1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement

Other Name/Site Number:

Street and Number (if applicable)**:**

City/Town: Kalaupapa **County:** Kalawao **State:** HI

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior January 7, 1976.
Updated documentation January 13, 2021.

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6

NHL Criteria Exceptions:

NHL Theme(s):

I: Peopling Places
2. health, nutrition, and disease
4. community and neighborhood
5. ethnic homelands
6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization

II: Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. reform movements
3. religious institutions

III: Expressing Cultural Values
5. architecture, landscape architecture

VI: Expanding Science and Technology
3. scientific thought and theory
4. effects on lifestyle and health

VIII: Changing Role of the United States in the World Community
1. international relations
3. expansionism and imperialism

Period(s) of Significance: 1866-1969

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2)**:** Father Damien De Veuster (Saint Damien of Molokai), Mother Marianne Cope (Saint Marianne Cope), and the People of Kalaupapa

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6)**:** Native Hawaiian

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder:

Historic Contexts: Leprosy and public health, 1866-1969; Euro-American overseas expansion and the colonization of Hawai‘i, 1778-1959; Leprosy, social justice, and human rights, 1866-present

3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

_X_ Yes

___ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 15,645 acres (8,614 land, 7,031 marine)

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)**:**
Datum if other than WGS84:

Latitude: **Longitude:**

OR

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	4	718400	2348800
B	4	718400	2337300
C	4	705200	2337300
D	4	705200	2348800

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

The eastern boundary of the Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement begins at a point on the north shore of the island of Molokai, Hawai‘i in the area of Wainene (716250 E., 2342500 N. zone 4 UTM). From this point the boundary runs in a southerly direction coincident with the boundary of Kalawao County to a point at the top of the ridge above Leina o Papio Point, at approximately 3,000 feet elevation. From this point the boundary runs in a southeasterly direction along the top of the pali to the point ‘Ōhi‘alele at the top of Kīpapa Ridge. The line continues along the top of the Papa‘ala Pali in a southerly direction, still coincident with the Kalawao County line, to the point Pu‘u Ali‘i. It continues in a westerly direction across the peninsula formed by Waikolu Valley and Pelekunu Valley to a point, Hanalilolilo, at the head of Waikolu Valley. The boundary continues along the top of the pali in a northwestern direction to the point Kalāhuapueo, thence to the point Pu‘u Kaeo, thence to the point Kaluahauoni, all the time coincident with the Kalawao County Boundary. The line continues along the top of the pali in a westerly then northerly direction to the point Alae, thence in a southerly direction along the top of the pali to the vicinity of the diversion dam, crosses the Waihānau Stream, and continues along the top of the pali in a northerly direction to the point Pu‘u Kauwā. Thence it continues along the top of the pali still coincident with the Kalawao County line to the area (point) Ili‘ilikā and thence to Keōlewa. It continues thence westerly to a point at approximately 706100 E., 234650 N. (zone 4 UTM). No longer coincident with the Kalawao County line, the boundary continues along the top of the pali on the Pālā‘au State Park boundary and beyond to the point 705250 E., 234800 N. Thence it runs toward the shore to a point 1,500 meters offshore

(705400 E., 234650 N). From this point it runs in an easterly then northerly direction 1,500 meters offshore then around the Kalaupapa Peninsula. Upon rounding Kahiu Point, the line continues in a southeasterly direction to a point 500 meters due north of Mōkapu Island, continues in an easterly direction to a point 1,500 meters offshore (716400 E., 2343600 N.), thence southerly to a point 500 meters offshore (716500 E., 2342600 N.), thence to the point described as the beginning point (716250 E., 2342500 N.).

4. Boundary Justification:

The boundary remains unchanged from the original NHL boundary established in 1976. It encompasses the entire area defined historically as the leprosy settlement.

5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

Summary Statement of Significance

The Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement National Historic Landmark (NHL) encompasses the entire Kalaupapa peninsula on the north coast of the island of Molokai in Hawai'i. The district is significant under NHL Criteria 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 for its association with nationally and internationally important events, ideas, and persons in the history of leprosy (now also known as Hansen's disease).[1] The period of significance extends from 1866 to 1969, covering the period when the settlement was operated under a policy of compulsory segregation of individuals believed to have contracted leprosy. During those years, approximately 8,000 people – mostly Native Hawaiians – were forcibly exiled to the Kalaupapa peninsula, isolated from their families and society under the rationale that this would halt the spread of the disease. Those sent to Kalaupapa also fought to retain control over their lives by demanding reforms to the government's leprosy program, inspiring others to support them, and adapting the settlement to meet their needs as a predominantly Hawaiian community. The establishment and expansion of the settlement also involved a second incidence of separation: the removal of the kama'āina, the Native residents of the area. Hawaiians had lived on the Kalaupapa peninsula for centuries, forming ties with the land that were disrupted when they were forced to make way for the settlement. Some kama'āina remained in defiance of the government's orders, providing aid to those sent to the settlement during the early years. As it developed under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the US territorial government of Hawai'i, and finally the State of Hawai'i, Kalaupapa became a model for other isolation institutions established in the US and worldwide. It also represents an important site for ongoing social justice and human rights movements by and in support of persons affected by leprosy.

Updates to the Original NHL Nomination

Kalaupapa was designated as an NHL in 1976 under the theme of Social and Humanitarian Movements. Areas of significance were identified as archeology (prehistoric and historic), architecture, community planning, religion, and social/humanitarian. The original nomination defined Kalaupapa primarily in medical and humanitarian terms, characterizing it as "a public health measure to protect island people." It also focused on the settlement's association with the life of Belgian priest Father Damien De Veuster (now Saint Damien of Molokai), detailing his role in improving living conditions and "generating worldwide movements of concern" for persons affected by the disease.[2] This update, completed on behalf of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, reexamines the settlement's history according to current scholarship and NHL guidelines to ensure that the strongest argument for national significance is made. It also updates information in the original nomination and the 1977 Kalaupapa Building Inventory with more recent data from the park's Cultural Landscape Inventory

[1] In the 1940s, residents of the US National Leprosarium in Carville, Louisiana led a push to replace the term "leprosy" with "Hansen's disease," named for the Norwegian physician who discovered the leprosy bacterium in 1873. This nomination primarily uses the term "leprosy," as this was the common usage during most of the period of significance. The nomination employs the term Hansen's disease only in the context of efforts beginning in the 1940s to destigmatize the disease. Other terms which dehumanize persons affected by leprosy only appear in the text in the titles of some primary sources and sparingly in quotes from original sources, specifically for the purpose of illustrating the colonial, racialized context for leprosy control policies during the historic period. Use of terminology follows guidance from the park and from the International Association for Integration, Dignity, and Economic Advancement (IDEA). Refer especially to IDEA, "Terminology: The Importance of Language in Promoting Dignity," https://idealeprosydignity.org/OralHistoryWeb/Terminology.html

[2] National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement*, NR #76002415, Prepared by Office of State Director, 1976.

(CLI) and List of Classified Structures (LCS). Along with additional historical research and field inventory, this data allows for a more complete, up-to-date evaluation of the historic district.

Updates to the nomination include an expanded and more detailed inventory of contributing and non-contributing resources and a reevaluation of themes based on current scholarship and the NPS's *Revised Thematic Framework*. The national significance evaluation is also updated to address Kalaupapa's relationship to the broader history of Euro-American overseas expansion and colonization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This includes examinantion of the ways in which responses to leprosy became intertwined with notions of racial difference in the context of American efforts to exert greater political and economic control in Hawai'i. Other updates include an assessment of the settlement's association with the life of Mother Marianne Cope (now Saint Marianne Cope) whose work at Kalaupapa helped establish higher standards of care and treatment for persons affected by leprosy; discussion of the role of Hawaiian ali'i (chiefs or hereditary rulers) in reforming leprosy policies; and greater attention to the actions of the people of Kalaupapa to overcome physical and emotional trauma, challenge racism and stigma, preserve cultural traditions, and build a viable Hawaiian community in an institutional setting. Kalaupapa's role in ongoing social justice and human rights campaigns concerning leprosy is also recognized as a core aspect of national significance. Applied criteria remain unchanged from the original nomination, although the justifications are updated to reflect current historical interpretations and NHL guidelines.

Period of Significance

The period of significance is also updated. Using a now outdated format, the original nomination specified a period from 1800 to 1899 and from 1900 to the present, with a significant date of 1866. The revised period of significance extends from 1866 when the first group of people were sent to the settlement until 1969 when, following the introduction of sulfone drugs (which offered the first effective treatment and cure) and as a result of actions by the people of Kalaupapa, the State of Hawai'i revoked the segregation law. This period reflects the importance of the theme of separation in the establishment and administration of Kalaupapa, the unique way of life that developed there, and the settlement's influence on cultural and medical responses to leprosy in the United States and internationally.

While the period ends in 1969, it is important to note that Kalaupapa continues to evolve through the lives of those who, though cured and free to leave, chose to remain on the peninsula. Ongoing efforts by the people of Kalaupapa to adapt the settlement to their needs, ensure their rights and livelihoods are protected, and educate the public represent continuations of patterns of community support and advocacy that formed during the period of significance.[3]

NHL Themes

Kalaupapa exemplifies multiple themes outlined in the 1994 NPS *Revised Thematic Framework*. The themes "changing role of the United States in the world community" and "expanding science and technology" are reflected in the role of overseas expansion and colonization in creating a context for heightened concern about

[3] NHL guidelines require that a period of national historical significance consist of beginning and closing dates. National Park Service, *How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations*, US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register, History and Education – National Historic Landmarks Survey, 1999, 55.; As Kalaupapa's influence on cultural and medical responses to leprosy in Hawai'i, the US, and worldwide is ongoing, no definitive end point can be established for the period after the repeal of the segregation law in 1969. If at any time in the future, a different closing date be established, the period of significance can be reevaluated.

leprosy and for the establishment of remote isolation facilities for its control.[4] Kalaupapa is also significant under "peopling places" for its association with patterns of population displacement, political disenfranchisement, and alienation of Native lands that accompanied colonization of Hawai'i.[5] The themes "peopling places" and "expressing cultural values" are further demonstrated in the settlement's distinctive Hawaiian community structure which both reflected and contributed to the ability of those sent there to preserve cultural traditions and maintain autonomy in an isolated institution.[6] In striving to provide for their own physical, social, and spiritual needs, the people of Kalaupapa transformed the settlement from a place of exile into a home and sanctuary, "a gateway to heaven" as Bernard Punikai'a put it.[7] Finally, the theme "creating social institutions and movements" is illustrated through the contributions of the people of Kalaupapa, individually and collectively, in challenging stigmatization and fighting for social justice and the dignified treatment of people affected by leprosy as a human right.[8] A powerful testament to perseverance in the face of racism, injustice, and loss, Kalaupapa remains a sacred place for current residents and the families of all who have lived and died there.

NHL Criteria Evaluation

Criterion 1

Kalaupapa is significant under Criterion 1 for its association with nationally and internationally important events in the history of leprosy. Established in 1866 by the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the settlement initiated the modern public health practice of large-scale compulsory segregation of persons affected by leprosy at remote facilities.[9] It also grew into the largest, longest operating leprosy institution within the present United States. Kalaupapa exceptionally illustrates the interconnected histories of leprosy and public health, European-American colonization efforts, and the expansion of missionary activities in the "age of high imperialism" from the mid-nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century.[10] As it developed under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom

[4] Zachary Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health: Social Policy in Chronic Disease Control* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1989), ch. 5.; Rod Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11, 21, 90-102, ch. 4.

[5] Michelle Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).; Kerri A. Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera: A History of Leprosy in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).; Pennie Moblo, "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawaii's Reform Party," *Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 1 (1999): 75-89.

[6] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 58.; Also see James Lindsey Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past at Kalawao: Landscape, Place, and Power in a Hawaiian Hansen's Disease Settlement" (PhD. diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 2010), 147, 152.

[7] Quoted in Ray Tsuchiyama, "The Falling Teardrops of Kalaupapa," *The Maui News*, January 28, 2012.

[8] Anwei Skinsnes Law, *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory (Ka Hokuwelowelo)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).

[9] Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 85.

[10] This interpretation is informed by scholarship on the interconnected histories of public health and empire. For the broad context refer to: David Arnold, "Introduction: Disease, Medicine, and Empire," in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, ed. David Arnold (New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 1-26.; Roy MacLeod, "Introduction," in *Disease, Medicine, and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, eds. Roy MacLeod and Milton Lewis (New York: Routledge, 1988), 1-18.; and Sheldon J. Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).; For the influence of colonialism on US public health policy see: Warwick Anderson, "Pacific Crossings: Imperial Logics in United States' Public Health Programs," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 277-287.; and Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).; For a global perspective on leprosy and empire see: Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health.*; Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire.*; Allison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism, and Public Health* (New York:

of Hawai‘i, the US territorial government of Hawai‘i, and finally the State of Hawai‘i, Kalaupapa became a model for other isolation institutions established in the US and worldwide.

The history of the approximately 8,000 people separated from their families and exiled to Molokai also offers a compelling story of perseverance over adversity and injustice. The ability of the people of Kalaupapa to overcome trauma, build a Hawaiian community, and challenge stigma and racism speaks to their resilience and commitment to one another. Their responses to forcible separation represent unique instances of resistance and adaptation in the context of colonization. Their actions also prompted reforms in US public health policy and contributed to ongoing social justice and human rights movements by and in support of persons affected by leprosy worldwide.[11]

Criterion 2

Kalaupapa is significant under Criterion 2 for its association with the life of Belgian Roman Catholic priest Father Damien De Veuster. From his arrival on Molokai in 1873 until his death in 1889, Father Damien worked with the people of Kalaupapa to improve morale and living conditions. The publicity surrounding his life and work also established Kalaupapa's reputation as a model institution that balanced strict medical isolation with religious counseling and a moral standard of care for those affected by what was thought to be an incurable disease.[12] Father Damien's contracting of leprosy and death from complications related to the disease became especially important in defining his legacy. It inspired the formation of charitable societies to work on behalf of persons affected by leprosy worldwide. It also offered evidence of the disease's communicability, heightening fears about its potential to affect white society and prompting stricter enforcement of segregation in Hawai‘i, the US, and around the world.[13] Father Damien was canonized as Saint Damien of Molokai in 2009. He continues to be venerated at Kalaupapa and worldwide for his compassion, self-sacrifice, and willingness to advocate for justice and the humane treatment of persons affected by leprosy.[14]

Kalaupapa is additionally significant for its association with the life of Mother Marianne Cope of the Sisters of Saint Francis in Syracuse, New York. Mother Marianne is notable as the first member of an American religious congregation to travel to Hawai‘i to provide nursing services and religious counseling to leprosy patients.[15]

Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), chapter 4.; and Michael Worboys, "The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire, 1900-1940," *Osiris* 15 (2000): 207-218.

[11] For the responses of the people of Kalaupapa to medical isolation see especially: Law, *Kalaupapa*.; Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*.; Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*.; Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past."; and Noenoe K. Silva and Pualeilani Fernandez, "Mai Ka ‘Āina O Ka ‘Eha‘eha Mai: Testimonies of Hansen's Disease Patients in Hawai‘i, 1866-1897," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 75-97.; For their role in social justice and human rights movements concerning leprosy refer to Law, *Kalaupapa*, chapter 40.

[12] The standard biography of Father Damien is Gavan Daws, *Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1973).; For a critique of literary and historical treatments of Father Damien's legacy, see: Pennie Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Moloka‘i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 4 (Autumn, 1997): 691-791.; For a more favorable view of Father Damien that draws on the perspectives of the people of Kalaupapa, see: Anwei Skinsnes Law and Henry G. Law, *Father Damien: 'a bit of taro, a piece of fish, and a glass of water'* (Seneca Falls, NY: IDEA Center for the Voices of Humanity, 2009).; For further examination of Father Damien's continuing importance to the people of Kalaupapa see: Strange, "Symbiotic Commemoration."

[13] Daws, *Holy Man*, 7.; Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 105-106.; Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire*, 92-93.

[14] IDEA, "A Quest for Justice: A Resolution on the Occasion of the Canonization of Father Damien, by and for Individuals Affected by Leprosy Throughout the World," resolution adopted in Rome, Italy, May 30, 2009 http://www.idealeprosydignity.org/DamienCanonization/ResolutionFatherDamienCanonization_290509.pdf (accessed February 9, 2017).; "The Canonization of Father Damien De Veuster," *IDEA* 13, no. 2 (October 2009 – March 2010): 2-3.; Strange, "Symbiotic Commemoration," 107.

[15] Mary Laurence Hanley and Oswald A. Bushnell, *Pilgrimage and Exile: Mother Marianne of Molokai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1980), 46.

With the assistance of the Sisters of St. Francis, she implemented higher standards of treatment and care for those diagnosed with the disease, first at the Kakaʻako branch hospital on Oʻahu which she presided over from 1884 to 1888, and then at Kalaupapa where, among other responsibilities, she served as administrator of the Bishop Home for Girls from 1888 until her death in 1918. During her years of service, Mother Marianne became known for her kindness, humility, leadership, dedication to improving the lives of those under her care, and for treating all people with dignity and respect. She was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 2005. Pope Benedict XVI canonized her as Saint Marianne Cope in 2012.[16]

Criterion 2 is further applied to recognize the experiences and contributions of the people of Kalaupapa. From the earliest days of the settlement, the people of Kalaupapa have helped one another, informed the public about the hardships they faced, worked to improve their own lives, and inspired others to support them.[17] For the purpose of this nomination, the term "people of Kalaupapa" primarily refers to the approximately 8,000 people – referred to locally as "patients" – who were sent to the settlement under the terms of the segregation policy beginning in 1866.[18] The term is also inclusive of others who lived at the settlement and helped those formally admitted there to improve their own lives. These include: kōkua (helpers), family and friends who accompanied their loved ones to provide assistance; kamaʻāina, the Native residents of the Kalaupapa peninsula who helped those sent to the settlement in the early years find shelter, food, water, and other essentials for their survival and comfort; and religious workers including Father Damien and Mother Marianne, as well as others such as Jonathan Napela, Reverend J. Hanaloa, and Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna whose contributions are not as well documented in the historical literature.

This use of Criterion 2 is informed by scholarship that has emerged since the 1976 NHL designation. As anthropologist Pennie Moblo has shown, traditional interpretations which focus primarily on the life and work of Father Damien often miss how the people of Kalaupapa supported each other to build a functional community.[19] Other recent works highlight the actual voices, experiences, and perspectives of Kalaupapa patients whose efforts to improve their own lives and the lives of others affected by leprosy are not well-represented in the dominant literature.[20] The aim, as Anwei Skinsnes Law explains, "is to bring their voices back into the history of Kalaupapa, the history of Hawaiʻi and the history of the world."[21] These works also draw from and complement efforts by members of the Kalaupapa community to tell their stories through interviews, autobiographies, public outreach, human rights advocacy, and memorialization.[22] Contemporary

[16] Ibid., chapter 20.; Anwei V. Skinsnes Law and Richard A. Wisniewski, *Kalaupapa National Historical Park and the Legacy of Father Damien: A Pictorial History*, rev. edition (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 2007), 45-46.

[17] See especially Law, *Kalaupapa*.

[18] According to IDEA guidelines, the term "patient," while still in common usage at Kalaupapa, is appropriate only in clinical settings and should not be applied to those who have been cured. See IDEA, "Terminology: The Importance of Language in Promoting Dignity." This nomination uses individual names or other identifiers to the extent possible. For the purposes of clarity and consistency with local usage, the term "patient" is used sparingly only when necessary to specifically identify those sent to the settlement under the segregation policy as a distinct group (separate from other "residents" of the peninsula), in clinical contexts, and in some quotes from primary sources. The term "persons affected by leprosy" is used in discussions of the effects of the disease. This term is inclusive of those sent to Kalaupapa for the purpose of medical segregation as well as others who avoided institutionalization or were sent to other institutions.

[19] Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi."

[20] Especially Law, *Kalaupapa*.; Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera*.; and Silva and Fernandez, "Mai Ka ʻĀina O Ka ʻEhaʻeha Mai."

[21] Law, *Kalaupapa*, xiii.

[22] Autobiographies include Olivia Breitha, *Olivia: My Life of Exile in Kalaupapa* (Honolulu: Arizona Memorial Museum Association, 1988).; Henry Kalalahilimoku Nalaielua and Sally-Jo Keala-o-Ānuenue Bowman, *No Footprints in the Sand: A Memoir of Kalaupapa* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2006).; Makia Malo and Pamela Young, *My Name is Makia: A Memoir of Kalaupapa* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2011).; A number of oral histories conducted in the 1970s are included in Ted Gugelyk and Milton Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness: Maʻi Hoʻokaʻawale, Interviews with Exiled Leprosy Patients at Kalaupapa,*

efforts to preserve places associated with the history of leprosy around the world are also linked by a strong focus on honoring the people who lived – and in many cases still live – at those places.[23] These efforts help bring attention to the ways in which the people of Kalaupapa exercised agency in shaping the settlement and influencing broad patterns of history.

Recognition of the people of Kalaupapa under Criterion 2 ensures a balanced interpretation that aligns with current scholarship and preservation objectives. Importantly, it allows for recognition of the settlement's association with Father Damien and Mother Marianne as nationally significant individuals without diminishing the contributions of the Kalaupapa community in affecting changes in their own lives and in the lives of others affected by leprosy in Hawai'i, the US, and worldwide. The intent is to provide a more complete, up-to-date interpretation of Kalaupapa's significance that emphasizes not only extraordinary individual actions but also the day-to-day acts of resilience, generosity, faith, joy, love, and creativity that defined the character of the community. As it is beyond the scope of this update to document the contributions of each individual, the people of Kalaupapa are primarily described collectively in the discussion of significance below, although individuals associated with specific events or whose contributions are representative of larger patterns of community agency are identified by name whenever possible.

Criterion 3

Kalaupapa is significant under Criterion 3 for its influence on national and international ideas concerning the rights of persons affected by leprosy. The original nomination applied this criterion in recognition of the settlement's association with "public health and humanitarian measures of more than a century's duration…to save an ethnic group from extinction."[24] Such interpretations convey a false understanding of leprosy's communicability and mortality while overstating the risk it posed during the historic period.[25] They also have the effect of legitimizing policies which targeted and dehumanized Native Hawaiians under a racialized colonial pretense.[26]

This update revises the justification for Criterion 3 to emphasize the contributions of those most directly affected by the isolation policy in challenging stereotypes and advocating for justice and human rights. Through the development of religious institutions (such as the Siloama Church), petitions to the Mō'ī (supreme ruler or

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Hawaii, fifth edition (Sarasota FL: First Edition Design Publishing, Inc., 2013).; For more recent efforts by the people of Kalaupapa to tell their stories refer to: Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa newsletter, *Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa* 2, no. 1 (Fall 2008).

[23] "The World's Leprosy/Hansen's Disease Heritage Sites: Reclaiming a Place in History," *IDEA* 14, no. 1 (2010): 1-8.; Also see International Coalition of Historic Sites of Exclusion and Resistance, http://www.leprosyheritage.com/what-we-do.html (accessed January 25, 2017).; and Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, "Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa Position Paper of Recommendations for Kalaupapa National Historical Park's General Management Plan," 2009: 1, 5, http://www.kalaupapaohana.org.

[24] National Park Service, *Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement*.

[25] The claim that the forced isolation of persons affected by leprosy at Kalaupapa prevented the "extinction" of the Hawaiian people is not supported in medical and historical literature, although proponents of the segregation policy often cited this as a justification. Current medical science characterizes leprosy as a mildly communicable infectious disease caused by the slow multiplying bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae*. The method of transmission remains a topic of debate, although it is believed that only about five percent of the population is susceptible, and only through prolonged contact. The disease is rarely an immediate cause of death, although it can contribute to higher mortality risks due to indirect causes. It primarily affects the skin, peripheral nerves, the upper respiratory tract, and eyes. Untreated, the disease can cause progressive, permanent damage to skin, nerves, extremities, and eyes. Today, leprosy is curable and early treatment can prevent disability. Refer to: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Hansen's Disease (Leprosy), https://www.cdc.gov/leprosy/index.html (accessed January 27, 2017).; World Health Organization (WHO), "Leprosy Fact Sheet, updated October 2016," http://who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs101/en/ (accessed January 17, 2016).

[26] R.D.K. Herman, "Out of Sight, out of Mind, out of Power: Leprosy, Race, and Colonization in Hawai'i." *Journal of Historical Geography* 27, no. 3 (2001): 320, 325.; Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Moloka'i," 698-702.

sovereign) and the legislature, letter writing to Hawaiian newspapers, and other forms of cultural and political expression, the people of Kalaupapa contributed to the reform of public health policies for leprosy in Hawai‘i, the US, and worldwide to better respect cultural preferences, dignity, and individual rights. Their efforts inspired and complemented the better-known work of Father Damien and Mother Marianne. They informed the decision by the State of Hawai‘i to revoke the segregation law in 1969. They also helped redefine the control and treatment of leprosy as a social justice issue and established Kalaupapa's role in promoting human rights for those affected by the disease worldwide.

Kalaupapa's impact on the history of ideas has diverse origins and extends beyond the borders of the US. The settlement's influence in the areas of social justice and human rights reflects its development as both a distinctly Hawaiian place and a product of global patterns of colonization, commercial expansion, changes in medical science, and struggles for land and sovereignty. The responses of the people of Kalaupapa to stigma and isolation also drew from a combination of Hawaiian, western, and Asian concepts of family, community, spirituality, health, citizenship, and justice. Even the contributions of Father Damien and Mother Marianne, while partly reflecting their upbringing and religious training, can be attributed to the relationships they formed with the settlement's primarily Hawaiian population. Kalaupapa is also just one site among many around the world where individuals and groups subjected to medical isolation have fought to assert their rights, maintain control over their lives, gain access to health services, educate the public, and preserve their communities.[27] Its history speaks to the ways in which American ideas about leprosy evolved in connection with broader transnational and transcultural flows of ideas about public health, justice, dignity, and respect for human rights.

Criterion 4

Kalaupapa is additionally significant under Criterion 4 as an exceptional, distinctive architectural entity incorporating institutional design elements for enforcing medical isolation with a variety of vernacular architectural forms and landscape characteristics common to Hawai‘i.[28] While certain extent elements emphasize the isolation and stigma experienced by the people of Kalaupapa, the settlement's overall design and layout is similar to that of a typical rural Hawaiian village. In part, this community structure is illustrative of an interest among health officials in Hawai‘i and the US by the early twentieth century to develop leprosy institutions more on a village or neighborhood model than as formal hospitalization facilities or sites of imprisonment.[29] With the physical geography of Kalaupapa serving as an effective barrier to the outside world, architectural features to impose further segregation and control over the population could be kept to a minimum. The people of Kalaupapa also took advantage of this condition of semi-autonomy to create additional

[27] For an orientation and overview regarding the global history of leprosy, refer to: International Leprosy Association, "History of Leprosy" http://leprosyhistory.org/ (accessed March 24, 2017).

[28] The original NHL nomination labeled the architectural style at Kalaupapa "Institutional-Hawaiian," noting that while the settlement displayed architectural patterns common to Hawai‘i including those of a "typical plantation town of the 1930s," it was also atypical due to its function as a leprosy settlement. This update builds on this description, incorporating additional information from subsequent NPS surveys including the 1977 building survey, the 1979 architectural assessment, the 2011 CLI, current LCS data, and additional field inventory. The update does not use the label "Institutional-Hawaiian," however, as this term has not been identified in any additional scholarship as a distinct architectural type.

[29] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 27. Note that while historians often describe Kalaupapa as a model for other leprosy institutions, a detailed comparative *architectural* assessment with similar facilities in the US and around the world does not presently exist. Although sharing common features and functions, modern leprosaria also varied in terms of size, location, design, spatial organization, living conditions, treatment methods, standards of care, and degrees of rigidity in segregation enforcement. They also displayed a variety of architectural adaptations to local conditions and cultural preferences. Additional comparative research is recommended to more fully assess the degree to which Kalaupapa's distinctive architectural pattern can be considered representative of a larger typology of institutional design.

architectural adaptations to meet their needs and preferences. The result is a unique architectural ensemble in which "a feeling of Hawaiianness predominates," as stated in the original NHL nomination.[30]

Examples of institutional architecture include the grid road pattern at Kalaupapa, the ruins of the US Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao, and various small-scale features intended to regulate the lives of patients and segregate them from staff and visitors. Vernacular patterns are displayed in Native Hawaiian cultural features such as dry-stacked stone walls, heiau (temples), and burial sites which predated the settlement but structured its physical development; archeological sites and ruins that demonstrate a blending of Hawaiian and western spatial patterns and building styles; the prevalence of Hawaiian Plantation Style (HPS) architecture as a unifying element in the built environment; modifications to buildings to accommodate the needs and preferences of individual residents; the placement and construction of churches as focal points of the community; the prominence of burial sites; use of salvaged materials in the construction and repair of private residences and outbuildings; historic plantings surrounding community buildings and residences; informal automobile and foot paths; and fixed objects (including artwork and monuments) associated with significant individuals.

Criterion 6

Lastly, the settlement is significant under Criterion 6 for its exceptional value for the study of the origins and development of modern leprosaria in the US and internationally. Archeological surveys have yielded and will likely continue to yield information about the relationship between pre-contact and early post-contact Native Hawaiian uses of the Kalaupapa peninsula and the area's development as a leprosy settlement beginning in 1866.[31] This includes information about the everyday lives of the people of Kalaupapa that may not be available in documentary materials. Future research at Kalaupapa may also help establish new links between pre- and post-contact Hawaiian archeology, contributing to new interpretations of Native Hawaiian resistance and adaptation to colonization and the introduction of western ideas and institutions.

Research Agenda under Criterion 6

The Kalaupapa peninsula has been described as one of the best preserved pre- and early post-contact archeological complexes in Hawai'i.[32] Existing studies suggest its importance as a model for the development of Hawaiian dryland agricultural communities based primarily on cultivation of sweet potatoes.[33] Oral traditions also identify the peninsula as the site of events related to the history of the ruling chiefs of Hawai'i.[34] As of this writing, only a small portion of the peninsula has been surveyed, leaving many resources unrecorded. Additional research may yield important information regarding the chronology of the early settlement of Hawai'i, the development of the Hawaiian social system, and changing land use patterns. While informing the overall

[30] NPS, *Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement*.

[31] See especially Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past." A more complete evaluation of the existing archeological literature is in the research questions sub-section below.

[32] G.F. Somers, *Kalaupapa: More than a Leprosy Settlement: Archaeology at Kalaupapa National Historical Park* (Tucson: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center Publication in Archaeology No. 30, 1985), 117.; Patrick V. Kirch, *From the 'Cliffs of Keolewa' to the 'Sea of Papaloa': An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Portions of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka'i, Hawaiian Islands* (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 30, 32.

[33] See especially Kirch, *From the Cliffs of Keolewa' to the 'Sea of Papaloa'*.; and M.D. McCoy, "The Development of the Kalaupapa Field System, Moloka'i Island, Hawai'i," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114 (2005): 339-358.

[34] Mark D. McCoy, *The Lands of Hina: An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka'i*, Technical Report 135, ed. David Duffy (Honolulu: Pacific Cooperative Studies Unit, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2005), 50-52.; McCoy notes the existence of a large burial ground and petroglyphs which may be associated with a major battle that took place on the peninsula between the windward and leeward chiefs of Molokai over fishing rights. The ruling chief of O'ahu supported the victors, and afterwards Molokai was placed under the control of O'ahu.

archeological significance of the peninsula, these themes represent a longer period of significance and a more diverse set of contexts than those addressed in this nomination. As such, they can be more fully addressed in a separate nomination for a Kalaupapa Archeological District.

Archeological resources that identify Kalaupapa as nationally significant for the purpose of this nomination are those associated with the area's transformation from a Hawaiian agricultural and fishing community to a leprosy settlement. The original NHL nomination noted the potential for archeological research "to shed light upon periods of occupation, including the historic."[35] Studies completed since that time have further revealed Kalaupapa to be "a landscape of pre-contact style archaeology exhibited by ritual sites and agricultural features that have been reused and layered over with historic uses."[36] The research topics outlined below relate to this general theme. They also emphasize the peninsula's potential to yield information concerning patterns of daily life at leprosy isolation institutions, as well as evidence of resistance and adaptation by those admitted to them. Overall, they reflect a larger shift in the field of historical archeology toward research questions focused on issues such as race, class, gender, power relations, and institutional life.[37]

As the largest, longest operating, and best preserved leprosy settlement within the present United States, Kalaupapa provides unique opportunities for archeological research of leprosaria as a particular type of modern public health institution.[38] In his 2010 dissertation "Archaeology of the Recent Past at Kalawao," James Flexner explores the potential for research focused on "the leprosarium as a living place, using archaeological patterns to understand the daily habits that would have shaped the institution."[39] Flexner conducted surveys primarily in Kalawao on the windward side of the peninsula where the settlement was initially sited. (The settlement was relocated to the village of Kalaupapa on the drier leeward side by the early twentieth century.) His work revealed numerous resources associated with the everyday lives of the people of Kalaupapa. These included shaped glass cutting tools possibly used for food processing.[40] Domestic artifacts such as decorated ceramics, tools, and personal adornments were also present, indicating patterns of consumption, personal tastes, and the ability of settlement residents to engage in productive work.[41] He also recorded deposits of glass bottles post-

[35] NPS *Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement*.

[36] Erika Viernes Stein, *Layered Landscapes: Archaeological Investigations and Identification Report Associated with the Kalaupapa Memorial Project (MEMO), Kalawao Ahupua'a, Kalawao County, Island of Molokai*, DRAFT, 2010, 52. Draft on file at Kalaupapa National Historical Park.

[37] Sherene Baugher, "Historical Overview of the Archaeology of Institutional Life," in *The Archaeology of Institutional Life*, eds. April M. Beisaw and James G. Gibb (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2009), 7.

[38] The most directly comparable institution, the US National Leprosarium, was located near Carville, Louisiana at the site of an earlier state-run institution. The Carville Historic District was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1992 with a period of significance of 1921 to 1941. Smaller leprosaria also existed in California and Massachusetts during the early twentieth century. These were closed when the residents were transferred to the National Leprosarium. D.J. Soviero, "The Nationalization of a Disease: A Paradigm?" *Public Health Reports* 101, no. 4 (July-August 1986): 401, 402. Other smaller facilities existed in the Virgin Islands from 1833 to 1861, Puerto Rico from 1878 to 1898 and 1900 to 1926, and Guam from 1902 to 1912. Leprosy colonies were also established on Guam and Tinian (in the Northern Mariana Islands) during the Spanish colonial period. The sites in the Virgin Islands and on Puerto Rico have been subjects of recent archeological surveys. See Amanda Marie Barton, "An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of a 19th Century Leprosarium at Hassel Island, St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands" (MA Thesis: University of Tennessee, 2012); and Paola A. Schiappacasse, "Archaeology of Isolation: The 19th Century Lazareto de Isla de Cabras, Puerto Rico" (PhD. diss.: Syracuse University, 2011).; These studies complement research at Kalaupapa, providing important information for comparison of isolation facilities in different time periods and geographic settings.

[39] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 3.

[40] Ibid., 236. Some of these tools retained bottle necks as handles, distinguishing them from traditional Hawaiian shaped glass tools. Flexner suggests that these may have been adaptations to enable those with limited mobility or loss of sensation in their hands to use the tools.

[41] James L. Flexner, "An Institution that was a Village: Archaeology and Social Life in the Hansen's Disease Settlement at Kalawao, Moloka'i, Hawai'i," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16 (2012): 151-158.

dating the movement of the settlement to Kalaupapa. These may be associated with groups or individuals who visited the former Kalawao settlement to drink alcohol or socialize beyond the reach of settlement authorities.[42] Future surveys may reveal additional materials pertaining to the lives of those whose experiences are not well represented in the documentary record.

Flexner also identifies the Kalaupapa peninsula as an important location for research in the field of archeology of colonialism.[43] Specifically, he suggests the potential for research concerning power relations in the establishment and administration of "total institutions" such as leprosaria, prisons, and asylums existing in colonial contexts. His work reveals that while the early settlement at Kalawao exhibited characteristics of a "total institution" – including various mechanisms of control and discipline designed to "reform human behavior according to the normative expectations of nation-states" – its distinctive community structure also reflected the ability of those sent there to retain a degree of autonomy within an institutional setting.[44] The settlement's remote location and decentralized administration further enabled those sent there to adapt its development according to their needs as a primarily Native Hawaiian community. Archeological resources that demonstrate the agency of the people of Kalaupapa include domestic items and tools; residential sites exhibiting Native Hawaiian and western spatial patterns, design concepts, and materials; rock walls, enclosures, and ritual features that predated the settlement but structured its physical and spatial development; resource procurement sites such as remnants of the Kalaupapa field system, fishing areas (including the possible fishpond at ʻĪliopiʻi), and salt pans along the shoreline which demonstrate continuity of use from the pre-settlement period through the settlement period; and sites associated with group homes, private beach houses, community buildings, and religious institutions which served as centers of social life and community organization. Such research can inform broader questions regarding agency in the development of modern leprosaria. Importantly, it challenges a common view of those sent to Kalaupapa as helpless victims by demonstrating their ability to draw on familiar Native Hawaiian practices while also adapting new strategies to improve their own lives.

Potential also exists for research regarding the identities and experiences of the kamaʻāina, including those who inhabited the peninsula prior to the establishment of the leprosy settlement and those who remained on their land after 1866. Surveys of residential sites, ritual features, enclosures, rock walls, burial sites, and features associated with agricultural systems can complement ongoing documentary, genealogical, and oral history research regarding the identities of the kamaʻāina, the effects of the establishment and growth of the settlement on their lives and patterns of land use, their views concerning leprosy, and the support they provided to the newcomers.[45] This research can inform new interpretations of the effects of the establishment of modern leprosaria on local communities, and how those communities in turn influenced the development of leprosy institutions and the lives of people admitted to them. It also may reveal additional information about how and to what extent patients at Kalaupapa made use of existing Hawaiian cultural features.

Finally, archeological research can provide for a fuller understanding of the daily lives and contributions of nationally significant persons. For example, Flexner surveyed a site near St. Philomena Church which contained patches of wild tobacco. These may be descendants of plants originally planted by Father Damien for his personal use. Surveys of the route of the former Iliʻilikā Trail, which early missionaries used to ascend the pali, may yield additional information. Flexner also surveyed the site of the home of Ambrose Hutchison who, as

[42] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 227.

[43] For analysis of literature on the archeology of colonialism in Oceania with a brief discussion of the contributions of research at Kalaupapa, refer to James L. Flexner, "Historical Archaeology, Contact, and Colonialism in Oceania," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 22, no. 43 (2014): 63-64.

[44] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 1-2.

[45] Cheryl Corbiell, "Filling in the Gaps at Kalaupapa," *The Molokai Dispatch*, August 21, 2014.

resident superintendent from 1884 to 1897, played an important role in advocating for the people of Kalaupapa. The size of Hutchison's home site and the diversity of historic materials found there can inform interpretations of the importance of Native Hawaiian leadership at the settlement. The site of the former Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints chapel at Kalawao – possibly associated with Jonathan Napela, another important Hawaiian leader at the settlement – has not yet been identified archeologically but may hold additional evidence related to this theme. Archeological research may also yield information about other individuals whose lives and contributions are not as well represented in the written record.

Kalaupapa's relatively intact archeological landscape offers an exceptional setting for ongoing research related to these topics. The area is dense with archeological materials from the entire settlement period as well as from earlier periods. Sites that have already been documented are only minimally disturbed. Many more sites likely exist in areas of the peninsula that have not been surveyed. Both surface and subsurface surveys are likely to reveal additional contributing resources and important new information related to the above topics.

Comparison with Similar Properties

Kalaupapa is comparable to other historic leprosaria around the world. These include Robben Island in South Africa (designated a World Heritage Site in 1999), the Culion Island colony established by the US colonial government in the Philippines in 1902, St. Jørgen's Hospital in Norway, the Spinalonga Island leprosy colony in Greece, the National Sanatorium Kikuchi Keifuen in Japan, among others.[46] As all these sites are located outside the present US, a full comparative analysis is not required for NHL purposes. Kalaupapa also predated many of these institutions and served as an important model for their development. Smaller historic leprosy isolation sites have also been identified in the US territories of Puerto Rico, the US Virgin Islands, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. While some of these sites predate Kalaupapa, they are not comparable in size, integrity, and national significance.[47]

The US historic property most directly comparable to Kalaupapa is the Carville Historic District, located near Carville, Louisiana. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1992, Carville encompasses the "campus" of the former US National Leprosarium, with a period of significance of 1921 to 1942.[48] Both properties are significant at the national level for their associations with medical and cultural responses to leprosy. However, they also represent different events, ideas, and persons within that larger history. Kalaupapa dates to an earlier period and served as a model for other isolation institutions worldwide. Carville is distinctive as the US National Leprosarium, operated by the US Public Health Service. It is also where, in 1941, sulfone treatments were developed. Both properties also exhibit distinctive architectural patterns, reflecting the different historical, cultural, and geographic contexts in which each institution formed. Their histories are further distinguished by different patterns of resistance and advocacy by and in support of the people admitted to them.[49]

Other factors further emphasize Kalaupapa's unique national and international significance. These include the high visibility of the life and work of Father Damien; the recent canonization of Father Damien and Mother Marianne; the settlement's prominence in literature including in the work of Jack London and others; and its

[46] For brief descriptions of these sites and others refer to: International Coalition of Historic Sites of Exclusions and Resistance, "sites" page, http://www.leprosyheritage.com/sites.html (accessed February 2, 2017)

[47] Barton, "An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of a 19th Century Leprosarium at Hassel Island, St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands."; Schiappacasse, "Archaeology of Isolation: The 19th Century Lazareto de Isla de Cabras, Puerto Rico."

[48] National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Carville Historic District*, NR # 92001529, Prepared by William D. Reeves and Sally K. Reeves, 1992.

[49] For a comparative historical analysis refer to Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, especially chapter 5.

development during a period of social and political upheaval in Hawai‘i which included the 1893 illegal deposition of Queen Lili‘uokalani and the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, annexation by the US in 1898, and statehood in 1959. The settlement also demonstrates a uniquely Hawaiian response to leprosy control policies characterized by direct and indirect resistance to compulsory segregation aimed at retaining attachments to family, ali‘i, community, and the land.

Lastly, Kalaupapa demonstrates a particularly high degree of integrity both in its individual features and at a landscape scale. At Carville, while much of the core complex is intact from the period of 1921 to 1942, resources associated with an earlier state-run leprosy home at the same location are no longer extant, with the exception of a plantation house which predated the home and a cemetery where those who died at the home were buried. According to the National Register nomination, the cemetery was not included in the historic district due to “various reasons, most notably the fact that one would have to ‘reach’ for it about seven hundred feet through numerous intrusions.”[50] Notable changes at Kalaupapa include deterioration and loss of historic fabric, the spread of invasive plant species, a declining patient population, modifications to buildings to accommodate patients’ changing health needs and preferences, and the overlay of a national historical park infrastructure. While evident, these changes do not diminish core qualities that mark this as a special place in Hawaiian, US, and world history. The peninsula has also seen minimal new development since the period of significance. Kalaupapa’s exceptional historical significance and integrity is further reflected in the lives of those who continue to reside there.

Historic Contexts: Leprosy, Colonization, and the “Quest for Dignity”

The timing and circumstances of leprosy’s introduction to Hawai‘i remain uncertain. Hawaiians initially referred to the disease as ma‘i ali‘i, the chief’s or royal disease, in reference to an early high-profile case affecting the ali‘i George Nae‘a.[51] By the 1860s, it became known as ma‘i pākē or “Chinese sickness,” reflecting a belief that it had been introduced by Chinese sugar plantation workers in the 1830s. Arthur Mouritz, resident physician at Kalawao from 1884 to 1887, later suggested that leprosy may have been established in Hawai‘i before 1830, perhaps in connection with early commercial or missionary activities.[52]

The disease was not discussed at an official level until 1863 when William Hillebrand, surgeon to the Queen’s Hospital in Honolulu, noted that ma‘i pākē was in fact “the genuine Oriental leprosy.” In response, Hillebrand advised the government to adopt an “efficient, and at the same time, humane measure” to isolate those affected by the disease.[53] Under pressure from white government officials, missionaries, and business interests, the Mō‘ī Kamehameha V (Lot Kapuāiwa) urged the legislature to pass “An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy” in 1865. The act empowered the Hawaiian Board of Health (established in 1850 to investigate the spread of cholera) to establish treatment facilities and separate persons “deemed capable of spreading the disease of

[50] NPS, *Carville Historic District.*

[51] Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English Hawaiian*, revised and enlarged edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 221.

[52] Arthur A. Mouritz, *‘The Path of the Destroyer’: A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands (*Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1916), 28-29.

[53] William Hillebrand, “Report of Dr. W. Hillebrand, Surgeon to the Queen’s Hospital, April, 1863,” in *Extracts from the Reports of Presidents of the Board of Health, Government Physicians and Others* (Honolulu: Daily Bulletin Steam Printing Office, 1886), 5.; Hillebrand was also a labor recruiter responsible for bringing Chinese workers to Hawai‘i. It is notable that while he attributed the appearance of leprosy in Hawai‘i to Chinese migration, he did not suggest curtailing labor recruitment.

leprosy" from the general population. The act also effectively criminalized the disease, authorizing the "arrest and inspection" of anyone "alleged" to be affected.[54]

Leprosy and Public Health: The Colonial Context

Both the appearance of leprosy in Hawai'i and the Kingdom's response to it reflected developments associated with European and United States overseas expansion and colonization efforts. In the decades following British captain James Cook's initial contact with Hawai'i in 1778, white merchants, missionaries, and officials in the Hawaiian government drew the islands into the global market economy, introducing new stressors on the land and the people in the process. As in other regions of the world, colonization also exposed the Native population to pathogens for which they had limited immunological resistance. The combination of new forms of labor, erosion of the traditional belief system and social structure, alienation of Native lands, and disruption of the subsistence economy further increased Hawaiians' susceptibility to introduced diseases. While the visibility and social stigma attached to leprosy prompted a particularly aggressive response from white officials in the government, far more debilitating epidemics of influenza, cholera, smallpox, tuberculosis, mumps, and whooping cough also swept across the islands, contributing to a reduction of the Native population from an estimated 400,000 to as many as one million at the time of Cook's landing to approximately 132,000 by 1832 to less than 58,000 by 1866.[55]

The spread of epidemic disease and the associated population decline contributed to a crisis in Hawaiian society. Historian Samuel Kamakau captured the feeling of loss and desperation of those years:

> With the coming of strangers, there came contagious diseases which destroyed the native sons of the land. No longer is the sound of the old man's cane heard on the long road, no longer do the aged crouch about the fireplace, no longer do those helpless with age stretch themselves on their beds, no longer do they remain withering in the house like the cane-blossom stalks plucked and dried for the dart-throwing game…the land is become empty; the old villages lie silent in a tangle of bushes and vines, haunted by ghosts and horned owls, frequented by goats and bats.[56]

Faced with the trauma of this experience, the Kingdom of Hawai'i moved to adopt public health measures urged by white advisers. The establishment of the Hawaiian Board of Health in 1850 represented an early effort to implement an emerging set of ideas about disease, sanitation, and the role of government in ensuring a healthy populace. It came only two years after the creation of the first national board of health in England and predated the formation of the first state boards in the United States.[57]

Public health measures and other western-influenced policies were not simply imposed on the people of Hawai'i. The decision by the Mō'ī to act on the recommendations of their white advisers reflected a willingness, consistent with Hawaiian oral traditions, to adopt foreign ideas that appeared necessary to strengthen the Kingdom and protect the Hawaiian people.[58] The Mō'ī also understood that in bringing some westerners under

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[54] "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," in *Extracts*, 9.; Linda W. Greene, *Exile in Paradise: The Isolation of Hawai'i's Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865 to the Present* (Denver Service Center: US Department of Interior, National Park Service, Branch of Planning, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, 1985), 11-12.; Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 93.

[55] Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 56-91.

[56] Samuel M. Kamakau, *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, revised edition (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1991), 416.

[57] "A Century of Public Health in Hawaii," *American Journal of Public Health* 41, no. 1 (January 1951): 91-92.

[58] Juri Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics: A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 21.; Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 28-30.; Inglis cites a mo'olelo (traditional story or history) in which the ali'i Lono

the control of the government and appropriating some of their ideas, the Kingdom might avoid the fate of other Pacific kingdoms including on Tahiti and in the Marquesas which by the 1840s had already been toppled by European powers, their lands and political authority stripped.[59]

While intended to protect Hawaiians, the adoption of new forms of governance often created major disruptions to their way of life. The forced separation of individuals from ʻohana (family) and ʻāina (land) as required by the Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy was particularly foreign to Hawaiian culture.[60] The act provoked deep resentment and resistance as a result. Families attempted to conceal their loved ones from police carrying out the provisions of the law. Hawaiians viewed enforcement measures promoted by white officials in the government with suspicion and hinted at gruesome fates for those taken away by the Board of Health. In contrast to white observers, for Hawaiians, the physical effects and possible communicability of leprosy were less concerning than the separation from home and family required under the policy of segregation. The possibility of being sent to the "living graveyard" of Kalawao led Hawaiians to refer to the disease as maʻi hoʻokaʻawale, "the separating sickness."[61]

European and American responses to leprosy reflected a blending of existing and evolving beliefs about the disease and those it affected. By the 1860s, leprosy was less prevalent than many other introduced diseases in Hawaiʻi. It was also slow-progressing and not directly fatal. Influenced in part by a stigma with deep roots in western culture, white missionaries, business interests, and government officials saw the "dread disease" as the greater threat and prioritized its eradication.[62]

Western perceptions of leprosy were also bound up with evolving ideas of white racial superiority during a period of colonial expansion.[63] While leprosy had largely disappeared from western nations by the early nineteenth century, overseas commercial and colonial expansion brought Europeans and Americans into contact with places where it was still endemic. These processes also facilitated the spread of leprosy to areas such as Hawaiʻi where it had not previously existed and where the Native population had little immunological resitance. These interactions racialized the disease in the minds of westerners, contributing to perceptions of non-white peoples as inferior and as a potential risk to reintroduce leprosy to white society. Whereas during the medieval era the disease was often viewed as a judgment on the individual, by the mid- to late nineteenth century, its prevalence in indigenous populations in the Pacific, Asia, and Africa led westerners to view the disease as an indictment of those populations as a whole. Missionaries often regarded leprosy as a natural outcome of customs they deemed primitive and immoral, viewing it as "God's punishment for dark, hidden thoughts, words and deeds."[64] Such ideas were part of an emerging language of racial difference that became central to the formation of national and imperial identities.[65]

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sought to learn the art of healing from a foreigner named Kamakanuiʻahaʻilono whose people had brought sickness to the Hawaiian islands. Similarly, the Mōʻī turned to western advisers for aid in combatting the foreign epidemics of the nineteenth century.

[59] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2002), 37-38.

[60] Kerri Inglis, "'Cure the dread disease': 19th Century Attempts to Treat Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 43 (2009): 105.; Inglis cites works by Hawaiian scholars Samuel Kamakau and Mary Kawena Pukui describing traditional Hawaiian care for the sick as family-based.

[61] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 16-19

[62] Daws, *Holy Man*, 75.; Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi," 697-698.

[63] Watts, *Epidemics and History*, xiii.

[64] Ibid., 43.

[65] Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire*, 58.; Edmond's discussion draws on the concept of a "grammar of difference" as defined in Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire:*

Western medical professionals often attributed the disease to perceived biological and social traits of the populations in which it was most prevalent, even as they disagreed about its exact nature and method of transmission. Studies undertaken in Norway during the mid-nineteenth century concluded that leprosy was a hereditary condition primarily affecting non-white populations, and that total segregation was not required for its control.[66] An 1867 report on leprosy in the British colonies prepared by the Royal College of Physicians reached similar conclusions.[67] Other physicians linked leprosy to "predisposing diseases" such as syphilis, gonorrhea, and malaria, conditions that were believed to be endemic to "tropical" regions and cultures. In Hawai'i, a theory of leprosy as a stage in the progression of syphilis persisted into the twentieth century, reinforcing a common western view of the disease as a consequence of sexual deviance among Hawaiians.[68]

While stigmatization and exclusion of persons affected by leprosy was not new in 1866, Kalaupapa differed from earlier leprosaria in scale and the degree of isolation it imposed. In contrast to the strict isolation required under the Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, the "lazar houses" of medieval Europe were often located in proximity to towns and villages. Individuals expelled to such places were able to maintain some contact with the general population through begging at fairs and markets. Segregation, as practiced in the Middle Ages, was more a religious and moral matter than a public health measure. "It was from fear of pollution rather than contagion," historian Tony Gould writes.[69]

Other early leprosaria varied in their living conditions and accommodation arrangements. Although segregation for fear of contagion was enforced in some locations by the early nineteenth century, nowhere was it as thorough or on the same scale as at Kalaupapa.[70] Many asylums and hospitals were oriented more toward caring for the sick or removing a public nuisance than enforcing medical isolation. Zachary Gussow cites evidence that in Louisiana, individuals diagnosed with leprosy were admitted to hospitals and treated like any other patient as late as the 1890s.[71] Kalaupapa also differed from leprosaria established in the mid-nineteenth century in Norway, the only European nation where the disease was still endemic. Believing the disease to be hereditary, Norwegian officials adopted an approach involving hospitalization, separation of male and female patients, and treatment, combined with epidemiological study and research toward a cure.[72]

While leprosy was detected in the white population of Hawai'i early on, most western observers, including members of the Board of Health, saw the disease as primarily a Native Hawaiian problem resulting from their living conditions and customs, especially the practices of sleeping in close quarters and sharing food.[73] Even in the absence of clear scientific evidence, white health professionals, missionaries, and government officials

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Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3-4.

[66] The Norwegian research program is detailed in Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, chapter 4.

[67] Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 42.; Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 95.

[68] Watts, *Epidemics and History*, 43.; Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Moloka'i," 698.

[69] Tony Gould, *A Disease Apart: Leprosy in the Modern World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 7.

[70] An early example from North America is the lazaretto established on Sheldrake Island in New Brunswick, Canada in 1844, as described in Gould, *A Disease Apart*, chapter 1.; For responses to leprosy in other parts of the world during the early to mid-nineteenth century, refer to: Jane Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India: Medicine and Confinement* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), chapters 1 and 2.; Angela Ki Che Leung, *Leprosy in China: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), chapters 1 and 2.; John Iliffe, *The African Poor A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 102-105.; and Barton, "An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of a 19th Century Leprosarium at Hassel Island, St. Thomas, US Virgin Islands."

[71] Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 52-53.

[72] Ibid., chapter 4.

[73] Mouritz, *Path of the Destroyer*, 21.; For many years, white foreigners suspected of having the disease were given the option of repatriation to their home countries as an alternative to exile at Kalaupapa.

attributed the greater incidence of leprosy among Hawaiians to lack of fear of the disease and insistence on caring for affected family members in the household.[74] The racial discourse forming around leprosy also supported a colonial agenda, serving to dehumanize and disempower Hawaiians by marking them as "unclean" and morally inferior to the increasingly dominant white leadership.[75]

The Board's view of leprosy as a dangerous contagion remained unsupported in the medical profession even after Norwegian physician Gerhard Hansen's identification of the leprosy bacterium in 1873.[76] The publicity surrounding Father Damien's death from complications related to leprosy in 1889 became an important catalyst for change, prompting widespread fear of the disease and contributing to a synthesis of emerging theories of contagion into a more uniform "germ theory of disease" by the end of the nineteenth century.[77] Evidence that diseases could pass from one person to the next via microbes – often irrespective of race – stimulated rising concern about the potential for leprosy and other diseases to infect white society. The establishment of large leprosy isolation institutions around the world by the 1890s reflect a shift toward a more "racially segregated empire" in which non-white populations were cast as carriers of dangerous pathogens requiring isolation and education in western morals and hygiene.[78] With Kalaupapa often serving as a model, mass isolation at remote facilities became a means to "preserve identity by sealing the metropole and the colonizer from the world they were colonizing," as one historian writes.[79] Reflecting white fears of leprosy as an "imperial danger," compulsory segregation – in combination with strict enforcement of hygiene and sanitation rules – remained the dominant paradigm for its control through the mid-twentieth century, despite the failure of experiments at Kalaupapa and other institutions to provide conclusive evidence of the disease's level of communicability and method of transmission.[80]

Kalaupapa also developed in connection with efforts by US businessmen to expand political and economic control over Hawai'i. Even before the passage of the 1865 act, American sugar planters and merchants feared that leprosy would disrupt island labor and lead consumers to associate Hawaiian products with the disease. The Kingdom's ability to arrest the spread of leprosy also became a factor in economic treaty negotiations with the US government during the 1870s.[81]

By the 1880s, actions by white businessmen to protect their interests prompted more direct US government involvement in Hawaiian affairs. In 1887, a planter-led anti-monarchist group calling itself the Hawaiian League, acting in alliance with the non-Hawaiian volunteer brigade of the Kingdom, forced King Kalākaua to sign a new constitution, known as the Bayonet Constitution, which effectively stripped the Mō'ī of his authority

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[74] Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 41-42, 54-56.

[75] Herman, "Out of Sight, out of Mind, out of Power," 319-337.; and Ron Amundson and Akira Oakaokalani Ruddle-Miyamoto, "A Wholesome Horror: The Stigmas of Leprosy in 19th Century Hawai'i," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 30, no. 3/4 (2010), http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/1270/1300 (accessed October 31, 2016).

[76] In 1880, in attempting to prove a causal connection between the microbe and the disease, Hanson resorted to inoculating a young woman's eye with material from an infected lesion without her consent. The experiment failed, and Hansen forfeited his position at the hospital. Kate Yandell, "The Leprosy Bacillus, circa 1873," *The Scientist*, October 1, 2013. http://www.the-scientist.com/?articles.view/articleNo/37619/title/The-Leprosy-Bacillus--circa-1873/ (accessed October 31, 2016).

[77] This interpretation of the "germ theory of disease" as a result of a gradual coming together of a variety of social, cognitive, and scientific explanations for disease taking shape in different parts of the world from roughly the 1860s through the turn of the century is outlined in Nancy J. Tomes and John Harley Warner, "Introduction to Special Issue on Rethinking the Reception of the Germ Theory of Disease: Comparative Perspectives," *Journal of the History of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* 52 (January 1997): 7-16.; Also see Worboys, *Spreading Germs*, 2-3.

[78] Moblo, "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawaii's Reform Party," 75.

[79] Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire*, 142.

[80] Henry Press Wright, *Leprosy: An Imperial Danger* (London: J.A. Churchill, 1889).

[81] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 51, 53.; Moblo, "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawaii's Reform Party," 75-88.

to govern. When Queen Lili‘uokalani moved to abrogate the constitution in 1893, members of the Annexation League, backed by a shore party of Marines from the USS *Boston*, mounted an illegal coup, deposing the Queen and installing a provisional government controlled by American business interests. In July 1894, the provisional government was replaced by the Republic of Hawai‘i.[82]

Leprosy control became a priority for the new American-dominated leadership. Defining the disease as a foreign threat requiring white custodial control, the government ramped up efforts to enforce the isolation policy, leading to a population increase at Kalaupapa. The continuing presence of leprosy in Hawai‘i, coupled with new medical understandings of the disease, also made it an issue in the intensifying debate over annexation by the 1890s.[83]

The start of the Spanish American war in 1898 gave American annexationists an opportunity to press their case. The conflict highlighted Hawai‘i’s importance as a site of naval deployment and economic expansion. The continued presence of leprosy in the islands also emerged as a topic of debate, with some physicians warning about the potential for the disease to spread to the continent. News of Commodore George Dewey’s defeat of the Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor on May 1, 1898 drowned out these debates, tilting domestic public opinion toward territorial expansion. Against the protest of Native Hawaiians, President William McKinley signed the joint resolution for Hawaiian annexation on July 7, 1898, marking the US’s emergence as a formal imperial power in the Pacific.[84]

With annexation, Kalaupapa became part of a US mission to expand and protect its overseas economic interests while securing its position as a global power. The territorial government continued to view forcible segregation as necessary to minimize the risk of exposure to what Arthur Mouritz, former resident physician at Kalawao, described as “an atmosphere of leprosy [that] clings to and surrounds the unfortunate Hawaiian.”[85] Mouritz further characterized Hawaiians as “the weak link in our chain of national health defense.”[86] Such statements advanced a view of Kalaupapa as essential to protecting American interests from what was seen as a foreign disease agent. While leprosy had been present in some areas of the US prior to the late nineteenth century, the creation of a formal US overseas empire encompassing places where the disease was more widespread prompted greater federal government attention to the potential public health risk. These concerns lay behind the creation of a US national leprosy survey in 1899. They also informed discussions leading to the establishment of a National Leprosarium in 1921.[87]

Through the early twentieth century, the territorial government combined stricter enforcement of medical isolation with an emphasis on improving quality of life for those confined at Kalaupapa. The linking of these goals reflected an interest among public health officials to design isolation facilities “more as homes than as sites of incarceration” as historian Michelle Moran notes.[88] Efforts to create a more comfortable environment at Kalaupapa were also in response to Hawaiian resistance to coming forward to seek treatment and were aimed at encouraging greater compliance to the isolation policy.[89] While living conditions generally improved, US

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[82] Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1968), 251-92

[83] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 53.; Moblo, “Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawaii’s Reform Party,” 75-88.

[84] Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 289-290.; Jean Heffer, *The United States and the Pacific: History of a Frontier*, translated by W. Donald Wilson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 198.

[85] Mouritz, *‘The Path of the Destroyer’*, 9.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, chapter 1.; Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 175.

[88] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 27.

[89] Ibid.

territorial administration of Kalaupapa also advanced a racialized view of Hawaiians as incapable of self-rule and a threat to national security. Such arguments informed public health policies through the 1930s and beyond, with territorial officials often pointing to the segregation policy and their commitment to educating Hawaiians in western cultural norms and hygiene as necessary preconditions for Hawai‘i’s “fitness” for statehood.[90]

The introduction of sulfone drugs to Kalaupapa in 1946 prompted major changes in the community. Health improvements allowed patients to become more active physically, socially, and politically. The advent of an effective treatment and cure (if treated early) also led to a loosening of segregation restrictions and a decline in the number of people sent to the settlement. Even absent the threat of contagion, however, isolation and containment remained the dominant responses to the disease in Hawai‘i into the statehood period beginning in 1959. In large part as a result of actions by the people of Kalaupapa, the State of Hawai‘i finally revoked the segregation law in 1969, after which time all remaining patients were free to leave the peninsula. While some moved away, others chose to remain in the place that had become their home. With the repeal of the segregation law, many patients turned their attention to preserving the community and combatting the stigma that continued to be attached to the disease. Their efforts continue to the present.

Creating a Hawaiian Community

Native Hawaiians affected by the segregation policy acted to preserve cultural traditions and ensure justice for those subjected to isolation. Some, primarily among the ali‘i, initially saw isolation as necessary for the protection of the Kingdom. Others actively resisted leprosy control measures, often by concealing family members from the police. In the early years, many people accompanied their loved ones to Molokai as kōkua, providing care and helping to build a livable community. Kama‘āina, the Native inhabitants of the peninsula who remained following the government’s purchase of land for the settlement, also provided food, water, and shelter to those who were exiled there. In addition to supplying basic necessities for survival, these actions provided familiarity and comfort by permitting some traditional Hawaiian subsistence practices and customs of community care to continue. Even after the Board of Health took steps to prohibit contact with kōkua and kama‘āina beginning in the 1870s, the people of Kalaupapa maintained connections with the outside world through the receiving and sending of mail, trade for food and supplies, and in some cases escape over the pali trails.[91]

The people of Kalaupapa and their supporters also engaged in active protest through letters to Hawaiian language newspapers, petitions to the Mō‘ī and the legislature, testimony to special commissions, resistance to regulations, and participation in the electoral process.[92] In doing so, they drew attention to the trauma of isolation and forced the Board of Health to take measures to improve living conditions according to their health needs and preferences as a primarily Hawaiian community. These actions also inspired ali‘i including King Kalākaua, Queen Kapi‘olani, and Queen Lili‘uokalani to visit the settlement and enact measures to better care for citizens of the Kingdom confined there. These efforts were part of a struggle by the people of Kalaupapa to remain “socially alive,” connected to the larger Hawaiian society, even as they were “adjudged civilly dead” under the law.[93]

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[90] Ibid., 15.

[91] Flexner, “Archaeology of the Recent Past at Kalawao,” 93.

[92] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 36.; Osorio explains that in nineteenth century Hawai‘i, petitions served to “reinforce the traditional relationship that existed between [the maka‘āinana] and the Ali‘i as well as to define them both together as a people unified against the incursions of foreigners.”

[93] Inglis, *Ma‘i Lepera*, 59, 61.

With contributions from religious workers including Father Damien, Mother Marianne, and Jonathan Napela, the people of Kalaupapa also formed a unique multi-denominational community which offered support in the absence of family connections, adequate medical facilities, and a cure for the disease. In addition to providing spiritual and physical support, missionaries often acted as intermediaries between their denominations, the Board of Health, the legislature, and the patient community. They also coordinated the acquisition and application of charitable donations. For some, including Father Damien, the work represented an act of Christian compassion requiring self-sacrifice and vocal advocacy on behalf of those affected by the segregation policy as a matter of justice. Father Damien also inspired the establishment of charitable societies devoted to providing aid to persons affected by leprosy.[94] The combination of spiritual uplift, social advocacy, and community-based care also helped guard against imposition of a top-down, more formal hospitalization program. Patients' refusal to submit to admission to the US Leprosy Investigation Station in operation at Kalawao from 1909 to 1913 stands out as a particularly clear example of the inability of US authorities to compel the people of Kalaupapa to conform to a more westernized institutional model.

These activities represent the ability of the people of Kalaupapa to create a viable Hawaiian community within an institutional setting. In part, this was a result of their physical isolation, but it also reflected their efforts to maintain control over their lives and shape the development of the settlement to meet their needs. As it grew, the settlement incorporated pre-existing Hawaiian cultural features including heiau, agricultural sites, burial sites, and dry stack stone walls. The Hawaiian community structure persisted even as the Board of Health took steps to modernize the settlement in the twentieth century. Individual housing units were located in neighborhood settings in proximity to charitable group homes, while churches, rather than hospital facilities, formed the focal points of the community. Patients also participated in social clubs, religious services, and recreational activities that enabled them to experience lives as normal as possible. These community institutions offered a platform from which individuals could express their own ideas about the disease, form new family and community bonds, explore alternative treatment options, make demands of administrators, and find enjoyment in the daily lives. Many people also farmed and raised livestock for their own use or for sale, in the same way that they might have done elsewhere in rural Hawai'i. Others constructed beach houses where they could enjoy "vacations" beyond the reach of settlement authorities. Long-time residents taught new arrivals to fish, hunt, and gather food, salt, and medicinal plants, while young and old formed close interpersonal bonds even as they remained separated from their homes and families. The people of Kalaupapa also created a legacy of music and art that helped sustain them in times of hardship and that continues to speak to the creativity and resilience of those who have made the settlement a home and a place for physical and spiritual healing.

A Quest for Dignity: Social Justice and Human Rights

Efforts by the people of Kalaupapa to maintain control over their lives also helped lay the groundwork for a broader movement for social justice and human rights for persons affected by leprosy. Forming in connection with the rise of modern nation-states, the concept of social justice was predicated on belief in the moral obligation of government to rectify social inequalities.[95] The history of modern public health also unfolded within the context of what historian Dorothy Porter describes as the rise of "collective social action" concerning the "rights" of citizens of democratic states.[96] Debates over leprosy in Hawai'i and elsewhere often involved

[94] Kathleen Vongsathorn, "Gnawing Pains, Festering Ulcers, and Nightmare Suffering, Selling Leprosy as a Humanitarian Cause in the British Empire, c. 1890-1960," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 5 (2012), https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4055987/ (accessed March 20, 2017).; Daws, *Holy Man*, 10.

[95] Brendan Edgeworth, "From Plato to Nato: Law and Social Justice in Historical Context," *University of New South Wales Law Journal* 35, no 12 (2012): 418.

[96] Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: A History of Public Health from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 4-5.

conflicts over policies that denied individual liberties for the sake of a purported public good. Early social justice efforts at Kalaupapa also drew on traditional Hawaiian notions of the obligation of the aliʻi to provide for the people. Examples include petitions to the Mōʻī and legislature by the people of Kalaupapa and their supporters, and visits by Mōʻī who enacted reforms to improve conditions at the settlement. Efforts by the people of Kalaupapa to challenge stigmatization and persecution also influenced the State of Hawaiʻi's decision to revoke the segregation law in 1969.[97]

Calls for social justice by the people of Kalaupapa later expanded to include recognition of their inherent human rights. This idea gained fuller expression in the late 1970s in connection with a patient-led movement to prevent the shutdown of Hale Mohalu, a residential leprosy treatment facility established in Pearl City, Oʻahu in the 1940s. Bernard Punakaiʻa explained the goal:

> What I want to accomplish is simple. I want the State Government to realize something very basic about us as leprosy patients. They must realize we have minds, we think, we love, we hate, we cry, you know… we rejoice. We have all the emotions and intellect of any person in society. And as such, to recognize that we are human, and thus extend to us the dignity that we are entitled to. It's not that we are granted dignity. Hey, this is something that everyone is born with. This is inherent in man's life, that he be accorded dignity. Not because he is some high official, a government figure who automatically acquires dignity, but because he is a person![98]

Although they were unsuccessful in preventing the demolition of Hale Mohalu, their efforts led to the construction of a new complex at the same location providing affordable housing for senior citizens and persons with disabilities.[99]

Punakaiʻa also later helped bring this human rights message to an international audience. In October 1997, the United Nations (UN) hosted an exhibit titled "Quest for Dignity," borrowing a phrase Punakaiʻa had coined to describe the earlier movement to save Hale Mohalu. Punakaiʻa spoke at the exhibit's opening at the UN headquarters in New York. He also composed a song for the event, while Makia Malo contributed an original chant titled "Lele Uli – To Dispel Darkness."[100] After three weeks at the UN, the exhibit traveled around the world. Anwei Skinsnes Law describes it as "a vehicle for challenging old attitudes and promoting the inclusion of the voices of individuals affected by leprosy in planning and policy making as well as in their own history."[101]

The exhibit also represented a step toward formal UN recognition of the ongoing challenges faced by persons affected by leprosy as a human rights issue.[102] In June 2008, representatives of fifty-nine countries led by Japan submitted a resolution to the UN Human Rights Council calling for "the elimination of discrimination against persons affected by leprosy and their families." The council adopted the resolution soon after. Several approaches were suggested including education, appropriate use of terminology, legislative reform, and a commitment to involving "all people who are marginalized, disabled or oppressed, *including* those affected by

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[97] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 480-483.

[98] Quoted in Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness*, 111.

[99] Anwei Skinsnes Law, "Tribute: Death of a Human Rights Champion," *WHO Goodwill Ambassador's Newsletter for the Elimination of Leprosy*, 37 (April 2009), https://www.shf.or.jp/information/3598?lang=en (accessed May 20, 2021).

[100] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 485, 487.

[101] Ibid., 488.

[102] Ibid, 487.

leprosy" in establishing "integrated and inclusive rights-based approaches to health and development for all."[103] The UN General Assembly adopted the resolution in December 2010.[104]

Kalaupapa patients began sharing their personal stories in this period. Olivia Breitha's memoir *Olivia: My Life of Exile in Kalaupapa*, published in 1988, invited readers to relate on a personal level to her experiences of pain, anger, joy, love, and compassion.[105] Breitha also noted similarities between her experiences and the challenges faced by people affected by HIV and AIDS in the present. Responding to calls to segregate people diagnosed with AIDS, she wrote, "Why should we add to their burden? We need to look at everybody as a human person, a human being with feelings, with a heart, and wanting to do better for themselves."[106] In the 1990s, journalist Valerie Monson wrote a series of articles for *The Maui News* profiling individual patients, describing daily life at the settlement, and documenting efforts to preserve the community and share its history.[107] Henry Kalalahilimoku Nalaielua and Makia Malo also shared their stories in autobiographies, published in 2006 and 2011 respectively.[108]

Together, these efforts helped convey the deeply textured, human experience of Kalaupapa from the perspective of those who made the settlement their home and ensured its protection. They brought attention to the resilience and generosity of the people of Kalaupapa, their creativity and commitment to caring for one another, and the rich lives they created for themselves in the face of adversity. They represent a vital part of Kalaupapa's ongoing legacy in ensuring the dignified treatment of persons affected by leprosy as a basic human right.

Property History

Early Settlement Period, 1866-1873

Following the passage of the 1865 Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, the Board of Health began exploring options for carrying out its mandate to "secure the isolation and seclusion" of people believed to be at risk of spreading the disease. In November, the Board established the Kalihi Hospital near Honolulu to hold and treat those with mild symptoms and to serve as a temporary detention station for those with more advanced cases. Meanwhile, the government began acquiring land on Molokai's isolated Makanalua peninsula – later more commonly known as the Kalaupapa peninsula for the small fishing village on its leeward side – where it planned to send those most severely affected by the disease.

The Board selected this location primarily in consideration of its physical isolation. Enclosed on three sides by the ocean and on the fourth by sheer 1,000 to 3,000 foot-high pali (sea cliffs), the peninsula provided what later

[103] Douglas Soutar, "Leprosy and Human Rights," *Leprosy Review* 79 (2008): 239-241.

[104] United Nations General Assembly, "Elimination of Discrimination against Persons Affected by Leprosy and their Family Members," Resolution 65/215, December 21, 2010, 65th session, Agenda item 68 (*b*), March 25, 2011.

[105] Breitha, *Olivia*. This was the first published autobiography by a resident of Kalaupapa.

[106] Ibid., 98.

[107] Examples include: Valerie Monson, "Most everyone, it seems, wants what's fair for Kalaupapa," *The Maui News*, April 15, 1992.; "Christmas in Kalaupapa," *The Maui News*, December 25, 1992.; "A Mother's Love," *The Maui News*, August 8, 1993.; "Alice is Home," *The Maui News*, March 1, 1995.; "Kenso Seki: He followed in Father Damien's footsteps," *The Maui News*, August 23, 1998.; and "When home is a historic place," *The Maui News*, December 18, 2005.

[108] Kalalahilimoku Nalaielua and Keala-o-Ānuenue Bowman, *No Footprints in the Sand*.; Malo and Young, *My Name is Makia*.

observers deemed a "natural prison" for isolating those affected by the disease.[109] It also offered a mild climate, consistent trade winds, good soil for farming, and ample grazing land.[110]

On January 6, 1866, the schooner *Warwick* departed for Molokai, carrying the first twelve people sent to the settlement. Their names were J.N. Loe, J.D. Kahauliko, Liilii, Puha, Kini, Lono, Waipio, Kainana, Kaaumoana, Nahuina, Lakapu, and Kepihe.[111] Also on board were four or five family members, including a young boy, who refused to abandon their loved ones. Upon landing on the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula and traveling by foot to Kalawao, the group realized that the government's assurances that they would be well cared for were not going to be met. At Kalawao, they found no medical staff or treatment facilities of any kind. The Board of Health provided only a few necessities including a box of Epson Salts, a box of medicine, six barrels of salted beef, four bags of bread, a barrel of soap, and 270 yards of fabric with sewing needles and thread. Some of the men received a blanket, an axe, and digging tools. The group persisted through the first week largely through the aid of kamaʻāina. With their help, wrote J.N. Loe, "We have no pilikia [difficulty] in regard to our food and our lodgings."[112]

Conditions quickly worsened as their health deteriorated, supplies ran low, and as the number of new arrivals grew to 87 by June, then to 142 by October, joined by at least 22 kōkua. The newspaper *Ke Au Okoa* printed statements of three men – Kahanapu, Puu, and Kaleo – detailing their struggles after arriving on July 13. "We are in pilikia on account of our disease, and also for poi and fish, and clothing, we are in pilikia in not having any medical aid," they wrote. "You must not think that we are getting any better, no! Not at all." Family members added their thoughts: "We entertain great love for them, we thought that the Government would care for these persons who are in Molokai…. But alas, no. They are among those that belong to Mauhaalelea (a place of abandonment)."[113] Such reports fueled mistrust of the Board of Health, leading many Hawaiians to conceal friends and family from police.

The establishment of the settlement involved a second instance of forced separation: the displacement of the kamaʻāina. Archeological evidence suggests that use of the Kalaupapa peninsula likely extended back as many as 800 years before the establishment of the settlement, possibly longer. Oral traditions describe the peninsula as the site of a major battle over fishing rights between the Kona (leeward) and Koʻolau (windward) chiefs of Molokai, the former of which ultimately prevailed. The ruling chief of Oʻahu backed the victors, and Molokai was subsequently placed under the control of Oʻahu.[114] Molokai as a whole was also renowned as a food basket for the Kingdom and was favored by Kamehameha I and his family for its many fishponds and rich agricultural lands. The Kalaupapa peninsula was known for its taro fields in the upland valleys and sweet potatoes grown on the drier plain. While much of the earlier cultural landscape is currently overgrown with invasive vegetation, features associated with pre- and early post-contact habitation and land use "cover the peninsula like a fish net,"

[109] "The Leper Colony on Molokai Island," *The Medical Times* (August 1899): 242.
[110] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 9.
[111] Note that these names are written here without diacritical marks as they appeared in the original source materials.
[112] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 5-6.
[113] Quoted in Ibid., 24.
[114] McCoy, *The Lands of Hina*, 50-52.

as one NPS study noted.[115] At present, only a small portion of the peninsula has been surveyed, suggesting that thousands of additional unrecorded sites are likely present.[116]

The Kalaupapa peninsula saw a dramatic decline in population as a result of disease, land alienation, and economic changes associated with European and American expansion and colonization efforts. The advent of the sandalwood trade contributed to the decline of agriculture on Molokai as many residents turned their attention to harvesting timber. The increased labor demands also exacerbated health problems, leading to a further decline in population. By 1836, the population of Molokai had declined from approximately twenty to twenty-five thousand at the turn of the century to only about six thousand, about 2,700 of whom lived on the Kalaupapa peninsula.[117] The area's commercial importance increased in 1849 when it became a supplier of sweet potatoes to Gold Rush California. This role ended abruptly with the Hawaiian government's seizure of land for the settlement.[118]

Like those suspected of having leprosy who evaded apprehension by the police, the residents of Waikolu and Kalawao did not submit readily to banishment. During the first year of the settlement, a group of kamaʻāina traveled to Honolulu to express their grievances to Kamehameha V. While the Mōʻī seemed angered by their charge that the Board of Health was "dumping" people at Waikolu and crowding out locals, he sent the group back to inform their neighbors that the government now owned their land and that they would have to make way for the settlement.[119] Although many left during the next year, others stayed to maintain their homes and assist those exiled there under the segregation policy.[120]

The removal of the kamaʻāina was part of the Board of Health's plan to form a self-sustaining community with minimal contact with the outside world.[121] The idea was that those sent to the settlement would occupy homes vacated by the kamaʻāina and cultivate their land. This proved unrealistic. While the physical effects of the disease were a factor, many people sent to Kalawao did not see the point of planting crops as they believed they would only be there a short time. Some thought they were being sent away for temporary treatment, while others assumed that the segregation policy could not legally stand and expected to return home in due course.[122] Also due to the length of time that passed since the government's purchase of land, many houses were in disrepair and the fields had become overgrown by the time the first group arrived.[123]

The development of a viable settlement, including the construction of shelters and acquisition of food and water, was achieved in large part through the efforts of kōkua, family members and friends who accompanied their loved ones to Kalawao to provide care and essential help with daily tasks. J.H. Hao, whose wife Luka had come

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[115] S.J. Wells and R.J. Hommon, *An Archaeological Survey Plan for the Pacific Islands Cluster, Pacific West Region, National Park Service, NPS Systemwide Archaeological Inventory Program*, Publications in Anthropology 76 (Tucson: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 2000): 20.; Also see Kirch, *From the 'Cliffs of Keolewa' to the 'Sea of Papaloa'*.; and McCoy, "The Development of the Kalaupapa Field System."

[116] Summaries of existing archeological work at Kalaupapa can be found in McCoy, *The Lands of Hina.*; and Mark D. McCoy, ed., *A Collection of Five Archaeological Surveys in Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Hawai'i* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 2005).; Also see Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 65-68.

[117] Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 23.

[118] Ibid., 27.

[119] Ibid., 139.

[120] Ongoing documentary, genealogical, oral history, and archeological research may reveal additional information regarding the identities and experiences of the kamaʻāina. Refer to Corbiell, "Filling in the Gaps at Kalaupapa."

[121] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 50-51.

[122] Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi," 692-693.

[123] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 52.

with him to Molokai, noted that "many…in the settlement would have perished ere this, were it not for the faithful help between parent and child, husband and wife, brother and sister, and between friend and friend."[124] Kamaʻāina who remained also continued to provide support. They showed new arrivals where to find local food plants, housed relatives who were not formally allowed at Kalawao, offered to supply luxury items in exchange for government rations, and generally defied the policy of segregation.[125]

The peninsula's existing Hawaiian cultural landscape also structured the settlement's development. Features including heiau (temples), koʻa (fishing shrines), the holua (toboggan slide) at Kauhakō Crater, house foundations and rock shelters, burial complexes, petroglyphs, trails, and the area's many rock wall enclosures and terraces became part of the fabric of the settlement, contributing to its spatial arrangement, physical construction, and feel as a Hawaiian place.[126]

With food in short supply, the Board of Health also began supplying basic rations, distributed through a management structure consisting of a chief supervisor, who handled the settlement's finances, and a resident superintendent who looked after day-to-day business. From 1866 to 1897, the Board entrusted the former position to Rudolph Meyer, a German planter living near the top of the pali. Meyer also managed a large ranch on Molokai on behalf of Princess Ruth Keʻelikōlani and her eventual heir, Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Louis Lepart, a former French Priest, served as the first superintendent, resigning in 1867 after less than a year. He was replaced at first by retired British Army officer Donald Walsh, and then after his death by his widow Caroline Walsh, assisted by an unnamed former sea captain. Assertions of corruption led to rioting in 1870, including an incident in which a group of patients and kokua put the assistant superintendent in irons and took control of the food supply. Afterwards the Board appointed resident superintendents with Hawaiian ancestry whenever possible, though non-Natives such as Father Damien occasionally filled the role when the Board failed to find a Hawaiian it considered qualified.[127]

With the Board providing only a minimum of resources, struggles with hunger, cold, disability, and loneliness became more difficult to bear. Although a "hospital" was eventually erected, it had no beds or doctors. Between 1868 and 1873, nearly forty percent of those sent to Kalawao died. Few received coffins or formal burial services. Many who died were wrapped in a blanket and placed in a shallow grave in a kneeling position. Rains often exposed the bodies, while others were dug up and eaten by pigs.[128] Hopelessness reined, with many people turning to an alcoholic drink manufactured from local kī leaves to ease their suffering.[129] Meanwhile, reports in English depicted conditions at the settlement as a result of the moral depravity of the Hawaiians and their ignorance about the dangers of the disease. These reports served to justify the segregation policy in the minds of many westerners, however disruptive to the lives of those affected by leprosy and their families. "The horror of this living death has no terror for Hawaiians," wrote Board of Health president Walter Gibson, "and therefore they have needed more than any other people a coercive segregation of those having contagious disease."[130]

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[124] Quoted in Kerri A. Inglis, "Kōkua, Mana and Mālama ʻĀina: Exploring Concepts of Health, Disease, and Medicine in 19th Century Hawaiʻi," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 2, no. 1 (2005): 225.

[125] Ibid., 58; Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi," 693.

[126] McCoy, *The Lands of Hina*, 76.; Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 68.; The relationship between the kamaʻāina and the people banished to Kalawao in the early years remains an understudied theme in the existing archeological literature. Flexner's work is an important contribution in this direction, offering a model for future studies. Future archeological research may reveal additional information about how and to what extent settlement residents made use of existing Hawaiian cultural features.

[127] Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi," 693-694.

[128] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 62.

[129] Ibid., 54.

[130] Quoted in Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera*, 143.

Despite the government's insistence that people affected by leprosy were not criminals, the laws put in place to control the disease treated them as such. In addition to forcibly removing "suspects" believed to be affected by the disease, the government also passed laws permitting seizure of their property and the annulment of their marriages. People sent to Kalawao also became subject to the "arbitrary proceedings" of on-site supervisors. Those who attempted to run away or otherwise violate the terms of their confinement could be placed in chains, fined, or subjected to forced labor.[131]

Even as they were "adjudged civilly dead" under the law, those exiled to Kalihi and Kalawao fought to remain socially and politically alive through petitions and letters to Hawaiian newspapers. In 1866, the newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* posted a letter by Kahalelaau denouncing the police action to forcibly remove him and his sick and paralyzed daughter from their home in Kaʻū. Kahalelaau accused authorities of acting on racist motivations. "These actions are like Sweeping away the Brownskinned people, who are living on the floor of the Hawaiian Government, the people in whom aloha has truly entered, in the last rib bone [i.e., in the core of their being]," he wrote.[132] Hawaiians also repeatedly petitioned the Mōʻī and the legislature to create regional hospitals on their home islands so that those diagnosed with the disease could remain in contact with their families.[133] In an 1869 article, C.H. Kealonahenahe argued that such a policy would provide better care to the sick while easing their anxiety about coming forward to seek treatment.[134]

The people of Kalaupapa also organized their own institutions to address the emotional and physical hardships of confinement. Notable among these was the Siloama Church, or the Church of the Healing Spring, established at Kalawao in 1866 by a group of thirty-five patients. Putting aside portions of their meager weekly allowance, the Siloama members were able to save $125.50 toward the construction a house of worship by 1869. Through letters circulated by contacts outside the settlement, members appealed to congregations across the islands to contribute funds. With the $600 eventually collected, the Hawaiian Board of Missions purchased lumber and a bell and paid the wages of a carpenter. The first Siloama Church was completed in July 1871 and dedicated on October 28, 1871.[135]

In addition to hosting services, Siloama also served as a platform to make demands of the Board of Health. Even before the construction of the church, members confronted settlement administrators with demands, leading some Board officials to regard the group as a dangerous element aimed at inciting unrest. Louis Lepart, the settlement's first superintendent, warned that the Siloama members were "always ready to mutiny." On one occasion, a group of thirty to thirty-five members arrived at his house "with the intention of obtaining some oxen by violence, menacing me in case of refusal to drive me away from Kalawao, and to appropriate all the clothing or whatever other things I may have, pretending that all in Kalawao belongs to them."[136] The church,

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[131] Ibid., 58-64.; The 1870 law making leprosy grounds for divorce is described in Hawaiʻi Board of Health, *Leprosy in Hawaii: Extracts from reports of Presidents of the Board of Health, Government Physicians and others: The Laws and Regulations in Regard to Leprosy in the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: Hawaiʻi Board of Health, 1886), 184.

[132] Quoted in Silva and Fernandez, "Mai Ka ʻĀina O Ka ʻEhaʼeha Mai," 83-84.; The authors note that this use of the word ʻIliulaula' [Brown or Redskinned] "is…reflective of the circulation of racial discourses at this time. At the time (and until today), Hawaiians describe themselves in Hawaiian as Kanaka Maoli,…and in other terms that have no reference to skin color. Kahalelaau's use of the color term appears to be specifically directed to the government officials who are viewing the people in such terms." They add, "It is important to note that Kahalelaau also emphasizes the relationship of the makaʻāinana [common people] to the government at the end of the letter. He uses the metaphor of the rib bone, which is the center of the human body, to say that he wants the government to see the people suspected of leprosy not as something to be swept away, but as the very core of the Kingdom."

[133] Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi," 693.

[134] Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera*, 145.

[135] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 56.

[136] Quoted in Law, *Kalauapa*, 33.

which Lepart saw as a "menace" to the orderly operation of the settlement became, for its members, a means of ensuring dignity, physical and spiritual comfort, and a measure of control over their lives.[137]

During this initial period, the people of Kalaupapa coped with their situation by adhering to familiar modes of family care and community support, even in the face of extreme physical discomfort, racism, and disenfranchisement. An 1870 report published in *Ka Nupepea Kuoka* explained the situation: "[T]here are between 355 and 500 people, stricken with leprosy, sent to Kalawao; sent with the promise that they would be taken care of by the government and their own helpers…maybe the government thought they were just going to go there and die…but we are a loving people…taking care of each other."[138]

Expansion of the Settlement, 1873-1894

1873 was a watershed year in the history of leprosy, for Hawai'i, and at Kalaupapa. In Norway, physician Gerhard Hansen isolated the leprosy bacillus, fueling an emerging debate within the medical profession over the role of microbes as agents of disease. Of more immediate impact for Kalaupapa, the accession of William Charles Lunalilo as Mō'ī brought a renewed effort to enforce the segregation policy. Like his predecessor, Lunalilo justified the isolation policy as necessary to protect the Hawaiian people, despite continuing disagreement in the medical profession about the disease's communicability.[139] While in part a response to increasing incidence of the disease, Lunalilo's more rigid enforcement of the segregation policy was also a concession in treaty negotiations with the US government over exclusive rights to Hawaiian sugar and other goods.[140] In 1873, the government sent 560 people to Molokai, as many as had been sent in the previous seven years. The increase created shortages in housing and food, exacerbating already poor conditions at the settlement.

Resistance to the segregation policy intensified in response to these changes. In addition to hiding family members and friends from authorities, more public actions were taken. On March 31, 1873, a group of Hawaiians met at the Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu to voice their opposition to the law and the actions of the Board of Health. During her 1874 campaign against David Kalākaua, Queen Emma, whose cousin Peter Ka'eo had been sent to Kalawao, expressed her intent to end the segregation policy. Some Hawaiian lawmakers also sought to challenge the policy through legislation. On June 7, 1876, S.K. Mahoe introduced a bill to allow those sent to Kalawao to return home. In response to a petition circulating that same year, Representative Wana of Hanalei drafted a resolution to stop sending people to Molokai. While neither bill passed, these efforts reflected strong opposition among Native Hawaiians to the segregation policy.[141]

Vocal opposition continued to come from the people of Kalaupapa who called on the government to improve conditions at the settlement as a matter of justice for citizens of the Kingdom. A petition drafted by Siloama Church members and sent to the legislature in June 1874 described the "injustice" of life at the settlement. The authors emphasized the difficult climate which was cold and rainy in winter and "terribly hot" in summer, leading to the "spread of the disease among us which is the cause of our quick death." They also noted the lack

[137] For the important role the church played in the early development of the Kalawao community, along with a list of members and a transcription of its minutes, see J.D. Kahauliko, et al., *Adjourned with a Prayer: The Minutes of Siloama & Kanaana Hou Churches, Kalawao & Kalaupapa, Molokai, 1866-1928*, translated by Reverend Henry P. Judd, additional translation by Carol L. Silva, edited by Anwei Skinsnes Law (Kalaupapa: Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, 2011).

[138] Quoted in Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 80.

[139] Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 100.

[140] Ibid.; Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 53.

[141] Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 101.

of medical staff and shortages of poi and other foods "that have been the customary and useful food to the Hawaiian people since the beginning of the world."[142]

1873 was also the year of Father Damien's arrival at Kalawao. As detailed in the section below, Father Damien contributed significantly to the physical development of the settlement while also attracting public attention to the lives of those sent there and the disease in general. Several Native Hawaiians also came to occupy leadership positions at the settlement during this period. Often working alongside Father Damien, these individuals made significant contributions of their own, demonstrating the ability of the people of Kalaupapa to improve their own lives.[143]

One of the most important of these Hawaiian leaders was Jonathan Napela, an aliʻi and missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who came to the settlement as kōkua for his wife Kitty Richardson. Previously, Napela had served as circuit court judge on Maui. He also made a number of contributions to the Latter-day Saint mission in Hawaiʻi, including helping to translate the Book of Mormon to Hawaiian. In 1869, he became the first Native Hawaiian member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to visit Salt Lake City.[144] His arrival at Kalawao on May 2, 1873 (one week before Father Damien) coincided with the start of a Board of Health effort to reduce the number of kōkua at Kalawao. To remain with his wife, Napela offered to take the position of assistant superintendent. Although he served in that role for only a few months, he continued to appeal for permission to remain at Kalawao. His petitions to the Board spoke to his obligation to honor his marriage vows: "I am now sixty years old and the remainder of my days in this life are not great," he wrote. "In these short days I and my wife wish [to remain together]."[145] Napela, who believed that he had contracted the disease even before coming to Kalaupapa, was formally admitted in 1878. He died in August of the following year at the age of 65.[146]

Napela distinguished himself as a tireless advocate for allowing kōkua to remain, often angering the Board of Health for his unwillingness to enforce its strict rules of segregation. Even as an employee of the government, he openly defied its orders, stating plainly, "I don't represent the Board of Health."[147] Anwei Skinsnes Law notes that Napela's commitment to his wife and other families struggling to remain together made him "in essence the first real aliʻi at Kalawao, a leader who cared deeply for his people and personally knew the tremendous toll that leprosy, and the Board's policies, were taking on [them]."[148] Napela also continued to preside over the Kalawao and Kalaupapa branches of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints until the end of his life. The first Latter-day Saint chapel in Kalawao is believed to have been built in 1878, shortly before Napela's death. Peter Kaʻeo noted that prior to the construction of a chapel, Napela held Sunday services inside the Kauhakō Crater on the windward side where the trees were the thickest.[149] According to a report by a

[142] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 49.

[143] Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Molokaʻi."

[144] Fred E. Woods, "A Most Influential Mormon Islander: Jonathan Hawaiʻi Napela." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 140, 146.

[145] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 81.

[146] Woods, "A Most Influential Mormon Islander," 149-150.

[147] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 66.

[148] Ibid., 67.

[149] Alfons L. Korn, *News from Molokai: Letters between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1976), 17-18.

group of Latter-day Saint elders who visited the settlement in 1888, Napela's grave was located near the crater and was covered with lime mortar.[150]

1878 was also the year of Ambrose Hutchison's admission to Kalaupapa. A half-Hawaiian son of one of the early members of the Board of Health, Hutchison served as resident superintendent from 1884 to 1897. Like Napela, he used his personal wealth and leadership position to work on behalf of the people of Kalaupapa and their families.[151] Complementing his day to day work, Hutchison's vivid descriptions of the struggles faced by patients in correspondence to the Board of Health and appeals to the ali'i drew attention to the poor living conditions while calling on the government to provide proper care for its citizens as a matter of justice. [redacted]

High ranking ali'i also visited Kalaupapa on multiple occasions, leading to reforms to better provide for patients and their families. King Kalākaua and Queen Kapi'olani visited in 1874. The King greeted residents and gave a short emotional speech before returning to Honolulu.[153] Princess Lili'uokalani made the first of three visits to the settlement in 1881. Her contact with the people of Kalaupapa had a profound effect on her. Soon after returning, she assisted the Board of Health in acquiring land at Kaka'ako near Honolulu for the establishment of a branch hospital.[154]

The people of Kalaupapa also took advantage of these visits to voice grievances and call for change. At the welcome ceremony for Queen Kapi'olani and Princess Lili'uokalani in 1884, Kailikapu stood to recount his experience of being taken "to this place, where I suppose I must remain like my afflicted fellows to linger out a miserable existence without a hope of a cure; away from the comforts of home and the society of family and friends." He also questioned the Board's claim that leprosy was contagious and reminded the royal visitors of the government's responsibility to care for those it had banished. "Poor food, insufficient as regards quantity, and want of proper care and nursing, are prominent among the ills of which have to complain," he said. "If the Government cannot supply these as they are supplied to us when at home, they should return us whence we came." Ambrose Hutchison also spoke, describing the inadequate housing and efforts to secure shelter by any means possible. While some (like himself) had enough funds to buy lumber to build homes, most were forced to live in caves or rude "stone wall built huts covered with any kind of materials they can get hold of to keep the sun and rain out." Hutchison also noted the lack of a sufficient water system as well as a pervasive "dread" of the Board of Health hospital where the most severe cases were brought to die. Often, he said, individuals were carried into the facility in the very coffin in which they were later to be buried.[155]

A poignant moment occurred when a young girl came through the crowd to where Hutchison was speaking and called "Papa, Papa," wanting to be picked up. As Hutchison recounted in his memoir, he took the girl in his arms, turned her to face the Queen, and asked: "Must she and the other children like her be left to their fate to

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[150] Lane D. Chase, "Mormons and Lepers: The Saints at Kalaupapa," *Mormon Pacific Historical Society* 13, no. 1 (1992), 16.; As of this writing, Napela's gravesite has not been positively identified.

[151] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 414.

[152] [redacted]

[153] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 122.

[154] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 125.

[155] Quotes from H.R.H. Princess Lili'uokalani, "Appendix A: Report of Her Majesty Queen Kapiolani's Visit to Molokai," in *Appendix to the Report on Leprosy of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1886*, vii.; Also see Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 131-132.

become victims of the dread scourge with which the mothers are sorely afflicted?" He then proposed that a home be established for the child and others like her where they could be cared for and educated without exposure to the disease and the suffering it caused.[156] Visibly moved, the Queen took the girl from Hutchison's arms and returned her to her mother in the crowd. A year and a half later, the government dedicated the Kapiʻolani Home for Girls near Honolulu where girls born at the settlement were raised until the age of twenty one, at which time they were permitted to enter society. While intended to provide better care for children of those affected by leprosy, the establishment of the Kapiʻolani Home also prompted resistance from parents at Kalaupapa who did not want to be separated from their children.[157]

Other actions resulting from visits by the aliʻi included the extension of the water system from Waikolu Valley to Kalaupapa and the provisioning of wagons and ambulances to improve transportation. The Kingdom also subsidized regular inter-island steamer service to the peninsula to ease deliveries of supplies. Construction of new homes and facilities also continued. By 1883, forty-four children were in residence at the two dormitories Father Damien had founded to house boys and girls who had been separated from their parents or whose parents had died at the settlement. Father Damien and Rudolph Meyer both filed reports in 1886 detailing the conditions and needs of the settlement. Meyer recorded a population of 652 with 327 buildings and an extensive boat landing at Kalaupapa harbor. By 1888, the number of buildings had risen to 374, including 350 cottages, two general warehouses, two taro receiving houses, one store, two dormitories, twelve hospital buildings, a physician's house, dispensaries at Kalawao and Kalaupapa, a two-cell jail, and a receiving station at Kalaupapa. Five churches were also built including Roman Catholic and Congregational churches at both Kalawao and Kalaupapa, and the Latter-day Saint meetinghouse at Kalawao. Construction of new dormitories began in 1886, followed by construction of separate boys' and girls' dining halls in 1887. These were replaced by the Charles R. Bishop Home for Girls, founded in 1888 at Kalaupapa, and the Henry P. Baldwin Home for Boys, opened in 1894 in Kalawao.

With the 1881 establishment of the Kakaʻako Hospital in Honolulu and the expansion of the settlement at Kalawao, medical officials sought to take advantage of what they saw as a captive population for medical experimentation. In a highly publicized experiment in 1884, biologist Eduard Arning grafted a leproma excised from the cheek of a young girl onto the arm of a man named Keanu who had previously been charged with murder. Two years later, Keanu – who in the interim was held at Kakaʻako – showed signs of leprosy. He was transferred to Kalaupapa in 1889, dying three years later. While initially cited as evidence of leprosy's transmissibility by inoculation, several observers noted that Keanu had previously lived with family members affected by the disease, and that it had likely been present prior to his inoculation.[158] Arthur Mouritz, resident physician at Kalawao during the late 1880s, later stated that he had attempted to inoculate some 225 kōkua with the disease – notably, without success.[159]

Even as medical research seemed to point to leprosy's relative incommunicability, political developments prompted stricter enforcement of the segregation policy and the expansion of the settlement. In 1887, a group of American businessmen threatened violence to force King Kalākaua to sign a document surrendering governing authority to the legislature. The resulting "Bayonet Constitution" also extended suffrage to resident aliens and imposed a wealth requirement for voting, disenfranchising many Native Hawaiians. The Board of Health's

[156] Quoted in Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera*, 133.; Princess Liliʻuokalani, "Report of Her Majesty Queen Kapiolani's Visit to Molokai," v-viii.

[157] Janine M. Richardson, "'None of Them Came for Me:' The Kapiʻolani Home for Girls, 1885-1938," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 1-26.

[158] Mouritz, *'The Path of the Destroyer'*, 154-155.; The Board of Health dismissed Arning in 1885, citing the mounting costs of his work and his refusal to turn over his results to the government.

[159] Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera*, 71.

leprosy program became a focus for the new American leadership. Government officials attempted to link the disease to "purported Hawaiian cultural features such as lethargy and promiscuity" as part of a strategy to undermine Hawaiian political authority.[160] In his 1888 annual report, Board of Health president Dr. N.B Emerson justified segregation as necessary to counteract the "fatal sentimentality" of the Hawaiians who, he wrote, "do not appreciate, and refuse to be convinced, that leprosy is a communicable disease, that the leper is unclean and should be shunned, as the bearer of a deadly contagion."[161] The disease, according to the official reports, was less a medical problem than a social problem requiring strict surveillance and control of Native Hawaiians as a distinct group.

One of the first acts of the new legislature was to authorize increased police actions to apprehend people affected by leprosy still living among the general population, leading to a record 579 people sent to Molokai in 1888. The government also passed laws criminalizing the transport and concealment of persons suspected of having the disease. Another law declared caretakers of those affected by the disease "lepers," even if they showed no signs of infection, effectively extending the dehumanizing connotations of that word to entire families and communities. Intending to limit the number of kōkua at Kalawao, the Board of Health began forcing family members who wished to accompany their loved ones to the settlement to sign a declaration that they would remain there indefinitely.[162]

To accommodate the population influx, the Board commenced a major construction campaign, erecting shelters for an additional 200 people by May 1888. This was not enough, however, and new arrivals continued to build homes on their own or with the help of kōkua. Remnants of homes from this period display a blending of Hawaiian and western construction styles. They also demonstrate creative use of local and imported, often recycled, building materials.[163] Western and traditional Hawaiian "grass hut" homes existed side by side at Kalawao into the 1890s, reflecting the settlement's development as an institution retaining physical and spatial characteristics of a Hawaiian community.[164]

Supplying food also became a problem. In 1890, the Board gave in to patients' demands for cash to purchase their own food through intermediaries. The growing population also made the settlement more difficult to police, and escapes by boat and by foot over the pali became common. Unauthorized kōkua also continued to sneak in to be with their loved ones, adding to the population increase.[165]

The growth of Kalawao following the 1887 Bayonet Constitution also set the stage for relocation to the village of Kalaupapa on the west coast of the peninsula. The Board of Health's biennial report for 1890 advised that the west side had more available room, a drier more comfortable climate, and proximity to the boat landing. Rather than making a single large move, the Board suggested that buildings at Kalawao should be abandoned as they decayed and replaced at Kalaupapa by all new buildings. The Board also hoped to lay out the new settlement "in regular order according to some definite plan" in contrast to the more random structure of Kalawao.[166] The resulting grid pattern of the road system at Kalaupapa aimed to impose greater efficiency and control over the

[160] Moblo, "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai'i's Reform Party," 75.

[161] Hawaiian Board of Health, *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Session of 1888* (Honolulu: Gazette Publishing Company, 1888), 17.

[162] Moblo, "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai'i's Reform Party," 75-80.

[163] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 154,

[164] Ibid., 183-185.

[165] Ibid., 82-83.

[166] Hawai'i Board of Health, *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Session of 1890* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, Co., 1890), 46.

population.[167] The Board also suggested building a guest house near the landing where family and friends would be permitted to visit their loved ones from behind a wire fence without physical contact.[168]

Meanwhile, Hawaiians continued to evade authorities. The best known episode of resistance began shortly following the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, which was followed by a renewed effort to round up “suspects” believed to have the disease. Concurrent with these events, Ko‘olau, a ranch foreman in the Kekaha region of Kaua‘i, began showing signs of leprosy. When a government agent came to Kekaha to apprehend those suspected of having the disease, he informed Ko‘olau that he would have to leave his wife Pi‘ilani and ten-year old son Kaleimanu behind. Refusing to break his marriage vows, Ko‘olau fled with his family and several other families into the remote Kalalau Valley, “leaving behind our ‘birth sands’ without knowing when we would see them again” as Pi‘ilani later recalled.[169] Waimea deputy sheriff Louis Stoltz pursued the family into the mountains, leading to a confrontation during which Ko‘olau shot and killed the sheriff. Following this, the provisional government sent a small army in pursuit, which the family managed to elude in the rugged terrain. The family survived in hiding for a few more years, with the boy Kaleimanu – who also contracted leprosy – dying first, followed by his father. With the publication of Pi‘ilani’s poetic first-hand account of these events in 1906, the story became a powerful symbol of Hawaiian resistance to the segregation policy and to American annexation generally.[170]

Father Damien

Father Damien was born Jozef De Veuster on January 3, 1840 in Ninde, a hamlet of the municipality of Tremelo in Belgium.[171] Following his siblings into missionary work, he joined the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary in 1860. In 1864, he traveled to Honolulu where he entered the priesthood before being assigned to the Catholic Mission in North Kohala on the Island of Hawai‘i. There, he witnessed “much sorrow among native families” whose loved ones were “led away like criminals” to Molokai.[172] This convinced him to join with a group of priests to discuss how they might aid those sent to Kalawao. The group decided they would travel to the settlement on a rotating basis, with each member spending three months on Molokai. Within two days of his arrival on May 10, 1873, Father Damien was so affected by what he saw that he determined to

[167] Sonia P. Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape: An Ethnographic Study*, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region Social Science Series, Publication Number 2007-03, 2007, 22.

[168] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 202.; Fear about the spread of the disease among family members of those affected by it prompted discussion of even more extreme enforcement measures. In 1892, Dr. H.A. Linkley of Kona advised the Board to consider “burning or thoroughly disinfecting all houses, bedding and other personal effects of every leper immediately on his removal by death or segregation.” H.A. Lindley, M.D., “Segregation of Lepers,” in *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, Co., 1892), 18.

[169] Pi‘ilani Kaluaiko‘olau, *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau*, trans. Frances N. Frazier (Lihue, HI: Kauai Historical Society, 2001), 10.

[170] The story was initially popularized in a short story by Jack London who tailored the narrative to a western audience, portraying Ko‘olau as a tragic hero who resisted an unjust colonial regime but who also embodied the inability of Hawaiians to successfully make the transition to civilization. Pi‘ilani’s first-hand account was transcribed in Hawaiian by journalist Kahikina Sheldon in 1906. An English translation can be found in Kaluaiko‘olau, *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau*, trans. Frazier, cited above. As Penny Moblo notes, an important political aspect of Ko‘olau’s resistance, often unacknowledged by popular accounts, is that he was not afraid of the disease, but was holding out hope that the government would establish regional leprosaria where family members would be permitted to accompany their loved ones. Penny Moblo, “The Colony: The Harrowing True Story of the Exiles of Molokai (review),” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 81, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 889.

[171] Tremelo is typically identified as Father Damien’s birthplace. Per communication with Kerri Inglis (June 15, 2016), he was actually born in Ninde, a hamlet of the municipality of Tremelo, and baptized in Tremelo proper.

[172] Ambrose Hutchison quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 88.

remain permanently. During the ensuing weeks, he took shelter under a pandanus tree growing near the small St. Philomena Chapel, built the year before.[173]

From the start, the Honolulu press lionized Father Damien as a spiritual and humanitarian pioneer, although he was actually joining an established multi-denominational community. Protestant, Catholic, and Latter-day Saint missionaries had been visiting the Kalaupapa peninsula for years prior to the establishment of the settlement. This presence extended into the settlement period. Reverend Anderson O. Forbes regularly ministered to the Siloama congregation beginning in 1866, even before the construction of a physical church. He was succeeded by Reverend S.R. Heulu, a Native Hawaiian minister from Kalaua‘aha in the southeastern part of Molokai. Priests from the Roman Catholic Church also visited the settlement, holding services in the homes of the kama‘āina. In 1872, Brother Victorin Bertrand, with the assistance of patients and kōkua, erected the St. Philomena Chapel at Kalawao. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was also represented at Kalawao, most notably through the work of Jonathan Napela who arrived at the settlement a week before Father Damien.[174]

Father Damien’s high public visibility was due in part to his status as the first white missionary to take up permanent residence at Kalawao. His arrival also coincided with the start of a more aggressive government effort to apprehend those suspected of having the disease. Father Damien was also more outwardly vocal in his advocacy than many other religious workers at the settlement. He waged a public battle with the Board of Health to dedicate additional funds and resources to the settlement, often angering Board leadership and the Diocese in Honolulu. His efforts inspired Princess Lili‘uokalani, upon returning from her 1881 visit to Kalawao, to write to him to express “admiration for the heroic and disinterested service you are rendering to the most unhappy of my subjects.”[175] Press coverage of his efforts to build morale and ensure greater physical, emotional, and spiritual comfort for the people of Kalaupapa also brought in gifts from the church and private citizens, and led to the start of regular steamer service to the settlement.

Scrutinized initially by the people of Kalaupapa, the pious and often severe Father Damien sympathized intimately with the Hawaiians, and by speaking their language and living in their midst without fear, ultimately came to be accepted as a member of the community. Anwei Skinsnes Law notes that Father Damien’s actions on behalf of those confined at the settlement were inspired by his experience of living among them and encountering the strength with which they confronted their situation. “Father Damien was often described as having tears in his eyes,” Law writes. “His emotions were very close to the surface. He was overcome by the difficulties experienced by his people, but he had to have been equally moved by their joy and deep expressions of faith.”[176]

The people of Kalaupapa also recognized qualities in Father Damien which aligned with their values as Hawaiians. Joseph Manu described him as willing to “help in any circumstances” including in the construction and maintenance of housing. Father Damien also treated and washed peoples’ sores without fear. He did this, Manu recalled, “because he wanted to be their father…. He was joined to the patients as one of them.” Manu further commented on the simplicity of Father Damien’s life: “He was poor but he never complained about it. Father Damien used to come to our house in Pelekunu. When we asked him if he wanted something special to

[173] Ibid., 88-89.

[174] Ibid., 55-56; Mary Adamski, “Kalaupapa’s Saints,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 10, 2005.; Emmet Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa: A Saga of Pain and Joy* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1990), 42.

[175] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 125.

[176] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 123.

eat, he answered: 'Do not disturb yourself I will eat what you have.' He was satisfied with a bit of taro, a piece of fish and a glass of water."[177]

Father Damien also worked closely with the people of Kalaupapa to improve facilities, build housing, and obtain needed supplies. In addition to his role as priest, he acted as caregiver, public works planner and supervisor, carpenter, mechanic, superintendent, law enforcement officer, and grave digger. He lobbied the Board of Health for construction materials. He oversaw improvements to the St. Philomena Church. He helped build coffins for proper burials. He convinced the Board of Health to bring a bath treatment pioneered by Japanese doctor Masanao Goto to Kalawao.[178] He also provided care for children sent to the settlement, setting up separate dormitories for orphaned boys and girls. With Mother Marianne, he founded the Bishop Home for Girls, built in 1888 at Kalaupapa. While other religious workers made significant contributions, none were as visibly active as Father Damien, leading to his identification as the embodiment of the settlement.

When Father Damien was diagnosed with leprosy in early 1885, the news became a topic of interest throughout the western world. It inspired British artist Edward Clifford to visit the settlement to paint and gather materials for a book.[179] It convinced Hugh Chapman, an Anglican priest who had often corresponded with Father Damien, to set up a fund in London to provide financial support to the settlement. The news also moved Ira (Joseph) Dutton and James Sinnett to leave their homes in the United States and Ireland, respectively, to volunteer at Kalawao. Father Damien gave both men the honorary title of "Brother."

Father Damien's death in 1889 generated further interest, receiving extensive coverage in global media and generating sales of his deathbed photographs as far away as London. The news inspired the formation of charitable societies, mainly in Great Britain. In 1890, the Prince of Wales inaugurated the National Leprosy Fund to raise money to build a monument to Father Damien. One London-based guild established in 1895 declared a "Father Damien Day" during which schoolchildren were asked to donate a penny each to support humanitarian aid worldwide.[180] In response to a derogatory letter about the late priest by Charles McEwen Hyde, a Presbyterian clergyman in Hawai'i, Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson – who visited Kalaupapa shortly after Father Damien's death – published a widely read eulogy in defense of the late priest titled *Father Damien: An Open Letter to the Reverend Dr. Hyde of Honolulu* (1890).

Father Damien's death also became a significant part of the context for change in popular and medical responses to leprosy, offering evidence that someone from a European background could develop the disease by living among non-Europeans. If "the contagion was capable of passing between races," historian Gavan Daws writes, "then perhaps Western imperialism was creating an empire of leprosy, in which Westerners themselves might be consumed."[181] Following Father Damien's death, western medical professionals, politicians, and missionaries in Hawai'i and around the world declared leprosy an "imperial danger" and warned of its potential to pass from the colonized to the colonizer.[182]

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[177] Quoted in Ibid., 93-94.; Richard Marks, who was sent to Kalaupapa in 1956, recalled "old timers" describing Father Damien as "down to earth, more like Hawaiians." He was known for treating residents "as they would be expected to be treated by their own families." Quoted in Anwei Skinsnes Law and Henry G. Law, *Father Damien: 'A Bit of Taro, A Piece of Fish, and A Glass of Water'* (Seneca Falls: IDEA Center for the Voices of Humanity, 2009), 21.

[178] Daws, *Holy Man*, 162-164.; King Kalākaua was responsible for bringing Dr. Goto to Hawai'i.

[179] Edward Clifford, *Father Damien: A Journey from Cashmere to his Home in Hawaii* (London: Macmillan, 1889).

[180] Vongsathorn, "Selling Leprosy as a Humanitarian Cause in the British Empire."

[181] Ibid., 7.

[182] Gould, *A Disease Apart*, chapter 5.

Escalating concern about leprosy's communicability led to the adoption of compulsory segregation policies as practiced in Hawai'i worldwide.[183] Laws authorizing establishment of centralized mass isolation facilities were enacted in Norway in 1885, New South Wales in 1890, and South Africa in 1892. A large, state-run leprosy home was established near Carville, Louisiana in 1894. US officials also established leprosy isolation facilities based in part on Kalaupapa at Isla de Cabras in Puerto Rico in 1900 and Culion in the Philippines in 1902. The Culion settlement grew into the largest leprosarium in the world with a population of more than 16,000 by 1925. Similar institutions were established in Japan and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) also in 1901.[184] In 1907, Father Conrardy of Belgium, who had been at Father Damien's bedside when he died, established the Sheklong asylum near Canton, drawing on the Molokai model. The asylum eventually grew into the largest leprosy settlement (by population) in China during the Republican period.[185]

Father Damien's reputation as a white savior of supposedly defenseless Native Hawaiians also spread along with fears of the disease.[186] During a period of global colonization, the western press could treat him as a benign hero of empire-building – a man who went on behalf of his civilization to the ends of the earth, to selflessly do good among the "unfortunate primitives." American accounts cast him in the mold of a classic frontier hero, single-handedly bringing law and religion to an anarchic Kalawao settlement. As anthropologist Pennie Moblo has shown, much of the literature on Father Damien fails to acknowledge the ability of the people of Kalaupapa to create viable community institutions before his arrival and to maintain them after his death.[187]

Popular narratives also exhibited a racial double standard. While Father Damien was widely known for his willingness to live among those affected by the disease, he was not subjected to the same scrutiny applied to Native Hawaiian kōkua. While Hawaiians were "demonized for their caring," historian Kerri Inglis writes, Father Damien's actions "were not viewed as irrational, ignorant, or inferior, but rather as a mark of western compassion, moral superiority, and selflessness."[188]

While such portrayals reflect the racial characterizations underlying western responses to leprosy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they do not diminish Father Damien's contributions to improving conditions at the settlement and bringing international attention to the disease and those affected by it. The people of Kalaupapa and others around the world continue to venerate Father Damien for his compassion, self-sacrifice, identification with those subjected to isolation, and willingness to stand up to authorities to advocate for justice and the humane treatment of persons affected by leprosy.[189]

Public interest in Father Damien remained high long after his death. In 1936, his remains were disinterred at the request of Leopold III, the King of Belgium, for reburial in his homeland. Also at that time, the territorial governor signed legislation granting an annual gift of $3,000 toward the preservation of the St. Philomena Church and cemetery.[190] In the 1940s, Mohandas Gandhi cited Father Damien's work as a source of inspiration.[191] In 1969, the State of Hawai'i chose Father Damien as one of its two representatives in the National Statuary Hall, together with Kamehameha I. In 1995, a small casket containing a relic portion of Father

[183] Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 85.
[184] Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating* Sickness, viii.
[185] Leung, *Leprosy in China*, 166-167.
[186] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 8.
[187] See Moblo, "Blessed Damien of Moloka'i," 708.
[188] Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera*, 88.
[189] Strange, "Symbiotic Commemoration," 88, 107; Law, *Father Damien*.
[190] Green, *Exile in Paradise*, 187-188.
[191] Jan De Volder, *The Spirit of Father Damien* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010), 167.

Damien's right hand was returned to his original grave in Kalawao. A decades-long investigation of Father Damien's life and work by the Roman Catholic Church culminated with his canonization as Saint Damien of Molokai on October 11, 2009.[192]

Mother Marianne Cope, the Sisters of Saint Francis, and Other Religious Workers

Mother Marianne Cope of the Sisters of Saint Francis arrived at Kalaupapa in 1888 after serving five years at the Kaka'ako Branch Hospital near Honolulu, during which time she also helped establish the Kapi'olani Home for Girls and a regional hospital on Maui. Mother Marianne was notable as the only American to respond to fifty letters sent on behalf of the Kingdom of Hawai'i to religious congregations across the US requesting nursing assistance for persons affected by leprosy. Like Father Damien, she was inspired by the people of Kalaupapa to work with them to improve their lives. In doing so, she helped establish higher standards for the care and treatment of persons affected by the disease.[193]

Mother Marianne was born Maria Anna Barbara Koob in Heppenheim, now part of Germany, on January 23, 1838. Her family immigrated to the United States when she was one year old, settling in Utica, New York. Following the death of her father in 1862, she entered the novitiate of the Sisters of Saint Francis in Syracuse, eventually taking the name Marianne. In 1869, she helped establish the first two Catholic hospitals in Central New York. These were open to all, regardless of race or religion. As an administrator at St. Joseph's Hospital during the 1870s, Mother Marianne demonstrated a willingness to admit even the most "undesirable" patients. Adopting the principles of the emerging sanitarian movement, she also implemented strict standards of cleanliness to provide a more comfortable, healthful environment for patients.[194]

Mother Marianne arrived in Honolulu in 1883 accompanied by six Sisters of Saint Francis. Disturbed by the poor conditions at the Kaka'ako Branch Hospital, she called on the Board of Health to grant her and the Sisters full control over its operation. Implementing many of the same approaches developed at St. Joseph's, the Sisters brought dramatic improvements in the quality of care in a short period. King Kalākaua and Queen Kapi'olani visited the hospital frequently during those years. The Queen was moved by the difficulties faced by the patients as well as the dedication of Mother Marianne and the Sisters. In recognition of this work and for her role in establishing the Kapi'olani Home for Girls, King Kalākaua awarded Mother Marianne the Royal Medal of Kapi'olani in 1885.[195]

Responding to calls for nursing assistance for orphaned children at Kalawao, Mother Marianne departed for Molokai along with two Sisters in 1888, arriving five months before Father Damien's death. Among her most important contributions was the founding, with Father Damien, of the Bishop Home for Girls which she ran from its opening in 1888 until her death in 1918. The home was named for businessman and philanthropist Charles R. Bishop who provided the funds for its establishment. It was also the first major settlement facility to be located on the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula. Mother Marianne also served as administrator of the boys' dormitory originally set up by Father Damien. She also helped establish the Baldwin Home for Boys in 1894 and lobbied to have the Sacred Hearts Brothers brought in to serve the residents. Her other contributions included raising money for the settlement, overseeing the planting of gardens and landscaping, upholding

[192] Father Damien's continued prominence in his native country was such that in 2005, viewers of the Flemish public broadcasting service VRT voted him "De Grootste Belg" (The Greatest Belgian). De Volder, *The Spirit of Father Damien*, vii.

[193] Mary Laurence Hanley and Oswald A. Bushnell, *Pilgrimage and Exile: Mother Marianne of Molokai* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1980), 46.

[194] Ibid., 26-32.

[195] Anwei V. Skinsnes Law and Richard A. Wisniewski, *Kalaupapa National Historical Park and the Legacy of Father Damien: A Pictorial History*, rev. edition (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 2007), 42-44.

standards of cleanliness and sanitation, offering religious counseling, providing access to music and other entertainments, and ensuring that the women and girls at the Bishop Home had decent clothes.

During her time at Kakaʻako and Kalaupapa, Mother Marianne was highly regarded for her kindness, humility, administrative and leadership talents, dedication to improving the lives of those under her care, and for treating all people with dignity and respect. Anticipating a core philosophy of the later hospice movement, she sought to instill a "quality of life spirit" in those confronting death.[196] Novelist Robert Louis Stevenson – at the time severely ill with tuberculosis – spent time at the Bishop Home with the Sisters of St. Francis and the girls in residence during his eight-day visit to Kalaupapa in 1889. Their strength of spirit moved him to compose a poem to Mother Marianne with the now famous lines:

> To see the infinite pity of this place,
> The mangled limb, the devastated face,
> The innocent sufferers smiling at the rod,
> A fool were tempted to deny his God.
>
> He sees, and shrinks; but if he look again,
> Lo, beauty springing from the breast of pain! –
> He marks the sisters on the painful shores,
> And even a fool is silent and adores.[197]

Queen Liliʻuokalani also visited Mother Marianne at the Bishop Home during her third (and final) visit to Kalaupapa in April 1891. With the Queen seated in a large chair adorned with ferns and flowers, the girls of the home sang "heartfelt songs of welcome" as well as "sad mournful chants" honoring the recently departed King Kalākaua.[198]

Mother Marianne received multiple honors after her death. In 1919, the people of Kalaupapa raised funds for a monument at her gravesite. The monument depicts Jesus reaching down from the cross to embrace St. Francis. Between 1919 and 1920, the Sisters of St. Francis who served with her wrote memoirs in anticipation of her eventual canonization. Numerous special celebrations have been held in her honor in Hawaiʻi, New York, and other locations across the US. Several monuments and buildings, including a wing of the St. Francis Medical Center in Honolulu, have also been dedicated in her honor. In 1986, the Women's History Committee of Hawaiʻi selected her as one of twenty "Notable Women of Hawaiʻi." She was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 2005. Pope Benedict XVI canonized her as Saint Marianne Cope in 2012.[199]

The Sisters of St. Francis who joined Mother Marianne at Kalaupapa also made significant contributions, although their work has received less attention. The first to arrive in Hawaiʻi were Sister M. Crescentia Eilers, Sister M. Bonaventure Caraher, Sister M. Renata Nash, Sister M. Rosalia McLaughlin, Sister M. Ludovica Gibbons, and Sister M. Antonella Murphy. At Kakaʻako, the Sisters provided religious counselling and oversaw day-to-day operations, including providing for patients' comfort, changing dressings, and giving baths. Many

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[196] Ibid., 45.

[197] A facsimile of the original hand-written poem is reprinted in Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 87.

[198] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 242.

[199] Catholic Online, "St. Marianne Cope," http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=7727 (accessed November 2, 2016).; For a list of honors and celebrations for Saint Marianne, see the website for the Sisters of St. Francis of the Neumann Communities, Saint Marianne Cope, at https://sosf.org/category/st-marianne-cope/.

more Sisters arrived in the years that followed.[200] Two Sisters initially accompanied Mother Marianne to Kalaupapa. These were Sister M. Leopoldina Burns and Sister M. Vicentia McCormick. Sister Leopoldina is notable for producing a journal describing life at Kaka'ako and the Bishop Home. The journal includes heartfelt, deeply human portrayals of individual patients.[201]

Other religious workers came to Kalaupapa with the intent to continue Father Damien's work. Notable among these was Joseph Dutton (born Ira Dutton), an American Civil War veteran who chose a life of service at Kalaupapa as repentance for past sins, including possibly alcohol abuse. Father Damien gave Dutton, a layman, the honorary title of "Brother" upon meeting him on the dock at Kalaupapa in 1886. In 1889, Dutton oversaw the completion of repairs to the St. Philomena Church. In 1894, along with Mother Marianne, he helped found the Baldwin Home for Boys, named for businessman Henry P. Baldwin who provided the funds for its establishment. Aided by the Sacred Hearts Brothers, Dutton presided over the home until his death in 1931.[202] Dutton has been described as "a consummate correspondent" for his commitment to responding personally to letters sent to the settlement.[203] A dedicated patriot, he raised the American flag every morning at the Baldwin Home. During World War I, he helped organize a campaign to raise funds for the Red Cross and the purchase of war saving stamps.[204]

Protestant ministers were also active at Kalaupapa before and after Father Damien's death. Except for Reverend Forbes who ministered for the Siloama Church from 1866 to 1868, all the pastors were of Hawaiian ancestry. The longest serving of these, Reverend J. Hanaloa, ministered at Siloama from 1878 until his death in 1889. Arthur Mouritz described the reverend as an "enfeebled" and "semi-blind" man of about sixty years.[205] Like Jonathan Napela, Reverend Hanaloa came to Kalawao as kōkua for his wife. While the leaders of the Catholic and Protestant denominations were often at odds over Kalaupapa, Ambrose Hutchison noted that Reverend Hanaloa and Father Damien maintained an "amiable and friendly" relationship.[206] When the reverend died, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association honored him as "a man of humble heart, able in his administration, and a man of moderation… much beloved for his helpfulness." In reference to the disproportionate notoriety of Father Damien, the resolution added: "In his service…he [Reverend Hanaloa] was not a whit behind some who in this service acquired much fame."[207]

Father Damien was also not the only religious worker at Kalaupapa affected by leprosy. According to a "roll of honor" published in a 1912 edition of the journal *The Friend*, this included four of the thirteen pastors to serve the Kalaupapa congregation between 1866 and 1912. These were Reverend Kahuila, Reverend S. Kamakahiki, Reverend J.P. Keaupuni, and Reverend E.M. Hanuna. In addition to providing religious services, the pastors helped acquire charitable donations for church construction and other community needs.[208]

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[200] For a more complete list, refer to: "Sisters of St. Francis in Hawaii," *Herald: Official Newspaper of the Diocese of Honolulu*, November 8, 2013. http://www.hawaiicatholicherald.com/2013/11/08/sisters-of-st-francis-in-hawaii/ (accessed November 7, 2016).

[201] Excerpts from the journal are included in Law, *Kalaupapa*, chapter 27.; and Hanley and Bushnell, *Pilgrimage and Exile*.

[202] Joseph Dutton, *Joseph Dutton (His Memoirs)*, edited by Howard D. Case (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1931), 59.; Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 166-174, 247.

[203] Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 33.

[204] Ibid., 33-34.

[205] Mouritz, *Path of the Destroyer*, 292.

[206] Quoted in Law, *Father Damien*, 51.

[207] Rev. Wm. Brewster Oleson, "The Scribe's Corner," *The Friend* 70, no. 11 (December 1912): 287.

[208] Ibid.

Transition to Territorial Administration and Institutional Development, 1894-1929

Father Damien's death coincided with a period of increasing American political control in Hawai'i. Leprosy became a priority for the American planter-controlled Republic of Hawai'i, established in 1894, a year after the US military-aided overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani. In late 1894, the new government passed legislation authorizing acquisition of any remaining land required by the Board of Health for the settlement. Afterwards, the Board acquired through purchase or exchange the property of all remaining kama'āina who were forced to move the following year. From this point, the entire peninsula from Waikolu to Nihoa, including all trails to the top of the pali, comprised the settlement.[209]

The expansion of government landownership was as much about controlling Hawaiians as controlling the disease, with the larger aim being to ease American fears of exposure to what one observer termed the "leprous population" of Hawai'i.[210] This concern featured prominently in debates over annexation, with American medical professionals warning about the risks of incorporating a "native population tainted by leprosy" within the national body.[211] Others predicted that with annexation, droves of Hawaiians would flee to the mainland to avoid being sent to Molokai.[212]

Against the backdrop of these concerns, one of the first actions by the interim territorial government in 1898 was to further restrict kōkua from accompanying their loved ones to Kalaupapa. Mounting political pressure related in part to the annexation debate also prompted Congress to review proposals for a national leprosarium in preparation for a potential epidemic on the continent. President William McKinley signed a bill authorizing a national leprosy survey in March 1899. The health officials who conducted the survey concluded that a single isolated facility similar to Kalaupapa would be preferable to smaller regional centers. In response to criticism that leprosy was not so widespread on the continent to warrant such action, supporters pointed to the increased threat of exposure resulting from the US's transformation "from a continental to a world power."[213]

The people of Kalaupapa continued to object to stricter segregation measures. These efforts aligned with a broader Hawaiian resistance to annexation. On September 2, 1897, Robert Kaaoao, president of the Kalaupapa branch of Hui Aloha 'Āina (Hawaiian Patriotic League), organized a celebration including speeches in honor of the deposed Queen Lili'uokalani. Nine days later, approximately seven hundred Kalaupapa residents signed the Petition against Annexation. The document, which circulated throughout Hawai'i, represented what Noenoe Silva describes as an effort "to challenge the US government to behave in accordance with its stated principles

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[209] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 248-249.

[210] Prince A. Morrow, "The Prophylaxis and Control of Leprosy in this Country," *The Medical News: A Weekly Journal of Medical Science* 76, no. 24 (June 16, 1900): 945.

[211] Ibid.; Also see Prince Morrow, "Leprosy and Hawaiian Annexation," *North American Review* 165, no. 492 (November 1897): 582-590.

[212] Burnside Foster, "Leprosy and the Hawaiian Annexation," *North American Review* 167, no. 502 (September 1898): 305.; Prince Morrow also made this point in, "Leprosy and Hawaiian Annexation." Also see "Shall we Annex Leprosy?" *The Cosmopolitan* 24 (November 1897 – April 1898): 557-561.; and D.A. Blair, M.D., "Preventative Medicine" in *The Medical Brief: A Monthly Journal of Scientific Medicine and Surgery* 33 (1905): 406.; Blair wrote, "Most, if not all the cases [of leprosy] in the United States are imported… and since we have acquired the Hawaiian Islands we have increased our leprous population at least one thousand four hundred with perhaps twenty-five percent of the native population infected. These islands have been a continual menace to this country from this cause, and are more so that there is greater intercourse since their annexation."

[213] Morrow, "Leprosy and Hawaiian Annexation." In his 1899 book on the subject, Morrow further warned, "In throwing wide open the portals of communication between our own and leprous countries, we are virtually releasing the diseases which had been secluded behind the closed doors of caste and insular prejudice for ages." Prince A. Morrow, *Leprosy* (New York: William Wood & Company, 1899), 603.; Also see Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 21-27.

of justice and of government of the people, by the people, and for the people."[214] Shortly after, the people of Kalaupapa petitioned the legislature to allow greater self-government and to increase food and clothing allowances, improve home maintenance, import awa (kava), and allow privately operated stores. In 1902, more than two hundred patients signed a petition opposing a proposal by Senator Joseph R. Burton to separate men and women at the settlement to prevent the birth of children. The petition stated opposition to "any legislation which would curtail our liberties and subject us to further and greater hardships than we now have to endure."[215]

Faced with escalating Hawaiian opposition on one side and increased political pressure to contain the disease on the other, the Board of Health prioritized the development of social institutions and treatment facilities to improve living conditions at the settlement, even as it imposed stricter measures of segregation and surveillance. After the Bishop and Baldwin Homes, the third major group home built during this period was the Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind, opened in 1901. The facility was intended for those requiring additional care, and a nursing staff was provided full-time.

A change in leadership in 1902 initiated another stage in Kalaupapa's development. Over the next two decades, Superintendent John McVeigh, resident physician William Goodhue, and Board of Health president Lucius Pinkham oversaw the transformation of the settlement into what many observers touted as the world's foremost facility for controlling leprosy. By 1908, new facilities included a poi factory, visitors' quarters, steam laundry, houses for the superintendent, new cottages, quarters for those with mental illnesses, a bandstand, stables, warehouses, a track and baseball field, a bath house, a pavilion at the boat landing, and a sawing and splitting yard. St. Francis Catholic Church was also built to replace an earlier building destroyed by fire. The Bishop Home gained a dormitory, dining room, and bathroom. The Kalaupapa Landing was also expanded with the addition of 150 feet of stone masonry wall on both sides. A new 10,000-gallon water storage tank was built at Makanalua, and repairs were made to roads and the Pali Trail.

The first Kalaupapa Hospital also opened in 1908. The complex consisted of four private wards, two general wards, a full-service dispensary, an operating room, a laboratory, a drug room, nurse's quarters, dressing rooms, and a dining room and kitchen. The hospital also included a nursery for babies born at the settlement. Newborns were taken from their parents immediately in the belief that this would prevent the spread of the disease. A ward for patients undergoing treatment for other conditions was established in a separate building.[216]

The Board also occasionally invited guests to Kalaupapa to promote the work it was doing there. Following an official tour in 1907, author Jack London wrote glowingly about the active lives and apparent contentment of the patients, despite the effects of the disease on their bodies. In attempting to humanize those affected by the disease, however, London also offered further justification for their forced institutionalization. He presented Kalaupapa as a model of paternalist imperialism: a refuge for a dying race incapable of sustaining itself without the care of a benevolent colonial administration.[217]

The increased national and international attention on Kalaupapa also led to an emphasis on its potential contributions to medical research. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt called for the establishment of a

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[214] Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 146, 148-150.; Law, *Kalaupapa*, 258.

[215] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 315-316.

[216] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Kalaupapa and Kalawao Settlements, Kalaupapa National Historical Park, 2011* (National Park Service, 2011), 37-38.

[217] See especially, Rod Edmond, "Leprosy and Colonial Discourse: Jack London and Hawaii," *Wasafiri* 12, no. 25 (1997): 78-82.; and Neel Ahuja, "The Contradictions of Colonial Dependency: Jack London, Leprosy, and Hawaiian Annexation," *Journal of Literary Disability* 1, no. 2 (2007): 15-28.

national laboratory for the study of leprosy to be located in Hawai‘i. The following year, Congress passed legislation granting $100,000 for the construction of a facility at Kalawao. During an inspection of the proposed site, Surgeon General Walter Wyman declared that the laboratory would mark “a new era in the medical history of leprosy” and would “become a part of the important history of the United States.”[218]

When it opened in 1909, the US Leprosy Investigation Station was one of the largest public buildings in Hawai‘i. Built in the “bureaucratic-baroque style” common for the time, the facility featured wide verandas, high ceilings, and black-painted wood floors to reduce glare. One historian described the station as “a mainlander’s idea of a southern planter’s mansion transplanted to the sunny, languid tropics.” The compound sprawled over a square mile at the southeast end of Kalawao and included three sections: residential, hospital, and administrative. It was also the first electrified facility on Molokai and included quarters for more than fifty staff. Emma Gibson, wife of on-site manager Frank Leighton Gibson, described the amenities: “Uncle Sam furnished us with the best of everything: fine linen, good furniture, Haviland dishes, silver, electric lights, ice, our own water system and even a Jersey dairy cow and a flock of chickens.” Upon arriving, the Gibsons “felt like Adam and Eve in Paradise with all the conveniences of civilization.”[219]

While territorial officials welcomed the federal government presence, the people of Kalaupapa refused to give themselves over as experimental subjects. They quickly learned that to enter the institution, which was enclosed by an imposing double fence, would require them to leave behind their homes and social life in the Kalaupapa community in exchange for a solitary life in a foreign institution. To the frustration of federal officials, only nine people entered the facility, well below the number considered necessary to conduct useful experiments. Even this group only stayed for eight weeks. While some historians have regarded this as “an opportunity lost,” a result of US health officials’ inability to convey the benefits of medical research to Hawaiians, this interpretation fails to appreciate what historian Michelle Moran describes as Hawaiians’ “deeper distrust of experiments that took place behind tall fences.”[220] The facility closed in 1913, standing vacant until 1929 when the buildings were razed for materials for new construction elsewhere in the settlement.[221]

Kalaupapa’s expansion continued through the 1910s. A third housing and care complex, the McVeigh Home for White Foreigners, opened in 1910 to address the differing dietary preferences and needs of the small number of white patients. It initially contained a twenty-four-room dormitory, kitchen, dining room, social hall and bathrooms. The original Bay View Home was destroyed by fire in 1915 and replaced by a new complex accommodating ninety-six residents. A 1918 landscaping project added lawns, fruit trees, and ornamental trees to the facility. The people of Kalaupapa also continued beautification efforts, planting approximately three hundred coconut trees throughout the settlement. Other community improvements included the construction of the new Congregational church, Kana‘ana Hou, in 1915 and a community social hall in 1916.[222]

Benevolent societies representing patients of various religious and ethnic groups also contributed to improvements. This included maintenance of cemeteries at Kalaupapa and Kalawao and building fences to keep grazing cattle from wandering in and damaging graves. Many people raised hogs and poultry, together with sorghum, alfalfa, papaya and pumpkins for fodder. Others grew taro in Waikolu Valley and in irrigated fields at Puahi. The sheltered floor of Kauhakō Crater was planted with potatoes and other vegetables. The Board paid

[218] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 317.

[219] Information and quotes from Jerrold M. Michael, “The Public Health Service Leprosy Investigation Station on Molokai, Hawaii, 1909-1913: An Opportunity Lost,” *Public Health Reports* 95, no. 3 (May-June 1980): 204-206.

[220] Ibid.; Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 121-122.

[221] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 251-292.

[222] Ibid., 38.

wages to patients who produced food for local use.[223] According to Board of Health reports, sometime before 1917, Dr. Goodhue selected an eight acre plot of low ground at ʻĪliopiʻi, surrounded it with a rock wall and attempted to flood it to form a fishpond. This is possibly the location of an earlier, pre-settlement fishpond. Goodhue reportedly employed a group of patients at $1 to $1.25 a day to complete the work.[224] The pond was never fully functional, possibly due to sand blocking the channel to the bay.[225]

While living conditions generally improved at Kalaupapa, segregation and surveillance were also more rigidly enforced. The Board required visitors to "remain in corral" at the visitors' quarters near the landing to prevent them from coming into physical contact with friends and loved ones confined at the settlement. McVeigh also imposed more severe punishments for possession of firearms and alcohol. During the first years of his administration, the Board meted out numerous fines and jail sentences for these offenses as well as for alleged instances of assault, trespassing, theft, leaving the settlement without a permit, violations of "Sunday rules," solicitation, and failing to maintain an orderly house. Meanwhile, McVeigh's and Pinkham's public statements described residents as cooperative and grateful for the government's efforts "to promote their comfort and welfare." At the same time, the Board worked to prevent candidates for public office from approaching the settlement by boat to earn the backing of its more than three hundred eligible voters. Labeling such efforts "political agitation," McVeigh strove to ensure that Kalaupapa would not become subject to public scrutiny and debate.[226]

The Board also implemented various experimental treatments during this period, most notably the use of chaulmoogra oil. Promising early reports from the Louisiana state leprosy home convinced the Board to initiate an intensive program of treatment at Kalihi Hospital beginning in 1916. Highly touted by the western press, chaulmoogra treatment induced severe nausea when administered orally and was intensely painful when administered by deep injection. Health officials stressed the importance of ensuring that patients continued to receive the injections over the long term. "Keep on driving at the treatment until the patient dies or gets well," said one doctor in 1921.[227]

Chaulmoogra oil lost favor internationally during the 1920s as its ineffectiveness became apparent. In Hawaiʻi, hopes that the treatment would permit the eventual closure of the settlement faded after 1923 when ninety-two out of approximately two hundred people receiving the treatments at Kalihi were sent to Molokai due to the progression of the disease. This was after a hiatus beginning in 1919 when only one person was admitted. While chaulmoogra treatments continued through the early 1930s, the focus of administration shifted back to the physical development and management of the settlement.[228]

Modernization and Community, 1929-1941

In 1929, territorial governor Lawrence M. Judd convened an advisory body to investigate conditions at Kalaupapa and make recommendations for its improvement. Recognizing that management of Kalaupapa would "directly reflect upon the character of the Territory," the report called for construction of a modern hospital,

[223] Ibid.

[224] Ibid., 526.

[225] Carol Araki Wyban, *Report on the Kalaupapa Fishpond* (Kalaupapa National Historical Park: National Park Service, 1993), 28.

[226] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 106-108.

[227] "Out of the Darkness and into the Light," *Paradise of the Pacific* 34, no. 12 (December 1921): 35-36.

[228] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 370-371.

expansion of social welfare, and rebuilding of housing and other facilities.[229] In 1931, the legislature approved a biannual construction budget of $375,000 with an additional $875,000 for operating expenses. Judd also ordered a transfer of jurisdiction to the newly established Board of Hospitals and Settlement, created specifically to address the continuing presence of leprosy in the islands. He also expressed his intent to gradually reduce the number of people sent to Kalaupapa by expanding hospital facilities on Honolulu.

Creating a more comfortable environment was not simply a humanitarian concern. It was also meant to allay fears about coming forward to seek treatment. Official reports of contentment notwithstanding, through the 1920s, "fence jumping" had become common at Kalihi Hospital with patients taking advantage of any opportunity to avoid being sent to Molokai to die.[230] Olivia Breitha attempted to run away to join her family a number of times, especially at Christmas. Those caught trying to escape, Breitha recalled, were either placed in solitary confinement or given the choice to be relocated to Kalaupapa.[231] Judd further believed that improving conditions at the settlement would help demonstrate the success of the territory's leprosy program both in containing the disease and in educating Hawaiians in hygiene and civic duty. His reforms were also in response to the difficulties of ascertaining the numbers of people affected by the disease, and public fear that without higher standards of detection and control, the problem would grow worse.[232]

Health officials also recognized that the predominantly Hawaiian population would likely not respond well to a more traditional institutional environment.[233] As a result, much of the infrastructure constructed under Judd's leadership was meant to recreate, within the constraints of the segregation policy, the way of life of a typical modern Hawaiian community. Extant buildings dating to this period include residential cottages, the post office, the automobile service station, the ice plant, the poi shop, the central laundry, and the community store. Construction projects were also carried out at the Bay View Home and the Bishop Home. In 1936, the community social hall was remodeled. The original McVeigh Home, which burned down in 1928, was rebuilt between 1930 and 1938. The new complex was larger than the first, containing two dormitories with twelve rooms each, twenty-one two-room cottages, two four-room cottages, one older cottage, a central kitchen and dining room, laundry, hot water plant, recreation pavilion, and garages. All quarters were equipped with electricity, indoor plumbing, and hot water.

Efforts were also made to modernize the infrastructure, including additions to the power plant, power distribution system, and water system. These improvements included fire hydrants and streetlights, and from 1933 the settlement was linked to the Molokai Electric Company's network. A telephone line for the superintendent was also added, making it easier to order food and other supplies. With a growing number of automobiles in use throughout Kalaupapa, the settlement acquired a rock crusher, a road roller, and other equipment in order to pave streets and parking spaces. A plant nursery was also established with banana and coconut trees, together with other plants and tools for residents to use in their yards and gardens.

Carpenters from topside Molokai constructed twelve new cottages in 1931, most in the residential area on the east side of Kalaupapa. Built in the Hawaiian Plantation Style and known as "A Homes," each had two bedrooms, a kitchen, dining room, living room, and bathroom and was supplied with electricity and running water. The homes were also connected to the street with concrete sidewalks. Major repairs were also made on

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[229] Report cited in Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 138.

[230] Law, *Kalaupapa*, chapter 33.

[231] Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 65.

[232] For example see Frederick L. Hoffman, "Leprosy as a National and International Problem," *Journal of Sociologic Medicine* 37, no. 2 (April 1916): 1-19.

[233] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 140.

twenty-five other residences and dormitories, while twenty-four buildings deemed uninhabitable were demolished. Between 1934 and 1936 four additional cottages were built and twenty-three others were remodeled. Renovations continued in 1937 and 1938. The settlement population had also become more diverse by the 1930s, reflecting the changing population demographics of Hawai‘i as a whole. The growing number of non-Hawaiian patients were active in social clubs reflecting their ethnic backgrounds, including Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese clubs. A women’s club was also established. The Board built recreational facilities including tennis, basketball and volleyball courts. Several private beach houses were also built along the west side of the peninsula during the 1930s, some using salvaged materials from the Leprosy Investigation Station.

The new Kalaupapa Hospital opened in July 1931.[234] The facility had a capacity of fifty beds, a maternity ward, operating room, x-ray room and laboratory, dining room, kitchen, store room, staff offices, boiler room, incinerator and laundry. A ward for patients with mental illnesses was added in 1935-1936. Construction of the hospital marked the final phase of the relocation from Kalawao to Kalaupapa. In 1932, shortly after Joseph Dutton’s death, the remaining residents of the Baldwin Home for Boys moved across the peninsula to the New Baldwin Home which occupied the old hospital building. The Old Baldwin Home burned down in 1936, resulting in a dramatically changed appearance for the area.

Access was also improved in 1933 with the construction of an airfield with a 1,900-foot runway at the north end of the peninsula. Initially, Inter-Island Airways provided frequent though not regular service, and the field was occasionally used by US Army and Navy aircraft. Reliance on the Pali Trail diminished as airplanes brought in fresh food, visitors, and workers. The increased frequency of inter-island steamers brought in other supplies, including beef which had previously been carried down the Pali Trail. Mail, however, still arrived on the backs of mules.[235]

While the people of Kalaupapa welcomed greater access to medical care and other improvements, these did not erase what many still saw as the fundamental injustice of their forced separation from their families, homes, and society. The Board also continued to employ racial arguments for upholding the segregation policy, attributing the ongoing presence of leprosy in Hawai‘i to “the habits and customs of the Hawaiians.”[236] “Bounty hunters” paid by the government continued to investigate people suspected of having the disease, often by using personal information collected at Kalihi Hospital and Kalaupapa to track down family members and acquaintances of those known to have the disease. Regular “shipments” of people to the settlement also continued. First-hand recollections included in Anwei Skinsnes Law’s *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory* (2012) convey the trauma of separation during this period. Bill Malakaua, for example, recalled:

> I was a suspect and I had five days to straighten out my business. I had a three-year-old daughter, a nine-months-old son. My ex-wife was about nineteen years old. I was just twenty-two at that time. I believe it was Fourth of July – what a Fourth of July I had, being put away. Being put away, and Kalihi Hospital Receiving Station – we had no definite time how long you’re gonna be there. They just say you shall be put away.[237]

Elizabeth Ku‘ulei Bell also described her experience:

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[234] Ibid., 143.

[235] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 513.

[236] 1932 report of the Board of Hospitals and Settlement quoted in Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 142.

[237] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 425.

> We always thought my dad died in an accident. I didn't know my dad was in Kalaupapa. My mother said it was to protect us…. I was six years old when I had the disease. Every Saturday my uncle would carry me on his back to Dr. Chung-Hoon's office. I used to ask my uncle why I had to go. I just had to go, not knowing why…. When I was in Kalihi Hospital, one of the nurses said to me, 'You look just like your father.' I wondered how she knew my dad. I told my mother that one of the nurses said I looked like Daddy. My mother started to cry. When I went to Kalaupapa in 1950, my dad was dead already. My dad's twin sisters were at Kalaupapa – Mary and Eva. My mother's father, Levi Kaohu, died at Kalawao. He was so handsome, a big Hawaiian man. My father also had two uncles who died over there. I lived with my grand-uncle Kalahao. He played a wonderful violin. He would sit in the rocking chair and play the violin.[238]

Once admitted to Kalaupapa, patients were generally not permitted to leave unless their diagnosis changed or they showed "improvement," which occurred with some regularity due to the frequency of misdiagnosis.[239] Some looked for any other opportunity to get away, even temporarily. One man interviewed in the 1970s recalled agreeing to a sterilization procedure at Kalihi just to see his two-and-a-half-year-old son for a brief moment.[240] Others sent to Kalaupapa as teenagers in the 1930s recalled being forced to endure painful, humiliating treatments including having a medicated applicator stuck far up their nose to break through the mucus membranes. Some remembered being paddled by the settlement doctor for showing up to exams with dirt under their fingernails, a sign that they had not been meeting the strict standards of personal hygiene. "We were at the mercy of the Board of Health so much, even for little things," one respondent said. "The Board had complete control over our lives."[241]

With kōkua restricted from entering the settlement, and visits with family members relegated to brief meetings across a wire screen at the visitors' quarters near the landing, patients continued to cope with feelings of loneliness and loss on a daily basis. Prohibitions on interacting with their children, including those born at the settlement, were especially painful. Many children never had a chance to know their parents. Babies were held in the nursery at the Kalaupapa Hospital until they were one year old, after which time they were sent away to the boys and girls homes on O'ahu. In the interim, parents were told that they could kiss their children through the glass partition separating them.[242]

The people of Kalaupapa engaged in a variety of activities to find pleasure and fulfillment in their lives. Many played musical instruments or wrote hymns for the enjoyment of other residents. Others composed art, took up crafts, participated in sports, planted gardens, fished, or cooked. Many earned income by providing services to the community. David Kupele ascended the Pali Trail on horseback nearly every day to deliver mail or drive cattle to the settlement.[243] John Breitha operated a chicken ranch, while Kenso Seki became a pig farmer and truck driver.[244] Others worked at the post office or the hospital. Jack Sing's first job was to take medical progress photographs for Dr. Goodhue. Later, Sing opened a store selling various items including Chinese groceries and his own homemade beer. Sing also operated a taxi service with a car he bought from a friend. "He

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[238] Quoted in Ibid., 432.

[239] People were "paroled" from Kalaupapa as early as 1912. Approximately thirty percent of all people admitted to the settlement were released between 1912 and 1921. About one third of those were eventually sent back due to the continuing progression of the disease. See Langlas, *Final Report of the Kalaupapa Ethnographic Project*, 13, n4.

[240] Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness*, 40.

[241] Ibid., 46, 94, 114.

[242] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 356.

[243] Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 62.

[244] Breitha, *Olivia*, 34.; Valerie Monson, "Kenso Seki: He followed in Father Damien's footsteps," *The Maui Times*, August 23, 1998.

was always wheeling and dealing," recalled Elizabeth Ku'ulei Bell.[245] Churches and social halls continued to provide opportunities to form community bonds. Patients also continued to maintain connections to the outside world though letters sent and received through the post office.

Many people also sought respite from the supervised life of the settlement. In a survey of Kalawao, archeologist James Flexner located discarded alcohol containers dating to the early to mid-twentieth century at home sites abandoned since the move to Kalaupapa. Alcohol, Flexner writes, may have served as "an important means of creating social ties within the settlement's population."[246] Visits to the former Kalawao settlement may have been efforts "to escape from the hustle and bustle of the community, to visit sites from their own memories or those described to them by the old-timers in Kalaupapa, or simply to explore and gain a sense of adventure in the bounded space to which they were quarantined."[247]

Private beach houses provided respite from surveillance and regulation or for enjoyment of the pleasant environment. Typically built by patients from salvaged materials, the beach houses served as important social gathering places. Others were used as venues for restricted activities including parties, drinking, and gambling.[248] These activities reflected the ability of the people of Kalaupapa to take advantage of the relatively free-form nature of the settlement to create an autonomous community among themselves even if they remained separated from their homes, families, and society as a whole.

World War II, a Cure, and the Repeal of the Segregation Law, 1941-1969

The construction program that began at Kalaupapa in 1930 ended with the start of US involvement in World War II in 1941. Patients at Kalihi Hospital, including the children, were evacuated after the attack on Pearl Harbor and sent to Kalaupapa. This was done ostensibly for their protection but perhaps, as Bernard Punikai'a suspected, because "they considered us to be a hazard to society too."[249] To accommodate the children, a school was opened and Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops were organized.[250]

The arrival of young children brought new life to the settlement. Although only a few families were reunited, the opportunity allowed new bonds to form. Said Jimmy Brede: "When we came here, I could see the happiness of the fathers and mothers here…. We took the place of their sons and daughters and they took the place of our fathers and mothers." Hyman Fujinaga recalled that when the children came, "it was so friendly, those days they say it was more like 'ohana, family." These bonds further helped both long-time residents and new arrivals cope with their situation. "The only way to survive the isolation," Oliva Breitha recalled, "was not to focus on yourself – not to make yourself the center."[251]

Wartime mobilization also led to a reduction in services for Kalaupapa. This included curtailment of steamer service and cancelation of flights to the Kalaupapa Airport. Administrators continued to provide essential supplies, but otherwise became less involved in day-to-day operations. With relatives no longer permitted to

[245] Kuulei Bell, "A Servant of God: A Story of Jack Sing Kong," *Mormon Pacific Historical Society*, 13, no. 1 (1992): 1-2.
[246] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 227.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Langlas, et al., *Kalaupapa 2002-2005*, 99.
[249] Quoted in Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness*, 104.
[250] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 444.; Kenso Seki, whose house and garage are among the more recognizable features at Kalaupapa, became the scoutmaster. Seki is further notable for serving as an "altar boy" for over sixty years. He is also credited with a number of creative inventions that helped those with physical disabilities in day-to-day tasks. These included a device used to pull buttons through button holes and another for opening soda cans. Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 14.
[251] Quotes from Law, *Kalaupapa*, 440, 441, 451.

visit and mail services suspended, Kalaupapa was left even more isolated than before. Historian Michelle Moran suggests that these actions may have further strengthened community identity at Kalaupapa "by forcing its members to turn inward."[252]

Religious workers also continued to serve the community. This included "Mother Pastor" Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna, the first woman to be ordained as a Congregational minister in Hawai'i. During a repair project at the Siloama Church in 1938, Mother Alice recovered the original church record book from a vault beneath the building. The book contained a list of church members going back to 1866 and the minutes of early meetings, shedding light on the early history of community activism and the importance of religion at the settlement. In 1948, she began the tradition of holding Easter sunrise services at the rim of Kauhakō Crater which afforded a sweeping view of the settlement and the ocean. In addition to calling on members of the congregation to make the early morning trek up the hill, the service also required that they bring the church organ with them. Known for her warmth, energy, courage, and commitment to serving the people of Kalaupapa, Mother Alice remained at Kana'ana Hou until 1956, leaving shortly before her death in March 1957.[253]

Other events had significant impacts on the lives of the people of Kalaupapa and the operation of the settlement. On April 1, 1946, a tsunami triggered by an earthquake in the Aleutian Islands hit the west side of the peninsula and the mouth of Waikolu Valley. The water level rose twenty-five feet above normal at the Kalaupapa Landing, and fifty-five feet above normal at Waikolu. The wave damaged facilities in the industrial area, washed away at least twelve beach houses, broke water pipelines, collapsed stone walls, and destroyed or displaced numerous grave markers.

1946 also brought the first successful medicinal treatment of leprosy with the introduction of sulfone drugs, first employed at the US National Leprosarium in Carville, Louisiana in 1941. This was followed by the appointment of former governor Lawrence Judd as resident superintendent. Judd and his wife Eva Marie sought to further enhance the quality of life at Kalaupapa through vocational and educational activities including adult education, a beauty shop, chapters of the Lions Club and American Legion, and entertainment and self-improvement clubs. They also abolished some regulations forbidding contact with visitors and staff and removed many physical barriers, such as the wire netting in the visitors' pavilion, picket fencing at Staff Row, and the guarded gate at the top of the Pali Trail. Judd also ended the unpopular policy of fumigating mail leaving the settlement.[254] Many patients were "paroled," allowed to reenter society, and some outsiders, including entertainers, were encouraged to visit. Admissions to Kalaupapa dropped sharply after 1949 due to administrative changes, the establishment of a new residential treatment facility in Pearl City (known as Hale Mohalu, "House of Comfort"), and health improvements resulting from sulfone treatments. Arrivals in the twenty years from 1949 to 1969 were limited to thirty-two people.

In anticipation of a reduced and aging population, vacant structures were demolished and their materials salvaged. Residents of the New Baldwin Home were relocated to the Bay View Home in 1951. Additional space was gained through use of a military surplus Quonset hut that was rebuilt next to Bay View to serve as a dormitory. Other surplus Quonset huts were used as warehouses and housing for settlement staff. Most of the Sacred Hearts Brothers who had been overseeing the New Baldwin Home left in 1951. Four stayed to serve the remaining residents.

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[252] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 168.

[253] "Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna 'Mother Pastor' at Kalaupapa," *The Friend* 11, no. 1 (November 1939).; Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 44.; Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 43.

[254] Henry Nalaielua, "Tape # 4 – The Visitors' Quarters," in Anwei Skinsnes Law, interviewer, "Oral History Interviews, Kalaupapa, Hawaii, Volume II," on file at Kalaupapa National Historical Park, National Park Service, 1985-1987: 4.

Links to the outside world were further strengthened through several projects. Direct daily airmail service between Kalaupapa and Honolulu began in 1950, replacing the practice of packing mail down the Pali Trail. The road between the settlement and the airport was paved, a picnic pavilion named for Lawrence Judd was built at Kalawao at the site of the former US Leprosy Investigation Station, and in 1957 five patients were granted concession contracts to operate a guided tour and taxi service.

The reduced population also led to the closing or conversion of numerous facilities. The McVeigh Home was adapted from a group home for white patients to a general housing area. By 1960 all the group quarters at the home had been converted, and the main dining room was closed. Building materials from the New Baldwin Home were salvaged or entire sections moved in 1951, and in the early 1960s a dormitory at Bay View was dismantled. At the Bishop Home, only two cottages, the chapel, and the convent remained. Many of the stone walls delineating individual yards and group homes were also dismantled to supply the rock crusher with raw material for road maintenance. Fences fell into disrepair or were removed as segregation became less of a priority. The last new cottages, prefabricated Hicks Homes, were built between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s.

With the introduction of sulfone drugs, some progress was made toward destigmatizing the disease. During the 1940s, residents of Carville led a push to replace "leprosy" with the term "Hansen's disease," named for Gerhard Hansen who discovered the leprosy bacterium in 1873. The Territory of Hawai'i adopted this as the official name in 1949. Some medical professionals also began questioning the Kalaupapa model of mass compulsory segregation to remote locations. Praising the territory's dedication of Hale Mohalu, Dr. James Doull of the Leonard Wood Memorial Research Center in Cebu, Philippines commented that "the enforced removal of leprosy patients to remote and relatively inaccessible places is of questionable value as a means of control, and more than that, it is inhuman."[255]

The territorial government of Hawai'i was not ready to embrace this view, and in 1951, it appealed to Congress to provide funds for Kalaupapa's continuing operation. Governor Oren Long testified that residents of Hawai'i, including those at Kalaupapa, were part of the national body, prepared "to carry on our own affairs just as the mainland states do" and were thus deserving of federal aid.[256] Representative Monroe Redden added that the federal government had an obligation to provide equal care to those affected by the disease, whether in the states or territories, as a duty to its citizens. Others saw federal support as a form of redress. "We in Hawaii feel a great obligation to do everything that is possible to relieve the suffering that has come from the impact of our civilization on native Hawaiian people," said delegate Joseph Farrington.[257] Some commenters regarded Hawai'i as a special case owing to geographic, historical, and racial factors. Repeating an argument from the annexation period, Long described the islands as a buffer zone between the US and the threatening east. Hawai'i, he said, was "the western outpost of the United States…first to feel the impact of whatever may originate in the Far East, be it insect pests, disease, or political and cultural influence."[258] Such arguments echoed a colonialist view of the territory's majority non-white population as a threat to the nation, especially as the prospect of statehood appeared more likely.

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[255] Quoted in United States House of Representatives, *Treatment of Hansen's Disease in the Territory of Hawaii: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Possessions, House of Representatives, Eighty-Second Congress, First Session on H.R. 1739, A Bill Authorizing an Annual Appropriate to Provide more Adequate Facilities for the Care and Treatment of Hansen's Disease in the Territory of Hawaii, April 24, 1951* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1951), 13.

[256] Ibid., 6.

[257] Ibid., 24.

[258] Ibid., 15.

Noting the loosening of restrictions at Carville, some Kalaupapa patients pressured the territorial government to repeal the segregation law and provide accommodations for outpatient care.[259] At the same time, many preferred to remain at the place that had become their home and where they felt comfortable. By the 1950s, patients' resentment about their forced confinement existed alongside deep feelings of attachment to Kalaupapa as a vibrant community and sanctuary.[260]

Health improvements resulting from sulfone treatments and improved medical services also allowed many patients to become more active in the community. In 1947, Henry Hori erected a large wood cross at the rim of Kauhakō Crater in fulfillment of a promise to God for his recovery from kidney disease. This was the site where Mother Alice held Easter sunrise services beginning in 1948. Hori, with assistance from the Lions Club, replaced the original wood cross with a sturdier concrete cross in 1956. He also installed a plaque with the inscription "Love never faileth."[261]

In 1952, Jack Sing with the aid of his wife Mary took over as president of the Kalaupapa branch of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Sings served the congregation by soliciting donations for the annual Lion's Club Christmas party, completing repairs to the church, and giving out boxes of candy at Christmas. Jack Sing was also often called on to drive dignitaries around the settlement in his Cadillac, the only Cadillac at Kalaupapa.[262] The feature known as the "Mormon Beach House Steps" or "Mormon Stairs" located near the northern tip of the peninsula, is the remnant of a beach house owned by Jack Sing.[263] The house served as a popular place for social gatherings for the congregation and friends.

In 1963, Mariano Rea took over the local bar, located in a converted residence. Initially only patients were allowed. Beer and wine for staff and visitors had to be stored in a separate location. The generosity of the community was displayed in Rea's system of "piles" or credits for beers purchased by one customer for another. The system allowed customers to enjoy drinks bought for them at one visit on subsequent visits.[264]

Many patients also engaged in artistic expression. Self-taught artist Ed Kato began painting signs during the 1940s and 1950s. Two of his painted rocks, located near the entrance to the Bishop Home, are among the most iconic objects at Kalaupapa. One depicts a yellow smiley face while the other includes the message "Smile – It no broke your face!" The message provides a contrast to common conceptions of Kalaupapa as a place defined only by pain and suffering. "These few words of can-do pidgin say more about the true spirit of the people here than an entire panel of social scientists," wrote Valerie Monson.[265] Some of Kato's other painted rocks and signs still exist around Kalaupapa. These include a wood sign marking the entrance to the Mother Marianne

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[259] "Move to Relax Segregation Laws on Leprosy Backed by Patients," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, March 28, 1949: 9.

[260] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 197-198.; Dean Alexander, "Managing Historic Resources in an Evolving Hawaiian Community," *Cultural Resources Management* 19, no. 8 (1996): 40-43.

[261] Valerie Monson, "A word with God brings healing, monument for Kalaupapa," *The Maui News*, April 7, 1996.

[262] Bell, "A Servant of God," 1-4.

[263] The current official style guide for naming conventions for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints discourages use of the term "Mormon" except for in proper names such as the Book of Mormon or when used as an adjective in historical expressions such as "Mormon Trail." Refer to "Style Guide – The Name of the Church," https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/style-guide. This nomination follows the style guide for textual references, using either the full name The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or approved shortened references as appropriate. Names for the feature known as the "Mormon Beach House Steps" or "Mormon Stairs" are retained, however, as they carry special associations and meaning to the People of Kalaupapa. These names are commonly used among patients and others in the community.

[264] Valerie Monson, "A Toast for Rea," *The Maui News*, December 11, 1994.

[265] Valerie Monson, "Sign of the Times at Kalaupapa," *The Maui News*, July 28, 1996.

grave marker, and a painted rock at that same location with the message "Peace to All Who Enter Here." Kato and Kenso Seki also cleared brush away from the grave marker and planted the palms that still grow there.[266]

Others continued to speak out against policies that limited their freedom or affected their health. In 1953, John Breitha, Olivia Breitha's husband, wrote to representative Manuel Paschoal to protest Board of Health policies that were hurting his poultry business. The Breithas were able to continue operating the farm until 1967 when the Hawai'i Department of Health (DOH) – established after statehood in 1959 – imposed quotas on eggs and poultry which made it economically unfeasible to continue the operation.[267] Olivia Breitha also spoke out about the poor quality of the food being shipped to Kalaupapa. Angered by finding worms in the rice and cereal, and cream that was too thick to pour, Breitha contacted her state representative to demand change. This prompted a formal inspection by DOH officials. Some reporters were present when the investigators encountered the worms for themselves.[268]

Richard Marks, who was admitted to Kalaupapa in 1956, was especially vocal in challenging the government's "antiquated" management policies. "My anger grew," he later said, "not only because of confinement but because no one would listen. I was called a troublemaker, but I persisted in talking to anyone who'd listen, including authorities in Honolulu."[269] Bernard Punakai'a also became more active politically in the 1950s as his health improved and as the territory moved toward statehood. He joined the Lions Club and began participating in Maui County politics, eventually becoming the Precinct Chairman for the Democratic Party. In the process, he developed relationships with political leaders, including John Burns, who went on to become the second governor of the State of Hawai'i. In the 1960s, Punakai'a served as chairman of the Kalaupapa Patients' Council. As the "designated spokesman for the Kalaupapa community," he faced the challenge of speaking out on behalf of community members who were often reluctant to stand up to government authorities they depended on for their livelihoods and medical care.[270]

Despite the loosening of restrictions and improvements to quality of life by the 1960s, compulsory segregation remained the primary method of leprosy control in Hawai'i. Even two decades after the advent of a cure, the DOH continued to maintain physical barriers at the airport, in the residential area, and at Paschoal Hall to separate patients from workers and visitors.[271] Writing in *Beacon: the Magazine of Hawaii* in 1968, Richard Marks described state policies at Kalaupapa as outdated, inconsistent, and discriminatory. He noted that while some people were being discharged, others continued to face discrimination from health officials. "The minute you ask permission to go home you get the run-around and nothing happens until you go to a politician and get a permit," he said. "Then they expect you to turn right around and dash back here before you contaminate the general public. They also seem to make it a point to let the public know where you come from." He also described the absurdity of the state's policy of separating parents at Kalaupapa from their children while in the hospital. "My wife Gloria cannot touch her baby, cannot even see her baby while in the hospital," he wrote. "Yet she can step out the door…when she is discharged and they will hand over the baby to her and she can go home and live with her family. This makes sense?" [272] Along with the remaining physical barriers, these

[266] Ibid.

[267] Breitha, *Olivia*, 51-55.

[268] Ibid., 49-50.

[269] Quoted in Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 107.

[270] Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness*, 107-110.

[271] Charles Langlas, Ka'ohulani McGuire, and Sonia Juvik, *Kalauapa 2002-2005: A Summary Report of the Kalaupapa Ethnographic Project* (National Park Service, 2008), 14-15.

[272] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 479.

psychological barriers perpetuated a system of social control that bred fear and feelings of inferiority even absent any threat of contagion.

Calls for reform prompted the DOH to establish the Citizens' Committee on Leprosy to evaluate the leprosy program in Hawai'i and offer recommendations for its improvement. Thomas Hitch, an executive at the First Hawaiian Bank, chaired the committee which included a mix of medical professionals, laymen, and Kalaupapa residents. Bernard Punakai'a and Anita Una represented the Kalaupapa Patients' Council. The committee submitted the results of its investigation in March 1969. They concluded that compulsory isolation had little demonstrable effectiveness in reducing incidence of the disease and recommended that the law be rescinded. The committee also urged changes in language, including replacing the term "leprosy" with "Hansen's disease" and eliminating all use of derogatory terminology.[273] Afterwards, Punikai'a continued to advocate for justice for the people of Kalaupapa and others facing stigmatization and discrimination.[274] Una was later recognized for her role on the Citizens' Committee with induction in the National Women's Hall of Fame *Book of Lives and Legacies* along with five other women from Kalaupapa: Rose Marks, Catherine Puahala, Elaine Remigio, Olivia Breitha, and Winnie Harada.[275]

In 1969, in response to budget considerations, advances in treatment, and the recommendations of the Citizens' Committee, the DOH declared the isolation policy obsolete. The state government revoked the segregation policy and mandated that all people diagnosed with the disease were to be treated on an outpatient basis only. No new admissions to Kalaupapa have taken place since that time. The editors of *Beacon* credited Richard Marks for the decision, declaring him "Man of the Year" for 1969. The article described Marks's contributions as "proof and a reaffirmation that one man can still influence The Establishment – he has done it."[276] Marks later stressed the role of Gloria Marks in those events. "She is the one who has always been behind me, supporting me," he said.[277]

Preserving a Community and Advocating for Human Rights, 1970-2017

Public attitudes toward the disease remained slow to change. Those released from Kalaupapa often faced discrimination and fear when they tried to re-enter society, leading many to return to the place they had known for most of their lives. Faced with the possible closure of the settlement, the people of Kalaupapa turned their attention to preserving the unique character of the community, ensuring that it would continue to meet their needs, and educating the public. Gaining the support of Native Hawaiian organizations and elected officials including Representative Patsy Mink, Richard Marks led an effort to establish a national park as a way of meeting these goals. The result, Kalaupapa National Historical Park, was authorized on December 22, 1980. Kalaupapa continues to be managed cooperatively by the DOH and the NPS with involvement from other state agencies, religious denominations, as well as the people of Kalaupapa and their families through the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission, the Kalaupapa Patient Advisory Commission, and the advocacy group Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, formed in 2003.[278]

[273] Ibid., 481
[274] Gugelyk and Bloombaum, *The Separating Sickness*, 107-108.
[275] "Mom's Day Honors for Kalaupapa Women," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 12, 2003.
[276] Quoted in Law, *Kalaupapa*, 482.
[277] Ibid., 482.
[278] Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, "Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa Position Paper of Recommendations for Kalaupapa National Historical Park's General Management Plan," 2009: 1, http://www.kalaupapaohana.org.

Kalaupapa patients also became more directly active in a global movement to eliminate stigmatization and discrimination of people affected by Hansen's disease. Richard Marks attended the 1984 International Leprosy Congress in New Delhi, India where he met Mother Teresa. Later, he had opportunities to meet Pope John Paul II and to visit Father Damien's burial place.[279] Bernard Punikai'a also attended the 1984 Congress as an extension of his effort beginning in 1978 to prevent the state from shutting down Hale Mohalu where many people were still living and receiving treatment.[280] He later referred to this movement as "our first act in reclaiming our self-respect and restoring our dignity."[281] During a 1985 interview at his beach house in Kalaupapa, Punikai'a described the movement to save Hale Mohalu as a "Quest for Dignity."[282] The phrase was later used as the title for a 1997 exhibit at the UN, helping to inspire an international effort to ensure the dignified treatment of people affected by leprosy as a human rights issue.

Others shared their stories with the broader public. Richard and Gloria Marks began operating Damien Tours in 1966 to educate the public about the community's history and to combat stigma. Sociologists Ted Gugelyk and Milton Bloombaum from the University of Hawai'i conducted ninety interviews a Kalaupapa in the 1970s. These formed the basis for their 1979 book *'Ma'i Ho'oka'awale: The Separating Sickness*. 'A'ala Roy also conducted a series of interviews in Hawaiian and English during the 1970s as part of a Master's Thesis project. In the 1980s, Anwei Skinsnes Law conducted more than two hundred hours of oral history interviews, excerpts from which appear in her 2012 book *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Journalist Valerie Monson also conducted numerous interviews while living at Kalaupapa in the early 1990s. These informed a series of newspaper stories about life at the settlement. Some residents also began recording their own stories. In 1988, Olivia Breitha published *Olivia: My Life of Exile in Kalaupapa*, the first autobiography by a patient.[283] Since then, Henry Kalalahilimoku Nalaielua and Makia Malo have also published memoirs.[284] These works detail the deeply human experience of life at Kalaupapa, offering a view of its residents as many-sided individuals not defined by the disease.

The people of Kalaupapa and their supporters also continued to work to improve medical services, preserve the community, and educate the public. Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, formed in 2003 under the leadership of Kalaupapa's postmaster and LDS congregation leader Elizabeth Ku'ulei Bell, became especially active. During its first five years, Ka 'Ohana helped bring back dialysis to Kalaupapa; compiled a searchable database of the names of the first 5,000 individuals sent to the settlement; submitted a bill to authorize construction of a memorial honoring the approximately 8,000 people admitted to Kalaupapa over its history; conducted outreach workshops to educate communities and help family members access information about their ancestors; and communicated information about the history and culture of Kalaupapa through various mediums including a website, newsletters, public presentations, and international human rights campaigns. In 2008, the Hawai'i State legislature approved a resolution proposed by Ka 'Ohana "recognizing and acknowledging the people of Kalaupapa and their sacrifices, and apologizing to the people of Kalaupapa and their families for any harsh

[279] Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 108.

[280] The fight to save Hale Mohalu is described in Kathryn Braun, "Hawaii's Leprosy Patients Struggle to keep their Home" *Aging* (January-February 1981): 19-22.

[281] Quoted in Cahill, *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*, 108.

[282] Law, *Kalaupapa*, 488.

[283] Breitha, *Olivia: My Life of Exile*.

[284] Kalalahilimoku Nalaielua and Keala-o-Ānuenue Bowman, *No Footprints in the Sand*.; Malo and Young, *My Name is Makia*

restrictions that caused them undue pain as the result of government policies surrounding leprosy." The resolution was the idea of Paul Harada who died at the age of eighty-one shortly before its approval.[285]

Together, these efforts build on a legacy of community self-help and advocacy by the people of Kalaupapa that has extended from the start of the period of significance to the present. They signify Kalaupapa's ongoing role as a nexus of physical, cultural, and spiritual renewal efforts and human rights advocacy in support of persons affected by leprosy. The settlement also remains a sanctuary for patients, as well as a sacred place where Hawaiians and others can reconnect with family members long considered "lost." Today, despite changes to the landscape and the decline of the patient population, much of the historic built environment and setting remains intact. Even as it continues to evolve, Kalaupapa retains its overall integrity, sacredness, and feel as a unique Hawaiian community formed in the face of great adversity and injustice.

[285] Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa newsletter, *Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa* 2, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 3, 6-7.

6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property	**Category of Property**
Private: X	Building(s):
Public-Local:	District: X
Public-State: X	Site:
Public Federal: X	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing		**Noncontributing**	
Buildings:	234	Buildings:	37
Sites:	67	Sites:	7
Structures:	48	Structures:	6
Objects:	10	Objects:	2
Total:	350	Total:	52

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

Introduction

The Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement National Historic Landmark (NHL) District is located in Kalawao County on Molokai Island in the State of Hawai‘i. The district encompasses the entire Kalaupapa peninsula including the developed and undeveloped areas of the peninsula proper, the three deep valleys of Waihānau, Wai‘ale‘ia, and Waikolu, and the adjoining pali (sea cliffs) which range from 1,600 feet to 3,000 feet in elevation. Most of the land boundaries correspond with those of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, established in 1980. The exception is a strip of private land at the top of the pali which was included in the legislated park boundary but not in the NHL. The NHL also includes a larger marine area extending nearly one mile (1,500 meters) beyond the shoreline, as opposed to 0.25 miles for the park. In total, the NHL includes 8,614 acres of land and a 7,031-acre expanse of ocean.[286] Most of the land is in non-federal ownership, although it is managed by the National Park Service (NPS) through cooperative agreements. Landowners include the State of Hawai‘i departments of Hawaiian Home Lands, Transportation, and Land and Natural Resources. The NPS also owns twenty-three acres surrounding the Molokai Light Station. Although the State of Hawai‘i Department of Health (DOH) no longer owns land within the NHL, it remains an active partner with the NPS, overseeing patient services.[287]

Many historic buildings in the district are privately owned. The NPS maintains twenty year cooperative agreements with the Roman Catholic Diocese in the State of Hawai‘i which owns St Francis Church, St. Philomena Church, and St. Elizabeth Chapel; and the Hawai‘i Conference Foundation of the United Church of Christ which owns Siloama and Kana‘ana Hou Churches. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints owns the Latter-day Saint Chapel and Parish Hall, although no formal agreement currently exists between the NPS

[286] National Park Service, *Kalaupapa National Historical Park: Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement*. (US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region, Park Planning and Environmental Compliance, 2015), 5, 55.

[287] Sam Aruch, “Appendix A: Kalaupapa National Historical Park resource overview” in L. Hay Smith, F. L. Klasner, S. H. Stephens, and G. H. Dicus, *Pacific Island Network Vital Signs Monitoring Plan*, Natural Resource Report NPS/PACN/NRR—2006/003 (Fort Collins, CO: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2006), 3-5.

and the Church. Residences and community buildings are managed by either the DOH or NPS but are considered private property of patients. Other individual buildings including beach houses, garages, storage sheds, and other outbuildings are also considered the private property of patients.

While currently accessible by air, for most of the historic period Kalaupapa could only be reached by boat, or via the steep pali trails that connected the peninsula with the rest of Molokai. Despite this isolation, the settlement – which was established at Kalawao on the windward side of the peninsula and later extended to the village of Kalaupapa on the drier leeward side – eventually afforded many amenities of a small town. Today, the extant historic built environment includes the road network, several distinct neighborhoods, housing, churches, community facilities, cemeteries and monuments, and other resources associated with the administration of the settlement and the lives of its residents. Other resources include archeological sites, building ruins, curbs and walkways, and rock walls and gates. Portions of the cultural landscape including ornamental vegetation and plantings of fruit and shade trees have also been well-maintained, particularly at the Kalaupapa settlement which has been in continuous use from the 1880s until the present. The active use of Kalawao came to an end in the early twentieth century and most of the buildings were subsequently moved or destroyed. Invasive species have also transformed many formerly open areas and hidden archeological resources from view. These relict features are nevertheless vital to interpreting important events and changes during the period of significance and up to the present.

The following description of the historic district is divided into two parts. Part One describes the overall historic landscape of the Kalaupapa peninsula while Part Two provides details about the twelve neighborhoods and developed areas within the district that contain concentrations of contributing resources. These areas are: 1) Kalawao, 2) Bishop Home, 3) Bay View Home, 4) McVeigh Home, 5) New Baldwin Home Site, 6) Staff Row, 7) Kalaupapa Churches, 8) Administrative Area, 9) Residential Area, 10) West Coast Cemeteries, 11) ʻĪliopiʻi Beach Houses, and 12) Molokai Light Station. Resources that fall outside the twelve neighborhoods are described in Part One. Each resource entry includes the historic name and any secondary names, park numbers if assigned, other identifying numbers if necessary, a summary description, and dates of construction and any notable changes if known. Non-contributing resources are also briefly described. Most of these are buildings and structures constructed after the period of significance.

Integrity

Kalaupapa retains a high degree of integrity according to the seven aspects of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Its location and setting on the still isolated and relatively undeveloped Kalaupapa peninsula remain largely unchanged from the period of significance. Although changes in the extent and types of vegetation have occurred, the topographic boundaries that define the peninsula's isolation also remain unchanged from the time the settlement was founded. Additionally, while the peninsula has been made more accessible with the revoking of the segregation policy and improved air service, the only other access remains by boat or via the Pali Trail from topside Molokai. Visitation is also restricted to a maximum of 100 visitors per day to ensure privacy and prevent disturbance of natural and cultural resources.

The design of the settlements at both Kalawao and Kalaupapa is still evident in their layout and spatial organization. At Kalawao, the arrangement remains primarily linear along a single, existing road (Damien Road) with two churches, cemeteries, and a series of former residential sites located along the route. Historic plantings and many rock walls also remain within the area. [redacted] Kalaupapa is defined by a grid pattern of streets and the clustered arrangement of treatment,

residential, religious, and community facilities dating to the period of significance. Hundreds of historic buildings, structures, and other resources including burial sites, roads and curbs, gardens, artwork, and monuments also remain, representing both original architectural designs and modifications to meet the needs of the community through the period of significance, up to the present.

The extant built elements clearly display the workmanship and materials used during the historic period. This includes dry stacked stonework (represented in walls and gates), use of recycled building materials, and single-wall wood-frame construction, a unifying architectural element of the built environment. Historic vegetation including ornamental plantings and fruit trees also continues to represent original stock and planting patterns in many areas, contributing to the integrity of setting, feeling, and association. The aspects of feeling and association are also retained through the setting, materials, workmanship, and design which together convey a sense of Kalaupapa as a place at once separate, cut off from Hawaiian society, and yet strongly linked to the biological, social, economic, and political changes that transformed Hawai‘i and the United States during the period of significance. Integrity of association, or the sense of a direct link between the property and the events and individuals who shaped it during the period of significance, is further retained through the lives of patients who continue to live at the settlement.

Many historic buildings and structures are in a state of abandonment and decay. Many of these – including former residences as well as sheds, garages, and carports – still contribute to the historic character of the district. Private outbuildings and beach houses, although often in poor condition, are especially important as elements of the largely patient-constructed vernacular built environment which conveys the ability of the people of Kalaupapa to provide for their own well-being. Other deteriorating resources such as the Rock Crusher located near the New Baldwin Home site in Kalaupapa are unique and speak to important aspects of the settlement’s historical development that are not represented in other resources. With exceptions in which the resource has been entirely removed or demolished or is unrecognizable (for example, if only a trace remains or something new has been built in its place), many of these resources, including foundations surviving in their original physical context, retain integrity as sites and continue to evoke their historic uses and meanings.

Other historic buildings have been altered since the period of significance. Notable changes include the installation of wheelchair ramps, new paint colors and murals on some buildings, additions to residences and other buildings often at the behest of residents, and repairs and alterations to outbuildings. Many of these changes are not well documented, especially for the years immediately following the period of significance. Known alterations post-dating the period of significance are noted in the resource description entries below with dates and brief descriptions of the work completed, if available. These alterations are generally consistent with historic patterns of construction, maintenance, and adaptive use. New materials, repairs, and additions are also generally compatible with the historic fabric and do not compromise the district’s ability to convey the patterns and associations of the period of significance. More recent NPS maintenance and construction projects are better documented and designed to conform to the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. These are also summarized in the resource entries below.

Part One: Description of the NHL District

Narrative Description[288]

Setting

The geomorphology of Molokai's north coast reflects multiple overlapping episodes of volcanic activity, tectonic uplift and subsidence, sea level change, tsunami events, coastal erosion, and catastrophic mass-wasting events. The latter is largely responsible for the dramatic pali, or sea cliffs, which form a natural boundary between the anomalously low lying Kalaupapa peninsula and the rest of the island. Gigantic submarine landslide deposits indicate that a large portion of north Molokai disappeared into the ocean in one or two sudden events, believed to be a threshold response along an existing fault during a period of heightened volcanic activity more than 400,000 years ago. Subsequently, a separate offshore volcanic episode formed a small near-shore volcano (Puʻu ʻUao) during the late Pleistocene era, fusing it with the existing sea cliffs, thereby creating the geologically and topographically distinct Kalaupapa peninsula.

Features distinguishing the Kalaupapa peninsula from the rest of Molokai's north coast include gentle slopes, a coastal spray zone, the 402-foot-high Kauhakō Crater and its associated lava tubes and crater lake, a navigable shoreline, and a developed offshore reef. These features have influenced land uses throughout the area's history. Prior to the settlement era, the peninsula supported intensive cultivation of sweet potato and contrasted with the upland valleys, which were better suited for taro. The peninsula's accessible shoreline also made it a haven for fishing and salt collection, practices that continued through the leprosy settlement period up to the present.

The most significant physical characteristic related to the development of the leprosy settlement is the physiographic isolation of the peninsula. The three valleys cutting through the adjacent cliffs also provided raw materials and natural resources for building and sustaining the settlement. The Waikolu Valley contains the peninsula's only perennial stream, which became the primary source of water for the settlement during the historic period.

Climatic disparities between the windward and leeward sides of the peninsula also affected the historic landscape. The settlement originated at windward Kalawao, from which the fresh water supply in Waikolu Valley was more accessible. However, chilly damp conditions and diurnal temperature fluctuations, which negatively affected the health of the community during the settlement period, are also more prevalent at Kalawao. These conditions prompted the movement of the settlement from Kalawao to Kalaupapa after rudimentary infrastructure improvements ensured a viable source of fresh water at the new location. Kalaupapa also offered a more suitable boat landing, since it is only exposed to dangerous surf during periodic winter swells. By contrast, the Kalawao coastline is typified by choppy trade wind swells all year long, which made access and delivery of supplies exceedingly difficult.

The district also contains important biological resources. These include remnants of a unique dry land native forest inside Kauhakō Crater, a coastal spray zone with endangered plants such as *Tetramolopium rockii*, and a unique aquatic resources environment including nesting areas for endangered seabirds and the endangered Hawaiian monk seal. At higher elevations, the district contains some exemplary native rainforest areas on the Puʻu Aliʻi-ʻŌhiʻalele Plateau. The pali, designated as the Molokai North Shore Cliffs Natural National Landmark, provides refuge for certain endemic plant species, such as the endangered puaʻala (*Brighamia rockii* ssp. Longiloba), which have elsewhere been reduced by alien herbivores. As of this writing, thirty-five federally

[288] Except where otherwise indicated, this section is adapted from National Park Service, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Kalaupapa and Kalawao Settlements, Kalaupapa National Historical Park* (National Park Service, 2011).

listed threatened, endangered, or candidate terrestrial plant species have been recorded within the NHL district. An additional eighteen plant species are listed as species of concern.[289]

The peninsula also supports a variety of wildlife, much of which existed during the historic period. Native monk seals (*Monachus schauinslandi*) frequent Kalaupapa's beaches, while humpback whales (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) are often spotted offshore during the winter months. Spinner dolphins (*Stenella longirostris*) are also often present. Animals introduced by early Polynesians include pigs, rats, and dogs. Later European introductions included goats, deer, mongoose, and cats. During the historic period, grazing by introduced goats denuded nearly the entire pali, transforming it into a barren wall of rock, which some observers described as resembling a prison wall.[290] Cattle grazing in fields and pasturelands between Kalaupapa and Kalawao further denuded areas of the landscape. With the removal of cattle grazing in the 1970s and 1980s and the reduction of the goat populations in more recent decades, much of the forest has returned, altering the appearance and feel of the landscape. Deer and wild pigs have also made significant impacts. Historically, some residents erected fences to protect their gardens from deer. They also formed hunting clubs. Feral pigs rooted-up shallow graves early in the period of significance, creating emotional disturbance and possibly influencing the prevalence of small, tomb-style graves at Kalawao as well as cemetery enclosures throughout the peninsula. Today, deer and pig populations, though valued by some residents for hunting, present unique challenges in landscape and native species protection.

The most substantial change to the historic landscape is the invasive vegetation that has overtaken areas formerly used for agriculture and cattle grazing, as well as areas previously characterized by open space. Several species of invasive plants including java plum, christmasberry, lantana, and date palm are now abundant on the peninsula, obscuring archeological resources, viewsheds, and other aspects of the historic landscape.

Spatial Organization

Kalawao Settlement

The initial settlement at Kalawao was vernacular in character. With no facilities specifically set up for the settlement, the people of Kalaupapa adaptively used existing structures and available materials for shelter. During the late nineteenth century, the landscape around Kalawao was generally open in character reflecting long periods of habitation, agricultural use, and grazing. As the settlement grew, the Hawaiian Board of Health – the government agency charged with administering the settlement – concentrated development along the road (later known as Damien Road) providing access to the other side of the peninsula.

The arrival of Father Damien in 1873, which coincided with a substantial population increase, marked the start of major changes for the settlement. Kalawao grew to include several building types including individual homes, churches, and by 1894, the Baldwin Home complex. Beginning just before the turn of the century, when the Board of Health authorized the move to Kalaupapa, most of the buildings at Kalawao were dismantled or removed. Today the spatial organization at Kalawao is defined by Damien Road, the two churches (Siloama and St. Philomena) and associated yards, numerous archeological sites, gravesites, rock walls, historic plantings, and remnants of the two major historic complexes: the Baldwin Home and the US Leprosy Investigation Station.

[289] National Park Service, *State of the Park Report: Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Hawaii*, State of the Park Series, No. 21 (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2015): v.

[290] Sonia P. Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape: An Ethnographic Study*, Publication Number 2007-03, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Region Social Science Series, 2007: 32.

Kalaupapa Settlement

The spatial organization at Kalaupapa primarily reflected the institutional objectives of segregation and providing for the community. As at Kalawao, residents also adapted the physical development of settlement according to their needs and preferences. In recent decades, requirements related to medical care and NPS park management have created additional imprints. The visual impact of these more recent uses is generally compatible with the historic character of the community. The organization of the settlement as developed and modified during the period of significance remains the dominant pattern.

During the historic period, land uses were clustered to consolidate administrative functions and services for the community. For example, many industrial buildings were located near the Kalaupapa Landing. These included warehouses, a power plant, laundry, carpenter shop, oil house, and other basic services. Other services located nearby included a store, provision room, post office, court room, poi shop, and visitors' quarters. Churches were also centrally located. Low rock walls enclosed the churchyards, and the grounds included ornamental plantings. These patterns are still intact.

Individual residences in Kalaupapa were primarily concentrated in the eastern portion of the settlement. Most were oriented along the streets running north to south. The exception was the row of cottages along Damien Road which ran between Kalawao and Kalaupapa. (The section of Damien Road within the developed area of Kalaupapa is now known as Damien Street. The historic name is used in the remainder of this document.) Many of the houses had enclosed yards and outbuildings. Many also had small garden spaces, either extending from a lanai, around the foundation of the house, or directly adjacent to the house.

In addition to the individual cottages, several residential clusters or group homes were established to house individuals with specific needs. The Charles R. Bishop Home for Girls was established at Kalaupapa in 1888 to care for young girls and unmarried women. The Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind, established in 1901, was geared toward the care of the old, infirm, and/or blind. The New Baldwin Home, established in 1934 (following the closure of the Old Baldwin Home at Kalawao), housed boys and young men. The McVeigh Home for White Foreigners, opened in 1910, initially served the small number of white patients and was later converted to a general residence. These group homes were largely self-contained. They remain as important structuring components in the settlement landscape.

To ensure separation from the settlement population when not on duty, many of the doctors, nurses, and staff in residence lived at Staff Row, located directly south of the McVeigh Home. Staff Row consisted of a small number of single-family houses for the superintendent, doctors, dentist, and other administrative staff with a dormitory for nurses. This area was separated from the community by picket fences during most of the historic period.

Beyond the main developed area, Kalaupapa also included a cluster of cemeteries along the western coastal area, the beach houses at ʻĪliopiʻi, and the lighthouse/airport area located to the north on the outskirts of the settlement.

Resource Types

Buildings:

Four primary building types are represented as contributing resources at Kalaupapa: residential, community/administration, religious, and industrial/maintenance. Some of these buildings have been adapted for Department of Health and NPS administrative purposes or for use by park partners. The form, materials and

stylistic features of most of these buildings are similar despite their varied historical uses. The architectural cohesiveness of the community is a result of a consistent handling of form, material, and style, reflecting settlement administrators' aim to regulate the lives of patients and ensure their physical segregation from the general population while providing for a decent quality of life. The people of Kalaupapa also adaptively used, modified, and moved buildings according to their needs, creating a vernacular building pattern overlapping and integrated with the designed institutional setting.

Material and Stylistic Elements:

Some pre-existing buildings in Kalaupapa were incorporated into the settlement, although much of the surviving built environment dates to later periods. The only remaining building known to predate the settlement is the Old Stone Church (301) built in 1853 in a style similar to other Protestant mission houses in Hawai'i. Some residences likely date to the late nineteenth century and exhibit elements of a Hawaiian vernacular building pattern from that period. These have also been altered over time and are often difficult to distinguish from later period residences.

The designs of most of the mid-period buildings reflect standardized plans produced by the Hawai'i Sugar Planter's Association in 1919 and 1930, now known as the Hawaiian Plantation Style (HPS). The majority of extant buildings at Kalaupapa, including most of the cottage-style residences, exemplify this style, being single-story wood-frame buildings comprised of a simple massing of rectilinear spaces accessed from open porches or verandas (known as lanai in Hawai'i). Most are of single-wall construction, a unifying element and defining feature of HPS. The use of a single wood wall to separate exterior and interior spaces was a response to Hawai'i's mild climate and the high cost of importing materials from the mainland. It also avoided structural conditions conducive to rot, termites, and rodents. Many buildings have vertical board siding with lateral stability achieved with exterior horizontal girts, another common feature of HPS. Other HPS elements include low angle gable or hip roofs with overhanging eaves, windows and door openings organized in singles or pairs, multi-paned double hung or sliding windows, plank or stile and rail doors, and raised wood post on stone or concrete pier foundations. Kitchen and bath functions are typically located inside residences, with laundry functions housed externally. Many buildings have minor design modifications such as chamfered posts which add to their character.

Many buildings feature Canec wall and ceiling boards, a building material used almost exclusively in Hawai'i through the first half of the twentieth century. Manufactured from baggase, a fibrous byproduct of sugar cane, Canec boards are durable, insulating, effective at blocking out sound, and were typically treated at the time of manufacture with inorganic arsenic compounds to improve resistance to mildew and termites. Two buildings in the Bishop Home (3BH and 4BH) have double layer Canec exterior walls, which is extremely rare with only two other known examples in Hawai'i.[291]

Other buildings dating from the 1930s through the 1960s are architecturally distinct. These include industrial or maintenance buildings, mainly in the Administrative Area, characterized by concrete or masonry construction, some with Art Deco detailing, and flat or simple gable roofs. Several military-surplus Quonset huts brought from Pu'u nēnē Maui Naval Air Station were also erected in Kalaupapa in the 1950s. These are characterized by concrete or corrugated metal exteriors and rounded corrugated metal roofs. While most were for storage, a large Quonset hut located near the Bay View Home served as housing for residents moved from the New Baldwin

[291] Spencer Architects, *Historic Structures Report: Bishop Home Covenant, Chapel, and Cottages; AJA Hall and Outbuilding; Visitor Quarters; Staff Dormitory* (Honolulu: Spencer Architects, Inc., 2005), 8.

Home after its closure in 1951. In later years, recycled Quonset materials were integrated into beach homes and outbuildings.

A number of standardized prefabricated homes were also built from the mid-1950s through the early 1960s, mainly in the Residential Area on the east side of the Kalaupapa settlement. These are known as "Hicks Homes," a housing type popular in Hawai'i at that time.[292] These homes are characterized by wood frame, single-wall construction with vertical siding and low angle gable roofs, and are built on raised wood post and concrete pier foundations. Like the earlier period residences, Hicks Homes display alterations and additions reflecting individual residents' needs and preferences.

Building Types:

Residential

Residential buildings are extant only at Kalaupapa and are of two basic types: individual and group homes. Most individual homes have standardized plans and building components, although most also display stylistic elements and additions reflecting the individual needs and tastes of their occupants. Residences are also painted in a variety of colors, reflecting efforts by their owners to imprint their homes with their individual preferences.[293]

The group homes are accompanied by their own set of auxiliary buildings (e.g. staff housing) and functional structures (e.g. storage sheds). Although many of the outbuildings of the Bishop Home are no longer extant, the complex's overall layout, as with that of the McVeigh and Bay View homes, is still mostly intact. The main structures of the group homes are similar in construction to the cottages, but on a much larger scale.

Numerous private outbuildings also exist throughout the settlement. These include garages, carports, washhouses, outhouses, hothouses, sheds, poker rooms, and other ancillary buildings, largely constructed from recycled materials. Most were built by patients to house their vehicles, tools, supplemental food, and as recreational spaces. They reflect initiative by the people of Kalaupapa in providing for themselves and are an important part of the historic district. While some of these buildings are currently used for other purposes, including for DOH or NPS storage, they retain much of their original form and materials, and continue to evoke the lives of individual patients during the historic period.

Community/Administration

Community buildings are typically large and centrally located. Paschoal Hall, for example, is distinguished by its size, central location, and orientation within a large open space surrounded by tall coconut trees. Constructed in 1916 and remodeled in 1936, the building exemplifies HPS architecture, displaying tongue and groove vertical wood siding, sliding windows, stile and rail doors, truncated hip roof and pre-cast concrete footings. Yet it is also atypical of standard HPS because of its overall unarticulated massing. The hall also displays internal modifications including balconies and railings intended to separate workers and guests from the lower tiers reserved for those admitted to the settlement. Several ethnic social halls were also built during the historic period including the Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) Benevolent Society Hall, the Chinese Clubhouse, the Filipino Meeting House, of which only the AJA Hall remains. Other remaining civic buildings such as the

[292] Fung Associates, *Hawaii Modernism Context*, Prepared for Historic Hawaii Foundation (2011), 3-22.
[293] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 101.

post office, community store, and bakery are residential in scale and are distinguished by their location within the community's core area.

Religious

Places of worship played an important role in the settlement's history and remain important to the people of Kalaupapa. During the historic period, the main congregations were Catholic, Protestant, and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and to a lesser degree Buddhist. Existing churches have been repaired and modified over time as required for maintenance or as their congregations grew to exceed their holding capacities. While most of these changes occurred within the period of significance, some later alterations have been made to meet the changing needs of the community. These buildings remain focal points of the settlement, evoking the experiences of the people of Kalaupapa from the historic period through the present. Extant design features and materials are either original or compatible with the historic fabric and continue to convey feeling and associations from the historic period. Currently six church buildings are present. Two are located at Kalawao: Siloama Church (Protestant, 1871) and St. Philomena Church (Catholic, 1872). Four are in Kalaupapa: the Old Stone Church (Protestant, 1853), St. Francis Church (Catholic, 1908), Kana'ana Hou Church (Protestant, 1915), St. Elizabeth's Chapel (Catholic, 1934), and the Latter-day Saint Chapel (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965). All these places of worship, with the exception of the Old Stone Church which now serves as the NPS ranger station, continue to hold services.

Industrial/Maintenance

Buildings constructed for industrial or maintenance purposes early in the period of significance were similar in character to the rest of the settlement, being primarily of wood-frame, single-wall construction. Later, as facilities aged and the community grew, the character changed. Buildings dating to the later period (the 1930s and after) were typically larger and rectilinear with flat or simple gable roofs. Exceptions to this basic form are evident in the bakery, food warehouse, the store, and the gas station which had simple hip roofs and were more residential in scale. Most industrial buildings were constructed on concrete slabs with concrete or unit masonry walls with few distinguishing stylistic features. An exception was the main warehouse built after 1931 which features Art Deco plaster decorative elements. The boiler rooms at the Bishop and McVeigh Homes were also constructed from concrete in the Art Deco style.

Department of Health and National Park Service Buildings

Many historic buildings have been adapted for use by the DOH and NPS for administrative purposes. Many former residences, for example, now serve as staff or visitor housing. Other buildings are used as office space, maintenance facilities, or for storage. Although changes have been made to accommodate these new uses, these alterations are generally compatible with the historic character and do not significantly impact overall integrity. A small number of buildings constructed after the period of significance for DOH and/or NPS purposes are also present. These are identified as non-contributing resources.

Structures:

Walls, Fences, and Gates:

Among the most prominent features built both before and during the settlement period are dry stacked stone walls. Prior to the establishment of the settlement, rock walls marked the boundaries of land divisions including ahupua'a (Hawaiian land divisions extending from the uplands out to sea), as well as corrals, garden plots, and agricultural field systems. Within the settlements at Kalawao and Kalaupapa, dry stacked stone walls were often

constructed to separate functions and mark the edges of residential lots, churchyards, and housing complexes. These walls were comprised of volcanic stone generally stacked 3 to 4 feet high and approximately 10 to 18 inches thick. The prevalence of these walls made them a unifying element in the district, defining the overall character of the settlement as a Hawaiian community.

Many rock walls were dismantled beginning in the 1950s and crushed for use on the roads. As much as eighty percent of the original rock walls in the settlement may have been lost over the years. Most of these were from the Residential Area, New Baldwin Home site, and Bishop Home. The remaining dry stacked stone walls are highly significant and are listed below either as individual contributing resources or character-defining features of individual residences. In 2005, the park implemented a cyclic Hapai Pohaku workshop to repair and preserve rock walls in the settlement. Between 2005 and 2015, twenty-nine rock wall segments totaling over two miles received repair work.

Wood picket fencing was also common in the settlement during the historic period. Fences surrounded staff houses and community facilities, lending a residential character to the front yards of many of these buildings. Fences surrounding the Staff Row area, Bishop Home, the visitors' quarters, and the airport building also served to separate staff and visitors from patients. Many fences were removed in the 1940s and 1950s as part of a loosening of segregation restrictions following the 1946 introduction of sulfone drugs. Most current fences post-date the period of significance. While the picket fence at Staff Row is similar in design and appearance to the original, it does not serve to segregate the community, and is not considered a historic reconstruction. However, the concrete base and gate pilings for the fence are historic and are listed below as contributing resources. Non-historic chainlink fencing is also present around some residential yards.

Livestock fences were also erected around Kalaupapa and at Papaloa Cemetery during the historic period to keep cattle out. Cattle guards were also put on the roads leading into the settlement. Although portions of the historic livestock fencing have been lost or reconfigured since the period of significance, original fabric remains outside the developed area. Remnants of livestock fencing and associated cattle guards are listed below in Part One as a contributing resource.

Additional fences have been added by the NPS to control deer populations within the airport, crater, and coastal areas. Most of these date to the 1990s and 2000s and are non-historic. Although intended for different purposes, the new fences remain a source of controversy due to their historic associations with the segregation policy.

Historic gates and entry posts also remain in many locations. Concrete posts with chamfered edges and cap stones were installed at the entrances to the Bishop Home, the New Baldwin Home, the Bay View Home, and several individual residences along Staff Row and in the Residential Area, as well as in front of the churches and some community buildings. Some posts had wooden swing gates, even when the adjacent wall was stone. Other posts exhibit unique qualities, such as those at the site of the former Chinese Clubhouse near the Nakanishi Residence (311-64), which add a degree of formality at the entrance. In other cases, such as along Staff Row, gates served to segregate settlement staff and visitors from the rest of the community.

Circulation and Utilities

Kalaupapa's circulation system including its historic road network, concrete paths and driveways, and trails are identified in this nomination as contributing structures. This system developed over time as a reflection of both institutional requirements and the preferences of the Kalaupapa community. Roads, walkways, and driveways connected the various areas of the settlement, while the Pali Trail provided a vital link to the world beyond the settlement. Much of the historic patterns remain and are important in defining Kalaupapa's spatial organization.

Components of historic utility systems are also extant at Kalaupapa. While the water and sewer system in use currently is non-historic, remnants of the historic distribution system exist in the form of concrete water tanks, a stone reservoir, abandoned buildings, and ruins of a delivery system from Waikolu Valley, all of which contribute to the historic character of the NHL district. Much of the historic electrical system is still in use. Comprised of wooden poles, crossbars, wiring, and associated components dating from the 1930s and 1960s, the electrical network is identified in this nomination as a contributing structure.

Sites and Objects

Archeological Sites

The Kalaupapa peninsula contains a high concentration of archeological resources reflecting a broad time range of habitation and land uses.[294] The settlement was established with the intent that patients would occupy the homes and resource procurement landscapes of the kamaʻāina, the Native residents who were displaced when the government acquired land for the settlement. For this reason, and because many kamaʻāina remained in the area, providing housing, food, and other assistance to those sent there, it is now often difficult to distinguish between different periods of use. The settlement incorporated existing Hawaiian features including heiau (temples), koʻa (fishing shrines), ahu (built stone markers), petroglyphs, and burial sites which became part of the fabric of the community. In a recent survey of sites at Kalawao, archeologist James Flexner documented evidence of overlap of pre-existing Hawaiian and introduced spatial patterns, construction methods, and materials through the late nineteenth century.[295] Reuse of subsistence resources including a possible fishpond at ʻĪliopiʻi and pre-settlement agricultural areas including kula (dryland) field systems, and loʻi (pond fields) for taro also occurred in the period of significance. In the early years, the people of Kalaupapa also used rocks from existing dry stacked rock walls to build shelters and enclosures.

While links between specific archeological resources and the leprosy settlement remain only partially documented, the overall archeological landscape helps define the historic setting and contributes to the feeling of the settlement as a Hawaiian community. The original NHL nomination offered the general statement that "for the purpose of this survey, the entire peninsula is considered a single site."[296] The nomination did not provide an explanation, however, giving only a short list of known pre-settlement archeological resources without designating them as contributing or non-contributing. This update clarifies and further develops this classification, defining the peninsula as a single contributing site and providing a general description of the archeological landscape.

A summary description of the contributing Kalaupapa Archeological Site with brief descriptions of prominent or representative resources and resource types is included in Part One of this section. This site primarily recognizes pre-settlement resources that contributed to the district's distinctly Hawaiian character during the period of

[294] Erika Viernes Stein, *Layered Landscapes: Archaeological Investigations and Identification Report Associated with the Kalaupapa Memorial Project (MEMO), Kalawao Ahupuaʻa, Kalawao County, Island of Molokai*, Draft on file at Kalaupapa National Historical Park, 2010.

[295] James Lindsey Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past at Kalawao," Ph.D. diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 2010.

[296] National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement*, NR #76002415, Prepared by Office of State Director, 1976: 6.

significance. Other documented archeological sites that are more directly associated with the leprosy settlement period are listed individually as contributing sites in either Part One or Part Two, according to their locations.

It is also important to note that as of this writing, only a portion of the peninsula has been surveyed, meaning that many archeological resources that likely contribute to the significance of the historic district remain undocumented. Examples of resources that future studies may uncover include sites associated with the contributions of the kamaʻāina to the development of the settlement, the original Latter-day Saint chapel at Kalawao, the first "hospital" at Kalawao, early residences, agricultural and ranching sites, burials, and rock walls, enclosures, circulation-related resources including pali trails that are no longer in use, foundations, and other features that predate the leprosy settlement but which were adaptively reused during the settlement period.

Other Sites and Objects

The district also includes sites representing the locations of significant events, occupations or activities, and historic buildings and structures. These include cemeteries and ruins marking the locations of former buildings and structures. Cemeteries are additionally important as the resting places of those who lived and died at the settlement. They also serve as a genealogical record, helping connect people in the present to family members long considered "lost."

A number of historic objects associated with the settlement also contribute to the district's significance and integrity. These include monuments, statues, artwork, tombs, and grave markers which are notable for their artistic qualities, historic associations with significant individuals or events, and/or spiritual importance to the people of Kalaupapa. These objects help demonstrate the utilitarian, decorative, and spiritual preferences of the community.

Resource Descriptions:

Archeological Resources

Resources dating to the settlement period overlay and are integrated with what has been described as one of the best preserved pre-contact and early post-contact archeological landscapes in Hawaiʻi. For an estimated 600 to 800 years before the establishment of the settlement, possibly earlier, the Kalaupapa peninsula and the valleys of Waihānau, Waiʻaleʻia, and Waikolu were home to a large population. These areas were organized into four ahupuaʻa (radial mountain to sea land divisions) with the names Waikolu, Kalawao, Makanalua, and Kalaupapa. A diversity of resources associated with subsistence, habitation, and ritual activities remain within each ahupuaʻa. These include heiau (temples), koʻa (fishing shrines), ahu (built stone markers), burial sites, a hōlua (toboggan slide used by aliʻi for ritual sporting activities), lava tube caves, loʻi (pond fields) for taro, kula (dryland) field systems, petroglyphs, habitation sites, platforms, walls, windbreaks, and other isolated resources. The diversity, physical patterning, and spatial relationships among these resources reflect an ancient and complex cultural system that developed over many generations.

This system was disrupted with the displacement of most of the kamaʻāina to make way for the settlement. However, those sent to Kalaupapa occupied these same areas and adaptively used many of the early Hawaiian sites and structures, relying on the aid of the kamaʻāina who remained. The archeological landscape thus displays a complex overlap of physical resources that speak to multiple eras of occupation. As of this writing, only a small percentage of the NHL district has been surveyed, and many resources undoubtedly remain undiscovered, especially in areas covered by thick vegetation. Documented resources include built features, former agricultural sites, and sites with spiritual or cultural significance. These resources are grouped below as component parts of a single contributing site encompassing the entire NHL. As noted above, other documented

archeological sites that are known to be directly associated with the leprosy settlement period are listed individually as contributing sites in either Part One or Part Two, according to their locations.

Contributing Archeological Resources

Sites:

Kalaupapa Archeological Site

Encompassing the entire peninsula, the Kalaupapa Archeological Site consists of numerous sites and features associated with the entire known span of human settlement dating back 600 to 800 years before present, perhaps earlier. The list below includes documented representative sites highlighting the long period of habitation and the diversity of land uses.[297] It is important to note that this is not a comprehensive list. The sites identified below represent only a small portion of the more than 500 sites and features that have been individually identified at Kalaupapa. While most of these resources are primarily associated with pre-settlement Hawaiian use of the peninsula, many may also have been used and/or modified during the settlement period. Collectively and individually, they influenced the development and feel of the leprosy settlement as a distinctly Hawaiian place and are integral to the NHL's integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association. The entries are listed in the order of their Hawai'i State Site Numbers (if assigned).[298] Park numbers (if assigned) are also included.

-

[redacted]

[298] State site numbers for Kalaupapa all begin with the locator number 50-60-03, followed by the individual site number. The entries here include only the individual site number.

[redacted]

- [redacted]
Secondary name: [redacted] this natural lava tube measures approximately 70 meters long with a ceiling height of 1 to 3.3 meters. [redacted]

- [redacted] this site consists of numerous stone-walled enclosures made of basalt boulders and cobbles 15 by 49 meters with wall up to 1.5 meters in height.

- [redacted]

[redacted] consists of basalt boulders and cobbles forming a platform measuring 30 by 40 meters, with associated terraces, enclosures, and 20 or more rectangular rock platform burial sites. The hōlua slide descends to the south approximately 50 meters to the dirt road (Crater Road) below. The slide is severely overgrowth with invasive vegetation.

- [redacted] this site consists of numerous basalt boulder and cobble walled enclosures and platforms formed from repeated use as place of worship and fishing. The main enclosure measures 7 by 10 meters.

[redacted] consists of an approximately 30- by 50-meter basalt boulder and cobble pavement nearly level with the ground (approximately 4 feet high). [redacted] Some residents have expressed a view that women should never live in this house because it is built over the heiau. Reportedly, some previous female residents of the house have sickened and/or died. The most recent male resident also passed away in early 2015.

- [redacted] consists of the remains of a large wall (approximately 9 meters long) and room (approximately 2 meters square) of basalt boulders and cobbles, with a collapsed wall. Pits and terraces are also present. Trees are growing in and around heiau. The heiau has been slowly collapsing over the years.

- [redacted] The site measures 800 by 300 meters and consists of one large platform, seven small platforms, a stone wall, two possible cave shelters, one house lot, and four raised platforms. A great quantity of surface midden is also present.

- [redacted] this lava tube extends approximately 50 meters and varies from standing to crawling height. The entrance is a collapsed section of the lava tube. Stone structures are found throughout the open collapsed area and in the twilight zone of the cave [redacted]

- [redacted] They include habitation sites, caves and rock shelters, storage enclosures, and a large rectilinear arrangement of agricultural terraces. The sites date from at least the early historic period and possibly from the late pre-contact period.

- Burial Grounds of Makapulapai (State Site # 1928, Park # 911)
This [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted], approximately 6 by 9 meters with 3- by 9-meter stone-paved area to the west and stone walls to the northeast and southeast.

- [redacted] It consists of basalt boulders and cobbles, measuring 23 by 14 meters overall, as well as several pit features and an offering stone. During a 2014 vegetation clearing project, ti plants were discovered at the corners of the structure. An interpretive sign is present. The heiau is regularly maintained and cleared of vegetation by park staff and volunteers.

[redacted] The heiau is constructed of basalt boulders and cobbles with walls and twelve pits or enclosures. It was probably used in association with nearby heiau. Some ti plants grow in the vicinity.

[redacted] It is oval shaped, measuring approximately 5 by 6 meters, with wall 1.6 meters high. A small wall runs to the north. A boundary wall extends for approximately 2 miles to the south.

[redacted]. It consists of a basalt boulder and cobble retaining wall 6 to 12 feet high, approximately 11 meters wide with a flat floor. Remains of a wall also run to the south. Large mango, orange, guava, breadfruit, and kukui (candlenut) trees are also present. A 1994 landslide narrowly missed the heiau.

[redacted]
Secondary name: Great Wall of Kalaupapa. This prominent basalt boulder, cobble, and core filled wall marks the ahupua‘a boundary. The wall averages 3 to 4 feet high, stretching from the northern tip of Kalaupapa Peninsula to the pali, approximately 2.5 miles. The wall is broken in some areas by roads and cattle trails. Much of the southern section is obscured by thick vegetation. Archeological evidence suggests that while the ahupua‘a boundary dates to antiquity, the wall itself may date to the historic era (1795-1866).

- Kalaupapa Prehistoric Rock Walls (Park # 921)

Hundreds of rock walls and wall segments of various heights, lengths and uses have been inventoried on the peninsula. [redacted]. Many are overgrown, and many more are likely present, but have not been inventoried due to dense vegetation.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Transportation and Circulation System:

Prior to the construction of an airstrip in the 1930s, access to the Kalaupapa peninsula was only possible by boat, or from topside Molokai via trails descending the steep pali. For the people of Kalaupapa, the term “topside” connotes both the separation imposed by the pali and its permeability via established and informal

trails which permitted some contact (authorized and unauthorized) with the world "outside." The dual function of the Pali Trail in limiting and enabling connections to the rest of Hawai'i makes it among the most significant features of the historic landscape.[299]

Two main trails provided access to the settlement during the period of significance. The first, the steep and rugged Ili'ilikā Trail – also referred to as the Waihānau Trail, the Kalawao Trail, Damien's Trail, or the Kalaupapa Trail – served as the primary access to the peninsula from the western ridge of Waihānau Gulch. Missionaries, including Father Damien, were known to travel along this access route. This trail is no longer extant and the route has not been surveyed for archeological resources as of this writing. Located further west along the pali and more directly south of the Kalaupapa settlement, the second trail was historically referred to as the Kala'e Trail, Kukuiohāpu'u Trail, Pu'upāne'ene'e Road to Kalae, or Kalaupapa Road. Today it is more commonly referred to as the Pali Trail or the Kalaupapa Trail, inheriting this latter title from the older, now abandoned trail to the east. More frequent use of this route began in the 1890s with the movement of the settlement to Kalaupapa, and by 1939 it had been widened a few times. Several switchbacks were also added to create a safer route for cattle drives. In 1936, a gate and watchman station were built at the top of the trail to further control access. These were removed in the 1940s. At the base, Puahi Street led from the trail to the settlement. It has been suggested that this trail should be renamed the Kupele Trail after David Kupele who for many years rode up the steep path on horseback nearly every day to collect the mail and other items.

Ocean access to the settlement was initially only possible at Alapa'i Point, located adjacent to the mouth of Waikolu Valley across the cove from the east side of the peninsula. This access often required transferring from a ship to a rowboat before a rough shore landing. [redacted] By 1884 ocean access was made more efficient with the construction of a landing at the Kalaupapa settlement. A more extensive landing was built at this location by 1886. (The Kalaupapa Landing is listed in the Administrative Area section in Part Two.) Still, during very rough surf, ships continued to resort to access at Alapa'i Point. During the construction of the US Leprosy Investigation Station in 1908, land was set aside by the Territory of Hawai'i just southeast of Alapa'i Point at Makaluahau Cove as a third landing. Used as the station's official landing site, this point of access emphasized the facility's independence from the settlement and was intended to reduce staff contact with the patient population.

As early as 1929, an informal landing strip existed at the site of the baseball field near Papaloa Cemetery. Patients reportedly rejected a request by the Territorial Aeronautical Commission to remove a sand ridge burial site to expand the landing strip area, and the commission's attention shifted to the area near the Molokai Light Station at the northern tip of the peninsula.[300] In 1933, an unpaved airstrip existed at this location. The airstrip was used for irregular commercial service by Inter-Island Airways, and for occasional military training flights. Beginning in 1950, the US Postal Service began delivering air mail through a contract with Cockett Airlines. The airfield was further improved in 1951 with the construction of a new terminal building (replacing a smaller earlier building at the same location), and in 1954, the sod-on-sand runway was paved. Improvements to the airport facilities continued over subsequent decades. Two additional buildings were added in the 1980s, and in

[299] Suvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 37.; Suvik also notes the complex meaning of the pali as both a barrier, a symbol of incarceration and stigmatization, and a guardian of the settlement ensuring "a serene environment and a high level of privacy."

[300] Hawaii Aviation, An Archive of Historic Facts and Photos, "Kalaupapa Airport," http://aviation.hawaii.gov/airfields-airports/molokai/kalaupapa-airport/ (accessed September 29, 2015).

the 1990s, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) extended and realigned the airstrip by five degrees to improve safety.[301]

The Kalaupapa and Kalawao settlements were and still are connected by Damien Road, the primary transportation route on the peninsula.[302] A coastal road was built around 1900 along the eastern side of the peninsula between the two settlements in response to agricultural and livestock demands. The northern portion of the peninsula, including the airstrip and lighthouse, was accessible from the Kalaupapa settlement via Kamehameha and Staff Streets. An additional unpaved road running northward along the eastern edge of Kauhakō Crater from Damien Road to the lighthouse was also in use by 1938. A spur road to the east of this unimproved road was in use by 1950, and both roads (known as Interior Road to Kauhakō Crater) were formalized by 1964.[303]

The Kalawao settlement was linear in form and primarily oriented along Damien Road. The US Leprosy Investigation Station was located at the east end, with the old hospital site located directly inland, followed by the Baldwin Home and the churches, and finally a row-pattern of single-family homes and shops extending westward on both sides of Damien Road. A loop road surrounded the Leprosy Investigation Station while a driveway provided access to the buildings at the Baldwin Home.

The Kalaupapa settlement was laid out with an irregular grid pattern of roads that provided access to all the developed areas. From the roads, driveways and sidewalks provided access to the buildings and structures within the settlement. This pattern was in part a response to natural landforms and pre-settlement circulation patterns. It also reflected the intent of settlement administrators to impose greater efficiency and control over the population.

Integrated with this formal road network is an informal network of unpaved and unmaintained foot and vehicle paths, representing a vernacular circulation pattern within the institutional landscape. An un-graded short cut from the McVeigh Social Hall (23M) to Papaloa Cemetery is an example of this.[304] Some patients also still drive across the field at Paschoal Hall. Although it is now lawn, historic aerial images show an informal road at this location.[305]

In 1935, the Board of Health began surfacing 3.2 miles of roads, driveways, parking areas, and part of the road to the airport with asphalt macadam. Crews also paved several other sections of road including the section of Damien Road (now known as Damien Street) from Puahi Street to the laundry; Puahi Street from the Puahi Street Bridge to Beretania Street; Kamehameha Street from Beretania Street to the cattle guard at Papaloa; Beretania Street from Damien Road to Ka‘iulani Street; Staff Street from Beretania Street past the McVeigh Home; and McKinley Street from Beretania Street to Haleakalā Street. Paved driveways, approximately 12 feet wide, were also completed at the Bishop, McVeigh, and Bay View Homes, at the hospital, store, gas station, at

[301] The original alignment had occasionally exposed departing aircraft to heavy spray from waves breaking just off the end of the runway. Linda W. Greene, *Exile in Paradise: The Isolation of Hawai‘i’s Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865 to the Present* (Denver Service Center: US Department of Interior, National Park Service, Branch of Planning, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, 1985), 513.; For details and a timeline of improvements refer to: Hawaii Aviation, “Kalaupapa Airport.”

[302] Today, the section of Damien Road within the Kalaupapa settlement is known as Damien Street. The historic name is used throughout the rest of this document.

[303] This information is based on a review of historic aerial photographs. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

[304] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 22.

[305] Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

St. Francis Catholic Church, and in the landing and warehouse areas. Pavement was laid only three inches thick because of the natural rocky base throughout the settlement. In addition, concrete curbing was installed along the roads and driveways. Curbs are still visible at the McVeigh and Bishop Homes. Some remnants also exist along Beretania and McKinley Streets, although multiple layers of asphalt obscure the full extent of the curbs. Concrete walkways approximately 3 feet wide were also installed at McVeigh and Bishop Homes during the 1930s. Portions of these are intact today. All roads in the settlement were repaired and resurfaced from 1956 to 1958 and again in the early 2000s.

Today, daily flights between Kalaupapa and Honolulu, and topside Molokai, provide mail, supplies, food, and visitor access. Boat arrivals, though infrequent, still dock at the Kalaupapa Landing, mostly in the summer months due to high surf in the winter. The Pali Trail still serves as the only land route linking the settlement with topside Molokai and receives periodic repair work and ongoing maintenance by the NPS.

Damien Road remains the main link between the two settlement sites. The road is mostly intact, although the grassy, two-track section east of Kapiʻolani Street is no longer used and is becoming overgrown with vegetation. The airport and lighthouse on the northern portion of the peninsula are still connected to the Kalaupapa settlement by Kamehameha Street, although a section of the original road has been realigned. The intersection of Kamehameha and Beretania Streets has also been changed to connect only to Puahi Street. The coastal road still exists along the eastern side of the peninsula, as does the rough dirt road on the east side of Kauhakō Crater running from Damien Road to the airstrip. A number of informal dirt roads also still exist, although many are becoming overgrown or eroded due to lack of use.

At Kalawao, many transportation-related resources have been wholly or in part distorted by invasive vegetation. Others were removed during the dismantling of facilities beginning in the 1890s. The concrete sidewalks and formal open spaces in the designed vegetation at St. Philomena and Siloama churchyards, however, are still visible. The pattern of roads and walks within Kalaupapa settlement has changed very little since the 1930s, although many of the historically dirt portions of the primary roads have since been paved, with the exception of Kapiʻolani Street and the majority of Puahi Street south of the bridge. Other changes include: resurfacing of the roads and driveways to an average width of 18 feet and 12 feet respectively; realigning the south end of Kapiʻolani at Damien Road to create a curvilinear merge; abandoning the eastern section of Haleakalā Street between Kapiʻolani and Kaiʻulani Streets; and paving over much of the curbing throughout the settlement. The loss of numerous buildings and structures has also resulted in the removal of some associated driveways and sidewalks, although many remain on vacant lots. These are usually good indicators of former building locations. Despite these changes, much of the historic network of roads, driveways, and sidewalks remains intact throughout both settlements.

Transportation and Circulation System contributing resources:

Buildings:

Airport Terminal (Park # 703)
This one-story building is located at the airport on the northern tip of the peninsula. The building is rectangular, measuring 30 by 40 feet and is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, a hip roof with shed extensions over lanai on the northeast and southwest sides. Wood frame jalousie windows are on three elevations. The northwest elevation is open to the aircraft parking ramp which is separated from the passenger waiting area by a non-historic picket fence. Originally, a railing ran across the interior of the terminal to separate

visitors and settlement staff from patients, but this was removed around the end of the period of significance.[306] The airport was and still is important as a point of access to the outside world. Today, planes bring the daily mail, goods, and fresh produce from Honolulu, as well as clients of Damien Tours. Air linkages also ensure that residents who choose to live at the settlement have access to adequate medical care. The terminal building also serves as a gathering place where residents come to socialize and see who is coming and going.[307] It was built in 1951, replacing a smaller terminal building dating to 1933.[308]

Structures:

Pali Trail (Park # 866)
Secondary names: Kalaupapa Trail, Pali Road, Kupele Trail. This unpaved trail links topside Molokai to the Kalaupapa settlement and has an approximately 1,700-foot elevation change. The trail is approximately 3.5 miles long with 26 switchbacks. The surface is of dirt, rock, non-historic permeable concrete paver blocks, and in some areas of steep incline, stone paving. Use of the trail increased in the 1890s as it became the primary access route following the movement of the settlement to Kalaupapa. Historically, this was one of two defined trails to the peninsula from topside Molokai. The other trail, the Ili‘ilikā Trail, was located further east and was reportedly used by missionaries traveling to and from the settlement, including Father Damien. This trail is no longer extant. The Pali Trail has undergone several changes since the historic period. The trailhead has been moved and is currently located off Highway 470 near Pālā‘au State Park and the Kalaupapa Overlook. A non-historic gate is now located at the top of the trail where it crosses onto private land.[309] An interpretive wayside is also present at the top of the trail, providing views to north and west. Smaller markers number the switchbacks, and two larger kiosk signs provide park information at both trailheads. Despite these changes, the trail’s length, route, and overall feeling are retained from the historic period. As the only defined land access to the settlement, the trail continues to instill a sense of Kalaupapa’s separateness from the rest of Molokai. Puahi Street also still connects the base of the trail with the settlement via the Trail Access Road.

Kalaupapa Road Network
The historic road network is listed here as a single contributing structure. The main component roads are described below. These include the primary paved and unpaved roads. Associated features including historic curbing, culverts, and walls are also noted in the entries. Although not individually described below, unnamed spur roads and informal foot and vehicle paths which cut between defined roads and that date to the historic period are also associated with the historic road network. A notable example is the grassy, two-track route that follows the north edge of the field near Paschoal Hall, connecting the McVeigh Home to Kamehameha Street through the industrial garage area.

- Damien Road

This is the primary road between Kalawao and Kalaupapa. It consists of two segments surfaced in different areas with asphalt and crushed volcanic rock paving, gravel, and packed earth. The westernmost segment (now also known as Damien Street) runs in an arc along the western and southern sides of the Kalaupapa settlement,

[306] Photo documentation indicates that the railing was removed between 1957 and 1975. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

[307] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 81.

[308] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 462.; The construction date of 1951 is from Hawaii Aviation, An Archive of Historic Facts and Photos, “Kalaupapa Airport,” accessed September 29, 2015 at http://aviation.hawaii.gov/airfields-airports/molokai/kalaupapa-airport/. Some park records give a different date, although 1951 seems accurate based on a review of historic aerial photographs. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, August 26, 2015.

[309] Per communication with Ka‘ohulani McGuire, KALA ethnographer, based on communication with R. Marks and R. McGuire, August 26, 2015.

from Kamehameha Street to Kapiʻolani Street. This segment is paved for the entire distance, except for a 200 foot portion between Kaʻiulani and Kapiʻolani Streets. The second segment runs from the former intersection with Beretania Street east of the Kalaupapa settlement, through the saddle between Kauhakō Crater and the foot of the pali to Kalawao and ending at the former location of the US Leprosy Investigation Station. A spur road from Damien Road leads to Kauhakō Crater (Crater Road). Pull outs are located at the historic water tanks, a heiau site, and Cemetery O (Kahaloko Cemetery). Road width varies between 12 and 15 feet (with some much wider sections) for approximately 2.5 miles. The road was established circa the 1860s, improved in 1883 under the direction of Father Damien, surfaced between 1935 and 1936, and repaired 1956. While periodic maintenance has occurred since the period of significance, the historic alignment and overall character of the road remain intact.

- Baldwin Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs in a north-south direction between Beretania Street and Damien Road. It is approximately 1,400 feet long.

- Bay View Loop

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs from Damien Road to Mission Street, around the west and south sides of the Bay View Home complex. It is Approximately 830 feet long and was surfaced by 1935-1936.

- Beach House Road

This unpaved two-track road leads to the ʻĪliopiʻi Beach Houses. It is approximately 500 yards long.

- Beretania Street

This road segment runs in an east-west direction between the Kalaupapa Landing and the former intersection with Damien Road east of the settlement. It is paved with asphalt and crushed volcanic rock from the landing to an area east of Kapiʻolani Street, with the remaining portion surfaced with gravel. About 650 feet east of Kapiʻolani Street, the road crosses a cattle guard at the settlement boundary fence. The cattle guard is marked with signs warning visitors “Do Not Cross Cattle Guard Without Sponsor.” The road is approximately 4,800 feet long in total and was surfaced by 1935-1936.

- Bishop Loop

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs in a square loop around the main buildings of the Bishop Home. It is approximately 760 feet long and was surfaced by 1935-1936. Historic segmented concrete curbs are still visible.

- Bishop Road

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs in a southeasterly direction into the Bishop Home from the intersection of School Street and Puahi Street. It is approximately 350 feet long and was surfaced by 1935-1936. Historic segmented concrete curbs are still visible.

- Bishop Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street and School Street. It is approximately 400 feet long.

- Goodhue Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street and School Street. It is approximately 475 feet long. A historic dry stacked rock retaining wall flanks the north end of the road near Beretania Street.

- Haleakalā Street

This road segment runs east to west between McKinley Street and Kapiʻolani Street. It is paved with asphalt and crushed volcanic rock from McKinley Street to Kaʻiulani Street. The remaining 340 feet to Kapiʻolani Street is not maintained and is overgrown with vegetation. The road is approximately 475 feet long.

- Kaʻiulani Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street and Damien Road. It is approximately 1,400 feet long.

- Kapiʻolani Street

This unpaved, grassy, two-track road segment runs north to south between Beretania Street and Damien Road. It is approximately 1,375 feet long.

- Kilohana Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs east to west between Damien Road and Kamehameha Street. It is approximately 300 feet long.

- McKinley Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street and Damien Road. The Damien Road intersection is forked, with a small triangular island in the middle. A historic dry stacked rock retaining wall and concrete culvert is at the north end of the road near Beretania Street. A smaller historic culvert and masonry cheek wall is at the intersection of School Street. The road is approximately 1,350 feet long.

- McVeigh Road/ McVeigh Home Paving and Curbs (Park # 843)

This is a network of four east-west and two north-south paved roads around the main buildings of McVeigh Home. The middle two streets are connected by two additional segments parallel to Staff Street and located on the east and west of the dining hall, creating a full loop around the building. Paving consists of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock, ranging in width from 12 to 18 feet wide, edged with raised segmented concrete curbs. The roads measure approximately 1,380 feet long and were surfaced by 1931-1936. Historic segmented concrete curbs are still visible.

- Staff Street/Staff Row

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south from Beretania Street to a dead-end at the McVeigh Home. A historic dry stacked rock retaining wall and culvert lines the west edge of the road near the McVeigh Home. The road is approximately 1,350 feet long.

- Mission Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street and Damien Road. The intersection with Damien Road is forked to form a large oval island. The road is approximately 750 feet long.

- Puahi Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south from Beretania Street toward the New Baldwin Home Site. The road crosses a small, non-historic single lane bridge at Waihānau Stream. After this point, the road is known as the Trail Access Road. A cattle guard was historically located north of the bridge but has since been filled in with asphalt. The road is approximately 2,000 feet long and was partially surfaced by 1935-1936.

- School Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs east to west between Damien Road and Mission Street, extending to McKinley Street. A small historic culvert and masonry cheek wall is at the intersection with McKinley Street. The road is approximately 700 feet long.

- Trail Access Road

This unpaved two-track road runs from the southern end of Puahi Street at the Waihānau Stream bridge to the trailhead near the base of the pali. It is approximately 1,500 ft. long.

- Paved Road South of Post Office

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs east to west between Damien Road and Puahi Street. It is approximately 400 feet long.

- Paved Road West of Paschoal Hall

This L-shaped paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs in a north-south direction west of Paschoal Hall before turning west to the north of the Police Headquarters Building (303). It is approximately 560 feet long.

- Kamehameha Street

This paved road segment of asphalt and crushed volcanic rock runs north to south between Beretania Street in the Kalaupapa settlement and the airport parking lot. There is a short turning loop at the airport end. A historic, mortared rock cheek wall and culvert (Kamehameha Street Stone Culvert, 836) flanks the road edge near St. Francis Church. The road is approximately 1.5 miles long. Historically, three cattle guards were located along Kamehameha Street – one at the "Welcome to Kalaupapa" sign at Papaloa Cemetery at the south end of the former baseball field, one at the settlement fence at the north edge of the cemetery, and one near the park entrance sign at the airport. Of these, only one cattle guard remains at the north end of Papaloa Cemetery where the road crosses the settlement fence. The road was partially surfaced in 1935-1936, and in 1955-1956.

- Coastal Road

This rough, unpaved two-track road runs along the east coast of the peninsula. It has been used traditionally to travel around the peninsula to go fishing and to gather salt. The road is approximately 2.8 miles long and was constructed around 1900.

- Crater Road

This steep, unpaved, looped two-track road runs to Kauhakō Crater from Damien Road, providing access to Kauhakō Cross, the hōlua slide ruins, and Cemetery N on the crater rim. The road is approximately 2,600 feet long and was formalized by 1950. A rough trail following the current road alignment was in place earlier, by 1938.

- Interior Road to Kauhakō Crater

This unpaved road runs northward along the eastern edge of Kauhako Crater from Damien Road to the lighthouse. Invasive vegetation is encroaching on the road and an associated spur road. The road was in use between 1938 and 1950 and was formalized by 1964. The main road is approximately 9,400 feet long and the spur road is approximately 5,500 feet long.

Transportation and Circulation System non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Airport Ops Building (Park # 816)
This building is located at the Kalaupapa Airport. It was built after the period of significance in 1984.

Airport Storage: Kamaka Air (Park # 818)
This storage building is located at the Kalaupapa Airport. It was built after the period of significance in 1984.

Structures:

Kalaupapa Airstrip
The airstrip at the Kalaupapa Airport, originally built in 1933, has been extended, re-aligned, and re-surfaced since the period of significance and no longer retains the historic configuration.

Water Distribution System:

In the early years of the Kalawao settlement, water had to be transported in containers from a stream in Waiʻaleʻia Valley. The difficulty of obtaining water contributed to unsanitary conditions and the spread of other diseases. In 1873, the Board of Health supplied enough one-inch iron piping to lay a supply line to Kalawao.[310] As the settlement expanded, and the first moves were taken towards establishing a new settlement at Kalaupapa, the Board of Health explored a new water supply in Waikolu Valley. Previously, residents on the west side of the peninsula used seasonal springs at Waiʻaleʻia and Waihānau Valleys, supplemented by a brackish well close to the beach. A water line from springs in Waikolu Valley to Kalaupapa was completed in 1888, the same year that the Bishop Home was constructed there.[311]

The pipeline from Waikolu Valley ran along the coast east of Kalawao and was susceptible to damage from high waves and rock fall. In 1894, the Board of Health determined that a reservoir on the saddle between Kalawao and Kalaupapa would help to ensure a more reliable supply. Ten years later, another water tank was built in the same area. By 1909, the water system was fed by an eight-inch pipeline from a small concrete collection reservoir in Waikolu Valley. Water initially flowed from Waikolu Stream into the collection reservoir via a diversion ditch but concerns over losses led to its replacement in 1912 by a fourteen by twenty-inch wooden flume. In 1931, the older storage reservoirs were replaced by a 750,000-gallon steel tank. The system was extensively reworked during a fifteen-month period between 1937 and 1938. Work crews constructed a new diversion dam at a secondary source in Waikolu Valley, replaced the open flume with a covered concrete conduit, added an aerator box and sedimentation chamber, and reinforced or rerouted vulnerable sections of the line.[312]

The system remained in use through the remainder of the period of significance. Deterioration and limited capacity forced the NPS to build a replacement system beginning in the 1980s, using water pumped from wells rather than diverted from streams. Much of the old infrastructure remains in place, although it has continued to

[310] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 85.; Also refer to Takasaki, Kiyoshi J., 1986, *Results of Exploratory Drilling for Water in Waihānau Valley, Molokai, Hawaii:* U.S. Geological Survey Water-Resources Investigations Report 85-4332 (Honolulu, Hawaii); and US Department of the Interior. National Park Service, Historic American Engineering Record, *Kalaupapa Water Supply System*, Haer No. HI-42 (Washington DC, 1998-1999).

[311] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 130, 174.

[312] Ibid., 174, 212, 363-364, 462, 513, 520-522.

deteriorate without active maintenance and use. Extant ruins and other features associated with the water system are listed here as contributing buildings, structures, or archeological sites, based on their classification in archeological literature and/or park records.

Water Distribution System contributing resources:

Buildings:

Chlorinator Building
Secondary name: Medicine House. This small shed is located along the south side of Damien Road 1,700 feet west of Crater Road. It was built to house chlorinator equipment for the settlement water system and is no longer functional. The building is currently maintained as an exhibit. Patients today refer to it as the Medicine House. Built 1957-1958, the building was stabilized, repaired, and repainted in 2015.

Filter Building
This small wood frame shed is located along the south side of Damien Road, 1,700 feet west of Crater Road, near the Chlorinator Building. It was built to filter settlement water supply through charcoal for purification and is no longer functional. Reports from maintenance employees from the 1970s and 1980s indicate that the water supply at that time had a brownish tint. The building is currently maintained as an exhibit and has plywood siding on its north elevation. Other elevations are open. It was built by 1964.

Sites:

[redacted] The pipeline is destroyed in places. A section of pipe mounted on concrete pillow blocks at 6- to 12-foot intervals runs along the rocky beach for approximately 200 feet. The original system was built 1873. Remnants of two intake dams built in 1937-1938 and 1948 respectively exist on Waikolu Stream as part of the pipeline system. Also present are remnants of an aerator with a flush valve and a sedimentation chamber consisting of a series of baffles designed to slow the flow of water. These date to 1937-1938 and functioned to clear the system of sediment.

Waikolu Bathhouse Site (Flexner Site 16)
[redacted]. This feature, possibly the remains of a bathhouse, measures 13 by 6 ½ feet and includes a standing terra cotta pipe embedded in the concrete and two low wings enclosing the southern section of the structure. A remnant of a concrete floor is located to the west. Japanese style baths have been noted in nineteenth century ranching sites on the island of Hawai‘i, and this may have served a similar purpose. Baths were also a favored treatment for many patients, including Father Damien. The site likely dates to the settlement era and may have been used by patients to ease their symptoms or by Chinese laborers brought in by the Hawaiian government to grow taro for the settlement.[313]

[313] Flexner, “Archaeology of the Recent Past,” 142.

Structures:

[redacted] The enclosure measures approximately 25 by 25 feet. The walls are approximately 8 feet high and 4 to 5 feet thick and in fair condition. The concrete-coated interior is open and heavily overgrown with vegetation. The cistern was built in 1886 to provide water to the Kalawao hospital. It is located [redacted]

[redacted] The tank is approximately 30 feet diameter, 150,000-gallon capacity, with a conical corrugated metal roof. The reservoir is unused and unmaintained and is heavily overgrown with vegetation. It was built between 1894 and 1908.

[redacted]. The tank is 25 feet in diameter, 50,000-gallon capacity, with a conical corrugated metal roof. The reservoir is unused and unmaintained and is heavily overgrown with vegetation. It was built between 1894 and 1908.

Water Distribution System non-contributing resources:

Structures:

[redacted] hree steel water tanks (known as The Three Stooges – Larry, Curly, and Moe) were added in 1994. Two of the three water tanks were replaced in 2015. The pump house exterior and roof were repaired in 2015.

Kalaupapa Electrical System[314]

Electricity came to Kalawao in 1909 with the installation of a generator at the US Leprosy Investigation Station. The station was the first electrified facility on Molokai and one of the largest public buildings in Hawai‘i at the time of its construction. Installation of a Pelton wheel water turbine in Waikolu Valley in 1911 provided additional power for lighting, cold storage, and an ice plant.

Electrification of the Kalaupapa settlement began prior to 1920 in the form of a gasoline powered generator to supply electricity to the poi factory and ice plant, although the specific components of the system are not known. In 1921, Lawrence Judd, then a legislator in the territorial government, championed funding for individual generating plants to serve various facilities in the settlement. The next year, Delco-Light electric plants (designed by inventor Charles Kettering for use in rural areas) were installed at the Bishop Home and the Wilcox Memorial Dispensery, the latter of which also supplied power to the Bay View Home. A concrete slab associated with the Bishop Home generator is present between the Damien Monument and the original location

[314] Information in this section is from Mason Architects for CH2M Hill Inc., “Kalaupapa National Historical Park Electrical System DOE,” Submitted to Kalaupapa National Historcal Park, April 2018.

of Mother Marrianne's gravesite. Additional Delco-Light systems were installed at the hospital and Staff Row in 1923. The Staff Row system also supplied power to the McVeigh Home.

Further expansion of the system came in 1929 with the construction of a powerhouse equipped with a 50-horsepower diesel engine powering a 35-kilowatt generator. The powerhouse was located approximately 200 feet northeast of the Kalaupapa landing and likely supplemented the existing Delco-Light systems. Improvements to the generating system allowing for increased output continued through 1932. By then, a network of electrical lines supported by wood poles brought power to nearly the entire settlement, twenty-four hours a day.

In 1933, the Board of Health connected the settlement to the Molokai Electric Company. A copper wire system energized at 11,000 volts ran down the Pali and along the shoreline to the powerplant where power was stepped down to 2,400 volts for distribution. The system consisted of 6-inch diameter wood poles set about 25 feet above grade with one or two wood crossbars supported with diagonal metal bracing. The poles carried a dense collection of four wires across each crossbar. Additional wires visible in some historic images were likely telephone lines. Pole-mounted streetlights and transformers were also positioned across the network.

The expansion of electrification at Kalaupapa in the 1930s was part of a larger modernization effort backed by then-governor Lawrence Judd and aimed at improving quality of life at the settlement. Electricity allowed for the expansion of social services and improved medical care while fostering greater self-sufficiency. Patients were able to acquire electric radios, refigerators, washing machines, hot plates, hand irons, coffee makers, and other appliances that provided comfort, convenience, and a measure of independence that had not been possible in earlier years. According to oral histories, some patients with poor eyesight used the regularly spaced poles as guides for navigating around the settlement.

The electrical system continued to undergo modifications after World War II. Some sections were dismantled as the population declined and portions of the residential area were abandoned after the introduction of sulfone treatments. New poles and lines were also installed along Kapi‘olani, Kaiulani, and Goodhue Streets and in the McVeigh and Bishop Homes. The State of Hawai‘i Department of Public Works completed a major rehabilitation of the system in 1962. This involved installation of four new poles, replacement of thirty-six poles, and reconstruction of fifty-six poles. Approximately forty-four poles were left in place. The work also included replacing wires, transformers, street lighting, and other hardware.

New components added in 1962 were similar to the existing equipment. Wood poles were taller, measuring 30 feet above grade and crossbars were longer, measuring 8 feet as opposed to 4 feet (1930) and 5 feet, 7 inches (1932). Wires were also reset in a standardized configuration with telephone wires affixed to the poles with brackets at 17 ½ feet above the ground. Streetlights were positioned at 23 feet above grade and were linked by a wire at the same level. Lights consisted of a 3-foot long horizontal pipe holding a Benjamin Electric Manufacturing Co. fixture with a metal shade that protected a pendant 150-watt bulb. Crossbars were typically mounted about 3 feet above the light fixtures. Transformers were mounted on some poles as necessary at about the same level of the streetlights.

Modifications to the electrical system between 1962 and the end of the period of significance in 1969 are not well documented but appear to have been limited based on a review of aerial photopgraphs. Ongoing maintenance occurred after 1969, including replacement of the settlement's streetlights. A rehabilitation project in the late 1980s and 1990s involved some rewiring and replacement of transformers, installation of backup generators for the hospital and Staff Row, replacement of deteriorated wood poles, and the straightening of a row of eight or nine poles along the road from Kalaupapa settlement to the airport. Damaged components have

continued to be replaced over time as needed. Still, changes to the electrical system after the period of significance have been minimal. Consistent with historical conventions at Kalaupapa, existing parts and equipment have often been repaired or moved to serve the changing needs of the community and to avoid the high cost of importing new components. Newer poles and equipment are visually consistent with the historic materials and do not substantially detract from the overall historic character. The historic configuration of the system is also intact and much of the historic material remains. The system is identified in this nomination as a single contributing structure.

Kalaupapa Electrical System Contributing Resources:

Structures:

Kalaupapa Electrical System
The Kalaupapa electrical system consists of 232 wood poles, spaced approximately 125 to 150 feet apart with wood crossbars, wiring, and associated equipment. The system includes primary and secondary lines connecting the developed areas of the Kalaupapa settlement with an extension to the beach houses and airport. The system is comprised of a mixture of historic and more recent equipment. Due to the wide variety of pole configurations and the long history of repairing and moving equipment, historic components are often difficult to distinguish. Wood treatment is one of the best indicators for identifying historic poles. Through the 1960s, poles were treated with creosote which leaves a tar residue. Currently eighty-eight poles exhibit tar residue, indicating that they predate the transition to pentachlorophenol and chromated copper arsenic treatments after the 1960s. This does not preclude the existence of additional non-tarred poles dating to the period of significance. Ninety-nine poles also retain the typical wire configuration that existed in the 1960s with four wires spaced evenly apart just below the crossbar and fixed with a four-spool rack. Wiring post-dating the period of significance consists of a bundle of insulated wires wrapped around a core braided aluminum wire. Transformers and streetlights have all likely been replaced since the 1960s but are installed in a similar configuration as the historic equipment. The presence of brown ceramic insulators on many poles is also an indication of age. Insulators post-dating the 1960s are colored grey.

Character-defining features of the historic electrical system are as follows: brown wood poles, about 10 to 12 inches in diameter and 25 to 30 feet above grade; pole spacing of approximately 125 to 150 feet; creasote surface treatment; wood crossbars between 5 feet 7 inches and 8 feet long; metal brackets supporting crossbars; small, eared, brown ceramic insulators on top of crossbars; brown disc type suspended insulators on sides of crossbars, enclosed fuse cutouts, four-spool rack wiring; pole mounted transformers; and mounting of streetlights and street signs to poles. The general configuration of the existing electrical system dates to the 1930s while most of the remaining historic components likely date to the 1960s. Ongoing maintenance including replacement of deteriorated components and rewiring of some areas has occurred since the end of the period of significance.

Sites:

Bishop Home Generator Slab
This rectangular concrete foundation marks the site of the building holding the Delco-Light power plant installed to provide electricity to the Bishop Home in 1922. [redacted] The building was removed at an unknown date.

Other resources outside the twelve neighborhoods/ developed areas described in Part Two:

While development during the period of significance was concentrated at the village sites of Kalawao and Kalaupapa, other areas of the peninsula were used for recreation, agriculture, livestock grazing, and burials. [redacted]. Sections of historic livestock fencing as well as associated cattle chutes, holding pens, and cattle guards dating to the early twentieth century are also present.

Beginning in the 1920s, several patients also built beach houses to exercise their creative energies and find respite from the supervised institutional environment of the settlement. Most houses were located along ʻĪliopiʻi Beach on the western (leeward) side of the peninsula (described below in Section Two), but some people opted for the more rugged northern and eastern sides. Houses in this area were more scattered and remote. The only remaining examples are the Richard Marks Beach House (856) and the Mormon Beach House Steps (815).

Cemeteries were also located in outlying areas. The LDS congregation is believed to have chosen [redacted] The grave of Jonathan Napela, leader of the Kalawao and Kalaupapa branches of the LDS during the 1870s, was noted in an 1888 report as being here, although it has not been located. [redacted] In 1947, Henry Hori erected a wooden cross in the same location as a sign of gratitude to God for his recovery from Kidney disease. Easter sunrise services were held at this location beginning in 1948. In 1956, the Kalaupapa Lions Club assisted Hori in replacing this cross with one made of reinforced concrete.[315] [redacted] is Kahaloko Cemetery (Cemetery O), a burial yard surrounded by a rock wall. Despite its proximity to the road, the cemetery was obscured by thick vegetation for many years and largely forgotten. It is now cleared and accessible.

Contributing resources outside the twelve defined neighborhoods/developed areas:

Buildings:

Richard Marks Beach House (Park # 856)
Secondary names: East Coast Fishing Shack, Rea's Beach House. This small building is located north of Kalawao on Kalaupapa Coastal Road. It is of wood frame construction with shingle walls and a gable roof with rolled asphalt roofing materials. A roof extension covers an open porch on the ocean side. Doors and windows are missing. The area is overgrown with naupaka and other native coastal vegetation. The house is sited along rock terraces leading to a cliff edge. The first terrace features an outdoor "hot tub" with an old bathtub perched on stacked lava rocks. A void underneath was used to stoke a fire to heat the water in the tub. The building was constructed between 1950 and 1964.

Sites:

[redacted] The main feature is piled lava rock forming a hollow square, 4.5 feet high, with a 3-foot-wide doorway opening. [redacted]. Stonework has collapsed on the southeast and southwest corners. Vegetation has overtaken the interior and is beginning to do so on the west and south sides. The architecture and the artifacts found inside suggest that this was probably a semi-permanent house site built and

[315] Ka ʻOhana O Kalaupapa, "ʻOhana Connections: Family Stories," Newsletter, (December 2010), 6, http://www.kalaupapaohana.org/Newsletters/Dec_2010_News/Dec_2010_news_pg6.html (accessed November 5, 2012).

occupied in the late 1800s, likely associated with the leprosy settlement. The occupants may have also used the nearby cave.

[redacted] The primary feature is 6 concrete steps, 6 feet wide, flanked by stepped walls of lava stone set in lime mortar with 3-inch-thick rectangular concrete caps. One wall is partially collapsed. The steps measure approximately 10 feet long. The yard area is enclosed by a rock wall used to keep cattle out. [redacted] This includes a large automobile engine block in the eastern portion. The house belonged to Jack Sing, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[317] The congregation often used the one-bedroom house to socialize. Oral histories also suggest that Sing later moved the house to the Residential Area next to the Henry Nalaielua Residence (157), converting it to a workshop (foundations of which remain). However, historic aerial photographs from 1938 suggest that a workshop already existed at that location while the Beach House was still at its original location, meaning they may not be the same building. Gloria Marks also noted that after Sing died, she and Richard bought the house and moved it to ʻĪliopiʻi to use as a beach house, adding an additional bedroom. This is the current Richard and Gloria Marks Beach House (694). Per Gloria Marks, the only part of the original house remaining is the central wall. Everything else was torn out or rebuilt.

[redacted] The site was the home of Ambrose Hutchison from 1879, the year he was admitted to the settlement, until his death in 1932. Hutchison served as resident superintendent from 1884 to 1897. The site consists of two primary built features, artifacts, and historic plantings. One of the built features is a small enclosure partially covered by vegetation with a deteriorated free-standing rock wall and a scatter of stone cobbles possibly marking the footprint of a historic building. [redacted] Several large metal pipes and a scatter of broken porcelain plumbing fixtures were also located to the south and west of this artifact, possibly marking the location of a bathhouse. This could be associated with the introduction of "Goto" bath treatments to Hawaiʻi in 1885, developed by Japanese doctor Masanao Goto. Father Damien favored this treatment, lobbying the Board of Health to establish it at Kalawao. The property also includes large banyan trees as well as orange, java plum, and mango trees planted during the period of significance, possibly for decoration, subsistence, and/or barter. The orange trees at the Kalaupapa settlement are said to have been planted from seeds from Hutchison's home. The straight alignment of the mango trees is also an important feature. The site's inland location is also notable, given that Hutchison assumed a leadership role during the time when the settlement was moving from Kalawao to Kalaupapa.

Livestock Fencing, Cattle Chutes, and Cattle Guards

Remnants of historic livestock fences, cattle chutes, holding pens, and associated cattle guards dating to the mid-twentieth century remain at the outskirts of the Kalaupapa settlement. Cattle fences typically consisted of wood posts with hog panel or woven wire fencing or barbed wire fencing. Metal piping was also used in fencing, gates, and chutes. The best representative example is located east of Kapiʻolani Street along Beretania

[316] Refer to footnote 263 for explanation of naming conventions used in this nomination for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and associated resources.

[317] Communication with Kerri Inglis described in Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 139.

Street. A cattle chute with gate and fencing is visible from the road, within the overgrown vegetation. Other remnants of cattle fencing are visible along Puahi Street near the dump site and along Kamehameha Street leading to the airport. Historic cattle guards remain along Beretania Street, Kamehameha Street, and at the access road to the lighthouse. These were built by the 1950s.

[redacted] cemetery contains several grave markers grouped together and surrounded by dry stacked stone walls. These graves are believed to date to the turn of the century and are likely associated with the LDS church. The burial site of Jonathan Napela may be at this location. The Kauhakō Crater Cross (847) is in this cemetery. The 2003 inventory identified 22 graves in the two parts of this cemetery. NPS staff repaired all graves and rock walls in 2014.

[redacted], this cemetary contains marked graves dated from 1887 to 1921, although earlier possible pre-settlement graves marked by stacked piles of rocks are also present. A dry stacked stone wall surrounds the cemetery. The 2003 inventory identified 37 graves, although there is a high probability of unmarked graves as well. The NPS, in partnership with several volunteer groups, recently cleared the heavy brush which had obscured the cemetery for years and are currently working to remove large java plum trees in the enclosure.

[redacted]

Objects:

Kauhakō Crater Cross (Park # 847)
This 20-foot-high concrete cross is located at the top of Crater Road and within Cemetery N adjacent to the Kauhakō Crater overlooking the Kalaupapa settlement. It is mounted on 4- by 5-foot stepped concrete base. The cross is painted white and has an inscription on its base reading "Love never faileth." The cross was erected by Henry Hori who in a prayer to God for his recovery from Kidney disease made a promise "to build you the biggest cross you could even imagine."[318] Hori fulfilled the promise after recovering fully from his illness. The cross also includes a bronze plaque identifying the Lions Club as the sponsor. The original wood cross was installed in 1947; the current cement cross and plaque were installed in 1956. Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna began holding Easter sunrise services at this site in 1948.

Non-contributing resources outside the twelve defined neighborhoods/developed areas:

Buildings:

Richard Marks Beach House Outhouse (Park # 857)
This outhouse is located west of the Richard Marks Beach House (856). It is of wood frame construction with plywood siding. The door is missing, and a modern porcelain toilet is located within the building. The building was built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

[318] Quoted in Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 43.

Sites:

Tsunami Evacuation Site
Four 20- by 8-foot shipping containers are in an open field between Damien Road and Ambrose Hutchison House Area. The containers are painted green to blend into the surrounding landscape. These serve as a community evacuation site in the event of a tsunami. They were built 2012-2014.

Part Two: Description of Developed Areas

1. Kalawao

Located on the southeast corner of the peninsula, Kalawao was the first site selected for the leprosy settlement. Following the arrival of the first group of twelve patients in 1866, the settlement grew steadily into a community with a population of more than 1,100. Kalawao developed informally with people occupying a variety of shelters including pre-existing Hawaiian grass huts, modified rock shelters, and makeshift homes constructed from locally available materials. Patients and kokua also assisted with the construction of the original churches at Kalawao: Siloama (Protestant) in 1871, St. Philomena (Catholic) in 1872, and a Latter-day Saint chapel circa 1878. These became the focal points of the community. Beginning in the 1870s, the settlement expanded to include more than 300 wood frame homes arranged mainly along Damien Road, a hospital and dispensary, a slaughterhouse, a store, and dormitories for children including the Henry P. Baldwin Home for Boys, opened in 1894. Development of Kalawao continued into the early 1900s. This included the 1909 establishment of the sprawling US Leprosy Investigation Station, located at the southeastern terminus of the Kalawao area. Patients refused to enter themselves into the facility, however, and it closed after less than four years. The complex was razed in 1929, with most of the materials incorporated into new construction at Kalaupapa.

Little physical evidence of the community that existed in the late nineteenth century is immediately apparent at Kalawao. Nearly all historic buildings with the notable exception of the Siloama and St. Philomena churches have been removed or destroyed. Thick growth of invasive vegetation has also transformed the formerly open character of the landscape. Still, the area is dense with burial sites, stone walls, terraces, house foundations, enclosures, and artifact scatters associated with both pre-settlement and settlement era uses. Building ruins, including those at the Baldwin Home (801) and the US Leprosy Investigation Station (802) sites, convey the locations and spatial organization of the original complexes.

[redacted] These sites, most of which contain features associated with both the pre-settlement and settlement eras, provide evidence of continuity and change in building materials, spatial arrangement, and activities that occurred with the area's transformation from a Hawaiian agricultural village to a leprosy settlement. They also provide additional information about the lives of the people of Kalaupapa not available in written sources. Some of the sites also contain features and artifacts associated with the lives of kama'āina, most of whom were evicted in 1865 to make way for the establishment of the settlement. These sites are listed below in the order of Flexner's classification (Sites 1 through 16) [redacted]. LCS numbers, state site numbers, and park numbers are also included (if assigned). The entries describe each site, emphasizing features and artifacts likely associated with the leprosy settlement.

The people of Kalaupapa continue to regard Kalawao a sacred place with "heavy mana" as Richard Marks put it.[319] The area evokes conflicted emotions, being the site of the most traumatic episodes in the settlement's

[319] Quoted in Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 42.

history as well as a place to connect with the stories and significant individuals of the early days, including Father Damien. Patients also continue to recognize cultural, spiritual, and ancestral attachments between themselves and the thousands of men, women, and children (possibly as many as 5,000) who died and were buried there. Kalawao also conveys a sense of spatial separation and discontinuity with the existing community at Kalaupapa. Today, most people only travel there for religious services on special occasions, and visitors are not allowed unless they are on the park tour or are accompanied by a host. The area has seen other kinds of uses over the years. Burial areas near St. Philomena were used for cattle grazing during the twentieth century. Some patients also travelled to Kalawao on horseback or for hikes or camping trips as respite from the daily routines in Kalaupapa. It is still considered a good place for fishing, and the picnic area at Judd Park (the site of the former US Leprosy Investigation Station) offers a peaceful setting for contemplation or simply enjoying the scenery.[320]

Kalawao contributing resources:

Buildings:

Siloama Church (Park # 710)
This small, one story church is located on the northeast side of Damien Road in Kalawao. The building is rectangular, measuring approximately 20 by 34 feet. It is of wood frame, double wall construction with a concrete piling foundation, horizontal channel siding with corner boards, a corrugated metal gable roof, and a hexagonal louvered steeple with wood shingles over a square tower. The building has a gabled entrance portico on a concrete slab with double doors on the northwest façade. The southwest and northeast elevations have three double hung wood windows each. Concrete walks on the southwest and northwest elevations with a single step provide access to the main door on the northwest façade. A historic metal turn-style marks the end of the northwest walk.

This austere building was the first church built at the Kalawao settlement and is one of its major defining features. It was built in 1871; rebuilt in 1880; abandoned between 1927 and 1938; repaired in 1938; and extensively repaired and rededicated in 1949. The church was entirely reconstructed from the ground up in 1966, but not to the same specifications of the 1880 rebuild. The 1880 building had a lower sloped roof, square as opposed to rectangular louvers in the gable ends, no portico at the front entrance, a decorated pedimented lintel capping the double doors, wider cornerboards, a darker paint scheme, and a square as opposed to hexagonal steeple covered with wood in a herringbone pattern.[321] Although altered from the original 1871 church and the 1880 reconstruction, Siloama remains highly significant for its historical and symbolic associations with the experiences of the people sent to Kalawao in the early years. Most of the changes to the building also occurred within the period of significance (during the 1966 reconstruction). Church services continue to be held at this location once a month.

Siloama Restroom (Park # 720)
This small outhouse is located at the east corner of the Siloama churchyard. The building is rectangular, measuring 6 by 10 feet. It is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten walls, and a gable roof with rolled asphalt roofing material. The building has two wood doors with signs indicating separate stalls for “kokua” and “patients.” 5-foot-high wood horizontal siding screens are at the front entrance and wood lattice vents are in the wall. The 1977 building inventory listed two buildings in the area: one, which

[320] Ibid., 39-41.

[321] Laura E. Soulliere and Henry G. Law, *Architectural Evaluation: Kalaupapa – Hawaii* (National Park Service, Western Region, July 1979), 55.

appeared older, had a shed roof; the second, likely the present outhouse, may have been constructed when the church was rebuilt in 1966, although it may also date to an earlier period. The older building was removed after 1977.

St. Philomena Church (Park # 711)
This simple, gothic-style church is located on the northeast side of Damien Road in Kalawao, southeast of Siloama. The building is L-shaped, with a 28- by 60-foot nave of wood and masonry wall construction with pointed arch openings. It has a combination of shiplap and board and batten siding, a corrugated metal roof, and wood-frame windows. A 30-foot-high bell tower with a metal cross is located at the southwest entrance. The northwest wing, the oldest section of the church, measures 14 by 18 feet and is of wood frame construction with an entrance portico with a circular decorative window and wood shingle roof.

The original chapel was built in 1872 under the direction of Brother Victorian Bertrand. Most of this building was later disassembled and integrated into the 1887-1889 addition. Father Damien is credited with adding the west nave in 1876. He may have also constructed the original altar at the east end, which was sent to Belgium in 1936 along with his body and other relics from the church. The present altar may have been moved from Father Damien's church on topside Molokai. Father Damien also reportedly painted the exterior in a variety of bright colors. A paint analysis in 2006 revealed a fairly complex decorative scheme and use of materials not often found in churches in remote locations in Hawai‘i. After the steeple collapsed in a wind storm in 1888, Father Damien oversaw construction of the masonry and wood main nave. Joseph Dutton was responsible for seeing the project through to completion after Father Damien's death in 1889. Rumors have speculated that the square holes in the floorboards of the west nave and the more decorative hole near the main altar were added by Father Damien at this time for spit holes. Church goers would reportedly roll up large leaves and stick them in the holes to use as makeshift spittoons during church services, as they often chewed awa to alleviate their symptoms. The more decorative hole was supposedly used by Father Damien for the same purpose. Other evidence suggests, however, that the square holes may be remnants from kneelers that are no longer present. The decorative hole near the altar also matches the profile of the decorative railing that no longer exists but was present in 1918.

The church continued to undergo alterations and repairs through the period of significance including replacement of the original altar and tabernacle, removal of the original dropped ceiling, and installation of decorative columns in the interior by 1904.[322] The main altar was reconfigured between 1894 and 1918, reusing gold columns of the older altar in the current configuration. Additional repairs were carried out in 1950. In 1969, Marines from Kane‘ohe Marine Corps Air Station repainted the church, replaced termite-damaged wood, and repaired masonry. Additional work was completed in 1989 and a new roof was completed in 1998. In 2009, the park completed a major interior and exterior rehabilitation in preparation for Father Damien's canonization. Structural repairs, window and door repairs, and interior and exterior painting were completed. A paint analysis was done on the interior paint colors to reveal the original finishes and color scheme. The interior was then repainted using fourteen colors that simulated the original finishes. The main altar was stabilized and cleaned by Harpers Ferry Center conservators in 2015.

Like Siloama, St. Philomena remains highly significant for its historic and symbolic associations with the experiences of those sent to the settlement in the early years. It is additionally significant for its direct

[322] National Park Service, *Historic Structure Report: St. Philomena Catholic Church (Father Damien's Church), Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Molokai, Hawaii* (Denver Service Center Branch of Design, National Park Service, Department of Interior, 1985).

association with Father Damien. Services continue to be held at this location for special feast days and commemorative masses.

[redacted] The approximately 2.5-acre site is partially enclosed by a 200-foot-long stone wall, measuring 3 to 4 feet high, with a 40-foot gap separated by 5-foot-high pylons on the northwest side. This wall is listed separately below as the Old Baldwin Home Gates and Walls (867). The site [redacted] In her historic resource study, Linda Greene notes that the Board of Health approved an application by "A. Galaspo of Kalaupapa" to build a bakery at Kalawao in 1904.[323] [redacted] Originally comprised of 29 buildings including cottages and support structures, the home grew to a total of approximately 55 buildings. A recent archeological investigation revealed [redacted] The aging Baldwin Home was abandoned in 1932 shortly following the death of Joseph Dutton. The remaining buildings burned down in 1936 and were bulldozed in the 1950s. The stone wall [redacted] was repaired in 2014.

[redacted] this site consists of remnants of a fireplace measuring 4 by 10 feet at the base and 10 feet tall, 2- by 2-foot chimney sections lying on the ground, a 42-inch-thick by six-foot-high wall, a 10- by 15-foot concrete foundation, and a 2- by 2- by 5-foot concrete trough. [redacted] The kitchen was built circa 1894.

[redacted] Formerly, this was a 12-foot-high chimney stack with 6-foot-square base with two steps and an oven opening at the bottom. The chimney is no longer standing although debris remains. Remnants of an oven are also present. Dry stacked rock walls surround the site. It dates to circa 1894.

[redacted] Flexner notes that while NPS records describe this as the site of a bakery, clear historical or archeological evidence verifying this has not been found.[325] According to NPS staff, this is a European style heating fireplace and not a baking chimney. Evidence of cooking exists in rock piles, but the

[323] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 605.
[324] Stein, *Layered Landscapes*, 107.
[325] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 99.

structure does not appear to have been used for baking.[326] The site features an approximately 12-foot-high stone masonry fireplace comprised of lime mortared uncut stones. Ruins of a large rectangular enclosure and portions of a free-standing rock wall define the site. The footprint of what may be a stone lined hearth is visible in the middle of the eastern wall. Rubble heaps representing collapsed walls are also present. The presence of the fireplace, unique for the area, suggests that this was a prominent structure in Kalawao. [redacted]

The Hospital (State Site # 2421, Flexner Site 2)

[redacted] Consists of remains of a stone wall [redacted] It was perhaps used as a dump site. The approximately 45-foot-long wall is oriented east to west. The site of the main hospital complex which historically consisted of barracks, a dispensary, and a kitchen organized around a central plaza, is covered by thick vegetation to the south and has not been identified archeologically. The hospital was built in 1868.

[redacted] The site covers several hectares and contains a variety of features associated with different time periods. It likely comprised a core area of settlement before and during the period of significance. The name derives from the rectangular stone cistern, listed in NPS records as [redacted] The rest of the site is comprised of numerous stone walls, terraces, building platforms, enclosures, and scatters of historic artifacts. It includes a terrace with a standing stone that may have had ritual importance as a shrine to the deity Kāne. This feature, Flexner suggests, "may indicate the importance of the pre-existing ritual landscape of Kalawao for the life of the settlement during the Hansen's disease period."[327] Stone walls leading north continue beyond the surveyed area, possibly connecting with remains of the pre-settlement field system.

[redacted] A scatter of stone, brick, and mortar rubble is located between the mound and one of the depressions. A row of Ironwood trees along the church boundary wall may have been planted as a windbreak during the late nineteenth century. Patches of wild tobacco are also present. These may be descendants of plants originally planted by Father Damien or one of his associates for his personal use.

[redacted] The latter include a rectangular stone enclosure with three entrances which may have held livestock delivered to the settlement and several concrete slabs located northwest of the enclosure which were part of a crane site, listed in NPS records [redacted] where supplies for the settlement were unloaded from boats. This site is listed individually below. Also present [redacted] while likely predating

[326] Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

[327] Flexner, "Archaeology of the Recent Past," 109.

the settlement, may have been reused during the period of significance. More intensive surface collection and subsurface testing of these and other features may reveal additional information.

[redacted] this is a former landing and boat unloading area at Kalawao. Early in the period of significance, a boom was constructed on a concrete pad and piers to unload supplies from the steep sea cliffs. A concrete walkway and steps were added to facilitate ease of unloading passengers. Site consists of ruins of a formed concrete pier, measuring approximately 15 by 15 feet. Remnants of the concrete walkway and steps also remain. Construction date not verified, but during the period of significance.

[redacted] A 1906 survey map indicates the presence of a Latter-day Saint chapel in this area, although no surface building remains are visible. The low density of features here, which is consistent with a typical Hawaiian settlement pattern wherein a gap often exists between coastal and inland features, further suggests the influence of the pre-existing settlement pattern on the physical development of the leprosy settlement.

[redacted] It consists of dispersed features, mostly dating to the pre-settlement era. Settlement-era features include a historic habitation site with evidence of mortar in one of the walls [redacted] The presence of these items points to the continuing use of a probable pre-settlement agricultural and residential area during the settlement era, possibly by settlement workers of Chinese descent. The medicine bottle might be associated with a medical treatment during the leprosy settlement period. The remains of a wood post and stone pier house built during the settlement era are also located further west within the site.

[redacted] Most features are likely associated with pre-contact use, although some, including a series of free-standing, core-filled walls, appear to have been built later than other features, perhaps during the settlement era.

[redacted] The site includes terraces, low stone walls, historic era plantings including Eucalyptus and Ylang Ylang trees, and an imu (earth oven) likely used during the settlement era. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] As in other areas, settlement era features are integrated with pre-settlement features including terraces, stone walls, enclosures, and burials. [redacted] which opened in 1873. Abandoned following the move to Kalaupapa, the original building was still standing in 1930. A stone masonry feature with a metal water spigot is located near the road in the northern section of the site. Stone enclosures located west of the store may have held livestock during the historic era including during the settlement period. [redacted], suggesting that this material was built into the wall as core fill.

[redacted] this site consists of foundation piers and chimneys spread over an area of approximately 100 by 400 feet. It includes approximately 100 square concrete piers, measuring 1 to 8 feet high with 1-foot-square bases, spaced approximately 12 feet on center. The site also includes three chimneys, measuring 2 by 2 by 25 feet high. The station was built 1908. The buildings were removed in 1929.

[redacted] It consists of approximately thirty-six concrete foundation piers, measuring 14 by 14 inches, and 6 to 8 feet high, arranged in a grid over an area of approximately 30 by 40 feet. Concrete grade beams and 5-foot walls span between some of the piers on the west side of the site. The building was constructed in 1908 and removed in 1929.

[redacted] this site is associated with the Leprosy Investigation Station. It consists of approximately thirty-six concrete foundation piers, measuring 14 by 14 inches and up to 5 feet high, placed in a grid pattern measuring 30 by 40 feet overall. The site also includes toppled concrete chimney sections, measuring 24 by 30 inches with a 10-inch flue. The building was constructed in 1908 and removed in 1929.

[redacted] this site was used as a living space and later for storage during the operation of the Leprosy Investigation Station. It consists of a 12- by 15-foot building ruin composed of four stone walls capped by concrete beams. A door opening and a small window opening are present. The building was constructed in 1908 and removed in 1929.

[redacted] 2003 inventory identified 13 graves in this cemetery. Grave markers in this area were repaired and lime washed in the early 2000s.

[328] Ibid., 135.

[redacted] It contains graves of several foreign church workers, including those of Father Damien and Joseph Dutton. The Dutton grave site consists of an elaborate stone marker on a stepped concrete tomb and curb. A metal railing, set in the curb, surrounds the tomb. Father Damien's grave site (where a relic of his right hand is now buried) is surrounded by a 3-foot-high, black painted bronze guardrail with vertical rails with spikes at the top. It contains a black concrete cross on top of a 3-foot pedestal mounted on a concrete slab surrounded by a larger slab with lip. Lettering on Father Damien's grave is painted gold. The 2003 inventory identified nineteen graves in this cemetery. A long stone wall, 3 to 4 feet high, separates the churchyard from Damien Road. The wall is listed separately below as St. Philomena Church Stone Wall (849).

[redacted] The two fields are separated by a long stone wall, 3 to 4 feet high, which was repaired in 2014. This wall is listed separately as St. Philomena Catholic Church Stone Wall (849) below. The 2003 inventory identified twelve total graves in these adjoining cemeteries. However, [redacted] Given Dutton's residence at Baldwin Home, it is assumed that the graves he referred to are in this cemetery.

Structures:

Siloama Church Stone Wall (Park # 850)
This 3-foot-high stone wall encloses the Siloama churchyard on all four sides, an area approximately 200 by 300 feet. 2- by 2- by 3-foot high concrete pylons spaced 4 feet apart with metal turnstiles are in the center of the wall at the south and west pedestrian entrances. A double wood swing gate is located on the southwest side for vehicular access. The southwest wall connects to the St. Philomena Church Stone Wall (849) described below. (Note that while these walls are listed separately in park records, they are actually sections of a contiguous wall system that surrounds the whole area.) The wall was built circa 1870.

St. Philomena Catholic Church Stone Wall (Park # 849)
Secondary name: St. Philomena Church Stone Fence. Extending along the northeast side of Damien Road in Kalawao, this dry laid stone wall is 2 to 3 feet high and 2 to 3 feet wide at the base. The wall extends northwest to Siloama Church, and southeast before turning northeast to bisect Moku Puakala, creating the division line between cemeteries R and S. Octagonal concrete pylons measuring approximately 2 by 4 feet are at the southeast side of the end gate. Smaller stone wing walls intersect with the primary wall to create discrete areas adjacent to the church. The wall was built in 1870 and repaired in 2006.

Old Baldwin Home Gate and Walls (Park #867)
This dry stacked stone wall is located along the southwest side of Damien Road, across the road from St. Philomena Church. The wall surrounds the Baldwin Home for Boys Ruin (801) and is approximately 200 feet long, 3 to 4 feet high, and includes a 40-foot gap separated by 5-foot-high pylons on the northwest side. A concrete gate pier with a pyramidal cap reportedly marks the location of Joseph Dutton's residence.

[329] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 584.

Judd Park Pavilion (Park # 719)
Secondary names: Kalawao Pavilion, Kalawao Picnic Pavilion, Kalawao Pavilion – Judd Park. This picnic shelter is located at the southeastern end of the Kalawao area in Judd Park, the site of the former US Leprosy Investigation Station. It is of wood frame construction with a wood post and concrete footing foundation and a corrugated metal roof. One corner of the structure has been walled-in and converted to a restroom. The remaining portion is open. The wood floor is elevated approximately 2 feet above grade. Used as a gathering area and group picnic shelter. Picnic and luau grounds were first developed here in 1948 by the Kalaupapa Lions Club. The pavilion was built in 1950. The Canec ceiling was removed and the interior and exterior were repainted in 2014.

Kalawao Picnic Shelters 1 and 2 (Park #s 725 and 726)
These two picnic table shelters are located east of Judd Park Pavilion (719). They are constructed of dimensional lumber and recycled telephone poles and are topped with curved corrugated metal roofs. The roof structure on the northernmost shelter has collapsed and has been removed, but the picnic table remains. They were built circa 1955.

Objects:

[redacted] Historical records list Kanakaokai as a konohiki (headman or land division administrator) in Kalawao when the Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy was passed in 1865. He first came to Kalaupapa as a mission teacher during the 1830s and may have been involved in the construction of a mission house in Kalaupapa in the late 1840s – the predecessor of the Old Stone Church (301) built in 1853. A 1991 survey of Kalawao located several sites including a relatively intact boundary wall associated with a land grant awarded to Kanakaokai after the 1848 Mahele, which privatized Hawaiian land. The award consisted of 43 acres at a place called Kuololimu within the Kalawao ahupua‘a on the east coast of the peninsula. Later records indicate that after the 1865 Act, Kanakaokai was awarded land in topside Molokai in exchange for his land in Kalawao, although it is not known whether he relocated or remained in the area. The presence of this tomb suggests his strong attachment to the land and importance to the community regardless.[330] This is a unique and significant resource at Kalawao, representing the experiences of the kama‘āina and their role in the early development of the settlement. The construction date is not recorded but was probably early in the period of significance. The tomb was repaired in early 2000s.

Saint Philomena Sundial (Park # 865)
Located on the northeast side of Damien Road just north of St. Philomena Church, this sundial is 3.5 feet high and has a 3- by 3-foot footprint. The base is composed of volcanic rock bound with cement, with an inscribed marble sundial base. The gnomon is missing. The construction date is not verified but was within the period of significance.

[330] See summary in McCoy, et al., eds., *Kalaupapa Archeology*, ch. 6.; and Stein, *Layered Landscapes*, 22.

Kalawao non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Shed 723 (Park # 723)
This shed near Judd Park Pavilion was built 1991 after the period of significance.

2. Bishop Home

Established in 1888, the Charles R. Bishop Home for Girls was the first group home at the Kalaupapa settlement. The home was envisioned by Mother Marianne and Father Damien as a place to house and care for girls and young women sent to the settlement. The complex was named for its financial backer, the widower of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom. Father Damien and settlement superintendent Rudolph W. Meyer selected the site, and the home was completed and ready for occupancy in September of 1888. The home was owned by the Hawaiian government and administered by the Board of Health, but its day-to-day operation was the responsibility of the Sisters of Saint Francis, under the direction of Mother Marianne Cope until her death in 1918. The Sisters continued to oversee the home after that time.[331]

The Bishop Home was one of the most comprehensively landscaped residential clusters in Kalaupapa. It contained as many as nineteen buildings including a chapel and convent, an infirmary, several cottages, a dining room/kitchen, a dormitory, a heating plant, and a laundry. Most of the buildings were clustered on a high point, in the center of the expansive grounds. The entire lot was enclosed on all four sides by a dry stacked stone wall, approximately 4 feet in height. Within this, the buildings were surrounded by a wooden fence, and a third enclosure of fencing defined the center complex of buildings. The Bishop Home was also considered a model institution within the Kalaupapa settlement, and both the Hawaiian government and the Bishop family supported its continued improvement.[332]

The complex was almost entirely rebuilt during the early 1930s. As with other group homes, the Bishop Home passed through different phases due to changing administrative requirements. Some buildings were removed when they were no longer needed due to changes in the community. The rock walls were also exploited as a source of raw material for crushed gravel for paving projects throughout Kalaupapa.

During the historic period, a wooded area existed along the northeast portion of the complex between the perimeter stone walls and the fencing. Rows of ironwood trees lined the edges of the walls at McKinley, School, and Puahi Streets, as well as the main drive. Another row of shrubs and trees (coconut and others) were placed along the entry drive in an irregular manner. Mother Marianne managed the early landscaping of the convent and planted a variety of vegetables and fruits to be used in the kitchens, as well as flowers, which were customarily given to the hospital. By 1918, the Bishop Home was embowered with shade trees making it barely visible from the road.

The historic circulation system consisted of a driveway and sidewalks. The driveway was approximately 18 feet wide, paved with asphalt macadam, and edged with segmented concrete curbs. The layout was geometric and included an entry drive diagonally oriented from the corner of School and Puahi Streets. It formed an oval in front of the Sisters' Cottage (15BH) and continued in a square around the central complex of buildings, providing access to the buildings and structures on both sides of the drive. Off the southwest corner of the square, another driveway with concrete curbing extended in a modified U-shape to provide access to a large

[331] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 179-180.
[332] Ibid., 620-621.

kitchen/dining hall. Concrete sidewalks, approximately three feet wide, were located on both sides of the entry drive from the street gate to the surrounding fence gate. Additional sidewalks provided access from the driveways to the individual buildings and structures. This system remains largely intact. All driveways and segmented concrete curbs exist in their original locations, although the driveways no longer retain their original profile due to many layers of new paving. The exception is the drive leading to a no longer extant storage building (former 4aBH) on the southeast side of the complex. This road was truncated with the construction of the shed, although the original alignment is still visible, outlined by intact curbing within the grass. The pavement on this segment has deteriorated. While some walkways have been removed (in connection with the removal of their associated buildings), the circulation system retains integrity.

Most of the Bishop Home buildings were removed late in the period of significance. The two remaining dormitories from the historic period were demolished after 1985, leaving only the Convent Building (15BH), St. Elizabeth Chapel (16BH), and two houses (3BH and 4BH) and a boiler house (7aBH) in the central complex. The sense of physical enclosure that characterized the Bishop Home during the historic period has also been impacted by the removal of vegetation and stone wall segments along the north and east perimeter. In addition, most of the fencing outside the central complex of buildings has been lost as has the fence that surrounded the center cluster of buildings. Despite these changes, the home retains integrity relating to its function and appearance during the period of significance.

Portions of the cultural landscape also remain intact. Although the historically wooded area northeast of the complex is now an open grassy field, a fair amount of ironwood and Java plum trees still exist in this area. Several trees and shrubs formally located outside the central complex have also been lost. A few trees, mostly ironwood, remain along the entry drive while mango, false kamani, avocado, and banana trees remain adjacent to the Sisters' Convent (15BH). Historic foundation plantings also still exist adjacent to the remaining cottages and outbuildings. Additionally, some ornamental plantings of trees and shrubs remain at Mother Marianne's Grave and the Father Damien Monument on the western edge of the block. The remaining landscape is covered with turf.

Bishop Home contributing resources:

Buildings:

Bishop Home for Girls (Park # 15BH)
Secondary names: Nuns' Residence, Bishop Home Convent, Sisters' Convent. This two-story building is centrally located in the Bishop Home complex. The building is rectangular, measuring approximately 25 by 50 feet. It is notable as one of the few two story buildings at the settlement.[333] It is also one of the only buildings with double wall construction.[334] The building is of wood frame construction with a concrete pad and post foundation, horizontal wood strip skirting, board and batten siding, and a gable roof with wood shingles and louver vents at either end. It has three recessed porches, one at the front and two at the rear. The high pitch gable roof has second story dormers on the north and south elevations. Dormer roofs have more gentle slopes with tar and gravel roofing over copper edge flashing. The lanai has board and batten siding. The building includes 12-light double hung windows, 2-sash casement windows, and jalousie windows with insect screens. Most of the original stile and rail five-panel doors remain. Five sets of exterior stairs and one set of interior stairs are present. Exterior handrails are constructed with 2 by 4s that terminate into 4 by 4 posts. Built 1934; interior

[333] Others are the General Warehouse (271) and Paschoal Hall (304)

[334] Others are McVeigh Social Hall (23M), St. Elizabeth Chapel (16BH), and Siloama Church (710)

alterations likely after the period of significance included removal of a wall between the office and dining room, installation of vinyl flooring, and enclosure of the wrap-around lanai; foundation repaired in 2005; rehabilitation in 2006-2007 included roof replacement, wood repairs, interior and exterior painting, new wiring, plumbing upgrades, and installation of overhead sprinkler system.

St. Elizabeth Chapel (Park # 16BH)
Secondary name: Convent Chapel. This one-story chapel is in the Bishop Home Complex, just east of building 15BH. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 42 feet and is of wood frame, double wall construction (same as 15BH) with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, horizontal siding with corner boards, a gable roof with asphalt shingles and bracket eaves, and two double hung wood windows with standard frames on either side of two gothic arch framed windows on the east and west elevations. These windows have nineteenth century hardware. The interior has stained wood siding and exposed king pin trusses with simple chamfered corners. The floor is Douglas fir, covered with vinyl tile. The gable entrance portico has detailed columns and pilasters. Concrete steps run the full width of the building at the entrance. The building also has a side entrance with a covered walk. Built 1934; rehabilitation in 2013 included carpentry repairs, roof replacement, and exterior painting.

Barbara Marks Residence (Park # 3BH)
Secondary name: Cottage (1-3BH), DOH House – B. Marks. This one-story building is in the Bishop Home complex southwest of building15BH and is a mirror of 4BH. The building is L-shaped, measuring 17 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall Canec board construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, intersecting gable roofs with asphalt shingles, and wood double hung 6-light windows and more recently added jalousie windows. The exterior walls of this building and 4BH are constructed of a double layer of Canec boards, which is extremely rare. Gable ends are filled with horizontal siding and have small triangular louvers. Stairs with railings are located at the front, rear, southwest elevations. Side stairs lead to an enclosed laundry area. The yard is enclosed by a chainlink fence. Built 1933; the original lanai was enclosed and a kitchen was added to the interior space during the period of significance as part of a conversion to single or double occupancy; ramp likely added by DOH in 2002.

Bishop Home Residence 4 (Park # 4BH)
Secondary names: Cottage (1-4B), Una Residence, DOH House – Una. This one-story building is in the main Bishop Home complex and is a mirror of 4BH. The building is L-shaped measuring 17 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall Canec board construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, intersecting gable roofs with asphalt shingles, and wood double hung 6-light windows and more recently added jalousie windows. The exterior walls of this building and 3BH are constructed of a double layer of Canec boards, which is extremely rare. Gable ends are filled with horizontal siding and have small triangular louvers. Stairs are located at the front and west elevations. Side stairs lead to a laundry area. The building also has an accessible ramp with a 6- by 6-foot porch. Built 1933; the original lanai was enclosed and a kitchen was added to the interior space during the period of significance as part of a conversion to single or double occupancy; ramp likely added by DOH in 2002.

Bishop Home Boiler Plant (Park # 7aBH)
This one-story building is located southeast of the Bishop Home for Girls (15BH). It is rectangular, constructed of reinforced concrete with a cement stucco exterior finish in an Art Deco style. The flat roof appears to be constructed of the same material as the rest of the building. Plywood covers the window openings. Metal frame industrial windows with fixed hinged sashes appear to be extant beneath the plywood. Built 1932.

Sites:

[redacted] It consists of a concrete foundation measuring 20 by 30 feet and up to 7 feet high, footings and foundation walls with 4- by 4-foot openings, a concrete stairway and corroded metal pipes protruding from a slab (remnants of shower stalls). Built 1930-1931; removed 1960.

[redacted] It consists of a 24- by 32-foot concrete slab and low concrete stem walls. The abandoned building was described as being in poor condition in the 1977 inventory. Built 1931-1932; removed after 1977.

[redacted] It consists of a poured concrete slab and elevated footing wall foundation measuring 21 by 35 feet. Built 1932; removed after 1977.

[redacted] It consists of a poured concrete slab and elevated footing wall foundation measuring approximately 45 by 35 feet with raised concrete slab at the south elevation. Built 1932; removed between 1964 and 1972.

[redacted]

Structures:

Bishop Home Walls and Entrance Gates (Park # 830)
A series of 2- to 4-foot-high dry stacked lava rock walls surrounds the Bishop Home complex to the east along McKinley Street, south along Damien Road, and west along Puahi Street. The sections along McKinley and Damien Road measure approximately 1,500 feet total; the section along Puahi Street measures 400 feet. A section of rock wall along School Street is missing and was likely crushed for base material during road paving projects. Four stone and mortared pylons mark the vehicular and pedestrian entrance at the intersection with Puahi and School Streets. Two 3- by 3-foot by 7-foot-tall stone and mortar pylons mark either side of the entrance driveway. Bronze plaques on each pylon state: “Bishop Home” and “1888-1931.” Smaller, 5-foot-tall flanking pylons mark the pedestrian entrances to the sidewalks that parallel the entrance drive (Bishop Road). Smaller pylons connect to 3- to 4-foot-high stone walls at the perimeter of the compound (portions missing). Identical sets of four stone posts are located 200 feet inside the compound along the main driveway. Both sets of pylons historically had metal gates that have since been removed. This is one of three enclosures that historically surrounded the Bishop Home complex. During the historic period, smaller enclosures were erected around the Mother Marianne Monument and the Father Damien Monument. Wood fencing also paralleled the entrance driveway between the two sets of pylons. Gates built in 1932; stone walls likely predate gates; walls repaired in early 2000s.

Bishop Home Picket Fence and Gate (Park # 831)
The wood trellis entrance gate measures 4 by 8 by 8 feet high. It is constructed of 4- by 4-inch wood posts, 2- by 10-inch joists, and smaller wood knee braces. Joists are covered by corrugated metal. Two sets of benches are located on each side of the picket gate, which served to separate the area used by the Sisters of St. Francis from the rest of the community. This is another of the three enclosures that historically surrounded the Bishop Home. A full 3-foot-high wood picket fence surrounded the Bishop Home for Girls (15BH) as late as 1994. The gate and a short section of fence are all that remain presently. Built 1930.

Bishop Home Roads and Curbs (Park # 832)
Asphalt roads at the Bishop Home measure 16 to 20 feet in width. The main axis (Bishop Road) passes through an entry gate before meeting an oval driveway in front of the complex. Two flanking sidewalks parallel the main driveway. A larger rectangular drive (Bishop Loop) provides access to cottages and dormitories. 6-inch-high segmented concrete curbs line the edges of the paving. Curbing on the driveway to the south remains visible although the pavement has deteriorated. Built at an unknown date during the period of significance; surfaced 1935-1936.

Bishop Home Sidewalks (Park # 861)
Concrete sidewalks provide access between buildings in the Bishop Home complex. The sidewalks measure approximately 3 feet wide by 1,250 feet long total (not contiguous). Built at an unknown date during the period of significance.

Bishop Home Cistern (Park # 834)
Secondary name: Bishop Home Well. The cistern at the Bishop Home is located behind a former dormitory (now removed) and near the concrete tomb. The underground structure is 8 feet in diameter, with a 3-foot opening at ground level. It is constructed of stone and plastered with mortar. The historic use of this structure is unclear, but it might have served as a cesspool, which were common in the residential area. Cisterns and wells were less common in the developed area, as the water primarily came from Waikolu Valley. Built at an unknown date during the period of significance.

Bishop Home Bake Oven (Park # 835)
Secondary name: Portuguese Oven. This “beehive” oven is in a field at the Bishop Home. It is the only extant oven in the settlement and consists of lava stones cemented and capped with mortar. It measures 5.5 feet high by 4.8 feet in diameter, with the opening on the one side measuring 21 inches high by 18 to 22.5 inches wide with the width varying from the front of the opening to the back. The top is coated with Portland cement plaster. Built at an unknown date during the period of significance; Portland cement likely in the 1980s.

Objects:

Father Damien Monument (Park # 807)
This monument was erected by the people of England with funds raised by the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VII) to honor the work and memory of Father Damien. It is located at the northeast corner of the intersection of Puahi Street and Damien Road. The site, which faces west over the ocean, was chosen by King Kalākaua. The monument was designed by Edward Clifford and consists of a 6-foot-tall red granite Celtic cross with a white marble medallion and a 1-foot-tall bas-relief of Damien’s head. Rests on a 3- by 3- by 1-foot concrete foundation. Metal pipe fencing surrounds the monument. Dedicated 1893; surface cleaned and lichens removed in 2014.

Mother Marianne Cope Grave Marker (Park # 839)
Secondary names: Cemetery I; Mother Marianne Monument. This is the grave marker of Mother Marianne Cope (now Saint Marianne Cope) who oversaw the operation of the Bishop Home for Girls in Kalaupapa from 1888 to her death in 1918. The marker is located on grounds of Bishop Home at the foot of a small shady hill, just north of the Father Damien Monument. It consists of the original grave site surrounded by a formal concrete walk, and plantings in the center. The marker consists of a 6-foot statue of St. Francis with Jesus on the cross, mounted on a pedestal with a bronze plaque. In front of this is a 5- by 9-foot concrete tomb with granite marker reading "Mother Marianne." 3-foot concrete posts with suspended chains and an outer sidewalk surround the grave. Two 8-foot chamfered columns with square capitals form a gateway at the entrance erected in 1918-1919. In 1974, the Roman Catholic Church initiated procedures to promote Marianne to sainthood. Her remains were exhumed from this gravesite in January 2005 and reinterred in Syracuse, New York, at the mother house of her order. She was canonized as Saint Marianne of Molokai in 2012. Marker erected in 1918; adjacent concrete sidewalk added at an unknown date; sidewalk repaired in 2010; in 2015, an Areca palm tree was replaced and lava rock was added between the grave and the adjacent sidewalk.

Bishop Home Flagpole (Park # 833)
Located in the center of the loop drive at the Bishop Home, the flag staff is 40 feet tall, rounded and tapered wood, topped with a 6-inch ball and painted white. It is bolted to a concrete foundation. Installed circa 1932.

Kato Painted Signs and Rocks
A collection of signs and rocks painted by Edward Kato are located at the corner of Puahi Street and Damien Road. Two painted rocks, one with the message "Smile - It no broke your face!" and the other with a yellow smiley face, are among the most iconic objects in the Kalaupapa settlement. Located nearby are the "Damien Blessed" rocks painted in red and white. A wood sign denoting "Damien Monument" is near the entrance to the Damien Monument (807). At the Mother Marianne Cope Grave Marker (839) is a painted rock with "Peace to All Who Enter Here" opposite a wood sign marking "Mother Marianne Cope's Grave & Monument." Kato first painted these signs and rocks in the 1940s and 1950s and continued to repaint them in slightly different designs throughout his life. The rock and sign at Mother Marianne's marker are believed to be original works of Kato, while the sign at the Damien Monument is a replica painted and rehung by the Kalaupapa Lion's Club in 2014. The "Smile – It no broke your face!" rock was repainted in 2014 by an NPS employee. Prior to repainting, the exposed layers of paint on the rock showed at least three different designs previously painted by Kato. The "Damien Blessed" rocks have probably also been repainted since Kato's death. Originally painted 1940s-1950s; repainted 2014.

Bishop Home non-contributing resources:

<u>Buildings:</u>

Bishop Home Carport (Park # 3aBH)
This open bay carport is in the Bishop Home complex. The building is rectangular, measuring 13 by 19 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab floor, plywood siding, and corrugated steel roof. Built between 1977 and 1992 based on aerial photographs.

Shed West of 3BH
This small enclosed shed measures 8 by 8 feet. It is constructed of plywood with a corrugated metal shed roof and is located in the yard west of Barbara Marks Residence (3BH). Built between 1977 and 1992.

Sites:

[redacted] It consists of a poured concrete slab and elevated footing wall foundation. Built between 1977 and 1992; shed removed between 2005 and 2012.

Objects:

St. Anthony Statue (Park # 855)
This marble statue of St. Anthony is located near St. Elizabeth's Chapel (16BH). It is situated on a 2-foot-high hexagonal concrete pedestal and painted white. Construction date is unknown but after the period of significance; cleaned 2014.

3. Bay View Home

Established in 1901, the Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind housed patients affected by more severe disability or blindness, including both men and women. The original complex burned down in 1915 and was rebuilt over the next two years. The home was supervised by a staff member while nurses catered to the needs of the residents. In 1950 it became the Baldwin/Bay View Home for Men and Boys and was managed by the Brothers of the Sacred Heart. The original layout, designed to accommodate ninety-six residents, included five buildings in a symmetrical formal layout consisting of four dormitories and a central dining hall. Buildings 1BV, 2BV, and 3BV have the same design with minor variations and are connected by covered walkways. Building 5BV was added in 1937 as a new dining hall for the blind, in a more convenient location between buildings 2BV and 3BV. Building 4, the southern-most of the four dormitories, was removed between 1964 and 1972, reducing the original symmetry.[335]

Additional buildings included a manager's cottage, a heating plant, a chapel, and a laundry, arranged in a less-organized fashion around the central group. Just north of this complex across Damien Road was the dispensary (no longer extant). Except for the dispensary, buildings were sited with an inward orientation, facing each other, and designed in the Hawaiian Plantation Style (HPS), adapted to institutional needs. The dispensary burned down in 1932, and its functions were transferred to the Wilcox Memorial Building in the Visitors' Quarters on the west side of Damien Road. Several improvements were also made in the early 1930s in response to the findings of the 1930 Judd Commission report. The kitchen was remodeled with new equipment added in 1932. Additional visitor facilities were built in 1932 and 1933 north of Bay View. In 1934, all buildings were painted, plumbing and wiring were upgraded, and a medical dressing station was established. In 1950, a military-surplus Quonset hut was added on the south side of the complex and was used to house residents relocated from the New Baldwin Home in 1951.

The Bay View complex features some of the best surviving examples of early twentieth century Hawaiian Plantation Style (HPS) architecture at Kalaupapa. Its buildings display defining elements of the style including large lanai, diamond-patterned railings, and large sheltering roofs to protect from the wind and rain. Among the distinguishing features are the louvered gablets that project above the main entrances. These gablets are common in Hawaiian architecture and reflect Japanese influence on HPS. They are also similar to features

[335] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 626-627, 630-631.

found in other plantation areas including Louisiana and the West Indies, representing an architectural response to similar climatic conditions.[336]

The complex was originally fenced (on three sides) with the fourth fronting the shoreline, limiting access. Walkways were paved and laid-out in formal and direct routes linking buildings. A paved driveway provided access from Damien Road and looped along the west and south sides of the complex and connected with Mission Street. The driveway was approximately 18 feet wide and paved with asphalt macadam with a concrete curb. Two-foot-wide concrete sidewalks providing pedestrian access from Damien Road, the driveway, and between the buildings.

Although some walkways have been altered, the circulation system is generally intact. The Bay View Loop driveway exists in its original location and retains its historic width, although some paving has been removed (next to the dining hall and the garage to the south of the complex). The concrete curbing has been covered by layers of asphalt throughout the complex, although most of the original concrete sidewalks remain. The most significant change was the installation of concrete wheelchair ramps in the 1980s and 1990s to provide access between the main dining hall and the dormitories. Some of these ramps were constructed over the original sidewalks. Although altered somewhat from the period of significance, this layered circulation pattern showcases the ongoing evolution of the Bay View complex as its residents' needs changed over time.

Historically, plantings distinguished the outer physical edges of the Bay View Home plot, as well as edges within the complex for ornamental and utilitarian purposes. Hedges were planted inside the fence along Damien Road (east of the entry gate) and along the inside of the driveway. To the north of the entry drive, from the Damien Road entry gate, a row of shrubs was planted inside a fence which ran west from the gate to a cottage within the complex. A grove of coconut trees was also planted west of the driveway, along the shoreline. Coconut trees were also planted in a row to the east of the complex. A variety of individual trees and shrubs were planted in an informal manner throughout. A major portion of the grounds was also graded and seeded with turf. In comparison to the other group homes, the Bay View Home had few foundation plantings.

Much historic vegetation has been lost, including most of the formal patterns associated with the driveways, walks, former fence line, and perimeters. Despite this, a variety of individual trees and shrubs remain, including the grove of coconut trees west of the complex along the shoreline. While some of these trees have been damaged by lightning and coastal erosion, a good portion remain. Other vegetation has been added after the period of significance. This includes foundation plantings of fruit trees such as papaya around Bay View Residence 2 (BV2) and native plants such as loulu palms around Bay View Residence 6 (BV6).

The Visitors' Quarters complex north of Bay View was not part of the home historically, except for periods when the Wilcox Memorial Building was being used as housing for Sacred Hearts Brothers. However, the quarters are administratively classified as a part of the Bay View Home by the NPS due to their proximity to the complex. The quarters consist of a dormitory, a kitchen and dining building, the Wilcox Building, and the Visitors' Pavilion where visitors could meet their loved ones. The entire compound was also originally enclosed by a double fence with a hedge between the fences, which served to maintain physical separation. The fence was removed in the 1940s, but an existing hedge marks the south alignment of the enclosure. One of the most distinctive buildings in the settlement, the Visitors' Pavilion (258BV) had separate entrances for visitors and patients who were separated by a fence. Later, a long counter was installed along the full length of the interior. A wire screen ran down the center of the counter. The screen was removed in the 1940s. This building is

[336] Soulliere and Law, *Architectural Evaluation*, 12, 13-14.

interpreted as one of the clearest examples of the segregation measures that existed during the historic period. As at the Bay View Home, raised concrete walkways connected the buildings.

Currently, the Bay View Home is used for staff and volunteer housing and NPS offices, while the Visitors' Quarters are still managed by DOH to house short-term visitors. The historic appearance and patterns of use are intact, and the complex retains integrity with the period of significance.

Bay View Home contributing resources:

Buildings:

Bay View Home Building 1 (Park # 1BV)
Secondary names: Bay View 1, DOH House – Keola, Bay View Apartments, NPS - Vacant. Located in the Bay View Home complex off Damien Road, this building is the most intact of the Bay View group. It has a symmetrical T-shaped plan, measuring approximately 50 by 100 feet and consisting of a main section and three wings to the east, west, and north. The building is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation, tongue and groove siding with a water table and rim fascia, intersecting composite shingled hip roofs, and louvered gablets projecting above the main entrance. 12-light double hung and jalousie windows are located throughout. The lanai has chamfered posts and pilasters with jigsaw brackets, concrete steps with concrete posts, and diamond-patterned wood railings. Access to the lanai is from the main section from three sets of concrete stairs. Built 1916; stained 1919-1920; painted and plumbing and wiring upgraded in 1934; wheelchair ramp added to the main entrance in 1985; roof replaced and fire suppression system added in 2005; interior lead abatement completed in 2010; rehabilitation in 2014 included interior and exterior carpentry repairs, upgraded electrical systems, upgraded plumbing, and interior repainting.

Bay View Home Residence 2 (Park # 2BV)
Secondary names: Bay View 2, Bay View Apartments, Bay View Dormitory, NPS - Dormitory. This one-story building is roughly rectangular, measuring 50 by 100 feet with a main section and three small wings to the north, south, and east. The building is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a water table and rim fascia, and intersecting composite shingled hip roofs with louver gablets projecting above the main entrance at ridges. 12-light double hung and jalousie windows are located throughout. A recessed lanai lies under the main roof, and is articulated by chamfered posts, jigsaw brackets, diamond patterned railings, with 3-foot concrete steps with concrete posts. A wood wheelchair ramp, added in 1992, and a covered walkway connect this building with buildings 3BV and 5BV. Three sets of stairs provide access to the lanai. The front steps have been covered by a concrete ramp leading to other buildings in the complex. Building is currently used for NPS employee and volunteer housing. Built 1916; stained 1919-1920; painted and plumbing and wiring upgraded in 1934; wheelchair ramp added 1992; exterior repainted and fire suppression system added in 2006.

Bay View Home Residence 3 (Park # 3BV)
Secondary names: Bay View 3, DOH House – Uga, Bay View Apartments, DOH - Laundry. This one-story building is roughly rectangular, measuring 50 by 100 feet with a main section and three small wings to the north, south, and east. The building is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a water table and rim fascia, and intersecting composite shingle hip roofs with louver gablets projecting above the main entrance at ridges. 12-light double hung and jalousie windows are located throughout. A recessed lanai with 3-foot concrete steps with concrete posts lies under the main roof, and is articulated by chamfered posts, jigsaw brackets, diamond patterned railings. Steps leading to the double doors at the main entrance have been covered by a concrete accessibility ramp. A wood wheelchair ramp and covered

walkway connect this building with buildings 2BV and 5BV. Building is currently used as DOH storage and laundry facilities. Northern and southern apartments are used for NPS employee housing. Built 1916; stained 1919-1920; painted and plumbing and wiring upgraded in 1934; wood wheelchair ramp added 1992; interior carpentry repairs carried out in 2002; roof replaced 2007-2008.

Tool Shed (Park # 3aBV)
Located on the east side of 3BV, this tool shed is rectangular, measuring 10 ½ by 9 ½ feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction. The exterior consists of corrugated metal. The building has a wood post on concrete pad foundation, a flat shed roof covered by corrugated metal, and a dirt floor inside. The corrugated metal bay door at the front has a padlock latch. A window opening at the rear has no glass. Park records indicate 1969 as the date of construction although aerial photography from 1938 shows a building at this location which may be the present building.

Bay View Home Dining Hall (Park # 5BV)
Secondary name: Bay View Kitchen. This one-story building is T-shaped, measuring approximately 28 by 48 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding finished with corner boards, a water table, and rim fascia, and 12-light double hung and jalousie windows throughout. The recessed lanai under the main roof is articulated by chamfered posts, jigsaw brackets, and diamond patterned railing. A recessed corner porch with a concrete slab floor is on the east elevation. A covered walkway with diamond patterned railing connects this building to buildings 2BV and 3BV. Wooden steps at the main entrance provide access to the lanai, double entrance doors, and covered walkway. Built 1937; roof replaced in the 1980s; roof replaced 2007-2008; back door to kitchen painted with Japanese sakura card design in 2014 by NPS employee.

Old Bay View Kitchen and Dining Room (Park # 6BV)
Secondary names: Bay View Old Kitchen, NPS Natural Resource Office. This one-story building is T-shaped, measuring approximately 28 by 54 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation, vertical plank siding, and intersecting hip roofs with louvered gablets at ridges, finished with composite shingles. A 25-foot masonry chimney is located on the west elevation. The chimney is the source of unconfirmed reports that the building may have been used as a crematory during the historic period. However, it may also be a remnant of a 1930s heating plant. The building also has a large wing at the rear measuring 28 by 40 feet and 12-light double hung windows along with jalousie windows throughout, installed in 1990. A lanai surrounds three sides of the building and is articulated by chamfered posts with jigsaw brackets and is bordered by a diamond patterned railing. Built 1916; remodeled and new equipment added in 1932; painted and plumbing and wiring upgraded in 1934; new windows installed 1990; roof repaired 2007-2008; rehabilitation in 2012 included roof replacement and repairs to the concrete steps, concrete foundation posts, and damaged wood beams and siding.

Carport/Garage (Park # 513BV)
This five-bay carport/garage is located at the southern end of the Bay View Home complex. It is rectangular, measuring approximately 15 by 25 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete retaining wall foundation, a corrugated metal exterior, a corrugated metal gable roof, and two window openings on the west elevation and three at the rear (north) elevation. One of the bays has no door; others have doors and serve as a storage area. The building has a dirt floor at the open bay and a concrete slab floor in the storage area. Built between 1950 and 1964.

Transformer Station (Park # 519BV)
Located in the Bay View Home complex, this small building is rectangular, measuring 8 by 10 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal exterior, and a corrugated metal roof. Built by 1950.

Bay View Home Building 8 (Park # 8BV)
Secondary names: Bay View Pool Hall, Bay View Chapel, Bay View Recreation Hall. This one-story building is located across the street from the main Bay View Home complex. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 32 feet and is of wood frame single wall construction with a concrete pad and wood pier foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards and a water table, and a wood shingle gable roof (in need of repair). A portico with a small gable roof is located at the front (east) elevation. A corner porch and enclosed addition are at the rear (west) elevation. The porch is articulated by chamfered posts and pilasters and was originally bordered by a diamond-patterned railing, though this has since been replaced by 2- by 4-inch wood posts. This building has served various functions over the years, as an assembly hall, a chapel, a recreation hall, and a space to lay out bodies for viewing. The current pool table belonged to Peter Keola. It was a gift from a donor to him. He put it in this building for everyone to use. Built 1928 as an assembly hall; changed to a chapel by 1930 and then to a recreation hall by 1938; original windows replaced with four jalousie and one 6-light push out window in 1981; window screens added in 1985; concrete and wood ramp with metal rails added to the front entrance in 1990; new siding installed in 2005 due to wind damage; rehabilitation in 2014 included structural repairs, new roof, and interior and exterior painting.

Visitors' Quarters (Park # 274BV)
Located north of the main Bay View Home complex, this L-shaped, one story building measures approximately 50 by 60 feet. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, with corner boards, water table, rim fascia, and wood lattice skirting, and a broken pitch roof with composite shingles. A mixture of double hung, wood frame screen windows, fixed glass, and jalousie windows are located throughout. Some of the original double hung windows remain on the south and east elevations as do the original screen windows in the private rooms which run the length of the enclosed lanai. The original stile and rail five panel doors between rooms remain, as do the original stile and rail doors with drop panels and screens at each room. Two flights of stairs lead up to the building, with the front entry to the covered lanai consisting of three risers and the rear entry consisting of four risers. The building has seven rooms. One of these is different from the others, having a counter and sink as well as a smaller room within the room. The building also has two bathrooms, one unisex and one for women only. This building is part of a compound that was fenced in during the period of significance in order to segregate visitors from their loved ones confined at the settlement. Raised concrete walkways connect the building to the Visitors' Quarters Kitchen (275BV). Built 1933 to replace visitors' quarters at Kalaupapa Landing; alterations after the period of significance include addition of a pipe handrail at the front entry stair, a 2 by 4 wood guardrail at the rear entry, and replacement of original screens along the hallway perimeter wall with fixed glass and jalousie windows.

Wilcox Memorial Building (Park # 277BV)
Secondary names: Visitors' Quarters, Wilcox Visitors' Quarters, Guest Matron House. This one-story building is located north of the main Bay View Home complex. The building is rectangular, measuring 28 by 45 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pad and post foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with 12-inch rim fascia, and a wood shingle hip roof with louvered gablets. It has 12-light double hung windows and one small screened bathroom window. A recessed corner porch with chamfered posts and a diamond-patterned railing is located under the northeast corner of the roof. A shed roof extension on a concrete slab foundation shelters an open washing area on the south corner. Two flights of stairs provide access. The building has a community kitchen and bathroom, shared and private bedrooms, and is used by visiting guests.

Built 1906 as a dispensary; altered in 1922 with installation of a Delco plant to generate electricity for the Bay View Home; mobile x-ray unit added in 1930; converted to hospital staff quarters in 1932; altered and enlarged in 1950 for Sacred Hearts Brothers residence; rehabilitation in 2011 included carpentry repairs, roof replacement, plumbing upgrades, and interior and exterior repainting.

Visitors' Pavilion (Park # 278BV)
Secondary names: Separation House, Separation Hall, Visitor/Patient Meeting Hall, Long House. This one-story pavilion is located north of the main Bay View Home complex. The building is rectangular, measuring 14 by 28 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding below a continuous row of screened wood double hung windows, and a broken pitch hip roof with composite shingles. Screened wood doors on the north, south, and west elevations provide access. Originally, a screen was installed along the length of the room to prevent physical contact between patients and visitors. In 1940, the screen was removed and a two-foot-wide table was installed along the entire length of the building. This allowed visitors to converse with friends and family members while still prohibiting contact. Beginning in 1933, this was the only place where visitation could occur. At that time, the entire visitors' compound was fenced in. Visitors were not allowed outside the compound, and patients were not allowed inside. Built 1933 to replace visitors' quarters at Kalaupapa Landing; wire screen replaced with a table in 1940; rehabilitation from 2004 to 2008 including roof replacement, wood repairs, exterior and interior painting, and repair or replacement of windows and screens.

Visitors' Quarters Kitchen (Park # 275BV)
This one-story building is located just south of the Visitors' Quarters (274BV). It is roughly square, measuring 22 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pad foundation separated by termite shields and covered with lattice skirting, vertical tongue and groove boards with a midpoint "v" joint on the interior, a hip roof with composite shingles, and a mixture of double hung, screen, and jalousie windows. In the dining area, a set of lattice doors and lattice filled openings were historically on either side of the main entry while another opening was on the opposite wall with no door and the rest of the space was screened. While the original double hung windows remain in the kitchen, the lattice openings have been filled with wall material and a screen door has replaced the lattice door in the dining area. The openings on the opposite wall have also been filled. A screened dining area is on the west elevation, where the lattice door has been replaced by a screen door. Raised concrete walkways connect this building to the Visitors' Quarters (2754BV). Built 1933; dining area enclosed and door removed from south elevation at some point; wood porch with a shed roof and wheelchair ramp added prior to 1994 to aid accessibility.

Garage 524 (Park # 524BV)
This garage is located north of the main Bay View Home Building 10a (10aBV). It is of wood frame, single wall construction with vertical plank siding, a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing, and nine window openings (no glass). The building has a large open bay at the front. This is a typical example of a Bay View Home garage. Built between 1950 and 1964; repaired 1990; stabilized and partially rebuilt in 2011; lattice doors added to the open bay in 2015.

Patients' Restroom (Park # 523BV)
This small building located north of the main Bay View Home complex. It is rectangular, measuring 6 by 10 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with vertical tongue and groove siding and a hip roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Built 1940; rehabilitation in 2010-2011 included a new roof, framing, sheathing, and exterior painting.

Telephone Station (Park # 522BV)
This small building is located north of the main Bay View Home complex. It is rectangular, measuring 10 by 19 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete foundation, board and batten siding, and a gable roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Double doors on the east elevation provide access. A set of louvered openings are above the door. The building has two screened window openings on its west elevation. Built between 1938 and 1950 based on aerial photography; converted to a telephone station prior to 1977, probably used as a garage previously; rehabilitation in 2010-2011 included new roof, carpentry repairs, and exterior painting.

Bay View Home Building 10a (Park # 10aBV)
Secondary names; Bay View Manager's Cottage, NPS House – Ellis, NPS House – Neuhart. This one-story building is located north of and across the street from the main Bay View Home complex, set back from the road. It is L-shaped, measuring approximately 30 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, a gable roof with wood shingles, jalousie windows throughout, and rectangular louvers at the gable ends. A recessed lanai with a diamond-patterned railing runs one-third the length of the front elevation. A partially enclosed washroom with a shed roof and concrete pad foundation is at the rear. Built circa 1930 to house the manager of the Bay View Complex; rehabilitation in 2010-2011 included new roof, structural repairs, and repainting of interior and exterior.

Garage 525 (Park # 525BV)
This two-car garage is located north of the main Bay View Home complex. It is rectangular, measuring 10 by 19 feet. The building is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal siding, a gable roof covered by corrugated metal, and two window openings (no glass) and one sliding window. New cabinets have been installed inside. Built by 1938. It is unclear if the building in the 1938 aerial photograph is the present building.

Inouye Residence (Park # 11BV)
Secondary names: DOH Administrator's House, Manager's Residence, DOH House – Maul, DOH House - Miller. This one-story building is located north of the main Bay View Home complex. It is square, measuring 26 by 26 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a partial concrete basement with the rest of the building resting on a wood post and concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, three doors, and a mixture of screened wood double hung and jalousie windows throughout. An enclosed recessed corner porch is on the west elevation. Built between 1938 and 1950; picture window added to the west elevation in 1990; large deck added in 2014.[337]

Carport 526 (Park # 526BV)
This two-bay carport is located northwest of the main Bay View Home complex, directly behind (east of) the Inouye Residence (11BV). It is rectangular, measuring 18 by 24 feet and is of wood frame construction with open bays at the front and back, wood post on concrete footings foundation, corrugated metal siding, a gable roof covered with corrugated metal, and a dirt floor inside. Likely built circa 1950.

Garage 512 (Park # 512BV)
This six-car garage is located south of the main Bay View Home complex, next to the Elroy Malo Residence (64BV). It is rectangular, measuring 18 by 50 feet and has wood and pole framing with a concrete block

[337] Note that while some park records describe this as the historic manager's cottage, this is likely incorrect. Bay View Home Building 10a (10aBV) was the manager's quarters. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

retaining wall foundation and a dirt floor, plywood exterior, and a corrugated metal hip roof. A large open bay for car entry faces west toward the bay. Built between 1938 and 1950; stabilized and reroofed in 2009.

Elroy Malo Residence (Park # 64BV)
Secondary name: DOH House – Malo. This one-story building is located across the street to the south of the Bay View Home complex. It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, board and batten siding, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and 11 windows including nine double hung, one jalousie, and one 12-light horizontal sliding. This is the only residence with a good condition wood screen door dating to the period of significance. The building has two additional doors, a small wood porch at the main (north) entrance, and an enclosed washroom on a concrete slab at the rear. Built 1936; wood wheelchair ramp added to the main entrance between 1995 and 2003.

Quonset Dormitory (Park # 10BV)
Secondary names: Bay View Home – Dormitory, NPS/DOH Housing. This quonset hut is located across the street to south of the Bay View Home complex. The building is military surplus from World War II, brought from Pu‘u Nēnē Naval Air Station on Maui. It is rectangular, measuring 42 by 100 feet and has a wood post and concrete pad foundation, corrugated metal exterior, and a rounded corrugated metal roof. Louvered attic vents are located on the north and south elevations. A mixture of double hung and jalousie windows with small shed dormers run along the east and west elevations. A double door is at the front and a single door is at the back. A wood porch covered by a shed roof is at the north elevation Built 1950; altered 1985; roof patched in 2009.

Sites:

[redacted]. It consists of a concrete slab foundation with a retaining wall and one step on the north elevation where a door once was. This was a frame building of single wall construction with a board and batten exterior finish and a hip roof with louvered gablets at the ridge lines. Built in 1923 as a laundry; converted to a store in 1935-1936; building was in a deteriorated condition in 1977 and was removed after 1981.

[redacted] This was a wood frame building of single wall construction with a board and batten exterior finish. A lanai with a diamond pattern ran the length of the front of the structure. Although in a deteriorated condition, the building was occupied at the time of the 1977 building inventory and was a simple Hawaiian vernacular building exhibiting patterns typical of early period residences in the settlement.[338] Present in 1931 but possibly built earlier; demolished after 1979.

Structures:

Bay View Sidewalks (Park # 860)
A network of concrete sidewalks links the buildings in the main Bay View Home complex. The sidewalks measure approximately 3 feet wide by 600 lineal feet. The first sidewalks were built in 1920; additional walks added in 1935-1936; concrete ramps were built over some of the historic walks in the 1980s and 1990s.

[338] Soulliere and Law, *Architectural Evaluation*, 27.

Bay View Home Entrance Gate (Park # 837)
Two 2- by 2- by 10-foot-high concrete gate posts with square caps are located on either side of the street at the entrance to the Bay View Home. Pedestrian entries are located on each side with 1- by 1- by 7-foot-high posts spaced 4 feet from each larger post and connected to a 5-foot stone wall with cement finish extending 18 inches in an arc. Historically the wall connected with a fence that surrounded the Bay View complex. Fence was removed in the 1940s and 1950s. Gate built 1917.

Lanai 528 (Park # 528BV)
This lanai located northwest of the main Bay View Home complex is associated with the Inouye Residence (11BV). It is rectangular, measuring 12 by 15 feet and has a flagstone slab foundation and a hip roof covered by corrugated metal. The structure is supported by 6- by 6-inch wood columns, possibly made of peeled haole koa logs. It has lattice work at the back, which is open to the ocean view. Built between 1964 and 1972.

4. McVeigh Home

Located in the northeastern portion of the Kalaupapa settlement, the McVeigh Home for White Foreigners was established in 1910 to accommodate the small number of white patients who were uncomfortable with the food and lifestyles of the predominantly Hawaiian and Asian community. The current buildings replaced the original complex which was destroyed by fire in 1928. Construction of the new facilities began in 1929. Between 1931 and 1933, the Board of Health added individual cottages and two garages on the north, east, and south sides of the complex. These were mostly of one room design with attached wash facilities. In 1934, a two-bedroom house and a three-bedroom house were built at the north end of the home, together with a seven-car garage. These were joined by a one-bedroom manager's house in 1936. Many of the cottages had similar floor plans and were originally painted in a unified color scheme, although variations existed. In 1932, the Board of Health added a pool hall (24M) between the dormitories. Around the same time, a large coconut palm grove was planted west of Staff Street at the McVeigh complex. Also beginning in the 1930s, the men's and women's dormitories were converted to single occupancy apartments, reflecting the historic pattern at Kalaupapa for patients to move from institutional housing towards a more independent way of life during the later period of significance. This change was complete by 1960.[339] Also in 1960, the main kitchen and dining hall closed, and large enclosed boxes were added to the porches of the cottages for meal delivery. These boxes remain as reminders of the no contact policy which remained in effect even after the introduction of sulfone drugs.

The buildings of the McVeigh Home were situated along four narrow streets, extending perpendicularly east from Staff Street. These are described in Part One as part of the Kalaupapa Road Network under the heading "McVeigh Road/McVeigh Home Paving and Curbs" (843). Concrete sidewalks provided access to the individual buildings. Access was also provided from the southern driveway to an unpaved preexisting side road, which still exists.

Compared with other residential areas, the McVeigh Home cottages were densely clustered and lacked large yards. They were also notable for their minimal setbacks from the streets: approximately 10 feet, in contrast to the 30- to over 60-foot setbacks in the southeastern residential neighborhood. The complex resembles a Hawaiian plantation camp of the same period, comprised of group services, bachelor quarters, and separate cottages.

Formal vegetation patterns originally helped define communal areas. The large coconut palm grove to the west marks the edge of the historic neighborhood while ironwood groves mark the north and south edges. Other

[339] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 617.

formal plantings existed around the dining hall and kitchen and pool hall (23M and 24M). The private cottages, in contrast, were surrounded by more random patterns of shade and fruit trees, and variegated foundation plantings, exhibiting a more individualistic character. Although some of the original plantings are now missing, several plant varieties remain from the historic period. Formal plantings have been substantially reduced while those surrounding cottages with tenants are generally better maintained.

Despite some changes, the McVeigh Home continues to possess all elements of integrity. Few buildings have been lost or removed over time, leaving McVeigh Home as one of the most intact neighborhoods in the settlement. Floor plans are largely unaltered from the historic period. The historic circulation system is also largely intact, with driveways existing in their original locations. The curbing is also largely intact, although the original profile is obscured under layers of new paving.

McVeigh Home contributing resources:

Buildings:

McVeigh Home Garage (Park # 35M)
This seven-bay garage is located off the northernmost McVeigh street. It is L-shaped, measuring 50 by 60 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation and vertical plank siding with lattice vents. The center storeroom has non-original siding. Roof is covered with green rolled asphalt roofing. Built 1934.

Nahoopii Residence (Park # 34M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Nahoopii, DOH House – D'Arcy. This one-story building is on the northernmost McVeigh street east of McVeigh Home Garage (35M). It is irregular but generally square-shaped, measuring 24 by 32 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, a hip roof with green asphalt shingles, and 12-light wood sash screened double hung windows. The building has two wood entry porches with screen doors, one of which is screened with fiberglass. A rear addition has a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Built 1936.

Gaspar Residence (Park # 33M)
Secondary name: DOH House – D. Hashimoto. This one-story building is located off the northernmost McVeigh street. It has an irregular double L-shaped formation, measuring 30 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, a hip roof with red asphalt shingles, and 12-light screened wood double hung windows. It has a wood entry porch and steps on the south elevation. A shed addition at the rear has a stone foundation with two tongue and groove walls. Tall vegetation partially conceals the building. The residence has red trim (country redwood). Built 1934. Daniel Hashimoto presently lives here. DOH added a roofed porch structure to the south elevation in 2014-2015 at his request.

McVeigh Storage Building (Park # 33aM)
Secondary name: McVeigh Home Wash House. This one-story outbuilding is located off the northernmost McVeigh street behind 33M. It is rectangular, measuring 8 by 12 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, and a gable roof covered with rolled asphalt. It was originally a laundry room. This is an example of a patient-built secondary residential building. Date of construction unknown, possibly by 1950; altered 1990.

Shed near McVeigh Storage Building (Park # 33bM)
Secondary name: Shed near McVeigh Home Wash House. This one-story building with a carport attachment is located at the end of Staff Street northwest of the Gaspar Residence and McVeigh Storage Building (33M and 33aM). It is rectangular, measuring 31 by 22 feet. The shed section has a concrete slab foundation. Carport has plywood siding and a dirt floor with a concrete retaining wall. The building has two doorways and four 6-light single hung windows and a flat roof with asphalt shingles (partially collapsed). Date of construction unknown, possibly by 1950; altered 1990.

Nalaielua Residence (Park # 30M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Nalaielua; DOH House - Mollena. This one-story building is on the northernmost McVeigh street, across the street from the Gaspar Residence (33M). It is rectangular, measuring 18 by 22 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with broken girt and corner boards, an irregular broken-pitch hip roof with red asphalt shingles, and screened 12-light wood double hung windows. It has a wood entry porch with steps and a shed roof on the west elevation. The residence has red trim (country redwood) and a similar floor plan, though slightly modified, as 25M, 27M, and 11M. Built 1930-1932. Reroofed, exterior repainted and general repairs completed in 2010.

Hashimoto Residence (Park # 32M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Hashimoto; DOH House – T. Tanaka. This one-story building is on the northernmost McVeigh street. The building is L-shaped, measuring 30 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding with no girt, a hip roof with red asphalt shingles, and 6-light screened wood double hung windows. A partially enclosed shed at the rear of the building has a concrete slab foundation. The house is painted light yellow/beige. Built 1934.

McVeigh Dormitory (Park # 28M)
Secondary names: Mens' Dormitory; NPS Dormitory. This one-story building is on the northernmost McVeigh street and is a mirror of McVeigh Home Building 12 (12M) which it faces across the grassy quadrangle. The building is rectangular, measuring 40 by 60 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, corner boards, a water table, fascia, lattice work, and 12-light double hung wood windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. Main hip roof has louvered gablets, flanked by hip roofs on the wings at the east and west ends of building, and is finished with asphalt shingles. A recessed lanai runs the length of the main wing at the south elevations and includes wood steps and a vernacular x-railing. This is one of three original buildings in the neighborhood. Built 1929; converted to single occupancy apartments by 1960; rehabilitation in 2003 included roof replacement, wood repairs, replacement of plumbing fixtures, kitchen repairs, return of bedroom divider walls to their original configuration, painting all interior and exterior surfaces, and installation of overhead sprinkler system. Exterior repainted and minor repairs carried out in 2015.

McVeigh Card Room (Park # 27M)
Secondary names: NPS House – Kaawaloa, NPS House – Lee. This one-story building is located off the northernmost McVeigh street east of the McVeigh Dormitory (28M). The building is roughly square, measuring 18 by 22 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post on concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with broken girt and corner boards, and a broken-pitch irregularly shaped hip roof with asphalt shingles. It has ten windows including two horizontal sliding, one 4-light double hung, and seven 12-light wood double hung windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. A concrete slab stoop with concrete clock railings leads to the entry. The floor plan is similar to 25M,

30M, and 11M, though slightly modified. Built 1932; reroofed, interior and exterior repainted, and general repairs carried out in 2009.

William Kaakimaka Residence (Park # 25M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Kaakimaka, NPS House – W. Hashimoto; NPS House - Harte. This one-story building is on one of the northern side roads off Staff Street. The building is roughly square, measuring 18 by 20 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt and corner boards, a broken-pitch hip roof with green asphalt shingles, and screened wood 12-light double hung windows. It has a wood entry porch with steps. A 6- by 10-foot concrete foundation is situated at the southeast corner of the building. The floor plan is similar to 11M, 27M, and 30M, though slightly modified. The residence has red trim (country redwood). Built 1932; reroofed, interior and exterior repainted, and general repairs carried out in 2009.

McVeigh Pool Hall (Park # 24M)
Secondary name: McVeigh Pavilion. This one-story building is on the north end of Staff Street west of the McVeigh Social Hall (23M). The building is rectangular and symmetrical, measuring 22 by 38 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with concrete slab with stone edge foundation and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The building is finely detailed with two pilasters on each elevation and one at each corner, articulating the edges. 6-light windows have sliding sashes and comprise the greatest amount of the wall section. Many windows are on tracks to slide open for ventilation. Side walls each have three windows with four sashes, and the end wall have two windows with two sashes. Two doorways, one each on the north and south elevations, provide access. Above each door is a hopper-type transom window with three lights. Originally an open pavilion, the walls and glass were added in 1938 so residents could play ping pong indoors. This building is the visual focal point for the McVeigh Home Neighborhood. Built 1932; rehabilitation in 2005 included repair or replacement of nearly all structural components using as much original material as possible, roof replacement, replacement or repair of windows and trim, new wiring, new Canec tile ceiling, replacement of door and window hardware, and exterior and interior painting (white with green trim).

McVeigh Social Hall (Park # 23M)
Secondary names: McVeigh Home Recreation Hall, McVeigh Rec Hall, McVeigh Dining Hall, McVeigh Kitchen and Dining Hall. This one-story building is on Staff Street in the center of the neighborhood east of the Pool Hall. The building is rectangular and symmetrical, measuring 40 by 56 feet and is one of the few buildings in the settlement with double wall construction.[340] It has a wood post and concrete pad foundation, lattice skirting, tongue and groove boards nailed vertically on both the exterior and interior, a gable roof, and 3 wings with hip roofs, all with asphalt shingles. It also has 12-light double hung wood windows with frames that project several inches from the exterior wall. The recessed lanai has chamfered posts, tongue and groove planking, wood steps, and x-railing. A homemade ventilator stack assembled from steel drums is located on the north roof. The building has many additions, including the concrete loading platform with shed roof at the rear (east) elevation that connects it to the Boiler Room (22M). This is one of the original buildings in the neighborhood and was historically important as a community gathering place for social events and entertainment. Built 1929; painted in 1950; rehabilitation in 2003 included new roofing, wood repairs, exterior painting (white with green trim), new wiring, and installation of an overhead sprinkler system.

Boiler Room (Park # 22M)
Secondary name: Boiler Plant. This one-story building is at the northeast corner of the McVeigh Social Hall (23M). The building is rectangular, measuring 12 by 20 feet and is constructed of reinforced concrete with a

[340] Others are Bishop Home for Girls (15BH), St. Elizabeth Chapel (16BH), and Siloama Church (710)

cement stucco finish and Art Deco detailing. It has a flat roof with a parapet. The windows and door are boarded up. The shed roof of the building connects to 23M at the concrete loading dock. The building was likely constructed during the expansion of the McVeigh Home neighborhood between 1931 and 1932.

Gertrude Kaauwai Residence (Park # 20M)
Secondary name: Frasco Residence. This one-story building is in the central east section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, a hip roof with red asphalt shingles, and screened 12-light wood double hung and jalousie windows. It is painted light green. It has a wood entry porch with steps and a gate and is surrounded by a chainlink fence. A partially enclosed shed with a shed roof and concrete foundation is located at the rear (east) elevation. Built 1933.

McVeigh Home Wash House (Park # 18M)
Secondary name: McVeigh Laundry. This one-story building is in the central east section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete slab foundation and a hip roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Windows have been removed. Interior features include two large zinc sinks dating from the period of significance. The building was historically used as a community laundry. Built 1934; partly rehabilitated and painted in 2004; stabilization in 2015 included a new roof and roof framing where needed, exterior and interior carpentry repairs, and painting of new structural framing.

McVeigh Home Building 12 (Park # 12M)
Secondary names: McVeigh Apartments, Ladies' Dormitory, DOH Dormitory. This one-story building is just south of the McVeigh Pool Hall (24M) and is a near mirror of McVeigh Dormitory (28M) which it faces across the grassy McVeigh quadrangle. The building is rectangular, measuring 40 by 60 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, a combination of skirt and lattice, and eight staircases. The main hip roof has a louvered gablet flanked by hip roofs of wings at the east and west ends, all with asphalt shingles. The building has two wood framed jalousie windows with screens and double hung 12-light windows that project several inches from exterior wall. The recessed lanai has wood steps and vernacular x-railing. Originally a dormitory, the building was converted to four 1-bedroom apartments, possibly in the 1930s. This is one of the original buildings in the neighborhood. Built 1929; converted to single occupancy apartments between 1930 and 1960; painted in 1950; rehabilitation in 2003 included roof replacement, wood repairs, exterior painting (white with green trim, grey lanai decks), new wiring, and installation of overhead sprinkler system.

McVeigh Home Residence 13 (Park # 13M)
Secondary name: DOH House – Carpenter, DOH House – K. Smith. This one-story building is south of the McVeigh Social Hall (23M). The building is rectangular, measuring 20 by 22 feet. It has the same floor plan as McVeigh residences 14M, 15M, and 16M, and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with girt and corner boards, and a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles. The building has at least four 12-light double hung windows projecting several inches from the exterior wall. A recessed corner entry porch with concrete stone steps leads to the entry door. A post and two pilasters articulate the edges of the porch. A partially enclosed exterior washroom with a concrete slab foundation and shed roof is located at the rear (south) elevation. A high, dense hedge partially shelters the building from view. The building is painted light green. A low non-historic chainlink fence also surrounds the building. Built 1933.

McVeigh Home Residence 14 (Park # 14M)
Secondary name: Brede Residence. This one-story building is southeast of the McVeigh Social Hall (23M). The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 28 feet and has the same floor plan as McVeigh residences 13M, 15M, and 16M. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, and an irregularly shaped broken-pitch hip roof with green asphalt shingles. It has 12-light screened wood double hung windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. Bathroom has an 8-light double hung window. A wood entry porch with a shed roof is on the front elevation. The building is painted light grey and is partially collapsed. A short chainlink fence surrounds the building. Built 1932; entry porch enclosed at an unknown date.

Elizabeth Kahihikolo Residence (Park # 15M)
Secondary name: Hayase Residence. This one-story building is in the south section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 14 by 24 feet and has the same floor plan as McVeigh residences 13M, 14M, and 15M. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and double hung wood windows. The recessed corner porch has concrete stone steps. A shed is located at the rear (south) elevation. Built 1932.

Leabata Residence (Park # 16M)
Secondary name: DOH House – Leabata. This one-story building is in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 25 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, an irregularly shaped broken pitch hip roof with green asphalt shingles, and 12-light wood double hung windows. A post and two pilasters articulate the edges of the entry porch. The exterior washroom has a shed roof and concrete slab foundation. Built 1932; reroofed in 2007; exterior repainted in 2015.

Ed Kato's Studio (Park # 11M)
This one-story building is in the southern section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 20 by 22 feet and has a similar floor plan, though slightly modified, as 25M, 27M, and 30M. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with vertical skirting, a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and vertical tongue and groove siding. The building has two doors, five 12-light double hung windows, and two 4-light double hung windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. Recessed corner entry porch has concrete steps with a stone cheek wall. A partially enclosed exterior washroom has a concrete slab foundation with shed roof and is located at the rear (north) elevation.[341] Built 1931; rehabilitation in 2003 included roof replacement, wood repairs including reframing of the foundation, exterior painting (brilliant white with rainforest green trim), replacement of stonework and concrete coping at the southeast corner entry stairs, and installation of overhead sprinkler system.

Nancy and James Brede Residence (Park # 10M)
Secondary name: DOH House – Brede. This one-story building is in the south-central section of the neighborhood, along the southernmost McVeigh street. The building is square, measuring 30 by 30 feet and has the same floor plan as 9M. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a hip roof with red asphalt shingles, and screened wood 12-light double hung windows and some jalousie windows. The building has a concrete entry

[341] Kato's furnishings and personal belongings that he left inside the building were moved to the NPS curatorial facility in 2003. This includes Kato's sketches, paint splatters, handprints, and other evidence of his work remaining on the walls and floor surfaces. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

porch with concrete block side rails. The exterior washroom has shed roof and concrete slab foundation. A low chainlink fence surrounds the building. Stone edging lines the fence along the driveway. Built 1933.

Kahihikolo Residence (Park # 9M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Kahihikolo, NPS House – Vacant. This one-story building is in the south section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 16 by 30 feet and has the same floor plan as 10M. It is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with lattice skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and wood double hung windows. The building has a concrete entry porch with concrete block side rails. The exterior washroom has a shed roof and concrete slab foundation. Built 1933; general repairs carried out in 2010; exterior and interior repainted in 2015.

Edwin Lelepali Residence (Park # 8M)
Secondary name: DOH House – Lelepali. This one-story building is on the southernmost McVeigh street in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is roughly rectangular, measuring 16 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with lattice skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, and a broken-pitch hip roof with red asphalt shingles. It has wood framed 12-light double hung windows that project several inches from the exterior wall and a concrete entry porch with concrete block side rails. A compatible addition is located at the southeast corner. A partially enclosed exterior washroom with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is located at the rear. Tall vegetation partially shelters the building from view. The house is painted purple, the resident's favorite color, creating a contrast with the complex's prevailing white with green trim paint pattern. Built 1933; post and wire fence added to yard in 2014.

Building 502 (Park # 502M)
This one-story building is set back from the street in the southeast section of the neighborhood, east of the Edwin Lelepali Residence (8M). The building is rectangular, measuring 10 by 20 feet and has vertical board siding, a shed roof covered with rolled asphalt roofing, a door opening at the front, and one 6-light window on the west elevation. The building may be part of a poultry farm located in the area during the late 1930s. The surrounding area is largely overgrown. Dense vegetation blocks views of the building. Built circa 1930.

Watanuki Residence (Park # 1M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Watanuki, NPS House – T. Hooper. This one-story building is in the southwest section of the neighborhood. The building is nearly square, measuring 20 by 25 feet and is of wood frame construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation, board and batten siding with horizontal skirting, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and wood double hung windows. A recessed corner porch with concrete stone steps leads to the entry. The trim is painted red (country redwood). Built 1933; exterior repainted in 2016.

McVeigh Home Residence 2 (Park # 2M)
Secondary names: NPS House – Whiting, NPS House – E. English. This one-story building is in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is T-shaped, measuring 20 by 25 feet and is of wood frame with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The building has screened wood double hung windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. A wood porch on the west elevation has a shed roof. A washroom with a concrete slab foundation and shed roof is located at the rear. Woven wire fencing and dense ornamental vegetation surround the building. Built 1930; exterior repainted in 2015.

McVeigh Garage (Park # 3M)
This four-car garage is in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 32 feet. It is of single wall construction with board and batten siding and a gravel floor. The rear of the building has a concrete foundation with a stone retaining wall and a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Built 1933; new roof, siding, and structural repairs were carried out in 2012; an unattached shed was added to the southeast corner, possibly in 2012.

McVeigh Home, Kato Workshop (Park # 508M)
This one-story building is in the south section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 10 by 12 feet and is of single wall construction with board and batten siding and a shed roof finished with rolled asphalt roofing. It has one door and a portion of a 6-paned window with the upper half boarded up. The building appears to be constructed of recycled materials. Built between 1950 and 1964.

McVeigh Home Shed (Park # 507M)
This one-story building is in the south section of the neighborhood, south of the McVeigh Garage (3M). The building is rectangular and of single wall construction with a corrugated metal roof. The building is partially collapsed, the roof is mostly absent, and the framing is severely deteriorated. Built between 1950s and 1964.

McVeigh Home Garage (Park # 4aM)
This six-car garage is in the south-central section of the neighborhood. The building is rectangular, measuring 20 by 60 feet and is of metal and wood frame construction with open bays, corrugated metal walls, and a corrugated metal roof with metal framing members. The single bay attached to the north end has a shed roof. The building appears to be constructed of recycled Quonset materials. Built between 1950 and 1964.

Kahikina Residence (Park # 5M)
Secondary names: DOH House – Kato, NPS House - Vacant. This one-story building is in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is square, measuring 25 by 25 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, board and batten siding with horizontal skirting and no girt, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The building has eight screened wood 12-light double hung windows, one small jalousie window, one 4-light window, and two doors. A small wood porch with a shed roof is located on the west elevation. A washroom at the rear has a shed roof and concrete slab foundation. Built 1933; rehabilitation in 2013 included general repairs, electrical upgrades, lead paint abatement, and interior and exterior repainting.

McVeigh Home Residence 6 (Park # 6M)
Secondary name: DOH House – Lelepali. This one-story building is in the southeast section of the neighborhood. The building is T-shaped, measuring 20 by 25 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with no horizontal skirting, board and batten siding, a hip roof with rolled asphalt roofing, and wood 12-light windows that project several inches from the exterior wall. It has a recessed corner entry porch with concrete steps. A rear washroom has a concrete slab foundation and shed roof. Currently used for storage. Tall vegetation partially conceals the building from view. Built 1933.

Storage Shed (Park # 505M)
This collapsed one story shed is in the southeast section of the neighborhood, adjacent to McVeigh Home Residence 6 (6M). When standing, the building was rectangular, measuring 32 by 14 feet. It had vertical plank siding, raised plywood flooring, an irregularly shaped roof with rolled asphalt roofing, one large doorway, two 12-light sliding windows, and one small boarded up window. Built by 1964; collapsed after 2012.

Building 504 (Park # 504M)
This one-story building is of single wall construction with a shed roof with corrugated metal and rolled asphalt roofing. The south section of the building is on the verge of collapse. Built by 1964.

Shed/Carport (Park #74M)
This carport is located at the end of a side road in the east central section of the neighborhood, adjacent to the Leabata Residence (16M). The building is rectangular, measuring 20 by 21 feet and is of wood frame construction with plywood siding, a concrete slab foundation, and a corrugated metal roof. It is painted light/ bright green. Built in the early 1960s, replacing an earlier building on the same site.

Structures:

[redacted] Historically, this was used for growing potatoes according to Edwin Lelepati. It is currently used as a planting bed for ornamental vegetation.

McVeigh Home non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Carport (Park # 72M)
This carport is located at the end of a side road off Staff Street in the east central section of the neighborhood, adjacent to the William Kaakimaka Residence (25M). The building is rectangular, measuring 10 by 12 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with concrete slab foundation and corrugated metal roof. Built between 1972 and 1977, after the period of significance.

Shed (Park # 73M)
This shed is located west of William Kaakimaka Residence (25M). It is of wood frame, plywood construction with post on concrete pier foundation and corrugated metal roof. Built in the 1990s after the period of significance.

5. New Baldwin Home Site

Established in 1932, the New Baldwin Home for Men and Boys was originally located in the former Kalaupapa hospital building built in 1908 on the southern edge of the Kalaupapa settlement. The home replaced the Old Baldwin Home in Kalawao which was overseen by Joseph Dutton and the Brothers of the Sacred Heart until Dutton's death in 1931. The movement of the Old Baldwin Home residents to the new location was the final stage in the settlement's movement to Kalaupapa.[342] The new home included a large dormitory, a recreation room, cottages, a chapel, and a large grove of papaya and banana trees. In 1950, in an effort to reduce operating costs with a declining population, the Board of Health closed the home and moved the remaining residents to a military-surplus Quonset hut at the Bay View complex.[343] The Sacred Hearts Brothers stayed at their cottage in the Baldwin Home complex until a kitchen fire forced them to relocate to Wilcox Memorial Hall in 1951. The buildings at the New Baldwin Home were removed soon after. Some were re-located elsewhere in the

[342] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 334.
[343] Ibid., 549.

settlement. An example is the Kenso Seki Residence (281) located at the southeast corner of Puahi Street and Damien Road.

The circulation system of the New Baldwin Home consisted of a driveway and sidewalks. The system was less geometric than other complexes. Unpaved streets lead from the Puahi Street bridge to the New Baldwin Home and the base of the Pali Trail. An unpaved street also still leads from the bridge to the home site. Within the complex, the unpaved driveway split in three directions: straight to the entrance of the dormitory, to the west providing access to a garage at the south edge of the complex, and east providing access to the Brothers' cottage, a garage, and a chicken coop. A driveway ran along the rear of the dormitory. Concrete sidewalks were also installed, providing access to the Brothers' cottage and the reception hall adjacent to the dormitory.

After the New Baldwin Home buildings were removed in 1951, the area became more utilitarian in nature. A slaughterhouse, rock crusher, and a large pig sty were sited there. Two dump sites, one for household waste and one for construction debris were added by 1972 and 1992, respectively. Today, the area includes a mule corral used by Kalaupapa Rare Adventure and the guided park tour.

The New Baldwin Home Site is now heavily overgrown by vegetation, which obscures any remaining structural vestiges of the home. Nevertheless, several contributing resources are in the area. Of these, only the Baldwin Home for Boys Entrance Gate (840) and the Grotto (851) are directly associated with the operation of the home.

New Baldwin Home Site contributing resources:

Buildings:

Slaughterhouse Restrooms (Park # 258)
This one-story building is located past the Bay View Home complex, backing up to the ocean side cliff. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 by 22 feet and is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, gable roof with asphalt shingles and louvered vents at gable ends, and wood casement windows and door. A 4- by 7-foot opening is on the north elevation. The building is a remnant of the period when the settlement maintained its own herd of cattle. It was moved to this location from the Administrative/Staff Row area in 1950 and rehabilitated in 1999 and 2015.

Slaughterhouse (Park # 630)
This one-story building is located next to the Slaughterhouse Restrooms (258). The building is rectangular, measuring 16 by 24 feet and is of concrete wall construction with a concrete slab foundation and wood frame walls above the 6-foot level. The corrugated metal gable roof is divided in three sections and has vertical tongue and grove siding at gable ends. The north end of the building is a free-standing gable on wood posts. A cattle loading ramp with metal pipe railing is present. The slaughterhouse equipment is still inside and in use by residents who hunt in the area. Built 1953.

Sites:

[redacted] Constructed of tongue and groove vertical boards with some interior framing members on the north and of a mixture vertical and horizontal siding on the later south addition. The structure was built on a poured concrete foundation slab with simple gable roof. Although the structure is collapsed, the site retains integrity as a ruin. Date of construction unverified but possibly 1940; collapsed by 2010.

Structures:

New Baldwin Home for Boys Entrance Gate (Park # 840)
The entrance gate consists of four concrete columns located at the original entrance to the New Baldwin Home. Columns are spaced for vehicles and pedestrian access with curved concrete wing walls approximately 5 feet high. All posts have cap with iron pipe reinforcement. The gate itself is missing. The road into the site is gravel and dirt track and the entire site is covered with invasive vegetation. Other features include extensive dry stacked stone walls approximately 2 to 3 feet wide and 3 to 4 feet high, visible for approximately 200 feet on the east side of the entrance and surrounding the grotto (851). Park records list construction date as 1934-1938 although it may have been built in 1907-1908 as part of the old hospital; minor masonry repairs completed in 2008.

Rock Crusher (Park # 635)
This structure is located at the New Baldwin Home site. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 50 feet and is of timber frame construction with external frame walls and diagonal braces and a corrugated metal roof. The structure contains an engine shelter and compartments for three separators for processing different sized gravel. Other original equipment is scattered throughout the area. The structure is heavily overgrown with one large banyan in the center and is in the process of collapse. The rock crusher was purchased in 1937-1938; rebuilt in 1950; and installed at Baldwin Home site in 1960.

Grotto and Garden Structure (Park # 851)
This structure is located near the site of the original chapel in the new Baldwin Home. Built by Brother Materne Laschet, the 15- by 20-foot grotto is comprised of dry stacked and mortared stone incorporated with a natural stone outcrop. A recessed alcove for a statue of the Virgin Mary is in the outcrop. Extensive dry stacked stone walls create multiple terraces approximately 4 feet tall. Terraces extend north and south generally following the contour of the slope. Remnant vegetation from the historic period is also evident around the Grotto. Before it was overgrown with invasive vegetation, the Grotto provided a clear view of the ocean. NPS staff periodically clear the area of vegetation with volunteer groups. Built 1938.

New Baldwin Home Site non-contributing resources:

Sites:

[redacted] Built between 1964 and 1972; capped and closed by the State of Hawaii in 2015. Landfill closure included the addition of a detention basin and fence to the northwest of the dump.

[redacted] It has a series of cleared areas for construction debris, green waste, and carcass pit disposal to the south, and composting area to the north. It is currently used by settlement residents, though in the process of being closed (as of 2016). Built between 1977 and 1992.

Mule Corral
A corral roughly measuring 75 by 70 feet in a circular shape is located west of the New Baldwin Home site and east of the Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) Dump. The corral is used by Kalaupapa Rare Adventure, the park

tour company. Metal bleachers and small outbuilding for visitors and muleskinners are also in the area. Built after period of significance by 1992.

6. Staff Row

Staff Row consists of a series of residences built between the 1890s and 1940. This was meant as a staff housing area that would be separate from the patient community. Residences were designed to accommodate families and were supplied with servants' quarters, garages, other outbuildings, and gardens. For most of the period of significance, the separation was emphasized by a picket fence running between Staff Street and the residences, which sat some fifty to seventy feet back from the street. The residences were accessed by individual gates marking the limit beyond which patients could not pass. The houses were generally of a size and design considered appropriate for professional staff, making them larger and more elaborate than the patient cottages.

The core of Staff Row consisted of four houses for the superintendent, resident physician, assistant physician, and dentist, built between 1890 and 1906. In 1932, the Board of Health built the large "H" shaped Residence for Single Women (1SR) at the intersection of Staff and Beretania Streets. This provided female staff with a dining room and kitchen, and eleven rooms and baths. The grounds were also improved with coconut groves, hedges, vegetable gardens, fences, and a chicken and duck run. By 1937, much of the neighborhood was concealed behind coconut palms, banana trees, and flowering hedges. In 1940, the Board constructed a concrete block building behind the Residence for Single Women (1SR), which served variously as a laundry facility, recreation space, and residence. A small guest cottage (1aSR) was later added to the complex. This was separate from the other buildings, located on the south side of Beretania Street, between Bishop and McKinley Streets.[344]

With the notable exception of the loss of historic ornamental vegetation, Staff Row has undergone little alteration, and possesses all elements of integrity. The most significant visual change during the period of significance was the removal of most of the picket fencing that once defined the separate spheres of the staff and patients. This occurred during the administration of superintendent Lawrence Judd in the 1940s and was part of a gradual process of relaxing segregation restrictions following the introduction of sulfone drugs. The former fence location is marked by a wooden gate and 8-foot-tall concrete posts in front of the Resident Physician's Residence (10SR), and a hedge and two concrete posts in front of the Assistant Resident Physician's Residence (14SR). The hedge and concrete posts date to the period of significance. An L-shaped remnant section of non-historic fencing is located along the west and south sides of the Residence for Single Women (1SR), running 120 feet east to west and 135 feet north to south. Although the current fence is not historic, it rests on a historic concrete footing that spans the entire fence length.

As the population declined and services were consolidated after 1969, the DOH converted the Superintendent's Residence (5SR) into a central kitchen and dining room providing meals for settlement residents. This building unfortunately burned to the ground in September 2016 and is no longer extent. Other changes on Staff Row have been relatively small, such as the replacement of three single garages with two-stall garages.[345]

[344] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 633-635.
[345] Ibid., 502.

Staff Row contributing resources:

Buildings:

Residence for Single Women (Park # 1SR)
Secondary names: Nurse's Quarters, Staff Row Dorm, DOH Staff Housing, DOH House – Nurses, NPS Female Dormitory. This one-story building is at the intersection of Beretania and Staff Streets. It is H-shaped, measuring 60 by 70 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, tongue and groove siding with broken girt on the perimeter wall, water table, rim fascia, wood battens, and hip roof with composite shingles. The building has shared bathrooms, a community recreation room and kitchen, and a screened lanai with double hung windows. Original stile and rail five-panel doors remain throughout. The building is constructed in a horseshoe shape, with extensions to the north and south wings. It is also enclosed on the west and south sides by a small, non-historic white picket fence with an adjacent coconut grove planted during the historic period. Built 1932; rehabilitation in 2008 included roof replacement, wood repairs, exterior and interior painting, repair and replacement of plumbing fixtures, asbestos abatement, and installation of overhead sprinkler system.

Guest Cottage (LCS # 56540, Park # 1aSR)
Secondary names: Guest Cottage, Visitors' Quarters, Veterans' Quarters. This one-story building is set back from the corner of Beretania and McKinley Streets, adjacent to and across the street from the Residence for Single Women (1SR). It is square, measuring 25 by 25 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation and horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with broken girt, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, a shed extension over the front door, and screened wood sash windows. A concrete walk and slab with a wash basin is located at the rear (south) of the building. Built 1948-1949; exterior repainted in 2015.

Laundry Room and Apartment (Park # 3SR)
This one-story building is set back from Staff Street behind and to the northeast of the Residence for Single Women (1SR). It is rectangular, measuring 28 by 44 feet and is of concrete block construction finished with cement stucco, although parts of the upper section and roof are of wood frame construction. The building has a concrete slab foundation, a gable roof finished with corrugated metal, 4 doors, and double hung and jalousie windows throughout. It currently serves as park gym and staff laundry room for the Residence for Single Women (1SR). Built 1940.

Dentist's Residence (Park # 8SR)
Secondary names: Guest Quarters, Volunteer Housing, NPS House – Transient. This one-story building is set back from Staff Street, facing south toward the Superintendent's Residence (5SR). It is rectangular, measuring 24 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, board and batten siding with corner boards, a gable roof with asphalt shingles applied over wood shingles, and wood screened double hung windows, most of which are 12-light. An addition runs the length of the south elevation and includes a wood entry door with a shed roof and concrete entry steps. The building has a small wood entry porch with concrete steps and a shed roof. This residence was constructed shortly after the Superintendent's Residence (5SR) and is one of only a few buildings in Kalaupapa that predate the twentieth century. During this historic period, the dentist often stayed with the resident physician while at the settlement and this house was typically used for visitors. Later it was used for volunteer staff. Likely built 1892; re-roofed and re-painted in 2003; interior repainted in 2015.

Resident Physician's Residence (Park # 10SR)
Secondary names: Doctor's Residence, Administrator's House, Volunteer Housing, DOH House – Schwind, NPS House – Transient. This one-story building is on Staff Street between the Assistant Resident Physician's Residence (14SR) and the Dentist's Residence (8SR). It is T-shaped, measuring 24 by 50 feet with a 14- by 26-foot wing and is of wood frame, single wall construction with stone pad and post foundation and latticework skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt and corner boards, intersecting corrugated metal gable roofs, and wood double hung 12-light windows. The L-shaped recessed front porch has concrete steps with a hip shake roof that juts out below the main gable located at the southwest corner. Chamfered posts and pilasters articulate the edges of the porch. A second porch, sheltered by a shed roof, is located at the northwest section of the building. A small entryway, also sheltered by a shed roof, is located at the rear. Concrete steps provide access to the front porch. The building also has a long sidewalk extending from the front porch toward the street front which ends in two historic concrete gate posts and a small wooden gate. A mortared rock "fish pond" is present in the front yard. Built 1901-1902; additions added in 1905-1906 and 1911-1912; partially destroyed by fire and rebuilt 1929-1930; new kitchen, laundry, and bathroom wings added in 1934; prefabricated boxed windows installed in the 1930s; office enclosed in glass, closets added to bedrooms, and stone entrance added to kitchen in 1935; roof replaced and porch stabilized in 2008.

Assistant Resident Physician's Residence (Park # 14SR)
Secondary names: DOH Housing, Doctor's House, Resident Physician's House. This one-story building is on Staff Street north of the Resident Physician's Residence (10SR). It is square, measuring 30 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pad and post foundation, a vertical tongue and groove siding with corner boards and a broken girt, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and 12-light double hung windows. Wood steps and a landing provide access to the front entrance. Historic concrete gateposts are on the street but are obstructed by a small dense hedge marking the location of the former picket fence. Built 1905-1906; addition completed 1911-1912.

Electrician's Residence (Park # 16SR)
Secondary names: DOH House – Decosta, DOH House - Crivello. This one-story building is on Staff Street, situated northeast of the Assistant Resident Physician's Residence (14SR). It is rectangular, measuring 18 by 20 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with water table, board and batten siding, and a gable roof with shed extension at the front, finished with rolled asphalt roofing. The building has 4 doors and 14 windows including a combination of jalousie, single-hung, and screened wood sash. Wood steps provide access to the front door. Diamond-patterned railings encircle the front porch. Several shed roof additions exist on the east and south elevations, practically joining the residence to Building 629 (629SR). The building is believed to have originally served as servant's quarters. Built 1935-1936.

Building 629 (Park # 629SR)
This one-story building is on Staff Street behind and to the east of the Assistant Resident Physician's Residence (14SR) and the Electrician's Residence (16SR). It is rectangular, measuring 24 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with intersecting roofs finished with corrugated metal. 1977 building survey noted that walls were of corrugated metal and board and batten siding. Current building has concrete block columns and plywood walls with a shed roof addition to the north. Built between 1950 and 1964; various repairs and alterations completed over time.

Structures:

Staff Row Picket Fence Footing and Gate Posts (Park # 869 and 870)
The L-shaped Staff Row Picket fence is located west and south of the Residence for Single Women (1SR). The fence measures 120 feet east to west and 135 feet north to south, with 4 by 4 wood posts, 2 by 4 rails, and 1 by 4 pickets. The gate is located west of the Resident Physician's Residence (10SR) and measures 8 by 8 feet with concrete posts and thirteen wood slats with rusted iron hinges and latch. Wood and iron components of the fence and gate are non-historic. However, the concrete footings for the fence and concrete posts of the gate are historic and are associated with the period of segregation. Concrete posts built by 1932.

Staff Row non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Five buildings on Staff Row were built after the period of significance. These include: four carports (67SR, 68SR, 69SR, and 70SR), and a shed (71SR). The four carports appear to be built on the foundations of carports built during the period of significance. If additional research reveals that the foundations do in fact retain integrity from the historic period, they would be considered contributing sites. a freezer building (66SR) attached to the Superintendent's Residence (5SR) burned down in 2016 and is no longer extant. Freezer building built 1975; other buildings date to after 1977.

Superintendent's Residence (Park # 5SR)
Secondary names: DOH Kitchen, DOH Central Kitchen, State Kitchen. This building burned down in September 2016 and is no longer extant. It was a one-story building located on Staff Street, set back from the road north of and adjacent to the Residence for Single Women (1SR). It was generally rectangular, measuring 45 by 50 feet and was of wood frame, single wall construction with many additions, a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirt, board and batten siding with corner boards, a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and 12-light wood double hung windows. A recessed porch with concrete steps bordered by two planters at the southwest corner led to two entrance doors. Wood posts on the porch had jig sawn decorative brackets, and the porch ceiling was plasterboard, or "Celotex." Prior to the 2016 fire, this may have been the oldest extant building on Staff Row. Built 1890; re-roofed, plumbing upgraded, and painted 1934-1936; section of concrete blocks added to the south wall in 1994. The building had most recently been used as the staff dining hall and central kitchen.

7. Kalaupapa Churches

As the settlement expanded during the early twentieth century, the Congregational, Roman Catholic, and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints church bodies in Hawai‘i sought to provide their congregations with large, comfortable worship and meeting spaces close to their homes. While the remaining Congregational and Catholic churches at Kalawao were retained for their historical and sentimental associations, practical concerns dictated that Kalaupapa should have its own facilities. The Latter-day Saint chapel at Kalawao was torn down after 1926.[346] The new churches were also needed because of the frequency of funerals. Kana‘ana Hou, St. Francis, and the Latter-day Saint Chapel were all located close to the hospital and the west coast cemeteries, as well as to residential areas.

Located on the west side of the settlement close to the landing, St. Francis and Kana‘ana Hou are large, visually impressive buildings. These were among the first buildings seen by anyone arriving by sea. Both were

[346] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 579.

constructed on lots landscaped with ornamental vegetation and coconut groves and surrounded by low dry stacked stone walls. The lots also contained parish/social halls and residences for the clergy assigned to the churches as well as hot houses to grow flowers for funeral and worship service. Over the years, St. Francis Church acquired monuments on its grounds. The largest is a grotto – a free-standing masonry structure containing statutes of saints. The grave of Father Maxime André, the priest at Kalaupapa from 1902 to his death in 1927, is also located in the churchyard.

The smaller, more understated Church of Jesus Christ cluster is located further north at the intersection of Damien Road and Kamehameha Streets, near the south end of Papaloa Cemetery. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints maintained a strong presence at the settlement, numbering over 200 members from the 1890s through the early twentieth century. Jonathan Napela, who came to Kalawao as a kōkua with his wife on May 2, 1873 served as president of the Kalawao and Kalaupapa branches of the Maui, Molokai, and Lanai Latter-day Saint Conference. He also served briefly as settlement superintendent. The original Latter-day Saint chapel in Kalaupapa was built in 1901. A chapel was also built in Kalawao in 1904. This remained in use into the 1920s but was dismantled after 1926. By 1932, a mission house was built north of the Kalaupapa chapel and in 1940 a social hall was added. The original chapel was demolished in 1965 and the current one was built in its place.[347] Like the other Kalaupapa churches, the Latter-day Saint Chapel is surrounded by a dry stacked rock wall with an entrance gate, both of which predate the current building.

St. Francis and Kana‘ana Hou Churches continue to serve patients, staff, and guests. The buildings are owned by their parent organizations but are maintained by the NPS through cooperative agreements. The Latter-day Saint Chapel is maintained by The Church of Jesus Christ and volunteer groups. Occasional services are held, mainly for employees. While the churches and their associated buildings have been modified from the historic period to some degree according to community preferences, they retain all the elements of integrity, and evoke the importance of religion in the lives of the people of Kalaupapa historically and in the present.

Kalaupapa Churches contributing resources:

Buildings:

St. Francis Catholic Church (Park # 291)
Secondary name: St. Francis Church. This large Italian Gothic-style church is located at the intersection of Kamehameha and Beretania Streets, set back from the street. It is rectangular, measuring 38 by 100 feet and built of ferro-cement. A gable roof covers most of the building, though a rectangular, arched three bay entrance portico is at the main (west) entrance. This is covered by a hip roof. A three-tiered steeple with a pyramidal roof on a tower with a cross is located at the southeast corner. Hooded gothic windows are interspersed with reinforced concrete buttresses and pointed arched windows on the north and south walls of the building. Many other windows are located throughout, including quatrefoils filled with masonite which flank the tops of windows on the north and south elevations. The steeple has hooded gothic style louvers. This architecturally imposing building was a significant construction effort for the community and continues to serve as a visual landmark. The church spire blends with the tall coconut trees framing the building to define Kalaupapa’s distinctive skyline.

Built 1908; roof coated for stabilization in 2000. In 2001, two large pointed arched stained-glass windows were installed on the north and south elevations of the building at the eastern end. These were originally located in the altar area, where the congregation could not see them. The priest at the time wanted them moved so they could

[347] Orlene J. Poulsen, “Kalaupapa: Place of Refuge,” *Relief Society Magazine* 55, no. 3 (March 1968): 208-211.

be enjoyed by the congregation and the community. Concrete steps were repaired in 2012; new roof installed and exterior painted in 2013 by the Catholic Diocese of Honolulu.

St. Francis Church Rectory (Park # 294)
Secondary name: Church Rectory. This one-story building is located off Kamehameha and Kilohana Streets. It is rectangular, measuring 26 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation covered by vertical slat skirting, vertical plank siding encircled by a broken girt and corner boards, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles which overlay the original wood shingles. A water table encircles the building at the sole plate. The building has seventeen windows, made up of wood double hung and jalousie windows. Wood steps and a wood railing lead to a front porch which provides access to the main entrance. The porch is covered by a shed roof supported by chamfered posts and pilasters. Wood steps lead to a porch at the rear entrance. Built 1930-1931; rear porch added 1947; exterior painted 2011-2012.

Damien Hall (Park # 292)
Secondary names: Damien Social Hall, St. Francis Church Library, St. Francis Church Social Hall. This one-story building is located north of St. Francis Church. It measures 28 by 32 feet and has a wood post and stone pad foundation with diagonal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with girt and corner boards, a gable roof and gable entrance portico covered with corrugated metal, and double hung wood windows. An addition with a gable shed roof is on the north elevation. Built between 1908 and 1910 on the same site as a previous Catholic Church, Our Lady, Health of the Sick. The building may have been moved to serve as the Protestant Church from 1908 to 1915 then moved back to the St. Francis area. Rehabilitation in 2011-2012 included extensive wood repairs, window repairs, new roof, and interior and exterior painting.

St. Francis Church Garage (Park # 647)
This one-story building is located just north of St. Francis Church between buildings 292 and 648. It is rectangular, measuring 20 feet by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, a corrugated metal gable roof, and wood sash awning windows. The building has one large bay leading to a carport, and one single door which leads to a storage area. Likely built between 1966 and 1977 on the foundation of a former storeroom.

Kanaʻana Hou Church (Park # 286)
Secondary names: Protestant Church, Kanaʻana Hou Calvinist Church, Unitarian Church. Located along Mission Street, this church has a symmetrical Greek cruciform plan, measuring 34 feet by 60 feet. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation and vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a molded girt and water table. The main gable roof is transected by two smaller gables projecting from the middle sections of the east and west walls. Both gables are approximately two feet lower than the main gable, and cover the windows projecting from the middle sections of the east and west walls. Roofs are of asphalt shingles and brackets. Large pointed arched windows are located at the north, east, and west elevations along with fixed sash and double hung windows throughout. An entrance bell tower is at the northwest corner. The tower has ventilating louvers in the shape of pointed arches on all sides and structural outlookers projecting beyond the roof-lines at the gable ends. Interior is bright and well ventilated with substantial Douglas fir roof trusses spanning the lofty ceiling space. Gracefully cut rafter tails, window traceries, simple trim moldings, and clear patterned glass in the windows add character defining detail to the building.

The church was built in 1915 by Sam Kaʻaumoana, choir leader of Kaumakapili Church, who brought his own crew of carpenters and painters from Honolulu. The crew consisted of his three sons, two brothers-in-law, and a son-in-law. A massive concrete ramp was added to the entrance in 1983. Posts were added to the interior in the

1990s. A 2005 historic structure report describes these as structurally ineffective and out of place visually.[348] Rehabilitation in 2004 included major structural repair and replacement of rot and termite damaged wood components throughout the building including the foundation, roof framing, and tower framing. Work also included roof replacement, new flashing, window repairs, and exterior and interior painting.

Kanaʻana Hou Church Parish Hall (Park # 287)
Secondary names: Protestant Parish Hall, Wilcox Social Hall. This one-story building is located west of Kanaʻana Hou Church along School Street. It is rectangular, measuring approximately 30 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a metal jack and concrete pad foundation, plywood exterior with metal "hat" posts, and a gable roof finished with asphalt shingles which also covers a lanai at the north end of the building. A set of double doors, accessible by a set of stairs and a wheelchair ramp, is located at the north elevation, and a single door at the south elevation provides access. Jalousie windows on the east and west elevations provide ventilation. A sign reading "Wilcox Social Hall" is still on the north elevation. This building replaced and earlier YMCA hall that was a gift of G.N. Wilcox in 1895. Built 1968; stabilization in 2015 included adding wood posts and supports to deteriorated metal jacks supporting floors and walls.

Building 637 (Park # 637)
This one-story maintenance building is on School Street in the Kanaʻana Hou Church complex. It is rectangular, measuring 7 by 10 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, tongue and groove siding with a water table, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The building has a custom-made door along with two single windows and one pair of awning windows. A concrete ramp leads to the front door. Built by 1950; rehabilitated 2001.

Calvinist Parsonage (Park # 288)
Secondary names: Kahu House, Calvinist Mission House, Kanaʻana Hou Mission House. This one story building is located in the Kanaʻana Hou Church complex. It is L-shaped, measuring 20 by 28 feet with another wing measuring 12 by 16 feet. The building is of wood frame, single wall construction with vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a girt, with corner boards and a water table surrounding the solar plate, and intersecting hip roofs with asphalt shingles. It has two doors and twenty windows including two single pane push out windows and eighteen wood frame double hung windows. Built 1932; window screens and screen doors repaired 2010-2013.

Garage (Park # 289)
This garage is located in the Kanaʻana Hou Church complex next to the Calvinist Parsonage (288). It is square, measuring 24 by 24 feet and is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, plywood siding, and a slightly gabled roof at the south end continuing into a flat shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing. The east elevation has two bays, each with a set of double doors. Built 1935; doors repaired in 2015.

Latter-day Saint Chapel (Park # 257)
Secondary name: Mormon Church, Latter Day Saints Mormon Church.[349] This is the central building in the The Church of Jesus Christ cluster and is located east of the intersection of Damien Road and Kamehameha Street.

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[348] National Park Service, *Historic Structures Record of Treatment*, KALA PKG. 211, PMIS # 004802, Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Island of Molokaʻi, Kalaupapa, Hawaiʻi (Frederick, MD: Historic Preservation Training Center, Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2003-2007), 40.

[349] The chapel was referred to by various names during the historic period. The primary name "Latter-day Saint Chapel" is the preferred name for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Secondary names that appear in park inventories and other documentation are included here for reference. Refer to footnote 263 for additional explanation of naming conventions used in this nomination for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and associated resources at Kalaupapa.

The building is rectangular, measuring 25 by 40 feet and is of wood frame construction with a concrete perimeter foundation, board and batten siding, and a shallow pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles. A small steeple is located at the west end above the primary entrance. A set of concrete steps with metal pipe handrails lead to the double door entrance. The building has jalousie windows throughout, four on the south side, six on the north side, and a double pair on the east side. This building replaced an earlier 1901 chapel on the same site. A dry stacked rock wall possibly dating to the earlier church surrounds the building on its west and east sides. Raised concrete walkways lead to the chapel, parish hall, and mission house. Built 1965; casings and fixtures repaired, tile installed, ceiling repaired, interior and exterior painted, and ceiling fan installed in 1991-1992. Chapel pews were also removed, sanded, and repaired at this time.[350]

Latter-day Saint Parish Hall (Park # 257A)
Secondary name: Latter-day Saint Social Hall. This one-story building is located south of and oriented toward the Latter-day Saint Chapel (257). It is rectangular, measuring 35 by 40 feet and is of wood frame construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a horizontal lath skirt, and a gable roof with asphalt shingles and an attached shed roof covering the porch and the west and east ends. The building has two single doors on the east elevation and a slider window, four wood double hung windows on the south elevation, double wood doors and two wood double hung windows on the west elevation with a circular window in the gable end, and five wood double hung windows on the north elevation. A stone wall encloses the building on its south, west, and east sides. Built 1940; casings and fixtures repaired, tile installed, ceiling repaired, interior and exterior painted, and ceiling fan installed in 1991-1992; concrete walkway and wood access ramp also added to the north elevation; ramp repaired in 2014.

Kamehameha Street Residence 256 (Park # 256)
Secondary names: Latter-day Saint Rectory, Latter-day Saint Mission House. This one-story building is located north of the Latter-day Saint Chapel (257) within the The Church of Jesus Christ cluster. It has a square cottage floor plan, measuring 24 by 34 feet and is of wood frame construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation, board and batten siding with a horizontal slat wood skirt, and an asphalt shingle hip roof with intersecting hip roofs that extend out 2 feet at the entrance. Wood double hung windows are throughout with sliders on the west elevation. The main entrance on the west elevation and a side entrance on the north elevation are both accessed by wood stairs. The building is enclosed by a stone wall on the west and east sides. A chainlink fence encloses the north side. Built 1935; similar repairs as 257A made in 1991-1992.

Structures:

St. Francis Churchyard Walls and Gates (Park # 825)
A dry stacked stone wall 3 feet high by 3 to 4 feet wide surrounds the churchyard. Two concrete hexagonal gates, 2 feet in diameter by 6 feet high and 14 feet apart are at the vehicle entrance. The south pedestrian entrance has 3- by 6-foot-high square concrete posts. A gooseneck light fixture is over the gate. Built early 1900s; mosaics added to pedestrian gate 1997-1998; repaired 2005.

Grotto at Saint Francis Church (Park # 827)
Secondary names: Grotto for Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Bernadette, St. Francis Church Shrine. This 18- by 18-foot lava rock and mortar masonry structure includes multi-tiered openings for statuary. A statue of Our Lady of Lourdes is at the top, with a statue of St. Bernadette below. A marble cross is in the lower opening. It

[350] Benjamin C. Pykles, Historic Sites Curator, Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to Carrie Mardorf, Chief of Cultural Resources re: "LDS Draft Building Chronology," July 1, 2015. On file, Kalaupapa National Historical Park.

has concrete steps at the base and electric lights. Construction date not verified but within the period of significance.

Kana‘ana Hou Churchyard Walls and Gates (Park # 841)
A 2- to 3-foot-high by 3-foot-thick dry stacked stone wall surrounds the church. The wall is approximately 600 feet long. Three pairs of concrete gate posts measure 2 by 2 by 5 feet high and are topped with 6-inch spheres, 12 feet apart. The south gate posts are 2 by 2 by 5 feet high and 3 feet apart. Built late 1800s or early 1900s; repaired early 2000s.

Latter-day Saint Churchyard Walls and Gate (Park # 842)
The entrance gate on the west side of The Church of Jesus Christ cluster consists of two square concrete columns, 2 by 2 by 7 feet high with chamfered corners, pyramidal tops, and metal pins for mounting gates. The posts are separated by 12 feet and tied into 2- to 3-foot stone rubble walls which run along the north, south, east, and west sides of the churchyard. A chainlink fence is located on the north side. Built early 1900s; repaired 2005.

Objects:

Statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Park # 826)
This 6-foot iron statue of Jesus is located in the St. Francis churchyard. The statue is painted white and set on a 4-foot pedestal surmounting a 10- by 10-foot concrete base. The grave of Father Maxime André is in front of the statue. Built 1907.

Latter-day Saints Monument (Park # 846)
A 6-foot-high concrete obelisk mounted on a 10- by 10- by 4-foot-high stepped base and pedestal with a bronze plaque measuring 8 by 18 inches is sited between the Latter-day Saint Parish Hall (257A) and the Latter-day Saint Chapel (257). This is a monument to Jonathan Napela. Erected by 1938; altered in 1992 with the addition of the bronze plaque honoring deceased LDS members.

Kalaupapa Churches non-contributing resources:

Structures:

Shade House (Park # 648)
Secondary name: St. Francis Church Hothouse. This is the greenhouse for the St. Francis Church complex. It is rectangular, measuring 13 by 18 feet and is constructed with 2 by 4 wood framing set into a concrete pad foundation. The exterior including the roof is composed of plastic netting, though this has been ripped and is missing in some areas. The interior floor is gravel. It is believed to have been built in the 1970s after the period of significance, likely on the foundation of an earlier 1930s storeroom.

School Street Hot House (Park # 636)
Secondary name: Kana‘ana Hou Church Hothouse. This is the greenhouse for the Kana‘ana Hou Church complex. It is rectangular, measuring 15 by 18 feet and constructed with 2 by 4 and 4 by 4 wood framing with gravel floor. It is covered with plastic screening attached with wood lath. Construction date unknown; completely rebuilt in 2014; damaged by tree in 2015.

Objects:

St. Francis Catholic Church Bell Memorial (Park # 828)
This 2-foot-diameter bell is mounted in a shelter with 2- by 5-foot concrete posts supporting a horizontal pipe (to which the bell is mounted). The shelter has a wood framed gable roof covered with corrugated metal and an etched mirror plaque by the Knights of Columbus. Although the bell dates to 1928, it is no longer in its original location. The shelter was constructed in 1981 after the period of significance.

8. Administrative Area

The Administrative Area consists of community and service buildings located near the Kalaupapa Landing. Several residences are interspersed throughout the area, contributing to the settlement's small-town feel. The Kana'ana Hou and St. Francis Churches are also located within this area, but are described separately in the Kalaupapa Churches section above. The buildings in the Administrative Area accumulated over the course of the settlement's growth and, unlike the residential homes, generally lacked unifying principles or designs. Collectively, however, they illustrate the level of governmental commitment necessary to maintain the settlement, and the importance of community services and recreational activities. This area also included many facilities found in other small towns in Hawai'i during the same period such as stores, a post office, a library, a bar, a community hall that doubled as a theater/movie house, public safety buildings, a gas station, a hospital, a laundry, a crematorium, and a range of buildings devoted to maintenance and storage.

The Administrative Area also contains the oldest extant building at Kalaupapa, the Old Stone Church (301), built in 1853 in the form of a typical Protestant missionary meeting house. The configuration and openings of the building have changed over the years due to varied uses as a jail, repair shop, warehouse, and currently the NPS ranger station and fire engine storage. The building nevertheless retains original fabric and exemplifies the history of adaptive reuse at Kalaupapa.

[redacted] The area evolved over time, with the last building, the Outpatient Clinic (7BH), moved to its current location in 1948.

The Administrative Area also contains the highest concentration of buildings at Kalaupapa constructed since the end of the period of significance. Noteworthy among these is Hale Malama, the NPS Cultural Resource Management and Curatorial Facility, completed in 2011-2012. It was built on the footprint of the old Construction Camp building, in a style that blends with the historic buildings without attempting to imitate them. Other non-contributing resources include garages and metal storage buildings such as the Store Warehouse (312) located between the Patient Store (272) and the Post Office (290).

[351] Note that while the Fumigation Room (283BH) and Outpatient Clinic (7BH) as numbered by the NPS as buildings associated the Bishop Home complex, they are historically more closely associated with the hospital and, for the purposes of this nomination, are included in the Administrative Area. By the 1960s-1980s (and possibly earlier), the triangular area bounded by School Street, Puahi Street, and Damien Road appears to have been associated with Bishop Home, likely since the Sisters of St. Francis managed the hospital. Possibly because of this, buildings within this area were given "BH" building numbers. However, some documents suggest that 7BH in particular was moved from the main Bishop Home complex. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

Administrative Area contributing resources:

Buildings:

Materials Shed (Park # 263)
Secondary names: DOH Plumbing Warehouse, Plumbing Shop. This one-story building is on Damien Road. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 106 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, wood posts and board and batten siding in the back, a corrugated metal roof, and large wood double doors with vertical plank siding covering three of what appear to be five bays. The north wall and part of the east wall are covered in plywood. Built 1939; used as a laundry collection center in 1950.

Quonset Storage Hut (Park # 263a)
Secondary name: DOH Lumber Warehouse. This World War II surplus Quonset hut is on Damien Road. It has a semi-cylindrical shape, measuring 46 by 100 feet and consists of metal structural members supported by stone and cement mortar walls rising approximately 4 feet above grade. The building has a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal exterior and roofing, double doors at the front (west) elevation, one small door and jalousie windows on the south elevation. It has three large ventilators at its peak, a streetlight mounted above the large sliding metal door on the west wall, and a mezzanine constructed of metal inside. Built 1950; roofing and carpentry repairs carried out in 1995; roof repaired 2013.

Laundry (Park # 264)
Secondary names: DOH Carpenter Shop; Carpenter Shop, Maintenance Shop. This one-story building is on Damien Road. It is rectangular, measuring 24 by 66 feet and has hollow tile walls, a concrete slab foundation, and a gable roof framed with metal trusses. The east and west elevations mirror each other, each having two sets of double doors at each end and four sets of 8-light push out windows and a line of six single pane windows over the doors. The north elevation is obscured by a shed holding lumber. Built 1930-1931; damaged in 1946 tsunami; alterations in 1980 included new plywood roof sheathing and asphalt shingles and new wood sash windows and louvers at the gable ends. Wood storage sheds were also added at the north and west sides; carpentry and roofing repairs completed in 1995.

Crematory (Park # 262)
Secondary name: DOH paint shop. This one-story building is located off the Damien Road and Kilohana Street intersection east of the Materials Shed (263). It is rectangular, measuring 29 by 45 feet and is of concrete block wall and plywood construction with a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal gable roof, and two sets of doors on the east and west elevations. Single doors are located at the north and south end with jalousie windows on the south elevation. The east and west elevations have louvered venting along the upper sections. The central concrete block core of the building is the original crematory. Built 1938-1939; additions added to the central building on the north, west, and south sides to create a larger shop between 1992 and 2000.[352] The building has since been sealed due to asbestos contamination.

Shoichi Hamai Residence (Park # 53)
Secondary names: DOH House – Hamai, DOH House – Florek. This one-story building is located off Kilohana Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pad and post foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt and corner boards, a hip roof covered with asphalt shingles, and double hung windows. The enclosed rear washroom at the north elevation has a shed roof and a concrete slab foundation. The recessed entry porch has concrete steps with low, graded

[352] These additions were previously believed to be original, although aerial photographs show that they were added between 1992 and 2000. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

stone and concrete border walls on each side, and a walkway that leads to the street. The building is partially concealed by trees and other vegetation on its southwest and west sides. A rock wall borders the lot to the west. This is one of several "A Houses" with a similar floor plan including two bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, living room, and bath. [redacted] While the men have had fewer problems, the last resident of the house, a male staff member, passed away in 2015. Built 1932.

Garage (Park # 643)
This garage is across the street from the St. Francis Church complex adjacent to the Shoichi Hamai Residence (53). According to residents, the building was constructed by Shoichi Hamai during the period of significance. A narrow slab of cement is located next to the garage. Hamai and Frank Duarte formerly had a business there fixing cars. A small building used to be on the cement slab but was blown down in a windstorm. Sam Kaliko and Henry Ka'anapu parked their boat on the slab after Hamai stopped fixing cars. According to Randall Watanuki, the other larger cement slab in the area was also poured by Hamai, but he never built anything on the foundation.

Benjamin Residence (Park # 30)
Secondary names NPS House – Kaawaloa. This one-story building is on Kilohana Street, north of the Shoichi Hamai Residence (53). It is L-shaped, measuring 24 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete foundation, board and batten siding with a broken girt and corner boards, a hip roof with wood shingles, and wood framed double hung windows. It has a south gable roof extension measuring 12 by 18 feet. A recessed entry porch with wood steps and vertical framed railing is at the west elevation. A single chamfered post and two pilasters articulate the edges of the porch. The house is mostly concealed by dense vegetation and miscellaneous debris. Built by 1938.

Storage Shed, Damien Road (Park # 641)
This wood frame shed is located just south of the Benjamin Residence (30) in an overgrown area. It measures approximately 6 by 8 feet and has a raised wood floor and rolled asphalt roofing. Date of construction unknown but may be within the period of significance.

Maintenance Shop (Park # 265)
Secondary names: Shop Building, NPS Carpenter Shop, Maintenance Shop, Welding Shop. This one-story building is located just off the intersection of Damien Road and Kilohana Street. It is rectangular, measuring approximately 34 by 66 feet and has a concrete slab foundation, concrete block walls, and a corrugated asbestos gable roof with a 20-foot-long wood louvered ventilating monitor at the ridge. Two sets of double doors on the east elevation provide access. Four 9-light wood sash windows with a central pane that pushes out for ventilation are on the north elevation. Louvered vents are centrally placed at the top of the wall under the eaves of the building. The east elevation has one set of sliding 12-light windows, and an opening where an identical set of 12-light sliding windows used to be. The north elevation has eight wood sash 8-light windows with a central section of four panes that push out for ventilation. Another set of louvered vents are centrally placed at the top of the wall under the eaves. A large wood frame storage shed is located on the west elevation, covered by a corrugated metal shed roof. Built 1931 as a fire-proof structure to house carpenters, painters, blacksmith, and a battery-charging plant; damaged by 1946 tsunami; converted to a machine shop in 1950; exterior repainted in 2010; interior repainted in 2014.

Ice Plant (Park # 267/268)
Secondary names: Ice and Cold Storage Plant, Butcher Shop and Freezer, Butcher/Electrician Shop, Poi Factory. This building complex is located on Damien Road near the intersection with Beretania Street, across from the St. Francis Church. Historically the area consisted of three separate buildings constructed in 1931-1932: the ice plant, poi factory and provision room, and electrical plant. (The electrical plant is no longer extant). The ice plant and poi factory were connected by concrete walks and roofs. The complex currently consists of the original ice plant building, to which a meat shop, electrical shop, and wood shed were later added to the east, north, and west sides of the building, respectively. The complex is rectangular, measuring 54 by 80 feet. The ice plant section has a concrete slab foundation and the original parapet and flat asphalt roof. The meat processing addition has a gable roof of corrugated metal and may be part of the original poi factory as the massing and form are similar to the original based on historic images. Building exteriors consist of concrete blocks and some sections of corrugated asbestos. The ice plant has a 5-inch metal door, in addition to five single doors and three sets of double doors. Windows include 12-light double hung, two jalousie, and four boarded up openings. Built 1931-1932; additions constructed 1939-1940; poi factory/food distribution center rebuilt and partially removed 1951-1952; meat shop section (267) exterior repainted in 2010.

Restroom (Park # 640)
This 12- by 12-foot restroom is on Damien road south of the Ice Plant (267/268). Originally, this served as a bathroom for the old visitors' quarters and later the Superintendent's office at Kalaupapa Landing. The building was divided into three sections, one for men, one for women, and one for settlement staff. Later it was reconfigured only for men and women. Built 1930-1931; the building was scheduled for removal 2008 but a burial was discovered and the project was stopped. Today the building serves as a washing station for swimmers at the landing area.

General Warehouse (Park # 271)
Secondary names: Food Warehouse, DOH Warehouse. This two-story, Art Deco reinforced concrete building is located at the end of Beretania Street at Kalaupapa Landing. It is rectangular, measuring 30 by 60 feet and has a concrete slab foundation with a parapet at the northwest elevation, reinforced concrete exterior, and a flat roof with asbestos roofing material. Pilasters, or concrete buttresses, divide the exterior into bays. Two sets of double doors are at the front (northwest) elevation, facing the pier. It has nine 4-paned windows and seven 2-paned windows. A one-story attachment measuring 10 by 18 feet is located at the northeast corner of the building. This was added in 1937-1938 for provisions. Reinforced concrete is severely deteriorated due to proximity to saline environment. Major cracks and spalling on the west and north elevations. Built 1932; one story attachment added 1937-1938; ocean side windows removed and filled with concrete due to damage in 1984; roof repaired 1995.

Patient Store (Park # 272)
Secondary names: General Store, Kalaupapa Store. This one-story reinforced concrete building is at the corner of Damien Road and Beretania Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 60 by 65 feet and has a concrete slab foundation, reinforced concrete with concrete block infill walls, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The concrete tile blocks were reportedly manufactured on-site using local black and white sand.[353] The west elevation has a recessed front lanai measuring 9 by 60 feet, leading to a set of double doors. Large picture windows are on the west elevation with a combination of fixed and hinged sash metal frame windows and 12-light double hung windows throughout the rest of the building. Original concrete steps lead from the sidewalk to the lanai. The store is historically important as a gathering place and a place where patients felt some autonomy to choose what they needed for their own lives. One DOH administrator described the store as a place that the

[353] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 437.

people "could feel ownership of…because in their lives, they had so many other decisions made for them."[354] Reinforced concrete is moderately deteriorated due to proximity to saline environment. Built 1934; waterproof coating added in 1935; reroofed in 2013.

Gas Station (Park # 273)
Secondary name: DOH Gas Station. This one-story, reinforced concrete building is located along Damien Road, separated from the street front by a circular drive. It is rectangular, measuring 16 by 22 feet and has a concrete slab foundation and broken-pitch hip roof supported by two one foot by one foot concrete columns at the west side of the drive-thru bay and an 8-foot by 14-foot concrete block enclosure with wood frame doors and windows at the other. The concrete tile blocks were reportedly manufactured on-site using local black and white sand.[355] The building has six 6-light double hung windows. Reinforced concrete is moderately deteriorated due to proximity to saline environment. Built 1934, a small shed was later added to the south side of the building to shelter a second gas pump.

Post Office (Park # 290)
Secondary names: Courthouse, Lion's Club Den. This one-story building is on Beretania Street, directly south of St. Francis Church. It is rectangular, measuring 40 by 50 feet. The Post Office portion measures 28 by 22 feet while the Lion's Club Den (former courthouse section) measures 28 by 36 feet. The building has a concrete slab foundation, a hollow tile with cement stucco exterior finish, and a shingled hip roof which extends beyond the walls of the building and over a lanai that surrounds all four elevations. The eave brackets are well-shaped in a gentle curve, and this shape is echoed in the brackets of the post capitals. A wind baffle of wood frame and sheets of corrugated metal shelters the business window. Hollow concrete tiles were reportedly manufactured on site using local black and white sand.[356] Centrally located in the community, this building served as a gathering place and a place to maintain linkages to the outside world through the sending and receiving of mail. Today, it continues to serve as the community post office and the courthouse is used by the Lion's Club for monthly meetings. Mailboxes are located adjacent to the business window on the east and south elevations. Built 1934; waterproof coating added in 1935.

Administrative Building (Park # 270-61)
Secondary names: DOH Administration Building, Hale O Kamiana. This one-story building is on Beretania Street across from the Post Office (290). It is irregular rectangle-shaped, measuring 75 by 42 feet. The building is more modern in design than nearby buildings and has a stone and concrete foundation with a combination of hip and gable roofs with asphalt shingle roofing material and vertical siding at the gable ends. Exterior is composed of stone masonry halfway up the building with vertical plank siding continuing up the rest of the wall. Double entrance doors are located at the main entrance on the west elevation, though a second set of double entrance doors, which served as the original entrance, are still present, serviced by concrete walks and a ramp. The building has jalousie and fixed paned windows throughout. Built 1961; roof replaced and carpentry repairs completed in 2012; exterior painting completed in 2014.

Library (Park # 296)
Secondary name: Mother Marianne Library. This one-story building is on Puahi Street, setback from the street. It is rectangular, measuring 26 by 38 feet. This building is more modern in design than other earlier buildings, composed of a concrete slab foundation and a combination of lava rock, concrete block, and vertical tongue and groove siding. It has a four-foot overhanging gable roof with asphalt shingles and vertical plank siding at the

[354] Quoted in Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 84.
[355] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 437.
[356] Ibid.

gable ends, and jalousie and wood frame fixed pane picture windows throughout. Building is currently used as NPS conference room and meeting space. Built 1956; new roof installed and exterior painted in 2007.

Souza Residence (Park # 61)
Secondary name: DOH House – Fujinaka, DOH House – Lelepali, DOH – Guest Cottage 3. This one-story building is across from the Kana‘ana Hou Church complex. It has an irregular shape, measuring 44 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, and a hip roof covered by asphalt shingles. Has fifteen windows including a mixture of wood frame double hung and jalousie. Recessed wood porches with wood stairs provide access at both the front and rear. An addition at the rear has a concrete slab foundation. This is one of several “A Houses” with similar floorplans including two bedrooms, kitchen, dining room, living room, and bath. The building was moved to its current site in 1971. The original location is unknown but may have been west of the Latter-day Saint Chapel. Other reports suggest that the building may have been moved from the Mormon Beach House Steps. Built 1931; moved 1971.

Shed 623 (Park # 623)
This outbuilding is behind the Souza Residence (61). It is rectangular, measuring 12 by 20 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a corrugated metal exterior and a corrugated metal gable roof. It is used as a garage. Built between 1950 and 1964.

Fuesaina’s Bar (Park # 62)
Secondary names: Rea’s Store and Bar, Elaine’s Bar, Elaine’s Place. This one-story building on Puahi Street serves as the local bar. It has an irregular shape, measuring 30 by 54 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, a mixture of vertical tongue and groove and board and batten siding, and a hip roof with an intersecting gable roof at an addition, all with rolled asphalt roofing applied over wood shingles. An opening on the east elevation provides access. 12-light double hung and jalousie windows are located throughout. The bar was operated by Mariano Rea beginning in the 1960s and later by Elaine Remigio then Gloria Marks beginning in 2013. It served and continues to serve as an important gathering place for the community. Fuesaina is Marks’s Samoan name, given to her by her father. Originally constructed in 1930, the building appears to have developed over time in several stages. Additions made in the 1970s rest on a concrete slab foundation. An enclosed front porch was also added by the street. The restroom (624) was added south of this in 1980. In 2009, a central portion was added that connects the front porch to the restroom. Owner has been conducting additional work on the building since 2014.

Fuesaina’s Bar Storage (Park # 298a)
Secondary names: Rea’s Tavern Storage, Elaine’s Tavern Storage. This one-story storage building is located south of Fuesaina’s Bar (62). Now serving as storage, this is reportedly the original bar building. The building is rectangular, measuring 30 by 50 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, and two gable roofs with rolled asphalt roofing material and corrugated metal. One door is located on the west elevation. Six windows including two 12-light double hung and four boarded up openings. The remains of a porch including a portion of corrugated metal roof are located at the east end of the building. Built between 1938 and 1950; south section rebuilt in 2004 with newer building materials (T-111 siding); north section rebuilt in 2011 with in kind board and batten siding.

Garage (Park # 284)
Secondary name: NPS Mechanics Garage. This two-bay garage is on Kamehameha Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 36 by 70 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with vertical plank siding and hip roof with asphalt shingles. One wing of the “L” is enclosed and used for storage. The other includes the two large

bays and is open on its west elevation. The building was moved to this location from the corner of Mission and School Streets in 1980.[357] Built 1940; moved in 1980; carpentry repairs completed, roof replaced, and exterior repainted in 2011; concrete pad added outside the building for a vehicle life in 2015.

Construction Camp Residence 657a (Park # 657a)
This one-story building is in the north central portion of the Administration Area north of Paschoal Hall (304). It is rectangular, measuring 55 by 28 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pad and pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, and a low pitch hip roof intersecting with a shed roof and porch. A double door with stairs is at the west elevation. An open porch or lean-to with a corrugated metal shed roof is at the north elevation. The building also has a porch with a shed roof at the south elevation with stairs leading to an entry door. Built 1950; rehabilitated in 2012 for use as NPS cultural resources offices. Work included new roof, carpentry repairs, and exterior painting.

Construction Camp Wash House 656 (Park # 656)
This one-story building is adjacent to the Construction Camp Residence (657a). It is rectangular, measuring 10 by 18 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal walls and gable roof with plywood exterior cladding on the east elevation. Window openings are boarded up with only a few glass panes extant. The building has two double doors with woven wire mesh that open to the west and is divided by a metal partition with two wash sinks. Built 1950; rehabilitated with a new roof in 2010 for use as the NPS cultural resources shop and storage.

DOH Motor Pool Garage (Park # 259)
Secondary names: Vehicle Storage Garage, No. 2 Corporation Yard and Garage. This L-shaped garage, measuring 40 by 50 feet with 20-foot-deep bays is of wood frame construction on concrete foundation with board and batten siding on back walls and a corrugated metal shed roof. Shop at corner has jalousie windows in the back. Floor paved with asphalt. Built 1939 as part of the new or second Yard and Garage complex to replace the older complex between Staff Row and McVeigh Home; altered by 1964 with extension to the west.

DOH Motor Pool Gas Station (Park # 258a)
Secondary name: No. 2 Corporation Yard and Garage. The gas station is located on an unpaved gravel road off Kamehameha Street. The building is rectangular, measuring 16 by 22 feet and has a flat wood frame roof spanning between an 8- by 18-foot enclosure supported by two concrete columns, one of which has been replaced with a much smaller column with wood cross beam supports. A matching column is stored nearby. The south elevation is finished with cement stucco and has wood and metal frame windows. A 1970s vintage gas pump and air compressor are located inside. A portico at the front shelters the gas pump and the drive-in section. The building is noted as having a "funny classical feeling" but is no longer used as a gas station. Built 1939 as part of the No. 2 Corporation Yard and Garage complex to replace the older complex between Staff Row and McVeigh Home.

Kamahana Store (Park # 260)
Secondary names: Richard Marks Museum, Old Store – Marks, Marks' Concession. This one-story building is on Kamehameha Street near the intersection with Kilohana Street. The main building measures 20 by 25 feet with additions in back extending the size to 25 by 49 feet. It is partially boarded up with sections that seem to be deteriorating. Main building has a concrete slab foundation, wood siding with a stucco finish, a symmetrical façade with a door flanked by two picture windows, a flat roof with an articulated parapet over the wood

[357] Although park records indicate that this building was moved from Bishop Home, examination of historic aerial photographs from 1938, 1950, 1964, 1977, and 1992 indicate that it was historically located at the corner of Mission and School Streets. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

entrance door, and a picture window with clerestory lights above the entry door. A small shed roof runs the length of the front of the building. A parapet which runs along the roofline is broken and raised several inches to articulate the front entrance. The rear section (storage) has vertical plank siding and is probably of single wall construction. Additions to the rear (east) elevation are covered in dense vegetation. These appear to have a mixture of vertical tongue and groove, plywood, and corrugated metal siding. In 1977, the building was used for storage, although the resident at that time planned to turn it into a museum. The text over the entrance reads "David K. Kamahana." The front elevation is covered in vintage license plates added after 1983. Built 1938.

Mae Malakaua Residence (Park # 56)
Secondary name: DOH House – Malakaua, DOH - Nishihira. This one-story building is set back from Kamehameha Street across from St. Francis Church. It is L-shaped, measuring 35 by 42 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with diagonal lattice skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with a girt broken by wood frames of screened double hung windows and corner boards, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. Wood steps provide access to the recessed corner porch entrance, which is located at the rear of the building and incorporated under the hip roof. The rear shed has a concrete slab foundation. Built 1931.

Craft and Storage Building (Park # 300)
Secondary names: Craft Shop, Craft Store, Paschoal Craft Building, Beauty Shop, Bakery, Hale Kahu. This one-story building is at the intersection of Beretania and Kamehameha Streets, considerably set back from the street. It is irregular in shape, measuring 37 by 61 feet, and comprised of a conglomeration of several buildings and a tiny shed at the rear. These component buildings served separate purposes as the craft shop, bakery, and beauty shop with their own entrances. The building has a combination wood post and concrete slab and wood post and concrete or stone pads, a mixture of vertical tongue and groove and board and batten siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a combination of gable and hip roofs finished by wood shingles at the front, and corrugated metal and rolled asphalt roofing at the rear. 12-light double hung windows and wood frame picture windows throughout. Built 1931 possibly as a "hale kahu," meaning a house for the protestant minister; altered 1940; burned in 1948; rebuilt as a craft shop in 1948-1949 with looms, work tables, sewing machines, and a ceramic kiln. By 1949, the shop had twenty-seven employees and a craft club had been organized; rehabilitation and stabilization in 2014 included carpentry repairs, roof replacement, and exterior painting.

Carport and Storage Shed (Park # 664)
This carport and shed is located off Beretania and Kamehameha Streets behind building 56. It is square, measuring 20 by 20 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a dirt and gravel floor, board and batten siding, corrugated metal gable roof, and two window openings on the north elevation. A plywood storage enclosure is located at the rear. Built between 1964 and 1972 based on aerial photography.

Old Stone Church (Park # 301)
Secondary names: Kalawina (not a name but a descriptive term indicating its affiliation as a Calvinist or Congregational church), Storage (Former Church), Fire House, NPS Ranger Station. This one-story building is on a side road off Beretania Street. The building is rectangular, measuring 38 by 75 feet and is similar in style to other early Protestant mission houses in Hawai‘i. It is constructed of stone masonry with lime mortar, quoins at the corners, and a stone foundation. The corrugated metal gable roof has board and batten siding at the gable ends and in a 2-foot section above the stone wall along the eaves. A large open concrete floor stall for vehicle storage is at the southeast corner. A door in the west stall and a window in the south wall are finished with old wood lintels.

Built in 1853, this is the oldest extant building in the district. It replaced two earlier churches built in 1839 and 1847. Originally used as a church, it has since been used for many purposes, as a sheep pen, jail, repair shop, warehouse, and presently the NPS ranger station.[358] The building has also undergone modifications and renovations over the years. When used as a jail, an 8-foot-high stone wall surrounded the building. The wall is no longer extant except for a small segment between this building and the Craft and Storage Building (300). Fire doors were added in 1947. In 1994, wood sash windows were recorded at the west gable end and wood clerestory windows in a wood section on the west half of building on the north and south elevations. These were no longer extant in 2004. Around this time, the building was remodeled with concrete framed openings, a metal rolling door, a concrete slab foundation, and an HVAC shed. The interior was also divided with concrete openings made to the south wall. An old doorway historically located on the east elevation was filled in by 1984 but has been restored since then. Rehabilitation in 2011 included extensive structural masonry repairs, wood lentil replacement for windows and doors, carpentry work on siding, and exterior painting using mineral paint. Between 2005 and 2012, a shed roof addition was built on the west elevation to provide covered parking for law enforcement vehicles.

Jail (Park # 302)
Secondary names: Jail/Museum, Jail and Police Headquarters. This one-story building is on Beretania Street, considerably set back from the street front. It is rectangular, measuring 24 by 60 feet and has a concrete slab foundation, concrete walls, a corrugated metal hip roof, and wood framed double hung windows with metal bars. It also has a concrete loading dock with large wood double doors. The building retains the original jail cell configuration, window bars, and historic toilets (non-functioning). Historically the Jail and the Police Headquarters (303) were one building, joined in a T-shaped configuration. During the period of significance, a breezeway was constructed at the juncture, creating two separate buildings but maintaining the configuration. This may have been done in 1950 when the police headquarters moved from Paschoal Hall (304) to the eastern wing of the Jail. However, the breezeway may have been added earlier, as historic documents also suggest that Filipino cooks were living in the jail with kitchen and bath facilities in 1949. Built 1931; breezeway added a later date, possibly 1950; rehabilitation in 2009 included new metal roofing, wood and masonry repairs, exterior painting, replacement of windows and reconstruction of trim to match original, and repair of existing exterior jail doors. Concrete and cell window bars were also repaired at that time. Metal roof installed in 2009 is already rusting.

Police Headquarters (Park # 303)
Secondary names: Jail and Police Station Headquarters, NPS Maintenance Offices. This one-story building is on Beretania Street, considerably set back from the road. It has a concrete slab foundation, plastered concrete walls, a metal hip roof, wood frame double hung windows, and a wood screened front door with a sign overhead reading “Police Headquarters.” The building is attached to the Jail (302) by a breezeway. (See description above). Built 1931; breezeway added later, possibly 1950; rehabilitation in 2009 included roof replacement, wood and masonry repairs, exterior painting, replacement of windows and trim to match original, reconstruction of missing doors, and new plumbing in restrooms. Now used as NPS facilities and maintenance office space.

Paschoal Hall (Park # 304)
Secondary names: Paschoal Community Hall, Kalaupapa Social Hall, Social Hall. This prominent two-story building is located on Beretania Street in the center of the Administration and Staff Row areas. It is rectangular, measuring 40 by 120 feet, set on 124 concrete piers. The building is of wood post and beam single wall construction with tongue and groove siding, interior girts, corner boards, wood sliding sash windows with wood louvers above, and a multiple hip on louvered gable roof with asphalt shingles. The building has hipped side

[358] Stein, *Layered Landscapes*, 14.

wings and a lanai running along the front (south) elevation with concrete curbs and planters. Diamond-patterned railing and chamfered posts and pilasters articulate the edges of the lanai. Additional entrances are located at the midsections of the east and west elevations. The interior consists of a large floor space with badminton court, several storage rooms, and an auditorium with tiers of seating rising up to the balcony and movie projection room. An exterior stairway from the front lanai leads to the balcony and projection room. Historically, staff and visitors were required to use this entrance to maintain separation from patients. The audience area was originally divided so that staff and visitors sat in the balcony separated from the lower seating area by railings. Such measures did not always ensure complete segregation. In a 2002 interview, a DOH worker recalled hearing about dances in which administrators would position potted plants along the dance floor to prevent physical contact. In the course of the festivities, however, the plants would be kicked aside allowing the crowd to mix. Residents today have fond memories of events at the hall and of the opportunities for social interaction and entertainment it provided.[359] The building currently serves as a meeting space for park staff, community social hall, and movie house for park volunteers.

Built in 1916, a 1934-1936 remodel included addition of washrooms, a larger balcony, the stairway to the balcony, exterior painting, staining of roof, new movie equipment including a screen, and improvements to the grounds; name change from Kalaupapa Social Hall to Paschoal Social Hall occurred in 1958; From 1998 to 2012, NPS carried out a phased restoration and rehabilitation of the building. Work completed in 1998 included repair and replacement of wall and floor framing, repair of the timber roof structure, and installation of new roofing material. Chimney stacks projecting onto the roof from the projector room were also removed at this time. The building was painted light green in 2006, though no primer was used. (The original exterior color was a dark red creosote stain, same as the original Bay View complex). From 2010 to 2012 the interior was rehabilitated and repainted, complete with asbestos and lead paint abatement and removal of acoustical tiles. Work also included a new movie screen, replacement of theater curtain, installation of fire suppression system, and converting kitchen into accessible restroom. Most of the original theater seats were restored, although some replica seats were built to replace those damaged by termites. Building was treated for termites in 2014. Grill in end gable was replaced 2015.

Fumigation Room (Park # 283BH)
Secondary names: Fumigation Hall, Shoe Fitting House, Mental Ward, Autopsy Room/Morgue. This one-story building is on School Street behind the Hospital Ruin (282) and is connected to the ruin by a walkway. The building is rectangular, measuring 22 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a broken-pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and a wood sash awning window. It has an 8- by 10-foot enclosed porch with two entrances (one for men and one for women) and a concrete ramp leading to the adjacent hospital ruin. Originally constructed as a mental ward for the hospital, the building was also used as an autopsy room/morgue in the 1940s and 1950s before being converted to a fumigation hall. Anyone leaving the settlement for short periods of time was required to bring their clothes here to be fumigated. People were also required to be fumigated before leaving. Those forced to endure this recall the terrible smell. In more recent years, the building was used for the custom manufacture and fitting of shoes. Shoemaking materials are still inside (as of 2017). The building is currently used for storage. Built 1935; rehabilitation in 2011 included roof replacement, siding repairs, and painting.

Outpatient Clinic (Park # 7BH)
Secondary names: Promin Building, Promin House, NPS Headquarters, Dispensary. This one-story building is northeast of the Hospital Ruin (282). It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and

[359] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 87-90.

concrete pad foundation camouflaged by horizontal wood strip skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a hip roof with wood shingles, and double hung wood windows. A wood front porch and steps with shed roof were added after the 1977 building inventory, likely in 1984. The building now serves as the NPS headquarters. Built 1940; moved in 1948 to the current location; converted to a sewing room, dispensary, break room, and visitor clinic in 1950; roof repaired in 2015.

Structures:

Oceanside Pavilion (Park # 638)
Secondary name: Gazebo. This one-story open air reinforced concrete structure is on Damien Road, southeast of the General Warehouse (271), setback considerably from the streetfront. It is rectangular, measuring 14 by 20 feet and has a concrete slab foundation and a broken pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles. The roof is supported by four 18- by 18-inch reinforced concrete columns. The structure is surrounded by diamond pattern railings. A concrete walk provides access to the east side. Concrete steps are sited on the west. Helen Keao recalled in a 1985 interview that this was a popular place for couples to enjoy the moonlight and take in the scenery.[360] Reinforced concrete is severely deteriorated due to proximity to saline environment. Major spalling is on the west elevation. Built by 1950; roof repaired 2015.

Kalaupapa Landing (Park # 817)
Secondary names: Wharf, Kalaupapa Pier, Kalaupapa Dock. This is an irregularly shaped landing with a 10-foot-high concrete dog-leg shaped breakwater extending 50 feet into the bay. A Metal leveling deck covers A portion of a U-shaped reinforced concrete dock built over an earlier stone wharf is accessed by steps. Other features include a winch, metal bollards, rubber tires, and railroad ties. Historically this was a popular swimming spot. It was and still is a gathering place on the annual "Barge Day," usually in July, when the shipping barge arrives with supplies, including larger and heavier household items, for the community. The landing, like the airport and the Pali Trail, has meaning in the community as a point of access to the outside world, as well as a reminder of the settlement's dependence on food and goods from that world.[361] Built late nineteenth or early twentieth century; 150 feet of masonry stone wall with fill and grading was added in 1906; landing dock and breakwater were added 1930-1932; rehabilitation in 2012 included repair of concrete bulkhead wall, addition of boulders to breakwater, and extensive concrete repairs to decking and piers.

Bulkhead wall, Damien Road (Park # 817a)
This seawall is composed of poured concrete and volcanic rock set in concrete. It measures approximately 105 feet long by 20 feet high. Built 1906; 50 yards of concrete added as part of the 2012 Kalaupapa Landing rehabilitation.

Breakwater, Damien Road (Park # 817b)
This breakwater is composed of formed concrete and stacked volcanic rock and measures approximately 200 feet long. Built 1930-1932; repaired as part of the 2012 Kalaupapa Landing rehabilitation.

Kamehameha Street Stone Culvert (Park # 836)
Located west of Mae Malakaua Residence (56) along Kamehameha Street, this 14-foot-long culvert has an 8-foot stone headwall, a concrete drain, and stone retaining wall. "John Kadowaki, Aug. 22, 1938" is etched into the mortar on top of the stone headwall. Built 1930s possibly 1938; damaged and repaired in 2015.

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[360] Helen Keao, interviewed by Anwei V. Skinsnes, "Tape # 1: The Kalaupapa Store and Wharf Area," April 13, 1985, in *Oral History Interviews, Kalaupapa, Hawaii, Volume II* (National Park Service, 1985-1987), 27.

[361] Ibid., 79-80.

Industrial Area/Administration Sidewalks (Park # 864)
A system of concrete sidewalks runs through the industrial and administration areas. The sidewalks measure approximately 3 feet wide and have a total length of approximately 1,600 feet (not contiguous). Construction date not verified but within the period of significance.

Industrial Area/Administration Rock Walls
Dry stacked stone walls are located throughout the industrial and administration area, ranging from 2 to 4 feet high and 2 to 3 feet wide. Rock walls are present at intersection of Kilohana and Kamehameha Streets and at several buildings, including the Shoichi Hamai Residence (53), Souza Residence (61), Library (296), Fuesaina's Bar (62), and north of the Craft and Storage Building (300). Built early 1900s; repaired early 2000s.

Carport Foundation (Park # 646)
This ruin is located east of Shoichi Hamai Residence (53) near intersection of Kilohana and Kamehameha Streets. It consists of an approximately 25- by 25-foot concrete slab and low concrete stem walls. Built between 1950 and 1964; building removed by 2000.

Recreation Court (Park # 871)
Secondary name: Tennis court. This multi-purpose recreational court measures approximately 60 by 120 feet. The court is partially surrounded by non-historic chainlink fence while a historic concrete block wall lines east edge. The wall appears to have served as a retaining wall or barrier prior to construction of the chainlink fence. The court is striped for tennis and a basketball hoop is located at west edge. Built 1960-1961 to satisfy requests for a multi-purpose playing court in a central location suitable for volleyball, tennis, and basketball. The concrete block wall was constructed later between 1964 and 1966.

Concrete Footing for Flag Pole
This 24-in diameter circular concrete footing is in an open area south of Old Stone Church (301). The footing is nearly flush with the surrounding grade. Built by 1950.

Sites:

[redacted]. It consists of foundation remnants left after a 1991 fire which destroyed the building. The site measures approximately 100 by 200 feet and is generally rectangular. It consists of concrete floors on concrete pier foundations and concrete ramps and stairs distributed throughout. A paved driveway loop and island with hedge is at the intersection of Damien Road and Mission Street. In addition to a medical facility, the old hospital served as a meeting place to share stories and news about the community. Built 1932; destroyed by fire 1991.

Administrative Area non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Fuesaina's Bar Restroom (Park # 624)
This 12- by 12-foot building was added to Fuesaina's Bar (62) in 1980 after the period of significance, replacing an earlier restroom that was reported to be in poor condition in 1977. It is connected to the front porch addition of the bar by another addition, built in 2009.

Kalaupapa Memorial Hospital (Park # 814)
Secondary name: Kalaupapa Care Home. Located near the intersection of School Street and Damien Road, the hospital is U-shaped, measuring approximately 120 feet by 90 feet. Loading areas are located on the east and west elevations. Built after the period of significance in 1979.

Hale Malama – NPS Cultural Resource Management and Curatorial Facility (Park # 313)
This building was constructed in 2005-2011 on the footprint of the old Construction Camp Dormitory (657) in a style that blends with the historic buildings without attempting to imitate them. Two wings to the north and south house park museum collection, while central core houses cultural resources offices.

Garage/HAZMAT (Park # 316)
This small garage measures 22 by 40 feet and is southwest of Hale Malama (313). The building has wood frame and corrugated metal roofing and siding. The west elevation is open and used for hazmat storage and the south elevation has second entrance for diesel storage and access. Built between 1992 and 2000.

Vehicle/Equipment Storage (Park # 259a)
Secondary name: NPS Recycling Center. This storage building is of concrete block and wood frame construction and measures approximately 24 by 90 feet. It has a shed roof covered with corrugated metal with T-111 siding on the exterior walls. The south elevation is open for vehicular and equipment access. Built 1991; completely rebuilt with new materials in 2008-2009.

DOH Large Equipment Garage (Park # 315)
Secondary name: Big Garage. This approximately 42- by 54-foot concrete block and wood frame garage has a corrugated metal roof and plywood siding. The west elevation is open for vehicular and equipment access. The garage is located on former house site. Built between 1977 and 1992 after the period of significance. DOH staff report that the structure was built in 1991.

NPS Garage near 302/303 (Park # 301a)
This approximately 20- by 20-foot garage is of wood frame construction with a corrugated metal roof and plywood siding. It is located north of Jail and Police Station (302/303). The north and south elevations are open for vehicular and equipment access. Built between 1977 and 1992.

Container Structures
Multiple 20- by 8-foot shipping containers are in and around the Administrative Area. Some have shed roof structures built between them for additional storage. Most are located between the Ice Plant (267/268) and Maintenance Shop (265) and south of the Crematory (262). These were placed in 2003 and 2004 for storage by the NPS Historic Preservation Training Center for various preservation projects.

Store Warehouse (Park # 312)
This approximately 40- by 90-foot steel pole building has steel roofing and siding. The building is sited on a stone foundation previously occupied by a Quonset hut. The interior is divided into two storage spaces—one for the store and one for the hospital. Pedestrian entrance is on the west elevation and a vehicular entrance is on the south elevation. Built between 1992-2002 to replace 1950 Quonset hut (Park #272a). DOH staff report this building built in 1995.

Ambulance Garage (Park # 314)
This approximately 20- by 20-foot concrete block and wood frame garage has a corrugated metal roof and T-111 siding. The west elevation is open for vehicular access. Built between 1977 and 1983.

Generator Shed
This shed is of concrete block and wood frame construction and measures about 14 by 22 feet. Concrete block piers support a hipped roof structure with asphalt shingles. The shed houses the emergency generator for the Kalaupapa Memorial Hospital/Kalaupapa Care Home (814). Built between 2005 and 2012.

9. Residential Area

The Residential Area is defined as the mostly contiguous grouping of individual houses and lots that surround the Bishop Home on its north, east, and south sides. The residential area consists of the following streets: Goodhue, Bishop, School (east of Puahi Street), McKinley, Baldwin, Ka‘iulani, Kapi‘olani, and Damien Road between Puahi and Kapi‘olani Streets.

The oldest houses in this area date to the late nineenth and early twentieth centuries. These are simple buildings with double pitched gable roofs and single wall board and batten walls. These houses and associated outbuildings (including wash houses and outhouses) are mainly located along the alignment close to Kamehameha Street. These earlier homes are difficult to distinguish, due to later additions which obscure their overall forms. Later additions and alternations also closely resemble designs from the 1930s. Examples include the Clarence Naia Residence (114) and the Nono Residence (115).[362]

Numerous cottages with shared floorplans were built in this area in 1931 and 1932 by Molokai homestead carpenters in the Hawaiian Plantation Style. These were known as “A Houses.” Each had concrete steps leading to the front door with a lanai on one side. Inside, a dining room and living room were located on one side, while two bedrooms were separated by a shared bath on the opposite side. The kitchen was often in the rear of the house with a rear stoop. “A Houses” were of similar size but were rotated and modified to suit various conditions. Four additional cottages were built with a similar floorplan in 1934-1936. Sixteen “A Houses” presently survive in the settlement.[363]

In the 1950s and 1960s, residences were updated to meet modern standards and provide residents with more autonomy. In 1954, about one third of the homes were determined to be beyond repair or uneconomical to maintain, and steps were taken to replace those in the worst condition. Many patients also wanted to be able to cook for themselves and live in more modern accommodations. In response, in 1955, $85,000 was secured for the construction of larger, two-bedroom “Hick’s Homes” (a standardized, pre-fabricated housing type popular in Hawai‘i after World War II) to replace older houses along Damien Road. Hick’s Homes built in Kalaupapa had three standardized floorplans. Each of these is still represented in the settlement, though with some variations to fit the preferences of each resident.[364]

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[362] Other possible examples located outside the Residential Area include the Electrician’s Residence (16SR) on Staff Row, and the Cambra Residence (4) and Residence 22 (22) in the West Coast Cemeteries area.

[363] “A Houses” include: Kamehameha Street Residence 7 (7), Kamehameha Street Residence 9 (9), Kamehameha Street Residence 15 (15), Norbert Palea Residence (25), Shoichi Hamai Residence (53), Souza Residence (61, moved in 1971), Elaine Remigio Residence (116), Nicky Ramos Residence (151), Punikai‘a Residence (152); Bernard Punikai‘a Residence/Alice Kamaka Residence (155), Henry Nalaielua Residence (157), Nakoa Residence (181), Kapi‘olani Street Residence 199 (199), Sebastiana Fernandez Residence (192), Elizabeth Bell Residence (189), and Kapiolani Residence (185-71, moved in 1971).

[364] The three floorplans for Hicks Homes are as follows. Type #1: Front gable 2-bedroom model erected in 1956. Nine residences have this floorplan, including 107-56, 108-56, 111-56, 112-56, 153-56, 156-56, 172-56, 173-56, and 178-56. Type #2: Corner picture window 2-bedroom model erected in 1962. Nine houses have this floorplan, including 101-62, 105-62, 106-62, 117-62, 120-62, 122-62, 159-62, 179-62, and 182-62. Note: The corner picture window on 122-62 has been modified, but the general floorplan is the same. Type #3: Central picture window 2-bedroom model erected in 1964. Six residences with the type #3 floorplan include 103-64, 110-64, 121-64, 186-64, 187-64, and 311-64.

Residences were also altered by their occupants at their own expense. Most changes occurred within the period of significance and include the addition of garages, carports, chicken coops, and other outbuildings; painting; and various interior and exterior upgrades. Outbuildings and additions were and still are considered the private property of those who built, use, and/or maintain them.

Later in the historic period and continuing after 1969, the DOH made changes to increase accessibility and promote self-sufficiency. Traditional doorknobs were swapped out for levers, indoor and outdoor faucet knobs were switched to paddle or wrist handles, and protruding window pulls were changed to recessed closet pulls. Most of these modifications occurred during the period of significance. Paddle handles, for example, were first introduced in the 1940s after houses were outfitted with indoor sinks with hot water.[365] Some accessibility modifications also occurred after the period of significance. Wheelchair ramps, including those at residences 7, 157, 105-62, 107-56, 178-56, 311-64, 15M, 33M, 3BH, and 64BV, were added when aging residents necessitated additional accommodations. These were often built over the original sidewalks and steps, creating a layered circulation system. Construction of ramps has continued into the 2000s in response to resident requests, although many do not meet current accessibility standards. Although continuing after the period of significance, these changes are consistent with earlier adaptive uses, and do not compromise integrity.

The large yard space surrounding the houses is an additional aspect of the historic character of the residential area. The properties located between McKinley and Ka‘iulani Streets occupied the full width of the blocks, which ranged from 150 to 225 feet. The lots between Ka‘iulani and Kapi‘olani streets, and those on the east side of Kapi‘olani were of similar size. This resulted in lots approximating the size of those on Staff Row, although the houses themselves were initially more modest. The houses were also set well back from the street at 50 to 60 feet or more. The houses on Goodhue, Bishop, and School Streets, as well as those on Damien Road, typically sat on smaller lots with less setback, reflecting this area’s development during the early twentieth century when building density was higher. Residential lots were typically defined by rock walls, fences, hedges, or some combination of these.

The area experienced contraction along its eastern side toward the end of the period of significance and especially after 1969. As the population declined, the DOH reduced the number of outlying houses, especially on both sides of Kapi‘olani Street, and on Damien Road east of Ka‘iulani Street. Only a single house (199) now exists on Kapi‘olani Street. One also remains on Damien Road east of Ka‘iulani. Damien Road has been largely abandoned east of Kapi‘olani. Most of the remaining houses are now occupied by state or federal workers. Even so, they retain much of their historic fabric and historic qualities including modifications to meet the individual preferences of patients who lived in them during the period of significance.

Residential area contributing resources:

Buildings:

Clarence Naia Residence (Park # 114)
Secondary names: DOH House – Naia, DOH House – M. Jordan. This one-story building is on Goodhue Street. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 28 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, wood frame double hung windows, and a gable roof with wood shingles extending into the shed roofs at the front and rear. Additions include a lanai with wood stairs and diamond-pattern rails, a wash shed, and jalousie windows on the south and east elevation. A wood ramp was added to the south elevation after 1994. The shed roof over the south entryway was also enlarged and

[365] Per conversation between Edwin Lelepali and Richard Miller, exhibit specialist, November 27, 2015.

the west porch was modified. Park maintenance records give a construction date of 1931. However, this building is similar to residences existing at Kalaupapa in the late nineteenth century and likely dates to an earlier period. If so, many of the original materials have likely been replaced.

Nono Residence (Park # 115)
Secondary name: DOH House – Nono. This one-story building is on Goodhue Street. It is roughly square, measuring 30 by 37 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, a gable roof with wood shingles, and wood sash casement and double hung and jalousie windows. Has a recessed entry porch with wood steps and horizontal railing. A shed roof addition measures 10 by 12 feet and has board and batten siding with a wood post and concrete pad foundation. Park maintenance records give a construction date of 1931. However, this building is similar to residences existing at Kalaupapa in the late nineteenth century and likely dates to an earlier period. If so, many of the original materials have likely been replaced.

Sagadraca Residence (Park # 117-62)
Secondary name: NPS House – R. Fea-Key. This one-story Hicks Home is on Goodhue Street. It is an irregular L-shape, measuring 37 by 29 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation with partially inset horizontal wood lath skirting and a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles. A small wood porch with a gable roof extension provides access to the front door. The building has two picture windows at the southeast corner and twelve jalousie windows with wood frames that project several inches from the exterior walls. A continuous girt surrounds most of the house, broken at the southeast corner by two sash windows, divided vertically. A three-bay carport measuring 27 by 11 feet is at the southwest corner. The carport has a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing, a concrete slab foundation, and metal and cloth sides. Built 1962.

Goodhue Street Shed 605 (Park # 605)
Secondary names: Game Room, Poker Room, Sagadraca Poker Room. This one-story building is between Goodhue and Puahi Streets, adjacent to the library. It is rectangular, measuring 15 by 25 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with stone pier foundation, board and batten and vertical plank siding, and a shed roof. The west elevation has collapsed, and most of the doors and windows and some siding materials are missing. Two sets of sliding 12-light windows are mostly intact and one door is present. A stone wall runs along the west and north sides of the building. Construction date is unknown but may date to the period of significance. Earliest appearance on aerial photography is 1972, although vegetation coverage in earlier photographs may conceal the building; stone wall repaired and stabilized in 2015.

Goodhue Street Garage 609 (Park # 609)
This one-story open-bay garage is between Goodhue and Puahi Streets, adjacent to the library. It is square, measuring 24 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical plank siding, and a low pitch corrugated metal gable roof. Most windows have no glass panes, and the rear doorway has no door. The roof is rusted through, and the building shows significant termite damage. Construction date is unknown but may date to the period of significance. Earliest appearance on aerial photography is 1972, although vegetation coverage in earlier photographs may conceal the building.

Elaine Remigio Residence (Park # 116)
Secondary name: DOH House – A. Cuello. This one-story building is on Goodhue Street. It is rectangular, measuring 26 by 34 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pad foundation with lattice and horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding with broken girt, wood sash double hung windows, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The recessed front porch has stone and concrete

steps. One chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters articulate the edges of the porch. A wood porch with shed roof is at the rear of the building. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floorplans. Built 1931; new roof installed after 1980.

Goodhue Street Shed (Park # 611)
This one-story building is on Goodhue Street. It measures 12 by 20 feet and includes remnants of a 20- by 20-foot hothouse. The building is of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding with vertical plank exterior finish, jalousie windows, gable roof with rolled asphalt roofing, and a concrete accessibility ramp. Only the stone masonry and concrete foundation remains from the hothouse. Built by 1964.

Storage Shed/Carport (Park # 612)
This one-story building is on Goodhue Street. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 14 feet and is of single wall construction with shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing material. One wall originally had vertical plank siding but is now covered with plywood. Built by 1964.

Goodhue Street Garage 613 (Park # 613)
This two-bay garage is on Goodhue Street. It is rectangular, measuring 17 by 20 feet and is of single wall construction with partial concrete foundation, vertical wood plank walls, swinging double doors, and a low pitch gable roof with asphalt roofing. The shed addition has a concrete foundation. The roof at the south elevation is deteriorated with exposed sheathing and framing. The garage appears to have been built with recycled materials. Built by 1938.

Cabane Residence (Park # 119-60)
Secondary name: NPS House – L. Namakaeha. This one-story building is at the corner of Goodhue and School Streets. It is irregular, roughly L-shaped, measuring 24 by 24 feet with a 10 by 12 foot wing and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, screened double hung wood windows, and hip roof with gablets and wood shingles. The attached shed roof has rolled asphalt roofing. A recessed porch is under the southwest corner of the gable. A 10- by 10-foot washing area with a concrete slab foundation is at the northeast corner. Built 1937; moved to current location in 1960, original location unknown; Carpentry repairs, painting, and reroofing completed in 2015.[366]

John Arruda Residence (Park # 121-64)
This one-story Hicks Home is on Bishop Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 22 by 38 feet with a carport on the east elevation and is of wood frame construction with wood post and concrete pier foundation, broken girt encircling the exterior, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and twenty jalousie windows with frames projecting from the exterior wall and one fixed sash picture window. A small wooden porch provides access to the front door. A mortared rock "fishpond" is in the front yard. A 3-foot rock wall surrounds the east, north, and west elevations. Built 1964; an opening in the north rock wall was enlarged by three feet at the request of the resident in 2015.

Bishop Street Garage 622 (Park # 622)
Secondary name: Arruda's Garage. This one-bay garage is on Bishop Street. It is square, measuring 20 by 20 feet and is of wood frame construction with vertical plank siding mixed with plywood (probably recycled), low

[366] The 1977 building inventory described this building as unusual for a residence and similar to the Wilcox Memorial Building (277B), built 1906. A 1979 architectural evaluation also noted similarities to Building 104 on Puahi Street (no longer extant), although with larger dimensions and a lower angle roof. The report described it as "a not-so-successful adaptation of the rambling plantation style of Bay View and Paschoal Hall to smaller residential architecture." Soulliere and Law, *Architectural Evaluation*, 28.

pitch gable roof with rolled asphalt roofing, one doorway and two 6-light windows on the north end. Sections added on the south elevation are composed of a mixture of materials. Built between 1950 and 1964; work completed in 2006 included repairs to framing and siding, and roof replacement.

Yamamoto Residence (Park # 120-62)
Secondary name: NPS House – A. Ainoa. This one-story Hicks Home is on School Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 22 by 38 feet and is of single wall construction with wood post and concrete pier foundation with horizontal skirting and low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles. A continuous girt encircles most of the exterior, broken at the southwest corner by two 2-sash windows. The building has fourteen windows and two doors and is painted dark brown, which was the original color for Hick's Homes. A small wood porch sheltered by an extension of the gable roof provides access to the front door. An attached carport with a shed roof on a concrete slab foundation is at the northwest corner. Built 1962; interior and exterior repairs and painting completed in 2015.

Bishop Street Garage 621 (Park # 621)
Secondary name: Harada Garage. This two-bay garage is on School Street. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, corrugated metal and plywood siding, and a low pitch gable roof with asphalt roofing. Bays are located on the south elevation. A set of window openings are on the west elevation. Built by 1964; enlarged by 1972; enlarged to current configuration between 2000 and 2005.

Paul and Winifred Harada Residence (Park # 122-62)
This one-story Hicks Home is on School Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 45 by 35 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with termite shields, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, and gable roof with asphalt shingles. The building has jalousie windows with a set of picture windows on the southeast corner. An enclosed carport with a flat roof on a concrete pad foundation is at the northeast corner. Yard is enclosed by a chainlink fence and hedge. Built 1962.

McKinley Street Residence 123-62 (Park # 123-62)
Secondary name: DOH House – Naeole. This one-story Hicks Home is on McKinley Street near the intersection with School Street. It has an irregular floor plan, measuring 45 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, a gable roof with asphalt shingles, jalousie windows throughout, and two picture windows at the southwest corner. A concrete wheelchair ramp provides access to the front entrance. A carport with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is at the northwest corner. The house is painted brown, the original color for Hick's Homes. The yard is enclosed by a hibiscus hedge. Built 1962; metal rails removed from the wheelchair ramp in 2015.

Nicky Ramos Residence (Park # 151)
Secondary names: DOH House – Ramos, NPS House – L Kaaihue. This one-story building is on McKinley Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with lattice skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and screened wood sash double hung windows. A recessed corner entry porch articulated by one chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters leads to the front door. An enclosed shed with a shed roof is located at the rear. The lot is surrounded by a dry stacked rock wall with ornamental gate piers. Gate piers may have been salvaged from elsewhere as this is the only residence in the settlement with ornamental piers. Likely built between 1932-1937; according to the 1977 building survey, it may have been constructed from lumber salvaged from the US Leprosy Investigation Station.

Guest House, Ramos (Park # 591)
Secondary name: Nicky's Wash House. This one-story outbuilding is associated with the Nicky Ramos Residence (151). Ramos's wife said Nicky often preferred to sleep here rather than in the bigger main house. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a poured concrete foundation, plywood siding, and a corrugated metal shed roof. The building has two doors on the north elevation and jalousie windows throughout. Date of construction is unverified. A smaller structure existed in this location in 1938 based on aerial photographs; vegetation obscures the view in later photographs; the building may have existed in 1972 but was clearly there in 1992; enlarged to current configuration between 1995-2000.

McKinley Street Building 592 (Park # 592)
This one-story garage is on McKinley Street. It is rectangular, measuring 18 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete block foundation and a dirt and gravel floor, vertical plank siding, a corrugated metal gable roof placed over 2- by 4-inch purlins, three sets of sliding 12-light windows, and a four paneled single door at the rear. A large open bay provides access at the front. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Punikai'a Residence (Park # 152)
This one-story building is located between McKinley and Baldwin Streets. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation screened by latticework, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and wood sash and double hung windows throughout. A recessed corner entry porch articulated by one chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters with stone and concrete steps provides access to the front door. An addition at the rear has a shed roof and concrete slab foundation. A dry stacked rock wall runs along McKinley Street west of the house. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floor plans. Built 1931-1932.

Lourdes Taghoy Residence (Park # 153-56)
Secondary names: DOH House – C. Cappelle, NPS House – E. Brown. This Hicks Home is at the corner of McKinley and Haleakala Streets. It is L-shaped, measuring 22 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with termite shields, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch corrugated metal gable roof, and wood sash double hung windows throughout. A small wood porch with a shed roof provides access to the front door. A carport with a shed roof on a concrete slab foundation is located at the rear. The main house is painted dark brown; the carport features a mural painted by residents in the early 2000s. A dry stacked rock wall separates this residence from McKinley Street Residence 154 (154) next door. Built 1956; roof and interior rehabilitated 2009.

McKinley Street Residence 154 (Park # 154)
Secondary names: NPS House – Pu, NPS House – L. Delos-Reyes. This one-story building is on McKinley Street. It has an irregular floor plan, measuring 18 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lathe skirt, board and batten siding with a water table, intersecting gable roofs with wood shingles, and 12-light double hung windows throughout. A recessed entry porch with vertical wood rail and steps provides access to the front door. A partially enclosed wash room on a concrete slab foundation is at the rear. The building is painted blue-grey, a unique color for the neighborhood. Overall the building has a unique character similar to the earlier period cottages.[367] A dry stacked rock wall separates the lot from the Lourdes Taghoy Residence (153-56) to the north and the AJA Benevolent Society Hall (308) to the south. Park records indicate construction date of 1933, although the building may date

[367] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 328.

to an earlier period; work in 2004-2005 included rehabilitation of foundation, siding, roof framing, and roof; wash house rehabilitated 2011.

AJA Benevolent Society Hall (Park # 308)
Secondary names: AJA Hall, Buddhist Temple. This one-story building is on McKinley Street. It has a cruciform shape, measuring 30 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete foundation concealed by latticework, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards and a water table, intersecting gable roofs with wood shingles, and wood 12-light double hung windows throughout. A front projecting portico supported by chamfered posts and two chamfered pilasters with a wood shingle gable roof provides access to the front entrance. A set of double five-panel wood doors are at the main entrance. Doors are also at the wings on either side. The building is painted dark green with white trim. A dry stacked rock wall separates this lot from McKinley Street Residence 154 (154) to the north. This building served historically as the Buddhist Temple and community hall for the Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) Benevolent Society. It is important as one of the few surviving resources in the district specifically associated with the lives of Kalaupapa residents of Japanese ancestry. It is currently used as the park bookstore. A mill stone made from fine grained stone is located at the rear of the building. The origins and use of the stone are unknown. A possible later addition with a shed roof is located at the rear. Likely built circa 1910; A *torii* (shrine gate) was added in 1935-1936 (this has since been removed); work completed in 2005 included roof replacement, wood repairs, repainting, new wiring, repair or replacement of windows and doors, and installation of overhead sprinkler system; chairlift added to front steps in 2015.

AJA Outbuilding (Park # 309)
Secondary name: AJA Benevolent Society Storage Building. This one-story building is adjacent to building 308. It is T-shaped, measuring 18 by 18 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with corner boards, a wood shingle gable roof, and wood casement and double hung windows throughout. A wood shingle shed roof shelters the main (west) entry door. An extension on the north elevation is also covered by a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing materials. Built by 1938; exterior rehabilitated 2005; interior walls, ceiling, and floors repaired and repainted in 2015-2016.

Bernard Punikai‘a Residence (Park # 155)
Secondary name: Alice Kamaka Residence, Ka ‘Ohana O Kalaupapa House. This one-story building is on McKinley Street. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a girt and finished with corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and double hung windows throughout. A recessed corner entry with stone and concrete steeps with a wood rail provides access to the front of the building. The porch is articulated by one chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters. The house is painted light blue. This is one of several “A Houses” with similar floor plans. A wood wheelchair ramp (construction date unknown) is at the rear. A dry stacked rock wall parallels McKinley Street at the west edge of the lot. Built 1931-1932; currently used by Ka ‘Ohana O Kalaupapa.

Lucy Kaona Residence (Park # 156-56)
Secondary name: DOH House – M. Macloves. This Hicks Home is on McKinley Street. It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation concealed by a horizontal wood lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, double sash windows throughout, and two doors (front and back). A dry stacked rock wall separates this residence from the Henry Nalaielua Residence (157) to the south. A chainlink fence encloses the yard to the west. Built 1956.

Henry Nalaielua Residence (Park # 157)
Secondary name: Uncle Henry's House. This one-story building is on McKinley Street near the intersection with Damien Road. It is rectangular, measuring 28 by 34 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation concealed by wood lattice and horizontal lath skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a hip roof with wood shingles, thirteen double hung windows, and two jalousie windows. A recessed corner entry porch with concrete and stone steps has been walled in but still provides access to the front door. This is one of the original "A Houses" in the settlement. A dry stacked rock wall separates this residence from the Lucy Kaona residence (156-56) to the north. Another rock wall separates the yard from Damien Road to the south. Built 1932; wheelchair ramp added to the main entrance in 2009; roof replaced 2014.

Anita Una Residence (Park # 159-62)
Secondary names: Duarte Residence, DOH House – L. Linker. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road near the intersection with Baldwin Street. It is rectangular, measuring 35 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lathe skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie windows throughout with a picture window at the east corner. A small wood porch with wood steps sheltered by an extension of the gable roof provides access to the front door. A carport with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is at the west elevation. Built 1962, exterior repainted in 2015.

Baldwin Street Residence 182-62 (Park # 182-62)
Secondary name: NPS House – P. Lee-Namakaeha, NPS House – R. Mahiai. This Hicks Home is on Baldwin Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 35 by 35 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie windows throughout with two picture windows at the northwest corner. A small wood porch sheltered by an extension of the gable roof provides access to the front door. A shed and an attached carport are located at the northwest corner. A dry stacked rock wall lines the east edge of the lot along Ka'iulani Street. Built 1962.

Nakoa Residence (Park # 181)
Secondary names: DOH House – Benjamin, "Banyan Tree," DOH House – K. Flores. This one-story building is on Baldwin Street. It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 45 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation concealed by a horizontal wood lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, wood double hung windows throughout, and two doors (front and rear). A recessed corner entry porch articulated by one simple post and two chamfered pilasters with wood rails and stone and concrete steps provides access to the front door. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floor plans. The house is painted grey, perhaps dating to 1951-1952 when many residences were painted grey to harmonize with the environment.[368] A dry stacked rock wall lines the east edge of the lot along Ka'iulani Street. A partially enclosed wash shed with a concrete slab foundation is at the rear. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Baldwin Street Garage (Park # 588)
This one-bay garage on Baldwin Street has wood and metal pole framing, single wall construction with vertical plank and plywood siding, a nearly flat corrugated metal gable roof, and wood frame windows (no glass)

[368] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 556.

throughout. One large open bay and one single open doorway provide access. A shed was added to one side of the building at an unknown date. Built 1950; rehabilitated 2005.

Yonemori Residence (Park # 179-62)
Secondary name: Guest Cottage #2. This Hicks Home is on Baldwin Street north of the intersection with Haleakala Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 20 by 35 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation concealed by a horizontal wood lath skirt, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, jalousie windows throughout with a picture window at the northwest corner, and two doors (front and back). A small wood porch sheltered by an extension of the gable roof provides access. A carport with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is at the northeast corner. A dry stacked rock wall lines the east edge of the lot along Kaʻiulani Street. The building currently used for short-term housing for DOH visitors and contractors. Built 1962; repainted in 2015.

Haleakalā Street Garage 587 (Park # 587)
This two-bay garage is associated with the Yonemori Residence (179-62) and located between Baldwin and Kaʻiulani Streets north of the intersection with Haleakala Street. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 25 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, a corrugated metal shed roof, and three 4-paned windows. One large open bay and one open doorway provide access. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Katherine Costales Residence (Park #178-56)
This Hicks Home is on Baldwin Street south of the intersection with Haleakalā Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 22 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation concealed by a horizontal lath skirt with termite shields, tongue and groove siding encircled by a continuous girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and wood sash double hung windows throughout. The house is painted dark brown. A wheelchair ramp leading from the north side of the house to the front door was added in 2012. A dry stacked rock wall separates the yard from an empty lot to the south. Built 1956.

Baldwin Street Garage (Park # 593)
This garage is at the southwest corner of Baldwin and Haleakalā Streets. It has an irregular floor plan, measuring 40 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical plank siding, a corrugated metal gable roof, three doors, two window openings (no glass), and wood louvered vents throughout. An additional carport with a corrugated metal shed roof is on the east elevation. Built between 1950 and 1964; stabilized 2004.

Garage (Park # 585)
This garage is on Baldwin Street north of building 173-56. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation with a concrete retaining wall, plywood siding, and a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing. Corrugated metal double doors provide access. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Nellie McCarthy Residence (Park # 173-56)
Secondary name: DOH House – B. Chang. This Hicks Home is on Baldwin Street. It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, nineteen double hung and two jalousie windows throughout, and two doors (front and back). A small wood porch with a shed roof provides access to the entrance. An attached carport with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is on the east elevation. Built 1956.

Rea Residence (Park # 172-56)
Secondary name: NPS House – S. Prokop, NPS House – K. McGuire. This Hicks Home is on Baldwin Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 22 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, eighteen double hung windows, and two doors (front and back). A small wood porch with a shed roof provides access to the entrance. An attached carport with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is located on the east elevation. This is the last remaining Hick's Home with the original eat-in nook in the kitchen. Many patients felt that the nooks were too small and removed them to create more kitchen space. Built 1956.

Mamuad Residence (Park # 161)
Secondary name: DOH House – Mamuad, Community Thrift Store. This one story building is at the intersection of Damien Road and Ka'iulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lath skirt, board and batten siding, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. A partially enclosed porch at the southeast corner of the building provides access to the front door. A wheelchair ramp added to the south elevation also leads to the front door. An 8- by 10-foot enclosed shed is at the rear of the building. A dry stacked rock wall lines the east edge of the lot along Ka'iulani Street. A remnant foundation of a former garage (584) is also to the east. The building currently serves as the community thrift store. Built 1936.

Nakanishi Residence (Park # 311-64)
Secondary names: NPS House – Ranger Residence; NPS House – D. Romes. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road between Baldwin and Ka'iulani Streets. It is L-shaped, measuring 45 by 45 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lath skirt and termite shields, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie and double hung windows throughout with a picture window on the north elevation. A small wood porch covered by an extension of the gable roof provides access to the front door. A wheelchair ramp extends along the front of the building to a covered carport on the east elevation. The house is painted dark brown, the original color for Hick's Homes. A dry stacked rock wall lines the west edge of the lot, separating it from the Anita Una Residence (159-62). A concrete gate post, associated with the former Chinese Society building (no longer extant) marks the end of the wall. Built 1964; rehabilitated 2005.

Shed (Park # 547a)
This shed is located east of the Nakanishi Residence (311-64). It measures 6 by 9 feet and is of wood frame construction with board and batten siding and corrugated metal roofing. Two steps lead to a door on the west elevation. One six-light window is on north elevation. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Damien Road Residence 26 (Park # 26)
Secondary names: NPS House – Borgmeyer, NPS House – T. Trainer, NPS House – J. Kaiama. This one-story building is on Damien Road just east of Ka'iulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 16 by 28 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, an irregularly shaped broken pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, and 12-light double hung windows throughout. Wood steps and rails lead to a recessed corner entry porch articulated by a post and two pilasters which provides access to the front door. A partially enclosed shed with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is located at the rear. The building was moved to this location from the McVeigh Home between 1964 and 1972. The 1977 building survey noted that the building was nearly identical to 16MH in the McVeigh Home. Likely built 1932; moved between 1964 and 1972; carpentry repaired and exterior repainted in 2014.

Kapiʻolani Residence (Park # 185-71)
Secondary name: DOH House – Chow. This one story building is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 26 by 34 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with termite shields and a horizontal lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a girt with corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and wood sash windows throughout. A recessed wood entry porch articulated by a chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters provides access to the front door. This is one of the original "A Houses" in the settlement. A 14- by 14-foot shed on a concrete pad foundation (reconstructed in 2012) is located at the rear. Built 1931-1932; moved from Kapiʻolani Street in 1971; repainted in a dark brown and bright yellow color scheme in 2014 at the request of the resident.

Kaʻiulani Street Garage 563 (Park # 563)
These four interconnected sheds are on Kaʻiulani Street east of the Kapiʻolani Residence (185-71). The overall complex is rectangular, measuring 20 by 40 feet. The south shed has a concrete slab foundation. Others have wood post and concrete pad foundations. Sheds are wood frame, single wall construction with a mixture of vertical plank, plywood, and corrugated metal. Each has a distinct roof, all of which are corrugated metal or asphalt roofing gable roofs. A large open bay and three open doorways provide access. Three window openings are present. The interior floor is dirt. Built between 1964 and 1972, possibly in 1971 when building 185-71 was moved to its current location.[369]

Kaʻiulani Street Garage 564 (Park # 564)
This one-bay garage is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 35 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical wood plank siding, a low pitch corrugated metal gable roof, two window openings (no glass), one jalousie window, and two 6-light double hung windows. A large bay with a sliding corrugated metal door provides access. Built between 1964 and 1972; south elevation reconstructed in 2007. Other elevations have deteriorated siding, framing, and roof.

Gloria Marks Residence (Park # 186-64)
Secondary name: Kaliko Residence. This Hicks Home is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is L-shaped (measurements not taken in 2012 due to fencing and private ownership) and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with termite shields, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie windows throughout with a picture window at the front. A carport with a flat roof and concrete pad foundation protrudes from the northwest elevation. The building is mostly concealed by large bougainvillea shrubs and other dense vegetation. A chainlink fence surrounds the front yard. Built 1964.

Richard Marks Residence (Park # 187-64)
This Hicks Home is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is L-shaped (measurements not taken in 2012 due to fencing and private ownership) and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with termite shields, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie windows throughout with a picture window at the front. A carport with a flat roof and concrete pad foundation protrudes from the northwest elevation. Building is painted lime green and is mostly concealed by large bougainvillea shrubs. Built 1964; repairs completed by DOH in 2008.

[369] This building is listed here as contributing since the date of construction is not verified and because the possible construction date of 1971 is close to the 1969 end of the period of significance. The building is also consistent with building patterns dating to the period of significance.

Bottle House: Richard Marks (Park # 187A)
This enclosed carport is attached to the west elevation of the main residence (187-64). It measures 12 by 16 feet and is of wood frame construction with wood siding and asphalt roll roofing. Built 1969.

Carport: Richard Marks (Park # 187B)
This carport is attached to north elevation of the main residence (187-64). It measures 32 by 20 feet and is of wood frame construction with corrugated metal siding and roofing. Built 1969.

Garage (Park # 566)
This garage measures 24 by 36 feet and is of wood frame construction with a metal roof. The building is nearly a ruin. Built 1969.

Shed in Bus Storage Area (Park # 598)
These two sheds are joined by an open sided roofed over area. The building measures 14 by 30 feet total and is of wood frame construction with wood siding and metal roofing. Built 1969.

Elizabeth Bell Residence (Park # 189)
Secondary names: Kuʻulei Bell Residence, DOH House – Bell, DOH House – T. Richmond. This one-story building is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 26 by 36 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a latticework skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. A recessed enclosed entry porch provides access to the building. A wood and concrete wheelchair ramp leading to a door on an addition on the south elevation also provides access. A partially enclosed wash house is at the rear. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floor plans. Built 1931-1932.

Kaʻiulani Street Garage (Park # 568)
This one-bay garage is on Kaʻiulani Street and is associated with the Elizabeth Bell Residence (189). It is rectangular, measuring 27 by 18 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete retaining wall foundation, plywood siding, a corrugated metal shed roof, and one window opening covered by a screen at the center. A large open bay at the main entrance and a single open door at the rear provide access. The floor is gravel. An addition on the south elevation has a corrugated metal shed roof. Built by 1938; enlarged between 1964 and 1972.

Kaʻiulani Street Building 569 (Park # 569)
Secondary name: Garden House. This one-story building is on Kaʻiulani Street behind the Elizabeth Bell Residence (189). It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, jalousie windows throughout, and one door. A carport measuring 17 by 16 feet is next to the building. Built by 1938; carport added between 1977 and 1992.

Soria Residence (Park # 190-66)
Secondary names: "Mango Tree," DOH House – Soria, NPS House – D. Ainoa. This one-story building is on Kaʻiulani Street. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a horizontal lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a broken pitch hip roof with asphalt shingles, twelve double hung windows and one jalousie window, and two doors (front and back). A recessed enclosed porch with wood steps provides access to the front entrance. Wood steps at the rear also provide access. The building is painted gray with light green trim. The house was moved to this site from McVeigh Home in 1966; previous residence on the lot was demolished, although the foundation may have been reused. Built 1931; moved in 1966.

Ka‘iulani Street Garage 570 (Park # 570)
This two-bay garage is on Ka‘iulani Street adjacent to Soria Residence (190-66). It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a gable roof with an intersecting shed roof over the main entryway (both corrugated metal) supported by two wood posts set into a concrete foundation. Two large bays provide access. One has a dirt floor while the other rests on a concrete. The building has four window openings with one boarded up. Construction date unknown but may be in the period of significance; first definitive appearance in aerial photographs is 1972; roof repairs completed in 2011.

Sebastiana Fernandez Residence (Park # 192)
This one story building is at the southern end of Ka‘iulani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 24 by 34 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with a wood lattice skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding with a broken girt, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and wood sash double hung windows throughout. A concrete walkway leads to concrete or stone steps with vertical wood railings which lead to a raised entry porch articulated by one chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters. This building was reportedly constructed from materials salvaged from the former US Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao, razed in 1929. It is one of several “A Houses” with similar floor plans. Built 1931-1932; shed addition built on a concrete slab foundation at the rear of the building in the 1980s. A chainlink fence surrounds the house and yard.

Ka‘iulani Street Garage 571 (Park # 571)
This garage is at the southern end of Ka‘iulani Street behind the Sebastiana Fernandez Residence (192). It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 40 feet and is of single wall construction with vertical plank walls, a low pitch corrugated gable roof, and four windows. A large open bay on the west elevation provides access. The building also includes a shed addition with rolled asphalt roofing. Built between 1964 and 1972; east roof rehabilitated 2005.

Ka‘iulani Street Storage Shed (Park # 572)
This storage shed is next to the Sebastiana Fernandez Residence (192). It is of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical plank siding except on the east wall which is finished with lava rock, a corrugated metal gable roof, and no windows. An open bay on the west elevation provides access. Built by 1950, although the building may be sited on the foundation of an earlier building.

Ka‘iulani Street Shed 573 (Park # 573)
This shed is next to building 572 and associated with the Sebastiana Fernandez Residence (192). It is rectangular, measuring 12 by 18 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, board and batten siding, and a gable roof with asphalt shingles. The building has double hung windows throughout and one door providing access at the front. Built by 1950; enlarged between 1972 and 1992.

Kapi‘olani Street Residence 199 (Park # 199)
Secondary names: NPS House – J. Cerny, NPS House – E. Espaniola. This one-story building is the only extant residence on Kapi‘olani Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete foundation, tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt with corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and double hung windows throughout. The front door is set within a recessed corner porch articulated by a chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters accessed by stone and concrete steps. A partially enclosed porch/wash house with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is located at the rear. This is one of several “A Houses” with similar floor plans. Built 1931-1932; rehabilitation in

2006 and 2007 included repairs to the foundation, roof, and siding; additional structural repairs and exterior and interior painting completed in 2015. Building was extensively damaged by termites between 2006 and 2015.

Seki Residence (Park # 281)
Secondary names: Kenso Seki Residence, Kenso Residence, Seki Puahi Street Residence, Kenso's House, DOH House – Kenso. This one-story building is on Puahi Street across from the Bay View Home. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post on concrete and stone pads foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with corner boards and a sill board, a hip roof with wood shingles and louvered gablets, and screened double hung windows. The front porch has wood steps and a guardrail on the west and is sheltered by an overhanging extension of the roof. This is the only non-Hick's Home in the area and may have been moved from the New Baldwin Home where it possibly served as part of the settlement nursery where babies born at the settlement were kept separate from their parents.[370] Kenso Seki was one of the last surviving residents of the original Baldwin Home at Kalawao.[371] If it is a salvaged portion of the original nursery, the building would have been constructed in 1908; damaged by fire 1950 and moved to current location sometime between 1950 and 1964; and stabilized 1999. A rehabilitation in 2003-2004 included major structural repairs, window and door repair, installation of a fire suppression system, electrical upgrades, and a new roof. Kenso's belongings were removed to storage at the curatorial building following his death.

Puahi Street Garage (Park # 516)
Secondary name: Kenso's Garage. This garage and storage room is on Puahi Street northeast of building 281. It is rectangular, measuring 50 by 50 feet and is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, vertical plank siding, a gable roof with rolled roofing material, and wood sash windows. A corrugated metal shed roof was added over the garage entrance. The garage is also notable for the rusting Ford Model A which belonged to Kenso and which is located nearby.[372] The NPS periodically cuts the grass and trees from around the car so that it remains visible. Built between 1950 and 1964; rehabilitation in 2006 included repair or replacement of framing, siding, window casings, and louver ventilators, roof replacement, and exterior painting (Mallard Green).

Puahi Street Residence 103-64 (Park # 103-64)
Secondary name: (Costales) Loretta Zahner Residence, DOH House – P. Bicoy. This Hicks Home is at the intersection of Damien Road and Puahi Street across from the Bay View Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 30 by 36 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding, a low pitch roof with asphalt shingles, and a combination of jalousie and fixed windows. A carport with flat shed roof on a concrete pad and post foundation is located on the front (west) elevation. House is painted brown, the original color for Hick's Homes. Built 1964.

Olivia Breitha Residence (Park # 101-62)
This Hicks Home is on Puahi Street across from the Bay View Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 31 by 40 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pier foundation with horizontal and wood lath skirting, plywood siding, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and jalousie windows and a fixed window located at the southwest corner. A small entry porch with stairs and wood railing is at the front entrance. Carport

[370] Historic documentation suggests that the original nursery was converted into a cottage for the Brothers of the Sacred Hearts at New Baldwin Home before being partially destroyed in a kitchen fire in 1950. The building may have then been salvaged and moved to the current location between 1950 and 1964. Per communication with Carrie Mardorf, cultural resources manager at KALA, December 2, 2015.

[371] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 99.

[372] Ibid., 100.

and shed on a concrete slab foundation is at the north elevation. A stone wall runs along the south side of the building. Built 1962.

Puahi Street Garage 515 (Park # 515)
This two-bay garage is on Puahi Street across from Quonset Hut 10BV. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and has a low pitch corrugated metal roof supported by metal and wood posts set in a concrete slab. Built between 1950 and 1964; the building was altered or perhaps rebuilt using some original materials after the 1977 building inventory.

Puahi Street Storage Building 520 (Park # 520)
This shed is adjacent to building 103-64. It is square shaped and of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding, low pitch corrugated metal shed roof, and no windows. Construction date not verified but possibly within the period of significance.

Puahi Street Hothouse (Park # 521)
This hothouse, or greenhouse, is located behind Puahi Street Residence 103-64 (103-64). It measures 8 by 10 feet and has a concrete slab foundation, vertical wood plank siding, a corrugated metal shed roof, and 6-light double hung windows. Some of the windows are missing with openings covered by chicken wire. Built 1940; appears to have been rebuilt to some extent after the 1977 inventory.

Richard Purple Residence (Park # 105-62)
Secondary name: DOH House – L. Anamagi. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 40 by 41 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation with horizontal skirting and a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles. A girt encircles most of the exterior, broken by two 2-sash jalousie and fixed windows, divided vertically. The wood frames of the jalousie windows project several inches from the exterior walls. A wheelchair ramp leads to the front entrance. An attached shed with a shed roof and concrete slab foundation is on the southeast corner. The shed measures 10 by 20 feet and has a single bay carport. Built 1962; rehabilitated 2004; exterior repainted in 2015.

Clarence and Ivy Kahilihiwa Residence (Park # 106-62)
This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 40 by 41 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete pier foundation with horizontal skirting, low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and two wood framed jalousie windows that project from the exterior walls. A girt encircles most of the exterior, broken at the east corner by two 2-sash jalousie and fixed windows, divided vertically. A small wood porch with a gable roof extension and awnings is at the front door. A carport with shed roof and concrete slab foundation is at the southeast corner. A boat shed is also located at the rear of the building. Built 1962; sheds added by the resident in the 1970s; enclosed porch added and building painted in 2004; repainted in a red and green color scheme in 2014 at the request of the resident.

Cathrine Puahala Residence (Park # 107-56)
Secondary name: DOH House – G. Naeole. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is roughly square, measuring 32 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pier foundation and horizontal skirting, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and 2-sash double hung windows with wood frames projecting from the exterior walls. A continuous girt surrounds most of the building except at the northwest corner where it is broken by the front door and windows. Abn attached carport on the south elevation has a concrete foundation and shed roof. A wheelchair ramp is on the west elevation and a patio addition is at the rear. A wire fence with a wood gate surrounds the lot. Built 1956.

Meli and Randall Watanuki Residence (Park # 108-56)
This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is rectangular, measuring 37 by 31 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pier foundation, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and 2-sash double hung windows with wood frames projecting from the exterior walls. A continuous girt surrounds the building except at the northwest corner where it is broken by the front door and windows. An attached carport on the south elevation has a concrete foundation and shed roof. A wheelchair ramp is located on the west elevation. A 4-foot chicken wire fence with wood posts surrounds the building. A garage addition at the rear of the building measures 24 by 24 feet. This is connected to Garage 533 (533). Built 1964; rear bedroom and closet addition added in 2015 at the request of the resident.

Damien Road Residence 110-64 (Park # 110-64)
Secondary name: DOH House – M. Naone, DOH House – I. Angel. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 37 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post on concrete pier foundation with horizontal skirting, low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, and a mixture of jalousie and 6-paned push out windows. The house is painted brown, the original color for Hick's Homes. A wheelchair ramp is on the front of the building. An attached carport with wood sidewalls and single open bay with a wood gate is also at the front. A possible shed addition is not visible from the road. The building is mostly concealed by large bougainvillea shrubs. Built 1964.

Damien Road Residence 111-56 (Park # 111-56)
Secondary name: Guest Cottage #1. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 45 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, two doors, and eighteen double hung windows and eight jalousie windows. A carport on a concrete slab foundation is located at the rear of the building. The building is currently used for short-term housing for DOH visitors and contractors. Built 1956; repainted in 2015.

Damien Road Residence 112-56 (Park # 112-56)
Secondary name: DOH House – J. Cuello. This Hicks Home is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home. It is L-shaped, measuring 35 by 37 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation with horizontal skirting, vertical tongue and groove siding encircled by a broken girt, a low pitch gable roof with asphalt shingles, two doors, and double hung windows throughout. Wood steps lead to a covered wood porch with a shed roof and decorative wood railing providing access to the front door. A shed with a corrugated metal roof and open bays is at the southwest corner. Built 1956.

Sites:

Residential Area Outbuilding Ruins
Ruins of former garages, sheds, and other outbuildings exist throughout the Residential Area. Many are heavily obscured by vegetation and have not been formally inventoried. [redacted] These ruins form part of the largely patient-built vernacular landscape and speak to the transitory and dynamic nature of the built environment. Construction dates have not been verified, but these ruins generally date to late in the period of significance, although some of the foundations may date to earlier periods and were reused.

Structures:

Residential Area Sidewalks (Park # 863)
Concrete sidewalks are located throughout the residential area. These measure approximately 3 feet wide and have a total length of approximately 1,000 feet (not contiguous). Sidewalks are also present at vacant lots, marking locations of former residences. Built 1930s to 1960s.

Residential Area Stone Walls (Park # 859)
Multiple dry stacked stone walls are located throughout Residential area at Kalaupapa settlement. Residences with rock walls include: 117-62, 121-64, 151, 152, 153-56, 154, 308, 155, 157, 311-64, 161, and 190-66. Historic rock walls are also located on the empty lot between residences 173-56 and 178-56, along Ka‘iulani Street to the east of residences 179-62, 181, and 182-62, and surrounding the plant nursery. Built early twentieth century; repaired 2000s.

Objects:

Mother Clinton Monument (Park # 838)
Located at the southeastern corner of Damien Road and Puahi Street, the monument consists of a 2-foot by 8-inch by 1-foot wedge-shaped concrete base with an inlaid plaque. Installed in 1945 to honor Bessie “Mother” Clinton, an administrator at the Kalihi Hospital from 1918-1946.

Residential Area non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Garage near John Arruda Residence
This garage measuring 20 by 11 feet is north of John Arruda Residence (121-64). The building is of wood frame construction with a wood post on concrete block foundation, corrugated metal shed roof, and corrugated metal siding on the south, north, and west elevations. The east elevation is open. Built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

Garage (Park # 620)
This garage is on McKinley Street. It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 20 feet and is of wood frame construction with a wood on concrete post foundation and a dirt floor, vertical plank wood siding, and a corrugated metal gable roof. A flat gable roof also covers a small carport on the west elevation. A single large open bay provides access on the south elevation. Two window openings (no glass) are located on the west elevation. Built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

Damien Road Garage 531 (Park # 531)
This two-bay carport is southwest of building 106-62. Built after the period of significance in 1972; enlarged between 1977 and 1992.

Garage 533 (Park # 533)
This large one-story outbuilding is on Damien Road. It is of wood frame construction with a concrete slab foundation, plywood siding, and a corrugated metal shed roof. It is attached to the carport of the Meli and Randall Watanuki Residence (108-56). Built after the period of significance between 1992 and 2000.

Damien Road Carport (Park # 557)
This carport is on Damien Road south of the Bishop Home complex between buildings 110-64 and 111-56. It is square, measuring 20 by 20 feet and has a concrete slab floor, vertical plank siding, a flat corrugated metal roof, two 6-light pullout windows with a third window space boarded up, and one doorway without a door. Built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

Shed 590 (Park # 590)
This shed is located between McKinley and Baldwin Streets. It is rectangular, measuring 20 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad foundation, vertical plank siding, a corrugated metal roof, two door openings (no doors), and wood window frames (no glass). Original building on this foundation dated to 1950 to 1964; stabilized 2004; current building was constructed from recycled materials in 2008 by a volunteer group. It does not match photographs of the historic building.

Goodhue Street Garage 614 (Park # 614)
This garage is on Goodhue Street. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with concrete slab foundation, vertical plank and board and batten siding, and a low pitch gable roof supported by 4- by 4-inch wood posts. Scallops are located above one garage stall. Constructed after the period of significance on an existing foundation sometime after the 1977 building inventory. Although similar in style, the current building does not match the 1976 photograph.

Damien Road Carport (Park # 532)
This carport is located southwest of building 106-62. It is rectangular, measuring 15 by 20 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with open sides and a flat, corrugated metal roof. Built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

Damien Road Carport Tool Shed (Park # 532a)
This carport and toolshed is located southwest of the Clarence and Ivy Kahilihiwa Residence (106-62). It measures approximately 8 by 10 feet and has a slightly triangular corrugated metal roof supported by wood posts. The building has no walls and a dirt floor. Built after the period of significance between 1977 and 1992.

Storage Shed (Park # 574a)
This shed is next to Ka‘iulani Street Shed 573 (573). It is of wood frame, single wall construction with an unknown foundation, vertical plank siding, and a corrugated metal shed roof. Construction date unknown but after the period of significance.

Sites:

[redacted] The area includes three tool sheds/outbuildings, shade house, and planting beds outlined with low rock walls, all added after the period of significance. Walls measuring 1 to 2 feet high were constructed in 2010 from reused rock from the Kalaupapa dump. The entire nursery is enclosed with chainlink fencing, dry stacked rock walls, and rows of loulu palms that parallel the streets. Rock walls surrounding the nursery along the street edge are historic and considered part of Residential Area Rock Walls (589), listed as contributing above. Plots for community garden spaces are located at the north end of the space. A plant nursery was first developed at Kalaupapa in 1935-1936 but was substantially altered in early 2000s with creation of new structures, planting beds, fencing, and rock walls. The site no longer retains integrity from the historic period.

10. West Coast Cemeteries

Twenty cemeteries have been documented on the Kalaupapa peninsula at Kalawao, Kalaupapa, and near the Kauhakō Crater. These are highly significant, marking the resting places of those who have died at the settlement while also reflecting their religious and ethnic affiliations. [redacted] While the scale and visibility of the cemeteries create a significant cultural imprint on the land, they represent only a small percentage of all those who died at the settlement during the period of significance. Especially during the early years, most did not receive a formal burial. Those that did likely had makeshift crosses or wood markers that deteriorated over time. Others are presumably buried in overgrown areas throughout the peninsula. The 1946 tsunami also swept away numerous headstones at Papaloa, leaving only a fraction of the grave markers that once occupied the area.

In 1966, the State of Hawai‘i surveyed the cemeteries and documented the existing graves and other resources, such as walls and trees. Historic photographs also show that fencing around the cemeteries existed prior to and after the 1946 tsunami. In 1991, a directory to the grave markers in all the cemeteries on the peninsula was compiled on behalf of the NPS. The directory identified a total of 1,089 graves in the eight Papaloa cemeteries and 238 graves in the four cemeteries north of the cattle guard. An inventory conducted in 1994 listed 939 grave markers (including [redacted] A 2003 condition assessment for all known grave markers listed over 1,300 markers. Discrepancies between these inventories are currently being examined by NPS staff. In order to avoid further confusion, the NPS is in the process of listing recorded grave markers and tombs by their location. Considering the quantity of grave markers and present uncertainties about the full extent of the burials, this nomination lists each cemetery as a contributing resource rather than each grave marker.

The cemeteries [redacted] Historic grave markers vary in size and style and include upright, raised, cross, flat (flush with the ground), mausoleum, tomb/vault, obelisk, post, pillow, slab (covers entire grave), haka (urn house) and temporary signs. Markers are comprised of various materials including wood, rough lava stone, concrete, iron pipes, bronze plaques, granite, marble, and sand. The condition of the markers runs from excellent to collapsed, to broken beyond repair. Draped leis, plastic flower bunches, and other mementos adorn many markers. The spatial arrangement of the graves and the wide range of grave marker styles at Papaloa display an organic quality that reflects the pattern of history at Kalaupapa.[373]

Vegetation in the cemeteries has varied over time. Historic photographs reveal that the grounds had a more unkempt appearance. Ironwoods were planted during the historic period to delineate the boundaries of some cemeteries. Fences and rock walls also marked boundaries and kept grazing cattle out of the burial grounds. Many trees and fences were removed by the NPS in the 1980s to facilitate maintenance of the grounds. Today, the cemeteries are largely devoid of vegetation other than grasses, some date palms, and haole koa along the western shoreline.

[373] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 27.

A small number of other buildings, mainly residences and associated outbuildings, are also present south of the cemeteries along the east side of Kamehameha Street near the Latter-day Saint Chapel (257). Historically, this area was dense with multiple residences, outbuildings, and rock walls lining the east side of the road. However, the 1946 tsunami destroyed large sections of the neighborhood. Gaps can be seen in post-1946 aerials, and by the end of the period of significance, many more residences had been removed. Other residences and garages were moved to this area during that same period.

West Coast Cemeteries contributing resources:

Buildings:

Miriam Mina Residence (Park # 2)
Secondary names: Boogie's Sister's House, NPS House – R. Giblin. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is L-shaped, measuring 16 by 14 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and stone footing foundation, vertical plank siding with no girt, and a uniquely shaped hip roof with wood shingles. The building has double hung windows with screens throughout and a hip roof addition on the south elevation. A shed measuring 10 by 4 feet is located at the rear. Interior paint scheme is bright pink, the former resident's favorite color. A concrete sidewalk runs from the front lawn to the front porch entry. A dry stacked wall runs along the northern edge of the yard parallel to the sidewalk. Built 1931; stabilized 2003.

Brown Residence (Park # 3)
Secondary name: NPS House – A. Sakurada. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is of single wall construction with wood post and concrete pier foundation, board and batten siding, and a hip roof with wood shingles. A small wood porch and wash house are on the south elevation. The building has 12-light double hung windows with the wood frames projecting several inches from the exterior walls. Built 1933; moved to this location from the McVeigh Home in 1965. After 1977, the front porch was closed in and the front steps turned ninety degrees. Bathroom rehabilitated in 2001-2002.

Cambra Residence (Park # 4)
Secondary name: DOH House – J. Rizonka. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is of single wall construction with wood post and concrete foundation, board and batten siding, and a combination gable and shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing material. The building has 12-light double hung windows with the wood frames projecting several inches from the exterior walls. A porch runs across the entire front of the building under the shed roof extension. A wood frame addition is located on the north elevation. Park records give a construction date of 1913. However, this residence is similar to residences existing at Kalaupapa prior to the 1880s and may date to an earlier period. If so, much of the original material has likely been replaced.

Storage Shed (Park # 4A)
This shed is attached to the north side of the Cambra Residence (4). It is of wood frame construction with vertical siding and rolled asphalt roofing. Construction date unverified but likely in the period of significance.

Kamehameha Street Residence 7 (Park # 7)
Secondary name: Silva Residence, DOH House – L. Brittain. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is square, measuring 28 by 28 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and stone pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a girt and corner boards, a hip roof with a gable roof extension, and wood double hung windows throughout. A concrete sidewalk and wood wheelchair ramp connect the lawn to the front porch. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floor plans. Built 1931-1932; repaired and repainted 2008; addition for outdoor shower added 2014.

Kamehameha Street Building 9 (Park # 9)
Secondary name: Keao Residence, DOH House – W. Kaiama. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is square, measuring approximately 30 by 30 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and stone pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with a girt and corner boards, a hip roof intersecting with a gable roof addition on the south elevation, and wood double hung windows throughout. A concrete sidewalk connects the lawn to the front porch. A partially enclosed wash house with a concrete slab foundation and shed roof is at the northeast corner. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floorplans. Built 1931-1932.

Kamehameha Street Building 65 (Park # 65BV)
Secondary name: Ike's Garage. This carport was moved in 1978 from the Bay View Home to this location on Kamehameha Street, which is the site of an original residential building. It is of single wall construction with a corrugated metal gable roof, board and batten siding, and five windows. During rehabilitation in 2010, a deteriorated wood sign reading "IKE'S SCENIC TOURS" was removed and turned over to park curatorial staff for storage. Built after 1938; moved to this site from the Bay View Home in 1978; rehabilitation in 2010 included repair or replacement of siding, roof replacement, and exterior painting (blue).

Olivia's Beach House (Park # 671)
Secondary names: Olivia Breitha's Beach House, Gloria Marks's Beach House, Green Beach House. This one-story, green-painted beach house is located on a beach dune at the southwest corner of Cemetery G. It has an irregular floor plan, measuring approximately 20 by 40 feet and is of wood frame construction with wood post and concrete and stone pier foundation, a combination of tongue and groove, board and batten, and corrugated metal siding, and a combination gable and shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing material. The building has pivoting 6-light wood frame windows, a single wood door on the east elevation, and single door at the rear accessed by a single stair with a raised wood landing. Approximately half of the building collapsed in 2020. Built between 1938 and 1950.

Kamehameha Street Residence 15 (Park # 15)
Secondary name: DOH House – Z. Kaulia-Pelland. This one-story building is on the east side of Kamehameha Street. It is square, measuring approximately 33 by 33 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with wood post and concrete pier foundation with horizontal lath skirt, vertical tongue and groove siding with a girt and corner boards, a hip roof with asphalt shingles and wood double hung windows throughout. A 3-foot-high rock wall with an entrance gate separates the yard from Kamehameha Street to the west. A concrete sidewalk connects the entrance gate to the front porch on the southwest corner of the house. A short wood picket fence, painted white, defines a planting area around the building foundation. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floor plans. Built 1936; front porch enclosed after 1977.

Residence 22 (Park # 22)
Secondary name: Plumeria House, Plumeria Inn. This one-story building is east of the Latter-day Saint Chapel (257), surrounded by thick vegetation. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a concrete pad and stone post foundation, board and batten siding, and a front gable roof with asphalt shingles overlaying original wood shingles on purlins. A wood door and a wood double hung window are on the west elevation, jalousie slider windows are on the east elevation, and a slider window is on the screened in porch addition on the west elevation. A shed roof addition is on the north elevation. Two ruins of outbuildings are located north of the house. A dry stacked rock wall runs along the south and west edges of the yard. This is the last remaining of six houses that were aligned in a row during the historic period. It is similar to residences existing at Kalaupapa in the late nineteenth century and may date to that period. If so, most of the original materials have likely been replaced. Built prior to 1938; stabilized 2015.

Norbert Palea Residence (Park # 25)
Secondary name: DOH House – Palea. This one-story building is east of the LDS complex and north of the park curatorial facility (313). It is rectangular, measuring 22 by 24 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with a post and pier foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding with corner boards and a horizontal lath skirt, a hip roof with asphalt shingles, and screened wood sash double hung windows. The entrance is in an enclosed porch on the north elevation accessed by concrete steps. This is one of several "A Houses" with similar floorplans. The yard is accessed by a vinyl lattice gate located between two mortared rock piers, measuring approximately 2- by 2- by 4-feet-high. A dry stacked rock wall lines the property to the south and east, while chainlink and metal fencing mark the property to the north and west. Foundation plantings are overgrown with several invasives. Built 1936.

Sites:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Structures:

Chicken Coop
This approximately 6- by 9-foot raised structure is in an overgrown area northeast of the Miriam Mina Residence (2). It is constructed of wood posts on concrete blocks and has a corrugated metal shed roof and a combination of corrugated metal, vertical board, and wire mesh siding. The north elevation features seven small entrances for chickens, while the south elevation has access door with wire mesh. Built prior to 1938.

11. ʻĪliopiʻi Beach House Area

During the 1920s and 1930s, many patients built private beach houses along the northwest coast of the peninsula. These provided respite from the close-knit, supervised life at the settlement. The largest concentration of remaining houses exists in the area known as ʻĪliopiʻi, on a strip of high ground between the beach and a non-functioning historic fish pond located just north of Cemeteries J, K, L, and M. They are accessed by Beach House Road, an unpaved two-track road branching off from Kamehameha Street north of the cemeteries. Beach houses were also erected along the shoreline and west of Cemeteries G and H within the West Coast Cemeteries area. All the houses in that area and twelve in the ʻĪliopiʻi area were washed away in the 1946 tsunami, while others were damaged. Most of the homes that exist today at ʻĪliopiʻi are among the few that survived the tsunami, although they have been repaired or rebuilt afterwards. While work on some of the houses continued after the period of significance, these changes generally incorporate historic materials, are compatible with the historic character, and represent continuations of the pattern of adaptive use that began during the period of significance. Three houses built after the period of significance are listed below as non-contributing. [redacted]

The beach houses were built mostly with recycled materials, and generally resemble the smaller cottages found in the more developed areas, although each also reflects the individual tastes of their owners. Collectively and in their finer details of construction, these buildings speak to the determination of the people of Kalaupapa to gain autonomy within the limits imposed by settlement authorities. Like outbuildings in other areas, the beach houses were and still are considered the private property of patients.

[374] Carol Araki Wyban, *Report on the Kalaupapa Fishpond* (Kalaupapa National Historical Park: National Park Service, 1993), 1.

The Kalaupapa chapter of the Lion's Club also sponsored construction of a seaside picnic pavilion in this area in 1945, on the site of a former beach house. The club functioned as an important booster of civic activities both inside the settlement and elsewhere in Hawai‘i. The pavilion, listed below as a contributing structure, provided a space for club members and other residents to enjoy the beach setting.

‘Īliopi‘i Beach House Area contributing resources:

Buildings:

Richard Marks Beach House (Park # 702)
Secondary name: Airport Road Beach House 1. This one-story building is at the northernmost end of the beach house area, set back from the beach on the east side of the road. It is square, measuring 40 by 40 feet and is of wood frame, single wall construction with vertical plank siding and a front gable roof which has collapsed. The building is deteriorated and is missing most of its windows and doors. Those that remain are missing substantial portions. [redacted] Built prior to 1938.

Bernard Punikai‘a Beach House (Park # 699)
Secondary name: Airport Road Beach House 2, Airport Road Beach House 699. This one-story bungalow is at the north end of the beach house area near the airport, west of the road. It is roughly square, measuring approximately 25 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a wood post and concrete foundation, a wood skirt, and board and batten siding. The central portion has a side gable roof while the two additions to the west and east have shed roofs, all of which are clad with asphalt shingles with 1- by 3-inch fascia. The central section has walls finished in the same manner as the Superintendent's Residence (5SR) and Dentist's Residence (8SR) on Staff Row. A portion of the building may have been taken from that area. Single wood doors with wood porches on both the south and west elevations provide access. All the windows are boarded up. The building is surrounded by dense vegetation and the yard is enclosed by a wood picket fence that has deteriorated and is missing in places. A collapsed outbuilding is in the northwest corner of the yard. Vehicle access is by a gate off the dirt road to the east. Built between 1964 and 1972.

Elizabeth Bell Beach House (Park # 698)
Secondary name: Ku‘ulei Bell Beach House. This one-story beach house is located toward the north end of the beach. It is square, measuring 12 by 12 feet with a 10- by 12-foot attached garage on the west and is of wood frame construction with a concrete post and wood pier foundation, a horizontal wood skirt, tongue and groove siding with a girt, water table, and corner boards. The garage has board and batten siding and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. All the windows have been boarded up. The main entry door is on the south elevation, accessed by wood stairs with wood railings. Vehicle access to the fenced yard is via the dirt road to the east. Built prior to 1938.

Elaine Remigio Beach House (Park # 695)
Secondary name: Clarence and Ivy Kahilihiwa Beach House. This one-story house is in the middle of the beach house area. It is L-shaped, measuring roughly 18 by 24 feet with an open covered porch at the northwest corner. The building is of wood frame, single wall construction with (most likely) a post and pier foundation, board and batten siding, and a combination gable and hip roof with rolled asphalt roofing material. Two single wood doors open to the porch. A wood sliding window is on the west elevation and a triple wood sliding window is on the south elevation. Two double hung wood windows are on the east elevation. An enclosed porch is on the north elevation. Built prior to 1938.

Nicholas Ramos Beach House (Park # 691)
Secondary name: Airport Road Beach House 5. This one-story house is at the south end of the beach, sited along Kamehameha Street, southeast of and below the level of the road (so that the road blocks the view to the ocean). It is roughly square, measuring approximately 25 by 30 feet and is of single wall construction with a combination of stone footing and concrete slab foundation, board and batten siding with a water table, and a hip roof with rolled roofing material. The building has several types of windows including jalousie, double hung, and sliders. A shed roof bathroom addition is located on the south elevation and a shed roof enclosed porch is on the north elevation. Both are covered with rolled roofing material. The central core of the building appears to be the original beach house that was subsequently added onto. A small 7- by 7-foot shed (Building 690) is in the southeast corner of the yard and is heavily enveloped in vegetation. A stone wall encloses the yard. Built prior to 1938; as of this writing (2016), the building is in the process of being rebuilt and altered at the request of the resident.

Building 690 (Park # 690)
This small storage shed is in the southwest corner of the yard of the Nicholas Ramos Beach House (691). It is square, measuring 7 by 7 feet and is of single wall construction with a concrete slab foundation, recycled vertical plank siding, and a shed roof with rolled asphalt roofing. The building has a single front door and double hung windows on the northeast and southeast elevations. It is surrounded by heavy vegetation and is in poor condition. Built between 1950 and 1964.

Lion's Club Restroom 687 (Park # 687)
This restroom is located across Kamehameha Street from the Lion's Pavilion (688). It measures 10 by 20 feet and is built of stone and concrete blocks with a corrugated metal shed roof. Stone masonry privacy fences are at the three entrances to the restroom. The building was possibly built on the foundation of a former beach house in the same location. It is mostly obscured by vegetation. Built between 1950 and 1964.

Sites:

[redacted]
Board of Health reports indicate that sometime before 1917, settlement physician William Goodhue selected an approximately [redacted] oodhue reportedly employed a group of residents at $1 to $1.25 a day to complete the work.[375] According to Wyban, the pond was never fully functional during the historic period due to sand blocking the channel to the bay and rendering the habitat ineffective for sustaining a fish population.[376] [redacted] (included together as a single contributing site for the purpose of this nomination). The only known record of an earlier fishpond in this area is an oral history interview with Richard Marks who said the ancient pond was connected to the bay by an ʻauwai kai (channel) maintained by area residents. Marks obtained this information from a man named Nailima who was known for his knowledge of spiritual practices and who maintained a genealogical record for Kalaupapa.[377]

[375] Greene, *Exile in Paradise*, 526.
[376] Wyban, *Report on the Kalaupapa Fishpond*, 28.
[377] Ibid., 1.

Structures:

Lion's Pavilion (Park # 688)
Secondary name: Ocean View Pavilion. This open-sided, roofed pavilion is located off Kamehameha Street overlooking the beach. It is rectangular, measuring 25 by 14 feet and is of concrete masonry construction with stone veneer and two concrete brick column supports. Concrete steps and a wheelchair ramp with metal rails lead to the entrance on the south elevation. The structure has jalousie windows in the rear wall. Landscape features include a sloping rock wall that parallels Kamehameha Street and an unpaved loop drive. Two associated wood structures, Shelters 1 and 2 (727 and 728), are south of the pavilion. The structure was built in 1965 on the site of a large beach house that was destroyed and washed out to sea by the 1946 tsunami.[378] Altered in 1984 and 1991.

ʻĪliopiʻi Beach House Area non-contributing resources:

Buildings:

Meli and Randall Watanuki Beach House (Park # 722)
Secondary name: Beach House 722. This house is rectangular, measuring 15 by 25 feet with two large covered patios at the east and west elevations. It has a post and pier foundation, plywood siding, jalousie windows, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. Built new in 2008 on the foundation of a former beach house.

Richard and Gloria Marks Beach House (Park # 694)
This one-story building is in the middle of the beach house area. It is of wood frame, single wall construction with a wood post and concrete pad with partial wood foundation, plywood walls, and a wood shingle gable roof. Building has jalousie windows throughout and louvers at the gable ends. Built after the period of significance (between 1977 and 1992) judging from the construction and a remnant stone foundation and stone front steps. Oral history interviews suggest that this building may have been part of the Mormon Beach House (815). According to Gloria Marks, she and Richard bought the house and moved to this location to use as a beach house. A bedroom addition was added at that time. The house was almost entirely rebuilt after the period of significance. Per Gloria, the only part of the original house remaining is the central wall. Everything else was torn out or rebuilt. A shed is located north of the house. Built between 1977 and 1992; Roof damaged in a windstorm and repaired in 2014.

Shoichi Hamai Beach House (Park # 693)
Secondary names: Elizabeth Kahihikolo Beach House; Aunty Elizabeth's Beach House; Airport Beach House 693, Single Beach House. This is a new building on the site of a no longer extant historic beach house, just north of Cemetery M. It has a wood post and concrete pier foundation, plywood siding, jalousie windows, and a hip roof with asphalt shingles. The original beach house was built prior to 1938; current house dates to 2010-2012.

Structures:

Shelter 1 (Park # 727)
Secondary name: Lion's Club Bar. This open-sided wood structure with a shed roof is southwest of the Lion's Pavilion. It is used for barbequing and seating. Built after the period of significance between 1972 and 1977.

[378] Juvik, *Kalaupapa Landscape*, 91.

Shelter 2 (Park # 728)
Secondary name: Lion's Club Kitchen. This open-sided wood structure with a shed roof is southwest of the Lion's Pavilion. It is used for barbequing and seating. Built 1974 after the period of significance.

12. Molokai Light Station

The US Coast Guard constructed the Molokai Light Station on the northern tip of Kalaupapa peninsula between 1908 and 1909 to guide mariners coming from the US west coast and the Panama Canal through the dangerous Kaiwi Channel between Molokai and O'ahu. [redacted] Light from the station could be seen for up to 28 miles at sea. The station was operated by lighthouse keepers and resident Coast Guardsmen for fifty-seven years, ending with the conversion to automation in 1966.

Although not directly linked to the leprosy settlement, the light station was a constant presence in the lives of the people of Kalaupapa. The fear surrounding the disease also emphasized the isolation experienced by the light station staff. For the people of Kalaupapa, the station was a reminder of the outside world that most never expected to see again. While interaction with light station staff was officially forbidden, it was common for patients to walk, ride, or later drive out to the tip of the peninsula for visits. Light station staff, family members, and supply deliveries also regularly passed through the settlement, to and from the landing and the Pali Trail.[379]

A brief description of the lighthouse was included in the original 1976 NHL nomination. In 1982, the lighthouse was listed separately in the National Register of Historic Places as the US Coast Guard Molokai Light Station. Other associated resources were evaluated and described in a 2001 Historic Resources Report.[380] A draft update to the National Register nomination was also prepared to include ancillary buildings and structures as contributing resources, although this was never finalized. A 2012 Cultural Landscape Inventory provided additional information on the historic landscape.[381]

The rich history of the light station is displayed through several extant resources including the lighthouse, residential and other ancillary buildings, circulation features such as roads and sidewalks, and landscape features including ironwood trees along the entrance drive and surrounding the lighthouse keepers' compound. Some loss, deterioration, and replacement of historic fabric has occurred. The most significant change was the removal of the original Fresnel lens and its replacement with a new illuminating device in 1986. The project also modifed the original platform and added a new mounting.[382] Patients spoke out against removing the historic lens, noting its importance to the community and to the history of Hawai'i. "Every one of our people…can remember this light looking over us," Richard Marks told the press. "You could always look out and see it sweeping across the cliff. It is the Kalaupapa light."[383] In 1993, the lens was returned to Kalaupapa and placed in storage at the light station.[384] Despite these changes, much of the historic design, materials, and workmanship

[379] Chapman, *Moloka'i Light Station*, 9-10.

[380] William Chapman, *Moloka'i Light Station Historic Resources Report* (Kalaupapa National Historical Park: National Park Service, 2001).

[381] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Moloka'i Light Station, Kalaupapa National Historical Park* (San Francisco: Pacific West Region Cultural Resources Program, 2011).

[382] Chapman, *Moloka'i Light Station*, 110, 112.

[383] Ibid., 112. Full quote in: Matthew Thayer, "Historic Light: Coast Guard Delivers Kalaupapa Lens to Lahina," *The Maui News*, July 17, 1986.

[384] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Moloka'i Light Station*, 60-61.

has been preserved. The lighthouse remains a significant visual presence in the community, retaining its association with the historic period.

Molokai Light Station contributing resources:

Buildings:

Molokai Light Station Lighthouse (Park # 715)
The lighthouse tower is a concrete building with stucco finish, measuring 138 feet high, including the foundation, and 21 feet in diameter at the base, tapering to 14 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top. The lighthouse is octagonal in cross section topped with a circular glazed enclosure capped with a conical shaped metal lantern. [redacted] Built 1908 to 1909.

Molokai Light Station First Assistant Keeper's Residence (Park # 706)
This one-story, concrete-block, flat-roofed building is near the center of the keeper's compound. Measuring about 30 by 46 feet overall, the house sits on slightly sloping land, which rises toward the rear of the building. Built 1950 to replace an earlier wood frame residence built in 1909.

Molokai Light Station Principal Keeper's Residence (Park # 707)
Secondary name: Stone House. This craftsman style cottage was built as part of the residential complex for the station. It is L-shaped, consisting of a rectangular, masonry-walled main body, with a recessed porch on the west, and a smaller, wood-frame ell across the rear of the building on the east. A double row of ironwood trees serve as a windbreak on the north of the keepers' compound. A second row is to the west, parallel to the west wall of the compound. Built 1908-1909.

Molokai Light Station Wash House /Storage Shed (Park # 708)
This simple, one-story wood-frame building measures 20 by 9.5 feet and is located behind building 707. Built in 1909 as a laundry building and possibly as a shower facility. Rehabilitated 2008.

Molokai Light Station Garage (Park # 709)
This one-story garage is presently used to house the historic Fresnel lens that was removed from the lighthouse in 1986. Built late 1910s or early 1920s; rehabilitated 2007-2008.

Molokai Light Station Generator Shed (Park # 713)
This is a symmetrical, utilitarian wood frame shed with a concrete slab foundation, vertical tongue and groove siding, and a gable roof with asphalt shingles overlaying tongue and groove boards. Built 1934, rehabilitated 2008.

Molokai Light Station Storage Vault (Park # 714)
Secondary name: Oil Storage building. This square shaped concrete building measures 12 by 12 by 12 feet and has a slab foundation, reinforced concrete walls, and a red pyramidal roof. Built 1908-1909, rehabilitated 2009.

Sites:

[redacted]
This circular concrete footing is 24 inches in diameter and measures 5 inches above grade. Built 1909 or possibly circa 1920 (before 1924).

[redacted] removed circa 1925 to 1930.

Concrete Pier Supports for Oil-Drum Loading Dock
These are the remains of a former wood loading dock. The site consists of 13 regularly spaced tapered piers, two square piers of lower elevation, and a narrow concrete slab lying along the south end of the grouping, probably the base for the wood ramp. Built circa 1920, possibly earlier.

Structures:

Molokai Light Station Water Tank (Park # 712)
This water tank is located south southwest of the lighthouse tower. It is a white-painted, octagonal concrete structure with an estimated storage capacity of 12,000 gallons. Built 1908, red conical roof reconstructed in 1997, rehabilitated 2009.

Molokai Light Station Concrete Sidewalk
This 450-foot-long walkway extends from the edge of the keeper's compound to the lighthouse. It includes an inscription reading "WM KLEE 1929." Built 1929.

Principal Access Road/Lighthouse Road
This gravel surfaced and graded road extends from the northwest edge of the light station in a southeasterly direction, curving toward the south in a wide arch and ending in front of and parallel to the west wall of the keeper's compound for a distance of about 700 feet. Built 1908. Ironwood trees line a portion of the access road.

Internal Access Road/Lighthouse Road
This unpaved, 12-foot-wide internal access road begins on the north side of the garage, and winds around the northern edge of the knoll toward the light house. This is a connector road between the Principal Access Road and the road from the north. Built 1908 or earlier.

Northern Access Road
Secondary name: Historic Pathway/Road from North. This approximately 900-foot-long gravel road extends around the north edge of the point, leading toward Kalawao before branching southward toward the light station, almost due north of the lighthouse. Portions near the lighthouse are remnants and are largely eroded due to non-use. Built 1908 or earlier.

Molokai Light Station Stone Perimeter Wall
This rectangular stone wall measures approximately 300 to 160 feet and provides a boundary for the keepers' quarters. It may be built from loose stones cleared from the site as the first phase of the construction project. Built 1909.

Wire Perimeter Fence Posts
These deteriorated posts of square cut redwood held a wire fence that formerly delineated the site. Built 1910.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)

__ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #:
2. Date of listing:
3. Level of significance:
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A__ B__ C__ D__
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
6. Areas of Significance:

__ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation: 1976
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

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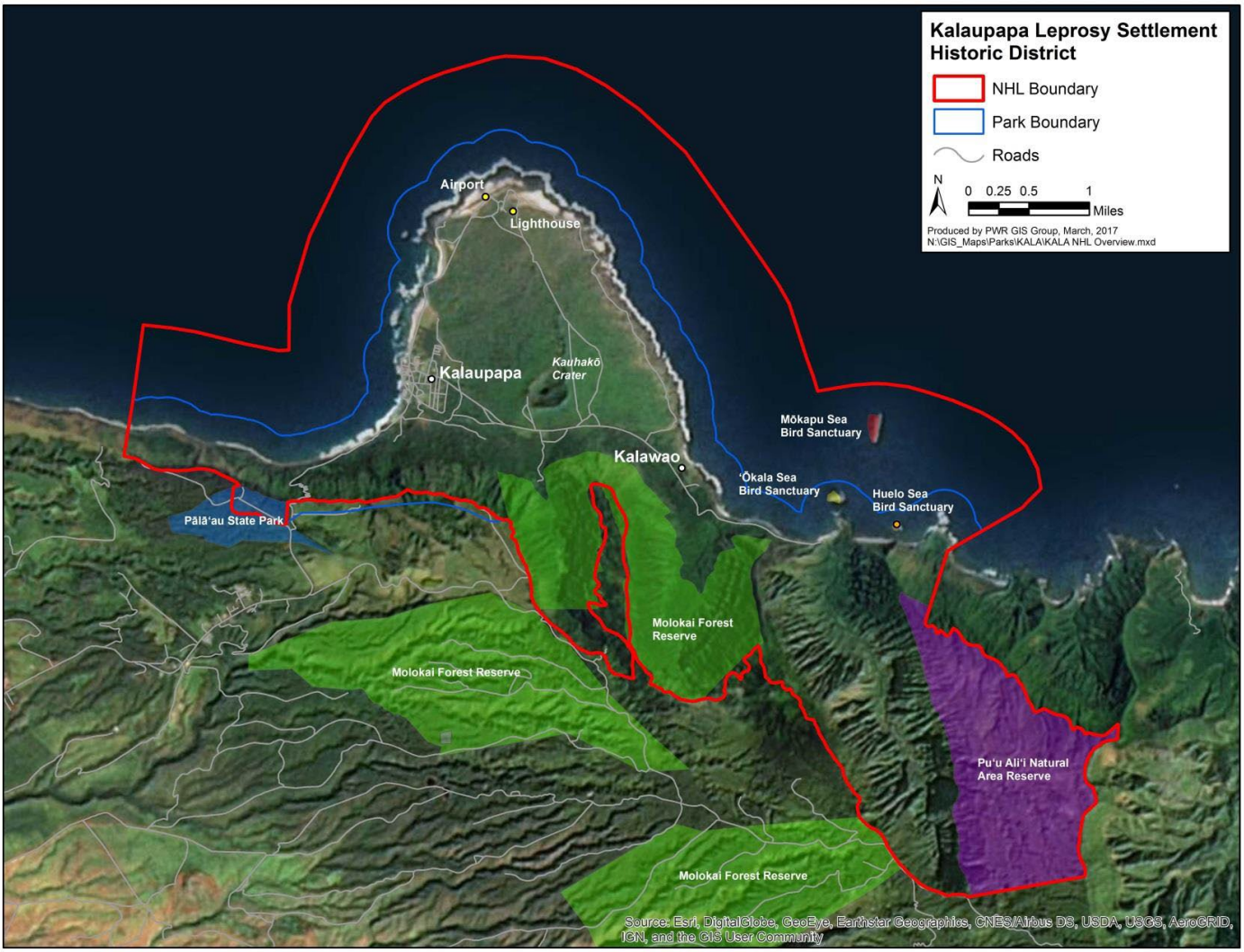
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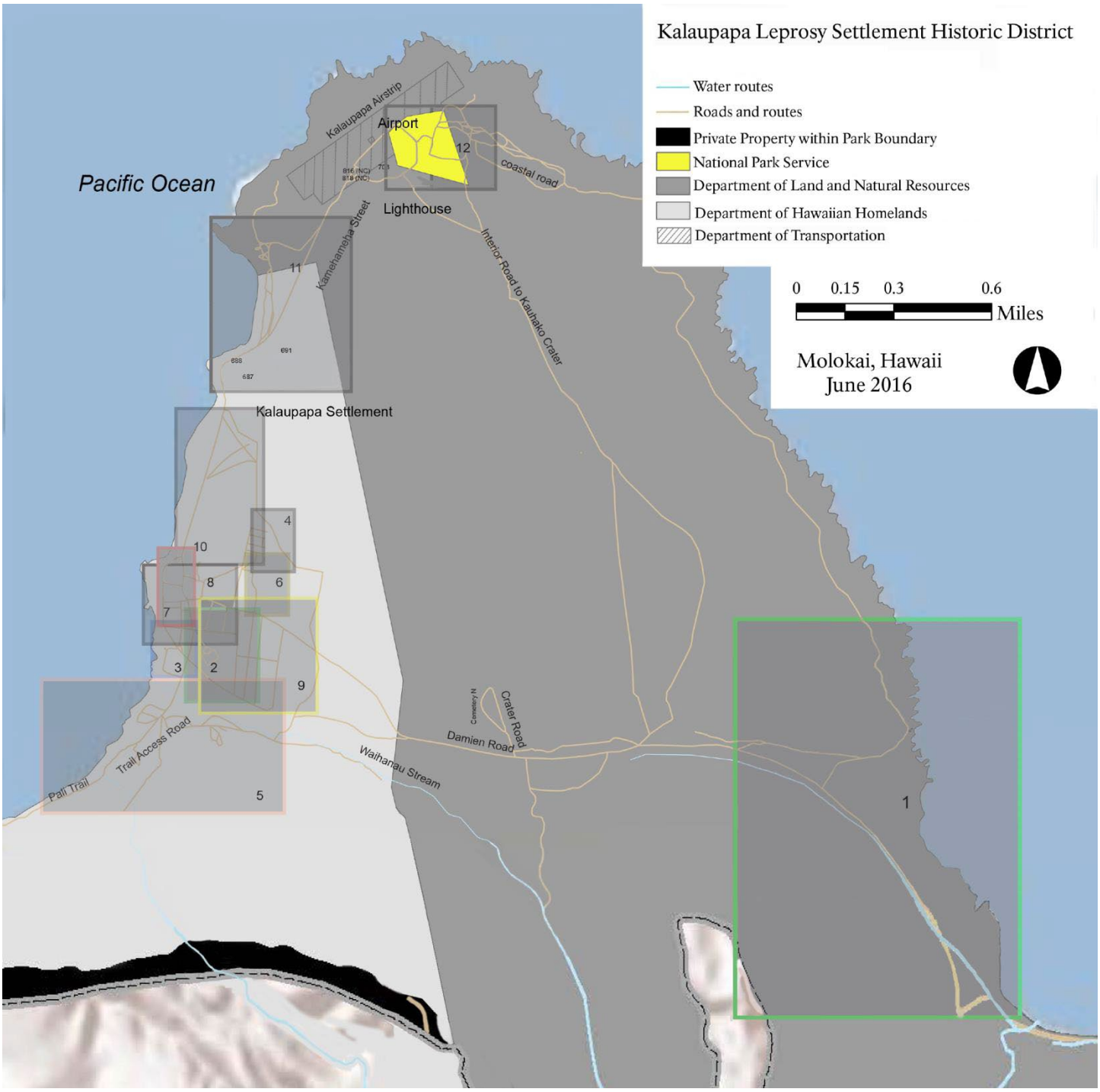
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Map 1: Location Map



Map 2: Land Ownership and Overview of Developed Areas

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

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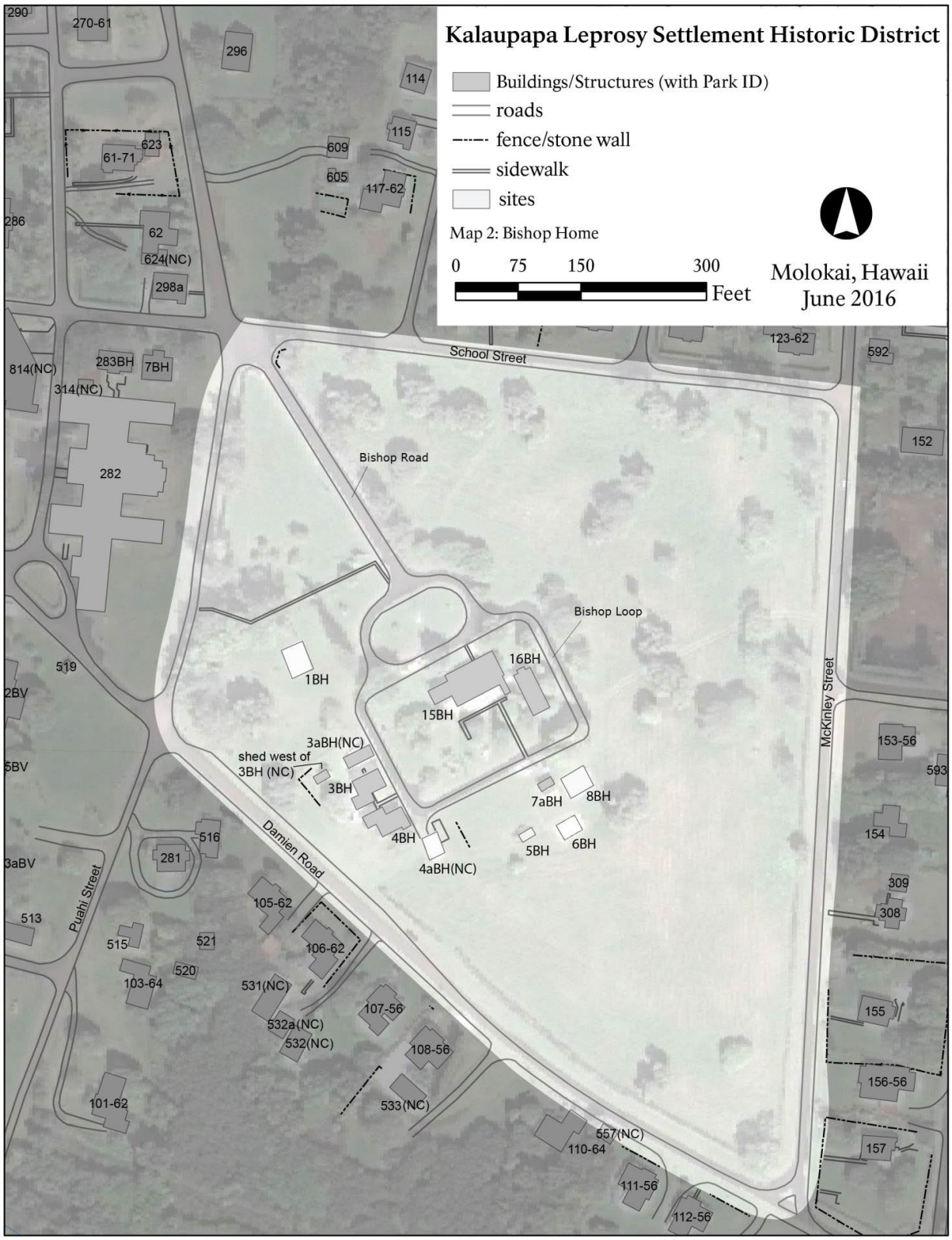
Map Number: 3

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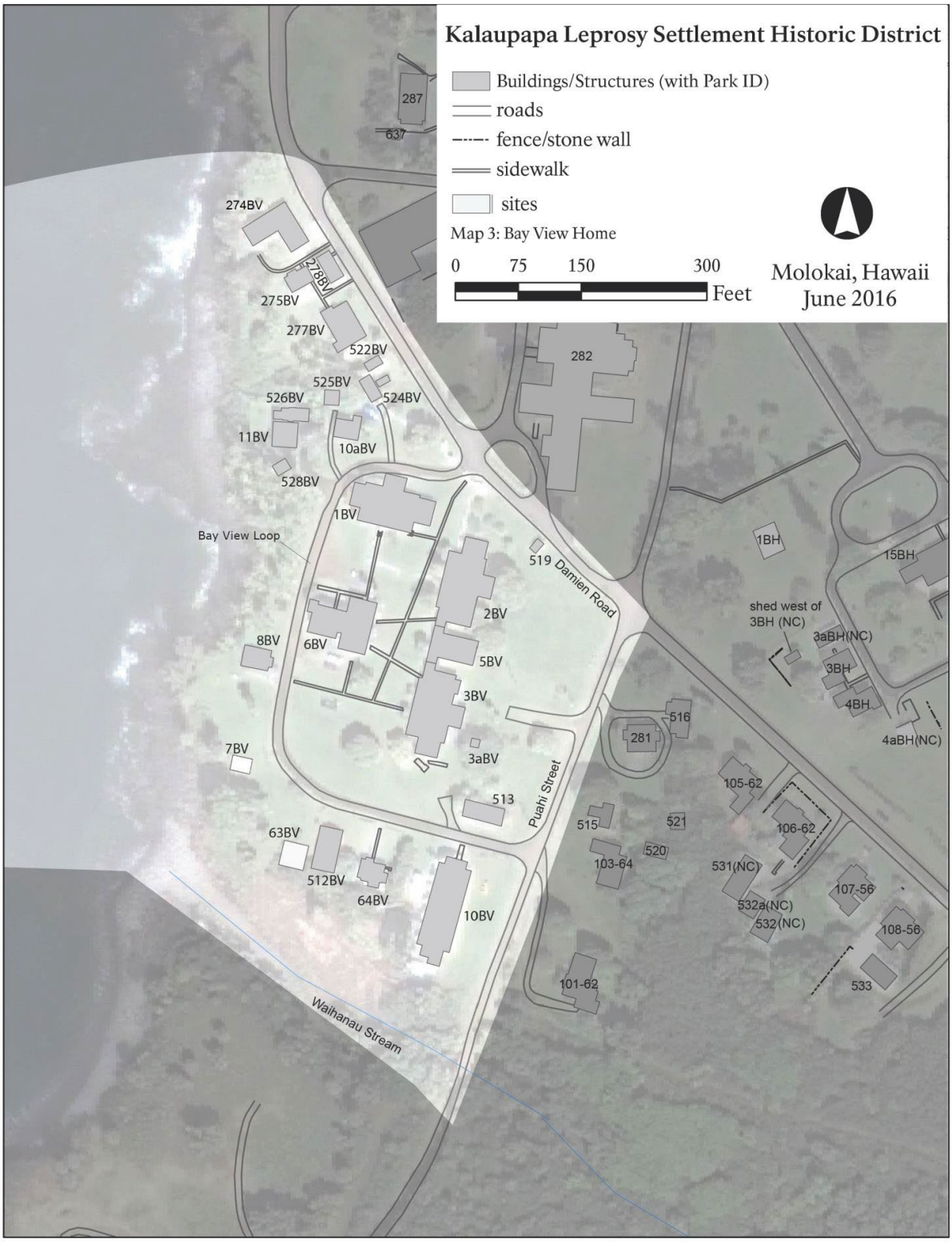
National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, section 304, 16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a)
- *Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources*

Section 304

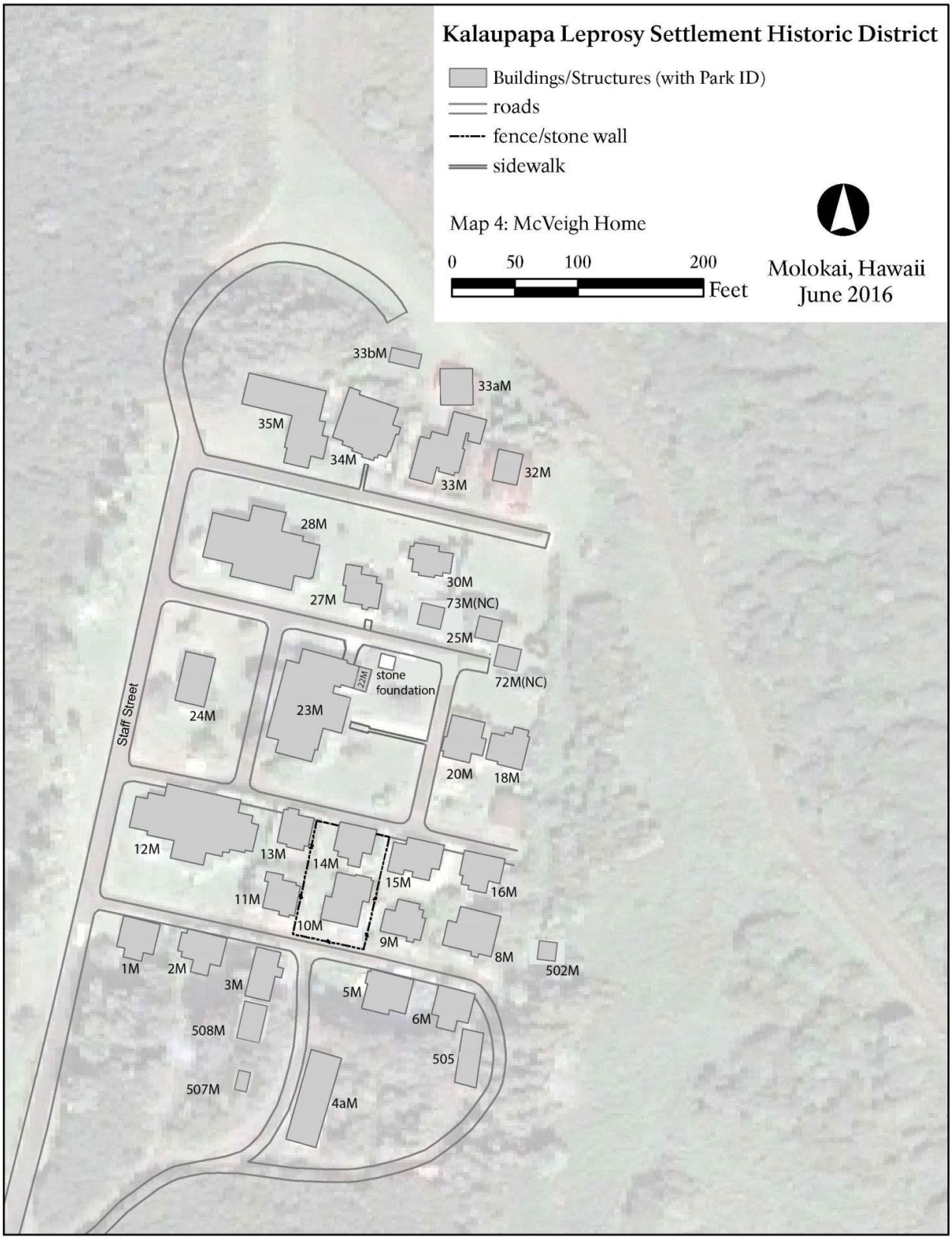
[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a) – Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources]
(a) The head of a Federal agency or other public official receiving grant assistance pursuant to this Act, after consultation with the Secretary, shall withhold from disclosure to the public, information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource if the Secretary and the agency determine that disclosure may –
(1) cause a significant invasion of privacy;
(2) risk harm to the historic resources; or
(3) impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners.



Map 4: Bishop Home



Map 5: Bay View Home



Map 6: McVeigh Home

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

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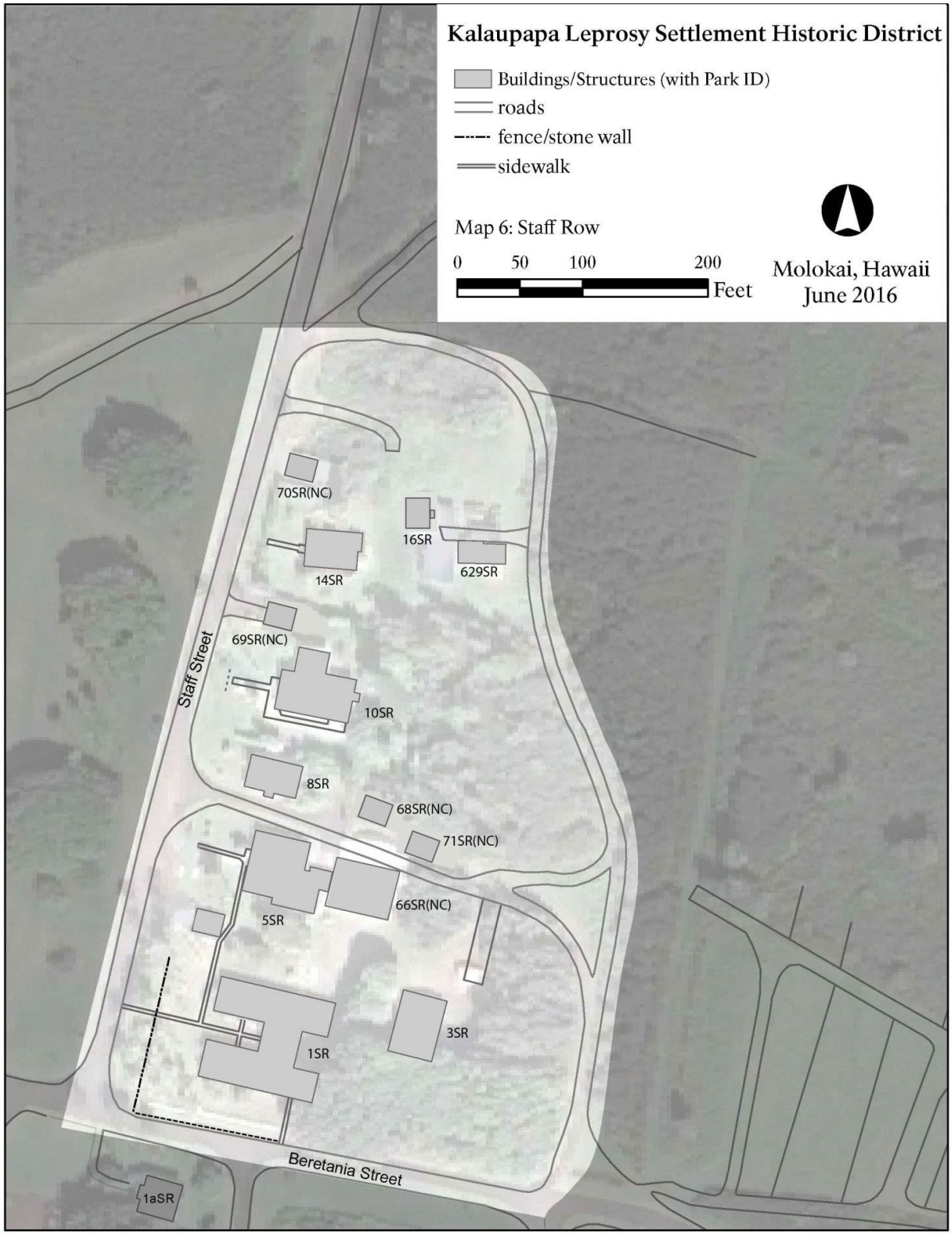
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Some information about this property is restricted under law:

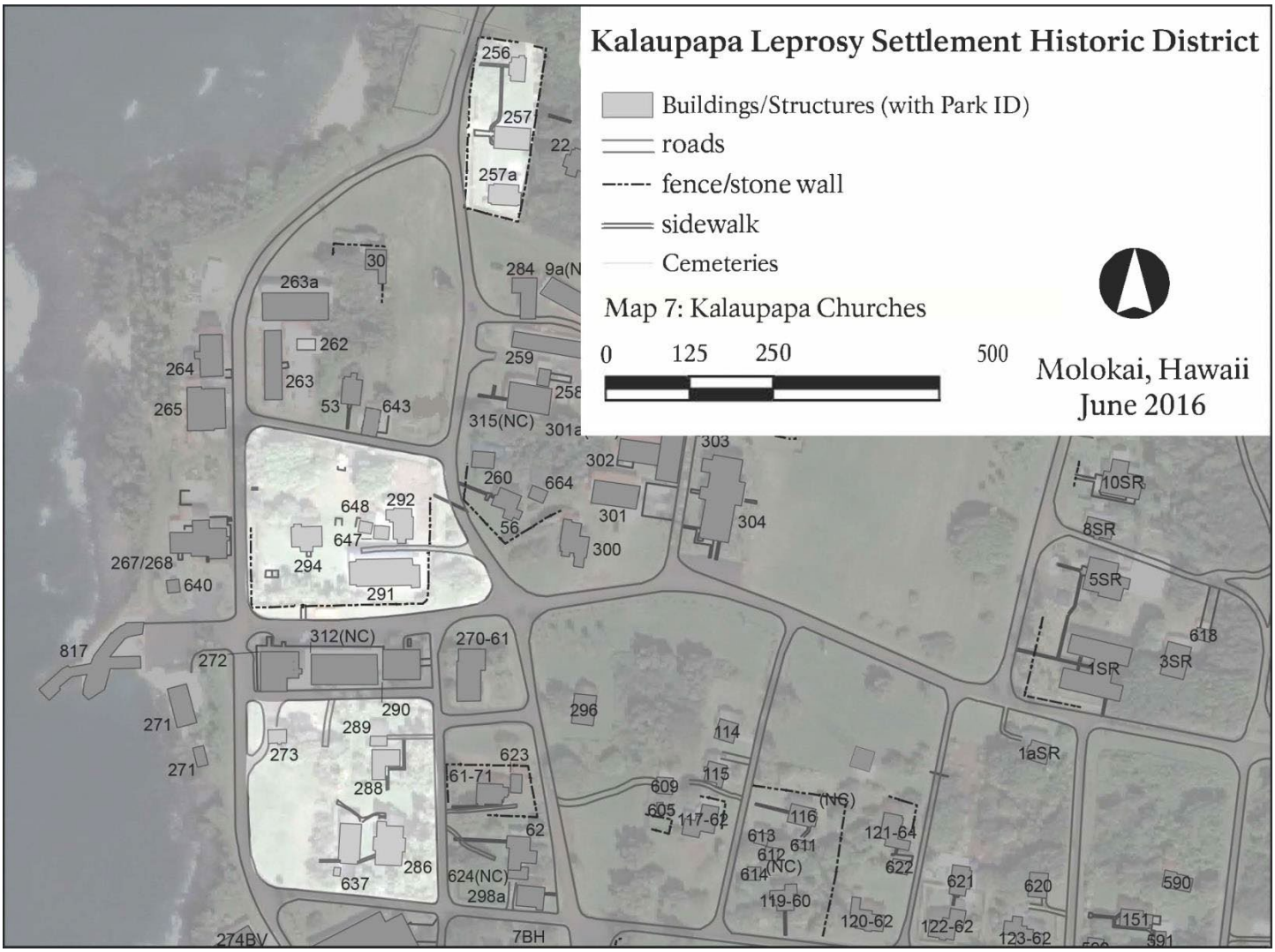
National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, section 304, 16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a)
- *Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources*

Section 304

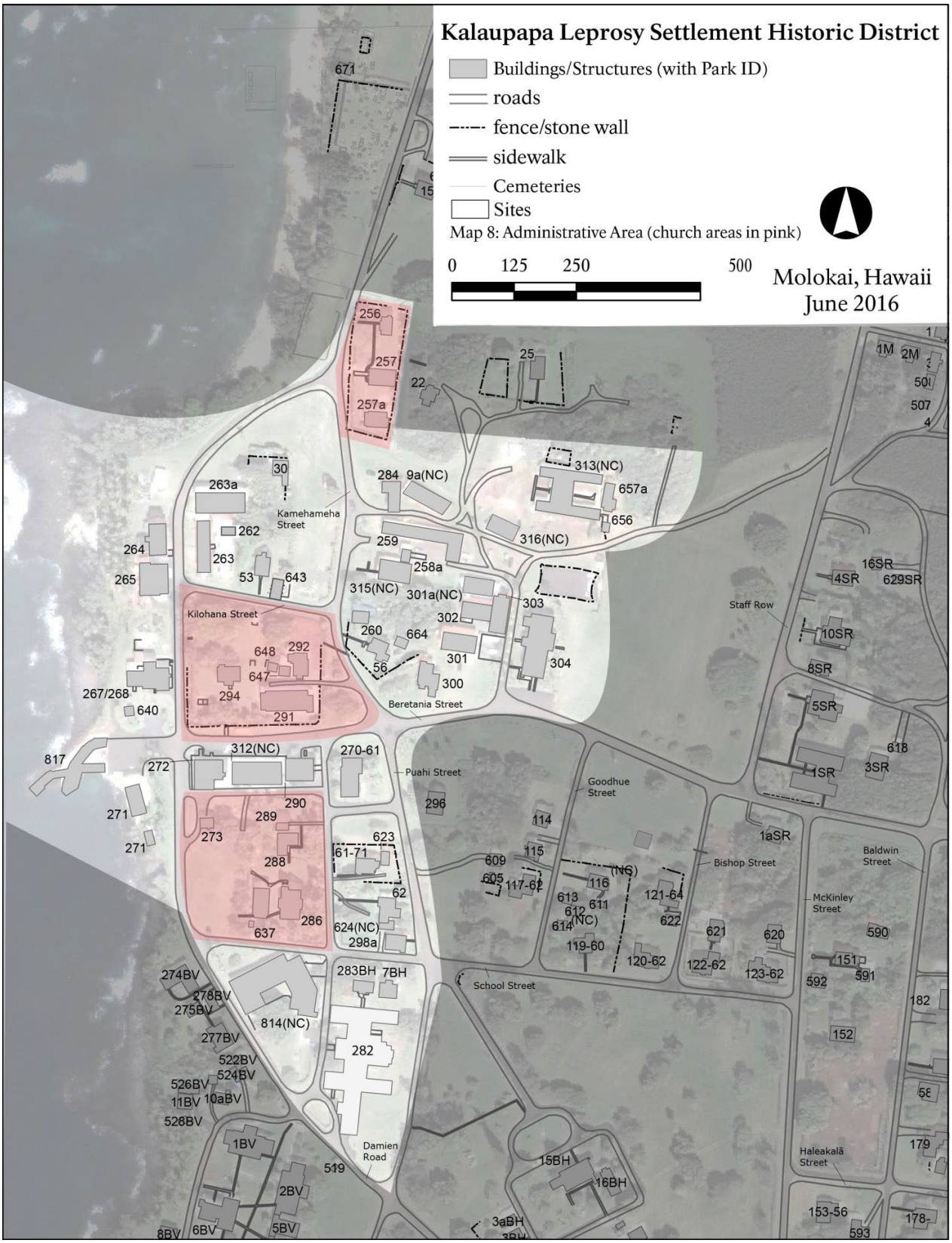
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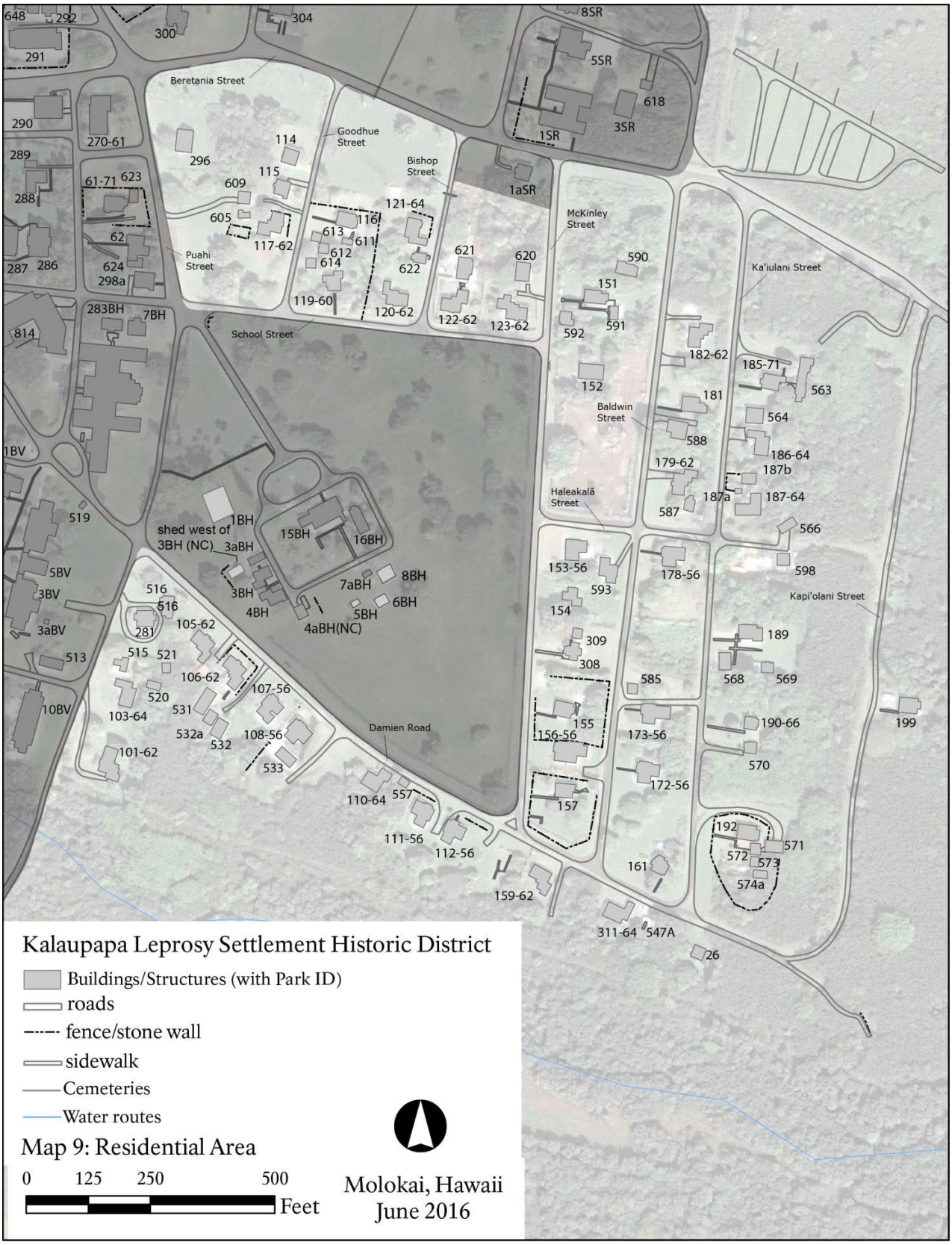
Map 8: Staff Row



Map 9: Kalaupapa Churches



Map 10: Administrative Area



Map 11: Residential Area

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

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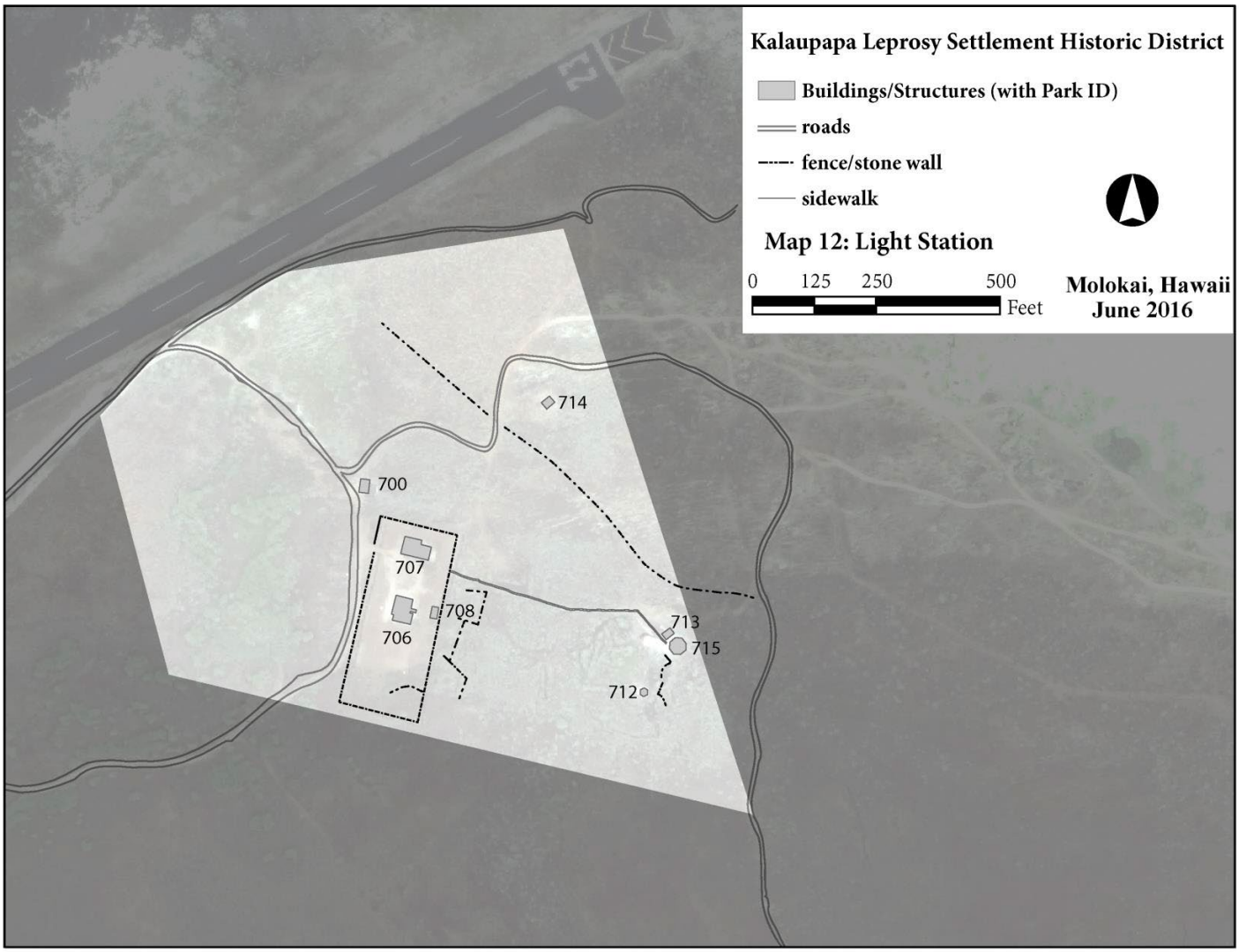
Map Numbers: 12, 13

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Map 14: Molokai Light Station

Name of Property:	Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement Historic District
City or Vicinity:	Kalaupapa
State:	HI
Name of Photographer:	T. Scott Williams
Date of Photographs:	June 2016
Location of Digital Files:	Kalaupapa National Historical Park
Number of Photographs:	80



Photo 1: Kalaupapa Peninsula from the Pali Trail, camera facing northeast.



Photo 2: Airport Terminal (703), camera facing southwest.



Photo 3: Pali Trail steps, camera facing west.



Photo 4: Beretania Street view, camera facing west. St. Francis Catholic Church (291) is visible.



Photo 5: Damien Road near Kauhakō Crater, camera facing east.



Photo 6: Damien Road in Kalawao, camera facing southeast. Siloama Church (710) is visible.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

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Photo Number: 7

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Photo 8: Puahi Street, camera facing south. The Library (296) is to the left of the road.



Photo 9: Interior plain, camera facing southeast. The partially overgrown two-track dirt road visible in the center of the photo and continuing up the hill toward the Pali is the Interior Road to Kauhakō Crater.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

PAGES REMOVED

Photo Number: 10

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Photo 11: Water Tanks (858 with 854 partially visible) located off Damien Road near the saddle between Kalawao and Kalaupapa, camera facing southwest.



Photo 12: Richard Marks Beach House (856), camera facing southeast. The outdoor “hot tub” comprised of an old bathtub perched on stacked lava rocks is partially visible on the first terrace.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

PAGES REMOVED

Photo Numbers: 13, 14, 15

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Photo 16: Siloama Church (710) and churchyard in Kalawao, camera facing east.



Photo 17: Siloama Restroom (720) with separate stalls labeled for “kokua” and “patients,” camera facing south.



Photo 18: St. Philomena Church (711) and churchyard in Kalawao, camera facing north. Father Damien's gravesite is visible alongside the church.



Photo 19: St. Philomena Church interior, camera facing northeast.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

PAGES REMOVED

Photo Numbers: 20, 21, 22

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Photo 23: Bishop Home for Girls (15BH) on the right side of the photo and St. Elizabeth Chapel (16BH) on the left, camera facing southwest. The non-contributing St. Anthony Statue (855) is in the foreground.



Photo 24: Bishop Home Boiler Plant (7aBH), camera facing east-southeast.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

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Photo Number: 25

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Photo 26: Stone and mortar pylons at the entrance driveway to the Bishop Home at the corner of School Street and Puahi Street, camera facing southeast. These are part of the Bishop Home Walls and Entrance Gates (830) Portions of the Bishop Home Roads and Curbs (832) and Bishop Home Sidewalks (861) are also visible.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

PAGES REMOVED

Photo Number: 27

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Photo 28: Rocks painted by Ed Kato, camera facing northeast. These are located at the corner of Puahi Street and Damien Road.



Photo 29: Bay View Home Building 1 (1BV), camera facing north.



Photo 30: Bay View Home Building 8 (8BV), camera facing northwest. This building reflects the history of adaptive use at the settlement. Initially built as an assembly hall in 1928, it has served as a chapel, a pool hall, and a space for funeral viewing.



Photo 31: Visitors' Pavilion (278BV), camera facing southwest. This building was constructed in 1933 to provide a space for settlement residents to meet with visitors. Initially a wire screen ran down the length of the room to ensure separation. This was removed and replaced with a two-foot-wide table in the 1940s.



Photo 32: Quonset Dormitory (10BV), camera facing southwest.



Photo 33: Section of the contributing Bay View Sidewalks (860) which link the buildings of the Bay View Home, camera facing southeast.



Photo 34: McVeigh Pool Hall (24M), camera facing southwest.



Photo 35: McVeigh Home Building 12 (12M), camera facing southeast.



Photo 36: Ed Kato's Studio (11M), camera facing northwest.



Photo 37: Slaughterhouse (630) in the left foreground and Slaughterhouse Restroom (258), camera facing southeast. The metal pipe rail loading ramp is partially visible behind and to the left of the slaughterhouse. The slaughterhouse equipment is still inside the building and is used by residents who hunt in the area.



Photo 38: Pig Sty at New Baldwin Home (852), camera facing southwest.



Photo 39: Rock Crusher (635), camera facing east.



Photo 40: Grotto and Garden Structure (851), camera facing southeast. The statue of the Virgin Mary is visible in the rock alcove in the center of the photo.



Photo 41: Residence for Single Women (1SR), historically the nurses' quarters, camera facing southeast. While the current white picket fence is non-historic, the concrete footings for the fence are contributing. The historic fence served to maintain separation between settlement residents and staff.



Photo 42: Resident Physician's Residence (10SR), camera facing east. The concrete gate posts at the entry walkway likely date to the early 1930s and are part of the contributing Staff Row Picket Fence Footing and Gate Posts (870).



Photo 43: St. Francis Catholic Church (291), camera facing southwest. Portions of the St. Francis Churchyard Walls and Gates (825) are also visible.



Photo 44: St. Francis Catholic Church (291) interior view, facing east.



Photo 45: Kana‘ana Hou Church (286) with a portion of the churchyard wall (841) in the foreground, camera facing northwest.



Photo 46: Kana‘ana Hou Church (286) interior view, camera facing south.



Photo 47: Building 637 (637), camera facing west. This is an example of a church maintenance outbuilding. Note the custom-made door.



Photo 48: Latter-day Saint Chapel (257), camera facing northeast. A portion of the encircling churchyard wall (842) extends to the right of the chapel.



Photo 49: Kamehameha Street Residence 256 (256) also known as the Latter-day Saint Rectory or Mission House, camera facing east.



Photo 50: General Warehouse (271), camera facing southeast. This is one of the few two-story buildings in the settlement. It is also one of a small number of examples of Art Deco architecture.



Photo 51: Gas Station (273), camera facing northeast.



Photo 52: Post Office (290), camera facing southwest. Centrally located in the community, this building helped residents maintain linkages to the outside world through the sending and receiving of mail.



Photo 53: Library (296), also known as the Mother Marianne Library, camera facing east. Constructed in 1956, this building is more modern in design than other buildings in the area.



Photo 54: Fuesaina's Bar (62), also known as Rea's Store and Bar, Elaine's Bar, or Elaine's Place. Operated by Mariano Rea beginning in 1963 and later by Elaine Remigio then Gloria Marks, the bar has served as an important gathering place for the community.



Photo 55: Craft and Storage Building (300), camera facing north. This is a conglomeration of buildings with a variety of functions including craft shop, bakery, and beauty shop each with separate entrances.



Photo 56: Old Stone Church (301), camera facing southwest. Built in 1853 in a style similar to other Protestant mission houses in Hawai‘i, this is the oldest extant building in the district. It has served a variety of purposes over the years and exemplifies the history of adaptive use at the settlement.



Photo 57: Paschoal Hall (304), camera facing south. This building served and continues to serve as the main community social hall.



Photo 58: Paschoal Hall (304), interior view from the balcony, camera facing southwest. Historically staff and visitors sat in the balcony while settlement residents were required to sit separately in the lower seating tier. This is an example of a small-scale architectural element designed to enforce segregation within the community.



Photo 59: Fumigation Room (283BH), camera facing southwest. Connected to the historic hospital (now a ruin) by a walkway, this is where mail, clothing, and anyone leaving the settlement for a short period of time were fumigated. This unpopular practice was ended in the 1940s after the introduction of sulfone drugs. Later, the building was used for the custom manufacture and fitting of shoes. Shoemaking materials are still inside.



Photo 60: Oceanside Pavilion (638), camera facing southwest.



Photo 61: Kalaupapa Landing (817), camera facing west. Like the airport and the Pali Trail, the landing has meaning in the community as a point of access to the outside world. It is also a reminder of the settlement's dependence on food and goods from that world.



Photo 62: Old Hospital Ruin (282), camera facing southeast. The building was destroyed by fire in 1991.



Photo 63: Clarence Naia Residence (114), camera facing southwest. This is one of a small number of buildings that are similar to the types of residences existing at Kalaupapa in the late nineteenth century. It likely dates to that period.



Photo 64: John Arruda Residence (121-64), camera facing northwest. A mortared rock fish pond is in the front yard.



Photo 65: Bishop Street Garage 622 (622), also known as Arruda's Garage, camera facing south. This is an example of a garage built and owned by a resident (John Arruda).



Photo 66: Lourdes Taghoy Residence (153-56), camera facing south.



Photo 67: AJA Benevolent Society Hall (308), camera facing southeast. This building is associated with the lives of Kalaupapa residents of Japanese ancestry.



Photo 68: Bernard Punikai‘a Residence (155), camera facing northeast. This is one of several Hawaiian Plantation Style “A Houses” with similar floor plans built in the early 1930s.



Photo 69: Garage (585), camera facing east. This garage is representative of the variety of unique styles of resident-built and -owned outbuildings in the settlement.



Photo 70: Nakanishi Residence (311-64), camera facing southeast. This is an example of a Hicks Home built in the mid-1960s.



Photo 71: Kapi‘olani Residence (185-71), camera facing southeast. This is another example of an “A House.” The dark brown and bright yellow color scheme, applied at the request of the resident in 2014, is representative of the individualized paint schemes on many houses.



Photo 72: Seki Residence (281) and Puahi Street Garage (516), also known as Kenso's Garage. The residence is an example of a home that was moved from a different location. The house is believed to have come from the New Baldwin Home. Kenso Seki's rusting Ford Model A is visible in the tall weeds on the far left of the photo.



Photo 73: Puahi Street Storage Building 520 (520), camera facing northeast. This is an example of an outbuilding constructed of recycled materials.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement**

PAGES REMOVED

Photo Number: 74

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Photo 75: Kamehameha Street Residence 15 (15), camera facing southeast. This is another example of an "A House" with a historic rock wall and entrance gate posts.

National Historic Landmarks

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PAGES REMOVED

Photo Numbers: 76, 77, 78

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Photo 79: Elaine Remigio Beach House (695), camera facing east. This is an example of a resident-owned beach house (Elaine Remigio, former proprietor of the settlement bar).



Photo 80: Lions Pavilion (688), camera facing north. This structure was built by the Kalaupapa Lions Club in 1965 at the site of a large beach house that was destroyed by the 1946 tsunami.