD: Awa, uh-hmm.
- KM: Ahh. Now the spring, the source of the fresh water for this dune pond [pu'uone]...
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: ...is on the eastern side over here [pointing to the area]?
- WD: Yeah, on the eastern side.
- KM: How's that water, and what was your water source when you folks were out here?
- WD: We had a well right here [pointing to the Kainalu Valley pasturage below his home], the windmill, you can see the windmill there.
- KM: Oh, oh, so down on the kula, right below here?
- WD: You see the top of it.
- KM: Yeah. Oh, okay. So you folks pumped water out like that?
- WD: Yeah. Well, I had a... [pointing to the area along side his garage], you can see that concrete tank?
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- WD: That was a wooden tank, when I moved back up here, when I built this house [1956], well, before I built this house...
- 160 ...I took the wooden tank and I took the bottom rungs off and started from the bottom and put concrete, and then after I got it all complete, then I took the redwood out from the center, and then we had gravity flow down there.

[families of Kainalu and vicinity]

- KM: Ahh. In those early days, 1921 to 1928, who were some of the families living around here, that you might remember?
- WD: Well, right across here, was...well right across here [pointing to the east]...
- KM: So on the east of your house.
- WD: Same side of the road I'm on, was the Davis family. And then right below...
- KM: George Davis and...?
- WD: The one they called "Bamboo."
- KM: Ahh.
- WD: I don't know if you remember.
- KM: No.

- WD: Yeah, his name was George Davis.
- KM: Yeah, 'cause that was John Dudoit's [thinking], grandmother I think, married, her second husband, George Davis. [see interview with John Dudoit Jr.]
- WD: Yeah. Bamboo married the mother of Johnny Boy's mother. I think she was born in Lāhainā.
- KM: Ahh. So they were part Hawaiian, the Davis'.
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And other families?
- WD: And the Ka'ahanuis lived on the next lot to the east. Then the next one over, was a vacant lot, owned by the Munros. And then on the upper side where the [thinking], where Aka Hodges place is now...
- 180 ...it used to belong to George Wills. He bought it from [thinking] the Malius who lived down at Kaunakakai.
- KM: Ohh. I know Margie Wills [George Wills' daughter].
- WD: Oh Margie, yeah.
- KM: So their place was out this side then?
- WD: Well they had another place further down the road here, and then they bought this from the Malius.
- KM: How about, coming this way, on the west side, like the house on the ocean here, were there any families living down here?
- WD: [thinking] Well, let's see, Mary Ka'ai and her family lived on the west of Bamboo. Did you talk to Johnny Boy?
- KM: Yeah.
- WD: Well, his family lived down there, they always lived there. Then right next door here was the Smiths, Isaac (Aitake) Smith.
- KM: What was his relationship to this land?
- WD: He [thinking]... Well, when we lived on the other side [the makai house], you know... Well, his family always lived up at Waialua, the Smith family. They were raised up there with the grandfather. The Smiths were brought up with him, and they lived up at Waialua. And then Isaac Smith lived here, okay. Then Isaac got married and moved. Then after my uncle left the ranch...
- 200 ...and came out here, he started pineapple up in here.
- KM: Oh, so uncle James started growing pineapple up on the slopes above here?
- WD: Yeah, up above. And the fruit went to California Packing Corporation.
- KM: About when was that?
- WD: That was about '23 to I would say about '27, '28. And then of course, when Libby started and all that, of course the small guys were out. And then he got a job as being overseer for the County on the roads. So my uncle did that. Then...they were living out here. Then later on, I think it was in, maybe the '29, twenty-somewhere in there. He became the overseer for the Hawaiian Homes

Commission, and stayed down at Pūlapūla, the lower house. Then he retired and moved back here, but even then, they came out here all the time.

[Kainalu and Ipūkaiōle Fishponds]

216 KM: Yeah. In those early days too, was there a relationship...do you remember having the fishponds out here?

WD: Right.

KM: You could see the walls above the water like that?

WD: Oh the wall was up about this high [gesturing around two to three feet].

KM: Ahh. Two fishponds? Were there sort of two separate fishponds?

WD: Well, there was that one big one.

KM: What they call Kainalu?

220 WD: Yeah, it came down, and as the picture shows, you know, it shows this other pond too.

KM: Yes, yes, the one that's west.

[impacts of tsunami on Kainalu-Ipūkaiōle fishponds]

WD: Yeah, west. Okay now, the first tidal wave, when I was here was in 1922 I think, or '23. It did a little bit of damage because we just sat in the house and watched it come up and go down. The '46 of course, was the big one. And then the next one was May 22, 1960, at 2:30 a.m. [changed later in interview to 1960]. I was living up here [his present home] then, and my aunt was down at her house.

KM: Oh, aunty Bella was still alive?

WD: Yeah, she lived in the house that Kip has now. If it had gotten an inch higher, it would have moved her house.

[Ipūkaiōle pond still maintained when he was a youth; pū'uone pond works described]

KM: Tell me, so you saw the fishponds here, was anyone still...were there still any old Hawaiians, or was uncle or somebody, taking care of the ponds at all, fishing in them?

WD: I don't remember anyone actually taking care of Kainalu pond, but I remember that uncle always used to set stones back up on Ipūkaiōle. Also, a pipe had been set into the sand on the eastern side of the pū'uone pond so that fresh ocean water could circulate through the pond. And an outlet ditch was maintained on the western side of the pū'uone. The old driveway to the two houses used to cross over the ditch.

[Kainalu fishery]

KM: Would people come fish?

- WD: Oh yeah. Old man Dixon was a part Indian, married to a Hawaiian gal, one of the Ka'ai's. And he was a great baseball player, so he'd get a gang you know... He couldn't read or write, but he could sure talk. And he was a real nice guy.
- 240 So I taught him how to write his name in the sand [chuckles] so he could cash his check. I can remember that. But he used to fish, throw net, and he was real good. He'd just walk out, walk down the wall, and he'd come in with mullet that big [gesturing with his hands]
- KM: Wow, almost two foot kind.
- WD: Yeah, big! You know.
- KM: How about...?
- WD: Squidding.
- KM: Sure. 'Cause on the papa [reef], you go out...
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: ...what, you get squid, he'e, lobster?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: When people would go fishing there, did they come up and "Aloha" to aunty Bella or uncle, you know, and ask...what was the sense about the fishpond and stuff like that?
- WD: I...you know how it was in the old days, you knew everybody, and everybody knew you, if they wanted to go, they'd say, "Hey want to go fish." "Yeah, go."
- KM: So they would come, say aloha, like that?
- WD: Yeah. Everyone that went, would bring us fish.
- KM: Ahh. Now see, that's an important custom eh?
- WD: Yeah. Yeah, that was the...anytime anybody went fishing...Old man Ike [Aitake Smith], he'd go squidding, and he'd never get in the water. He'd go just from the boat.
- KM: Oh, he'd lūhe'e [fish with the octopus lure]?
- WD: No, no. Chew coconut, spit it on the water, make it like glass. He'd tell me...I'd go with him, "He'e's over there" [pointing to the location].
- KM: So you'd go dive for him?
- WD: Yeah, well, I'd go dive, I couldn't see it, see. He'd try to show me, I never could get an eye for it.
- 260 But diving, I could see the hole. But to look, not get in the water. Old man Ka'ahanui over here, was the same thing. The inside of his boat was all black, you know, from the ink. He never got in the water.
- KM: Amazing. So he'd chew the coconut, spit on top of the water and it'd come glassy just like?
- WD: Yeah, comes glassy, see.
- KM: And he'd point, and you'd dive for him?

WD: Yeah, well, most of the time he'd just go over there with the boat. Poke them from the boat.

KM: Oh, that shallow eh?

WD: Yeah.

KM: Oh, just spear, easy [chuckles].

WD: [laughs] But he could look from here to the concrete out there [pointing] and see 'um.

KM: Yeah, 30 feet out eh?

WD: Yeah. He went out one time, down at Honomuni, down there, he got one, the awe [tentacle] were that big [gestures with his hands], and bony!

KM: 'Auwē!

WD: And the squid got a hold of him, and was hanging on, so he went down with one kick, grabbed the boat, and finally kept hanging on until that squid loosened up and then he climbed on the boat, and he killed the squid. He brought it over here.

KM: So what, you said the awe [tentacle] was what, four inches something, in diameter?

WD: On the awe, yeah. Up close to the body.

KM: Oh [gesturing to his nose] that bugger get inside, ohh! [chuckling]

WD: Yeah [chuckles]

280 KM: Got to watch out. Big he'e then.

WD: That's the biggest one. I forget now what it was. I think it was 18 pounds, if I remember right.

KM: Wow! And how, the people out here, they would kaula'i, they dry he'e and stuff like that?

WD: Yeah. They didn't have a screen or anything, they just dried up out...

KM: Hang 'um on the clothes line?

WD: Right here on the clothes line. Tie a line there. Flies all over, you'd have to wash the squid, after it dried, you wash it all off. The flies just...oh yeah.

KM: That's interesting, because what you described about how the people... "They would come, they would say 'Aloha'..."

WD: Yeah.

[fishing customs; practice of sharing fish with families]

KM: "...They would go fishing, but they would always bring something back..."

WD: Always bring you squid, fish, taro, sweet potatoes and things like that.

KM: Kind of like Konohiki style [the practice of giving a portion of the catch to the overseer of the land; in traditional times, to the ali'i], yeah?

WD: Yeah.

KM: Where they would go out and they come and give back something of the catch.



- WD: That's right.
- KM: Was that the sense, you know. This fishpond Kainalu and then the smaller fishpond... Now, did you hear, do you remember hearing the name for the two ponds, or was it...?
- 294 WD: Well, we called it Ipukaiole, you know. But when I was young, I also remember hearing some of the old timers refer to the pond as 'Ili'ili'ōpae.
- KM: Oh, the pond out here?
- WD: Yeah, both names. Also, what happened, we used to go lay nets, my aunt, uncle and mother. They'd just take the net and put the net out, and then in the morning go pull the net in.
- KM: You folks still used canoe in your day, or you had a little boat?
- 300 WD: No, we had a little boat. You saw the boat in that picture [referring to a photograph he'd shown me earlier with a small flat bottom skiff sitting on the sand in front of the pu'uone pond].
- KM: Oh, that was the boat. So like a little skiff?
- WD: Yeah, just a little flat bottom boat, with a six horse power [engine] or something. Also, when the akule [Trachurops crumenophthalmus] would come in, they'd catch the akule, bring 'um in, and I'd go hoe [paddle] to help them.
- KM: Ahh. Did they drive the akule into the ponds at all?
- WD: No, no, this was outside in the deep water. But they'd bring the fish in by moving 'um in the net, and pick up the back net. We'd go and cut koa [the koa-haole; *Leucaena glauca*] around here and make a fence. And then it was so much per ka'au.
- KM: Oh, the ka'au [sets of forty fish; a traditional measuring unit for distributing fish].
- WD: And then they used, you know the old wicker baskets?
- KM: Yeah, yeah.
- WD: And sell.
- KM: So they would sell...?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And would people...did the people come in kōkua [help] like that, and help draw the net in?
- WD: Yeah. And then they'd say "How much you want." And they'd go out and catch the fish, 'cause they stayed in a fixed pen out there for a week, see. And then old man Tollefson had a sampan that he used to bring to here. And Ike Smith's brother Jack, was the skipper of the sampan. Then they'd load the sampan up and take the akule to Lāhainā to sell.
- 320 KM: Amazing, So they'd go back and forth, across like that?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And what, they'd sell dried kind too, or fresh?
- WD: No, no, all fresh.

KM: All fresh.

WD: Yeah, all fresh. 'Cause see, they didn't have ice eh. The sampans then, had tanks eh.

[Kainalu and Ipukaiole fishponds]

KM: Ahh. And so you heard "Kainalu Pond?"

WD: Yeah.

KM: And how about "Ipukaiole?"

WD: Yeah.

KM: You heard that name yeah?

WD: Heard that.

KM: Yeah. So they were using the name Ipukaiole. Do you remember, could you hear that there was a difference, was it "Ipu-kai-ole" or "'Ipuka-'iole?" Do you remember hearing a difference?

WD: I don't know, I've tried to find out. You know, I was a little kid at that time, I didn't take it in. And I talked to Zelly Duvachelle one time about it, and she told me what the name of it was, "Ipukaiole," but I don't know. But you can see all different names that they used at different places. So I don't really know what the name should be, because like I said, I also remember hearing them call it 'Ili'ili'ōpae.

KM: Ahh, so interesting. You know the house that's down there now, the two you put together, after the '46 tsunami?

WD: Yeah. Were those houses built by your aunt and uncle them, 1916?

WD: No, they were built in 1905, by Bowen and Vincent.

340 KM: Do you remember their last names?

WD: Bowen and Vincent.

KM: Oh, those two families?

WD: Yeah. And Bowen had two... No... Yeah, Bowen had a son, I think... But anyhow, he came here one year, and I was here, and I had saved one of the tools that I found, that had Bowen on it. And that kid...well, he was an old man, he was so glad to get a hold of that [chuckles], so I gave it to him. It was on the ranch here.

[Ipukaiole Fishpond walls repaired during his youth]

353 KM: Ahh. So once again, in your childhood, did anyone do any repair work on the fishpond walls at all that you remember?

WD: Well, not Kainalu Pond. But at Ipukaiole, Uncle James and some of the others set displaced stones back, and the inshore pu'uone pond was maintained too.

KM: So Kainalu was pau already, but Ipukaiole was still cared for?

354 WD: Yes, I guess because Ipukaiole was still in pretty good shape, the walls were always above water.

[1922 tsunami; mound of stones set along Ipukaiole wall]

- KM: Even after the '22 tsunami, tidal wave, they were still in pretty good shape?
- WD: Pretty good yeah. It was in good shape up until...they were still above water. It was the '46 that did the... And out on where the...supposedly where the little shack was, or little house, there was a big mound...
- 360 ...like a cone out there, of rock. But, it was smaller rock.
- KM: Where was this mound? Is this out by...?
- WD: Where the two ponds meet.
- KM: So out on the water?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Out on the water, the ocean side [eastern side] of the pond wall?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Had a mound?
- [describes the coastal region, residences, fishponds and associated features of Kainalu-Ipukaiole]
- WD: Yeah. See, the [Kainalu] wall comes around like this [gestures, turning in towards the shore], and then that Ipukaiole comes like this [gestures turning in towards the shore].
- FN: Draw it.
- KM: [starts drawing to confirm the location of the area being described] If this is the Kainalu Stream here...I'll do a better drawing of this by-and-by. So this is the stream, here's the property, the shore line comes along here, and then it goes like this. So Ipukaiole [wall] comes here, like that, then Kainalu came around like this kind of, I guess here, yeah?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And the shore is here. So there was a mound of stones...?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Small, cobble kind?
- WD: Yeah right out here, yeah about that big [gesturing approximately six to eight inches in diameter].
- FN: Have him draw it.
- KM: You want to draw, you want to draw it?
- WD: Yeah well [takes the tablet].
- KM: You want a pencil or a pen?
- WD: Either one. [begins drawing<sup>1</sup>; Figure 6] See, like you said, the stream is here.
- KM: Yeah.

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<sup>1</sup> Following the interview, Mr. Dunbar agreed to redraw his map at a larger scale, making notes about various features discussed in the interview, and adding any additional details that came to mind (see Figure 6).

- WD: Okay, and then this goes along like this, turns and goes like this. Okay, then...  
380 ...over here, then you start going along the beach. Well, this part here, you can see wall here [drawing the section near the shore that was to the west of his mother's old house].
- KM: Yes, yes.
- WD: But this was not a part of the fishpond. See, this was all land in here.
- KM: Ah-haa, and where would the house be now.
- WD: You mean Kip's house?
- KM: Yeah.
- WD: Well Kip's house now is here, see, sort of like this.
- KM: Good. Who built this little section of wall in here [pointing to the area facing west, from the former location of Lucille Dunbar's home]?  
[stone wall alignments existed along shore line]
- WD: There was stone here all along, right along here. I mean, you can see on this, see [pointing to a large aerial photograph]. Not on this...this is in front of where the house used to sit over here.
- KM: Oh, by the pond side.
- WD: Yeah. And now, see this is the beach now.
- KM: Yes, uh-hmm.
- WD: Okay, if you go out there and see, you'll see these stones like this [drawing an alignment of stones, that now sit in the water].
- KM: Yes, yes, off of the shore yeah?
- WD: Yeah. Okay, that's where this, Kip's house sat, like this. Okay.
- KM: So this shore line has cut back in some then?
- WD: Yeah, right. And where the second house is, which is the back house, facing this way, was in here...
- 400 ...right on the beach. And one picture I have, it shows a big date tree right here.
- KM: Oh yes, yes. Now I'm sorry, who's house was this one here?

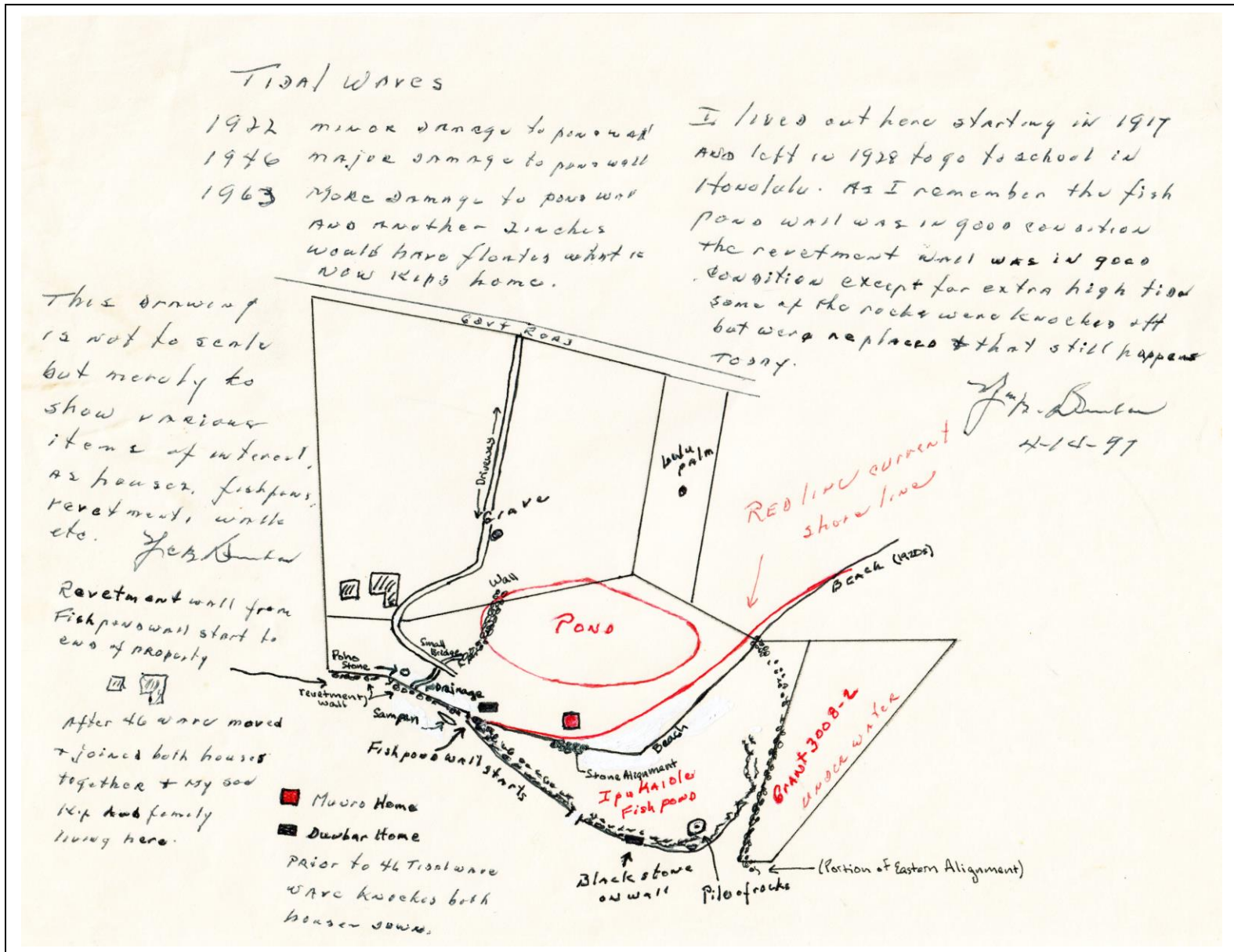


Figure 6. Annotated Map of the Munro-Dunbar Homestead — Showing locations of various features

Mo06a (060597)

William Bowles Dunbar

discussed during the interview (Wm. Dunbar, April 14 & 28, 1997)

- WD: Munro.
- KM: This was Munro's house here?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Who's house was this other little one?
- WD: This is Dunbar.
- KM: So this was your mama's house?
- WD: Yeah, Lucille.
- [Ipukaiole Fishpond]
- KM: Okay, so this stone [alignment], you can still see yeah?
- WD: Yeah. 'Cause the stones were out in front of the house. You see, this coconut tree [Figure 7], the stones are outside, see. Outside here, and this is the wall here.
- KM: This is Ipukaiole back here, the wall, back here?
- WD: Yeah, right.
- KM: What year do you think this photograph was taken about?
- WD: Gee, this is way back in the [thinking]...
- KM: This is uncle here, eh?
- WD: Yeah, that's uncle James, yeah. [looking at an accompanying photograph; Figure 8] I'm trying to see who this is here. See, this is all way...
- FN: These are the originals, these are blown up.
- WD: [thinking, looking at the photograph].
- 420 FN: [looking at the back of the original photographs] No date. This would be before the tidal wave?
- WD: Oh yeah, way before the tidal wave.
- KM: What year did uncle James pass away?
- WD: Forty-three. So that's before. You see this thing here, that's a turn-style?
- KM: Ahh.
- WD: See it?
- KM: Yes, ah-haa.
- WD: You could walk through.
- KM: Oh, this was how you could walk in and out of the yard here?
- WD: Yeah, they'd go through and go down to the beach.
- KM: Okay.
- WD: Okay, so that's where the house was. But anyhow, [returns to drawing his map] these stones were a part of this wall here. Okay, they came to about here and then stopped, see.



**Figure 7. James Munro with an aholehole, in front of a coconut tree; Ipukaiole Fishpond wall in the background, c. 1940.**



**Figure 8. Three men with a throw net — Note Ipukaiole fishpond wall in background, and turn-style in fence referenced during interview (c. 1940).**



- KM: Oh, almost up to mama's house?
- WD: Yeah. There was a big...I have the picture in here...a date tree.
- KM: Yes, yes, we've seen it.
- WD: You've probably seen it.
- KM: Yes, we saw it with the photograph.
- WD: So it came on the outside of the date tree, but, it sort of cut in like this, see. A little bit beyond the house, and then...
- 440 ...But this was all stones here. Because way back, right in here, was a big sampan, 60 footer. And it was right on here.
- FN: The water was deep enough for a sampan?
- WD: Well evidently, at high tide it had run aground, and it got pushed in, next to these stones.
- KM: Oh, so this sampan was wrecked?
- WD: Wrecked. It had belonged to the Nakis. And then after I came up...now this wreck was here all the time I was on Moloka'i as a kid, the bow was still there, because we used play on it. But by...I came up in '46, after the war, there were people picking up all scrap metal, and a guy in Ho'olehua came up here and picked up the engine. He took the engine. Here's the stream. Okay, then outside of the stream, there was another one here.
- 460 KM: Another sampan?
- WD: Yeah. A sampan broke it's anchor line in Kainalu Harbor and drifted ashore. This one belonged to Tollefsons. This is the one I was telling you that Smith's brother Jack, used to take the akule to Lāhainā, and they came up and anchored it. And nobody would checked it, and it finally broke loose. So the guy got the two engines [chuckles].
- KM: [chuckling] So the fishpond now, outside of this, do you think your uncle built this rock alignment along here?
- [Ipukaiole-Kainalu fishponds]
- 470 WD: No, no. This is just the stones that were in the front of this yard. Then, the pond went like this, see. Over here.
- KM: Yeah.
- WD: And then like this. And then Kainalu Pond, like that, to the road over here.
- KM: Yes, yes. Now you were telling me that there had been an obvious mound of stones...
- WD: Obvious mound of stones right about in here [drawing location on the map]. And round, it was...the base was round where it came up like a cone, but it didn't get to a point.
- 480 I can remember that, it was there in '46...now, yeah, I came back in '46.
- KM: Yeah. And so the mound could still be seen a little bit?
- [1946 tsunami; wall damaged, but could still be seen]

- WD: Yeah, you could see the stones. I mean, before that, when I would come back, I came up for vacation, even when I was in the navy, it was still out there. And even in '46 there was still stones enough, so I could go out with a throw net and then the mound was only about that size [gesturing], and get that small Australian mullet.
- KM: Oh, back then even eh?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: So it's about 14 inches or something.
- WD: Yeah. But then, the '60 tidal wave, just demolished that. But, you can see in some of the pictures... [looking at photographs, Figures 7 and 8] Well, I think you can see it on here.
- KM: Oh, you think that's a part of the mound?
- [god stone at Ipukaiole Fishpond]
- WD: No, that's a big rock we called the "Frog." It looked like a big frog, a big black frog, sitting there.
- 500 And it was still out there, but it, you know, had fallen in.
- KM: Did you ever hear anyone talk about, you know, how some old timers, they keep Kū'ula [fishing deities] and things like that?
- 504 WD: Uh-hmm. Well, I've heard something about that, that it's a god or something that watches the pond.
- KM: You heard someone talk about that?
- WD: Yeah the Hawaiians you know.
- KM: The big stone, the frog. Or one different stone?
- WD: No, about that particular stone, because it was so obvious. I mean, here's all these other little stones, and here's this... I'll bet you it's as long as that table [pointing to a picnic table on his lānai], or longer. And it is about two-and-a-half, three feet high.
- KM: Oh, so like six feet long, or more?
- WD: About that, it's a great big one...I used to walk out there. And the stone is still there. When Kip and them went out to pick up the other stones around, that was there. I said, "Why don't you lift it up with the backhoe and put it on top?"
- KM: He pointed the stone out to me today when we walked along the wall. There's the long stone.
- 520 WD: Yeah, a black one.
- KM: Yeah, and it's kind of on the side, slipped down now.
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Oh. So you hear some people say that that was the god for the fishpond?
- WD: Yeah, like that. The pond watchman. They were all superstitious, you know.
- KM: Yeah, well that was their belief, yeah?

WD: Yeah.

KM: Ohh, interesting. So these ponds, up through the 1946 tsunami, the walls were in good shape?

WD: Yeah, prior to that. But after that, they just flattened out.

KM: But you know, it's amazing, you still see, like the aerial photograph you showed us earlier. The one from that calendar in 1986...

WD: Yeah.

KM: You could still see the outline of the wall in the water?

WD: That's right.

KM: Clearly, the outline of the walls, still yet?

[tsunami impacts Ipukaiole Fishpond walls]

WD: The outline of Ipukaiole is there, it's just down, washed over. Both sides, because the [tidal] wave comes in, and when it recedes, that's when it really washes out see.

KM: Yeah.

WD: I think it does more damage going out than it does coming in. The coming in, it just rises slowly.

540 People have an idea that the big wave is just rushing in, it just rises up and rises up. But, when it goes out, it's like when the '46 tidal wave I was at McCabe, Hamilton & Rennys, opposite Loves Bakery. You remember when they were there?

KM: Yeah.

WD: I was up in the loft watching. Hell, Honolulu Harbor was bare. Matson ship was going out, was laying on it's side.

KM: Your kidding?

WD: So I jumped in my car, I took it around, went down around to Kewalo, the boats were going out of Kewalo. And the wave went out and the boats were just laying there. Then when it came up again, they'd dart out again [laughs].

KM: Wow! 'Cause it came in a set of waves yeah, three or four times?

WD: Yeah, uh-hmm. One boat, a Matson ship, was on it's side, it was trying to get out, see. But it couldn't get out fast enough. Not completely over, but it was leaning over, and it stood up again when the wave came in [laughing].

560 KM: Pretty incredible.

WD: So that was it.

[Kainalu pu'uone pond]

KM: Yeah. Now, these houses, you'd mentioned your mama's house, your folk's house, and uncle's house... The pond, the little pu'uone, the pond back here, the fresh-brackish kind of water pond...

WD: Yeah.

KM: ...had a line of coconut trees behind your houses, in between the pond, yeah?

WD: Well, say the pond... [looking back at his map] This was the house and there was a garage here. This garage was completely washed up. Okay, now when we're showing, say this is the road out here, it came in like this [drawing on the map].

KM: Oh, that's how you drove in?

WD: Yeah. We drove in like this, and then you turn and went like this, and you turn like this and get in here. Now, over here, where Kip's house is now...

580 ...is where that old rusted house was sitting.

KM: Oh, what's now Smith's house eh?

WD: Yeah. This probably came over a little bit more. Like I said, anyhow, this corner of the pond looked something like this in here, see.

KM: Oh, it was a large area then, yeah?

WD: Yeah, quite a big area. Actually, it came over this way a bit more, maybe we should cut it off [adjusting the drawing]. Something like this. Because this got piled into these coconut trees.

KM: So the Munro house got pushed back into the coconut trees here?

WD: Yeah, actually this pond went over to say like this. Because right across here, I was telling you was the stone wall.

KM: Yes, yes.

WD: It goes from these coconut trees, you see now, which are right in here.

KM: Ahh, so on the west end of the pond?

WD: Yeah, because I used to walk across here and go up here to catch the bus to go to school, see.

600 KM: Uh-hmm.

WD: So this stone wall is still there, but it's down [buried].

KM: Now let me understand again. So the rocks that are out here in the water now, were the front beach back then?

WD: Yeah, that was the beach.

KM: These marked the beach.

[transitions in Kainalu shore line]

WD: The beach was outside of these stones.

KM: So the land was actually more out there.

WD: Actually, the beach was outside of these rocks. And then, it went over here like this, and then around. Then you get the Bamboos [George Davis'], Ka'ahanui's piece, and now, Ashford's piece, see.

KM: Uh-hmm. Let me ask you another question then. Did you notice a change in the erosion pattern after the fishpond walls were knocked down?

WD: Yeah.

[fishponds served as buffer between ocean and land]

KM: So when the tsunami knocked the fishponds walls down, was the erosion increased?

WD: Yeah. Then, those trees [pointing to the shore line being discussed from his lānai]... You see those ironwood trees that area up on the beach now?

KM: Yes.

WD: I pulled them in, they were out here, see.

620 They were all out here, because this was all ironwood trees, planted through here. And you can see in that colored photograph...

KM: Yes, the large [aerial] photo. So it seems that the fishpond may actually have helped to protect the land also, yeah?

WD: I feel that it protected the land and... [# 626 — end Tape 1, Side A; begin Side B]  
[describing the prevalent wave action coming from the east, with sand being built up in areas of the shore]

628 KM: ...Out of the east?

WD: Yeah.

KM: And so the pond walls helped to block some of the brunt of that wave action...

WD: Yeah.

KM: ...perhaps protecting sections of the shore.

WD: The sand that would overflow, would build this inner section up.

[Kainalu Stream]

KM: How about on this side? If Kip's house is here, here's Kainalu Stream...by the way, was the water flowing all the time when you were a young child?

WD: Almost all the time.

KM: Uh-hmm. Now you folks have this 'āina [land], from here all the way up to the mountain eh?

WD: Yeah, up to the 3,700 foot elevation.

KM: Okay, is that almost the peak, ridge line?

WD: Just about. When we get up to the top of it, then you can see Wailau Valley. Because Wailau Valley comes in like that [gestures, cutting in at an angle].

KM: Now Kainalu was flowing almost all the time when you were young?

WD: Yeah.

KM: Had 'o'opu [goby fish]?

WD: 'O'opu and 'ōpae [shrimp].

KM: How about wī [fresh water grainy snails], or anything, you remember the hīhīwai [another name for wī], like that?

WD: Not there.

- KM: No more.
- WD: Didn't have. I planted hīhīwai mauka, they were going real good, but then we had a big freshet, and it washed them out.
- 640 ...Well, when I used to go up there, go swimming, you know. It was big enough to get wet, you couldn't dive, just wallow in that cold water. So I went to Wailau and I used to get hīhīwai and I'd bring them back.
- KM: You used to hike over the mountain, go down Wailau?
- WD: No, no. I'd go by boat.
- KM: Now, where Kainalu...how come the waters dried out, how come the water doesn't flow now?
- WD: Well [pauses, thinking], you know, the whole world is changing. I mean, it used to be a lot wetter out here, than it is. When I came up here in '46, I kept a water gauge all the time. Forty inches of rain, right in this area.
- KM: Forty inches.
- WD: Per year.
- KM: What's your rain now?
- WD: Now, I've got one here now, I don't keep it up, [since] after I gave up cattle. I keep it everyday, but, you know, if it rains, I read it, but I haven't added it up. I used to have one of those charts, and I'd know what time to plant and all of that.
- KM: Hmm, sure. How many cattle did you have on your... [ranch]?
- WD: The most I ever ran was 300. On a good year, if it was a dry year, I'd get rid of them.
- [Gillman-Wright property; shoreline modifications]
- 654 KM: Uh-hmm. So, from Kainalu then, if we continue to go west, did this shore line just go straight across here, or did it jump out, like it does now?
- WD: No, it went straight. It went straight. There was a... On this whole beach, from Honomuni, going right around, I used to drive my six-wheeler up the beach. I had one of those six-wheeler [thinking], army trucks, a dodge.
- 660 A six-wheeler, and I turned it into a flatbed with a winch, and I used for my cattle truck.
- KM: So this was all straight along here, and you could drive all along the shore line here?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Now...
- WD: Right in front of where Gillman's house sat.
- KM: Who's house?
- WD: Wright's house, his mother's house [brownie Gillman was married to Chip Gillman]. I went down there to push the sand up with my bulldozer, before the water would wash her house away.
- KM: Ohh, so you went to kōkua [help] them.

- WD: Yeah.
- KM: So you mean, you had to make a mound, mound the sand up like to keep the water from washing into their place?
- WD: Yeah. I dozed from the beach, pushed the sand that had been washed out, back up.
- FN: How far from shore?
- KM: Oh yes, where was the house in relationship to the shore? The house on this side?
- WD: It was practically...you know, real close.
- KM: Right almost by the high water mark?
- WD: Oh I would say her front yard, she didn't have, oh maybe a little bit wider than this [gesturing the width of his lānai].
- KM: You mean this cement here, 12 feet or so?
- WD: Yeah, 12, 15 feet away, that's all.
- KM: So if the house sat almost right on the high water beach, the shore right there, what was the purpose of having this wall come out here, that's there now? 'Cause the land extends some distance out.
- WD: Well [chuckles] probably the greed, I don't like to say that, but Wright is a funny operator. [pointing to the recorder, shaking his hands]
- KM: I know, we'll make sure to clean up the transcript; this is going to come back to you first, so if you see something that you don't like, we'll get rid of it.
- 680 [pointing to an aerial photograph of the Kainalu shore line showing the Dunbar, Smith, and (Gillman) Wright properties] When this wall got built here, do you remember when, around when this wall on the west side of Kainalu Stream got built?
- WD: It was in [thinking]...somewhere in 1960 or so.
- KM: So there was no land here [pointing to the coconut grove area with in the walled are fronting Wright's property] before this wall was built?
- WD: Oh no, it was all water.
- KM: It was all water.
- WD: Yeah. The sand came way out, because Chip Gillman, Arthur Gillman, who was married to Brownie Gillman, Wright's mother, lived in that little house that's right there now, but the original house burned down. And they were divorced and she lived down at the other house. Okay, now he had a boat, about a 26 footer, I guess, a cabin cruiser. I used to pull it right into his yard. Low tide, take the sled out, anchor it, put weights on it to keep it down. At High tide, he'd run his boat on there and block it up, and then the next day when the tide went down, I'd come with my dozer and pull it in his yard. He'd paint it, and do whatever work he wanted to do on it, and when the tide was right, I'd pull it back out. He'd wait till high tide, float it, and take it out in the harbor.
- KM: It sounds like you guys had a good relationship.

WD: Oh Chip, we got along real good with Chip.

KM: Gillman?

WD: Yeah, I got along real good with Wright's mother.

KM: Brownie?

WD: Brownie, until I got divorced from Kip's mother... [section deleted from transcript]

701 KM: So when this got built, this wall here got built, in the sixties, and he built a wall along here [the western wall], now what I'm really trying to get at here is, have there been changes to the shore line then that you think are a result, from your own 'ike maka [eye sight], you know, how you look and see the lay of the land?

[erosion increased when walls built and Wright property extended]

WD: Oh yeah, sure. Because this Smith property here, has all been eaten in, now like that.

KM: Uh-hmm. Well, what happens, why would a wall in the neighboring lot make erosion on the lot away?

WD: Well, it hits this...the prevailing wind is like this [gestures blowing along the shore from the east], and it's banging on this and then coming back.

KM: Ahh, so the waves wash in, smash the solid wall and wash out, the surge like?

WD: The surge, you see. Where as it used to just flow up and then the sand would all build up. You could see it was a wide, solid beach all the way past Wright's property, and we used to ride horse back down there.

KM: Ahh. Amazing, almost no more sand now, particularly in front of the wall area.

WD: You see, what happened... I've forgotten what year it was, but he started building the wall, Cornwall Friel was the first one; Cornwall was the one that hauled the stones to start on the wall. Wright then went down to Harold Hustace's place and he had a jeep and jeep trailer, and two guys; one Filipino guy and one Chinese guy. He was taking down all of Hustace's old stone walls, that was back on the Hustace's mauka property...

720 ...at Kalua'aha.

KM: 'Auwē!

[Pūko'o dredging material used to fill property]

WD: They hauled all the stones and started, see. Then he started building, then he bought the fishpond.

KM: Pūko'o?

WD: Pūko'o. Okay, then from Pūko'o, he had [thinking of name], oh what was his name?

KM: Alvin Kamake'eāina?

WD: Kamake'eāina was the one that was running the Michigan loader that he had. And Wright bought a Peter Built truck, so he was hauling stuff from there. But, another guy, Art Tengan had a big trailer rig, and he hauled all these stones plus the dredge fill out here.



- KM: So they were digging up Pūko'o?
- WD: Outside of Pūko'o fishpond was being dredged to fill the pond.
- KM: And bringing it all over here?
- WD: Not all of it, but some was used for fill.
- KM: To fill behind the wall that was made on Wright's property?
- WD: [nodding his head] Well, if you walk in there, you can see where the land comes in and it drops down like that, that's where the vegetation line was, and it was the original beach.
- KM: Ahh. So where the drop is, was the original beach line?
- WD: Seaward of the drop is the beginning to the beach.
- KM: The original beach?
- WD: The original beach is in front of that drop. See, he kept filling in and filling in, and as soon as he'd fill a little he'd plant his coconuts and plant iron woods. Because you know, they grow real fast.
- KM: Yeah, that's a pretty long stretch, that got built up then.
- WD: Yeah. But see, he started this [pointing to the eastern wall that extends out from the Wright property] and it goes out this way and then in, as you notice on the [pointing to a photograph].
- KM: Oh yes the photograph.
- WD: On that you can see.
- KM: This was a...
- WD: Where's the other pictures?
- 740 KM: Oh, the I think those went back, the color, the other color ones?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Oh, those went back in the house with your big photograph... [tape off and back on; looking for photos]
- 744 WD: Yeah, if you notice, you can see it definitely here. Here's his house here. All right now, this is the original beach line [pointing to the area west of Wright's shoreward wall].
- KM: Yes. You see the original beach line here.
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And this berm or revetment...
- FN: Groin.
- KM: Groin has been built out here.
- WD: Yeah, out there. But the original line went like this, right straight along.
- KM: Uh-hmm. Actually, you can even tell from the grass or pōhuehue [beach morning glory], or what in front of here.

- WD: Yeah. And there was never ever this kind of sand there [in front of the extension of Wright's property]. The sand was up in front... Now this is Kip's house here.
- KM: Yes.
- WD: And like I say, in that picture, where the kids are [a black and white photo of Kip and his brother playing near the shore in front of their house; c. 1955] You could sit on the porch and see this house [Gillman's], and the other house [Brownie's] sits back in here, see. And Wright built another A-frame here.
- KM: Hmm, amazing. There's been real change, and so this whole shore line?
- WD: He never had this much front in front of his house. See, he put a groin over here. And this piece used to belong to Brownie Gillman's sister, Kay Hustace, who married Harold.
- KM: Oh, they were Ward Estate...?
- WD: Yeah.
- 760 KM: Who's place is this here [pointing to a house to the west, set in from the shore].
- WD: That's Johnny Boy.
- KM: Johnny Boy's, so they were an old family. Smith, like that. So always fishing the shore line area around here like that eh?
- WD: Yeah. Because they [Dudoits] went down here and went out. They had a place that they went through here, and down here on the beach. Because this part over here is Kapolei Ranch, [thinking of the name] down at Kamalō, a well known family in Honolulu; oh, Kimo Austin... [periphery conversation]
- 774 But anyhow, you can see how the beach is there. And it never did go around like that, it was a straight line. But now, it's eating into, you know where Kip's side, by his clothes line there?
- [erosion; fishponds protected shore line]
- KM: Yes, uh-hmm. So actually, Kip's losing land, you folks are losing land down there now, as a result of that work on the walls and stuff over there?
- WD: Well, it's not particularly at Kip's place right now, but where we're losing, is on the northeast side of the fishpond wall.
- KM: Ahh, northeast.
- 780 WD: Yeah, the northeast side because you have nothing holding the sand.
- KM: That's right, since the fishponds are [in disrepair].
- WD: The wall, yeah. When the wall was up it would flow over and back to the shore.
- KM: Yeah. This is a really good land though?
- WD: Oh yeah. I complained about that wall [Wright's]. I have the letter, sent it to Wright. And then they...Alvey Wright sent some people over to look at it, "No" he said, "That's not bothering it at all."
- KM: [laughs] Well, you hire the right guy eh. When you pay the right guy, you can get what you want eh?
- WD: Yeah, but Alvey Wright, see he was head of that.

- KM: Ohh, is that same family?  
WD: No, no.  
KM: Oh gosh, the name is right [chuckles].  
WD: Well, actually Wright... Turn it off and I'll... [# 784 tape off; family discussion]

[fishing customs; ownership of Kainalu-Ipukaiole fishponds]

- KM: We're back on, we were just getting ready to talk. What was your sense as a child? Now, you'd shared with me, and that's one of the reasons I was asking you. The old families around here, when they would go fishing, they would come, they would aloha to uncle James and aunty Bella or something like that.  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: And they would bring fish. Was there a sense that...? Did you folks own the fishpond?  
WD: As far as I can remember...  
800 ...I always thought we owned it. Now, I may be wrong, I don't know. But I heard the folks talk about it, that we had the pond. But then after I got up here, I'd seen the map, and it says "Govt." [Government], on Kainalu Pond, you know; just written in on the map. So, maybe at that time the government was taking it over, or maybe uncle Jim didn't want to pay the taxes a piece of water, I don't really know. But interestingly, the map doesn't label Ipukaiole as "government."  
KM: Sure. The idea would be that you folks basically owned the ahupua'a [a land unit extending from the see to the mountain].  
WD: That's right.  
KM: And by the Hawaiian custom, the pond would go, the fishing rights would go with the ahupua'a.  
WD: That's right.  
KM: So as your old time...it seems that you folks, you mana'o [understanding] at least, what you felt was that the pond was a part of the property?  
WD: A part of the property, yeah. And I still do, and I was telling Kip, it's like now, "It looks funny on the map..."

[Kainalu-Ipukaiole fishponds]

- KM: In fact, I have, this is Register Map 1725 [opening map]. The register map shows you, see, here's Kainalu.  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: "Old Pond." Even on this map, now this was traced by Blake in 1916 [Figure 9 at end of study]. So this is close to the time that you guys were getting ready to move out here.  
WD: Yeah, right.  
820 KM: Now, here Ipukaiole. The name is written clearly.

- WD: Yeah.
- KM: In fact Kainalu Pond, interestingly, isn't named, but Ipukaiole Pond is named.
- WD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Here's your 'āina, so the house that Kip's in is basically right there [pointing to location that the house was moved to].
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: And look, here's the pu'uone pond, inside pond that you were talking about.
- WD: Yeah. That's why I think, that this here, all of this here at one time, might have been a pond, way back [pointing to the shore line between the pu'uone and the Kainalu-Ipukaiole ponds].
- KM: Ahh, I see.
- WD: Then this part here, all filled in.  
[Kainalu pu'uone pond; Kainalu residents]
- KM: I see, so the dune that's between the spring pond now, and the ocean pond was built up perhaps, you think?
- WD: That's what I think. I mean, it looks logical. See, this piece I own [Grant 3008], and it's a piece of this piece, this is "Apana 1" [Parcel 1], and this is "Apana 2."
- KM: I see, this is Grant 3008, yeah?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: That was Kanakaokai.
- WD: This is Grant 3008.
- KM: And you own this here?
- WD: Yeah, this one and this one.
- KM: I see, uh-hmm.
- FN: The same Grant.
- WD: So [I think] this [Apana 2] was land at one time.
- KM: Do you remember this being land?
- WD: No.
- KM: Or was it always water?
- WD: It was always water.
- KM: May I just ask you, is it possible, that this was water, but that the Grant also acquired the fishing rights?
- WD: [thinking] That I don't know.
- KM: Well, it would be interesting, maybe we could find a little bit of information [in archival research].

840 WD: Maybe you could find it. But, I know that this Grant, see, and then there is a little piece that goes here in the water, and this [parcel] in what my uncle bought from Bowen. And they originally bought from Nakuina.

KM: Nakuina, 'ae. Were any of the descendants of these families around when you were a child, like Kawēnui...?

WD: No.

KM: Or Kanui, Nākoa?

WD: Nākoa Ka'ahanuinui.

KM: Oh, so Nākoa was...?

WD: Nākoa Ka'ahanui.

KM: That's the tie there. Okay, good, good.

WD: And this, Kanui Grant here, Grant 3010, and this piece here, was a piece, one acre that was purchased by my uncle from Alfred Jones. It did not give the description, it just said one acre.

KM: Oh, Jones.

WD: But, my thought was this here, [Grant 3008, Apana 2] was land and that this [pointing to locations between the pu'uone and the outer Ipukaiole Pond wall], say was fishpond and this was a pond, and this went like that. This might have been all pond at one time. And then after so many years, then it filled in like this. Because, this house of Kip's, both of those houses...

860 ...the lumber, you can still see it, the 4x6 underneath there, is marked 1905. And that lumber was dumped in the water at Pūko'o and pulled up here by horses, up here, to build the house.

KM: Wow, so they hauled it in from O'ahu or something?

WD: Wherever the ship came from, Pūko'o was the harbor. You can still see the pilings. I can remember that.

KM: Sure, they were still using it yeah, when you were a child? They were still using Pūko'o?

WD: Yeah. Duvachelles had a hotel there you see. Then when the hotel burned down, the Duvachelles stayed here in this house.

KM: Out here?

WD: Yeah, 'cause you know, they were all friends?

KM: Yeah.

WD: The Duvachelles, my uncle and aunt. But I don't know, like I say, that could have been it. It was all pond at one time, and then it filled in.

KM: Sure, interesting.

WD: But the pond, actually, like it stopped here, see.

[stone alignment continued along shore from western side of Ipukaiole]

KM: Uh-hmm, the western end of the pond abutted the natural shore line?

- WD: Yes.
- KM: Stopped right there.
- WD: [describing the area from where the western shoreward wall of Ipukaiole joins the land, and curves along the shore west, past Kip Dunbar's, the Smith's to Kainalu Stream] Stopped right here, then from over here on, it was just stones, and this was all dirt on this side, and this side was all sand.
- KM: Yes, so going further west from the edge of Ipukaiole, stones lined the shore, and inshore was dirt already.
- 880 WD: Yeah, and even the stone, even went over to in front of Smith's see?
- KM: Uh-hmm.
- WD: 'Cause ours stopped here. But now, these stones have all been gone, and it's back to here, and this is out to here.
- KM: Yes. So the Smith's property on the side of Kainalu Stream, that area has eroded away and the neighboring property to the west, which is now Wright's, has been built out further with the new wall.
- WD: Yeah, yeah. And you see, this little piece, I owned it, but I sold that to Wright.
- KM: Yes, is that the acre that you sold to him?
- WD: [pointing out locations on the map] Along with this piece here. This one acre parcel and this parcel, I sold to Wright. Okay, this was a taro patch.
- KM: This was a taro patch, this parcel in here.
- WD: Yeah, he filled it in, see.
- KM: [marked on the map] It has a "3040," maybe that's the LCA [Land Commission Award] or a Grant Number, something in there.
- WD: [pointing to locations, going west on the map] Okay, and this, this was a stone wall before.
- KM: Oh, all along there?
- WD: Yeah, the church is here, that's Honomuni Church.
- KM: Ahh, so the stone wall ran all the way from below... I'm just trying to get a map reference.
- WD: Yeah, across here.
- KM: So the stone wall ran all the way across here?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: What was the purpose, was this to keep cattle back or what?
- WD: Oh, I don't know. And then you see all these different places?
- KM: Yes, uh-hmm.
- 900 WD: This [Wright] is claiming, but he doesn't own this. Kaulili owns a piece in here, Fountains own a piece. He built a little house...Chip Gillman had a house down here, one little piece. And then in back of that, Wright built a little house, he had some horses and things, and he said that's his saddle house. Then he kept

encroaching, making it bigger and bigger, and bigger, now he's got a Filipino caretaker in there. Now he's claiming this.

KM: So Kaulili and Fountain?

WD: These people out here and over here, it's the same thing.

KM: Ahh, so there's some funny stuff going on with the land eh?

WD: Oh yeah. It's just like way down here, one piece down here he bought.

KM: Oh, by this other dune pond, this is Honomuni.

WD: Honomuni, there at Honomuni, this is a stream, that after you turn, there's a piece that comes in here. Now that Honomuni piece is in front of this piece, but he says "No, he owns it to the beach." And he won't survey it. He won't survey this piece.

KM: Sure, well it's not in the interest.

WD: The only way, if he got it surveyed, he'd find all these different lot in there.

FN: Where are those people that own the lots?

WD: One, is Kaulili, lives right over here. But the old folks are dead, and they don't know.

920 KM: Yeah, so the kids don't know. How about Johnny Dudoit's Place?

WD: That's all right for them.

KM: In here, they're okay, pretty much in there?

WD: Yeah, they're okay. This guy here that owns this is Kimo Austin. He owns that piece and this piece here. And this piece here at Honomuni is owned by Wright. I own this, and I own this piece on top. And I sold this one, and I sold this one to [Wright?]. If I'd known he was going to give me such a hard time [chuckles] I wouldn't have...

KM: [laughing]

WD: Kimo Austin's place is down by the big cement dip, by Kamalō?

There's a big house below the road. Then before you get to the dip, there's another house down there, below the church, he owns this piece here.

940 Here comes Kip [driving up the driveway]. Kimo Austin owns this in here, and it goes over here, and he owns this. And then this piece here at Honomuni is owned by Wright; actually it's an undivided estate, owned by approximately 30 heirs. Wright is one of them, and Pearl Friel is another one of them.

KD: That's the lot that surrounds Johnny Boy?

WD: See this piece here, and this piece here is owned by Kimo Austin. And then this is owned by Pearl [Friel] and them. And this piece is owned by Pearl and them.

KM: I see. So, in Honomuni, this piece...oh, this is Kamanoni already...

KD: 'Ae.

KM: This is Pearl Friel's already?

- WD: Yeah, Pearl Friel owns that.
- FN: What business is Austin in, he's not the engineer?
- WD: No, no, not the...
- FN: Austin and Tsutsumi.
- WD: No.
- FN: 'Cause they did the survey for Wright.
- KD: But it's an old family.
- WD: Old family, Kimo Austin. They've had it for quite a while.
- 960 KD: So dad, you ready for water? How's the brain, still going?
- KM: The brain is great...  
[laughing ... periphery discussion]
- 963 ...You know, we've been talking about so many things in here, and I just was curious, we touch back on some of the Hawaiian for a moment, because you had mentioned to us about the guardian stone that had been pointed out here?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: See this harbor, Pauwalu?
- WD: Uh-hmm.
- KM: Have you ever heard any stories about, you know...did you hear Hawaiian stories at all, a little bit the land or anything? Like why names, some of the place names were given?
- WD: Yeah, I've heard them, but I don't remember. You know, I heard the Hawaiians talking about them.
- KM: Did your mama talk Hawaiian?
- WD: No. My aunt Bella did. Yeah, I wish I had learned from the Hawaiians, 'cause I was around the Hawaiians all the time. I learned a lot, but...you know, I can make a word here, and I can tell what they're talking about, but I can't speak it. You know, they were all... Most of the ones, like old man Smith, Bamboo, and Jones, I mean, they were always kidding all the time.
- KM: Yeah, yeah.
- 980 WD: You know how they do. [chuckles] You can't tell whether they're telling the truth or [laughing]
- KM: Yeah, [chuckles] ma ka ho'opunipuni [playing, making up stories], making all kinds.
- WD: Yeah, ho'opunipuni [laughing]
- KM: [laughing] 'Auwē!
- WD: But, you see how this shows this... [speaking to Kip] I was just saying to him [Kepā] that possibly, this was all one Grant at one time.
- KD: Could very well be.



WD: And then this filled in. Even the pond here.  
KM: Excuse me, one pond yeah?  
WD: Yeah, one pond.  
KM: Not a Grant.  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: One pond that, later, the dune came in?  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: And filled.  
WD: And it could have been cut off to here see. It could have been that this was land [pointing to the area on the west of the parcel marked Grant 3008, Apana 2], you know.

[wall on western side of Kainalu pu'uone pond]

KM: In fact, you recall, had a wall, a substantial wall on this side here...  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: So on the west of the pu'uone.  
WD: My folks never built it. As long as I can remember.  
KD: It's still there now.  
WD: Yeah, that long wall is still there. It went from land to land.  
1000 So this could have been knocked off right here some place.  
KM: Sure. It would be interesting to do a little trenching and to see if this wall continues under there. Wouldn't it Be interesting if it connected to the edge of the [Ipukaiole] pond out here [where the western wall meets the shore]?  
KD: 'Ae.  
KM: What your dad is saying...you dad was kind of thinking that maybe at one time this dune didn't exist here, and the freshwater fed into the pond naturally. Into the larger Ipukaiole. It would be interesting to see if this pond wall extended out here.  
KD: Could have been, but usually, pu'uone, just by the name pu'uone, you know, it's a sand hill, it's a stranded fresh water outlet.  
KM: Sure, but is the pu'uone pond identified in old Hawaiian texts, or is it only in more historic?  
KD: I see what you mean.  
KM: Pu'uone, I don't remember seeing it in the Grants I translated.  
KD: Old, old maps show this inland pond, it shows.  
KM: Yeah, 1880s?  
KD: Yeah, what is 1500s?  
KM: Yeah, we don't know.

KD: Yeah, that's what I'm saying. And you know, so much of this is suspect too, because when you come down here...

1020 [referring to some of the Kingdom and Territorial surveys]...here, where they are depicting absolutely no fishponds in here, is absolutely false.

KM: Yeah, and has ponds up towards Waialua eh?

KD: [pointing on a map to locations along the eastern Moloka'i shore] Oh, there's ponds right off of here. There's a big pond out over here, there's another little pond over here, before you get to Kahinapōhaku. There are three ponds in here, before you get to here. So you know, I mean, if anybody just looks at the map and says "This is," you know. Unfortunately we know "this ain't." I'll give you another thing too. You see, if I can borrow this, you see this call sign, right here [pointing to the Ipukaiole-Kainalu area on Reg. Map No. 1725]?

KM: Yes.

KD: It does not say loko [pond] on this side. This call says loko on this side, so the Ipukaiole Fishpond says to the west, is loko.

KM: 'Ae.

KD: But, to the east of this call sign, is not loko.

KM: So you mean, in the Grant text?

KD: Yeah. So there could have been another piece of land out over here.

KM: Yeah, interesting.

KD: You know, so you begin to see that this is a very critical Grant [3008, Ap. 2]. My feeling is, this is a critical Grant and whatever they did for Emma Nakuina, is a very critical undertaking.

KM: Uh-hmm.

1040 KD: Because, while they say this is [Grant] 3730, and you know, I have a map that shows this Grant to Kauwēnui, 3003, encompasses even [Grant] 3730. And this Grant certainly was long before that Grant. So there was something that was massaged in there, and I know what. That's why your archival study could bring all this together, is going to tell you so much, I think.

WD: Well, a lot of this whole thing was [Grant] 3730].

KD: Yeah, right, I agree. This is Apana 2. See [pointing to locations on the map] here's 3730 here, here's a 3730 here.

WD: Yeah.

KM: See, what happened is, a number of areas were combined, yeah. But this, by number, 3730, is a more recent Grant that 3003...

WD: Yeah.

KD: 'Ae.

KM: ...and so they combined lands under this one Grant.

KD: They combined somebody's.

[19<sup>th</sup> century Kainalu residents relocated from Kalaupapa-Kalawao]

- WD: Yeah. Because evidently, these were where they gathered the people from Kalaupapa.
- KM: Oh, so like Grant 3010 to Kanui, Nākoa, Kamakaheiki, like that, you think they came in from Kalaupapa?
- 1060 WD: Well, I don't know for sure, I know this was, 3010.
- KM: Oh, so Kanui. Now, may I ask you a question? On that move from Kalaupapa, then, these weren't people that had the ma'i Pākē [leprosy], these were resident at Kalaupapa?
- KD: 'Ae.
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Who got relocated because they were making the settlement?
- WD: Right, right, that's what happened. So these are all older than the 3730, see.
- KM: 'Ae. In fact, that's when your grandfather came. When did he come to make the hospital at Kalaupapa?
- WD: I don't know for sure. I would say...?
- KM: When was your mama born?
- WD: Oh, my mother was born in 1883.
- KD: 'Ae.
- KM: Now, was mama born before, or after Kalaupapa?
- WD: Oh, before...
- KD: A'ole [no]. In the Meyer's book, it shows that Grandpa Mutch built the two hospitals in Kalaupapa...
- 1080 with the Chinese labor in 1875 and 1876. So, if that is accurate, then grandma came after. She was born in 1883.
- WD: Oh.
- KD: Bella in 1882, grandma in 1883, aunty Marie in 1885 or '86.
- KM: So he'd made a connection...interestingly, later he married one of Meyer's daughters, right?
- WD: Yeah.
- KD: Right.
- WD: And I figured he married the Meyer girl...I don't know, I assumed he'd married Eliza Meyer when he was doing that.
- KD: A'ole, after.
- KM: He also had one more wife in between, yeah?
- WD: In between my grandmother and Eliza.
- KM: Yeah, who was the other woman, from Maui.
- WD: McDuff.

- KM: Is that with the Searle family also, you remember the Searles?  
WD: I've heard the name.  
KM: Yeah, he was a plantation manager; I think they were tied.  
WD: She's the one, you saw the tombstone at Kawaiaha'o eh, Dryer?  
KD: Oh, the Dryer tombstone.  
WD: McDuff.  
KD: A'ole maopopo papa, I don't remember.  
WD: McDuff, That was grandpa's second wife.  
KD: Could be, I know that was grandpa's second wife.  
WD: Yeah, she was a McDuff. The first wife was buried down at Pearl City.  
KD: The one under the fuel tank.  
WD: Yeah. Well, there's an area there that during the war, they asked my mother if they could... It was quite a big grave yard. But my mother didn't even know which one.  
KM: Oh, so it hadn't been cared for, they didn't know for sure where the grave was?  
WD: Yeah. Well see, the Armstrongs used to live there and the Armstrongs raised my mother's younger sister, see, aunty Marie. And so...then when she got older, she went up with my grandfather to San Francisco.

[cultural resources of Kainalu]

- 1120 KM: How, in your time around here, did you find any interesting stones or something, out in this area? You've mentioned one stone along the Ipukaiole fishpond.  
WD: Yeah.  
KM: But how about on the land, you know?  
WD: Oh yeah, Kip was digging up his water line, and he picked up a [thinking; octopus lure]...  
KD: Grandpa was in there when I was digging on the backhoe, and he was the one that brought that granite lūhe'e [sinker stone for an octopus lure]  
KM: Oh.  
WD: And then there's...well, I had people down there with my aunt, because she had given me the ranch, but kept a life interest in that property. And then when I built up here, then she came up. Then when she went to Honolulu, she rented the place. And that guy had a garden out front. He dug out one of these Marquesas stones.  
KM: Ahh the poi pounder kind.  
WD: The stirrup  
KD: Yeah.  
1140 WD: So I found 'ulu-maikas [round stone bowling disks] and all that.

- KM: There's an interesting stone in front of the house now, that's a poho [a basin yeah], hollowed, or a bowl like?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: What do you know about that stone?
- WD: I don't know, that stone sat out, it wasn't in the yard. It sat out, you know when you go out.
- KD: The coconut trees.
- WD: Past the coconut trees and go out, it sat there, and that was our yard, but that's where that stone originally sat. When I put the two houses together, I hooked on with a tractor and dragged it over, and put it there. Then when I sold the ranch, I had this Hawaiian guy and this haole guy, and when they saw all these Hawaiian things, they were scared they weren't going to get there permits, and they dragged the thing and hid it under the trees [chuckling]. So, after they left, that's why we got it out again.
- KM: Do you ever...since it was important enough for your aunty and uncle them, to set that stone...
- 1160 ...to keep that stone out there, did you ever hear them talk about what it might have been used for?
- WD: No. It looks like...I heard them mention something, you know there's a cut in it, like a knife, but nobody seemed to know. Of course, the Hawaiians when you talked to them, they said, "Don't fool with it." They're all scared.
- KM: Yeah, you can see, just the way the shape of the base of the stone, it's very beautiful, a beautiful pōhaku [stone].
- WD: And then, a lot them said, "Oh, it might have been a polishing stone, or something." But it doesn't look like a polishing stone.
- KM: No, it's too, the poho you know, the concave, the hollow is too uniform.
- WD: Yeah, and then it's got that line in it. I don't know, but all the Hawaiians, said "Hey..." Like Isaac and Bamboo, and Alvin, "Don't touch that." [laughs] "Leave that thing alone."
- KM: Let's see here...
- 1180 So from your time, you don't remember right off hand, too much hearing legend, stories or you know, things... Like how come, Pauwalu, and then there's a hill mauka, your pu'u [hill], is Pu'u-manō eh?
- WD: Yeah, that's the Shark-god hill, because the trench is up there.
- KM: The trench?
- WD: The trench. Well, the legend was that they caught this shark, and they hauled, dragged that shark up there. And they had dug this trench and laid the shark in it. You can see it up there. And then a little dog grabbed a hold of a piece of the shark and ran down here and dropped it in the ocean, and that's why they still have sharks.
- KD: Nanaue.
- KM: Ahh. So that trench...

- WD: That's the story of Pu'u-manō.
- KM: ...is that the place where you have "'Ka-imu-manō?" They had tried to pūlehu [broil], or kālua [bake] that shark eh?
- WD: I don't know if they kālua'd it, but that trench was...it's quite a long trench. [speaking to Kip] You've seen that.
- 1200 KD: Well at the top of Pu'u-manō, there used to be a big rock that had a ring around the bottom.
- WD: Yeah, where the rope would slide.
- KD: Where they put the kaula [rope] and they dragged that shark all the way up to the top of the hill and it left a dip, a depression. And they took it up there, and then there's additional...another little area called Ka-imu-manō, which sits above the sacred 'ohe [bamboo] grove. Because they used the bamboo, 'ohe...
- WD: For the knife.
- KD: As a knife, the pahi. So after they cooked him in the Ka-imu-manō, they cut up all his flesh so that he would no longer be alive, he would be absolutely gone. But the 'Īlio [dog] grabbed the piece and ran down and jumped in the water...
- 1220 ...and he began again.
- WD: Yeah.
- KD: But Pauwalu, I've always heard, Pauwalu is named Pauwalu, "Pau [finished] at eight," after Nanaue, the shark demigod had taken the eighth child, they were able to finally capture him, and drag him up the hill and kill him.
- KM: [speaking to Wm. Dunbar] Do you remember hearing a little bit of this, or not?
- WD: No, no, not that. Only that part, and the bamboo that they used. It's a big bamboo.
- KM: Oh, so you heard about the 'ohe up there like that?
- WD: Yeah.
- KM: Is there still some 'ohe?
- WD: It's still there.
- KD: 'Ae.
- WD: And then, they also used it to...there used to be, they brought water down...you know where Kip has his flower garden?
- KM: Yes.
- WD: Up in back there, going up there, I can remember seeing it, they used it for a flume. They'd split it and they had taro lo'i [pond fields] up, all along on the side there.
- 1240 On this side there were stones [enclosures] for pig pens.
- KM: So get the pā pua'a [pig enclosures] inside there?
- WD: Yeah, yeah.
- KD: Still there.

- KM: So must have had a lot of people living here before old times eh?
- WD: Oh yeah, there's graves all over the place. There's one up here, another one right over here.
- KM: How are the graves, out of curiosity, in this place, are they marked by alignments, or are they mounded up?
- WD: Mound stones. This one over here has sand stone.
- KM: Oh interesting.
- WD: Some sand stone, it looks like they cut coral.
- KM: Hmm. Was there a heiau... [#1254 —end Tape 1, Side B; begin Tape 2, Side A]
- 000 WD: [continues speaking about some the 'ilina or grave sites in the vicinity]
- KM: Who's graves are those, those are historic Hawaiian graves then?
- WD: Yeah, well these down here are the people that lived here, some were Ka'ahanuis, Ka'ais, Kaulilis, Jones, his wife and so forth. And I guess babies. There's only two of them in concrete.
- KM: Hmm. Did they make the old kind mortar, you know, they'd bake the coral like that?
- WD: No, it doesn't look like it.
- KM: Had a heiau, anywhere around here? That you remember hearing about?
- WD: Yes, but tell [chuckles]. Yeah, there's one up here, back of his patch.
- KM: Ahh, good, good.
- WD: But we don't tell anybody...
- KM: Yeah, the idea is to at least know it's taken care of, it's not being...
- WD: Yeah, nobody's digging it up, or messing around.
- KM: Good, good.
- KD: It's over grown though.
- WD: It's over grown of course.
- KM: What's your feeling about this land?
- WD: Well, I think it's the best little piece in the whole United States [chuckles].
- KM: That's all, only the United States? [laughs]
- WD: Well, I haven't been to the other places I want to go either [chuckles]. I'm strictly American and Hawaiian.
- [restoration of Ipukaiole; importance of fishponds in Hawaiian culture]
- KM: How do you feel, you know, here's this upstart, young hapa [part Hawaiian] kid coming back home and he wants to restore a fishpond. What did you think of that?
- WD: I said "I'm all for it, go do it. Go for it if you can do it."
- 020 KM: Were fishponds of importance in the old days, that you heard?

- WD: Oh yeah, oh yeah. Oh God, they depended on it. Look at that Pūko'o pond, they used to really take care of that. And that other big, Buchanan pond, you know, before you get to that clover leaf.
- KM: Which pond is that?
- KD: Kupeke.
- WD: Kupeke Pond. They had a watch man out there all the time.
- KM: Oh yeah.
- KD: The old lady used to shoot guys off the pond with a shot gun.
- KM: Who
- KD: The old lady.
- FN: Buchanan?
- KD: Yeah.
- WD: The old man 'Aukai was the one that stayed down at the house down there. When they'd start stealing fish.
- KM: Oh yeah. So there could be some real value in doing fishpond restoration, and maybe trying to get fish again?
- WD: I don't know whether it would really be profitable. They tried down there at Oneali'i, and they tried out there by 'Ualapu'e. They stocked it with fish and they'd go home, come back the next morning and there wasn't a fish around.
- KM: 'Aihue [stolen]?
- WD: 'Aihue [chuckles], they'd drag the pond and get 'um all.
- KM: 'Auwē!
- WD: You know, because of the young people, they don't have no respect.
- KM: So, did people act like that before?
- WD: No.
- KM: Not in you r childhood time.
- WD: Nobody was stealing, they were true blue. When I first came up here, I got paid a couple of animals, had \$500.00, left it on my dresser, went to Maui for a week. Never even locked the house. I came home and it was still there. You wouldn't leave two bits on your counter now [chuckles]. And your help was true blue. But now, they're all spoiled, they're all kalā [dollars].
- 040 KM: Yeah changed time. Francis, did you have some questions that you...?
- FN: Yeah, after your done.
- KM: Do want to ask, and do you want it [the tape recorder] on, or do you want it off?  
[tape of then back on]
- FN: Let me ask you a few more questions, okay?
- WD: Okay.
- [Ipukaiole Fishpond]



FN: Now before the 1946 tidal wave, you mentioned that you would go out and throw net on the Ipukaiole Fishpond wall, correct?

WD: Not on the wall, I'd walk in the pond up to this pile of stones, and the fish would be in there. And they were the small, you know, that Australian mullet.

FN: You would be able to go on the wall if you wanted to?

WD: Oh yeah.

FN: How wide was the wall before the tidal wave?

WD: I would say it was about 14 feet, 16 feet, maybe wide.

FN: And that was along the ocean side all the way?

WD: Generally.

[Following the interview, Mr. Dunbar noted that the Ipukaiole Pond wall was widest on it's western facing wall. The wall narrowed some as it continued east towards the larger Kainalu Pond.]

[Kainalu and Ipukaiole fishponds]

FN: To the point that it connected to Kainalu?

WD: Well, see there's...when you come over to the Kainalu Pond, there's the mākāhā [sluice gate] there, see.

FN: Okay, so it wasn't as wide.

WD: Just a little bit beyond from where I say there is the pile of rocks was.

KM: The pu'u, little mound-like?

WD: Yeah, the pu'u. But you could, at low tide, I mean you could walk right on the wall without even getting you feet wet. And even at high tide, unless you have an extra high, then it would break over and be wet. But the '46 was the one that really destroyed it.

FN: And did that wall that you were familiar with, before the tidal wave, was it in the same location...

060 ...where your son is now building his fishpond?

WD: Yeah. Like I drew on the map [Figure 6] here, that where it started or stopped, that's where it started. The other wall was already land on this side. That was already there. Where Wright says that "He [Kip] and I were building a wall up," [chuckles] that was already there.

[stone alignment existed along shore west of Ipukaiole]

KM: That was the wall that you described earlier.

WD: The side one, you know, towards and in front of his [Kip] house, where it's open. That's the one where it was knocked down.

FN: That wasn't part of the fishpond?

WD: That wasn't part of the original wall. The original wall stopped, where I showed you on the drawing here.

KM: Something that's interesting here though, and I want to clarify this. You said though, you don't remember who built this? It wasn't your uncle them yeah?

WD: No, no. This was already walled, see.

KM: So even though it's not a part of Ipukaiole...?

WD: Yeah.

KM: It was there?

WD: Yeah, it was there. And there's an area in between here, that was beach lot, you know, where this wall didn't connect to this one, see.

KM: Yes, yes. So the section kind of in here [indicated as a break in the wall on the shore, near the area fronting Kip Dunbar's house]?

WD: Yeah, just a shore area, see. Because this definitely went and stopped.

KM: Just in front [on the west] of your mama's place?

WD: And then there was a pile of rock at the end here, that I can remember, because Johnny Boy's father, and his uncle, they had donkey, that we used to ride around. You'd ride up here...

080 ...and I'd go around this rock and then up the beach here.

KM: So this is kind of in front of your mama's house?

WD: Just Kaunakakai side of my mother's house.

KM: Okay.

FN: Okay, a few more questions. We earlier looked at these old pictures. One shows, is that Mr. Munro?

WD: Yeah.

FN: What's his full name?

WD: James Munro.

FN: And this showing, he's eating something, what is he eating, can you tell? There's two paddles next to him, right? [Figure 7]

WD: It looks like he's eating...biting on a fish or something or something.

KM: Clowning around, biting the eye of a fish or something.

KD: An awholehole, I think.

FN: There appears to be a structure in the back, on the ocean.

WD: The fence.

KM: Well, you can see the water here eh?

WD: Yeah, yeah.

FN: What is this in the water?

[Ipukaiole Fishpond wall visible in historic photographs]

WD: The wall, the pond's stone wall.

FN: That's a part of the pond wall?

- WD: Yeah.
- FN: The Ipukaiole Fishpond?
- WD: Right.
- FN: Where was this picture taken, can you tell?
- WD: Well, see [pointing to the map he'd drawn], this was the house here, and it's looking this way. I think, one of them, does it show... [looking at Figure 8] Yeah, here's the turn style see. This is where they went out, and this was those stones. You can see those out there now.
- KM: They're in the water now.
- WD: Yeah, the beach is this side [inland] of those stones.
- FN: That's the pile you see in the water now, eh?
- WD: Yeah.
- FN: Okay. And this turn style, was it located directly outside of the house?
- WD: No, just inside of those stones, see. The house is back here, here's the coco [nut trees] ...the house is further back.
- FN: So this turn style, this gate, was located seaward of the house?
- 100 WD: Yeah, right.
- FN: And beyond that, you see the line of rocks, that's in the ocean?
- WD: Yeah, the fishpond.
- FN: That's the wall of the fishpond?
- [Ipukaiole god stone]
- WD: Yeah. And if I remember right, [pointing to Figure 8] you see this big rock here, that's the one that I was telling you was the frog stone like.
- KM: The god stone.
- WD: Yeah.
- FN: And you'd throw net from around there?
- WD: Yeah. As a kid, we called it the frog, it looked like a big frog.
- FN: And all of this is based on your personal knowledge, because you were there, back then?
- WD: Yeah, right.
- FN: Who are all these people in this photograph [Figure 8]?
- WD: I don't know, I'm trying to [looking at the photograph]... I'm trying to...
- KD: Is that uncle Jim?
- WD: No, I don't think so.
- KM: It must have been some friends come over or something, yeah.
- FN: Okay. You can identify at least your uncle?

- WD: Yeah, I can identify him in there [Figure 7].
- KD: This is not uncle Jim?
- WD: I don't think it's uncle Jim.
- FN: Can you identify the place?
- WD: Well, the place is right.
- FN: Okay, good.
- WD: Yeah, this is some friends because, you know, uncle Jim never...he could swim it, but he was elderly.
- KM: Oh, this is a throw net, yeah, the guys holding up, not a lau [seine net].
- WD: Yeah, this is a throw net, see.
- KM: Yeah.
- WD: Somebody had a throw net, see the fish all stuck in the net?
- KM: Yeah.
- FN: I would like to borrow these [the 1986 calendar picture and two R.M. Towill aerial photographs], and make copies and return it to you.
- WD: Oh, okay.
- FN: I'll take good care of them.
- WD: I think you ought to really take this into consideration, the fact that this is the original beach, and it went right along this line here...
- 120 ...towards his house, and this is all fill.
- FN: That's right. That's the main thing. This is a dynamite picture.
- KD: That's a killer. And not only that, what that shows is that after his little groin wall came in front of his mother's place, which has already extended his shore line, even if you look at that. I mean, it's extended it at least 25 to 30 feet, you know, it then dips in right after that groin, it then show erosion, just like it is today. So I don't know why he would expect anything any different... [#127 tape off, end of interview]

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## APPENDIX A

**Personal Release of Interview Records for:**

**John Dudoit Jr.  
Ipukaiole (Moloka'i) Oral History Study at Kainalu  
April 11, 1997; 2:38 p.m.**

I, John Dudoit Jr., participated in an oral history interview at Kainalu, Moloka'i, on April 11, 1997, with Kepā Maly, who was conducting an oral history study to record my family recollections of land use and site histories, and knowledge of the Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishpond Complex. The oral historical records are to be published in a study by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), prepared in conjunction with the legal action in Civil No. 97-00137HG (H.S. Wright and Leimoku, Ltd. v. Lance Dunbar, et al.).

I have reviewed the typed transcript of the recorded interview, and agree that said documentation is complete and accurate, including changes made while reviewing the original transcript. I further agree that the interview information may be used, including *releasing such information in a report to be used in the above cited legal action (Civil No. 97-00137HG) and made public*, subject to my specific objections to release as set forth below under the heading "SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE." The interview transcript, interview summary notes, and accompanying photographs and map will be curated for reference and historical use by my family, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), and L. Kip Dunbar (for stewardship and/or restoration Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishponds).

**CONFIDENTIALITY—SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE:**

*Corrections and/or modifications to transcript made by typing on May 19, 1997, supersede the recorded narratives.*

**Interview Background and Release:**

Recorded Interview made on April 11, 1996.

Interview Notes Made on Date(s): May 19, 1997

Type-Written Transcripts Received Week of: April 28, 1997

John Dudoit Jr.  
Interviewee

Kepā Maly  
Interviewer-Witness

Address: P.O. Box 1074  
Kaunakakai, HI 96748

(Kumu Pono Associates – cf. Mo06rls.doc)

**Personal Release of Interview Records for:****William H. Kalipi Sr.****Ipukaiole (Moloka'i) Oral History Study at Kainalu****April 12, 1997; c. 9:00 a.m.**

I, William H. Kalipi Sr., participated in an oral history interview at Kainalu, Moloka'i, on April 11, 1997, with Kepā Maly (and also responded to several questions asked by Francis Nakamoto, Esq.), who was conducting an oral history study to record my family recollections of land use and site histories, and knowledge of the Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishpond Complex. The oral historical records are to be published in a study by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), prepared in conjunction with the legal action in Civil No. 97-00137HG (H.S. Wright and Leimoku, Ltd. v. Lance Dunbar, et al.).

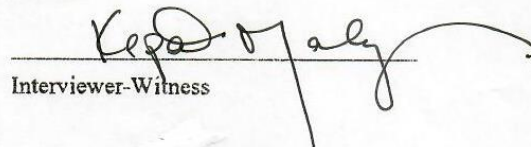
I have reviewed the typed transcript of the recorded interview, and agree that said documentation is complete and accurate, including changes made while reviewing the original transcript. I further agree that the interview information may be used, including *releasing such information in a report to be used in the above cited legal action (Civil No. 97-00137HG) and made public*, subject to my specific objections to release as set forth below under the heading "SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE." The interview transcript, interview summary notes, and accompanying photographs and map will be curated for reference and historical use by my family, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), and L. Kip Dunbar (for stewardship and/or restoration Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishponds).

**CONFIDENTIALITY—SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE:**

*Corrections and/or modifications to transcript made by typing on May 20, 1997, supersede the recorded narratives.*

**Interview Background and Release:**Recorded Interview made on April 12, 1996Interview Notes Made on Date(s): MAY 20, 1997Type-Written Transcripts Received Week of: April 28, 1997

  
Interviewee

  
Interviewer-Witness

Address: P.O. Box 1075  
Kaunakakai, Hawai'i 96748

(Kumu Pono Associates – cf. Mo06rls.doc)

**Personal Release of Interview Records for:**  
**William Bowles Dunbar**  
**Ipukaiole (Moloka'i) Oral History Study at Kainalu**  
**April 12, 1997; c. 1:50 p.m.**

I, William B. Dunbar, participated in an oral history interview at Kainalu, Moloka'i, on April 11, 1997, with Kepā Maly (and also responded to several questions asked by Francis Nakamoto, Esq.), who was conducting an oral history study to record my family recollections of land use and site histories, and knowledge of the Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishpond Complex. The oral historical records are to be published in a study by Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), prepared in conjunction with the legal action in Civil No. 97-00137HG (H.S. Wright and Leimoku, Ltd. v. Lance Dunbar, et al.).

I have reviewed the typed transcript of the recorded interview, and agree that said documentation is complete and accurate, including changes made while reviewing the original transcript. I further agree that the interview information may be used, including *releasing such information in a report to be used in the above cited legal action (Civil No. 97-00137HG) and made public*, subject to my specific objections to release as set forth below under the heading "SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE." The interview transcript, interview summary notes, and accompanying photographs and map will be curated for reference and historical use by my family, Kepā Maly (*Kumu Pono Associates*), and L. Kip Dunbar (for stewardship and/or restoration Ipukaiole-Kainalu Fishponds).

**CONFIDENTIALITY—SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIALS — RESTRICTIONS SET BY INTERVIEWEE:**

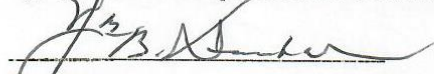
*Corrections and/or modifications to transcript made by typing on <sup>May 31-June 1</sup> ~~May~~ <sup>Δ</sup>, 1997, supersede the recorded narratives.*

**Interview Background and Release:**

Recorded Interview made on April 12, 1996

Interview Notes Made on Date(s): June 3, 1997

Type-Written Transcripts Received Week of: April 28, 1997

  
 Interviewee

  
 Interviewer-Witness

**Address:** c/o HC01 - Box 901  
 Kaunakakai, Hawai'i 96748



## APPENDIX B

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**Figure 4a. Ipukaiole Fishpond Wall Prior to Undertaking Restoration Work in 1991 (standing on the western side of the wall, back to the ocean, looking towards the shore; Kainalu Stream on left)**



**Figure 4b. Ipukaiole Fishpond Wall Prior to Undertaking Restoration Work in 1991 (back to the shore, facing out to the ocean; looking along the western section of the fishpond wall with outer wall continuing to the east)**