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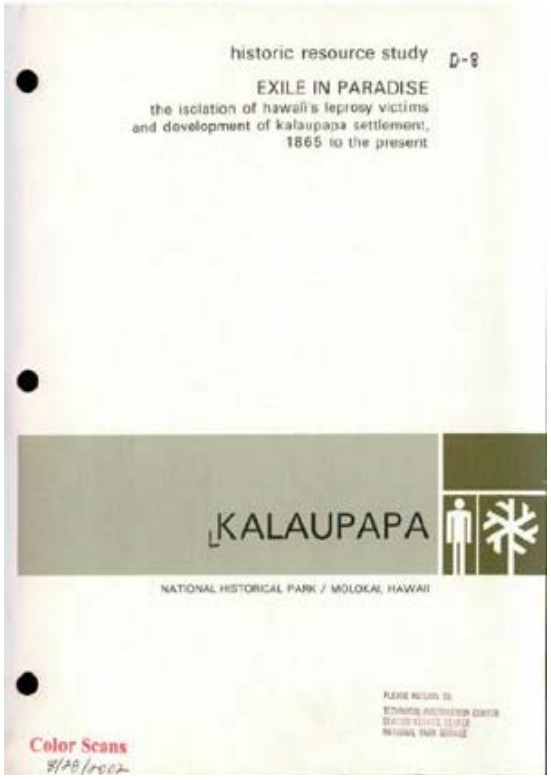
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National Historical Park : KALAUPAPA

Produced by
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Words

Bibliography

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Chronology of Important Events

1778. Captain James Cook makes first European contact with the Hawai'ian people while searching for the Northwest Passage. He names this archipelago the Sandwich Islands.

1810. Kamehameha I, powerful chief of the island of Hawai'i, successfully defeats rivals and establishes himself as sovereign over all Hawai'i. He unites a scattered nation and keeps it together in the face of vast cultural changes due to the arrival of foreign ships bringing animals, trees, fruits, plants, firearms, liquor, and diseases never before seen in Hawai'i. Internal peace and stability in foreign affairs mark his reign. He is referred to as Kamehameha The Great and is memorialized in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol. His traditional ascension date was 1795, and he ruled until 1819.

1819. Kamehameha I's son, Liholiho, becomes king and begins a reign characterized by weakness and vacillation. Early in his rule an event of major proportions occurs when, pressured by his mother and his father's favorite wife, he openly sits down to eat with a group of noble women, thus violating a sacred taboo that forbids men and women from eating together. Later he orders religious images burned and heiau demolished, thus irrevocably tearing the ancient social fabric of the islands. He dies from measles in London in 1824.

1820. American Protestant missionaries from New England arrive in Hawai'i. Although primarily interested in the salvation of souls, they are an important catalyst of civilization. They seem narrow-minded and intolerant, but accomplish much that is good for the Hawai'ians by putting the Hawai'ian language in written form, establishing schools, and encouraging agricultural and manufacturing industries.

1824. Kauikeaouli, last son of Kamehameha The Great to rule, becomes King Kamehameha III at age ten upon his older brother's death. His reign of twenty-nine years is the longest of any Hawai'ian monarch. He is a progressive ruler, moving his people toward democracy and constitutional monarchy. He rules until 1854.

1827. The first Catholic missionaries arrive in Hawai'i.

1832. The Reverend Harvey R. Hitchcock is sent to christianize the natives of Moloka'i. He establishes the first Christian mission at Kalua'aha on the southeast shore of the island.

1838. Barbara Koob (Mother Marianne Cope) is born in Heppenheim, Germany.

1839. A substation of Kalua'aha mission is established on Kalaupapa peninsula. A French frigate enters Honolulu harbor and demands freedom for Catholic prisoners. The right of Catholics to remain in Hawai'i and preach and convert is established.

1840. Joseph de Veuster (Father Damien) is born in Tremeloo, Belgium, into a well-to-do peasant family.

1843. Ira Barnes Dutton (Brother Dutton) is born near present-day Stowe, Vermont.

1850. Board of Health is organized by Kamehameha III to protect the health of the people and take measures to cure them of epidemic diseases.

1853. Calvinist Church (Bldg. No. 301) is built on Kalaupapa peninsula.

1854. Alexander Liholiho succeeds his uncle Kamehameha III, taking the title of Kamehameha IV. He is the first grandson of Kamehameha The Great to become king of Hawai'i, and is one of the most anti-American of all Hawai'i's monarchs. During his reign there is

agitation on the part of sugar planters for annexation to the United States, while at the same time the monarchy tries to strengthen its own power. There is also pressure to extend democracy to the citizenry.

1863. Lot Kamehameha, as King Kamehameha V, is the final direct descendant of Kamehameha The Great to reign and the last monarch to rule in the old style. Afterwards, kings will be elected by the Hawai'ian legislature. A reciprocity treaty allowing Hawai'ian sugar to enter American duty-free is promoted during his reign. He dies in 1872 without naming a successor, ending the Kamehameha The Great dynasty.

1864. Joseph de Veuster, a member of the missionary party of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts to the Hawai'ian Islands, is ordained to the priesthood in Honolulu.

1865. "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" in Hawai'i is passed. This law provides for setting aside land for the isolation and seclusion of leprous individuals. Land on the peninsula of Moloka'i is purchased for use as an isolation settlement. Kalihi Hospital and Detention Station opens for the admission of leprosy patients. It is designed as a hospital for light cases and as a temporary detention station for severe ones.

1866. In January the first group of leprosy victims is deposited at Kalawao. Siloama, "Church of the Healing Spring" (Congregational), is organized in December.

1871. Siloama Church (Bldg. No. 710) is dedicated.

1872. St. Philomena Catholic Church (Bldg. No. 711) is erected at Kalawao.

1873. Dr. Gerhard Henrik Armauer Hansen, a Norwegian physician, detects the leprosy bacillus (Mycobacterium leprae). William

Lunalilo is confirmed as king of Hawai'i by the legislature. He is descended from one of the half-brothers of Kamehameha The Great. A liberal monarch who attempts to democratize the constitution, he has an advanced tubercular affliction that causes his death a little over a year later. He also fails to name a successor. Father Damien volunteers as resident priest at the leprosy settlement. During the summer, a store is established at Kalawao to supply staple goods at low prices to the residents. Another Catholic church, Our Lady Health of the Sick, is built at Kalaupapa.

1874. Father André Burgermann is sent to Moloka'i to minister to the needs of the rest of the island. David Kalākaua, Hawai'i's last king, is elected ruler by the legislature. Concerned with the well-being of native Hawai'ians, he is a hard-headed individualist who suffers setbacks to his power toward the end of his reign. In April he visits Kalaupapa. A new constitution depriving him of much of his power is written. Due to declining health, he goes to California in 1890, leaving Liliuokalani as regent, and dies there of a stroke.

1876. St. Philomena Church is remodelled and a nave and steeple added. In June the "Committee of Thirteen," leading members of the Hawai'ian legislature, land at Kalaupapa to investigate the condition of the residents. Dr. G.W. Woods, medical inspector in the U.S. Navy, visits Kalaupapa peninsula.

1878. Father Damien establishes orphanages for young boys and girls at Kalawao.

1879. The first semi-resident doctor, Nathaniel B. Emerson, arrives at Kalawao. New Siloama chapel is dedicated at Kalaupapa.

1880. Siloama is rebuilt, including changing the orientation of the front elevation, tapering the steeple, and raising the belfry.

1881. Princess Liliuokalani, sister of King Kalākaua, visits the leprosy settlement. Father Albert Montiton begins service at Kalaupapa. Kaka'ako Hospital opens in December on the east side of Honolulu harbor, taking the place of the old Kalihi Hospital. The site becomes unsuitable due to periodic inundation by the sea, and about 1889 the buildings are moved back to the old Kalihi Hospital site. It is used as a detention station and hospital for mild leprosy cases.

1883. Mother Marianne and six Sisters of St. Francis arrive in Hawai'i.

1884. Queen Kapiolani, Princess Liliuokalani, and Dr. Eduard Arning, German medical expert, arrive at Kalaupapa to assess the condition of the settlement. Charles Warren Stoddard, professor of English literature at Notre Dame University and author of Lepers of Molokai, first visited the leprosarium in 1868 and returns in 1884. Damien's leprosy is diagnosed.

1885. Kapiolani Home for Girls opens in Honolulu as a home for children of leprous parents.

1886. Ira Dutton arrives at Kalawao to help Father Damien.

1888. A stone addition and tower are added to St. Philomena Church. The Charles R. Bishop Home for Unprotected Leper Girls and Women is completed at Kalaupapa. The leprosy branch hospital at Kaka'ako is closed. Mother Marianne and two Catholic sisters arrive at Kalaupapa to supervise the Bishop Home. Father Wendelin Moellers arrives to be pastor at the Kalaupapa Church and at the sisters' convent.

1889. Father Damien dies from the effects of leprosy. Robert Louis Stevenson, noted British writer, visits Hawai'i and the leprosy settlement.

1890s. Gradual move to Kalaupapa of leprosy patients begins. Kalawao to be abandoned as place of residence as buildings decay.

1893. Dr. Masanao Goto is engaged by the Board of Health to treat Hawai'i's leprosy victims.

1894. The Henry P. Baldwin Home for Boys and Helpless Men opens at Kalawao.

1895. The last kama'āinas are evicted from Kalaupapa peninsula.

1898. The United States annexes the Hawai'ian Islands.

1900. The Territory of Hawai'i is created. St. Francis Catholic Church is dedicated at Kalaupapa.

1901. The Bay View Home for the Aged and Helpless is built on the waterfront at Kalaupapa.

1904. Dr. C. B. Cooper, president of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawai'i, requests the federal government to undertake scientific research on leprosy in the Islands.

1905. The "Act to Provide for the Investigation of Leprosy" is passed by the U.S. Congress. Construction begins on a hospital and laboratory at Kalawao: the first hospital for research on a specific disease authorized by Congress.

1906. St. Francis Church at Kalaupapa burns.

1908. A general hospital is built at Kalaupapa. The new St. Francis Church (Bldg. No. 291) is completed.

1909. The Moloka'i lighthouse is built on the tip of the Kalaupapa peninsula. The U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao opens.

1910. The McVeigh Home for White Foreigners opens. Laboratory space is given to the Public Health Service at Kalihi Hospital in Honolulu, and the majority of personnel from the Kalawao station are transferred there.

1913. The U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station is officially closed for scientific studies, although routine work continues.

1914. The Bay View Home burns.

1915. Kalaupapa social hall (Bldg. No. 304) and Kanaana Hou Church (Bldg. No. 286) are built at Kalaupapa.

1917. The new Bay View Home opens.

1918. Mother Marianne dies.

1921. The "Louisiana Leper Home," established in Carville in 1894, is purchased by the U.S. Government and designated as the National Leprosarium.

1922. The U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station buildings and land are transferred from the federal government to the Territory of Hawai'i.

1928. The McVeigh Home burns.

1929. The U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station is dismantled. A new McVeigh Home is built.

1930. The Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement is created.

1931. The poi shop and landing dock at Kalaupapa are built. Brother Joseph Dutton dies.

1932. The ice plant and airport at Kalaupapa are completed. A new hospital (Bldg. No. 282) opens. The old Kalaupapa general hospital is converted to the new Baldwin Home, while the old home at Kalawao is burned. This completes the transfer of patients to the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula.

1934. The post office/courtroom and service station are built at Kalaupapa.

1936. Father Damien's body is exhumed and removed to Louvain, Belgium, for burial.

1938. Beatification proceedings are begun toward canonization of Joseph de Veuster as Saint Damien.

1946. A destructive tidal wave hits the west shoreline of Kalaupapa settlement, inflicting heavy damage. Sulfone drugs are introduced in Hawai'i as part of routine therapy for the treatment of leprosy, introducing hope for the alleviation and arrest of symptoms.

1947. Lawrence M. Judd is appointed resident superintendent of Kalaupapa settlement and introduces new social and therapeutic activities.

1949. The Board of Hospitals and Settlement is abolished. Administration of the Hansen's Disease (leprosy) program is given back to the Board of Health.

1950. The Baldwin Home for Men and Boys merges with the Bay View Home.

1966. Old Siloama at Kalawao is reconstructed.

1969. The Hawai'i Board of Health decides to end the isolation of leprosy patients.

1976. The Secretary of the Interior is directed to study the feasibility of adding Kalaupapa settlement to the National Park System.

1977. Father Damien is declared Venerable by the Roman Catholic Church.

1980. Public Law 96-565 establishes Kalaupapa National Historical Park.

Some data extracted from:

Mullins, Joseph G. Hawaiian Journey. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing Company, n.d.

Skinsnes, Anwei V., and Binford, Chapman H. "Leprosy Research and the Public Health Service--A Brief Chronological Resume." Public Health Reports, May-June 1980, vol. 95, no. 3, pp. 210-12.

Soullière, Laura E. Notes from architectural survey, 1976, in NPS files, DSC.

PREFACE

Perhaps few groups of Hawai'ian people have been as analyzed and described as the residents of Kalaupapa settlement, a colony for leprosy patients established in the nineteenth century on the north shore of the island of Moloka'i. While previous studies have been primarily sociological in nature, concentrating on the plight, problems, and concerns of these people, this Historic Resource Study of Kalaupapa National Historical Park has been written for two rather different reasons. First, the area is new to the National Park System, and although its general development has been traced in standard Hawai'ian histories, much of the detail necessary for proper park management, interpretation, and preservation has been lacking. The park contains an amazing variety of prehistoric archeological ruins and historic buildings at scattered locations across the peninsula and in varying states of deterioration. Establishing priorities for stabilization, restoration, interpretation, and adaptive use requires the collection and evaluation of all data necessary to establish levels of significance. Second, the National Park Service is mandated by E.O. 11593, the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980, Service Management Policies, and by former Director Russ Dickenson's Staff Directive 81-1 to identify significant resources and thus avoid the potential for serious adverse effects on them. This meant that all 400+ public buildings, support facilities, patient homes, and miscellaneous structures on the peninsula had to be studied.

This study provides a narrative history of the Kalaupapa peninsula on Moloka'i, beginning with the arrival of leprosy patients in 1866. Perusal of kingdom and territorial records has provided minute details on the early Kalawao and Kalaupapa settlements, and Board of Health records for later years provide plentiful data on later rehabilitation work at Kalaupapa settlement. The information found in these primary sources has been supplemented by many useful secondary sources, maps, and photographs.

The National Park Service is now involved in making decisions on stabilization and restoration work, so that much of the study emphasizes construction dates and building use in order to determine levels of significance of sites and structures. Less emphasis has been put on oral history research, although hopefully this report provides an historical context which can be enhanced by oral history and which will place the statements of informants in their proper perspective.

It should be noted that the chronological divisions the writer has established to describe the physical growth of the leprosy settlement vary somewhat from those in the 1975 National Register form, because it is believed these more accurately reflect the course of development. The building construction dates in the final evaluation and recommendations chapter were found in the Department of Health Administrator's office at Kalaupapa settlement, in a document entitled "Memorandum No. 76-12 re: Verification of State Owned, leased, and rented buildings on Molokai," May 1976, and from a facilities inventory of August 1980. Sometimes these dates vary a year or so from those given in Board of Health reports. Building numbers throughout are keyed to the aerial photograph of Kalaupapa settlement found in Laura E. Soulliere and Henry G. Law's architectural evaluation of Kalaupapa settlement published by the National Park Service in 1979 and reprinted in this document as Historical Base Map 8.

Writing this report has been a wonderful experience, opening up a whole new research field for this historian. Personnel at the Hawaii State Archives in Honolulu, especially Mary Ann Akao and Richard Thompson, were extremely helpful and patient during my numerous requests for research help and for xeroxing and photographic services. I would also like to thank Charles Okino of the State Department of Accounting and General Services; Irene Letoto of the Damien Museum and Archives; personnel of the Bishop Museum; Barbara E. Dunn of the Hawaiian Historical Society; Mary Jane Knight of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Brother John McCluskey of Chaminade University of Honolulu, and personnel of the State Department of Health in Honolulu. Invaluable and constant help was extended by Anwei V. Skinsnes of the

Leprosy Atelier of Leahi Hospital and by Bruce J. Doneux of the Kalaupapa Historical Society and project director of the Kalaupapa Historical Collection Project. Toshiaki Inouye, state administrator at Kalaupapa, was friendly, courteous, and most helpful in putting his records at my disposal. And finally I would like to thank all the patients at the settlement who accepted me graciously and expressed interest in my work.

The primary National Park Service representative at the settlement is Henry G. Law, who functions as superintendent, tour guide for Service VIP visitors, liaison with the patients, NPS spokesman, and general factotum. A more personable, responsible, and competent person could not have been selected for this post. Henry's interest in just about everything and everybody and his sincere dedication to the National Park Service mission make working with him a most enjoyable experience. Also appreciated for their help and interest in this project are Bryan Harry, Pacific Area Director, NPS, Honolulu, and his staff archeologist Gary F. Somers. Several people at the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service helped prepare this report for publication. I would especially like to thank Nancy Arwood, Lou Tidd, Jan Petrukitas, and Joan Manson for their expert typing of the text and John Myers for his meticulous mapwork. Finally I would like to thank Tom Mulhern, Chief, Park Historic Preservation, and Gordon Chappell, Regional Historian, National Park Service, Western Regional Office, for their encouragement, assistance, and unfailing interest in this project. They, as well as all Park Service visitors to the peninsula, have been greatly impressed by the friendliness of the people, the magnificence of the scenery, and the international significance of the area.

Kalawao and Kalaupapa settlements stand today as monuments to man's ability to overcome spiritually and physically one of the most distressing public health problems in world history. Their importance lies in their relationship to major historical themes, such as general community values and past and future public and mental health research and attitudes. The history of the Kalaupapa peninsula leprosy patients is an

integral part of the story of the Hawai'ian Islands and of leprosy in Hawai'i and the world. The disease was still a mystery in the nineteenth century. No one understood its origin, methods of transmission, or cure. Isolation was still the most common form of treatment to try to prevent the spread of the disease. In the belief that leprosy was incurable, patients were abandoned in colonies, usually with only missionaries to look after their welfare. The kingdom of Hawai'i, which recognized the epidemic proportions of leprosy and was originally faced with the problem of stemming its spread in the islands, charted an unknown course in the care and treatment of leprosy patients. With a continuing financial committment to the project and with the aid of dedicated clergy of several faiths and other selfless individuals, the government of Hawai'i was able to gradually improve the lifestyle and medical treatment of these unfortunate individuals.

Biblical references to leprosy greatly influenced Western attitudes toward the disease and created the stigma for its victims of being unclean and morally impure. Because of its unfortunate connotations, leprosy has sometimes been referred to as "Hansen's Disease," after Gerhard H.A. Hansen, discoverer of the leprosy bacillus. Because the word "leprosy" has been in use for so many years, the International Leprosy Association still condones its use, although the objectionable term "leper" is avoided. It cannot, however, be expunged from the historical record and will occasionally be used in this study in direct quotations.

The remaining patients at Kalaupapa are special and their experiences as leprosy victims are unique. Their history is

> a record of the human experiences of a very special population--a population who because of their disease and because of the public reaction to their disease have lived lives that the rest of us haven't. What we learn from this record of human experience will at its best serve to enrich our own lives and those of the generations succeeding us. We will learn to be exceptionally sensitive to the idea of social banishment; we will learn, above all, that human dignity is worth preserving.[1]

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1. Ted Gugelyk and Milton Bloombaum, Ma'i Ho'oka'awale: The Separating Sickness (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1979), p. 17.

This study is dedicated to the residents of Kalaupapa, and I hope all those who have come to know and admire the settlement and its people will find it of interest. I hope, too, that it will be perceived as an honest and fair accounting of a significant period in Hawai'ian history.

I. A Brief History of the Hawai'ian Islands

A. "Discovery"

The Hawai'ian archipelago is a chain of eight major islands plus reefs and shoals extending southeast-northwest, from Hawai'i, the "Big Island," to Kure Island--a distance of 1,600 miles. Exclusive of Midway Islands, which remain under U.S. Navy administration and have long been an important airplane base, the seven inhabited islands are at the southeast end of the archipelago. Extending from the northwest to the southeast, they are Ni'ihau, Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, Maui, and Hawai'i. Kaho'olawe, a small island south of Lāna'i, is uninhabited and used as a target area by the U.S. Navy and Air Force. The Hawai'ian Islands were formed by volcanic action, the major ones being basaltic volcanic domes.

The Hawai'ian Islands were originally settled by peoples given the general name of Polynesians, who came from the Marquesas and Society islands by canoe over a long period of time, beginning probably at least as early as the eighth century A.D. Emigrants later came in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Tahiti. Although Spanish galleons sailing between Mexico and the Philippines might have been aware of this group of islands, not until 1778 did the first European, the British explorer Capt. James Cook, "discover" the islands on his third expedition to the Pacific, in search of a sea passage joining the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. He named them the Sandwich Islands in honor of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the [British] Admiralty. Returning the next year, Cook was killed in a skirmish with a group of native Hawai'ians on the "Big Island" of Hawai'i.

At the time of Cook's discovery, the individual islands or parts of islands were ruled by various high chiefs, who constantly quarreled among themselves for supremacy. Finally a particularly capable chief on the island of Hawai'i, named Kamehameha, eventually conquered all the islands and brought them under his ordered and prosperous rule by 1810. (Although he did not invade the islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, their king accepted Kamehameha as his sovereign.) Except for a few minor and unsuccessful revolts, there were no more wars in Hawai'i. Kamehameha

devoted the next few years to organizing his government and building up the islands' resources, and the single unified kingdom thrived during his stable reign. During that time many Europeans, and a few Americans, lived in Hawai'i. Indeed white men had helped Kamehameha in his conquest to a great extent, providing him with guns, artillery, and ships.

Kamehameha I ruled from 1795 to 1819 and was referred to as "the Napoleon of the Pacific."[1] He is most commonly referred to, however, as Kamehameha The Great, because of his achievements in uniting a nation and keeping it together in the face of disruptive foreign and domestic elements. Upon his death, the King's heir, Liholiho, became Kamehameha II.

B. Arrival of Protestant Missionaries

On June 27, 1810, in Bradford, Massachusetts, an American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was instituted, whose object was "to devise, adopt, and prosecute ways and means for propogating the gospel among those who are destitute of the Knowledge of Christianity."[2] Its members belonged to the Congregational and Presbyterian churches.

When American Protestant missionaries came to Hawaii in 1820, they encountered the old Hawaiian religion, which included four primary gods and several lesser ones. Despite its support by Kamehameha the Great, the Hawaiian religion had been growing weaker for some time due to the influence of foreigners, as well as the natives tiring of the sacrifices and oppression imposed by priests. The kapu or taboo system was an extremely important part of this religion and prescribed numerous prohibitions, such as forbidding men and women from eating together and

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1. Omer Englebert, The Hero of Molokai: Father Damien, Apostle of the Lepers (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1962), p. 58.

2. Father Reginald Yzendoorn, History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands (Honolulu, T.H.: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1927), p. 21.

women from eating specific foods such as bananas, pork, coconuts, or certain fish. Two of Kamehameha the Great's widows, however, were instrumental in overthrowing the kapu system. These two women persuaded Liholiho to abolish the old kapu and the old religion. Throughout the islands images of the old gods were destroyed, heiau demolished, and the people forbidden by royal decree to worship the old gods. Hawai'i thus became a fertile field for American evangelism and the planting of new religions. Although the old patterns of domestic and religious life were disrupted, it was years before a new pattern, based on Christian mores, was established.

King Kamehameha II permitted the missionaries to settle and work in Hawai'i for a year, and during that time they zealously established and operated schools on O'ahu, Kaua'i, Hawai'i, and Maui. New arrivals from Massachusetts achieved further admirable results--establishing a Hawai'ian alphabet, introducing a written Hawai'ian language, and publishing several Hawai'ian word lists and religious booklets in Hawai'ian. Pleased with their successes and gradual acceptance by many of the chiefs, the Protestants were unwilling to permit competition from other quarters. Some dissension arose, therefore, in 1827 when the first Catholic missionaries arrived and attempted to counterbalance the influence of the New Englanders.

C. Arrival of Catholic Missionaries and Others

In 1825 the Seminary for Foreign Missions in Paris entrusted the Hawai'ian Mission to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, an order founded in 1800 and sometimes referred to as the Picpus Brothers after the street in Paris on which the mother house was located. The brothers found their presence in Hawai'i in 1827 to be unwelcome; the chiefs, influenced by the Protestant missionaries, were reluctant to admit Catholics to Hawai'i. Eventually granted a tract of land for their mission by Kamehameha III (Kamehameha II had died of measles in London in 1824), the Catholics settled in to learn the language. In 1831, however, persecution of the Catholics began, with the connivance of the

Protestant mission. The Prefect Apostolic of Hawai'i was banished. The brothers who remained endeavored during this time to console and encourage the faithful Hawai'ians who still gathered at the mission for daily prayers. In mid-1835, the arrival of more Boston missionaries initiated a new persecution of Catholics on Oahu. In Honolulu harsh and cruel punishments were meted out to Catholic Hawai'ians who refused to attend Protestant prayer meetings. Hundreds were imprisoned and forced to hard labor. In December 1837, by royal ordinance, the Catholic faith was rejected and Calvinist tenets became the state religion. Only with the arrival of a French frigate in the Honolulu harbor in 1839 and the subsequent demand to halt all persecution under threat of war were orders given by the king and chiefs to end all punishments based on religious beliefs and to liberate all Catholic prisoners.

The first written constitution of the kingdom, published in 1840, contained a clause on religious toleration. The way was then cleared for inauguration of a full-scale apostolate throughout the islands, although open hostility between Protestants and Catholics continued. By 1840 Catholics numbered 2,000, and five years later the islands were elevated to a Vicariate Apostolic of which Bishop Louis Maigret was placed in charge. By Brother Damien's arrival in Hawai'i in 1864, there were already forty Catholic missionaries in the field. Little by little the relations between Catholic priests and Protestant ministers became friendlier, and, as a consequence, Catholic relations with the king and chiefs also improved. Now the work of extension could begin. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association was organized in 1854, superseding the Sandwich Islands Mission, and in 1863 the association broadened its membership to include native Hawai'ian clergy. Mormon missionaries arrived in the islands in the 1850s, and Episcopalians in the 1860s. The Hawai'ian kingdom thus became a predominately Christian nation, watched over closely by missionaries--the only foreigners in the early days who concerned themselves solely with the fate of the Hawai'ians.

D. A New Era Begins

Up to the time of Cook's arrival in the Hawai'ian Islands, centuries of nearly complete isolation had evolved a pattern of Hawai'ian

social and cultural life shaped from internal forces. By the mid-nineteenth century, economic and social change was rapid and prompted primarily by external forces. Only a few years after Cook's visit, the Sandwich Islands became a convenient port in which foreign ships could rest and obtain supplies during the long trans-Pacific voyage involved in bearing sea otter skins between the northwest coast of America and Canton, China. Soon a variety of exploring vessels, whaling ships, and general trading ships anchored off the coast, and a friendly and profitable relationship developed between the seamen and the Hawai'ians. Firearms and ammunition were given to the chiefs for use during their frequent civil wars and sailors enjoyed in return fresh water, sweet potatoes, pork, and the charms of the island women.

It was not long before several of these seafaring visitors decided to live onshore, and this number grew steadily. These new residents ranged from runaway sailors and escaped prisoners to men of education and practical knowledge. The latter were in great demand by the chiefs as instructors in war, advisors, and managers of estates. Held in high esteem, they became quite wealthy and prominent. Very few of the foreigners, however, made any attempt to educate the natives or teach them the intricacies of Western culture, probably to ensure the stability of their own positions.

Although at first primarily Europeans and Americans, foreign residents included Chinese by 1794, and before long Hawai'i was assuming her role as the melting pot of the Pacific. Foreign contacts brought many positive results, such as new ideas; new domestic animals, plants, fruits, and vegetables; and items of European manufacture, such as tools and utensils. In addition they created a variety of new problems, involving religious conflicts, land titles, trade, and credit. The most detrimental effect of foreign influence was the introduction of venereal and other diseases to the islands. Having no immunity to them, thousands of Hawai'ians became afflicted with venereal disease and succumbed to smallpox, measles, and whooping cough.

II. Leprosy Through the Ages

A. History of Leprosy

The disease of leprosy has been a scourge of mankind for thousands of years. Through the centuries it has been one of the most dreaded of diseases because of its disfiguring and incurable aspects. First known in Egypt, it did not spread to Europe proper until after the Romans invaded Egypt several hundred years before Christ. While Phoenecian seamen probably spread it to Greece and Mediterranean ports, Roman soldiers brought it back to Italy and then farther into Europe. Occurrences of the disease increased rapidly in England and it became a plague during the Crusades when the warriors brought back enough of the deadly germs to start epidemics. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the disease assumed terrible proportions with possibly a quarter of northern Europe's population being afflicted at one time.[1] Flourishing in the filthy, congested towns of that period, it hit the lower classes hardest, but sometimes could be found in the highest social strata, including sovereigns and clerics.

Although there were physicians available, such a serious ailment as leprosy was considered to be an expression of the wrath of God and was left to the ministrations of priests. Segregation seemed the solution to combat the contagiousness of the disease, whose cause, communicability, or cure were unknown. Throughout history those who have contracted leprosy have undergone extreme hardships. A state of outlawry, worse than that of a criminal, was thrust upon them. Regarded as already dead, the sick were cast out of the cities and forbidden to mingle with the healthy folk. Hampered by strict rules governing their movements, leprosy victims were forced to subsist as beggars, wearing a black cowl and announcing their presence by constant tragic cries of "Unclean!" At that sound, the unscathed would make the sign of the cross and flee or drive the outcast away with stones.

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1. John Farrow, Damien the Leper (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1951), p. 89.

It was through the unceasing labors of the priesthood that the lives of leprosy victims were finally made more bearable. Hospitals (leprosaria) and houses were established to feed and clothe the sick. The arrival of another epidemic disease during the Middle Ages--the Black Plague--caused sudden mortality among the general population, but specifically annihilated leprosy victims, who, already weakened, were extremely prone to contracting the plague. By the time the plague ceased in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, it had decimated the leprous population. After this the incidence of the disease in Europe declined, due to rising standards of living, heightened resistance and immunity, and stricter health precautions.

From the fifteenth century to Damien's time little progress was made in the welfare of those afflicted with leprosy. Most of the lazar houses were closed after the plague subsided and those that remained were turned over to civil authorities and became pestholes. Although medical science continued to advance, there was little improvement in hospitals where the few leprosy victims remaining were doomed to die in a grim life imprisonment. There these forgotten people were forbidden any of the amenities of the living. Objects of repulsion, feared by all, they were constantly reminded that the sooner they died the better. Such was the shocking state of most of the world's leprosy institutions when in 1873 Father Joseph Damien de Veuster, a Belgian priest, landed on the rocky beach of one of the world's most notorious lazarettos--the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement on the island of Moloka'i in Hawai'i.

B. Cause and Manifestations of the Disease

1. Discovery of the Bacillus and its Communicability

Leprosy, or Hansen's Disease as it is sometimes called, is caused by a bacillus. Dr. Gerhard Henrik Armauer Hansen, a Norwegian physician, first detected the rod-shaped bodies in leprous nodules that became known as Mycobacterium leprae in 1873. The disease is only mildly contagious and not easily communicated to others, but when it does spread it seems to usually be by prolonged intimate contact. However, it

is often not transmitted to a spouse by an infected partner and is not directly inherited. Only a small percentage of children living intimately with the disease will develop it, and of those that do, often their own body defenses will overcome it. Young children are more susceptible to the disease than adults. The likelihood of infection is dependent upon the amount of infection one is exposed to. Many people seem to have a natural immunity to leprosy; the lack of such immunity is probably the most determinant factor in transmission.[2]

2. Forms of the Disease

The first signs of leprosy are detected as changes in the skin, mucous membranes, or the peripheral nerve system, caused by invasion of these tissues by the bacilli. Skin changes involve the appearance of a non-itching spot or variety of spots on any part of the skin. These spots show a change in sensation; there may be a loss of sweating and absence of hair growth in the center of the spot. Thickening of certain nerves follows. Later, in certain types of the disease, nasal stuffiness or hoarseness may occur. The eyes may also be affected at this early stage. The extent of signs of the disease is influenced by the amount of resistance. If body defenses cannot completely combat the bacilli invasion at this point, a tuberculoid type of leprosy may develop. A more serious lepromatous type will progress if there is little or no resistance by the body's immune system. A middle course of the disease is known as borderline type.[3] Leprosy is not in itself usually fatal, but the individual will succumb to some other sickness due to his weakened condition.

a. Lepromatous Leprosy

Lepromatous and tuberculoid types differ in their progress. The former is characterized by early skin changes and later,

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2. Oliver Hasselblad, Hansen's Disease: A Present Day Understanding, (n.p, n.d.), pp. 2-3.

3. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

less prominent nerve changes. First, nodules, or swelling sores, appear in various locations, which slowly increase in size and number. The upper respiratory system is also affected, as are the eyes, and changes can occur in certain viscera such as the liver and spleen. Nerve changes can appear later in the form of periodic fevers. Patients sometimes die during these periods, while in others a period of stagnation may be followed by recurrences of fever. Anesthesia or loss of sensation occurs. Untreated lepromatous leprosy lasts on the average eight to ten years.

b. Tuberculoid Leprosy

In tuberculoid leprosy, nerve changes dominate the disease manifestation, while skin changes appear only as spots. First, pain and fever episodes occur and during these attacks brownish patches appear on the skin, lasting from a few days to years, and can disappear and reoccur. Ultimately the peripheral nerve branches and main trunk are attacked, with accompanying pain, paralysis, and muscle wasting. Fingers become clawed, ulcers may develop, and fingers, toes, or whole feet can be lost. Many victims of this type live to be very old, with death the result of kidney disease or other problems of advanced age. This type of leprosy lasts on the average twenty years at least.[4]

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4. Th. M. Vogelsang, "Gerhard Henrik Armauer Hansen, 1841-1912. The discoverer of the leprosy bacillus. His life and his work." International Journal of Leprosy And Other Mycobacterial Diseases 46, no. 3 (July-September 1978): 278.

III. Leprosy in Hawaii

A. First Appearance

The specific date at which leprosy arrived in the islands is not known, nor is it certain by whom it was brought. As early as 1823 missionaries were noting "remediless and disgusting cases" that might have involved some aspects of leprosy as well as syphilis. Dr. Arthur St. M. Mouritz, physician at the leprosy settlement at Kalawao for a period of four years, from 1884 to 1887, stated in 1916 that he felt there was sufficient proof that leprosy was present to a moderate extent in Hawaii at least as early as 1830.[1]

The common Hawai'ian name for the disease was Ma'i-Pākē, or Chinese sickness. The association of the disease with the Chinese people probably had to do either with the fact that an individual or individuals of that race were noted to have the disease or simply that the Chinese were familiar with it because they had often seen it in their own country. There is some belief that imported Chinese plantation laborers introduced it to the islands. Certainly, the possiblity exists that it came from any one of numerous seafaring individuals who visited Honolulu harbor after being recruited at the Azores, in Africa, Malaysia, and other seats of endemic leprosy. Some sources have suggested that it was introduced by a Hawai'ian chief who contracted it abroad and then spread it to others in the 1840s, giving rise to another name for it, Ma'i Ali'i, royal malady (the chief's sickness).[2]

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1. A.A. St. M. Mouritz, "The Path of the Destroyer": A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and Thirty Years Research into the Means by Which it has Been Spread (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1916), p. 30.

2. Ethel M. Damon, Siloama: The Church of the Healing Spring (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board of Missions, 1948), p. 6.

B. Official Recognition of Leprosy as an Epidemic

1. Passage of "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," 1865

King Kamehameha III organized the first Board of Health on December 13, 1850, at the advice of his Privy Council. The board was charged with protecting the people's health and with taking measures to cure them of epidemic diseases such as cholera. Although leprosy had been present in the kingdom from the early part of his reign, no discussion of it took place prior to the king's death in 1854. During Kamehameha IV's reign, leprosy was not officially mentioned until April 1863, when William Hillebrand, the medical director of Queen's Hospital in Honolulu, wrote that

> Although it may not appear quite in place, I will here avail myself of the opportunity to bring to your and the public's attention a subject of great importance. I mean the rapid spread of that new disease, called by the natives "Mai Pake." It is the genuine Oriental leprosy, as has become evident to me from the numerous cases which have presented themselves at the Hospital. . . . It will be the duty of the next Legislature to devise and carry out some efficient, and at the same time, humane measure, by which the isolation of those affected with this disease can be accomplished.[3]

Upon Kamehameha V's ascendancy, at a meeting of the board on December 28, 1863, the subject of Ma'i-Pākē was raised among other matters of importance to the general health--its first official discussion in that forum. At another meeting on February 10, 1864, it was noted that leprosy was spreading on the other islands and a census of victims around Honolulu was ordered so that the afflicted could be examined by the medical members of the board to study the disease's

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3. Dr. W. Hillebrand, Surgeon to the Queen's Hospital, quoted in Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953), p. 73.

origin and questions of its transmission and hereditability.[4] The subject was discussed several times after that, and on August 10, 1864,

> The subject of leprosy . . . was brought up before the Board, and its spread among the people reported. Dr. Hillebrand expressed his opinion that the disease is spreading. . . . The doctor was of opinion that isolation was the only course by which the spread of the disease could be arrested, and recommended some valley as the most likely place to meet the necessity.[5]

Feeling at this time that there was sufficient cause for alarm and that steps had to be taken to prevent the further spread of the disease, the Legislative Assembly of the Hawai'ian Islands passed "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" in 1865, which King Kamehameha V approved. This law provided for setting apart land for an establishment for the isolation and seclusion of leprous persons who were thought capable of spreading the disease. Every physician or other person with knowledge of a case of leprosy had to report it to the proper sanitary authorities. The law also required all police and district justices, when requested, to arrest and deliver to the Board of Health any person alleged to have leprosy so that he could be medically inspected and thereafter removed to a place of treatment, or isolation if required. A hospital for the treatment of patients in the incipient stages of the disease would be established in an attempt to find a cure, but the Board of Health also had the power to send all patients considered incurable or capable of spreading the disease to a place of isolation. The Board of Health was requested to keep the amounts of sums expended for the leprosy program distinct from its general account of legislative appropriations and to report to the legislature at each of its regular

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4. Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Health, Leprosy in Hawaii. Extracts from Reports of Presidents of the Board of Health, Government Physicians and Others, And from Official Records, in Regard to Leprosy Before and After the Passage of the "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," Approved January 3rd, 1865. The laws and Regulations in Regard to Leprosy in the Hawaiian Kingdom. (Honolulu, H.I., 1886), pp. 5-6.

5. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

sessions the expenditures, in detail, and other information regarding the disease that would be of interest to the public.[6]

2. Establishment of Kalihi Hospital, Honolulu, and the Isolation Settlement on Moloka'i

On March 17, 1865, the Board of Health purchased for $1,000 some land in Palolo Valley, Oahu, on which it intended to establish temporary hospitals and dwellings for a leprosy colony that would ultimately house about 300 persons. Under this plan, a special section for severe cases would be set apart from the general settlement. Due to protests by adjoining residents that the water of the stream in that valley would become contaminated and thus unfit for their use, the land was never used. Further discussions on the matter of what to do with leprosy cases on June 10, 1865, resulted in two propositions. One was to establish a settlement for both light and severe cases near Honolulu, which would be simpler and less expensive and where the whole operation could be more concentrated. According to this plan, a site a few miles from town on the seashore, comprising about fifty acres, would accommodate a settlement in which the severe cases and the general settlement would be separated, each with its own hospital and dwellings. The other proposition suggested establishing hospitals and cottages for lighter cases in a place near the sea near Honolulu, about five to ten acres in extent, and selecting a large tract on another island on which to put the incurables.[7]

The peninsula on the northern shore of Moloka'i seemed the most suitable spot for a leprosy settlement. Its southern side was bounded by a pali--a vertical mountain wall of cliffs 1,800 to 2,000 feet high, and its north, west, and east sides by the sea and precipitous shores. Landings were possible in only two places, at Kalaupapa on the

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6. See Appendix A for full text of "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," 1865.

7. Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Health, Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 18-21.

west side and at Kalawao on the east side of the peninsula, weather permitting. Fruits, taro, potatoes, and other vegetables could be easily grown on the flat land and in tributary canyons. Land was conducive to livestock raising and the sea was full of fish. Water was available in a stream running down Waikolu Valley to the east, a mile or more from Kalawao. Other springs were available, such as in Waihanau Valley, but at a considerable distance from the settlement.[8]

The latter proposition was viewed favorably by the Board of Health. A lot at Kalihikai, about two miles from Honolulu, on the west side of the harbor and adjacent to the seashore was decided upon as a hospital for light cases and as a temporary detention station for severe cases of leprosy. A twelve-acre lot was purchased and hospital buildings erected. It was known as the Kalihi Hospital and Detention Station and opened for admission of patients on November 13, 1865. There all persons alleged to be afflicted with leprosy would be inspected and medically treated with a view toward effecting a cure. Proper attendance and nursing would be provided. Those individuals found to suffer from diseases other than leprosy would be given medicine and allowed to return home or continue to receive medical treatment. All patients in an advanced state of the disease, who were considered a possible health menace by spreading the contagion, would be required to move to the settlement at Kalaupapa on the island of Moloka'i where care would be given them.[9]

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8. R.W. Meyer, Agent, Board of Health. To His Excellency Walter M. Gibson, President of the Board of Health. [Report of leper settlement for past two years.] No date (ca. April 1, 1886). Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 2-3.

9. "Notice by the Board of Health," October 25, 1865, in Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Health, Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 29-30. Kalihi Hospital operated for about ten years; it was finally closed by the Board of Health in 1875 due to expensive upkeep, the difficulty of isolation, and its failure to find a cure for leprosy. All persons suspected of having leprosy were thereafter detained only until medical examiners could confirm the presence of the disease. If they could, the afflicted were sent immediately to Moloka'i. The detention station adjacent to the police station on King Street in Honolulu remained open until 1881. A new

3. The Effect of Enforced Isolation and Other Social Restrictions on the Hawai'ians

Because leprosy was seen as highly contagious, and because of the inability to effect a cure, complete isolation of the afflicted was the policy determined upon by the Hawaiian Kingdom to prevent the spread of the disease. For the benefit of the healthy, persons suspected of leprosy were condemned to a life of virtual imprisonment on the windward side of the island of Moloka'i. The concept of segregation was completely alien to the fundamentals of Hawai'ian society and therefore greatly resented. The duty assumed by the Board of Health was delicate and difficult but deemed as essential for the public welfare. The forcible separation of individuals from family and friends seemed harsh not only to the victims and their relatives but to many not even affected by the policy who did not believe the disease was contagious and who therefore thought that such stringent measures as isolation were unnecessary. Walter M. Gibson, president of the Board of Health and managing editor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser and the Hawaiian vernacular newspaper Nuhou, wrote in the latter in 1873:

> It [Ma'i-Pākē] is spreading rapidly. There are 438 confirmed lepers in Kalaupapa, and nearly as many more throughout the Islands with manifest symptoms of the disease. The chief cause of its increase lies in the native apathy. The healthy associate

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9. (cont'd) hospital at Kaka'ako was dedicated on December 12, 1881, on the east side of Honolulu harbor, on the seashore, about one mile toward Diamond Head. This site became unsuitable when the high tides inundated the area. About 1889 the buildings were moved back to the old Kalihi Hospital site. The new complex was a detention station and hospital where mild leprosy cases were treated and advanced ones sent to Kalaupapa. Ultimately the Kalihi area was rezoned into an industrial district, and the introduction of noxious elements proved detrimental to the health and comfort of the patients. A more suitable physical plant was needed also, because most of the buildings were in a state of disrepair. In September 1946 an agreement was reached between the Territory and the U.S. Government by which the former could use eleven acres at Pearl City known as Naval Waimano Civilian Housing, together with all buildings, improvements, and equipment thereon. Tubercular patients from Leahi Hospital temporarily occupied the facility while additions were being made to that structure. After those patients were moved back to Leahi, all Kalihi patients were transferred to Pearl City on October 12, 1949.

> carelessly with the . . . victims. The most awful conditions of the disease neither scare nor disgust. . . . The horror of this living death has no terror for Hawaiians, and therefore they have need more than any other people of a coercive segregation of those having contagious diseases. Some people consider this enforced isolation as a violence to personal rights.[10] It is so, no doubt, but a violence in behalf of human welfare.

Adding to the complexity of the situation was the fact that this immense health problem took the kingdom by surprise. Already overwhelmed within the past few years by an influx of foreigners, new industries, and a variety of drastic changes to their religion and lifeways, the Hawaiian population was declining rapidly. The drop in population was accompanied by "a mass psychological deterioration"[11] that was evidenced by a lack of social identity resulting in scepticism of the past and difficulty in adjusting to the present. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, what had once been a happy, carefree, and generous people were facing not only the problems of culture clash but were torn asunder by the effects of a disease "that, more than any other, embodied and symbolized the disastrous consequences-- biological and cultural--of contact between the Hawaiian Islands and the rest of the world."[12]

Measures taken by the board to combat the spread of leprosy were highly unpopular, for they were seen as penalties upon individuals afflicted by something beyond their control. Leprosy victims were ordered to turn themselves in for inspection. The energetic pursuit of sick individuals was a great blow to their friends and relatives. The

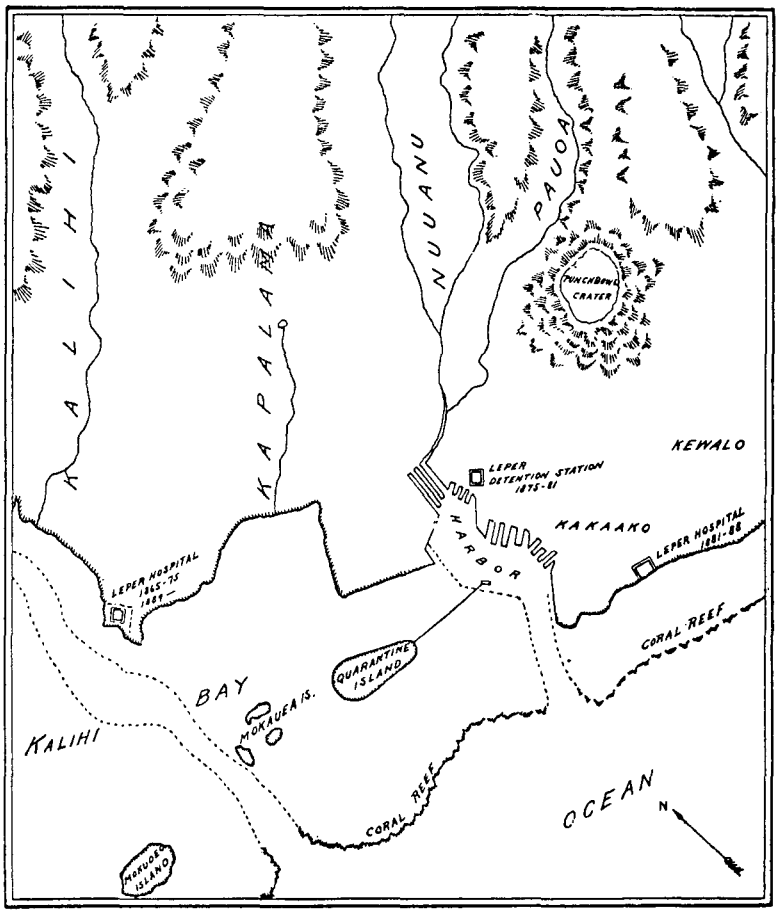
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10. Walter M. Gibson, "The Lepers and Their Home on Molokai," Nuhou (Honolulu, H.I.), March 14, 1873, in ibid., pp. 188-89.

11. Gerrit P. Judd IV, Hawaii: An Informal History (New York: Collier Books, 1961), p. 38.

12. State Historic Preservation Office, Hawaii Register of Historic Places form, Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement, survey carried out by Gavan Daws and Larry Miller, September 1974, p. 5.

Illustration 1. Map of Honolulu showing locations of Kalihi and Kaka'ako hospitals and the detention station. From Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 31.



MAP OF HONOLULU.

Kalihi Leper Hospital, left foreground. Kakaako Leper Hospital, right foreground. Leper Detention Station, middle foreground.

high degree of sociability among Hawai'ians more or less preordained that those banished to Moloka'i would be doomed to lives of despair. Rather than be transported to die far from home, the afflicted preferred to suffer and die surrounded by friends and family. Parents refused to let their children go, husbands and wives resisted separation, and old people implored to live out their days where they had spent their lives. Many took refuge in the countryside in ravines and caves or homes of friends, where they were sought after by the police who had been empowered by the Board of Health to seek out the unfortunates. Victims and their family and friends resorted to violence against the authorities in an attempt to stop the manhunts. Eventually official force was successful, however, and before the end of 1866, more than one hundred victims were driven on board ship at Honolulu for the voyage to Moloka'i. Descriptions of the departure of the victims are heart-rending to read, such as Lawrence M. Judd's first exposure to the isolation procedures as a young boy:

> The sun was high, but the trade wind's edge tempered the heat as I sped on my bicycle down Nuuanu Avenue toward the harbor. The spokes hummed a tune, and my spirits rose. . . .
>
> Eager for a look at the [military] transports, I turned off . . . into the Esplanade. On the waterfront a crowd of people milled about an interisland cattleboat moored a few piers on the Ewa side of the transport Henderson. Sections of white picket fence stood as a barrier before the interisland pier. A large closed van . . . stood inside the barrier. Outside were perhaps a score of people, men and women--all Hawaiians it seemed from a distance. Several policemen and a group of pier police stood by the gangplank of the cattleboat.
>
> As the trade wind faltered I heard a wail from the group, indicating trouble of some kind.
>
> One who has not heard Hawaiians express their grief can hardly gain from any description any idea of its poignancy. . . .
>
> But more than a ritualistic dirge was coming from the group of Hawaiians at the whitewashed barrier. They clung to the pickets, their bodies rocking, as they gave way to spasms of grief. Their cries seemed almost unbearably agonizing; I went closer. . . .

Some of the faces were familiar. . . . Many clung to the barrier, at intervals raising faces wet with tears, then bowed their heads. A woman in a white shirtwaist and a flowing black skirt bent over the barrier, her face invisible, her shoulders shaking. A small girl turned a wet terrified face up to me.

I saw a uniformed figure I knew and backed off in his direction. . . . "Bosun," I said, "who are they?" He nodded at the van. "Kalaupapa," he said.

The rear doors of the van were thrown open and a health department officer lowered the steps. Down them, in the bright sunlight, descended an elderly Hawaiian woman. . . .

Her eyes swept the crowd behind the barrier and fixed upon the woman with the little girl. She raised her hand in a gesture of farewell. "It's her daughter," I thought, "and her grandchild."

The daughter, if so she was, stood erect, and returned the gesture. . . . The mother did not try to approach the barrier, but turned . . . and walked steadily to the gangplank of the cattleboat.

Behind her others now were emerging from the van. . . .

Next came a young woman leading a little girl. As these two appeared, the crowd, which had been momentarily silent, burst again into a long wail. In one hand the woman held her skirt from the steps of the van. The other led the child, who put both feet firmly on one step before taking another. On the pier, they looked at the crowd. Suddenly the little girl began to cry, dabbing her eyes with her free hand.

The mother took a handkerchief, wiped the child's eyes, and tucked it into the neck of the girl's dress. As they turned toward the gangplank the kerchief fluttered and dropped to the pier.

A new wail arose from the friends and relatives who had come to say farewell.

I wanted to cry myself, without knowing why. . . . "Bosun," I asked, "who are they?" "Dey go to Molokai," he said, "to Kalaupapa, below de cliffs. Dere dey stay. Dare dey die." "But why?" "They have leprosy."

Attendants were now carrying baskets and boxes of personal goods from the van to the vessel.

The last guard appeared from the van carrying a straw carryall. He stopped where the white handkerchief, dropped by the little girl, fluttered on the planking. He took a sheet of newspaper in one hand, dropped it over the handkerchief,

crumpled it into a ball with his gloved hand, and stowed it in the carryall he carried.

I turned away.

The transports with their cargoes of blue-clad men moored by the coaling wharf held no more lure for me that day.[13]

Not surprisingly, the Hawai'ian language soon came up with another name for leprosy--"Ma'i-ho'oka'awale," Disease of Exile or Separation. It has also been referred to as ma'i-ho'oka'awale 'ohana, the Disease-that-tears-families-apart.

In addition to legally enforcing the separation of families, the Hawai'ian government ultimately made special reference to leprosy in laws pertaining to marriage, divorce, estate and income taxes, claims against estates, absentee balloting, employment rights, pensions, separation of infants from mothers, penalties for concealing victims of leprosy, and in numerous other aspects of life. Fully aware of the trauma it was causing in society at large, the government nonetheless fully expected that isolating sources of the contamination on a distant island would cause the disease to die out among the general population. Such was not to be the case, primarily because it was impossible through the years to isolate all those who had the disease. Because of the long incubation period between infection and the development of outward symptoms, early diagnosis was difficult. By the 1870s leprosy attained epidemic proportions in Hawai'i, reaching a peak around 1890 when more than one thousand people resided at Kalaupapa, around two percent of the Hawai'ian population. Not until 1940 was it determined that the disease was not renewing itself among the general population. In 1946 sulfone drugs began to be used on leprosy patients in Hawai'i, initiating a treatment that did not demand the physical isolation of the sick.

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13. Lawrence M. Judd, Lawrence M. Judd & Hawaii [An Autobiography] (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971), pp. 23-26.

In addition to establishing Kalihi Hospital and Kalaupapa leprosy settlement, the government took other steps in an attempt to drive this scourge from their shores. The speed with which the disease spread and the consequent frantic efforts to stave its course greatly taxed the limited financial resources of this small island kingdom. Men of experience were called in to assist with research on the disease. Information from abroad was sought and inquiries of specialists made in an effort to enable the government to deal as humanely as possible with the problem. Remedies of all kinds were pursued, but nothing was successful.

Leprosy would play a major role in the social, political, legal, and moral life of Hawai'i from 1865 on:

> It is only natural that a policy which involves the expenditure of a large part of the public revenues and the employment of a considerable number of persons, and that deals directly with a very large proportion of the families of the Islands, should have played a considerable part in politics, and that this has happened in relation to leprosy is beyond a doubt.[14]

During the years in which the kingdom and territory strove to find a successful method of treatment, a montage of pictures depicting the harsh realities of the situation were indelibly stamped on the consciousness of the islands and of the world. Never to be forgotten were the forcible removal of Hawaiians of all ages from their homes, the heart-wrenching partings of parents and children and husbands and wives at the waterfront, the excited grasping at each new imported "cure," and the difficult process of coming to grips with the stigma of being a "leper." One of the most agonizing periods of the entire story was about to commence with the arrival of a boatload of leprosy victims at Moloka'i in the year 1866. For they were arriving at a real hell on earth, known as Kalawao.

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14. "Leprosy in Hawaii--An Official Report," The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, June 28, 1913, Letterbook of news clippings, 1907-29, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

IV. The Island of Moloka'i

A. Formation of Moloka'i

The island of Moloka'i lies twenty-five miles southeast of O'ahu. It is the fifth largest island in the Hawaiian chain with an area of 261.1 square miles. During the Tertiary period, two separate islands, West and East Moloka'i, rose above sea level. As the islands grew and began to merge, lava from a caldera that formed on East Moloka'i gradually began to fill the channel between the islands, forming Ho'olehua plain. This area was submerged in late Pliocene or early Pleistocene time, separating the landform again into two islands. Later in the Pleistocene epoch, renewed volcanic activity on East Moloka'i resulted in formation of Makanalua volcano (of which Kauhako Crater remains), whose lava flow formed the Kalaupapa peninsula. Eventually the plain between East and West Moloka'i re-emerged and the island again took shape along its present configuration.[1]

Moloka'i measures about thirty-eight miles long by a maximum of ten miles wide. "Topside" Moloka'i, as the part of the island excluding Kalaupapa peninsula is referred to, consists to the east of a range of high, jagged mountains culminating in 4,970-foot high Kamakou Peak. Narrow valleys open to the sea on the southeastern edge. A low plain separates this section from Mauna Loa, a tableland at the western end of the island that reaches an altitude of 1,380 feet. Riddled by gulches, it is much drier than the rest of the island. Most of the present ranching and agricultural activities are concentrated in the drier southern and western lowlands.

B. Formation of Kalaupapa Peninsula

Stretching from the east end of the island west along the north shore for a distance of more than twenty miles are some of the most spectacular seaside cliffs found anywhere in the world. Ranging in

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1. Catherine C. Summers, Molokai: A Site Survey, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 14 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1971), p. 1.

height from 1,250 to 3,500 feet and higher, these verdant pali are made even more beautiful by the presence of innumerable waterfalls. The promontory with which the story of leprosy in Hawaii is so closely intertwined is situated about in the middle of the north shore of Moloka'i. Here the last independent phase of volcanic activity on the island created a flat tongue of land isolated from "topside" Moloka'i by the fortresslike cliffs. This peninsula comprises 3,500 acres of flat land on which the early leprosy settlement was located, accessible from the rest of the island only by means of trails cut into the pali. Three streams--Waikolu, Wai'ale'ia, and Waihānau--draining north onto and just east of the promontory, have cut large valleys into the mountain range. Easternmost Waikolu Valley (3,400 acres) once served as a source of food for early native inhabitants and later for the leprosy victims.

Highest point on the peninsula is Kauhakō Crater, about 500 feet above sea level and forming a central dividing ridge. It contains a lake of brackish water connected subterraneously with the ocean. Soil on the peninsula is fertile. Underneath the volcanic ash and decomposed lava is a bed of hard volcanic rock of which occasional outcroppings can be seen and which forms a steep solid barrier against the sea to the north and east. The beach can be reached at Kalawao to the east and at Kalaupapa to the west. The Kalaupapa side is well protected, receives more direct sunlight, and has a good climate. On the Kalawao side, tireless assaults are made on the headlands by northeast trade winds. The cliffs cut off sun in the early afternoon and chilly rains often fall. The climate there becomes cold, rainy, and penetrating. Such conditions are intolerable for leprosy victims, who are extremely sensitive to temperature changes.

C. Early Population of Moloka'i

The population of Moloka'i around the time of Captain Cook's arrival in the islands has been roughly estimated at 10,500 people. In 1832 the island missionary estimated that, based on a census recently

taken by teachers, there were at least 6,000 inhabitants on the island.[2] The primary occupations were farming and fishing. Many people lived on the east end of the southern coast of the island, the shoreline of which was ringed by a large number of fishponds. The low floodplains there were used for agricultural purposes. Only a scattered population was found in the central part of the island, while activity in the extreme western plateau portion was confined to cultivation of the sweet potato and offshore and deep sea fishing by a very small group of people. On the northern edge of the island, the population was found in Halawa Valley (in 1836, 500 people), and in Wailau (100-200 people), Pelekunu (200+ people), and Waikolu valleys, and on the Kalaupapa peninsula (2,700, probably including Waikolu).

The days of these early Hawai'ians were spent in acquiring food and building shelters, in constructing heiau for public worship, and in participation in various games, such as kōnane, or in sports such as bowling or watching the ali'i participate in hōlua sliding. Early Hawai'ians living on or near the peninsula enjoyed swimming out to one of the islets (Okala or Mokapu) near the shore and jumping off the heights, suspended from parachutes braided out of palm leaves, to be carried over the water by the strong trade winds--a form of early-day hang-gliding. There is also mention of boys at Kalaupapa being skilled surf riders. Inhabitants of the area are known to have journeyed to the nearer islands--Maui and O'ahu--in dugout canoes, probably for social as well as trading purposes.[3] Other older Hawai'ians, especially those living in Pelekunu Valley, usually made summer migrations for food gathering and visiting purposes. Kalawao and Kalaupapa provided good fishing grounds where provisions could be laid in for the winter.[4]

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2. Report of the Station at Kaluaaha Molokai from the 7th of Nov. 1832 to June 1st 1833, in Molokai Station Reports, 1833-1849, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, p. 10.

3. Summers, Molokai: A Site Survey, pp. ix, 3-4, 194; George Paul Cooke, Moolelo O Molokai: A Ranch Story of Molokai (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1949), p. 117.

4. Damon, Siloama, p. 27.

V. Kalaupapa Peninsula

A. Land and Political Divisions

The largest division of land under the early Hawaiian land system was the island, each of which was further divided into several geographical districts or mokus. These were divided for landholding purposes into ahupua'as, each of which was ruled by either a chief or a konohiki (headman). These units varied in size from a hundred acres to several thousand.[1] At the time of Cook's discovery of Hawai'i, the main islands comprised several independent kingdoms. Each king owned all the lands in his jurisdiction. Below him were his warrior chiefs and at the bottom of the social and economic strata were the tenant-commoners.

Prior to 1859 Moloka'i was divided into at least two districts--Kona (to the east) and Ko'olau. The ahupua'as in the western portion of the Kona district--from Kamalo on the southern coast westward--were fairly large parcels. From Kamalo east, where the population was much denser, the ahupua'as became smaller and narrower and, therefore, more numerous. The Ko'olau district contained seven ahupua'as, four of which covered large valleys and surrounding mountains (Halawa, Wailau, Pelekunu, and Waikolu) and three of which were found on Kalaupapa peninsula (Illustration 1).[2] These latter three sections were referred to as Kalaupapa ("Leafy Plain" or "Flat Plain", "Much level land"), site of the present settlement on the west side of the peninsula; Makanalua ("Given Grave" or "Pit", referring to use of the lake in Kauhako Crater as a burial place), a strip in the center of the peninsula stretching from the pali through the crater to the ocean; and Kalawao ("Leafy Wilderness", "Mountain Area") on the eastern side of the peninsula.[3]

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1. Jon J. Chinen, The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848 (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1958), p. 3.

2. Summers, Molokai: A Site Survey, p. 213.

3. According to an 1885 article, Kalawao and Kalaupapa were ancient Hawai'ian names--Kalawao being a district name and Kalaupapa a local one. Kalawao was an old ahupua'a belonging to the ancient chiefs of Moloka'i.

In 1859 the Kona and Ko'olau district designations were dropped and the entire island became the Moloka'i district. The first village established for leprosy victims in 1866 was at the site of Kalawao on the east side of the peninsula, and this name referred to the settlement in general. With the start of development on the west side of the promontory at Kalaupapa and its eventual eclipse of Kalawao as the center of settlement in the early 1900s, the settlement and peninsula as a whole were referred to as Kalaupapa. In 1909 a division was made into Moloka'i and Kalawao districts. The area including Kalaupapa, Kalawao, and Waikolu comprises Kalawao district, which is also Kalawao County, while the rest of Moloka'i (Moloka'i district) is part of Maui County.

B. Settlements

Moloka'i was not widely mentioned in accounts by early travelers. From the various sketchy descriptions of the distribution of early settlement on the Kalaupapa peninsula, it would appear that there was one main village of Kalaupapa, where the leprosy settlement is located today, and at least two smaller hamlets or villages, near the mouth of Waikolu Valley and at Kalawao, where the original leprosy settlement was located. Arthur Mouritz mentioned in 1886 that three-quarters of a mile seaward of Kalaupapa lay the small village of Īliopi'i. He also mentions the village of Makanalua placed close in to the mountains midway between Kalaupapa and Kalawao. Immediately seaward of that village rose the Kauhakō crater.[4]

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3. (cont'd) Its name, meaning "hog" and "dress", probably meant that it was held subject to a yearly tribute to the superior chief of a lard hog and a robe. "Molokai--Description of the Leper Colony on This Island," Pacific Commercial Advertiser IV, no. 364 (Nov. 6, 1885).

4. Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 359. Father Albert Montiton, in charge of the Catholic Mission at Kalaupapa from 1882 to 1885, took care of the needs and welfare of the leprosy victims at Kalaupapa and Īliopi'i, both of which at that time were sparsely settled. Ibid., p. 251.

C. Agriculture

Kalaupapa was famous as a sweet potato locality, as well as for supporting a variety of other crops, at least as early as 1857:

> These are sweet potatoes from ancient times . . . . There are nineteen varieties. . . . Of the dark varieties previously mentioned, only three are good. . . . These three . . . are much sold at Kalaupapa with the addition of some white and dark sweet potatoes. The likolehua and halonaipu [dark varieties] when ready to be sold are heaped at the seaport like bruised mountain apples on the beach. . . . Kalaupapa is a good land because the crops planted are successful and the gain is large. . . . Many sweet potatoes are being planted now, four or five patches to each man. Most of the crops are watermelons, and some small and big beans and onions. Be on the watch, you traders, for Kalaupapa is the best in all the islands for good prices and fast work. All the California ships come to Kalaupapa.[5]

The quotation implies an active trade with the western seacoast of the United States. It is known that at Kualapu'u on "topside," central Moloka'i, Father C.B. Andrews of the Sandwich Islands Mission raised wheat and Irish potatoes to supply California miners during the Gold Rush.[6]

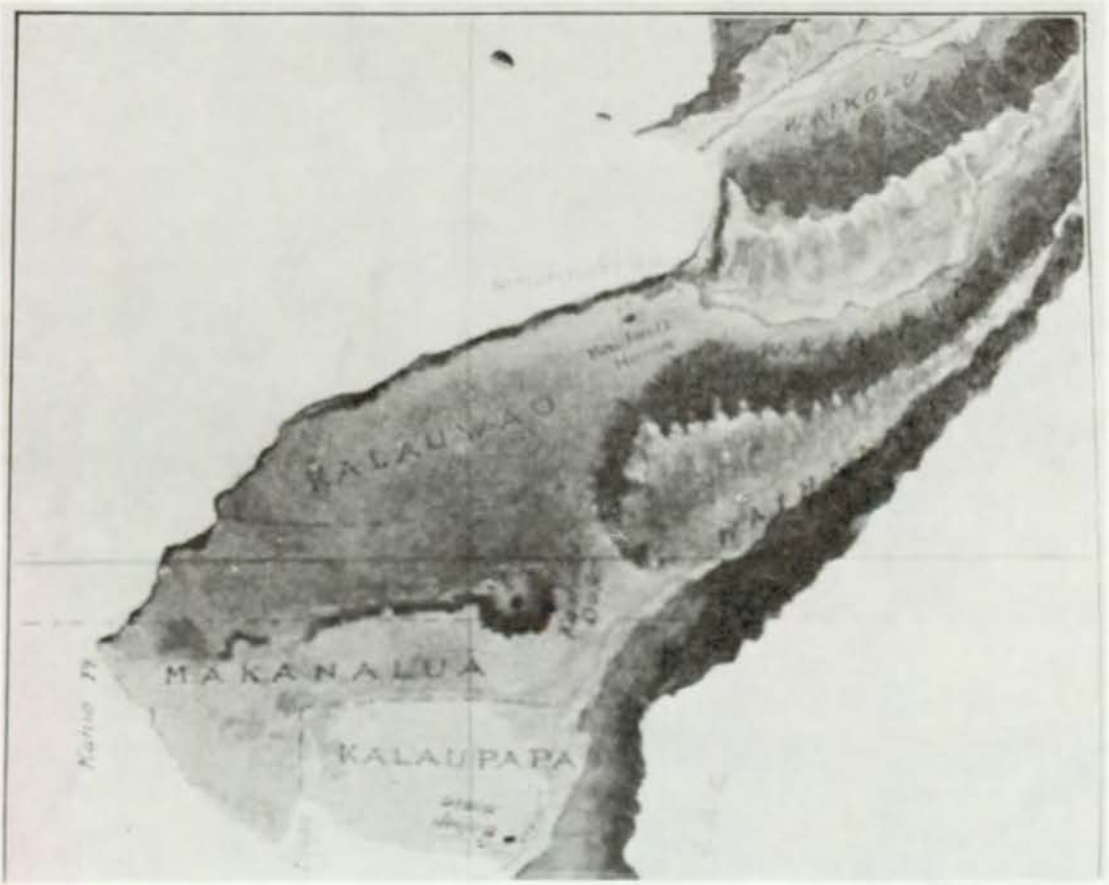
The sweet potato flourished in less favored localities than other crops and was quick to mature. It thrived in relatively dry soil. Potatoes were usually steamed in the jacket and eaten but were sometimes peeled, mashed, and mixed with water to make sweet potato poi. 'Uala 'awa'awa (sour or fermented potato) is a beer made of the sweet potato--a recipe possibly introduced from New England. Sweet potato vines and foliage made excellent hog feed. Hogs were also fattened on the potatoes

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5. E.S. Craighill Handy, The Hawaiian Planter, Volume I: His Plants, Methods and Areas of Cultivation, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 161 (Honolulu: Published by the Museum, 1940; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971), p. 158.

6. Cooke, Moolelo O Molokai, p. 37.

Illustration 2. Kalaupapa peninsula, showing the three ahupua'as or sections of land--Kalaupapa, Makanalua, and Kalawao. Note village of Iliopi'i on western shore. From Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 67, courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.


KALAUPAPA

themselves. Sweet potatoes were used medicinally and also ceremonially by the natives.[7]

The deep valleys on the north coast of Moloka'i, with their flat floors and sloping sides, were ideal in ancient times for the construction of terraces on which wet-taro was cultivated. Wet, or water, taro is planted along streams or ditches or in artifically leveled terraces in which the plants are kept submerged under water. Historically taro was probably first planted near springs, along streambeds, or in marshes fed by springs. The planting areas were gradually widened on the more level ground around springs and along lower stream courses, and water was diverted to them in ditches. Gradually the beds and irrigation systems grew larger, and more elaborate terraces were constructed. Wet taro areas were found by archeologists in several valleys on the south coast and in Halawa, Wailau, and Pelekunu valleys on the northern coast. There were some small wet-taro sections in Waikolu Valley, while other terraces were found on the slopes watered by Wai'ale'ia stream. These latter were cultivated for a while as part of a project to make the leprosy settlement self-sustaining. It is thought there probably were wet patches below Waihanau Valley also.[8]

Poi, a starchy derivative of the taro plant, was the staple diet item of the Hawai'ian people in older times. It was prepared for use by thorough cooking and then pounding it to a pulp. The hard mass produced by pounding is called 'ai pa'a. Dried and wrapped in ti-leaf packets to resemble small bricks, it is referred to as pa'i 'ai. For transport, the stiff paste was wrapped in larger cylindrical packets covered with ti-leaf wrappings and sometimes additionally covered by a pandanus leaf. Adding water to the pa'i 'ai forms a thick paste known as

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7. E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 233 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1972), p. 75; Handy, Hawaiian Planter, Volume I, pp. 150-51.

8. Handy, Hawaiian Planter, Volume I, pp. 9-10, 102.

poi. Thus prepared, it is eaten with one or two fingers, depending on the consistency. It was a simple and nutritious food and especially preferred after the fermentative process had begun. Hawai'ians considered taro superior to sweet potatoes because the hard dry cakes of pa'i 'ai would keep for long periods of time and because poi from taro soured slowly while sweet potato poi would ferment after only a few days. Taro also served more purposes--as food, medicine, and in ritual--than did the sweet potato.[9]

Small amounts of other native crops were also grown in the small cultivated fields on the peninsula and in the valleys. After the leprosy settlement was established, the lands were poorly farmed or neglected due either to the inexperience of the people in growing crops, their lack of interest in farming, or to physical disabilities. Changing eating habits meant that eventually the taro lands were abandoned and they were quickly overgrown by aggressive exotic brush plants.

The peninsula looked very different in the early days, for it was barren of trees, had heavily wooded cliffs, and the plain was covered with Bermuda grass. All this has changed due to overgrazing, the planting of trees, firewood gathering, and overgrowth by exotic species that have crowded out the native grasses. The Board of Hospitals and Settlement, after July 1, 1931, considered planting a major factor in beautifying the settlement and providing windbreaks. Ironwood, coconut palm, papaya, bougainvillea, hibiscus, and a wide variety of native flora were introduced during that time.

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9. Handy and Handy, Native Planters in Old Hawaii, pp. 75, 112. According to the Handys, p. 112,

> The expressions "one-finger poi," "two-finger poi," and "three-finger poi" are modernisms. To eat poi with three fingers was piggish. For a woman it was proper to eat with two fingers. Men ate with one or two as they pleased.

D. Wild Animals and Livestock

In addition to their principal food item, poi, early Hawai'ians ate roast pig, cooked over hot stones, as well as many kinds of fish and fruit. There were no cattle on Moloka'i in 1832, but a year later there were 200 head, probably belonging to the chiefs, wandering unrestrained. Mention was found of more than 100 animals in the area from Kalaupapa to Waikolu--cattle, horses, donkeys, and mules--thriving on the Bermuda grass. It is well known that hogs were raised.[10]

Ancestors of the Axis deer, a spotted deer from India, which roam wild on the peninsula today, were a present from the Hawaiian Consul in Hong Kong to the King of Hawaii in 1867. Kamehameha V loosed the animals on Moloka'i, where, due to a prohibition on hunting them, they increased rapidly. (Moloka'i was reportedly Kamehameha V's favorite island to which he could slip away from the affairs of state.)

Changes in diet at the leprosy settlement and new patients who wanted more variety than poi and fish afforded forced the Board of Health to consider new foods. Dairy cattle were impacted in and for a time milk was given to the residents. This practice was ultimately abandoned and the cattle roamed at will. Beef cattle were imported in hopes of providing food with little care. Horses not used for farming any more were allowed to wander freely also. There were no fences for animal control and the land was soon overgrazed. Because it became difficult to get animals fat enough to slaughter, there was little meat production, and beef usually had to be shipped in.

E. Archeological Remains of Early Inhabitants

Kalaupapa peninsula today is covered with prehistoric and historical archeological sites. Limited archeological work has been done

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10. Cooke, Moolelo O Molokai, p. 45; Handy, Hawaiian Planter, Volume I, p. 158; Dedication of the Kapiolani Home for Girls, the Offspring of Leper Parents, at Kakaako, Oahu, by their Majesties King Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani, and Description of the Leper Settlement on the Island of Molokai (Honolulu: Advertiser Steam Print, 1885), p. 35.

on the peninsula proper, but major archeological opportunities still exist. Available sources on the subject were compiled and used by Catherine C. Summers in her 1971 site survey of the island. Twenty pre-contact period sites were listed as having been found on the peninsula. Sixteen were religious sites, including eleven heiau, two were cave sites, one a hōlua slide, and one a village complex. A Bishop Museum survey team in 1974, working on the Statewide Inventory of Historic Places, found and identified only four of these sites.

National Park Service archeologists Ed Ladd and Gary Somers after close study of aerial photographs and brief field inspections of parts of the peninsula, concluded

> that although little of the previously recorded resource base remains, a large number of archeological features that have never been recorded exist in all parts of KALA. Resources ranging from agricultural wind breaks to substantial walls to house platforms have been noted throughout the peninsula and in all three valleys (Waihanau, Waialeia and Waikolu).[11]

Because identification and recordation of the park's resources is essential to ensure compliance with Executive Order 11593, "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1980, archeological surveys will be funded whenever possible. Title IV of PL 94-518 (1976) authorizes National Park Service participation in the preservation of cultural resources on the peninsula, although the land is still under a variety of ownerships. An archeological study was initiated in 1983 in association with development of a water well in Waihanau Valley and laying of a distribution line from there to water tanks and the settlement. Goals of the study were to survey and map resources in those areas to be impacted by development of the water line, to establish a permanent N-S/E-W grid system for a base map that could

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11. Gary Somers and Edmund J. Ladd, "Project Design; Archeological Inventory Resources for Kalaupapa Well and Distribution System, Kalaupapa National Historical Park," 1983, Pacific Area Office, National Park Service, Honolulu, p. 1.

eventually be used for the entire peninsula, and to obtain a better idea of the extent and type of archeological resources in the park and present findings in a professional report.[12]

As of January 1, 1984, a variety of archeological features had been identified within the survey area: house sites, walled enclosures or exclosures, agricultural terraces, retaining walls, cemeteries and burial places, a heiau, a possible hōlua, as well as a large, multi-room, walled structure.[13]

The most prevalent archeological remains on the peninsula are the dry-laid stone walls that are seen everywhere, from the less vegetated areas near the ocean stretching clear back onto the steep land rising toward the pali. Some of these are probably old land division walls, delineating ahupua'as, or kuleanas, ilis, or moos--further land subdivisions that had carefully defined boundaries. Walls were built as stones were cleared from the ground prior to planting and thrown up along the sides of the fields, thereby separating cultivable patches of land or defining individual holdings. Stone fences served as exclosures to keep animals out of cultivated and living areas and may have been used occasionally as pens, although it appears animals usually ran unrestrained. Windbreaks appear as mile upon mile of low parallel stone walls and are especially visible on the northern and eastern coasts near the ocean where they served to shelter sweet potato plants from the strong northern trade winds. Some of the wall construction was done during the historic period. The entire peninsula was utilized,

> and so dense was the population and so precious appears to have been the land, that little clearances, about a yard square,

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12. Ibid.

13. Gary Somers, "Kalaupapa, Package 107, Reconstruct Water System, Phase II, Archeological Survey Progress Report, Through December 23, 1983," typescript, p. 2.

> are carved along the rocky sides of the crater of Kahukoo [sic] to its very summit.[14]

Some remains that appear to be small square living quarters on the peninsula, associated with the sweet potato planting, may have served as temporary shelters for workers during periods of bad weather or intense labor.

More difficult to find because of the extensive overgrowth of Christmas berry, lantana, and Java plum, are the old Hawai'ian cemeteries and temples. Thousands of people have been buried on the peninsula, during both the pre-leprosy and leprosy settlement periods. Historic cemeteries are associated with Siloama and St. Philomena churches at Kalawao and line the seashore between Kalaupapa settlement and the airport. A large old cemetery is located adjacent to the road to Kalawao, on the south side, just southeast of the earthen water reservoir. Other early Hawai'ian burials can be found scattered over the peninsula, and some can be seen on the crater rim. Summers, in her 1971 site survey, notes the reported locations of several heiau, with remains ranging from stone pavements to stone platforms, and of other ceremonial sites.

Results of the Park Service 1983-84 field work and an overview of the archeological resources on the peninsula--including theories on land use, settlement patterns, and the distribution of archeological features--were published by the National Park Service in 1985 in a professional report (see Somers citation in bibliography). As archeological sites are identified and evaluated, they will be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with Executive Order 11593 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1980. In the meantime the National Park Service is exercising caution in all

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14. Dedication of the Kapiolani Home for Girls, 1885, containing "Molokai. Description of the Leper Colony on this Island," by Robert J. Creighton, Editor, Pacific Commercial Advertiser, p. 36.

rehabilitation/restoration/reconstruction work to ensure that archeological resources are not destroyed or altered.

F. Early Missionary Work

1. Moloka'i Station Established

In 1832, twelve years after initiation of the Sandwich Islands Mission, a young New England minister, the Reverend Harvey R. Hitchcock, was sent with his wife to christianize the natives of Moloka'i. They established the first Christian mission at Kalua'aha, on the southeastern shore of the island, probably then the area of densest population. Despite Kalaupapa's distance from that station, its residents often climbed the pali or came by sea to attend church meetings. Around 1836-37 the missionary reported that "at Kalaupapa[,] a populous district on the windward side of the island and about thirty miles from the station[,] a school of 160 scholars might be collected immediately were there a teacher to superintend it."[15]

2. Kalaupapa Sub-Station Established

Hitchcock held a three-day meeting at Kala'e, on the cliffs above Kalaupapa, in 1838, which was attended by many from the peninsula and the northern valleys. (An out-station of the Kalua'aha mission was established there around 1840.) In 1839 a Hawai'ian missionary teacher named Kanakaokai was stationed on the peninsula. Hitchcock noted on a tour of the island in August of that year that a large stone meetinghouse had been constructed at Kalaupapa with a thatched house for the missionary. Adjacent to the house was a field where cotton was planted to be used at a missionary spinning and weaving school at Lahaina, Maui. Hitchcock also mentioned that people living in Pelekunu were part of the Kalaupapa congregation.[16]

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15. Report of the Station Kaluaha [sic] for 1836-37, in Molokai Station Reports, 1833-1849, p. 20.

16. Damon, Siloama, pp. 50-51.

In 1841 the population of Kalaupapa, probably including Waikolu Valley, was about 700 persons, of which 30 were church members. Hitchcock noted that "There are considerable comfortable accommodations for a family there[,] a large native house walled in--The meeting house is large."[17] Evidently some of the natives were already Catholics and quite hostile to the Protestants. Hitchcock requested that two families be sent to Kalaupapa because "efforts are already making to get a Popish priest there."[18]

By 1847 the first Kalaupapa stone meetinghouse had been replaced with a more substantial structure measuring twenty-eight by seventy feet. Also another missionary, the Reverend C.B. Andrews, had been assigned as assistant to Hitchcock on Moloka'i. A wave of religious enthusiasm appears to have swept over the island about that time. In 1848 the station of Kalua'aha reported that "Since last general meeting and principally during the last year[,] meeting houses have been built in Kalaupapa, Wailau, Pelekunu, Puahonui [sic] and Kameloo."[19] These houses of worship that were erected in all the principal areas of the island, including the northern valleys, were of the same basic architectural style--stone laid up in mud-mortar, plastered, and whitewashed, with substantial roofs and doors and glass windows. They differed from each other primarily in size.

In 1851 it was recorded that

> The People at Kalaupapa who have but recently finished a stone house--60 by 30 feet, are now engaged in collecting funds for a new and more durable one[,] intending to devote the old one to

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17. Report of the Station Kaluaaha [1841], [Hitchcock,] in Molokai Station Reports, No. 2, 1839-1863, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, pp. 5-6.

18. Kaluaaha Ap 26 - 1842, [Hitchcock,] in ibid., p. 7.

19. Report of Station of Kaluaha 1848, in Molokai Station Reports, 1833-1849, p. 25.

the use of the school. They have a bell paid for which has cost them 170(?) dollars --. . . ."[20]

3. Calvinist Church of 1853 Built

In 1853

The meeting house roof at Kalaupapa where the people have a bell has fallen down. The event was I believe a joyful one, for now they have resolved to put up a handsome stone building, laid up in lime mortar, instead of their present walls laid in mud.[21]

The Kalaupapa church members reportedly cut coral rock from the nearby reef and burned it in kilns to melt into lime for the mortar used in cementing the lava rocks into the church walls.[22]

The new stone church was built on a plot of land referred to as the King's Acre and similar to many granted by King Kamehameha III in 1850 throughout the islands to be used for church and/or school activities.[23] The building was undoubtedly used heavily by the early inhabitants of the peninsula, but not by the leprosy victims who lived on the other side of the promontory. Not only were most of them unable to travel that far, due to various infirmities and physical disabilities, but most of them were more concerned with everyday survival than the regular practice of religion during the earliest years of the settlement. The pastors of Siloama Church at Kalawao lived at Kalaupapa, probably in the parsonage of the old stone church. Around 1882 the roof, belfry, and church bell were blown off during a severe kona wind. After

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20. Hitchcocks Report of Kaluaaha 1851, in Molokai Station Reports, No. 2, 1839-1863, p. 3.

21. Report of Molokai. Church, During the years 1853. &, 4., [C.B. Andrews], in ibid., p. 1.

22. Damon, Siloama, pp. 55-56.

23. Ibid., p. 56.

standing roofless for several years, the structure was converted by the government into a jail sometime prior to 1900. The graves surrounding the old church were leveled and the grounds were enclosed by a high stone wall. Later another jail was built. The high wall around the old church was torn down and the structure had been converted to a warehouse by 1948.

Illustration 3. Old stone church (peaked roof) in use as jail, Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, ca. 1895. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 4. Old stone church (jail) in use as repair shop, 1930s. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 5. Old stone church in 1948, in use as warehouse. From Damon, Siloama, p. 48, courtesy of Anwei V. Skinsnes.

Illustration 6. Old stone church in use as vehicle storage shed, 1984. NPS photo.





VI. Kalawao Settlement, Pioneer Period, 1866-1873

A. Purchase of Land for Leprosy Settlement

Having decided upon segregation as the course of action to be taken in the attempt to stem the spread of leprosy in the islands, the kingdom proceeded quickly to acquire the necessary land on the peninsula of Moloka'i. On September 20, 1865, the president of the Board of Health reported that he had visited Moloka'i and succeeded in acquiring the property:

> There are from seven to eight hundred acres, excellent land for cultivation and grazing, with extensive kalo [taro] land belonging to it; there are from 15 to 20 good houses obtained with the land, the whole being obtained for about $1,800 cash, together with some other Government lands [on Moloka'i] given in exchange. A promise was made to the present inhabitants to remove them from there free of charge.[1]

These first lands purchased included Waikolu and Wai'ale'ia valleys. Most of the land already belonged to the government but was being leased:

> The tract was extremely well situated for the purpose designed. It is difficult of access from the sea; has no roads passing through it into other districts; is supplied with water by two running streams; has a large area of kalo land; enjoys the advantage of the constant trade wind; has ample grazing lands; and possesses a soil capable of raising vegetables of all different kinds adapted to these islands in the greatest abundance.[2]

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1. Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Health, Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 27-28.

2. Report of the Board of Health to the Legislature of 1866, in ibid., p. 38. In negotiating its land deals, the government was aided by Rudolph W. Meyer (1826-1897). Meyer had come to Moloka'i from Germany in 1848 and had married the Chiefess Kalama who owned land at Kala'e on the cliffs above Kalaupapa near the summit of the pali trail. There he operated a small sugar plantation and grew coffee, corn, wheat, and potatoes. With C.B. Andrews he exported produce to California during the Gold Rush. Eventually he managed an extensive cattle and sheep ranch on Moloka'i owned by a half-sister of Kamehameha IV and V. After Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani's death in 1883, Meyer managed the lands for her principal heir, the High Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. He functioned as chief supervisor of the Kalawao settlement from its beginnings in 1865-66 until 1897.

The residents of the peninsula were transferred to new homes at Waialua on the southeast coast of Moloka'i.

A short while after the initial land purchases, the large tract of Makanalua, "belonging to the estate of the late Haalelea" and adjoining the settlement at Kalawao, was purchased.[3] A large parcel of land still separated the colony from the few people remaining at the Kalaupapa landing; this ahupua'a of Kalaupapa would not be purchased until 1873. Even after the west side of the peninsula was annexed, several kuleanas of the earlier residents were neither purchased nor condemned, and these forty or so landowners continued to reside there. They interacted freely with the leprosy victims, even providing hiding places and food and lodging for healthy Hawai'ians who were relatives or friends of the exiles and wanted to visit them secretly. These kama'āinas were finally evicted in January 1895.

B. Preparations for Establishing Self-Sufficient Colony

The Hawai'ian government at first thought that implementation of its policy of segregation would be inexpensive. The most costly part would be the initial outlay involved in collecting the people together, providing them with an outfit of clothing and a few other necessities, and transporting them to Moloka'i. Those who were known to have money and who had been unable to hide it or give it to relatives for safekeeping, were forced to hand it over to the government as reimbursement for expenses incurred in their behalf.[4] The board also purchased a few beef cattle and horses, poultry, sheep, goats, and other livestock to send to Moloka'i to encourage farming efforts. In addition, medicine, agricultural

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3. Ibid., p. 39. Evidently Kalawao land division was acquired in 1865, Makanalua in 1866, and Kalaupapa in 1873. With Kalawao and Makanalua came the houses of the former owners.

4. R.W. Meyer, Agent, Board of Health. To His Excellency Walter M. Gibson, President of the Board of Health. [Report of leper settlement for past two years.] No date (ca. April 1, 1886), in Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 3-4.

implements, tools, a canoe, fishing nets, carts, and one or two pair of oxen were sent along.[5]

C. Arrival of the First Leprosy Victims at Kalawao

1. Sick Unable to Support Themselves

Kalihi Hospital opened on November 13, 1865, and of the first 62 patients inspected, 43 were diagnosed as having leprosy and were admitted either for further treatment or transfer to Moloka'i. By 1872 about 600 persons had been banished to Kalawao.[6]

The first group of "colonists" were deposited at Kalawao on January 6, 1866. (Contrary to popular myth, it is doubtful that any of the exiles were forced to jump into the surf and swim to shore as a matter of regular procedure. When the weather was bad, however, this was the only way leprosy victims or visitors could land, because boats were not able to venture very near the rocky shore when the waves were choppy.) Relatives and friends were allowed to accompany the exiles as kōkuas (helpers) and were expected to live with and care for them.[7]

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5. Report of the Board of Health to the Legislature of 1866, pp. 40, 42.

6. Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, p. 74.

7. Kōkuas were an important social, emotional, and clinical aspect of the settlement. These voluntary companions, friends or relatives of the afflicted, for the most part provided the loving nursing care that was not provided for in any other way. Father Damien wrote the Board of Health in 1886 that partners who wished to accompany their husbands or wives into exile should be allowed to do so. It was also suggested as early as 1874 that healthy mates not wishing to go to Kalawao should be granted a divorce so that patients could remarry at the settlement and thus create a more stable community.

In some instances the motives of kōkuas were mercenary. Some tried to prove that they were infected in order to receive government rations of food and clothing. Some had volunteered to accompany friends only because they had had no home elsewhere and hoped to receive board as well as a share of the patients' rations. As conditions improved, the need for kōkuas as medical helpers became less necessary.

Kōkuas in the form of nonactive patients as well as marriage partners are still found in the settlement today on the payroll of the Board of Health.

Kōkuas became an indispensable arm of service at the settlement. Among their chores were driving cattle down the pali trail, fetching wood from the mountains, carrying water from the valleys, cultivating taro, handling freight at the landing and all the other jobs that physically incapacitated people could not perform but that were necessary to run the leprosarium. Their presence created a problem also in that they posed a danger of contagion when they left on visits to the other islands.

There evidently was some segregation even among the leprosy victims themselves from the beginning. The most advanced cases were isolated in Wai'ale'ia Valley, while patients who were less sick preferred to live at Makanalua, between Kalawao and Kalaupapa. Poorer ones in need of supplies later tried to live as close as possible to Father Damien's warehouse.

The original inhabitants of the peninsula had owned many pieces of land and houses. Cultivated fields established on the peninsula's few spots of better soil and in the valleys yielded taro, potatoes, and other vegetables. Unfortunately the segregation process had proceeded very slowly, and more than six months elapsed after the former residents had vacated their land before the first leprosy victims arrived. During that time the fields had become overgrown, and it was only with extreme difficulty that the new arrivals were able to salvage enough of the crop to feed themselves. They did manage, however, and were able to survive until the next shiploads of people came. Having been given no food by the government, the new arrivals became dependent on the crops of the first residents, who grudgingly gave the newcomers some of the products of their labor. It became apparent that this system would not last--sick and demoralized people were willing to work for themselves, but were not inclined to help support others.

Later arrivals were forced to subsist on a native pea that grew profusely on the peninsula and this supported them until the Board of Health realized that it would have to furnish food until the people were

able to raise their own.[8] For many, this time never arrived. To feed such a rapidly growing population entailed extensive labor. Physical exertion was impossible for physically disabled or emotionally despondent persons. Others who were able simply did not know how to farm. Many, finding that they were provided with food anyway, made no effort to work. Fields were neglected or at best poorly farmed.

The Board of Health had appointed a superintendent, Louis Lepart, a Frenchman and former Sacred Hearts brother, to live in the settlement, while Rudolph Meyer provided a general oversight by visiting the settlement once a month. The resident superintendent would receive the people when they were unloaded, show them a place to stay, and distribute the weekly food allowance. Because of the food shortages, Lepart informed the board in September 1866 that in the future, supplies would have to be provided by the legislature. Although disappointed that the Kalawao settlement would be a constant drain on the kingdom's resources, the board acknowledged that because the villagers were deprived of the ordinary rights of citizens and restrained in their activities for the good of the community as a whole, that same community incurred a responsibility to look after their welfare.[9]

Because the residents could not obtain enough fish or meat for their support, they received from the board small allowances of salt beef or salmon. They were allowed three pounds of meat and one bundle of pa'i 'ai per week, and nothing else. Clothing soon wore out and had to be supplied, but only to those who had no money or friends to outfit them. Men received a pair of blankets, a denim shirt, a pair of pants, a hat, and sometimes shoes; women received one blanket, a shirt of blue or brown cotton, and a calico dress. This one outfit of clothing was expected to last the entire year.

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8. Meyer, Report of leper settlement, ca. 1886, pp. 4-5.

9. Report of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1868, by His Excellency F.W. Hutchison, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, p. 44.

Water was hard to procure and had to be carried a great distance--an almost impossible task for those with deteriorating limbs. The only shelters available for the earliest arrivals were the houses of the former native residents. These were mostly thatched, although three or four wooden structures were also present.[10] Some of these houses had to be rethatched and a few new structures were built for the new arrivals. Still, housing was inadequate and unsatisfactory, especially for those in advanced stages of the disease.

As more people arrived, housing, food, and water procurement problems multiplied. Quarrels arose easily and due to the lack of sufficient supervision, were settled among the people themselves, sometimes violently. Resentful of their fate, alienated from the rest of the world and civilized laws, usually destitute of clothing and scarcely able to obtain the simplest necessities, and crushed by the weight of their banishment, the moral state of the victims declined quickly. Reduced to the lowest depths of misery and despair, many inmates turned for solace to thievery, drunkenness, and debauchery. A kind of local beer, made from kī-leaves, was brewed in profuse quantities and was responsible for much of the licentiousness that prevailed. The Board of Health, to its great disappointment, discovered that

> the terrible disease which afflicts the Lepers seems to cause among them as great a change in their moral and mental organization as in their physical constitution; so far from aiding their weaker brethren, the strong took possession of everything, devoured and destroyed the large quantity of food on the lands, and altogether refused to replant anything; indeed, they had no compunction in taking from those who were disabled and dying, the material supplies of clothes and food which were dispensed by the Superintendent for the use of the latter; they exhibited the most thorough indifference to the sufferings, and the most utter absence of consideration for the wants, to which many of them were destined to be themselves exposed in perhaps a few weeks; in fact, the most of those in

10. Meyer, Report of leper settlement, ca. 1886, pp. 4-6.

whom the disease had progressed considerably, showed the greatest thoughtlessness and heartlessness.[11]

2. Organization of Siloama, "Church of the Healing Spring"

While in the settlement's earliest days lawlessness and vice resulting from frustration and despair were rampant, there was also a group of people who had been avid churchgoers in their former lives and who took with them to Kalawao a belief in fundamental Christian values and precepts. These individuals gathered regularly in fellowship and were visited occasionally and inspired by the Reverend Anderson O. Forbes, the American Protestant clergyman for Moloka'i, stationed at Kalua'aha on the southeastern shore of the island, who came over via the pali trail. In June 1866 these thirty-five residents requested from the Congregational Assembly--the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA)--that they be released from their former churches and allowed to form a new one at Kalawao. The Reverend Mr. Forbes became pastor of this new church organized on December 23, 1866, and named Siloama, in memory of Jesus's healing of a blind man by anointing his eyes with clay and bidding him wash in the pool of Siloam. This little church became a sanctuary in which the sick could meditate on the heavenly kingdom where their own bodies would hopefully be healed. Either Forbes or his assistant pastor, S.W. Nueku of the Hālawa church on Moloka'i, visited the settlement periodically to administer the sacraments, and between times members chosen as elders conducted services and day-to-day responsibilities such as visiting the sick, counseling, welcoming new members, and keeping up contact with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

The first major order of business for the new congregation was construction of a church building, a formidable task due to the scarcity of money, building materials, and skilled workmen. By saving part of their scanty government dole, the Siloama members were able by

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11. Report of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1868, p. 44.

early 1869 to save up $125.50. In hopes of building a house of worship thirty-four feet long by twenty feet wide, costing about $300 and adequate for a hundred people, the members appealed to other island churches for monetary help, which was freely extended. When $600 had been collected, enough to pay for lumber, a bell, and a carpenter, the Hawaiian Board of Missions bought the materials and had them delivered to Kalawao. There they were dumped overboard, floated ashore, and quickly transported to the chosen site. Oral tradition holds that Deacon G.K. Kawaluna, whose wife was a leprosy victim, donated the land for the site of Siloama Church. The first Siloama, erected in July 1871, was dedicated on October 28 of that year. By that time Forbes had been transferred to Honolulu and most of his successors as pastor of Siloama were settlement residents.

Church affairs at Siloama proceeded much as they did in other congregations. Elders met each week to conduct business and the rest of the time exercised moral and disciplinary supervision over their charges. Church activities included a Sunday School, an afternoon discussion club, and musical activities.[12] During this early Kalawao pioneer period, the groundwork was firmly laid for a strong Congregational community life.

News of the conditions at Kalawao soon spread through the islands. In early 1867 much criticism was mounted against the board for conditions at Kalawao that were purportedly resulting in starvation and the lack of many necessities of life. The initial purpose of the settlement being simply isolation, no provision was made at first for a resident physician or for hospital facilities. The president of the board visited the settlement and found that the sick were generally satisfied with the state of affairs except for wanting more food. Two items were seen by the president as being necessary for the welfare of the settlement--a

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12. One Hundredth Anniversary Brochure of Siloama Church, founded December 23, 1866, Commemorated August 27, 1966 (Kalawao, Molokai, 1966), pp. 7-8.

hospital to care for those in the last stages of the disease and a sympathetic female nurse to run the establishment. It proved impossible for Lepart to acquire hospital materials from the resources at hand or to stimulate the patients to work on constructing such a building. When residents at Kalaupapa were called upon to perform the work, they accomplished little beyond cutting a few posts. Thereupon the Board of Health sent supplies and laborers from Honolulu, and a satisfactory hospital building was constructed that helped somewhat to alleviate the miseries of its patients. Food was prepared for them and they received special items such as bread, rice, tea with sugar, and milk from the heifers supplied to the settlement. In addition to the hospital, other structures built included a house for Mr. Donald Walsh and his wife, a schoolhouse, and separate sleeping quarters for the young boys and girls. All were enclosed, with the hospital, within a fence and were under the care of the superintendent and a nurse.[13]

3. Board of Health Takes Stronger Hand in Kalawao Affairs

It became necessary in 1867, after Lepart's resignation, for the Board of Health to appoint another superintendent, and the elderly English gentleman, Donald Walsh, was chosen. A former officer in the British Army, Walsh succeeded to some extent in bringing order to settlement affairs. Constables were appointed from among the non-leprous husbands of women sufferers to assist him. Procurement of a regular food supply caused more trouble and anxiety than any of the other problems relating to the government of the settlement. The system of encouraging the patients to cultivate the fields had resulted in neither an adequate supply of food nor a reduction in expenses, because those who worked the fields still expected to receive allotments from the board. In addition, the valleys had become sites of irregular and improper activities. The sick, therefore, were removed from the valley and the

13. Report of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1868, by His Excellency F.W. Hutchison, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 45-47. Mr. Walsh was to serve as the school teacher and his wife was to be the nurse in the hospital.

fields leased to a man not under control of the board in expectation that sufficient taro would be planted and supplied at a moderate price to meet the needs of the settlement.[14]

D. Report of Board of Health, 1870

1. Building Construction

The Board of Health report for 1870 mentions that

> Three large houses adjoining the Hospital capable of lodging twenty-five persons each, have been erected in the settlement, with cook house, and separate buildings for the male and female children. House frames for the lepers in the general settlement have also been supplied, and sufficient accomodation to lodge all in a comfortable manner is now provided in the Asylum.[15]

2. Law and Order

Problems maintaining order in the settlement were still surfacing in 1870. It was impossible to preserve order through the normal laws and punishments of the kingdom because of the special status of the residents. Because they were to be kept confined on Moloka'i and could not be chastised through either the payment of fines or incarceration in a prison off the island, special legislation had to be sought to deal with their problems as well as with imposing penalties on those people trespassing on the peninsula to visit friends and relatives.

3. Food Supply

Food supply remained a problem. An attempt had been made to cultivate Waikolu Valley with taro and manufacture pa'i 'ai on the spot. This practice would help ensure an adequate food supply, especially during winters when it was difficult to land supplies. In 1870 the land was leased to King Kamehameha V at a yearly rental of $250 and

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14. Report of the Board of Health, 1870, Fred W. Hutchison, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 54-55.

15. Report of the Board of Health, 1870, Fred W. Hutchison, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, p. 53.

his agents agreed to furnish the settlement at the regular market price. In their anxiety to please the king, some of these agents stole taro patches from the sick, which they had cultivated for their own use, without any remuneration. This practice severely limited further cultivation of lands by the residents.[16] Ultimately canoes started bringing in pa'i 'ai from other valleys on the northern side of the island. The leprosy victims grew vegetables in their own enclosures as well as receiving weekly rations of meat.[17]

E. Report of Board of Health, 1872

1. Law and Order

Unfortunately neither Superintendent Walsh nor his wife understood the Hawai'ian language, and many of his attempts to maintain order or establish rules were not understood by the villagers. Discontent continued due to that lack of communication. After Walsh sickened and died in 1869, his widow became superintendent, assisted by an old sea captain. Those two constantly disagreed and matters did not improve. During the latter part of Mrs. Walsh's term of office, a partial rebellion took place, due evidently to a dispute over job responsibilities between the afflicted and their lunas. The rebellion was quelled by the punishment of two of the rebel leaders and the transfer of the resident superintendency to Kahoohuli, a former captain of the King's Guard in Honolulu and a leprosy victim with a stormy will. It was found, not surprisingly, that natives or halfcastes were more acceptable to the patients as superintendents than foreigners were.

2. Building Construction

A description of the peninsula in an 1872 report mentions several native houses at the Kalaupapa landing place and the following buildings at Kalawao settlement:

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16. Meyer, Report of leper settlement, ca. 1886, p. 8.

17. Report of the Board of Health, 1870, p. 55.

> On an even, good road, the Leper Settlement is soon arrived at; it is large and extensive, surrounded by grand and imposing scenery. The papaia, puhula [sic] and banana plants give the village a cheerful appearance. Some of the houses are fenced in by stone walls, others are placed amongst potato fields or pasture lands. . . .
>
> A little further on, the house of the Keeper is reached. He has a neat commodious house with two rooms to himself, the other portions of the house being appropriated for stores of various descriptions, out-office for the supply of medicine, books, etc. The buildings adjoining the principal keeper's house are two hospitals (male and female) for those of the sick unable to attend to themselves--separate houses being provided for all those persons of the leper valley who require special attention in regard to diet, accomodation and medical aid--in fact, for all those too far advanced in the disease to take care of themselves.
>
> In the quadrangle, of which the Superintendent's house forms one side, are to be found the separate houses built for boys and girls, with a special building for a school-room; an instructor for which establishment is generally to be obtained amongst the lepers themselves. There are several other buildings included here, useful or necessary for general purposes and the special control of the stock and material of the establishment.[18]

The school taught the normal subjects of the islands--reading, writing, mathematics, geography, and singing. "The children, with the exception of one or two, do not seem to feel their misfortune; when they leave school they act as others of the same age, running or playing their way home, apparently unconscious of the fate that awaits them."[19] The houses of the residents, generally clean and well kept, were scattered throughout the valley. Once in awhile a Catholic priest from O'ahu or Maui came to Moloka'i to administer the Sacraments, but the settlement still had no resident priest. In 1872 Brother Victorin Bertrant (sometimes Bertrand) transported a wooden

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18. Report of the Board of Health, 1872. Ferd. W. Hutchison, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 59-60.

19. Ibid., p. 61.

chapel from Honolulu and erected it at Kalawao. Blessed by Father Raymond Delalande on May 30, it was dedicated to St. Philomena.

3. Food Supply

Over the years, changing tastes and eating habits influenced the dietary requirements for the settlement. The taro lands were ultimately abandoned. The need by newer patients for a greater variety of food resulted in the importation of dairy cattle by 1872, primarily for use by patients in the hospital. Milk was not completely acceptable to most of the villagers, however, and ultimately the milch cows were turned loose to roam at will.[20]

Most of the usual tasks necessary in any Hawai'ian village seemed to be carried on at Kalawao. While the women made mats and other furnishings for their cottages, the men worked the potato fields and raised sugar cane, bananas, and other crops. A change for the better had taken place among the populace, and during the previous two years, considerable quantities of food had been raised to supplement the supplies sent by the board. Fresh provisions only were issued to the villagers--five pounds of meat and twenty-one pounds of pa'i 'ai per week. Meat consisted of mutton, generally, or beef. The people could do as they liked with the produce they raised and frequently sold large numbers of sweet potatoes and pigs.[21]

4. Living Conditions

It cannot be denied that during most of the early Kalawao pioneer period, despite attempts by the government to ameliorate the situation, living conditions were extremely difficult. This was due to several factors--overpopulation, lack of appropriate on-site supervision of affairs, and the hit-and-miss character of much of the early settlement

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20. Norman K. Carlson, "On Kalaupapa, the Land, too, finds a Cure," Soil Conservation xvi, no. 10 (May 1951), p. 230.

21. Report of the Board of Health, 1872, pp. 58-62.

administration as the Hawai'ian government attempted to determine the best way to care for its leprosy victims. Food was poor and of insufficient quantity, and its shipments were irregular and inadequate. Getting one's weekly rations involved a trip of a few miles--incredibly difficult for people who could barely walk. Proper medical care was wanting. The hospital, although some concession to the needs of the dying, was far from an ideal institution. Reserved for the worst cases, it lacked beds and doctors. Victims sometimes were fortunate enough to have mats, but most lay directly on the ground. There were few medicines. Clothing was inadequate. There was a dire need for readily available, wholesome water to drink and to use in food preparation. From 1866 to 1873, almost forty percent of the exiles died. Those who succumbed had the benefit of neither coffin nor burial service. The bodies of the luckier ones were wrapped in a blanket and transported hanging from a pole suspended on shoulders to shallow graves into which they were dumped. Often the bodies were washed out during a rain or dug up and eaten by hogs. Those people who did not work or find diversion in worthwhile pursuits passed their time sleeping, playing cards, and drinking. No resident priest comforted the soul or uplifted the spirit. Often bestiality surfaced, and the warning "'A'ole kānāwai ma kēia wahi"--"in this place there is no law"--reportedly became a standard greeting for new arrivals.[22]

F. Improvements Under King Lunalilo

1. Increased Enforcement of Leprosy Laws

Affairs continued in this fashion until January 1873 when Prince William Charles Lunalilo ascended the throne. A public outcry against conditions at Kalawao was raised and pleas appeared in the local papers for something to be done to improve conditions at Kalawao and better implement the law of 1865. In response, King Lunalilo appointed a new Board of Health to administer the settlement. This new board, and each one thereafter, was composed of a president, chosen from within the

22. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, pp. 129-31.

government, a secretary, and other prominent men, such as doctors and ministers. Headquartered in Honolulu, the board administered the leprosarium and made appointments to all posts there. Superintendent Rudolph Meyer continued as head official of the settlement. Because his visits to the settlement were infrequent, he was assisted by an under-superintendent living at the settlement (often a patient), in command of all employees and day-to-day operations. All personnel were paid by the government. Their unenviable jobs often meant incurring the full brunt of the patients' frustration and wrath.

At the beginning of 1873 it was determined that several hundred confirmed leprosy victims were still mingling with the general population in the islands. Segregation was still thought to be the only viable means of arresting the progress of the disease, and renewed zeal was shown in forcing the isolation of every infected person, without regard to their position or rank, a duty always thankless and heartrending. The unsavory reputation that Moloka'i had acquired by this time made the roundup of victims very unpopular. According to Arthur Mouritz,

> the general dread and fear that possessed the leper when it was proposed to banish him to Molokai, was in the main due to statements sent out by the segregated lepers, who complained of harsh treatment, no nursing, separation of husband and wife, absence of medical attention, poor and insufficient food, scanty supply of clothes, difficulty of obtaining rations when sick, and a hard, dangerous journey to Waikolu to obtain poi, and many other defects of administration, some real, some imaginary. All the above combination of complaints, if really believed, were sufficient to cause a suspect leper to hide himself, and, if he had nerve enough, to resist segregation by using firearms.[23]

No longer could wives or husbands accompany victims, and visits to the settlement were forbidden except under extreme circumstances and then only for short periods of time.

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23. Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 82.

2. Reforms in Administration of Settlement

The practice of demanding money from the sick as reimbursement for their care was discontinued, and in cases where it had been collected, it was refunded to the victims' families. Weekly rations of meat were increased and a greater variety of food was introduced. Patients could now receive five pounds of meat or three pounds of salmon per week and one bundle of pa'i 'ai, containing twenty-one pounds, or either ten pounds of rice or seven pounds of bread or flour and five pounds of salt per month. Because a little work was deemed beneficial to physical and mental health, and to encourage cultivation of the land, patients were allowed the choice of receiving the cash value of their weekly food supplies in lieu of food. A positive response was immediate, and before long the patients managed to cultivate a surplus of food. During the winter, then, when food importation was difficult, there was usually a good supply on hand that was bought from the farmers by the board at the regular market price. By this means many residents were able to supply personal wants not provided by the government. Some were even able to build houses and acquire comforts at no expense to the board.

The problem of supplying adequate clothing was remedied by the board by establishing a store at Kalawao in July 1873 in which staple goods were sold at low prices. From then on, each person, instead of receiving clothing, was given an allowance of six dollars on which he could draw at the store whatever he wished. Allotments were handed out on the first of October each year.

Most of the food up to that time had been purchased from people in the nearby valleys of Pelekunu, Wailau, and Hālawa. It was transported at first in the planters' own boats and then in boats belonging to the board by men specifically hired for that purpose. Because it was often difficult during the winter season for boats to land, stocks of bread, flour, and rice were kept on hand for emergencies. Attempts were made yet again to cultivate Waikolu Valley. Contracts were let with friends or relatives of the residents (some were kama'āinas) at the settlement to cultivate the valley for three years. During that time

they would plant and care for the taro, for which they would receive one-half of its market value upon delivery to the board. At the end of the three-year period, however, people were tired of the work and were unwilling to continue, so the program was dropped.

The problem of kōkuas was also addressed at this time. As mentioned earlier, these were helpers who voluntarily accompanied friends or relatives to the settlement. It was felt by many that it was wrong to separate married couples if one of them wished to accompany their stricken partner to provide the sympathy and care that no one else would. Because Hawaiians had no fear of the disease, there were many--relatives and friends alike--who were willing to go into exile. Of the great number of people that accompanied the victims in the early years, a few did so only because they envisioned an easy living, obtained from the rations of food and clothing provided to their charges. In order to discourage idleness on their part, the new king instituted at the settlement the old Hawai'ian custom of Pō'alima, which was followed throughout the islands. It dictated that every able-bodied male had to work one day a week for the board, and in return they were allowed to live on the land, but could not receive rations for food or clothing. Those kōkuas that were gainfully employed by the board in jobs requiring healthy people--such as animal slaughtering, distributing of food, preparing food, providing fuel, and serving as police--were exempt from the Pō'alima rule and also received food rations.

Other improvements for the welfare of the people included increased hospital accommodations and the furnishing of bedsteads to the inmates to get them off the mats on the floor.[24]

From the beginning of 1873 through March 1874, over 500 more confirmed cases of leprosy were sent to Moloka'i, still in the hopes that time and the improvement of living habits, diet, and general hygienic

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24. Meyer, Report of leper settlement, ca 1886, pp. 9-13.

Illustration 7. Kalawao settlement, no date (post-1873), looking west. Hospital compound to right of road, store to left. Doctor and visitor houses at right rear of picture? Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Illustration 8. Another view of hospital compound, Kalawao, toward east, no date. Dispensary in foreground? Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 9. Inside the hospital compound, Kalawao, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



measures would stop the course of the disease. This influx caused severe housing problems at the settlement. On a visit by two board members in early 1873 it was decided that building accommodations were inadequate; it was also noted that many healthy native residents at Kalaupapa had kept possession of their kuleanas, containing many good houses, located on Board of Health land. Meyer, the board's agent, was instructed to carry out the purchase of those homesteads to obtain more housing and also to ensure complete isolation on the peninsula. This he accomplished to a great extent.

Procurement of a good water supply for the hospitals, stores, and central buildings was a major requisite. A pipe six thousand feet long was laid (from Wai'ale'ia Valley?), with taps at convenient distances, enabling a good supply of fresh water for all. The superintendent at that time was W.P. Ragsdale.[25]

G. Impressions of a Patient, Peter Kaeo, During this Period

One of those who went voluntarily to Kalawao during this time was Peter Kaeo, cousin of Queen Emma, the consort of Kamehameha IV. Kaeo arrived on Moloka'i in late June 1873 and was released in 1876. The correspondence between Peter and Emma during his three-year stay on the peninsula provides valuable insight on Hawai'ian politics in general and on living conditions at the settlement specifically. A sketch map Kaeo sent Emma, showing the location of his house on the north side of the road to Kalaupapa, a little west of the hospital building, also shows part of the Kalawao settlement to be southeast of the store on the edge of

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25. Report of the Board of Health for 1874, Hermann A. Widemann, President, in Leprosy in Hawaii, pp. 70-71, 74. William P. Ragsdale, a part-Hawai'ian of American descent who made himself a popular hero by volunteering to go to Moloka'i before anyone realized he had leprosy. He had formerly been an interpreter for the Hawai'ian legislature and a practicing attorney. In 1873 he succeeded J.H. Napela as assistant supervisor of the settlement. He died in late November 1877. Alfons L. Korn, ed., News from Molokai. Letters Between Peter Kaeo & Queen Emma, 1873-1876 (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), p. 16.

"Kalawao Valley" (Wai'ale'ia Valley). Other houses were beginning to extend west toward the Kalaupapa landing.[26] Peter's house was on a rise at the foot of Kauhako Hill, halfway between Kalawao and Kalaupapa. It faced the sea on a flat between the pali and the crater. In front of his house was flat, rocky land, studded with old potato patches. One of his letters mentions a trip to look at the inside of the crater, where he noted breadfruit, 'ōhi'a, lehua, kukui, and other trees growing. He stated that on the windward side of the crater where the trees were thickest, the Mormon elder and assistant supervisor of the settlement, J.H. Napela, held his Sunday meetings.[27]

Kaeo also mentions the presence on the peninsula of many unafflicted persons who hid themselves by day and emerged at night to visit and help their relatives. Kōkuas felt insecure in their position, and Kaeo mentions some of them hiding in caves for fear of being sent away by the Board of Health. He also stated that the board was rumored to have threatened to kill all the horses because they were eating all the grass and leaving none for the cattle. The people threatened trouble if that occurred, because those animals were their only means of hauling water.[28]

Many serious problems still existed at Kalawao despite the Board of Health's claim in its 1874 report that

> notwithstanding the increased number of lepers, the difficulties of communication, etc., there has not been one instance of want of food at the settlement. . . . The Board can assert that in a material point of view, these people are better off in Molokai

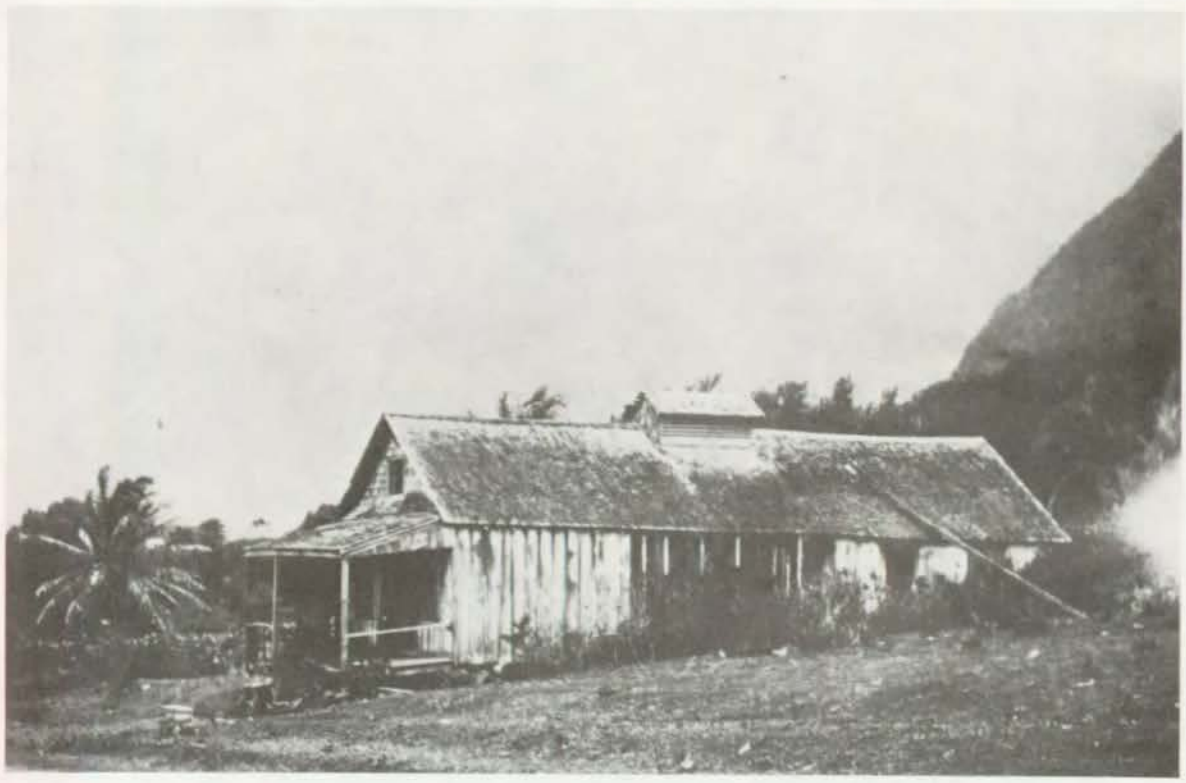
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26. Sketch map of Peter Kaeo, 1873, in Queen Emma Collection, M-45, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

27. Letter 6, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, July 9, 1873, in Korn, News from Molokai, pp. 17-18.

28. Letter 10, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, July 16, 1873, in ibid., pp. 24-25.

Illustration 10. Old Kalawao store, ca. 1930. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



> than most natives of these islands, and also better off, with very few exceptions, than they ever were in their own homes.[29]

Food continued to be a major problem in terms of adequate supply, procurement, and variety. The rough coastline and often stormy and windy weather made it extremely difficult to land supplies. Kaeo mentioned one day when the sea was so rough that boats could not approach the shore, but could only throw the taro onto the rocks for people to grab as best they could.[30] He mentions in some detail problems with the food allowance:

> A House whare it holds two or more patients [is allowed] one [share of] Pai and 3 pounds of rice, half of Pai and half of Rice everywhare [elsewhere]. The natives begin to grumble on account of their having rice all the week round and very little Poi. . . . Our meat is so poor that we do not see any fat or signs of any hardly after it is dressed and delivered. . . . Some have no cooking utensils to cook with, so they ask for Salmon in place of Beef--but no Salmon. Some ask for rice in place of Pai, as the Pai is bad and sower, but Rice is scarce and only for those in the Hospital.[31]

Kaeo received much of his food supply from Queen Emma, but when he ran out, had to depend on his allowance as a leprosy victim. He supplemented this diet occasionally by hunting wild pigs on the plains, which were salted for winter use. He had servants with him, who helped in food preparation and gathering. Others were not so lucky. Peter described two men dying from hunger, one of whom had been living on rice and salmon for two weeks until his system could no longer digest it. Kaeo believed the luna, Ragsdale, was starving the inmates by forcing rice and salmon on them and restricting distribution of meat and poi in an

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29. Report of the Board of Health for 1874, p. 72.

30. Letter 12, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, July 20, 1873, in Korn, News from Molokai, p. 29.

31. Letter 14, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, July 23, 1873, in ibid., pp. 33-34.

attempt to save money on food. Deaths that resulted at that time were probably from acute malnutrition, resulting from the physical deterioration marking advanced leprosy and faulty diet. Poi, the traditional staple diet item for Hawai'ians, was an emotional tie with childhood and old customs, and the lack of it produced psychosomatic consequences as well as nutritional deficiencies.[32]

In early November 1873, Meyer informed the chairman of the Board of Health that its regulations on food rationing were no longer reflecting changing conditions of supply and demand. Although the number of patients was increasing, the amount of poi provided by the board was the same. Also the failure of ships to land supplies to replenish food reserves meant people often suffered. Not until February 1874, however, were weekly rations increased by the board.[33]

Peter also mentions the kama'āinas--early landowners still living on the peninsula--and their desire to remain there until their death. Those people were always a source of frustration to the government both because they took up much needed living space and because they thwarted the policy of complete segregation. According to one of Peter's letters, the Board of Health was not against kama'āinas helping the patients or associating with them as long as they did not intend ever to leave the peninsula.[34]

H. Arrival of Father Joseph Damien de Veuster

1. Decision to Become a Priest

Joseph de Veuster was born January 3, 1840, in Tremeloo, Belgium, into a fairly well-to-do peasant family that raised and sold

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32. Letter 60, Peter to Emma, (Kalaupapa), December 9, 1873, in ibid., pp. 153-54 (f.n. 2).

33. Letter 62, Peter to Emma, December 17, 1873, in ibid., pp. 159-60 (f.n. 2).

34. Letter 15, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, July 27, 1873, in ibid., p. 36.

grain. His parents, Francis and Anne Catherine, had eight children, half of whom entered the religious life. Attending school until the age of thirteen, he then returned to the family farm to work in the fields. In 1853 his brother Auguste entered the seminary and four years later went to the Sacred Hearts Fathers novitiate at Louvain. Joseph continued working the farm for a while, a smart, helpful young man with a deep sense of piety and a quiet inner strength. He returned to boarding school in 1858 in preparation for a future as a grain trader. He wholeheartedly tackled his studies of French and the religious education offered. It was evidently during this time that he heard the call of God. He at first kept this revelation to himself, for with so many other siblings in religious orders, Joseph was the one expected to carry on the family grain business. As the months went by, however, Damien's resolution deepened. Seven months after entering school at Braine-le-Comte, Damien warned his parents of his mission in life:

> Don't think this idea of entering the religious life is my idea! It's Providence, I tell you, that is inspiring me. Don't put any obstacles in the way. God is calling me. I must obey. If I refuse I run the risk of going to hell. As for you, God will punish you terribly for standing in the way of His will.[35]

What could his parents do in response to such an ultimatum? Although undoubtedly disappointed that he would not be continuing the family trade, they also realized they could not deny him this calling. Having made his decision, Joseph wasted no time in beginning his holy service. Leaving Braine-le-Comte, he joined his brother Auguste (now Brother Pamphile) at Louvain, where he was accepted as a postulant.

2. The Fathers of the Sacred Hearts

The religious order that Joseph de Veuster entered in January 1859 bears the canonical name Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed

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35. Vital Jourdan, The Heart of Father Damien, 1840-1889, rev. ed. (New York: Guild Press, 1960), pp. 14-15.

Sacrament of the Altar. It is referred to more commonly as the Sacred Hearts Fathers, the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, or the Picpus Fathers, referring to the Paris street on which the mother house was located. The founder of this congregation, Father Marie-Joseph Coudrin, had a vision in 1792 of missionaries going all over the world spreading love for the Sacred Hearts. The Sacred Hearts Congregation was founded in 1800 to "practice and propagate devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of Mary," and to carry on continual adoration, involving a half hour of day adoration daily and one hour of night adoration weekly. This routine was faithfully carried on by Damien at Moloka'i.[36] Approved by Pope Pius VII in 1817, the congregation was asked eight years later to undertake the conversion of the Polynesians in the South Seas. Missionaries left for Hawai'i in 1827.

3. Joseph de Veuster Studies for the Priesthood

Upon entering the house of the Picpus Fathers, nineteen-year-old Joseph was described as being

> a young man exceptionally good to look upon. Along with the strength and healthy physique so necessary for a missionary's work, he had dark curly hair and a frank, handsome face, a face destined to be cruelly ravaged by the worst disease known to men, but at that time glowing with hope and youthful ardor.[37]

The biggest obstacle for Joseph to overcome in his monastic training was his ignorance of classical languages. According to the rules of the order, because of this lack he had to be placed among the lay brothers and could not hope to become an ordained priest. At first this did not bother Joseph, whose zeal for service of any kind was all-devouring. It was not long before his superiors, perceiving his determination to overcome all obstacles and the tenacity with which he pursued all his tasks and especially the study of Latin, took special pains

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36. Ibid., p. 17.

37. Farrow, Damien the Leper, 1951, p. 16.

to remedy his academic deficiencies to allow him to enter the ranks of those studying for the priesthood. Leaving Louvain at the end of June 1860, Joseph entered the French novitiate at Issy near Paris. At the mother house, on October 7, 1860, he took his final vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Laying aside his baptismal name, he adopted a new one, as was the order's custom. It seems especially fitting that he chose as his patron Damien--the physician of Cilicia who spent his life serving others and finally accepted a martyr's death in the early fourth century.

Throughout his ecclesiastical training, Damien underwent long periods of self discipline. Many of the character traits he had to contend with at this time continued to surface at Moloka'i, such as sudden bursts of temper that immediately consumed him with remorse, and a compulsion to get things done that made his life a constant shift from prayer to work and back again. Vital Jourdan points out that Damien differed a great deal from many of his fellow students:

> If a novice's perfection consisted solely in keeping himself in a state of passivity and receptivity in blind obedience to his director without any personal initiative on his part, Brother Damien was assuredly not good novice material. For to these things he added his own outlook, his own turn of mind, his own style of thinking and acting. No up-in-the-clouds spirituality for him. He was original enough to settle difficulties by means of his own rich imagination. Coming late to the religious life, with bits of the material world clinging to him and a newly acquired spirituality, he set about ridding himself of an awkwardness, a clumsy way of expressing his best feelings that sometimes brought him grief. However, it was that originality, the initiative cultivated on the edges of the beaten path, that was going to make his life such a tremendous success.[38]

4. Damien Leaves for Hawai'i

In 1863 the Sacred Hearts Fathers decided to send missionary reinforcements to the Hawai'ian Islands to help Bishop Louis

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38. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, pp. 20-21.

Maigret, the Vicar Apostolic. Father Pamphile was chosen as one of the party of six priests and brothers and ten sisters. As it turned out, however, Divine Providence had other plans in store for the de Veuster brothers. During a typhoid epidemic in Louvain, while visiting the sick, Pamphile caught the disease. Damien nursed him back to health and started him on a long convalescent period. Despite his extreme disappointment at not being able to go on the journey, Pamphile encouraged his brother to get permission to go in his place. Bypassing his own immediate superiors, Damien sent his request directly to the Superior General in Paris.

After many long and anxious days of waiting, Damien was informed that he could go. His happiness was unbounded. With time only for a quick but emotional farewell to his family, whom he would never see again, and a short retreat in Paris, Damien began the long, slow voyage to his martyrdom.

On May 21, 1864, Father Damien was ordained to the priesthood in the Cathedral of Our Lady of Peace in downtown Honolulu. From there he was sent to the Puna district on the island of Hawai'i where he ministered to the spiritual needs of the 350 Catholics in the area. He was later transferred to the Kohala and Hāmākua districts, serving eight years in that mission. During that time many of his parishioners were sent into isolation on Moloka'i.

5. Father Damien Volunteers as Resident Priest at Kalawao

On May 4, 1873, Monsignor Maigret consecrated a new church at Wailuku on the island of Maui. A few Picpus Fathers from neighboring districts were invited to assist in the ceremony, Damien among them. During their time together, these missionaries discussed many things, touching frequently upon the leprosy victims isolated at Kalawao and especially the sad spiritual condition of the Catholics among them.

It had been almost impossible to minister to the spiritual needs of the Catholic leprosy victims up to that time. Once a year, perhaps, a priest would spend two or three days at the settlement. Father Raymond Delalande, who visited there for several weeks in 1871, found such an enthusiastic welcome that the bishop decided to build a chapel. The church was erected by a lay worker in six weeks and was ready for use by the end of May 1872. There the Catholics gathered each Sunday to pray, sing, and recite the rosary. Bishop Maigret informed the priests that the people of the settlement had recently sent him a petition requesting a resident priest. Although Maigret had decided to grant the request, it would be a difficult decision to impose such a sentence on the person administering that post.

At that point, several young priests, including Damien, eagerly volunteered for the assignment, and it was decided to have four priests serve on a rotating basis. Damien's pioneering work at Puna and Kohala, his wish to join the multitude of his parishioners that had been sent to Kalawao, and his obvious earnest and sincere desire to help the afflicted may have made him the obvious first choice for the post. His offer was accepted with both sadness and joy by his bishop. A few months later, in explaining his reasons for that great decision, Damien stated that

> When the agents of the Board [of Health] came to carry off some of my faithful, a voice within me told me that I should rejoin them some day. When I took ship to Wailuku, the same voice warned me that I should never return to Kohala, that I should never again see my well-beloved children nor the beautiful chapels I had built. For this reason, there were tears in my eyes when I turned away from that Catholic settlement to which I had become attached during the eight years I had spent in it.[39]

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39. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, p. 137.

6. Arrival of Father Damien at Kalawao

On May 10, 1873, Damien accompanied Bishop Maigret from Maui on board the steamer Kilauea, carrying a load of fifty leprosy victims and a cargo of cattle bound for Kalawao settlement. As the boat neared Moloka'i and the residents caught sight of the holy pair, the bishop recounted later that

> those who were able to walk ran down from Kalawao. Our neophytes surrounded us, their rosaries hanging from their necks. . . . How great was their joy, when I presented to them the man who had asked to come to them and was henceforth to be their father! They cast themselves on their knees with tears brimming their eyes.[40]

Although there was an initial understanding on the bishop's part that Damien would be relieved in his work on Moloka'i within a few weeks, it is fairly certain that Damien, who was possessed of "an appetite for doing good for God in difficult circumstances,"[41] from the first was determined to devote the rest of his life to the leprosy victims of Moloka'i. Having left home with no firm indication that he would not be returning, Damien arrived at Kalawao without a change of clothing or any personal effects. Lacking even a home, he found shelter for the first few nights in the open under a pū hala tree. Damien's arrival as a resident priest prompted a flood of charitable publicity toward the Catholic church. Damien's self sacrifice and his willingness to risk constant exposure to a terrible disease were widely acclaimed in the Honlulu press:

> And yet, as the provincial remarked, there was nothing unusual in this among the Sacred Hearts Fathers: it happened whenever one of them went to a district where the mission was not established. And, of course, there had been Sacred Hearts Fathers and brothers at Kalawao before Damien. But "all that had happened without noise, without public admiration. The

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40. Ibid., pp. 137-38.

41. Gavan Daws, Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), p. 57.

honor of attracting attention, exciting sympathy, stirring up the press, was reserved to Father Damien."[42]

Because of the overwhelming public response to Damien's presence at Kalawao and his insistence on wanting to stay, his superiors decided to leave him there permanently. He could come to Honolulu overnight for confession when he wished.

7. Father Damien's Comments on Conditions at Kalawao

In March 1886, Damien produced a manuscript at the request of Walter Gibson, then president of the Board of Health, recounting the state of affairs at the leprosy settlement upon his arrival there at the age of thirty-three. These memoirs are fascinating reading and provide probably better than any other source an accurate description of social and economic conditions during the pioneer Kalawao settlement period. Following are the general topics he discussed:

a) "The Diet of the Lepers"

Damien believed that diet greatly influenced the affects of leprosy. For a long time the food of the settlement was of poor quality, insufficient, and unequally distributed. The starchy vegetable taro seemed the easiest food to digest and never caused ill effects. It seemed to be necessary emotionally as well as dietetically, for he noted that at one time, "the place having been about three months without taro on account of the scarcity of that vegetable, several cases of death occurred in consequence of it, and the majority of the people looked very emaciated, although they had plenty of rice, and sweet potatoes."[43] The settlement's regular supply of taro was cultivated in Hālawa, Wailau, and

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42. Ibid., p. 62.

43. J. Damien, "Special Report from Rev. Father J. Damien, Catholic Priest at Kalawao. Personal Experience During Thirteen Years of Labor Among the Lepers at Kalawao," March 1, 1886, MS., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 5.

Pelekunu valleys and the cooked taro or pa'i 'ai brought by sea in open boats or a small schooner or steamer. The latter method of transportation was most successful because schooners and boats were often prevented from arriving by rough weather, thus depriving the people of their major food item. The rice or hard bread issued when poi was not available sufficed for an emergency but could not support the Hawai'ians as a principal food.

Sweet potatoes raised by patients were used to add variety to the diet, but also were used in making an intoxicating drink of which the Hawai'ians were very fond but which had a detrimental affect on their health. A pint of milk was also provided for nourishment. The milk came from milch cows, which unfortunately often had to be killed for meat when the regular supply of beef cattle failed to appear on time.

b) "The Water Supply of the Settlement"

Procurement of water was one of the major problems patients had to contend with. The only dependable stream was in Wai'ale'ia Valley, and water had to be brought from the gulch to homes in paint cans carried on shoulders or on horses. Clothes were also washed in this stream, although very infrequently because of the distance involved. When the Board of Health supplied water pipes in the summer of 1873, a reservoir was built and a water line laid to the settlement. After that, abundant water was available for drinking, bathing, and washing, and people were better off there than at Kalaupapa where only rainwater or brackish well water were available.

Damien mentioned that he had been informed that at the terminus of Waihānau Valley, just southeast of Kalaupapa settlement, was a natural reservoir. He immediately went out to inspect the site and did find a natural semicircular basin seventy-two feet in diameter one way and fifty-five feet another way. Soundings determined it to be at least eighteen feet deep in the center. The water was clear, icy cold, and of good flavor. Old residents of the area told Damien that the pool never dried up, remaining a permanent source of water throughout the year.

Illustration 11. Father Damien and "the choir," no date. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



The question of how better to supply water for Kalaupapa had been under discussion for a long time, but nothing had been done because of the impression that it would be too costly. Now Damien felt that instead of considering going to Waikolu for a water supply, pipes should be laid from the Waihānau reservoir to the village.

c) "The Dwellings of the Lepers"

Upon Damien's arrival, he found 816 residents, some of whom he had known from his earlier missionary work on Hawai'i. The Kalaupapa landing place was "a Some what Deserted village of three or four wooden cottages and a few old grass houses. The lepers were allowed to go there only on the Days when a vessel arrived. . . ."[44] The patients all lived at Kalawao, about eighty of them in the hospital. The rest, with a few kōkuas, lived farther up toward "the valley," probably Wai'ale'ia, where the most advanced sufferers lived apart. Houses were built out of wood taken from old pū hala groves. Some residents did not even have that much covering and were living in shelters formed from the branches of castor oil trees covered with kī or sugar cane leaves and sometimes with pili grass. There were living "pell mell, without distinction of ages or sexes, old or new cases, all more or less strangers one to another, those unfortunate outcasts of society."[45] Because ventilation was usually lacking in those small huts, the dampness had an extremely detrimental effect on the residents, causing scabs, sores, and very weakened constitutions. As 1874 approached, a question arose as to how, in the face of limited government appropriations, the habitations of the people could be improved.

Time was passed in playing cards, in native dances, and in drinking fermented kī-root beer. Because water was scarce, clothes were seldom cleaned:

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44. Ibid., p. 1.

45. Ibid., p. 2.

> The smell of their filth mixed with exhalation of their sores was simply disgusting and unbearable to a new comer. Many a time in fulfilling my priestly duty at their domiciles, I have been obliged, not only to close my nostrils, but to run out side, to breathe fresh air. To protect my legs from a peculiar itching, which I usually experienced every evening after my visiting them, I had to beg a friend of mine to send me a pair of heavy boots.[46]

Whereas Peter Kaeo used to ask his cousin to send him a bottle of camphor periodically, which he would put on his kerchief to smell when passing the hospital on his way to bathe in Waikolu Valley, Damien took up pipe smoking as a way of counteracting the overpowering odors. At the time of Damien's arrival, the disease was taking fearful tolls on the inhabitants. That fact and the degrading living conditions gave the place the reputation of a living graveyard.

d) "The Clothing of the Lepers"

The climate of the Kalaupapa peninsula often worked great hardship on the leprosy victims. Because of the settlement's location on the north side of the island, backed by very high mountains, the temperature was often cool. Frequent storms, bringing rain and wind, were almost unbearable for people whose circulation at advanced stages of the disease was poor at best.

Peter Kaeo tells about coming across villagers living in caves who, when asked why they did not go to the hospital, replied that their cave was preferable because the hospital was "anu anu". Other villagers he found living by the side of a stone wall they had built and covered with mats were also anu anu.[47] Kaeo noted in the fall of 1873 that about half of the people were in dreadful fear of the rainy season because of their desperate lack of clothing. Their woolen blankets

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46. Ibid., p. 3.

47. Letter 35, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, August 31, 1873, in Korn, News from Molokai, p. 80.

were completely threadbare, they had no undergarments, and children were dressed in rags.[48]

Damien found that the cold, damp weather had a deleterious effect on those without warm clothes, causing fevers, coughs, swelling in the face and limbs, and congestion in the lungs. Although each victim received a suit of clothes and a blanket from the government every year, because of neglect and lack of washing, they wore out within only a few months. Friends and relatives often supplied clothes, but those without this means of help suffered greatly before the settlement store was established. Those who could earn a little money to buy necessities had to entrust it to the schooner captain to buy such items for them. It was with a great deal of relief within the settlement that news arrived about the inauguration of the Moloka'i store in the summer of 1873. With the issuance of six dollars to each person every year to buy what they wanted, the clothing situation was greatly improved. Occasional charity offerings also helped ameliorate that particular problem.

e) "Exercise for the Lepers"

Father Damien felt it was very important that exercise be a part of the leprosy victim's daily schedule. Any physical activity would help circulation of the blood and offset to some degree paralysis of nerves and muscles. On Damien's arrival he found most people concerned only with sleeping, drinking, and playing cards; only a small minority partook of any exercise, mostly in the form of cultivating fields and riding the few horses available.

f) "The Morality of the Leper Settlement"

Previous to Damien's arrival it had been widely acknowledged that one of the greatest needs of the people at Kalawao was for a spiritual leader or priest. Because of this lack, vice and

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48. Letter 47, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, October 1, 1873, in ibid., p. 123.

degradation were rampant. Damien briefly outlined the state of affairs with which he first had to contend:

> In consequence of this impious theory, the people, mostly all unmarried, or separated on account of the disease, were living promiscuously without distinction of sex and many an unfortunate woman, had to become a prostitute to obtain friends who would take care of her, and her children, when well and strong, were used as servants; Once that the disease prostrated them, such women and children were often cast out, and had to find an other shelter; sometimes they were laid behind a stone wall and left there to die and at other times a hired hand would carry them to the hospital. The so much praised aloha of the natives was entirely lacking here, at least in this respect.
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> As already mentioned in other pages, the Hawaiian hula was organized after the pagan fashion, under the protection of the old deity Laka, who had his numerous altars, and sacrifices, and I candidly confess, that I had hard work to annihilate Laka's religions and worship and thereby put a stop to the hula, and its bad consequences.[49]

Another source of immorality was intoxication. The natives cooked, fermented, and distilled the root of the kī plant, which grew abundantly along the foot of the mountains. The beverage was so imperfectly distilled that it was actually totally unfit for consumption and seemed to make people temporarily mad. This practice was illegal but difficult to stop because certain members of the police force were themselves involved in the distilling operations. Damien seemed, however, to have enough moral authority and physical strength to stop much of the illegal and immoral activity of the non-Catholics as well as of his flock.

g) "Medical Treatment"

During the first period of the settlement's existence, from 1866 to 1873, the superintendents had made some attempt to furnish medicine to the sick as required. Many of the patients also relied on

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49. Damien, "Personal Experience," 1886, p. 30.

their own native remedies. Despite this, Damien noted that he found these people less addicted to sorcery and the practices of native doctors than were the natives he had ministered to on Hawai'i. Because of the shortages of medicine and trained medical personnel, ulcers were often left unattended and exposed to dirt, flies, and vermin, and commonplace problems such as fever or diarrhea could cause death due to lack of treatment.

VII. Kalawao Settlement Period, 1874-1900

A. Social and Physical Conditions Improve

1. New Hope Arises

a) Legislature Takes More Interest in Settlement

The second and by far the most extensive development period for Kalawao began in 1874. Certain reforms in the administration of the settlement had already begun under King Lunalilo, who died on February 3, 1874, after reigning just over a year. At his death, the succession came into dispute, between David Kalākaua, who had been defeated by Lunalilo the previous year, and Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV. On February 12, Kalakaua was elected by the Hawai'ian Legislature and reigned from 1874 to 1891 as Hawai'i's last king. The interest in conditions at the leprosy settlement that had been shown in the 1873 biennial legislature continued at each successive session, and committees were regularly appointed to visit Moloka'i and report on housing conditions, food supply, morale, and other concerns.

b) Reaction to Father Damien's Placement at Kalawao

As stated earlier, it was obvious that Damien had determined from the very moment of accepting the first stint of what was supposed to be a rotating position as resident priest to stay in the settlement. He started in on his new duties with an enthusiasm and energy that would require the most of his physical stamina:

> There's something to keep me busy from morning to night. On my list I have two hundred and ten Catholics and eighty catechumens. Yesterday, high Mass, superb singing, many Communions, and since I arrived crowds of confessions.[1]

Damien's landing at Kalawao created a major stir in Hawai'i. He was acclaimed as a Christian hero, whose response to the plight of these unfortunates had been immediate and unhesitating and who had gone to the island completely without resources. (All Hawai'ian missionaries traveled without provisions and the fact that he had no

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1. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 115.

baggage was because the steamer happened to be at Maui taking on a shipment of cattle for the settlement and Damien took advantage of its presence to leave immediately.) Although Damien never cultivated the publicity his presence on Kalawao generated, it bothered many people who felt that it ignored the efforts made by non-Catholics and even other earlier Catholic workers. Even many of Damien's Catholic superiors were amazed at the response and wondered why earlier priests had not been so eulogized. Unmindful of the furor and blissfully happy at the task he had set for himself, Damien returned to Honolulu during the early summer and confirmed his orders to stay at Kalawao.

Damien's years at the settlement were filled with controversy. The Board of Health, whose members included several Protestant ministers, from the beginning was apprehensive at his presence and of what he might undertake and also somewhat embarrassed by and resentful of the immediate glory he was awarded. He was criticized for going there without official authorization, and, although the board could not expel him because of the pressure of public opinion, it did in September 1873 demand that he abide by the segregation and isolation regulations and not leave the settlement, for fear of spreading the disease. Damien was greatly sorrowed by this order, for it meant not seeing fellow missionaries or his superiors and, most difficult of all to accept, not going to confession. Not only was he not to leave the island, but he was also not to go over the pali to care for Catholics on the south shore of Moloka'i. Two months later the decree was modified to permit religious personnel to exercise the functions of their office, and Damien proceeded to interpret this as freely as possible so that he could reach everyone who he felt needed him. Without fear and not in defiance, but in the pursuit of his divine calling, he frequently journeyed beyond the confines of the settlement.

Damien's official position at the settlement was as a delegate of the bishop, assigned to minister to the Catholic population, both at the settlement and elsewhere on the island. He was a non-patient in the eyes of the civil authority--the Board of Health--and needed its permission to stay in the area. He had to respect the governmental

administration. He freely intervened in matters, however, when he felt circumstances warranted it.

c) Father Damien's Position in Settlement Affairs

The Board of Health's misgivings about Damien are easy to understand. Although the board was dedicated to improving the physical and mental welfare of the patients, it viewed with some alarm the arrival of a strong-minded priest whose personality and intent were totally unknown to its members. Damien's personality enabled him to achieve much at the settlement from the beginning. Without the training of even the average priest of his time, he was admirably suited to such a pioneering challenge as this. He was not unfamiliar with leprosy, having cared for and ministered to its victims in his previous parishes, though never to the numbers he was surrounded with here. He had watched the whole process of segregation with interest and compassion and seems to have early formed a bond with those suffering from the disease. Still, at first he felt some revulsion toward the disease's manifestations. It took great will power for him to overcome his fears and touch members of his flock without hesitation.

His temperament was energetic to the point of exhaustion and impatient at roadblocks to his plans for improvement of the social and spiritual condition of his people. His unyielding attitude on a variety of affairs, not all concerned with his religious duties, often brought him in conflict with the board, which considered him stubborn and hardheaded. The situation in which he found himself was difficult, however, and he felt there were problems that demanded immediate attention. He was almost always pleasant and spontaneously enthusiastic in everyday activities, while sensitive and often moved to tearful compassion over the condition of his fellow exiles. In addition to his assets of fearlessness, drive, optimism, and a true spirit of divine love that drew him and the sufferers together, he retained some aspects of character that would continue to draw criticism, often rightfully so, from his detractors. It is true, also, that he was unrefined, often unmindful of personal cleanliness, and certainly constantly careless in exposing

himself to the wounds and exhalations of his patients, which were then thought to transmit the disease. He was, however, a man of the people, someone with whom his flock immediately felt affinity. He was a skilled laborer and carpenter, and his youth spent on the family farm had conditioned him to ably perform all types of manual labor.

Damien's impact on the development of the Moloka'i leprosy settlement was extensive. He was the only priest at the village most of the time, with periodic help extended by other members of his order, until his death on April 15, 1889. The publicity accorded him from the time of his arrival at the settlement throughout his work there drew public attention to the plight of the unfortunate residents and stimulated continuing efforts to improve their plight. Research on leprosy was making some progress at that time: the leprosy bacillus had been discovered only a few months prior to Damien's arrival at Kalawao. Damien's observations on the disease and its physical and mental effects on individuals added much data to that phase of medical history.

More important was the effect of Damien's arrival on the people themselves, for almost from the first day, the atmosphere of the settlement changed. His good nature, healthy countenance, and immediate efforts to be friendly sparked a wave of new hope. His ultimate diagnosis as a victim of leprosy forever bonded him to them as a brother. Damien was priest, doctor, nurse, carpenter, farmer, coffin-maker, gravedigger, mediator, and father figure, and in all these roles had a significant impact on every aspect of the leprosy treatment program in the islands.

2. Father Damien Attacks Problems of Settlement

a) Initial Fight Against Poverty and Vice

It was obvious from the first that Damien's work at Kalawao would involve more than ministering to spiritual needs, for religious and emotional states were closely tied to physical condition. His daily contact with the sick gave him an understanding of their needs that no one else could hope to obtain. Beginning immediately to procure the necessary smaller items such as clothes and special foods, he appealed to

public charity and especially the Sacred Hearts sisters in Honolulu. Damien kept a store at his house where provisions were supplied free to those who needed them. Its stock came from mission gifts and other charitable donations and was much utilized by the very poor. These actions brought him to the attention of Honolulu society and enriched his reputation as a benefactor of the unfortunate. It would become obvious to the Board of Health, too, that Damien was a trustworthy liaison between the people and the government and would be a strong advocate for welfare of the settlement.

Damien's strong-willed Flemish temperament stood him in good stead when it came to waging war against the lawless elements among the residents. His first order of business was to bring discipline and order to the settlement. Although some of the people accepted him quickly, others were inclined to be resentful of his presence and sullen in the face of his authority. Many violent clashes occurred when he began his crusade against immorality in the village, but Damien's physical strength, determination to succeed, and courage ultimately tilted the battle in his favor.

b) Tenure as Resident Superintendent

The Board of Health soon came to view Father Damien as a stable and guiding influence in the colony and endeavored to work closely with him. When the post of resident superintendent became vacant in November 1877, the government offered it to Damien at a salary of $10,000 a year. Indignantly he refused the salary, saying "If you presented me with a hundred thousand, I would not want it," reminding them that "If I had profit only in view, I would not stay here five minutes. Only God and His service of souls keep me here."[2] He did, however, consent to act as temporary superintendent, which he did for three months until February 25, 1878. The end of this period came as a great relief to him, for his administrative duties had taken up most of his

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2. Ibid., p. 138.

time and interfered with his spiritual mission. The post had also temporarily put him in a slightly different relationship with his people, and he liked dealing with them on a spiritual level better. By 1879 the board was sending Damien provisions just as it did for the patients. It recognized him as a powerful moral force and as an indispensable aid in the administration of the settlement due to his immediate knowledge of the state of affairs and the needs of the patients. The board always attempted to meet his strong demands for better food, clothing, and organization within the limits of its power and money.

c) Daily Routine

Father Damien had not much time to sit and brood over the fate that had brought him to Moloka'i even if he had been so inclined. In 1873 when he came to the settlement, seven years after its beginning, its population had doubled to 800 people. It remained within that range with only slight variation until 1888 when it began increasing dramatically to a peak of 1,180 residents around 1890:

Year	Admissions to Lazaretto	Deaths at Lazaretto	Number of Lepers at the end of the year			
			Men	Women	Total	[patients]
1873	415	142	515	285	800	
1874	78	141	455	266	721	
1875	178	149	465	279	744	
1876	75	119	432	262	294	[694]
1877	122	129	433	251	684	
1878	209	111	477	305	782	
1879	92	204	414	254	668	
1880	51	151	352	216	568	
1881	195	129	398	236	634	
1882	70	111	369	224	593	
1883	300	150	453	290	743	
1884	108	167	430	252	682	
1885	103	142	422	221	643	
1886	43	101	389	191	580	
1887	220	111	449	239	688	
1888	571	236	643	368	1,011	
1889	307	149	722	444	1,166[3]	

During the years 1888 to 1902, segregation was at its maximum enforcement.

3. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, pp. 153-54.

Father Damien never failed to meet newcomers to the island at the landing place in order to give them a warm welcome and an orientation to their new home. Much of the reason for his final acceptance among the people was that he soon showed no fear or revulsion toward them, an attitude he had to work on, but that was necessary to win the full confidence and trust of the residents. In writing to his brother in November 1873 regarding his arrival on Moloka'i, Damien recalled:

> I have had great difficulty in getting accustomed to such an atmosphere. One day, at the Sunday Mass, I found myself so stifled that I thought I must leave the altar to breathe a little of the outer air, but I restrained myself. . . . Now my sense of smell does not cause me so much inconvenience, and I enter the huts of the lepers without difficulty. Sometimes, indeed, I still feel some repugnance when I have to hear the confessions of those near their end, whose wounds are full of maggots. Often, also, I scarce know how to administer Extreme Unction, when both hands and feet are nothing but raw wounds.[4]

Damien every morning visited the sick, Catholic and non-Catholic, often partook freely of meals with them, worked by their side daily, and without hesitation dressed and cleaned their wounds. He identified himself with them as much as possible: "As for me, I make myself a leper with the lepers, to gain all to Jesus Christ. That is why in preaching, I say, We lepers, not, My brethren, as in Europe."[5] Once he had allayed his flock's distrust and started them again on the path of righteousness, other pressing matters could be dealt with.

d) Improved Housing

One of the worst problems perceived by Father Damien was the deplorable housing situation at Kalawao. The tiny

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4. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 142.

5. Father Pamphile, ed., Life and Letters of Father Damien, the Apostle of the Lepers (London: The Catholic Truth Society, 1889), pp. 93-94. Note that Damien's strong identification with the people and his manner of addressing them in sermons began long before he contracted the disease.

makeshift grass huts, constantly pervaded by rain and wind, crowded and unsanitary, and furnished only with skimpy sleeping mats, were major factors contributing to the high mortality rate. Damien immediately began campaigning for new housing, and was aided in his endeavor by the forces of nature. In late November 1874 a fierce wind began to blow and rain poured down. When the storm abated, Peter Kaeo rode into Kalawao to assess the destruction. Twenty-two houses had been flattened and fifty more damaged. In addition, papaya trees, acres of koli'i, and groves of newly planted banana trees were uprooted. His assessment of the damage was at least $3,000.[6]

Disheartening as the destruction was, it did result in acquiring new building materials such as scantling (square laths), rough N.W. (Northwest?) boards, and the old material of the former Kalihi Hospital from the Board of Health and from private individuals. A period of housing construction began in 1874, and by 1886 no fewer than three hundred simple wooden dwellings, set on trestles to raise them off the wet ground, had been erected by Damien, private carpenters, and such patients as were able. They were painted or whitewashed with lime on the exterior.

As the parish grew, Damien established a system whereby church members built their own homes, under his direction, using church funds. As a rule, upon their death, Catholics bequeathed their homes to the church. Many of these Catholic homes were much better than those provided by the government. Because they were larger and more substantial they were in great demand and undoubtedly prompted several conversions. Responsibility for behaving as good Christians was demanded of the homeowners, however, and laxness in living up to what Damien considered one's religious responsibilities could result in eviction.[7]

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6. Letter 104, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, November 22, 1874, in Korn, News from Molokai, pp. 262-63.

7. Charles J. Dutton, The Samaritans of Molokai (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1932), p. 79.

e. The Church and Churchyard

(1) Presbytery

As regards his own quarters, Damien at first refused to sleep in the houses of the leprosy victims and spent his first nights under a pū hala tree next to St. Philomena Church. This he probably did to forestall immediate intimate contact with the people, but the time alone also may have been essential to periodically rededicate himself to the awesome task before him. Romantic as this situation might appear, and despite its enhancement of the legend of Father Damien, it could not have been a very comfortable situation. Damien might not even have noticed, however, because he probably returned to his bed at night in a state of exhaustion.

Damien first built himself a small wooden hut, sixteen by ten feet, where he lived for five years. Finally, in 1878, due to charity subscriptions made by the whites in Honolulu, he was able to build a more suitable dwelling. It was a small presbytery, about twenty-four by twenty-one feet, two stories high, with an exterior stairway leading to the upper verandah.[8] Located beside the cemetery, it was convenient for officiating daily at graveside and for carrying out his grave digging tasks. Father Damien wrote his brother that "The cemetery, church and my house form one enclosure; thus at night time I am the sole keeper of this garden of the dead. . . ."[9] Apparently this house originally was west of St. Philomena, for Brother Joseph Dutton stated in his memoirs, published in 1931, that

> To the right [east] of it [St. Philomena] stands Father Damien's house. This was at one time a two-story structure, but the lower story was cut out, the top part dropped down upon sills, and moved to where it now stands, being used as a singing house, and for other purposes. It used to stand on the other

8. Father Pamphile, Life and Letters of Father Damien, p. 115.

9. Farrow, Damien the Leper, 1951, p. 139.

Illustration 12. Part of the settlement at Kalawao, ca. 1894. The Baldwin Home compound is to the right. St. Philomena Church appears to the left of the picture and to its right, with the sloping roof, is the rectory after its relocation. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



> side of the church, about halfway between the church and the present house of the priest [underlining added].[10]

The second floor held a workroom/office and bedroom; the first level was used as a dispensary and consulting room.

(2) Religious Zeal Awakened

Because of the renewed interest in Catholic church matters spurred by Father Damien's arrival, attendance at Mass and other religious occasions increased tremendously. Tiny St. Philomena became the soul of the colony for Catholics and many others, the source of new-found hope. Daily church visitation increased and conversions and baptisms were numerous. Morning Mass and recitation of the rosary in the evenings drew daily crowds. Damien knew the Hawai'ian love of ceremony and made Sunday High Mass the highlight of the week. The nuns in Honolulu had sent red soutanes and lace surplices for the altar and choir boys and their colorful appearance, in addition to the spectacle of candles and flowers decorating the altar, plus the pomp of sacred music and prayers, attracted a large crowd.

Charles Warren Stoddard, paying a visit to the settlement in 1884, described Mass at St. Philomena:

> Father [Damien] had placed me to the left of the altar in the place usually reserved for him, surrounded by a little railing.
>
> I missed nothing of the spectacle. The sacred vessels are of gold, admirably embellished. They are the gift of the pastor of St. Roch in Paris, and they are used only at High Mass. All the choir boys were disfigured by leprosy. It was painful to look at some of them. Most of them no longer had fingers on their hands or toes on their feet.

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10. Howard D. Case, ed., Joseph Dutton [His Memoirs]: The Story of Forty-four Years of Service Among the Lepers of Molokai, Hawaii (Honolulu: Press of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1931), p. 110.

> With gentle gravity, the priest began. The chapel was filled with faithful who joined in the singing with fervor and compunction. What a contrast! At the altar bright with lights and decorations, the priest in perfect health, singing in a clear and sonorous voice the Preface and the Pater Noster. At his feet, acolytes with childish features marked by death. In the nave, an assemblage in which no face could be looked at without horror. The air was tainted; a fetid odor arose from those unfortunates who prayed so well. And I said to myself that such prayers, mounting to Heaven through the mediation of such a servant of God, could not fail to be granted.[11]

Recognizing the Hawai'ian love of music, Damien made it a daily recreation, forming choirs and community sings. Singing and the band also heightened the celebration of feasts and holidays. Membership in the choir became a great privilege, and practice was solemnly pursued under the trees in the evenings. The band played at everything, even funerals, helping to calm fears and soothe sorrows. There were also four confraternities or devotional societies composed of patients exceptional in their devotion and religious fervor. They were formed to encourage goodwill and brotherhood and undertook works of piety and charity. The Society of Perpetual Adoration constantly adored our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. Three other groups were of a charitable nature--the Holy Childhood banded together young people and children to help the poor and sick; a men's group under the patronage of St. Joseph also visited the sick; and the last united women under the Blessed Virgin's patronage and assisted other women. Two or three times a year great religious celebrations were held, such as those for Corpus Christi and Christmas.

(3) Cemeteries

Because the government did not have sufficient funds to buy coffins for all the deceased inmates, people had to pay for their own. Those who died penniless were often buried only in a blanket, if that. The sick were forced to dig graves when called upon,

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11. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, pp. 194-95.

Illustration 13. Corpus Christi celebration near the old Baldwin Home. Corpus Christi is the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament Church, usually celebrated in May or early June. It was prepared for weeks in advance. On the feast day, a magnificent procession would march across the peninsula accompanied by singers and musical instruments, bearing the cross and a gaily decorated portable altar. After the ceremony, a hearty meal was served. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



an extremely difficult task for those who were crippled. If anyone refused this duty, he could be denied his weekly food ration. The graves were shallow and makeshift and bodies were often washed out during rains or dug up and mutilated and devoured by hogs. To make death a less excruciating and more meaningful rite of passage, Damien formed coffin associations among the people to provide a common fund for proper interment.

Damien also laid out a larger, well-enclosed cemetery adjoining St. Philomena which was fenced to prevent encroachment by animals. Here deceased victims, Catholic or not, were decently buried in consecrated ground. Damien acted as undertaker and gravedigger, digging graves at least six feet deep.

His spiritual care of the people was utmost in his thoughts and he tirelessly worked on behalf of the Catholic mission, always devising means of extending its influence and increasing its membership. He tried to persuade the people that their present hardships were but preparation for a new and eternally everlasting life in which strife and despair would be absent. Their now deformed bodies would be transfigured and glorified in death. With this aspect before them, the daily funeral ceremonies participated in by two burial associations, which provided music, were imbued with a spirit of solemn festivity. A few musical instruments had been sent by the bishop for the men to play in the processions and ribbons and cloth for banners and ornamentation for the women were contributed by the Catholic sisters.

(4) St. Philomena Remodeled

It soon became clear to Damien that "the church of St. Philomena . . . must at all costs be enlarged ten feet at least."[12] In the winter of 1876 this remodeling was undertaken.

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12. John Farrow, Damien the Leper (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1954), p. 126.

Illustration 13 shows St. Philomena in early 1886 with Father Damien's first improvements. Brother Joseph Dutton's description of this picture states that Damien's house stood about where the cross mark is in the foreground (just above the rock). "We moved that gate and changed the walls so as to enclose much more ground. . . ." The cross part of the church (with the twelve-light windows) was built by Brother Bertrant. "There was a door at your right hand. Father Damien closed it and put this nave [with the arched door] and steeple on, the chapel forming the transepts."[13] Damien then painted the building on the outside and decorated it within in accordance with the Hawai'ian taste for color. In April of 1877 he stated, "During the winter I worked hard to enlarge my church and build a pretty tower."[14] The altar at the east end was fashioned by Father Damien out of whatever materials were handy.

(5) A Church at Kalaupapa

By early November 1873 Father Damien had built another chapel, largely by himself, at Kalaupapa so that Catholics living there could also attend church.[15] Damien mentioned the structure in a letter to Father Pamphile:

> I have just built another chapel, two miles from this [St. Philomena], at the other end of the settlement. This chapel costs me 1,500 francs, without counting my work as carpenter. . . .[16]

Its dedication was quite an affair, for Peter Kaeo wrote that

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13. Joseph Dutton (1843-1931) file 1890-1912, item dated May 1908, Manuscript 266.2, D95, in Hawaiian Historical Society Library, Honolulu.

14. Father Pamphile, Life and Letters of Father Damien, p. 105, and Letter XXI, April 1877, p. 113.

15. Korn, News from Molokai, p. 149 (f.n. 4).

16. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 144.

Illustration 14. Kalawao settlement, 1884. Siloama Church is shown prior tc alterations of 1885. On St. Philomena the new nave and steeple built by Fat Damien are visible. Structure in between the two churches is probably the Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Illustration 15. Roman Catholic Church at Kalaupapa, no date, but between 1873 and 1881, before church was enlarged. Compare with Illustration 16. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Illustration 16. Roman Catholic Church, Kalaupapa, after enlargement, ca. 1881-82.

Illustration 17. Interior of Catholic Church, Kalaupapa, no date. Photos courtesy St. Louis-Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.





> All the Catholics had gone their [sic: to the beach, probably at Kalaupapa] as their new church was to be opened that day. The fife and drum was playing all sorts of Negro Airs, the Natives were collected in and outside of the enclosure, talking as the Natives do do, while inside a service was being held by Father Damien.[17]

The church was a frame structure, thirty feet long, sixteen feet wide, and twenty-three feet high, with a steeple. This building also had to be enlarged, as, according to Damien, in 1881

> He [coadjutor-Bishop] received their request favorably, and commissioned me to add to the old chapel three arms, so as to form a cross. Already a portion of the timber necessary for the work has arrived; for here all the buildings are of wood, because of the frequent earthquakes.[18]

A letter from Father Albert Montiton--a Frenchman who joined Damien in 1881--written from Kalaupapa in 1883, stated that the church had lately been doubled in size. Father Damien did all the carpentry work with the aid of a few residents.[19] Father Albert then painted the church in bright colors.

To make it easier for the sick to attend sermons, the number of meeting places was increased. Gatherings were held at Kalaupapa, at the hospital, at St. Philomena, and on a plain where immoral dances used to be held. Damien stated:

> On Sunday afternoons we have meetings for the sick, directed by prayer leaders. Four or five houses at Kalawao are filled to overflowing. After Mass, baptisms and dinner, I go over to Kalaupapa where I hold three meetings; one for the natives who

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17. Letter 58, Peter to Emma, Kalaupapa, November 4, 1873, in Korn, News from Molokai, p. 149.

18. Letter XXV, December 8, 1881, in Father Pamphile, Life and Letters of Father Damien, p. 123.

19. Letter dated February 5, 1883, in ibid., p. 127.

are not sick, one for the patients around the port, the third out at the end of the promontory.[20]

(6) A Wider Ministry

Damien's initial work was not confined solely to the settlement. He had, however, been forced to put off visiting the natives beyond the pali because of the pressing needs of his immediate flock. Disregarding the restrictions imposed on his traveling about the island, he eventually scaled the cliffs over a rough trail and visited the other parts of the island. Realizing that there were enough Catholics to justify establishment of a new parish, he wrote the bishop and suggested that another missionary be sent to administer to these people so that he could devote all his time to the settlement where he was most needed and where his presence caused less alarm to the Board of Health. Monsignor Maigret obliged by sending a Dutch priest, Father André Burgermann, in February 1874. After Father André arrived, he stayed at Kalawao while Damien journeyed to the southern coast of the island and built a new church in Burgermann's district at Kalua'aha. On its completion, Damien returned to Kalawao, and from then until about June 1878 his parish was restricted to the peninsula. From June 1878 to June 1880, Father André preached at Kalaupapa, and the care of the southern district once more fell to Father Damien. In July 1880 Father André was directed to leave Moloka'i, and for the next fifteen months Damien again had charge of the entire island.[21] Beginning on September 8, 1881, an ill priest, Father Albert Montiton, stayed at Kalaupapa until February 2, 1885, from which time on Damien was alone until the arrival of Father Louis-Lambert Conrardy in May 1888, who was with Damien at his death.

To facilitate passage up and over the pali after the law of absolute exclusion of visitors from the settlement had been

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20. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 214.

21. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, pp. 183-84.

slightly relaxed in late 1873 to admit medical men and ministers for the exercise of their offices, the government made a bridle path out of the old trail from the top of the pali to the settlement. Because of its steepness, the patients were not strong enough to climb it.[22]

3. Construction of New Protestant (Congregational) Chapel at Kalaupapa

By the end of 1876, so many Protestants had moved to the western coast, at Kalaupapa, that the necessity arose to serve their religious needs also. This extended church body was now served by one pastor, who began the practice of holding early Sunday services in the Kalaupapa schoolhouse and who then went back to Kalawao for the regular worship service. The Siloama deacons also frequently met in the Kalaupapa schoolhouse. Discussions soon began over the need for a branch chapel at Kalaupapa. Work on the structure was begun by a carpenter, J. Kanakaole--a patient at the settlement--on May 30, 1878, and it was dedicated on August 3, 1879. On August 29, 1878, the first session of Elders was held in this new chapel at Kalaupapa, a small frame building of unimaginative design called Siloama Hou, Hale Aloha--"New Siloama, Beloved House."

By 1880 plans were being formulated for rebuilding the old Siloama Church at Kalawao. This construction did take place, enlarging the structure and rebuilding it to the extent of placing the front door facing west instead of south toward the pali, raising the belfry, and tapering the steeple. A contemplated parsonage was not added. Lumber for that structure was later used in enlarging, or rebuilding, the new Siloama at Kalaupapa. It was that new chapel, forty-five by twenty feet, that was rededicated in September 1885. By 1890 the Kalaupapa chapel needed enlarging and a tin roof, and Rudolph Meyer took charge of the alteration work. The New Siloama chapel was also repaired around 1903 or 1904 after a storm demolished the belfry and steeple.

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22. Father Pamphile, Life and Letters of Father Damien, p. 96.

Illustration 18. Siloama Hou, Hale Aloha, Kalaupapa, no date, but supposedly ca. 1895, after the tin roof had been added. About 1903, the steeple was ripped off in a windstorm. The building stands on the site of the present Congregational pastor's house (#288).

Illustration 19. Protestant church, Kalaupapa, ca. 1907. This date is open to conjecture, because the structure still has a shingle roof. Possibly it was reroofed again after a storm. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





B. Description of "Leper Asylum of Molokai," 1874

In April 1874 King Kalākaua and his Queen visited Kalaupapa peninsula where the assembled residents greeted them on the beach with a hearty welcome. After a brief but emotional address to their diseased subjects, their Majesties returned to the steamer and to Honolulu. Accompanying the royal couple were members of the Board of Health and some newspaper reporters. Brief descriptions of the two settlements were later submitted. At Kalaupapa: "Here is a store-house or two, and a small stone church, erected by the Father Damiens of the Catholic Mission. . . ."[23]

At Kalawao was a hospital compound comprised of about twelve whitewashed wooden buildings enclosed by a fence. In the center of the square were the office buildings--the dispensary and the office of the superintendent where the accounts and records of the settlement were kept, where "court" was held, and where a post office was located. Tobacco was grown in the area and sold to parties in Honolulu. Three houses of worship existed: the Catholic Church at Kalaupapa, and the Catholic (St. Philomena) and Protestant (Siloama) churches at Kalawao. Two schools operated at Kalawao, in which the children were taught Hawai'ian. It was stated that about 184 original inhabitants of the peninsula were still around and very troublesome, eating food intended for the patients, refusing to do any work in return, and pasturing their animals on government land.[24]

C. Leprosy Settlement in 1876

1. Visit of "Committee of Thirteen"

In June 1876 a special "Committee of Thirteen," leading members of the legislature officially charged with the task of investigating

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23. "The Leper Asylum of Molokai," The Pacific Commercial Advertiser (Honolulu), April 18, 1874.

24. Ibid. Southwest of the superintendent's house was a jail built by 1873 to confine anybody creating a disturbance or breaking the Board of Health rules.

the condition of the residents, landed at Kalaupapa. This committee, in the open air on the lawn of "Governor" Bill Ragsdale's cottage, assembled the residents before them and asked them to voice needs and complaints. After this venting of grievances, those who thought themselves free of the disease were asked to step forward. The committee recommended that several of these be examined immediately by the Board of Health members present, assisted by a visiting medical expert from outside the islands, Dr. G.W. Woods of the U.S.S. Lackawanna. On the basis of this impromptu inspection, two cases were authorized to be returned to Honolulu for further study.[25]

2. Notes by Dr. G.W. Woods

Dr. Woods, a medical inspector in the U.S. Navy at the time of his visit to the settlement, was working on a report on leprosy for the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. After accompanying the "Committee of Thirteen," he penned the following description of the peninsula. At Kalawao was the central village, in which were located the "governor's" (resident superintendent's) residence, the government store, the hospital, and several churches. The superintendent's house was described as a simple bungalow with three rooms opening on a verandah, at the end of which was an isolated room expressly built and furnished for the representative of the Board of Health to occupy when he made his regular visits and had to stay overnight. The bedding and furniture in that room were carefully protected from contamination.

Father Damien was described as architect, carpenter, painter, nurse and priest to the sick and dying, dresser of wounds, and teacher of temperance, morals, family life, cleanliness, gardening, cooking, and avoidance of vices. Woods described St. Philomena as crowded and ill ventilated: "the cubic air space limited, and the stifling hot atmosphere was so pervaded and heavy with the offensive odor of

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25. Korn, News from Molokai, pp. 281-82.

decomposing purulent matter that it was with the greatest difficulty the rebellious stomach could be controlled."[26]

D. Report of the Special Sanitary Committee on the State of the Leprosy Settlement at Kalawao, 1878

In a continuing attempt to better analyze the state of affairs at the settlement, another special committee was appointed by the legislative assembly in 1878. For this visit the residents were again assembled and briefed by Walter M. Gibson, chairman of the committee, and other members as to the purpose of their visit, which was to obtain more information for the legislative assembly in regard to their condition and how it might be improved. From the landing at Kalaupapa, committee members rode on horses to the hospital at Kalawao to carry on the investigation. There again the residents were invited to voice grievances and come forward to be examined if they felt they were being wrongfully detained. While at the settlement the committee members listened to the statements of more than thirty people, visited the hospital wards, the dwellings outside the hospital, and the settlement store, watched the butchering of animals in the slaughterhouse, and the burial of a resident. It was noted that most people lived in cabins or huts they built themselves of materials they had purchased and shipped to the settlement. The rich soil in the area was producing sweet potatoes, corn, beans cabbages, and tobacco.[27] Despite the generally good appearance of the settlement, reforms were obviously needed in connection with housing; food, both quantity and method of distribution; clothing; and medical treatment. The most urgent need was for "a large-minded, philanthropic,

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26. G.W. Woods, "Reminiscences of a visit, in July, 1876, to the Leper Settlement of Molokai," manuscript, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, pp. 5-10.

27. "Report of the Special Sanitary Committee on the State of the Leper Settlement at Kalawao," supplement to The Pacific Commercial Advertiser (Honolulu), June 8, 1878.

energetic, professional superintendent or governor."[28] Also mandatory were a resident physician and medical staff.

In 1878 the Board of Health reported that there were 129 big and small frame houses and 171 big and small grass houses in the settlement. Only 5 or 6 of all the dwellings were privately owned. The population of Kalawao on April 1, 1878, was 692.[29] As a result of the report of the Special Sanitary Committee, the legislative assembly of 1878 gave the condition of the residents special attention and appropriated large sums of money for their treatment and care. Reforms included improved dwellings, additional and more varied food, and gratuitous provision of items necessary to improve lighting and cleanliness, such as lamp oil, soap, and whitewash. The new houses were either built by the Board of Health or were built and owned by the people themselves. By 1886 all the grass houses at the settlement had disappeared.[30]

E. Report of Nathaniel B. Emerson, Medical Superintendent of the Leprosy Settlement, 1880

During the first few years at the settlement, no doctors or other medical personnel were provided, although the resident superintendents evidently made some distribution of medicine as necessary. This was primarily due to the fact that the disease was regarded as incurable, and also because in the beginning there were other more pressing problems that could more easily be addressed. Also the generally unpleasant surroundings and lack of medical equipment and facilities made it difficult through the years to attract and keep such

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28. Report of the Special Sanitary Committee on the State of the Leper Settlement at Kalawao, 1878, Walter M. Gibson, Chairman, in Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, p. 87.

29. Report of the Board of Health for 1878, in Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, p. 79.

30. "That Most Dread Disease, Leprosy, and Its Treatment by Modern Methods," [paper unknown, possibly The Daily Bulletin], undated, in Father Damien Clippings file, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

personnel. The sick also had native drugs to rely upon, and many of them preferred treatment by kahunas to being under the care of a foreign doctor. Leprosy was not the only illness plaguing these people, however, for they were subject to bowel and lung infections, fevers, ulcers, and sores that needed constant attention.

Father Damien, upon his arrival, had tried to fill this void as best he could. A William Williamson, a white man who had come to the settlement after contracting leprosy while nursing the sick as a doctor's assistant at Kalihi, taught Damien some of the rudiments of medical care. He was put in charge of the hospital, while Damien tended to those living in their own homes. From 1874 to 1878 Damien was essentially the only doctor present. Even after the arrival of doctors, who at first did not reside on the island but put in only occasional appearances, he continued to help administer care--preparing potions, disinfecting sores, bandaging limbs, and even performing some surgery. During this time he tried to make use of new drugs he heard about that reportedly had beneficial effects on leprosy patients.

The first semi-resident doctor finally arrived in 1879 in the person of Nathaniel B. Emerson, son of a Protestant missionary. He reported that on the first of January 1880 there were 717 residents above one year of age in the settlement. He also stated that after his arrival, efforts were constantly made to improve the people's physical condition by bettering their food rations, by encouraging cleanliness in their homes, and by administering to them medically as much as possible for the relief of their various maladies. With the coming of cold damp weather there were signs of chills, fever, malaise, and general pains. Although there did appear to be means of assuaging the miseries and accompanying pains of leprosy, no cure as yet seemed imminent. As Gavan Daws has noted,

> Indeed, the medical treatments for leprosy . . . were wildly heterogeneous, hopeful perhaps, but feeble--palliatives at best. There were various kinds of patent medicines in bottles, pills, poultices, dietary recommendations (farinaceous foods, cod-liver oil, measured doses of strychnine), and an extraordinary number of things, soothing and stinging, to rub on the skin: beeswax and lard; salicylic acid followed by a solution of

> arsenite of potash; a mixture of tobacco juice and papaya juice; the lotion of corrosive sublimate that Damien used on his problematical yellowish spots in 1876; a blend of dog manure and molasses. These were haole decoctions. The Hawaiian kahuna had their own applications: wild ginger, turmeric, mountain apple, and on, and on, another endless list. The line between practical folk medicine and folk magic ran erratically back and forth between the two cultures.[31]

In April 1879 Damien received from China a large quantity of Hoang-Nan pills, made from a creeping vine, which had been praised as a cure for leprosy. Trial of the drug showed only that it was a tonic in some cases, providing renewed vigor; in others it quickly produced depressing effects.[32]

F. Orphanages Established

Although Father Damien loved all his parishioners, he took special interest in the welfare of children. Many of them had been separated from their parents at a very young age and upon reaching the settlement had no one to care for them. Before Damien's arrival they had been forced to subsist as best they could, and suffered greatly as virtual slaves to patients who "adopted" them. Damien immediately took these children under his wing. To maintain a closer supervision over the young girls, Damien erected an orphanage for them. This girls' home was only a short distance from the later one for boys, but on the other side of the street.

In February 1878 Father Damien wrote:

> I have a small orphanage for young leper girls. An aged widow, who is not sick, is their cook and mother. Although

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31. Daws, Holy Man, p. 138.

32. Report of N.B. Emerson, M.D., Medical Superintendent of the Leper Settlement, Kalawao, Molokai, and Sanitary Inspector of the Board of Health, March, 1880. [July, 1879, to January, 1880.], in Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, pp. 92-97. Dr. Mouritz, physician of the districts of Oahu, was appointed resident doctor in May 1884. Before then, Dr. George L. Fitch alternated between Honolulu and Kalawao to help out.

> their houses are separated from mine, we have meals in common and share our rations. . . . We have also planted a big field of potatoes as a reserve when the rations don't get here on time. Some charitable souls send me bundles of clothes which come to me through the Mother Superior in Honolulu.[33]

In mid-1879 Damien built a boys' home near the rectory with a kitchen and dormitory for twelve boys. It became such a popular place that even adults without relatives or friends asked to live there. A larger dormitory, twenty by forty feet, had to be built north of the first one. Damien at first built one school for the children, but in 1880 built another because of the large number of pupils.[34] At the boys' school Damien started giving religious instruction, but was ordered to desist by the board in order to preserve neutrality toward religion. These establishments for boys and girls were forerunners of much larger institutions and were successful because of Damien's intense personal interest in the young people of the colony.

This additional responsibility was quite a strain for the priest, who was hard pressed to find funds to pay personnel to cook, supervise, and attend to all the other necessary chores, plus purchase clothes and other items. He managed, however, with help from the board and charities and by raising and selling a few crops. Dr. Mouritz wrote:

> Thirty years ago [1885] there were many orphans at the leper Settlement in the care of kokua families, but most were cared for by the Catholic mission, under the supervision of Father Damien, at Kalawao, and I claim this was one of the finest works that this priest undertook and carried out.
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> Father Damien's orphanage was comprised of thirty orphan boys and twelve orphan girls, and more than half these children had a leper father and also a leper mother.[35]

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33. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 174.

34. Father Pamphile, Life and Letters of Father Damien, p. 105.

35. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 176.

Princess Liliuokalani, after her visit in 1881, reported

> The next subject which engaged the attention of the party was an inspection of the schools under the charge of Rev. Father Damien. The buildings occupied for this purpose are supplied by the Board of Health, one of which is used for a boys' school and the other for girls, being situated in near proximity, and on the opposite sides of the road. Both are within the vicinity of the mission church.
>
> In the girls' school are sixteen pupils in all, ranging in age from nine to seventeen years. . . . Out of these children there were four between nine and eleven years of age who exhibited no external signs of the disease; but one, upon careful inspection by Dr. Arning, was declared to be in the incipient state of disease.
>
> In the boys' school were twenty-six pupils, all of whom were well marked with the disease.
>
> The pupils of each school are separately lodged and fed. They are all either orphans or friendless, and under the immediate care of Father Damien and a native woman named Kuilia, not herself a leper.[36]

G. Report of Dr. Charles Neilson, Kalawao, 1880

In 1880 Dr. Charles Neilson was sent by the Board of Health to make a medical inspection of Kalawao. In the report, and as outlined below, he describes some of the buildings in the settlement and comments on several aspects of life there.

1. Hospital Compound

This complex consisted of a dispensary, thirty by twenty feet; four barracks, each thirty by eighteen feet; seven other small houses, each ten by twelve feet; and a small cook house. The buildings, located on about three-fourths of an acre, were partially enclosed by a picket fence. The fence and buildings were whitewashed, the latter inside and outside. Administration staff at the settlement included a native acting hospital steward, a native clerk of the store and hospital,

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36. Ibid., p. 177.

and a native sheriff, all leprosy victims, plus three policemen, one harbor master, four butchers, and one cartman.

2. Water Supply

Neilson also visited Kalaupapa on this trip, where he said he found many of the people preferring to live near the sea in their grass huts, their diversions being bathing and fishing. They drank the brackish water left behind in the depressions of the rocks by the washing of the sea and by rainfall. The main water supply was derived from the spring at Waihānau, although in dry seasons residents at Kalaupapa had to go to Kalawao to get water, which they brought back in coal oil tins and paint buckets. The water supply at Kalawao came from Waimanu gulch (up Wai'ale'ia Valley) through one-inch iron piping that originated at the reservoir in the gulch and ended at Kalawao. From there it was conveyed as far as the superintendent's quarters by means of three-fourths-inch-diameter iron pipe. There were nine faucets between the reservoir and the superintendent's quarters to supply water to the patients and horses and cattle in the area.[37]

H. Royal Visit of 1881

In 1881 King Kalākaua embarked on a tour of the world. His Queen, Kapiolani, a shy and retiring person, remained in Honolulu but did not wish to assume the royal duties in his absence. The king's sister, Princess Liliuokalani, therefore, became regent and was responsible for many improvements in administration during that time. For the previous few years the story of Moloka'i and Father Damien had been spreading around the world, and it is not surprising that the regent's curiosity and interest had been aroused enough to prompt her to visit the settlement.

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37. Report of Dr. Chas. Neilson [medical officer in charge and general superintendent], Kalawao, Molokai, Sept. 21, 1880, in Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, pp. 100-103.

In great excitement Damien and his parishioners built triumphal arches and a special pavilion where their guests would eat and rest. A choir of girls practised traditional songs and sagas of Hawai'i. Greeted upon her arrival on September 15 by Damien and about seven hundred residents, the princess was moved to tears by the sight of all her suffering subjects, many terribly ravaged by the advanced stage of their disease. Guided by Mr. Meyer and Father Damien, Liliuokalani was escorted through the settlement, where she observed the houses, hospital, orphanages, churches, rectory, and store.

The visit brought Damien and his people even more publicity, for the princess had been accompanied by several reporters. Throughout the world people began collecting money and clothes for the needy residents. The royal visit also won the colony a powerful advocate at court, which assured even more help in the supplying of basic needs. During the visit, Damien was declared a Knight of the Order of Kalākaua, a decoration the humble man seldom wore.[38] The honor was in appreciation of his heroic and self-denying labors among the people of the settlement.

I. Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1882

The primary problem noted by the Board of Health this year was the continuing existence of kuleanas on the peninsula in defiance of the isolation law. Because they were private property and the government had no rights over them, friends of the exiles gathered there and the sick visited at night. Dr. Emerson visited the settlement in March 1882 and reported that the patients and kōkuas were raising vegetables, fowl, and pigs, for their own needs and also to sell. Next to the mountains sweet potato, bananas, sugar cane, onions, beans, and cabbages were being grown. Pa'i 'ai was furnished by contractors from the nearby valleys of Pelekunu, Wailau, and Halawa, while taro was being

38. Rev. Morgan Costelloe, Leper Priest of Molokai (Dublin: The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. John English & Co., Ltd., Wexford, Ire., 1965), pp. 22-23.

cultivated by the board in Waikolu Valley. The flow of water from Wai'ale'ia Valley was frequently impeded because the small pipes were often choked with sand and mud, and the dam leaked. Kalaupapa residents still fetched water from Waihānau Stream. The plains were covered with a rich growth of mānienie that supported several hundred horses.[39]

J. Arrival in Hawai'i of the Sisters of St. Francis

1. Much Charitable Aid Extended to Damien

The problem of supplying the necessities of life to the residents of Kalawao and Kalaupapa had been met in several ways. People in Honolulu, both Catholics and Protestants, were the first to rally, and continually provided charity. News coverage spread the word of the settlement's needs, and mounting interest spurred generosity. Damien's fellow priests helped as much as they could within the demands of their own mission needs, and the bishop and provincial sent financial help and gifts. Especially beneficial were the Sacred Hearts Sisters in Honolulu. As word of Damien's cause spread across the sea, generous souls in Europe sent gifts through the Catholic Mission. England became especially interested in his work and Protestants and Catholics alike gave generously in admiration of the man. Americans also, with a great political as well as moral and social interest in the islands, provided publicity and charitable aid and, as other countries did, sent journalists and doctors to visit the settlement.

The vast amount of money that came into Damien's hands created problems for him both with his religious superiors and the government bureaucracy. Damien's discretionary powers in doling out the large charitable sums that arrived for Kalawao is an interesting aspect of the administration of the settlement and of Damien's role in it. The administrative situation at the settlement was peculiar. The Hawai'ian

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39. Report of the President of the Board of Health, to the Legislative Assembly of 1882 (Honolulu, 1882), pp. 46, 64-65.

government was subsidizing the settlement, and generously, through public funds, but there was no strong administrator there. Damien, by the sheer force of his energy and personality, and because he lived there, became the dominant factor in overseeing the welfare of the patients and improvement of their condition. Although the government was providing a great deal of money, it was not enough to cover all the needs of such a large and extensive population. The outpouring of donations from various parties and countries tended to embarrass the government, which felt that these highly publicized donations implied that it was not fulfilling its responsibilities. (Actually the problem lay not so much in the size of the government's leprosy appropriations, but in maladministration of the leprosy program.) The private money and goods received by Damien were not turned over to the Board of Health or to the Catholic church, which, disturbed by the aggrieved response of the Hawai'ian government to the donations, and by the consequent strain on relations between the government and the Sacred Hearts mission, refused to have anything to do with them. They were, therefore, concentrated solely in Damien's hands. His position was as a middleman, a distributor of supplies impartially where the need was greatest. This flexibility of distribution seemed to be what most of the benefactors desired. This additional charitable aid helped the settlement through times when provisions were late arriving and enabled improvements other than those along officially established lines.

2. Need for Nurses

a. Call for Help Sent Out

For several years it had been noted that nurses were needed at Kalawao to help those who could not help themselves--the sick and the old and feeble. No serious effort to recruit such individuals had yet been made. In January 1883 Walter Gibson, Minister of Foreign Affairs and president of the Board of Health, appealed to Hermann Koeckemann, Bishop of Olba, head of the Catholic Mission in Hawai'i, to obtain Sisters of Charity from one of the many sisterhoods in the United States to come to Hawai'i to help care for leprous women and girls. Father Leonor Fouesnel, with a royal commission from King Kalakaua, was

designated as agent to go on this mission. Landing in San Francisco and traveling East, Father Leonor petitioned more than fifty different sisterhoods before a favorable reply was obtained, from the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony at Syracuse, New York.

b. Mother Marianne Cope Responds

The reply to the King's emissary was not made lightly, but only after a long, serious debate among the sisterhood. One of the prime supporters of this action was the Mother Superior, Mother Marianne Cope. She had been born Barbara Koob in 1838 in Germany and moved to Utica, New York, with her family when about a year and a half old, in 1840. She entered St. Anthony's Convent of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis in Syracuse and underwent novitiate training in St. Francis's Convent there. Professing with the name Sister Mary Anna on November 19, 1862, she early showed abilities as an administrator.[40] With calmness, good sense, firmness, and a kind heart she was able to get cooperation from all around her. Her religious life was a series of administrative appointments, culminating in her being placed in charge of missions in Hawai'i. At the time of Father Leonor's visit, Mother Marianne was the provincial superior.

Only six sisters could be spared to go with Mother Marianne, who insisted that as superior of the convent it was her duty to go with the first group of sisters and help them get established. It was not the intent of the convent that she stay in Hawai'i permanently. On October 23, 1883, Mother Marianne and her companions set off for Hawai'i, arriving on November 9. Three of the sisters and Mother Marianne went to work at the branch hospital for leprosy victims at

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40. In taking the name Sister Mary Anna, Barbara Koob was conforming to the custom of the order, whereby each professed sister received Mary as a first name. Eventually she was referred to as Marianna, but finally decided upon the name Marianne by 1871. Sister Mary Lawrence Hanley, O.S.F., and O.A. Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile: The Life and Spirit of Mother Marianne of Molokai (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980), pp. 18-19.

Kaka'ako in Honolulu on January 11, 1884, and spent almost five years there. Three others were put in charge of the new hospital at Wailuku on the island of Maui. On April 22, 1885, a second group of sisters arrived from Syracuse as reinforcements. Although in 1885 Mother Marianne was still identified as "Provincial Superior," a new title of "Commissary Provincial of the Sandwich Islands" was soon created for her. Another Mother Provincial was elected in the Syracuse motherhouse that year and Mother Marianne was authorized to stay on in Hawai'i.

News continually filtered back to Kaka'ako about conditions at the Moloka'i settlement. The children on the island were in desperate need of care and the venerable Father Damien himself had been diagnosed as having leprosy and obviously had few years left in which to continue his work. Mother Marianne, however, was being kept frantically busy in Honolulu all this time. At one point she had suggested to Walter Gibson that a home for children of leprous parents be built near the sisters' residence in Honolulu. This establishment opened in November 1885 as the Kapiolani Home for Girls.

c. Father Damien Meets Mother Marianne

Symptoms of some sort of infection had manifested themselves not long after Father Damien's arrival at Kalawao. After about five years of living and working intimately with the leprosy victims he began to suffer "chills, osteal pains, slight swelling and tenderness of the joints, slight irregular fever, tingling numbness of the extremeties. . . ."[41] Though his health seemed to improve for a short while, in the fall of 1881 violent pains in his limbs and numbness returned. About the end of 1882 or start of 1883 his left foot lost feeling, and the next year he was diagnosed as having leprosy. The news was not released outside the Catholic mission.

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41. Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, p. 302.

About a month before his death, Father Damien dictated a report to Brother Dutton, at the request of a leprosy specialist in New York, on the progress of his disease. In the report he stated that from 1864 until 1873, while serving as priest on the island of Hawai'i, he sometimes heard confessions from leprosy victims and ministered to them in their homes. He had had no constant contact, however, until his arrival at Moloka'i. When near to the afflicted on Hawai'i, he had felt a peculiar itching or burning sensation in the face--a sensation he also felt at Kalawao, in his legs and face, for the first two or three years. Although these are not regarded today as symptoms of leprosy, Damien was sure that the disease was in his system within the first three years of his residence on Moloka'i.[42] He quite possibly already had the disease when he came to Kalawao.

In his first days at the settlement Damien was very careful in his dealings with the residents. He preferred sleeping in the open to sharing anyone's hut, he had his food prepared by a "clean" cook, and he did not allow residents to enter his abode. Before long, however, his caution grew lax and his attention to personal hygiene waned. His house was opened to the settlement, and especially to his orphaned children. He shared food, drink, and personal possessions freely with the contaminated, and even lived in the midst of their burial ground.

Because Damien was so busy and under such pressure, he had little time for health considerations and seemed to prefer living side by side with the people he loved, taking no precautions. The primitive conditions at the settlement and the lack of water hindered personal cleanliness for victims and priest alike. Most of the early residents were in an advanced stage of the disease when they arrived and yet Damien relaxed his initial precautions on interaction with them for fear of offending them. His powerful compassion overshadowed

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42. Ibid., p. 449.

his own prudence. And maybe he felt that he would not be able to escape the contagion anyway. He certainly was resigned to the fact when the disease was officially diagnosed in 1885, accepting it as a natural consequence of the task he had committed himself to twelve years earlier.

With his life slowly ebbing away, it became imperative for Damien to find someone to whom he could entrust his orphaned children and youths. In 1886, when, against the wishes of the mission and Walter Gibson, Damien journeyed to Honolulu to study the Japanese treatment of leprosy recently introduced at Kaka'ako Hospital, he talked to the Franciscan Sisters there about the settlement and his work. Until 1888, however, his pleas for sisters to be assigned to the orphanage went unanswered. But an opportunity suddenly appeared with the offer in April 1888 by a wealthy Honolulu man to subsidize an asylum for female leprosy patients at Kalaupapa.[43] Because the benefactor, Charles R. Bishop, wanted the institution to be run by sisters, and because of a rumor that some Anglican sisters were ready to volunteer, Bishop Hermann lost no time in requesting that some of the Kaka'ako sisters go at once to Moloka'i. At the same time, the Board of Health decided to support only one place of treatment--the Moloka'i settlement--and to maintain only a receiving and shipping station in Honolulu, at Kalihi. The buildings at Kaka'ako would be removed, and thus the sisters freed of their responsiblities at that place.

In a further attempt to help persuade the sisters, Minister of the Interior Lorrin A. Thurston explained to their superior, Mother Marianne, that one of the great hardships of the settlement had been the lack of a proper separate residence for single women and girls. In inquiring if the sisters would be willing to assume charge of the new

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43. L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior, to Hon. C.R. Bishop, April 18, 1888, acknowledging receipt of letter requesting privilege of erecting buildings for a womens' and girls' home at Kalaupapa. Offer approved by cabinet and Board of Health. Interior Department Letters No. 35, Feb. 17, 1888-July 23, 1888, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 336.

Illustration 20. Church of St. Philomena, 1886. Facing viewer are nave and steeple added to original chapel by Father Damien in 1876. Courtesy of Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu.



home to ensure its stable administration, Thurston mentioned that construction would start immediately, with occupancy of the home expected in three to four months. The number of residents was anticipated to be between 100 and 150.[44] Having already become interested in the settlement through their conversations with Father Damien, this inducement was all the sisters needed. Thus it was that on November 14, 1888, Mother Marianne and Sisters Leopoldina and Vincentia finally set foot on Kalaupapa.

K. Impressions of Leprosy Settlement, 1884

1. Report of Dr. J.H. Stallard

Dr. J.H. Stallard, a member of the College of Physicians in England, was sent by A.S. Cleghorn, a member of the Board of Health, to the settlement to investigate the causes of the various complaints made by residents for better rations and food. He first visited the Branch Hospital at Kaka'ako, established for the purpose of segregating recent doubtful cases of leprosy for careful medical treatment, and then the settlement at Moloka'i. He arrived at the latter on March 5, 1884. The settlement at that time contained 445 males and 300 females. With the kōkuas and their children, the total population numbered about 1,000 people. Stallard stated that he was

> most gratified at the cheerful and contented population, the entire absence of grumbling or complaint, the cleanliness of their persons and the comfort and tidiness of all their dwellings, the many neat little plots of onions, sweet potatoes, tobacco and flowers in front of many of their houses and above all, the general possession of a horse and little articles of personal adornment; everywhere we saw the appearance of happiness and freedom.[45]

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44. L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior, to Sister Marianne, Mother Superior Franciscan Sisters, May 21, 1888, Interior Department Letters No. 35, Feb. 17, 1888-July 23, 1888, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 483.

45. Dr. Stallard's Report [March 12, 1884], in Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 316.

Stallard did, however, condemn what he considered to be the defective and incomplete administration of the settlement, resulting in insufficient food, improper diet, neglect, total lack of preparation for newcomers, and the improper administration of justice.[46]

Dr. Mouritz stated that

> the "Mokolii" [transport vessel] could and ought to have made direct trips from Honolulu to Kalaupapa, but the Board of Health . . . did not see the necessity of this, hence the steamer made the whole circuit of the island of Molokai before coming to Kalaupapa. This arrangement caused untold misery and suffering. The S.S. Mokolii was small . . . had no accommodation for passengers well or sick, excepting on deck. This vessel was far from speedy . . . yet this miserable little tub . . . was kept on the Molokai route for fully 25 years.[47]

Sometimes leprosy victims died immediately after reaching Kalaupapa due to exhaustion from the advanced state of their illness and to seasickness.

2. Visit of Queen Kapiolani

On July 21, 1884, a royal party--composed of Queen Kapiolani, Princess Liliuokalani, and Dr. Eduard Arning, a young German bacteriologist brought to the islands in 1883 by the Board of Health to conduct research on leprosy--arrived at Kalaupapa to assess the condition of the settlement. Many grievances were transmitted to the queen, involving inadequate food supplies, want of proper care and nursing, and lack of enough clothing. Some of the places visited are described below.

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46. Ambrose Hutchison, a patient and later the resident superintendent of the settlement from 1884 to 1897, stated that he was practically dumped on the treacherous, rocky shore at Kalaupapa, no provision having been made for the reception of him and his fellow passengers. Evidently Honolulu authorities often failed to contact the settlement in advance of the arrival of a new group. This unpreparedness was one of the reasons people dreaded being taken to Moloka'i and seriously impaired enforcement of the segregation policy.

47. Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 208.

a. Landing Place

One of the most discussed problems had to do with the distribution of supplies. Pa'i 'ai was landed at Waikolu gulch, about five miles from Kalaupapa, and had to be packed that distance by patients, usually without the use of any type of conveyance. For the weak, this was almost an impossibility. The road to the landing was practically impassible in good weather and very dangerous in stormy weather when packhorses could be washed away and drowned. A proposed new landing was located only about half a mile from the hospital. The present road to the landing place was, for two miles of its length, over lava rock and overhung by precipices from which frequent showers of stones fell upon the road below. The road also frequently washed out.

b. Jail, or Lock-up

This building, in one corner of the hospital yard, measured about ten by fifteen feet and contained two separate compartments six feet long and nine feet wide. Ventilation was provided by small iron grates on the leeward side of the building.

c. Slaughtering Place

The arrangements for slaughtering were described as primitive and the water supply as insufficient for cleaning the meat. A new reservoir was in process of construction near the slaughtering place to be filled from pipes connected to the main valley supply.

d. Schools

These buildings were supplied by the Board of Health, one for boys and one for girls, close together and on opposite sides of the road, both near the Catholic mission church. The girls' school had sixteen pupils, the boys' twenty-six. The pupils of each school were separately fed and lodged. They were all orphans or friendless and under the care of Father Damien and a non-leprous native woman.

e. Water Supply

The old and still current water system had its source in Wai'ale'ia Valley. The board now felt that this system was inadequate to the needs and had proposed bringing the water from Waikolu Valley, two miles farther on, where the pa'i 'ai supply was landed and distributed. A great need was mentioned for wholesome water to drink and to use for food preparation. Kalaupapa had several springs situated on the beach, but residents were compelled to use brackish water from a well near the beach, in which the water was often rendered unfit for use by overflow of the tide into the well.

Before leaving Kalawao, the royal party planted several seeds of alligator pears and mangoes taken from a large supply of fruit seeds brought by the queen for distribution to the people. (The royal party had stayed at Kalaupapa in a new home just built for use by visiting physicians.)

f. Recommendations for Improvement

That trip brought great attention to the situation at the settlement because it made a detailed study of needs and recommended improvements that should be made immediately. These included:

putting into operation the proposed plan of bringing water from Waikolu Valley and extending it to Kalaupapa where only brackish water was then obtainable;

installing a resident physician and an assistant near the hospital to administer to treatable illnesses such as diarrhea and dysentery;

increasing the hospital accommodation to 200 patients;

bringing in Sisters of Mercy to help in nursing and care of the hospital;

providing an ambulance for transportation of crippled patients and two spring wagons for delivery of beef and pa'i 'ai to the residents;

subsidizing a small steamer to transport cattle, firewood, poi, and patients;

compelling helpless lepers to go to the hospital;

providing a building in or near Honolulu to be staffed by a physician and nursing staff for the treatment of children in the incipient stages of leprosy and also as an asylum for healthy children; and

increasing the supply of food and clothing.

Other suggestions involved grazing a moderately large herd of beef cattle and milk cows on the pasture lands of the settlement, cultivating Waikolu and Wai'ale'ia valleys, and abandoning the Waikolu landing place and constructing a landing nearer Kalawao.[48]

During this visit by the queen, under-superintendent Ambrose Hutchison, possibly at Damien's instigation, pleaded for separation of those children born of diseased parents who appeared to be entirely free from all symptoms of the disease and their placement in a separate institution. The queen followed up on this recommendation, lending the project her patronage, and with the help and support of Dr. Arning, Walter Gibson, and Mother Marianne, the Kapiolani Home for Girls mentioned earlier was established at Kalihi near Honolulu.

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48. Report of Her Majesty Queen Kapiolani's Visit to Molokai, by H.R.H. Princess Liliuokalani, July, 1884, in Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," pp. 295-312.

3. Charles Warren Stoddard's Visit to Moloka'i

Charles Stoddard, a friend of Damien's, a convert, and professor of English literature at Notre Dame University, first visited the leprosarium in 1868 and then returned in 1884. His book The Lepers of Molokai did much to establish Father Damien's position in public esteem. Stoddard kept a diary of his visit to Moloka'i in 1884, excerpts from which provide additional information on conditions and facilities at the settlement:

a. Kalawao Settlement

> Oct. 7, 1884: We saw the little chapel and most of the private dwellings where families live; the girls' home with a new dining room which Father Damien has been putting up with his own hands, and the few remaining grass huts which are occupied by the older natives.

b. St. Philomena Church

> Oct. 8, 1884: the place [St. Philomena] was dingy and dirty; the stations were tilted; the little interior painted in bad taste; the holy water font was a tin cup; some rosaries were scattered about, and a few torn catechisms. The priest's robes were singularly clean and beautiful, without being extravagant. The chalice was small, the altar decorations cheap and tawdry; the candles tilted all ways. The acolytes--two--wore no robes, although there were several of the scarlet ones hanging within the church.

c. Kalawao Guest House

> Oct. 8, 1884: Then home to dinner, and after it Father Damien again appears with his little trap and we start for Kalaupapa. A house which was built for the reception of guests three years ago, in which the lepers were to be looked at through a picket partition, is about to be utilized. It will be carted on wheels to Kalaupapa and become a lodge for freshly arrived natives and for freight. An expensive undertaking; the house cost $100 in the beginning and it will cost $200 or $300 to move it--the road has been straightened and broadened in places to allow the 24 x 40 foot house to pass.[49]

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49. In 1882 the Board of Health had given instructions to the superintendent of the settlement to erect a building near the landing, surrounded by a picket fence, where visitors could be permitted to see

d. Father Damien's House

Oct. 9, 1884: At Father Damien's house, alone upstairs--in Kolawao [sic]--he reading in his office below while I am left with a bottle of claret and a biscuit to write my notes.

e. Kalaupapa Settlement: Dock, St. Francis Church, Racetrack, Cemetery

Oct. 8, 1884: Down we went to Kalaupapa; it looked dreary enough from the hill--pali--but we found it full of pretty white cottages, bright, sunshiny, and with an air of prosperity which perhaps is partly due to the newly constructed dock--an affair that is warranted to go to pieces in the first heavy gale.

Oct. 8, 1884: His [Father Albert Montiton's] little house is charming, far prettier than Father Damien's; flowers grow before it; it was prettily painted and neatly furnished, and as bright and sunshiny as the good old Father himself--who is, notwithstanding, an invalid! Books were on the table, papers; pictures upon the wall; curtains at the windows; beer and wine also, and the most genial hospitality. His church is like a little Chinese showbox full of color; odd combinations of color and grotesque but pretty patterns upon wall and ceiling. . . .

Oct. 8, 1884: Then we drove to the farther end of the village--but not till we had seen the new dock! The dock is primitive and pretty, full of huge nails and heavy timbers, but in storm times the great seas cover it, the deep water about it is like crystal, and at the bottom among the rocks there are clusters of coral that look like white cactus flowers. Three lepers were fishing; lepers were bathing up and down the rocky coast; lava rocks in strange forms receive the sea and shoulder it back again while it is white with rage. A lifeboat is here ready to be slid down a rude incline. The shoreline is pretty. . . .

Oct. 8, 1884: We drive upon the race track--a capital stretch of turn with a ridge of grasses between it and the sea. The hour was delicious. The new cemetery, quite Frenchy with its elaborate entrance, filigree woodwork painted in black and white, and its tall, slender and very graceful cross in its very center. Beyond it are native houses, some of them of grass

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49. (Cont'd) their relatives without touching them. Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly, 1882, in Leprosy in Hawaii, 1886, p. 116.

and stone walls, and a green, winding way that heads out to the windy fishing point.[50]

4. Report of J.H. Van Giesen, 1884

Henry Van Giesen, appointed by the Board of Health as superintendent of the Kaka'ako Branch Hospital, mentioned that near the Kalaupapa boat landing was a spring of brackish water, which was the main supply of those in that settlement. The well was lined with stones all around. The Kalawao water came from Wai'ale'ia Valley where it was contained behind a cement dam. A 1½-inch-diameter pipe led down a few hundred feet, then became 1-inch diameter to Kalawao, where it went past Damien's house to the hospital yard and doctor's house. Along the way were five faucets where water could be acquired by patients and stock. A new cookhouse had been installed in the hospital yard.[51]

L. Leprosy Settlement, 1885

1. Visit by President of Board of Health

In the exercise of his duties as president of the Board of Health, Walter Murray Gibson paid a visit to the settlement on November 2, 1885, and in a subsequent report he commented on several of the facilities:

a. Hospital Compound

(1) Dormitories and Cottages

The hospital complex consisted at this time of fourteen detached cottages and assorted buildings in a grassy enclosure.

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50. Charles Warren Stoddard, Diary of a Visit to Molokai in 1884 with a letter from Father Damien to his Brother in 1873 (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1933), pp. 9, 15, 20-24, 28. The residents of Kalaupapa enjoyed horse racing. Damien felt that it stimulated blood circulation, slowed the progress of the disease, and lessened its pains.

51. Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1884 (Honolulu, 1884), App. C, Report by J.H. Van Giesen, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxvi.

Illustration 21. Kalawao guest house, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



There the worst cases of leprosy were lodged and cared for. Apartments in which they stayed were clean and well ventilated. There were fifty inmates at the hospital, of whom eight were females.

(2) Kitchen and Yard

The neat kitchen within the hospital enclosure contained a large army cook stove and other necessary appliances. Only food for hospital inmates and attendants was cooked there. Fuel, consisting of kukui wood, was procured in the gulches, cut, and delivered to the hospital. The poi house in the enclosure was where the stores of pa'i 'ai or pounded taro, packaged in twenty-five pound bundles, was stored.

The hospital yard was well covered with grass and flowers. Honeysuckle flourished, while banana and papaya trees furnished fruit for the inmates.

b. Store and Dispensary

The store was across the road from the hospital and was managed by a white leprosy victim. The dispensary was in a detached cottage outside the hospital grounds. There Dr. Arthur Mouritz, a physician on Oahu, who had come to the settlement as resident doctor in May 1884, dispensed medicine. The difficulty of getting patients to follow instructions on medicine and sanitation was pointed out: the native Hawai'ians still often had more faith in their native doctors and sorcerers than in scientific treatment by foreigners.

c. Damien's Mission

In following the road through Kalawao, Gibson noted the numerous frame houses on either side, some encircled by flowers and shrubs within their enclosures. St. Philomena was surrounded by flowers and adjoined by the Boys' Home, containing thirty children, and Father Damien's residence. A little farther east toward the bluff was the Girls' Home, with twelve residents, under the care of a married leprous couple. Close by was the newly altered Calvinist church.

d. Church at Kalaupapa

At a "spacious" and "tastefully decorated" church at Kalaupapa, Damien conducted services every Sunday after preaching at Kalawao. He also had a cottage at Kalaupapa, and a school.[52]

2. Description by Robert J. Creighton, Editor of "The Pacific Commercial Advertiser"

As the number of residents on the peninsula increased, some had gradually started to move over toward the Kalaupapa side. When Damien first arrived there was no road on the peninsula, so he had cut out a path to make transportation of supplies and people from the Kalaupapa landing easier. The path proved unusable during the wet season, when it became a sea of mud, as well as during the dry spells when the deep ruts cut in the winter dried into hard furrows. In January 1883 Damien and some helpers from the colony were charged with the task of repairing the government road from Kalawao to Kalaupapa. Upon its completion, it was referred to as the Father Damien Road. Thus the way was prepared for further settlement at Kalaupapa. By 1885 several non-leprous Hawai'ians still lived at Kalaupapa, farming and fishing as their families had been doing for generations. The government was then realizing that the western side of the peninsula was much healthier and therefore a more appropriate location for a leprosarium. Although some landowners could be bought out and moved "topside," others elected to stay until finally evicted in 1895. After 1887, however, the Board of Health began the long process of moving facilities west to Kalaupapa--a transfer that took more than forty years to accomplish.[53]

By 1885 Creighton estimated roughly 300 to 400 frame buildings on the peninsula, the settlement being divided into two communities,

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52. Dedication of the Kapiolani Home for Girls (The Leper Settlement, on the Island of Molokai. Visit of His Excellency Walter M. Gibson, President of the Board of Health, November 2, 1885), pp. 23-28.

53. Hanley and Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile, p. 286.

> the more numerous and more active living at or near the steamer landing at Kalaupapa. There is a "live public opinion" at Kalaupapa, which does not exist in such marked degree at Kalawao, where the people are more subdued in manner and tone. Frequent intercourse from without may account for this in part at the former place, but it is also largely owing to the presence there of a rather numerous class of people who are not lepers.[54]

M. Leprosy Settlement, 1886

1. Report of Father Damien

As mentioned earlier in this study, in January 1886 the Board of Health asked Father Damien to submit a report drawn from his long experience among the leprosy patients on Moloka'i. It was hoped that such a document, drawn from someone with an intimate acquaintance with leprosy, would provide medical science with valuable information on the course of the disease in the islands. The final report, dated March 1, 1886, comprised eight chapters dealing with various aspects of settlement life: the necessity of good nourishment and drinking water, of suitable housing and clothing, the benefits of physical exercise and of permitting healthy spouses to live with diseased mates, the good effects of morality and evil effects of vice, and thoughts on the judicious use of medicine to alleviate suffering. Also included was an appendix on the propagation of leprosy. This report, written without flourish or exaggeration, described conditions as Damien had found them and as they were at the present time. His suggestions for improvement showed sound reasoning, and even more important, seemed feasible, and were probably responsible for many ensuing changes and additions.

a. "The Dwellings of the Lepers"

Damien estimated the number of houses at Kalawao and Kalaupapa somewhat above 300, nearly all whitewashed. These had

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54. Dedication of the Kapiolani Home for Girls (Molokai. Description of the Leper Colony on this Island. by Robert J. Creighton, Editor P.C. Advertiser), p. 38.

been built at small expense to the government and with the aid of private or charitable resources. Lime had always been supplied free of charge by the board for whitewashing. Although clean and neat, the houses did not have proper ventilation, which created an unpleasant and unhealthy smell.

b. "Exercise for the Lepers"

As more land on the peninsula was annexed to the settlement and made available to the people, traveling increased, and trips between Kalaupapa and Kalawao became healthful exercise as well as a necessity. Such activity was facilitated by an increase in the number of horses on the peninsula. More cultivable land also became available, and more than 200 acres were fenced in along the foot of the mountains. Any person could occupy and cultivate a vacant portion of it at his pleasure, as had been the case at Kalawao where many had squatted in little colonies among the sheltered rocky land some distance from the town and planted and cultivated sweet potatoes. Soon after this large piece of land was opened to cultivation, many began to start a patch of sweet potatoes, which grew abundantly. During the winter when supply boats had difficulty landing, the board was able to procure a weekly supply of potatoes from these farmers and thus prevent a temporary famine. The money given the farmers started to circulate and helped create many other kinds of small industries as well as increasing business at the settlement store. This encouraged others to plant and they soon petitioned the administration to obtain, instead of their weekly ration, its equivalent in money. Some were thereby able to obtain cash to buy little necessary items. This continued for about eight years, the money paid varying in amount according to the potato harvest and the shortness of supply of taro. The system was stopped due to some abuses of it, but Damien believed it should be reinstituted because it was beneficial for the health and morale of the people.

Walking, riding horseback, and farming were the healthiest activities of the patients. Such activities might even be

slowing down the progress of the disease in many and also preventing the start of other ailments.

c. "The Kokuas or assistants who accompany the Lepers to the Settlement"

On this matter Damien made a strong distinction between married and unmarried kōkuas. He felt that husbands or wives of patients should be allowed to accompany their partners into exile. Forcible separation led to depression and ultimately immorality. Married couples were more resigned to their fate, established a more stable community, and their presence assured good nursing and assistance of the sick. Married kōkuas not only helped their mates but also the administration by doing public works for all. The system of allowing marriage partners to accompany diseased mates also removed a potentially dangerous source of the contagion from the community. Damien believed strongly that cohabitation with a leprosy victim made a person a menace to the healthy population, although the disease's contagiousness had never been firmly established. Damien strongly disapproved of unmarried kōkuas settling there because they were generally not faithful in assisting their charges; they were a source of immorality; they were free to leave the place anytime and could spread the disease among healthy people on other islands; and were generally lazy, greedy, and shiftless, in his opinion. The priest recommended only allowing married kōkuas into the settlement, restricting the duration of temporary visits, and preventing healthy young people from entering the settlement.

d. "Medical Treatment"

> Leprosy from times immemorial up to the present, has always been recognized as an incurable disease. In laying my views before your Excellency, with regard to medecine, I must draw distinction between a developed and an incipient case. In regard to the first a judicious medical treatment may be followed up, with advantage, to ameliorate the condition of a leper, to alleviate his pains, and to stay some what the progress of the disease, but not with the view of obtaining a perfect cure, for such a blessed effect we must look for, and only can hope in a supernatural gift. . . . In regard to an incipient case where the disease is not yet developed, there, in my opinion, with

> proper medecine, good diet, cleanness, complete separation from all leprous persons, and other necessary means, taken with perseverance, there only, the hope to eradicate the disease from the system or at least its progress entirely checked, may be entertained.[55]

2. Report of R.W. Meyer

As mentioned earlier, Rudolph W. Meyer held the position of agent of the Board of Health and superintendent of the settlement from 1866 to his death in 1897. Coming to Hawai'i from Australia, where he had emigrated from Hamburg, Germany, he was well-educated, level-headed, and a stern taskmaster. It may be that living on an isolated island for so long among people he considered mentally and socially inferior made him less flexible and more severe in his dealings with them. His house was at the top of the steep pali, near the beginning of the Kukuihāpu'u trail down to the peninsula. From that vantage point he was able to restrict travel down the pali trail through a gate at the top of the cliff. Meyer paid only quarterly visits to the settlement, functioning more as an absentee landlord--a fact that disgruntled many of the patients. He relied for his information on conditions in the settlement on reports by his deputy, or resident, superintendents.

Meyer's management of the settlement had already been strongly criticized by Dr. J.H. Stallard in the report of March 12, 1884. Although Meyer made a heated reply in defense of the situation, complaints continued, and in February 1886 Dr. Mouritz was even requested to take over the entire management of the settlement. He promptly declined the offer, being busy as physician and also having no wish to enter into such a difficult office.

In April 1886 Meyer submitted a report to the Board of Health outlining conditions at the settlement since its inception, but, as

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55. Damien, "Personal Experience," p. 34. The preceding information was taken from pp. 15, 21-28.

pointed out by the secretary of the board, it was not based on intimate observation of conditions or changes because he was not an actual resident of the colony. Even as just general descriptions, however, Meyer's notes provide some interesting information.

a. Dwellings

There were at this time estimated to be 652 patients and 327 buildings at the settlement, including hospital structures, houses, a store, storehouses, a drug-shop, and five churches (two Catholic, two Protestant, one Mormon). One hundred nine of these buildings belonged to the board, some purchased gradually from the patients but the rest built for them by the board. The rest of the houses (213) were owned by the residents and built at their own expense. The houses were one story, varied in size, but had ample room. Windows and doors provided ventilation.[56]

b. Activities

Much horseback riding took place and a few patients had carriages. A fairly good band provided music, and activities were carried on much as elsewhere in the islands.

c. Hospitals

These wooden structures at Kalawao, forty-six feet long by twenty feet wide and nine feet high, housed patients in the advanced stages of the disease. For better ventilation they were unceiled and had short chimneys to promote air currents. There were two rows of bedsteads in the houses with about four feet between them. The

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56. Dr. Mouritz mentioned in a report of 1886 that the dwellings were surrounded by stone walls enclosing half an acre or so. Within the enclosures sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and onions were cultivated to supplement food rations provided by the board. The interiors had little furniture, mats being used as beds and chairs with a few calabashes for food. Furnishings seem to have varied, however, with the personality of the resident. Special Report of Arthur Mouritz, M.D., Physician to the Leper Settlement and Island of Molokai, Jan. 1, 1886, in "Path of the Destroyer," p. 363.

buildings were whitewashed at least twice a year, inside and outside, and were in the charge of a native steward. Food was prepared for the patients, who received tea or coffee with sugar or milk and other extras. A picket fence surrounded the area of about one and a half acres. Inside the enclosure and in front of the hospital buildings was a garden in which patients planted flowers and vegetables. A cookhouse had been built about eighteen months previously. Despite the hospital's cleanliness and the nursing and medical care given patients, in addition to food, washing, and lodging, few cared to enter it because they did not feel comfortable there. The buildings were usually only partially filled.

d. Children

Children at the settlement were housed in a variety of ways. Near the Catholic mission at Kalawao were houses for orphan boys and girls and children who had neither parents nor friends at the settlement. Other children lived with their parents or relatives. There were two schools, one at Kalaupapa where a kōkua taught, and one at Kalawao with a teacher who had leprosy. Both leprous and non-leprous children attended the same school, but they were separated within the structure. There were fifty pupils total at this time. Only in two places was segregation of the sexes practiced--in the hospital barracks and in Father Damien's two orphanages.

e. Improvements Made

(1) Harbor

Rocks in the center of Kalaupapa harbor had caused many shipwrecks in the past and the loss of much valuable property. The rocks had been removed and the landing was considered much safer now. An extensive wharf or boat landing was also built, facilitating the discharge of freight and landing of passengers.

(2) Storehouse at Dock

A large storehouse was placed at the Kalaupapa landing. One end was used for a drug store and doctor's office for the population living at Kalaupapa. The structure had originally been at

Makanàlua, a mile or so away, where it was originally intended to house visitors to the settlement to prevent mixing with the patients, but the house had never been used for that purpose.

(3) Well House

Near the Kalaupapa landing was the well where most people obtained water. Over the well a "neat little structure" was erected and a pump was put in. The superstructure helped the looks of the area and provided a resting place and shelter for those coming for water.

(4) Physician's House, Kalawao

A new dwelling was built at Kalawao for the use of a resident physician. The drug store was moved nearer the hospital.

(5) Cookhouse, Hospital Yard

A new cookhouse was built in place of the old one that was too small and hard to clean.

(6) Reservoir, Kalawao

A small reservoir was built near the hospital to provide a supply of water in case of accident or during repairs to the water pipes.

(7) Water Supply, Kalawao

A couple of thousand feet of the old small pipes at the spring were replaced with larger ones, and the old pipes were used to further extend the system and to provide water to a new slaughterhouse.

f. Law and Order

A magistrate had been appointed who, although having the authority of a district judge, acted chiefly as a peace arbiter. Crimes were rarely committed, with a short imprisonment the usual punishment. Only a few rules were enforced at the settlement:

Illustration 22. Kalawao, no date, but post-1873 because the store is present to the right, and probably after 1886, because that is when a reservoir (possibly the circular stone cistern on the horizon) was built near the hospital. Hospital compound is to the left. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Each leper has the right to select a building spot wherever he pleases, provided the place is not essential for purposes of the Board of Health, and he is therefore required to notify the superintendent. Each leper on arrival at the Settlement has also the right to select the family or company he desires to live with, provided, however, they do not object to it. If they object, he is given a place with others who are not adverse to it.

Lepers building houses at their own expense, have the right to sell those houses again to other lepers, for lepers to live in. All houses built by lepers at their own expense, therefore owned by them, are, nevertheless, considered to be under the control of the Board, if to assert such a control, for good reasons, should become necessary.

Lepers trusting one another with money or other things must do so at their own risk, nothing is done for them, officially, by any officer of the Board.

Claims against deceased lepers for services rendered during their last illness are respected, if testified to by the leper before death and in presence of the chief officer of the Settlement; and if his heirs do not pay the disputed amount, his property, if he leaves any, is sold and sufficient of the proceeds is paid for such services.

The property of a leper who dies without heirs at the Settlement or assigns, is sold by the sheriff of the Board and the proceeds are forwarded to the president of the Board of Health, and the death of the leper is advertised in the papers that his heirs may come forward and claim what he left. Wills left by lepers are also carried out by the Board, provided they are satisfactorily made out and properly witnessed.

Drinking intoxicating beverages is forbidden, and persons found drunk are punished with twenty-four hours' imprisonment.

Making intoxicating drink from potatoes or ti root is likewise prohibited and punished, and all material used in making the same is confiscated and destroyed.

Liquor for the use of lepers and kokuas is not allowed to enter the Settlement, and suspicious looking packages when they come ashore are opened. If liquor is found, it is confiscated and destroyed or sent to Honolulu to the marshal, to whom opium, if found, is also sent.

Gambling is also forbidden at the Settlement, and guilty persons are punished.

For the kokuas, the same rules are applied with some additional ones.

Every able-bodied male kokua gives one day's labor to the Board per week, for which he enjoys all the privileges and benefits of the place.

Kokuas deserting their leprous wives or husbands, on whose account they were permitted to live at the Settlement, are told to leave.

Kokuas repeatedly guilty of disorderly conduct or gross immorality are likewise ordered to go.

Every kokua can leave the Settlement when he pleases, but he cannot return without a special permit from the president of the Board of Health.

Kokuas guilty of crimes or misdemeanors, are tried according to the laws of the Kingdom.[57]

g. Livestock

Animals at the settlement at that time consisted of 235 horses, 288 mares, and 74 colts; 40 cows, 18 steers, 25 heifers, 10 oxen, 1 bull, and 25 calves; and 20 jackasses and 3 mules--a total of 739 animals roaming over the land.

h. Recommendations

A few suggestions were offered by Meyer to further improve the condition of the people. These were: to reinstate the system of giving the choice of receiving either food rations or cash in lieu thereof besides providing means to enable them to earn a little money, such as by raising crops for purchase; to obtain water for Kalaupapa from an unfailing source rather than from springs dependent on an uncertain rainy season; to erect a new slaughterhouse, the present one being old and difficult to keep clean, in a place where water can be supplied from the pipe system; and to send a large number of beef cattle to the settlement to fatten on the extensive pastures.[58]

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57. Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," pp. 277-78.

58. Meyer, Report of leper settlement, 1886, pp. 15-20, 22, 24-31. Of the 652 residents, 607 were native Hawai'ians, 19 half-caste Hawai'ians, 19 Chinese, and 7 white foreigners.

3. Goto Treatment

Around this time (1886) a new treatment for leprosy victims was being tried in the Kaka'ako Hospital based on the work of a Japanese doctor named Masanao Goto. The remedy appeared to have cured a large number of cases in Japan and was considered to be much more effective than the Hoang-Nan pills used earlier. Toward the end of 1885, Goto had been brought to Hawai'i by the Board of Health to work on contract at the branch hospital. His treatment consisted of taking two baths every day in hot water in which a certain quantity of Japanese herbs with medicinal qualities had been dissolved. After every meal the patient took a small pill, followed an hour later by an ounce of tea prepared from the bark of a Japanese tree.[59] Damien studied the remedy carefully and felt some optimism about its use. King Kalakaua and the doctors wished to introduce the treatment at Moloka'i. Furnished with a bathtub and hot-water heater, Damien himself tried the system for several weeks and declared that he was greatly helped. The Japanese treatment became very popular with the patients, especially the bathing part of it. They bathed in anything they could find, including tubs and water-tight boxes built out of old lumber. The process became such a mania that a necessity arose for a large bathhouse. Anxious to make the treatment available to all the patients, Damien drew up plans for such a building.

On August 4, 1886, Damien submitted a plan for the board's consideration for construction of a hospital on the sloping plain directly east of his house. There patients could follow a treatment similar to that practiced at Kaka'ako Branch Hospital. The complex was to consist of a boiler room; two bathhouses, each divided into five bath rooms; one dining room; one cook house; six dormitory buildings; and one small house for a manager with a dispensary compartment. The buildings were to have suitable verandahs and the whole area of about 300 by 400 feet was to be enclosed by a substantial fence. About 100 patients whose cases gave promise of success would be accommodated.

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59. Journal and Courier (New Haven, Conn.), March 1, 1887, in Father Damien Clippings 1887, Bishop Museum Library.

Outside of the main enclosure, but near it, would be one good-sized bathhouse for the use of patients living in their own houses outside the enclosure. These would be more advanced cases that might still benefit from Dr. Goto's treatment.[60]

Despite earlier enthusiasm for the project on the part of the board, it is clear from a letter of December 8 from Damien to Gibson that the proposal was vetoed as being too expensive. Damien was requested to find a means of carrying out the treatment utilizing already existing buildings. This Father Damien determined to do, and by early in 1887, Brother Dutton and Father Damien had installed the "Stone Valley bath house,"[61] where Damien and a hundred other patients could follow the prescribed treatment. Damien proceeded to demonstrate his belief in the treatment by excessive use of both medicines and bathing, using extremely hot water and soaking for hours. After a few weeks grave symptoms appeared that showed the unsuitability of the treatment, at least for his case, although he refused at first to admit its failure.

By June 1887 many of the people began to stop the treatments. Damien also reduced his participation in the process, but not

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60. J. Damien De Veuster, Cath. priest, to Walter M. Gibson, president, Board of Health, Aug. 4, 1886, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

61. Brother Joseph to Rev. Fr. D.E. Hudson, April 21, 1887, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, Appendix 2, p. 411. A description of the bathhouse at Kalawao appeared in an 1897 newspaper:

> At a few yards outside the bath house, we were shown a deep hole in the solid rock. Over this hole was a platform three feet high, and supported at each corner by a square wooden leg. On the whole, it resembled a washboard, ribbed as it was by lengths of wood covered with tin. Between each rib was an open space of two inches. This was the cleansing board. The lepers are put upon this board and are washed with a solution of permanganate of potash. Dr. Goto's method . . . is also followed here. . . .

"A Visit to Molokai," from correspondent of The Examiner, January 15, 1897, in Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 3, no. 5 (1897): 76.

until after suffering some severe side effects in terms of loss of weight and strength and increased feebleness. The treatment remained in use for many years but was finally discontinued about 1896. It was not considered successful. It had not only failed to help Damien, but, added to his extra exertions to finish all his many projects before his death, may have hastened his demise.[62]

4. Arrival of Brother Dutton

a. Life of Ira Barnes Dutton

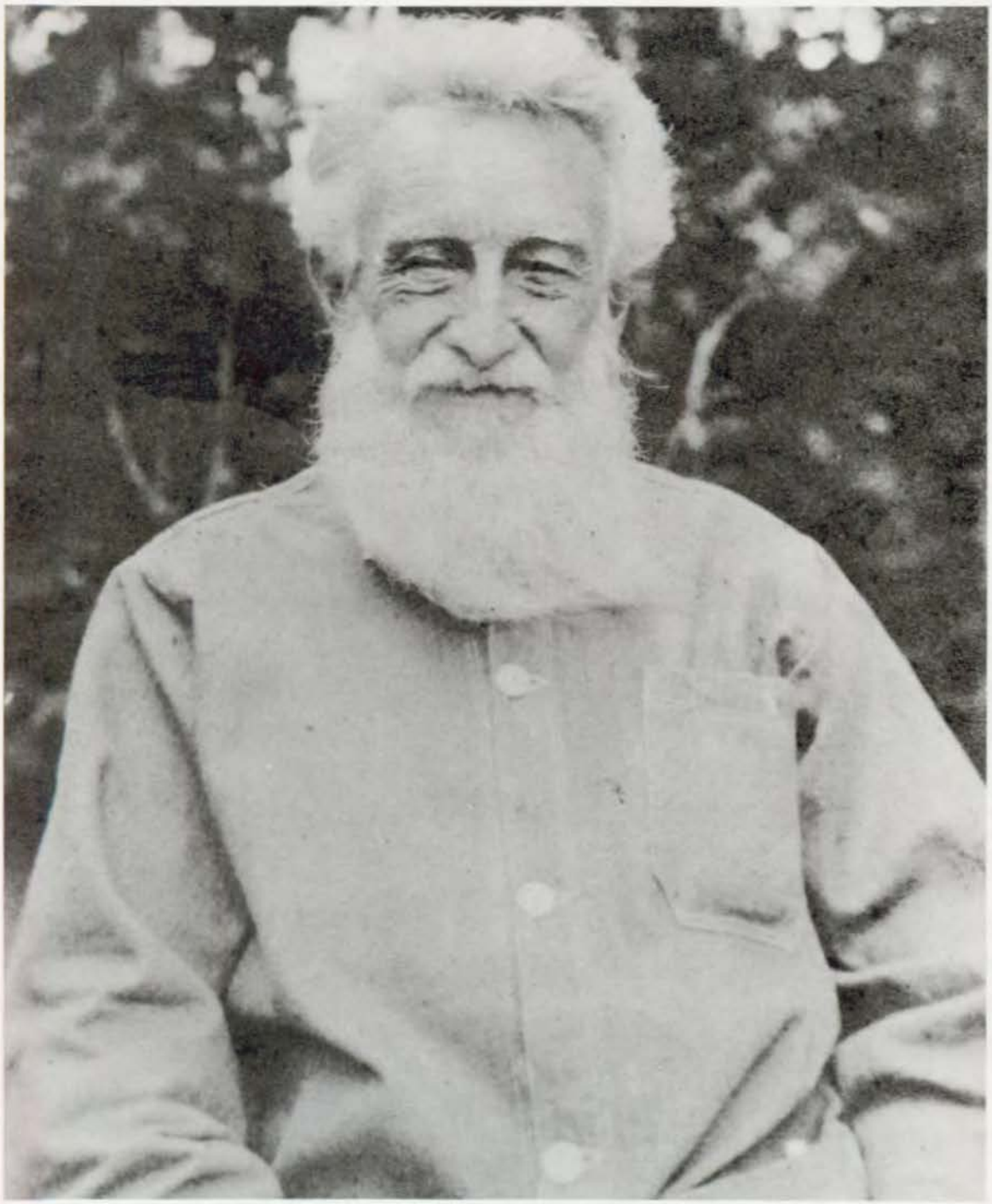
The story of Ira Barnes Dutton is another extraordinary one connected with the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement and in its own way is as heroic and self-sacrificing as that of Father Damien. It is a story of self-imposed penitence by an ordinary man who felt he had sinned deeply and determined to atone for his wrongs. This he attempted to do by dedicating himself to the people of Kalawao and Kalaupapa for the last forty-five years of his life. In the course of this work he influenced the lives of hundreds of young men and commanded the respect of people in all walks of life all over the world.

Dutton was born in the area of present-day Stowe, Vermont, on April 27, 1843. His father was a farmer and his mother taught school. In 1847 the family moved to Janesville, Wisconsin, where Dutton performed a variety of odd jobs. His mother taught him until the age of twelve, when he entered school. He went on to attend Milton College. Becoming interested in soldiering and military affairs, he became a member of the Janesville City Zouave Corps, the young men of which, at the onset of the Civil War, were enrolled as Company B of the

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62. Another treatment used was gurjun oil, brought to the settlement from India by Edward Clifford, an Englishman and artist of sorts with an interest in leprosy who visited Kalawao in 1888. The brown, sticky oil was mixed with lime-water to make a soft ointment to be rubbed daily on the skin. The treatment was soon abandoned as a complete failure. Many other "cures" were tried, such as anti-leprol, a derivative of chaulmoogra oil. Chaulmoogra oil itself was then introduced and used for a long time in the treatment of leprosy in practically all parts of the world.

Illustration 23. Portrait of Brother Joseph Dutton, taken June 25, 1928. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



volunteer regiment that later became the 13th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. Dutton was immediately appointed regimental quartermaster sergeant. After the war ended, he served for about two years as a quartermaster's agent on cemetery construction duty. This involved disinterring bodies from unmarked graves and reinterring them in new national cemeteries.

In 1866 Dutton married a young lady with whom he was infatuated but who proved unfaithful and extravagant. She left him in 1867. Dutton's period of despondency began then and led to overindulgence in the use of liquor for several years thereafter until 1876. Dutton still managed to keep positions of responsibility. He worked for fourteen years in Memphis, Tennessee, from 1870 until the fall of 1884. For six of those years he worked for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company and for the other eight with the War Department as an Investigating Agent and U.S. Commissioner.

Around 1874-75 Dutton vowed to abstain from whiskey and never drank again. He also decided to atone for his past degeneracy by embracing the Catholic faith. On his fortieth birthday, in 1883, he was received into the Catholic Church of St. Peter's in Memphis, where he took the name of one of his most admired biblical personnages--Saint Joseph. He vowed to devote the rest of his life to penance. He entered the Trappist Monastery at Gethsemane, Kentucky, in 1884, one of the most strict Catholic orders, espousing complete silence and hard work. Dutton remained there for about twenty months, but felt limited in his opportunities for humanitarian work. He also during that time determined never to accept any compensation for his work. Dutton began looking around for some environment allowing more flexibility and a broader scope of activities. He went to St. Louis in an attempt to learn more about various religious orders. While attending a conference in New Orleans during this time he first learned of Father Damien and his work in the pages of a Catholic publication. The article he read was evidently Charles Stoddard's piece "The Martyrs of Molokai" (later retitled "The Lepers of Molokai"), because from there Dutton journeyed to South Bend,

Indiana, to talk further with Stoddard on the subject of the leprosy settlement.

b. Arrival on Moloka'i

Further encouraged by Stoddard, Dutton sailed for Hawaii and arrived in Honolulu on July 22, 1886. There he immediately contacted Bishop Hermann Koeckemann and Walter Gibson, president of the Board of Health, and poured out his desire to go to Moloka'i. He was granted permission by Gibson and one week later, on July 29, 1886, the forty-three-year-old Dutton set foot on the Kalaupapa peninsula, his arrival unannounced:

> Father Damien was there waiting, with his buggy--low, wide, and rattling--and a steady old horse. I introduced myself as coming with King Kalakaua's permission. . . . We climbed into the buggy and were off to Kalawao. . . . Kalaupapa was a town of non-lepers then, and Father Damien had a church there, while he lived by the one at Kalawao, the leper settlement, where he had been for about thirteen years. He was now a leper in the advanced stage; he died nearly three years later.
>
> I was happy as we drove over that morning. The Father talked eagerly, telling how he had wanted Brothers here, but the mission had none to spare yet. So he called me Brother, as I had come to stay, and gave me at once the care of two churches. He was full of plans that morning, talking of what he wished for his lepers, the dreams he had always had.[63]

Dr. Mouritz lunched that first day with Dutton and described his appearance:

> It was a hot dusty trip, yet Dutton showed no fatigue nor travel-stained clothes. He wore a blue denim suit, which fitted his tall, well-knit, slim, muscular figure. He stood about five

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63. Dutton, Samaritans of Molokai, p. 198. Dutton never took any vows, but in 1892 was admitted to the Third Order of St. Francis. He wrote: "I am not and never have been a Brother in the sense used by religious orders. I am just a common, everyday layman." Quoted in Anwei V. Skinsnes, "A Self-Imposed Exile: The Life of Brother Joseph Dutton," in Richard Halpern, ed., Brother Joseph Dutton, 1843-1931, A Saint for Vermont (Stowe, Vt.: Blessed Sacrament Church, 1981), p. 5.

> feet seven inches tall, had dark brown hair and grayish blue eyes, a low voice, placid features, and a pleasant smile. He was reserved and thoughtful, had nothing to say about his past life or the reason for his seeking seclusion and work at Molokai and turning his back forever on the world.[64]

Dutton himself said:

> I was firm in at least one resolve: to get along with everyone, to ask no special favors, not to make anyone the slightest difficulty that I could reasonably avoid, and to do what I could to help my neighbor in every way. It has always been my hope never to falter in this, and [I] may add . . . to carefully and fearlessly mind my own business . . . This was the resolution in my heart when I came here.[65]

From that time on, Dutton did not leave the colony until 1930, when he was taken to St. Francis Hospital in Honolulu. Indeed he did not even leave Kalawao from 1893 until 1930 when he went to Kalaupapa, two miles away, for eye surgery.

c. Work Begins

For the first few days, Dutton stayed in Damien's house beside the church, but before long he moved to a house of his own a few yards away. Because Damien knew his days were numbered, he had an endless string of projects he wanted to accomplish as quickly as possible.

Medical work took up much of Dutton's time, cleaning and dressing sores, attending ulcers, and treating other skin troubles. Dr. Mouritz taught him the rudiments of medicine and surgery, dressing wounds, and properly applying bandages. This work consumed the major part of every day, for Damien ultimately turned all the medical and nursing duties over to him. In addition Dutton became carpenter,

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64. Dutton, Samaritans of Molokai, pp. 198-99.

65. Ibid., p. 199.

stonemason, architect, gardener, druggist, nurse, and secretary. His other duties involved constantly finishing jobs that Damien had started, for the latter would

> drive ahead at what he thought was most important, until he thought something else was more important, when he would jump over into that. Thus he always left a track of unfinished jobs, though a certain share would be completed.[66]

Brother Dutton always seemed able to attend to his many duties and still maintain a calm unruffled equanimity. Dignified and gentlemanly, neat and clean, he immediately commanded great respect from Father Damien, the Board of Health, and most importantly, the patients themselves.

In addition to their differences in personality and work habits, Dutton and Damien also differed in their attention to the danger of infection. Dutton always washed and scrubbed his instruments, tools, and possessions that had been handled by the patients before he touched them.

Dr. Mouritz enumerated some of Dutton's duties performed daily:

> Fr. Damien's companion, secretary, servant, nurse, and other menial work, sexton, sacristan, verger, purveyor for Fr. Damien's Homes and his household, hospital steward, dresser, clinical clerk, later manager of the Baldwin Home, sanitary engineer, architect, landscape gardener. . . . Br. Dutton was also postmaster. For years, single-handed and alone, he filled well all of the above offices.[67]

Most of Brother Dutton's work, however, would eventually revolve around the Baldwin Home for Boys, an enlargement of Father Damien's Boys'

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66. Ibid., p. 202. Damien would often laughingly say in regard to Joseph's finishing up his tasks, "I am the carpenter, Brother Joseph the joiner." P. 203.

67. Quoted in Skinsnes, "A Self-Imposed Exile," p. 6.

Home, and it was there that he probably made his most valuable and lasting contribution.

N. Kalawao Improvements Beginning in 1887

1. Orphanage Dormitories

In 1887 the Board of Health authorized material for Damien to enlarge the childrens' homes by building two large dormitories for his orphans to replace the dilapidated earlier buildings. This work was not started until 1888. He also erected dining halls.

2. Water Supply, Kalaupapa

On May 6, 1887, the board advanced credit of $35,000 to begin installation of pipes to supply water to Kalaupapa from Waikolu Valley. The job was finished a year later.

3. St. Philomena Church

a. Tabernacles

On August 26, 1886, Father Damien wrote to the Reverend Daniel E. Hudson requesting that he procure one or two new tabernacles of some light material or metal so as to prevent any insect getting into it, to be from fourteen to sixteen inches wide and deep, and two feet high, having on the top a place to expose the Blessed Sacrament.[68] The material Damien suggested was to be either iron or sheet nickel plated to prevent rusting. Damien also requested that, if there was enough money procured in the tabernacle collection through subscriptions by charitable donors, Father Hudson buy and send a few six-branched candlesticks to suspend in the nave.[69]

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68. Damien-Dutton Letters from the Notre Dame University Archives, Appendix 2, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, p. 406.

69. J. Damien to Reverend Father Daniel E. Hudson, Nov. 23rd, '86, Appendix 2, in ibid., pp. 407-408. Damien may finally have received the candlesticks, for a letter was found dated early 1888 regarding duties paid on seven cases of chandeliers and iron safes for the use of the Catholic Church. J.A. Hassinger, Chief Clerk, to Father Damien, Interior Department Letters, No. 35, Feb. 17, 1888-July 23, 1888, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

By early summer 1888 the tabernacles had been received. In preparation for placing the tabernacle at Kalawao, Damien built a solid stone pillar three feet square and eight feet high, part of it under the church floor:

> We had some difficulty in lifting up the interior tabernacle on account of the heavy weight of the metal part (not far below 2000 pounds), the elaborated wood-work which incloses the safe, fits perfectly well over it, and the canopy, though a little too high for our rather low church--comes right up at a few inches below the ceiling, it has a true monumental appearance and if I succeed to make the new altar, just now commenced, to correspond with the loftiness of the tabernacle, we will have a real beautiful place to consecrate and preserve the blessed Sacrament.[70]

Because the new altar would take up quite a bit of room and because the number of Catholics was increasing, Damien was obliged to begin an addition to the church.

b. Landscaping

In the spring of 1887 Brother Joseph requested from Father Hudson some seeds and plants. "Various alterations about the buildings and grounds of the mission has given opportunity for making effort to cultivate some flowers, grow some trees, etc."[71] Among the plants specified were a general assortment of vegetable seeds, catalpas, fucheia, hibiscus, lilies, and roses, most of which would be planted around the two churches of the mission. In addition to planting a few trees, shrubs, and flowers around the church, Brother Dutton painted the interior and built a neat fence around the structure.[72] The exterior

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70. J. Damien to Rev. D.E. Hudson, May 17th, 1888, Appendix 2, in ibid., p. 412. The Kalaupapa tabernacle was to arrive by the next steamer.

71. Brother Joseph To Rev. Fr. D.E. Hudson, April 21, 1887, Appendix 2, in ibid., p. 410.

72. Further Extracts from the Correspondence of Brother Dutton, 1887 letter, Appendix 2 in ibid., p. 424.

of the building was painted in gay colors to please the aesthetic senses of the native Hawai'ians. Damien also built a large concrete bake-oven in the adjacent yard, near the cookshack for the childrens' homes.[73]

c. New Addition

A severe storm in 1888 blew down the steeple so carefully erected by Father Damien in 1876. Brother Joseph's first cabin stood behind the church. It was ten by fourteen feet, painted inside and whitewashed outside, and connected with the passageway to the church.[74] As Dutton recalled later,

> The storm came in the night and seemed about to take possession of the little cabin, which opened into the sacristy. . . . [The steeple then fell.] I got the door open and went over to Father Damien's house. In the large room downstairs (that I was using as a drug room) Father Gregory [Grégoire Archambaux], a leper, had a temporary bed. . . .
>
> After that, the steeple being down, Father Damien was going to at once make the nave some ten feet longer, putting a new steeple further along. . . . I persuaded Father Damien to wait a little while. The Irish stone mason had just then come. We hunted, and found some fairly good rock near the old crater. Then I labored with Father Damien--advocating a new church in rock. In about a month he agreed to this. It was built over the old transepts, these old parts being taken out later. This rock church (partly wood) is our church at present [1908], and the old nave is connected with it, as seen in the later pictures--the steeple gone--a little work over the doorway added.[75]

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73. Leo V. Jacks, Mother Marianne of Molokai (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935), pp. 83-84.

74. Further Extracts from the Correspondence of Brother Dutton, Appendix 2, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, p. 424.

75. Joseph Dutton, May 1908, in Joseph Dutton file 1890-1912, MS 266.2, D95, in Hawaiian Historical Society Library. Dutton later described his first house:

> As first built, it opened by a little passageway into the sacristy of the old church. The present church was built over that part of the old one. Where the cottage, or cabin, stood, the Father Damien pandanus--the palm under which he slept before his own cottage was

In the summer of 1888 Damien wrote the Reverend Mr. Hudson:

> With the desire to have our Kalawao church in proportion with the beautiful tabernacle, we are daily at work. With the mason and carpenters to build a quasi-new church altogether. The cost of which will run above thousand. . . . The building is 70 by 30--18 feet high, to be covered with iron. The bellfry is above the porch or entrance. 40 feet of the building is in stone--the rest in wood. A good old Irish man, a leper, is a mason, and I with two of my boys do the woodwork.[76]

According to Dutton's memoirs, Father Damien was intensely interested in the additions to the church:

> On one occasion he went to Honolulu to consult builders in order to find out how to strengthen the tops of the walls so that they would support the roof, and brought back with him a lot of two-inch planking with which to make a "cap" over the top of each wall. The rafters rested upon this cap. The two wings of the original church served as "wings" to the reconstruction edifice, and in these the Damien altar, and the benches which were used in his day, are preserved. A new and splendid altar occupies the sea end of the present building.[77]

Sister Vincentia mentioned that on Christmas Day 1888, the sisters were invited to dinner at Damien's house. Upon

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75. (cont'd)
built--swept the roof. Father Damien's grave is just in front of where it stood.

Case, Joseph Dutton, pp. 112-13. Also according to Case, "Finally, after considerable discussion and planning, Father Damien and Brother Dutton began building the present wooden portion toward the sea and over the transept of the old church." Pp. 90-91.

76. J. Damien to Rev. Daniel E. Hudson, Aug. 8, 1888, Appendix 2, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, p. 413.

77. Case, Joseph Dutton, p. 91.

their reaching Kalawao, Damien showed them the new church, where he had been assisting the workmen in plastering the inside wall.[78]

In the first part of 1889, Joseph Dutton wrote Father Hudson with another request:

> Rev. Father Damien directs me to request that you cause to be forwarded to him at once, by McShane & Co., Baltimore, a bell for our church, 400 or 500 lbs., and that you can pay towards the expense the balance of the fund in your hands, notifying him of the amount yet to pay on the bill (and fixtures) and as to how he shall draw check to pay the same . . . from funds that he has on deposit with Bishop and Co., Bankers, Honolulu. . . .
>
> He is quite anxious to have the shipment made as quickly as possible for the reason that all the work on the church--save the completion of the tower--will soon be finished, and he desires to have the bell before completing the tower, so as to be sure that sufficient space be provided wherein to hang the bell. . . .
>
> The new church is quite imposing (for this place) and the new altar, all say, presents a really fine appearance. The old one is also retained, and both are used at the same time through the week, as Father Conrardy is now staying here a new house is being built for him.[79]

Damien died while the roof on the church was being completed, with Dutton superintending and residents doing the carpentry work.

O. Colony in 1888

1. Help for Damien Arrives

Upon receiving word in 1888 that the Sisters of St. Francis were definitely coming to Kalaupapa to supervise the new home

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78. Notes on Father Damien, from the original notes of Sr. Mary Vincentia McCormack of the Franciscan Sisters, Appendix 2, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, p. 422.

79. Joseph Dutton to Rev. Fr. D.E. Hudson, Jan'y 30, 1889, Appendix 2, in ibid., p. 414.

for leprous girls and women at Kalaupapa, Father Damien and Mr. Meyer chose a site for the sisters' new home on a little hill five minutes from the Catholic Church and not far from the wharf on the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula. Six days after the sisters' arrival, Father Wendelin Moellers, the new pastor of the Kalaupapa church, arrived. He would also serve as the sisters' chaplain. Mother Marianne was an extraordinary woman, with courage and compassion, who, like Damien, seemed to feel Moloka'i a divine mission. Since 1883 she had been superior at the Kaka'ako Branch Hospital in Honolulu. In 1886 she had been awarded the Order of Kapiolani by King Kalakaua, and from 1888 until her death in August 1918 she would serve as superior of the Bishop Home at Kalaupapa.

From the very first Mother Marianne and her companions surrounded the declining old fighter, Father Damien, with kindness, affection, and veneration. Damien at this time, though failing, was rewarded by seeing that his labors would be continued after his death. Damien was being aided at Kalawao by Father Louis-Lambert Conrardy, a Belgian secular priest who had presided over a parish in Oregon among the Indians for fifteen years. Upon learning about Moloka'i in 1877, Conrardy would have gone to join Damien then except that he felt the Indians needed him. It was customary for all the personnel in a mission to be of the same religious order. When Father Conrardy asked Damien in 1888 to be allowed to come immediately, with the intention of later becoming a member of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, Damien had no objections, although most of the other Hawai'ian missionaries did. Notwithstanding the opposition, Father Conrardy arrived on Moloka'i May 17.[80]

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80. By 1889 Father Damien lived upstairs in his little house near the church, while Father Conrardy lived on the ground floor. They ate in separate rooms as a precaution against contagion. The two laymen, Brother Joseph Dutton and Brother James Sinnett, assisted in nursing, teaching, and visiting, while at Kalaupapa Father Wendelin and the sisters lived and worked. Edward Clifford, "With Father Damien and the Lepers," Eclectic Magazine [N.Y.] (June 1889), p. 810. James Sinnett, an Irish layman, had arrived at Kalawao in 1888 and worked for Dutton at the Boys' Home.

2. Charles R. Bishop Home

The Bishop Home was named after its benefactor, Charles Reed Bishop, a wealthy Protestant Honolulu banker, capitalist, and philanthropist, and widower of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, last of the Kamehamehas. The buildings were completed by mid-September 1888 and became the property of the Hawai'ian government. Arrangements were then made to transfer the sisters there.[81] The old receiving station at the Kaka'ako Branch Hospital had been broken up and some of its materials were used in new houses at Kalaupapa and in construction of the Bishop Home. The home was run by the Franciscan Sisters of Charity though administered by the Board of Health.

The sisters' convent at the Bishop Home was a neat little one-story house painted white with green blinds. A narrow corridor divided the building and a six-foot verandah ran the whole length of the house. Four small cottages were constructed for the women residents, two to be used as sleeping quarters, one for cooking and dining, and the last as a receiving station for surgical and medical work.[82] The sisters

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81. L.A. Thurston [Minister of the Interior] to Chas. R. Bishop, Sept. 21, 1888, Interior Department Letters, No. 36, July 23, 1888-Nov. 1, 1888, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 245.

82. Jacks, Mother Marianne of Molokai, p. 74. A few more details on the Bishop Home complex are provided in Hanley and Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile, pp. 287-88:

> The Bishop Home for Unprotected Leper Girls and Women consisted of four cottages arranged in double file at one side of the sisters' convent. Sister Leopoldina described it in detail after she had lived in it for many years:
>
> "The convent was a neat little one story house painted white [with] green blinds standing well back in a large field on the top of a little hill. a six foot veranda run the whole length of the house. a narrow hall went through the house. a large parlor, two sleeping rooms and a bath room open from the right side of the hall, from the left side a small reception room, two sleeping rooms, and a small storeroom[.] from the little reception room a door opened in to a neat little dining room. a door opened from the dining room on to a pleasant back veranda. at the end of this veranda was our poor little kitchen[.]

referred to the establishment as St. Elizabeth Convent rather than as the Bishop Home. The Catholic bishop provided money for building a chapel for the sisters. Between it and the convent was a room into which the patients could come to hear the celebration of Mass, but the residents were not allowed to enter the convent. The first few years at the home were difficult. There was a lack of fresh food, milk, and sufficient water. The sisters would take the women up into the valleys to a stream and wash their clothes on slabs of rock. Swarms of flies and rats infested the quarters where the sick were cared for. Gradually those problems were resolved, and the sisters' work at Kalaupapa became extremely successful.

None of the sisters ever became infected with the disease, due primarily to their attention to matters of hygiene and cleanliness. No food or drink partaken of by them came into contact with the patients and all their cooking and laundry work was performed by nonleprous servants. Damien was always careful to avoid interfering in their precautions and took great pains to avoid close contact with them himself lest he infect them.

3. Report to the Legislature of 1888

In June 1888 the settlement was visited by a special committee of seven people appointed to report on conditions at the settlement under legislative Resolution No. 19. A few items noted by the committee will be mentioned here because they are relevant to assessing the condition of the settlement in that year:

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82. (Cont'd)
in the kitchen was a little rusty stove with only two holes her name was Flora we had fun with her she made us cry she was such a smoker. at the opposite side of the parlor was a small room we were to use for a chaple [sic].

"There were four small cottages (built for our lepers) of wide rough boards and they were whitewashed one to serve as a kitchen and storeroom one for a dining room and the other two were to be their sleeping rooms. . . ."

a. Agriculture and Livestock

The bowl of Kauhakō Crater was being cultivated by kōkuas and patients, presumably because it was sheltered from the elements. There were then 708 horses in the settlement, some patients owning as many as 15. They were becoming a serious problem because they were using pasturage that could support beef cattle. The horses served two purposes--pleasure riding and as beasts of burden to retrieve the weekly rations of pa'i 'ai from Waikolu Valley, to bring goods from the Kalawao store to Kalaupapa, and to carry wood back from the hills. The board had at this time forbidden bringing any more horses into the settlement.

b. Buildings

(1) Houses

The committee visited several of the houses of the patients:

> The first house certain members of the Committee . . . went into was one of a long row of houses, some single and some double, recently erected by the Board of Health, running parallel with and facing the sea-shore at Kalaupapa some forty yards inland, and back to the wind.
>
> The house consisted of a parlor, bed-room, veranda and veranda-room and was well fitted up for a Hawaiian home. We saw some literary works in English on the parlor table. . . . This house and home evidently was one of the best class in the settlement. The next two houses we stopped at were part of the same row of new houses above referred to, along whose entire length by the way ran a pipe with faucets placed a few feet in front of each house. One of these houses contained only women, some single and others married, who had left their husbands behind. They were all new-comers. . . . we passed on to a house occupied by single young men only. They had no complaint to make but one, and that was that the new houses were not tight at eaves, and that patients were chilled on windy and rainy nights. . . . Going on, we came to a group of houses which evidently had stood many years, and here we found patients who were old residents. The houses were small and crowded. We asked why they crowded together so--why they did not move into some of the empty houses we

had seen along the way? They only laughed and said, "Oh, we are all friends, and want to stay together."[83]

(2) Service Facilities

The committee reported that the present hospital was in very poor condition though a large, airy dormitory had just been added. The board was also considering building a public dining hall and kitchen where patients would be served meals instead of getting rations and doing their own cooking. One of the requests from the patients was that a second butcher shop be established at Kalaupapa where it would be closer to those residents. It was also suggested by the committee that the systematic planting of trees be inaugurated. In terms of food supply, the residents petitioned for a steamboat to bring the pa'i 'ai from the other side of Moloka'i directly to the settlement and not to Waikolu where the whale boats deposited it at present, necessitating that Kalaupapa residents travel the entire breadth of the peninsula to get their food.

c. Foreign Patients

The only major discontent found by the committee was voiced by foreign patients, who, on the whole, were not satisfied with the settlement. The difficulty arose because of the different lifestyles foreigners were used to, including different types of food and housing. Although aware of this problem, the board felt there was a real danger in drawing distinctions between native and foreign patients in the matter of rations and dwellings. Inconveniences that foreigners now had to put up with at the settlement included no tea or coffee rations, commodities that were a necessity to foreigners but a luxury to native Hawai'ians. Because the board believed it unwise to draw any distinction between the rations of foreigners and natives, it was suggested that foreign citizens

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83. Hawaii (Kingdom) Legislature, Report of the Special Committee on the Leper Settlement at Kalawao, Molokai. Report to Legislature of 1888 (Honolulu: Gazette Publishing Co., 1888), pp. 3-5.

should contribute to a common fund, which would be used to help out all foreigners at the settlement.[84]

4. Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1888

a. Buildings

Rudolph W. Meyer reported on the number of buildings: five churches (two Protestant, two Catholic, and one Mormon), two storehouses, two pa'i 'ai receiving houses, one store, two dorms (boys and girls), twelve hospital buildings, one prison with two cells, one receiving home at Kalaupapa for newcomers, one physician's house, and two dispensaries (Kalawao and Kalaupapa). The rest of the buildings were patient cottages, many owned by the residents who built them themselves or with the help of friends. There were a total of 374 structures--216 owned by the sick or their friends, 53 (including 40 cottages) owned by the Board of Health, and the five churches owned by church members.

b. Livestock

During this time the board decided to stock the peninsula's pastures with breeding cattle. Fences would be erected to paddock the land. Livestock included 85 cows, 54 heifers, 34 steers, 63 calves, 2 bulls, 32 pairs of working oxen, 258 horses, 326 mares, 89 colts, 5 mules, and 30 jackasses.

c. Improvements

Contemplated improvements included a new slaughterhouse in a more central position and the division of the settlement into paddocks. One area would be intended for planting, others for the separation of stock and its better management. Recently completed were a hospital and a large dorm for orphan boys (at Kalawao).[85]

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84. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

85. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1888 (Honolulu: Gazette Publishing Co., 1888) Appendix D, Report of R.W. Meyer, Agent of the Board of Health for the Island of Molokai, pp. 13, 68-69, 78-79.

P. Colony in 1889

1. Death of Father Damien

As mentioned previously, long before Damien was officially pronounced a victim of leprosy, he thought he had detected signs of the disease on his person, though some of that itching and burning was probably not connected with that illness. Damien had the lepromatous form of leprosy. The early symptoms were severe pains in his feet and sciatic nerves and some insensibility of limbs. As the disease progressed, he showed the general disfigurement of advanced leptromatous leprosy, including loss of eyebrows, enlargement of earlobes, and swelling of the face and hands. Eventually sores erupted on his hands and face.

Around the end of February 1889, Damien's health began to grow worse, and he was beset by constant stomach pain, nausea, heartburn, vomiting, fits of coughing, violent diarrhea, painful skin eruptions, and depression. Realizing the end was near, he drew up a will in which he bequeathed all personal possessions to the Church. Confined to bed, he lay on a pallet on the floor, rolled up in a blanket and shaking with fever. His fellow missionaries were in constant attendance. Brother James never left him and Father Conrardy and Brother Dutton attended to his needs. Mother Marianne also came from Kalaupapa to see him and the residents were always in and out. Indeed his children and flock were constantly on his mind to the end, as evidenced by a description of a visit to Damien by Sister Vincentia:

> He refused to see any of us. The Sisters begged our good Chaplain to carry to the sick Father our request to see him before his death. One day he gave his consent to see the Sisters as some of us had not received his blessing. How glad I was when the good Mother told me to get ready and come with her to see the sick Father. When we came to his house at Kalawao--it was a two story house--we entered the room above. Reverend Father Conrardy and Brother James were waiting on the sick Father. Reverend Father Conrardy led us into a small room and there on a bed lay the "Leper Priest" in prayer. As we approached, he raised his right hand in welcome to us. Oh! how sad it was to see that holy priest all covered with sores in the last stages of the disease, lying on that poor bed tossing to and fro with pain and fever. How cheerful he tried

> to be, forgetting awhile his own suffering to think of others, to think of his leper boys. Not having received his blessing, I knelt by his bedside and begged him to bless me. The good priest raised up his right hand--it was all covered with sores--and blessed me. For a moment I pressed my face on the quilt that covered the bed of his last agony and wept bitterly, thinking and asking my own heart--"Can you do as much as this for God?"--and how I prayed that God would bless us all. I asked--"Will you pray for us when you go to Heaven?"--He answered: "I will pray for you if I have any power in Heaven." We then bid the good Father good-bye. We thought it would be the last time for then he was very weak and his breath was very short. The least exertion caused him trouble in breathing. He held the hand between little short respirations for his voice was gone--he had something else to say--he whispered: "Will you--see--to--my boys?" His boys, his little flock of leper boys, he was leaving behind in Damien Home. Again he repeated the same words: "Will you--see--to--my boys?" We promised to see to the leper boys, with this promise the good Father was satisfied. And we kept our promise.[86]

With patience and resignation, Father Damien, Apostle of the Lepers, died in the arms of Brother James on April 15, 1889, just a few days before Easter. His body was clothed in his cassock in preparation for burial, and those present said that soon the blemishes of the disease disappeared from his face and the sores on his hands dried up. His body lay in state in St. Philomena until the next day, surrounded by tearful residents. On the day of burial, a Mass was said by Father Wendelin and a funeral procession headed by the cross then moved into the cemetery. First came the musicians and the confraternities, then the sisters and their charges from the Bishop Home, then the coffin borne by eight patients followed by Fathers Wendelin and Conrardy, the acolytes, and then by Brothers James and Dutton and the orphan boys and the rest of the population. Damien was buried, according to his wish, under the pandanus tree that first sheltered him on Moloka'i. There he remained for forty-seven years. The Catholic mission put a cross of black marble above his grave bearing the inscription:

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86. Notes on Father Damien from the original notes of Sr. Mary Vincentia McCormack of the Franciscan Sisters, Appendix 2, in Jourdain, Heart of Father Damien, 1955, pp. 421-22.

V.C.J.S.
Sacred to the Memory
of the Revd. Father
DAMIEN DE VEUSTER
DIED A MARTYR TO THE CHARITY
for the afflicted Lepers
April 15, 1889
R.I.P.

On September 11, 1893, a large cross of red granite, designed by Edward Clifford, was unveiled at the settlement, erected in his memory by the English people. Its site was chosen by King Kalakaua. On its lower part is a medallion of white marble with the head of Damien in high relief and the inscription "Greater love hath no man than this that he should lay down his life for his friend."

Although it was most fitting and in accord with Damien's wish to be buried on Moloka'i among his flock, in 1936 King Leopold III of Belgium asked the Territory of Hawai'i to return the priest to his native country and requested help from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to bring the body back to Belgium. On January 27, 1936, the body was exhumed in front of dignitaries of Church and State. Patients chanted Ke Ola and Aloha 'Oe, the traditional ode of farewell, as the body was placed in a casket of koa wood, an honor reserved for royalty. The villagers looked upward with tears in their eyes as the coffin was flown to Honolulu where full official honors were paid to the remains and a solemn funeral Mass was celebrated in the cathedral. The highest dignitaries were present as well as numerous government, civil, and military officials, representatives of religious orders, and all classes of society. An American ship carried the casket to Panama and a Belgian ship then carried it on to Antwerp. In a triumphant return to his homeland, the humble missionary was greeted by the king, members of the government, religious officials, and an enormous crowd. Funeral services were conducted in the cathedral and later in the evening of May 3 an automobile carried the casket through Tremeloo to Louvain. Toward midnight Father Damien arrived at the place from which he had embarked seventy-three years before. His remains were finally laid to rest in a crypt of St. Joseph's Chapel.

In 1935 the territorial governor of Hawai'i signed a law setting up an annual gift of $3,000 to assure the preservation, as a national monument, of the church and graves of St. Philomena.

2. Legacy of Father Damien

So many years after his death, the glory and renown and the controversy and jealousy that surrounded Father Damien during his lifetime can be viewed from a better perspective. When Damien first arrived on Moloka'i, he found a still undeveloped leprosy settlement consisting of a few thatched grass huts, some wooden shacks, and a primitive hospital building. Upon his death, the peninsula held almost 400 buildings, including dormitories, neat cottages, a hospital complex, a prison, a store, a physician's residence, and storehouses. The water supply had been increased, food and clothing rations bettered in quantity and quality, and the beginnings of another formal community started at Kalaupapa. Whatever else may be said about him, it cannot be denied that much of this development was due in great part to Father Damien. The publicity surrounding his work on Moloka'i was a constant impetus for reform and improvement on the part of the Hawai'ian government, which unfailingly provided money and labor for new facilities and homes. Damien was relied upon by the Board of Health to help in the daily administration of the settlement. Superintendent Meyer's presence at the settlement was sporadic, and no resident physician was provided for several years; to the young Belgian parish priest, therefore, fell the tasks of running the hospital, the slaughterhouse, the landing, and other service facilities, simply because he was there.

Damien was the first priest to remain at the settlement and live daily with the people. Because he showed no fear of their disease and treated them as friends, they trusted him. Physical contact among friends and family was important to the Hawai'ian leprosy victims, and as soon as Damien decided to physically touch them and to share possessions, he became one with them, as well as eventually one of them. And although he helped bring about many physical improvements, more importantly he gave the people spiritual aid and promised hope for a better future--if not in this life, then in the next. He brought order,

peace, and spiritual comfort first, and then helped the kingdom address the temporal problems of adequate housing, better food, water, and medicine. In return he endured endless labor and untold physical suffering, but gained inner peace and tranquility.

Damien's activities at the settlement were at all times subject to controversy. He was frequently accused by his superiors and government officials of vanity and showmanship; the vast amount of publicity his work generated was considered by many detractors to be due to his active efforts. Those who knew him best, however, were always impressed by his humility. The publicity was often an embarrassment to him but tolerated because it showed to the world the difficulties his people were bravely enduring and encouraged donations of money and clothing and other charitable acts. He was said by his superiors to be hard to get along with, though the many distinguished visitors who came to Moloka'i found him generous, warm-hearted, and amiable and struck up enduring friendships with him. It was only in fighting for reforms and benefits for his flock that Damien could be stubborn, impatient, abrasive, and inflexible. As he became older and sicker, he probably became more obstinate and unyielding because of all he wanted to accomplish before he died. Damien was also alone most of the time, and, because he was not close to his fellow churchmen, either physically or temperamentally, he often resorted to doing things his own way on a daily need basis. Overwhelmed by all the improvements needed, he considered only the needs of his people, while the Catholic mission in Hawai'i had to consider the interests of the mission as a whole. In addition his superiors were wary of antagonizing the Hawai'ian government and its powerful Protestants, so they were often harsher on Damien than they might have been otherwise; it was difficult to extend him as much aid as possible while at the same time trying to moderate his actions and not offend the Board of Health.

One of the primary criticisms of the Damien legend has been that his admirers have ignored the work of so many other pioneer missionaries or that their work at least has been viewed as incomparable

in scope or effect. This is true to some degree, for certainly other early missionaries in the islands, both Protestant and Catholic, sacrificed much in terms of personal comfort to bring the word of God to Hawai'i. It should be emphasized, however, that Damien stood apart from many of his fellow missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, if not especially in terms of religious zeal, devotion, or virtue, at least in terms of exceptional personality and character traits and a wide variety of skills--manual labor, administration, medicine, public relations--that enabled him to accomplish far more with much less, but which often made his position within the strict Catholic Church organization very uncomfortable. He sought only to do good, although often with an indiscreet zeal that irritated his colleagues, and his activities in behalf of the sick were bonded with a passion for the cause of the Church and his congregation. To promote these two causes, he proceeded energetically, flattering no one, and fearless of the attacks of his adversaries. He existed in a world of tensions and contradictions, living with the hostility of fellow churchmen, the unending praise of the world press, and with an always tenuous dependency on the generosity of the Hawai'ian government. Coupled with his extraordinary character was his place in time, the peculiar set of circumstances that thrust him in the middle of a unique social and medical experiment that became widely observed, studied, and publicized.

Damien's importance lay in attracting attention to the plight of leprosy victims, specifically in Hawai'i, but in a larger sense, around the world. What might have turned into a squalid, forgotten village of outcasts became instead a model leprosy colony with the aid of government and charitable funds and through individual tenacity. The work of Father Damien aroused a renewed sympathy, not only in Hawai'i but around the world, for sufferers from leprosy. As the years passed and communications between nations increased, it became clearer that the medical and social problems of a country should not be isolated from public view, but dealt with without shame, because they were a part of the common experience. This time period more or less marked the dividing line between ancient and modern treatment of leprosy. Shortly

before Damien reached Kalawao, the Norwegian scientist Gerhard Hansen had isolated the bacillus causing the disease, and together

> The work of the priest and the scientist showed the world that both Hansen's Disease and the "disease" of man's inhumanity to man could and should be cured.[87]

Even his slow death from the ravages of leprosy served a purpose, for it reaffirmed what Hansen's discovery of the bacillus seemed to indicate--that the disease was contagious rather than hereditary. It also proved that leprosy was not contracted by first contracting syphilis, as some members of the medical profession and the public at large had believed. The work of Father Damien de Veuster on Moloka'i is considered one of the greatest examples of apostolic activity in history. The fact that the priest, who had voluntarily offered his services despite the health risks to help people of another race, had died of leprosy was tremedously horrific and moving to Damien's admirers. His death immediately made him a saintly figure to the remote Europeans who had followed his missionary activities so closely. Omer Englebert wrote that

> Whatever be its source, the renown of Damien has suffered no loss with the passage of time. . . . Before Damien, people pretended to forget that lepers were men. His example made men blush for their cruelty and bend again to their duty. From his day, lepers have ceased to be treated as pariahs; they are no longer driven from the helping hand extended to all other sufferers; and the human race no longer bears the shame of casting from its bosom the most wretched of its children.[88]

Damien entered the colony as an obscure parish priest and left it acclaimed as a hero and martyr. He made the name of that once notorious exile famous all over the world as an example of what governments, doctors, and clergy could do to better the situation of

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87. Bruce B. Westfall, "Father Damien, the Martyr of Molokai," Paradise of the Pacific 75, no. 5 (May 1963): 11.

88. Hero of Molokai, p. 360.

afflicted peoples by meeting both their spiritual and earthly needs. It must be remembered that Damien could not have accomplished the good he did without the continuing aid and support, both in terms of money and encouragement, of the kingdom and the Board of Health. They, too, were experiencing great difficulties in working out, on a trial-and-error basis, the best way to deal with an incredibly controversial and heart-rending social and medical problem that necessitated tactics that were contrary to the native Hawai'ian way of life. Add to the situation the sudden arrival of a fiery young priest who brooked no opposition to his demands, and the emergence of the model leprosarium of later years was indeed a small miracle.

After his death, the question of sainthood for Damien was raised. Despite acknowledgement in the years after his death of his heroic and self-sacrificing ministry, his superiors debated over whether it exemplified exceptional merit. As Gavan Daws astutely perceived:

> . . . Damien was an unusual man living in a turbulence of holiness. So he emerged as a troublemaker in the eyes of his immediate superiors, who knew him as a person, and as a hero in the eyes of the world, where he was known only for what he did: in any case an oddity, an eccentricity, an embarrassment, an exception to rules--an exceptional man, who remained at the same time perversely most ordinary in his personal ways, the ways of a peasant born and bred. This interplay of the ordinary and the extraordinary was given dimensions of moral tragedy and grandeur by his leprosy, forcing all those who knew him or heard about him, once the world got hold of his story, to ponder the problem of sanctity as Damien's life posed it--whether there might be any such being as Robert Louis Stevenson asserted: a man with his own idiosyncrasies and personal defects, with all the grime and paltriness of mankind, but none the less a hero and a saint.[89]

The importance and value of his work to the Roman Catholic Church was proven by the exhumation of Damien's remains and their removal in 1936 to a national shrine in his homeland. In 1938

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89. Daws, Holy Man, p. 249.

beatification proceedings were finally begun. The process moved slowly, however, and not until 1969, after fourteen years of research and study, did the Roman Catholic Church initiate the first major step toward the canonization of Joseph de Veuster as Saint Damien. On July 7, 1977, Father Damien was declared Venerable and his virtues "heroic," the last step before beatification. Father Damien is one of two persons selected by the state of Hawai'i to be represented in the National Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol (the other is Kamehameha I, unifier of the Hawai'ian Islands).

Though Damien's physical presence has been removed from the peninsula, he remains a strong presence in the minds of residents and visitors alike. The most obvious reminders of him are St. Philomena Church and his tombstone in the adjoining cemetery, the pū hala tree long since decayed and cleared away. Also at the settlement is the English monument designed by Clifford and elsewhere on the island are churches he built for Catholics "topside" on Moloka'i. The greatest monument of all is the modern leprosarium that developed f ṃ the crowded, unhealthy, and lawless little settlement he first found at Kalawao.

3. Visit of Robert Louis Stevenson

One of the reasons Father Damien's story has become so well known is because of a letter defending him and his ministry written in response to a letter that appeared in the press after Damien's death critical of the priest and his accomplishments. The bitter letter of denunciation was written by Charles McEwen Hyde, a Protestant clergyman. The letter of defense was written by the famous British writer Robert Louis Stevenson and became a classic document in English literature as one of the most spirited and furious attacks in any language. Stevenson visited the settlement just after Damien's death. A search for health had led him to cruise with his family among the warm islands of the South Pacific in a chartered yacht. He arrived in Hawai'i in 1889, and for five months he traveled, wrote, and learned to know the

people of the islands, including the royal family. A few items noted by Stevenson are mentioned here for general descriptive interest:

a. Pali Trails

In describing the three valleys set into the face of the pali (Waihānau, Wai'ale'ia, and Waikolu), Stevenson mentioned that though from a distance they appeared to be verdant niches, in reality their rock faces were so steep that only in Waihānau Valley was there a usable path. It was often destroyed by rains, however, and had to be continually maintained. It could not be ridden up and was a very exhausting climb and descent even for strong men. Stevenson wrote that the existence of another path to the west was mentioned by some residents. (According to a 1948 article on the settlement, in 1898 the right shoulder of the Waihānau Valley mouth was used as a trail, but by the 1940s, erosion, landslides, and disuse had obliterated it. Wai'ale'ia was said to be impassable; Waikolu could be climbed, but with difficulty.[90]

b. Landing Places

Because Kalaupapa was more sheltered, it was the customary landing place for boats. When entrance there was impossible, ships passed farther east to the vicinity of the two small islets near Kalawao and landed passengers with extreme difficulty and danger on a spur of rock.

c. Kalawao

The official quarters there consisted of the hospital enclosure and prison--a green area within a stockade with a few papayas and a flowering oleander, surrounded on three sides by low white houses. A little way off, enclosed in walls and hedges, stood the guesthouse of

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90. "Kalaupapa Settlement," rev. ed. May 15, 1948, V. A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), p. 2. This earlier trail along Waihānau ridge was considered to have been a better trail than the present Kala'e (pali) trail further westward on the cliff face. It was used by Father Damien to go "topside."

Kalawao, and beyond that, the doctor's quarters. The guesthouse was utilized for visits by members of the Board of Health.[91]

Q. Board of Health Inspection Visit, 1890

In March 1890 the president of the Board of Health and some associates made another inspection visit to the settlement. In their report they mentioned several items of interest in regard to buildings:

1. Bishop Home

Within this complex, a schoolhouse with a large assembly room was being built.

2. Kalawao

Father Damien's cottage was noted as being on the opposite side of the church from his grave. The church, cottage, and grave were all enclosed by a fence, the front portion of which was bounded by the government road. The other three sides of the fence faced the group of old buildings constituting the Boys' Home. It was planned to place the three Catholic sisters in the neat cottage then being built on the opposite side of the road from the church. Though still living at Kalaupapa, the sisters had been in charge of the Boys' Home for about the last two months. The site of the Boys' Home was termed unfortunate--on the old graveyard below the road and subject to flooding. All the buildings were old except for the kitchen and dining room. The infirmary at Kalawao was under the direction of Dr. Sidney Bourne Swift, aided by Brother Dutton.

The inspectors visited the slaughterhouse, which they termed a model of perfection. The floor of the slaughter room was concrete, and drain pipes conveyed the blood to the pig corral where offal also was thrown. A cattle pen adjoined the slaughter room. The cattle killed were furnished on contract by Sam Parker from his ranch on

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91. Robert Louis Stevenson, Travels in Hawaii, ed. by A. Grove Day (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 47, 50-51.

Illustration 24. Inside Kauhako Crater, ca. 1890. Note terraced fields and house. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu. (Department of Interior, USGS)



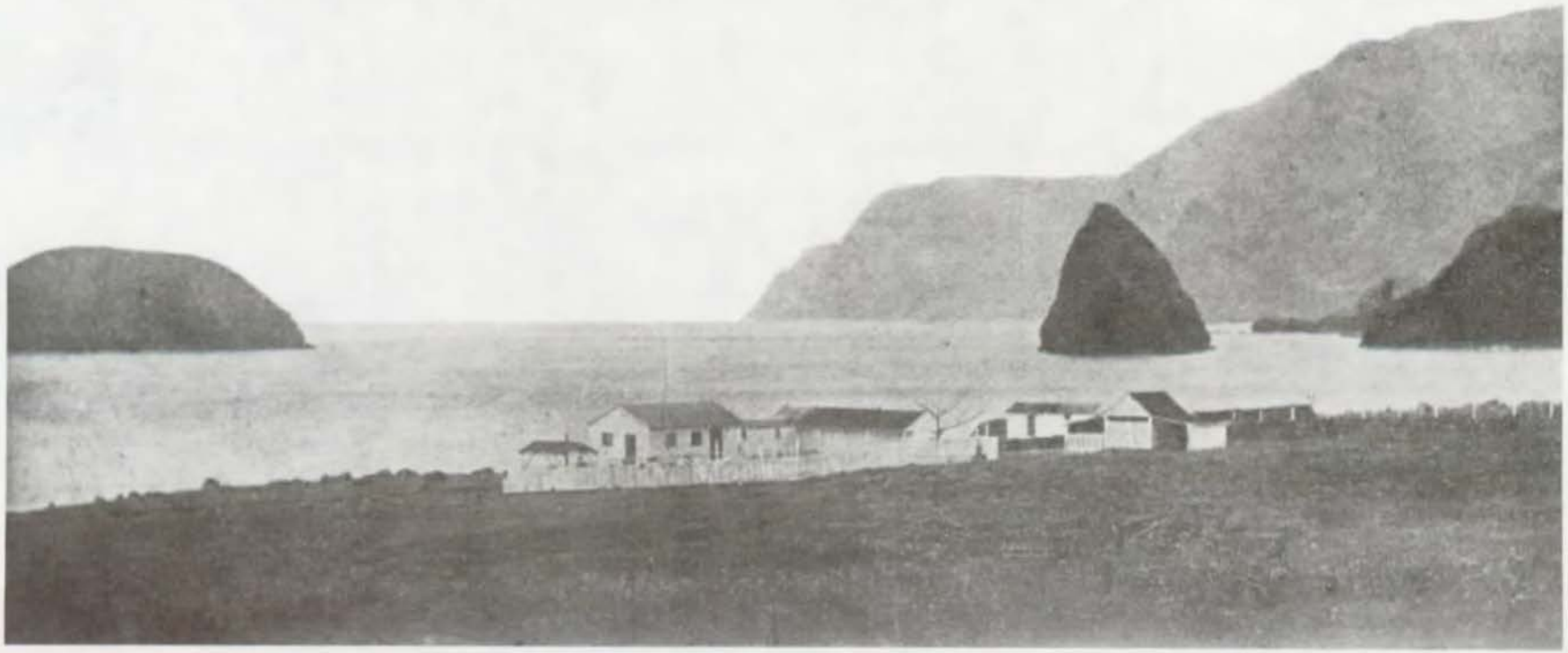
Illustration 25. Siloama Church and Kalawao settlement after 1890. Note alterations made to Protestant church. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Illustration 26. Close-up of structures seen in left background in Illustration 25, no date. Dutton wrote in 1910 regarding these buildings:

> Beach at Kalawao, Mokapu and Okala. Our old home was on this ground.
> Our wash house there yet. Also old cart house used as stock shelter.
> The little house beyond--open door--Bros. (classes?--illeg.) was had there.
> I lived there about 5 yr. when old house was in use.

Courtesy Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu.



the island of Hawai'i. All killing of beef was done by nonleprous personnel.

3. Kauhakō Crater

The floor of the crater was planted in potatoes and other vegetables. A trail used by natives on their way to bathe led down to the edge of the lake.

4. Pali Trail

The officials mention ascending the pali by a new "road" built the previous October.[92]

R. Biennial Report of Board of Health, 1890

1. Buildings

This report stated that several of the large buildings at Kaka'ako Branch Hospital, which had been established in 1881 for the treatment of leprosy, had been taken down and removed to the leprosy settlement where they were re-erected.

The president of the board, during his visit to the settlement in 1890, noted many new buildings: at Bishop Home, three large dormitories, a school, and a recreation hall; at the Boys' Home an infirmary, dormitory, and dining room and stone cookhouse with a concrete floor; a hospital building of two wards; a new slaughterhouse with concrete floor and a cattle pen; an attached cookhouse and servant's cottage for the sisters in charge of the Boys' Home; a dining room for the sisters' chaplain at Bishop Home; a dispensary at Kalaupapa; an oil and soap storeroom at Kalaupapa; and a superintendent's house with office and outbuildings. The board president also noted that the first resident superintendent had arrived on January 1, 1890.

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92. "The Molokai Trip," Hawaiian Gazette, March 25, 1890 [from Bulletin of March 18], Father Damien Clippings 1890, MS Grp. 165.4, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

2. Proposed Improvements

Proposed improvements at the settlement involved:

1) reducing expenses and improving conditions by forming the residents into communities with a central cookhouse and dining room and feeding them in common;

2) concentrating people at Kalaupapa where there was more room, a better climate, and they would be closer to the landing. The Kalawao buildings, as they decayed, would be abandoned; and

3) erecting a visitors' house at the Kalaupapa landing to accommodate twenty people, where friends and relatives could visit under certain restrictions.

3. Sidney Swift Report

The physician of the settlement, Dr. Sidney Swift, commented in the 1890 report on the unhealthy climate at Kalawao due to the extreme changes in temperature--from excessive heat to chill--due to being in the shadow of the cliffs, and on the unhealthy proximity of the old abandoned graveyard. Drainage of that area was necessary because during wet weather the rain filled the old graveyard depressions and created harmful "vapors."

4. R.W. Meyer Report

R.W. Meyer reported that there were six churches on the peninsula--a Protestant, Catholic, and Mormon one at both settlements. Meyer also stated that the idea of the Home for Boys originated with former Superintendent W.P. Ragsdale, but was carried to completion after Ragsdale's death by Damien. Meyer described the Baldwin and Bishop homes as composed of about twenty-four buildings. The Kalawao hospital comprised ten buildings. Meyer also mentioned two dispensaries, one at Kalawao and one at Kalaupapa; a resident superintendent's house (at Kalaupapa?); and a doctor's residence, a store, three storehouses for provisions, two poi houses, two prisons, and a boat house at Kalaupapa.

Illustration 27. Superintendent's residence on Staff Row, Building No. 5, 1983. Although a house was built for the superintendent in 1890 in this area, and this has been referred to as that structure, it does not appear to date from that early a period. It has, however, undergone several alterations. NPS photo.

Illustration 28. Superintendent's office on the corner of Staff Row and Beretania streets, 1930s. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





It is difficult to tell if the doctor's residence mentioned is the one at Kalawao or possibly what later became the assistant resident physician's house on Staff Row.

Improvements by 1890, in more detail, included:

a. Bishop Home

Twelve new buildings had been added to the original complex. The largest was a hall intended for recreation and for use as a school and sewing room. It could be made into one room if required. Also added were four new dorms, a cookhouse for the sisters, a servant's house, a carriage shed, and bathrooms. The original cooking and eating houses had been enlarged, a "dead house" added, and fencing erected around the premises.

b. Boys' Home at Kalawao

One large and one small dorm had been added, as well as a new stone cookhouse with a bake oven, an eating house, a washhouse for the use of the nurse washing sores, and a cottage for Brother Dutton. A cottage for the nurse had been added, and another for the Sisters of St. Francis--considered the handsomest building in the settlement--had been built by Benjamin Reed.

c. Hospital

A large new ward, a "dead house," and a new fence surrounding the yard had been added to the hospital.

Other improvements consisted of the new dispensary at Kalaupapa, a new prison surrounded by a fence (the old stone church), and the large cottage for the resident superintendent enclosed by a high board fence. A new graveyard had been fenced in that had been used for more than a year, the graveyard at Kalaupapa had been enclosed with

a stone wall, and new cottages had been built for the chaplain of the Sisters of St. Francis and for the Protestant pastor.[93]

S. Colony in 1891-1892

1. Cultivation of Waikolu Valley

During 1891 pressure was put on the Board of Health to allow further cultivation and settlement in Waikolu Valley. In the fall of that year, R. W. Meyer notified William H. Tell, new superintendent of the settlement, that the Board of Health wanted to provide suitable and remunerative labor for all able-bodied residents at the settlement and would allow them to cultivate taro in Waikolu Valley (to be known as the Waikolu Taro Plantation) under certain conditions. The reasons given by the board for granting only limited privileges to those people wanting to farm in the valley were--

1. that the valley was several miles into the mountains and covered with many KĪ plants from which an alcoholic beverage ōkolehao was distilled;

2. that if the land was opened to all, both patients and kōkuas would want to live there and probably run illicit stills;

3. that the patients and kōkuas living in the valley could not be controlled as easily as those in more open settlements;

4. that settlement there might contaminate the water supply;

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93. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1890 (Honolulu: Gazette Publishing Co., 1890), pp. 8, 40, 45-46, 87, 118-21.

5. that residents there could conceal illegal visitors; and

6. that suitable cultivable ground was limited.[94]

2. Kuleanas (Private Homesteads)

According to David Dayton, in early October 1891 there were seventeen kuleanas at the settlement, totalling sixty-six acres of land, that were still owned by private individuals. The board renewed pressure to acquire the lands, by condemnation if need be, because it felt that the entire segregation process was being aborted by outsiders coming onto the peninsula and staying on the private homesteads.[95] It had always been considered necessary to cut off illicit mingling with the residents for the preservation of discipline and for better management.

3. Miscellaneous Information on Buildings

In the spring of 1892, C. N. Spencer, the minister of the interior, wrote the president of the Board of Health with the following suggestions, made as a result of his recent visit to the settlement:

1. that the wall between Kalaupapa and Kalawao be rebuilt (possibly the stone wall that currently parallels the Kalaupapa to Kalawao road on its south side);

2. that bathtubs be placed in the new bathhouse and water let in as soon as possible at the Boys' Home at Kalawao;

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94. R. W. Meyer to W. H. Tell, September 12, 1891, and David Dayton (President, Board of Health) letter of same date, in 1891-1894, Lands--Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

95. David Dayton, Pres., Board of Health, to C. N. Spencer, Minister of Interior, October 2, 1891, Leper Settlement--Lands Purchased, Correspondence (1891-96), Incoming General Correspondence (Lands), Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

3. that people be encouraged to plant sweet potatoes and other vegetables and enclose their house lots with stone fences; and

4. that pa'i 'ai and other provisions intended for Kalaupapa not go first to Kalawao, but be placed in a suitable house at Kalaupapa for distribution.[96]

4. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1892

Improvements and repairs during the past months had included, at Kalaupapa: rearrangement of wards; erection of a large hall (Beretania), two new wards, an eating house, a cook house, and a wash house; dismantling of the old Kaka'ako buildings; and erection of a new visitors' house near the superintendent's residence, a new schoolhouse, and a milking pen.

At Kalawao a bathhouse at the Boys' Home and a new office adjoining the doctor's residence were constructed, and repair work was done on the former superintendent's house at Kalawao in the vicinity of the doctor's house.

The board noted that the bulk of the population was now at Kalaupapa.[97]

T. Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1894

1. Goto Baths

Dr. Goto arrived again from Japan early in 1893, having been engaged by the Board of Health to give special treatment to

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96. C. N. Spencer to David Dayton, March 2, 1892, Interior Department Letters No. 54, February 24, 1892-April 19, 1892, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 47-48.

97. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Session of 1892 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1892), pp. 105, 122.

Illustration 29. Kalaupapa dispensary, ca. 1932, built ca. 1890. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 30. Labelled old visitors' quarters, Kalaupapa, ca. 1895. This structure was said to have been erected near the superintendent's residence. This building later, however, was situated near the landing, and indeed the area shown here appears more open and to be located near the water. This is probably the guest house built in 1906 instead. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


DISPENSARY



Hawai'ian leprosy victims. A hospital building was erected at his request at Kalawao, in addition to dorms, a bathhouse, a kitchen, and a dining room for forty patients. Goto had 140 patients under his care at the hospital and the Bishop Home, including outside patients with their own facilities for heating water. The hospital was equipped and patients admitted in May 1893.

2. Water Supply

The board intended to construct a water reservoir on the high ground between Kalawao and Kalaupapa to insure a plentiful supply of water. The main pipe along the cliff near the sea between Waikolu and Kalawao was still exposed to waves during heavy storms and susceptible to damage from falling rocks.

3. Planting

During the previous winter, the board had planted a large number of ironwood and eucalyptus seeds, and it hoped to continue the practice. After rows of those hardy trees matured, other more fragile trees and fruit trees could be grown within the shelter of those groves.

4. Government Buildings

A list of buildings at the settlement owned by the board included, at Kalauapapa, the superintendent's residence, the visitors' house, the superintendent's office, the house of the chaplain to the Sisters of St. Francis, the house for the Protestant pastor, and Beretania Hall; at Kalawao, the resident physician's house and office, a visitors' house, and the house occupied by Dr. Goto.

The Bishop Home was composed of the sisters' dwelling house, wards or dorms, a hall for recreation and school, a servant's house, an office, cookhouse, eating house, wash house, and a bath and other outbuildings. The Boys' Home consisted of a dwelling house, dorms or wards (five old, eleven new), a recreation hall, a servant's house, an office, and various outbuildings.

Total buildings at the settlement were 531, of which 151 were residences.

5. Schools

Kalaupapa had both an old and a new school.

6. Hospital at Kalawao

The complex at Kalawao included the steward's house, dorms or wards, a cookhouse, and other outbuildings.

7. Stores and Warehouses

These structures included a new Board of Health store and a cottage for the storekeeper at Kalaupapa, the old store at Kalawao that was no longer used, two provision storehouses, two oil, soap, and salt storehouses, one storehouse for salted hides, one boathouse, and a slaughterhouse.

8. Workshops

Workshops included a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, and two dispensaries.

9. Improvements and Repairs

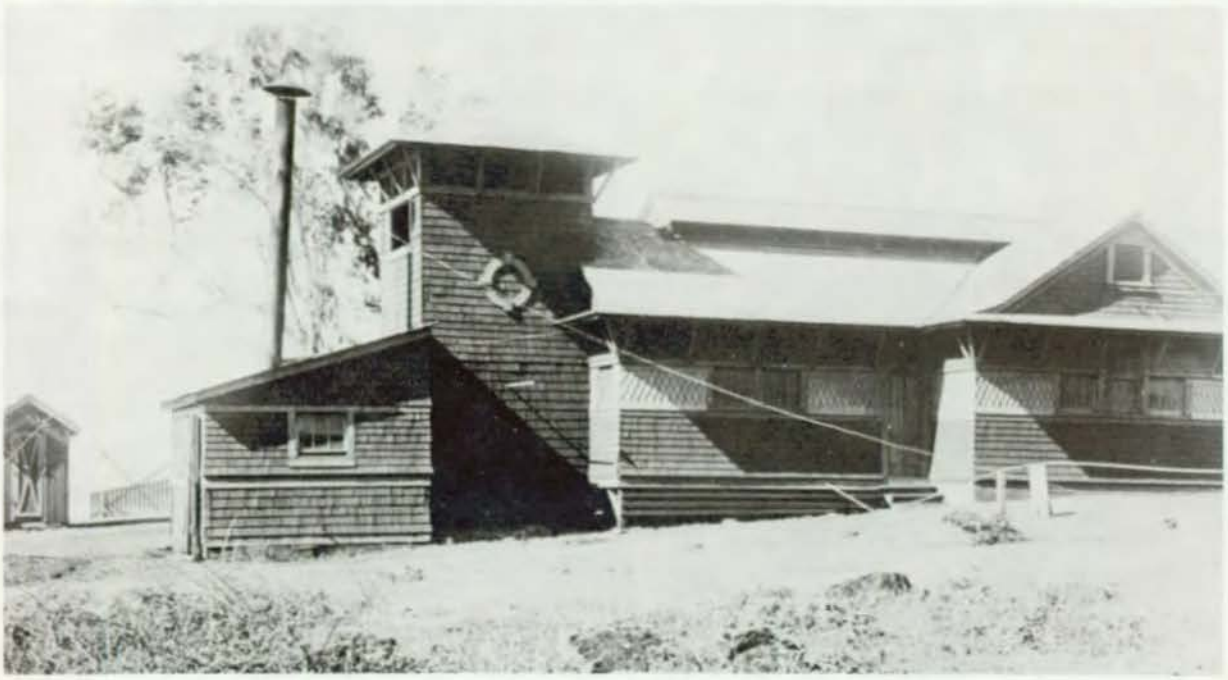
Improvements and repairs had involved an addition to the Bishop Home of two new hospital wards, a bathhouse with a heating apparatus used in connection with the Japanese bath treatment, a second butcher shop at Kalaupapa to lessen the distance to the meat supply for its residents, a new store near the landing at Kalaupapa, a new chief storekeeper's cottage, the new home for boys and helpless men at Kalawao, and the new hall or reading room built from donations of the English people and named in honor of its donors "Beretania Hall" (a corruption of "Britannia").

10. Kama'āinas

The kama'āinas at Kalaupapa were still living on their kuleanas in 1894, but the government was slowly removing them. The

Illustrations 31-32. Bathhouse at rear of dispensary at Kalaupapa, along the shore, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





kuleanas, with their houses and plantings, had already been valued by a Board of Commissioners, and the government could take them over at any time. Owners were given the choice of either receiving the value of their kuleana in cash or purchasing lands elsewhere.[98]

U. Baldwin Home

1. Construction

Father Damien's home for boys at Kalawao had always been one of the most important facilities at the settlement and a project very dear to his heart. After Brother Dutton's arrival, most of the work of the home fell to him, which consisted of providing leadership and discipline, medical treatment, and food and clothing. From early 1886 to 1888, the Boys' Home had consisted of a cluster of small rude huts and cabins near Damien's house. In 1888 two large buildings were erected and many of the most dilapidated cabins were destroyed as their occupants were moved to the new structures. On January 1, 1889, the Damien Home was accepted as an official reality by the Board of Health and operated as a home under the management of Father Damien.

After Damien's death, the Board of Health placed Mother Marianne in charge of the home, and provided a horse and carriage for the sisters to use in traveling between kalaupapa and Kalawao. On May 22, 1889, Sisters Crescentia and Irene arrived at Kalaupapa from Kaka'ako to help at the Boys' Home. While the sisters generally supervised the domestic operations, such as sewing and housekeeping, Dutton was expected to be disciplinarian and leader; he, however, concentrated mostly on keeping the accounts, attending to correspondence and general business affairs, handling the sore dressing, and attending the sick at the home and in the Kalawao hospital. By late spring 1890, the first official Home for Boys at Kalawao was completed. On May 15, Sister

98. Report of the President of the Board of Health to the President and Members of the Executive and Advisory Councils, 1894 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1894), pp. 3-5, 13-16, 29-31, 33. The kama'aina problem is further discussed in V, 2.

Crescentia (Directress), Sister Renata, and Sister Vincent moved into the new Convent of Our Lady of Mercy at Kalawao and assumed charge of the home. This convent stood across the street from St. Philomena and from the cluster of houses next to the church in which the boys lived, and was to be used during the day when the sisters wanted privacy. They still returned to Kalaupapa at night. In 1892 funds were given to the board by Henry P. Baldwin, Protestant sugar planter, financier, and philanthropist of Hawai'ian missionary stock, for the erection of four separate buildings to comprise the Baldwin Home for Leprous Boys and Men at Kalawao. Its purpose, decided upon in discussions among William O. Smith, president of the Board of Health, Brother Dutton, and Baldwin, was to assist the men of the colony, make them comfortable, provide some recreation, and generally help them make the most out of their lives. The new home was occupied during the first week of May 1894. The complex consisted of twenty-nine separate structures, most new, but some moved across the street from the grounds of St. Philomena. Because of the disciplinary problems involved in running a home full of active boys, it was decided that a group of strong Christian men should be put in charge. On December 1, 1895, the Catholic sisters were relieved of duty at the home by the arrival of four Sacred Hearts brothers, who were placed under the direction of Brother Dutton in order not to antagonize the Protestants at the settlement.[99]

Brother Dutton described how the home for boys developed:

> It was, when I first came, just a little cluster of shanties and cabins scattered around his house. In 1886 Father Damien

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99. Case, Joseph Dutton, pp. 118-19. See Illustration 2024. According to Joseph Dutton, "that good sized white house was the one used by Father Damien as a Girls' Home, under the care of Julia, a native woman. The Brothers' [of the Sacred Hearts] house stands there now, first built for the Franciscan Sisters, and "Baldwin Home" covers the ground this side and back of that location." Joseph Dutton, Kalawao, May 1908, in Hawaiian Historical Society Library, Honolulu; Hanley and Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile, pp. 325-27, 332-33, 355, 357.

Illustration 33. Kalaupapa settlement, no date but pre-1906, showing typical whitewashed houses and enclosed fields. The early St. Francis Church may be seen to the extreme left on the horizon. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

had some twenty or thirty of the lepers living near his house; in 1887 we had sixty, in 1904 there were a hundred and twenty. The cluster of little cabins did not answer the purpose very long. In 1887 it began to spread, and we built two houses of considerable size. This enlargement was sufficient as to capacity up to 1890--in fact, we had to do with it until May, 1894. But it was somewhat patchwork and not suitable for complete operation. Therefore, in 1890, we began to discuss a new and better home.

In 1890-1-2 (along there) starts were made for our new home, but for one reason or another little progress was made. I was quiet at my work, not wishing any change; but Mr. W. O. Smith, then president of the Board of Health, took a notion in his head in 1893 to get me to take hold of the construction of the home, as Mr. Baldwin would supply the means. I told him I could carry it out if left entirely in my hands and not bothered, and so it was. Neither the Board of Health nor anyone else asked anything about the plans. I called for anything and everything that was needed; no one made any suggestions or asked any questions.

The home was occupied in May, 1894. Soon after, the Board of Health came to see it. Everyone was astonished to see the old rock-pile turned into what it was. There was so much praise that I was almost ashamed, having come here to be a servant.[100]

The home cost around $6,000. Baldwin contributed the initial outlay of money for construction, while the Board of Health, which later maintained the home, assisted in a number of ways. Mr. Baldwin continued to give generously to improvements for the home until his death in 1911, at which time his family took over that responsibility. Baldwin's financial generosity, coupled with the planning and unceasing labor of the Sisters of St. Francis, the Sacred Hearts brothers, and Brother Dutton, created a model institution.

The site of the home had formerly been a treeless barren rocky area covered with rubbish. Brother Dutton and some of the patients removed the rocks and debris to make room for the new

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100. Dutton, Samaritans of Molokai, pp. 221-22.

Illustrations 34-35. Catholic rectory between Siloama and St. Philomena churches, ca. 1895-mid-1900s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives and Damien Museum, Honolulu.





buildings. While the institution was primarily for the housing and care of boys, regulations were passed later by the Board of Health which permitted the entrance, when room was available, of older patients who desired to live there, although only males were allowed. The Baldwin Home was to be a retreat at all times open to leprous boys and to men who, through the progress of the disease or some other cause, had become helpless. It was not to be used as a free boarding house for those wanting to shirk their work obligations. All boys arriving at the settlement under the age of eighteen, unless in the care of their parents or guardians or near relatives who would watch over them, were to enter the home until reaching eighteen, when they could leave with permission of the superintendent. The inmates were given clothing, food, care, and medical attention, and in return were expected to work about the establishment. (Similar regulations governed the Bishop Home.)[101]

2. Description

The new complex was visited during a semi-annual inspection of the settlement in May 1896. At that time the Baldwin Home was described as an enclosure of about 2½ acres, rectangular in shape. On three sides were the dormitories, schoolhouse, laboratories, and bathrooms. On the fourth (north) side was the residence of the brothers. One of the brothers ran a tailor shop, one cooked for the brothers' mess, and two more attended to the housekeeping and dining room. The brothers also provided medical care. All the buildings were well separated as a protection against fire. The center of the enclosure, was a well-kept closely-cut green lawn whose centerpiece was a rock garden with a fountain of water.[102] By 1899 one of the chief features of

101. "Baldwin Home--Regulations" and "Bishop Home--Regulations," file 1893, Rules & Regulations for Lepers & Kokuas at Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

102. "The Semi-Annual Inspection of the Leper Settlement (from Evening Bulletin, May 25, 1896), Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 2, no. 7 (1896): 109.

Illustration 36. Siloama Church and graveyard to left, July 11, 1905. Structure to the right may be the Mormon Church, which was moved to that side of the road in 1904. Courtesy Gartley, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 37. St. Philomena Church, Kalawao, July 11, 1905, after enlargement by Father Damien and Brother Dutton. Beyond the church are Damien's old two-story rectory (facing viewer) and another structure that might be the House for the Dead associated with the Baldwin Home, where corpses were laid out in preparation for burial. (Or this might be Dutton's old house.) It is no longer in this location in Illustration 38. Courtesy Gartley, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Kalawao was the garden attached to the home--a banana plantation with several acres of vegetables.[103]

Vegetation at the home became quite lush through the years. In his memoirs, Dutton described bushy masses of countless Croton plants--actually small trees--back of the garden and all around the sides. The variegated foliage gave the home the appearance of being set in a big, red bouquet.[104] In addition to being ornamental, the trees provided fuel after they had aged a few years. Whenever a Kona wind blew in, the plants were cut down close to the ground to prevent their being uprooted. They would grow out again quickly and flourished among the stones in areas not yet fully cleared and graded. The garden had a little ash house and a big date palm near the center. Within a circle of red trees were about 2,000 banana trees. The rocks taken off the surface of the garden area were buried in long trenches.

Buildings in the complex by the early 1930s numbered about fifty-five, including small structures such as the ash and oil houses. The brothers' house (formerly lived in by the Catholic sisters) was the best constructed, with a fine yard in front, on the road nearly opposite the singing house (fashioned from Damien's old two-story house). At the edge of the garden was the recreation hall, sixty by thirty-four feet with a verandah, containing a schoolroom and band room. Dormitories, each twenty by thirty-six feet, were to the right and left of the hall.

On the west side of the yard were six more dorms. The mattress house was behind this row. In the corner near the garden was a little cottage on a terrace where a white leprosy victim lived. Beyond the mattress house was a large shed for lumber, connected with the tool

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103. "A Trip to Molokai," Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 5, no. 3 (March 1899): 47.

104. Case, Joseph Dutton, p. 111.

Illustration 38. Baldwin Home for boys and helpless men after 1905 but prior to 1909. To the extreme left of the picture is the singing house fashioned from Damien's old two-story house. Note that the house near it shown in Illustration 37 is missing. Dutton stated that he had moved his cottage adjoining the church to the Baldwin Home to be used to store paint. The large white structure to the right of the compound is the recreation hall. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



house, carpenter shop, and paint shop. The paint shop was the cottage Damien originally built for Dutton adjoining the church. Dutton had it moved across the road and into the home complex.

In the dormitories the smaller boys were at the lower end on the right side in front of the tailor shop. Advancing up the hill, the residents increased in age and size to the recreation hall. On the other side were full grown men, gradually increasing in age so that the two lower dormitories housed the old and helpless. From there they were moved to the house for the dead, near the church, just below the singing house. Below the two dorms for old and helpless patients was the office, containing the stock of drugs and a storage room for drugs, surplus small materials, and tools, opening into the shoe shop, saddle room, and Dutton's bathroom. The bathhouse and sore dressing rooms connected with the office by ten-foot-wide verandahs. The verandahs, with long benches lining the sides, were used for playing games and musical instruments and for perusing magazines and books.

In front of the office was the machinery department. An open way of about fifty feet stretched from the front of the office down to the front gate, opposite the church, with the machinery buildings ranged along both its sides. Under one roof were the poi house, boiler house, beef room, pantry, and banana room. Nearby were a dining room, kitchen, woodshed and coal room, a lime and cement room, and a slop house. The storage house, for provisions and housekeeping articles, fronted on the road.

The Bishop and Baldwin homes were both under the general control of the Board of Health in Honolulu, whose officials attended to the business matters. Mother Marianne was in charge of the Baldwin Home until 1895, at which time Brother Dutton became director, and with the aid of the Picpus brothers who arrived that year, the home continued to run smoothly for thirty-six years.

Illustration 39. Baldwin Home, no date, ca. 1900. Courtesy St. Louis-Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.



By the time the home was finished, the general movement of people toward Kalaupapa had already begun. This was a slow process, actually beginning in the 1880s. According to Dutton, it was not until 1902 that all the patients at Kalawao, except for those in the Baldwin Home, had moved to the other side of the peninsula. As originally built and expanded upon, the home consisted of forty-five buildings, mostly dormitories. Some were torn down through the years and others erected. Dutton did much landscaping, involving laying out lawns, building stone walls, and planting trees and shrubs.

At the rear of the home and along the base of the cliff, alongside the garden wire fence, was a row of coconut trees extending all along the east side, back of the dorms and tailor shop. These thirty or so trees came from Samoa. Forty-five Japanese plum trees, about fifty eucalyptus trees, about fifty alligator pear (avocado) trees, a dozen or more date palms, and many hibiscus and pomegranates were also planted. In the very center of the playground was a large hala tree, with three- to six-foot-long drooping leaves.

With the help of the Sacred Hearts brothers, Dutton put in a modern sewer system to replace the unsanitary cesspools. The Baldwin Home continued in use at Kalawao until 1932, by which time all the functions of the settlement had been transferred to Kalaupapa and the Kalawao home was abandoned. The remaining buildings were burned in 1936. The new Baldwin Home will be discussed in a later chapter.[105]

3. Remaining Years of Brother Dutton

Dutton's management of the Baldwin Home involved a variety of responsibilites. He oversaw routine matters, dealt with disciplinary problems, beautified the grounds, and saw that proper recreation and amusement were provided for his charges. Public interest

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105. Much of the information on the old Baldwin Home was taken from Case, Joseph Dutton, pp. 110-16, 118-21.

Illustration 40. Baldwin Home, Kalawao, no date, but ca. 1900, looking north. Dutton's office is to the left, facing the flagpole, and his cottage is probably the one in the left bottom corner. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 41. Baldwin Home office, Kalawao, ca. 1905. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 42. Brother Joseph Dutton standing in front of his cottage at Baldwin Home, 1921. The cottage was located to the right of the recreation hall, on a small plot of land surrounded by a low stone wall. It was enlarged as extra space was needed. Illustration 40 shows the larger structure. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





Illustration 43. Brothers' cottage, Baldwin Home, Kalawao, 1932. This was the earlier convent built for the Sisters of St. Francis who briefly supervised the home. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



in the Kalawao settlement remained strong even after Damien's death. Donations and gifts continued to arrive, providing the home with all sorts of games, a band, and a reading and amusement room where all books and magazines donated or subscribed to were rigidly censored by the stern Brother Dutton before being made available. As the Catholic brothers took over more of the duties of running the home, Dutton spent more time in correspondence, which helped keep the home in the public consciousness, although he never discussed its business in his letters. His address book contained more than 4,000 names in all parts of the world; bags of mail delivered to him sometimes weighed as much as fifty pounds.

Because of the communications he kept up and the friendships made, tributes were often paid him. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt ordered the U.S. Atlantic Fleet (Great White Fleet), cruising around the world, to deploy off the island of Moloka'i to salute the former soldier in a gesture of goodwill for his devotion to the leprosy residents. Dutton had asked that the fleet appear so the patients could view it and feel pride in their country. Always very patriotic, Dutton, at the age of 76, volunteered to go to the front when the United States entered World War I. To interest the residents in the world outside, Dutton encouraged them to contribute to worthy wartime causes, such as the Red Cross (to which they subscribed nearly $6,000), Japanese relief, Near East relief, and the Starving Children of Europe.[106] They also purchased nearly $3,000 in War Savings Stamps. Dutton was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union Civil War veterans' association, and each year GAR members at their annual encampment voted to send Dutton a silk flag. To further instill a sense of patriotism in the patients, Dutton erected a flagpole in front of the office of the Baldwin Home. Raising and lowering the flags sent by the GAR became part of the home's daily routine. In 1925 the United States Pacific Fleet

106. Skinsnes, "A Self-Imposed Exile," p. 8.

sailed in review before Kalawao while Dutton stood at attention next to the flag. Other honors included the naming of a school in Beloit, Wisconsin, after him; a Papal blessing in 1929; and a testimonial from the Hawai'ian legislature.

After his arrival in 1886, Dutton never left the settlement. In the spring of 1930 he went to Kalaupapa for an eye operation, and in June, at age 87, an eye affliction and general poor health made it necessary for him to be hospitalized in Honolulu. He died on March 26, 1931, and was interred near Damien's grave at Kalawao. Dutton's life was a source of inspiration for those who worked with him and followed him. This humble, devout, diversely skilled, and educated individual was the right person in the right place at the right time. A loyal friend and ideal helpmate for Damien, his low-key, courteous manner helped moderate the Father's sometimes hasty temper and impatient personality. Dutton's skillful administration of the Baldwin Home, and the Catholic brothers' untiring physical efforts, resulted in many improvements, not only structural, but in the general morale and outlook on life of the patients.

V. Move to Kalaupapa and Purchase of Remaining Kuleanas, 1894

1. Gradual Move to Kalaupapa

The two villages of Kalaupapa and Kalawao had existed before the establishment of the leprosy colony. After 1866 Kalaupapa was inhabited by earlier residents and kōkuas and was closed to leprosy victims. Early on, however, the sick began drifting over to the west where it was warmer and nearer to freight and passenger debarkation. Some of these people worked at the landing, where there was a freight warehouse and a small wharf at which boats from the inter-island steamer could land. The lack of water kept the population low, however. The distance between the settlements was so slight that the narrow Father Damien road or the longer trail around the seacoast were frequently traveled. After water pipes were extended to Kalaupapa, more people moved there. This movement from Kalawao to Kalaupapa had been ongoing since the 1880s, and by the early 1900s Kalaupapa was the center of activity and settlement. As new accommodations were erected at Kalaupapa, the old houses and service buildings at Kalawao were

destroyed. Only the Baldwin Home would remain in use as a residence at Kalawao, until the rehabilitation of Kalaupapa settlement in the 1930s and the death of Brother Dutton prompted the removal of its function to the western side of the peninsula.

2. Condemnation of Remaining Private Homesteads

On January 18, 1894, a commission was appointed by the Minister of the Interior to appraise remaining private lands on Moloka'i. This move was prompted by Act 55, passed in the fall of 1893, which authorized the minister to take possession of any land and property on Moloka'i that the Board of Health required. The act stipulated thirty days' notice to the occupants before the government could take possession. To accomplish the transfer of ownership, an attempt was first made to agree with the owners on the amount to be paid for the land. If no agreement or compromise could be reached, three disinterested persons or commissioners were appointed to ascertain a just compensation to the landowners.[107]

On November 30, 1894, a notice to kama'āinas was signed by the president of the Board of Health and given to all parties at the leprosy settlement whose kuleanas had been or were being taken by the government for the better implementation of the Act of Segregation to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy. The notice stated that beginning on May 15, 1894, their kuleanas were considered the property of the government. Every portion of the peninsula, all the roads from LeinaoPapio at Waikolu to Kalaupapa landing, to Nihoa and including it, and all trails or roads to the top of the mountains to Kala'e now compromised the leprosy settlement on Moloka'i. Any parties found on these lands without a permit

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107. Report of a Commission Appointed by the Minister of the Interior, January 18, 1894, to Appraise Certain Lands on Molokai Required for the Use of the Board of Health, Non-Restricted Incoming General Correspondence, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. This report contains survey information and property descriptions, with family genealogies and land title information.

from the authorities would be considered trespassers and subject to prosecution.[108]

W. Last Years of Nineteenth Century

1. Work Performed by Department of Forestry, 1897

At the end of 1897 William Clark, forester at the leprosy settlement, submitted a report of work accomplished by the Department of Forestry at the settlement for the year ending December 31. During the past several months he and two helpers had been involved in planting and distributing the stock of trees on hand at the nursery. In addition to planting trees in the gulches of the old crater, Clark noted that more than 8,500 trees were set in Waihānau Valley. The roof of the nursery building had been altered by substituting glass sash for the cloth sections first installed, thereby improving the lighting and solving maintenance problems.[109] An 1897 article in the Damien Institute mentioned that the government nursery grounds were located just above Kalawao. The forester had planted about 10,000 young trees raised from seedlings. Most of them were ironwood, many of which had been planted in the volcano crater.[110]

2. Building Construction

Major construction by the Board of Health at Kalawao ended with erection of the Baldwin Home for Men and Boys. A few years previously the Board of Health had suggested that the patients should be moved to Kalaupapa on the western shore of the peninsula where the climate was better, a good dock was available, and the larger area facilitated expansion. The beginning of the twentieth century brought

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108. 1891-1894, Lands--Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

109. Wm. Clark, Forester, Leper Settlement, to Wm. O. Smith, President, Board of Health, December 31, 1897, 1896-1899, Kalaupapa Miscellaneous, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.

110. Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 3, no. 9 (1897): 135.

further development at Kalaupapa and a gradual shifting of the administrative focus to that area, where a number of new complexes and service facilities were completed during the first two decades of the 1900s. One major complex was still to be built at Kalawao, but because it was under a separate administration, it will be treated separately in the next chapter.

VIII. UNITED STATES LEPROSY INVESTIGATION STATION

A. Establishment of Federal Leprosarium

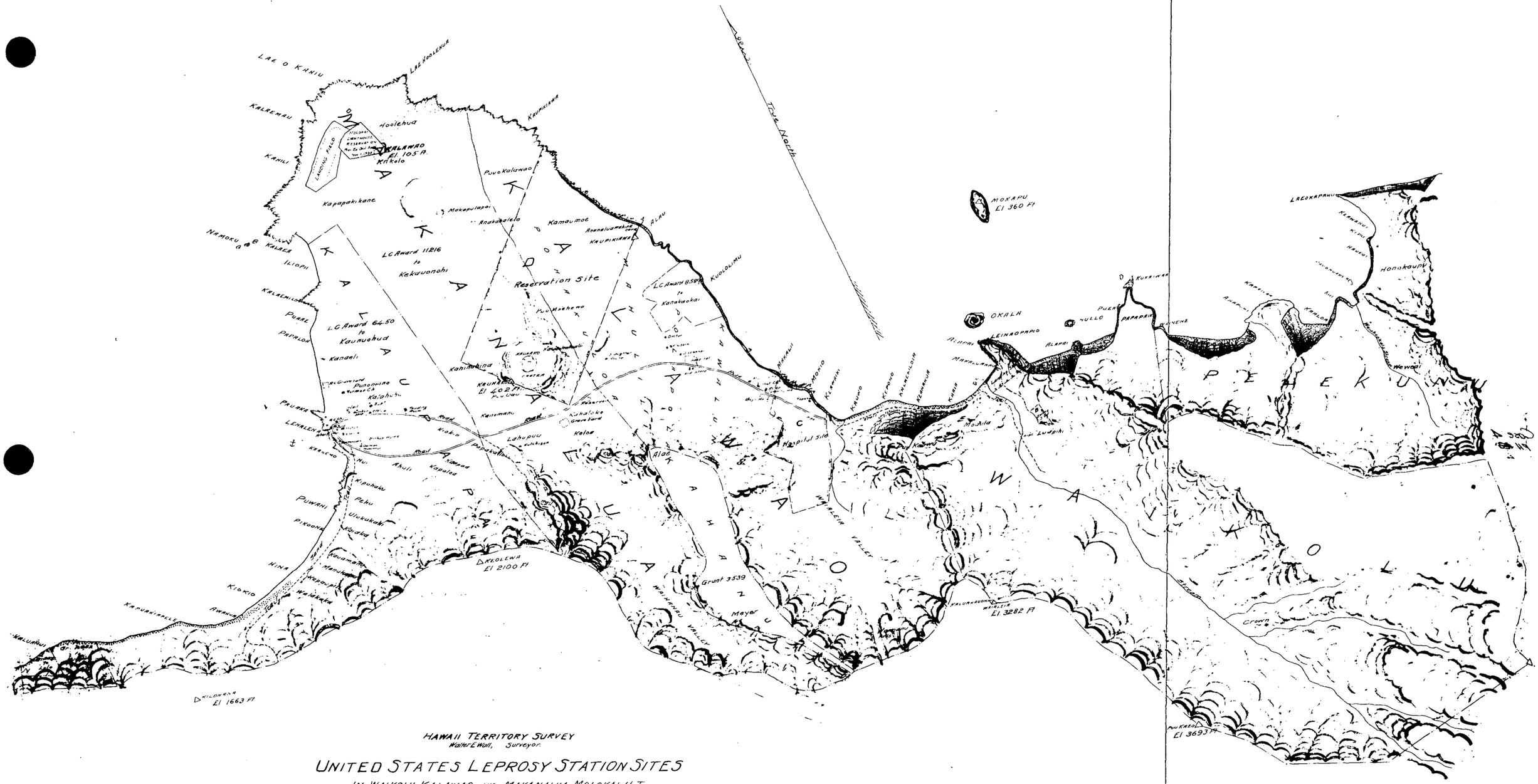
1. Motivation

The vagaries of the political and social trends in Honolulu through the years had little effect upon the pace of life at the leprosy settlement on Moloka'i. Indeed, its residents were often unaware of how rapidly changes were being made. After King Kalākaua's death in 1891, his sister, Princess Liliuokalani, ascended the throne. Honolulu's businessmen, impatient with the old ways and anxious for annexation by the United States, deposed her in 1893 and ended the monarchy. A short succession of trial regimes followed: the Provisional Government of 1893 to 1894, the Republic of Hawai'i from 1894 to 1898, annexation by the United States in 1898, and finally, creation of the Territory of Hawai'i in 1900. Throughout these unsettling times, the everyday administration of the leprosy settlement was largely unaffected. The first decade of the twentieth century would begin to see some startling physical changes on the peninsula, however, and none would be as spectacular as Uncle Sam's first visible effort to attack the problem of leprosy in Hawai'i.

On March 3, 1905, the 58th U.S. Congress passed the "Act to Provide for the Investigation of Leprosy," with special reference to the care and treatment of leprosy victims in Hawai'i. By this act, the U.S. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service was given the responsibility of building and administering a federal leprosarium. Credit for instigating this action by Congress was given to Dr. Charles B. Cooper, president of the Hawai'i Territorial Board of Health, who put out a ten-page pamphlet in 1904 entitled Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands--Its Humanitarian and Financial Burden--An Unparalleled Instance of Public Philanthropy. In that document Cooper outlined the financial burden that leprosy had imposed on the Board of Health and developed a proposal for the federal government to aid in the scientific study and treatment of the disease.

In a letter to the secretary of the treasury commenting on the bill and recommending its passage, Surgeon-General Walter Wyman stated that because the medical profession was practically as impotent in

Map No. 2. Hawaii Territory Survey, Walter E. Wall, Surveyor. United States Leprosy Station Sites in Waikolu, Kalawao and Makanalua, Molokai, H.T. As selected by U.S. Surgeon-General Walter Wyman, P.H.&M.H.S. Survey and plan compiled by Geo. F. Wright, June 1905. Traced from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 1728. H.E. Newton, May 1906.



HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
Walter E Wall, Surveyor.

UNITED STATES LEPROSY STATION SITES

IN WAIKOLU, KALAWAO AND MAKANALUA, MOLOKAI, H. T.

As selected by

U.S. Surgeon-General Walter Wyman, P.H. & M.H.S.

Scale 1 inch to 1000 feet.

Survey and plan compiled by Geo F. Wright

June --- 1905

Traced from Gov't Survey Reg Map No 1728.
H. E. Newton May, 1906

treating the disease as it had been hundreds of years ago, the time was ripe for a concerted scientific effort to study the causes of the disease and the methods of transmission and treatment and hopefully to find a cure. An experimental station in Hawaii seemed a likely place to conduct such research; at Moloka'i the remoteness and isolation were perfect, there were a large number of patients readily available, and every type of the disease appeared at the settlement so that clinical features could be studied to advantage. The Territorial Government felt it needed help now because incidences of the disease were not decreasing and because maintenance of the settlement without prospect of a cure was seriously taxing the resources of the territory.[1]

President Theodore Roosevelt, with the support of Surgeon-General Wyman, Governor George R. Carter of Hawai'i, and the Hawai'ian Board of Health, recommended in his annual message to Congress on December 6, 1904, that the Marine-Hospital Service be empowered to establish a hospital and laboratory in the islands to study leprosy. The sum of $150,000 was appropriated for construction of facilities and the first year's maintenance.

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1. Letter from the Surgeon-General to the Secretary of the Treasury, January 10, 1905, in Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health & Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1905 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), pp. 200-201. The Public Health Service was originally called the Marine Hospital Service and had its origin in a 1798 act that authorized hospitals for the care of sick and disabled American merchant seamen. Subsequent legislation broadened the scope of its activities. In 1902 the name was changed to Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service and in 1912 to Public Health Service. It was under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department from 1798 to July 1, 1939. The Public Health Service was under the direction of a Surgeon-General and, among other things, was responsible for research in the cause, prevention, and control of disease. Walter Wyman served as Surgeon General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service from 1891 to 1911.

2. Land

In exchange for the federal government's financial and scientific assistance in the project, the Territory of Hawai'i agreed to cede title to one square mile of land on Moloka'i to the federal government for construction of the buildings. On the morning of June 10, 1905, the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement brass band greeted a VIP group of federal and territorial officials who had come to select an appropriate location for the station. Wyman picked the site at Kalawao as being most suitable, and on June 28, 1905, the Governor of Hawai'i ceded the one-mile-square plot of land to the federal government in perpetuity. The station would be situated amid one of the largest aggregations of leprosy sufferers in the world, and in addition the site was thought to have a cool, healthy location, beautiful surroundings, an ample water supply, and a convenient landing place. The Kalawao plat was described thusly:

> The Kalawao plat proper
>
> North Boundary, the ocean.
>
> East Boundary, a line running from the sea in a south-easterly direction along the foot of the plateau at the mouth of Waialea Valley to a point which shall be decided by the surveyor as one ensuring the retaining of enough land by the Territory to preserve its taro, grazing and firewood interests.
>
> West Boundary, a line running in a southwesterly direction from the ocean along the East side of the Baldwin Home and Roman Church to a point in Waialeia Valley to correspond to the terminus of the East boundary.
>
> North Boundary, the line connecting the termini of the East and West boundaries.[2]

A resolution of the question of ownership of the land was attempted by the U.S. District Attorney, who wrote that at the time of

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2. Leland Cofer, Passed Asst. Surgeon, Chief Quarantine Officer, Territory of Hawai'i, to Surgeon-General, U.S. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, June 15, 1905, General Files, 1897-1923, RG 90, NA, p. 10.

the proclamation the land set apart belonged to the Territory of Hawai'i, the title resting on undisturbed possession for about thirty years rather than on a record title. The land set apart was all within the three ahupua'as of Waikolu, Kalawao, and Makanalua. The district attorney's conclusion, after examining the records, was that all of the land, orginally covered by patents, had been reconveyed to the Kingdom of Hawai'i:

> If all of these conveyances were correct, made by the proper parties, and agree in survey, etc., the record title would necessarily be clear; but when a comparison is commenced, one gets into endless confusion. In many instances the surveys will not agree; in others, there is no description at all, sufficient to identify the land conveyed, save by reference to Patent number; again, the records will show a given person as the patentee, while the deed transferring the land covered by that patent, will be from an entirely different person or persons, with nothing of record to trace the connection between the patentee and the grantor in the deed. This arose from the loose methods of transacting business and keeping records in the Kingdom of Hawaii.
>
> It is nevertheless clear, from an examination of the records, that an attempt was made by the Kingdom of Hawaii, to purchase for health purposes, all of the lands covered by the Patents and Land Commission Awards. . . . It is further very clear that, for almost thirty years, the Government of Hawaii has been in undisturbed possession of the land.[3]

There existed thirty old frame houses on the proposed reservation, many of which were occupied by patients, either owned by individuals or by the territory. Ten of them were located along the road immediately east of the Baldwin Home. It was debated whether people should live there during construction, and finally it was thought best to have the reservation vacated and all personal property removed. The Board of Health was notified and the matter of claims for damages was put before the territorial authorities. F.W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs of the Marine-Hospital Service, wrote:

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3. Robt. W. Breckons, U.S. District Attorney, to the Attorney General, August 4, 1905, File 1500, General Files, 1897-1923, Record Group 90 (Records of the Public Health Service), National Archives, Washington, D.C., p. 3.

> The question was asked me if the United States Government would pay for the houses etc., on the reservation, belonging to private parties, the appraisement of the value being upwards of $4,000.00, I replied that the appropriation for the construction of the station would not permit of such an expense, whereupon a new appraisement was made by the President of the Board of Health the Superintendent and assistant Superintendent of the Leper Settlement, the amount of which was $2,270.[4]

The territorial legislature later appropriated money to pay all claims. After much delay, the occupants were moved to Kalaupapa, the buildings were demolished, and after everything of value had been removed, the rubbish and debris were burned.

After thorough inspection of the area, it had been determined that the purpose of the 1905 act could best be fulfilled by selecting various areas of land in different localities for separate purposes. First 114 acres were selected on the grassy slope above Kalawao bay for the site of the hospital; the next choice was 8.9 acres out on the coast for a landing site; then 4.5 acres around a spring in Waikolu Valley were reserved as a possible future water source. The spring, right of way thereto, and an area surrounding the spring were included. A large tract in Makanalua (502.6 acres) was also reserved as pasture land for station livestock.

3. Construction

The supervisory architect of the Treasury Department informed the Surgeon-General that the proposed federal buildings were to be very simple in style. They would rest on wooden posts and have shingled roofs; the exterior walls would be wood studs covered with sheathing and finished with either clapboards or shingles. Interior partitions would be studs covered with tongue and groove sheathing or

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4. F.W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs, Public Health & Marine-Hospital Service, to Surgeon-General, December 26, 1907, in ibid., p. 5.

plastered.[5] The station was to be divided into three compounds: Residence, Hospital, and Administration (Executive). The director of the new station, Dr. Walter B. Brinckerhoff, appointed on March 2, 1906, recommended that the three compounds be enclosed by a picket fence four feet high with vertical pickets four inches wide set at four-inch intervals.[6] A supplementary recommendation a week later was that a verandah eight feet wide be put along the southwest side (side away from the sea) of the hospital buildings, on the east and west wards, opposite the single rooms and opposite the four-bed wards. Windows opening on the verandah would go to the floor. A verandah on both sides of the wards was necessary because the patients were sensitive to the cold, and it would add to their comfort to be able to sit on either side of the building according to the wind direction.[7]

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5. Supervising Architect, Treasury Department, to the Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, March 13, 1906, in ibid.

6. Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Director, Leprosy Investigation Station, Molokai, T.H., to the Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, May 5, 1906 in ibid. Brinckerhoff had been instructor of pathology at Harvard University Medical School for eight years. When the law establishing the station went into effect in early 1905, an effort was made to obtain the volunteered services of a regular Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service officer, but to no avail. Realizing it might be difficult to get someone for the job, the act authorized payment to a commissioned or noncommissioned officer of the service detailed for duty at the station, in addition to the pay of his grade, one-half the pay of this grade, plus other allowances as might be provided by the Surgeon-General with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. It proved impossible to find a qualified man willing to isolate himself, until Brinckerhoff agreed. He was appointed Director March 2, 1906, and resigned May 31, 1909. To carry out the intent of the act, it was found necessary to make preliminary investigations at the receiving station in Honolulu, the only place where cases in their earliest development could be found and where suspected cases not yet developed could be examined. The laboratory director, handling both executive and technical duties, was expected to spend his time between both Honolulu and Kalawao. Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury Regarding the Appointment of Doctor Brinckerhoff as Assistant Director and Doctor Hollmann as Acting Assistant Surgeon at the Leprosy Investigation Station, Molokai, Hawaii, July 3, 1909, in ibid., pp. 2-6.

7. Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Director, Leprosy Investigation Station, to Surgeon-General, U.S. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, May 12, 1906, in ibid.

On September 6, 1907, F. W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs of the Marine-Hospital Service, was detailed by the Secretary of the Treasury to proceed to Hawaii to prepare plans and specifications and to construct the hospital station and laboratory. His progress report on the preliminary phase of construction was completed the end of December. In it he noted that he had visited the reservation and Kalaekiloi'a point, reserved by the federal government and upon which it proposed to build a new landing platform. Access to the point was precarious, the trail at the foot of the bluff, about 1¼ miles long, being impassable except by foot or by pack mules, who used it to carry taro-root from the taro patches up Waikolu Valley to the Kalaupapa settlement. In view of the estimated cost of $15,000 to $25,000 to construct a landing at Kalaekiloi'a point and a road from the point to the selected site, Pease decided that it would be better to use the Kalaupapa landing and transport the building material and supplies by team over the existing road to the site. The territorial Board of Health had already given permission to use that landing and the hand-powered derrick, which was operated by residents of the settlement. Because the workers tired quickly, however, Pease suggested that it might become necessary to install a hoisting engine with drum to operate the derrick.

The quantity of lumber, shingles, and other materials scheduled would be sufficient for the director's quarters, pharmacist's quarters, storehouse, stable, shops, animal pens, powerhouse, cold storage facility, and for the temporary barracks and dining room for workmen. Pease had witnessed the landing of a lot of lumber at the Kalaupapa breakwater in mid-November. The steamer approached to within about 1,000 feet of shore and anchored, whereupon the lumber, made up into bundles of about 1,000 square feet, was bound securely and thrown overboard. On coming to the surface, the end of the binding rope was caught by someone in a landing boat and the small raft was towed through the surf to the beach. There the rope end was passed to the shore, made fast to the derrick rope, and the lumber raft raised onto the shore.

Because the landing at Kalaupapa was dangerous, the mules would be landed at Kaunakakai on the south side of Moloka'i. From there they would be driven over the mountains and down the pali trail. The trail was three feet wide and cut out of the cliff face in short stretches of about twenty-five percent grade, zig-zagging down to the foot of the mountains. There was always danger of slipping and of falling rock, but still it was deemed less dangerous for animals than to put them overboard at Kalaupapa to swim to shore through the surf and rocks.

The concrete piers, foundations, and floors of the station buildings would be made with Portland cement. There was a quantity of loose rock on the site and sand was available from the beach near Kalaupapa. A stone crusher was in operation at Kalaupapa and its owners agreed to clear the building site, crush the loose rock, and pile it adjacent to the building locations.[8]

After the plans and specifications for the construction of the buildings had been prepared by the supervising architect, advertisement was made for bids. After several unexpected delays, the bids were opened on March 4, 1907, at which time it was discovered that the lowest one was far in excess of the amount of money available. Attempts were made to obtain supplemental bids based on modifications of the original plans, but with no success. By May 31, 1907, the Treasury Department had rejected all bids. Consideration was then given to buying the required material and erecting the structures by day labor under the superintendence of an agent of the department. This plan was adopted. The Inspector of Repairs was sent to Honolulu with orders to prepare the necessary drawings, purchase building materials, contract for labor and transportation, and superintend construction.

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8. Pease to Surgeon-General, December 26, 1907, in ibid., pp. 1-4. On December 30, portions of the supplies, mules, wagons, and men were shipped to the island.

4. The Station Takes Shape

On January 2, 1908, work commenced on the temporary barracks and dining room building for the workmen. By August 1908 it was reported that the director's and pharmacist's quarters were ready for laying the floors; the storage building was practically complete; the powerhouse and cold storage buildings were ready for siding; the framing for the attendants' building and the administrative building was completed, as was that for the walls of the laboratory building and the covered way between the laboratory and administration building; the concrete foundation piers for the morgue, lavoratory, and laundry buildings were in place; the frames for the piers for the hospital, kitchen, and surgery room were being placed; and the construction of the stable and barn would follow. It was proposed to install an electric generator and light the buildings with electricity; the generator would be powered by water, if possible.[9]

5. Boat Landing

At the same time that the area of land at Kalawao was selected for a hospital site, another parcel of land was set aside for the station by the territory that included the boat landing at Makaluahau Cove and all the land on the western exposure of the adjacent hill, as well as the right-of-way over the path leading from the reservation proper around the foot of the cliff and along the beach to the landing.

After the construction of the station buildings had commenced, it became apparent that the Makaluahau landing should be improved to enable landing passengers and supplies. This was because the only available means of access to the station at that time was through the leprosy settlement, two and a half miles away, through which the U.S. had no right-of-way. Permission to land there and pass through

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9. F.W. Pease to Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, August 21, 1908, in ibid., pp. 1-2.

had to be requested as a privilege from the Board of Health, a pass signed by the director being required of each person going or coming from the station.

Not only was the Kalaupapa landing difficult and dangerous, but Brinckerhoff felt it objectionable to have foodstuffs for station personnel handled by the sick or by persons in daily contact with them. It was also unfortunate, he felt, that persons landing would be needlessly exposed to the disease. Another landing spot would not only avoid this problem but would also avoid friction with local health officials. The new landing would also emphasize the independence of the station from the settlement, which would be an asset when trying to employ workers.

An item regarding this problem was therefore included in the estimates to Congress, and in the act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the government for the year ending June 30, 1909, an appropriation of $1,000 was made to construct a boat landing for the use of the leprosy investigation station. Mr. Pease was instructed to complete the job, and in his report of June 28, 1909, he stated the landing had been built for $993.31, including construction of a footbridge over Waikolu Stream to afford access to the landing. An approach to the landing was formed by throwing the beach boulders into the sea. A portion of the lava rock bluff overhanging the landing site was blasted off, timber work was constructed, and the surface of the lava rock shelf at the bluff base and the floor of the boulder approach were covered with concrete, including walks from the beach. The landing was 112 feet long, with an average width of 12 feet.[10]

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10. Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Director, Leprosy Investigation Station, to Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, October 5, 1908, in ibid.; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1909, in Annual Reports, 1901-11, RG 90, NA. F.W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, to Surgeon General, June 28, 1909, General Files, 1897-1923, RG 90, NA, pp. 1-2.

Illustration 44. Director's quarters, Leprosy Investigation Station, 1908. Courtesy of National Archives, Washington, D.C.



No.2, U.S.Leprosy Investigation Station,Molokai,T.H.

DIRECTOR'S QUARTERS.
August 10.1908.

6. Miscellaneous Details During Construction

a. Garden

In early 1909, Brinckerhoff requested authority to establish a vegetable garden at the station to supply fresh vegetables to the personnel and green feed for the laboratory animals (rabbits, guinea pigs, and the like). Such an enterprise would help prevent the station's 114 acres from growing up into an unsightly wilderness of weeds and brush. The workmen had been raising their vegetables for the past year and found the soil and climate ideal. Plenty of pasture would still be left for milch cows, sheep, and other necessary animals.[11]

b. Workmen

It was deemed necessary to isolate the station workmen from the leprosy settlement by confining them to the bounds of the portion of the government reservation on which the buildings were to be erected. Chinese were favored as being easily controlled and indifferent to isolation, while their labor was obtainable at reasonable rates. Also they would provide their own food.[12]

c. Staff

The following attendants were specified by Brinckerhoff as being necessary from time to time as their specific services were required:

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11. Walter R. Brinckerhoff to Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, February 18, 1909, File 1500, General Files, 1897-1923, RG 90, NA. In March Brinckerhoff specified that one acre would be needed for corn and potatoes, two acres for other vegetables, and two acres for panicum grass or sorghum for stock fodder. Letter to the Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, March 29, 1909, in ibid.

12. F.W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, to Surgeon-General, November 10, 1908, in Ibid.

one driver to keep the wagons and harness in good order, to haul supplies from Kalaupapa, milk cows, and care for livestock;

two cooks, one for the patients in the hospital compound and the other for attendants in the kitchen of the attendants' building;

one nurse to have charge of the ward during the day and sleep in the hospital compound at night;

one night watchman;

one laundryman in charge of the laundry in the hospital compound where all patients' clothing and bedding were to be washed;

one assistant laundryman to help in the hospital laundry (the intention was to have patients uniformed in white and change clothing twice a week);

one laundryman to wash the attendants' clothing and bedding in the laundry in the attendants' building in the administration compound;

one painter to work on buildings;

one messenger and cleaner to clean offices in the executive building, the storeroom, the porches and covered ways, and to carry mail to and from Kalaupapa, run errands, and be on duty in the pharmacist's office;

three laboratory boys, two to work in the lab and one to take care of the animals and clean and sterilize cages (animal experimentation was to be one of the principal branches of investigation at the station); and

two gardeners to raise vegetables for table use and as feed for the animals.

Illustration 45. Pharmacist's quarters, Leprosy Investigation Station, 1908. Courtesy, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



No.3, U.S.Leprosy Investigation Station,Molokai,T.H.

Pharmacist's Quarters.
August 10, 1908.

Illustration 46. Construction of Leprosy Investigation Station, 1908. Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.



No.4, U.S.Leprosy Investigation Station,Molokai,T.H.
August 10, 1909.
Panoramic view,from front of Cold Storage building,showing framing of Laboratory, Administration and Attendants buildings with Director's and Pharmacist's quarters.

For the first year or so, several outside men would be required to grade the grounds, plant trees, set lawns, build roads and walks, and fence pastures.

Already employed were a stenographer, engineer, carpenter, seamstress, and laboratory attendant. Altogether twenty-three employees were envisioned, with one director, two assistant medical men, and one pharmacist. Foreseeing some hesitation on the part of his superiors to approve such a large staff, Brinckerhoff pointed out that

> This list of employees seems large, for a hospital of 16 beds, at the first glance, but when it is considered that this is a hospital and laboratory station, with the necessity of duplicating kitchen and laundries on account of the nature of the disease treated, the interior painting of the buildings, the large number of animals that will be necessary for the laboratory work and the isolated location of the Hospital site, it will be seen that the number is not in excess of the needs of the station.[13]

7. Construction Progresses

The first permanent building erected was the storage building, followed by the power house and cold storage building, director's quarters, pharmacist's quarters, administration and laboratory buildings, attendants' quarters, morgue, lavatory, laundry, hospital, surgery, and stable. Because of the large quantity of lumber required, proposals were invited from local lumber firms for supplying lumber by vessel from the Pacific Coast. All lumber and equipment had to be either floated ashore or loaded into small boats from the decks of inter-island steamers. A steady water supply was of course a necessity for the proper functioning of the various duties of the station. Back in 1906 the Board of Health had given permission for the Marine-Hospital Service to connect with the eight-inch main of the settlement water system and take a supply of water not to exceed a maximum of 200,000 gallons each

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13. Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Director, Leprosy Investigation Station, to Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, February 25, 1909, in ibid., p. 4.

twenty-four hours. For this service, the federal government would pay the territory two hundred dollars a year.[14]

An extension of the water supply system of the settlement was deemed necessary to provide the additional water needed for both the settlement and the station, and this was completed under the direction of the Superintendent of Public Works of the Territory of Hawai'i by the summer of 1909. To ensure a continuous and bountiful supply of water to the settlement and the station, the eight-inch-diameter pipeline was extended higher up Waikolu Valley to a new and additional perennial water source, enabling 480,000 gallons of water to be discharged each twenty-four-hour day. Check-valves and air valves were used to regulate the input to the main pipe from the several springs in the valley, thus ensuring a continuous flow.

An ample sewer system was provided, with one line from the director's and pharmacist's quarters, the other from the administration and hospital buildings, both discharging into the sea at the low water line. A complete plumbing system was installed in all the buildings, including sinks, water closets, lavatories, bathtubs, showers, slop sinks, and also garden hose outlets and fire hose standpipes in the grounds adjacent to the buildings.

The electric lighting system installed was run by a thirty-horsepower gasoline engine and direct-current dynamo, generating 17½ kilowatts supplying 290 sixteen-candlepower lamps. The combined ice-making and refrigeration plant had a capacity of one ton and could produce about 1,000 pounds of ice per day. It was operated by a twelve-inch-diameter water wheel. A fifty-light gas machine was also installed to supply gas for use in the laboratory, surgery, and elsewhere.

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14. L.E. Pinkham, President, Board of Health, to Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Director, Leprosy Investigation, Kalawao, Molokai, May 8, 1906, in ibid.

Illustration 47. View from east of Leprosy Investigation Station, ca. 1908. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



Illustration 48. Wire rope landing, Kalawao, ca. 1908. Alfred Gibson photo.

Illustration 49. Leprosy Investigation Station, ca. 1909. Buildings completed, right-of-way fenced. Director's and pharmacist's quarters enclosed with glass. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





Illustration 50. Drawing of Administrative Compound, Leprosy Investigation Station. Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

HOSPITAL COMPOUND

PACIFIC OCEAN. N.

Laboratory

Engine Room and Dynamo Electric Light Plant

WALK

ADMINISTRATIVE COMPOUND.

WALK

WALK

Public Thoroughfare

Wood

Iron gate

Stable

Attendants Quarters

Executive Building

Stone room

Hospital

Stone room

Director

Assistant Physician

PASTURE AND ORCHARD.

RESIDENCE COMPOUND

The exterior of all the buildings was painted light yellow, with white trim on the door and window openings and white porch posts and rails. The shingle roofs were stained green. A post and picket fence with gates was built on one side of the right-of-way across the reservation, and also on a line separating the hospital from the administration compound (see Illustration 47). The hospital accommodated about fourteen patients with ample space for a nurse, kitchen, dining room, bath rooms, and toilet room. The attendants' quarters held twelve rooms, plus a dining room, kitchen, laundry, and toilet rooms. The stable had six stalls, a feed room, harness room, and wagon space. The buildings were of wood on concrete foundations and of the bungalow type. The floor and porch space of all the buildings equalled 48,000 square feet. Average height of ceilings was twelve feet. The large porch spaces permitted outdoor living and were intended to make more bearable the prolonged high temperatures of the area. As it turned out, the porches of the director's and pharmacist's quarters had to be enclosed because their exposure to storms resulted in rain being driven across the porches and into the rooms. Constant mopping was the result. It was proposed that porches be enclosed with glass on the most exposed sides (see Illustration 45).

Use of the old hand-powered derrick at Kalupapa soon became unsuitable. Not only did it take too long to hoist the material from the boats to the wharf, but the Board of Health also proposed to charge for the labor involved in handling the materials and supplies. When an opportunity arose to purchase a second-hand steam hoisting engine at a reasonable price, the federal government jumped at it, and the new engine was soon installed. Not long afterwards, the old derrick broke, and a new, stronger one was erected by the territorial government.[15]

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15. F.W. Pease, Inspector of Repairs, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, to Surgeon-General, July 1, 1909, in ibid., pp. 1-5.

8. Work of the Station

Walter R. Brinckerhoff resigned as director of the station in 1909. He and his wife had never lived on Moloka'i. Instead, Brinckerhoff decided to work at Kalihi Hospital near Honolulu. This was probably due as much to his preoccupation with staying germ-free as with his society wife's determination to never set foot on the island. Upon her death in childbirth in 1909, Dr. Brinckerhoff resigned the directorship and declined in mental and physical health. He died in Boston two years later. He was succeeded by Donald H. Currie, a scientist of the regular corps of the Marine-Hospital Service, previously on duty in Honolulu, who had been interested in Brinckerhoff's investigations and volunteered to take his place. In a letter of late 1909 he outlined the planned work of the station for the next few years. Original research and studies were to be conducted on the culture of the bacillus of leprosy, on the transmission of the bacillus, on the infection of lower animals with leprosy, and on the products of certain bacteria to ascertain if a substance of therapeutic or diagnostic value could be obtained. Animals to be employed in this research were rabbits, hares, guinea pigs, wild rats, wild mice, white rats, white mice, dogs, cats, goats, swine, pigeons, chickens, and monkeys (old world, prehensile-tailed, and apes). Dr. Harry Hollmann would perform routine medical and surgical treatment of patients, administer certain special remedies, keep complete clinical records including photographs of cases, and pursue other miscellaneous studies. The station would also periodically publish preliminary reports and short articles for the use of health officers and general practitioners.[16]

9. Opening of the Station

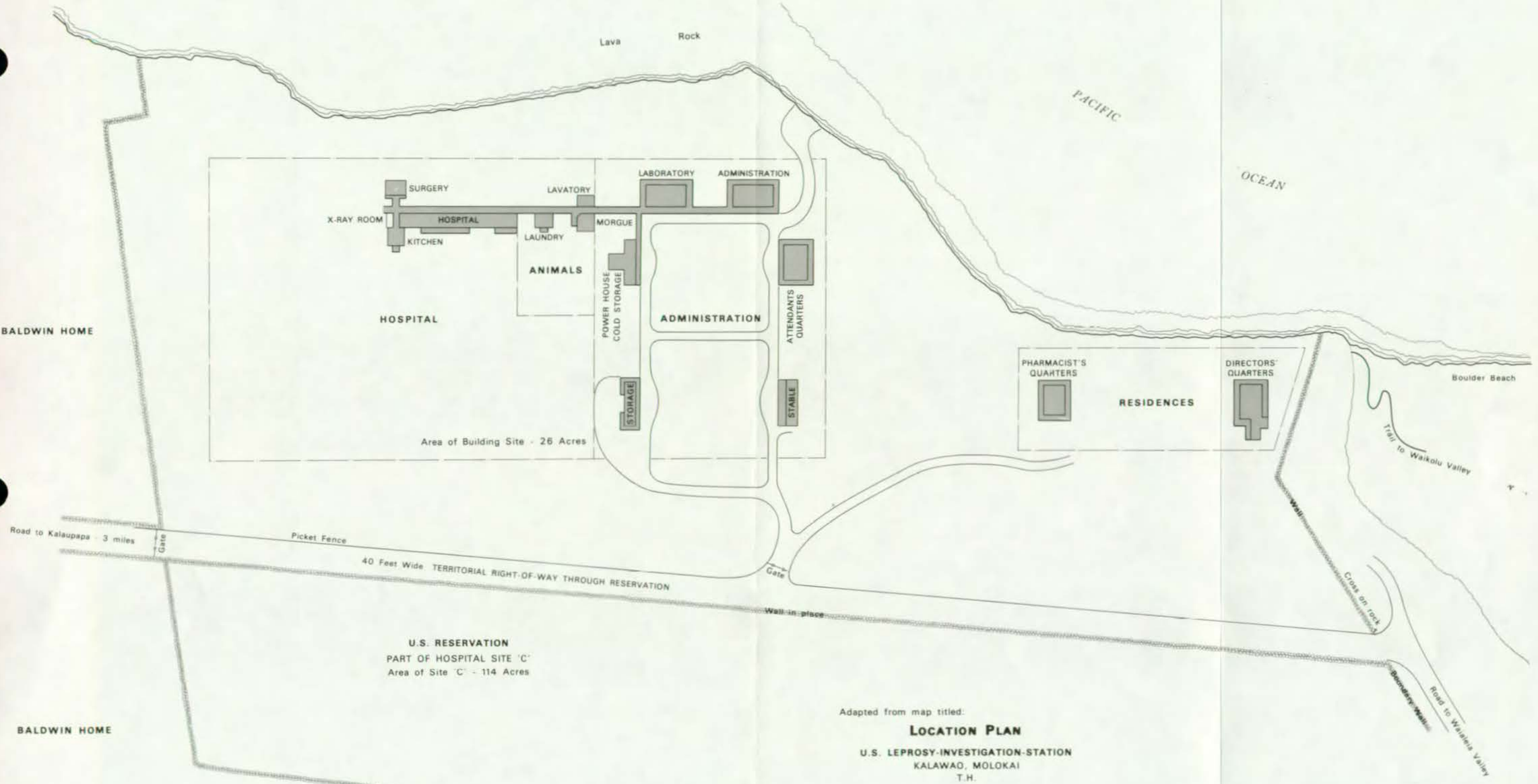
The buildings of the Kalawao Leprosy Investigation Station were finished by July 1, 1909, but because of the possible danger of transmission of the disease by flies, mosquitoes, or other insects, the

16. Donald H. Currie, Passed Assistant Surgeon, Director, Leprosy Investigation Station, to Surgeon-General, Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, November 11, 1909, in ibid., pp. 1-2, 5-6.

Illustration 51. Leprosy Investigation Station, ca. 1913 or a little later. Baldwin Home in foreground, St. Philomena opposite. Pasture and wash and drying houses for clothes near sea. Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Illustration 52. Location plan, Leprosy Investigation Station, 1908, Public Health Service Correspondence, 1893-1923, Record Group 90, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Adapted from map titled:

LOCATION PLAN

U.S. LEPROSY-INVESTIGATION-STATION
KALAWAO, MOLOKAI
T.H.

P. Oct. 21, 1908

U.S. LEPROSY-INVESTIGATION STATION - 1908

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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station had to be thoroughly screened before patients could be admitted. The making of the necessary wire cloth and its transport from the eastern United States to Honolulu took longer than anticipated. Investigations at the temporary laboratory in Honolulu continued during this delay and would continue, as stated earlier, after the main station opened because the incipient cases there provided the best opportunity for studying early methods of diagnosis and means of relief. Experiments on animals and other systematic investigations of a clinical and laboratory nature could best be carried out on Moloka'i. Each line of investigation assisted the other and both worked toward the important results for which the station was established.

The Kalawao Leprosy Investigation Station, whose buildings and equipment cost about $80,000, opened on December 23, 1909, for the reception of patients. Staff consisted of Donald H. Currie, director; Walter R. Brinckerhoff, assistant director; Harry T. Hollmann, medical assistant; Frank L. Gibson, pharmacist and administrative officer in charge of the building project; John Kluge, translator and librarian; and Ernst A. von Arnswaldt, technical assistant and translator. Dr. Brinckerhoff, as mentioned earlier, resigned as director of the station on May 31, 1909, and his duties were taken up by Dr. Currie. However, Brinckerhoff was willing to accept the position of assistant director, and it was decided to retain his services so that there would be no break in the line of scientific investigations that he had started.

10. Recollections of Mrs. Frank L. Gibson

Our best day-to-day descriptions of life at the Moloka'i station were penned by the wife of the station pharmacist. An intelligent and adventuresome young bride, Emma Gibson thoroughly delighted in her husband's Hawai'ian post. The following are some of her observations.

a. Structures

The station was divided into three compounds Residence, Executive, and Hospital. The Executive, or Administration, compound included storehouses, quarters for thirty-two Chinese workmen, the ice house, laboratories, cages for the animals, and a barn. Though

Pease had charge of the building plans, an island contractor, William Mutch, did the work. Brinckerhoff, germ conscious to the extent that he would not have rugs or draperies in his house, also stipulated all single-face walls in the structures so that mice and rats could not hide out and breed as they might between double walls. The entire station was surrounded by a double fence, ten feet apart, to insure no outside contact. A twenty-foot runway in the hospital compound paralleled the patients' rooms. Covered by a roof, it was open on three sides and held wash basins for the convenience of the doctors.

Regarding their own house, Mrs. Gibson recalled that the floor was painted jet black to soften the glare of the ocean's reflection. The lānai screens had been made of copper to prevent corrosion by the salt spray, but the green dust that soon covered the ocean-side lānais forced their enclosure by sliding glass windows. This also lessened storm damage. The back lānais were left open to the mountains. The upstairs lānai had hammocks, chairs, and couches, and each room opened onto the lānai through French doors. The electric fans supplied were seldom used because of the cool breezes.

b. Island Growth

The Gibsons planted several hundred three-inch-high ironwood trees brought from the Honolulu Agricultural Station, which by the time they left, were higher than the house. She also mentioned that in the valley back of the station were found abundant tropical flowers as well as orchards--papayas, peaches, plums, apples, sour cherries, figs, and guavas. Bananas, grapes, pineapples, and coconuts grew on the hillsides. Watermelons also thrived. The lantana shrub grew wild and frequently had to be cleared out of the pastures where it tended to make life miserable for the milk cows. Algaroba (kiawe) trees grew in the valley and kukui trees lined the trail to Kalaupapa settlement.

c. Trails

Gibson had a "hunting lodge" in the mountains over the cliffs, and there he stalked herds of deer and wild goats. The trail up the cliff was described as steep and precarious, chains having been

inserted in several places in the dirt and rock to help climbers pull themselves up. This trail was back of the Gibson house.

d. Boat Landings

The trip from Honolulu to Moloka'i took the better part of three days when Mrs. Gibson first went to Kalawao, with several stops along the way to pick up and deliver passengers and supplies. The only decent wharf on Moloka'i was at Kaunakakai, over the pali on the other side of the island. It was reached by horseback over the pali trail. Kalaupapa had its unimproved landing--a platform only for loading and unloading into surf boats that relayed passengers and supplies back and forth from the steamers. From there huge bullock wagons were used to get to Kalawao, because the rocks and holes made the going too tough for horses. At Waikolu (Alapa'i Point near Makaluahau Cove), the nearest point of landing to the station, disembarkation necessitated jumping into a small rowboat from a steamer, floating toward the shore, and waiting for the right moment to leap onto the land. From there a stone path at the base of the cliffs led to the station.[17]

e. Relationship with Brother Dutton

The station had a private post office, with Gibson as postmaster and his wife as assistant. Brother Dutton's extensive correspondence also went through this post office and was delivered to his messenger at the station gate. Dutton often visited the Gibsons at the station, especially for Thanksgiving and Christmas meals. To prevent possible contamination, he would come in fresh clean garments for each visit. A special and enduring friendship grew up between the Gibsons and Brother Dutton, who undoubtedly enjoyed the change of scenery and the short walk over to the station from the Baldwin Home.

11. Limited Operation of the Station

Prior to April 1909, all apprehended leprosy victims were sent to the colony on Moloka'i. On April 14, 1909, the territorial

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17. Emma Warren Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai (Fresno, Ca.: Academy Library Guild, 1957), pp. 14, 18, 44, 47-48, 53, 59-60, 72-73.

legislature passed an act that provided for the establishment of a hospital on Oahu for the care of persons afflicted with leprosy. The act further stated that no patient would be taken to the settlement until he had been at the hospital for at least six months, unless at least three licensed physicians felt he could not benefit from further treatment there. The effect of the act was to detain all incipient cases at the hospital, precluding the study of early cases at the station on Moloka'i.

In addition, only nine patients volunteered for treatment and research at the Kalawao station. Although during the building process the leprosy sufferers made daily treks to watch the activity, in the end there was no desire on their part to confine themselves to the mercies of the latest medical equipment. To people accustomed to ministrations by devoted missionaries such as Father Damien, Brother Dutton, and Mother Marianne, as well as by various clergymen, Board of Health employees, and others who had no qualms about mingling with the patients, the sterile atmosphere, locked gates, and unfamiliar equipment of the station held no attraction. No more patients were ever admitted. The complete isolation of the station, in terms of lack of patients and thus opportunities for research and experimentation, did not bode well for its future.

The station at Kalihi seemed much more viable as a headquarters for experiments. Because the greatest field for investigation appeared to be on Oahu, and because it was found that transferring investigations from Moloka'i to the Kalihi receiving station reduced costs, Currie was authorized at the beginning of fiscal year 1911 to limit operations on Moloka'i and transfer the scientific and laboratory staff to Kalihi where the work would be continued in buildings furnished by the territory. Station records were still kept on Moloka'i and correspondence was conducted from there. Otherwise it was utilized primarily as a depot of operations. The only improvements or repairs made were those considered absolutely necessary for maintenance. Soon after the beginning of the fiscal year, workers at the station announced their successful cultivation of the leprosy bacillus on artificial media. Cultivation of the bacillus, a great advance in the scientific investigation

of the disease, had first been accomplished by M.T. Clegg in 1909.[18] Dr. George W. McCoy became director of the leprosy station on October 23, 1911, and served until 1915.

During 1912 time was spent doing experimental work in the treatment of leprosy by vaccine and serum therapy. Research was also done on possible transmission of the disease by lice, bedbugs, fleas, flies, and mosquitoes. During most of fiscal year 1913, both the Honolulu and Moloka'i laboratories were in operation. While the assistant director and acting assistant surgeon worked in Honolulu, the director spent most of his time at the Kalawao lab, where a better supply of pathological material was provided through the cooperation of Dr. W. J. Goodhue, who in 1902 had become medical superintendent of the settlement.[19]

By the next year, however, the buildings and fences were beginning to show signs of wear and decay due to their proximity to the sea, exposure to winds, and excessive rain. Much of the old fence had blown down and it was suggested that stone fences, such as those generally used in the settlement, might last longer. Dr. McCoy and Leighton Gibson finally closed the station on August 7, 1913. There was still a station post office at Kalawao in 1915, conducted by a non-leprous person and handling "clean" mail only. It was located in the pharmacist's office, in the executive building, in the administrative compound. The office was begun primarily to provide mail service for "clean" persons at the federal station, but it now handled all mail for Kalawao and all "clean" outgoing mail.

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18. Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1911 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 71-73.

19. George W. McCoy, Passed Assistant Surgeon, Director, U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station, Kalawao, T.H., to Surgeon-General, U.S. Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, July 31, 1912, File 1500, General Files, 1897-1923, RG 90, NA; Annual Report of the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1913 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914), p. 58.

In 1916 scientific investigations continued at Kalihi, as did medical treatment. The station also performed bacteriological work for the territorial Board of Health, while the director functioned as sanitary advisor to the Governor of Hawai'i and served as a member of the Sanitary Code Commission of the territory. The end was near for the Moloka'i station, however. Not only was the Kalihi station more convenient and accessible, but it had continued to be impossible to induce the native Hawai'ian patients to enter the Kalawao hospital, a fact that had greatly hindered investigations there. By 1917 the station records and library had also been moved to the Kalihi office of the station. From there the station director supervised three caretakers at Kalawao. No scientific investigations were being conducted on Moloka'i.

Soon thereafter, the station at Kalawao was dismantled and its property transferred to Honolulu. By January 1921 the empty station was left in the charge of a single caretaker. At that point the territorial government requested that the buildings be put under its control so that the structures and/or materials could be used in another part of the settlement to add to the efficiency of treatment and comfort of the residents. This seemed a logical argument. Because the buildings could not be used for the purpose for which they had been designed, they would only continue to be a source of expense for maintenance and preservation in their original location. The Public Health Service had already removed all salvageable equipment. A bill providing for the transfer of the federal leprosy station buildings and land at Kalawao from the federal government to the Territory of Hawai'i was approved by the President of the United States on September 21, 1922. Custody of the property was relinquished on December 1.[20]

In the late 1920s the old federal buildings were still standing at Kalawao. A newspaper article regarding a visit by legislators noted that:

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20. Assorted documents, File 1500, General Files, 1897-1923, RG 90, NA.

> A half mile from the Baldwin home is the federal leprosy station built several years ago at a cost of $300,000 and later abandoned. The legislators visited the station and found that the buildings are still in relatively good shape. The 1927 legislature appropriated $10,000 for the removal of the structures from Kalawao to Kalaupapa but the territory has not been able to get any one to take the contract.
>
> Superintendent Cooke informed the party that arrangements have been made with homesteaders on the lee side of Molokai to remove the structures to the village on a daily wage basis and the work is to be started April 1.[21]

Finally, in 1929, the old station was torn down and materials salvaged were taken to Kalaupapa for use in the repair of existing buildings.

The research activity carried on at the U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalihi Hospital, directed and financed by the National Institute of Health, which continued up until the beginning of World War II, was an important contribution to the territory's public health program. The proximity to Honolulu physicians and surgeons made the federal scientists available for consultation and other cooperative endeavors in the field of scientific research and also afforded opportunities to meet with other scientists temporarily stationed in Honolulu or passing through. The Kalihi Hospital for a time had the potential of serving as a research center of world interest and importance.

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21. Undated clipping, possibly titled "Optimistic Spirit Noted by Visitors at Leper Colony," n.d. (1928 or 1929?), in Letterbook of news clippings, 1907-29, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

IX. PIONEER KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT PERIOD, 1900-1929

A. Existing Conditions

1. Cemeteries

In 1901 two benevolent societies had been formed for the purpose of saving and taking care of graves on the peninsula. Cemeteries existed both at Kalawao and Kalaupapa. Graves without a fence were taken care of by the Board of Health, while those enclosed by fences were under the care of the societies. The fences were erected to keep cattle from walking over the graves.[1]

2. School

In 1901 only one school existed in the settlement, at Kalaupapa. Lessons were conducted in English. Fifty-one students learned reading, writing, and a little math.[2]

B. New Construction

At the turn of the century a number of old, deteriorating buildings were still in use on the peninsula. Conditions and structures would gradually improve over the next several years as the Board of Health began implementing a plan to create, by the close of the 1907-1909 period, a finished village superior in its utilities, services, and facilities to any village of a like number of inhabitants. Although not all its goals were met, a start was made during this period to create a much more modern medical facility.

1. Another Community Home: Bay View Complex

By late 1900 or early 1901 the superintendent of the settlement was erecting a "boarding house" for those leprosy patients

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1. Hawaii Territorial Legislature, Petition from the Residents of the Leper Settlement at Molokai Through their Committee of Fifteen. Report of Joint Committee of Hawaiian Senate and House of Representatives on Leper Settlement (Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, March 2, 1901), pp. 36-37.

2. Ibid., p. 40.

without relatives or friends.[3] This home for the aged and helpless of both sexes was built on the waterfront at Kalaupapa. The earliest physical description of the complex mentions only a verandah four feet wide.[4]

By July 1901 it was reported that the Bay View Home was crowded with inmates and applications for admission were coming in daily.[5] Evidently this was cause for a new addition to the home and general painting and whitewashing by the end of the month.[6] The first of August it was stated that carpentry work on the addition to Bay View would be finished that week.[7] An August 8 requisition was noted for more six-foot laths needed to finish covering the lānai at Bay View.[8] Work continued into the winter, when it was reported that ten more feet had been added to the home, making eight rooms instead of seven.[9]

In 1904 the main building of the Bay View Home was repaired and remodeled. The four-foot verandah was widened to eight feet, stretching along both sides of the building. Transoms for ventilation were cut over the doors of each room, and openings were cut

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3. Report of the President of the Board of Health from November 10th, 1900, to February 1st, 1901 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1901), p. 3.

4. Report of the Superintendent of the Leper Settlement (July 1, 1901, to December 31, 1902), in Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Eighteen Months Ending December 31, 1902 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1903), p. 284.

5. J.K. Waiamau, Asst. Supt. Leper Settlement, to C.B. Reynolds, Supt., Leper Settlement, July 11, 1901, file 1901 June-December, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaiian State Archives, Honolulu.

6. Waiamau to Reynolds, July 25, 1901, in ibid.

7. Waiamau to Reynolds, August 1, 1901, in ibid.

8. Waiamau to Reynolds, August 8, 1901, in ibid.

9. Waiamau to Reynolds, November 14, 1901, in ibid.

in each hallway intersecting the building, with cupolas on the roof to secure thorough ventilation. A new bathhouse with hot and cold water attachments and toilets was added.

In addition, all unsanitary outbuildings were removed and the entire main building was painted and whitewashed.[10] It was considered one of the most comfortable homes in the settlement. Nurses were on duty around the clock to assist these residents, in whom leprosy was more advanced. By 1911 the Bay View Home reportedly had twenty-six improperly ventilated rooms, each measuring eight by nine feet, with eight-foot ceilings.[11]

Fire, a recurring problem at the settlement, destroyed the first Bay View Home in the 1914/15 period. Construction began immediately on a new Bay View, with four cottages and a dining room.[12] By 1917 three buildings of the new home had been built, plus kitchens, storerooms, and two dining rooms. The new home, to accommodate ninety-six patients, opened July 6, 1917.[13] The next year the grounds were graded, grass sown, and fruit and ornamental trees planted.[14]

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10. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending June 30, 1904 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., Ltd., 1904), p. 64; Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1905), pp. 72, 81.

11. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1911 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., Ltd., 1911), p. 179.

12. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1915 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1915), p. 45.

13. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1917 (Honolulu: The New Freedom Press, 1917), p. 33.

14. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1918 (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1919), p. 34.

Illustration 53. Original Bay View Home, 1907. Note cupola added on roof for ventilation purposes. Building in front, to the right, may be the bathhouse. From Board of Health publication, The Molokai Settlement. Courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.



Soon thereafter a 610-foot picket fence was erected with large concrete posts at the entrance.[15] Sometime during the latter part of 1919 or early part of 1920 the five buildings of the complex were stained and painted and new cement walks laid from the four wards to the dining room.[16] By mid-1922 the home was lighted by electricity from the Delco plant installed at the Wilcox Memorial Dispensary building.[17] The next year a new washhouse and laundry with a concrete floor was built.[18] By mid-1926 a meat storeroom had been added to the kitchen and dining room of the Bay View Home, and in 1928 an assembly hall was under construction.[19]

2. Baldwin Home

As mentioned earlier, the Baldwin Home remained at Kalawao until the early 1930s. Descriptions of the various changes to the home during the period 1900 to 1929 will, however, also be discussed in this section on construction at Kalaupapa settlement. The Baldwin Home continued to be managed by Brother Dutton, assisted by four Catholic brothers. The raising of hogs had been carried on at both the Baldwin

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15. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1919 (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1920), p. 41.

16. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1920 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1921), p. 49.

17. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1922 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1923), p. 121.

18. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1924), p. 124.

19. Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1926 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1927), p. 169; Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1928 (Honolulu: p. 184.

and Bishop homes in the past, especially at the former. The hogs were killed for the use of the residents. The practice had to be discontinued in the early 1900s because other people in the settlement resented not having such easy access to pork. Therefore a hog ranch was started near the slaughterhouse about 1902.[20]

Construction of a bathhouse at the Baldwin Home was started in the fall of 1901.[21] In 1903 a dispensary for the distribution of medicine and for treatment was erected close to the Baldwin Home and one of the brothers was put in charge. (Another dispensary was opened in the middle district of Makanalua, about equal distance between Kalawao and Kalaupapa. Surgical rooms were also added to each of the three homes.)[22]

The major problem at the Baldwin Home by 1904 was the system of dry earth closets. Because of the rocky ground, it was difficult to dig a proper vault, unless at great expense, and so the closets had to be moved every six months. A proper sewer system needed to be laid by which everything would be carried out to sea.[23]

In 1905 it was noted that the home dorms had all been reshingled and repaired, and all buildings had been painted and color washed. Tree planting and grounds improvement had also been carried

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20. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Eighteen Months Ending December 31, 1902, p. 286.

21. Waiamau to Reynolds, October 17, 1901, in file 1901 June-December, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

22. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Six Months Ending June 30, 1903 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Company, 1903), p. 99.

23. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, p. 71.

out by Dutton, making the Baldwin Home one of the most beautiful places in the settlement. By 1910 thousands of eucalyptus had been planted. (There was a regular need for their leaves and twigs at the Kalaupapa bathhouse.) A new sewer system, the gift of the Honorable H.P. Baldwin, was installed by 1909, the work done by the residents under Brother Dutton's supervision.[24] By 1919 a new dispensary building, measuring fifteen feet square, with concrete floors, had been built. Also one hundred feet of picket fencing had been raised and a new gate with concrete posts erected. A lighting plant was installed by 1926.[25]

In 1929 forty members of the legislature and other territorial officials made a biennial inspection tour of the settlement. At the Baldwin Home the party listened to pleas by the twenty-eight inmates of the home that funds be appropriated to rebuild the home on its present site. The buildings had by now become dilapidated by the inroads of termites. It had been suggested for the last few years that the settlement be moved to Kalaupapa, for several reasons: it would be easier administratively and financially to have the residents in one place, there would be more room for expansion, the nearness of the harbor would facilitate supplying the residents, and communication with the outside world would be enhanced by the proximity of the pali trail.[26] Neither the residents nor the brothers of the Baldwin Home wished to move to Kalaupapa. The legislators pointed out that rebuilding the home at Kalawao was impractical and uneconomical because the home then

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24. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1909 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., Ltd., 1909), p. 192.

25. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1919, p. 41; Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1926, p. 169.

26. Appendix B, Report of Special Committee on Leprosy Investigations, in Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1919, p. 54.

housed only half the number of patients it could care for and those residents could easily be moved into several unoccupied buildings at Kalaupapa.[27]

3. Bishop Home

In its early years, little was done to the Bishop Home complex other than general painting, whitewashing, and shingling. In fiscal year 1903/04, Charles Bishop donated money for a "Home for Blind and Helpless Women at Kalaupapa." The structure, located on the Bishop Home grounds, was finished by June 1904 and consisted of two twenty by thirty-foot wards, a twenty by twenty-four-foot dining room, and a bath room. The dormitory had enough room to accommodate any patients that needed careful treatment and nursing. In the fall of 1904, Mother Marianne listed for Superintendent J.D. McVeigh several items or repairs that were needed for the home: improved bathing accommodations, bathtubs and general repairs in the old hospital building, a dressing room, a surgical operating room, and reshingling of the sisters' chapel roof.[28] By that winter the Honorable Charles R. Bishop had donated $2,500 to make necessary alterations and additions at the home, including a new surgical and dressing room, a new bathhouse and tubs, a storeroom, and repairs to the sisters' house.[29]

One of the first changes inaugurated upon McVeigh's assuming the superintendency of the settlement was to abolish the native cooking stove in the Bishop Home, which had consisted of an inverted kerosene tin filled with sand and charcoal. An outlying kitchen was built

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27. John C. Reed, "Visitors Find Leper Colony Well Handled," paper unknown, March 18, 1929, in Letterbook of Newspaper Clippings regarding Leprosy, 1907-1929, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

28. Sister Marianne to J.D. McVeigh, Superintendent, October 4, 1904, in Board of Health Letterbook, Superintendent of Leper Settlement, No. 1, January 24, 1901-May 31, 1911, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 80-81.

29. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, pp. 71, 81.

Illustration 54. Bishop Home, Kalaupapa, no date, probably pre-1911. The sisters' convent is to the right. Some of these dorms may be the ones built from Kaka'ako Receiving Station lumber. Courtesy St. Louis - Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.



Illustration 55. Sisters' convent, Bishop Home, no date, pre-1934. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 56. Old dormitories, Bishop Home, no date. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



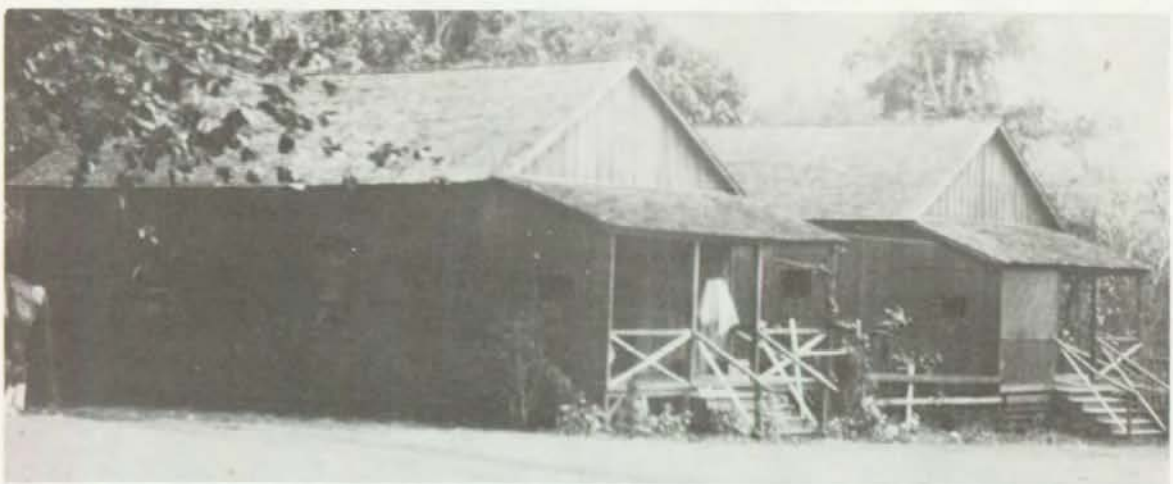


Illustration 57. Old chapel, Bishop Home, pre-1934? Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 58. Dormitory, Bishop Home, no date, possibly new 1911 dormitory. Courtesy Damien Museum, Honolulu.





and a cooking range installed, which greatly reduced the fire danger. By January 1905 there were 500 trees on the home grounds, consisting of oranges, lemons, plums, ironwood, and ornamental shrubbery.

By the end of 1906 a new dormitory, capable of housing twenty people, had been erected at the Bishop Home at a cost of about $2,000.[30] Improvements completed at the home during fiscal year 1906/07 included the new dormitory, a new bathhouse for medicated baths, and a new dispensary. In 1909, because many of the Bishop Home buildings were old and almost beyond repair, another $2,100 was appropriated by the legislature to build a new dormitory. The 1911 Board of Health report stated that the new dorm, to house twenty-four residents, was just being completed. Four older dorms built from lumber used at the old Kakaako Receiving Station were to be torn down. Some of that material would be used in constructing kitchens and outhouses in the settlement.[31] In 1913 a new picket fence was erected. Other improvements to the home during this time period included erection of heavy concrete posts and a gate during 1918/19 and installation of electric lights by 1922/23.

4. McVeigh Home (for White Foreigners)

As mentioned earlier, the white patients at the settlement had a difficult time due to the fact that they were accustomed to different lifestyles and diet than the native Hawai'ian residents. Whites did not care as much for poi and were unable to get as much coffee, flour, sugar, potatoes, and other items as they wished. In 1908, a proposal for a home at the settlement for white leprosy victims was approved by the Board of Health. It was Superintendent McVeigh's idea that if a home for whites could be provided, with a common mess, the residents could

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30. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Six Months Ending December 31st, 1906 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1907), p. 104.

31. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1911, pp. 178-79.

pool their regular food allowances and the allowances from the indigent fund (set up by public-spirited citizens for indigent white patients) and acquire wholesome and satisfactory food without additional expense to the board. By mid-1909 enough people had contributed funds to erect a special home for white foreigners that plans were drawn up for a building with twenty-four rooms, a kitchen, dining-room, social hall, and bathrooms, to cost about $12,000. Construction commenced and it was hoped to have the complex finished soon.[32]

The McVeigh Home for White Foreigners, named after J.D. McVeigh, superintendent of the settlement from 1902 to 1929, opened in August 1910. By 1912 it consisted of twenty-five large bedrooms, a hospital ward, a dining room, and a social hall.[33] It had a ten-foot verandah on three sides. The high hopes that McVeigh held for the home did not materialize, however. By the next year, only eight whites still lived in a home that had accommodations for many more. Many of the former inmates had left because they preferred the freedom of life in the settlement cottages.[34] Therefore, beginning July 1, 1914, almost all the home's running expenses were drawn from the regular appropriations and other nationalities were allowed to live there in order to reduce expenses. A twenty-eight-foot concrete smokestack was built in 1918/19. The

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32. "Board of Health Adopts Important Change in Policy," Hawaiian Gazette (Honolulu), August 14, 1908, in Letterbook of News Clippings, 1907-29, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu; Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1909, p. 190.

33. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1912 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1912), p. 159.

34. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ending June 30, 1913 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1914), p. 110.

McVeigh Home was also destroyed by fire, in November 1928.[35] Construction of the new McVeigh Home was completed in November 1929. It housed men and women and had a dining hall and kitchen.[36]

5. Visitors' Compound and House

a. At Kalawao

In early summer of 1901, J.K. Waiamau, assistant superintendent of the settlement, wrote the superintendent, C.B. Reynolds, that work on the new visitors' compound site would be completed within the next few days.[37] A month later Waimau reported that the visitors' quarters at Kalawao were being repaired. It is possible that this was the building constructed in May.[38]

b. At Kalaupapa

In June 1906 it was reported that the last legislature had made an appropriation for a visitors' house that had since been erected on plans devised by the president of the Board of Health. It contained two dormitories of six beds each, one for women and one for men, with separate lānais, dining rooms, and cooking facilities, and a divided compound. The sexes were separated because often persons that were not acquaintances would have to be accommodated at the same time. In the reception rooms, visitors and patients were separated by plate

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35. Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1929 (Honolulu, n.d.), p. 198.

36. Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1930 (Honolulu, n.d.), p. 370.

37. Waiamau to Reynolds, May 2, 1901, file 1900 October-1901 May, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

38. Waiamau to Reynolds, June 27, 1901, in file 1901 June-December, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

glass. The building was considered to be very attractive. A corral surrounding the building on three sides was relocated and rebuilt.[39] Relatives and friends (with permits) were allowed to remain from one steamer day to the next steamer day and could see and talk with friends separated by the large plate glass windows or the double fence corral.

The visitors' house was intended to fill a substantial need in the settlement, but due to the miserable steamer service provided to the settlement, only a few persons were able to take advantage of the opportunity to see their friends. Most of the visitors were poor people and could not afford the steamer fare and living expenses for thirteen days, which was the length of time it took to make the round trip--five days on the steamer and eight days inside the visitors' house and corral.

6. Poi House and Factory

a. House at Kalawao

Work on a poi house at Kalawao started in early August 1901 and finished up near the end of the month. Waiamau reported that the steam cooking of taro in the poi house was a huge success. Up to three hundred rations could be cooked at one time. The taro produced from Waikolu and Waihānau valleys was found to be excellent cooked this way.

b. Steam Factory at Kalaupapa

The 1905 legislature passed an appropriation for the erection of a poi factory and for the purchase of machinery for making poi. A plant similar to the one used at the Kalihi poi factory in Honolulu was purchased. The purpose of the factory was to make it unnecessary for the inmates to pound the taro or pa'i 'ai for poi. By June 1906 lumber and machinery were on hand for the beginning of construction on

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39. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Year Ending June 30, 1906 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1906), pp. 91-92.

Illustration 59. Resident physician's residence, 1932, after reconstruction. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 60. Physician's residence, former resident physician's residence, Bldg. No. 10, 1983. NPS photo.





Illustration 61. Residence of assistant resident physician, 1932.

Illustration 62. Assistant resident physician's residence after alterations, 1936. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





a poi factory and steam laundry that would occupy connecting buildings near the visitors' house. The buildings were to be simple in design but painted with pleasing color contrasts.

The factory was put in operation about July 18, 1907. The president of the Board of Health reported that he knew of nothing that had been built before that had given greater satisfaction to the people than the poi factory. The only sour note was that the structure cost a little over $1,800 in excess of the estimated sum.[40] In 1914/15 a fifty-horsepower Gorham gas engine was purchased to operate the poi factory and ice plant, and the old steam plant was put in reserve.

7. Wood Sawing Plant and Splitting Yard

In June 1906 plans were being made for adding a wood sawing plant beyond the poi factory and laundry buildings. The providing of these three services was perceived as a great boon by the residents, saving them much physical labor in connection with food preparation, clothing care, and fuel acquisition. In fiscal year 1906/07 a petition was presented to legislative visitors asking for an appropriation to purchase machinery for cutting and splitting firewood. This was one of the greatest hardships that people with crippled hands who were unable to handle an ax had to deal with. Despite agreement by the members, no money for that purpose was granted.[41] However, out of its regular appropriation for the "Segregation and Care of Lepers," the settlement was able to buy one six-horsepower gasoline engine, two crosscut saws, benches, and two splitting machines. Work was to commence on August 15 on a corrugated iron building.[42]

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40. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1908 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., Ltd., 1908), p. 121.

41. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publ. Co., Ltd., 1907), p. 140.

42. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1908, p. 119.

8. Physicians' Houses

During the 1901/02 period, a cottage for the resident physician was erected. An addition was made during fiscal year 1905/06. In this latter period a six-room residence was also built for the assistant physician, Dr. Hollmann.[43] In fiscal year 1911/12, a two-room addition, with bath and toilet, was made to the doctor's residence.[44] On July 5, 1929, the resident physician's dwelling was partially destroyed by fire. Reconstruction was completed in November and a corrugated iron roof added.

9. Dispensary

In 1905/06 a new four-room general dispensary was being erected for the use of the medical and surgical department, even larger and more convenient than first planned. It was completed by December 1906. The operating room and laboratory of the Wilcox Memorial Building were fitted with the finest equipment to be found. The old dispensary was fitted up as a photographic gallery, with a dark room and everything necessary for record work. In addition to this main dispensary, dispensaries and operating rooms were provided at each home. In April 1930, a mobile x-ray unit was installed in the Wilcox Memorial Building.

10. Bandstand

In early 1905 Dr. W.C. Wile of Danbury, Connecticut, sent Superintendent McVeigh a check for $250 to erect a bandstand at Kalaupapa. This structure, to be called the "Tarry Wile Band-Stand," would be used for concerts by the settlement band. The stand was completed in May, a fence built around it, and trees and flowers planted.[45]

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43. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1906, p. 92.

44. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1912, p. 161.

45. J.D. McVeigh to Dr. W.C. Wile, February 28, 1905, and May 12, 1905, Letterbook No. 1, Superintendent, Leper Settlement, January 24, 1901, to May 31, 1911, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

11. Steam Laundry

The new laundry building was mentioned earlier as being connected with the poi factory. The laundry was of sufficient capacity to do all the settlement washing and coarse ironing. A disinfecting system was part of the process. During fiscal year 1906/07 all of the machinery for the laundry was purchased and delivered. A suitable building was erected to house the machinery, and the laundry commenced work in mid-July.[46]

12. Children's Nursery

Improvements projected for the 1907-09 period, despite the lack of appropriations from the 1907 legislature, included a children's nursery and nurse's cottage. The nursery would accommodate twenty-four babies and children who would be taken from their parents immediately after birth in order to reduce the danger of their becoming infected. For years the female children of leprous parents had been removed from the settlement at the earliest possible moment and were either given to relatives to care for or placed in the Kapiolani Girls' Home, the institution that had been provided by the kingdom for the sole purpose of caring for such children. A similar structure had never been provided for male children, and so only those boys that had friends outside the settlement willing to care for them had been removed. (Money for a home for non-leprous boys was finally appropriated in 1908.) The perceived necessity of removing babies from their parents at the earliest possible moment was the impetus behind the nursery construction. There they would be cared for by nurses and raised on milk and baby foods.

The handsome nursery building, located at Puahi at the base of the pali, was finished by June 1908. Three or four milch cows were set aside for the sole use of its children. The Kalaupapa nursery, located in the new hospital compound, opened September 17, 1908. It was ordered that all nonleprous children under one year of age in the settlement and all children hereafter born be removed to the new

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46. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907, p. 140.

nursery. The situation was delicate, for while some parents favored this action, the removal of their children was strongly resented by others. The babies were kept in the nursery for a year. If after that time they showed no signs of the disease, they were removed to Honolulu and placed in the homes, where they were educated and otherwise cared for.

A visitors' room was built at the nursery where one or two cribs were placed against a glass partition. There parents, with a permit from the superintendent, could visit their children on Wednesdays and Sundays of each week.[47] In 1911/12 a twenty-four-foot-square playroom was added to the nursery; the building had electric lights by 1923.

13. Houses

Because of the difficulties in procuring supplies, and also as a way of reducing expenses, materials from demolished buildings were often reused. Many of the buildings at Kalaupapa were constructed from earlier buildings on the peninsula for which there was no longer any use or from materials from demolished buildings owned by the Board of Health in Honolulu.

In 1901/02, for instance, the old Goto hospital at Kalawao was brought to Kalaupapa in sections and from it two good buildings housing nine people were fashioned.[48] During the latter half of 1904, seven new houses were erected, five of which were built from material received from the Kalihi detention camp.[49] Housing construction during this early period included eight new four-room cottages during 1905/06 and some twelve new cottages during 1906/07, constructed of higher class material and finish than before. The three most recent ones were said

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47. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1909, p. 191.

48. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Eighteen Months Ending December 31, 1902, p. 271.

49. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, p. 70.

Illustration 63. Wilcox Memorial Dispensary, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 64. "Tarry Wile" bandstand, ca. 1905-1906. Note assistant resident physician's house in background. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


WILCOX MEMORIAL DISPENSARY



Illustration 65. Residence described in 1949 as "old-style" patients' home. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



to have been built "with some architectural pretension."[50] The Board of Health was now adopting a policy of making attractive variations in style and decoration in all buildings to give the entire settlement a more pleasing appearance. In fiscal year 1922/23, three four-room cottages were built. In 1924/25 two new four-room cottages, with bathtubs, toilets, and other amenities, were erected and said to be a great improvement over any houses built up to that time.

14. Medical Buildings

Legislators investigating conditions on Moloka'i in 1901 had nothing encouraging to say about the hospital. They noted its walls of rough-painted boards, its poor ventilation, and its lack of furniture. The "hotel" adjoining the hospital, intended as an auxiliary structure, was in better condition. It consisted of eighteen rooms opening on a lānai running around the building.[51]

Several buildings for the better care and treatment of the sick were proposed for the 1907-09 period. In 1906/07 a new corrugated iron building was erected for the medical department to be used in the manufacture of Dr. W.J. Goodhue's bath medicine.[52] At this time there were no hospitals at Kalaupapa except for the sick wards at the various homes. Therefore, it was proposed to erect a general hospital containing completely modern equipment. Also proposed was a contagious ward to accommodate people with special diseases other than leprosy, such as pulmonary tuberculosis. Work on this structure was to start early in 1907. Each patient and the nurses would be isolated. The contagious

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50. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907, p. 13.

51. "Legislators Back From Molokai," Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 4, 1901.

52. The eucalyptus compound prepared by Dr. Goodhue, used as a bath preparation, had entirely superseded the demand for the more expensive Goto remedies. Patients using the treatment faithfully seemed to show decided improvements. For that reason, arrangements were made to facilitate the manufacture of the preparation and thus enable everyone to have a full supply. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31st, 1906, p. 105.

ward was finished during fiscal year 1907/08. It had six rooms and was designed so that each room could be readily disinfected and cleaned without disturbing patients in any of the other rooms. The building was paid for out of the appropriation for the "Segregation and Care of Lepers."[53] Another necessary structure was a small building for the insane, which, because of the presence of several patients diagnosed as "mildly insane," was considered imperative.

At the same time, while the various homes were provided with facilities for medicated baths, those living in individual homes had none. Now a new special bathhouse was being erected for them.[54] The house was to be of smooth concrete, well drained, and have sixteen porcelain bath tubs. Lounging rooms were provided where patients could rest after their baths and gradually regain their normal body temperature, thereby avoiding colds and chills. The sexes were segregated within the house. The bathhouse was completed by June 1908.

The Board of Health asked the 1907 legislative session for an appropriation of $8,000 to construct a general hospital where patients living outside of homes could get proper treatment and care. For some reason, though the governor and every senator and representative seemed in favor of the project, during the third reading of the appropriation bill that particlar item was not inserted and therefore the money was never granted. Because material was on hand for the construction, Lucius E. Pinkham, president of the Board of Health, realizing the immediate necessity for this facility, ordered work to commence.[55]

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53. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1908, p. 122.

54. For the Homes and the Kalaupapa bathhouse, a large bag containing from fifty to seventy-five pounds of the bath preparation was placed in a specially-built 500-gallon steam-tight tank. The steam was turned on until all the ingredients had been extracted, leaving a concentrated decoction, enough cold water having been placed in the tank at the start to condense the steam. The concentrated decoction was then run into the individual bath tubs and enough hot water added to dilute to the required strength for bathing. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31st, 1906, p. 111.

55. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1908, p. 118.

Illustration 66. Old-style Kalaupapa patient's cottage, 1930s?

Illustration 67. Patient's cottage, 1930s? Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

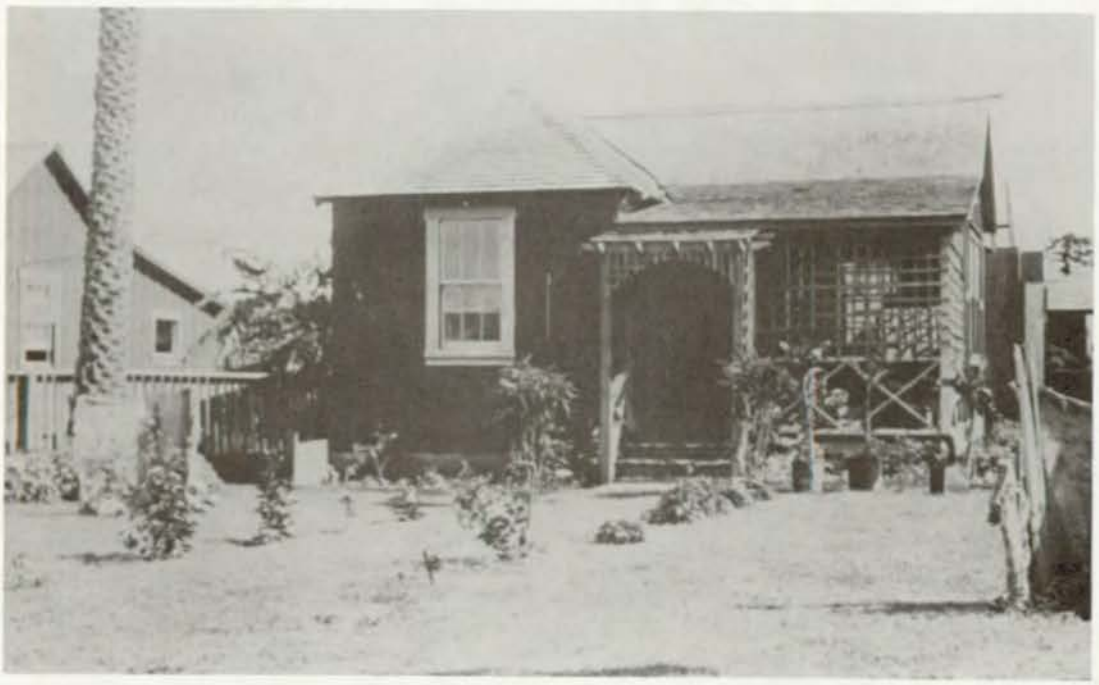
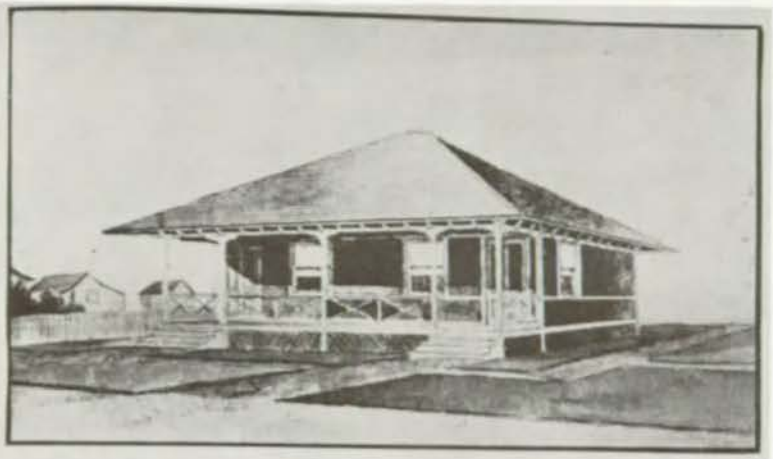




Illustration 68. Style of cottages built during 1905 to 1907.

Illustration 69. Old dispensary, including laboratory and operating rooms, at Kalaupapa, 1907. Photos from Board of Health publication, The Molokai Settlement, courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.

Illustration 70. Old dispensary, laboratory, and operating rooms from west, ca. 1895. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



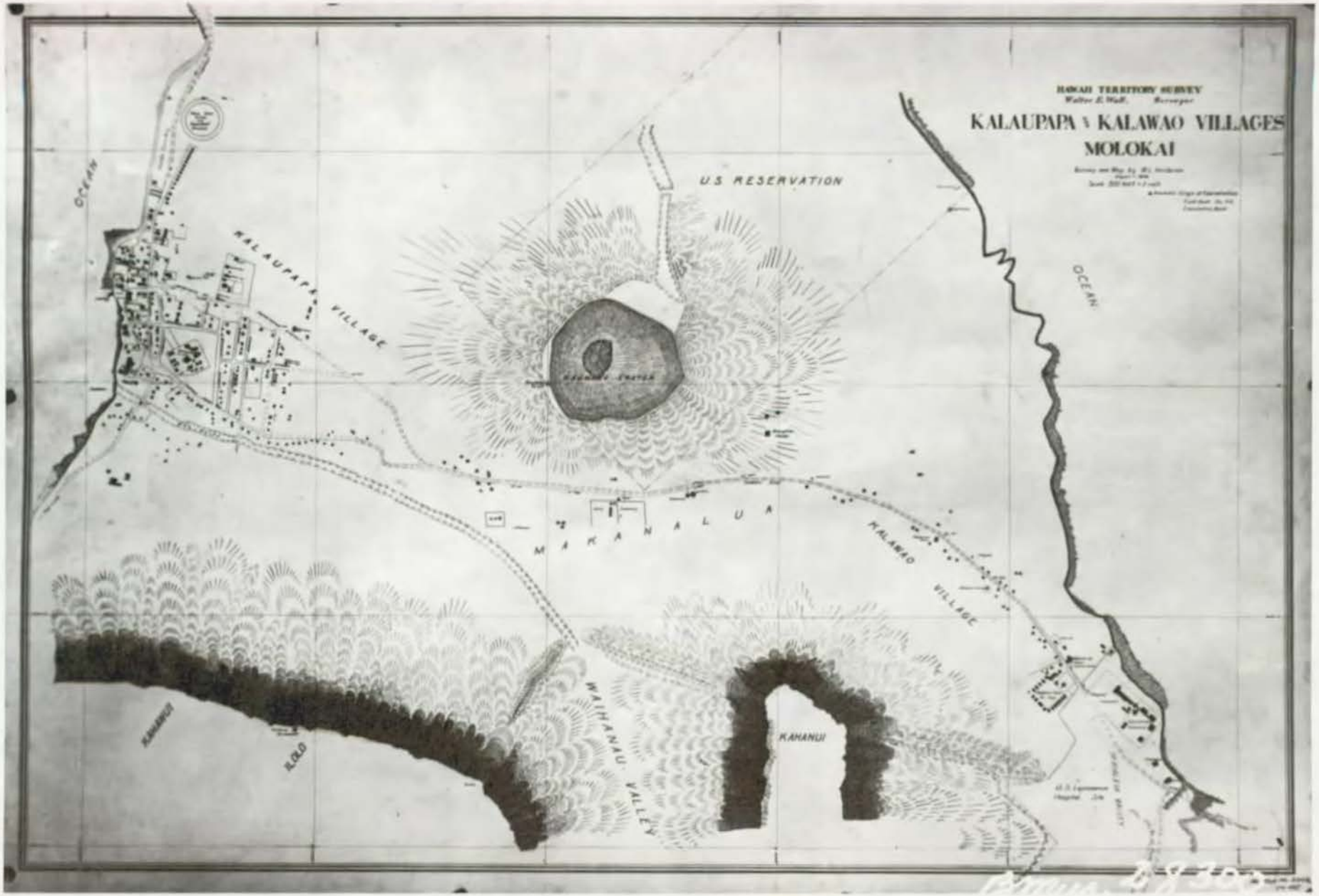
ELEVEN COTTAGES BUILT DURING PERIOD 1905-1907.

NEW DISPENSARY—KALAUPAPA.





Illustration 71. Map of Kalaupapa and Kalawao villages, August 1908. R.J. Baker, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.


HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
KALAUPAPA & KALAWAO VILLAGES
MOLOKAI
U.S. RESERVATION
OCEAN
KALAUPAPA VILLAGE
MAKANALUA
KALAWAO VILLAGE
KAHANUI
WAIHANAU VALLEY
OCEAN

The new hospital, almost finished by the end of June 1908, was located in the portion of the settlement called Puahi, on the south side of town and toward the pali. The building stretched 180 feet in an east-west direction, with a wing on the west end extending north. It consisted of four private wards and two large general wards. It also contained a sky-lighted operating room, a drug room, nurses' quarters, male and female dressing rooms, a dining room, and a kitchen.[56] The new nursery was a few hundred feet northeast of the hospital.

15. St. Francis Church

As mentioned in a previous section, Father Damien had not worked alone at the settlement. Father André Burgermann began assisting occasionally beginning in 1874, moving to Kalaupapa early in 1878 where he remained until July 1880. Father Albert Montiton arrived at the settlement in September 1881 and remained until March 1885. Damien's immediate successor at the settlement was Father Wendelin Robert Moellers, a German priest who arrived almost five months before Damien's death and remained until 1902. He found Father Lambert Conrardy, the Belgian diocesan priest, assisting the ailing Damien at Kalawao.

Father Wendelin made the church at Kalaupapa, flanked by a priest's cottage, his headquarters. The interior decorations of the chapel had been Father Albert's work and were described by Charles Warren Stoddard in 1884: "His church is like a little Chinese showbox full of color; odd combinations of color and grotesque but pretty patterns upon wall and ceiling. . . ."[57] Stoddard further remarked that

> the walls and ceiling are decorated with gaudy paintings; Father Albert whispered quietly in my ear: You see, all this is somewhat barbarous, but there was for me less question of satisfying the exigencies of artistic taste, than to give pleasure to these poor people; what you see here, that's just what they like. The altar and its many little statues. . . .[58]

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56. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1909, p. 199.

57. Diary of a Visit to Molokai, p. 22.

58. "Illustrations," Damien Institute, I, no. 4 (May 1895):73. See Illustration 16.

This little church, Our Lady Health of the Sick, soon became much too small for the crowds that packed in for Mass and evening devotions. For several years after his arrival, Father Wendelin raised funds however he could, and finally, with the help of the Honolulu Catholic Mission, he began work on a new church in 1897. The wooden structure on the edge of the village was completed in 1899, blessed, and dedicated in 1900 to St. Francis of Assisi. It had twin towers and the frontal view of three large entrance doors and slender windows made it resemble a medieval cathedral. The old church was moved to one side and used as a social hall.

The beautiful church was a great joy to the devout Kalaupapa congregation. One can imagine, therefore, the tragedy of the accidental burning of the structure August 12, 1906. The fire started when an altar boy, in replacing a censer after Benediction, spilled some charcoal on the floor. Thinking the coals to be dead, he did not pick them up. After smoldering for a while, the coals scattered over the floor flared up, and many fine vestments, statues, and various other church articles were lost in the blaze. The structure burned to the ground in thirty-five minutes; nothing was saved but the tabernacle.

The house of Father Maxime André (who replaced Father Wendelin) and the store, warehouse, and other Board of Health buildings caught fire several times, but were not seriously damaged due to the noble fire-fighting efforts of the residents. The front of the old church, standing near the newer one, was burned out, but was then repaired and the interior made usable for the time being again as a church.[59]

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59. "Burning of St. Francis Church, Kalaupapa, Molokai," The Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 12, no. 11 (November 1906): 174-76; Fire was a great fear at the settlement, and after several had occurred in August, night watchmen were appointed with strict orders on what to do if fire was discovered. Although petitions had been circulated to have fire hydrants and other fire-protection apparatus installed, no appropriations for them had been forthcoming. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907, p. 138.

Illustration 72. View of front and south side of St. Francis Church, no date, probably early 1900s. Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.



Illustration 73. Original St. Francis Church, ca. 1899. Note old church, Our Lady Health of the Sick, to the left (see Illustration 16). Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 74. New stone church of St. Francis completed in 1908. Note difference in front of old church to left, evidently due to repairs made after 1906 fire. Courtesy Damien Museum, Honolulu.


SAINT
FRANCIS'
CHURCH

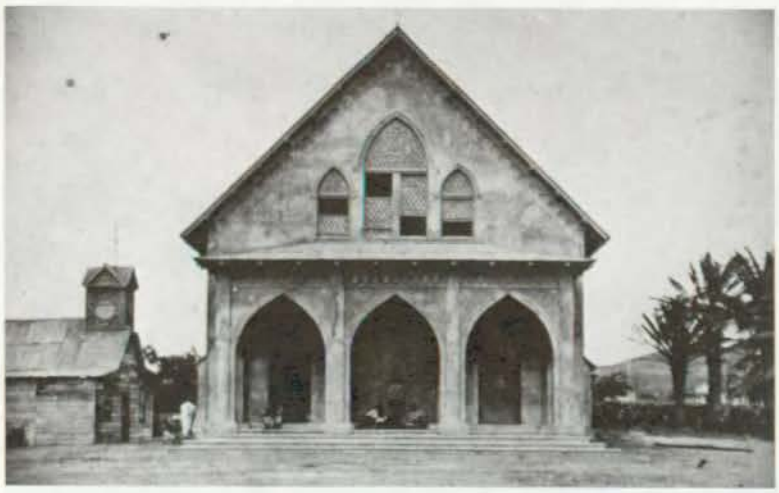


Illustration 75. A further change took place when the old church was removed and Damien Hall was built next to St. Francis Church, sometime between 1908 and 1910. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 76. Damien Hall, no date, but probably after 1919. Father Maxime André to right and Father Martin Dornbush to left. Father Dornbush was pastor of Kalawao from 1919 to 1929. Courtesy Damien Museum, Honolulu.





Illustration 77. East end of St. Francis Church, 1938, Damien Hall to right. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 78. Statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Courtesy St. Louis-Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.





Illustration 79. Bennington at Kalaupapa landing, 1905. Courtesy Gartley, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



No sooner was the disaster known and an appeal to charity made, than liberal donations poured in. Two of the contributors were Pope Pius X and King Edward VII of Great Britain. According to tradition, two French priests at the settlement, with building experience, drew up plans for the new church. Father André recorded on October 15, 1907, that fifteen Japanese masons and carpenters, headed by a Hawaiian construction engineer, began work on the new structure under the supervision of Father Maxime. Work proceeded quickly, and the new Gothic-style stone church of St. Francis was completed in May 1908 and blessed on the twenty-sixth of that month. Enough money had been collected to acquire new church furnishings also, such as an altar, chandelier, monstrance, vestments, statues, a tower bell, and two stained-glass windows for the sanctuary. A special donation was a bronze statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus that was placed outside in front of the main entrance.[60]

16. Miscellaneous Structures

In fiscal year 1905/06 several new structures were seen as being essential for the settlement's many activities and personnel. Among these were:

a. New stables

These were built on Staff Row by June 30, 1906, along with a carriage house, to accommodate the animals belonging to the board, the superintendent, and doctors. The stables were remodeled in 1919/20.

b. Oil Storage

A new, completely isolated iron warehouse for oil storage was constructed far enough away from other buildings that all danger of fire was removed.

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60. Robert Schoofs, Pioneers of the Faith: History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii (1827-1940), rev. ed. by Fay Wren Midkiff (Waikāne, Hawaii: Louis Boeynaems, 1978), p. 340.

c. New Warehouses

Warehouse space was provided by moving the old visitors' house near the landing into line with the Kalaupapa store and partly rebuilding it. The remaining good warehouse at the landing was to be similarly removed and repaired.[61]

d. Landing

In the latter half of 1906, one hundred and fifty feet of solid masonry stone wall was built on both sides of the landing. Filling and grading was also accomplished, as well as laying of steel tracks to the warehouses.[62]

By fiscal year 1906/07, most of the lumber was on hand for erection of an attractive pavilion at the landing. It would usually be open, except on the windward side, and arranged so that by closing the shutters it could be turned into an assembly hall measuring twenty-eight by eighty feet.[63] By the next year all the old unsightly buildings at the landing had been torn down, the grade raised four feet, and concrete steps put in leading from the wharf to the landing. Two new warehouses had been built in a line with the store, facing the street, and the railroad track mentioned earlier was in use leading from the landing to the new warehouses. It was then planned to run a track from the landing to the poi factory. The Superintendent of Public Works had had a new derrick erected and the steam hoisting engine purchased by Mr. Pease, in charge of construction of the federal leprosarium, had been installed at the landing.[64] In 1914/15 this old hoisting engine was replaced by a new double-drum hoist.

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61. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1906, p. 92.

62. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31st, 1906, p. 103; Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907, p. 13.

63. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30th, 1907, p. 15.

64. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1908, p. 121.

e. Kalaupapa Store

During fiscal year 1907/08 the store underwent extensive repairs. It was reshingled, new flooring laid, and showcases purchased. The warehouse was enlarged and painted inside and out.[65]

f. Slaughterhouse

In fiscal year 1910/11 a slaughter and hide house was built with concrete floors and side walls.[66] The hides of the slaughtered cattle were salted to preserve them until they could be tanned. The sales money from the hides was put into the territorial treasury. A supply storeroom was added in fiscal year 1925/26.

g. Ice Plant

In fiscal year 1912/13, a Baker six-ton ice-making and refrigerating machine was delivered and construction on the ice plant begun.[67]

h. Outbuildings and Miscellaneous

During fiscal year 1910/11, eighteen new cookhouses, each eight by twenty feet, and three cookhouses of eight by ten feet were built. The next year twelve new kitchens and thirty-eight outbuildings were constructed for the use of people outside the homes. Six new concrete watering troughs were also added. In 1912/13 nine kitchens and sixteen outhouses were built, and in 1914/15 twelve new kitchens, nine outhouses, and a new four-room cottage for a blacksmith were erected. During 1919/20, five new kitchens and dining rooms outside the homes were completed. Three buildings for housing the Delco plant were built in fiscal year 1922/23. In August 1929 a fifty-horsepower diesel engine driving a thirty-five-kilowatt generator

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65. Ibid., p. 123.

66. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1911, p. 174.

67. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30, 1913, p. 112.

was installed on foundation blocks. A power house was completed the following month.[68]

i. Stores

By the summer of 1901, at least one private store was in business at Kalaupapa. It was owned by J.D. Kahale, who had an agent buying goods for him in Honolulu.[69] Soon thereafter, other businesses began operating: Robert Holt and James Prosser (an employee of the Board of Health) started a dry goods and grocery store at Kalawao in 1902; A. Galaspo was given permission to erect a bakery at Kalawao in 1904; and a fish market at Kalaupapa was opened in the spring of 1904.[70]

17. Agricultural Activities and Livestock

a. Dairy, Hog Ranch

In the early 1900s a great deal of cultivation was undertaken. In 1903 crops included sorghum, alfalfa, and other stock fodder. In early 1903 six acres of land in one of the sheltered valleys had been cleared for the planting of 4,000 papaya trees. Two acres of pumpkins were also planted. Both fruits were good hog feed when combined with cooked offal from the slaughterhouse. Some new construction was done at this time in connection with the dairy, now an established part of the ranching operations, and the hog pens. As

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68. Reports of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1911, p. 177; June 30, 1912, p. 161; June 30, 1913, p. 113; June 30, 1915, p. 45; June 30, 1920, p. 51; June 30, 1923, p. 129; June 30, 1930, p. 371.

69. Jno. S. Wilmington to C.B. Reynolds, Superintendent, Leper Settlement, July 5(?), 1901, file 1901 June-December, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

70. Jno. S. Wilmington to C.B. Reynolds, January 31, 1902, file 1902 January-March, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, 1907-29; J.D. McVeigh, Superintendent, Leper Settlement, to Mr. A. Galaspo, April 15, 1904, Letterbook No. 1, January 24, 1901, to May 31, 1911, Board of Health; McVeigh to Messrs. (illegible), April 15, 1904, in ibid., all in Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 80. Kalaupapa store, no date, but between 1894 and 1905. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 81. Kalaupapa store to left, old dispensary straight ahead, and visitors' house to right, 1907. It appears as if the old visitors' house has been moved into line with the store. From Board of Health publication, The Molokai Settlement. Courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.





Illustration 82. Kalaupapa store and warehouse, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.


KALAUPAPA STORE

mentioned earlier, a hog ranch had been started a year before, located near the slaughterhouse.[71]

One of the major problems hindering agricultural activity on the peninsula was the fast-growing lantana pest that overgrew the pasture land. Efforts to control the growth by hand seemed to accomplish little. In 1904 some "seed blight" was secured that helped prevent further spreading. "Leaf bugs" brought in from O'ahu also helped clear up several thousand acres.[72]

The dairy operation received careful attention. Any patient on order from the resident physician could receive one quart or more of milk daily, delivered free to his house by a milk wagon. (The distribution of fresh milk each morning to the fever cases and other debilitated patients was considered to be of therapeutic value. A milk diet seemed to help reduce fevers and other ailments.)

The papaya fruit was the major hog food for the settlement. The plantation at Puahi provided up to four dray loads of this commodity weekly during the summer months. In 1904 a small supply of panicum grass was received from the Moloka'i Cattle Ranch, which was planted and seemed to grow well. It required much less water than the sorghum and was said to be fine animal fodder. Ultimately both sorghum and panicum were fed daily to the milch cows and calves.

In May 1906 hog cholera hit the settlement's hog industry, killing a large number of animals before the disease disappeared. The old pens were afterwards thoroughly sprayed and disinfected, some buildings enlarged, and concrete floors and troughs installed.

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71. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending June 30, 1903, pp. 97-98.

72. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, pp. 72-73.

From July to November 1906, the dairy business suffered considerable loss of stock due to a drought that began to dry up the pasture land. The drought continued into 1909, the lack of rain and feed causing a loss of more than three hundred head. The milk supply dropped from sixty-two to fourteen gallons daily. The dairy was subsequently closed and all the stock driven into Waikolu and Wai'ale'ia valleys. Because the cessation of the milk ration was working a great hardship on many people who had become dependent on it, the Board of Health allowed condensed milk and fresh bread to be issued in lieu of fresh milk.[73]

In the 1913/14 fiscal year, three hundred coconut trees donated by the Board of Health were planted by the residents. During 1922/23, a milking shed was built near the baseball grounds and five hundred redwood posts and galvanized wire fencing were bought to be used in the Makanalua district for cattle paddocks for the board's cattle herd.

b. Taro Industry

By the summer of 1901, work on the Puahi taro patches was progressing, as was the laying of a four-inch water pipe to them.[74] In 1904 taro was being planted in Waikolu Valley and at Puahi. The taro crops from Puahi were excellent, and the residents were very anxious to receive their ration from that area. There were about five more acres there that could not be planted because efficient labor could not be hired at reasonable wages. The board requested , therefore, that permission be given to allow a company of patients to take over all the taro lands, the board to receive one-fourth of the crop and the balance to be purchased by the board at market prices.[75]

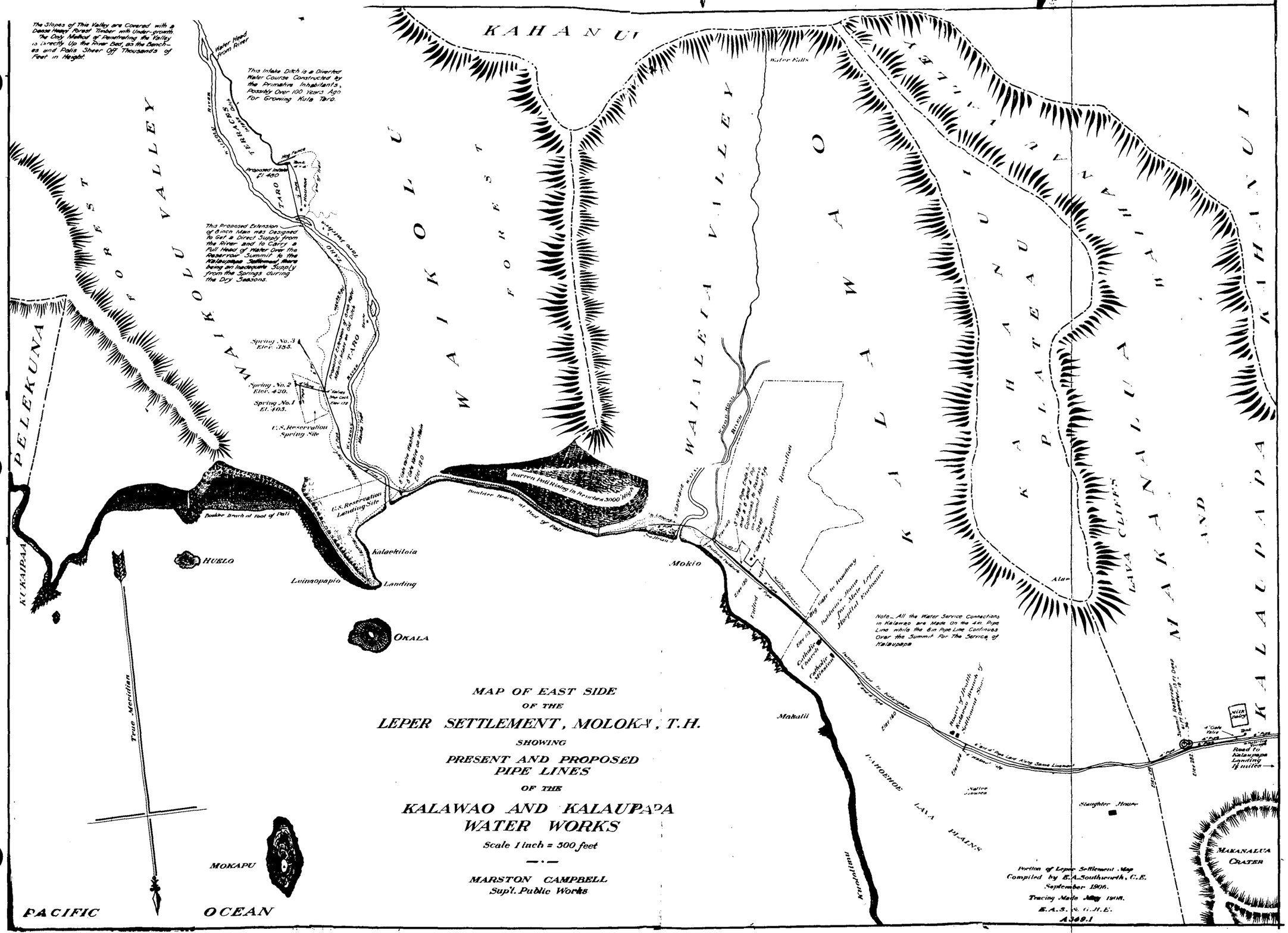
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73. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1909, p. 190.

74. J.K. Waiamau, Assistant Superintendent, Leper Settlement, to C.B. Reynolds, Superintendent, July 25, 1901, file 1901 June-December, Superintendent's Correspondence--Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

75. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, p. 73.

Map No. 3. Map of East Side of the Leper Settlement, Molokai, T.H., Showing Present and Proposed Pipe Lines of the Kalawao and Kalaupapa Water Works, September 1906.


The Slopes of This Valley are Covered with a Dense Heavy Forest Timber with Under-growth. The Only Method of Penetrating the Valley is Directly Up the Inner Bed, as the Banches and Palis Sheer Off Thousands of Feet in Height.
Water Head from River
This Intake Ditch is a Diverted Water Course Constructed by the Primative Inhabitants, Possibly Over 100 Years Ago For Growing Kula Taro.
PELEKUNA FOREST
WAIKOLU VALLEY
KAHANUI
WAILELEA VALLEY
KAOAO
Water Falls
KAHANUI
PALAAU
KALAUPAPA
LAVA CLIFFS
KALAUPAPA
Proposed Intake El. 490
TARO
This Proposed Extension of 8 inch Main was Designed to Get a Direct Supply from the River and to Carry a Full Head of Water Over the Reservoir Summit to the Kalaupapa Settlement, there being an Inadequate Supply from the Springs during the Dry Seasons.
Spring No.3 Elev. 385.
Spring No.2 Elev. 420.
Spring No.1 El. 405.
U.S. Reservation Spring Site
U.S. Reservation Landing Site
Boulder Beach at foot of Pali
Barren Hill Rising to Elevation 3000 Ft.
Boulder Beach at Head of Pali
Kalaekiloia
Landing
Leinaopapio
HUELO
OKALA
Mokio
Makalii
Catholic Church
Catholic Mission
Leper Hospital
Superintendent's Residence
Hospital
Slaughter House
Native Houses
Summit Reservoir El. 1300
Road to Kalaupapa Landing & Hospital
MAKANALUA CRATER
MOKAPU
True Meridian
PACIFIC OCEAN
MAP OF EAST SIDE
OF THE
LEPER SETTLEMENT, MOLOKAI, T.H.
SHOWING
PRESENT AND PROPOSED
PIPE LINES
OF THE
KALAWAO AND KALAUPAPA
WATER WORKS
Scale 1 inch = 500 feet
MARSTON CAMPBELL
Sup't. Public Works
Note—All the Water Service Connections in Kalawao are Made On the 4in. Pipe Line while the 6in Pipe Line Continues Over the Summit For The Service of Kalaupapa
Portion of Lepers Settlement Map
Compiled by E.A. Southworth, C.E.
September 1906.
Tracing Made May 1918.
E.A.S. & C.H.E.
A369.1

Illustrations 83-84. Old flume in Waikolu water system and water reservoirs, no date. Photos courtesy of Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.




50M
(1900.?)
150M
750

By early 1905 a contract had been entered into with the "Hui Hooikaika Kino" to cultivate all the available taro land in Puahi. One-third of the crop was to be the sole property of the board, the balance to be purchased from the hui at current market rates. Planting at Waikolu would be carried on as usual, no hui being willing to take over those lands.[76]

By 1906 some of the settlement residents were allowed one or more acres of land and were engaged in planting taro for the board. As a rule, the residents did not like to engage in taro cultivation because laboring in water was detrimental to their physical well-being. Because the federal leprosarium was going to be located at the entrance to Waikolu Valley, it was suggested that the board purchase the improvements made there by the settlement planters and then enter into an agreement with outside parties, who would not be allowed to enter the settlement, to cultivate those lands.[77]

A better quality of taro was sought by purchasing a quantity of hulis (taro tops) from planters at Pelekunu and Hālawa. In addition to the scarcity of water during the drought that began in 1906, the greatest difficulty in taro cultivation remained finding labor. The residents simply could not work steadily in water and not enough kōkuas were available. For the next couple of years the lack of water made it impossible to cultivate half of the available taro land in Puahi. Because the residents were unwilling to cultivate Waikolu Valley, the superintendent again urged in 1908 that the taro land there be leased to a hui of Hawai'ians or Chinese to work for the board.

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76. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Six Months Ending June 30, 1905 (Honolulu: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1905), p. 60. The settlement superintendent, in the latter half of 1904, had encouraged fishing by the H.H.K. Club (or Hui Hana ikeiko ka Kino), whose quite frequent catches of from two to three thousand pounds of fish he bought and distributed in lieu of beef. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1904, p. 80.

77. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1906, pp. 93-94.

18. Water Supply

In fiscal year 1903/04 a new 10,000-gallon water tank was erected at Makanalua. On the side of the pali about four miles from Kalawao was a small concrete reservoir that caught water from two or three small streams. An eight-inch pipe led from it into the valley. During July to December 1904, several severe breaks in the eight-inch pipeline occurred as rocks fell from the cliffs between Waikolu and Kalawao. If money could be obtained, it was suggested that a deeper trench be dug in which to bury the pipe. A small appropriation was then requested to extend the pipeline farther up Waikolu Valley to get an increased supply of water.

An appropriation for this purpose was made by the 1905 legislature, and in 1906 a Department of Public Works engineer was sent to the settlement to prepare plans and estimates for increasing the water supply. Such an action was greatly needed for irrigation, fire protection, and power purposes. An appropriation of $12,000 was granted by the 1907 legislature to install new pipeline and place hydrants. Pipe and other material was purchased and taken to Waikolu Valley preparatory to laying. The project then ran out of money and work had to be discontinued. Negotiations then got underway to have the Marine-Hospital Service advance the amount needed to finish laying the pipe, and, in return, the federal station would acquire a perpetual right to 200,000 gallons daily.

An agreement was reached and as mentioned in the section on the federal leprosarium, eight-inch pipes were laid up to the head of Waikolu Valley. A supply of water large enough to meet any demand in the immediate future was thus obtained by 1909. In 1911/12 it was noted that there was a scarcity of water due to absorption in the ditch connecting the springs with the pipeline. A flume was needed to replace the ditch. The next fiscal year, 1912/13, 1,900 feet of a fourteen-by-twenty-inch flume was built leading from the upper end of

the eight-inch pipeline toward the water head from Waikolu Valley.[78] Evidently the flume was later increased in length, because twenty-eight hundred feet were rebuilt in 1928/29.

19. Roads, Trails, Bridges

In 1901 the residents of the settlement complained that the road running through the settlement to Waikolu had been enclosed by a fence, and gates had been put on both ends. Cattle were brought in and penned there during the night, but they tended to jump out on the mauka side and destroy and/or eat the plants (cane and other crops) cultivated by the residents. They therefore petitioned that the practice of putting the cattle in there at night be stopped.[79]

During 1905/06 roads in the settlement received needed repairs. The road from Baldwin Home to the Board of Health store at Kalawao was rebuilt and widened. The pali road also was repaired so that the mailman could get up and down more easily. The former mailman had quit in January when, after making semi-weekly trips for years, he lost his mule and almost his own life on the trail.[80] The mail carrier now made four trips weekly. A heavy storm washed away the trail in many places, forcing the mailman to carry a two-by-four piece of lumber to use as a bridge to crawl over the washouts. The trail was being widened to six feet in 1906/07. A widened trail also made it easier for the Molokai Ranch to drive beef cattle to the settlement when needed.[81]

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78. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Twelve Months Ending June 30, 1913, p. 111.

79. Petition from the Residents of the Leper Settlement at Molokai Through their Committee of Fifteen, p. 6.

80. Report of the President of the Board of Health . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1906, p. 93.

81. The Moloka'i Ranch furnished beef to the settlement almost continuously after 1908. At first the cattle were driven down the steep pali trail, preceded by a cowboy leading a tame steer. Later the beef was shipped around the island from Kaunakakai by steamer. During World War II when steamer service was forbidden, pack mules carried the beef down the trail. In the late 1940s the beef supply was flown in. Cooke, Moolelo O Molokai, p. 98.

During 1910/11 the bridge at Puahi was rebuilt. In the 1919/20 fiscal year, a new bridge with a concrete base was built at the entrance to Wai'ale'ia Valley to facilitate getting out taro. The bridge leading to the general hospital was also rebuilt. In 1923/24 the pali road was again repaired. Several new turns were added, giving the cowboys more protection when driving cattle and also reducing loss of the cattle themselves.

20. Kalaupapa Social Hall (Paschoal Hall)

A social hall was erected at Kalaupapa during fiscal year 1915/16. The structure, measuring one hundred ten by forty feet, was set upon one hundred twenty-four concrete piers. A space thirty-five by forty feet was to be used as the social hall, and a twelve by twenty-foot stage would have a movie curtain and be used for amateur theatricals. Seating capacity was for three hundred fifty persons.[82] A moving picture machine had been purchased for the settlement in 1908/09. R.K. Bonine of Honolulu and the Advertiser, Bulletin, and Star newspapers had assisted in procuring funds for the movie outfit. In 1913/14 it was noted that a new moving picture machine had been purchased, and in 1916 a visitor mentioned that the movie apparatus in the "theater" had been installed by Bonine for the government. The theater consisted of a plaster screen in the open, fronting a score of rough benches, lightly roofed over. Films were shown twice a week.[83]

C. Summary of Business and Social Activities

During this 1900 to 1929 period, both the Board of Health and the settlement residents were involved in a number of activities. Individual residents and various clubs carried on a variety of business enterprises, from catching fish that were purchased by the superintendent for consumption by the residents, allowing an alternative

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82. Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii for the Twelve Months Ended June 30, 1916 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1916), p. 43.

83. Katharine F. Gerould, Hawaii, Scenes and Impressions (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p. 176.

Illustration 85. Puahi Street bridge, no date. Perhaps this is the earlier bridge. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


Drahi St
To Hospital

Illustration 86. Bridge on pali trail, no date. This might be the 1910/11 rebuilt bridge. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

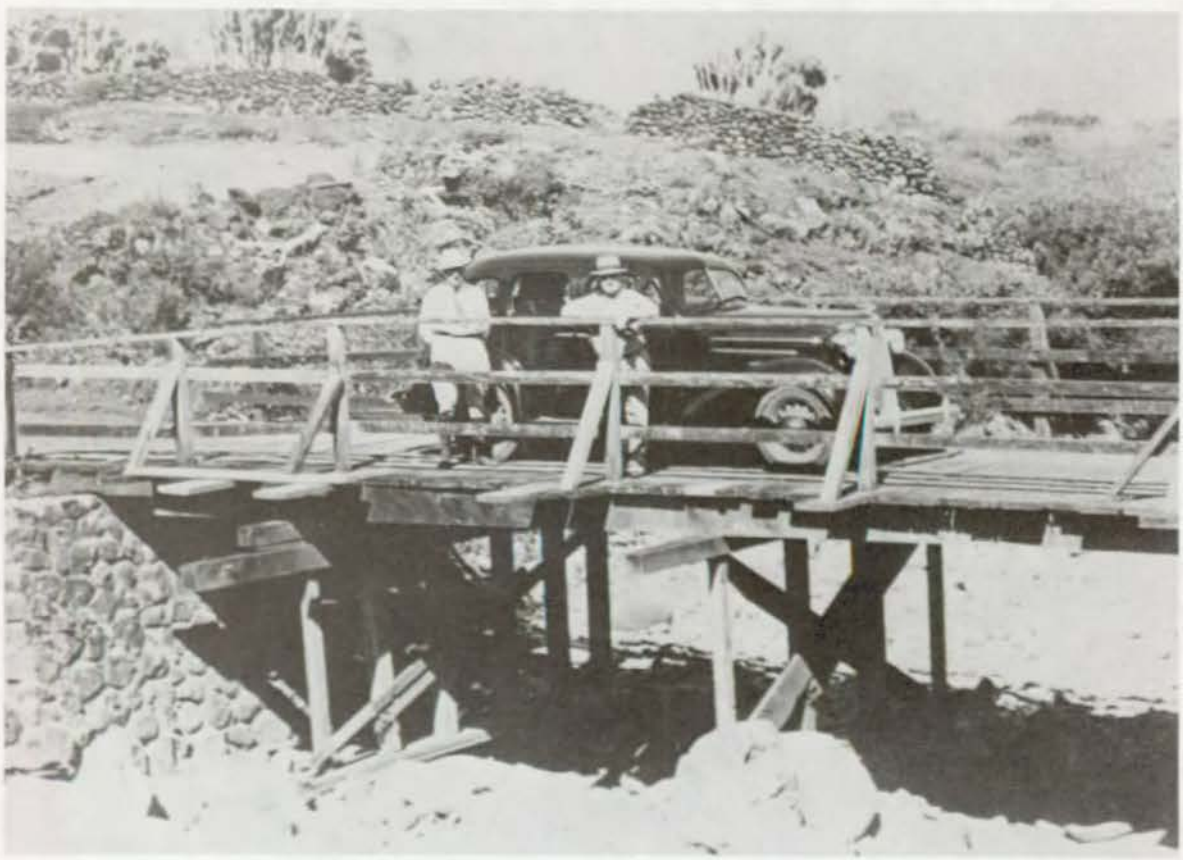


Illustration 87. Bridge leading to new Baldwin Home and pali trail, no date. This might be the 1919/20 rebuilt bridge. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



to meat, to running their own small stores and services. Agriculture, livestock raising, and dairying for local use were engaged in by the board. Employment at fair wages was offered to all residents able and willing to work, though no one was forced to labor.

Six churches--two Protestant, two Catholic, and two Latter-Day Saints--and a Young Men's Christian Association afforded religious privileges. As more residents moved to Kalaupapa, the last regular service at Siloama was held about 1927, and the little church was virtually abandoned until 1938. For about thirty years this branch chapel at Kalaupapa, the New Siloama or Kanaana Church, as it was often called after 1890, stood on the site of the present Calvinist parsonage. Prior to 1901, its bell had been destroyed, and around 1903 or 1904 the steeple was ripped off in a windstorm. By 1914 it was decided that the time had come to build a new church, and in 1915 the present building was erected by Sam Kaaumoana of Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu, who brought carpenters and painters with him. It was called Kanaana Hou, New Canaan, "The Church of the Promised Land."

Various amusement places existed in the form of several assembly halls, a bandstand, a race track, a baseball field, and shooting ranges. Athletic clubs and debating societies had also been formed. Two small brass bands and glee clubs furnished music.

D. Moloka'i Lighthouse

The first lighthouse in Hawai'i was established in 1859 at Kawaihae on the island of Hawai'i to guide oil-laden whaling vessels into port. Following the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States, the Lighthouse Board was directed on December 29, 1903, to take charge of the Hawai'ian lighthouse service. The Department of Commerce and Labor, through the Lighthouse Board, was charged with all the administrative duties relative thereto. The territory was first made a portion of the Twelfth lighthouse district, headquartered in San Francisco, California. Because of the problem of maintaining communications between California and Hawai'i, the Lighthouse Board recommended in 1905 that a Nineteenth lighthouse district be established,

which ultimately embraced the Hawai'ian Islands, the Midway Islands, the island of Guam, and the American Samoan Islands, with headquarters in Honolulu. After 1904, the federal government poured millions into the lighthouse facilities in Hawai'i. From 1904 to 1910, the district was run by both the army and navy. An army officer acting as district engineer had charge of the construction of lighthouses and the placing of the lights. When completed, the lighthouses were turned over to the navy and a naval officer directed their operation and maintenance. On July 1, 1910, the U.S. Lighthouse Board, established in 1852 and consisting of officers of the army and navy and civilians, was terminated and the Bureau of Lighthouses established.[84] On July 1, 1939, the Lighthouse Service was transferred from the Department of Commerce to the Coast Guard of the Treasury Department.

An act of March 4, 1907, appropriated $60,000 for the establishment of a light and fog signal on the north shore of Moloka'i, and an area of 21.6 acres was reserved thereon for the station by executive order of October 27, 1908. Plans were prepared for a reenforced concrete tower and for three concrete dwellings with oil house. In September 1907 it was decided to use at this station the first-order cylindrical helical-bar lantern and the lens ordered for the Makapu'u Point light station on O'ahu. The lantern was completed and shipped in March 1908. The lens consisted of a second-order 180-degree two-panel lens, arranged to show a flashing white light every twenty seconds, mounted on a mercury float, and driven by the usual clockwork and falling weight. The lens arrived at New York in July and was shipped to Honolulu in November 1908.

The tower was octagonal in plan, 20 feet inscribed diameter at the base and 14 feet 4 inches at the top, resting upon an octagonal reenforced

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84. W.K. Bassett, "Towers of Light that Warn the Traveler on Waters of Hawaii," Pacific Commercial Advertiser, March 28, 1920; Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, June 30, 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 164; Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, June 30, 1905 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 17.

concrete base. It was provided at the top with a molded concrete cornice, supporting the lantern. The stairs up to and including the fourth landing were of concrete and from there to the lantern floor were of cast iron. The watch-room floor supporting the lens pedestal was also of cast iron, with steel I-beam below. From this floor to the third floor below a hollow weight shaft extended for the clock. The air lock was in the main stairs just below the service room or fourth floor. The focal plane of the light was 120 feet above the base of the tower and 213 feet above high water. The illuminant was incandescent oil vapor in a 55-millimeter Welsbach mantel, and the geographical range of the light was 21 miles.

The three concrete dwellings were alike, 1½-stories high, with two bedrooms, living room, dining room, bathroom, storeroom, and kitchen on the main floor and an attic above. A wide verandah ran around the front, one side, and part of the rear of each house, and was covered with a roof supported on nine concrete columns. The roofs were frame, covered with corrugated-iron sheathing. The concrete work on the tower began in September 1908 and was completed in March 1909. The ironwork of the upper floors, stairs, and lantern was erected in April, and the illuminating apparatus was in place early in June. The station was to go into commission early in fiscal year 1910.[85]

During fiscal year 1909 several new lights were put into commission. First in importance was the large hyper-radiant light at Makapu'u Point on O'ahu, the landfill light for vessels bound from the states to the Hawai'ian Islands. Next in importance and power was the Moloka'i light. In 1915 the Moloka'i light was noted as having 620,000 candlepower (English candles). The Moloka'i light, in conjunction with the Makapu'u Point light, guided westbound vessels, particularly from southern California, Panama, and South American ports, into Kaiwi Channel, the approach to Honolulu. Keepers from the federal lighthouse service tended

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85. Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, June 30, 1909 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 28.

Illustration 88. Kanaana Hou Church, east side, no date. To right is old YMCA building being used as social hall.

Illustration 89. Kanaana Hou Church, west side, no date. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





the light for the first thirty years, and then the job was handled by Coast Guardsmen living in the quarters on the grounds.

There was no standard type or design of lighthouse keeper's dwelling, because of the many different local conditions that had to be met at each site, including climate and the availability of materials. Attempts were made to tailor the buildings to prevailing local styles and customs and to harmonize them architecturally as much as possible with the light station and its surroundings. At more important lights, the tower was detached from the dwelling and was usually of fireproof construction, as was the one on Moloka'i. Older towers of this type were built of brick or stone masonry, with stairways, lantern, and other appurtenances of cast iron. Later towers had a structural open framework of wrought iron or steel, usually with an enclosed stairwell in the center. Even later ones had reinforced concrete towers, which were expected to be more extensively used in the future. Completely equipped light stations on land usually consisted of the light tower, an oil house, a fog-signal building, the keepers' dwellings, a workshop, water supply and drainage systems, a landing wharf, a boathouse, a barn and other outbuildings, plus roads, walks, and fences. Because of the restricted area of some light sites, several of these purposes might be served by a single building.[86]

The keepers at Moloka'i lived under rigid restrictions because of their proximity to Kalaupapa settlement. They were not permitted to associate with the patients or even with paroled patients. As compensation for these restrictions, they were given privileges not enjoyed by other stations: visitors (except patients) could come to their home at any time, they were given a full month's leave every year on full pay, they were the highest paid keepers in the district, and homes were provided for the three keepers and their families. One of the keepers in

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86. Department of Commerce, Lighthouse Service, The United States Lighthouse Service, 1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 19, 78.

April 1925 had a homestead near Kaunakakai on the other side of the island, where his wife moved each year so their children could attend school. The steep pali trail was used frequently by the keepers on their way to the outside world. Supplies for the lighthouse that were landed on the Kalaupapa wharf were double packed to prevent contamination. The outside covering was burned upon transfer of the materials and foodstuffs inside the reservation. In addition to the principal station near Kalaupapa, there was a light at La'au Point and two range lights elsewhere.[87]

By the late 1930s, the only Hawai'ian lighthouse equipment still in use that had been in existence prior to 1910 were the tower, lens, and dwellings at the Moloka'i and Makapu'u light stations. In 1933 the Moloka'i lens was again listed as 620,000 candlepower--a second order lens with an incandescent oil-vapor lamp, the type generally employed for important lights. A newspaper article during that time noted that

> Life occasionally does a few handsprings for these men [light keepers]. . . . Familiar is the story of the keeper of the Molokai beacon at Kalaupapa, who was busy cleaning his lenses when an earthquake hit the island. As the tremors increased, the spindly tower tipped so violently that the mercury spilt out of the vats carrying the revolving light. Unable to turn in a dry socket, the huge lens was temporarily replaced by an emergency light. This Molokai light, incidentally, throws out a 2,500,000 candlepower gleam, the highest intensity of any marine light on the Pacific coast.[88]

Earthquakes presented a definite hazard to the huge Moloka'i light. In addition to one on December 25, 1925, that scattered mercury from the vat, on January 22, 1938, forty-three pounds of mercury spilled

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87. Henrietta McKaughan, "Lighthouses of Hawaii," Honolulu Advertiser, April 30, 1925; Harry Albright, "Sentinels of the Sea Lanes," Honolulu Advertiser, August 14, 1938.

88. Elizabeth Peet, "Safeguarding Hawaii's Shores," Honolulu Advertiser, January 17, 1937; U.S. Department of Commerce, Lighthouse Service, Light List, Pacific Coast, United States, 1933 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 256-57.

Illustration 90. Moloka'i lighthouse, no date. Courtesy Damien Museum, Honolulu.



out of the vat and caused the lens to stop suddenly at rest on the vertical rollers. The keeper and his assistants poured some spare mercury into the vat until the lens was in motion, having stopped for only fifteen minutes. No other damage was done except for the loss of five feet of stone wall that was shaken loose.[89] In 1939 the Moloka'i light was described as being 2,500,000 candlepower.

In 1948 a newspaper article was written on Fred E. Robins, who had been in charge of the light since 1939. It mentioned that Robins worked in close cooperation with the Kalaupapa authorities and was a member of Damien Post No. 30, the American Legion, and the Lions Club.[90]

In 1966 the Moloka'i Light Station, tended by keepers since 1909, was automated. The two Coast Guardsmen stationed there were transferred. The light would now turn itself on in the evening and off in the morning. The Coast Guard periodically travels from Honolulu by helicopter to service the light.

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89. Albright, "Sentinels of the Sea Lanes," August 14, 1938.

90. Fog, "Fred E. Robins . . .," Honolulu Advertiser, August 2, 1948.

X. KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT REVITALIZATION, 1931-1938

A. Creation of Board of Hospitals and Settlement

By 1929 conditions at Kalaupapa were still considered unsatisfactory. Governor Lawrence M. Judd of the Territory of Hawaii appointed an Advisory Commission on Leprosy to investigate the situation, study the status of the leprosy control program in Hawaii, and make suggestions for improvement. The resulting report made several specific recommendations:

> (1) establishment of a hospital for the treatment of leprosy patients in or near a medical center;
>
> (2) no more compulsory segregation of patients at Kalaupapa (the effect of banning punitive segregation was to eliminate the stigma of the settlement as a penal institution);
>
> (3) more research on susceptibility to the disease; and most important,
>
> (4) development of a program of social welfare that would increase the happiness of the patients and their families.[1]

The commission also offered a plan for the reorganization of leprosy affairs under the territorial government. Responsibility for the public health program for leprosy had rested with the Board of Health from 1865 to 1931. As a result of the Judd Commission findings that there was dissatisfaction with and misunderstanding of the administration of the leprosy program, the 1931 legislature created a separate Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement to function as a policy-making agency and established the position of General Superintendent as its administrative official. (The legislature transferred the program back to the Board of Health in 1949.)

The Board of Hospitals and Settlement, as it was later called, which administered the territory's leprosy program from 1931 to 1949, was a group of five citizens serving without pay, at least two of whom had to be doctors. They appointed their executive officer, referred to as the

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1. "This is Kalaupapa," ca. 1950, V.A. 9, Kalaupapa, History and Description, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 4.

superintendent. This position was held by Harry A. Kluegel. The administration of the settlement was handled independently by the resident superintendent.

The new board established specific policies regarding the leprosy program, and the necessary legislation was pushed through in a strongly worded resolution presented by the Public Health Committee of the Senate. The members of the 1931 legislature were told by Governor Judd that conditions at the leprosy settlement were deplorable and needed immediate attention and correction. Judd requested that a substantial amount of government money be earmarked for the reconstruction, rehabilitation, and development of both Kalihi Receiving Station and Kalaupapa Settlement. In May 1931 Senate Bill No. 70 was passed--"An Act to Provide for the Reorganization of the Territorial System for the Care and Treatment of Leprosy, the Rehabilitation and/or Expansion of the Leper Settlement at Kalaupapa and the Receiving Hospital . . ."--to take effect July 1, 1931. The territory was duly authorized, under the direction of the Board of Hospitals and Settlement, to prepare plans and specifications for a program of construction for the rehabilitation and improvement of the leprosy settlement at Kalaupapa and the Kalihi Receiving Station on O'ahu.

The Superintendent of Public Works was charged with the preparation of plans and specifications and the conducting of contracts for the building projects under the rehabilitation program at Kalaupapa. The Senate Committee on Health recommended that $400,000 be supplied in the 1931 biennium and $200,000 more be expended the following year. The first few years of this period in settlement history were dominated by the board's program of construction and improvement. Most of the buildings at Kalaupapa today are a result of this rehabilitation program. Major revitalization continued through 1938, providing more amenities and facilities than at any other time to date.

B. Rehabilitation Begins

1. Water and Power Distribution Systems

By the end of June 1930, plans and specifications had been prepared and a contract awarded for additions to the power plant, water system, and power distribution system at the settlement. Work involved making an addition twenty feet long and twelve feet wide to the power plant, installing an additional generating unit, and making some additions to the water and power distribution systems. By 1932 improvements had been made in terms of street lighting and installation of fire hydrants.

In April 1932 the "split phase, transformer" system of electrical distribution throughout the leprosarium was supplanted by the "four-wire" method of distributing light and power current. This new method, recommended by the engineering staff of the Hawaiian Electric Company, resulted in better service. On May 15, 1932, the Kalaupapa power plant began operating on a twenty-four-hour basis, supplying current for lighting and electrically-operated radio sets at all times as a comfort and convenience to patients and staff.[2] On September 30, 1933, service was accepted from the Moloka'i Electric Company. Under this contract, using the company's generating plant at Kaunakakai and transmitting the power to Kalaupapa substation, the local power house was used for standby service. Distribution lines had been extended from the power house and the electric shop set up in the shops building with tools and equipment for maintenance of the system and of the electrical apparatus in service throughout the settlement.[3]

2. McVeigh Home

In 1930 plans and specifications had also been prepared, and a contract awarded, for construction of two eleven-room dormitory

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2. R.L. Cooke report in Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 4.

3. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, pp. 3-4.

Illustration 91. Eleven-room dormitory, McVeigh Home, probably soon after construction.

Illustration 92. Kitchen-dining hall, McVeigh Home, possibly soon after construction. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 93. Patient cottages, McVeigh Home, similar to Buildings Nos. 1-2 and 5-6 on south side of home, finished in 1932-33.

Illustration 94. Patient cottages, McVeigh Home, similar to Buildings Nos. 13-16, early 1930s. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





buildings, seventy-nine feet long and fifty-two feet wide, and for one kitchen and dining room building of the same dimensions, all buildings to be of frame construction with shingle roofs. These buildings were completed to replace the facilities destroyed by fire in November 1928.[4] It was recommended that a recreation pavilion makai of the dining hall and between the dormitories be erected.[5]

Construction at McVeigh continued into the next year. By the end of 1931 several jobs were underway. Six cottages on the north side of the home were almost finished as were eight cottages on the south side. All had stained floors, one-by-three painted battens, and concrete walks. The pavilion was partly framed, with rafters and roof sheathing in place. A heating plant with a concrete floor was also being added.[6]

Reports of work completed by fiscal year 1931/32 mentioned the completed construction of fourteen frame cottages to house one, two, or three persons, neatly spaced and conveniently located near the main kitchen and dining room and equipped with hot and cold water, toilets, showers, and partially furnished; a central frame recreation pavilion; a concrete boiler house and hot water distribution system serving all the buildings; and a complete system of roadways, fences, curbing, and

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4. Report to the Governor, Territory of Hawaii, by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1930 (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1931), pp. 24-25.

5. H.A. Kluegel, Special Investigator, "Kalaupapa. Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost," August 15, 1930, V.A.20.a Kalaupapa. Reports, Misc. 1930-1946, M-420, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 5.

6. Earl J. Stephenson, Inspector, Kalaupapa, to B.F. Rush, Acting Superintendent, Public Works Department, November 14, 1931, file Leper Settlement, 1930-1932, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

drainage. A small central laundry building had been authorized but not built.[7]

By mid-1934 a contract had been awarded for additions to cottages and garages of the McVeigh Home. Seven frame one-story, four-room cottages, for two patients each, sixteen by twenty-four feet, were constructed, and two frame open-front four-stall garages, eighteen by forty feet. Also completed were two one-story frame cottages, for five patients each, twenty-eight by thirty-two feet, and one L-shaped frame garage, forty-eight by fifty-eight feet, for seven cars.[8] All cottages had baths and toilets, hot and cold water, and electric lights.

The legislature of 1935 appropriated $135,000 "for permanent improvements including new buildings, additions[,] repairs and improvements to buildings and grounds, furnishings and equipment, for--the settlement at Kalaupapa, the Kalihi Hospital, the Kapiolani Girls' Home and the Kalihi Boys' Home."[9] This Act 24 became effective upon its approval April 10, 1935, and work started shortly thereafter on the continuation of the Improvement Program to July 1936.

At McVeigh Home a new cottage was built for non-patient cooks and one old cottage was moved and remodelled for two patients. New equipment was installed in the kitchen and a covered concrete platform was constructed at the kitchen entrance to accommodate garbage

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7. Report to the Governor, Territory of Hawaii, by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1932 (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1933), p. 18; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement of the Territory of Hawaii for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 43. By June 1932 the home was accommodating seven women and forty-eight men.

8. Report to the Governor, Territory of Hawaii, by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1934 (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1934), p. 13; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 1.

9. Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Territory of Hawaii, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 22.

Illustration 95. Heating plant under construction, McVeigh Home, 1931-32. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 96. Recreation pavilion at McVeigh Home, 1983, completed 1931-32. NPS photo.





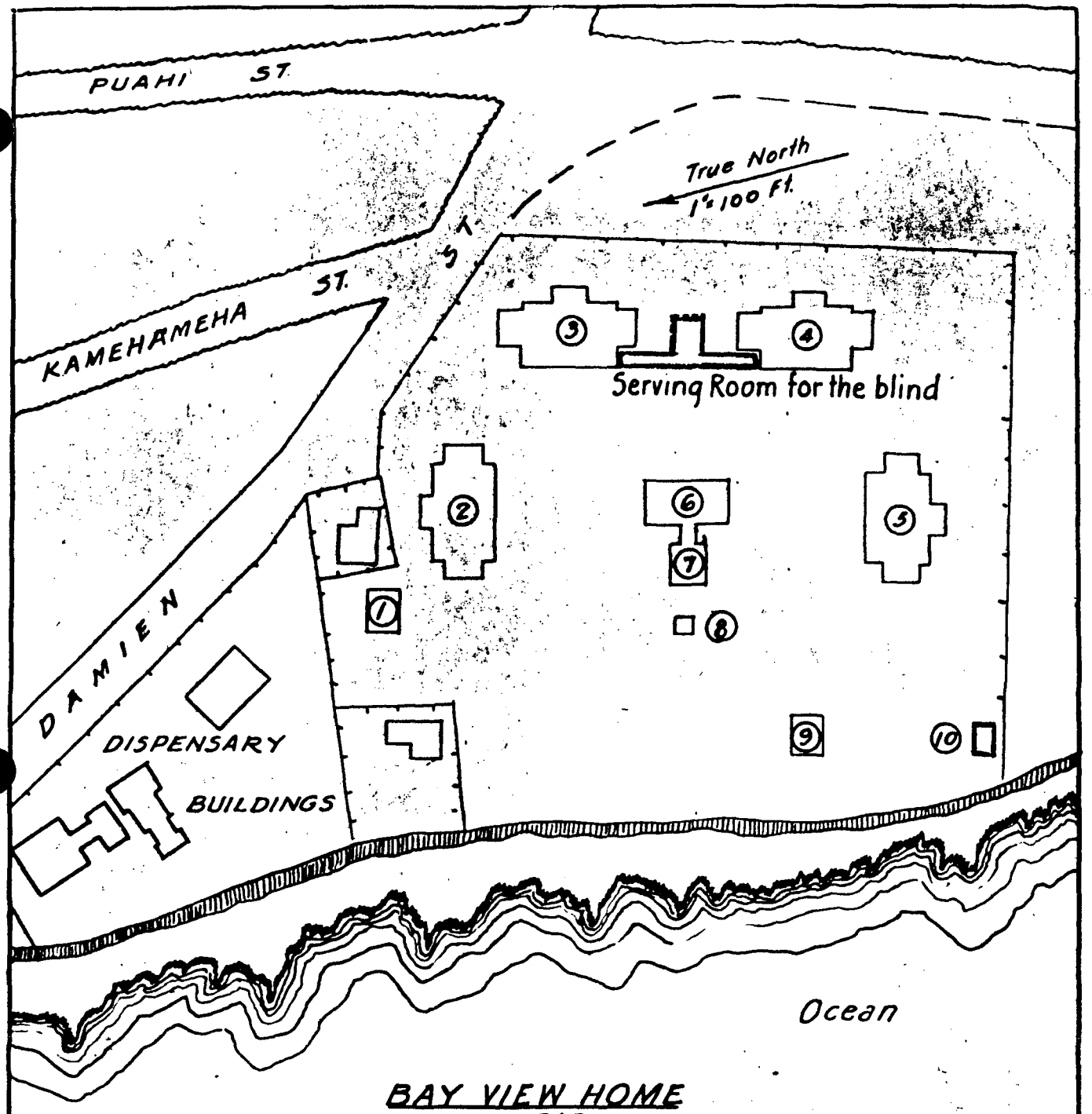
Illustration 97. Kitchen-dining hall of Bay View Home to right, 1938, looking south toward Building No. 4, now gone.

Illustration 98. Kitchen-dining hall, Bay View Home, south side. Kitchen to left, dining room to right, 1930s? Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Map No. 4. Physical layout of Bay View Home, Kalaupapa, Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy, August 1930, Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost, by H. A. Kluegel, M-420, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



BAY VIEW HOME
KALAUPAPA

1 Manager's Cottage	6 Dining Room
2 Dormitory	7 Kitchen
3 Dormitory	8 Heating Plant
4 Dormitory	9 Chapel
5 Dormitory	10 Laundry

Existing Buildings □
Proposed Buildings ■

Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy
H. A. Kluegel, C.E.
August 1930.

can racks, vegetable bins, mop racks, and other utilities. The dressing station was remodelled, and in the dorms obscure glass was put in all doors to improve light in the halls. All driveways were paved and fruit and ornamental trees and shrubbery planted.[10]

3. Bay View Home

In describing the Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind in 1930, H.A. Kluegel noted four twelve-room dormitories, a kitchen, dining room, heating plant, laundry, manager's cottage, and chapel, all under the direct supervision of a paid manager. In 1932 the home was caring for seven women and fifty-one men. Minor improvements, repairs, and painting were done during the year and the kitchen was remodelled and new equipment added. The meat and vegetable room was completely reconstructed and new equipment installed. Provision was also made for a new boiler and hot water circulating system to serve the four large dormitories. In 1934 all Bay View building units were painted inside and out, the central dining room was remodelled, plumbing and wiring overhauled, and a new medical dressing station established.[11]

In fiscal year 1935/36 the old Kalele residence within the compound and its outbuildings were demolished, in addition to an old Japanese store building and various pig pens and chicken coops. The old laundry building was remodelled for the private store and small barber shop moved in from another location. The manager's cottage was overhauled and painted. A new, substantial platform was built adjoining the hot water plant to facilitate the handling of oil drums, and a similar platform was constructed along one side of the kitchen for supplies and garbage can racks. Painting was done on the interior and lānais of the dining room, and the dormitory interiors were painted. The dressing station was also remodelled and painted. The recently constructed paved driveway at Bay View was proving very useful and additional concrete walks were laid out with particular reference to the needs of the blind

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10. Ibid., p. 23.

11. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 2.

patients. Along the shoreline and makai of the driveway, numerous coconut trees were planted.[12]

By fiscal year 1937/38, a serving kitchen and dining room, exclusively for the blind, had been added, as well as a new garage for patients' cars. Two storerooms had been built and additions made to the four dormitories and the main kitchen. All buildings had been screened and repainted.[13]

4. Bishop Home

Several new construction projects were undertaken for the Bishop Home during the rehabilitation period. In November 1931 work in progress included a frame and concrete social hall, a dormitory, and a kitchen and dining room.[14] A month later a laundry and boiler room was also underway. In early 1932 Kluegel specified color selections for certain units at the settlement. The Bishop Home was to have light tan walls, gray trim, and "dust colored" floors. Inside, rooms were to be light gray with very light gray ceilings.[15]

Reports for 1932 mentioned at the Bishop Home a new kitchen-dining room-store room unit, equipped for forty but designed for a capacity of about sixty-five; a new dormitory with nine bedrooms, lounge, etc., with new furnishings; a new social hall; and a new laundry and drying room.

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12. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 24.

13. Report of the Superintendent, Leprosarium, Kalaupapa, R.L. Cooke, in Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 2; Territory of Hawaii, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, "A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938," by H.A. Kluegel, Superintendent of Hospitals and Settlement, file Board of Hospitals and Settlement, 1931-1941, Hansen's Disease, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 9.

14. Stephenson to Rush, November 14, 1931.

15. H.A. Kluegel, Superintendent of Leper Hospitals and Settlement, to Lyman H. Bigelow, Superintendent of Public Works, January 18, 1932, file Leper Settlement, 1930-32, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Map No. 5. Physical layout of Bishop Home for Girls, Kalaupapa, Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy, August 1930, Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost, by H. A. Kluegel, M-420, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

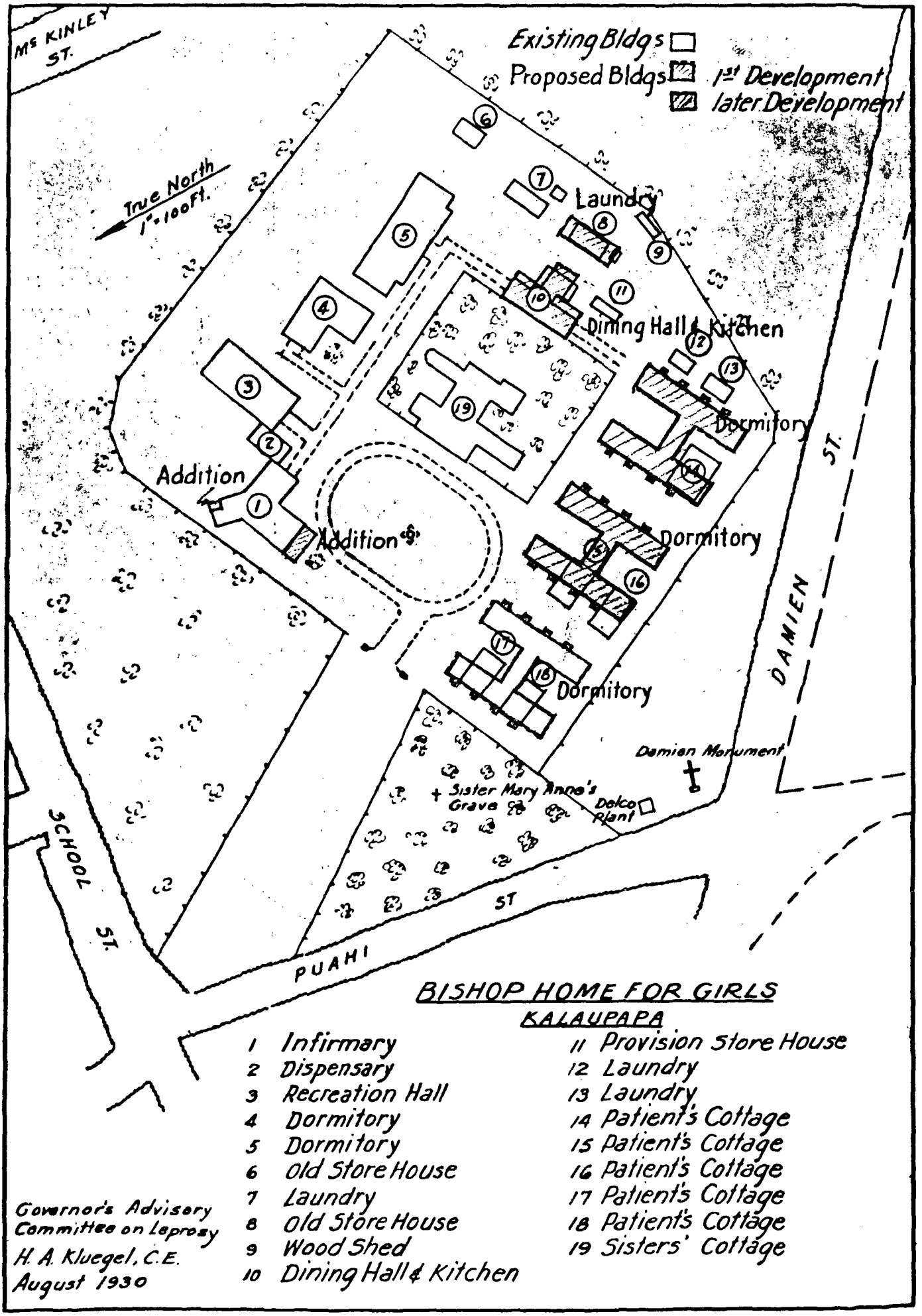

Mc KINLEY ST.
Existing Bldgs
Proposed Bldgs 1st Development
later Development
True North
1"=100ft.
Laundry
Dining Hall & Kitchen
Dormitory
Addition
Addition
Dormitory
Dormitory
DAMIEN ST.
Damian Monument
Sister Mary Anne's Grave
Delco Plant
SCHOOL ST.
PUAHI ST
BISHOP HOME FOR GIRLS
KALAUPAPA
1 Infirmary
2 Dispensary
3 Recreation Hall
4 Dormitory
5 Dormitory
6 Old Store House
7 Laundry
8 Old Store House
9 Wood Shed
10 Dining Hall & Kitchen
11 Provision Store House
12 Laundry
13 Laundry
14 Patient's Cottage
15 Patient's Cottage
16 Patient's Cottage
17 Patient's Cottage
18 Patient's Cottage
19 Sisters' Cottage
Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy
H. A. Kluegel, C.E.
August 1930

Illustration 99. Old social hall, Bishop Home, demolished 1934.

Illustration 100. New social hall, Bishop Home, completed 1932. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



Bishop Home



All were of frame construction with asphalt-shingle roofs. Also added was a reinforced concrete and tile central heating plant and a hot water circulating and distribution system to connect all new and old buildings. All buildings were connected by concrete walks and "telford base" roadways with concrete curbs. A new flagstaff would be added, and improvements to the infirmary were underway. In the course of all this work, twelve buildings had been demolished and removed from the group.[16] The unit was enclosed by a new fence with attractive entrance portals in 1932.

Further rehabilitation work was carried on with additional appropriations made by the 1933 legislature. Three one-story, four-room frame patient cottages with bath and toilet, hot and cold water, and electric lights were constructed in 1934. Also completed was a modern frame cottage for the sisters, measuring thirty-three feet four inches by eighty-five feet, a portion of which was two stories high. It replaced the old cottage and was built on the same spot. Plans were completed for the restoration and enlargement of the chapel that had previously adjoined the sisters' cottage.[17]

During 1935/36, within the sisters' compound, the old store room cottage, chicken coops, and other small buildings were demolished, and a modern chicken unit, fernery, and tool house constructed, and the chapel screened. The side lānai of the kitchen building was enclosed for a vegetable and fruit storeroom, and a wash rack and drain were constructed for washing poi barrels in the rear of the building; the infirmary dressing station was improved by remodelling and the addition of new equipment. Paved driveways were completed and

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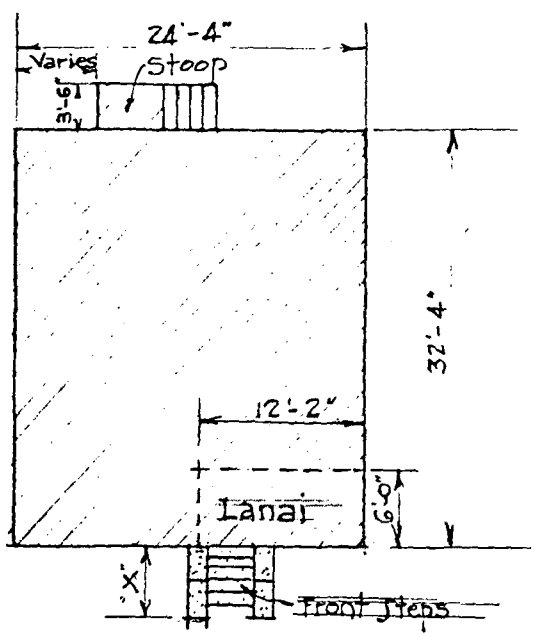
16. Report to the Governor . . . by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 16. The old kitchen, dining hall, and storeroom at the Bishop Home were demolished in 1932, and the old social hall in 1934; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 43.

17. Report to the Governor . . . by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 13; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 1.

further planting done.[18] In 1937/38 three new patient cottages and a storehouse were built and all buildings were screened and repainted.[19]

5. Patients' Cottages

In May 1932 a construction inspector wrote the Assistant Superintendent of Public Works giving him certain information and data on the cost of work done by the Board of Hospitals and Settlement. Under the heading "New Construction" was a list of cottages erected at Kalaupapa. They were built by outside carpenters and finished in December 1931. Their plot plan was the following:



TYPICAL PLOT PLAN of ALL "A" HOUSES
Scale 1" = 15 ft.

NOTE:—
All new houses as 1-A; 2-A, etc., are of similar plan & overall size but some are flopped over to suit various conditions - Location of rear stoop varies as does length "X" of front steps

18. Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Territory of Hawaii, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 23.

19. Kluegel, "A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938," p. 9. The old dorm at the Bishop Home, replaced by patients' cottages, was demolished in 1938.

Illustration 101. Sisters' cottage, Bishop Home, constructed 1934. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 102. New chapel, Bishop Home, restored and enlarged 1934. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 103. House 2A, probably early 1930s.

Illustration 104. House 4A, probably soon after construction in 1931. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

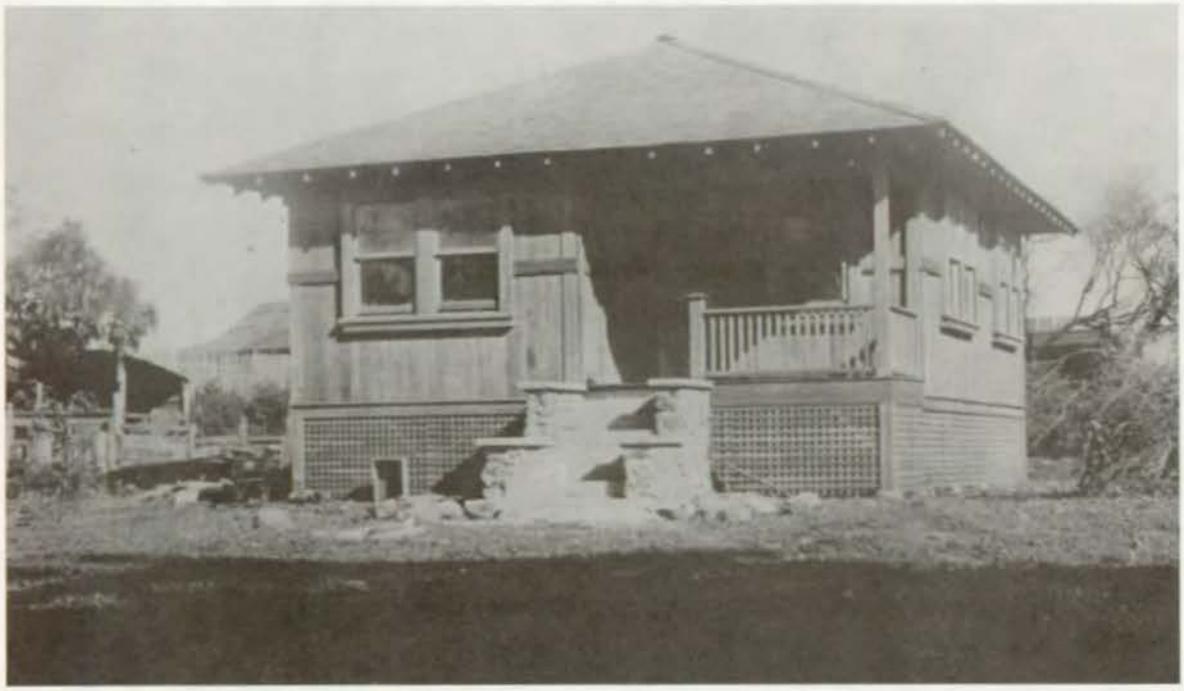
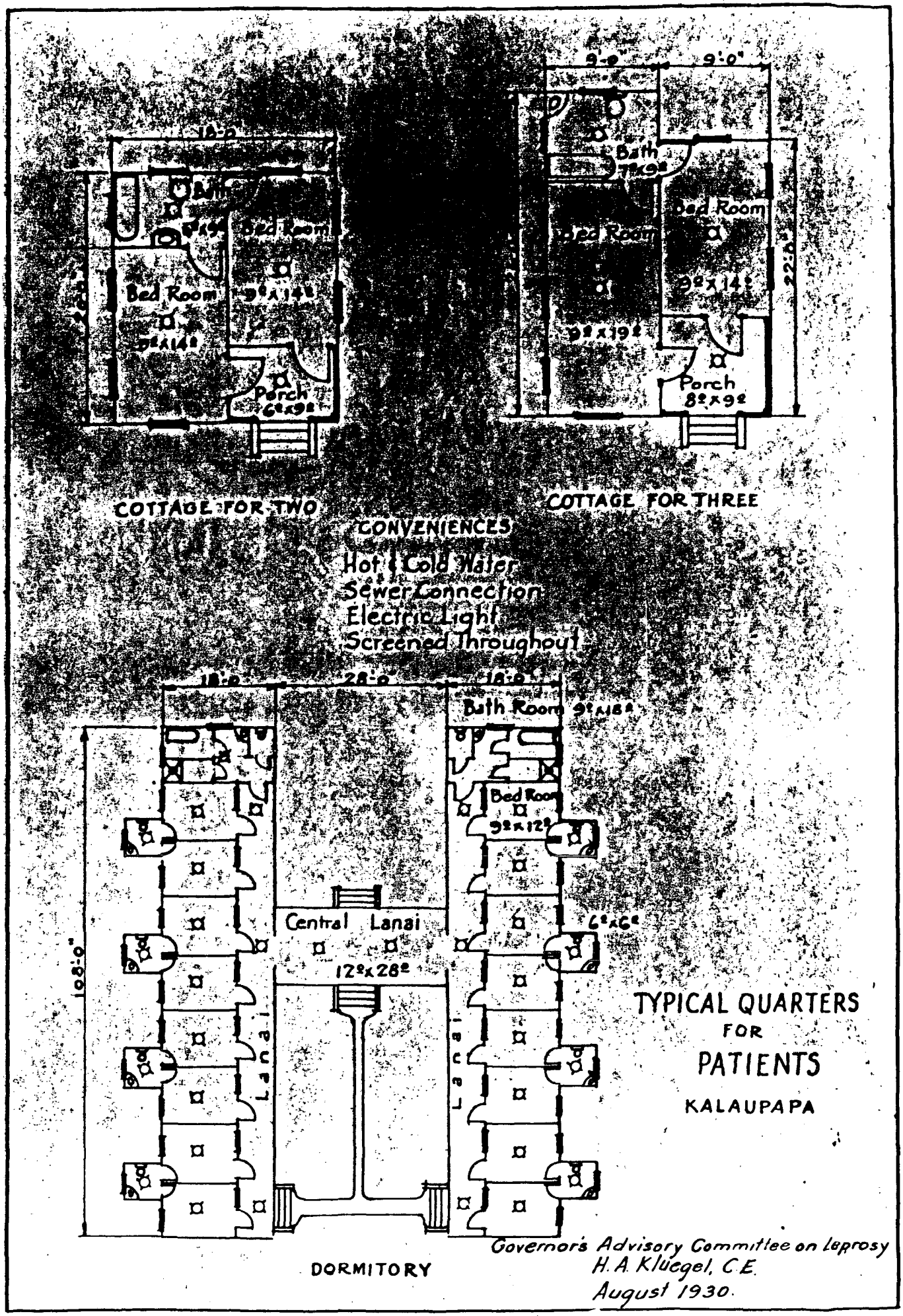




Illustration No. 105. Diagram of typical quarters for patients, Kalaupapa, Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy, August 1930, Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost, by H. A. Kluegel, M-420, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


Bath
Bed Room
Bed Room
Porch
COTTAGE FOR TWO
Bath
Bed Room
Bed Room
Porch
COTTAGE FOR THREE
CONVENIENCES
Hot & Cold Water
Sewer Connection
Electric Light
Screened Throughout
Bath Room
Bed Room
Central Lanai
Lanai
Lanai
DORMITORY
TYPICAL QUARTERS
FOR
PATIENTS
KALAUPAPA
Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy
H. A. Kluegel, C.E.
August 1930.

Locations of the structures were listed as:

1-A	McKinley Street near Damien Road
2-A	near junction of Kamehameha and Kilohana streets
3-A	Kapiolani and Haleakala streets
4-A	McKinley Street near Damien Road
5-A	Goodhue Street between Beretania and School streets
6-A	corner of McKinley and School streets
7-A	Kapiolani and Beretania streets
8-A	Kaiulani near Haleakala Street
9-A	Kamehameha Street opposite Mormon Church
10-A	Kamehameha Street mauka of Catholic cemetery
11-A	Kaiulani Street near Damien Road
12-A	Kilohana Street between Kamehameha Street and Damien Road[20]

The twelve new cottages had two bedrooms, a kitchen, dining room, living room, and bath, with electric lights, running water, and patent toilets. They were connected to the street with concrete sidewalks. The construction work and painting were done by leeward Moloka'i Homestead carpenters and painters. Major repairs were performed on twenty-five residences and dormitories. Approximately twenty-four old buildings, no longer habitable, were demolished and removed.[21]

In 1934 two replacement cottages for patients were constructed in the settlement in addition to the nine cottages built at McVeigh Home and the three at Bishop Home. One was a one-story frame structure with one bedroom, a kitchen, and a living room, measuring twenty-two by twenty-four feet overall, and the other was a one-story frame, twenty-six by thirty-one feet overall.[22]

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20. Earl J. Stephenson to B.F. Rush, May 12, 1932, file Kalaupapa General, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. The letter states that the specific locations of these structures had been placed on a blue line map at Kalaupapa.

21. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 44, and R.L. Cooke's report in ibid., p. 7. The Board of Health inaugurated a policy as of July 1, 1931, directing that toilet, bath tub, and sanitary sink be installed in each dwelling worthy of major repairs. Ibid.

22. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 3; Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 13.

In 1935/36 two new cottages were built and twenty-three remodelled and reconditioned.

6. Hospital and Mental Ward

During the summer of 1930, a thirty-two bed hospital with a nursery, maternity ward, operating room, dining room, kitchen, nurses' cottage, and laundry was being built. It was suggested that a dispensary be incorporated in the new hospital and that the present dispensary site could be used for a new visitors' quarters. The present visitors' house could then be used as the general office.[23] The color scheme inside and out for the new hospital and staff cottage was to be similar to that at the infirmary at Kalihi.

The hospital building opened on July 1, 1932. It was frame with mineral-surfaced shingle roofs. Dimensions of the hospital were 131 feet wide by 160 feet long, and of the dispensary, 30 feet wide by 74 feet long. In June 1932 the hospital was described as having a normal capacity of fifty beds, divided into four separate wards. There were also offices for the doctors and nurses, operating rooms, and an x-ray room and laboratory, all fully equipped; a dining room, kitchen, and store room; and a boiler room unit, incinerator, and disinfectors. The dispensary unit for the treatment of out-patients was connected to the hospital building and contained examination and treatment rooms, a drug room, a general store room, a mortuary, and offices for the doctor, dentist, nurses, and clerk.[24]

In 1935/36 a mental ward accommodating four patients and an attendant was built north of the main building, connecting thereto with

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23. Kluegel, "Kalaupapa. Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost," August 15, 1930, pp. 9-10.

24. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 16; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 43. A dentist was attached to Kalihi, which shared his professional services with Kalaupapa. The old dispensary burned in January 1932, and the dispensary work was then carried on in the Wilcox Memorial Building. Ibid., p. 2.

Illustration 106. General hospital, opened in 1932. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 107. Former mental ward building, 1983. Later used as fumigation room. NPS photo.





Illustration 108. General view toward pali of old general hospital buildings, no date, but possibly prior to 1935/36.

Illustration 109. New Baldwin Home, 1949. Shows refurbishing and repainting of old hospital buildings. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

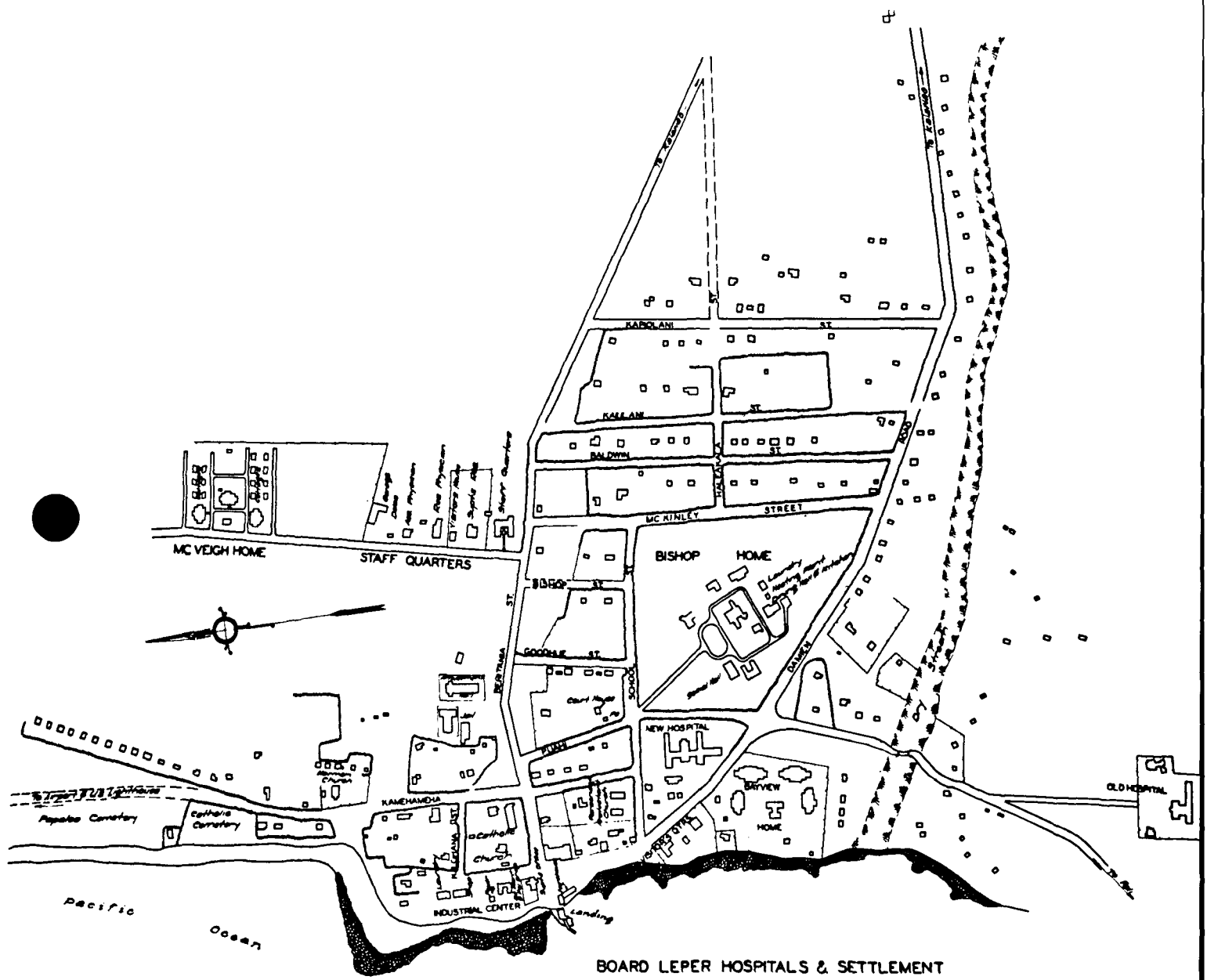




Illustration 110. Catholic brothers' cottage at new Baldwin Home, no date. In 1950 Baldwin Home merged with the Bay View Home. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



Map No. 6. Layout of Kalaupapa settlement, Board of Leper Hospitals & Settlement, September 1932, Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932.



BOARD LEPER HOSPITALS & SETTLEMENT

KALAUPAPA MOLOKAI

Scale

SEPTEMBER 1932

a concrete walk and a new entrance at the end of the main corridor. A four-stall garage for staff use was provided at this time, and the sun porches and corridors were glassed in. Two platforms were built for sun exposure for patients, an open lānai was converted to a storeroom, and other minor alternations were done. The Wilcox Memorial Building in the visitors' compound was remodelled as quarters for the hospital kitchen help and other non-inmate personnel. During this time attendance increased at the hospital, and more in the way of treatment was offered, such as infra-red lamp and ultraviolet ray treatments, massage, sun baths, hydrotherapy, and medicinal inhalations. The former morgue in the dispensary wing was converted into an additional dressing room.[25] In October 1938 the operation of the hospital was placed in charge of the Sisters of St. Francis.

A different hospital system prevailed at Kalaupapa than at Kalihi and different techniques were necessary--at Kalaupapa, hospitalization and treatment were voluntary rather than compulsory. Because the majority of the residents needed hospital care, a responsibility rested upon the hospital staff to create a good understanding of and desire for the relief obtainable from hospitalization and treatment, thus resulting in more complete use of the facilities.

7. New Baldwin Home

Provision in 1932 was made for the conversion of the old Kalaupapa general hospital into a home for about thirty to thirty-five patients and abandonment of the existing Baldwin Home at Kalawao.[26] This was a result not only of Dutton's death and of the general movement to Kalaupapa, but also of the fact that the old home was in such a state of disrepair that it was not economical to attempt repairs or improvements.

In 1934 the patients' dining room-kitchen at the new home was further remodelled, a two-stall garage was constructed, and the

25. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, pp. 6, 22-23.

26. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 45.

grounds much improved. Plans were prepared for a small new chapel to be used jointly by the brothers and the patients.[27] In August 1935 the old Baldwin Home unit at Kalawao of about thirty-six structures was demolished and burned. In 1935/36 a garage and shop building were constructed at the new home, the dressing station was remodelled, and an enclosed entrance to the kitchen was built. All building floors and exteriors were painted and the roofs stained. The new Baldwin Home became a group of red and white-trimmed buildings. There was also further planting of fruit trees.[28] During fiscal year 1937/38, all the buildings were screened and repainted, and a chapel, recreation building, and garage were added.[29] Patient cottages were clustered around the main building and near it also was the small house for the brothers. Next to it was a little chapel and nearby was a grotto on the grounds perfected by Brother Materne Laschet.

8. Staff Quarters

Staff quarters consisting of three houses--for the superintendent, resident physician, and assistant physician--were provided along what is today known as "Staff Row." Each was arranged to accommodate a family and each was supplied with servants' quarters, garages, and other outbuildings. In the past the dentist had lived with the resident physician while at the settlement, and visitors were usually put in his house, which functioned as the staff guest cottage. (The visitors' house, or dentist's house, was later used for kōkuas.) In 1930 the resident physician's cottage had been recently rebuilt following a fire that destroyed all but the kitchen of the old house. A beach house was also available for the staff or their visitors.[30] It was noted at the end of May 1932 that as soon as the old visitors' quarters building could be revised to provide a new office, the present office of Superintendent

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27. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 1.

28. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, pp. 23-24.

29. Kluegel, "A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938," p. 9.

30. Kluegel, "Kalaupapa. Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost," August 15, 1930, p. 4.

George P. Cooke, just south of the superintendent's residence on Staff Row, would be removed.[31]

The chronology of construction of these residences is unclear. The 1908 map of the settlement shows the presence of four structures along Staff Row plus the general office building on the corner. Data was found to the effect that a resident physician's cottage was built in 1901/02 and the assistant physician's house in 1905/06. In question are the construction dates of Buildings No. 5 (superintendent's residence) and No. 8 (dentist's cottage and visitor quarters). In 1890 a superintendent's house and office were built at Kalaupapa. In 1892 a new visitors' house was built near the superintendent's residence. Could these be Buildings No. 5 and No. 8? If so, the visitors' house shown in Illustration 30, labelled as a view taken in 1895, might instead be the visitors' house erected in 1906, because it was definitely located in the landing area (see Illustration 81, which appears to show a visiting corral surrounding the building). Although the present superintendent's residence/dining hall building does not appear very old, the structure was remodelled in 1934, as explained below.

In June 1932 a new frame guest house with mineral-surfaced shingle roof was placed in commission near the superintendent's residence and the old office building. It measured sixty-six feet wide by seventy-two feet long, with a kitchen fourteen feet wide and twenty feet long. It had a dining room and accommodations for ten persons--staff personnel not provided with other quarters and/or official guests.[32]

In 1934 a new kitchen, laundry, and bathroom wing were constructed for the resident physician's cottage. At that time the

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31. Superintendent of Public Works to H.A. Kluegel, May 28, 1932, file Leprosy Settlement, 1930-32, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.

32. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, pp. 16-17; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 44, and R.L. Cooke's report in ibid., p. 3.

superintendent's residence was remodelled and being used as the nurses' cottage, and the superintendent was occupying an apartment in the new staff cottage.[33]

In 1935-36 at the staff cottage, two rooms and bath were added, two lānais glassed in, the lānais and exterior of the building were painted, the stone wall on the Beretania Street side was removed, and a new fence built. The superintendent's cottage was improved by a new roof, the addition of a toilet and lavatory, and interior painting. A two-stall garage was constructed, replacing an old single stall structure, the fern house was remodelled, the chicken yard reconstructed, new fences built, and old outbuildings demolished. In the resident physician's cottage, closets were built in the bedrooms, the office room was enclosed in glass, and a stone entrance was provided for the kitchen. The old adjoining dispensary building was moved to a new location on the premises, repaired, and put in use as a storeroom. New servants' quarters replaced a very old building that was demolished, and a new two-stall garage replaced the two old single garages formerly used by the doctors. At the assistant resident physician's cottage, the lānai was enclosed with glass and screen, and new servants' quarters were built. A drying yard was built for the laundry.[34]

9. Visitors' Cottage

By 1932 a new visitors' cottage was being completed as accommodations for visitors to patients. Two dormitories and a separate dining room-kitchen unit were constructed. The dormitory was a frame building, with asphalt mineral-surfaced roof, nineteen feet wide and forty-nine feet long. It had an ell nineteen feet wide and thirty-four feet long. The separate dining room building was fifteen feet wide and twenty-five feet long.[35]

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33. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 2.

34. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, pp. 24-25.

35. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 18.

Illustration 111. Superintendent's residence on Staff Row, 1949. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 112. Superintendent's house, present staff dining hall and central kitchen, 1983. NPS photo.





Illustration 113. Present Building No. 8, dentist's cottage, also staff visitors' house, no date. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 114. Building No. 8, 1983. The lānai has been enclosed. NPS photo.

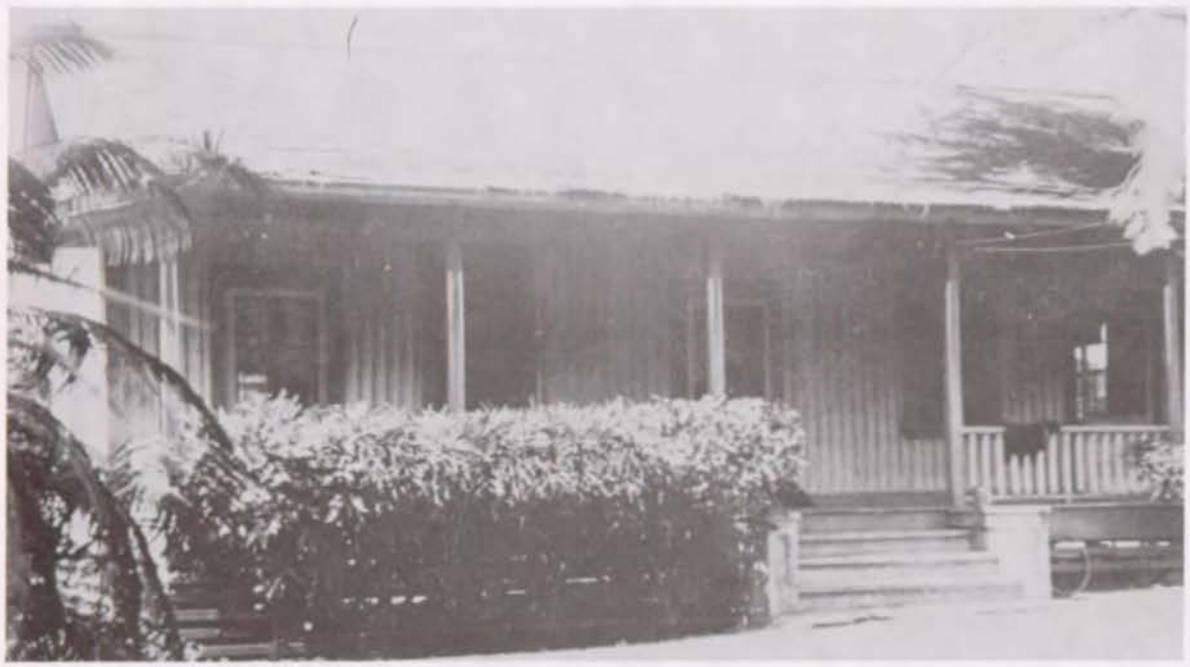




Illustration 115. Staff quarters (Building No. 1) and old superintendent's office to right, ca. 1932?

Illustration 116. Old private dispensary on resident physician's premises, 1932. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.


B.S. Shop
Carpenter Shop



Illustration 117. Resident physician's residence and garage and visitors' cottage, 1932.

Illustration 118. New servants' quarters, resident physician's house, probably mid-1930s. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 119. Assistant resident physician's house (Building No. 14), 1983. NPS photo.

Illustration 120. Staff Row laundry, 1938. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





In 1935/36 the visitors' house, used by visitors to patients on periodic trips to Kalaupapa, comprised a dormitory with separate dressing room facilities for men and women, a kitchen-dining room building, and a visiting pavilion. The Wilcox Memorial Building, located within the area, was remodelled to be used for quarters for certain hospital and other personnel. The kitchen-dining room building was reconditioned and painted and screened throughout. The dormitory was painted and screened on the exterior, all floors and lānais were painted, and drinking fountains installed. A double fence had been built with a hedge growing between the two fence lines, and coconut trees were planted along the shore slope.[36]

The visiting cage in association with these quarters was discussed in 1937 and it was recommended that it be remodelled for comfort and to prevent the temptation to pass goods back and forth through the screen. It was suggested there be a double screen extending up to the ceiling of the cage.[37] The current visitors' quarters, when released, was to be converted into the new office for the resident superintendent.

10. Community Hall

By June 1934 work was partially completed on remodelling this building. Two washrooms with patent toilets were added back of the stage, the balcony for non-patient spectators was enlarged and a separate entrance and stairway provided for it, and the stages were remodelled.[38]

During 1935/36 the exterior of the recreation hall was painted, the roof stained, a new screen erected, and a canec (?) ceiling

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36. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, pp. 25-26.

37. Physicians, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, to Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Sanitation Report with Recommendations Re Kalaupapa Settlement, June 15, 1937, file Hospitals and Settlement--Misc. Corres., July 1949-Sept. 1949, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 8.

38. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 3.

installed in the lānai. Concrete walks and curbs were laid and the grounds improved.[39]

11. Business Area

a. Post Office and Courthouse Building

In January 1932 the Superintendent of Public Works was requested to proceed with preliminary plans for a post office and courthouse building at Kalaupapa on the southwest corner of Beretania and Kamehameha streets. The post office would measure twenty-eight by twenty-two feet and the courthouse twenty-eight by thirty-six feet. The building would have concrete floors, painted concrete tile walls, and a wooden roof with asphalt shingles. A lānai, 8 by 164 feet, would go around the building.[40] Work on the construction of a store building, post office-courtroom, and service station began in May 1934. The buildings were of semi-fireproof construction with concrete floors and concrete hollow tile walls. The tile was manufactured at the site using local black and white sands.[41] The frame post office and courtroom building measured thirty-seven by forty-nine feet.

In 1935/36, in the courtroom, a platform was added and shelving put in at the judge's office, and on the Beretania Street side a concrete walk was laid. Exterior walls were treated with a waterproof color coat.

An informational memo in 1938 mentioned the procedure for processing mail in the post office at Kalaupapa. All four corners of envelopes mailed had to be cut off. The envelope was then placed in a prophylactic chamber that looked like a large, maroon ice box. The lid of the box lifted up on hinges. The floor was screen wire,

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39. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 26.

40. Superintendent of Public Works to H.A. Kluegel, January 20, 1932, (estimates for buildings), file Leper Settlement, 1930-32, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.

41. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1934, p. 2.

Illustration 121. Kalaupapa social hall, 1932.

Illustration 122. Social hall, side view, 1932, and milk issue room and lumber shed to right. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 123. Fumigation of mail, Kalaupapa. Courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.

Illustration 124. U.S. Post Office to left of structure, courthouse in right end, 1984. NPS photo.





about the mesh of window screens. Under the screen was a drawer which held a receptacle resembling a cup. Mail was placed on the screen and the lid dropped shut, making the box airtight. The drawer was then opened and the cup half-filled with potassium permanganate. Formaldehyde was poured into that and the drawer quickly closed. Mail was left in there for eighteen hours. Pouches were likewise treated by the postmaster. The few parcels mailed were deposited at a "branch" post office in the administrative quarters. This was not an official branch, but a separate unit of the regular post office. Mail there was handled by "clean" employees but was also placed in a smaller prophylactic tank just as a precaution. The tank at the main office was on the lānai at the rear of the workroom.[42]

b. Service Station

In January 1932 estimates were given for a public vehicle service station, twelve by sixteen feet, with a gas pump, compressor, and lubricating oil tanks. As with the other new reinforced concrete buildings, it had concrete floors, painted concrete tile walls, and fireproof roofing.[43] It was finished in 1934.

12. Industrial Area

a. Laundry

One of the first new buildings in the rehabilitation of the industrial center was a new central laundry with a boiler plant, which opened to general service July 1, 1931. The structure was sixty feet long by thirty feet wide, and had concrete tile walls, a concrete floor, and a corrugated iron roof supported by steel roof trusses.[44] It rendered free laundry service to the homes, the hospital, and out-patients.

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42. File Board of Hospitals and Settlement, 1931-1941, Hansen's Disease, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

43. Bigelow to Kluegel, January 20, 1932, p. 2. The building eventually measured fourteen by twenty-two feet.

44. Report to the Governor, Territory of Hawaii, by the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year Ending June 30, 1931 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1931), p. 25.

b. Ice Plant

Under construction by the end of 1931 was an ice plant with concrete floors and concrete hollow tile walls. The reinforced concrete building was twenty-six feet wide by thirty-five feet long and housed ice-making machinery capable of manufacturing 1,200 pounds of ice every twelve hours.[45] This ice plant and cold storage unit, placed in commission on January 31, 1932, was used to manufacture ice and store foodstuffs for patients, temporary release patients, and kōkuas. It had individual cooling compartments for meats; green vegetables; milk, cream, and butter; and fresh fish. A greater abundance of fresh milk, fruit, and vegetables would be available at the settlement because of the new facility plus the improved transportation of supplies resulting from the new breakwater at the steamer landing and the new airport. A better diet would hopefully be stimulated among the patients living independently in cottages. An average of five tons of ice per week was manufactured and consumed locally, thus eliminating all ice shipments from Honolulu. Homes and the hospital were supplied from the plant by truck delivery, while patients procured ice as desired through the Kalaupapa store where "ice tickets" were issued and charged against the regular weekly ration tickets. Ice tickets could also be purchased by cash if preferred. The refrigeration unit of the plant, containing the main beef room, cooling room, vegetable compartment, fish room, and ice entrance area stored enough dressed beef for a weekly ration issue.[46]

c. Poi Shop

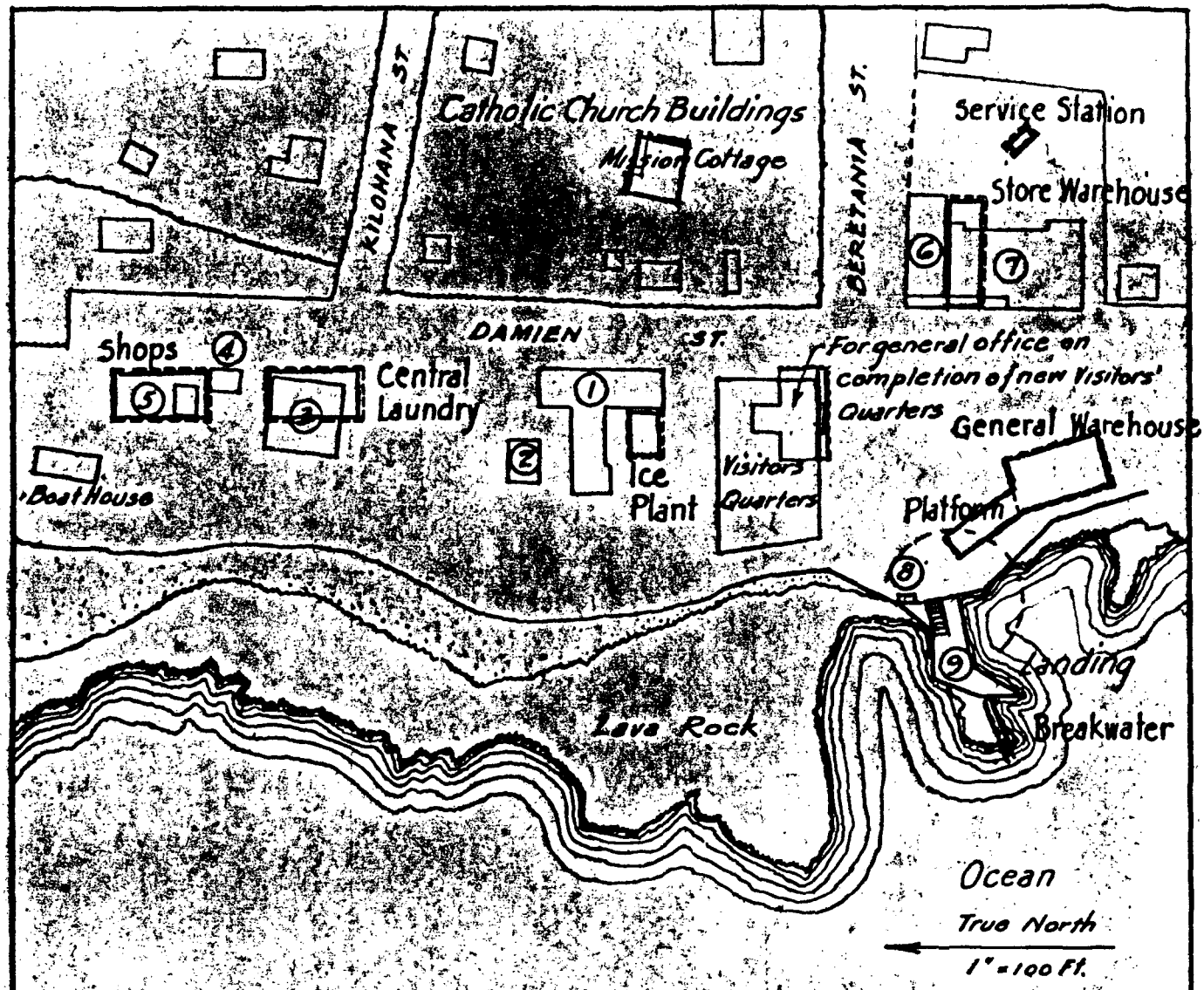
A new poi shop was almost complete by the end of 1931. In 1932 major improvements were made to the building housing the food issue rooms, boiler room, and poi shop. The poi factory and food department building was located beside, and attached by roof and cement runways to, the ice plant and cold storage rooms. The overhaul included

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45. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 17.

46. Report of the Superintendent, Leprosarium, Kalaupapa, R.L. Cooke, in Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, pp. 2-3.

Map No. 7. Physical layout of industrial center, Kalaupapa, Governor's Advisory Committee on Leprosy, August 1930, Recommendations for Improvements and Estimates of Cost, by H. A. Kluegel, M-420, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.



INDUSTRIAL CENTER

KALAUPAPA

1 Poi Factory & Provision Issue Room
2 Electrical Plant
3 Carpenter, Blacksmith & Plumbing Shops.
4 Carpenter Shop
5 Paint Shop
6 Kalaupapa Store
7 Merchandise Warehouse.
8 Boiler & Engine
9 Landing & Derrick

Existing Buildings □
Proposed Buildings ▣

Governor's Advisory Committe on Leprosy
H. A. Kluegel, C.E.
August, 1930.

Illustration 125. Kalaupapa store and service station, 1984, completed 1934. NPS photo.

Illustration 126. New refrigeration plant at Kalaupapa, probably under construction, 1931. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



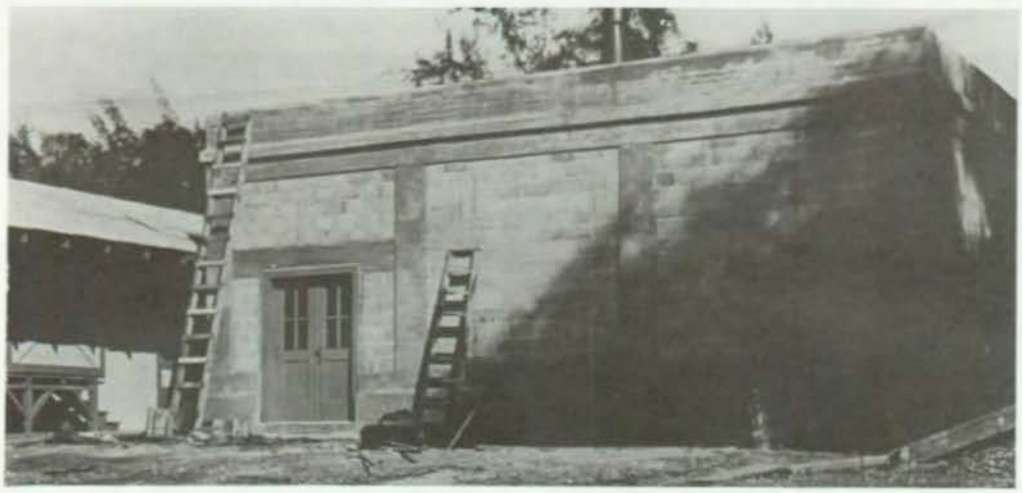


Illustration 127. Interior of laundry, no date.

Illustration 128. Poi shop possibly soon after 1932 overhaul (paint looks new). Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





a new fireproof roof, cement floors throughout, sanitary drains, and screening and partitioning, and made the building conform in color and architectural design with the other buildings of the industrial center.[47]

d. General Warehouse

In January 1932 the Board of Hospitals and Settlement approved erection of a general warehouse makai of the new visitors' cottage.[48] The reinforced concrete building measured thirty by sixty feet, with a concrete first floor, concrete tile walls, and corrugated asbestos roofing. It also had a concrete mezzanine floor and outside platform nineteen feet wide and fifty feet long.[49]

e. Bakery

Preliminary plans for a bakery at Kalaupapa settlement were also approved by the board in early 1932. The structure would be on Damien Road between the shop building and the poi shop.[50] It would measure twenty-four by fifty feet and have a 140-loaf oven, an 80-quart mixer, a dough trough, and a small refrigerator. As with the other buildings in the industrial center, it would have concrete floors, concrete tile walls, and corrugated asbestos roofing.[51]

The former women's clubhouse was remodelled as a bakery and painted during 1935/36, and new bathroom fixtures were installed. A concrete block addition for the oven and a new garage and

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47. Ibid., p. 3.

48. H.A. Kluegel to Lyman H. Bigelow, January 13, 1932, file Leper Settlement, 1930-32, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

49. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 18.

50. Ibid.

51. Lyman H. Bigelow to H.A. Kluegel, January 20, 1932, file Leper Settlement, 1930-32, Bureau of Public Works, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.

laundry were added, and an oil-burning oven, an oil tank, and other bakery equipment were put in.[52]

f. Store with Storage Room

Also part of the industrial center was a thirty-by-sixty-foot store, with a lānai nine by sixty feet and a storage room thirty by thirty-five feet. It had a concrete floor, plastered concrete tile walls, and a wooden roof with asphalt shingles.[53] It was completed in 1934. During 1935/36, a portion of the loading platform was enclosed for a feed room, a rubbish platform was constructed, and concrete walks and curbs were laid. The exterior walls were treated with a waterproof color coat.

g. Shops Building

The shop building was completed and accepted in October 1931. It was thirty feet wide by sixty feet long, with concrete tile walls and floor and corrugated asbestos roofing. This fireproof building housed the carpenters, painters, plumbers, blacksmith, and the battery-charging plant.[54] Construction of this important unit made it possible to demolish three unsightly buildings formerly on the site of the new structure.

h. Corporation Yard: Garage and Gas Pump Additions

A two-stall extension was added to the garage and a gasoline tank, pump, and shed installed in the corporation yard.[55]

i. Industrial Center: General

During 1935/36 the office building was painted on the exterior, one room was remodelled for the electrician's office, and

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52. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 27.

53. Ibid.

54. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 15; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 44.

55. Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 44.

Illustrations 129-130. Interior of poi shop, no dates. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 131. Food department building, cold storage rooms to left, shops on right, 1949. The ice plant, general warehouse, and shops building were whitewashed by that year.

Illustration 132. Main warehouse, 1949. Patients' section added 1937-38. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





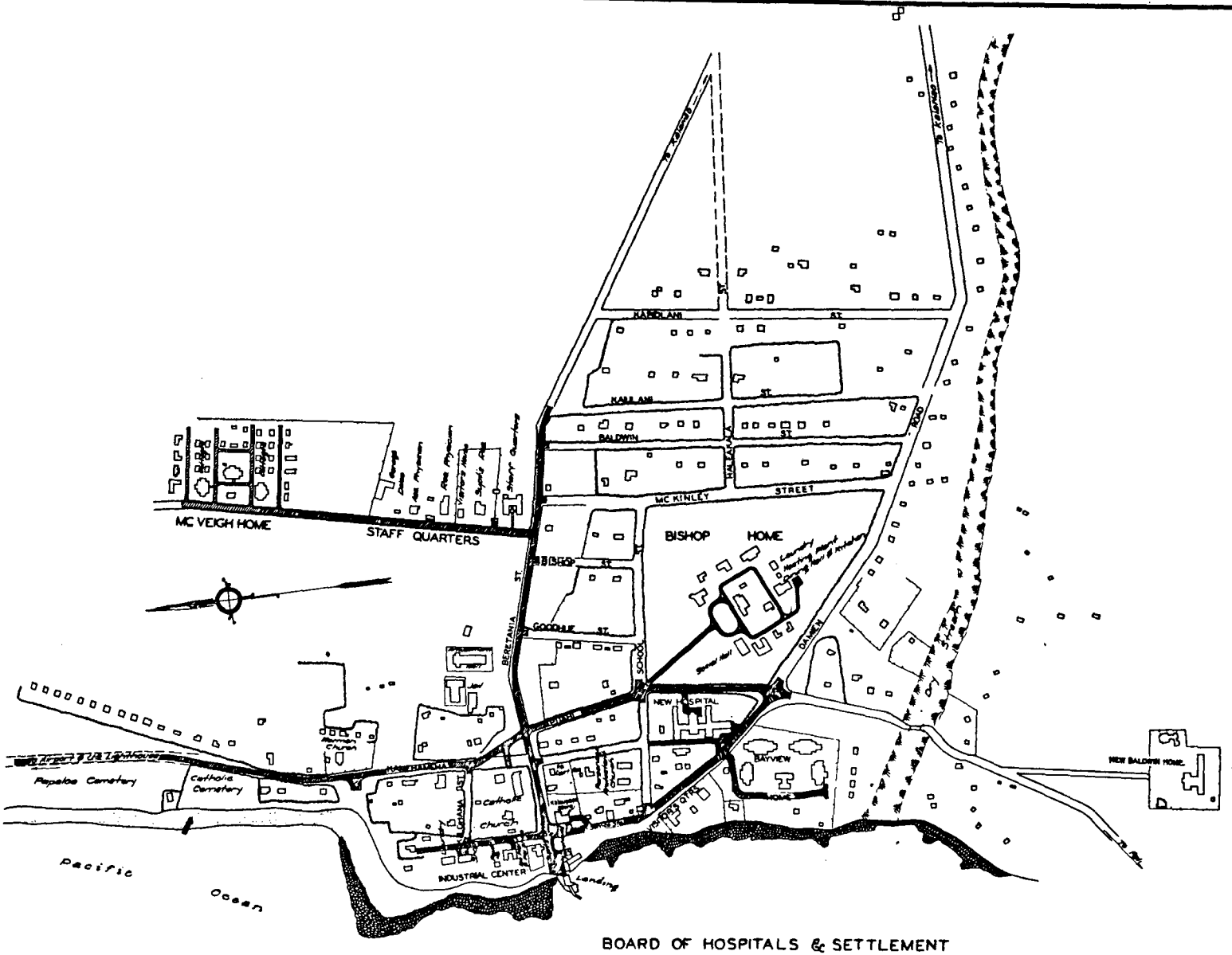
Illustration 133. Old Kalaupapa bakery, 1932.

Illustration 134. Womens' clubhouse, probably pre-1935. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Map No. 8. Layout of Kalaupapa settlement, Board of Hospitals & Settlement, 1936, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936.



BOARD OF HOSPITALS & SETTLEMENT

KALAUPAPA MOLOKAI

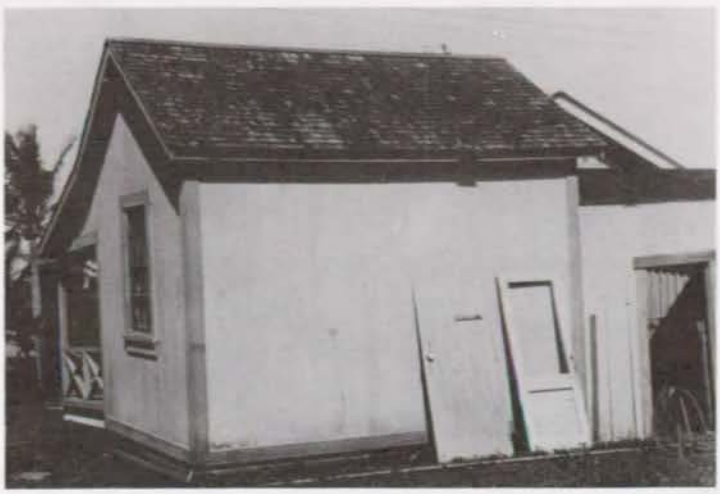
Scale

1936

Illustration 135. Old shop building, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 136. New shop building, probably soon after construction in 1931. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





concrete walks were laid. A washroom and toilet were provided for non-inmate workers, and cold storage compartments were overhauled. The poi shop and food building was painted inside and out.[56]

j. Landing and Breakwater

By the end of 1931 a landing dock had been completed and half of the breakwater stone was in place. A specified area around the boat landing was off-limits to patients and kōkuas and was marked off by a fence of iron posts and a steel cable. Work was delayed for some months because the original contractor who began the project in September 1931 failed to continue. The project was then taken over by the bondsmen. Construction was estimated to be finished by mid-July 1932.

13. Additions to Water System

In 1931 a 750,000-gallon steel water storage tank was erected, with pipe connections to the existing reservoir and distribution system.[57]

14. Aviation Field

By December 1931 the rock knolls on the tip of the peninsula were being leveled in preparation for installation of a landing strip. Framing for a rest house was being erected at the same time. By the end of May 1932, the airport was completed. The runway was 2,000 feet long by 200 to 500 feet wide. Throughout 1934 work on surfacing and sodding the runway was carried on and water pipes laid for irrigation of the grass cover. The frame three-room rest house, eighteen feet wide by twenty-six feet long, had an asphalt shingle roof. Wire fencing enclosed a sixteen-acre field. Although construction was complete, use of the landing field had to await settling and packing of the fills and

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56. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 27.

57. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1931, p. 26.

grassing of the area.[58] The formal opening of the new Kalaupapa airport took place on August 2, 1933.

15. Church-Related Structures

a. Catholic

Plans and specifications had been drawn up and a contract awarded for construction of a one-story frame cottage forty-three feet long by thirty-two feet wide with an ell fifteen feet long by ten feet wide. The shingle-roofed cottage was to be used by the Catholic mission and was completed by June 1931.[59] During fiscal year 1935/36, a laundry was established in one of the cottages on the mission premises to handle the laundry service of the brothers at Baldwin Home and of the resident priest.

On July 1, 1935, the Damien chapel at Kalawao and its premises and graveyard were declared a public memorial to Father Damien. On January 27, 1936, the remains of Father Damien De Veuster were disinterred from the crypt at the Church of St. Philomena at Kalawao, where they had lain since 1889. King Leopold of Belgium had requested through President Franklin D. Roosevelt that Damien's remains be restored to his native land for enshrinement. Rites at graveside were conducted by Bishop Stephen P. Alencastre. A large gathering of government and church officials was in attendance. The members of the settlement were also present to pay their last respects to the memory of the priest who had labored so long on their behalf.

b. Calvinist

The Calvinist parsonage was completed by June 1932. It was a frame building of ell shape, measuring thirty-five feet long and twenty feet wide from one ell, and fourteen feet wide and eighteen feet

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58. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 16; Annual Report of the Superintendent, Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement . . . for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 44.

59. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1931, p. 24.

Illustration 137. Catholic rectory, 1983. NPS photo.

Illustration 138. Calvinist parsonage, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





long from the other ell. It also was covered with an asphalt mineral-surfaced roof.[60]

At the Calvinist Church during 1935/36, a patent toilet and washroom were installed in the Sunday School building in a room partitioned off for that purpose. These conveniences replaced the old, unsanitary facilities in the yard that were eliminated. At the parsonage, the entrance lānai was enclosed with storm windows and other necessary repairs made.[61]

c. Mormon

On the Mormon church premises a new parsonage was constructed during fiscal year 1935-36, complete with all services. An old cottage on the site was demolished.

16. Miscellaneous

a. Telephone Line

During 1932 a connection was made from the settlement to the end of the new line of the telephone company, constructed during the year and terminating at the foot of the pali. According to Superintendent Cooke, the first telephone on the island was constructed by John Cassidy for the Territory of Hawai'i through the efforts of Superintendent Jack McVeigh of Kalaupapa settlement. The line extended from the settlement to the valleys of Waikolu, Pelekunu, and Wailau, crossing each of the gulches with a span of wire. It came up the pali through Kala'e and Kualapu'u to Kaunakakai and along the lee shore to Halawa Valley. The phone was necessary to enable McVeigh to place orders for taro supplies. This way he could communicate with people in the windward valleys and in Halawa to arrange the amounts of pa'i 'ai and taro needed and the time the steamer would call at those valleys.[62]

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60. Report to the Governor . . . for the Year Ending June 30, 1932, p. 17.

61. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 26.

62. Cooke, Mooleleo O Molokai, p. 81.

b. Ladies' Social Club

A womens' social club was organized in 1932 by Mrs. R.L. Cooke, and it quickly became a social and cultural focal point of the settlement.

c. Roads

In 1934 a rock crusher, road roller, and other equipment were purchased. As soon as the rock crushing plant was completed, the road improvement program got underway.

During 1935/36, paved driveways were completed at Bishop, McVeigh, and Bay View homes, at the hospital, store, gas station, and Catholic Church, and in the landing and warehouse area. Parking spaces at the post office, store, office, and hospital were included. Paving was completed on Damien Road, from Puahi Street to the laundry; on Puahi Street from Damien Road to Beretania; on Kamehameha Street from Beretania to the cattle guard at Pāpa'aloa; on Beretania Street from Damien Road to Kauilani Street; and on McVeigh Road from Beretania past the McVeigh Home, including the approaches to the corporation yard and staff garages.[63]

d. Grounds Improvement

During 1935/36 fiscal year, a plant nursery was developed by clearing two house lots and demolishing old buildings and trees in the area, followed by construction of fencing gates, a lath house, a tool house, and toilet, providing a suitable place and facilities for the care and propagation of plants. A large number of trees and other plants were shipped in from Honolulu, including 1,000 banana sets and 2,000 young coconut trees from Kaua'i. Available local material was also gathered at the nursery for future use. Planting was carried out in various public places, and trees and shrubs were distributed for use in patients' gardens.[64]

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63. Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1936, p. 28.

64. Ibid.

Illustration 139. Mormon Church, no date. The structure to the left might be the 1904-era chapel erected at Kalaupapa. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



Illustration 140. Construction camp on beach, 1950s. Possibly the dining room-kitchen building that was added in the mid-1930s.

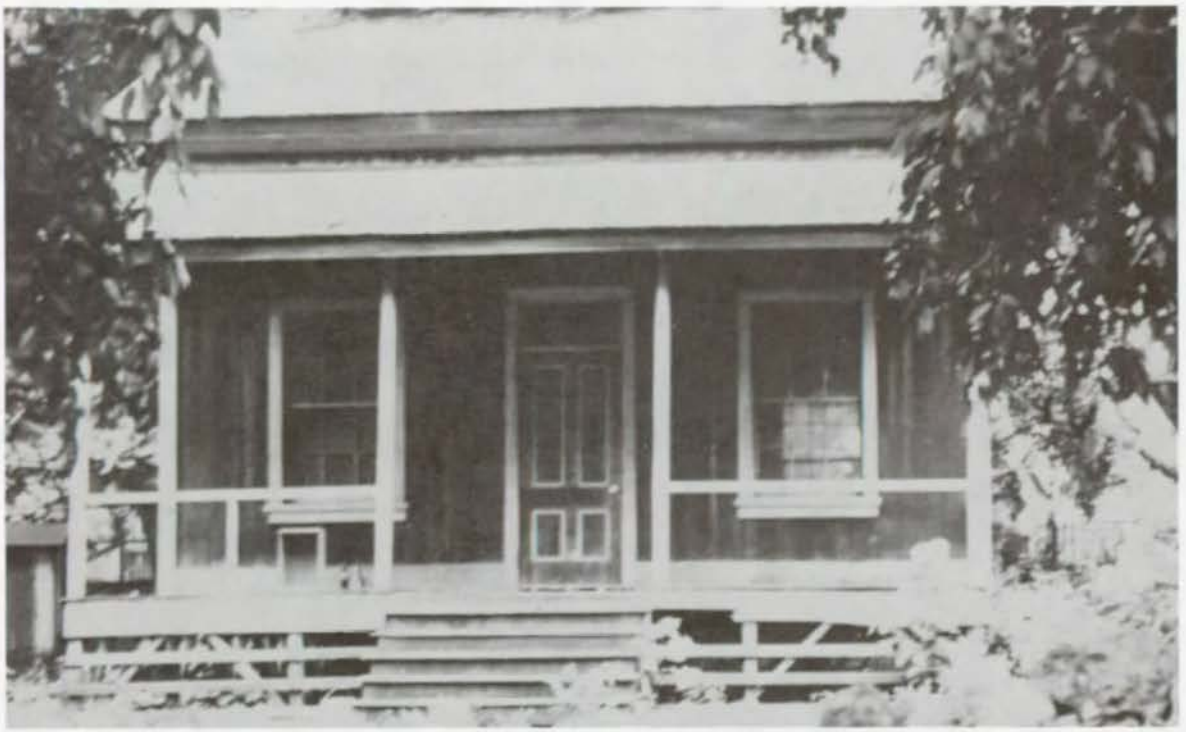
Illustration 141. Torii gate, Japanese clubhouse, no date. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Illustration 142. Old Kalaupapa courthouse, 1934.

Illustration 143. Chinese clubhouse, no date. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





e. Beach Camp

During the 1935/36 fiscal year, the old beach construction camp was overhauled, a dining room-kitchen building was added, and improved facilities were provided.[65]

f. Clubhouses

(1) Japanese

At the Japanese clubhouse during 1935/36, improvements consisted of a torii gate and an addition to the main building.

(2) Filipino

During 1935/36 the old courthouse used as the Filipino clubhouse was moved a short distance. A new roof, toilet, kitchen, and cesspool were added, and the building was painted throughout.[66]

g. Chinese Junk "Foo-po II"

On October 25, 1935, Captain Eric de Bisschop and a Mr. Tatibonet were brought ashore from the Chinese junk Foo-po II and cared for at staff quarters. They were seriously ill from lack of food and water and had put in at Kalaupapa in distress. The morning of the twenty-seventh, the mooring lines of the junk broke and the vessel was wrecked.

h. Pali Station

In early 1936 a barrier was built at the top of the pali trail, a cabin was erected, and a phone was installed.

17. Additional Building Programs

The rehabilitation program for Kalaupapa, Kalihi Hospital, Kalihi Boys' Home, and Kapiolani Girls' Home was carried on actively and continuously between July 1, 1931, and June 30, 1938. The execution of

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65. Ibid., p. 27.

66. Ibid., p. 26.

the program followed the original policies and plans adopted by the Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement upon its organization. In the summer of 1937 it was reported that a two-year building and improvement program for Kalaupapa settlement and Kalihi Hospital had been made possible by a legislative appropriation of $225,000. The program would begin early in June. Of the total sum, $200,000 would be spent at Kalaupapa on twenty-eight projects. The work would be carried on by the board under Kluegel's supervision. One of the major items was $43,000 for roads, including new equipment and repairs at the crusher plant, a continuation of grading and paving in the settlement, at Puahi bridge, and at the airport. Included in the work would be construction of fourteen new patient cottages; expenditures on the water system and electricity distribution; improvements at Bishop, Bay View, Baldwin, and McVeigh homes; and further improvements at other service structures in the settlement. Other additions would be barracks for nonpatient employees; tennis, basketball, and volleyball courts; a cemetery; a non-patient infirmary; and further landscaping.[67]

A report of outstanding improvements completed under the improvement program at Kalaupapa during fiscal year 1937/38 mentioned completion of new features, additions, and improvements to the water system; extensive planting; improved grounds; construction of barracks for nonpatient workmen; an addition to the general warehouse exclusively for patients; a new corporation yard and garage; a new materials shed and concrete hollow tile plant and rock crusher; and remodelling and improvement of about forty patient cottages.[68] Also continued was the demolition of buildings of various classes not fit for further use.

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67. Honolulu (Hawaii) Advertiser, May 18, 1937, file Board of Hospitals and Settlement, 1931-1941, Hansen's Disease, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

68. Kluegel, "A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1938," p. 9.

C. Ernie Pyle Visit to Kalaupapa

The famous correspondent Ernie Pyle visited Kalaupapa in December 1937 and January 1938 and presented his experiences there in several widely-read newspaper columns that were later revised as one chapter in his book Home Country, printed in 1947. He mentioned the high, padlocked gate at the top of the pali trail, with barbed wire stretched around it, regulating traffic onto and off the peninsula. A cabin stood just above the gate, where a watchman was stationed, in contact with the settlement by telephone. Pyle also mentions the Japanese servants quartered behind the staff homes. Staff Row was overshadowed by huge coconut trees, and the homes were almost hidden by banana trees and banks of flowers. A sheriff and five policemen, either patients or ex-patients, enforced the few settlement rules regarding firearms, fighting, profanity on the streets, and petty thievery. A wide variety of business activities kept the patients busy. Six of them were cowboys, tending the settlement herd of 300 cattle, the meat going to the patients. Some patients grouped together and caught fish to sell to the settlement. Others did carpentry work and some functioned as nursing assistants. Four or five ran their own small stores, and independent shopkeeping was encouraged. (The advent of electric current encouraged patient labor by providing an incentive to buy appliances such as radios, electric ice boxes, and stoves.) All patients received twenty dollars a year, in quarterly installments, from the government for pocket money. Those who received extra money from families had beach cottages for weekend use.[69]

69. Pyle columns, December 27 and 29, 1937.

XI. SUMMARY OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AT KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT DURING 1931-1938

The following are the principal accomplishments at Kalaupapa during the 1931-38 rehabilitation period. During the rehabilitation program, 160 dwellings, dormitories, and industrial buildings and 310 garages, outbuildings, and miscellaneous structures were demolished. Reconditioned structures, under the same classifications, numbered 85 and 45 respectively; and constructed new, 90 and 65.

A. McVeigh Home (for Men and Women).

As of July 1, 1931, that unit consisted of two twelve-room dormitories equipped with toilet and bathing facilities, a central dining room-kitchen building, an old wash house, a water tank, and five or six scattered small cottages and outbuildings that were later removed or demolished, except for one small cottage. From July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1938, the following additions and improvements were made at McVeigh:

1. Patients' Quarters

Twenty-one two-room and two four-room cottages were built and the two dormitories and one old cottage remodelled and reconditioned, providing a normal capacity for seventy-four patients. A two-bedroom cottage was also built for non-patient employees. The dorms and all cottages had electric service, hot and cold water connections, shower and/or tub baths, patent toilets, sinks, and lavatories.

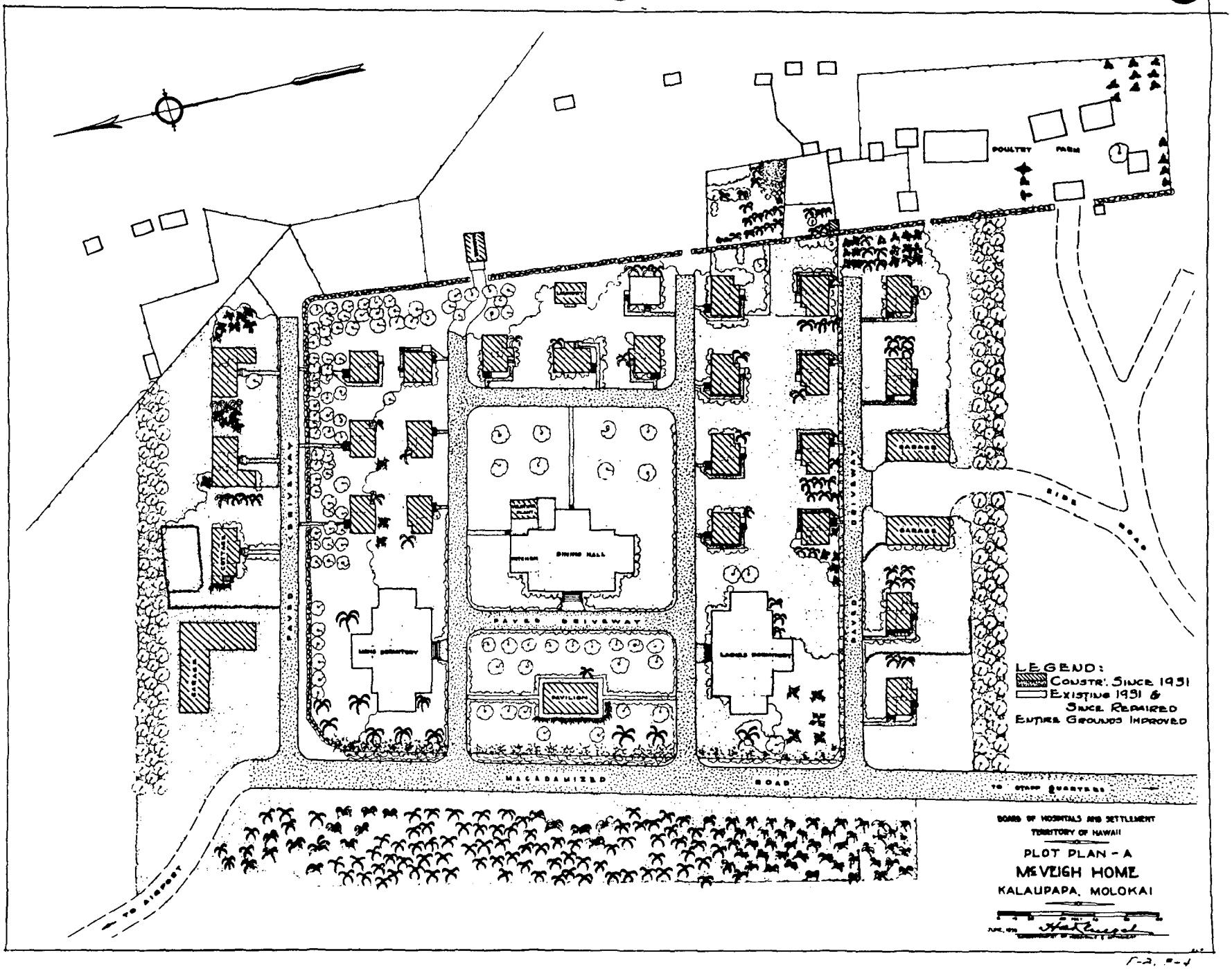
2. Dining Room-Kitchen

This building, with a capacity for about eighty patients, was reconditioned and remodelled.

3. Laundry

A small laundry pavilion for the use of patients, with electricity, hot and cold water, laundry trays, electric washer, and irons, replaced the old building, which was demolished.

Map No. 9. Plot plan A, McVeigh Home, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.


POULTRY FARM
DINING HALL
PAVED DRIVEWAY
PAVED DRIVEWAY
MACADAMIZED ROAD
TO AIRPORT
GARAGE
GARAGE
LEGEND:
CONSTR'D SINCE 1931
EXISTING 1931 & SINCE REPAIRED
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN - A
McVEIGH HOME
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

4. Hot Water Plant and Circulating System

This system was installed with connections to all cottages, dormitories, the laundry, and the kitchen-dining room.

5. Medical Dressing Station

This building was overhauled and modernized with a part-time attendant attached to the medical staff in charge.

6. Recreation Building

This structure was equipped with a pool table, games, and reading matter.

7. Garages

Three garages for patients' use were built, providing fifteen stalls and one storeroom.

8. Paved Driveways and Concrete Walks

Contributing to the attractive appearance of the home was the system of driveways and walks serving all sections of the compound. Along with planting of trees and shrubs, it greatly added to the morale of the patients.[1]

B. New Baldwin Home (for Men and Boys).

Upon completion of the new hospital, the old hospital was reconditioned and equipped as a unit with a capacity for about thirty patients, under the supervision of the Brothers of the Sacred Hearts. The patients and brothers, who had long been at the original Baldwin Home at Kalawao, were then moved to Kalaupapa. The old home was dismantled and demolished, all of the buildings being beyond repair. The board wanted all patients brought to Kalaupapa for better supervision, more direct contact, and to better avail themselves of various services supplied by the board. Of the old hospital group, four or five

1. Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Territory of Hawaii, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938, pp. 23-24.

outbuildings were demolished; the former nursery, reconditioned and refurnished throughout, was then occupied by the brothers; the nurses' cottage housed four or five patients; and the main building was remodelled to provide accommodations for about thirty patients plus dining room and kitchen facilities.

A new wing was added to the brothers' cottage to provide a small chapel arranged for combined use by the brothers and the patients; a garage and shop and modern chicken unit were built for the brothers. Other features included a garage and a billiard and recreation room for patients. A considerable area was planted in bananas and papayas. This task was important in providing an ample supply of locally grown fruit to the settlement.[2]

C. Bay View Home (for the Aged and Blind)

On July 1, 1931, this home consisted of four twelve-room dormitories with toilet and bathing facilities, a central dining room-kitchen building, a hot water plant furnishing limited service, a store house for patients' belongings, a small chapel, and three cottages, two of which were later removed. After July 1, the following changes were made:

1. Patients' Quarters

A small extension was made to each of the four dormitories, all of which were reconditioned, including full screening. Capacity was increased from forty-four to fifty-six patients.

2. Other Cottages

A new cottage was built for the home supervisor and the one old cottage was reconditioned for kitchen workers.

3. Dining Room-Kitchen

This unit was much improved by the addition of a meat and vegetable room, a covered service platform, and new equipment.

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2. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Map No. 10. Plot Plan A, Baldwin Home, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.

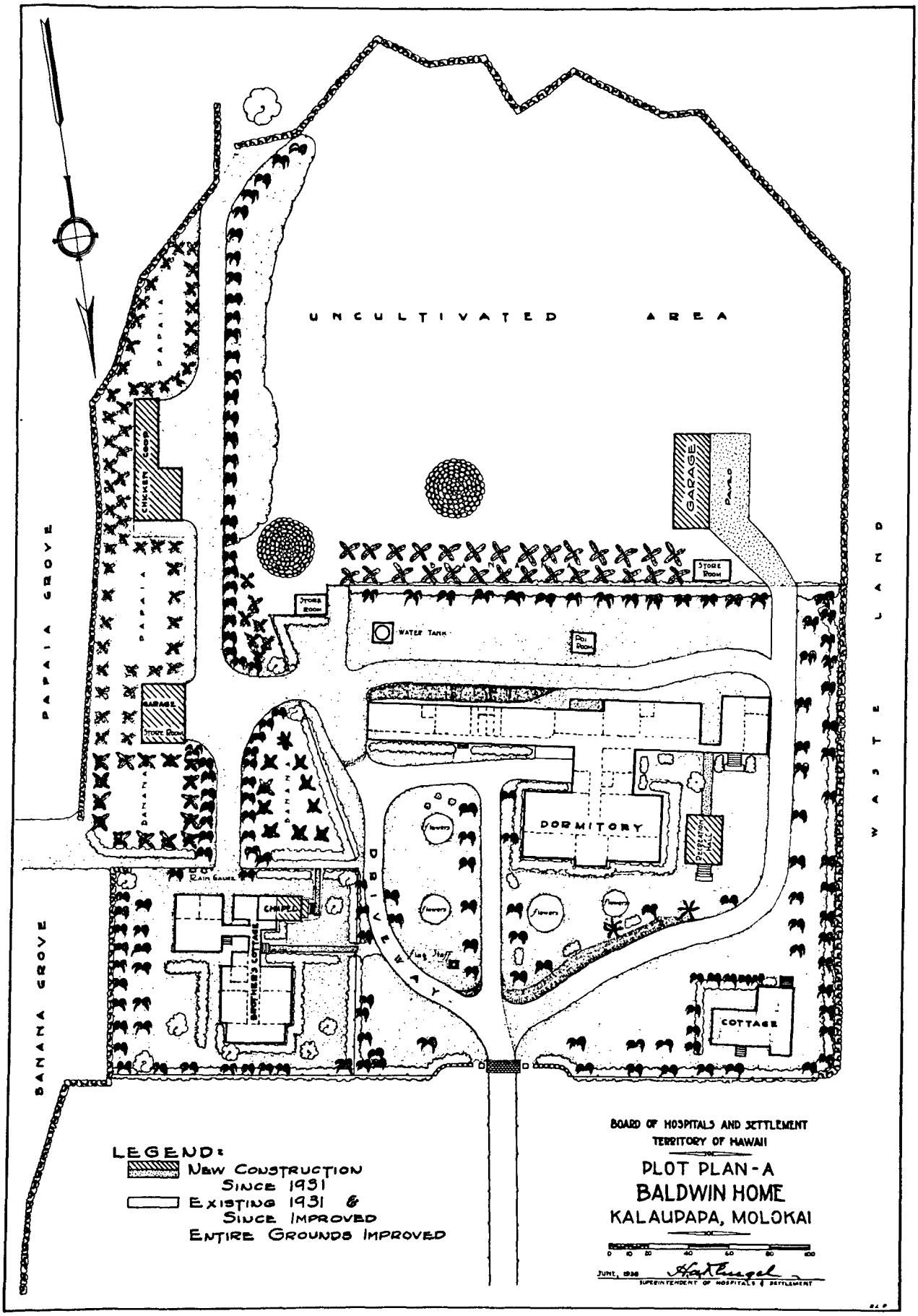

UNCULTIVATED AREA
PAPAIA GROVE
WASTE LAND
BANANA GROVE
GARAGE
STORE ROOM
WATER TANK
DORMITORY
COTTAGE
CHAPEL
RAIN GAUGE
LEGEND:
NEW CONSTRUCTION SINCE 1931
EXISTING 1931 & SINCE IMPROVED
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN - A
BALDWIN HOME
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI
JUNE, 1936
SUPERINTENDENT OF HOSPITALS & SETTLEMENT

Illustration 144. Building No. 3, Bay View Home, 1949. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 145. Chapel, Bay View Home, later a recreation hall, no date. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.





Map No. 11. Plot plan A, Bay View Home, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.

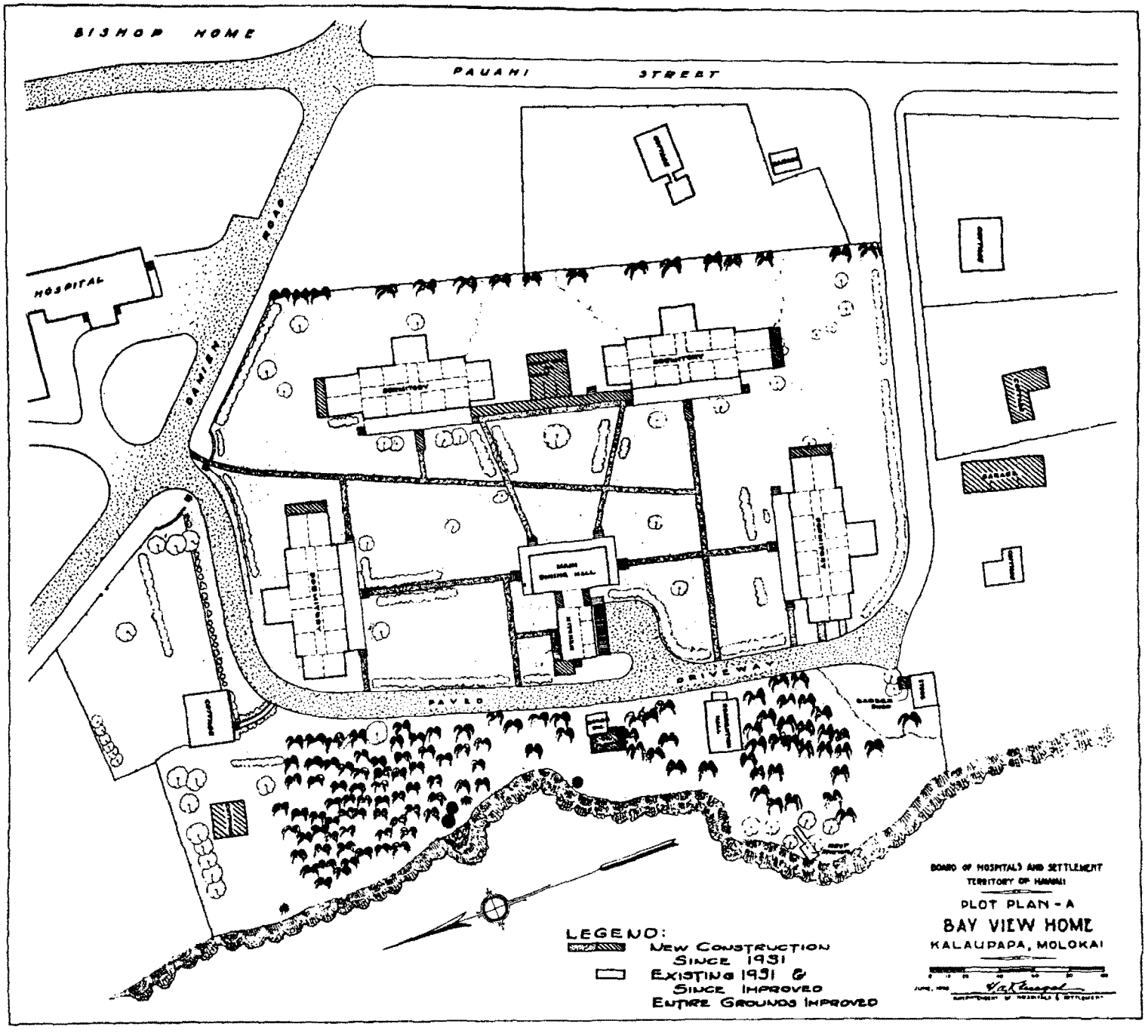

BISHOP HOME
PAUAHI STREET
HOSPITAL
DRIVEWAY
PAVED
LEGEND:
NEW CONSTRUCTION SINCE 1931
EXISTING 1931 & SINCE IMPROVED
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN - A
BAY VIEW HOME
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

Illustration 146. Old Bishop Home infirmary, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 147. Bishop Home infirmary, 1938, after enlarging and reconditioning. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



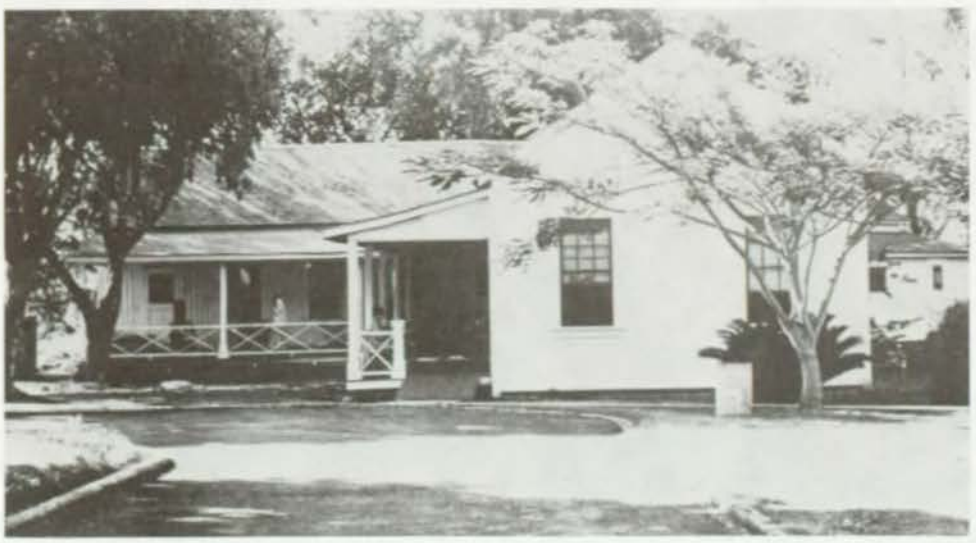


Illustration 148. Buildings Nos. 3 and 4, Bishop Home, no date.

Illustration 149. Building No. 2, Bishop Home, no date. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





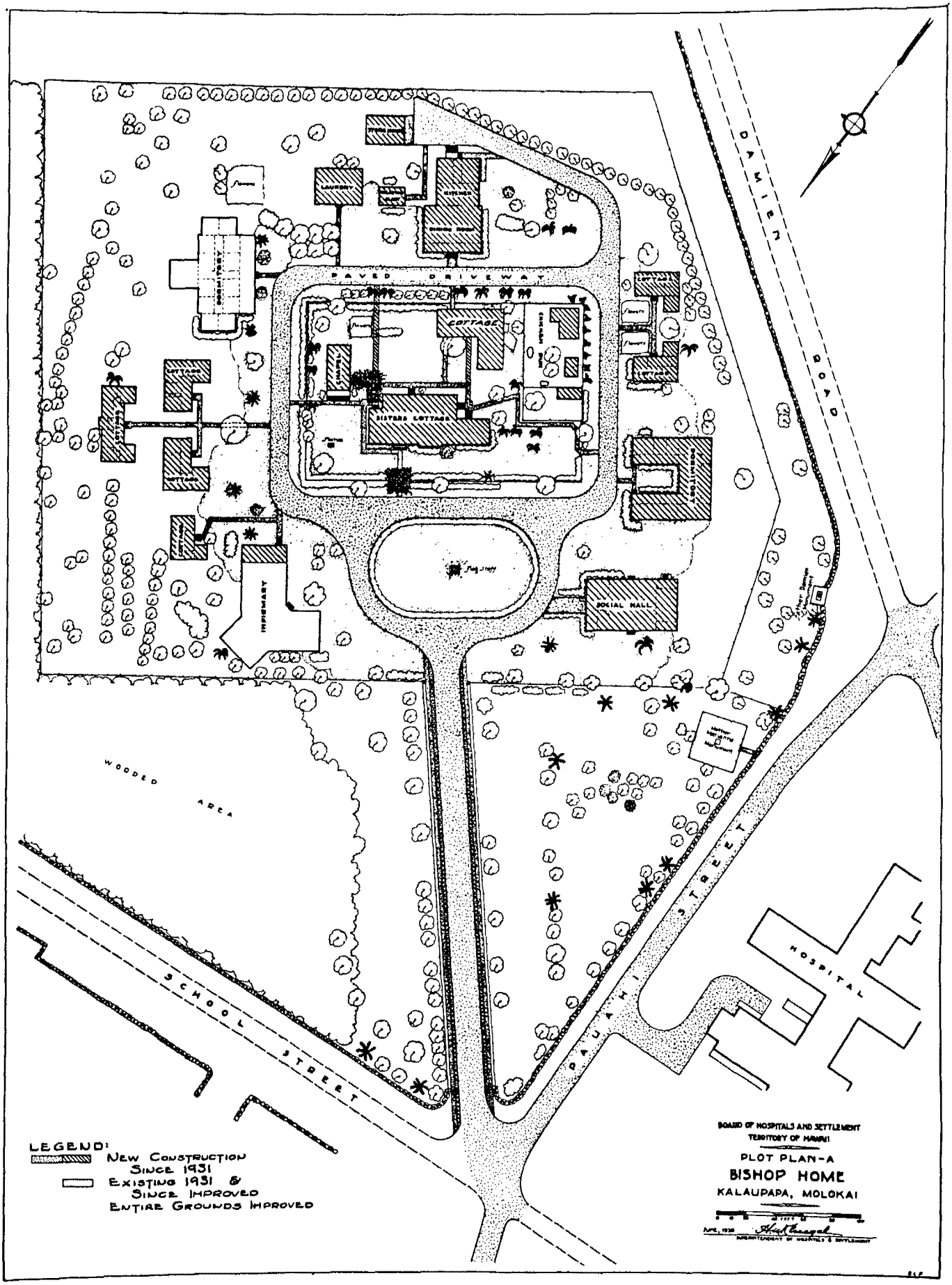
Illustration 150. Building No. 9, Bishop Home, no date.

Illustration 151. Cottages northeast of sisters' convent, Bishop Home, 1949. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


Bishop Hall
Dormitory



Map No. 12. Plot plan A, Bishop Home, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.


DAMIEN ROAD
PAVED DRIVEWAY
COTTAGE
SISTERS COTTAGE
INFIRMARY
SOCIAL HALL
WOODED AREA
SCHOOL STREET
KAUAHI STREET
HOSPITAL
LEGEND:
NEW CONSTRUCTION SINCE 1931
EXISTING 1931 & SINCE IMPROVED
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN-A
BISHOP HOME
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

4. Serving Kitchen and Dining Room

A small serving kitchen and dining room for the blind was constructed between two dormitories occupied by those patients with a covered runway 206 feet long connecting the lānais of the two dorms. The medical dressing station for Bay View was also located in this building.

5. Storerooms

Available space under the dining room and one dormitory was utilized for the construction of two storerooms, one for patients' effects and the other for home property.

6. Barber Shop

The old storehouse was remodelled and occupied by a patient operating a small store with adjoining barber shop.

7. Boiler Plant

The boiler plant and hot water circulating system was rebuilt.

8. Garage

A six-stall garage for patients' cars was built.

9. Recreation Hall

The former chapel was converted into a recreation room.

10. Driveways, Walks

The unit was given a new paved driveway and concrete walks. The grounds were also improved.[3]

D. Bishop Home (for Women and Girls)

On July 1, 1931, within the inner compound occupied by the sisters were a convent, chapel, and storeroom cottage. In the patients'

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3. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

area were an infirmary, social hall and school room, dining room and kitchen, three store rooms, two wash houses, two large dormitories, five dormitory cottages for about six persons each, and several small outbuildings. After July 1, all of the above buildings were removed, with the exception of the infirmary, which was enlarged and reconditioned, the twelve-room dormitory, also reconditioned, and the small chapel, which was incorporated as part of a new chapel. Other new buildings and improvements were one nine-room dormitory, six cottage dormitories, a social hall, a dining room-kitchen unit, a laundry for patients, a hot water plant and circulating system connecting all buildings, fencing, paved driveways and walks, and improved grounds.

In the sisters' compound, a new convent, a chapel, a modern chicken unit, and a tool and fern house were built, and a six-room cottage was added to accommodate additional sisters included in the operation of the hospital.[4]

E. Hospital

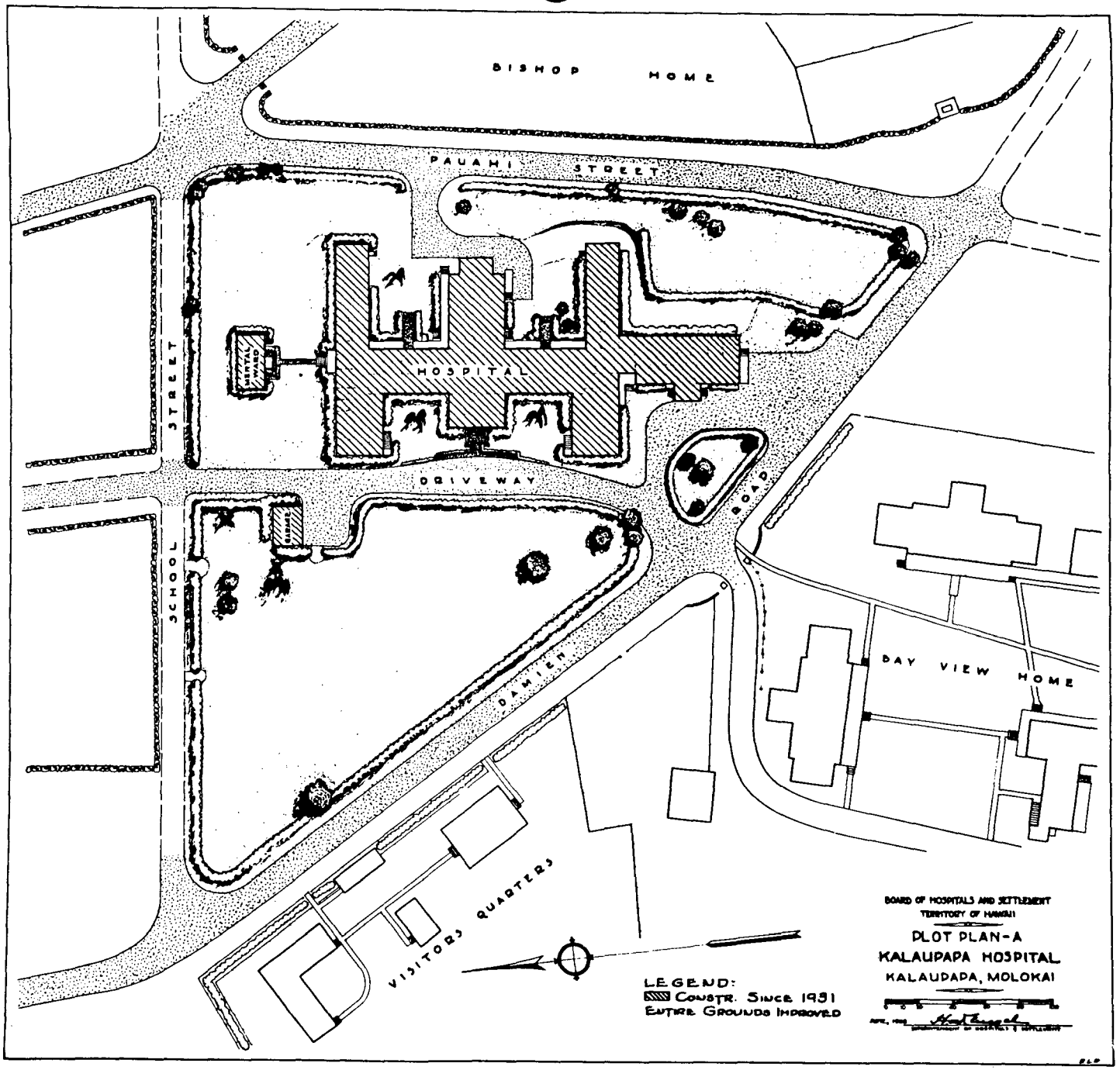
In selecting a well-located and otherwise suitable area for the site of the new hospital, two improved blocks were designated for the purpose and the twelve houses and numerous outbuildings thereon were either removed to other locations or demolished. The triangular site of about two and one-half acres was bounded by Damien Road and Puahi and School streets. A dispensary unit for the treatment of outpatients was an integral part of the main structure, and a mental ward building with accommodations for four patients and attendant and a four-stall garage for the use of the staff were added. Paved driveways connected with paved streets on three sides of the site.[5] In October 1938 the operation of the hospital was placed in charge of the Sisters of St. Francis. They supplied two nurses and other personnel with additional secular staff members supplied by the Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement as required.

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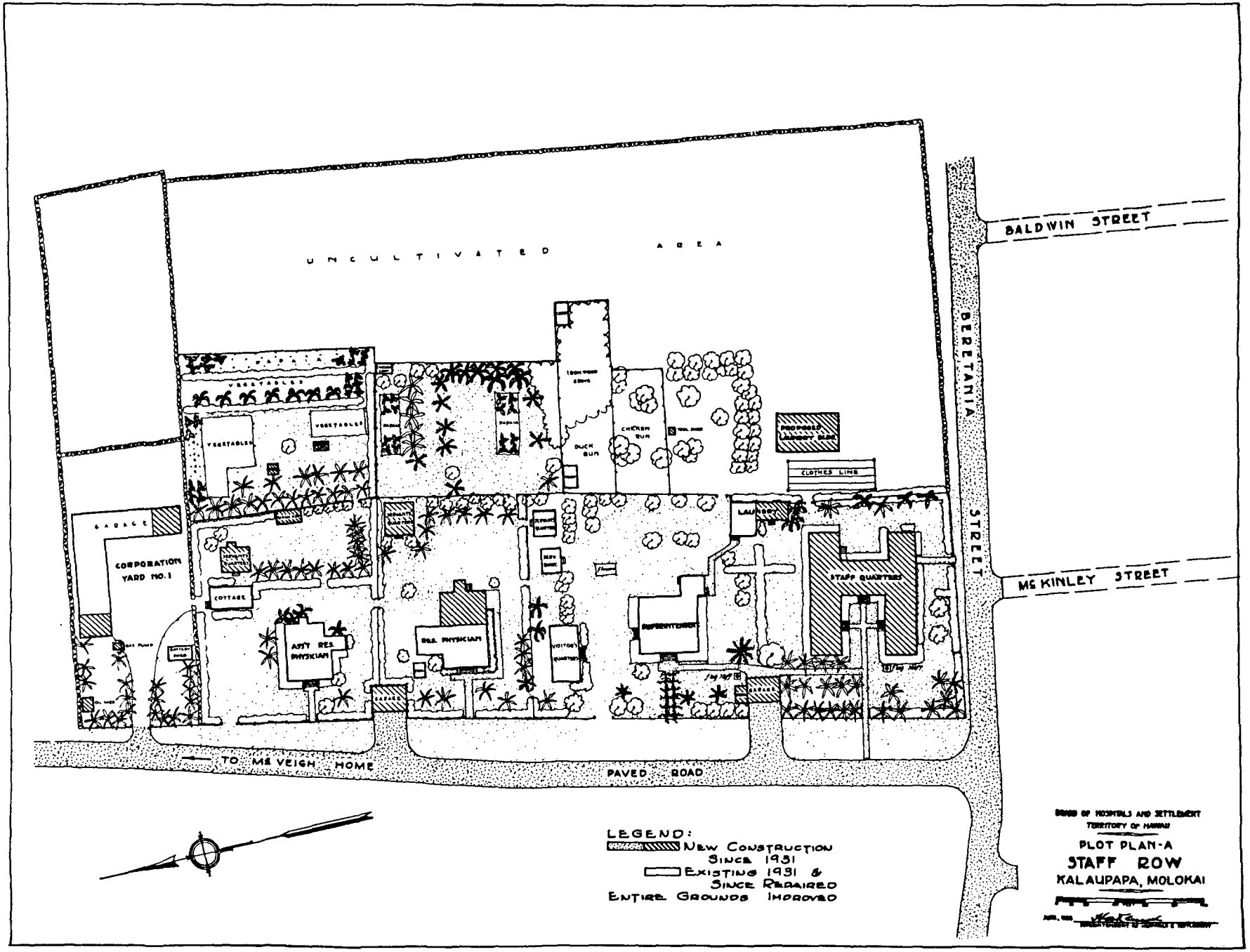
4. Ibid., p. 26.

5. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Map No. 13. Plot plan A, Kalaupapa hospital, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.


BISHOP HOME
PAUAHI STREET
HOSPITAL
DRIVEWAY
SCHOOL STREET
ROAD
DAMIEN
DAY VIEW HOME
VISITORS QUARTERS
LEGEND:
CONSTR. SINCE 1931
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN-A
KALAUPAPA HOSPITAL
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

Map No. 14. Plot plan A, Staff Row, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.


UNCULTIVATED AREA
BALDWIN STREET
BERETANIA STREET
McKINLEY STREET
GARAGE
CORPORATION YARD NO. 1
VEGETABLES
COTTAGE
ASST. RES. PHYSICIAN
RES. PHYSICIAN
SUPERINTENDENT
VISITORS' COTTAGE
STAFF QUARTERS
CHICKEN RUN
DUCK RUN
CLOTHES LINE
TO McVEIGH HOME
PAVED ROAD
LEGEND:
NEW CONSTRUCTION SINCE 1931
EXISTING 1931 & SINCE REPAIRED
ENTIRE GROUNDS IMPROVED
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN-A
STAFF ROW
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

F. Staff Row

In Staff Row were the homes of the resident and assistant physicians, the superintendent, and their families. Also present were quarters for certain personnel and visitors and for servants, and garages. After July 1, 1931, certain changes were made:

1. Resident Physician's Home

After July 1, the kitchen-washroom section of the dwelling was replaced with new equipment, the old servants' quarters were replaced and refurnished, and the old dispensary was moved to a better location and reconditioned for use as a storeroom.

2. Assistant Resident Physician's Home

This dwelling was reconditioned and refurnished and new servants' quarters were built, as were a new washhouse and store room: also a fruit and vegetable garden area was developed with a fern house and pigeon loft.

3. Superintendent's House

The superintendent's residence and the adjoining servants' quarters, laundry, and former guest cottage, now occupied by personnel, were reconditioned and refurnished.

4. Staff Cottage

A new staff cottage with dining room and kitchen and eleven rooms and baths was built to accommodate certain personnel and visitors.

5. Central laundry

The most recent improvement was a central laundry and hot water plant and circulating system serving all buildings on Staff Row. The old administration office, formerly in this area, was removed and the offices of the superintendent were located in the old visitors' quarters near the landing. Two two-stall garages replaced the three former one-stall units.[6]

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6. Ibid., p. 27.

G. Industrial Center and Other Structures

The development of the industrial center constituted a particularly outstanding accomplishment of the board's program after 1931. Also added were various features of a quasi-public nature throughout the settlement:

1. Store and Service Station; Post Office-Courtroom

These structures were of semi-fireproof construction using locally made hollow tiles.

2. General Warehouse

This building was of reinforced concrete and measured thirty by sixty feet.

3. Laundry

A fully equipped fireproof building, it rendered free service to patients.

4. Shops Building

This was a fireproof building housing the carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and blacksmiths.

5. Ice and Cold Storage Plant

This fireproof building had the capacity of making about one ton of ice per day with separate refrigeration compartments and accessory features.

6. Poi Shop and Food Department

This building was remodelled and new equipment added.

7. Power House

The power house was enlarged and electric service extended to the entire settlement.

Map No. 15. Plot plan A, Industrial Center, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.

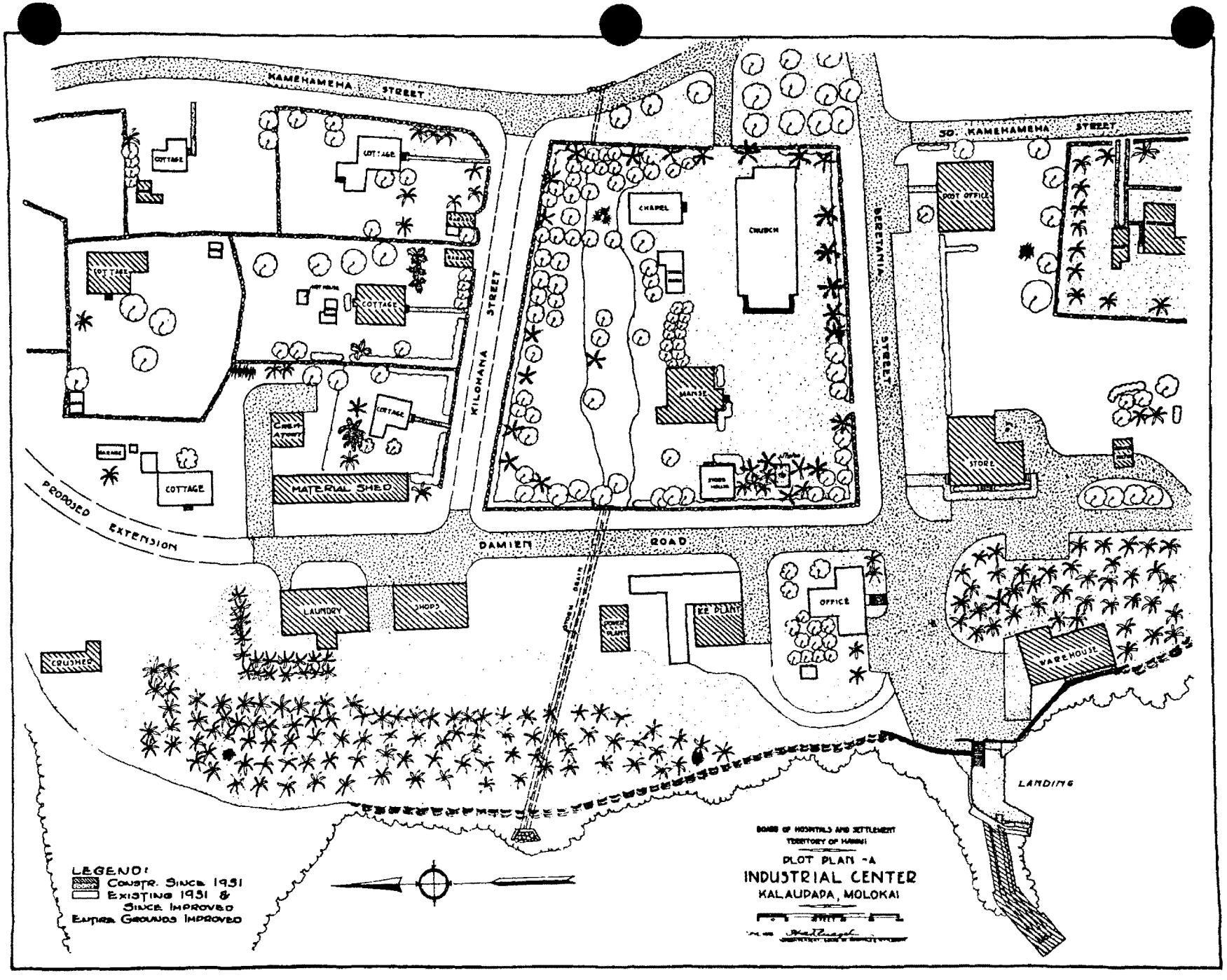

KAMEHAMEHA STREET
50. KAMEHAMEHA STREET
KILOHANA STREET
BERETANIA STREET
COTTAGE
CHAPEL
CHURCH
POST OFFICE
MANSE
STORE
MATERIAL SHED
PROPOSED EXTENSION
DAMIEN ROAD
LAUNDRY
SHOPS
OFFICE
ICE PLANT
WAREHOUSE
CRUSHER
LANDING
LEGEND:
Constr. Since 1931
Existing 1931 & Since Improved
Existing Grounds Improved
BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
PLOT PLAN -A
INDUSTRIAL CENTER
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

Illustration 152. Old bathhouse, old dispensary that has just burned, and Wilcox Memorial Building in background, 1932. Site now occupied by visitors' quarters. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



Illustration 153. New visitors' quarters dormitory, no date.

Illustration 154. New visitors' quarters kitchen-dining room, no date. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





Illustration 155. Visiting room at visitors' house, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Department of Health, Honolulu.



Visitors bring their own food, stay inside the compound (unless accompanied by an officer) and visit with the patients on the outside of the screen.

8. Material Shed and Tile Plant

This plant supplied concrete hollow tile for various uses.

9. No. 2 Corporation Yard

This area was fully equipped with a repair shop, service station, and gasoline storage tanks.

10. Rock Crushing Plant

This plant was electrically operated with a capacity of about forty tons of crushed rock per day.

11. Crematory

This structure was of approved design for use on a noncompulsory basis.

12. Visitors' Quarters

This new unit comprised a two-wing dormitory with separate dressing room facilities for men and women, a kitchen-dining room building, and a visiting pavilion. It was used by visitors to patients on periodic trips to Kaluapapa.

13. Bakery

This was operated by nonpatient personnel.

14. Mission Cottages

One cottage had been built adjoining the Latter Day Saints Church, a residence had been constructed for the Catholic priest, and a parsonage and garage erected for the resident minister of the Calvinist Church.

15. Social Hall

New movie equipment and screens were installed and the entire building reconditioned.

16. Police Headquarters

The former courthouse was reconditioned and was used as the residence of the sheriff and as police headquarters.

17. Administration Building

With the construction of the new visitors'-to-patients quarters, the old unit was remodelled to provide for the superintendent's office, the staff post office, and other administrative functions.

18. Kalaupapa Airport

This facility was opened officially August 2, 1933, by Lt. Col. Gerald Brandt, Air Officer, Hawaiian Department, United States Army. Frequent but not regular service was maintained by Inter-Island Airways. Landings occasionally were made by army and navy planes. The field had a 1,900-foot runway and a varying width of 250 to 500 feet. It was maintained by the Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement.

19. Road Paving

This program started in 1935. By 1938 about 3.2 miles of pavement had been laid, including driveways, parking areas, streets, and a portion of the road to the airport. The pavement was asphalt macadam, laid only about three inches thick because of the natural rocky base existing in the area.

20. Boat Landing

An extension was made to the breakwater and the boat channel was cleared of rocks.[7]

H. Waikolu Water Supply System

A number of improvements were made to the water supply system beginning in 1937. The following excerpt clearly describes what this work entailed:

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7. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

Illustration 156. Old courthouse, reconditioned and used as police headquarters, no date.

Illustration 157. Interior of social hall, 1939. Photos courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.



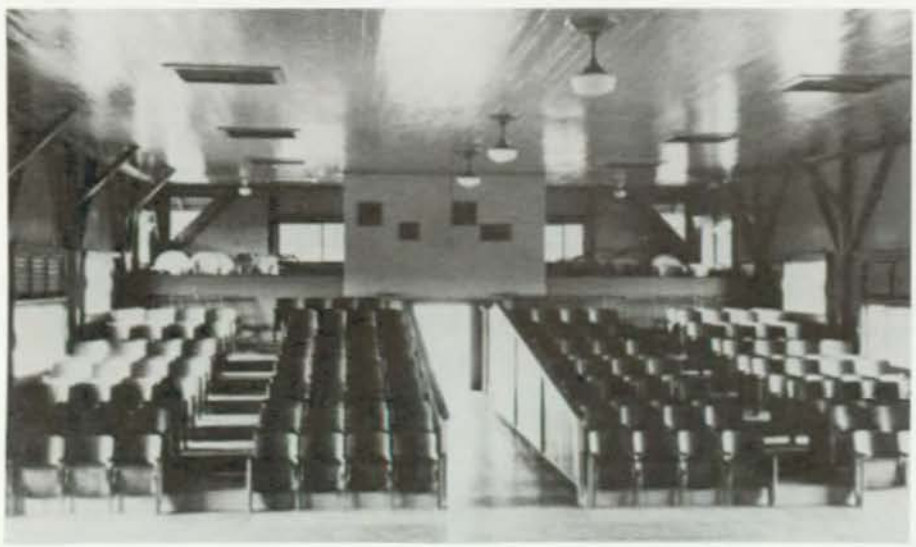
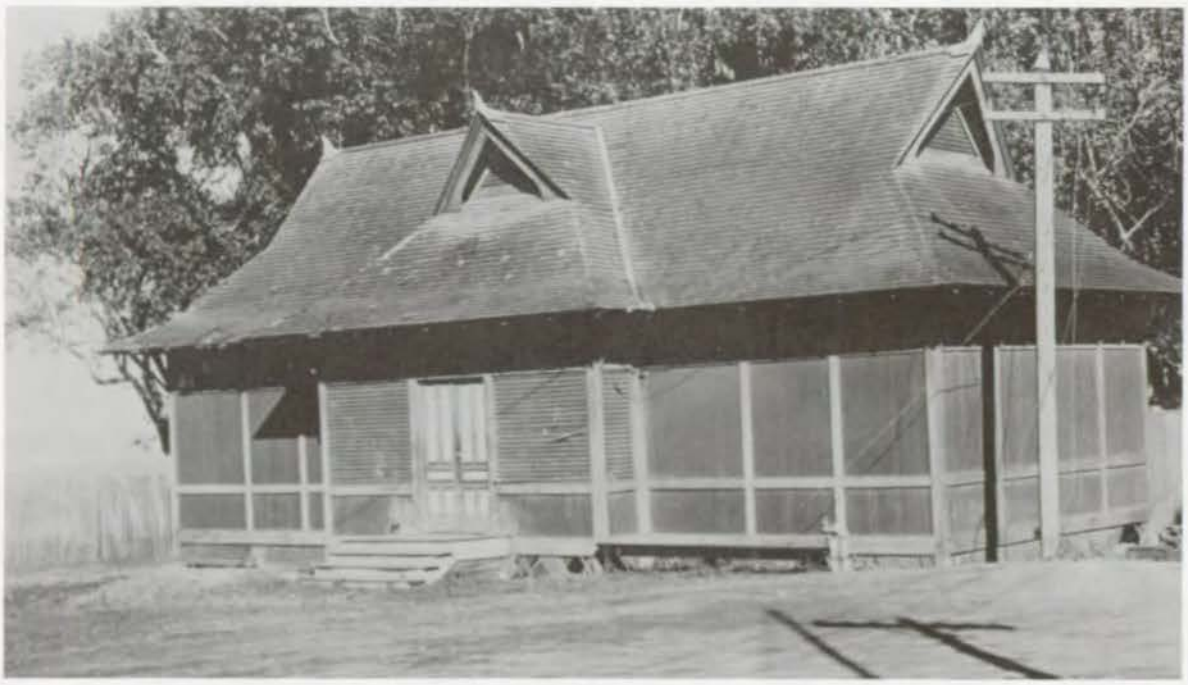


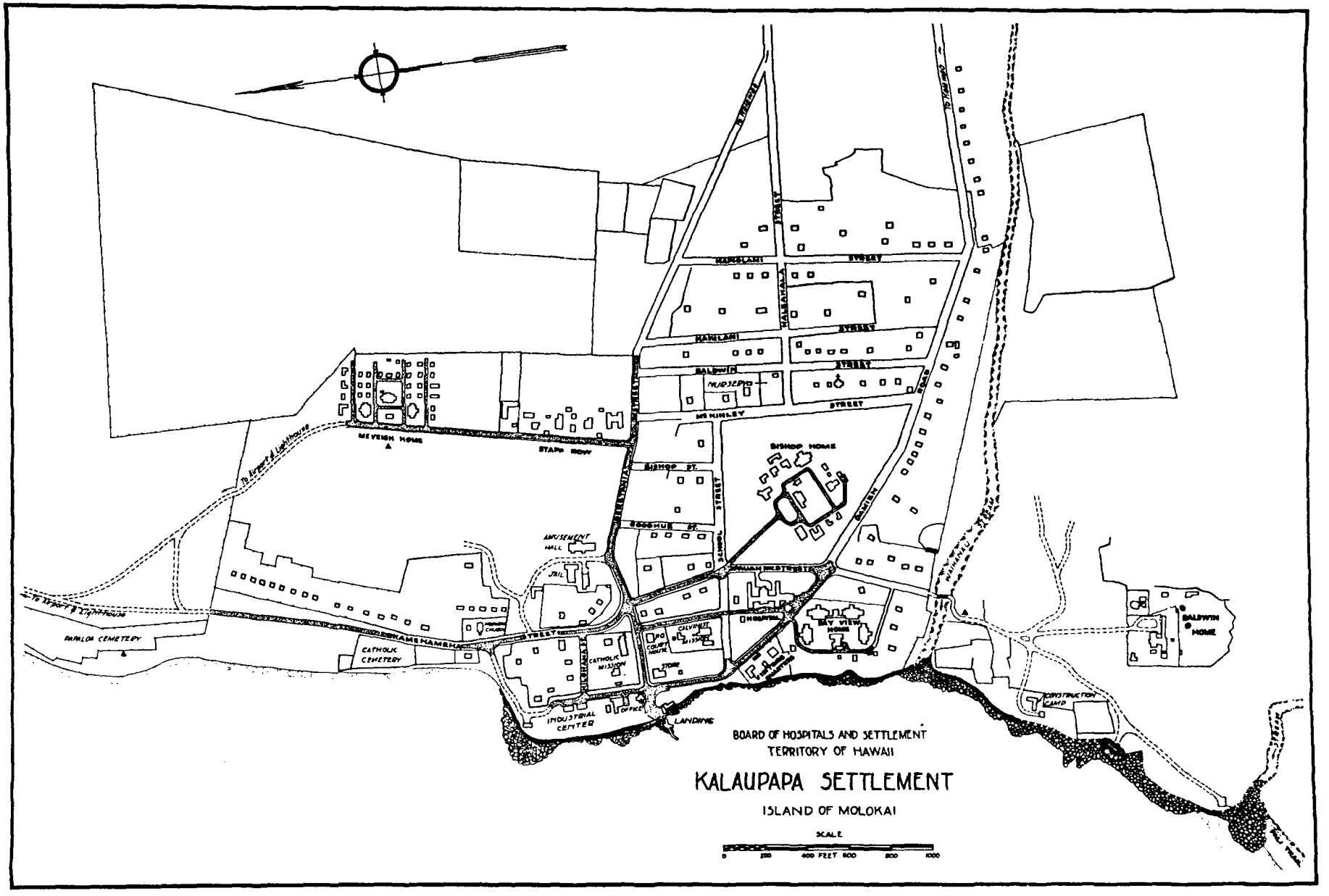
Illustration 158. Old visitors' house, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 159. Main office, 1949. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





Map No. 16. Layout of Kalaupapa settlement, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, June 1938, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938.


BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT
ISLAND OF MOLOKAI
SCALE
0 200 400 FEET 600 800 1000
MEYESH HOME
STAPS ROW
BISHOP HOME
BISHOP PT.
AMUSEMENT HALL
JAIL
KAMEHAMEHA STREET
PAPALOA CEMETERY
CATHOLIC CEMETERY
CATHOLIC MISSION
INDUSTRIAL CENTER
LANDING
SAN MATEO
SAN MATEO
BALDWIN HOME
CONSTRUCTION CAMP
McKINLEY STREET
HAWLANI STREET
HALAWAKALA STREET
KALIHI STREET
BALDWIN STREET
MAIN STREET

For present purposes [1938], the supply is considered to end at the 750,000 gallon storage tank (with inlet elevation of 303) on the Kalawao Road about 6500 feet southeast of Kalaupapa.

The improvements described were started in October, 1937, and constituted the only work of this permanent character performed on the system since its installation about forty years ago, except occasional repairs to breaks in flume or pipe.

The old system consisted of a wooden flume which carried water from a diversion ditch off the main Waikolu Stream at an elevation of about 520 feet. The flume extended 1800 feet down the valley, emptying into a concrete box, from which an 8-inch cast iron line ran to the 750,000 gallon tank. The flume was not covered, and was supported over several gulch crossings on wooden trestles. The secondary supply, from Notley Springs, originated farther down and to the eastern side of the valley at elevation 380 feet. The flow from the springs was collected behind a low concrete wall, creating a small basin, and then led down to the main line through an 8-inch cast iron line. From this point the main line continued to the mouth of the valley, along the seacoast at the foot of the pali, over the former Federal Reservation, and thence to the 750,000-gallon storage tank above Kalaupapa.

The first unit of work was the construction of a new dam at Notley Springs, the secondary (but more stable) source of supply. This dam is of reinforced concrete, varying from six to ten feet in height, and about 65 feet long. The springs supply about 1 million gallons of water per day, of which the pipe line can take about 345,000 gallons. This source cannot be used simultaneously with the main source because of the difference in their elevations; however, if irrigation is restricted, it can well supply the Settlement in the event of interruption at the Waikolu diversion. As a matter of fact, it did act as the source during the period of several months when the new structures were being placed at the main headworks.

The work at the main intake was as follows: A new dam was constructed, blocking a diversion ditch mentioned in the description of the old system. This dam is located about 200 feet above the secondary source, and about 1900 feet farther up the valley; it is of reinforced concrete ten feet high at the center and 35 feet long, fitted with the necessary accessories for overflow, cleaning, and screening of the supply. It forms a pool which is important only as a collecting and rough sedimentation basin.

From here, the water travels in a covered box culvert, of concrete, to the aerator, also of concrete, located 100 feet downstream from the dam.

The aerator is of the step type, and serves to make the water less corrosive; the water from the main stream is slightly acid, and aeration tends to give it a neutral or even basic reaction, thus protecting the pipelines below.

Downstream from the aerator, and connected by another section of covered box culvert, is a sedimentation chamber of concrete, baffled so as to change the course of the stream, and of such size that the velocity of the stream is reduced. Those two conditions allow the suspended matter to drop out, and the clear water continued into the new pipe line.

These structures comprise the headworks of the system. From the last of these, the sedimentation chamber, starts the new section of pipe, replacing the old wooden flume. The section is about 1800 feet long and is laid with 8-inch concrete hume pipe. The line is placed well against the slopes along which it runs and is not vulnerable to slides that may occur above it. This feature alone is a distinct improvement over the old flume, which by its nature was a trap for whatever debris came down the slopes. We now have a completely closed conduit from the headworks to the storage tanks, and this must be counted a major advance in the water system. The 1800-foot section ends where the wooden flume ended, and connects to the old 8-inch cast iron pipe.

The existing line was bolstered in several weak points, notably two stream crossings in Waikolu Valley, another at the mouth of Waialaea [sic] Valley, and a ravine crossing within the Federal Reservation. At the stream crossings the pipe was encased in a concrete jacket, and at the ravine a flanged section was installed, resting upon concrete piers on each side of the ravine, the pipe being self supporting for the short distance between. The 8-inch line branches into a 4 and a 6-inch line in this locality, and the connections formerly spread over a distance of 400 feet, an impractical and unhandy arrangement. The fittings have been centralized, and the reduction and branch now occur at one point. One new clean-cut branch and valve was placed in the line at the low point just preceding the rise to the Federal Reservation, and this completed the repairs to the old line proper.

At the 750,000 gallon steel tank, the inlet line and overflow line were moved up to the limiting positions for these lines, creating extra storage space in the tank. The tank was cleaned inside and out, painted aluminum outside, and given an interior treatment of waterproof, rust-resisting material. The two smaller tanks of masonry are being repaired at this time to the extent of having their roofs replaced, the old galvanized iron roofs having deteriorated badly.

The entire project took 15 months to complete. The length of time is explained by the fact that all material had to be transported by pack animals, there were no mechanical aids

such as mixers used in the work, and the earthquake in February of 1938 damaged the old line extensively, necessitating immediate work on repairs to keep the water system in operation. The bulk of the imported materials used were landed at the mouth of Waikolu Valley by the steamer, temporary facilities having been provided for handling such cargo. This arrangement eliminated a substantial stretch of difficult packing, and also eliminated the necessity of handling the materials twice.

Improvements to the Distribution System throughout the Settlement should be undertaken in the near future.[8]

8. Ibid., pp. 30-32.

XII. KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT, 1940-1980

A. Changes in 1940

1. Hospital

The outstanding improvement during this time was the provision made in the main lobby for a fully equipped office unit for the nursing administrative activities. It provided a private office for the head nurse, an open office area, dressing rooms, and a storeroom. Two offices formerly used for these purposes were thus made available for patients' rooms, bringing normal capacity of the hospital to fifty-four beds. The kitchen-dining room unit was improved and remodelled and new equipment added, creating a better arranged and more commodious operation.

2. New Construction

New construction and major repairs were confined to items of emergency or pressing need. Items specifically for patients' use included four wash houses in connection with patient cottages, a comfort station for men and women adjoining the visitors' compound, and a pavilion, partly financed by a private donation. For general settlement needs, the principal work involved a freight platform at the top of the pali to facilitate the handling of supplies down the trail by pack animals, additions to the system of paved roads and streets, and extensions to the new electric distribution system. At the steamer landing an electric winch was installed, the boat channel and basin were cleared of large rocks, and new bumpers were placed on the dock; the new staff laundry was placed in service and the crematory was opened on a noncompulsory basis for the first time in August 1939; the extensive overhaul of the ice plant was completed; the new bakery was remodelled; and on Staff Row the guest cottage was remodelled for a housekeeping apartment, and the former superintendent's quarters were reconditioned and furnished for occupancy by the assistant to the resident physician.[1]

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1. Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Territory of Hawaii, Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1940, pp. 2, 6.

B. Impending War Brings Changes

It was fortunate that the building and rehabilitation program had gotten underway at Kalaupapa during the previous decade, because such growth would have been impossible under wartime restrictions on money and personnel. Because the Kalihi Receiving Station was situated between Honolulu Harbor and Pearl Harbor and within the limits of military targets, it was considered to be in a dangerous location. The Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement tried to reduce possible casualties by transferring patients to Kalaupapa. At Kalaupapa, in preparation for a national emergency that might prohibit supply shipments, hospital supplies were increased and ordered for a six-month period. General supplies and provisions were ordered in excess of usual needs. Additional warehouse space was provided to accommodate the reserve stocks of provisions and supplies built up for medical and general use, quarters were expanded, and vegetable gardens increased in size.[2]

On May 15, 1942, thirty-five of the fifty-five patients at Kalihi, including all the children, were transferred to Kalaupapa. The presence in the settlement of forty-two patients between the ages of nine and eighteen evacuated from Kalihi Hospital created many new problems and responsibilities for the board. Attempts to provide diversions and education resulted in the organization of Kalaupapa Boy Scout Troop No.

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2. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1941, pp. 5-6; "Board of Hospitals & Settlement War Emergency Activities, 1941-1944, Pre-War Considerations," reprinted from Hawaii Medical Journal, Mar.-Apr. 1945, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu. In the early days there had been practically no gardening except for flowers, with all fresh vegetables being shipped from Honolulu or coming out of a can. The lack of shipping during the war stimulated gardening. There was no boat into Kalaupapa for nearly three months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Many of the Victory Gardens thrived so well that the produce was sold to the board for patient use, netting the patients substantial incomes.

46 and establishment of a school on October 15, 1942, using the school and shop equipment from Mount Happy School at Kalihi.[3]

During the war, morale at Kalaupapa was high. Subscriptions were plentiful for war bond drives; fruit, vegetable, poultry, and hog raising increased; and medical services at the hospital were better because of the transfer of equipment from Kalihi Hospital and additions that were made to the hospital buildings.[4]

C. A Destructive Tidal Wave Hits Kalaupapa

In 1946 effects of a tidal wave were felt along the west shoreline of the settlement, from Bay View Home north through the

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3. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1942, pp. 4-6. Bernard Punikaia, a resident at Kalaupapa and Chairman of the Kalaupapa Patients' Council, remembers the evacuation to Kalaupapa. His recollection points up the fact that despite improvements made in living conditions and other amenities, Kalaupapa peninsula still bore the burden of a dubious reputation:

> It was that event in history [attack on Pearl Harbor] which was responsible for us children being shipped to Kalaupapa. Honolulu was declared a war zone, and for us kids, I guess the Board of Health considered Honolulu to be a hazard to our health. Of course, they considered us to be a hazard to society too. But for our protection, and maybe the protection of the citizens of Honolulu, we were told we would be sent directly to Kalaupapa. The decision was made quickly. Some children pleaded with the nurses. At that time, Kalaupapa had a dreaded reputation. It was a place where people were sent to die. It was a place without hope, a final solution, a final place of isolation from which there was no return. Children were normally not sent there, unless they had relatives confined within Kalaupapa. Only the advanced adult cases were sent there. But it was the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor which changed the Board of Health policy and thus resulted in my final banishment to that place we all feared.

Gugelyk and Bloombaum, Separating Sickness, p. 104.

4. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Brief Statement of Departmental Activities for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1944, p. 2.

industrial center, on through the cemeteries by the sea, and along Airport Road to the "Fish Pond," 1.5 miles in all. (In 1917 it was mentioned that Dr. Goodhue selected a plot of low ground, surrounded it with a wall, and intended flooding about eight acres for a fish pond.) Effects were also felt from the mouth of Waikolu Valley along the foot of Waikolu pali to Wai'ale'ia Stream. In the settlement, damages were sustained on several frame buildings, including the superintendent's office, in the mechanical and electrical equipment in the ice plant, in shops, at the laundry, and at the rock crusher. Twelve beach homes were washed away and others damaged. Cemeteries along the shore were a shambles, with massive gravestones moved off their foundations and fences and stone walls destroyed. Repairs were necessary by the Department of Public Works to replace the eight-inch main along the cliffs and make certain improvements at the Waikolu headworks.[5]

D. Lawrence Judd Becomes Resident Superintendent

In 1947 former Governor Lawrence M. Judd was appointed resident superintendent of Kalaupapa settlement. The arrival of Judd marked another turning point in the development of Kalaupapa, for he and his wife Eva Marie made extraordinary efforts to give the residents a fuller and more meaningful life. As mentioned earlier, Judd had been very moved as a child when seeing the leprosy victims at the pier in Honolulu loaded on boats for Kalaupapa. After that time he expressed an interest in one day helping better their lot in life. During the 1921 legislative session he was a member of the committee on health, where he was involved in discussing matters affecting the public health, including the problem of leprosy on the islands. The legislative session of 1921 provided one of the first important improvements in the condition of the patients by giving some electrical power to the settlement. Several small generator units were supplied to homes that had previously had no power or refrigeration.

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5. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Summary of Departmental Activities for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946, pp. 8-9.

On making occasional trips to the settlement, Judd became convinced that more could be done to help the people. He had been able to pursue his interest in Kalaupapa while serving as the Republican governor of Hawaii from 1929 to 1934. It was during that time that conditions at the settlement had seemed bad enough to warrant the appointment of a commission of prominent citizens to investigate the situation and make recommendations. Harry A. Kluegel, an ex-army engineer, had been appointed to make a survey of the settlement, and acting on his recommendations, the territorial legislature of 1931 had largely rebuilt the settlement.[6]

E. Conditions in 1948

1. Medical

In the spring of 1948 there were 280 patients at the settlement and about 38 parolees and 6 kōkuas, as well as about 85 well persons. The practice of allowing husbands and wives of patients to come to Kalaupapa to live and act as nurses had recently been discontinued, though in the long history of the settlement rarely had a kōkua contracted the disease.

Medical work at this time was centered in the sixty-bed hospital and was overseen by the resident physician and two assistant physicians. Eleven nurses (five Sisters of St. Francis, including the head nurse, and six lay nurses) and two laboratory technicians provided support services. Much of the care requiring less skill was performed by patient helpers.

In May 1946 a great change in the treatment of leprosy took place with the use of sulfone drugs--promin, diasone, and promizole. The drugs had been developed in 1943 and treatment with them as part of routine therapy began in 1946. The most promising treatment yet available, the sulfone drugs introduced hope for the alleviation and arrest

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6. Judd, Judd & Hawaii, pp. 127, 130, 134, 141, 147.

of symptoms, and possibly a cure. In April 1947 Dr. Norman R. Sloan, the settlement medical director, wrote in a report to the Hawaii Territorial Medical Association that "we hardly dare to hope for it [a cure] . . . [yet] . . . it seems safe to say that for the first time drugs of real value for the amelioration of leprosy are at hand."[7] By mid-1948 remarkable improvement was being shown in the patients, about 85% of whom were receiving one of these drugs. Patients were given a choice of taking the treatment or not. It was stated in August 1948 that about 240 patients were under voluntary treatment. Their ulcers were healing, nodules subsided, laryngeal and nasal lesions improved, and in some people failing vision had been arrested or improved. The death rate was falling and the temporary release rate was rising.[8] Children up to the age of fifteen appeared most susceptible to the disease, so no children except patients were now allowed to come to the settlement. Prospective mothers were taken to the receiving station at Kalihi for confinement until birth, when the baby was immediately separated from its parents. In the spring of 1948 there were sixteen patients under the age of sixteen at the settlement.[9]

2. Social

Not long after the Judds' arrival at Kalaupapa, one of the patients said to Mrs. Judd: "Before you and Mr. Judd came all we did was eat, sleep, fish and ride bicycles. Now there is something to do every moment. . . ."[10] The Judds were extremely enthusiastic in the fields of therapy and adult education. Indeed, probably the most important actions taken by the Judds were those oriented toward encouraging the patients to keep busy and active. Mrs. Judd acted as a

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7. Damon, Siloama, p. 45.

8. "Kalaupapa in Brief," August 28, 1948, file V.A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.

9. Maud B. Thompson, "Impressions of Kalaupapa," April 12, 1948, file V.A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.

10. Ibid., p. 3.

hospital volunteer, working several mornings a week in the hospital lab doing X-ray work. She also taught in a new series of adult education classes started under the direction of the Department of Public Instruction. In addition to a regular school up to a certain grade, special interest courses offered included carpentry, cooking, shorthand, typing, and other sorts of occupational therapy that patients with handicaps could perform. Block printing, sewing, weaving, and rug-making from abandoned seed bags were also popular. An agricultural program on the science of farming was also introduced. A new beauty shop was set up by the Honolulu Hairdressers and Cosmotologists Association. A Lion's Club was initiated by Mr. Judd in 1948, with a special interest in the blind patients. A wide variety of social activities centered around Damien Post No. 30 of the American Legion; Boy Scout Troop 46, which held a summer camp every year at Kalawao; The Kalaupapa Entertainment Club, which put on dances, plays, and auctions; the Kalaupapa Improvement Club; and the Young Peoples Club. Picture shows were exhibited twice a week at the social hall, and educational shorts were shown on Sunday evenings. By 1949 twenty-seven patients were working in the craft shop. A craft club had been organized, with a president and officers handling the club business.

Activities and social opportunities such as these helped in the

> continual struggle against the inertia and apathy of the patients, perhaps a symptom of the disease, and the inevitable and periodic discouragement of the members of the staff which is without doubt heightened by the limited area of the peninsula and the inability in this isolated spot to get away, even for a few hours of rest and diversion.[11]

The Judds' desire was to give the patients something to do, a more normal life. They encouraged visitors to come and patients to go home on visits. Souls as well as bodies had to be treated. When he

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11. Ibid., p. 4.

was governor, Judd had signed a law permitting the sale of beer in Hawai'i and this included Kalaupapa settlement. Before that it was never allowed and patients had to bootleg it. Judd also wanted to clean up dumps and trash in the settlement area that bred rats and a loss of self-respect. Abandoned junk was everywhere, in homes, on roads, and on the beaches. This included old autos, mattresses, iron scraps, crates, rusty pipes, plumbing fixtures, stoves, and lumber. Staff and able-bodied patients hauled the litter to pits and dumps--600 truckloads of trash.[12]

A program of public relations was instituted, because a need to build morale as well as physical structures was deemed essential. Relaxation of rules was attempted and many of the artificial barriers separating the patients from well people were taken down as being unnecessary and objectionable, such as the twenty-foot-high fence around the guest house and the gate on top of the pali, the guard of which was discharged. (From the top of the high gate, a wire from which tin cans were suspended ran to the guard's cottage. Their jingling warned that someone was going up or down.) Judd also removed the railing separating the superintendent's desk from the bench where patients were to sit when talking with him. Restrictions at the dances at the social hall were also lifted. Direct daily airmail service was initiated between Kalaupapa and Honolulu on March 1, 1950, and patients whose condition justified it were allowed to fly to other islands on temporary leave. Judd also worked very closely with the various religious personnel at the settlement--Father Patrick Logan, the Roman Catholic priest; the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna, the Protestant minister assigned to Kalaupapa by the Hawaiian Board of Missions; and the sheriff of the county of Kalawao, Jonah Mahelona, who represented the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and was assisted by missionaries from Utah who lived part-time in the settlement. The Mormon Church sent replacements frequently for a while, but ultimately stopped the practice. The Buddhist faith also had a small temple at the settlement.

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12. Judd, Judd & Hawaii, pp. 248-49.

3. Administrative

The settlement administration was directed during this period by the Board of Hospitals and Settlement, whose members were appointed by the governor of the territory. They acted through the general superintendent of Hospitals and Settlement who administered through the permanent resident superintendent of Kalaupapa settlement. Kalawao County was unique among Hawai'ian territorial counties because it was entirely administered by a single territorial institution. Kalaupapa peninsula was actually more closely tied to Honolulu than to the rest of Moloka'i because it had its own water system, livestock, airport, post office, courts, telephone system, and police and fire departments. All food and other supplies were ordered directly from the settlement administrator's office, and all maintenance of buildings, painting, electrical work, carpentry, and plumbing was handled by various governmental departments, the work being done by patient labor or civil service employees.

A uniformed five-man police force oversaw adherance to settlement regulations. Department of Public Instruction teachers provided the same academic standards as elsewhere in the territory to patients. The settlement's district court had a presiding district judge appointed by the chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court from among the patients, and a volunteer fire department was on hand for emergencies.

4. Food and Private Businesses

Inmates raised a wide variety of food for patient use. Many residents had successful businesses catering to the patients' needs. Residents could also purchase goods from Honolulu or by mail order. Supplies arrived by boat once a week or special freight could be brought in on the daily plane.

5. Housing

Territorial employees were provided with housing and food during the length of their employment. Visitors to patients had access to

Illustration 160. Schoolhouse/beauty parlor, no date. Courtesy Anwei V. Skinsnes.

Illustration 161. Pali trail gate, no date. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.


BEAUTY PARLOR



a stove, refrigerator, hot water, and electricity. Beds were provided, but bedclothes and food had to be brought in by the visitor. Relatives and friends could only sit and talk with patients at the meeting house near the visitors' quarters. Nonpatient visitors or employees could not intrude on the privacy of patient homes unless on government business or in case of emergency.

6. Water

A continuous supply of water to the settlement came from two catch basins a mile or so up Waikolu Valley. About five miles of six- and eight-inch cast-iron pipe brought the water by gravity flow into the 950,000-gallon (750,000?) storage tanks and then throughout the distributing system. During the April 1, 1946, tidal wave, some fifteen hundred feet of pipe were washed out to sea. On that day the water rose twenty-five feet above normal at the Kalaupapa dock and about fifty-five feet at the mouth of Waikolu Valley.[13]

F. Miscellaneous Structures and Sites Mentioned in 1940s

1. Visitor Meeting Room and Pali Guardhouse

During his tenure as resident superintendent, Judd removed the wire netting from the visitor room and the guard from atop the pali.

2. Crater Cross

On Easter 1947 a group of patients asked Judd for permission to erect a large white cross on the crater hill for Easter Sunrise services.

3. Federal Flats, Kalawao

By the end of 1948, picnic and lū'au grounds were being developed at Kalawao by the Kalaupapa Lions Club for the use of residents and their families. This wide stretch of lawn near the ruins of

13. "Kalaupapa Settlement," compiled by committee of Kalaupapa Lions, April 23, 1948 (rev. ed. May 15, 1948), File V.A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 1-3.

the U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station is referred to as Federal Flats. Boy Scout camp was held there in the summer, when the troop pitched tents and camped out for several months.

4. Catholic Mission

In August 1947 the Catholic mission house was remodeled when a new porch was added at the rear of the building.[14] In 1949 the Roman Catholic diocese of Honolulu sent a contractor to Kalawao to survey Damien's church and submit a description of the work considered necessary to repair the structure. The 1949 legislature then appropriated $10,000 for repairs, to rehabilitate but not remodel the church.

5. Promin Building

Kalaupapa settlement started use of the drug promin on May 6, 1946. In early 1948 the promin building was moved to the grounds of the general hospital.[15]

6. Bishop Home

By March 1949 a social hall (small outer building) had been added to the Bishop Home where the girls learned weaving, block printing, and sewing from Mrs. Judd. The Gregg system of shorthand was also taught. In July demolition of the infirmary building, No. 14, and transfer of the infirmary patients was being contemplated. Work began in April 1950 on converting the No. 9 building at the Bishop Home to serve as an infirmary. One of the patients of Bishop Home Building No. 9 wrote N.R. Sloan, the medical director, in protest over Building

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14. "Resident Superintendent's Report for August, 1947," September 2, 1947, file V.A.21.a, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 3.

15. Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Territory of Hawaii, "A Summary of Departmental Activities for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946," p. 5; "Report of Resident Superintendent for January, 1948," February 2, 1948, file V.A.21.b, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 5.

Illustration 162. Old promin house (Building No. 7), general hospital grounds east of fumigation room, 1983. NPS photo.



No. 9, or more than half of it, being turned into an infirmary and dispensary. She noted that the rooms at No. 9 were larger than in the newer buildings and had lockers. Some residents had lived there more than thirteen years and did not want to move. She stated that Building No. 9 would not be suitable for blind handicapped patients. Because it was situated higher than the other buildings, it was more exposed to the elements. The woman also stated she had been told that the verandah on the front would be screened for a dining room.[16]

7. Quonset Huts

In October 1948 it was announced that the war surplus buildings at the Pu'unēnē, Maui, naval air station would be turned over to Kalaupapa settlement and Maui County. Those two entities would divide 160 surplus buildings,[17] seventeen of which, plus equipment, would go to Kalaupapa. The huts were eventually dismantled by the county of Maui and delivered to Kalaupapa on July 16, 1949, where they were stored awaiting erection. In August a tentative proposal to construct the fifteen huts was put forth. It included:

one large quonset hut for a material shed (storage)--concrete floor

five small quonset huts to be used as a dormitory for workmen--wood floors

one to be used for Kalaupapa store and warehouse storage--concrete floor

one large one to be used as a gymnasium--concrete and wood floor

16. Jean Jordan, No. 9 Bishop Home, to N.R. Sloan, Actg. Supt., July 18, 1949, Board of Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1949-September 1949, Department of Public Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

17. Star Bulletin (Honolulu), October 28, 1948.

one as a staff garage

one as a Bay View Home dormitory (tentative)--wood floor, or for oil storage--concrete floor

and five to serve as patient houses--wood floor[18]

In January 1950 it was reported that the quonset hut program was continuing. Two warehouses were complete and a new dorm for nonpatient male workers would be ready soon. Progress was also being made on the dorm for the Baldwin Home boys moving to Bay View. At a board meeting of the Department of Health on May 4, 1950, it was stated that the actual costs of the quonset hut program had far exceeded the estimates. Therefore, no additional huts would be erected after completing the addition to McVeigh Home.[19]

8. Staff Quarters

In a letter concerning the budget for 1949-51, Judd mentioned the lack of staff quarters. At that time, he stated, staff members as well as visitors were living in the building behind the present staff quarters that was formerly used as a laundry. It provided two small bedrooms. In August 1949 the staff yards were reported as consisting of the "Veteran's Cottage," the medical director's quarters (No. 10), quarters Nos. 1, 5, 8, and 14, and the former airport house

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18. Lawrence M. Judd, Actg. Dir., Div. of Hospitals and Settlement, to Actg. Resident Supt., August 3, 1949, Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1949-September 1949, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

19. Excerpts from Board Minutes Concerning Hansen's Disease, July 1, 1949, to March 5, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Correspondence, Reports, etc., 1956-1961, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 21.

that had evidently been moved into the staff group in April 1948 to provide housing for the Bittels (C.O. Bittel was the settlement fire marshal).[20]

9. Description of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1948

A publicity folder on the settlement about 1948 mentioned a few facts about stores, businesses, and activities. Support facilities comprised a laundry, carpenter shop, plumbing shop, warehouse, store, and a nursery for trees and shrubs--all run partly by patients. Three restaurant/stores were privately run. The patients raised vegetables, pigs, and eggs for the settlement, and goods were also available at the main issue store. The major cattle herd was held in Waikolu Valley. The fire department had a 1931 Ford pumper and a 1927 ambulance/hearse. The small one-room school for younger patients was taught by the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna.[21]

The Kalaupapa bakery burned on March 8, 1948. It was decided not to rebuild it as a bakery because it was cheaper to fly bread in from "topside" Moloka'i. Superintendent Judd felt that the bakery building could be made into a fine craft shop with looms, work tables, sewing machines, and a kiln for ceramics:

> While we had authorization to restore the building substantially as a bakery, we had really no need for baking bread, for we found it cheaper to bring bread in by airplane than to bake in the settlement. If we rebuilt as a bakery, there had to be an oven as an essential part of the restoration. We rebuilt the

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20. Judd to Hon. Toshie Ansai, April 7, 1949, file V.C.1.b, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu; letter of April 26, 1948, file V.A.4, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu; Actg. Dir. Judd, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to Acting Resident Superintendent, Kalaupapa, August 25, 1949, Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1949-September 1949, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

21. Article by Leverett G. Richards, ca. 1948, file V.A.16, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 21, 24.

structure substantially as a bakery, left the old oven in place, and turned it into a workshop which became the pride of the institution.[22]

10. Sanitary Inspection of Settlement, 1949

A sanitary survey of the settlement took place in the summer of 1949 and the following structures were specifically mentioned:

a. Poi and Vegetable Room

This room, formerly used for the manufacture of poi, was now used only for the processing of poi, the storage of vegetables, and the distribution of these commodities. The adjoining room was used for the storage of discarded equipment. The structure was considered beyond repair and in need of rebuilding.

b. Ice House

It was recommended that the wooden covers used to cover the ice containers in the brine solution be replaced and the old defroster removed.

c. Slaughterhouse

This old dairy barn was in dilapidated condition and was recommended for demolition.

d. Bishop Home Infirmary

This building was referred to as dilapidated.

e. Jail

This structure contained a kitchen and bath facilities. Filipino cooks lived in one wing of the jail and operated chicken coops and pens. (It had been stated in 1937 that kōkuas were living in the renovated jail.)

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22. Judd, Judd & Hawaii, p. 262.

Illustration 163. Slaughterhouse, no date. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 164. Jail (Building No. 302-3), no date. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

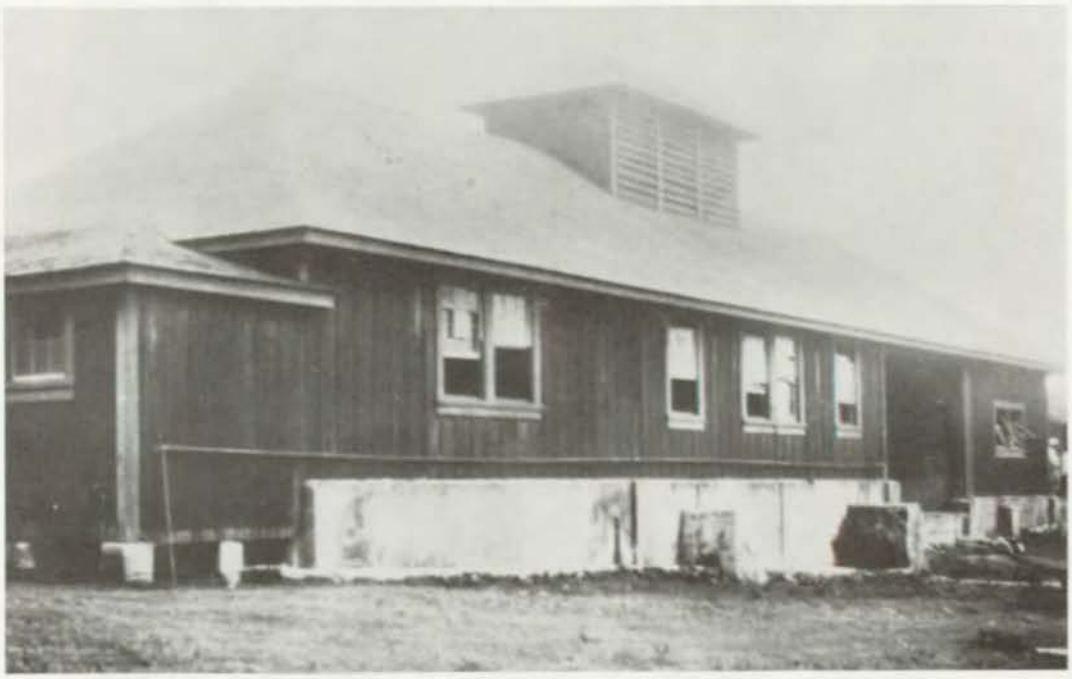




Illustration 165. Social hall, 1949. Police department here until 1950, when moved to jail.

Illustration 166. Craft Shop, former bakery, 1949. Photos courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.





Illustration 167. Aerial view of Kalaupapa settlement, 1950. U.S. Army photo, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



f. Pig Pens, Chicken Farms

It was reported that twenty-five of these structures with old wooden floors built close to the ground were in operation. Chickens were being raised at all 100 outpatient cottages, and at about twenty-five, hogs were raised.[23]

11. Physical Improvements at Kalaupapa after July 1, 1949

After an investigation in 1948 by the Attorney General's office, the 1949 legislature abolished the Board of Hospitals and Settlement and transferred the administration of the Hansen's Disease program back to the Board of Health on July 1, 1949. Responsibility for the leprosy program was administered by the Division of Hospitals and Settlement of the Territorial Board of Health. The office of "Superintendent" was changed to "Division Director." This was a grave responsibility for the board, which had been deprived of this responsibility almost twenty years earlier after failing to provide for the welfare of the patients or to control the disease. The new Board of Health, under President Charles L. Wilbar, Jr., set out immediately to establish policies based on Wilbar's belief that leprosy (or Hansen's Disease as it was officially known in the territory by act of the 1949 legislature) was a disease and should be treated as such and that public superstition should not dictate policies of medical administration. The policies decided upon were:

1. no more admissions to Kalaupapa settlement;

2. establishment of a hospital for the care and treatment of the disease near a medical center. (Three months after the Board of Health took over, the Kalihi diagnostic and detention facility in Honolulu from which patients were deported to Kalaupapa was abolished and the desired hospital was opened--Hale Mohalu);

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23. Chief Sanitary Inspector, Oahu, to Director, Division of Sanitation, August 16, 1949, Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1949-September 1949, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

3. admission of newly diagnosed cases to contagious disease units of existing local hospitals on the island where the patient resided; and

4. quarantine only during the infectious stage.[24]

a. New Dormitory and Construction Camp

In early 1951 the Division of Hospitals and Settlement reported on progress made at the leprosy settlement in terms of physical improvements. Living quarters had been increased by construction of a fourteen-room dormitory for patients in one quonset hut, and by the addition of thirty-eight bedrooms, two baths, and a living room fashioned from a group of five quonsets that formed a new construction camp for nonpatient employees. Further improvements were made by moving the kitchen and dining room from the old construction camp (former McVeigh beach home area) to the new one and enlarging them. By July 1950 nonpatient workers had moved to their new quarters.

b. Baldwin/Bay View Homes Merge

Around the first of March 1950 the Baldwin Home for Men and Boys, because of the reduced number of patients there and a need to save operating costs, was merged with the Bay View Home. The Brothers of the Sacred Hearts continued in charge of the combined homes. In May 1950 the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna wrote Dr. Wilbar concerning the proposed ouster of the Kaopuiki family from their present home, the house to then be enlarged and improved as a home for the Catholic brothers taking care of Bay View Home. Mr. and Mrs. James Kaopuiki were living in quarters assigned to the "Guest Matron." The house was a memorial from the Wilcoxes of Kaua'i and had been built as a dispensary for the patients many years earlier. It was now used as a

24. "This is Kalaupapa," 1950?, V.A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), pp. 5-7.

public place where families could visit relatives. Mrs. Adeline M. Ogawa, manager of the Bay View Home for many years, had lived there.[25]

The brothers evidently stayed for the time being in their quarters at the new Baldwin Home. On June 11, 1950, a fire broke out in the kitchen of the brothers' quarters. It destroyed most of the kitchen and inflicted heavy damage in the adjacent dining room and bedroom.[26] It was decided that the kitchen would not be repaired and that the brothers would be housed elsewhere. The director of the Division of Hospitals and Settlement advised the settlement administrator in late August 1950 to submit a request for consideration by the Board of Disposal to dismantle and demolish the brothers' quarters and chapel at the Baldwin Home.[27] A day later the director again advised the administrator that the chapel at Baldwin Home was not to be moved, because a room in the brothers' new quarters could be used for devotions. Funds should not be sought to build new quarters in or near the Baldwin/Bay View Home for the brothers, but an existing facility should be utilized. The only one available was the house occupied by James Kapuiki (Kaopuiki), No. 277 (Wilcox Memorial Building). The Kapuikis could be moved into an apartment in the visitors' quarters, No.

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25. Kahokuoluna to Wilbar, May 19, 1950, file Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, March 1-August 30, 1950, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. Why Mrs. Ogawa lived in the Wilcox building rather than in No. 10 or No. 11 is not clear.

26. Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to President, Board of Health, July 14, 1950, Report for June 1950, file Division of Hospitals and Settlement, Monthly Reports, July 1949-1954, Department of Public Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

27. Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to Institution Administrator, Kalaupapa Settlement, August 23, 1950, file Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, March 1-August 30, 1950, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

274. A cottage in the visitors' yard could be assigned to the brothers for use for meditation if there was not room in their quarters.[28]

In May 1951 Superintendent Judd requested from the Catholic Church that the chapel at Baldwin Home be moved adjacent to the Baldwin/Bay View Home for the use of the blind patients. He said it was a question of moving the chapel or converting two rooms in Building No. 4 of Baldwin/Bay View into one room and furnishing it with the equipment now in the Baldwin Home chapel. This latter proposition was agreed to. These two rooms were at the left of the entrance in Building No. 4 and would be more convenient for the blind and infirm Catholic patients than walking over to St. Francis Church.[29]

In 1951, however, most of the Catholic brothers left Kalaupapa, after fifty-six years of service. Only four were left, one administering the Baldwin/Bay View Home, two doing the cooking and looking after patients, and the fourth functioning as a pastor. Four members of the order who died in service are buried in the St. Philomena churchyard.

c. Patient Houses

Thirty-seven patient cottages were repaired throughout and twenty-nine painted on the interior. Roofs on all the settlement buildings were repaired.

d. Damien Church

In January 1950 repairs were started on the Church of St. Philomena with legislative funds. The church was renovated and rededicated on June 16, 1950.

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28. Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to Institution Administrator, Kalaupapa Settlement, August 24, 1950, in ibid.

29. Lawrence M. Judd, Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to the Most Reverend James J. Sweeney, D.D., May 4, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1951-May 1951, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

e. Wilcox Memorial Building

The Wilcox Memorial Building was altered and enlarged as living quarters for the Sacred Hearts Brothers.

f. Kalawao Pavilion

The Kalawao pavilion was erected as an additional recreational facility for patients in 1950.[30]

12. Construction Completed by End of 1950

On September 6, 1950, the Board of Disposal approved a request to dispose of fifteen old buildings at Kalaupapa. The structures were no longer suitable as living quarters and were vacant. All material worth salvaging would be used for repairs to other buildings. The annual report for the period ending December 31, 1950, mentioned several items of construction that had been carried out:

a. The quonset hut building program had been completed as far as funds allowed. Two large warehouses and a large addition to the Bay View Home as well as a five-hut construction camp were erected under this program;

b. the boat landing was cleared and the removal and rebuilding of the rock crusher was underway;

c. a new picnic pavilion at Kalawao was erected;

d. the historic churches at Kalawao were renovated under separate appropriations;

e. alterations and painting of the McVeigh Home dining room and two dorms were completed;

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30. Division of Hospitals and Settlement, Progress Report on Administration of the Hansen's Disease Control Program, February 14, 1951 (Accomplishments of Division of Hospitals and Settlement, Department of Health, Since July 1, 1949), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 3.

f. the old infirmary of the Bishop Home was closed;

g. the Baldwin Home was evacuated and combined with Bay View;

h. permission to dismantle sixteen old buildings was received;

i. the Wilcox Memorial Building was altered and enlarged for the Brothers of the Sacred Hearts;

j. the former promin house was altered to function as a sewing room, a dispensary for non-patient personnel, a nurses' retreat, and as a demonstration clinic for visitors; and

k. the kitchen and dining room of the labor camp had been altered and enlarged.[31]

13. Miscellaneous Structures in 1951

a. Kamahana Building

In 1951 David Kamahana offered to sell his concrete store building for $150.00. He had been a patient at Kalaupapa and Hale Mohalu for sixty-three years. He was thirteen years of age in 1888 when he was forced to leave his parents on the island of Hawai'i and was taken to Kalawao. After a couple of months there he became depressed, climbed over the cliffs behind the settlement, and caught a boat to Honolulu. He was caught in 1896 and sent back to Moloka'i. Brother Dutton took care of Kamahana after his return to the settlement, and David helped install the water system at the turn of the century. During the last forty years of his life at the settlement, he had operated a general merchandise store, which he expanded from a push-cart door-to-door enterprise to a

31. Medical Director, Kalaupapa Settlement, to Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, February 7, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1951-May 1951, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.

Illustration 168. Kamahana general merchandise store, Kalaupapa, 1983 (abandoned). NPS photo.



modern business establishment in a concrete building. About eight months before his release, he was transferred to Hale Mohalu and then took up residence on the outside again.[32]

b. Changes in Building Use

As of December 31, 1950, the Kalaupapa central laundry was closed, the laundry being processed commercially in Honolulu from then on. The laundry was converted to a carpenter shop and the present carpenter shop was to be used as a machine shop. The laundry collection and distribution center was moved to the old materials shed.[33]

14. Progress Report for 1951-1952

In September 1952, projects listed as having been completed during the last year involved

a. rebuilding the dam and repairing water ways in upper Waikolu Valley;

b. fencing and land clearing for cattle raising and seeding in conformance with soil conservation practices of the departments of agriculture and forestry;

c. repairing refrigeration and cold storage plants;

d. rebuilding the perishable food distribution center with a concrete floor in May; and

e. painting the exteriors of houses gray to harmonize with the landscape.

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32. "One Time Kalaupapa Patient Recalls Memories of Past," Star Bulletin (Honolulu), December 10, 1951, V.D.2.d, Leprosy Clippings, 1951, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

33. "Division of Hansen's Disease, Report of Administrative Staff Conference," July 18, 1951, File V.A.20.b, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 1, 4.

On November 21, 1952, centralized cooking of meals was instituted for those patients residing in the three unit homes and in the infirmary. Prepared food was delivered in containers to each dining room for serving.[34] The infirmary kitchen was remodeled to serve as the central kitchen.

15. Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Sub-Committee Trip to Kalaupapa Settlement, 1954

On March 18, 1954, a sub-committee of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee took a trip to Kalaupapa. On their return, they noted several items of interest. The sub-committee members felt that about one-third of the homes, which were either beyond repair or uneconomical to maintain, should be replaced. The last major construction of houses had been in 1932 and the last road was macadamized in 1939. Many of the patients wanted the unit homes turned into cottages and to be allowed to draw rations and cook for themselves. The patients also wanted a gym. Under the 1949 appropriation made by the legislature to erect quonset huts, one was to be used as a gym. A lack of funds, however, had prevented erection of all the planned huts. The group also mentioned that the Baldwin Home had been demolished.[35]

16. Progress Made in 1953-54

a. Airport

The Kalaupapa airport was further improved in 1953 with paving of the landing strip by the Hawai'i Aeronautics Commission.

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34. C.L. Wilbar, Jr., President, Board of Health, to Kaneo Kishimoto, September 29, 1952, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1952-1953, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu; Progress Report on Administration of the Hansen's Disease Control Program During 1951 and 1952, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Reports, 1951-1956, in ibid.

35. Minutes of the Meeting of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, May 11, 1954, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-59, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 1-3.

b. Landing

A substantial wooden landing ramp was constructed during the spring of 1954.

c. Slaughterhouse

A slaughterhouse at a convenient location and equipped for one-man operation was installed.[36]

d. McVeigh Home

In the summer of 1954, thirteen new electric hot water heaters were installed in the McVeigh Home area as part of a general changeover from oil boilers to electricity for heating water.

e. Recreation Area

The Kalaupapa Lions Club resumed work during August 1954 on a new recreation area between the social hall and Staff Row. It was intended to provide a more central area than the pasture that was used or the Kalawao picnic grounds.[37]

17. Proposal for Nonpatient Community on Kalaupapa Peninsula, 1955

In the spring of 1955, some discussion arose over the possibility of the Board of Health establishing a non-patient community in Kalawao County to which it could grant certain concessions. Dr. Richard K.C. Lee, president of the board, had long been interested in this possibility. The board proposed to set aside a section of the settlement in which nonpatients could establish a little community where they could

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36. Progress Report on Administration of the Hansen's Disease Control Program During 1953 and 1954, February 11, 1955, file Division of Hansen's Disease, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1954 to March 1956, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 4.

37. Director, Division of Hansen's Disease, to Acting Executive Officer, September 13, 1954, Report for August 1954, file Division of Hospitals and Settlement, Monthly Reports, July 1949-1954, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.

lead a more "normal" life and where discharged and/or temporary release patients could earn a livelihood independent of territorial subsidization.

Staff members and ex-patients would be granted the right to use certain defined areas of land on which to build residences and establish a plot for small-scale farming. Permits would be granted to discharged and/or temporary release patients to operate certain concessions, such as taxi and guide services or boat, fishing tackle, or horse rentals. Nonpatients would be granted concessions to operate a curio store, restaurant, general store, and maybe a small hotel. It was noted during discussion of the proposal, which came to nought, that the only area large enough, with water, would be near the Damien Memorial site (St. Philomena).[38]

18. Changes During 1955-1956

The legislature of 1955 appropriated $85,000 for new patient cottages, $25,000 for paving and construction of new roads, and $10,000 for the conversion of the Kalaupapa theater so that it could show Cinemascope pictures. The $25,000 was for paving roads in the settlement and a stretch of road leading to the airport. It was suggested that the new cottages be built in a row along the leeward side of Damien Road opposite the Bishop Home area.

a. Settlement

There were now many vacancies in the settlement, the large dormitories having few occupants. At McVeigh Home, eight or ten of the patients drew food from the dining room and carried it to their own cottages to eat, leaving only about a dozen who actually ate in the dining room. This pointed out the need for further consolidation of the settlement. It was suggested it might be better to convert more apartments from existing dormitory buildings than to build new cottages.

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38. Minutes of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Meeting, April 5, 1955, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-1959, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 2-3.

In terms of new separate housing, the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee favored spreading the houses in the central part of the settlement on vacant lots or replacing houses that were torn down rather than grouping them in one place. The committee also favored large lots so that tenants could engage in subsistence farming and also avoid a crowded appearance in the settlement. In the long run, the committee advocated further consolidation, further conversion of existing structures to house-keeping apartments or individual cottages, and making some of the smaller units available to single persons as well as couples.[39]

b. Roads and Trails

It was stated in early 1956 that the appropriation for roads and trails at Kalaupapa included repairs to settlement streets, the road to Kalawao, and maintenance of the beach trail and valley trails at Waikolu as well as of the pali trail.[40]

Several projects had been completed by the summer of 1956. It was reported that the Bishop Home main dining room had been closed the first of the year due to a dwindling population in the home. The remaining residents were eating in a small dinette-kitchenette at the infirmary building. The installation of the Cinemascope process in the theater had been completed, and a contractor was building nine new cottages for nine married couples now living in dilapidated cottages. Some single persons occupying cottages in worse condition than some of those to be abandoned by the nine married couples would be moved to

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39. Minutes of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Meeting, November 28, 1955, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-1959, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 1-3.

40. Ira D. Hirschy, M.D, Director, Division of Hansen's Disease, to President, Board of Health, March 14, 1956, file Division of Hansen's Disease, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1954 to March 1956, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

vacated cottages and their houses would be demolished. The plan was to demolish the nine worst cottages in the settlement.[41]

19. Changes During 1957-1969

a. Paschoal Community Hall Dedicated

On June 19, 1958, the former social hall was dedicated as the Paschoal Community Hall, named after Manuel G. Paschoal, who had long championed the rights, privileges, and welfare of the people of Kalaupapa settlement.

b. Period of 1957-1958

During these two years, several McVeigh Home quarters were converted. Nine cottages now accommodated patients who drew rations and did their own housekeeping. These were in addition to the four apartments converted in 1957 and the nine new cottages built in 1956. Most married couples, of which there were then fifty-two at Kalaupapa, were considered well housed. The census of unit homes was: Bishop Home, eleven residents; Bay View Home, thirty-eight (two married couples); and McVeigh Home, seventeen. In addition there were twenty-two residents in apartments or housekeeping cottages, and eighty-one separate cottages were divided into forty with married couples, thirty with single occupants, six with two or three individuals each, and five were vacant.

As stated earlier, the general mess was discontinued in Bishop Home and meals were served only in the infirmary. Only three patients were then in the infirmary and their move to the hospital was being considered. The Bishop Home would be retained for ambulatory women patients who could eat their meals at the hospital.

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41. Minutes of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Meeting, July 10, 1956, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-1959, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.

The 1957 legislature appropriated funds to build eleven additional cottages for married couples at the settlement. A member of the Territorial Planning Office, however, suggested again that more buildings be converted to apartments instead of using the funds to build new cottages. The conversion of the one large building at McVeigh Home to four apartments cost $2,820 for each apartment. The conversion of nine McVeigh Home cottages into housekeeping units cost $2,896 for each remodelled cottage. The most pressing problem in housing now was provided by the thirty individuals who wanted separate homes. If they moved into unit homes it would save maintenance and utility costs, but they preferred more independence.

Additional street paving was done in 1956 and again in 1958, because both the 1955 and 1957 legislatures had appropriated funds for the extension of paved streets in the settlement. A fire detection and alarm system was installed in the hospital and Buildings No. 2 and No. 3 at Bay View Home. A chlorinator was installed in the water line between the storage tanks and the settlement. Five temporary release patients were granted concessions to operate a guided tour and taxi service in Kalaupapa; the first tour began in November 1957.[42]

c. Fiscal Year 1959/60

During the 1959/60 fiscal year the re-laying and reinforcement of the water pipeline from Waikolu Valley to Kalawao was half completed. The completion date was set for March 31, 1961. Resurfacing of the older roads of the settlement was initiated in 1959 as a two-year project. Half of the work was completed in the 1959/60 fiscal year. After that work was delayed because of installation of a new rock crusher. That apparatus was purchased for $10,875 and installed during the 1960/61 fiscal year, but it did not start operating until December 1960.

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42. Minutes of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Meeting, January 13, 1959, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-1959, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 2-3.

d. Fiscal Year 1960/61

The new administration building was constructed during the 1960/61 fiscal year at a cost of about $20,000. It was built on the open lot east of the post office building and replaced the old building near the boat landing.

Also at this time the public works engineer of the Department of Accounting and General Services was drawing up plans for expanding recreational facilities on the basis of a $15,000 general fund appropriation made available for a park. The patients wanted a multi-purpose playing court in a central location suitable for volleyball, tennis, and basketball. They also wanted a centrally located softball field. The work was to be completed that summer.[43]

The conversion of McVeigh Home from a "unit home" to a housing area was completed September 30, 1960, with the remodelling of ten more cottages. All the patient quarters in the McVeigh Home area had by then been converted into housekeeping units. The main dining room was closed, and those who had been eating there either prepared their own meals from their ration allowance or were eating at one of the remaining dining rooms in the settlement.

Also during calendar year 1960, a variety of general improvements were made. Repainting was done on the exterior of the hospital, five staff quarters, six patient cottages, the Bay View Home kitchen-dining room building, and the released patients' dressing room building. New roof gutters were also installed at the hospital, and in the dining room, repainting and laying of asphalt floor tile was accomplished.[44]

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43. Ira D. Hirschy, Director, Division of Hansen's Disease, to Director of Health, February 3, 1961, file Hansen's Disease, Correspondence, Reports, etc., 1956-1961, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

44. Progress Report, Calendar Year 1960, Department of Health, Division of Hansen's Disease, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 4,6.

e. Period of 1963-1969

During this time only a few changes were noted. In 1963 the Department of Health asked for money to reinforce the settlement's wooden bridge, probably on Puahi Street. The most recently constructed cottages were two-bedroom and painted brown. In November 1968 the fumigation of letters sent out from the settlement was discontinued. In 1969 Marines from Kāne'ohe Marine Corps Air Station repainted Father Damien's chapel, inside and out. Termite-damaged wood was replaced and masonry work was done on the belfry and chapel tower. They also restored the fence around Damien's grave.[45]

f. Period of 1970-1980

In 1969 the Department of Health decided that no one with leprosy needed to be isolated. All new patients were to be treated on an out-patient basis. Most could live entirely normal lives except for periodic visits to doctors. Modern drug therapy enabled avoidance of lesions and scarring, and infectiousness was controlled by a new drug, rifampin, that killed leprosy bacteria within three days of treatment. At the end of 1974, 142 patients, admitted prior to July 1, 1969, claimed residence at Kalaupapa, about 119 of whom actually lived there. Many had been there since childhood and for various reasons, emotional and practical, chose to remain there. The state has assured their continued residency, although new admissions have been forbidden since 1969.

The Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Kalaupapa suggested that Kalaupapa settlement be preserved as a park after its use as a leprosy settlement had ended. A bill to make it a national historic site was introduced in Congress by Representative Patsy T. Mink. The act of October 17, 1976 (Public Law 94-518), determined that the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement constituted a unique and nationally

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45. "Marines Restore Damien Chapel," Honolulu Advertiser, September 26, 1969, file V.D.2.9, Leprosy Clippings, 1969, M-420 (Judd Collection), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

significant cultural, historical, educational, and scenic resource. It directed the Secretary of the Interior to study the settlement and submit a report to the President and Congress addressing the various resources of Kalaupapa peninsula and providing recommendations for their interpretation and preservation. This was to be done in consultation with the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission, which was established by the legislation to assist in studying the question. The secretary was also to consult with other federal agencies, interested state and local officials, and patients and former patients of the settlement.

A report of the study was prepared in July 1978, and the secretary submitted it as part of a list of areas having potential for inclusion in the National Park System in October 1979. Concurrently, the advisory commission reviewed the report and prepared recommendations to the secretary. The final proposals, which became the basis of the legislation--H.R. 7217, which was introduced to the Senate on May 2, 1980--embodied the overall concensus of the state of Hawai'i, the county of Maui, the Kalaupapa residents, and the National Park Service. The Reverend David K. Kaupu, chairman of the advisory commission, endorsed the concept and language of the proposed legislation on March 25, 1980. The bill, which proposed establishment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park and boundary adjustments at existing Park Service units in Hawai'i, sought to recognize, interpret, and preserve the long history of Kalaupapa settlement, commemorate the work of Father Damien and other religious and secular groups in easing the suffering of the afflicted, and preserve and protect significant natural and early Hawai'ian cultural values. It would permit the remaining residents to live at the settlement for as long as they wished, and the policy of protecting their privacy and restricting visitors to the settlement would be continued as long as necessary. However, the enactment of the bill

> would enable the Federal Government to proceed with the protection of historic sites at Kalaupapa--those related to the prediscovery Hawaiians who inhabited the area and those relating to Father Damien and the Hansen's disease settlement. Patients who choose to remain at Kalaupapa would still be cared for by the Hawaii State Department of Health, and the historic

preservation programs would be conducted by the Federal Government.[46]

A hearing on the bill was conducted on May 2, 1980, by the National Parks and Insular Affairs Subcommittee, and the full committee adopted the recommended bill on May 14, 1980. House Report 7217 passed the House of Representatives on May 19, and in an amended form passed the Senate on December 4. The House agreed to the Senate amendments on December 5, and H.R. 7217 was signed into law as Public Law 96-565 on December 22, 1980.

The legislation established Kalaupapa National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System, its purpose being to preserve and interpret the settlement for the education and inspiration of present and future generations, by researching, preserving, and maintaining the character of the community. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to ensure that patients and native Hawai'ians performed and managed the interpretation and preservation to the extent practicable. In order to provide a well-maintained community, ensure the privacy of the patients, and preserve their current lifestyle, public visitation would be limited to 100 persons a day. To ensure continuing public participation in the development and management of the park, the bill authorized an eleven-member commission, composed of patients and other interested individuals, to advise the secretary. Additionally, the secretary was authorized, with the consent of any owners involved, to undertake critical emergency stabilization of utilities and historic structures, develop temporary office space, and conduct interim interpretive and visitor services on nonfederal property within the park. He was also authorized and directed to enter into cooperative agreements with the owner of any property within the park for the protection, maintenance, construction, improvement, and interpretation of the sites, facilities, and resources of the park. Finally, the bill directed the secretary to reevaluate policies on management, administration, and public use when there was no longer a resident patient community.

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46. Hearings on Kalaupapa National Historic Park, Congressional Record--Senate, December 4, 1980, S 15565.

XIII. KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Kalaupapa peninsula on the island of Moloka'i remains today a place of outstanding scenic beauty, the appreciation of which is always blended with thoughts of the years of untold suffering and courageous existence that have been briefly outlined in this study. The three beautiful valleys cutting into the impressively steep cliffs, the rocky coastline, and the white sand beaches were seldom appreciated by the first leprosy victims brought there, whose initial concerns centered around acquiring adequate food and shelter.

Hawai'i's fight against leprosy was long and bitter and left on the people of the islands emotional as well as physical scars that will never be healed. From 1870 to 1880 there were estimated to be 1,000 leprosy cases per 100,000 of the population. Kalaupapa settlement reached its peak population of around 1,200 patients about 1890. A buildup in natural resistance to the disease led to a decline to 425 by 1936 and this downward trend continued. King Kamehameha IV's compulsory isolation policy, leading to the establishment of Kalaupapa settlement in 1866, remained the law of Hawaii until 1969, although prior to that time patients were given increased amounts of travel freedom subject to Department of Health controls.

In 1969 Hawai'i passed a law allowing residents to move out of the settlement if they wished. The small community now living there, with an average age of sixty-five, stay on because they are more comfortable and at ease there, or because they have nowhere else to go. Most are partly deformed and scarred. They are given medical care and are supplied just like any other small town. Children under sixteen are not allowed to live there, not due to fear of their catching the disease, but to preserve a quiet, peaceful atmosphere for the remaining population.

The significance of Kalaupapa settlement cannot be overstated. The residents are among the last remaining survivors worldwide of an international public health policy that decreed the social and physical isolation of leprosy victims. Although the afflicted were being isolated

long before the nineteenth century, it was not until then that official policies decreeing that practice were formulated. Other leprosaria that confined patients in accordance with compulsory segregation legislation were located in Norway in 1885; in New South Wales in 1890; in Cape Colony, South Africa, in 1892; in Japan in 1900; in Ceylon in 1901; and in Canada in 1906. Two of the most famous leprosy institutions are Culion, in the Phillipines, established in 1901, and Carville, established as the Louisiana Leper Home in 1894 and taken over by the U.S. Public Health Service in 1921, when it became the National Leprosarium.[1]

About 5,000 residents of the United States still have leprosy. Very few new cases now are reported among people born in Hawai'i. Almost all of those reported are immigrants from Third World countries where the disease has not yet been controlled. It is estimated that twelve to fifteen million people worldwide suffer from leprosy, which is still spread in part by feelings of shame and fear of ostracization that prevent those in the early stage of the disease from seeking treatment. Those that do are treated with new drugs that kill the bacillus that attacks the skin and nerves.

Because of Kalaupapa's isolation from the mainstream of Hawai'ian life for so many years, it remains somewhat alienated from the larger Hawai'ian culture. This alienation has been the result not only of the stigma often found in the "outside" world that perpetuates the association of the word "leper" with an unclean outcast, but also because of an effort on the part of the present residents to preserve an identity, a way of life, and a community feeling that is theirs alone. It is a camaraderie of spirit, based on common experience, and cannot be shared by anyone in Hawai'i who was not a leprosy patient on Moloka'i. This independence of

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1. Gugelyk and Bloombaum, Separating Sickness, p. 8. Carville is the only hospital in the continental United States devoted exclusively to treating and researching leprosy. The sulfone drugs that had such a dramatic effect on leprosy cases were first used there in 1941. Ibid.

mind, this close tie with fellow sufferers and the land, is also a tribute to the thousands who died on Moloka'i, a way of keeping their memory alive in the public conscience--a way of ensuring that we do not forget.

This steadfast determination to hold on to the past, to places that are an important part of their lives, was most recently evident in the emotional but ultimately unsuccessful effort to save from destruction the old treatment facility in Honolulu referred to as Hale Mohalu. The facility functioned as a sort of "half-way house," a place in Honolulu where the patients felt they could go when they became too sick to care for themselves. It was closed down by the Hawaii State Department of Health in 1978. A lengthy court battle culminated in 1983 in a federal court upholding the state's decision to transfer services to a state hospital. The last two patients who had continued to live in the facility and sixteen supporters were removed only moments before the bulldozing of the famous old residential treatment center.

The Hawaii State Department of Health operates Kalaupapa settlement with federal funds. Lifetime tenancy has been guaranteed by the government to the residents, most of whom wish to remain there the rest of their lives. The current population is a precious resource. In terms of the Hawai'ian leprosy experience, they are the last of their kind. They retain some bitterness, about many things--forced isolation, separation from families and friends, the fact that the sulfone drugs came too late to be useful to some of them, lack of adequate care and administration, especially in the early days, and the strong influence still exerted in their lives by the State Department of Health. They are pleased, though, that the area has become a national park, for this ensures Kalaupapa will remain a memorial to what happened there.

The very physical and social isolation that kept Kalaupapa peninsula from developing a modern suburban sprawl has helped preserve rare examples of older Hawaiian architecture as well as excellent examples of Hawai'ian institutional architecture of the 1930s. In addition there are ruins of some of the early Kalawao structures that will play an important

part in the park's interpretation program. Critical, emergency stabilization of utilities and historical structures is now being undertaken by the National Park Service. Research on this Historic Resource Study has attempted to determine which structures and sites are significant in the park's history. The final chapter presents a summary of the physical development of Kalaupapa peninsula and recommendations for treatment and interpretation.

XIV. Summary of Historical Sites and Structures and Evaluations of Significance

A. Churches (Protestant)

1. Calvinist Church, Building No. 301

Of the six extant churches built on Kalaupapa peninsula, this stone structure referred to as Kalawina (Calvinist) and designated Building No. 301 is the oldest. The first stone meetinghouse on the site was erected in 1839, the second in 1847. The last was built in 1853 and is near the center of the village just west of the community hall. It is forty by eighty feet with eleven-foot-high, twenty-nine-inch fieldstone walls and has undergone considerable alteration due to its changing uses as a jail, warehouse, repair shop, and fire vehicle storage shed. The rubble stone masonry laid with lime mortar is now covered by a corrugated metal roof. The stone walls on either side have been surmounted with two-foot sections of board and batten siding, which is also found on the gable ends, since at least the late 1940s. Illustration 3 (ca. 1895) also shows board and batten siding on the gable end. The open stall for vehicle storage on the southeast corner, created since 1948, has a concrete slab floor. A door in the west wall and a window in the south wall are topped with what are probably original wooden lintels. The door that shows on the eastern end of the building in Illustration 4 (1930s) has since been filled in with rubble.

Building No. 301, although substantially altered (Illustration 6) from its original meetinghouse appearance, is recommended for preservation because it is the earliest Protestant church and, other than examples of early native Hawai'ian architecture that may be uncovered in the future during archeological surveys or construction work, is the oldest standing structure on the peninsula and the only structure that we are certain remains from the early missionary and pre-leprosy settlement periods.

2. Siloama, "Church of the Healing Spring," Building No. 710

The old Siloama Church at Kalawao is a very famous early Protestant church. It was built in 1871, its congregation having been organized in 1866, and was the first Protestant church built at Kalawao

for the solace of the afflicted. The new church body of Siloama was organized before the end of the first year of exile and before most of the church members had structures to even house themselves. The first gatherings were held on the verandah of a house where the patients were ministered to by the American Protestant missionary from Moloka'i--the Reverend Anderson O. Forbes--as frequently as possible. These first members, thirty-five patients from various Congregational Protestant churches on the islands, were released by the Annual Meeting of Congregational churches in Honolulu to form the Kalawao church. The meetinghouse was virtually abandoned from 1927 until 1938, after people had moved over to Kalaupapa settlement and began attending church there.

The Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna became pastor of Kanaana Hou Church in 1938, and soon thereafter she and some of her parishioners decided to clean up the Siloama churchyard and the church interior. It was during this process that she found in a small vault under the building the old church register and minute-book that provided the congregation's early history. Although the congregation resolved to restore the Siloama Church and site for use on special occasions, it was not until after World War II that the congregation could acquire the necessary materials and labor.

In January 1949, after extensive repairs, Siloama chapel was rededicated. By 1963 the structure had again deteriorated and it was determined unsafe for meetings. It was the wish of the board of trustees to preserve the building as long as possible in its current design and appearance. Elmer Wilson, maintenance superintendent of the settlement during the 1940s, was called upon to survey the damage, make recommendations, and estimate renovation costs. The necessary funds were raised, mostly in the form of trusts honoring the memory of early missionaries; labor was donated; and a retired navy lieutenant commander supervised the restoration.

Rust and termites had permeated every part of the building. The structure was first demolished and then rebuilt in 1966.

Many on the restoration crew were long-time Kalaupapa residents and were Kanaana Hou members, Catholics, and Mormons. Some were state employee volunteers.

The structure had new walls, a new roof of embossed, deep-corrugated aluminum, and a six-sided, louvered belfry above a four-square base tower. The old bell was replaced and a marble plaque in memory of an early pastor and a deacon was reset above the front door. The pews stood as they were originally, with no central aisle, and kerosene lamps and a pedal-pumped organ completed the furnishings. Outside in the yard are gravestones of early church members.

Siloama Church today is used for services once a month. It is a strong reminder to members of Kanaana Hou and others of the early days of trial at Kalawao and of the attempts made by the exiles as quickly as possible to bring the solace of religion to that place. As Ethel Damon philosophizes,

> Perhaps it is not possible for us of today to realize what this little church meant to lonely souls in enforced isolation without proper homes or hospital care, and living in constant anticipation of death as their only release.[1]

The importance of the role of various religious sects at Kalaupapa cannot be overemphasized. Although at first there was much rivalry and jealousy between the groups, both as a result of competition for converts and because of Father Damien's notoriety, these schisms gradually healed and all groups--Protestant, Catholic, Mormon--began working together for the good of the friendless victims they were ministering to. Ultimately the Protestant mission supporters and descendants became the chief benefactors of the settlement, while Roman Catholic brothers and sisters volunteered to administer these various institutions.

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1. Damon, Siloama, p. 17.

The setting of Siloama Church is magnificent, for the intense green of the lush foliage and surrounding cliffs and the brilliance of the tropical flowers nearby accentuate the sparkling white of the structure. Its quietness and simple design lead the visitor to reflect on the past history of the peninsula and the hope and courage that flourished there.

The Siloama Church, as reconstructed from the ground up in 1966, is a frame building on a stone foundation. A square tower supports the octagonal steeple. As Laura Soulière and Henry Law pointed out in their architectural evaluation of the structure, the newer church was not built to the same specifications as the 1885 church (Illustration 19). That one had a lower sloped roof, square rather than rectangular louvers in the gable ends, no portico over the front door, wider cornerboards, a darker paint scheme, and a square tower covered with wood in a herringbone pattern.[2] The present Siloama is, however, a beautiful structure, reminding one of New England churches. The passageway that Pastor Alice found on the outside under the pulpit end of the church consisted of two steps down to a small vault. This entrance has since been closed off.

The present Siloama Church, owned by the United Church of Christ, is an inaccurate 1966 reconstruction of the original one. It is a reminder of the first church built at the Kalawao leprosy settlement and the importance of religion to the early exiles. It stands in memory of the thirty-five afflicted original members and all others who suffered through those first years at Kalawao. It is also considered to be an excellent example of a wooden mission church with simple proportions and unpretentious construction. Nearby is an old cemetery and there are outhouses in back of the church. Those restrooms, Building No. 720, are wood frame with shed roofs. Although in poor condition and

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2. Laura E. Soullière and Henry G. Law, Architectural Evaluation, Kalaupapa-Hawaii (San Francisco: National Park Service, Western Regional Office, 1979), p. 55.

deterioriating, they are socially and historically significant as showing the differentiation that was once made in the use of restroom facilities because of fear of the spread of the disease. One door is labelled for kōkuas, one for patients.

3. Kanaana Hou Calvinist Church, Building No. 286

The present wooden Calvinist Mission Church at Kalaupapa is a continuation of the old and new Siloama churches. It was built in 1915 near the YMCA building that was donated as a parish house. It is near the center of Kalaupapa settlement on a plot of lawn also containing a parsonage, parish hall, and smaller outbuildings.

The Kanaana Hou Church is considered significant primarily for its architectural values. Soullière and Law have remarked that the use of a corner tower to emphasize the church entrance is frequently seen in turn-of-the-century Hawai'ian architecture, and that this is a good type specimen. Its exterior is imposing and well built; the interior is not considered architecturally significant. The historical significance of the church is less marked. It is the last of a succession of four churches of a congregation that has slowly moved across the peninsula from east to west as the focus of settlement and administration has changed.

4. Calvinist Parsonage, Building No. 288

Across the road from Building No. 301, the earliest Protestant mission church on Kalaupapa, was a house that served in the 1940s as the schoolhouse for the young patients. An earlier house there had been occupied as a parsonage by the Protestant minister before Kalaupapa settlement was established. Later this became the hale kahu, or pastor's house, for the Congregational church. Following the reorganization of the colony under the Board of Hospitals and Settlement, this plot of land was exchanged for that of the present parsonage next to the existing Protestant church. The old hale kahu was converted into the settlement bakery about 1930. The new two-bedroom parsonage was built in 1932 on the site of Kanaana Church--the enlarged Kalaupapa chapel.

This frame structure is not considered to have historical significance. Architecturally, it is similar in style to the McVeigh Home buildings constructed during the same time period and resembles the style of the visitors' quarters and hospital buildings. The structure should be retained while in use but is not significant in terms of the history of the settlement. It does, however, illustrate the cooperation that has evolved between church and state at the settlement whereby the state has willingly erected residences for resident clergymen.

5. Parish Hall, Building No. 287

The stone wall at Kanaana Hou Church formerly enclosed a parish house that was the old Young Men's Christian Association hall, built in 1895 as the gift of G.N. Wilcox and donated by the YMCA to the church. It was used for small gatherings and as a library. The current parish hall is a newer structure, probably built in the 1930s. The building has no architectural or historical significance.

6. Hot House, Building No. 636

This structure was used as a fernhouse to supply plants for the church and shelter them from the strong winds. This structure, with walls and roof built of thin wood strips, is in good condition and a good specimen of this type of building. Several structures for growing and sheltering plants were built in the settlement and one or two should be preserved as type specimens.

B. Churches (Catholic)

1. St. Philomena Church (Damien's Church), Building No. 711

As noted in the discussion on Siloama Church, although lawlessness, debauchery, and all manner of vices were freely indulged in by many of Kalawao's first exiles, there were those residents who had brought with them a deep and abiding faith. It was the Catholics among them who were much in the mind of Bishop Maigret and to whom he occasionally sent missionaries from a neighboring island. As the number of Catholic patients increased, it became clear that more would have to be done by the Church to satisfy their religious needs.

The first step in enlarging their religious life was to provide a decent place of worship. With private contributions from Catholic natives and foreigners and supplementary aid from the mission staff, enough money was acquired to pay for building material. Brother Victorin Bertrant and a native assistant journeyed to Moloka'i in 1872 and designed and erected a chapel in six weeks. On May 30, 1872, its dedication to St. Philomena was commemorated by administering baptism to twelve leprosy victims. The chapel was widely used on the Sabbath to recite Mass and the Rosary and a request was even made for the Stations of the Cross for contemplation of Christ's suffering in an effort to alleviate their own.[3] The chapel later became the focal point of Damien's endeavors to instill order, morality, and a new sense of hope among the residents of the settlement. Its growing popularity as a village social and religious center forced structural changes to increase its size and durability.

An addition was built on the west side of the church by Father Damien in 1876 and the larger masonry-walled section was begun in 1888 and almost completed at the time of Damien's death in 1889. The church is of frame and stone with a central tower on the front of the structure surmounted by a small diamond-patterned parapet. The interior is barrel vaulted and supported by fluted Corinthian columns.

The church and adjacent cemetery occupy a one-acre site on the north side of the Kalawao road across from the former site of the Baldwin Home for Boys. The structure is somewhat uneven in architectural style because of the several changes made to the original structure both on the exterior and interior. The interior and exterior of the masonry walls are plaster, the interior painted white with red lines to simulate mortar joints. The window and door openings of the masonry part are pointed Gothic arches, while windows in the older wood frame

3. Englebert, Hero of Molokai, pp. 134-35; Jourdan, Heart of Father Damien, 1960, pp. 109-10.

section are double hung. The church is considered to be significant stylistically as a prime example of Kalaupapa vernacular architecture. Its construction was remarkable for the difficulties involved in acquiring building materials and for the scarcity of professional building expertise available. The structure's primary significance is on an international level because of its association with Father Damien and his part in helping reform the leprosy program in Hawai'i.

The structure is used as a church only on Damien Day each year, although it is always included on visitor tours given by the patients. Weddings are sometimes performed there, but it is no longer in daily operation as a church.

2. St. Francis Church, Building No. 291

St. Francis Catholic Church was built in 1908, replacing an earlier wooden church built in 1897 that burned. It is a large Italian Gothic-style structure of reinforced concrete consisting of a great nave, a large sacristy, and a high, square campanile on the southeast corner. The side walls are reinforced by four large concrete buttresses with arched windows between. The interior ceiling is of vault construction and there are four rows of pews cut by three aisles.

Significance of this structure is primarily architectural. The Hawaii Register of Historic Places notes that "The use of ferro-concrete for such structures was in the early stage of development at this period, and it is noteworthy to find such a pretentious architectural-engineering undertaking in this remote community."[4] It is the only concrete church and is also the largest church on the island of Moloka'i. This architectually imposing building is in use and recommended for preservation, but is not considered historically significant.

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4. Hawaii Register of Historic Places, Historic Sites Information and Review Form, St. Francis Catholic Church, by John C. Wright, March 1974.

3. Social Hall, Library, Building No. 292

This building, referred to as Father Damien Memorial Hall and built shortly before 1910, serves as an outbuilding to St. Francis Catholic Church. It possesses no architectural or historical significance.

4. Hot House, Building No. 648

This structure is used for raising plants for St. Francis Church. It is in good condition but not recommended for preservation, although it should not be removed.

5. Rectory, Building No. 294

This frame structure, built in 1930-31, is not considered historically significant. While in use it should be maintained and is in a good interpretive location for illustrating a 1930s type house in future years. It was renovated in 1979.

C. Churches (Other)

1. Mormon, Latter Day Saints, Building No. 257

The work of the Mormon Church in Hawai'i began in 1850 and soon spread to all the islands. As mentioned by Peter Kaeo, J.H. Napela, then assistant superviser of the settlement and a Mormon elder, held meetings outdoors in the early days, frequently in Kauhakō Crater. Jonathan H. Napela was a native Hawai'ian and an early convert to the Latter Day Saints Church on Maui. He assisted in the earliest translation of the Book of Mormon into Hawai'ian. Sometime after 1871 (ca. 1873) he went to Kalaupapa as a kōkua, accompanying his wife who had leprosy. On October 8, 1873, he was appointed president of the Kalaupapa Branch of the Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i Conference. He continued serving as the Mormon leader in the settlement, conducting regular services. He ultimately became a victim of leprosy and died at Kalaupapa.

A Mormon chapel was first built near the Siloama Church at Kalawao. In 1904 it was replaced by another one on the other side of the road. Another meeting place at Kalaupapa was dedicated at the same time and used into the 1940s. When Kalawao was abandoned, the Mormon

Map No. 17. State of Hawaii, Department of Accounting and General Services, Survey Division. Kalawao Historical Sites, Kalawao, Molokai, Hawaii, June 1965.

TOMB INSCRIPTION

Tomb	Name	Born	Died
A	Mr. Kalilipoli		
B	Mrs. Julia R. Holi	Nov. 6, 1868	Nov. 21, 1888
C	Mrs. Akuikapena		
D	Mrs. Lillian Kahookahakaha		April 28, 1921

(Remaining Tombs not inscribed.)

TOMB INSCRIPTION

Tomb	Name	Born	Died
1	Damien Deveuster*		April 15, 1889
2	Rev. F. Emmeran Shulte	July 29, 1868	Aug 14, 1912
3	Joseph I. Dutton	1843	1931
4	Br. Rochus Rech		Nov. 10, 1902
5	Br. Victor Schumpf		Feb. 20, 1900
6	Br. Maria Serapion Van Hoof		May 12, 1910
7	Br. Severin Bolles		Sept 19, 1921
8	Kaikala Kamaahonua		Aug 14, 1928
9	Geo. Kualaku		Sept 18, 1927
10	A. Kualaku		Ap. 3, 1927
11	Geo. N. Kacha		Nov 3, 1926
12	W. K. Kuhia		May 27, 1924
13	Emmeran Palakiko		Jan 1, 1925
14	B. Palikapu		Oct 23, 1919
15	No Inscription		
16	" " "		
17	Joj Berete		Nov 20, 1920

* Father Damien's remains transported on February 3, 1936 to Belgium where enshrined at Louvain

Tomb Kanakaoka

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

Tomb

D

C

B

A

Rest Rooms

Store House

SILOAMA CHURCH (Rebuilt 1966)

Trail Yards Scale 1 in = 20 ft.

Edge of Clearing

Sun dial

ST. PHILOMENA CHURCH

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

← To Kalaupapa Settlement

Gates

Paved Road

Trough

Weaning Corral

Dirt Road

To Kalawao Park →

Gate

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF ACCOUNTING AND GENERAL SERVICES
SURVEY DIVISION
Kazutaka Saiki - Surveyor

KALAWAO HISTORICAL SITES

KALAWAO, MOLOKAI, HAWAII

Scale: 1 inch = 80 feet

Survey by E. H. Fernandes - June, 1965
Tracing by Donald Oyama - November, 1965

Job 6039
Field Book 1706

REG. MAP 4140

21" x 30" - 5.25 Sq. Ft.

chapel there was torn down. The only Mormon church now in the settlement is Building No. 257. It is a frame building on a concrete foundation and is used intermittently. Its construction date has not been found, but is probably late 1940s. Evidence was found indicating that the tidal wave of 1946 destroyed the earlier Mormon church, that shown in Illustration 139. It has no architectural significance and is historically of interest only in illustrating the presence of another major denomination in the settlement. The Mormon presence has, however, been less concentrated than that of other religions.

2. Parish Hall, Building No. 257-A

This frame structure, used only occasionally, has no apparent architectural or historical significance. Its construction date has not been found.

3. Elder Residence, Building No. 256

This frame structure, with board and batten exterior, has no historical or architectural significance. It is a two-bedroom structure built in 1935 that is occupied by visiting Elders and outside Mormon church members who visit the settlement. It should be retained only as long as it is being used.

D. Cemeteries

Some of the most significant historical resources on the Kalaupapa peninsula are the cemeteries. These vary from thousands of unmarked and hidden sites to more carefully tended formal graveyards. More than anything else, the vast number of gravesites graphically show the death toll that leprosy extracted in the early Kalawao and Kalaupapa settlement days. Because of the rapid growth of underbrush on the peninsula and the difficulty of removing it except by machete, it has been extremely difficult for the physically disabled patients at Kalaupapa to maintain the plots. They are very important to the residents, however, as a link to their families and their past and a shared history of suffering and courage. The following are known cemetery sites that should be preserved and at some time cleared and maintained as vestiges of early Hawai'ian history. The crypts and headstones found in them are

important cultural reminders of a life that is gone. (A natural resource management project should be instituted to control the worst of the plant pests in areas of outstanding historical or archeological significance.)

1. St. Philomena Graveyard

The formal Catholic graveyard at Kalawao abutted St. Philomena Church. Father Damien's house in 1886 stood in proximity to and to the lee side of the burial ground connected with St. Philomena. More than 1,000 leprosy victims have been buried there:

> Owing to the rocky nature of the ground in some places, the corpses were not regularly distributed, in places two, three, and four coffins were placed on top of each other, naturally the soil became over saturated with the soluble products of the corpses, and the percolating rain drowned the maggots and other grubs; hence decomposition went on very slowly, the surrounding air being filled with foetid and foul vapors emanating from these semi-decomposing corpses, and to add to the gruesomeness of the surroundings, the closeness of the coffins to the surface of the ground encouraged the visits of scavenger dogs and pigs, and by these animals rooting and disturbing the graves, the odor around Fr. Damien's home was similar to a charnel house. . . .[5]

In an 1887 letter, Brother Dutton remarked that the principal graveyard of the village was just behind his cabin. It held at that time about 2,000 graves and he said that nearly 1,000 more people were buried elsewhere.[6] Today little remains of the majority of these graves. Roaming horses and cattle have knocked down many of the tombstones and obliterated many traces of gravesites in the area.

Today the existing tombstones mark the burial sites of the Catholic brothers who labored and died on Kalaupapa and the yard also contains, most prominently, the site of Father Damien's initial burial and Brother Dutton's gravesite. Father Damien's grave was originally placed

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5. Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," pp. 237-38.

6. Jourdain, Heart, 1955, pp. 423-24.

beside the church almost under the old pandanus tree under which he spent his first nights at Kalawao. According to Dutton, a little flower garden was planted around it, and the grave itself, a mound of earth, was sown with numerous growing plants.[7] Emma Gibson stated that during a visit, Joseph Dutton remarked that he wished to be buried at the foot of Damien's grave. She says that after Damien's body was returned to Belgium, Dutton was buried in a crypt under the church. She also wrote that outside the stone wall surrounding the church were the graves of those who could not be buried in holy ground. These graves ended up on the federal reservation.[8]

Brother Dutton once showed Howard Case the small cellar room with a dirt floor and stone walls, accessed by a wooden door and a flight of stairs at the rear of St. Philomena. When Dutton was completing the church, he supposedly built this crypt in which to be buried.[9]

Father Damien's grave is surrounded by an iron fence and contains a marble monument surmounted by a cross erected by the Catholic mission in Honolulu. As mentioned earlier, Damien's remains were transported on February 3, 1936, to Belgium and enshrined at Louvain. Just north of Damien's grave is that of Father Emmeran Schulte, SS.CC., who labored on Kaua'i between 1884 and 1907. For almost five years he comforted the afflicted at Kalawao, when suddenly he began suffering excruciating abdominal pains. Although surgery was called for, it could not be performed in time. He died on August 14, 1912, and was laid to rest next to Father Damien.

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7. Ibid., pp. 425-26.

8. Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai, p. 116. The small room under the church is empty today, and it is improbable that Dutton was ever buried there. At least, no other writer or visitor has ever suggested that to be the case.

9. Case, Joseph Dutton, p. 221.

Illustrations 169-172. Hawai'ian burials in Kahaloko cemetery, 1983. NPS photos.









Illustration 173. Damien grave, St. Philomena Churchyard, no date, ca. 1895.

Illustration 174. Graves near U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station, no date, ca. 1913.

Illustration 175. Catholic mission cemetery, Kalaupapa, no date.

Illustration 176. Damien Monument, Kaluapapa, no date.
Photos courtesy St. Louis-Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.









Brother Charles Roch, SS.CC., a German missionary, arrived at Kalawao in October 1902. He spent only twenty-five days at the settlement before drowning in a bathing pool at the foot of the pali on November 10, 1902. South of Brother Roch's grave is that of Brother Victor Schumpf, who also came from Germany, arriving in the settlement in June 1899. He worked as tailor and handyman at Baldwin Home until stricken with typhoid fever; he died on February 20, 1900. South of Brother Schumpf's grave is that of Brother Serapion Van Hoof. A native of The Netherlands, he worked in the infirmary and also organized and conducted a band among the Baldwin Home boys at Kalawao. After falling sick, he was sent to Honolulu to recuperate and upon his return, was given the easier task of caring for the aging Father Maxime André at Kalaupapa. Diagnosed as having leprosy, he was sent by the Catholic mission to Japan for treatment. He returned in a year with an extreme case of tuberculosis. After suffering for two years, he died of that disease at Kalawao on May 12, 1910. Brother Severin Boltes, buried south of Van Hoof, was another of the very first Sacred Hearts Brothers to come to Kalawao to care for and minister to the leprosy patients. Brother Boltes, from Germany, was an infirmary worker and tailor, who made the black suits worn by the priests and brothers. He died at Kalawao on September 19, 1921, after serving twenty-six years. See Map No. 17 for a plot plan of the St. Philomena graveyard in 1965. This graveyard is considered very significant. The enclosing fence should be repaired to keep out grazing animals, and the yard should be kept clear of plant pests.

2. Siloama Graveyard

Around the early church of Siloama, also, many of its congregation were buried. Again, remaining visible sites are few. See Map No. 17 for identification of four of these and locations of unidentified graves. The cemetery was probably not used after services stopped there in 1927. This is also a significant graveyard. Fences should be kept in repair and the yard kept free of overgrowth.

3. Kahaloko Cemetery

Just off the southeast corner of the newer water runoff basin along Damien road between Kalaupapa and Kalawao, and just east of a cleared field, is the historic Hawai'ian cemetery of Kahaloko, with inscribed tombstones dating from as early as 1895 and as late as 1914. Several concrete vaulted tombs and headstones may be found, while numerous other unmarked depressions are visible. This graveyard contains some very early Hawai'ian graves and some very picturesque and architecturally interesting tombs and headstones. An effort should be made to clear the area of overgrowth.

4. Kauhakō Crater Burials

The cross on the summit of the crater is not related to a cemetery, but was raised by Kanaana Hou Church members in 1948. The Board of Hospitals and Settlement contributed the lumber, and Boy Scouts erected it in time for a community pilgrimage during Easter Week. On the western edge of this volcanic crater, however, are two or three burial sites marked with headstones. An 1878 newspaper article stated that one of the leprosy exiles had been told by a native of the peninsula that the deep salt water pond of the crater had been the burial ground in ancient times.[10]

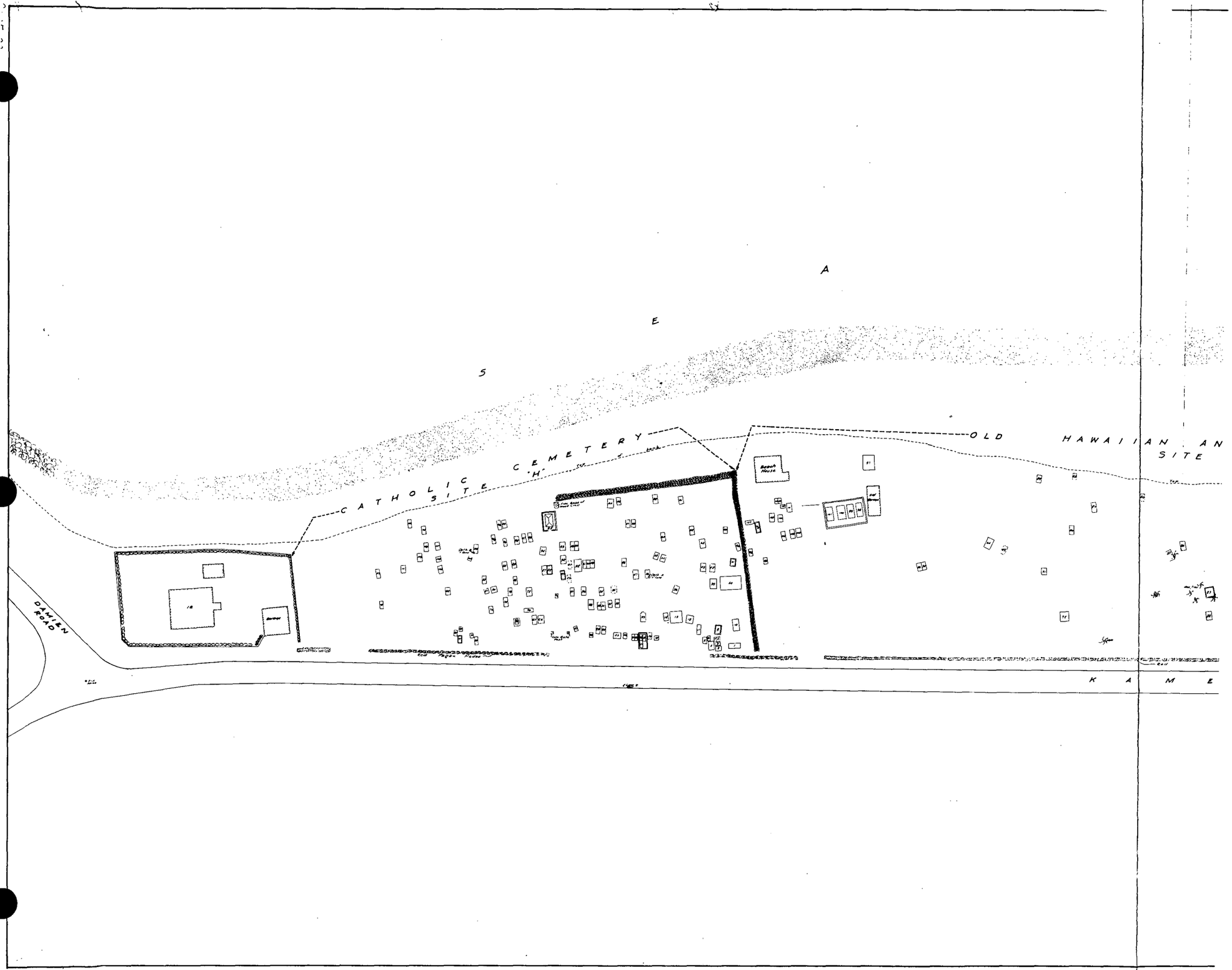
5. Papaloa Cemetery

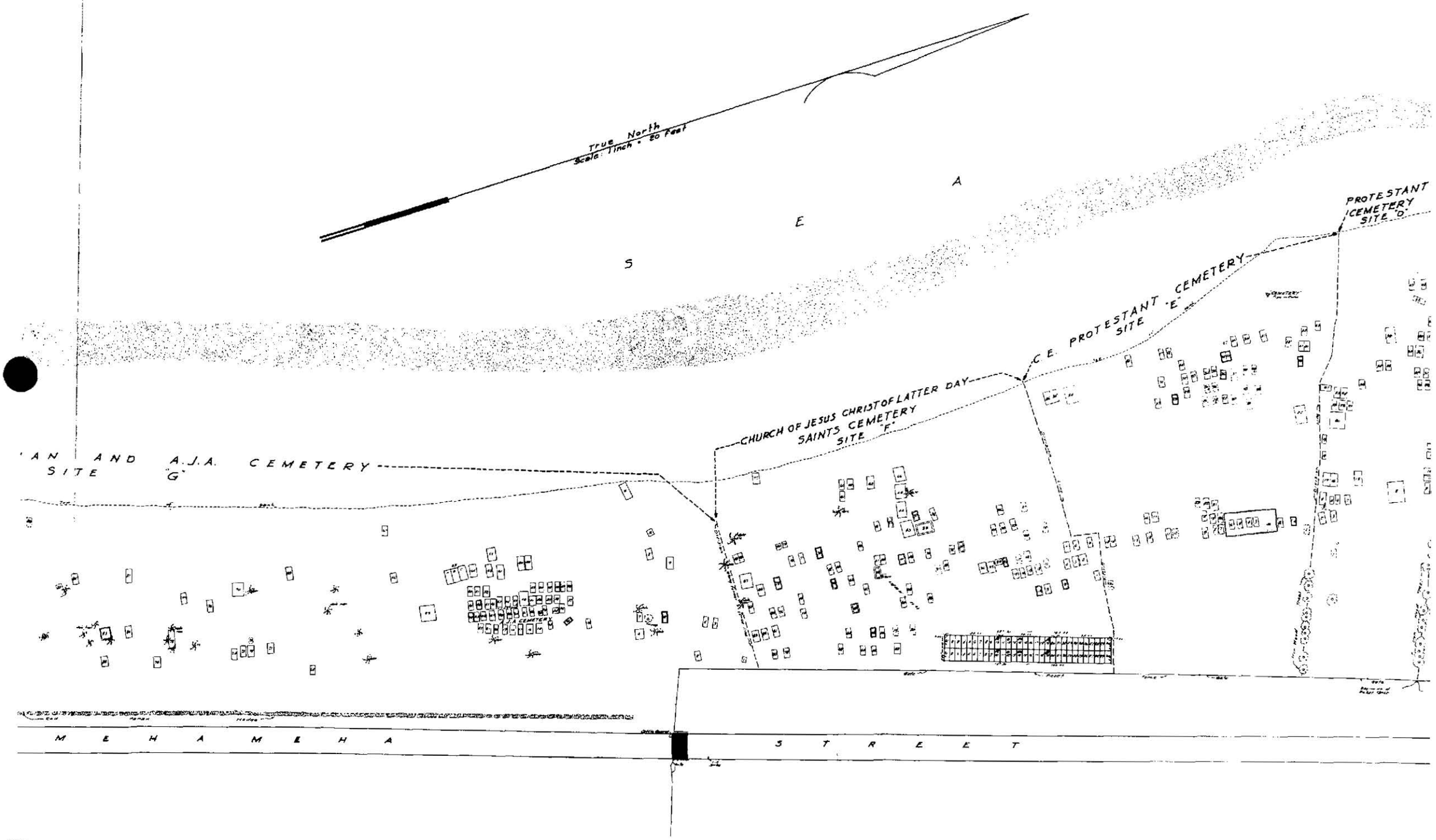
The largest concentration of cemeteries is the stretch of coastline along the road from Kalaupapa settlement to the airport. Along this stretch can be found a Catholic cemetery, an A.J.A. cemetery, a Chinese cemetery, the old Ka Huiono Oiwi o Hawai'i cemetery, a Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints cemetery, and a Protestant one. The cemeteries are mostly unattended and overgrown, although parts of some of the cemeteries are cleared and/or mown occasionally. Because of the large number of graves and their central location in the settlement,

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10. "A Letter From a Leper," Pacific Commercial Advertiser 23, no. 14 (Oct. 5, 1878).

Map No. 18 (three parts). State of Hawaii, Department of Accounting and General Services, Survey division, Kalaupapa Settlement, Showing Catholic Cemeteries--Sites A, C and H; Protestant Cemeteries--Sites B and D; C.E. Protestant Cemetery--Site E; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints--Site F; A.J.A. and Old Hawaiian Cemeteries--Site G. April-June 1965, New Grave Layout, March 1966.


A
E
S
CATHOLIC CEMETERY
SITE
OLD HAWAIIAN
SITE
DAMIEN ROAD
K A M E


True North
Scale 1 Inch = 20 Feet
A
E
S
PROTESTANT CEMETERY SITE "D"
C.E. PROTESTANT "E" CEMETERY
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS CEMETERY SITE "F"
AND A.J.A. CEMETERY
SITE "G"
M E H A M E H A
S T R E E T



NOTE Location of the following graves from survey by R.K. Sing, March 27-28, 1979 ; F.B. 1078 pg 11

Index

F-30	Ed Bell
F-31	Reuben Nakoa
E-57	Harry Kahithiwa
E-58	Sylvester Kamoku
E-59	Robert Kihe
E-60	Alex Hoopii, Jr
E-61	Walter Kihe
E-62	Frank Mark
B-127	James Kahilahila
B-128	Timothy Waiamau
B-25	Agnes Hamai
A-195	Domingo Mendes

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF ACCOUNTING AND GENERAL SERVICES
SURVEY DIVISION
Kazutaka Saiki ~ Surveyor

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

Showing Catholic Cemeteries ~ Sites A, C and H
Protestant Cemeteries ~ Sites B and D
C.E. Protestant Cemetery ~ Site E
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Cemetery ~ Site F
A.J.A. and Old Hawaiian Cemeteries ~ Site G

KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI, HAWAII
Scale : 1 inch = 20 feet
Survey and Plan by E.H. Fernandes
April — June 1965
New Grave Layout — March 1966

LEGEND

- Tomb - All Concrete Grave
- Grave with Concrete Border
- Grave
- Grave Depression

Note: All plots in new layout are 8.0 ft. x 3.5 ft.
All points marked thus ○, are pipes.

REGISTERED MAP 1138

Cs-15-99

this area should be cleared of overgrowth and enclosing fences and walls repaired.

6. Miscellaneous

The early death toll on the peninsula from the effects of leprosy was staggering, and untold thousands of victims are buried in unknown graves. In addition, there are innumerable ones from the early Hawai'ian days on the peninsula. The archeological survey of 1983-84 identified a vast number of graves and probable gravesites in ten different grid units. There earlier were graves surrounding the old church of Kalawina, evidence of which has been destroyed by subsequent changes in building use.

E. Kalawao Structural Remains

A fairly large settlement existed at Kalawao from the 1870s on. Remains of a variety of early buildings may still exist, but be hidden by a thick growth of lantana, christmasberry, and other introduced plants. Structures dating from the early Kalawao settlement period whose foundations might be located by archeologists include a hospital compound; foundations of huts or crude cabins for the leprosy victims; other structures lying outside the hospital compound, such as the physician's house, dispensary, and guest house; the settlement store; the site of two Mormon churches, one on either side of Damien road; the site of Damien's cottages--the first evidently located east of St. Philomena, a later one west of the church that was ultimately moved east again; and the location of the Boys' Home next to St. Philomena. The exact location of the Baldwin Home, the slaughterhouse, a bakery, and the stone reservoir are known from visible remains.

1. Bakery Site

According to Richard Marks, a Kalaupapa resident, the scattered stones and house chimney north of the Kalawao road and southeast of the crater are the remains of the village's bakery and the home of Dr. Arthur Mouritz, physician at Kalawao from 1884 to 1887. According to the 1895 map, however, the doctor's residence by that time was northwest of the hospital compound. The nine-foot-high chimney is

Map No. 19 (two parts). State of Hawaii, Department of Accounting and General Services, Survey Division, Kalaupapa Settlement, Showing Catholic Cemetery--Site J, A.J.A. Cemetery--Site K, Chinese Cemetery--Site L, and Ka Huiono Oiwi o Hawaii Cemetery--Site M. April-June 1965, New Grave Layout, March 1966.

SEA

True North
Scale: 1 in. = 20 ft

CATHOLIC CEMETERY
SITE "J"

A.J.A. CEMETERY
SITE "K"

CHINESE CEMETERY
SITE "L"

KA HUIONO OIWI O HAWAII CEMETERY
SITE "M"

Top of Beach Slope

Beach House

← To Settlement

Paved Road to Airport →

Old Road to Airport →

LEGEND

- Tomb - All conc. Grave
- Grave with conc. border
- Grave
- Grave depression

Note:
All plots in new grave layout 8.0 ft. X 3.5 ft.
All points on plans of new cemeteries marked thus "•" are pipes

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF ACCOUNTING AND GENERAL SERVICES
SURVEY DIVISION
Kazutaka Saiki - Surveyor

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

SHOWING CATHOLIC CEMETERY-SITE J. A.J.A. CEMETERY-SITE K, CHINESE CEMETERY-SITE L AND KA HUIONO OIWI O HAWAII CEMETERY-SITE M

Kalaupapa, Molokai, Hawaii
Scale: 1 inch = 20 feet
Survey and Map by E. H. Fernandes
April - June 1925
New Grave Layout - March 1936
F.B. 1765, 1766

Job 2033

REG. MAP 4139

TAX MAP G-1-01

SEA

True North
Scale: 1 in = 20 ft

CATHOLIC CEMETERY
SITE "J"

A.J.A. CEMETERY
SITE "K"

CHINESE CEMETERY
SITE "L"

KA HUIONO OIWI
O HAWAII CEMETERY
SITE "M"

Top of Beach

Gate

Beach House

To Settlement

Paved Road to Airport →

Old Road to Airport →

NOTE: Location of graves J-38 thru J-56 and K-39 and K-40 are from survey by R.K. Sing, March 27 & 28, 1979 F.B. 1975 : 11

J-38	Charles Enoka	J-48	Sam Kahikina
J-39	Julia Kalliko	J-49	Florenzio Dumayas
J-40	"Mitsuo"	J-50	John Breutha
J-41	Maximo Cabana	J-51	Mary Ai
J-42	Mary Hoopii	J-52	James Gonzales
J-43	"Bessys"	J-53	Helen Lee
J-44	Shirley Kahihiwa	J-54	James Lee
J-45	Jons Kamanu	J-55	Alice Kim Choy
J-46	Myrtle Hatori	J-56	Josephine Kahihikolu
J-47	Antone Borge	K-39	Toyoko Kishimoto
		K-40	Florentino Camingo

LEGEND

- Tomb - All conc Grave
- Grave with conc. border
- Grave
- Grave depression

Note:
All plots in new grave layout 8.0 ft X 3.5 ft
All points on plans of new cemeteries marked thus ° are pipes

STATE OF HAWAII
DEPARTMENT OF ACCOUNTING AND GENERAL SERVICES
SURVEY DIVISION
Kazutake Saiki - Surveyor

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

SHOWING CATHOLIC CEMETERY-SITE J,
A.J.A. CEMETERY-SITE K, CHINESE CEMETERY-SITE L
AND KA HUIONO OIWI O HAWAII CEMETERY-SITE M

Kalaupapa, Molokai, Hawaii
Scale 1 inch = 20 feet
Survey and Map by S. H. Fernandez
April - June 1965
New Grave Layout - March 1966
F.B. 65 Plus

EXHIBIT "A"
April 4, 1979

Job 2093

File with
REG. MAP 4139

lava rock and brick set in lime mortar. The only data this writer found on a bakery concerned the granting of an application by A. Galaspo of Kalaupapa to erect a bakery at Kalawao in 1904.[11]

These remains are not significant architecturally, but should be preserved. There are so few remains of the early days at Kalawao that any ruins remaining should be preserved as tangible reminders of the little settlement that once existed there.

2. Old Slaughterhouse

Other stone ruins remaining at Kalawao are those of a slaughterhouse. Mention was found of two such structures built at Kalawao--one in 1886 and a new one with a concrete floor in 1890. Remains consist of a chimney stack and oven. The stone stack is covered with plaster and is about twelve feet tall. The base is described as composed of two steps with an oven opening at the bottom. Rock walls surround the ruin, which was so overgrown that this writer was unable to see it except from a distance. As with the bakery remains, the site should be preserved as a reminder of the Kalawao settlement.

3. Stone Reservoir

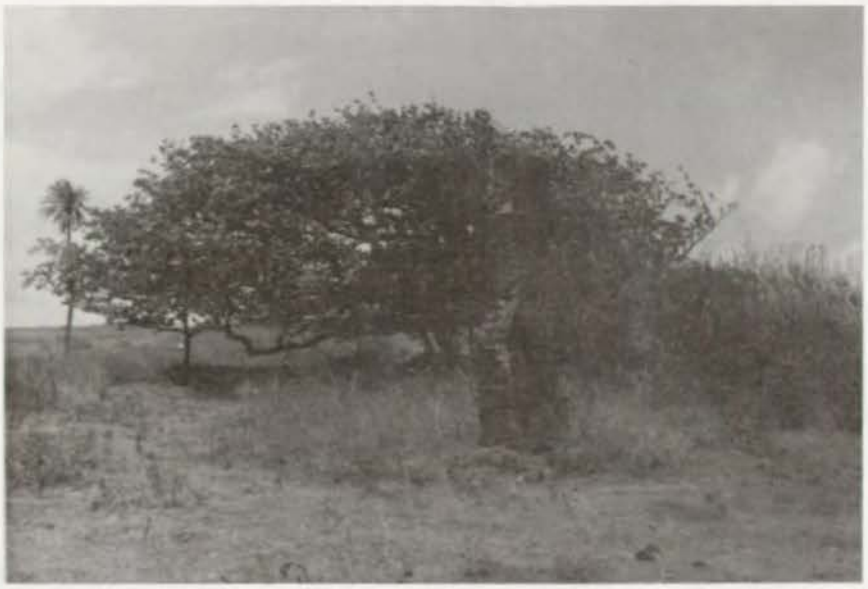
Above the Kalawao hospital site on the north side of the Kalawao road are the remains of a stone reservoir that provided a continuous flow of water to the hospital compound buildings. It is surmised this reservoir was the one built in 1886 to provide water for the hospital. The above-ground cistern has fieldstone walls about eight feet thick. Inside dimensions are twenty by thirty feet, and the cistern is approximately ten feet deep. It also is a significant structure as a last vestige of the hospital compound area of Kalawao settlement and as a remnant of the early water supply system.

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11. J. D. McVeigh, Superintendent, Leper Settlement, to A. Galaspo, Kalaupapa, Molokai, April 15, 1904, Letterbook No. 1, January 24, 1901, to May 31, 1911, Board of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 55.

Illustration 177. Bakery ruins, Kalawao, 1983.

Illustration 178. Stone cistern ruins, Kalawao, 1983. NPS photos.





4. Baldwin Home for Boys Site

Across the Kalawao road from St. Philomena is the site of the Henry P. Baldwin Home for Boys and Helpless Men. The concrete entrance posts built in 1919 are visible as are some stone walls and the remnants of a ten-foot-tall red brick fireplace. Basically the site is bare of structures and overgrown. The Baldwin Home for Boys was a significant structure in the history of the development of Kalaupapa settlement, but the site today has little integrity. All structures remaining at the time of abandonment were burned around 1935-36. The site should be left to benign neglect, but the entrance posts should be preserved.

5. U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station Site

The old leprosy station site consists only of concrete building foundations and piers upon which the hospital and residences stood and scraps of metal and machinery. The area in which the doctor's and pharmacist's residences stood is overgrown with trees and bushes, although their foundation pillars can be found in the thickets. Also remaining is the ruin of the "'Fraid House" or stone woodshed the Gibsons built into the hill back of their house to provide a place of refuge during a strong Kona wind. Also visible are the concrete fence posts that surrounded the hospital enclosure and a landing that was built nearby on the coastline. It consists of three concrete platforms, the largest about twenty-five by fifteen feet, and six concrete pylons at the edge of the cliff. An unfinished or partially destroyed set of concrete steps lead down to the sea. Their construction date is uncertain, because the station appears to have mostly used a landing area further east along the shoreline. These remains "are memorials to the high hopes of the intellect," Bushnell lamented, "foredoomed to failure because it gave no thought to the needs of the spirit."[12]

The U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station was established so that national authorities, with help from the Territory of Hawai'i and

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12. O.A. Bushnell, "The United States Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao," Hawaiian Journal of History 2 (1968): 92.

officials of Kalaupapa settlement, could seriously research a cure for leprosy. The advantages afforded by the settlement location in Hawai'i included: the fact that Hawai'ians seemed particularly susceptible to infection; the peninsula's isolation from other islands and other business so that the medical men could pursue their studies uninterrupted; and the fact that every case of leprosy deemed beyond medical help passed through the settlement, enabling every clinical feature of the disease to be seen and studied.

The Moloka'i station, at the time of its construction, was considered to be the most modern leprosy research lab in the world. Expenses were spared neither in equipment for the laboratory nor in the private residences. Emma Gibson noted that "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 and a flock of chickens."[13] Construction of the large number of structures, with the attendant labor and transportation problems, was a major undertaking. Dr. O.A. Bushnell has stated that

> The architects in Washington, stinting nothing, had produced plans for a great institution--by far the biggest complex yet erected in Hawaii. The buildings themselves, designed in the prevailing bureaucratic-baroque style of the day, were huge, airy, high-ceilinged edifices, encircled by wide verandahs held in place by numerous slender pillars--a mainlander's idea of a southern planter's mansion transplanted to the sunny, languid tropics. Identical structures were built by the American government in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, the Phillipines--and in Honolulu, at Fort Shafter, where some of them (now much modified) still survive. The old Tripler General Hospital at Fort Shafter, destroyed about 1955, was a splendid example of this rather grand, very romantic, and yet indubitably family-style architecture of that imperial age.[14]

What makes the whole story so fascinating is that this grandiose project simply did not work. After all the money spent and

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13. Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai, p. 44.

14. Bushnell, "United States Leprosy Investigation Station," p. 84.

time consumed in preparing the right atmosphere for research, no volunteer patients could be attracted. When the station opened in December 1909, only nine residents volunteered to come and live at the station for investigation into and treatment of their illness. The project envisioned to mark a new era in the medical history of leprosy fizzled out much more quietly than it began.

The patients,

> unused as they were to the restrictions of hospital life, . . . had little liking for it and proved uncooperative. They rebelled against the rigor of the treatments and the confinement of living within the grounds after the unlimited freedom offered at the Settlement.[15]

According to Emma Gibson, one by one the volunteers left and ultimately Washington decided to close the station as far as scientific work was concerned and transfer those duties to Kalihi. Thus the station, which was in the process of organization and construction for nearly four years,

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15. Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai, p. 104. As early as 1886, Arthur Mouritz had stated that

> Of course there are no cases of cure, and those who enter its portals remain till death releases them. Generally the Hawaiian is prejudiced against hospital restraint and treatment, not only here, but all over the islands. Many of the worst cases prefer to remain outside; the very cases the hospital was intended for, do not avail themselves of the benefits we, as foreigners, think belong to such institutions. Whenever I have suggested to any sufferer outside, whom I thought would be benefited by a residence in the hospital, and the desirability of having him removed there, with scarcely an exception the answer has been, "I prefer to remain and die where I am." From these remarks, it is scarcely necessary to add that I have not thought it advisable to suggest to the Board that a post-mortem room, operating theatre, etc., and other such requisites for ordinary every-day hospital routine, should be added to the present buildings. For, had I any of these facilities, I could make but little use of them, as prejudice against innovations, and foreign medical ideas prevails largely.

"Path of the Destroyer," pp. 363-64.

and which was anxiously watched by the entire medical profession because its extensive investigations were expected to throw light on the subject of leprosy and be of utmost importance to the sanitary and medical world, ended its work. Appropriations were cut, most of the personnel dismissed, and the technical equipment sent to Honolulu. After the station engineer left, the dynamo stopped and the electric system was shut down, so the Gibsons fixed a Pelton wheel that ran the electric lights with water power, and also the ice plant and cold storage room, for a while. Mr. Gibson was left in charge of the officially closed facility with only a few Chinese to help care for the livestock. All the clerical work for Honolulu was still done by Gibson at Kalawao for a short while. After the Gibsons received new orders to go to Chicago, Illinois, the station was abandoned and, as explained earlier, finally completely dismantled.

Emma Gibson has written that Brother Dutton did not get any of the lumber from the station, which was all sent to Kalaupapa. (One source mentioned that arrangements were made with homesteaders on the lee side of Moloka'i to remove the structures to the village on a daily wage basis).[16] Mrs. Gibson afterwards inquired of Lawrence Judd, retired director of the Division of Hansen's Disease, what had happened to the dynamo. Judd believed that all the Kalawao equipment had been removed by the federal government and that the dynamo and ice plant were not turned over to the territory for use at Kalaupapa.[17]

The reasons for the failure of the leprosy station were many, but primarily because of hostility to haoles; resentment at the reaction of haoles to leprosy, especially Brinckerhoff's offensive precautions against contamination of himself or his staff; the impersonal care and attitudes perceived on the part of station personnel toward the

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16. Undated clipping (post 1927) possibly titled "Optimistic Spirit Noted by Visitors at Leper Colony," in Letterbook of news clippings, 1907-29, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

17. Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai, p. 152.

patients; superstitions and the lack of credibility held by haole doctors; resistance to further segregation by confinement in the hospital; and bitterness against the United States in general for the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani and the annexation of the Hawai'ian Islands.

As Bushnell states

> The patients who rode over from Kalaupapa to watch the unwanted wonders go up might have accepted in time the hospital and the laboratory, even perhaps the nervous attentions of jittery Dr. Brinckerhoff. But the wide swath of open space which they were forbidden to trespass, the great double fences with their locked gates, most obviously intended to shut them out from that citadel not of mercy but of Science at its cold worst: all these, and more--the wash basins, the sterile masks, gowns, and gloves, the very wealth of all that gleaming glittering alien installation--outraged the lepers of Kalaupapa. They were accustomed to the company of devoted healthy people, like Brother Joseph Dutton and other Catholic brothers, priests, and nuns, like the Protestant pastors, and the physicians and other kokuas employed by the Board of Health. And they remembered the legend of Father Damien, who by living among them had become one of them. Inevitably their outrage grew into scorn for the Station and hatred for the very people who professed to have come to help them.[18]

In his remarks made at the opening of an exhibit on the history of the Leprosy Investigation Station at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland, in 1980, U.S. Senator Spark M. Matsunaga of Hawai'i reflected that

> We lost an opportunity to research and develop an effective treatment for one of the most tragic infectious diseases in the history of mankind, simply because of an emphasis on medical technology without the necessary understanding of the patient's behavioral needs.[19]

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18. Bushnell, "United States Leprosy Investigation Station," pp. 85-86.

19. "The Federal Leprosy Investigation Station, Molokai, Hawaii--An Opportunity Lost," remarks by U.S. Senator Spark Matsunaga at the opening of an exhibit on the history of the Federal Leprosy Investigation Station at the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Md., April 28, 1980, p. 7.

The station did make one interesting contribution to developments on Moloka'i, however. With establishment of the project, the federal government brought the first electric power to the island. Emma Gibson recalled that

> The initial time electric lights were to illuminate the island, many of the populace came and stood by the road to see the wonder of this new lighting, came to watch and perhaps, on wending their way homeward, shake off the hold of the last of the Hawaiian gods. Then, before their very eyes, the science of civilized man had demonstrated the actual harnessing and use of the forces of nature, which heretofore had been veiled in mysterious ignorance. Maybe to a few, this event would also bring enlightenment, bring a ray of hope for their plight, where no hope had been, a ray of hope that there would come a day when science would proudly bring forth its answer to obliterate Hansen's disease.[20]

The station also had the most complete laboratory in the world and provided the first flush toilets and ice machines on the island.

Whether or not a successful treatment for leprosy might have been found earlier if successful studies had been made at Kalawao is conjectural. As it was, not until 1943, was the beginning of a new era in the treatment of leprosy heralded. Sulfone therapy for leprosy, resulting from research at the Carville leprosarium and introduced there, significantly arrested the disease. In 1946 the drugs began to be introduced in Hawai'i and new hope was given the afflicted. Today the U.S. Public Health Service Research Center in Carville, Louisiana, and Kalaupapa are the only leprosaria in the United States. Other major centers treat people on an outpatient basis, such as Seton Medical Center in Daly City, California, which is a center for leprosy treatment in northern California.

The site of the Leprosy Investigation Station and its few remaining vestiges remain today as a reminder of a well-intentioned effort

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20. Gibson, Under the Cliffs of Molokai, p. 71.

by the federal government and Hawai'ian health officials to eradicate the scourge of leprosy. Unfortunately a necessary balance of scientific procedures with existing cultural beliefs and personal feelings was never achieved. Professor Jerrold M. Michael has summed up the project's failure by reflecting that

> An all too common emphasis on technology without a concomitant emphasis on the important human dynamics of communication, patient education, and behavior change led to wasted resources and inadequate treatment.[21]

Interpretively the Kalawao site has great potential, though few vestiges remain. Although the question of reconstruction of the station has been raised by interested parties, National Park Service policy expressly states that restoration may take place only when essential for public understanding and appreciation of a park's historical or cultural associations, and when adequate interpretation cannot be imparted through other means. The history of the station could be adequately covered in a museum in Kalaupapa, such as the old hospital building, and be further interpreted on-site by means of an exhibit containing explanatory text and historical photographs. In addition to the great expense involved in the detailed historic structure report that would have to precede any restoration, such an action would spoil a dramatically beautiful area of the peninsula. The Leprosy Investigation Station is a significant chapter in the development of Kalaupapa settlement and the story of the federal effort to research the disease. Preservation of existing remains of this landmark federal research facility is recommended.

6. Picnic Pavilion, Building No. 719

This frame picnic shelter was built in 1950. It is representative of leisure activities of the patients, but is not historically of architecturally significant. It should be better maintained, however,

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21. Jerrold M. Michael, "The Public Health Service Leprosy Investigation Station on Molokai, Hawaii, 1909-13--an Opportunity Lost," Public Health Reports 95, no. 3 (May-June 1980):209.

because it provides a good picnic spot for people on guided tours and a place from which to view part of the Kalawao settlement area and contemplate its history and the beautiful scenery.

F. Major Kalaupapa Structures and Complexes

1. Hospitals

a. Old Hospital, Building No. 282

Building No. 282 is the old general hospital, a large frame building opened in 1932. It is composed of one main section intersected by three large wings. It replaced the earlier treatment centers and an earlier hospital that was turned into the new Baldwin Home. The old hospital is significant historically as the first modern attempt by the state Board of Health to upgrade the quality and scope of its leprosy treatment. It was an outstanding facility for its day, with all the latest equipment, although getting patients to take advantage of its services remained a problem. The structure is also significant in terms of twentieth-century Hawai'ian institutional architecture and its preservation is recommended. Its central location and large spaces give it great potential as an exhibit hall and museum in which to interpret the story of Kalaupapa. Some sort of adaptive use is recommended after proper rehabilitation, although its tremendous size will be a problem in adaptive use and treatment.

b. Fumigation Room, Building No. 283

Building No. 283, a fumigation room originally constructed as a mental ward in 1935 with room for four patients and one attendant, is connected historically in use with the hospital. Until the 1960s, patients planning to leave the settlement for short periods of time brought their clothes there to be fumigated the night before they left. Prior to leaving, their persons would also be fumigated. The structure was also used for autopsy in the late 1940s-early 1950s and was divided into three rooms--one for women, one for men, and the morgue. The building is considered historically significant and interpretively valuable as illustrating another aspect of the social history of the settlement--in terms of restrictions on patients leaving the settlement--and as showing the changing function of buildings through the years. Preservation or

adaptive use of this structure is recommended to complete the picture of medical facilities offered leprosy patients beginning in the 1930s.

c. Dispensary, Building No. 7

The writer believes this frame structure was originally the promin building, built in 1946 and moved to the hospital grounds in 1948. In 1950 it was altered as a nonpatient dispensary, nurse's retreat, and sewing room. According to one informant still living at the settlement, the structure served as a kōkua clinic in the 1950s, as a coffee room, and as a craft and project room. It is also an important part of the whole medical picture, having been built when sulfone drugs were first used at Kalaupapa. It is now used adaptively as National Park Service offices.

d. New Hospital

To make room for this new hospital, Building No. 284 was removed. It was a four-car garage, reportedly built in 1944 but possibly dating from the 1930s that was also used as storage space for the older hospital. It was used as a warehouse and a garage for the ambulance/hearse and the medical wagon and was moved to the motor vehicle shops area in 1980. The new hospital, opened in February 1980, is the latest addition to a long line of medical facilities at the settlement and is important in terms of equipment and treatments offered to the leprosy patients. The development of leprosy treatment is an important interpretive theme of the park. Although the structure is relatively new, it should be considered to have potential National Register significance in terms of world health problems and disease treatment.

2. Housing Complexes

a. McVeigh Home

The McVeigh Home complex in the northeast section of Kalaupapa settlement is important historically and architecturally. It was first opened in 1910 and was intended for the use of white leprosy victims. Its cost was offset by private contributions to provide a housing situation in which the needs of white leprosy victims could be more easily catered to in terms of food and lifestyle. In 1912 the complex had

twenty-five bedrooms, a hospital ward, dining room, and social hall. Because so few white residents were living there by 1913, however, the home was opened to other patients. In 1928 the original McVeigh Home was destroyed by fire and construction of two new dormitory buildings and a central kitchen/dining room building was completed by 1929.

Over the next eight years, the complex included the kitchen and dining hall, the two dormitory buildings, new patient cottages, a new laundry, a new hot water plant, a recreation building, garages, and paved driveways and concrete walks.

Significance of the McVeigh Home complex is architectural as well as historical. Although the present buildings were built after 1930, the home is interesting because its evolution has been dependent on changing social conditions and needs at the settlement. Starting out as an attempt to cater to the needs of a particular race of leprosy victim by providing separate dorms and eating areas, the home was later opened to all races. Beginning in the 1930s it was converted to single-patient cottages as more residents decided they wanted to live as independently as possible. By 1960 the conversion of McVeigh Home from a unit home to a housing area was complete.

The complex consisted in 1931 of two residences--a men's dormitory (Building No. 28) and a ladies dormitory (Building No. 12)--and a dining hall/kitchen (Building No. 23). These structures were repaired and remodelled after 1931. The recreation pavilion (Building No. 24) and cottages Nos. 32, 33, 34, 27, 30, 25, 20, 19, 16, 15, 14, 13, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1, 2, 5, and 6 were added after 1931, as were Building No. 22, the heating plant, and Buildings Nos. 35, 3, 4, and 500, all garages.

McVeigh Home (Private Buildings)

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
18	storage room	unknown pre-1939	none
510	carport	unknown	none
509	shed?	probably post-1938	none
508	workshop	"	none
507	workshop	"	none
506	storage shed	"	none
505	storage shed	"	none
504	storage and laundry	post-June 1938	none
503	storehouse	"	none
502	storage shed	"	none
		a structure is shown in this location on a June 1938 map in what appears to be a vegetable garden. If it is the same, it was constructed after 1931.	
500	garage	post-June 1938	none

McVeigh Home (State-owned Buildings)

1	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
2	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
3	4-car garage	1933	none
4	4-car garage	1933	none
4-A	6-car garage	post-June 1938	none
5	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
6	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
8	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
9	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
10	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
11	1-room cottage	Settlement rcds. indicate 1929, but is shown on 1938 plot plan as constructed since 1931.	Hist./Arch.
12	dorm converted to four one-bedroom apartments	1929	Hist./Arch. (one of three earliest bldgs.)
13	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
14	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
15	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
16	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
18	laundry	unknown	Hist./Arch.

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
19	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
20	1-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
22	concrete boiler room	1931/32	none
23	former dining hall now recreation bldg.	1929	Hist./Arch.
24	pavilion (former pool hall)	1932	Hist./Arch.
25	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
27	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
28	12-bedroom patient dorm (restored 1978)	1929	Hist./Arch. (one of three earliest bldgs.)
30	1-room cottage	1932	Hist./Arch.
32	3-bedroom house	1934	Hist./Arch.
33	2-room house	1934	Hist./Arch.
33A	washhouse	prob. post-1938	(none but interesting as example of outbuildings used to house such duties - one should be kept)
34	1 bedroom non-patient house (manager's quarters)	1936	Hist./Arch.
35	7-car garage	1934	none

The McVeigh Home is striking visually because of the formal layout of structures and streets. The types of housing present here and the service buildings, such as the kitchen and recreation pavilion, illustrate the type of accommodations and facilities offered to patients in the 1930s and the pattern of change from dormitory life to self-supporting cottages. The architectural style is also interesting as a 1930s institutional style made to appear pleasing in shape and design. It is important to keep the three earlier buildings in good shape and the Park Service should try to retain nearby residences as part of the general historical aspect of the area. Although maintenance of all houses (Nos. 1-2, 5-6, 8-11, 13-16, 19-20, 25, 27, 30, 32, 33) is difficult due to the expense involved, the Service should try to keep examples of different types of housing (dormitory, one-, two-, and three-bedroom cottages) as type specimens. Also the retention of an outbuilding such

as No. 33A that illustrates how washing was done in the early years would be of interpretive value. Maintenance should concentrate on the main early service buildings and contiguous housing lining the first row of streets on either side of the dining hall. Houses built within a year or two of each other show variations in appearance and design. Individual variations are interesting as an attempt to prevent too much uniformity. Thought then should be given to outlying streets and at least preserving type specimens of different size housing that exist there. The existence of a fine 1930s institutional group setting at Kalaupapa, showing an attempt by the state to combine functionalism and aesthetic concerns, warrants attention being given to its preservation. The structures have been compared by Soulliere and Law to a plantation camp layout, comprising social services, bachelor quarters, and separate cottages, and are an architectural specimen disappearing throughout the islands.

b. Bishop Home

Bishop Home

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
16	St. Elizabeth Chapel for Sisters' Convent	1934	Hist.
2	former women's dormitory	1933	Hist./Arch.
3	one-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
4	one-room cottage	1933	Hist./Arch.
6	abandoned storehouse (patients' warehouse)	1939	none
7	abandoned heating plant (boiler room)	1932	
8	abandoned laundry bldg.	1932 (existing 1930)	none
9	former dormitory	1911?	Hist./Arch., but lack of integrity
15	Sisters' Convent	1934	Hist.
18	Sisters' garage	unknown location in area of former chicken run	none
19	storage shed	unknown location in area of former chicken run	none

Historically, the Bishop Home is important to the development of the settlement as one of the earliest humanitarian attempts to care for young girls and women sent to the settlement. It was early recognized that these helpless exiles were quickly victimized by older male residents and needed special protection. Charles R. Bishop volunteered the money for the institution in 1888 and specifically requested that the trustworthy Sisters of St. Francis supervise it. The home became a model of institutional living as the Bishop family and the state continued to pour money into its improvement over the years. Therefore, although architecturally the complex contains no outstanding examples of early Hawaiian architecture, interpretively the story of the home and its creation is one of the earliest chapters in the development of Kalaupapa settlement.

Many of the major structures at the site that were present in the 1930s are gone, such as the social hall, several cottages, the infirmary, and the kitchen/dining room. Added significance is given to those that remain specifically because they are the only vestiges left of an idea of Father Damien's that probably helped save the lives and mental stability of many female patients. It is recommended that Building No. 15 (convent), No. 16 (chapel), No. 2 (dormitory), and Nos. 3 and 4 (cottages) be preserved if possible as major remaining structures of the home and as illustrative of the formal layout, lifestyle, and accommodations offered women there. Building No. 9, although recognized as an outstanding building architecturally, is beyond repair and interpretive value. In interests of health and cleanliness, the building should be removed. The possibility of doing HABS drawings at this point is questionable due to the structure's advanced state of decay. The significance of the chapel lies in its relationship to the sisters' life at Kalaupapa. It was a place where the sisters could meditate and reflect and renew their faith for the task ahead. Although patients may have been allowed to use the chapel occasionally, they were probably relegated to the rear of the structure. The sisters had their own side door leading directly to the convent, enabling them to keep at a distance from other worshippers.

Illustration 179. Building No. 2, Bishop Home, 1983.

Illustration 180. Building No. 9, Bishop Home, 1983. NPS photos.



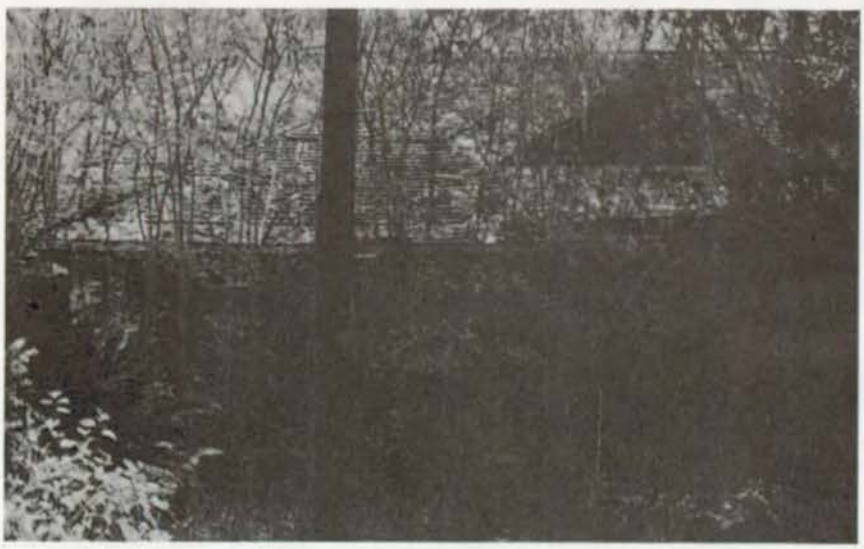


Illustration 181. Building No. 10, old manager's cottage, Bay View Home, 1983.

Illustration 182. Old chapel, Bay View Home, 1983.

Illustration 183. Quonset hut, Building No. 10, Bay View Home, 1983.

Illustration 184. Building No. 63, Bay View Home area, 1983. NPS photos.









c. Bay View Home

The Bay View Home was the earliest home established for both men and women. It was especially geared toward care of the old, infirm, and blind. The first Bay View Home was built in 1916 and after it burned a second was built that later housed men from the new Baldwin Home for Boys and Men when it was decided it was not cost effective to keep that home open. It is now open to both male and female patients. It is a place for people to live when they can no longer take care of their homes or do not want the responsibility of taking care of a house.

Bay View Home Area
Miscellaneous Buildings

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
65	garage	post June 1938	none
511	garage	unknown	none
514	garage	a garage is shown here on 1938 plot plan as existing in 1931	none
517	garage	on June 1938 plot plan a cottage is shown on this site	none
518	garage	unknown	none
519	transformer station	unknown	none
524	garage	unknown	none
526	carport	unknown	none
527	storage shed	unknown	none
528	lanai	unknown	none

Major Buildings

1	quarters for male patients - six one-bedroom units	1916	Hist./Arch.
2	quarters for elderly blind male patients - six one-bedroom units	1916	Hist./Arch.
3	same as above	1916	Hist./Arch.
5	patient dining hall/ kitchen	1937	Hist. though not part of original second Bay View complex

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
6	former kitchen/dining room now craft shop	1916	Hist. important as part of original (second) Bay View Home and as craft shop and part of therapy programs of 1930s under Judd
7	storage (former store and barber shop after 1935)	pre-1930	Hist. representative of patient businesses that enabled them to be more independent financially. Appears on 1930 plat as laundry bldg. for Bay View
8	storage	1928	Hist. original chapel-used in 1930s as recreation hall (pool room)-possibly used periodically as morgue in early days
9	former boiler room	1929?	none
10	12-room residence for males (quonset hut)	1950	supp. the last of the Baldwin Home boys were housed here - none
10	residence	pre-1931	Hist. supervisor's cottage? Appears to show on 1930 map as manager's cottage. Part of history of Bay View complex.
11	non-patient residence (supervisor) according to settlement records. Now used by settlement administrator *evidently this structure built after 1931 for the Bay View Home supervisor and the old cottage (No. 10) was reconditioned for kitchen workers	1936	No arch./ hist. 1951 survey states this former manager's residence

Illustration 185. Grotto built by Brother Materne Laschet at the new Baldwin Home. Ruins of this can be found today. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 186. Stone walls and grotto ruins, new Baldwin Home area, 1983. Remains of landscaping and agricultural activity on home grounds. NPS photo.





Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
63	residence	pre-1931	Hist. significance does not appear to be strong, but arch. is good Hawaiian vernacular building example and is retrievable
64	residence	1936	none
512	6-car garage	1937	none
513	6-car garage	1937	none
525	2-car garage	unknown	none

The Bay View Home was the earliest house established for both men and women patients. It was supervised by a nonpatient employee while trained nurses catered to the needs of the infirm. It was intended especially to help the blind. In 1950 it became the Baldwin/Bay View Home for Men and Boys and was managed by the Sacred Hearts Brothers. The original layout had five buildings in a symmetrical formal layout (four dorms and one dining hall). Building No. 5 was added in 1937 as a new dining hall for the blind. With Building No. 4 gone, the layout lacks some symmetry.

This little community has significance as a home designed especially to cope with those patients who showed the extremely debilitating effects of leprosy, such as blindness. One of the early dorms has since been removed and modifications have been made, such as adding ramps for those in wheel chairs and a more suitably located dining area for the blind. The buildings are all in a distinct relationship to each other and nicely laid out in a grassy area near the ocean. It is still a well-designed separate community in the Hawai'ian plantation style adapted to institutional needs, whose principal buildings, such as Nos. 1, 2, 5, 3, and 6 should be maintained and interpreted. Building No. 6 has importance in terms of the central dining arrangement of feeding that was in effect in the 1930s and later in terms of its use in the new therapy programs designed by the Judds. Building No. 8 is tied into the home as

part of its religious and social life and No. 7 represents the small-business aspects of patient life. Building No. 63's early history is not known, but it is an early structure and its architectural values are important.

3. Industrial Center

The Industrial Center became an important part of the settlement beginning in the 1930s when several new buildings were constructed. In it were located the shops and warehouses essential to the smooth running of the settlement.

Industrial Center

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
262	crematory	1938	Hist./Arch.? Little data found. Needs further assessment of use and social implications
263	materials shed (now plumbing supplies storage)	1939	none
263-A	quonset storage hut (bldg. materials warehouse)	1950	none
264	maintenance shop (carpenter) (former laundry)	1930	Hist.
265	maintenance shop	1931 (1938)	Hist.
266	electrical shop (former power plant)	1929	Hist.
267-8	butcher shop and freezers (former ice plant and former poi factory and provision issue room site)	1932	Hist.

Other Structures in the Area

640	lavatory for shops	(1935?) unknown	none
639	winch shed	unknown	Hist.
271	food warehouse	1932	Hist.
638	pavilion	unknown (1940?)	Hist.

Although none of the industrial center buildings are significant architecturally, that area has historically been the center of the food distribution, storage, and repair and maintenance facilities because of its location near the landing. It, therefore, is an important part of the settlement core area and in later years will be an integral part of the interpretive story. The writer recommends continuing maintenance of the buildings, most of which are still used. Building No. 640 is interesting because it is divided into three sections--for male patients, female patients, and kōkuas. Because of this differentiation, one might think the restroom dates from fairly early times. A plot plan of this area dated 1938 shows a small structure near the superintendent's office in that location, which existed in 1931 and was probably built there when the superintendent's office was the settlement visitors' quarters. The fact that it is of hollow tile construction, however, would seem to date it from the early 1930s.

The wharf area is an important part of the story of the development of the leprosy settlement. The structures there now are of recent origin. The electric winch was installed in 1940 and the wooden ramp built in 1954. The structures must be maintained as long as they are used and will form a significant part of the interpretive story in years to come.

4. Administrative Center

The administrative center has, of course, gained its primary importance since the late 1930s. That was when facilities were updated and new offices and other necessary facilities added.

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
61-270	administration bldg. (main office)	1961	none
272	settlement store and storage area	1934	Hist. in future
272-A	metal quonset warehouse for store	1934	none
273	service station	1934	none
290	post office/court house	1934	Hist. in future
302-303	jail, police headquarters (laundry sorting room)	1932	Hist.

Although this area is not considered historically significant at this time, it is the central activity area of the settlement and maintenance of the buildings will be kept up by the state. Their historical significance should be evaluated at a later date. Building No. 290 is considered to be a traditional Hawai'ian vernacular form. Building No. 272 is a social focal point of the present-day settlement. Along with the industrial core area, these buildings should be preserved today and interpreted. They show how the settlement food distribution and other services and administration have changed over the years. Building No. 61-270 could probably be used adaptively in the future for Park Service purposes.

5. Staff Row

The Staff Row area is a very old part of the Kalaupapa settlement. The individual residence buildings have been there for a long time, with various alterations made as necessary through the years.

Staff Row
Miscellaneous Structures

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
617	storage shed (wash house?)	unknown appears to be on June 1938 map as tool shed, constructed after 1931	none

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
618	carport	unknown	none
619	storage and ironing area for Staff Row domestic attendant (in area of old duck run coop)	post-1938	none
625	tool and storage shed	unknown	none
626	carport	unknown	none
629	garage	unknown	none
4	garage	post-1931	none
15	garage	post-1938	none
Major Structures			
SR-1-A	guest cottage for non-patient guests and living quarters for visiting staff members on duty tours	a new unoccupied physician's residence is listed on a 1951 survey of old buildings. It could be this one or this might be the one moved to Staff Row for use by the Bittels.	none
1	old staff quarters present non-patient female workers quarters	1932	none
3	staff laundry bldg., recreation room, and apartment for non-patient employees	1940	none
5	old supt.'s residence present staff dining hall and central kitchen for non-patient employees	1890?	Hist.
6	freezer shelter	unknown	none
7	storage, former supervising cook's residence	pre-1931	Hist.
8	non-patient employees guest quarters living quarters for dentist and other staff on duty tours	1892?	Hist.

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
9	tool shed and storage former servants' quarters	pre-1931	Hist. structure may be too far gone for rehabilitation--significant in showing lifestyle
10	former administrator's residence former resident physician's residence in 1930s	1901, rebuilt 1930 remodelled 1934	Hist.
14	former doctor's residence former asst. res. physician residence	1905/6? pre-1931	Hist.
16	electrician's residence	pre-1931	none
17	laundry building (used by physician, electrician, and domestic attendant for staff quarters as laundry room)	post-1938	none

The residences on Staff Row are considered important historically and interpretively because they are very early buildings and are part of a conscious effort to create a formal separate housing area for nonpatient staff, both to keep them somewhat isolated from the sick and also because they were considered almost a separate class. The structures comprise what was considered appropriate housing for the administrator, doctors, and other professional staff and were more elegant than patient cottages. Because of numerous alterations, the structures' architectural integrity has been impaired, but not damaged beyond recognition. The overall recommendations, however, are that Buildings Nos. 14, 10, 8, 5, and 1 be retained and also Hawai'ian vernacular structures Nos. 7 and/or 9 to better preserve the historical scene and illustrate the lifestyle of nonpatient staff. Staff Row contains examples of 1930s wood frame construction and Hawai'ian institutional architecture of that period.

6. Construction Camp

The construction camp area, which is in very poor condition, contains little to justify historical or architectural significance.

Construction Camp

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
650	storage shed	unknown	none assoc. with small private living area where small fruit & vegetable crops raised
651	pig pen	unknown	Hist. shows aspect of patient enterprise and small business an example of this aspect of life should be kept
652	residence	unknown	Hist./Arch. because of proximity to pig pen, would aid in illustrating more rural and isolated way of life preferred by some patients
653	residence	unknown	none
654	residence	unknown	none
655	garage and storage	unknown	none
658	garage and storage	unknown	none
659	storage	unknown	none
660	garage and storage	unknown	none
258	maintenance yard gas station	1939	none
259	storage (corp. garage) (car pool and auto repair shop)	1939	none
656	wash house	1930?	none
657	dormitory for non-patient male workers 3 metal quonset huts	1950	none
657-A	residence-part of dormitory	1950?	none

Building No. 657 was erected from quonset huts brought from Maui. Similar structures were used for storage of building materials in the industrial center (No. 263-A) and as a dormitory for male patients (Bay View Building No. 10). They were part of an attempt to provide needed structures using surplus quonset huts, but tend to detract from the beauty of the settlement and are not significant architecturally or historically. The only structures of historical significance in this group are Buildings Nos. 651 and 652, which are illustrative of a rural and self-sufficient lifestyle on the peninsula.

7. Visitors' Quarters

The concept of this type of accommodation is a very old one at Kalaupapa, the first visitors' quarters structure having been erected at Kalawao in the 1880s, the facility later being moved to Kalaupapa. The visitors' quarters area has historical and architectural significance. It was the only place where patients' families and friends could see them after visiting restrictions were relaxed.

Visitors' Quarters

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
274	Visitors' quarters	1933	Hist./Arch.
275	Visitors' quarters kitchen	1933	Hist./Arch.
277	Visitor accommodations (Wilcox Memorial Bldg.) (old Brothers' residence when mng. Bay View Home)	1906, remodelled several times	Hist./Arch.
278	former visiting pavilion	1933	Hist./Arch.
523	patients' restroom	1940	Hist. restroom for patients when they came to see visitors in compound--tied to historical scene--separation of facilities

Building No. 278 was the only area in the settlement during the 1930s where patients and visitors could meet. Visitor facilities were provided by the Territory of Hawai'i during this time. A glass and later screen partition running down the interior prevented any physical contact; fences around the compound prevented visitors from leaving the area. It is unique architecturally because of the building use and is historically significant as a symbol of the isolation endured by patients. Building No. 277, when used as the Wilcox Memorial Building, functioned as the settlement dispensary for a while. Ell-shaped Building No. 274 is still used by visitors today but of course isolation is no longer practiced except as patients wish not to interact. All these buildings are recommended for preservation. The most important buildings for preservation would be Nos. 274, 275, 277, and 278, but 523 also relates to the theme of isolation of patients and strict physical separation from unafflicted family and friends.

8. Structures Concerned with Social Activities

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
304	Paschoal social hall/ movie house	1915/16	Hist./Arch.

This building, which has been modified since its original construction, is important historically because it was part of an attempt to make life at the settlement more bearable, to get people's minds off their troubles and make the village a more normal environment. The interior also illustrates the isolation theme. Originally the audience was separated, with kōkuas in the balcony and patients in lower tiers separated by a railing. An outside stairway was added to provide separate access to the balcony from the front porch in the 1930s. The patients were encouraged to become interested and involved in theater, glee clubs, and other presentations in order to take their minds off their troubles. Many famous entertainers performed in the hall, which is a good example of Hawai'ian vernacular plantation-style architecture.

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
300	craft and storage bldg. (former beauty shop)	1931	Hist./Arch.?

A structure in this location shows up on the 1908 map of the settlement. The present building is part of the 1930s effort to bring some amenities of normal Hawai'ian life to the settlement.

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
308	social hall (Americans of Japanese Ancestry Benevolent Society)	1910	Hist./Arch.
309	storage	unknown	none

The architectural significance of this main structure is as an example of Hawai'ian vernacular architecture with some oriental influence provided by the lines of the building and by the torii gate added in 1935. Historically it was important when there was a sizeable Japanese population to support it, as a way of expressing their unity and providing a social outlet. The building next to it was used as an adjunct to the main hall, but has no significance. The main building has not been used for many years, the few Japanese patients attending other churches and social halls in town. Although possessing only limited architectural interest, the building is socially and historically significant as illustrative of the once-strong Japanese population in the settlement and its attempts to preserve its identity. There once was a Japanese lantern in front of the building and a mill stone leaning against the rear of the structure. The torii gate, now removed, was over the entrance walk. The building was used for Buddhist ceremonies as well as social gatherings.

Illustration 187. Headstone in Papaloa Cemetery, 1983. NPS photo.

Illustration 188. Building No. 118, Goodhue Street, 1983. Good example of Hawai'ian vernacular cottage. NPS photo.





Illustration 189. Building No. 281, Puahi Street, 1983.

Illustration 190. Building No. 308, AJA, Buddhist Temple, 1983.

Illustration 191. Building No. SR-1-A, Staff Row, 1983.

Illustration 192. Building No. 7, Staff Row, 1983. NPS photos.









Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
198	former Philipino Club and Dance Center	unknown	Hist. old Kalaupapa courthouse--Arch. significance due to clapboard siding, but beyond repair

9. Structures Not Considered Significant

The following miscellaneous structures, mainly garages and storage sheds, are found as one moves in an east to west direction through the settlement. Construction dates are unknown. They have no architectural or historical significance, although they are mainly the result of recycling older building materials.

Kapolani Street

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
556	garage	unknown	none
558	garage	unknown	none
559	tool shed	unknown	none
560	garage and storage	unknown	none
561	garage	unknown	none
202A	wash house	unknown	none

Kaiulani Street

562	garage	unknown	none
563	garage and storage	unknown	none
564	garage	unknown	none

Haleakala Street

565	garage and storage	unknown	none
566	garage?	unknown	none

Kaiulani Street

567	garage	unknown	none
568	garage and storage	unknown	none
569	garden house	unknown	none
570	garage and storage	unknown	none
571	garage and storage	unknown	none
572	storage shed	unknown	none
573	storehouse	unknown	none
574	storage shed	unknown	none
575	hot house	unknown	none

Corner Damien and Baldwin

581	garage and storage	unknown	none
582	garage and storage	unknown	none

Corner Damien and Kaiulani

583	Storage shed	unknown	none

Baldwin Street

584	garage and storage	unknown	none
585	garage	unknown	none
586	carport	unknown	none
587	garage	unknown	none
588	garage	unknown	none
589	garage	unknown	none

Mckinley Street

590	Storage shed	unknown	none
591	Storage shed	unknown	none
592	garage	unknown	none
155A	tool shed	1930?	former washhouse built by state in 1930s - none

Corner Haleakala and McKinley

593	garage and storage	unknown	none

McKinley Street

594	garage	unknown	none
595	Storage shed	unknown	none

Baldwin Street

596	nursery building (abandoned)	unknown 1930s?	prob. assoc. with settlement nursery but too deteriorated to be useful interpretively
597	nursery building (abandoned)		prob. assoc. with settlement nursery but too deteriorated to be useful interpretively

McKinley Street

599	garage	unknown	none
601	hot house	unknown	none
602	storage bldg.	unknown	none
603	garage	unknown	none

East section, Beretania Street*

549	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
550	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
551	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
553	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
554	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
555	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none
556	abandoned chicken farm	unknown	none

*If not in such deteriorated condition, would be good examples of a patient rural lifestyle.

Goodhue Street

604	storage shed	unknown	none
605	storage shed	unknown	none
606	storage shed	unknown	none
607	unknown	unknown	none
608	storage and picnic shelter	unknown unknown	none none
609	garage and shelter	unknown	none
611	storage shed and hot house	unknown unknown	none none
612	storage shed	unknown	none
613	garage and storage shed	unknown	none
615	storage shed	unknown	none

Corner Goodhue and School

614	garage	unknown	none

Goodhue and School Streets

616	storage and hot house	unknown	none

McKinley Street

620	garage	unknown	none

Bishop Street

621	garage	unknown	none
622	garage and storage shed	unknown	none

Kamehameha Street

662	garage	unknown	none
663	wash house	pre-1939?	none
664	storage	unknown	none
668	garage	unknown	none
669	garage	unknown	none
670	storage shed	unknown	none
672	garage	unknown	Hist. in future repair shop
673	storage shed	unknown	none
674	hot house	unknown	none
675	chicken coop	unknown	none
676	chicken coop	unknown	hist. in future
678	garage and storage	unknown	none
679	boat garage	unknown	none
680	garage	unknown	none
681	garage	unknown	none
4-A	wash house/storage	unknown	none
6	?	unknown	none

Behind Mormon Church

23	chicken coop	unknown	Hist. illus. animal husbandry

Visitors' Quarters

522	telephone sub-station	unknown	none

Puahi Street, across from Bay View

515	garage and storage	unknown	none
516	garage and storage	unknown	none
520	storage/garage	unknown	none
521	hot house	unknown	none

Damien Road

531	storage/garage	unknown	none
532	carport	unknown	none
533	shelter	unknown	none
534	storage/garage	unknown	none
535	?	unknown	none
536	garage	unknown	none
537	pig sty	unknown	Hist. illus. raising of animals for food for personal use and to sell
538	storage	unknown	none
539	storage	unknown	none
540	hot house	unknown	none
541	storage/garage	unknown	none
542	garage	unknown	none
543	hot house	unknown	none
544	storage/garage	unknown	none
545	garage	unknown	none
546	hot house	unknown	none
547	storage/garage	unknown	none
548	carport	unknown	none
576	storage	unknown	none
577	slop shelter-pig farm	unknown	none
578	storage-pig farm	unknown	none
579	pig sty	unknown	none
580	pig sty	unknown	none

Behind Mormon Church

661	storage/garage	unknown	none
665	pig sty/garage	unknown	none
666	shed	unknown	none
667	chicken shed	unknown	Hist. -type of patient activity

The above structures are primarily frame with either vertical plank siding or board and batten exteriors. Many have concrete foundations. They usually have composition roofing material or corrugated-metal. Mostly built from the 1930s on, they are slowly deterioriating unless frequently used. A few might have functioned earlier as another type of structure (wash house or beach house) or have been located in another area of the settlement, but the information is too sketchy to give them significance for that reason. It is recommended that type specimens of certain types of structures be retained, such as wash

houses, chicken coops, and pig stys, to illustrate in the future the lifestyle of the settlement. Actual selection of such structures to preserve should be made by park management based on current condition and those most easily maintained. Such factors as location and therefore accessibility for interpretation should enter into the selection.

10. Residences

Damien Road, South Side

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
26	residence	1932?	similar to McVeigh No. 16-later moved here
56-112	residence	1956	none
62-105	residence	1962 good cond.	none
62-106	residence	1962	none
56-107	residence	1956	none
56-108	residence	1956	none
65R-109 (old 29) (old 66R-109?)	residence	1932?	appears similar to McVeigh No. 16
64-110	residence	1964	none
56-111	residence	1956	none
158	residence	1937	arch.
62-159	residence	1962	none
160	residence	unknown	none
64-311	residence	1964	none

Goodhue Street

114	residence	1931	none
115	residence	1931	none
116	residence	1931	none
62-117	residence	1962	none
118	residence	1931	Arch.
610	former residence	unknown	none former beach house?

School Street

60R-119	residence	1937	Arch.
62-120	residence	1962	none
62-122	residence	1962	none

Illustration 193. Building No. 27, McVeigh Home, 1983.

Illustration 194. Pig sty, Kalaupapa, 1983. Good example of continuing patient activity.

Illustration 195. Building No. 23 north of Kamehameha Street, 1983.

Illustration 196. Building No. 61-270, administrative center, 1983. NPS photos.









Illustration 197. Mormon Church and parish hall, Buildings Nos. 257 and 257-A, 1983.

Illustration 198. Building No. 65R-3, Kamehameha Street, 1983.

Illustration 199. Building No. 118 to left, No. 299 to right, Goodhue Street, 1983.

Illustration 200. Building No. 1, Kamehameha Street, 1983. NPS photos.









Bishop Street

64-121	residence	1964	none

McKinley Street

62-123	residence	1962	none
151	residence	1937	accdg. to Soulliere and Law, an informant stated this constructed with lumber from USLIS--should be preserved as type for this period.
152	residence	1938	none
56-153	residence	1956	none
154	residence	1933	none
155	residence	1932	none
56-156	residence	1956	none
157	residence	1932	none
600	residence	unknown	former beach house - none

Damien Road, North Side

161	residence	1936	none

Baldwin Street

56-172	residence	1956	none
56-173	residence	1956	none
176	residence	1931	none
56-178	residence	1956	none
62-179	residence	1962	none
181	residence	1932	none
62-182	residence	1962	none

Kaiulani Street

64-186	residence	1964	none
64-187	residence	1964	none
189	residence	1932	none
188	residence	1931?	none
190 (66R-190) (65R-190?)	residence	1931	moved from McVeigh Home same plan as Bldg. No. 13, McVeigh.
192	residence	1931	none
210 (71R-185)	residence	1931?	none

Kapiolani Street			
199	residence	1932	none
202	residence	1931	Arch.
near Industrial Center			
29	residence	ca. 1908?	no particular Hist. significance though could be one of earliest structures remaining. Considered beyond repair or adaptive use.
30	residence	1939	none
Kilohana Street			
53	residence	1932	poss. Archeological significance- reported to be built on heiau
behind Administration Bldg.			
71R-61	residence	1931	none
Kamehameha Street			
55	residence	1938	none
Corner Kamehameha and Beretania			
56	residence	1938	none
Kamehameha Street			
1	residence	1931	none
2	residence	1931	none
65R-3	residence	ca. 1933, moved from McVeigh in 1965	none
4	residence	1931	none
7	residence	1931	none
8	residence	unknown	none
9	residence	1931	none
15	residence	1936	none
16	residence	unknown	none
20	residence	1937	Arch.
25	residence (near construction camp)	1936	none
256	residence	1935	none

Illustration 201. Building No. 278, visitors' pavilion, 1983.

Illustration 202. Buildings Nos. 657 and 657-A, construction camp, 1983.

Illustration 203. Building No. 300, Beretania Street, 1983.

Illustration 204. Building No. 60R-119, School Street, 1983. NPS photos.









Behind Mormon Church

21	residence	1937	none
22	residence	unknown	none

Puahi Street

62-101	residence	1962	none
102	residence	unknown	none
64-103	residence	1964	none
104	residence	1931	Hist.? - poss. formerly at Baldwin Home
281(104-A?)	residence	1931	Hist.? - poss. former Baldwin Home bldg.

11. Businesses

School Street

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
299	former barber shop	unknown	Hist. type of patient small business

Kamehameha Street

260	storage at present (former grocery)	1932	Hist.

Corner Puahi and School Streets

298-A	tavern and store	unknown	Hist. in future as focal point of activity--has TV and bar--arch. unimposing

Slaughterhouse

258	slaughterhouse	1953	Hist. part of scene
630	slaughterhouse	same?	Hist.

Near Slaughter House

631	tack storage	unknown	none
632	storage	unknown	none
633	animal shelter	unknown	none
634	storage bldg.	unknown	none

Former Baldwin Home

635	rock crusher/gravel separator	1950-53	Hist.

Stone walls and rock grotto should be left to benign neglect--historical/archeological resources.

12. Miscellaneous Structures

Behind residence 71R-61

Building No.	Use	Date of Construction	Significance
623	garage and storage	unknown	none

Corner Puahi and School Streets

624	restroom for bar	unknown	none

Near Kanaana Hou

637	storage shed	unknown	none

Behind Residence 30

641	former wash house?	unknown	none

Next to Residence 30

642	garage	unknown	none

Kilohana Street

643	garage	unknown	none
645	garage	unknown	none
646	garage and storage	unknown	none

Behind Residence 53

644	storage building	unknown	none

St. Francis Church

647	garage	unknown	none
649	outhouse	unknown	none

Behind Administration Bldg.

62	storage for bar	1930s?	none

Administrative Area

65-296	Mother Marianne library	1965	none at this time, but in future

Airport Road*

671	beach house	unknown	none
682	storage shed	unknown	none
683	storage?	unknown	none
687	restrooms	unknown	none - owned by Lion's Club--has three entrances--men, women, and visitors--lava rock baffles
688	picnic pavilion	unknown	none
689	abandoned structure	unknown	none
690	storage shed	unknown	none
691	beach house	unknown	none
692	garage	unknown	none
693	beach house	unknown	type specimen?
694	beach house	unknown	none
695	beach house	unknown	none
696	beach house	unknown	Hist.--future shows recycling - resembles Bay View structure No. 11
697	storage	unknown	none
698	beach house	unknown	type specimen?
699	beach house	unknown	type specimen?
700	storage shed	unknown	none
701	shed	unknown	none
702	beach house	unknown	none

* Should keep specimen of beach house. Those in good condition should be maintained and used later for employee housing or other park needs.

End of Airport Runway

716	beach house?	unknown	none

Old Landing Field

684	storage shed	unknown	none
685	storage shed	unknown	none
686	storage for explosives	unknown	none

Coast, between Siloama and Lighthouse

717	beach house	unknown	none, but does show attempt for isolation
718	beach house	unknown	"

Kalawao

719	picnic pavilion	1950	none

Airport

703	terminal	unknown	Hist.
704	storage and office	unknown	none
705	storage	recent	none

13. Moloka'i Lighthouse

Lighthouse Area

706	residence	ca. 1909	Hist.
707	residence	ca. 1909	Hist.
708	storage	ca. 1909	none
709	garage and storage	ca. 1909	none
712	water tank	1909?	none
713	generator bldg.	1909?	none
714	?	1909?	none

The residences and water tank were part of the historic scene when the station was manned. The residences should be retained and used adaptively.

715	Molokai Light	1909	Hist./Arch.

The Moloka'i lighthouse at the northernmost tip of the peninsula, owned and operated by the U.S. Coast Guard, is considered to be a significant historical and architectural structure and has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The tall reinforced concrete tower housing the lens, built in 1909, is the most significant item in the lighthouse complex, which also includes houses and outbuildings. This is one of the oldest and most important lighthouses in the Hawai'i district, ranking only behind the Makapu'u Point light on O'ahu in size and brilliancy. The lens is a Fresnel apparatus, devised by the French physicist Augustin Fresnel about 1822, consisting of a polyzonal lens enclosing the lamp. The lens is built up of glass prisms in panels, the

central portions of which are refracting only, the top and bottom portions of which are reflecting and refracting, leading to greater brilliancy. The principal sizes of Fresnel lenses were classified according to their order, depending on the inside radius of the lens. The Moloka'i light is a second order light, denoting 27.6 inches from the center of the light to the inner surface of the lens. This is one of the few original lighthouse structures in Hawai'i still in use, having been made automatic in 1966. Originally, a five-room cottage was provided for the light keeper. The house and outbuildings are not important architecturally but it is recommended that at least one of the residences be preserved as part of a light station noteworthy because of its unusual remoteness and isolation.

14. Shipwreck

The remains of the Kaala, shipwrecked in 1932, lie in less than thirty feet of water off the northeast coast of Kalaupapa peninsula. Through the years parts of the ship have washed ashore and the lumber has reportedly been used in house construction in Kalaupapa settlement. Today the engine block of the wreck is still visible as a silent reminder of the dangers of the sea and of shipping to Kalaupapa. It may have potential as an underwater archeological resource, although neither the extent of the wreck nor the type of vessel it was is known by the writer.

15. Roads and Trails

The pali trail is historically and to some extent architecturally significant as the only means of access "topside" for patients and staff. It was mostly used to transport cattle to the settlement and today is used by visitors. The road to Kalawao was originally improved by Father Damien and the residents, and it and a trail along the coastline connected Kalaupapa and Kalawao. It should be preserved. Any remaining sections of the Waihanau trail should be considered historically significant.

16. Monuments

a. Father Damien

At the intersection of Puahi and Damien roads is the red granite monument for whose erection funds were collected by the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII). It was unveiled on September 11, 1893. On the face of the tablet is a bas-relief of Father Damien's head and the inscription reads

> Joseph Damien de Veuster, 1839-1887.
> "Greater love hath no man than this that he should lay down his life for his friends." This monument was erected to his memory by the people of England.

This is a significant monument because it illustrates how the story of Damien and the settlement residents had aroused the interest and sympathy of countries across the ocean.

b. Mother Marianne

Mother Marianne's importance stems from the fact that in 1883, in responding to an appeal for help for leprosy victims in Hawai'i, she was the first sister of an American religious group to lead mission work in a foreign land and headed the first group of Catholic sisters to minister to persons on Moloka'i.

During her time in Hawai'i, she was first in charge of the branch hospital at Kaka'ako Receiving Station for Leprosy Patients in Honolulu, and from 1888 to 1918 she was in charge of the Bishop Home for Girls at Kalaupapa. Hanley and Bushnell have pointed out that

> because she was modest and shunned publicity of any kind, very few people beyond the limits of the Leprosarium knew about the Franciscans' efforts in Hawaii. The world, having discovered, admired, and lost Father Damien, went on believing that he was the only one who gave up his life for the lepers. It paid no attention to Mother Marianne and her Franciscans. Nor did it heed the quiet Sacred Hearts brothers, the Catholic priests and Protestant pastors, who followed in Father Damien's footsteps. It soon forgot the lepers of Molokai and ignored the followers of Christ as they ministered to the patients' bodies and their souls. Mother Marianne did not mind the world's

inattention. She lived true to herself, in the fortress of her spirit, continuing to work for the benefit of her "children."[22]

Mother Marianne died in the summer of 1918 at the age of eighty and was buried not far from the Damien monument at the foot of a small, shady hill. In 1974 procedures were begun for the promotion of Mother Marianne for Sainthood by the Franciscan Order with the Introduction of the Cause for Mother Marianne, which was granted by the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints. In 1980 the most Reverend John J. Scanlon, Bishop of Honolulu, appointed an Historical Commission for the "Cause of Mother Marianne."[23] The monument is important as a visual reminder of this much-beloved woman who devoted a lifetime to leprosy sufferers in Honolulu and at Kalaupapa.

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22. Hanley and Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile, p. 375.

23. Sister Richard Marie Toal, "Mother Marianne," Kalaupapa Historical Society Newsletter 2, no. 7 (July 1983), p. 2.

Illustration 205. Grave of the Reverend Mother Marianne, Kalaupapa, ca. 1920s. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.



XV. Recommendations for Interpretation and Resources Management

Kalawao and Kalaupapa leprosy settlements were added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. The National Register boundary generally is the same as the Kalawao County line. The National Register form includes statements on archeology and the Kalawao and Kalaupapa settlement periods. The Moloka'i lighthouse was entered separately on the National Register on March 25, 1982. The settlement also was approved as a National Historic Landmark on January 7, 1976.

The writer feels that the following sites should be seriously considered for perservation on the basis of historical significance:

Kalawao

Primary Significance:

- St. Philomena Catholic Church and cemetery
- Siloama Protestant Church and cemetery
- U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station ruins
- Baldwin Home ruins
- stone water reservoir
- slaughterhouse ruin
- bakery ruin
- stone reservoir in Waikolu Valley--remnant of early water system

These structures and sites should be considered for priority action in terms of preservation and interpretation because of their age, their fragility, and their interpretive values. The slaughterhouse ruin, the U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station site, and the cistern ruin should be cleared of growth to the extent feasible through initiation of a natural resources management plan.

Kalaupapa

Primary Significance (Individual buildings of importance within each home unit were discussed earlier):

- Staff Row
- Bishop Home
- Bay View Home
- McVeigh Home
- landing and breakwater area
- visitor's quarters and pavilion
- old hospital, including fumigation room and promin building
- lighthouse

bathrooms showing division of use between patients and kōkua
cemeteries
farms, which are rapidly deteriorating but illustrate a rural lifestyle
clubhouses
patient small-business structures
older vernacular-style houses

Secondary Significance (Structures are included in this category due to future historical importance and less need now for maintenance work):
industrial center (shops and maintenance)
administrative center (store, post office-courthouse, main office)
Paschoal Hall
jail
St. Francis Church
Kanaana Hou Church
craft shops

Other: residences

It should be noted that the entire Kalaupapa peninsula is a historic district that has evolved over a long period of time. The significance of the district hinges on the relationships of structures to each other, and their development over time is a result of changing social and medical conditions worldwide. It is not possible to retain only primary structures and tear down secondary ones without drastically changing the character of the entire district. Demolition of structures should take place only on a limited basis, if at all, and only after proper planning, so that a major alteration of the settlement does not occur.

Although a priority system for the stabilization and/or adaptive use of significant structures must of necessity be established because of limited funds for that purpose, it should be remembered that all resources on the peninsula are considered significant to the park's interpretive story. The primary criteria for building treatment should be significance and condition. Historically important wooden structures that deteriorate quickly should be taken care of before significant concrete structures, for instance. Those resources that are especially endangered due to fragility of the fabric and/or the threat of severe impacts should be high on the priority list. Those structures that will not be stabilized or used

adaptively by the park should be left to natural deterioration whenever possible; if removal is considered necessary for safety or health reasons, proper compliance procedures must be met.

Several residences at the settlement have lost integrity and are in a complete state of disrepair. There are, however, still many good examples of period housing that are salvageable, and it is the feeling of this writer, as well as of Soullière and Law, that in the case of these structures, preservation emphasis should be on those that are representative of particular styles and types. Preservation of such structures is necessary in addition to that of major structures to preserve an accurate historical scene.

In future years the structures retained should enable a good understanding of what life was like at the settlement during various time periods. Samples of cottages, medical facilities, administrative and service buildings, and outbuildings such as wash houses and hot houses should be preserved. These last should be retained in conjunction with cottages when possible to present a total living unit, explaining how people lived, performed their daily chores, and relaxed. Any structures that are last examples of their type in the islands or on the peninsual should have high maintenance and stabilization priority, such as the AJA clubhouse and the visitors' pavilion.

Even the later 1950s-196s homes are important because they illustrate a mass-produced architecture that was totally different from the 1930s attempts by the state to provide some aesthetic considerations and stylistic detail. Beach houses are also significant because they show an attempt to get a change of scenery outside the settlement when patients were still restricted from leaving the peninsula. They were recreational houses, where people could go to fish and swim. Many were built of recycled materials. It is recommended that at least one of each of these types of houses be preserved.

All buildings still in use should of course be maintained until no longer needed or until they pose a safety hazard. Then the park will

need to go to a priority system of retaining type specimens and/or those necessary for interpretation or usable for park purposes. Those that are deemed significant need to be considered for long-term maintenance. Many of them can no doubt be used adaptively. Some structures simply are not necessary to defining the importance of specific areas, such as garages, old freezers, laundries, and the like, and no more than one or two type specimens are necessary for interpretive purposes. The park resident architect is probably the best person to choose the representative buildings to preserve based on a knowledge of current condition and possibilities for rehabilitation.

The historical background of the leprosy settlement has now been fairly well documented through this Historic Resource Study and a variety of books and articles that have focused on certain aspects of the settlement. A fine architectural evaluation of settlement buildings was completed in 1979. An archeological survey of parts of the peninsula was completed this last winter. The other major components of a solid cultural resource data base would be oral history reserach on patient recollections of life at the settlement and an ethnographic study. Because the patients are not a renewable resource, a compilation of patient experiences, photographs, letters, and records should be accomplished without delay.

All structures and sites on Kalaupapa peninsula are protected by their National Register status. It is recommended that at some time in the future after further archeological surveys, oral history projects, and ethnographic studies have been completed, the National Register form be updated by the Pacific Area Office and park personnel in order to include all resource data base material. This updated form could more precisely delineate significant archeological and historical sub-districts based upon the completion of all studies necessary for those judgements.

XVI. Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Study

Over the years the story of the exile of Hawai'i's leprosy victims to the island of Moloka'i has been of interest to historians, sociologists, medical reserachers, politicians, and the public at large. Much has been written about the experiences of the leprosy patients and about the religious and secular personnel who helped them during various periods of the settlement's development. In the course of scrutinizing the data available on Kalaupapa's history, this writer came to the conclusion that certain episodes have been highlighted by other writers that perhaps do not present a totally accurate picture of the times.

One of the aspects of the very early history of the settlement that struck this writer as interesting were the sizeable budgets appropriated by the kingdom and territory of Hawai'i for the care of patients at Kalaupapa over the years, including construction of houses and medical and recreational facilities, as well as considerable expenditures for research and treatment. From the very earliest years of the colony, the Hawai'ian government made a committment to the afflicted that was unusual for its time and place.

Although there was certainly much that was inhumane in the forced separation of the sick from their families and the general public, there was also much that was humane, especially as the Hawai'ian government began to realize the true extent and effects of the disease. Hawai'i was trying to cope with a scourge of epidemic proportions at a critical time in its history--as particularly powerful foreign influences were wreaking havoc on a cultural tradition that had been in place for centuries. No disease as pervasive or as frustratingly incurable as leprosy had been encountered before, and coping with it became a daily trial and error process that consumed much of the time of the monarchy and the legislature.

The stories of the sick being transported to Kalawao and then thrown off the ships to swim ashore as best they could are dubious at best. Although this might have happened when storms prevented the steamers from landing, it does not appear to have been a usual practice.

The widespread neglect of residents so frequently reported upon in the early days was certainly true for a while, but it should be remembered that the government took great pains in the selection of a site for its leprosy settlement and initially felt that it had chosen an ideal place, with plentiful water and land for farming. It was confident that the sick would work for themselves, producing the necessary food and building shelters. It generally expected much more effort and involvement on the part of the first exiles, not realizing how emotionally demoralizing and physically debilitating their condition was.

Even harder to analyze than the government's early management or mismanagement of the colony, is the role of Father Damien in the history of leprosy in Hawai'i. Damien has been extolled as the savior of the sick and the person responsible for most of the early social and physical improvements at the settlement. Certainly one cannot research the life of Father Damien without becoming emotionally charged by the man's life and accomplishments. He was unique--a dynamic and resourceful person who, by the mere strength of his personality and religious convictions and the fact that he later fell victim to the disease himself, became a visual symbol of the plight of leprosy sufferers everywhere. Because of this, it is often hard to dispassionately and objectively assess his role in the development of Kalaupapa.

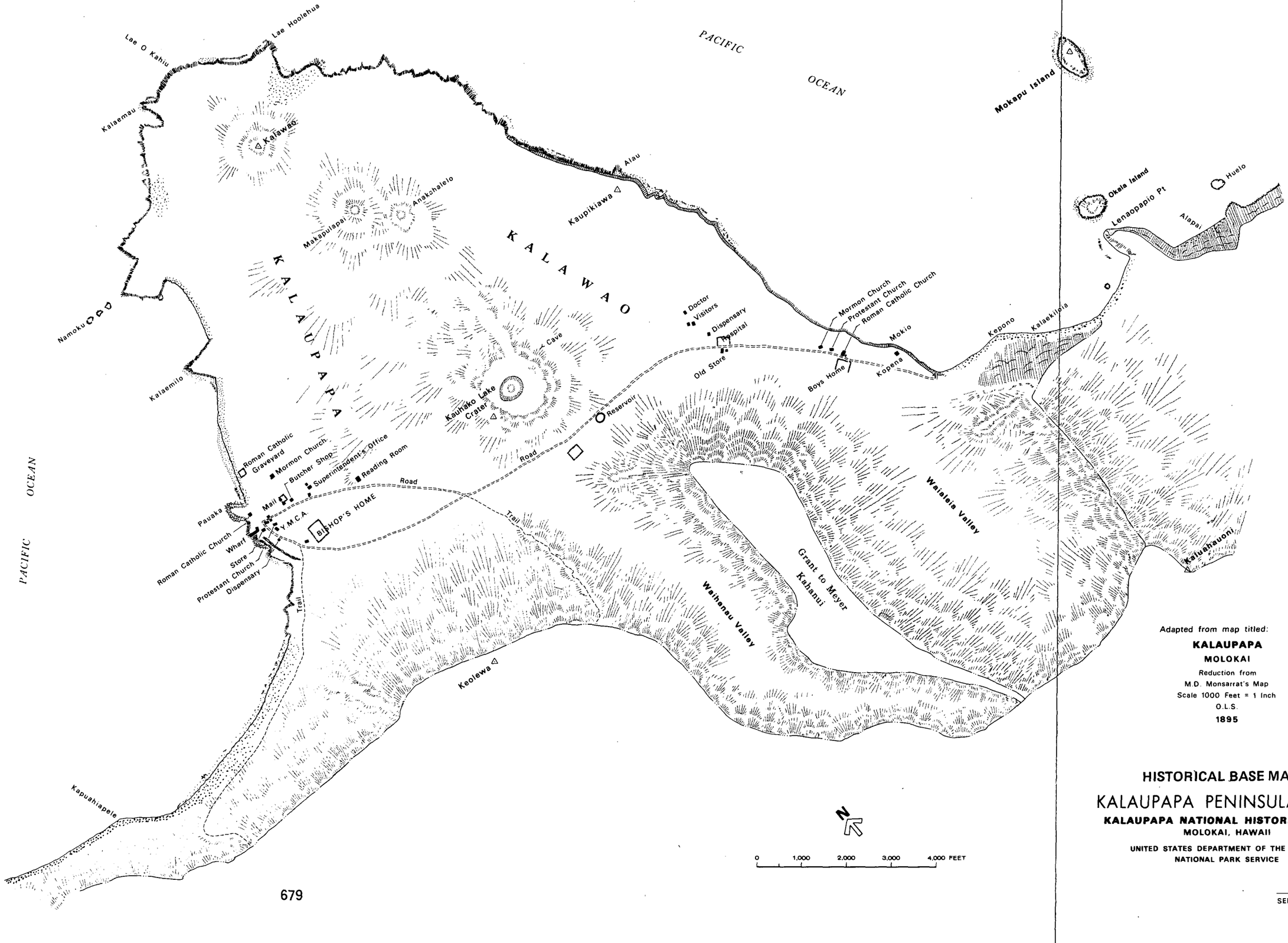
The committment of the Board of Health to the settlement had been made before Damien's arrival. At the same time, both Catholic and non-Catholic missionaries had already contributed a great deal of time and effort to the patients' well-being. Damien's story has loomed larger primarily because he was the first European clergyman to reside permanently at the settlement--amidst much publicity not of his making--a fact that immediately gained him worldwide prominence. His primary role at the settlement was as a facilitator, a liaison between the people and the government, who was able, because of his firsthand knowledge of the needs of the patients, to ensure that the vast sums of money appropriated by the government were more wisely spent.

The Board of Health's concern over Damien's arrival and his future role at the settlement--which Damien and some of his supporters felt was unjustified--are easy to understand from this vantage point in time, considering the delicacy of the situation and the already seemingly insurmountable problems involved in trying to feed and house the sick. Damien may well have appeared at first as simply another obstruction to the smooth administration of the colony. There are always two sides to every issue, and both need to be explained when assessing the relationship between Damien and the Hawai'ian Board of Health.

One well-known story relates that after Damien contracted leprosy, he announced his affliction to the people by beginning one of his sermons with the words "We lepers." Although this is a dramatic scenario, as stated earlier in this report, Damien used that form of address from the beginning of his stay to bind himself more closely to his parishioners. A multitude of other similar anecdotes about Damien may likewise not bear up under close scrutiny; as it is, however, his achievements need little embellishment. It is interesting to speculate upon what Damien's continuing role at the settlement might have been had he lived for another twenty or thirty years.

In summary, the story of leprosy in Hawai'i and the development of Kalaupapa settlement is an intriguing one, filled with tragedy, compassion, drama, and unusual and often colorful personalities. It is significant in terms of general community values, past and future health research, and the conflict generated between cultural traditions and public health policies. Much of this history is well documented, some is conjectural, and some aspects will never be known or fully understood. Further study should involve oral history from remaining patients, ex-patients, government employees, medical staff, and others who have been involved with the people or the physical development of the settlement. An ethnographic study of contemporary residents might also be useful in documenting this unique segment of Hawai'ian society.

HISTORICAL BASE MAPS



Adapted from map titled:

KALAUPAPA
MOLOKAI

Reduction from
M.D. Monsarrat's Map
Scale 1000 Feet = 1 Inch
O.L.S.
1895

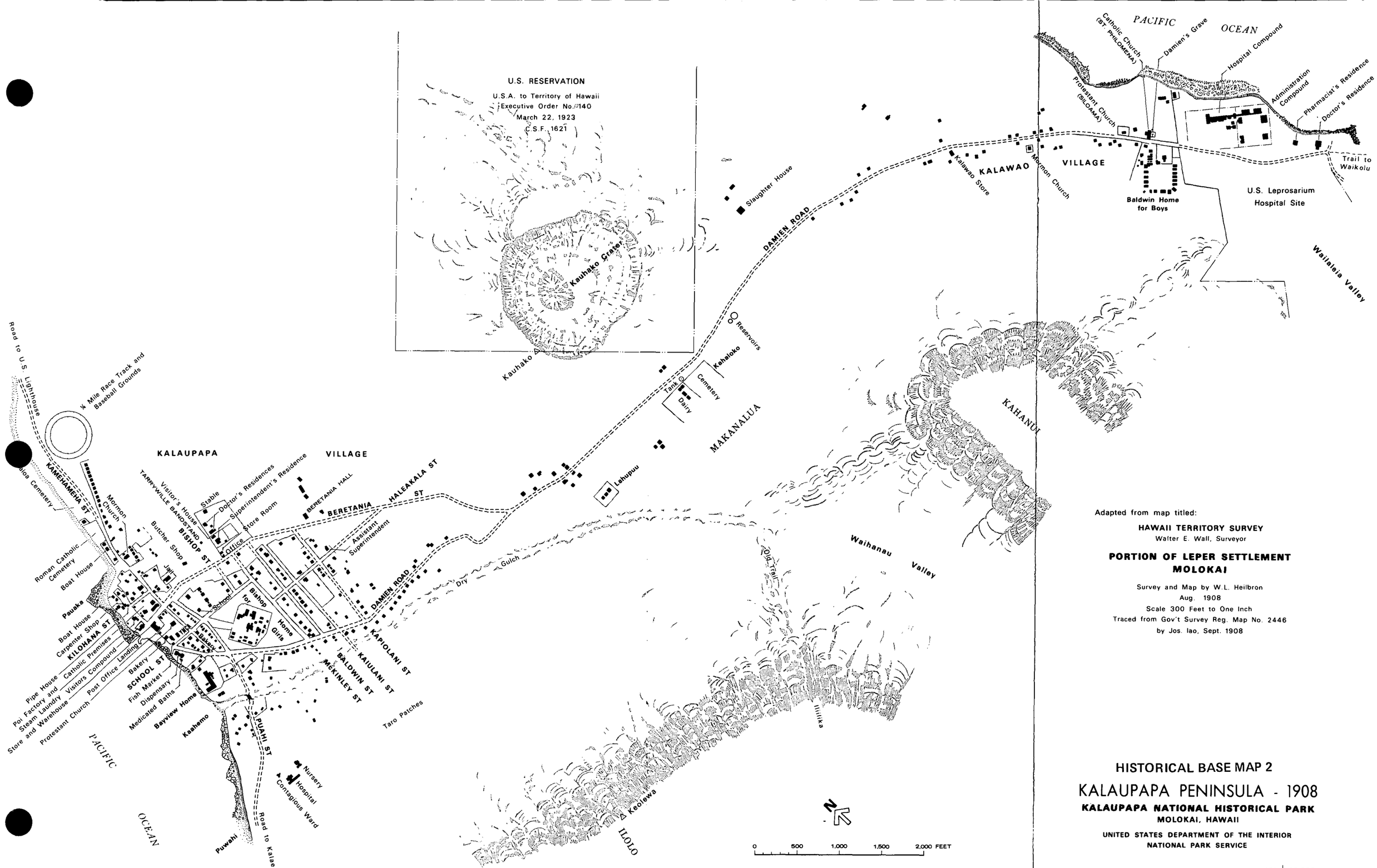
HISTORICAL BASE MAP 1

KALAUPAPA PENINSULA - 1895

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,002
SEPT 84	DSC



681

Adapted from map titled:

HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
Walter E. Wall, Surveyor

PORTION OF LEPER SETTLEMENT
MOLOKAI

Survey and Map by W.L. Heilbron
Aug. 1908
Scale 300 Feet to One Inch
Traced from Gov't Survey Reg. Map No. 2446
by Jos. Iao, Sept. 1908

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 2

KALAUPAPA PENINSULA - 1908

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,003
SEPT 84	DSC



683

Adapted from map titled:

HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
Robert D. King, Surveyor

LEPROSARIUM
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

SCALE 1 INCH = 100 FEET
Survey by Thos. J.K. Evans, Sept. 1930
from Gov't. Reg. Map 2854 by R. Lane Jr. Nov. 1930.
Contour Interval 2 Feet.

N

0 200 400 600 800 FEET

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 3

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1930

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,005
SEPT 84	DSC



685

Adapted from map titled:

BOARD OF HOSPITALS AND SETTLEMENT

From office of H.A. Kluegel, Supt.
April 17, 1936

N

0 200 400 600 800 FEET

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 4

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1936

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,006
SEPT 84	DSC



Adapted from map titled:

HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
L.M. Whitehouse Surveyor
LEPROSARIUM
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI
Survey and map by Thos. J.K. Evans
Nov. 1939

N

0 200 400 600 800 FEET

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 5

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1939

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,007
SEPT 84	DSC



689

Adapted from map titled:

HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
L.M. Whitehouse Surveyor

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

Survey and map by Thos. J.K. Evans
Nov. 1939

Resurvey by Ernest H. Fernandes
July 1953

N

0 200 400 600 800 FEET

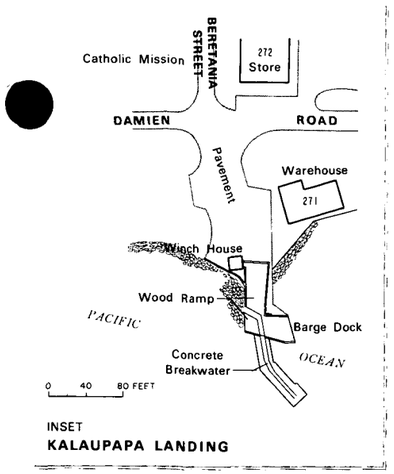
HISTORICAL BASE MAP 6

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1953

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,008
SEPT 84	DSC



INSET
KALAUPAPA LANDING

Adapted from map titled:

HAWAII TERRITORY SURVEY
L.M. Whitehouse Surveyor

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT
KALAUPAPA, MOLOKAI

Survey and map by Thos. J.K. Evans
Nov. 1939

Resurvey by Ernest H. Fernandes

July 1953	April - June, 1965	March 1966
Field Book: 1499, 1550	Field Book: 1744, 1766	Field Book: 1766

N

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HISTORICAL BASE MAP 7

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1966

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,009
SEPT 84	DSC

HISTORICAL BASE MAP II

INVENTORY OF STRUCTURES
KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT
KALAWAO COUNTY–MOLOKAI, HAWAII

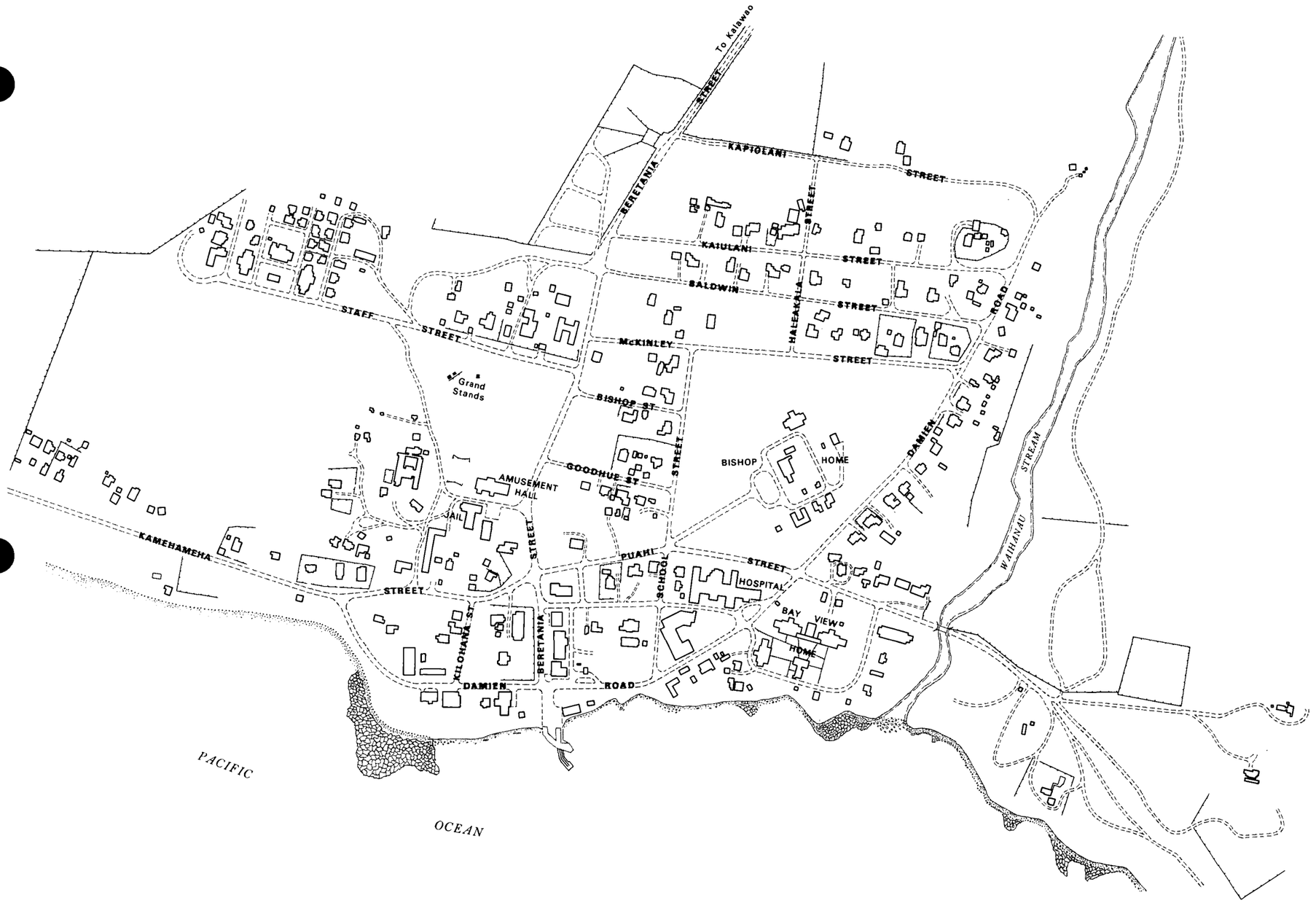
SCALE IN FEET: 360 240 120 0 120 240 360

SCALE IN METERS: 120 60 0 120

north

KASE	80,020
MAR. 77	WRO–PP

U.S. Dept. of the Interior–National Park Service
Sheet 2 of 3



695

Adapted from map titled:

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK
WESTERN REGION
SETTLEMENT AREA & LANDING STRIP
TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
DRW. NO. 491/41002

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0 200 400 600 800 FEET

HISTORICAL BASE MAP 9

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT - 1983

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
MOLOKAI, HAWAII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

491	25,010
SEPT 84	DSC

APPENDIXES

An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, 1865.

Whereas, the disease of Leprosy has spread to considerable extent among the people, and the spread thereof has excited well grounded alarms; and Whereas, further, some doubts have been expressed regarding the powers of the Board of Health in the premises, notwithstanding the 302nd Section of the Civil Code; and Whereas, in the opinion of the Assembly, the 302nd Section is properly applicable to the treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy. Yet for greater certainty, and for the sure protection of the people,

Be it enacted, by the King and the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled:

Section 1. The Minister of the Interior, as President of the Board of Health, is hereby expressly authorized, with the approval of the said Board, to reserve and set apart any land or portion of land now owned by the Government, for a site or sites of an establishment or establishments to secure the isolation and seclusion of such leprous persons as in the opinion of the Board of Health or its agents, may, by being at large, cause the spread of leprosy.

SEC. 2. The Minister of the Interior, as President of the Board of Health, and acting with the approval of the said Board, may acquire for the purpose stated in the preceding section, by purchase or exchange, any piece or pieces, parcel or parcels of land, which may seem better adapted to the use of lepers, than any land owned by the Government.

SEC. 3. The Board of Health or its agents are authorized and empowered to cause to be confined, in some place or places for that purpose provided, all leprous patients who shall be deemed capable of spreading the disease of leprosy, and it shall be the duty of every police or District Justice, when properly applied to for that purpose by the Board of Health, or its authorized agents, to cause to be arrested and delivered to the Board of Health or its agents, any person alleged to be a leper, within the jurisdiction of such police or District Justice, and it shall be the duty of the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands and his deputies, and of the police officers, to assist in securing the conveyance of any person so arrested to such place, as the Board of Health, or its agents may direct, in order that such person may be subjected to medical inspection, and thereafter to assist in removing such person to a place of treatment, or isolation, if so required by the agents of the Board of Health.

SEC. 4. The Board of Health is authorized to make such arrangements for the establishment of a Hospital, where leprous patients in the incipient stages may be treated in order to attempt a cure, and the said Board and its agents shall have full power to discharge all such patients as it shall deem cured, and to send to a place of isolation contemplated in Sections one and two of this Act, all such patients as shall be considered incurable or capable of spreading the disease of leprosy.

SEC. 5. The Board of Health or its agents may require from patients, such reasonable amount of labor as may be approved of by the attending physicians, and may further make and publish such rules and regula-

tions as by the said Board may be considered adapted to ameliorate the condition of lepers, which said rules and regulations shall be published and enforced as in the 284th and 285th Sections of the Civil Code provided.

SEC. 6. The property of all persons committed to the care of the Board of Health for the reasons above stated shall be liable for the expenses attending their confinement, and the Attorney-General shall institute suits for the recovery of the same when requested to do so by the President of the Board of Health.

SEC. 7. The Board of Health, while keeping an accurate and detailed account of all sums of money expended by them out of any appropriations which may be made by the Legislature, shall keep the amounts of sums expended for the leprosy, distinct from the general account. And the said Board shall report to the Legislature at each of its regular sessions, the said expenditures in detail, together with such information regarding the disease of leprosy, as well as the public health generally, as it may deem to be of interest to the public.

Approved this 3rd day of January, 1865.

KAMEHAMEHA, R.

The section referred to is as follows:

§ 302. When any person shall be infected with the small-pox, or other sickness dangerous to the public health, the Board of Health, or its Agent, may, for the safety of the inhabitants, remove such sick or infected person to a separate house, and provide him with nurses and other necessaries which shall be at the charge of the person himself, his parents or master, if able; otherwise at the charge of the Government.

Appendix B

Laws Relating to Leprosy. From Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," pp. 403-19.

VISITORS REQUIRE PERMITS.

No person, not being a leper, shall be allowed to visit or remain upon any land, place, or inclosure set apart by the Board of Health for the isolation and confinement of lepers without the written permission of the President of the Board, or some officer authorized thereto by the Board of Health, under any circumstances whatever, and any person found upon such land, place, or inclosure without a written permission shall, upon conviction thereof, before any district magistrate, be fined in a sum not less than ten nor more than one hundred dollars for such offense, and in default of payment, to be imprisoned at hard labor until the fine and costs of court are discharged in due course of law.

BOARD MAY MAKE RULES AND REGULATIONS.

It shall be lawful for the Board of Health, through its President, to make and promulgate such rules as may be from time to time necessary for the government and control of the lepers placed under its charge, and such rules and regulations shall have the same force and effect as a statute law of the Territory: Provided, always, that the sanction of the governor be given thereto, and that they be published in two newspapers, published in Honolulu, one in the Hawaiian, the other in the English language.

The Board of Health is hereby authorized to permit any person to engage in the treatment of lepers or of persons supposed to have leprosy. Such permits shall be under such conditions and regulations as the Board shall prescribe, and be revocable at the pleasure of the Board.

SEGREGATION OF LEPERS.

HARBORING A LEPER A MISDEMEANOR.

Whoever shall knowingly detain or harbor upon premises subject to his control, or shall in any manner conceal or secrete, or assist in concealing or secreting any person afflicted with leprosy, with the intent that such person be not discovered by or delivered to the Board of Health or its agents, or who shall support or assist in supporting any person having leprosy living in concealment, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall on conviction thereof before any district magistrate, be liable to a fine of not more than one hundred dollars.

DUTY OF POLICE OFFICERS.

It shall be the duty of every police officer or deputy sheriff, having reason to believe that any person within his district is afflicted with leprosy, to report the same forthwith to the agent of the Board of Health in such district, if any, otherwise to the nearest agent of the Board of Health.

Any police officer or deputy sheriff who shall wilfully fail to comply with the provisions of the previous section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof before any district magistrate, shall be fined in a sum not less than ten dollars nor more than two hundred dollars, and shall be dismissed from office.

KOKUAS ARE SUBJECT TO THE BOARD.

Voluntary helpers or kokuas living with lepers segregated by the Board of Health may be by such Board declared infected with the disease of leprosy, and capable of communicating the same to others. All such kokuas are hereby placed under control of the Board of Health, and may be prevented by it from intermingling with those free from the disease.

The Board of Health, with the consent of the governor, is empowered to make and promulgate such rules and regulations in regard to such helpers or kokuas for their care, discipline and maintenance as may be deemed necessary, which rules and regulations shall have the force and effect of law when promulgated.

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DUTIES OF KOKUAS.

Every kokua who has heretofore received permission, or who may hereafter get permission to go to the Leper Settlement, according to law, shall perform the duties of kokuas to their leper friends, as provided in the following sections, and in no other way.

The duties to be performed by the kokuas of the lepers shall be, that each kokua must take care of the leper or lepers that he went there to assist, and to go and get and prepare in a suitable manner all food and other supplies that are furnished by the government to the lepers, and attend to the clothing and other things that would contribute to the comfort of the lepers whose kokuas they are. And said kokuas shall also perform such labor and service as may be required by the Board of Health, when requested to do so by the superintendent of the Leper Settlement, for which services they shall be paid such wages as are deemed fair and just by the Board of Health, such wages to be not less than fifty cents per diem. And any

kokuas refusing to perform such labor, as above stated, or who shall violate any rule or regulation of the Board of Health, shall be liable on conviction before a district magistrate to expulsion from the Settlement.

CARRYING LEPERS.

No steam-coasting vessel licensed to carry passengers and engage in the regular performance of that business, according to the published schedules of sailing times, and whose net tonnage exceeds two hundred and fifty tons, shall be compelled, while so engaged, to carry to or from any port or place in the Territory of Hawaii any leper, or any person suffering from any contagious or infectious disease.

The master or owner of any such vessel knowingly violating the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction before any district magistrate shall be fined in a sum not to exceed two hundred dollars.

Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof before any district magistrate shall be fined in a sum not to exceed two hundred dollars.

ACQUISITION OF LAND.

The Superintendent of Public Works is hereby empowered to purchase all lands, the title to which is now held and owned by private persons within the precincts of the government reservation used for the Leper Settlement at Molokai.

In every case where no agreement about the price on such lands can be made between the Superintendent of Public Works and the owners, there shall be appointed three disinterested persons who shall appraise the value of said lands and improvements, one of whom shall be appointed by the Superintendent of Public Works, one by the owner of the land, and the two thus appointed shall choose the third member, and such appraisement shall be binding upon the parties, unless the party who may be dissatisfied with such appraisement shall, within twenty days after notice of such appraisement, appeal therefrom.

The appeal shall be taken to the Supreme Court, sitting in banco, who shall decide the question upon the testimony presented before the appraisers, and no new evidence shall be allowed to be given on such appeal. The Supreme Court may, upon such appeal, approve, reverse, or modify the appraisement; and such decision of the Supreme

Court shall be final and binding upon the parties to the controversy, and the owner of said land shall not be subjected to the payment of the costs of such appeal.

The owner of such lands shall deliver possession of the same to the officers in charge of the Leper Settlement within sixty days, after the appraisement becomes final, and the Superintendent of Public Works shall forthwith, after such delivery, pay to the owner the sum fixed by the appraisement or decision; and upon such payment the title to said lands shall become and remain vested in the government.

A copy of the appraisement or decision, duly certified with the certificate of the Superintendent of Public Works, of the payment or tender of the sum appraised or decreed, duly acknowledged by said Superintendent, shall be recorded and be deemed sufficient record evidence of the change of title.

ACQUIRING LAND ON MOLOKAI FOR SEGREGATION.

The Superintendent of Public Works is hereby authorized and empowered to enter upon and take possession of and hold for the use of the government, such land, real estate, and property wheresoever situated on the Island of Molokai, in the Territory of Hawaii, as may be required by the Board of Health for the segregation and confinement of lepers, or for other purposes of the Board of Health.

Whenever the Board of Health may require any parcel of land or property on the Island of Molokai for such purposes, the President of the Board shall so inform the Superintendent of Public Works in writing, stating the location and area of such land or property so far as may be known to him, and the purpose for which the same is required, with a request that the same be acquired by the government. If upon receipt of such request and information the said superintendent shall deem the same to be reasonable and proper, he shall, after first giving thirty days' written notice to the occupants of such land or property, take possession of the same for the use of the government. Provided, however, that if such land or property is not actually occupied by any person, the said superintendent may take immediate possession of the same.

COMPENSATION TO OWNERS.

Whenever the Superintendent of Public Works shall proceed to take possession of any land or property under the provisions of this act, he shall first endeavor to agree with the owners (if known to him) of such land or property taken, or to compromise with them, and in case of failure to agree with them, he shall appoint three competent and disinterested persons to act as commissioners and determine such compensation.

NOTICE TO OWNERS.

The commissioners so appointed shall give notice to the owners, if known to them and resident within the Territory of Hawaii, whose property has been taken or is proposed to be taken. If the owners of such land or property be known or cannot be served by reason of non-residence or other cause, then a notice posted in a conspicuous place on the land or property, or left at the owner's, occupant's, tenant's, or agent's residence, shall be deemed sufficient notice. Such notice may be in general terms and addressed to all persons interested.

APPRAISEMENT OF LAND.

Such notice shall describe the land or property taken or proposed to be taken, and state the time and place at which the commissioners will meet to hear the claimants, and take evidence as to the amount of compensation to which they are entitled. At every such meeting the commissioners shall take such testimony as they deem necessary, and they or a majority of them shall determine upon the proper compensation to be made. The decision arrived at by the commissioners shall be final and binding unless an appeal is taken as hereinafter provided. The commissioners shall have power to administer oaths, subpoena witnesses, and grant continuances in like manner as district magistrates.

The commissioners, or a majority of them, shall make, subscribe, and file with the Superintendent of Public Works, within such reasonable time as shall be fixed upon by said Superintendent, a certificate of their findings and appraisement, in which the land or property so valued shall be described with convenient accuracy and certainty.

Upon the filing of the certificate as provided in the preceding section, the Superintendent of Public Works is hereby authorized to pay to the person or persons named in the certificate, the several amounts determined upon by the commissioners, out of any appropriation available for the purpose. Provided, always, that either party feeling aggrieved by the decision of the commissioners may appeal to the Circuit Court of the First Judicial Circuit.

All appeals must be taken within twenty days after the date of

the filing of the certificate with the Superintendent of Public Works, by filing with the commissioners a written notice of the appeal, and filing with the Clerk of the Judiciary Department a bond in the sum of fifty dollars, conditioned to secure payment of future costs. Provided, however, that fifty dollars in money may be deposited in lieu of a bond.

Such appeal shall not prevent the superintendent from retaining or taking possession of the land or property mentioned or valued in the certificate.

A copy of the final appraisement or decision, duly certified by the Superintendent of Public Works under the seal of his office, shall be recorded in the office of the Registrar of Conveyances, and shall operate as a deed of conveyance in fee simple from the owners of the land or property to the Territory of Hawaii.

The Superintendent of Public Works shall, on receiving the certificate of appraisement, pay to the commissioners such reasonable compensation for their services as he shall determine upon, and he shall have power to fill any vacancy in their number caused by death or otherwise.

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EXEMPTION FROM PERSONAL TAXES.

All lepers residing at Kalawao and Kalaupapa, on the Island of Molokai, are hereby declared exempt from any payment of any personal tax, or taxes upon *personal property,* owned and kept by them at Kalawao and Kalaupapa, Molokai.

AGAINST TRESPASSING AT LEPER STATIONS.

Lands at Kalaupapa, Waikolu and Kalawao, on the windward side of the Island of Molokai, have been and are hereby set apart by the Board of Health for the isolation and confinement of lepers; and all masters of vessels are prohibited from touching, receiving, or delivering passengers or freight at either of the above named places, except by special permission of the Board of Health or its agents.

Lands at Puuhale, Kalihi, Oahu, have been enclosed and are hereby set apart by the Board of Health for a leper receiving station, and all parties are hereby prohibited from entering said enclosed premises without permission of the Board of Health or its agents.

EXAMINATION OF LEPERS.

Whereas, under Sections 1122, 1126, 1127 and 1129 of the R[illegible] Laws of the Territory of Hawaii, authority is given the Bo[illegible] of Health,

Therefore, Be It Resolved, That all previous rules for the examination of lepers are hereby repealed; and further Resolved, That all future examinations of any person or persons for the determination as to whether or not they are affected with the disease leprosy, shall be conducted under the following rules:

First—The Board of Examining Physicians shall consist of five physicians, appointed by the Board of Health, one of whom shall be the bacteriologist of the Board of Health and another of whom be skilled in the use of the microscope for the discovery of the bacilli of leprosy, and be designated as the assistant bacteriologist.

Second—The bacteriologist of the Board of Health shall promptly make a preliminary examination of each person coming voluntarily or otherwise under the control of the Board of Health under the suspicion of or being alleged a leper. At said preliminary examination should the bacteriologist fail to find the bacilli of leprosy present within such person, then said person shall be immediately discharged and returned to his home at the expense of the Board of Health. Should the bacilli of leprosy be found present within such person, said person shall be held for examiantion at the next meeting of the full Board of Examining Physicians.

Third—Each person so held shall be given one week's notice of the meeting of the Board of Examining Physicians.

Fourth—Each person so held shall have the privilege of being represented at said meeting of the Board of Examining Physicians by a physician selected and employed by such person. Should said physician object to the decision of the Board of Examining Physicians he shall do so in writing, stating his reasons therefor. Upon receipt of such written objection, the president of the Board of Health shall direct both bacteriologists of the Board of Examining Physicians to make a re-examination of such person, at which re-examination said physician may be present. They shall report to the president of the Board their findings, and he shall transmit a copy of same to the physician representing such person.

Should both bacteriologists find the bacilli of leprosy to be present within such person the decree of the Board of Examiners shall be final; otherwise such person shall be treated as a "suspect" and shall be required to report for further examination as the Board may direct.

Fifth—All persons examined by the Board of Examining Physicians shall be placed in one of the following classifications, viz: Not a Leper; Suspect; Leper.

If in the opinion of three or more of the Examiners any person examined is a "suspect" he or she shall be so declared.

If in the opinion of three only of the examiners any person is a leper, he or she shall be classed as a "Suspect" with the condition that he or she report to the Examining Board as it may direct for re-examination.

If in the opinion of four or more of the examiners any person examined is a "Leper" he or she shall be so declared.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR LEPERS AND KOKUAS AT THE LEPER SETTLEMENT ON MOLOKAI.

Section 1. All persons and kokuas are required to live in an orderly and peaceable manner, and to respect the laws of the Territory of Hawaii, as well as the rules and regulations of the Board of Health, and lawful orders of the superintendent.

NOT TO LEAVE SETTLEMENT

Section 2. Lepers shall not leave the Settlement except on an order from the Board of Health.

Section 3. Lepers shall not scale or climb up the palis without a permit from the superintendent, and then not beyond the limits prescribed by the superintendent.

Section 4. Lepers and kokuas shall not enter or live on the kuleanas, or in the houses owned by the kamaainas at Kalaupapa or other portions of the Settlement.

MUST KEEP THE HOUSES CLEAN.

Section 5. All able-bodied lepers are required to keep the surroundings of their houses clean, and to whitewash or cause to be whitewashed the houses in which they live, which are not painted with oil paints inside and outside, twice a year, at intervals of six months, for which lime and brushes will be furnished. On failure of lepers to comply with this rule, without showing good cause, the work will be done for them at their expense.

NOISES AT NIGHT FORBIDDEN.

Section 6. Noises after 9 o'clork in the evening and disturbanses of the quiet of the night are forbidden.

Section 7. The inmates of the Homes or hospitals shall conform to the rules and regulations made by those in charge of the said Homes and hospitals, under penalty of dismissal from the same.

MAY BUILD HOUSES.

Section 8. Lepers are permitted to build houses for their own use, and to select building sites, subject to approval of the superintendent of the Settlement; provided, however, that, if at any time the Board of Health desires any such land for any purpose, the Board shall have the right to remove any house thereon to another site. All expenses of moving shall be borne by the Board, and the Board shall pay to the owner of the house all actual damage caused him by reason of such removing.

Section 9. They may sell, or give away, or devise by will such houses, but only for the use and occupation of other lepers, and with the knowledge and approval of the Board of Health.

Section 10. No leper shall be permitted to build or own more than one dwelling house.

PROPERTY LEFT BY LEPERS.

Section 11. Property left by lepers who have died without leaving a will, and who have no legal heirs at the Settlement, will be sold at public auction, and the proceeds after deducting the lawful expenses will be remitted to the president of the Board of Health, for the benefit of the legal heirs of the deceased, and if after due advertisement in an English and Hawaiian newspaper no lawful claimant shall appear, such proceeds, after deducting the expense of the advertising, shall be turned over into the public treasury as government realizations.

WILLS MUST BE WRITTEN.

Section 12. Lepers may leave their personal property and effects at the Settlement by will, but only by a written will signed in the presence of not less than two witnesses, one of whom shall be the superintendent of the Leper Settlement, or other officer authorized by the superintendent.

CLAIMS FOR SERVICES TO LEPERS.

Section 13. After the death of a leper no claim for services rendered him will be allowed, unless proofs are produced, that the deceased in his lifetime verbally acknowledged such service in the presence of a credible witness, or may have been by him acknowledged in writing, signed in the presence of the superintendent or other officer authorized by the superintendent.

Section 14. Lepers trusting one another do so entirely at their

own risk, as they will not be assisted in collecting claims by the Board of Health or the superintendent.

CULTIVATION OF LAND.

Section 15. Lepers and kokuas may cultivate their residence lots and dispose of the crops so raised, without giving a share of the same to the Board of Health, or paying for the use of this land.

Section 16. Persons desiring land outside of their residence lot for cultivation must make application for the same to the superintendent of the Settlement, stating the locality and area of the land desired.

Section 17. No person shall be allowed more land than he or she can cultivate. Any person neglecting to plant or properly care for land assigned to such person, shall forfeit all right to such land and the crops growing thereon, and such land may be assigned to another person.

Section 18. All land assigned for cultivation must be enclosed by a cattle-proof fence, for which the Board will furnish material, without charge, and the Board will not be responsible for any damage to crops done by cattle.

Section 19. No land for cultivation shall be transferred to another without the consent of the superintendent.

Section 20. Land in Waikolu Valley assigned for taro planting shall be held and used under the following condition: (a) the entire crop raised shall be delivered to the Board, which will pay for three-fourths of the same at the current market price; (b) neglect to properly cultivate, or failure to deliver the crop to the Board when ripe shall be sufficient cause for the forfeiture of all right to the payment above provided for; (c) no person cultivating taro at Waikolu shall be allowed to remain away from the Settlement over night.

KOKUAS MUST HAVE PERMITS.

Section 21. No person who is not a leper shall be allowed to live at the Leper Settlement as a kokua for lepers, without having first obtained written permission to do so from the Board of Health.

KOKUAS MUST DO THEIR DUTIES.

Section 22. Every kokua must minister to the wants and the necessities of the leper for whom he or she has been permitted to live at the Settlement.

Any kokua who deserts or neglects the leper for whom he or she

obtained the permit shall forfeit such permit and shall be expelled from the Settlement.

Section 23. All permits of kokuas terminate with the death of the party or parties for whom they have been serving as kokuas, and such kokuas must leave the Settlement on or before the expiration of two weeks after the death of such party or parties; provided, the physician at the Settlement shall, on examination, pronounce such kokuas to be free from all suspicion of leprosy.

Section 24. Kokuas must work for the Board when called upon by the superintendent, and for such services they shall be paid fair wages; provided, however, they shall not be called upon by the superintendent when the condition of the party or parties for whom they are kokuas shall demand their constant presence and attendance, for which the certificate of the physician shall constitute a sufficient proof.

Section 25. Kokuas may build houses for the party or parties for whom they are kokuas, under the asme condition as lepers.

KOKUAS NOT ENTITLED TO RATIONS.

Section 26. Kokuas shall not be entitled to rations of any kind. They shall not be allowed to own horses or dogs at the Settlement.

Food rations, however, may be issued to them in lieu of services rendered to the Board, on the recommendation of the superintendent.

Section 27. Kokuas shall not leave the Settlement without the written consent of the superintendent, and then only on important business concerning the Board of Health.

KOKUAS BREAKING RULES TO BE EXPELLED.

Section 28. Any kokuas duly convicted for violating the laws or for disregarding the rules and regulations of the Board of Health, shall forfeit his or her permit and must leave the Settlement within one week after conviction, or suffer the penalty provided by law.

HOG RAISING.

Section 29. Lepers and kokuas are permitted to raise hogs at their own expense, and in such manner that they do not become a nuisance to the Settlement and injury to others, to their houses and plantings.

They are required to raise their hogs in yards or pens built by themselves, and at their own expense, and are not allowed to let them run at large.

Hogs found at large may be confiscated and sold at public auc-

tion to the highest bidder, and one-half of the net proceeds shall be paid over to the Board of Health and the other half to the owner of the hog or hogs. Hogs for which no bid is received shall be killed by some officer appointed by the superintendent of the Leper Settlement.

FIRE ARMS.

Section 30. Lepers in charge of and supported by the Board of Health of the Territorial government in the Leper Settlement at Molokai, shall not be allowed the use of spirituous liquors, except as the same may be required for medical purposes, or shall not be allowed the use of *fire arms.*

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE BAY VIEW HOME FOR LEPERS AT KALAUPAPA.

This Home is for the benefit of lepers of both sexes who have become too helpless to provide and cook for themselves, and will be conducted as a boarding-house, with lodging rooms for those who may not be able to walk from outside dwellings.

Rule 1. No male leper under the age of eighteen, nor female under the age of sixteen will be allowed to reside at the Home, unless the parent of the same is an inmate.

Rule 2. No food will be supplied to an inmate of the Home, but meals will be furnished three times each day at the dining-room, or at the sleeping room, if the condition of the inmate prevents his appearance in the dining-room. Meals will be served at 8 a.m., 12 p.m. and 5 p.m.

Rule 3. Persons wishing to board, or board and lodge at the Home, must make application to the Superintendent of the Settlement or his assistant, each of whom has authority to grant or refuse such application if he considers the applicant is not a fit subject for the Home.

Rule 4. The usual clothes ration bills will be issued to the inmates, who will furnish their rooms in the same manner as those living outside the Home.

Rule 5. The inmates will be free to leave or return to the Home at any time between 6 a.m. and 9 p.m., at which hour inmates are required to retire for the night.

Rule 6. The inmates must conform with all rules and regulations of the Board of Health, and live in an orderly and peaceable manner, and each inmate must take care of his or her room if able to do so.

Rule 7. Persons living outside the Home will be allowed to visit their friends at the Home between the hours of 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., but will not be allowed to make it a daily loafing place.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE BALDWIN HOME.

"Baldwin Home" is a retreat at all times open to leprous boys and men, who, through progress of the disease, or other cause, have become helpless or partly so. This Home is not, however, to use as a convenient retreat, free boarding or lodging house for those who wish to shirk all labor.

The following regulations are issued by the Board of Health for the guidance of those conducting the Home, and for the inmates thereof, who are required at all times to give respectful obedience to the manager of the Home and his assistants.

1. All boys arriving at the Settlement under the age of eighteen, unless in the care of their own parents, responsible guardians or near relatives, competent to take charge of them, will enter the Home, and there remain during good conduct; provided that after reaching the age of eighteen it is their option to leave, if able to take care of themselves, upon obtaining the consent of the superintendent of the Settlement. While there is sufficient accommodation in the Home, the superintendent of the Settlement may permit any male leper to be admitted, if satisfied that the applicant will not be an injury to the Home.

2. Inmates will be supplied with suitable clothing, food, care and medical attendance, and when able, will be expected to perform freely such work and labor about the establishment as the manager shall require of them.

3. Inmates must not absent themselves from the Home without first obtaining permission from the manager or his assistant, and must be punctual in their return. Their conduct must be quiet and orderly, then and at all times.

4. Admission of visitors and of others from outside the Home, will be regulated by the manager.

5. Violation or disregard of the rules and regulations will be followed by suitable punishment, after due investigation by the superintendent of the Settlement.

6. Persistent disobedience, insubordination or disorderly conduct will debar an inmate from the privileges of and cause his expulsion from the Home.

7. The manager shall make report to the Board of Health, from

time to time in writing, regarding any conditions that may arise calculated to affect the interests of the Home.

8. No horse, nor cart, nor any tool, nor any property whatsoever, belonging to the Home, may be loaned or taken for any outside purpose without an order from the superintendent of the Settlement.

9. The superintendent or acting superintendent of the Settlement will make an inspection of the Home once each week.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE BISHOP HOME.

The "Bishop Home" has been established for girls of all ages and unprotected females, married or unmarried, who, having contracted leprosy, have become helpless and have no relatives at the Settlement able properly to care for them.

1. The inmates of this Home will be supplied with all things necessary for their comfort and will be carefully cared for by the Sisters. They are required to observe the rules and regulations of the Home; to be obedient and respectful to the Sisters in charge and to perform light work suitable to their strength.

2. For substantial services, if they are capable and willing to perform them, they may be remunerated by the matron in charge as agreed upon between her and the superintendent of the Settlement.

3. It is compulsory for girls arriving at the Settlement under the age of sixteen years, to enter the Home, unless they have parents, near relatives or guardians at the Settlement who are competent to, and who will take proper care of them.

They shall remain at the Home until they reach the age of sixteen years, after which they may, if they prefer, leave the same upon making their wishes properly known to the matron in charge and to the superintendent of the Settlement.

4. The inmates are not allowed to leave the Home at any time without previously obtaining the consent of the matron; and they must return according to the rules governing the Home.

5. Visitors to the inmates will be allowed admission to the Home after having first received permission from the matron.

6. Violation of the rules or regulations will be followed by suitable punishment, administered by the superintendent of the Settlement after due investigation.

7. Any inmate may be dismissed from the Home for disorderly conduct.

8. Inmates shall not be received at the Home nor dismissed from it without the approval of the superintendent of the Settlement.

9. The superintendent or acting superintendent of the Settlement will make an inspection of the Home once each week.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR KALIHI STATION.

1. Segregation.—No inmate of the hospital shall be allowed outside of the enclosure surrounding the hospital grounds, except by permission of the executive officer of the Board.

2. The keeper and patients are under the immediate direction and control of the medical superintendent.

Duties of the medical superintendent are to see that the rules of the hospital and experimental station are carried out; to make requisition for all medical supplies and material, and to approve bills for the same; to have the management and control of the laboratory, including all bacteriological and microscopical investigations necessary for diagnosis and treatment, and to conduct the medical and surgical treatment of the inmates.

4. The duties of the keeper are to see that the discipline and rules of the institution are carried out, and that the routine prescribed by the committee and medical superintendent is followed.

5. No visitors shall be allowed entrance, except with the permission of the executive officer of the Board.

6. The inmates are expected to submit faithfully and cheerfully to the rules and regulations of the experimental station as a condition of their enjoyment of its benefits.

REGULATIONS FOR VISITORS TO THE LEPER SETTLEMENT AT MOLOKAI.

The superintendent of the Leper Settlement at Molokai is hereby directed to have set apart a parcel of land of about half an acre in area near the landing at Kalaupapa, the same to be enclosed with a double fence, together with entrance thereto, so that persons may reach said enclosure and remain therein without being able to come in personal contact with any inmate of the Settlement. In the enclosure shall be provided suitable buildings for the convenience of those who shall have occasion to use them. This enclosure shall be known as the visitors' compound, and no leper shall be allowed within it.

2. The superintendent of the Settlement is hereby directed to admit no one to the Settlement without a permit authorized by the Board of Health, and to keep an accurate record of all who shall enter.

3. Officers of the Board of Health, or of the Federal or Territorial government whose duties shall require their presence at the Settlement, may obtain permits from the executive officer of the Board.

4. Lepers regularly committed by the Board of Health shall be accompanied by a complete list, giving name, sex, age and nationality of each person.

5. Persons having friends or relatives among the inmates of the Settlement, or anyone having business to transact with any inmate, may obtain from the executive officer of the Board a permit to visit the Settlement (upon showing good cause), which permit shall allow the holder to go upon any regular trip of the steamer to Kalaupapa, at his own expense, but he shall only be allowed to remain on shore during the hours of daylight that the steamer remains in port, and while on shore shall be obliged to remain in the visitors' compound. Such permits shall be good only for the trip designated.

6. No other persons shall be allowed to visit the Settlement, except as permission is authorized by a vote of the Board of Health.

7. The executive officer of the Board shall keep a correct record of all permits issued.

REGULATIONS RESCINDED.

All regulations of the Board of Health not included among the foregoing are hereby rescinded.

PENALTY.

Every person who shall violate any regulation of the Board of Health, after the same shall have been published, shall be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.

DOGS.

No leper or person residing in the Leper Settlement at Molokai shall have the right to keep more than one dog.

It shall be the duty of the superintendent to see that this section is enforced.

This section, however, shall not go into effect until the first of July, 1903.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR LEPERS AND KOKUAS LIVING AT THE SETTLEMENT ON MOLOKAI.

INTOXICATING BEVERAGES.

No person residing in the Leper Settlement, Island of Molokai, shall have the right to manufacture, brew, or in any way make an intoxicating beverage; or to have in his possession, custody or control, or to sell or to dispose of in any way, what is commonly known as "Swipes."

Appendix C

Physicians of the Leper Settlement and of the Federal Leprosarium. From Mouritz, "Path of the Destroyer," p. 198.

PHYSICIANS OF THE LEPER SETTLEMENT

Year	Name
1879	N.B. Emerson (dead).
1880-81	C. Neilson (dead).
1882-84	G.L. Fitch (dead).
1884-87	A.A. St. M. Mouritz.
1888	C.A. Peterson (in office five months); dead.
1888-92	S. B. Swift (dead).
1892-1902	R. Oliver (dead).
1902	F. H. French (in office four months).
1902	W.J. Goodhue (holds office).

PHYSICIANS OF THE FEDERAL LEPROSARIUM

Year	Name
1909	W. Brinckerhoff (dead).
1909-11	D.H. Currie.
1911-15	G.W. McCoy.
1915-	D.H. Currie (in office).

Appendix D

Act of Congress
AN ACT To provide for the investigation of leprosy, with special reference to the care and treatment of lepers in Hawaii.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That when the Territorial government of Hawaii shall cede to the United States in perpetuity a suitable tract of land one mile square, more or less, on the leper reservation at Molokai, Hawaii, there shall be established thereon a hospital station and laboratory of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service of the United States for the study of the methods of transmission, cause, and treatment of leprosy.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause the erection upon such site of suitable and necessary buildings for the purposes of this Act, at a cost not to exceed the sum herein appropriated for such purpose.

SEC. 3. That for the purposes of this Act the Surgeon-General, through his accredited agent, is authorized to receive at such station such patients afflicted with leprosy as may be committed to his care under legal authorization of the Territory of Hawaii, not to exceed forty in number to be under treatment at any time, said patients to remain under the jurisdiction of the said Surgeon-General, or his agent, until returned to the proper authorities of Hawaii.

SEC. 4. That the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service of the United States is authorized to detail or appoint, for the purposes of these investigations and treatment, such medical officers, acting assistant surgeons, pharmacists, and employees as may be necessary for said purpose.

SEC. 5. That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the erection of necessary buildings and other equipment; and fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for maintenance and pay of all officers and employees during the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and six.

SEC. 6. That the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, make and adopt regulations for the administration and government of the hospital station and laboratory and for the management and treatment of all patients of such hospital.

SEC. 7. That when any commissioned or noncommissioned officer of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service is detailed for duty at the leprosarium herein provided for, he shall receive, in addition to the pay and allowances of his grade, one-half the pay of said grade and such allowances as may be provided for by the Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Approved, March 3, 1905.

Appendix E

A Bill Authorizing a Study of the Site of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park From Congressional Record, December 16, 1975, E6713

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1975

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today calling for an immediate study by the Secretary of Interior for a new national historic park at Kalaupapa on the island of Molokai, State of Hawaii. I authored H.R. 12012 in the 93d Congress and House Joint Resolution 220 in this Congress, establishing such a national park. I believe this new study bill will help further the enactment of the national park bill and is needed to provide this Congress and the people of America with information on the treasured and historic significance of this area.

Kalaupapa may already be known to the Members of this House through the long and dedicated service of a Belgian priest named Father Damien, who committed his life to the people of Kalaupapa settlement * * * a colony which was established more than a century ago for the care and treatment of the victims of leprosy.

At its October meeting, the National Advisory Council of the National Park Service approved, endorsed and recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that Kalaupapa settlement be designated as a national historic landmark. This recommendation and endorsement followed a professional evaluation of the potential historical significance of the peninsula undertaken at my urging.

This new bill contains three key elements. First, it authorizes and directs the Secretary of Interior to conduct a study of Kalaupapa. The purpose of this study would be to formulate the basic design of this national park.

Second, it creates an advisory commission based in Hawaii to consult with the Secretary during the course of this study. This is to assure that local input is had during the early stages of planning.

Third, it provides that a proposed master plan for development of the park area be made part of the Secretary's report.

The cape on which the site is located is among the most remote locations in all Hawaii. It is the scene of heroic service by Father Damien and many others who came later. As you know, modern methods for treatment of leprosy have since been developed and so today the patient population has dwindled to less than 150 persons, most of whom currently live there by choice, and not by necessity. These persons adamantly refuse to leave their homes on Kalaupapa and do not wish to leave under any circumstances. Any study should allow these persons to remain for their lifetimes.

Within 50 years there will be no more patients at Kalaupapa. It is therefore imperative that this study be authorized now. Time is of essence.

Kalaupapa is a national treasure whose historic significance is already noted by the selection of Father Damien as one of the two greatest personages from Hawaii whose statue is in Statuary Hall in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report that this legislation calling for a study of Kalaupapa for national historic park purposes has the support of citizens groups in Hawaii and, most importantly, the concurrence of the resident and staff population of the settlement itself. Through the enactment of this study bill I believe these residents of Kalaupapa will have their best assurance of being allowed to remain there for the rest of their lives. The State of Hawaii has served notice to them that they may be evicted in 10 years, which they are strongly resisting. The State legislature on the other hand, has given numerous assurances to these residents that they could indeed remain.

The matter of establishing this historic peninsula as a park is not at issue in the legislature. I believe it has overwhelming support. The only issue is whether it should be a national park or a State park. Some of our county leaders and State legislators believe that the State should not give up any more of its lands to the Federal Government. There is rather widespread opinion that the State park could adequately preserve this area. To enable this matter to be satisfactorily answered, the study called for by my bill will delineate the magnitude of the undertaking, the cost for development and the funds needed for restoration and preservation of those sites already heavily in disrepair. My bill will also authorize the preparation of a master plan. This will supply all of us who seek to have this historic area with better than "ball park" figures of the full cost of this undertaking. My bill authorizes $150,000 for the preparation of this report.

In view of the historical significant of Kalaupapa, both at the State and national levels, I would urge the earliest possible consideration of this legislation.

Public Law 96-565--Dec. 22, 1980
94 Stat. 3321

Public Law 96-565
96th Congress

An Act

To establish the Kalaupapa National Historical Park in the State of Hawaii, and for other purposes.

Dec. 22, 1980
[H.R. 7217]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Hawaii. Establishment. 16 USC 410jj.

SEC. 101. In order to provide for the preservation of the unique nationally and internationally significant cultural, historic, educational, and scenic resources of the Kalaupapa settlement on the island of Molokai in the State of Hawaii, there is hereby established the Kalaupapa National Historical Park (hereinafter referred to as the "park").

Purposes. 16 USC 410jj-1.

SEC. 102. The Congress declares the following to constitute the principal purposes of the park:

(1) to preserve and interpret the Kalaupapa settlement for the education and inspiration of present and future generations;

(2) to provide a well-maintained community in which the Kalaupapa leprosy patients are guaranteed that they may remain at Kalaupapa as long as they wish; to protect the current lifestyle of these patients and their individual privacy; to research, preserve, and maintain the present character of the community; to research, preserve, and maintain important historic structures, traditional Hawaiian sites, cultural values, and natural features; and to provide for limited visitation by the general public; and

(3) to provide that the preservation and interpretation of the settlement be managed and performed by patients and Native Hawaiians to the extent practical, and that training opportunities be provided such persons in management and interpretation of the settlement's cultural, historical, educational, and scenic resources.

Boundaries: public inspection. 16 USC 410jj-2.

SEC. 103. The boundaries of the park shall include the lands, waters, and interests therein within the area generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Kalaupapa National Historical Park", numbered P07-80024, and dated May 1980, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the local and Washington, District of Columbia offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") may make minor revisions in the boundary of the park by publication of a revised boundary map or other description to that effect in the Federal Register.

Land acquisition. 16 USC 410jj-3.

SEC. 104. (a) Within the boundary of the park, the Secretary is authorized to acquire those lands owned by the State of Hawaii or any political subdivision thereof only by donation or exchange, and only with the consent of the owner. Any such exchange shall be accomplished in accordance with the provisions of sections 5 (b) and (c) of the Act approved July 15, 1968 (82 Stat. 354). Any property conveyed to the State or a political subdivision thereof in exchange for property within the park which is held in trust for the benefit of Native

16 USC 460*l*-22.

48 USC 691.

Hawaiians, as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 shall, as a matter of Federal law, be held by the grantee subject to an equitable estate of the same class and degree as encumbers the property within the preserve; and "available lands" defined in section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act may be exchanged in accordance with section 204 of said Act. The vesting of title in the United States to property within the park shall operate to extinguish any such equitable estate with respect to property acquired by exchange within the park.

48 USC 697.
48 USC 698.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to acquire privately-owned lands within the boundary of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange.

(c) The Secretary is authorized to acquire by any of the foregoing methods except condemnation, lands, waters, and interests therein outside the boundary of the park and outside the boundaries of any other unit of the National Park System but within the State of Hawaii, and to convey the same to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands in exchange for lands, waters, and interests therein within the park owned by that Department. Any such exchange shall be accomplished in accordance with the provisions defined in subsection (a) of this section.

Administration.
16 USC 410jj-4.
43 USC 1457, 16 USC 1, 2, 3, 4, 22, 43.

SEC. 105. (a) The Secretary shall administer the park in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), and the provisions of this Act.

16 USC 461-467.

(b)(1) With the approval of the owner thereof, the Secretary may undertake critical or emergency stabilization of utilities and historic structures, develop and occupy temporary office space, and conduct interim interpretive and visitor services on non-Federal property within the park.

Cooperative agreements.

(2) The Secretary shall seek and may enter into cooperative agreements with the owner or owners of property within the park pursuant to which the Secretary may preserve, protect, maintain, construct, reconstruct, develop, improve, and interpret sites, facilities, and resources of historic, natural, architectural, and cultural significance. Such agreements shall be of not less than twenty years duration, may be extended and amended by mutual agreement, and shall include, without limitation, provisions that the Secretary shall have the right of access at reasonable times to public portions of the property for interpretive and other purposes, and that no changes or alterations shall be made in the property except by mutual agreement. Each such agreement shall also provide that the owner shall be liable to the United States in an amount equal to the fair market value of any capital improvements made to or placed upon the property in the event the agreement is terminated prior to its natural expiration, or any extension thereof, by the owner, such value to be determined as of the date of such termination, or, at the election of the Secretary, that the Secretary be permitted to remove such capital improvements within a reasonable time of such termination. Upon the expiration of such agreement, the improvements thereon shall become the property of the owner, unless the United States desires to remove such capital improvements and restore the property to its natural state within a reasonable time for such expiration.

(3) Except for emergency, temporary, and interim activities as authorized in paragraph (1) of this subsection, no funds appropriated pursuant to this Act shall be expended on non-Federal property unless such expenditure is pursuant to a cooperative agreement with the owner.

(4) The Secretary may stabilize and rehabilitate structures and other properties used for religious or sectarian purposes only if such properties constitute a substantial and integral part of the historical fabric of the Kalaupapa settlement, and only to the extent necessary and appropriate to interpret adequately the nationally significant historical features and events of the settlement for the benefit of the public. Religious structures.

SEC. 106. The following provisions are made with respect to the special needs of the leprosy patients residing in the Kalaupapa settlement— Leprosy patients. 16 USC 410jj-5.

(1) So long as the patients may direct, the Secretary shall not permit public visitation to the settlement in excess of one hundred persons in any one day.

(2) Health care for the patients shall continue to be provided by the State of Hawaii, with assistance from Federal programs other than those authorized herein.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall provide patients a first right of refusal to provide revenue-producing visitor services, including such services as providing food, accommodations, transportation, tours, and guides.

(4) Patients shall continue to have the right to take and utilize fish and wildlife resources without regard to Federal fish and game laws and regulations.

(5) Patients shall continue to have the right to take and utilize plant and other natural resources for traditional purposes in accordance with applicable State and Federal laws.

SEC. 107. The following provisions are made with respect to additional needs of the leprosy patients and Native Hawaiians for employment and training. (The term "Native Hawaiian" as used in this title, means a descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to the year 1778.)— Employment and training. 16 USC 410jj-6. "Native Hawaiian."

(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall give first preference to qualified patients and Native Hawaiians in making appointments to positions established for the administration of the park, and the appointment of patients and Native Hawaiians shall be without regard to any provision of the Federal civil service laws giving an employment preference to any other class of applicant and without regard to any numerical limitation on personnel otherwise applicable.

(2) The Secretary shall provide training opportunities for patients and Native Hawaiians to develop skills necessary to qualify for the provision of visitor services and for appointment to positions referred to in paragraph (1).

SEC. 108. (a) There is hereby established the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), which shall consist of eleven members each appointed by the Secretary for a term of five years as follows: Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission. Establishment. Membership. 16 USC 410jj-7.

(1) seven members who shall be present or former patients, elected by the patient community; and

(2) four members appointed from recommendations submitted by the Governor of Hawaii, at least one of whom shall be a Native Hawaiian.

(b) The Secretary shall designate one member to be Chairman. Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made. Chairman. Vacancies.

(c) A member of the Commission shall serve without compensation as such. The Secretary is authorized to pay the expenses reasonably Compensation. Expenses.

(g) Each member of the Commission shall receive $100 for each day such member is engaged in performing the duties of the Commission, except that members of the Commission who are fulltime officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional pay on account of their service on the Commission other than official travel expenses. Pay.

(h) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission (including members who are fulltime officers or employees of the United States) shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem, in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code. Travel expenses.

(i) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman may—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of an executive director, a general counsel, and such additional staff as he deems necessary, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, but at rates not in excess of the maximum rate of pay in effect from time to time for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of such title; and Staff. 5 USC 5101, 5331. 45 FR 69201. 5 USC 5332.

(2) procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $100 a day for individuals. Temporary and intermittent services.

(j) Subject to section 552a of title 5, United States Code, the Commission may secure directly from any department or agency of the United States information necessary to enable it to carry out this title. Upon request of the Chairman of the Commission, the head of such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

(k) The Commission may use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 303. (a) The Commission shall conduct a study of the culture, needs and concerns of the Native Hawaiians. Study. 42 USC 2991a note.

(b) The Commission shall conduct such hearings as it considers appropriate and shall provide notice of such hearings to the public, including information concerning the date, location and topic of each hearing. The Commission shall take such other actions as it considers necessary to obtain full public participation in the study undertaken by the Commission. Hearings; public notice.

(c) Within one year after the date of its first meeting, the Commission shall publish a draft report of the findings of the study and shall distribute copies of the draft report to appropriate Federal and State agencies, to Native Hawaiian organizations, and upon request, to members of the public. The Commission shall solicit written comments from the organizations and individuals to whom copies of the draft report are distributed. Draft report. Comments.

(d) After taking into consideration any comments submitted to the Commission, the Commission shall issue a final report of the results of its study within nine months after the publication of its draft report. The Commission shall submit copies of the final report and Final report. Submittal to President and congressional committees.

(g) Each member of the Commission shall receive $100 for each day such member is engaged in performing the duties of the Commission, except that members of the Commission who are fulltime officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional pay on account of their service on the Commission other than official travel expenses. Pay.

(h) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission (including members who are fulltime officers or employees of the United States) shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem, in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code. Travel expenses.

(i) Subject to such rules and regulations as may be adopted by the Commission, the Chairman may—

(1) appoint and fix the compensation of an executive director, a general counsel, and such additional staff as he deems necessary, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, but at rates not in excess of the maximum rate of pay in effect from time to time for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of such title; and Staff. 5 USC 5101, 5331. 45 FR 69201. 5 USC 5332.

(2) procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, but at rates not to exceed $100 a day for individuals. Temporary and intermittent services.

(j) Subject to section 552a of title 5, United States Code, the Commission may secure directly from any department or agency of the United States information necessary to enable it to carry out this title. Upon request of the Chairman of the Commission, the head of such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

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(c) Within one year after the date of its first meeting, the Commission shall publish a draft report of the findings of the study and shall distribute copies of the draft report to appropriate Federal and State agencies, to Native Hawaiian organizations, and upon request, to members of the public. The Commission shall solicit written comments from the organizations and individuals to whom copies of the draft report are distributed. Draft report. Comments.

(d) After taking into consideration any comments submitted to the Commission, the Commission shall issue a final report of the results of its study within nine months after the publication of its draft report. The Commission shall submit copies of the final report and Final report. Submittal to President and congressional committees.

copies of all written comments on the draft submitted to the Commission under paragraph (c) to the President and to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives.

(e) The Commission shall make recommendations to the Congress based on its findings and conclusions under subsection (a) of this section.

TERMINATION OF THE COMMISSION

42 USC 2991a note.

SEC. 304. Except as provided in subsection (b) of section 307, upon the expiration of the sixty-day period following the submission of the report required by section 303, the Commission shall cease to exist.

DEFINITIONS

42 USC 2991a note.

SEC. 305. For the purposes of this title, the term "Native Hawaiian" means any individual whose ancestors were natives of the area which consisted of the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778.

SAVINGS CLAUSES

42 USC 2991a note.

SEC. 306. No provision of this title shall be construed as—

(1) constituting a jurisdictional act, conferring jurisdiction to sue, or granting implied consent to Native Hawaiians to sue the United States or any of its offices; or

(2) constituting a precedent for reopening, renegotiating, or legislating any past settlement involving land claims or other matters with any Native organization or any tribe, band, or identifiable group of American Indians.

AUTHORIZATION

42 USC 2991a note.

SEC. 307. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 1982 and 1983 such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title. Until October 1, 1981, salaries and expenses of the Commission shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the Chairman. To the extent that any payments are made from the contingent fund of the Senate prior to the time appropriation is made, such payments shall be chargeable against the authorization provided herein.

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury shall reserve a reasonable portion of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) of this section for the purpose of providing payment for the transportation, subsistence, and reasonable expenses of the members of the Commission in testifying before the Congress with respect to their duties and activities while serving on the Commission or to such matters as may involve the findings of the study of the Commission after the expiration of the Commission pursuant to section 304.

Approved December 22, 1980.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 96-1019 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORT No. 96-1027 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 126 (1980):
May 19, considered and passed House.
Dec. 4, considered and passed Senate, amended.
Dec. 5, House concurred in Senate amendments.

O

ahupua'a. Subdivision of a district. Theoretically it was a section of land extending from the sea to the mountains and that included within its boundaries a fishery,. cultivable lands, and forest land. So-called because its boundaries were marked by a heap (ahu) of stones, surmounted by an image of a pig (pua'a) or because a pig or other tribute was offered as tax to the chief.

'ai pa'a. Cooked taro pounded into a hard mass not mixed with water, sometimes preserved in ti-leaf bundles. Lit., hard poi.

ali'i. Chief, chiefess, king, queen, noble; royal.

aloha. Love, affection, greeting.

anu. Cool, cold. anuanu. Reduplication of anu, cold. Reduplication consists of repetition of all of a major word or a part of it. Reduplications are usually spoken quickly with close transition between the members.

'a'ole. No, not; to be none, to have none.

hale kahu. House of a pastor.

haole. White person, Caucasian; formerly, any foreigner.

hāpu'u. An endemic tree fern (Cibotium splendens) common in many forests of Hawai'i.

heiau. Pre-Christian place of worship. Remains found have included foundations for buildings and/or altars. Some were elaborate stone platforms, others merely earth terraces.

hōlua. Sled, especially an ancient sled used on a long, narrow course running down a steep hill and extending onto a plain. Some slides were paved with stones and then covered with packed dirt and a layer of grass. Most of the Moloka'i slides did not have stone paving. The hōlua was a sled on runners about six inches wide and twelve feet long. Hōlua sliding was a sport for chiefs and chiefesses. Only one person slid at a time, and the winner was the one who went the farthest.

ho'oka'awale. To separate, to cause a division. Ma'i-ho'oka'awale. Leprosy.

hui. Club, association, society.

hula. The hula, a hula dancer.

'ili. A subdivision of an ahupua'a. An 'ili kūpono was a subdivision of an ahupua'a that paid tribute directly to the ruler of the kingdom and not to the chief of the ahupua'a. Practically independent of the ahupua'a although located within it.

kahuna. Priest, minister, sorcerer; native doctor.

kalo. Taro, a food staple cultivated since ancient times. See taro.

kama'āina. Native-born; original residents.

kānāwai. Law, code.

kapu. Taboo, forbidden.

kēia. This.

kī. Ti, a woody plant (Cordyline terminalis) in the lily family. Formerly the leaves were used by the Hawai'ians for thatching, food wrappers, hula skirts, and sandals, while the sweet roots were baked and eaten or distilled for brandy.

kiawe. The algaroba tree, first planted in Hawai'i in 1828, where it has become one of the commonest trees.

koa. The largest of native forest trees (Acacia koa) with light-gray bark and white flowers.

kōkua. Helper, comforter.

koli'i. A native lobelia shrub (Trematolobelia macrostachys) up to six feet high.

Kona. Leeward sides of the Hawai'ian Islands, name of a leeward wind. The islands lie within a belt of northeasterly trade winds that persist throughout the year but are occasionally interrupted during the winter by southerly or Kona winds that blow for only a few days at a time. Both trade and Kona winds bring rain.

kōnane. Ancient game resembling checkers, played with pebbles on a stone or wood board.

konohiki. Headman of an ahupua'a land division under the chief.

kukui. Candlenut tree (Aleurites moluccana), whose nuts, wood, gum, roots, leaves, and flowers all had uses in Hawai'ian culture.

kuleana. Small piece of property within an ahupua'a. In later times, the landholding of a former tenant.

Laka. Name of the hula goddess.

lānai. Porch, verandah.

lehua. The flower of the 'ōhi'a tree (Metrosideros macropus, M. collina); also the tree itself. The plant has many forms, from tall trees to low shrubs. Also a variety of taro, used for red poi.

lū'au. Hawai'ian feast named for the taro tops always served at one; not an ancient name.

luna. Foreman, overseer, boss.

ma. At, in, on, beside, through.

ma'i. Patient, sick person; sickness, disease. Ma'i-Pākē. Leprosy. Lit., Chinese disease. Ma'i ali'i. Noble or royal sickness or disease.

makai. Toward the sea.

mauka. Inland, toward the mountain.

moku. District, section. Largest geographical subdivision of an island.

mo'o. Lizard, reptile of any kind; succession, esp. a genealogical line.

'ohana. Family, relative, kin group.

'ōhi'a. Two kinds of trees: 'ōhi'a-'ai, 'ōhi'a-lehua. A native variety of sugar cane; a variety of taro.

ōkolehao. Liquor distilled from ti root in a still of the same name.

pa'i 'ai. Hard, pounded but undiluted taro.

pali. Cliff, precipice.

pili. A grass (Heteropogon contortus) formerly used for thatching houses in Hawai'i.

poi. The Hawai'ian staff of life, a paste made from cooked taro root pounded and thinned with water.

pū hala. The pandanus or screw pine (Pandanus odoratissimus), native from southern Asia east to Hawai'i. It has many branches tipped with spine-edged leaves; its base is supported by a clump of slanting aerial roots. Parts of the tree had many uses: leaves for mats, baskets, and hats; fruit sections for leis; male flowers to scent tapa; the aerial root tip was a source of Vitamin B.

taro. Kalo (Colocasia esculenta). Staple vegetable food of the Hawai'ians from earliest times to the present. All parts of the plant are eaten, its starchy root principally as poi.

'uala. The sweet potato. Staple food since ancient times in many parts of Polynesia. 'uala 'awa'awa, sweet potato beer.

wahi. Place.

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