

#1  
KALAPANA ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interview: Virginia Kawhi Waipa Enos November 28, 1987

by Lani Best

Transcribed by Maile Waipa Moulds-Carr

L: And Teresa is married to your?

K: My brother.

L: No, your brother?

K: Yes.

L: Your brother was married to Teresa, that's right.

K: Robert Waipa, my oldest brother.

L: That's why I wanted to interview you. I wanted to get your side, you know, how Hawaiians felt in comparison to how she felt because even though she lived down there, she was still Chinese. And even though she married your brother, you know, it's little bit different. Tell me just a little bit about yourself.

K: Myself?

L: When were you born?

K: I was born October 18, 1918.

L: 1918. And where were you born?

K: At Kaimu.

L: You were born at home?

K: Yes.

L: Were most of the people, children, were most of the children born at home at that time?

K: Yes, everyone is born at home.

L: What was the name of your parents?

K: My parents was Kaamoku Waipa, Sr. and my mother was Rose, but you see, I really don't know her maiden name because my grandmother had her before she married Purdy.

L: So you're not sure about your mother's maiden name?

K: Well, some of my brothers took Purdy as her name, but I'm not quite sure if it's the right name. You see my

grandmother had her before she married Purdy, so I know Ka'anana is, I would say, her grandparents, I mean her mother's maiden name.

L: Ka'anana, that's what you think. You're not sure though?

K: But I'm not sure that it's her maiden name. So I think the right thing should be Ka'anana because she didn't marry until after she had my mother. Then she married Purdy.

L: O.K. That was ah?

K: That's my grandparents on my mother's side because her maiden name was ah, my grandmother's maiden name was Harriet Hi'ilaka Ka'anana.

L: Hmm, sounds little bit confusing, heh?

K: Yeah, it is. In fact we all, all the children that my mother gave birth, those days, they don't give birth in a hospital, they give birth at home. And later on, somebody had to go to Hilo or wherever it is to the Board of Health. In fact, not exactly a Board of Health, just like a hospital and then register the kids. So they put one name in there is a different name, then we find out our name is not that. I had to go and have my name changed. Everyone, from my brother down, not one had the right name in there and the right name we were going with. Those days when they feel like changing the name they just change, the Hawaiians. And even our name, my father's name, actually shouldn't be Waipa. You see I had asked my father when he was, who was his father. He said, "Waipa." Who was his grandfather, he said, "Kahaipo." So I said, "How can your grandfather be Kahaipo and your father is Waipa. How come you folks don't go by that?" "Oh, my grandfather was mean to my father, so we all took my father's first name." That's what happened to plenty of those people from Kalapana.

L: Is that right?

K: You have Sam Ka'awaloa, that's the right name. Then the rest they take the father's first name. They have Kaipō. That's how we all get the Waipa, it's from my grandfather's first name. You see when we got together to make the reunion of all the family and I told them, and they won't believe, you see like, Lum Ho. Martha Lum Ho, you see her father was the eldest of the brothers and my father was second. And I told them, I said I had asked my father, I wrote down their name, and he said is Kahaipo. Should have been. Then they got the Waipa, is from the father's first name so my grandfather should have been Waipa Kahaipo. My greatgrandfather is Kahaipo so should have been down the line to us is Kahaipo, not Waipa. And she said, "No, it can't be." You see, Akima Ah Hee, his mother is a, is sister to my father.

L: Ah Hee?

K: Akima Ah Hee, he lives in Pahoā.

L: He's still living?

K: Ah, hah. So his daughter went in Honolulu and look in the book of the Hawaiians, then she said I was right.

(Stopped to check the tape and recording and resumed at a much decreased volume. Tape difficult to listen to even at the highest level.)

L: How many brothers and sisters did you have?

K: Well, I had 4 brothers and 3 sisters.

L: What were their names?

K: The oldest one was born before my brother Robert, and she was only about 3 months old when she died. I don't know the name. I wasn't born then, you see my brothers all ahead of me. And then there's Robert, and there's Kaamoku, Jr. and there's Kealoha and my brother Kalani, and my sister Ke'ali'i. She is Cecilia Ah Yo. And my other sister is Ke'ali'i too, she died when she was about 15. And of course, myself.

L: What was your full name?

K: When I went to school, at Kamehameha School, they gave me the name of Kawehilani, my full name was Kawehilani'okapomaika'i.

L: Kawehilani

K: Okapomaika'i. And then when I went one year, you see I finished Kalapana School in the 6th grade and I went to Kam, Kamehameha School one year and then 7th grade.

L: What year?

K: I was 13 years old. Then I came back and went to St. Joseph because my parents couldn't afford. You see I could have gone to Kamehameha because before I left they asked me if I was coming back. I said, "No." They said, "Why?" I said because I can't afford it. The secretary said I could come back with a scholarship. They would give me a scholarship. I would work my way through school. Then I was the kind for get homesick. I just wanted to go see Honolulu so I went. So I wrote back when they send a letter in August asking if I was going back to there, I said no I was going to St. Joseph School. And after I had finish St. Joseph I would finish up Kamehameha, because St. Joseph had only to the 10th grade. I would go back, but I never did go back beause my parents couldn't afford, so I just went to 8th grade.

L: So your Hawaiian name is Kawehilani'ikapomaika'i.

K: But I haven't gone by that name. I cut it short to Kawehi. My mother raised my niece. She gave her the name Kawehilani. So we don't confuse each other, and from then on I wasn't ever called by that full name. I just cut it short. So I'm going now by Virginia Kawehi Enos.

L: Now how did you meet your husband?

K: My sister was living in Keaau, in Olaa. In those days it was called Olaa, not Keaau. They were neighbors, that's how we meet.

(Tape very difficult to hear. Will summarize parts already covered in other interviews.)

K: I was 22 and my husband was 25 when we married. He's born and raised in Kurtistown. So his father was (inaudible). His father is Kamai(?) He's half Portuguese and half Hawaiian.

L: So your husband's father's name was

K: Manuel.

L: And he's from Portugal?

K: Yeah,

L: And his mother was

K: Kamai, Evangiline Kamai.

Section outlining her children:

1. Eloise Holly, born in 1941
2. Virginia Aytte
3. Rosemary Keawe
4. Son, Tony, Jr.
5. Adopted Virginia's grandson, James

Locations lived in Kalapana:

1. Kaimu
2. Mokuhulu

Father's work for county

Mother's lauhala work, worked sometimes with Mrs. Pea, pooling their lauhala on a big mat and sharing the profits. Section on lauhala products.

Section on brothers.

Sojourn in Pahoa, before moving to Kalapana, when father was working for the plantation. Went 1 year to school in Pahoa.

Discussed Kealoha coming home after he got hurt, and eventually died. Talked of Robert coming home, which was the time he met Teresa. He was working in the plantation, and they closed up the mules. They had trains.

Place in Kaimu - Kanaka'ole property. Explained relationship to Kanaka'ole's.

Families in Kalapana - Pe'a, Kaina,

Life in Kalapana--Games played

1. Jump rope with vines
2. Steal eggs
3. Swimming - pond opposite Black Sand Beach

Washing clothes in pond, getting opihi, wana, coconuts,

Father planted taro, pounded poi, breadfruit, sweet potato, raised pig, salted pork and jerk meat.

Kamapio-game - If you have a stick, it's smooth out on each end. And then you hit the stick to far and then you have a rock with a stick on top. And if they can hit the stick off the rock, they be the ones to pick the kamapio up. And then if they throw it near you go with the stick and put on the end and fly it as far as you can. And with the stick that you use you measure how many, the farther you win the game. You add up who's the winner.

Other games: Steal eggs. Choose a team and make a circle and you put the rocks in there. Then you run out, and if you can run into their circle and take their eggs and run back to your side, you're the winner. That's how we used to play steal eggs.

Marbles came later. Jacks, ball, volleyball later. Discussion on volleyball.

(Switched sides on the tape and volume is back up.)

K: If you talk to Akima Ah Hee, because he know more about the history. Because he's the only cousin they have that's left, that's older.

L: How old is he?

K: He must be 89 or 90, you see he was older than my brother. And Martha, he's the oldest of my cousin.

Discussion of school in Kalapana. From 6 to 12 years old.

Teachers: Mr. Spar, Mrs. Gusan (Principal), then Mrs. Alapai, then Miss Wong, and my aunty, Anna Ho'opi'i, she was the principal.

Discussion of school setup. (See first interview with Maile.) Talked about dislike of Mrs. Alapai.

K: She was terrible. You see, she would make the kids lift stones if you naughty and hold that rock up. And I didn't go nothing wrong, but just recess time. I wanted to see how heavy and someone went and told her. And she made me stand in front of the class, and it's a big stone, and each time get heavy.

L: You had to hold it above your head? Shame on her.

K: Yeah, and I would be crying. I felt like just throwing. (volume went out again.)

L: How heavy was the rock?

K: About 10 pounds.

Talked about the number of students, distance to school, past classmates. Further schooling of other children in Kalapana.

Making home brew. Father did not. Relationship of family with other families in Kalapana. Father was well liked, and respected by his brothers. Father had way about him, well liked by everybody. Mother was not, sharp tongued.

K: Well, according to my mother, my grandmother was half white. I don't know, of all the sisters I haven't seen a picture of my grandma. But they say she was the prettiest of all the sisters. That's why when Purdy went to ask her to marry him. She said, "Why don't you take one of my sisters?" because they were younger, but he wanted her. And he married her.

L: That was your mother's mother?

K: So, but they say she's one half, but I wouldn't know. But I think that's why the Kamau, some of them you look at them, you know that they not pure Hawaiian. Although you would look at my mother and you would look at my father. My father would look more like he, he had the light eyes. You would think light brown eyes. You would think he would be the one with the little white in him.

L: Maybe he had.

K: I don't think so.

L: You don't think so. How did he get his light eyes?

K: You see that uhm, that other, my aunty that Waiaha, Martha's father. Martha Lum Ho's father, her mother, the brother had blond hair, blue eyes. And you see Pea, he is light and blue eyes, he's mother is dark Hawaiian. So those days I think they say is from the whalers. Because you look

at them they have the light hair and the sisters, oh, blue eyes. And fair skin. And mother now, you would look at her and you would look at her half brother, like Lou Lindsey from Waimea, and Purdy. They get the same features only. My mother is dark, whereas they have fairer skin than my mother.

L: So your mom had a sharp tongue?

K: She liked to criticize, and I don't know, she came just like Christian, you know turn Christian. But I always tell he, you don't tell people what to do, they making mistake. It not nice to tell. She used to tell me I have no respect for her. You see, I didn't want her to be a talking about people like that. I said, "If you want to be good, you be good yourself," but not talk about people. She used to say oh, this, your father that. I just to say, you not supposed to tell whatever trouble between my father and you. That's not to be broadcast out. She tell me, "Oh, I don't." So she's not well liked, honestly if you ask the people. She had the kind of helping people but her tongue was too sharp. People used to like my father more than my mother. My mother was more on the strict side. I can ask my father, "Can I go party?" He would tell me, "Yes." And I can go to the party. My mother will come right there. Up until 22 years, before I got married, my mother still slapped me.

L: Oh, my goodness.

K: One time we went up CC camp where had the boys, all girls and my cousin, one of the Kaawaloa's drove the car up. And we had movies. She said, "Where did you go?" I said I went up CC camp and all that. She gave me one slap on my face in front of everybody.

Further discussion on mother, talking about lauhala preparation. (See interview #1 with Maile.)

L: Can you think of any other families that were respected?

K: Mr. Pea was well liked.

L: Which Pea was this?

K: The father and the son. Gabriel Pea is the son. He became the minister for that Protestant church.

L: What was his father's name?

K: Ah, I can't think of his name. But if you would interview the daughter, Helen Lee Hong. He was well like by the people too. So is the son. He used to help people. Like my father folks, he used to raise tomatoes and watermelon. He would sell, he would take it up and sell it and give them so much for. So as far as that, he was real nice to the people. And he would get, they would come to town, you'd ride with him. You'd pay him like a taxi, he

would get a stationwagon and everybody would go with him. Before we had no bus, so you had to go with people that owned a car. But he used to be just like a taxi, you could tell him and he pick you and take you to town and come back. So he used to sell the things for my parents. Because I remember we used to help, you know, plant tomatoes and vegetable.

L: How about politicians?

K: Oh, politician was fun those days. They used to come down and you know, entertainment and what we used to do, go up. We had no radio, only one family had the radio, so after my parents were told, we to up to that house and listen to the. . that was fun before, was more fun than now, politics.

L: Was there anyone in Kalapana that was a politician?

K: Not in Kalapana. Only up in Opihika<sup>⓪</sup>, that Dan, I can't think of his name, we used to call him "Step and a half."

L: Step and a half?

K: He used to kind of limp on one leg so, he ran for, what that now, before had governor they ran for something else. He's the only one from Puna side that ran. I can't think of what it is.

L: Mayor?

K: No not mayor those days. Delegate to Congress. Dan, Dan, I can't think of his name. Maybe Teresa would know. They used call that Gabriel was the mayor of Kalapana.

L: Oh, he was considered the mayor of Kalapana?

K: But, actually he was not. As far as voting, but they, you know, it something like ah, that Gabriel, the son.

L: Was everyone in Kalapana of the same social status? Or did you folks have different classes?

K: No, most everybody was same.

L: You didn't feel some people had more than other people?

K: No, to me everybody was.

L: How about anybody acting that they were better than anybody else?

K: No, we all got along so well together.

L: Did you folks have any kahunas in Kalapana?

K: Not that I know of.



L: You didn't know of Kahiki. The name was the Kahiki's and she mentioned that when people got sick, that they would go over and they would fix Hawaiian medicine. You don't remember Kahiki, the Kahiki family?

K: Keheke, K-e-h-a-iki.

L: Kehaiki, he was the kahuna.

K: Laughter. I wouldn't think he's a kahuna.

L: You wouldn't consider him a kahuna. Maybe she thought he was a kahuna because he fixed special Hawaiian medicines and

K: Most of the Hawaiians know certain herbs for certain sickness. But you see my parents weren't the kind think about kahunas and stuff like that, so you know when they ask me about kahunas. I don't know nothing about, that's one thing my parents don't say anything about. They would talk about people worshipping this and worshipping that. We think of just one God.

L: Your parents were Christian?

Discussion of trying to remember more on Kehaiki.

L: Did your family have an aumakua?

K: The only thing my father said, "Shark." Shark, I wouldn't say as aumakua, but he said that so far none of our family ever died in the ocean. He said my mother fell down in the ocean from picking opihi, and she didn't know how to swim. She got rid of all her opihi. She started floating. Somebody threw the step ladder and somehow she got back up. But when she was out, people could see something brown by her, so they figure the shark, the family. They would call that a sort of family help.

Another one, my aunty fell in the ocean, and her leg got stuck. A big wave came and somehow she found herself on the rock. She don't know how. So my father say must be the shark. He call that the shark always help the family. That's the only story my father ever said about the shark being a helper. Oh, my brother and my cousin used to go fishing and they remember they went spearfishing. They would get like a small fish would come circling around them. And they didn't pay attention. Each time came bigger, and bigger, and you know keep swimming around. So they took off up. No sooner they got up on land, they saw the maneating shark. So that's why, that why I remember my father saying and my brother saying at our reunion. So I don't know if you call that as your kamapua.

L: Aumakua

See interview #2 with Maile. Talk re: fears after seeing Jaws. Interview #1 re hukilau and canoes, and dislike of raw fish now.

L: What about this aumakua Teresa mentioned to me, that Unehī?

Tape ended. Second tape. (Low volume again on tape.)

L: What were we talking about when I had to change the tape?

K: About that caterpilla.

L: Oh, the caterpilla. So that's enuhi is not your family aumakua. If anything, it's the shark.

K: That's the only thing I remember is the shark.

L: Do you know if any other families had? Family aumakua?

K: I think most all of the Hawaiians in Kalapana, they have all different. Some is the owl, some is the turtle. And some is that fish just like tadpole.

L: That was an aumakua?

K: I think certain people that's their, like I don't know what they call the name of that fish. Everybody had their own. As far as my father is concerned, I mean that I know is the shark.

Recounted fishing at Kapaahu after marriage. (See in other interviews with Mary Findley and Maile Moulds-Carr.)

Volume returned.

L: When did you leave Kalapana? When did you leave? And why did you leave?

K: The time I left there is because I got married.

L: And that time you were 22?

K: Yeah.

L: How long did you and your <sup>husband</sup> ~~father~~ court each other?

K: About a year.

L: How was it like back then when you folks courted? In comparison to what you see today?

K: Oh, the same. You see, ah, my husband's mother died, and the father died, so he was alone when we got married. My mother always say don't marry people with mother-in-law.

(Laughter.) No, I didn't marry him because of that. It was just that.

L: It just happened. So did you folks have a big wedding?

K: No. Just church, to the church and back.

L: Did you folks get dressed up?

K: No, I just wore a white suit, that's all.

L: None of the weddings in those days had, you know, the wedding gowns . . . ?

K: No, but some do.

L: Some people did?

K: I never did.

L: So right after you got married, you moved to Olaa?

K: Uh huh.

L: And that's where you've been?

K: No, then my husband went in the service and he was in New Herbrides. I stayed in Olaa, then he was in Honolulu. I went there for couple months, and then until he got out of the service. Then we moved to Keaau and we stayed there until he died. And I'm still living there.

Tried to remember when her husband died. Eighteen years ago, when she was 51. She is 69 now. Talked about her grandson. Youngest daughter living with her now.

L: When you were in Kalapana, do you remember the stores you had in Kalapana?

K: Oh yeah, we had one store plus Teresa folks had a bakery. Used to make nice pies over there. And that Chinese store, that's the only store we had in Kalapana. Not the way it is now. Had only 1 Chinese store, across the school.

L: You remember the name?

K: Ah, Teresa would know. Can't think of the name. We used to buy cracked see, we used to buy coconut candy, those days had the square coconut candy and those round red ones, used to get them from there. Teresa folks used to have good, their bakery. Their pies used to be real delicious.

L: What kind of pies?

K: She still make good coconut pie.

L: Were there any other businesses?

K: No, that's it.

L: Did your family speak Hawaiian?

K: My mother and father speak Hawaiian. I never learned to speak Hawaiian. I could answer yes or no. And so does my brother Kalani, but the rest of my sisters and my older brother, they all can speak Hawaiian. You see my grandparents were alive then, and they couldn't speak English. So they learned how to speak Hawaiian. They have to. When I came along, I don't remember my grandmother. So my mother and father would speak Hawaiian, I answer in English.

L: You understood.

K: I understood. I can read. When I went Kam School, my mother would write Hawaiian, no period, no nothing. I would read it and I know where would end, and I go keep on reading her letters. But I can't speak real good. I went for a while at the Parks, I went only for one week. I was learning to speak real good. I go home and ah, speak to my son-in-law. And just one and two weekend, going over there and having these haole boys from the University. And they speaking real good Hawaiian, and me on the end, I being so embarrassed. Because I couldn't speak. All the ones that were brought up with the grandparents, my cousin, they all speak Hawaiian, like Martha folks. You see the parents don't speak English. I mean, I think they use more Hawaiian, then English. So they get to learn to speak Hawaiian themself.

Further discussion on her inability to speak Hawaiian and Lani's course at the University.

L: How did your family get along with the Chinese? Or the Hawaiians? Did they have prejudice?

K: I don't think so the Hawaiian had prejudice against the Chinese, but the Chinese were brought up not to. They weren't keen about her marrying my brother, because he's Hawaiian. You see the older brother was going with a woman that he really love. He couldn't marry her. He had to marry a Chinese. The oldest boy have to marry Chinese.

L: And he was in love with a Hawaiian girl?

K: Ah, she's not quite pure Hawaiian. Cannot, because Chinese style, the oldest son has to marry a Chinese. So the second one married Hawaiian. He has plenty children. Her brother.

L: Teresa's family were not happy with her marrying . . . your brother?

K: I don't think so. As far as the mother was concerned, I think she was more. She wasn't that happy. But they tolerate my brother, but . . .

L: Why do you think they felt like that?

K: Because he's Hawaiian and he's way older. My brother was way older than Teresa. I didn't know Teresa was my age. She was one class below me, so I thought she was one year younger than me. I found afterwards she just as old as I am. I think my brother was 20 odd years older than she. (16 actually - Maile).

L: She fell in love with your brother.

K: I guess being down there, there's no Chinese. Just the cousin and them, no boys.

L: You remember the kids fighting? The Hawaiian boys and the Chinese boys?

K: No, no. As far as that fighting, no fighting.

L: Teresa remembers.

K: I don't remember.

L: The Chinese boys, but she said that the girls got along real well.

K: I don't remember the boys.

L: They were prejudice.

K: I guess like the Japanese people. Those days, no body could go with any nationality other than their own kind. The same with some Hawaiians.

L: Did you have some Hawaiians with prejudice like that? I never knew that. I thought Hawaiians were so nice, they got along with everybody.

Discussion of the nationalities of spouses of her and brothers and sisters. Discussion of Uncle Kaamoku and his living arrangement.

Discussion of crime, molesting of a Chinese girl from the store by a Hawaiian boy who was sent away to school.

Discussion of ponds and clothes washing.

L: What other Hawaiian families lived in Kalapana?

K: We had the Kea's, the Kahaiki's, we had the Kahukai's, and we had the Hauanio's, and we had the Kama's, Kahilihiwa's, and ah. They have the Keliihomalu. The

Kealoha's, and who else used to live down there. The Kaina's. And Ili, Benjamin Ili.

L: Quite a few families. So how many people do you think lived there.

K: About 500 people.

Question about eruptions. Talked about Kapoho eruption. Asked about superstition, mentioned father did not like whistling in the night.

L: Did you attend any funerals in Kalapana?

K: The only difference, they have the body in the house.

L: Did they embalm?

K: They had to.

L: They did it themselves?

K: We saw the body in the house, afterwards.

L: Where did they bury the people?

K: It's most that a certain place, they have a burial place. Like Kaimu they have up here on the road going to Kapoho, they have the burial place there on the a'a. Some at Kapaahu, also on the a'a's. Like where we were living, my brother was buried there and my nephew. And it's still there, the only place that is left. They kept just the spot, the rest they sold to Yamada.

L: Did they have a special way of burying? In the old days they build the rocks up.

K: They do that, some, some not. Like where my brother's buried. My father made a cement cover on, and my husband made the pole around. That's it.

L: During the 1930's when we had the depression, did it affect Kalapana?

K: I don't think so. Food was cheap and we grew most our down.

Discussed Chinese store, but did not sell food. Food was raised or bought at Pahoa, salmon, canned, salt salmon. Discussed salting pork and jerk meat.

L: Where were you living when the war started?

K: In Keaau.

L: Did the war cause any changes?

K: Well, it did, because my husband went for 1 year training. And he was supposed to come out, released in January. They bomb Honolulu in December, and he was stuck in the service for 5 years until the war end.

L: Oh, no.

K: Then my oldest girl was born. He was in Honolulu, and in New Hebrides most of the time.

L: Did you notice any changes in Kalapana during the war?

K: No, the only changes I noticed was the girls getting pregnant. All the new babies down there.

Discussed ages of parents when they died.