THE PENINSULA:
FROM THE BOULDERED SHORES OF KALAWAO TO THE BLACK SANDS OF KALAUPAPA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWA'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

AMERICAN STUDIES

DECEMBER 2014

By

Milo M. Andrus

Dissertation Committee:

William Chapman, Chairperson
David E. Stannard
Mark Helbling
Robert McGlone
Njoroge Njoroge

Keywords: Hawaiian Archaeology, Historic Preservation, Kalaupapa, Hansen’s disease
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Everything is owed to those who have gone before,” a Hansen’s disease patient said at a community meeting in Kalaupapa.¹ The patient referred to the largesse of state government awards or payments in comparison to the hardships the first patients experienced upon their arrival at Kalawao in January of 1866. In my case those who have gone before, those who have helped in creating this dissertation, have evolved into a long list of benevolent citizens that live and work on the peninsula: Edwin, Bernard, Paul and Winnie, Boogie and Ivy, Albert and Lucy, Walter and Keahu and their son Bruddha, Eric and Claire, Lionel, Guy, Kalawai`a. Others include; Gena Sasada, Gertrude, Elizabeth, Peter, Makia, and other patients and both state and federal workers who endeavored to make my work not only pleasant, but also incredibly rewarding to associate with and observe their daily routines.

Two retired professors from the University of Hawai`i at West O`ahu, Dan Boylan, Ph.D., a historian, and Henry Chapin, Ph.D., a literary scholar contributed greatly to my understanding of the Hawaiian Islands and the “fine art” of interpretation. In attending West O`ahu I enjoyed the opportunity of participating in courses from Ross Cordy, Ph.D., who, as an archaeologist and professor of Hawaiian studies was informative about artifacts we located while in a field school in Wai`anae and procedures on how to protect, record, and catalogue them.

Likewise, the professors at Mānoa have also been highly influential in my perceptions of history and the depth of tales told. William Chapman, a Doctor of Philosophy, and a specialist in Historic Preservation within the American Studies Department, provided the “nuts and bolts” of classification of the items structured within the National Register of Historic Places, and fundamentals of vernacular architecture. David Stannard provided an

¹ Community meetings are held once a month for release of information to the patients on upcoming work or projects by both the state and the National Parks. The meetings also offer the patients a way to question the government over any grievances they have.
understanding of history beyond dates and individual happenings. Mark Helbling, Robert McGlone, and Njoroge Njoroge, helped me expand on my idea of perception of personal memory, public history and the interpretation of events.

I would also like to express a special thank you to Margaret McAleavey for her love and support and for sharing our mutual appreciation for Kalaupapa and the Hansen’s disease patients.

A note on language usage: the state of Hawai`i recognizes both English and Hawaiian as official languages. To understand the depth of the landscape, the awareness of the peninsula, Hawaiian names, locations and their spelling are in accordance with Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert in the Hawaiian Dictionary, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1986). I have followed Place Names of Hawai`i, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1974). I have endeavored to spell personal names of patients, state and NPS employees according to an individual’s preference.
ABSTRACT

Forcibly banished because of their illness, seventeen leprosy patients landed on the north shore of Moloka`i in 1866. Over the ensuing decades, another eight thousand arrived on this isolated peninsula known as Kalaupapa. Nearly 150 years later, the settlement still exists as home for the remaining leprosy or Hansen’s disease patients who are few in number and elderly. The settlement became a National Park in 1980, but the state of Hawai‘i owns the land. Two state agencies, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the Department of Land and Natural Resources control different parcels and each leases their interest to the National Park Service. When this lease expires in 2042, what will happen to the peninsula remains uncertain. While one phase of life ends for the patients, another commences with different competing government bodies, both state and federal, vying for jurisdictional control.

This dissertation explores the valuable resources contained on the peninsula and within its three valleys. I examine the extensive volcanic activity, the pristine conditions of the endangered plant and animal life, and the archaeological record of Kanaka Maoli, the Native Hawaiians, or the indigenous inhabitants. I also focus on the Hansen’s disease patients, drawing on extensive interviews I conducted with them, especially noting their stories or mo`olelo, along with an examination of their housing and community buildings. This dissertation interrogates the intersection of the relationship of these various cultural resources and argues for their preservation as essential to maintaining public memory of a time and place unique in the Hawaiian Islands. This dissertation provides an in-depth study of the area geologically, physically, and historically. All aspects of this sacred `āina need to be preserved for future generations’ understanding of the pre-contact Native Hawaiian and the story of the Hansen’s disease patients.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ......................................................................................... iii

Abstract ........................................................................................................... v

Preface ............................................................................................................. iv

Chapter I: Introduction ..................................................................................... 1
  Historic Preservation...................................................................................... 14

Chapter II: The Natural Landscape ................................................................. 29
  Volcanic Moloka`i .......................................................................................... 30
  Flora ............................................................................................................... 40
  Zoology .......................................................................................................... 45

Chapter III: Archaeology ................................................................................ 51
  Archaeological Sites....................................................................................... 61

Chapter IV: Aspects of Windward Moloka`i Society ...................................... 80

Chapter V: Preservation of the Churches ....................................................... 107
  St. Philomena Catholic Church .................................................................... 113
  Siloama Church of the Healing Spring ......................................................... 115
  Kana`ana Hou Protestant Church ................................................................ 118
  Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints ................................................ 121
  St. Francis Catholic Church ......................................................................... 123

Chapter VI: Institutional Patient Housing ..................................................... 126
  McVeigh Home for White Foreigners ............................................................ 128
  Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind ....................................................... 137
  Bishop Home for Women and Young Girls ................................................... 141

Chapter VII: Independent Patient Housing .................................................. 148
  Plantation Style Houses“A”........................................................................... 152
  Plantation Style Houses“B”.......................................................................... 160
  Plantation Style Houses “C” ........................................................................ 163
  Plantation Style House “D” ......................................................................... 165
  Hicks Homes.................................................................................................. 167
  Beach Houses............................................................................................... 171
ILLUSTRATIONS: MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Aerial View of the peninsula .................................................................................................................. 8
2. Heiau and St. Philomena Church .............................................................................................................. 62
3. Makapulapai Petroglyph ........................................................................................................................ 68
4. Calvinist Church ....................................................................................................................................... 93
5. Ahupua’a Rock Wall ............................................................................................................................... 100
7. Siloama: Church of the Healing Spring ................................................................................................. 116
8. Kana’ana Hou Church ........................................................................................................................... 119
10. McVeigh Housing .................................................................................................................................. 134
11. Bay View Housing .................................................................................................................................. 138
12. Bishop Home .......................................................................................................................................... 142
13. Aerial photograph of Kalaupapa – 1950 ............................................................................................... 149
14. Plantation Housing – Style “A” ............................................................................................................ 153
15. Plantation Housing – Style “B” ............................................................................................................. 161
16. Plantation Housing – Style “C” ............................................................................................................. 163
17. Plantation Housing – Style “D” ............................................................................................................. 165
18. Hicks Homes .......................................................................................................................................... 167
19. Beach House .......................................................................................................................................... 172
20. Map of Kalaupapa – 1939 ...................................................................................................................... 179
21. Kamahana Store .................................................................................................................................... 193
22. Bar warehouse ....................................................................................................................................... 195
Years ago, I resided in the small village of Lā`ie, located on the northern tip of O`ahu. One day my sister sang a song containing a familiar refrain, the tune memorable from a Broadway show or perhaps a television variety production similar to Andy Williams, but I could not place the melody. The short verse of dark, gallows humor went like this:

Leprosy is crawling all over me.
There goes my fingernail
   Into my ginger ale.
There goes my eyeball
   Into my highball.

Children can be cruel, but at this time we were in our teens living and attending school in Lā`ie. I cannot remember how the subject of leprosy came into the conversation and morphed into those terrible lyrics. Perhaps it was because we were traveling to the neighbor islands of Hawai`i and Maui for Christmas, or we had a neighbor or friends with distant relatives on the peninsula.

In the early 1960s, the Kalaupapa Peninsula remained closed to outsiders and was thus immersed in deep forbidden legend. I subsequently learned that in order to visit the area one had to have a relative living there. In addition, the visitor could not wander alone around the settlement, even go to a relative’s house, or take a short stroll by the ocean. Guests were confined to their quarters and to the adjacent meeting room. The guest met the family member in a small rectangular building called the “Long House” and they spoke to each other through barricades of wire mesh. Visitors sat on one side of the fence and their relative on the other. Children were not allowed to visit. Historically, when patients conceived a child, the newborn was whisked away immediately from the mother, taken up the trail and
placed for adoption. Children under the age of sixteen are neither welcome nor permitted on the peninsula today.

My sister sang the refrain for a few days, and it stuck in my memory. I only knew about Hansen’s disease from a Biblical point of view, where the sufferers of the disease were considered unclean and forced to live in caves. The five-line stanza sung by my sister was my only understanding of the disease from a non-biblical perspective. In 1969, the Hawai`i Health Department did away with the quarantine. With the advent of sulfone drugs, the disease had become treatable and its spread arrested since the end of World War II.

In the summer of 1998, Margaret McAleavey and I flew to the airfield on the Kalaupapa peninsula. There Mr. Richard Marks met others and us on the Damien Tour. The bus slowly drove through the settlement and stopped to see the memorial to Damien, Mother Marianne and the bookstore. My eyes always drifted away to the sites beyond our reach. We drove over a dirt road to Kalawao and the church made famous by Father, now Saint Damien. On our way, we passed a heiau, a Hawaiian sacred structure, and a steep dirt road going to the summit of the crater. We did not stop or go up to the crater, though I wanted to explore every nook and cranny of it. However, this tour was on limited time. We toured Kalawao, ate lunch at the end of Damien Road at the Judd Pavilion, and gazed along the remarkable coastline of steep green cliffs and surging blue ocean.

Another dirt road, which we did not take, led off and ventured around the eastern side of the peninsula. I felt cheated in a way. I had paid good money for the tour; show me the sights, the complete and total picture, not only the Damien Tour version. However, all one could do on the tour was arrive at 9:30 a.m., and depart at 3:30 p.m.

In 1998, listening to Richard Marks, I gained tremendous understanding of the patients. At the time, I did not realize how the future would transpire nor have any idea of the interactive bond with patients, state, and federal workers that would develop.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

You guys poke into all our yards, stick your knife in our walls looking for dry rot. Why you guys no preserve my house? I got plenty termites. You come look, the floor joists all eaten away.²


The practice of historic preservation is commonly associated with the protection and care of sites, buildings, and—more recently—landscapes. Much of the guidance available in the 1980s and 1990s centered on the steps to repair older buildings, methods to survey and inventory older properties, ways of recording sites, and the production of lists and usable data-bases for property management. This is particularly true with land management agencies, including the National Park Service (NPS)—which is also the nation’s lead organization for preservation policy and practice.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition among scholars and practitioners that historic preservation involves more than artifacts or the physical character of places and that the field’s purview needs to extend to social and cultural meaning as well. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has taken a particular lead in this area, promoting the study and recognition of “intangible heritage,” in the form of living practices, performance, and memory, as all essential to a fuller

² Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 6, 2005. Residents have long sought to maintain their anonymity. Recent events have thrust patients into the limelight of media interviews, and the stigma of the disease has lessened. Anonymity remains a strong inducement for the patient to express himself without retribution. Throughout this dissertation, I honor their request, except in certain instances where the patient has consented to use of his or her name, or I quote from a book, or newspaper article.
understanding of sites and places. The National Park Service has made similar overtures, recognizing “Traditional Cultural Properties,” namely placed-based sites of cultural value and meaning, as a special category of properties eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The historic and cultural site of Kalaupapa is a prime example of place deserving this special level of analysis and recognition. A collection of historic buildings, roads and pathways and archaeological sites once—and to a limited extent still—comprising a Hansen’s disease (leprosy) colony, Kalaupapa is a special site of memory and meaning, both for remaining residents and for the people of Hawai`i as a whole. Subject to numerous surveys and inventories by state agencies, historic preservation students, private contractors and NPS personnel, the site’s buildings and related features are now well catalogued as preservation plans—under development for over two decades—slowly fall into place. What has been missing is a more detailed and in-depth understanding of the greater meaning of these sites to those who lived and worked among them—notably the patients themselves, of which only a handful remain in residence. We know what the sites are but not what they mean and meant to people living there.

This dissertation is an attempt to delve more deeply into the perceptions, memories, and understanding of Kalaupapa’s remaining residents in order to gain a fuller picture of the peninsula in both recent times and in the more distant past. It is in part an “ethnographic study,” and in part what I hope is a sensitive rendering of what the patients themselves say and feel about the area in its full complexity. In addition, this study attempts to reinterpret

---

other “ways of knowing.” This includes studies of geology, archaeology, botany, and architecture from the perspective of patients and others who have lived in the remote site for many years. This is not just to provide “texture” or “color,” but a step taken to properly interpret a place of unique cultural meaning for future generations.

The Kalaupapa peninsula, on the north shore of Moloka‘i, is an example of nature’s diversity. The area confirms the power of volcanic forces, the resilience of plants and animals, and the fortitude of the indigenous Hawaiians and the Hansen’s disease patients. This dissertation asserts that this essential area must be protected and preserved. Development forces are trying to wrestle for the control of the federal lands when the National Park Service (NPS) lease expires in 2042. The Hansen’s disease patients’, led by Richard Marks, petitioned NPS in the late 1970s to convey the peninsula into the park system. The welfare of the patients was at risk, with their numbers dwindling, the continued expense of maintaining the settlement, led to persistent rumors and threats of hotel development and the unwarranted destruction of the natural environment. This dissertation describes the historic conditions with the archaeological sites, the buildings that exist on the peninsula, and the words, ideas, and thoughts of the thirty-four patients who reside there.

Due to the Hansen’s disease patients’ efforts the peninsula became a National Historical Park in 1980. Over the ensuing years, scientists; botanists, volcanologists, archaeologists, and oceanographers have researched these six square miles of land, streams, and near shore reefs. Scientific studies reported on the endangered species, and archaeological sites, creating layers of information. The central theme of this work is the preservation of the peninsula and surrounding valleys, including its natural, archaeological, and historic structures, and ethnographic comments by patients. I commence with an overview of the geology, biology, geography, and zoology of the peninsula. My approach in
this study includes an examination of the volcanic eruptions and the slow process of flora and fauna accumulating upon the harsh geography. I have relied on the volume of work written concerning the natural world of Molokai and its environs. These include volcanologists Harold Stearns and Nuni-Lyn Sawyer, who have provided valuable studies on the eruptions and the formation of the peninsula. Stearns focused on the Wai`alau Slide in the *Geology of the Hawaiian Islands* (1946), while Sawyer examined the East Molokai Volcanoes in *Systematic Geochemical and Eruptive Relations in the Late Stage Evolution of Volcanoes from the Hawaiian Plume – With Case Studies of Wai`anae and East Molokai Volcanoes* (1999). In addition, Michael Garcia, geologist at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, classified the three types of volcano in Hawai`i, along with the discovery of two distinct plume origins of Hawaiian volcanoes. Garcia explained one plume created Kilauea, Mauna Kea, Haleakala and Molokai, while a separate plume created Mauna Loa, Hualalai, Lana`i, and the Ko`olau range. Other geologic and volcanic sources include J. G. Moore, *Giant Submarine Landslides on the Hawaiian Ridge* (1964) and M. H. Beeson, *Petrology, Mineralogy, and Geochemistry of the East Molokai Volcanic Series, Hawai`i* (1976). An excellent description of the threatened species in the islands, and on the peninsula, in particular, is Allen Cox’s, *Alien Species in North America and Hawai`i: Impacts on Natural Ecosystems*, (1999).

The studies started in the 1980s for Kalaupapa National Historical Park (KNHP) have produced excellent reports on the unique flora and fauna of the peninsula. As a historical park, the National Park Service has a duty to protect and preserve the environment. KNHP has a full-time marine specialist on near-shore reefs, Eric Brown, who studies the area and monitors the endangered Monk seals, and other aquatic life. The park also has a full-time

---

7 There is also a corresponding web site at, www.biologicalsurvey.org.
Natural Resources Division Chief, Guy Hughes, who undertakes the protection of the endangered plant and animal life including the native Loulu Palm of *Hillibrand`i* genus.


The research projects that have been conducted are thorough; however, the scientists leave out the interaction of the indigenous Native Hawaiian, and the Hansen’s disease patients upon their environment. An oral history of the Hawaiian people edited and published by Thomas Thrum in 1918 seems to have been disregarded by archaeologists. This work entitled, *Abraham Fornander’s: Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore* provides invaluable insights. Other scholars offer a vital perspective on the indigenous, Native Hawaiian. They include David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1951), Peter Buck, *Explorers of the Pacific: European and American Discoveries in Polynesia* (1953) and Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai`i* (1992) as well as O. A. Bushnell, *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs*
and Genocide in Hawai`i (1993). I also relied on the publications of KNHP in the Draft Foundation Statement (2010). I quote two of the eight, “statements of significance” below, as they relate to the park and concern the patients and pre-contact Hawaiian society. One statement:

Honors the mo`olelo (story) of the isolated Hansen’s disease (leprosy) community by preserving and interpreting its various sites and values. The Historical Park also tells the story of the rich Hawaiian culture and traditions at Kalaupapa that go back at least 900 years.8

The other statement describes the experience of the visitor:

Many who come to visit Kalaupapa recognize an intense, nearly tangible, mana or powerful force Hawaiian peoples find in all things. The `aina (land), a vital source with links to spirit and sacred ideas, becomes our `aumakua (guide) that connects us to the continued presence of all who lived out their lives on this peninsula. The ka`aina mana (spiritual presence) connects us to each other and to the spirit.9


Pivotal understanding and dissemination of the differences in the thought processes and actions relating to preservation between native oral cultural societies and the pre-dominate Euro-American culture that writes its history.10

8 KNHP, Kalaupapa Draft Foundation Statement (Denver, Oakland, Kalaupapa: NPS Pacific West Region, June 2010), 7. This is a 33-page document outlining the plans for the future of the peninsula and what the National Park Service views as valuable. It is a forerunner for the General Management Plan, which was in the development stage.
9 Ibid., 14.
Locating the Hawaiian Islands in an atlas is a straightforward endeavor. But finding the Kalaupapa peninsula on the island of Moloka`i, situated between islands of O`ahu and Maui, can be less obvious. However, a Google map search for Kalaupapa with its surrounding areas of Kalawao and Makanalua readily appears on the computer screen. This area on the north shore of Moloka`i has been the home of leprosy patients since 1866. The Kingdom of Hawai`i statutes stipulated that anyone with leprosy be forcibly exiled to this remote locale. Today, in 2014, leprosy or Hansen’s disease patients still reside there. Since 1980, the settlement has been a National Historical Park. However, the State of Hawai`i Department of Health retains jurisdiction over the patients’ welfare and ownership of the buildings, with the exception of the lighthouse which is under the U.S. Coast Guard.

Kalaupapa is associated world-wide with the name of Father Damien and Mother Marianne Cope, both canonized by the Catholic Church as Saints. However, long-time residents of Hawai`i will know that thousands of people were exiled to Kalaupapa. Moreover, mention Kalaupapa to Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese or Portuguese residents, and they may personally know people or have relatives buried in one of its twelve cemeteries.

A journey to the isolated peninsula, with its sheer cliffs, surrounded on three sides by the Pacific, can be daunting. There are only two modes of public access: via air or trail. Either way—flying in from Honolulu on an eight-passenger plane or riding a mule down the trail—is a memorable event. Because of the trade winds, the plane ride is often bumpy, and landing on the small airfield next to crashing waves along the rocky shore makes for a dramatic arrival. The historic trail, with its twenty-six switchbacks, is steep and covered in mule dung. Large leaves from the Kamani trees conceal holes in the path for the unwary

---

hiker. However, the scenic views are spectacular as panoramic scenes unfold between the foliage of trees and shrubbery.

An aerial picture, looking in a southerly direction at the Makanaluna peninsula on Moloka‘i

The three valleys at the top are from left to right: Waikolu, Wai‘ale‘ia, and Waihanau. The Kāuhako Crater is in the middle with the main lava flow indentation. The airport, landing field is at the bottom with the lighthouse and the cluster of houses barely visible off the runway. The left of the picture is where caves are located. To the right of the picture, just under the first “p” in Kalaupapa is where the many gravesites at Papaloa are located.

In the summer of 2005, the National Park Service (NPS) employed fellow graduate students Margaret McAleavey, Geoff Mowrer, and me to work at Kalaupapa. Our work assignment was to perform condition assessments on all the structures on the peninsula. These condition assessments were necessary for KNHP to receive funding in their annual
budget for the restoration of the houses, churches, and various buildings. Our supervisor, KNHP Architectural Historian, Joanne Wilkins, told us, “The scope of work you perform will upgrade the NPS computer lists in order to reestablish a baseline inventory. It will also affix a ballpark budgetary dollar amount for the necessary repair and upkeep of the structures.” Our employment required us to reside in Kalaupapa for six weeks. After we had completed our fieldwork, we reported to our “duty station,” the NPS Pacific West Regional Headquarters at the Kūhiō Federal Building in Honolulu. Here, we imported our hand written notes, records, and measurements of the buildings into various computer programs. The completion date of our report was scheduled for the end of the federal fiscal year in September.

The nature of our employment was controversial because we invaded the patients’ living areas, and thus, their lives. About our presence in their yard a patient complained, “They (Margaret and I) trespassed into my backyard, poked into my garage, measured all my windows and screens and even looked at my crawl space under my house, checking for dry rot and termites.” Although state and federal workers were not allowed to venture into the patients’ yards or houses without the patients’ permission, we had unlimited access to all structures on the entire peninsula because the inspections we performed were a federal mandate. Whereas workers did not deviate from their routes from home to office, our job necessitated that we vary our route every day. We walked up and down the streets with our cameras, tape measures and note pads. Over the course of our work, we roamed the whole of the peninsula updating and consolidating the various NPS inventory records, including the “Priority List.” This numerical system quantifies the various buildings in order, from most to least important, as far as necessary funding and maintenance are concerned.

---

12 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient at Kalaupapa, May 24, 2005.
The first KNHP superintendent, Henry Law, designated which buildings to preserve out of the various 500 hundred properties. The number one on his Priority List was the St. Philomena church in Kalawao. Law continued the categorization of the buildings up to number 196, which was a small picnic pavilion situated across from the patient’s general store. Another category for inventory control is the List of Classified Structures and included all buildings from sheds and carports as well as physical assets like the pre-contact structures, rock walls, and heiau. This last also includes any remnants or ruins of buildings, including concrete foundations, or collapsed walls. These two lists held conflicting data (dates of construction, building numbers, and the names of patients who resided when and where) which we cleared up over the course of our work. We checked concrete slabs where houses once stood, and examined dilapidated carports and sheds. When we completed our report in September 2005, the grand total of our inventory update exceeded over four-hundred buildings.

We came to know the buildings and the resident patients on the peninsula thoroughly. We interacted with everyone on a regular basis as we examined the properties and intruded into each person’s domains. We conversed, interviewed, and had discussions with all of the patients. In these conversations, we learned how they felt about their lives and their concerns regarding the state Health Department and the Park Service.

We also socialized with the state workers, including nurses, cooks, managers, and maintenance personnel. Of course, we also interacted with the federal workers who worked in various capacities. Our closest contacts were within the Historic Preservation Division, but we also kept in touch with the Cultural Resource Management Departments, the Marine and Aquatic Department, and the Natural Resource Division along with the Maintenance and Enforcement Rangers.
We were reluctant, at first, to venture forth into the social gatherings of the community; nevertheless, some patients encouraged us, “Eh, no shame, come join in.”¹³ In a closed society, such as Kalaupapa, with its three distinct social groups, we noticed an undercurrent of animosity was often present. We became aware of certain feelings or petty jealousies between patients and workers, patients toward other patients, and state workers against federal employees, and vice versa. Because of our temporary status, we had a different relationship within the community. Park personnel treated us with an air of indifference because we were only part-time employees. State workers were more accepting of our presence because we were not “with the feds.” Initially, the patients were wary, but they became more comfortable with us as the days passed.

In the summer of 2006, Margaret and I returned to Kalaupapa for four weeks to update our work on different aspects of the condition assessments. We lived in the 1932 plantation-style former home of patient Ernest Kala, a talented composer of songs and hymns. Kala was an important lay-minister in the Kana`ana Hou church. His house had been restored the previous summer, and we had watched the NPS crews transform its rundown condition into livable accommodations. We felt fortunate to be able to stay for a month in this spacious two-bedroom home. The landscaped yard was overgrown with weeds, but we noticed through the thick underbrush numerous flowering plants and various fruit trees. After our work in Kalaupapa that summer, we again went back to Honolulu to import our findings into the NPS computer system. Our month’s stay deepened our understanding of the history of this special place and gave us new insights into the residents’ lives.

In June of 2007, we returned for another two weeks to update the condition assessments. This time we lived in the Dentist’s house, circa 1892. This is a one-bedroom plantation-style house, which is located directly across a driveway from the state-run kitchen,

a prime gathering place for the community. After our stay, we again left for Honolulu and continued to work full-time in the federal building.

During each successive visit, we continued to learn about the residents on the peninsula, whether patients, state workers, or KNHP employees. We continued our friendships, while developing new relationships with workers and patients. We gained knowledge about the history of the area, from its volcanic origins to its pre-contact archaeology. This dissertation includes not only the history of the patients and their houses, but also examines the geology, archaeology, and the endangered plant and animals. The isolation of the Hansen’s disease patients preserved the landscape from the destructive forces of development that the rest of the islands encountered. The rugged beauty and the pre-contact Hawaiian sites remain intact. In addition, circumstances of isolation created a natural preserve for the endangered plants and animals.

On Sundays, the patients attended their different denominational church services. We joined in, and this helped us in our becoming part of the community. Our first social outing was at McVeigh Social Hall when the annual Bingo Night took place. Everyone in the settlement attended. It was an exceptional affair, and our attendance immeasurably increased our acceptance by all. This helped in our interviews of the patients.

Margaret and I also visited Kalaupapa on several special occasions, such as holidays and Barge Day. The latter is a community event for the annual shipment of supplies arriving from Honolulu. Everyone gathers at the pier to watch the forklifts scurry about unloading items. Some of the items unloaded are new NPS trucks, building materials, food for the warehouse, residents’ new sofas, TV’s, and other household furnishings. Amongst this flurry of activity, a bright yellow Mazda Miata came ashore. Everyone looked at each other trying to figure out who would bring a sports car to the six square miles of the peninsula. Gloria Marks drove the car away as her husband Richard stood in dismay. After unloading the
barge, a community potluck was served. During this festive weekend in 2005, we stayed in the beach house of a former patient, Nicholas Ramos. The tiny cottage is located across the road from ‘Iliopi’i beach.

We also visited in November, 2006 when the state-run kitchen provides their annual Thanksgiving dinner that is open to all inhabitants on the peninsula. We resided in the Visitors’ Quarters and Paul Harada, a patient, loaned us his truck for our four-day visit. On another occasion, we attended the funeral in March 2009 of patient Bernard Punikai’a. On that visit, we again stayed for two nights in the Visitors’ Quarters.

In 2010, NPS hired us once again to work at Kalaupapa, updating previous records. We had to document nearly two hundred structures on the List of Classified Structures (LCS), as well as roadways, memorials, and all the archaeological sites on the peninsula with photographs, while we simultaneously recorded their GPS locations. In February, we went to the peninsula for one week and stayed in a former patient’s home, Boogie’s Sister’s house. We resided in this newly restored plantation-style dwelling, circa 1931, located across from the ocean and the Papaloa cemetery. Returning that summer for nearly two-months, we resided in the former Doctor’s residence, circa 1930. This roomy plantation style house has twelve-foot ceilings, large living, dining, and kitchen areas, with three bedrooms and two baths.

At the end of our work in 2010, we completed NPS data on the archaeological features, rock walls, heiau, and we added these sites to the NPS computers. We explored known paths and trails, and traveled a few forgotten byways. Margaret and I added buildings to the NPS Priority List and placed those structures that were decayed or fallen to the ground, in the “ruin” category.

Over these successive years, we painstakingly measured the structures within the settlement. We noted the overall footprint of the buildings, checked the foundations,
materials used, number and style of windows, calculated squares of material would be needed to replace the roof, and if a structure needed siding or painting. We also inspected the electrical and plumbing utilities and noted any deficiencies. We calculated the cost of the restoration and replacement requirements for every building we inventoried. This work was necessary for the buildings to retain their historical integrity.

**Historic Preservation**

As a National Historical Park (NHP) the boundaries of Kalaupapa encompass the entire peninsula. This includes the valleys of Waikolu, Wai`ale`ia, and Waihānau, and the near-shore ocean reefs. The geological landscape, the archaeology of pre-contact Hawaiians, the buildings and the story of the Hansen’s disease patients are all included within the preservations concerns of the National Park Service.

There are two important elements in any preservation project, significance and authenticity. Significance denotes an event or a person that is worthy of attention and recognition. St. Philomena church built by Father Damien would be one such example. Authenticity refers to the physical or structural integrity of the building in terms of style and time period. For example, does a building have the same components as when it was erected or has the structure been substantially remodeled and no longer represents its original plan.

Established in 1980 as a National Historical Park, Kalaupapa joined the national system established under the Congressional Organic Act implemented August 25, 1916. The purpose of the National Park system was,

To conserve the scenery and the natural historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.\(^{14}\)

---

In the exploratory phase of the feasibility of the Kaloko-Honokohau National Historic Site in Kailua-Kona on the Big Island to become a Park, a committee met in different locations on all the islands. When this committee met in Kaunakakai, on Moloka`i, Richard Marks, hiked up the trail and appeared before the committee. Marks acted as a spokesperson for the Hansen’s disease patients, and he requested that the committee travel to the peninsula and evaluate the area. The committee went to Kalaupapa, and Mark’s provided a daylong tour of the peninsula. A visit to the top of Kauhakō Crater was part of the itinerary. A renowned Hawaiian cultural practitioner, Iolani Luahine, a kumu hula, was a member of this committee, and according to the Pacific Area Director of NPS, Bob Barrel,

Iolani stood on the rim of the crater looking down to the little lake in the crater and chanting and leaning way out over the rim into a strong wind, her red dress blowing in the wind … chanting in Hawaiian, hearing things, feeling things in that area where Hawaiians are buried. She saw and heard things that we didn’t hear.”

After this experience, an additional committee was set up to explore the creation of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. This became the first step in recognizing the multi-layered aspects of the area, the geology, the pre-contact archaeology of the Hawaiians, along with the history of Damien and the leprosy settlement and led the National Park Service to initiate a feasibility study.

The significance of the events that had transpired on the peninsula, along with the authenticity of the archaeology sites and the buildings caused one member of the committee, Geraldine Bell, to comment, “In all my travels around Hawai`i I have never come upon a place as rich in pre-contact history and so well preserved. The area needed protection.” The opportunity for us to work within the physical terrain of the Park, no less reside and know the patients, was indeed a very rare experience.

16 Geraldine Bell was the NPS Superintendent at Volcano National Park on Hawai`i Island.
Upon further reading on the topic of preservation, I understood more about the peninsula and gained a deeper understanding of the patients and their individual importance. The Hawaiian word mana has various connotations, but most of these are comparable to our senses or a spiritual feeling or possessing power, and when referred to the land is a force of reverence. When I came upon the writings of Daniel Bluestone in his book, Buildings, Landscapes and Memory, he writes, “The practice of preservation gets much of its evocative power from the tangible qualities of place,”17 as he states,

a physical anchor often lends credibility to historical accounts; it helps bear witness by drawing upon the full range of our human senses; it also strengthens the social, political, and cultural role of preservation by making narratives of past history accessible and meaningful to present and future generations.18

In this dissertation, and in examining the Kalaupapa peninsula, I make use of Bluestone’s concepts of a “physical anchor” and “evocative power.” While the evocative power of place is dependent upon the viewer, the panorama sightlines of the peninsula and the cliffs have a dramatic effect. In our work with the buildings, the first “physical anchors” we encountered was the restored house of Kenso Seki. Seki became the honorary mayor of Kalaupapa because of his civic-minded responses in the community; he was a Boy Scout leader and a revered person not only to the patients but also to the state workers. Edwin Lelepali, a Hansen’s patient explained, “When we kids came here after Pearl Harbor, Kenso became our father figure; he looked out for us boys, took us camping, fishing, and taught us about the outdoors.”19

As we examined Seki’s restored house, Kalawai’a Goo, our supervisor on Kalaupapa, and preservation manager with a crew of three at Kalaupapa National Historic Park (KNHP), commented, “To protect anything, one must know of its existence. If the state replaces

18 Ibid., 18.
tongue and groove siding with plywood, how are you going to know what was there originally?" 20 He was addressing the contextual memory or accuracy of the house. Goo worked very hard, and “spent tons of the park funds” to restore the deteriorating house. Goo and his crew replaced “in kind” the materials needed, tongue-and-groove redwood siding, clear cedar with no knotholes for the window and door casings. An artisan and a preservationist, he did not use plywood. Such work, particularly at Kalaupapa’s remote location, is very expensive.

NPS superintendents Tom Workman and Steve Prokop expressed apprehension about the extensive costs and the continued maintenance of the “physical anchor” of the historic structures. 21 Their concerns about restoration costs are legitimate. Linda Greene in her work, Exile in Paradise: The Isolation of Hawaii’s Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865 to the Present, produces a historical record of the peninsula and recommends that only one building per category of structures, houses, churches, and others be restored. Two NPS employees, Henry Law and Laura Soulierre, utilized Green’s information in their nomination process for Kalaupapa to become a historic district. Henry Law became the first Superintendent of KNHP and pushed for his project of saving, restoring and maintaining as much as possible. Toward this effort, Law assigned all the structures with both “Priority Numbers” and individual structural numbers. We arrived twenty-five years later to update the list.

By listing Kalaupapa as a historic district, Law hoped to open the settlement to additional funding from the corporate and private sector. A Historic District is a “geographically definable area – urban or rural, large or small – possessing a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, and/or objects united by

---

20 A KNHP employee, Kalawa‘i Goo was in charge of our work team at Kalaupapa.
21 Former superintendents, Tom Workman and Steve Prokop, both expressed the need for adequate funding.
past events or aesthetically by plan or physical development.”22 The problem was that while the area was a now a historical park, KNHP controlled only a few of the buildings. The State Health Department was content to watch the structures collapse. They performed minimal repair and when a house or building became surplus, they did not relinquish control to KNHP for a year or more and this caused further decay.

In addition to maintaining the physical structures, the Park’s mandate includes relaying the history associated with the buildings and the story of the patients’ isolation. Visitors want to see the grave sites of Saint Damien, Brother Dutton, Saint Marianne, and possibly a patient or two. This dissertation describes the involvement of the thirty-four patients who lived in Kalaupapa in 2005. David M. Fetterman explains in his writing, Ethnography: Step by Step; “Informal interviews are the most common in ethnographic work. They seem to be casual conversations, but whereas structured interviews have an explicit agenda, informal interviews have a specific but implicit agenda.”23 Our agenda, besides the performance of the condition assessments, was to better our understanding of the patients’ everyday concerns and their mo`olelo or personal insights and stories, as these are a key component to understanding life in the settlement. The success of interviewing the patients had much to do with their acceptance of us, and as one patient explained, “Folks who would do us no harm.”24 The patients’ viewpoints are essential in understanding the “physical anchor” of place and its “evocative power.” As one patient told us, “You want the whole enchilada.”25 This “whole enchilada” of the peninsula is an all-inclusive affair linking the natural elements of the peninsula, the structures built by pre-contact Hawaiians, and the buildings for the Hansen’s disease patients.

22 Murtaugh, Keeping Time, 87.
23 Fetterman, Ethnography, 41.
25 A Hansen’s disease patient commented to us as we watched a newborn Monk seal frolic on Papaloa beach.
I have been fortunate to meet, befriend, and converse with the patients over a period of years. Patients living in the settlement numbered thirty-four in 2005. Today, the winter of 2014, only eight patients reside or maintain houses there. State records list sixteen patients in total but only eight live in Kalaupapa; five reside at Hale Mohalu at Leahi Hospital in Honolulu, another in Mānoa, and one on Kaua`i, while yet another is in federal prison until 2015. These remaining patients’ primary concern becomes preservation of their experience, and the interpretation of the history located on the isolated and remote northern coast of Moloka`i.

Of course, KNHP has its own ideas on preservation and the opening of the peninsula to visitors. In the process of developing their General Management Plan, much groundwork, heated debate, and trading of ideas has occurred. In 2010, the NPS held scoping meetings across the islands, suggesting five general proposals on how they want to proceed. However, no complete plan has been revealed as of February 2014. I have discussed the future of Kalaupapa with Law on numerous occasions. Law was the first NPS Superintendent at Kalaupapa in 1980. He commented to me in 2012, “We threw out the GMP at the last Park where I was superintendent. The plan would not let us expand.” I queried him as to why, and he replied,

We could not buy land to protect the river at New River Gorge NP, so we threw the plan out, and proceeded to acquire raw acreage on the riverbank. No matter the management scheme Kalaupapa settles on, it’s not etched in stone.26

At one of the monthly community meetings concerning the number and frequency of visitors, a patient said, “The tourists should stay up at the lookout. They don’t need to come down here at all.”27

---

26 Henry Law said in a conversation with me on his visit to UH-Manoa in the fall of 2012, while he accompanied his wife, Anwei, on a book lecture tour.
27 A Hansen’s disease patient said at a monthly meeting in McVeigh Social Hall, June 10, 2007.
Steven Prokop, the superintendent and point man for the General Management Plan (GMP), “left for the Redwoods,” a patient explained. The new superintendent is Erika Stein, an archaeologist. Her appointment should be good news for the community and the preservationists, as she has local ties with the residents of Moloka`i. She is committed to the preservation and the history of the peninsula. The future of the park, the opinion of the patients, the residents of Moloka`i, and what the people of Hawai`i feel should happen, is explored in another chapter.

The GMP includes various sections that describe why Kalaupapa is a historical park and references he KNHP “statements of significance” referring to a “physical anchor” and “evocative power” and they become focal points for discussion in the following chapters.

Chapter II contains three sections: (1) the geologic eruptions that formed the island and the Kauhakō crater, (2) the various plants within the park’s boundaries, and (3) the animal life contained therein. These 2 latter categories include endemic, invasive, and endangered species. I sat on the rim of Kauhakō crater and looked down on the small lake within, and then gazed at the coastal cliffs, I decided the rugged geology, and the volcanic origin of the island would be the logical place to leap off into this discussion. One of KNHP’s significant statements regarding the landscape is:

Kalaupapa National Historical Park presents an exemplary geologic and scenic panorama of towering sea cliffs and a flat leaf-shaped peninsula that were created by a cataclysmic landslide and subsequent volcanic eruption.  

In addition to a discussion of these physical features, I also examine the plant communities and the zoological features. Two additional NPS statements are noteworthy:

From mauka to makai (mountaintop to coastline), KNHP preserves and interprets the last remaining examples of fragile Hawaiian Island plant and animal communities found nowhere else in the world.

---

28 Hansen’s disease patient explained to me at Hale Mohalu at Leahi Hospital in Honolulu, on June 28, 2013.
29 KNHP, Draft Foundation Statement, 10.
30 Ibid., 11.
Moreover, the GMP statements continue to explain,

Kalaupapa National Historic Park preserves robust and diverse near shore marine resources due to the geographic remoteness, locally restricted access, and controlled subsistence practices.\footnote{Ibid., 12.}

Included in this chapter are the endangered and invasive plants and animals that exist in the ocean, the streams, and on the land. NPS also protects the endangered Monk seals, limpets, and maintains a healthy reef ecosystem, while they battle invasive animals within the park.

In Chapter III, I discuss the pre-contact Hawaiian archaeological sites and features that are located within the Park boundaries, and their corresponding relations to other sites within the windward district. I start with the writings of J. J. Stokes, Gary Sommers, Earl (Buddy) Neller, Patrick Kirch, Mark McCoy, and Erika Stein, to name a few of the archaeologists.

J. J. Stokes performed archaeological-reconnaissance surveys on all of the Hawaiian Islands for Bishop Museum in 1909. He listed the heiau on the peninsula by their Hawaiian names. Later, the names were replaced with a system of letters and numbers. There have been forty-three archaeological undertakings on the peninsula since Stokes’ surveys. The archaeological ruins of the Kanaka Maoli on the `āina or the land, involves another of the park’s statement of significance:

The number of archaeological resources, vast variety of types, its extensive time range of habitation and land use and the exceptional preservation of its archaeological sites combine to make the Historical Park one of the richest and most valuable archaeological complexes in Hawai`i.\footnote{Ibid., 13.}

In Chapter IV, I examine the pre-contact Hawaiian experience. I rely on part of *Fornander’s Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, particularly his history of a
battle along the Kalaupapa shoreline at ‘Īliopi`i beach, and the burial grounds of Makapulapai in the center of the peninsula, which is associated with the battle.

In addition, in discussing pre-contact Hawaiian life, I rely on the important work of oral historians. Kepā Maly and his wife, Onaona, explain the depth of oral traditions in *Ka Hana Lawai`a: A Me Nā Ko`a O Nā Kai`ewalu* stating, “every place name in Hawai`i is a tribute to an event that happened in that location or by the actions of someone in that locale.”³³ This collection discusses the traditional living patterns in the islands, fishing, hunting, and the planting of seasonal food crops. As the majority of patients were Native Hawaiians, the present-day oral histories of the patients relate to their own “evocative power” over their physical limitations and discriminations. Moreover, the biography of Harriet Ne, *Tales of Molokai: The Voice of Harriet Ne* adds to this mo`olelo of Kalaupapa. Ne discusses her life as a young girl in the 1900s within the secluded windward Pelekunu valley, a neighbor valley to Waikolu and located east of Makanalua peninsula.

I often discussed the importance of this sense of Hawaiian place with Dr. Kalani Brady. Dr. Brady flew into the settlement every Sunday in order to make his rounds with the patients on Monday. He departed on either the last flight that night or the first flight on Tuesday morning. His insights were invaluable.

Part Two includes Chapters V through VIII, and I discuss the various buildings, devoting separate chapters to churches, patient housing, and community buildings,. A pertinent statement of significance emphasizes the unique nature of the settlement:

Kalaupapa National Historical Park’s surviving (and deceased) Hansen’s disease population, with its material culture, oral histories, and intact physical community, is the only one in the United States.³⁴

---

³⁴ Ibid., 8.
I discuss the intact physical community of the buildings, including their historic classifications. I use the various NPS lists that we coordinated, along with referencing the literature on historic preservation, such as Murtagh and King. NPS personnel, Henry Law and Laura Soulierre, inspected the buildings on the peninsula in 1979, writing a report entitled *Architectural Evaluation of Kalaupapa*. They recommended preserving only one or two buildings in each representational category of houses, churches, and dormitory settings.

In 1997, William Chapman and Spencer Leineweber, University of Hawai‘i scholars in American Studies and in Architecture, respectively, held a field school on the peninsula. They surveyed the architectural features of the various buildings. In 2002, they again held another field school, analyzed the historic architecture, and helped the park retain original details.

Chapter V relates to the five churches and their assorted outbuildings of sheds and garages. I examine these different denominational structures and their adjoining buildings including the homes of the respective clergy.

Two Catholic churches are located on the peninsula, St. Philomena, in Kalawao and St. Francis, in Kalaupapa. In 1985, NPS performed a thorough report entitled, *Historic Structure Report: St. Philomena Catholic Church*, explaining the overall damage to the edifice, the cost of repair, and the necessary recommendations to preserve the church. The projected costs ran into the millions of dollars. The necessary restoration work was performed between 2006 and 2010 in time for the Damien canonization celebration.

Additionally, there are two Calvinist Protestant structures, Siloama in Kalawao, and Kana‘ana Hou in Kalaupapa. I describe these churches, including the five support buildings: a restroom in Kalawao, a Parish hall, minister’s residence, a garage, and two sheds. Also, a Mormon (LDS) Church is located in Kalaupapa. I describe the three buildings that make up the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the settlement. I also discuss the Buddhist
structure, the Americans of Japanese Ancestry Social Hall (AJA) that has been restored. It is currently used as a bookstore for tourists to purchase T-shirts, DVDs, and various books written by both patients and other authors.

Chapter VI looks at institutional patient housing, namely the three separate structures that are located throughout the community: the McVeigh Home for White Foreigners, the Bay View Home of the Aged and Blind, and the Bishop Home for Young Women and Girls. These were the original names, but today they are referred to simply as McVeigh, Bayview, and Bishop Home. In 2014, three Hansen’s disease patients reside in the McVeigh section of the settlement that overall contains thirty-nine structures. Bay View comprises sixteen structures. In this chapter, I discuss the historic merits of the buildings, examine the architectural features, and note deficiencies.

Bishop Home contains four structures on the property. One patient, Barbara Marks, lives in a separate house on the grounds. Bishop Home has the distinction of a Catholic Saint, Mother Marianne, associated with its history. The Sisters of Saint Francis (Mother Marianne’s Order) presently live in the two-story dwelling. Sister Mary Laurence Hanley, also of the Order of Saint Francis, and O.A. Bushnell collaborated on *Pilgrimage and Exile: Mother Marianne of Molokai* explaining her work with Father Damien and the patients.

This category of Institutional Patient Housing contains over forty-nine structures in various stages of decay. These buildings fall under the control of the state Health Department. As vacancies occur, responsibility passed to the KNHP, which restores and maintains them as funds become available.

Chapter VII focuses on Independent Patient Housing. It is a wide-ranging chapter, as it has a double focus – namely the structures themselves as well as the history associated with the patients. I discuss vernacular, plantation-style cottages built in the 1930s and Hicks
Homes built in the early 1960s. Plantation-style floor plans range from two-bedroom, one-bath with a large living/dining area to small one-bedroom cottages with shed roofs. Mass-produced Hicks Homes in the settlement were assembled in the summer months in late 1950s and early 1960s and all two-bedroom, one bath homes.

Patient housing comprises ninety-two houses, including garages, carports, lanai, and sheds. Undoubtedly, under the guidelines for registering historic properties, a number of these houses would deserve individual recognition, Richard Marks, Bernard Punikaiʻa, Kenso Seki, and Sister (now Saint) Marianne Cope are among those who could possibly have historic markers on their homes. However, as a patient explained to me, “You realize the problems others would create if Marks had a plaque on his house – and they didn’t?”

However, in the future, some of these patient homes and other structures associated with them may merit special recognition. Indeed, the patients and the organization Ka ʻOhana O Kalaupapa want each house to contain a short history, framed and mounted on an interior wall, so that future visitors, staying overnight, would know who had lived there. Other well-known patients fought for their rights as individuals, particularly Richard Marks and Bernard Punikaiʻa. The activism of Marks and Punikaiʻa has inspired people worldwide with a deeper understanding of the disease and of patients’ rights.

In Chapter VIII, I examine the community, administrative, and industrial buildings, all of which played key roles in the day-to-day life of the patients. A number of patients secured employment at various locales. Kuʻulei Bell was the Post Master in 2005. Meli Watanuki assisted at the state-owned grocery store. Ivy Kahilihiwa worked at the gas station twice a week and at the Mother Marianne library when it was used as a bookstore. Her

---

35 Named after the founder of the company, Harold Hicks, the business started in 1954. The concept was developed on an idea similar to shopping in a department store, walk in and pick a design and a floor plan. The pre-fabricated houses are shipped to your location and erected by a company crew. There are currently 16,000 Hicks Homes in Hawaiʻi according to their website, www.hickshomes.com.
husband, Clarence “Boogie” Kahilihiwa, also worked at the bookstore and now at the new location within the restored AJA Hall. Years ago, he was also the projectionist in Paschoal Hall, the large auditorium where movies and concerts were held. Pauline Chow worked at the State administration offices.

We examined all administrative buildings, including KNHP headquarters, the hospital/clinic, and the fumigation building. The industrial buildings, eight in total, include workshops, physical plants, a slaughterhouse, and other assorted warehouses, as well as garages, and vehicle maintenance facilities. Five houses in the area known as Staff Row include a dormitory for the nurses and homes for the doctor, dentist, and the settlement administrator. A warehouse for the state-run kitchen, and a converted laundry facility, with numerous sheds, garages and outbuildings are included in this area. All these structures are historically significant because they add to an understanding of the social fabric of the community. The in-depth examination in this chapter also discusses the airport and the lighthouse area.

Chapter IX details specific ideas that KNHP has for the protection and preservation of the peninsula as well as plans to accommodate a greater number of visitors. With the declining population of the resident patients, the Hawai`i State Health Department’s slowly decreases its role and responsibility. While the numbers of state employees shrink, the number employed by KNHP increases. Steve Prokop, Superintendent of Kalaupapa in 2010, said, “Our day-to-day function within the settlement slowly expands. We must have an eye to the future when hundreds of visitors will walk around the settlement per-day.”

Currently, twenty to thirty visitors a day take the Damien Tour, but there is no overnight tourism. In the future, tourist numbers will drastically increase and visitors will be able to rent houses, dormitory rooms, and stay multiple nights.

---

37 Interview with Steve Prokop, KNHP Superintendent, June 30, 2010.
A concerned patient, who is also a member of Ka `Ohana o Kalaupapa, stated, "How the NPS explains our history to the thousands of tourists in the future is a major concern to not only the relatives of the eight thousand deceased patients, but to the public as well." The portrayal of the history is only one of the obstacles KNHP face from the patients and Moloka‘i residents. NPS leases the land from two state agencies, the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) and the Department of Hawaiian Homelands (DHH) and this lease will expire in 2041. A patient said, “After that date a land grab could occur. There have been overtures by members of the Hawai‘i State Senate to take land out of DLNR hands and put it entirely under control of the Department of Hawaiian Homelands.”

At one of the monthly community meetings held at McVeigh Social Hall, a patient said. “If the public knew what’s located on the peninsula, history of the Kanaka Maoli, no less the lives of Damien, Marianne, and the thousands buried here, the public would see the need to commemorate our existence and preserve this sacred place.”

In another of the monthly community meetings in McVeigh Hall, participants discussed building a monument in Kalawao in memory of earlier patients. Gloria Marks suggested an “additional memorial should be erected in Kalaupapa.” However, another patient remarked,

On the North Island of New Zealand are two ocean bays, named, I think by Captain Cook, who noticed the physical condition of the local Maori. Cook named one Poverty Bay, and the other Bay of Plenty. In Kalawao, patients were in poverty, but when they moved over to Kalaupapa side, they were in plenty. Those early guys had nothing. We have everything. We need the monument in Kalawao, but

---

38 The organization, Ka `Ohana O Kalaupapa, established by patients and private citizens, and concerns the treatment of the patients and how their memory will be portrayed.
40 Comments by a Hansen’s disease patient I encountered at the airport in Honolulu waiting to board a flight to Kalaupapa in February of 2010. The conversation concerned a bill introduced in the state senate by Kalani English and Colleen Hanabusa. The bill was eventually shelved; however, the uproar over the bill elicits strong sentiment with the patients and the people of Moloka‘i.
41 These comments made by a Hansen’s disease patient speaking before the Kalaupapa community at a meeting on May 15, 2006.
42 Gloria Marks, the wife of Richard Marks, are the co-owners of Damien Tours.
no need one here in Kalaupapa.”

Referring to plans of the future, another patient said, “There are various scenarios as to what lies down the road.” After the patients have departed and management by the State Health Department has ceased, according to Bryan Harry, “KNHP will finally have full control, and be able to operate like a National Park.” With management of the park by people who understand the local customs, the idea of “acting like a National Park” should calm any fears residents of Hawai`i and Moloka`i have.

---

43 Comments by a Hansen’s disease patient at Kalaupapa at monthly community meetings held at the McVeigh Social Hall on June 9, 2010. This comment was in response to the idea of building a memorial on the Kalaupapa side in addition to the one approved for the Kalawao site to be located on the grounds of the Old Baldwin Home. I might add the cumulative moan from NPS personnel and others was palpable.


45 Comments by Bryan Harry at the NPS offices in Honolulu, August, 2005.
CHAPTER II

THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE:

We had our own Boy Scout troop, number forty-six. We would camp in the summertime for a month out at Federal Flats. What they call Judd Park today, where the pavilion stays. Our scoutmaster would educate us, or try anyway, in the outdoors, hunt, fish, all kinds of stuff. It was good to be out in nature and away from the settlement.46

Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa 2006

Eleven national parks, monuments, and historical sites are located in Hawai`i. There are additional sites within the state that the National Park Service (NPS) has studied for possible inclusion within the national system. These include the Mākena area on Maui, and the Nā Pali cliffs and Māhā`ulepū regions on Kaua`i. However, they were not selected because either they failed to have significant substance for nomination or they lacked community support, which was the case of the Nā Pali cliffs. On Moloka`i, the Hansen’s disease patients, along with the history of Damien and the pre-contact archaeology led NPS personnel to consider the peninsula. Richard Marks was instrumental with initiating the process for the peninsula to become a National Historical Park. Marks said, “When I saw Iolani Luahine standing on the crater rim, and she chanted, it was chicken-skin time. She was special. She said to all of us standing there on top of the crater that she felt the mana.”47 The people standing on the crater rim were a task force that had met in Kaunakakai. They held a series of scoping meetings around the islands concerning the creation of Kaloko-Honokohao National Historic Site on the Kona Coast of the Big Island. Marks attended the meeting and

---

46 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2006.
asked the committee to have a look at the peninsula and see if its volcanic origins, indigenous and endemic plants, and the endangered animals, met the needed criteria for insertion into the national park system.

In this chapter I discuss these three topics and begin with the volcanic activity created Moloka`i. The next section contains information about the endemic and endangered flora located within the Park boundaries. According to the NPS Draft Statement, these are the Beach and the Coastal Strand Communities, a deciduous dry-forest within Kauhakō Crater, and the upland slopes of the valleys. These upland areas, named Wao Akua, or home of the gods, and a special section within the Wao Akua, named the Pu`u Ali`i Natural Area Reserve, has been given the highest conservation designation by the State of Hawai`i.

The last section discusses the varied animal life—both the land and ocean varieties. This includes the threatened Monk seals and endangered birds within the rain forest of the upper valleys. It also includes the only remaining stream habitat in the state where the five species of fresh-water shrimp and fish can be found together. In addition, I examine the invasive populations of deer, goat, pig, and mongoose.

**Volcanic Moloka`i**

Recent investigations by geologists, volcanologists, and others have changed their ideas on how the sea cliffs, the peninsula, and the valleys were created. Scientists who studied the origins of the Moloka`i eruptions are Nuni-Lyn Sawyer, Harold Stearns, J. G. Moore, and others. Research has concluded there are three different categories of volcano existing in the Hawaiian chain. They are the Ko`olau, Kohala, and the Haleakalā types.

The Haleakalā classification created the island of Moloka`i, and much later, the Kauhakō eruption formed the peninsula and crater. Because of this latest eruption, numerous
lava-tube caves exist on the eastern slope of the crater. These caves provided a home for pre-contact Hawaiians and then Hansen’s disease patients. Today, life forms of spiders, insects, and small rodents utilize the inland caves, while various birds use the sea caves for shelter.

Moloka`i, fifth largest island in the Hawaiian chain and centrally positioned in the archipelago cluster, was created by the eruption of two large shield volcanoes. Geologists have named these eruptions the West Moloka`i Shield (the larger of the two) and the East Moloka`i Shield. Age dating tests show the East Moloka`i Volcano had been building above sea level as early as 1.75 million years ago. Similar to the well-known San Andreas fault line in California, it is comprised of two rift zones or fault lines, separating two sections of the earth’s surface.

When the East Molokai Shield erupted, it created a caldera five to six miles across and possibly reached at least 11,000 feet above sea level.\(^48\) Subsequently, a dramatic collapse occurred within the East Moloka`i Shield. The northern half of the volcano suddenly and literally slid into the ocean. Volcanologists named this catastrophic event The Wailau Slide. This collapse resulted in the dramatic sea cliffs on the northern section of the island we see today. The north rim of the volcano slid one hundred miles out into the depths of the Pacific Ocean and fanned out to a width of twenty-five miles.\(^49\) The Wailau Slide is considered the third largest in Hawai`i.\(^50\)

A million years later a secondary eruption created a small shield volcano against the slide scar. A report in *Pacific Science* calculates the age of the rocks from this eruption at


\(^{49}\) J. G. Moore, “Giant submarine landslides on the Hawaiian Ridge,” *USGS Professional Paper* (1964): 501-D. This was also a Kalaupapa reading and further investigated by Erica Stein and Mark McCoy. I located the article at www.researchgate.net/submarine/Obeec51930606f03a7.

\(^{50}\) The Na Pali Cliffs on the north shore of Kaua`i the first, the Nu`uanu Slide on windward O`ahu the second.
0.34 to 0.57 million years ago.\(^5\) This explosive upsurge formed the peninsula and produced the Kauhakō Crater. This resultant crater, a combination of the explosion and a collapse-pit, is roughly a thousand feet across from rim to rim. The interior of the crater contains a remnant of a deciduous dry-forest and one of the deepest volcanically formed lakes in the world.\(^5\) The crater provided shelter for both the Kanaka Maoli and the Hansen’s disease patients. Today, besides the geologic importance of the crater, it is also recognized as an archaeological site of Native Hawaiian habitation, as well as a cemetery for Hansen’s disease patients.

My first encounter with the geologic world of Hawai`i occurred when I read *Hawaii* by James Michener. The novel introduces the volcanic eruptions creating the Hawaiian chain of islands. The painstaking detail regarding the millennia of time is essential for the accumulation of detritus from ocean and wind currents onto the barren lava to accommodate eventual growth of the flora and fauna.\(^5\)

According to volconalogist Nuni-Lyn Sawyer,

one of the significant geochemical events, recorded in subaerially-exposed lavas of Hawaiian volcanoes, is the transition from shield stage to post-shield stage. This marks the decline in activity as the vent is carried away from the plume source in the earth’s mantle.\(^4\)

In this study of the East Moloka`i Volcano, Sawyer found it was an “excellent example of a Haleakala-type volcano,”\(^5\) and at the extreme end of the volcanic life span. In technical terms, this is characterized by a thick “transitional sequence of imbedded tholetic and alkalic

---

\(^5\) I have driven past the Koʻolau cliffs in Kaneohe hundreds of times. I also hiked the Na Pali cliffs, on Kaua`i and paddled a kayak to and camped in the remote Kalalau Valley. The magnitude of a gigantic landmass sliding into the Pacific Ocean became clear when researching the geology and the vast volcanic collapse that happened on Moloka`i.


\(^5\) Ibid., 9.
basalt capped by layers of two other volcanic compounds of Hawaiite and mugearite.\textsuperscript{56}

These geochemical variations, throughout the life of an individual Hawaiian volcano, provide information about the mantle material supplied by the Hawaiian plume. Sawyer continues to explain,

> Although subaerial lavas record only a brief fraction of the eruptive history of each volcano, the record preserves the geochemical changes, which accompany an extinction phase of the volcano as it is carried away from the magma source. One of the significant changes associated with declining volcanism, and the shift from shield stage to post-shield stage, is the transition from tholeitic to alkalic basalt eruptions.\textsuperscript{57}

The measurement of the transition stage varies from volcano to volcano, and it ranges from those with no transition to those with an extensive transition to alkali basalt.

According to Peter W. Reiners and Bruce K. Nelson, the rejuvenated eruption on the Kalaupapa Peninsula and East Moloka`i was produced by a plume source that spread from the original source, and may explain the “effects of source processes different than those supplying the original shield and alkalic cap volcanism.”\textsuperscript{58} Their study also mentions other rejuvenated eruptions, mainly on the island of Kaua`i, and those eruptions contained a plume source with similar “bulk earth compositions.”\textsuperscript{59} This is important because it counters the widespread belief of a dormant volcano. As Guy Hughes explained, “After the plume source had moved, there were eruptions in the same area.”\textsuperscript{60} Additional information on volcanoes in the article related that Hawai`i volcanoes have two distinct origins of magma sources. Garcia explains, “Hawaiian Volcanoes are the best studied in the world and we continue to make new and fundamental discoveries about how they work.”\textsuperscript{61} The article explained how one volcanic source created Kilauea, Mauna Kea, Haleakala, and Moloka`i; and another molten

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{60} Interview with Guy Hughes, KNHP employee, June 5, 2006.
\textsuperscript{61} Garcia, “Volcanic Ash,” B-3.
source created Mauna Loa, Hualalai, Kahoolawe, Lana`i, and the Ko`olau range on O`ahu.

Other geologic events include: The erosion of the cliff faces before, during, and after the Wailau Slide. The formation of the steep valleys and the aforementioned lava-tube caves. These caves not only house insects and birds, but one lava-tube cave, named Keanakaluahine, was the home to an older woman. She was the lookout for invaders arriving by canoe. Lionel Ka`awaloa, KNHP employee, escorted us on a tour of this cave. The collapsed roof provides easy access. The cave led off in two directions, one to the west toward the crater where it quickly narrowed and the ceiling dropped from seven feet to less than three feet in height. However, along the east route, toward the ocean, the cave gained height and after thirty yards abruptly ended at a precipice. This is followed by a hundred-foot drop-off into the crashing waves of the ocean below. From this vantage point, the explorer has a wonderful view of the sea and the pali as they stretch toward Halawa Valley. The main lava flow leading north from the Kauhakō crater splits into three main branches and then splinters off into a maze of smaller lava tubes. “Two or three of the smaller lava tubes,” Ka`awaloa explained, “travel to the ocean.”

Albert Pu, the third employee hired as a maintenance worker at KNHP, related to me, “I hiked all over that crater, helped Buddy (Neller) in his investigations of heiau, walked down the lava flow from the crater to the sea. You can’t do it now, to much underbrush.” Kauhakō Crater contains burial sites and vaulted tombs on the western rim. In 1948, the members of the Kana`ana Hou Church raised a white cross on the crater summit. The cross is visible from various points on the peninsula, however, when you read the brass plaque at the base, it states, “Erected by the Lions Club in 1956.” A Hansen’s disease patient related to

---

62 Interview with Lionel Ka`awaloa, KNHP employee, June 9, 2005.
63 Ibid.
64 Interview with Albert Pu, KNHP employee, June 10, 2005.
me, “The original cross was rotten and blew over in one of our ten-year storms.” We were searching for a heiau and other burial sites on the slope of the crater at the time. If you walk east from this location and depending on how high the thorny brush, you will find a concealed tomb with an iron gate across the opening and prohibits access. The patient said, “A royal tomb that has been lost in memory.” We located the tomb, and it resembled a cave Peter Kaeo mentions in his memoir. I talked to a number of patients about this site but they did not know or did not want to elaborate.

The Crater Cross is referenced by Linda Greene and she writes,

It was built by the patients in 1946 and this fifteen-foot structure is listed with the NPS protected landmarks. Permission was granted by Superintendent Judd for the members of the Kana`ana Hou church to erect the cross with two reasons in mind; remembrance to the patients and for Easter Sunrise services.

However, as previously noted, when walking around the cross, a bronze plaque with an inscription states:

Love Never Faileth
Erected 1956 Kalaupapa Lions Club

Henry Hatori was in charge of building the cross, and we met his grandson, Harry, on one of his regular visits to Kalaupapa. He was staying at the Visitors’ Quarters and waiting for a ride up to the cross. “I cannot leave the settlement without my sponsor,” he said. A few moments later a patient pulled up in his truck and we asked him what he knew of the cross.

---

65 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2010.
66 In 2005, the thorny brush was thigh to waist high and we could slowly pick our way through to the numerous tombs and heiau. By 2006 the underbrush had grown to chest high and considerably thicker.
68 Alfons Korn, Editor, News from Molokai: Letters from Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876 (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1976), 180.
69 We attended a memorial service on the crater rim, “where the view into eternity is quite stunning,” according to her sister. The patient was interned in the Papaloa section of cemeteries and not at this site.
He replied, “I’ve been told, the first cross was knocked over by high winds and so the second cross was made more secure and indeed erected by the Kalaupapa Lions Club.”

Bishop Museum scientists have studied the cave systems and their life forms. They have added numerous specimens to the museum. In the summer of 2010, two entomologists were stayed in the Dentist’s House for ten days while we resided next door in the Doctors’ House. They informed us about their work and the different species of spiders they located in the caves. They also spoke of at least one indigenous and endemic species they were currently researching. “Because of our work here and the rare species involved, we could list them as endangered. Of course, that would hinder, if not stop, any development by the feds, state or private developer.”

There are six sea caves aligned along the eastern rocky ledges of the peninsula. Two of these caves are obviously lava tubes that reached the cliff face. Accessing the caves is difficult. The first cave requires a steep descent down the cliff face. This requires walking over the roof of the cave, and then proceeding down another menacing descent to the ocean from which we looked back up into the cave. In our exploration, we perched on wet slippery rocks with waves crashing all about. This cave houses a robust group of Noio birds in the summertime where they take refuge, lay their eggs and raise their fledglings. The small birds constantly fly in and out of the twenty-foot high mouth of the cave. They are either nesting, or in search of food to feed their young.

The caves are mentioned as early as 1935 in a dissertation written by William Bennett. The park personnel we conversed with were aware of only two sea-caves. When we mentioned the caves to other park employees, they feigned innocence, or had no knowledge of their existence. However, as well as other geographic and Hawaiian locations, this topic

---

71 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 10, 2010.
72 Interviews with Fred Stone, PhD, UH-Hilo, and Frank Howarth, PhD, Bishop Museum, June 15, 2010.
merits further discussion in the chapter on archaeology. The Hawaiian names along with their meanings follow:

Keanakaulehu, which translates from Hawaiian as to put bait on a cowry shell as a lure to catch octopus.

Keanakauwana also has the “Ke ana kau” verb form denoting someone’s actions to place or put something somewhere or perhaps to suspend an action. Wana translates as a sea urchin, and is considered to be a family protective deity, or a`umakua, and is recognized by a number of Hawaiian families. According to Henry Nalaielua, “This cave is also the reburial site of a pre-contact Hawaiian and is off limits to everyone.”

Keanakoninahu relates to being or having a small mouth or possibly be a finicky eater. The term refers perhaps to the small size of the infant birds that inhabit the area.

Keanakuino: Where as the Hawaiian “i`nu” refers to drinking or quenching one’s thirst and “ku” has a vast array of meanings and interpretations, the most common in usage is, “to stand,” as in, one stands in the cave drinking in the view, or imbibing in the refreshment one brought with him.

Keananoio refers to “Noio,” a Hawaiian tern. This cave is thought to reference a refuge or rookery for the birds. The birds return annually and lay their eggs within the cool climate of the cave. We hiked down the steep descent of the cliff face and into the cave opening and gained a first hand experience of the birds and their rookery.

Keanaonāluahine suggests with the “luahine” meaning to be like or to dress as an old woman. The cave is commonly called Old Woman’s Cave by patients and the KNHP personnel.

---

Offshore from the sea caves, are three small islands, or technically, islets: `Ōkala, Mōkapu and Huelo. The islets are the remnants of the collapsed cliffs and an integral section of the Hawai`i State sea bird sanctuary.

The Huelo sea stack formation while formally listed as a bird sanctuary also has the distinction of being the only location and home of the species of the Loulu palm or pritichardia hillibrandi`i in Hawai`i. The location of the tall pinnacle has allowed the palms to grow and thrive without any disruption from rats, pigs, goats, deer, or other prey and is a precarious link to the past islands environment before any humans arrived. This environment of Hawai`i was quite different from what we see today. According to Patrick Kirch:

The world of ancient Hawai`i that has emerged from the collaborative, interdisciplinary work of archaeologists and natural scientists is quite astonishing. It is an island world entirely different from the Hawai`i recorded in historical times. That ancient world was populated by stocky, flightless moa nalo (a variation of a duck), crunching palm seeds in their toothed beaks. It was a world in which the skies teemed with shearwaters and petrels nesting on cliffs. Loulu palm forests carpeted the lowlands from Waikīkī to `Ewa. Under their shade, the now-extinct Kanaloa shrubs and countless other native herbs and grasses provided a richly textured habitat for thousands of species of tiny insects and land snails. A unique, living world had evolved over millions of years on Earth’s most remote archipelago.74

The Huelo sea stack is the only remnant of this ancient environment the first voyagers found on the islands.

However the `Ōkala and Mōkapu islets have not been as lucky as their neighbor, Huelo. While `Ōkala and Mōkapu are formidable structures, they have accessible shorelines and thus are prone to ecological attack by invasive species.

Along the east coast of the peninsula are numerous tidal pools created by a lava shelf. These pools provided fishing, swimming and gathering places for the original Hawaiians and the patients. One of the tidal pools within this wave-cut bench is referred to as Mormon Pond. According to Makia Malo, one of the, if not, the last Mormon patient living in the

---

settlement. “New converts to the LDS church went down the cliff face, and a baptismal ceremony was performed on the last Saturday of the month there.”

The tidal pools are located due east of what became known locally as Federal Flats, now referred to as Judd Park, and located at the end of Damien Road in Kalawao. At the bottom of the steep, one-hundred-foot cliff are numerous tidal pools and the location of where “a newly arrived Catholic Priest drowned while bathing.”

One Saturday, we hiked to Waikolu Valley, and as we trudged over the rugged shoreline, we met a federal worker who was picking `opihi off the boulders among the crashing waves. We knew he had Hawaiian gathering rights, but we were not sure, seeing two full gunnysacks, on the quantity of `opihi considered allowable under the law. He quickly explained, “I’m going to a graduation luau tomorrow.” I am sure if the patients saw his actions there would be recriminations about his excessive or over-the-limit catch.

In a similar vein, past administrator, Elmer Wilson faced criticisms from the patients. “Wilson was a state employee, and the patients thought his imagination a little too vivid. He created stuff-up and caused disruption in the community by going to places on the peninsula he had no right to.”

Mr. Wilson states, “In fact, I almost got fired, because I was going to the patients’ quarters at night to listen to their stories. I would talk to them about their days, and problems they went through, how they lived.”

Mike McCarten, another past administrator attests to this association of workers and patients, “The Board of Health can view this close association with the patients as both kindness and interference.” In addition, some patients, not all, see this familiarity as an intrusion. As McCarten explains, “Well, some

---

75 In 2005, I attended the LDS Sunday services three times. Four patients attended the services. Ku’ulei Bell, Lucy Kaona, Makia Malo, and Peter Keola were all strong singers with a harmonious blend. Two young men from “topside” hiked down the trail each Sunday and lead the meetings. By 2010, only two LDS patients remained, one confined to the Kalaupapa Clinic, and the other to Hale Mohalu on O‘ahu.

76 Greene, Exile in Paradise, 590.

77 John Clark, Hawai`i Place Names (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2002), 152.

78 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 462-63.

79 Interview with Mike McCarten, Health Department Superintendent of Kalaupapa, June 28, 2007.
patients complain about anything. Who can visit who, who can collect salt is a major concern, as is fishing by anybody but the patients themselves. I have had complaints about the pigs, the deer hunters, and the ‘opihí pickers. You name it, and I’ve had a complaint about it. On July 3 in 2010, Margaret and I went to gather salt for the first time. A park maintenance employee and two patients were also collecting salt. After we had laboriously scooped a gallon of salt, one of the patients told us, “You got enough already, go back to the settlement.”

Flora

The steep cliffs together with the flat terrain and the verdant valleys provide an exceptional environment for a number of endangered plants. Kalaupapa National Historical Park protects the endemic species on land by routinely monitoring the “back canyons” to check on the growth and health of indigenous plants. The park has a number of botanic areas roped, fenced, and cut off from any animal or human contact with the protected plant. In addition, selected botanical areas within the Kauhakō Crater have a drip irrigation system to water and protect and preserve endangered plants “found nowhere else in the world.”

Over one-hundred-and-fifty unique varieties of natural plant communities are located in Hawai‘i. These are located in specific ecosystems such as bogs, lakes, streams, anchialine pools, coastal sand dunes, dry-and-wet forests, as well as lava tubes, and kipukas or “forest islands,” where plant life is surrounded by lava flows. The lack of complete taxonomic groups, on the one hand, and the high species diversity on the other, reflects the extreme

---

80 Ibid.
81 This patient was the same one who complained about our presence in 2005.
82 Interview with Guy Hughes, KNHP resource manager, June 7, 2005. He recalled his frequent and lengthy, three-to-five days excursions into the remote and barely accessible valleys working on protecting endangered native plants from invasive species, animals and vegetation.
83 KNHP, Foundation Statement, 11.
isolation of the Hawaiian archipelago and on the peninsula these, “plant and animal
communities, including seabird colonies and the Lo`ulu (Pritchardia hillebrand`i) forest,
hearken back to the pristine condition
of the Hawaiian Islands.”

The rarity of these surviving fragile populations is a reminder of how much has been
lost. Accordingly, John Culliney and Bruce Koebele explain in their book, *A Native
Hawaiian Garden: How to Grow and Care for Island Plants*:

Most native Hawaiian plants are in peril. The urbanization, depletion and diversion
of natural waters, the widespread planting of aggressive alien vegetation
have profound impacts on the native ecosystem. The surviving Hawaiian species are
a vital treasure of great scientific interest, of great value in the world’s heritage of
biodiversity, of significant value of Hawaiian culture, and of unique beauty, graceful
presence, and kama`aina standing on our midocean landscapes. Symbolically, the
beleaguered native flora of Hawai`i looms large. The ecological crisis and destruction
of endemic nature in Hawai`i may foretell the fate of our planet itself, for it too is an
island of profound isolation.

Hawaiian plants have been evolving since lava appeared above the ocean surface, and
this diversity is among the world’s most improbable products of evolution. By a very remote
chance, the ancestors of Hawaiian plants as seeds or spores made the great transoceanic leap
to reach these islands. Whether these seeds or spores flew in on winds of the jet stream or
trade winds were deposited by migrating birds, or even floated on ocean swells, the
probability against their survival was remote.

The peninsula has one of the best examples of native coastal vegetation in the state of
Hawai`i including several federally listed endangered plant species. Indigenous plants exist
within three biotic areas of the peninsula and consist of the Beach and Coastal Strand
Communities, along with the dry-forest within the crater, and upland valleys.

---

84 Ibid, 10.
85 John Culliney and Bruce P. Koebele, *A Native Hawaiian Garden: How to Grow and Care for Island Plants*
(University of Hawai`i Press, Honolulu, 1999), 63.
There are three sand beaches located on the west side of the peninsula: Papaloa, `Īliopi`o, and Ke One Ne`e O `Awahua. Papaloa literally translates as a “long shelf” and references the fringing reef. This calcareous sandy beach along with `Īliopi`o, or climbing dog, provides shelter for Monk Seals and their “pupping” habitat in the spring. It is also noteworthy because of a dog heiau, or `Īlio heiau, which is located between the beach and the lighthouse and erected in honor of a canine that saved fishermen’s lives. The third beach is the so-called “black sand” or Ke One Ne`e O `Awahua, translated as “the sliding sands of bitterness,” and is located at the foot of the trail. Another two beaches are located on the peninsula: one named Kāhili, a seasonal strip of sand, accessible only across the airport runway; and Ho`olehua, an expansive calcareous beach on the eastern shoreline, where sea turtles lay their eggs and adjacent to the traditional salt gathering locale.

These Beach Strand Communities contain five native plant species: The `akoko (Euphorbia Degeneri) is a member of the spurge family and a low-lying plant commonly seen in ocean dunes and they were historically used on canoe hulls as a sealer and coating of paint. Three of the five varieties are on the Federal endangered list.

The Hinahina-Kahakai, (Heliotropium Anomalum) from the Heliotrope Family and is commonly known as Spanish moss. This plant clings to tree branches and is useful as a tea and for medicinal purposes and an ornamental plant often seen in hanging baskets.

Pohuehue (Ipomea Brasiliensis) of the Morning-glory Family is a strong vine with pink flowers. Hawaiians used the vine as whips to chase fish into their nets.

Pauohi`iaka, (Jacquemontia Sandwicensis), also is in the Morning glory family, and a vine with pale blue or white flowers and small rounded leaves. The Hi`iaka name is from a legend where the bush surrounded and protected a baby of the legendary Hi`iaka (one of twelve younger sisters of Pele) and protected the infant from the sun and other natural elements.
Naupaka (*Scaevola Taccada*) is of the Naupaka Family, a shrub that grows in both beach and upland-mountain areas. Distinctive feature’s of the plant is a legendary Hawaiian tale of two lovers who were forced to live apart and thus the plant represents their broken hearts and when the leaves from each plant, one from the sandy shore and the other from the upland forest, when joined together, like puzzle pieces, contain a heart shape.

The Coastal Strand Community contains another five native species: *Fimbristylis* of *Hawaiiensis* in the Sedge Family, the Ohelo kai (*Lycium Sandwicensis*) a shrub within the Nightshade Family and the same as the `ae`ae plant, according to the Pukui edition of the Hawaiian dictionary, and it thrives near salt marshes or rocks near the sea. The plant has light colored bark, white to blue tinted flowers and small red berries. In addition, the Ihi (*Portulaca Lutea*) of the Pursland Family, Ilima (*Sida sp.*) ilima Hibiscus Family, and the Akia (*Wikstroemia Sandwicensis*) within the Adia Family are also located here and these were utilized as both cordage and as a mild laxative. However, when the proportions were mixed too strong they became effective ways to commit suicide, or to execute criminals.

A deciduous dry forest exists within the Kauhakō Crater and is “the most significant vegetational feature on the peninsula.” This small forest has twenty plus species of native trees and shrubs, plus several trees introduced by the early Kanaka Maoli. This is the only remaining windward coast community of its type in the state. Although grazing by both feral domestic animals has decimated a portion of the land area, it retains relatively high natural value and preservation significance.

Lama, a tree from the ebony family, Wiliwili and Hala Pepe from the pea family, and Ohekukuaeo, a tall shrub from the Panax family, grow within the crater. In addition, there are also Kukui, Wauke, Hau, Noni, Milo and the Uhu bushes shrubs and trees. According to

---

87 Interview with Guy Hughes, KNHP employee, June 7, 2005.
88 Further details are located in the Appendix.
Dr. Fred Stone of the University of Hawai`i – Hilo, “The flora is vanishing because of isolation, genetic mutation, and adaptive radiation, have resulted in a unique assemblage of organisms within Hawai`i. When Hawaiians arrived, there were roughly 50,000 different plant species.”

Many of these are now extinct. According to Beatrice Krauss, “The hundred or so plants the Hawaiians used in their daily life, of which nineteen species were introduced by voyagers, twenty-seven indigenous varieties, and the fifty-two endemic plants, are under attack by modern man and by importation of destructive plants. These include the `A`ali`i, a shrub growing from one foot in height to thirty feet, and the Wiliwili, a tree in height from eighteen to thirty feet, are losing ground to imported ornamentals and landscape varieties.

Heidi Bornhorst comments about the Loulu Palm saying, “People become the worst threat to Loulu and other native plants, as we cut down trees, bulldoze, set fires, import alien weeds and build things where forests once grew.” She also states, “People can be the solution, as well.”

Guy Hughes works in the reforestation project with native plants and eradication of invasive species. He and his crew deploy into backcountry canyons, by either helicopter or boat, erecting fence barriers to protect the native species from predators. The Loulu palm are propagated by the National Park Service in the settlement and then transplanted into the surrounding valleys by Hughes and other park personnel. Twenty-four species of Loulu or Pritchardia Palm are endemic to the islands. The determining factors to recognize the different species are leaf coloration and shape, and the florescence of the seedpods.

89 Interview with Fred Stone, June 15, 2010.
92 A park employee related to me in the summer of 2010 that, “Mr. Hughes has left Kalaupapa and now situated in the deep south of Georgia exploring swamps, I believe.”
There are a number of invasive plants causing damage on the peninsula and they are flourishing out of control. The Christmas Berry, a low shrub with sharp thorns, covers rock formations, tombstones and archaeological sites. Both the Java Plum and the False-Kamani Tree are tall, deciduous leafy trees. These trees hinder the growth of native plants. Their broad leaves provide deep shade and blocks out the sun. When the leaves fall, they literally blanket the ground and this inhibits further rain and sunlight onto the soil. Banyan trees also cause damage, especially within the settlement as their root system surrounds graves, rock walls, and other stationary fixtures.

**Zoology**

Another reason for becoming a national park is that, “KNHP preserves the robust and diverse near shore marine resources due to the geographic remoteness, locally restricted access, and controlled subsistence practices.”\(^{93}\) In other words, while the near shore fishing in Hawai`i is being decimated and destroyed, the peninsula remains a refuge.

Along with the endangered plant life, there are two animals presently protected under federal law on the peninsula. These are the Monk Seal and the Hawaiian Hoary Bat. There are also other species of insects and spiders close to extinction and for which the peninsula “is their last home, retreat, and place of refuge for these species.”\(^{94}\)

In the springtime, numerous Monk Seals calve on the sandy beaches along the western shore. I witnessed the arrival of two newborns as well as seeing the progress of recently birthed seals frolic with their mothers in the calm waters. At night, the Hawaiian

---

\(^{93}\) KNHP, *Foundation Statement*, 12.

\(^{94}\) Bishop Museum entomologist, Frank Howarth, explained in a conversation at the Dentists House where he resided during his stay in Kalaupapa in the summer of 2010.
Hoary Bats emerge from caves on the eastern shore and hunt insects. As George Cox claims in his research:

> It is estimated that, on average, a new species reached and established itself in/on the islands about once every 100,000 years. However, through a process called adaptive radiation, founder species proliferated into many new species. This evolutionary diversification from founder to descendant species numbers from 270 to over 1,000 for flowering plants, 400 to 500 to 10,000 for insects, 20-24 to 750 for land snails, and 20 to 100 for land birds.⁹⁵

According to the Hawai`i Biological Survey,

> Because of the speciation through the process of adaptive radiation, about half of the native species endemic to Hawai`i and 89 percent of the 1,023 native species of flowering plants, are endangered. The 22,056 species of plants and animals that live in the Hawaiian Islands and surrounding waters a third, or 8,850, are classified as endemic.⁹⁶

The park also protects the year-round stream located in Waikolu Valley. This is the only remaining location where all five native stream fish indigenous to Hawai`i still thrive in the same locale. These are the `O`opu with five varieties, the `O`pae with two distinct varieties, and the single variety of Hihiwai, Hapawai, and the Pipiwi. Henry Nalaielua, a Hansen’s disease patient, was cured in 1949 and paroled soon after. He left the settlement and worked for Hawaiian Electric on O`ahu but returned to the live out the remainder of his days in Kalaupapa. He told me in conversation one day, “You don’t know, but I was born on the Big Island, a little plantation town, Nīnole on the Hāmākua Coast. To shorten the story, I moved back to Kalaupapa because I enjoyed the quiet. The mountain streams with their `O`opu and `Opae, reminded me of my youth back in Nīnole.”⁹⁷

Migratory birds often rest on the deserted beaches and tidal pools. They include frigates, often-spotted soaring by the lighthouse among the trade winds, and egrets found in low-lying areas of new grass. Rare species of Hawaiian birds may be located in the upland canyons where they once freely roamed. The O`o, the Au`au, the Wuowuo birds once lived

⁹⁵ Cox, Alien Species, 63.
⁹⁶ I accessed the Biological Survey on numerous occasions at www.biologicalsurvey.org
in mountain up-slopes and were prized for their beautiful feathers are now extinct and have
been replaced by doves, pigeons, and the nene, or the Hawaiian Goose.

According to the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), seven
threatened or endangered species can be spotted on the peninsula. They are the Hawaiian
Stilt or Ae`o, the Hawaiian Coot or `Ala Ke`oke`o, the Hawaiian duck or koloa Maoli; also
the Hawaiian Moorhen or `Alae `ula, Newell’s Shearwater or the `A`o, the Hawaiian short
eared owl or the pueo, and the previously mentioned Hawaiian Hoary bat, or the
`Ope`ape`a.98

Bryan Harry, a retired NPS official, has examined and photographed them all. His
deft findings are not located on the Kalaupapa NPS web site but are accessible on the UH-
Manoa Botany Departments web site.

An article from the Honolulu Star-Advertiser reinforces the problems.

One of the most endangered bird families in the world are the Hawaiian
Honeycreepers. These birds most likely evolved from the Asian rose finches and
underwent a huge burst of activity and diversity more than 4 million years ago
according to scientists in a new

98 I accessed the Department of Land and Natural Resources website on many occasions from 2005-2014, at
www.dlnr.hawaii.gov.

A large burst of evolution called “a radiation” happened between 2.3 million and 4 million years ago and located between the developments of Kauai and Oahu. When Honeycreepers from Kauai-Niihau reached Oahu, they encountered a new environment and required them to adapt, according to Lerner. She conducted her research as a post-doctoral at the Center for Conservation and Evolution Genetics, a part of the Smithsonian Institution.

Of the ten distinct groups of species, six of these were formed on Kauai and Oahu. Helen James, a research zoologist at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History, said, “It was fascinating to be able to tie a biological system to geologic formation and allowed us to become the first to offer a full picture of these birds’ adaptive history.”

Invasive animals also cause destruction, “At night, plenty Axis deer will come out of the bush; enter the settlement searching for fresh water. They eat the mango right off the trees. They make a loud noise when their in rut, a scream like someone being strangled,” a Hansen’s disease patient explained to me in 2005. “Any time you drive from here over to Kalawao you’ll see ten or twenty. The ranger people try to thin out the herd, but they haven’t succeeded. We have four separate hunting districts up against the cliffs, so when you go hunt dinner, you tell the state office which area you go to hunt. We even hunt in the settlement if they get too plentiful.”

A Hansen’s disease patient told us:

I used to hunt all the time. We would go up by the Ylang-ylang or the wooded area right before Kalawao. We only needed small rifles, 22 calibers. The deer are very small, not big like white tail or mule deer. When we got older, one time my regular hunting companion was going blind, he heard a deer in the brush, turned quickly and fired his gun. The bullet flew by my head missing me by three or four inches. Never went hunting again, stuck to fishing.

100 Ibid.
101 A Hansen’s disease patient discussing the deer population as he was smoking a freshly killed dear in his back yard. I asked him what gauge of rifle he used. I remembered my own hunting experience with 30-30’s and a 30-06. He replied, “A twenty-two rifle.”
102 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2006.
Another patient elaborated, “Wild pigs have been in the settlement since forever. They hang out by the dump, and you see them over in Kalawao.” According to Guy Hughes, the manager of natural resources, “The pigs are a major problem. Not only do they dig up the ground everywhere, destroying native vegetation, they also spread invasive plants with their scat, and they decimate the birds by leaving stagnant root-holes where water accumulates and mosquitoes that carry avian malaria thrive.”

A KNHP employee, that requested anonymity, explained, “Not only the deer and the pigs, but feral cats have become a problem. Not that the cats are such a menace, but the patients leave dry food on the ground and this attracts fleas, and other animals.”

In 2005, I noticed a few mongooses within the settlement. With subsequent visits, it seemed to me with each year their population increased. In the summer of 2010, the number of mongoose had exploded. “The mongoose is rapidly multiplying,” a state worker said. “Ten years ago, there were only a few mongooses, now there is a colony of ten or twenty under every building in the settlement. They carry disease and are a menace to the health of everybody.”

The chief KNHP enforcement ranger explained to me one day, while we looked up at the valleys from the east side of the peninsula, near the old landing area,

The problem is the patients have historically treated and think of the cats as their children. Not all patients feed cats, but those who do are devout in their care. When a patient passes and he/she has been feeding a hundred cats, twice a day; well, another patient adopts them. The cats continue to be fed at the same time and location. Plenty mongooses hide in the shrubbery. In addition, no matter what we feds or the state workers say about eradication, the patients stay in control of their lives and their surroundings.

---

103 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2006.
104 A conversation with Guy Hughes, KNHP employee, June 21, 2006.
105 Interview with a KNHP employee, July 4, 2010. The employee requested anonymity and has left the park service and works in Honolulu.
106 The Head Nurse at Kalaupapa, requesting anonymity, commented outside the McVeigh Social Hall after a community meeting in 2010.
107 An Enforcement Ranger, not wanting his name used in “any publication,” remarked in the summer of 2010, when I mentioned the outbreak of fleas, mites, and bedbugs to him.
He turned to climb back into his vehicle, and added, “You don’t step on the patients toes.”

A feisty Hawaiian patient had six pet cats at her house and a friendly dog. At one time, she also had a pet goat rode on the hood of her car. A patient explained, “Gertrude was great, she played poker until the wee hours of the morning and took everybody’s money. I never gambled, especially against her.”

Another patient overheard our conversation and added, “I would see her feed her cats everyday, and I remember her pet goat riding on the hood, the goat would lean into the corner turns, leaning left or right. The goat never fell off.”

---

108 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGY

I was always interested in the past. As a Hawaiian I was raised with certain beliefs, and tried to honor those practices. My ancestors lived pono, and I tried to learn as much about the archaeological sites and cultural practices as I could. Archaeology is the proof that our oral traditions, our mo`olelo, is truthful and righteous.

Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa, 2007

The archaeology of Kalaupapa and the windward region of Moloka`i chronicles the history of the Kanaka Maoli, the pre-contact Hawaiian people, and denotes their settlement patterns and fundamental routines from the first habitation until their displacement with the arrival of the leprosy patients. The windward land mass has not been subjected to the so-called “industrial white-out” and the extreme grubbing of land that obliterates the archaeological record. I argue the peninsula and north shore valleys offer a vast and detailed biography that enhances the specific knowledge and understanding of the Native Hawaiian.

The majority of KNHP lands exist in a physical state of non-disturbance.

Commencing in 1906 with the work of J. J. Stokes of the Bishop Museum and continuing through 2010 with the current KNHP archaeologist Erika Stein, numerous archaeological investigations have occurred within the Park. These explorations uncovered significant and numerous heiau, house sites, ahupua`a walls, along with ko`a shrines to the fishing and hunting gods and the personal deities, or `aumakua of the Native Hawaiian people. In addition, there is a holua slide, a canoe landing site, and a large field for the

111 Interview with Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2007.
112 A term used by UH-West O`ahu Professor Keoni Dudley in his Hawaiian history lecture series in 2001. I first heard the term on Kaua`i, when a land owner in Kilauea was fined for extreme grubbing, or clearing of land, causing an “industrial white-out”, without a county issued permit.
playing of games in the makahiki season. Also located on the slopes of the crater is an intriguing memorial graveyard, Makapulapai, which is dedicated to fallen warriors from a battle in the 1700s.

Dean Alexander, a KNHP superintendent at Kalaupapa, reported, “Many, many small religious sites remain. This purity of landscape adds to the value of its preservation and the sad tale is resources are disappearing bit, by bit, by bit.” The archaeological features are slowly disappearing, not only physically being ground away with the overgrowth of Java Plum and the dreaded Banyan, with its expansive root system, but also the slow whittling down by water erosion and trampling by feral pigs and axis deer. The NPS Cultural Resource manager explained in 2005, “Features can be erased from the contextual memory within the Park, especially with arrival of new employees when they are not informed of the sites hidden by the dense shrubbery across the expanse of the large plateau or resting in the shade of dense valley foliage.” Indeed, from a video, Archaeology at Kalaupapa, filmed in 1997, a heiau named Kaehou, was not only out of sight, but a house had been built over the paving of “pōhaku ho`okumu,” or foundation stones, and the cornerstones or “pōhaku kihi.” However, when asked about the house covering the heiau, a KNHP employee of seven years implied the site did not exist. Ka’awaloa, who has been with the park for twenty-five years, knew of its existence and related the fact to me in a personal conversation and told me of the video. Another employee in the Cultural Resources Division let me borrow the video overnight. The video narrated by Earl Neller, the KNHP archaeologist at Kalaupapa, shows the different aspects of the heiau, walls, pahu or drum areas, and a pit where the refuse of the heiau kahuna, priests or ali`i was deposited.

113 An ancient festival beginning about the middle of October and lasting about four months, with sports and religious festivities, and a taboo, or kapu on war.
115 Interview with Susan Buchel, NPS Cultural Resource Department June 15, 2005.
116 Archaeology, videotape.
117 Interview with Lionel Ka’awaloa, KNPH employee, June 23, 2005.
In the, *Alternative Study of Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement: A Working Draft, May 1978* is a map of the peninsula, including the three valleys that make up the physical boundary of the Park, names eight heiau, one in Wai`ale`ia Valley and three in Waikolu Valley.118

On the Kauhakō Crater, there exists an unnamed heiau in the interior of the crater and another named Kapua on the north slope of the crater. There are two heiau in the Kalawao area: Kawahaalihi and Kalaehala. Three heiau are located in Waikolu Valley and named, Moaula, Ahina, and Kukaiwaa. In addition to these heiau, on the KNHP map are four ko`a shrines erected by individuals to their personal fishing and hunting `aumakua, or deities, located in the airport area and along the eastern shoreline.119

My interest in Hawaiian archaeology developed when I lived along the banks of the Wailua River on Kaua`i. The Wailua area is historically and archaeologically rich, with a bell stone, or “pōhaku kīkēkē,” a string of seven heiau from the ocean proceeding along the river toward Mount Wai`ale`ale. There are also petroglyphs and a city of refuge on the south side of the river mouth. I visited all of these sites and read the archaeological findings of them by Patrick Kirch and other archaeologists. Additional knowledge was acquired when I enrolled at UH-West O`ahu and participated in Hawaiian history and archaeology classes taught by Professor Ross Cordy. Upon my arrival at Kalaupapa, I found that the numerous archaeological features were both intriguing and overwhelming. I became concerned that although a couple of heiau were recognized with wayside signs, they were not protected with any vegetative maintenance by KNHP. The overgrowth slowly destroys the sites and Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patients take offense at this neglect. One Hawaiian patient expressed to me, “I wish the park service would ignore us and our living situation as much as

---

118 The heiau are listed in the Appendix, and named Kamanuolalo, Kaahemo, Kuahu, along with another unnamed heiau. Wendell Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiau* (dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930), 159.
119 My interest in archaeology began when I roamed the American Southwest beginning in the late 1950s and explored various Anasazi ruins in the Canyonland areas of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah.
they leave the ruins to decay. They mess up our lives and let nature destroy what they came here to protect.”

State and federal employees are reluctant to share knowledge and what is disseminated to individuals, researchers, and to the general populace, and they do on a need-to-know basis. In 2010, I mentioned the importance of Makapulapai to the current archaeologist, Erika Stein, she did not reply. On another occasion, I happened to mention the canoe landing on the east side off the peninsula to a KNHP employee; they had been at the park for eight years, protecting and cataloging patients’ items, but he did not know of the landing. Susan Buchel, an NPS employee in charge of the cultural resources in 2005, commented, “We curators prefer everything be kept in big boxes within climate controlled rooms.” In discussing the lack of maintenance and protection of archaeological sites, Buchel added, “Historical interpreters want everything out in the open to be viewed and played with by the public.” KNHP has ultimate control, and they decide what information is open to the general populace to see or become aware what exists. Buchel, again commented, “You guys (McAleavey and I) have unlimited access to most of the park’s documents, which are designated for internal use only. I would make use of this information while you can. When you do not have NPS identification the doors will lock behind you.”

In addition, she agreed with the viewpoint of Bryan Harry who admitted on numerous occasions, “This will never work.” Harry was referring to the convoluted situation of the patients, the Board of Health, and National Park Service all vying for control of the peninsula, with each entity bolstered by their bureaucratic agendas in 1980. Buchel, however, meant the bureaucratic configuration of politics that inundates NPS. One day, exasperated by

---

120 Interview with Hansen’s disease patient, July 4, 2010.
121 Interview with Susan Buchel, June 22, 2005.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
124 Interview with Bryan Harry, retired NPS regional director, August 9, 2005. This is one of numerous conversations I had with Harry at the Kuhio Federal Building from 2005-07.
the slow work of cataloging patients’ possessions, she lamented, “I have two workers who
don’t know a thing about Hawaiian history. They pick up a “poi pounder” and think it’s a
door stop.”125

A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient told me, “Some of those park people think we
are the doorstops. They say there going to protect our history, yet they destroy or living
situation by always bringing in more people, like you, to study this, build that.”126 He went
on to complain, “They dig up the whole settlement replacing our septic tanks with EPA
mandated crap. They don’t protect all the archaeology sites that exist from here to the
airport.”127 By examining a reconnaissance project by KNHP, titled, *Airport Road
Archaeological Survey (June 3-14, 1991) for the Waterline Reconstruction Project, Phase
Two*, the quantity of these archaeological sites is confirmed. This report covers an area along
the airport road to Kalaemilo Point, a distance of roughly one mile. There are ten distinct
archaeological sites within twenty-feet of each side of the pavement. These separate sites
contain one hundred and five features paralleling the road and consist of agricultural field
walls and individual house sites.128

Many of the rock walls on the peninsula are historic. There are three distinct
categories of rock walls on the peninsula: (1) the walls the early Kanaka Maoli constructed
and therefore archaeologically important, (2) the agricultural field rock walls that were built
by indigenous people as windbreaks, and (3) the walls the Hansen’s disease patients, and
their kōkua, built in Kalawao and Kalaupapa to protect the churches, housing, etc. from
foraging pigs and cattle.

The rock walls that exist in the settlement are not the ancient variety, but were built
by the patients to enclose their houses for protection from wandering cattle, to clear their

125 Interview with Susan Buchel, June 10, 2005.
126 Interview with Hansen’s disease patient, July 8, 2010.
127 Ibid.
building lots, and boundary markers. KNHP, within the last few years, has taken to restoring the walls and making sure they are of the Hawaiian pattern by bringing in experts from the Big Island to perform the work along with the help of volunteers. The dry-stack method of stone masonry called `ūhauhumu pohaku is translated as to interlock or to lay together the stones. William H. Kalipi, Sr., a Hawaiian expert in this field stated, “When we went out to work he’d teach me how to set rock, look for the face of the rock, How to pule (pray). So my uncle always taught me to be pono, when we do Hawaiian stuffs.” Numerous rock walls are evident within the settlement and recorded in old photographs, however many of these succumbed to the road paving to cover the dusty lanes. In the late 1950s the road-paving crew loaded the rocks onto trucks and deposited them at the rock crusher site where they were broken into scree. The scree combined with asphalt to provide paving for the settlement. We documented the remaining walls in 2010 with digital photographs and GPS locations for KNHP for future restoration work.

An unknown number of indigenous Native Hawaiians are also buried on the peninsula in unmarked graves, caves, or lava tubes. The graves of Kanaka Maoli existed before the arrival of the patients. With the lengthening of the airport runway, members of the reconnaissance archaeology survey located a Hawaiian burial. According to Henry Nalaielua, “The only one in which we actually found remains was this sandy grave of a child about six months old.” In addition, Nalaielua continued:

A stone had been placed on this baby’s head, an indication that it had been born prior to 1865. The head was not crushed, but rather placed carefully, to keep dogs away. My job as a member of the Burial Council was to see that this baby had a proper burial. We made a coconut leaf basket to hold the little bones and then, with a prayer, we put the basket in a cement box and buried the baby at the bottom of the flagpole.

A brass plaque, dedicated to the baby, is located at the base of the airstrip flagpole.

---

129 Maly, Ka Hana, 1130.
The conversation concerning Hawaiian burials continued with a different patient after a Sunday service at the Kana’anä Hou church, “At one time a church held meetings out by where Elaine’s (Remigio) beach house is located. I remember a couple burial sites out there.”132 In the midst of the coming and goings of different work parties, we had to switch living arrangements and move from the nice quiet house of Ernest Kala. Instead of staying in the visitor quarters, we rented a beach house from Elaine Remigio for a week in 2007. This provided an opportunity to inspect the surrounding grounds during our free time. A very thick overgrowth in one corner of the property hid a pile of stones that resembled burial cairns. I could not get very close because of the thickness of the Christmas Berry, haole koa, and general growth of weeds, and could not ascertain if these were actual burials, or a pile of rocks. However, in the summer of 2010, in the middle of a dry spell, if not drought, we noticed plenty of rubble, outbuildings, and chicken coops sticking out from the haole koa shrubbery throughout the settlement. I surveyed the beach house area again and located three gravesites with the familiar stone cairns. The burials are located next to the one-lane dirt-path in the northeast corner on the beach-house grounds. Amongst all these unknown graves scattered amongst the rocks and covered over by bushes, there are fourteen organized cemeteries on the peninsula.

Preservation is the primary interpretive theme of KNHP, and the Park observes:

These variety and site types together with its long history of subsistence and its geographic location the research allows us to appreciate the ways in which Native Hawaiian communities flourished in the region and adjoining valleys for hundred of years. Their ingenuity, work ethic, and adaptation to the harsh windswept and weathered environment reflect important components of Hawaiian history and traditional cultural practices.133

In their study, *Archaeological Investigations at Kauhakō Crater*, Rechtman and Henry concluded that, “The entire peninsula, including the Koʻolau District from the Nihoa

---

132 Interview with Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2006.
133 KNHP, *Foundation*, 8.
outfall in the west, to Halawa Valley on the east, can be considered within this vast complex of archaeological sites.”\textsuperscript{134} The area offers a rich history, Rechtman and Henry continue, “That the on-site features layer each other and form an immense landscape of considerable variety.”\textsuperscript{135} This cumulative knowledge of archaeological investigations and the mo`olelo, or oral histories, led to a timeline initiated by Patrick Kirch to understand the archaeological past in the Kalaupapa region.

In 1985, Kirch developed his time-period scale in showing the chronology of human occupation in the Hawaiian Islands. This was further refined in 1989 to the island of Moloka`i and to Kalaupapa with radiocarbon dates obtained from Kaupikiawa Cave.\textsuperscript{136} However, further testing by archaeologist Mark McCoy in 2007 revised the timeline. Based on information McCoy gathered on the peninsula, as well as the island of Moloka`i, he adjusted the Development Period and the Colonization Period (300-600 AD) (600-1000 AD) into a single Foundation Period with new dates of 300-1200 AD.\textsuperscript{137} These new time-lines are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time-Period</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation Period</td>
<td>300-1200 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Expansion Period</td>
<td>1200-1400 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Expansion Period</td>
<td>1400-1650 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto Historic Period</td>
<td>1650-1795 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Period</td>
<td>1795-1900 AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This timeline was refined in recent years with the availability of accurate radio-carbon dating techniques and the Foundation Period, or time-line for discovery, has been reconfigured to 800-1200 AD.\textsuperscript{138} Moreover, Mark McCoy and fellow archaeologist Jim Flexner further broke down the chronology of sites within the Parks boundaries to include sub-categories within the Historic Period:

\textsuperscript{134} Robert Rechtman and Jack D. Henry, \textit{Archaeological Investigations at Kauhakō Crater} (NPS: Denver, 2000), 52-53.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 53.
\textsuperscript{136} This is also called “Old Woman Cave” and is included in the list of six littoral caves; this is the same cave as the Keanao`naluahine mentioned in Chapter II.
\textsuperscript{137} Erika Stein, \textit{Layered Landscapes: Archaeological Investigations and Identification Report Associated with the Kalaupapa Memorial Project}, draft, (KNHP, 2010), 12.
\textsuperscript{138} Patrick V. Kirch, \textit{A Shark Going Inland Is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawai`i} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 80.
The University of California at Berkeley held an archaeological field school in the summer of 2007 in Kalawao. The purpose of the field school, besides the training of graduate students, was to locate any detritus such as bottles, cans, and other remnants from the area where the Baldwin Home existed, located directly across the road from St. Philomena. The classification of the Present Period of Significance, mentioned above, from 1960 – to the present, becomes notable within the scope of the project; the archaeologist was not searching for Hawaiian artifacts but Nineteenth-Century debris. As Flexner, the leader of the field school explains,

For archaeologists, the frameworks of time we use also structure the interpretations we make. I consider the archaeology of the Hansen’s disease settlement at Kalawao in terms of the recent past as belonging to a capitalist, institutionalized world, but one unfamiliar enough to hold to a conceptualization of the “Past” as “Other.”  

The latest of the forty-three archaeological undertakings was Flexner’s work in Kalawao, 2007. All of these forty-seven investigations came to fruition using different ideas, reasons, and criteria on why they should be performed. In 1907, Thomas G. Thrum, an interested anthropologist, enjoyed the endeavor of discovery and published the latest archaeology findings in his yearly almanac. John Stokes followed in 1909. Stokes was on an island-wide survey that was sponsored by Bishop Museum. According to Patrick Kirch, writing in 1985, “Historical archaeology is very much in its nascent period in the state, but

---

the efforts carried out to date leave no doubt as to archaeology and its contribution to our understanding of the tremendous historical changes that shaped our state.”¹⁴⁰

KNHP did have an archaeologist on the payroll for a few years, one G. F. Somers, who undertook reconnaissance work. The next archaeologist, Earl (Buddy) Neller, continued the reconnaissance tradition and exhibited a flare for the spectacular, which led to resentment by the local Hawaiians as his work varied from pure-science to extreme speculation. Appendix B contains the complete list of archaeologists, the year and scope of their projects. The majority of the archaeological work performed on the peninsula has been either of the reconnaissance or contract variety. As a result, the location and preservation (by benign neglect) of the heiau, holua slides, house sites, petroglyphs, and burial sites have been successful. With the advent of the organization Ka `Ohana O Kalaupapa the idea of establishing a memorial to the 8,000 deceased patients became one of its primary goals. The `Ohana (family) fought for the monument all the way to the White House in 2007-09, and President Obama signed a decree to proceed on the monument. Obama’s action mandated NPS to bring back an archaeologist to KNHP. Erika Stein conducted a full reconnaissance survey of the Old Baldwin Home location in Kalawao. Her survey was exhaustive and well documented. The patients told her in 2009, “You won’t find anything; the area had been bulldozed when they raised the Old Baldwin Home.”¹⁴¹ Her field notes and report did locate archaeological stonewalls, and unearthed glass shards and modern implements of irrigation

¹⁴⁰ Patrick Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 318. Also, there are three divisions in archaeological work: Contract, Reconnaissance and Investigation. Contract archaeology, the most common in Hawai‘i, comes into play when a government agency (city, state, or federal) is required to perform an investigation as to what exactly their project (road, sewer line, airport runway or perhaps high-rise building) will disturb or uncover. The developer is required to hire an outside contractor who performs a survey of what is in the ground. Reconnaissance archaeology indicates a person performs fieldwork and records various structures on top of the ground and then maps and measures the components, be it a rock wall, grave, or platform. However, he or she performs no actual excavation work. Investigation is the actual process of digging into remains or structures to uncover or retrieve material or data that will add significantly to the known database.

¹⁴¹ Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 10, 2010. These comments took place outside of St. Philomena church in Kalawao.
pipe and concrete slabs. She reported that the patients in the Kalawao era, 1880-1910, used the sharp edges of broken glass to cut off their scabs, wounds, and bandages.\textsuperscript{142}

When we arrived on the peninsula in the summer of 2005, I had a limited knowledge of Hawaiian archaeology. I found the numerous features on the peninsula quite remarkable and wanted to learn additional archaeological history. When we worked in the downtown Federal Building, we had access to information stored on backroom shelves and generally forgotten about in the day-to-day existence of the NPS.

**Archaeological Sites**

Today, the plateau of agricultural field walls and ahupua`a boundary walls lies under a thick blanket of bushy Lantana and Christmas Berry that have needle sharp thorns. Cordy noted, “the vegetation might protect the features from erosion by rain or crumbling walls, as wildlife cannot climb onto them, but the plant growth must be kept in check as the root systems will destroy the sites.”\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{142} Stein, *Layered Landscapes*, 12.
\textsuperscript{143} Interview with Ross Cordy, University of Hawai`i West-O`ahu Professor, October 5, 2005.
Two places of worship are pictured, the Hawaiian heiau named Kalaehala in the foreground, and St. Philomena Church in the background. The name of the heiau is recorded by Wendell Bennett in his dissertation, *Hawaiian Heiau*, written in 1930.

Following their extensive survey of the Kauhakō Crater in 2000 by Robert B. Rechtman and Jack David Henry, the two archaeologists recommended to KNHP in their report, that:

The vegetation clearance should be maintained as a protection measure against root and tree limb damage to the site. Inaction, benign neglect, with respect to vegetation control could be considered as promoting an adverse effect to this historic property, and place KALA (Kalaupapa National Historical Park) in a situation of non-compliance with respect to the National Historic Preservation Act.”

Because the heiau have considerable variety and distinct features, the vast complex of archaeological sites on the peninsula warrants preservation. Stein adds, “Because of the isolation enforced by topography and lack of large-scale industry, i.e. ranching and plantations, the archaeology in Kalaupapa National Historical Park is one of the most well-

---

preserved and varied landscapes in all of Hawai`i.” In this region of widespread archaeological features are those sites within the Kauhakō crater complex where twenty-nine sites with three-hundred eleven distinct features exist, they include heiau, rock walls, and house sites.

The holua slide was officially recorded and photographed by John G. Stokes, and is the only one recorded in the Ko`olau district and probably the only slide on the island of Moloka`i. The slide is located on the southern slope of Kauhakō crater. The slide itself is overgrown with vegetation and one cannot see the actual slide from any distance. You have to walk up to within a few feet to realize it is there, and the dirt road that leads to the crater bisects the slide. The unique feature of this slide is the concave surface, and the small pebbles or `ili`ili pohaku, over the base of larger stones allowing the “slidee” greater speed upon the pili grass. Mark McCoy states. “Overall, with additional research and alien vegetation clearing, it may be possible to revive sledding at the site with minimal impact to the structure itself.”

The canoe landing is another one-of-a-kind site located on the steep slope of the Kalawao shoreline. Smooth rounded pohaku (rocks) denotes its appearance and the boulders are wedged in between the geologic or metamorphic difference of the jagged lava flow of pāhoehoe. These rounded rocks were manually transported from the Waihanau Valley and placed here. The pili grass covered the stones and provides a soft cushion for canoes to glide on as they exited or entered the ocean. Lionel Ka`awaloa, working at KNHP since its inception, pointed out the location to us on the extremely rocky eastern shoreline. In the video, Kalaupapa Archaeology, one segment details this canoe landing. “Buddy” Neller, a KNHP archaeologist, points out the smooth water-worn rocks delicately maneuvered and

---

145 Stein, Layered Landscapes, 10.
placed with skill over the rough lava. Each stone resembles the size of an oblong basketball and is quite hefty in weight. The lava slope is extremely steep, forty-five degrees, and at first the idea of this area being a canoe landing seems outrageous, but realizing the rocks were covered in pili grass, and the ahuapa`a had to have its own connection to the sea, one realizes the necessity of the placement of the landing in this locale.

Another item of interest, and hardly noticed, or more to the point, not known about, by today’s visitors or residents alike, is the so-called, `Īlio, or dog heiau. I first heard of the `Īlio heiau from John Ka`imikaua, a Kumu Hula practitioner from Makaha on O`ahu 2005. On Moloka`i he led an annual hula festival, paying tribute to his ancestors. This heiau site is located near the lighthouse and honors a local canine, a few say “mythical canine.” The dog is credited with rescuing anglers and `opihi (limpet) pickers while he watched the ocean. On weekends or over vacation days, I spent hours examining the location where I thought the heiau existed, by the lighthouse, where a series of walls bisected the concrete steps leading up to the light from the keeper’s residence. One day I located an aerial picture and there was the outline of the heiau one hundred yards to the west of where I was looking. This aerial photo showed an outline of an animal, four legs, and a body complete with a tail. Beyond the usual ko`a fishing shrines located on all islands that denote good locations too fish, and a place where lawai`a kane (anglers) offer pule or prayers to their `aumakua or their family deities, this heiau to a canine becomes important. No heiau dedicated to animals are found on any of the other Hawaiian Islands. There are heiau to honor men who changed into the form of a dog on most of the islands but none solely to honor a canine.

There are several Hawaiian variations on the origin of Moloka`i Island itself (besides geological). Because history and culture are not lineal and tangible objects, we perhaps

---

147 Some people scoff, including a few Hawaiians, at this notion of a canine heiau. Having surveyed the area at the foot of the lighthouse, a labyrinth of walls exists. Looking straight down from the top of the lighthouse, you see the collection of walls do indeed resemble the outline of a dog.
should start with the oral traditions of the Native Hawaiian, most notably Wakea and his first wife, Papa, who gave birth to the islands of Hawa‘i, Maui, and Kaho‘olawe. Wakea then returned to Tahiti. Wakea took another wife, Kaulawahine, who bore forth Lana‘i; his third wife Hina bore the island of Moloka‘i.  

The first ali‘i recognized in the moʻolelo of Moloka‘i is Kamauaua, a descendent of Nanaulu who reputedly reigned over the island from AD 1360-1460. An employee of the Park Service in Honolulu, Bryan Harry, explained:

NPS has a duty to protect and preserve the archaeological features. A few people within NPS, interpret this duty to a degree of secretive deniability, or non-informational output to, for, or with the general public. The NPS idea of showing the general populace or tourists, a small sampling of what exists within the Parks boundary and hold other information back is that the shear number of visitors in the future will destroy sacred objects by their presence alone.

Many employees at KNHP interpret the saying or slogan, “Take only photos leave only footprints,” in a strict manner. Buchel said, “Unless you have the academic credentials backing up your desire for information you will not receive a full understanding of what is in the Park.”

When classifying the structures and doing assessments, we came across a distinct archaeological feature located in the middle of the peninsula. We were surveying the lighthouse vicinity and noticed outlines of rock walls and formations on a distant ridge between the crater and the lighthouse. On a Sunday afternoon, we returned to explore the outcropping and fought our way through thigh-high and thorny Christmas Berry plants. We located twenty or so concentric circular patterns laid-out like a multilevel deck or lanai. The levels varied in diameter from fifteen to thirty feet. Subsequent research described this as a burial site for ali‘i killed in battle. According to Abraham Fornander, a dispute over fishing

---

150 Interview with Bryan Harry, June 19, 2005.
151 Advertising slogan for the NPS circa 1970s.
152 Interview with Susan Buchel, June 22, 2005.
rights led to a battle in the early eighteenth century. The Hoolau`loa, or the windward group, fought the leeward people who had the assistance of an O`ahu chief by the name of Kuali`i. Fornander recorded the story in his writings in 1916-1917 and Thrum published the accounts in the *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*. The story is well worth repeating:

When Kuali`i heard ... from Paepae a chief from the Kekaha district that several disputes had taken place when the Ko`olau chiefs desired Kekaha fishing rights... he immediately gave his consent and the canoes were again put out to sea and they set sail for Kaunakakai where they arrived in due time. The Molokai chiefs and Kuali`i went by land until they reached Mo`omomi, where Kualii and the chiefs took the canoes and set sail for Kalapua.

When the chiefs of Ko`olau heard that the war was to be carried into Kalaupapa, the war canoes were put out from Halawa and from all the Ko`olau side to go to battle. However, Kualii and his chief warriors, Maheleana and Malanihaehae, with other warriors had already encountered the chiefs residing at Kalaupapa and had defeated these chiefs. However, the other chiefs of Koolau and Kona with their men arrived soon after this who were prepared to continue the battle against the chiefs from Kekaha. In this battle, Paepae was very conspicuous both in strength and bravery, so much so he and his force surpassed the chief warriors of Kaulii. When Ku`aliai and his followers were victorious over all the chiefs of Molokai, all the lands on the Koolau side came into Paepae’s possession. This victory was not, however, gained with war clubs, but with the stone axe of Kuali`i named Haulanuiakea. Following is the story of the destruction of the enemy by Kuali`i with the blade of the axe.

While Kuali`i and his followers were floating in their canoes over the sand bar at Kalaupapa, the soldiers from Koolau swam out to the canoes of Kualii with the intention of capturing them; they were some forty in number. When they got hold of the canoes and hefted them onto their shoulders. While this was done, Kuali`i rose with axe in hand and swung it along one side of the canoe killing those on that side, which caused the canoes to lean toward that side. When Malanihaehae saw that the people on one side of the canoes were slain, he rose and reached for the axe which was being held in his [Kuali`i] hand and swung it along the other side of the canoe, which slew all the people on that side; and the canoes again fell on even keel in the sea and floated as before.

Not very long after this more of the enemy came along, equal in number to those that had been slain, and they again lifted up the canoes of Kuali`i just as the other had done, without any signs of fear, although the others were floating around dead. Again the axe was used with deadly effect and again Kuali`i and his followers were victorious by the use of the blade of Haulanuiakea. This was kept up until the whole army was slain.153

153 Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1918) 416-420. I further researched this site and found additional references by McCoy, and also by Stein. However, Fornander’s description is the most detailed and the same account McCoy and Stein refer to.
My curiosity heightened, I wanted to know about this pattern of circular paving stones. I learned from another source, there were indeed two battles, one involving the warriors of the peninsula and the adjacent valleys, and a second battle when reinforcements arrived from Pelekunu and Halawa valleys.154

This structure of circular paving stones in the Hawaiian archipelago is unique, with only two other similar sites recorded, both on Hawai`i Island at Kaloko and Keauhou.155 The graves of the warriors are covered by the concentric circle of stones that are laid flat, like bricks, on the ground.

The burial site consists of at least three different pohaku paving styles and seventy-nine separate burial features, as well as two possible heiau, and at least one petroglyph.156 The petroglyph is a typical rough-hewn stick figure, but includes a rather long appendage perhaps depicting the war club of Kuali`i.157

The Fornander Collection is well worth reading and contains a great deal of information on Hawai`i in the early 1900s.

154 McCoy, Landscape, 126.
156 Stein, Layered Landscape, 10.
157 Interview with Dr. Fred Dodge, May 15, 2011. You can imagine my shock when on a hike in Makua Valley, on the leeward coast of O`ahu, with Dr. Fred Dodge, who had enticed me with his description of newly discovered petroglyphs in the upper part of the valley. When I arrived at Makua it was cold, as the day wore on the heat caused us all to remove a layer of clothing, and here was Dr. Dodge wearing a T-shirt with an exact silkscreen print of Kuali`i on the back. “I knew Buddy Neller,” he said, “I visited with Buddy (Neller) in Kalaupapa, and he showed me the petroglyph.”
The Makapulapai petroglyph located on the burial mounds of the central up-welling on the Makanalua ahupua`a is thought to be that of the O`ahu King, Kualii with his noted war axe named Haulanuiakea.

According to Fornander, these burial platforms were erected out of deep respect for one’s enemies. A Hawaiian KNHP employee, Albert Pu, who in the early seventies assisted the park archaeologist in their work on the peninsula, told me. “Archaeologists have wondered about similar formations located on the Big Island and thought they were chiefly platforms used in some ceremonial way. They reviewed all the marae on Tahiti for any simultaneous findings.”158 A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient chimed in, “Neller, Sommers, and up until Kirch; they all ignored Fornander.159

During the he summer of 2010, we returned to Kalaupapa for a seven-week stay. I endeavored to find additional information using the NPS library in the Malamalama

---

158 Interview with Albert Pu, Hawaiian KNHP employee, June 10, 2008.
159 Interview with Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, after volunteering his opinion, June 10, 2008.
Building. There I met Erika Stein, the resident archaeologist and the first permanent archaeologist in years located at Kalaupapa. She was helpful in providing information about her work, especially her report on the Ka Ohana ‘O Kalaupapa memorial authorized by Congress, and signed into law by President Obama, but not welcomed by the Park Service. The detailed report on the Kalawao site where the patients’ memorial is to be built is very informative, plus the additional information concerning the Siloama church and the tomb of Kanaka-O-Kai, or a spelling variant of Kanakaokai. Stein wrote, “Kanakaokai was a Protestant preacher who was awarded land grants in the Great Mahele and is buried in one of the tombs near Siloama.”

Besides the Damien Tour run by Richard Marks and his wife Gloria, other patients have had their own tour operations, including Ike’s Scenic Tours, which, “because of his cantankerous personality,” did not endure. Other residents of the peninsula, Gena Sasada, and Puna Ramos provided tours for their friends. Sasada is a descendant of rancher Meyer who helped Damien. We met Gena in 2005 when she managed the state-run, patient store. During her off-hours, she drove us around the peninsula pointing out various sites. Another impromptu tour guide was Puna Ramos, a Hawaiian Cultural practitioner, who was married to a patient.

There is another petroglyph on the peninsula, in what the locals, both patients and state workers, refer to as located in the Ylang-ylang (pronounced lang-lang), a heavily wooded area on the road to Kalawao. Puna Ramos showed us the location for this petroglyph. In the documentary film, Kalaupapa Archaeology, Neller explains, “this walled area is probably a heiau, it has all the features of a heiau plus this petroglyph is rare. The

---

160 Stein, Layered Landscape, 10.
figure is performing an act, with arms raised, the feet in a wide stance. More study is needed.”

The ahupua`a boundary wall is three-feet high and two miles in length. The wall transects the peninsula commencing on the cliff face it runs past the crater, and ends at shoreline east of the lighthouse. The wall is missing a section where Damien Road bisects it by a heiau but the wall is probably the longest archaeological feature in the Hawaiian Islands.

On different tours by both Sasada and Ramos, they showed us two different birthing stones that were barely three hundred yards apart from each other. They could both be what they are purported to be, but there is a high degree of deniability in that they only resemble what a birthing stone should look like, and they are not recorded by any archaeologists.

A Hawaiian patient expressed, “What archaeologists learn about heiau has been handed down repeatedly, so what one person learns could easily be diluted and this diluted section is handed down to the next candidate.” According to an article by Matthew Spriggs in The Contemporary Pacific:

Knowledge usually comes from other archaeologists, who got it from earlier archaeologists such as Kenneth Emory, who got it from even earlier researchers such as T. G. Thrum. Knowledge becomes watered-down at every transmission until it ends up as–six facts you need to know about heiau to be a qualified archaeologist.

According to Wendell Bennett, in his dissertation (1930), there are seventeen known heiaus within the windward district of Moloka`i, and twelve of them are within the National Park boundaries. Not only does he list the heiau, but he also provides their Hawaiian names and ahapua`a locations, six in Kalaupapa, five in Pelekunu Valley, and two each in Waikolu, Kalawao, and Makanalua.

---

162 Archaeology, videotape.
165 Bennett, Hawaiian Heiau, 159.
Albert Pu has been employed at the Park for twenty-five years and he related to me how the heiau, “Are crumbling quite dramatically. I’ve seen them wither with neglect.” Pu was the chief engineer and manager of the KNHP maintenance department. “We used to maintain the different heiau all the time. Keep the trees trimmed, roots cut back, all that. With the last three superintendents, the job has been neglected and the growth of vegetation is way out of control.”

Samuel Kamakau in his *Works of the People of Old* provides a rich, detailed examination of heiau construction and their various functions from the smallest of fishing shrine to the grandest of Luakini heiau.

This [account] describes the way in which the heiau were made, and is found in the prayer of a kahuna of ancient times named Mo`i. His heiau was that of Manini`aiake at Honoka`upu in Pelekunu, Molokai… The time of Mo`i was much later than the time of Wakea. …but he kept the very ancient type of heiau belonging to the period of Wakea ma (folks).

In Wendell Bennett’s dissertation, *Hawaiian Heiau’s*, number sixty-four is Maniniaikake, Pelekune Valley. Although Bennett’s’ spelling and use of the critical pronunciation marks of the `okina and kahakō are lacking, it would seem his references are correct and this leads one to wonder why future archaeologists ignored Bennett and had to rediscover them in the 1970s.

Larger heiau, or “temples” while protected, the importance to Hawaiians of “minor” religious structures – family shrines, ko`a pohaku o Kane, and so on – not taken into account by contract archaeologists and planners making management decisions. Matthew Spriggs continues in his argument and asks, “Is a heiau less important because its platform or other structures have been destroyed? What is an adequate buffer zone around a recognized sacred

166 Interview with Albert Pu, KNPH employee, June 25, 2005.
167 Ibid., June 29, 2005.
169 Bennett, *Hawaiian Heiau*, 159.
site? Surely these and related questions are ones for the Hawaiian community, not archaeological “experts” to decide. Albert Pu, the Head of Maintenance for NPS, said, “In fact sacred sites may not be obvious, and located within the natural features by the side of the road, airport, or buildings.”

During the summer of 2005, we inspected numerous burial sites on the side of Kauhakō crater where heiau are located as well as the Holua slide. Off to one side of the burials we stumbled upon a chamber or vault that was recessed into the ground like the royal tomb in Nu`uanu, on O`ahu. Then further beyond this chamber was a cave with a wide opening. What made this cave extraordinary, in my opinion, was that a securely locked wrought-iron gate blocked the entrance. The tomb, we were informed, “was that of a Hawaiian with royal lineage.” Further research or knowledge was a moot point as far as NPS was concerned and anyone else residing within the settlement knew nothing of the burials or they were keeping mum on who was interred. Pursuing the evidence further in the summer of 2008, I read News from Molokai and I found a reference to a cave and the inhabitant, at the time of Kaeo letters, 1873-76, as one Kalawaianui Kahōali`i. How accurate is the information, of course, is open to debate. When I mentioned this wrought iron gate to Henry Law in 2012 at a book-signing event in Honolulu, he replied. “There are many caves within and on the side of the crater, but none have a wrought-iron gate that I am aware of. If it does exist, it would be a mark of an ali`i burial.”

A volcanic bomb or a remnant of the massive Kauhakō explosion can be located by the airport. A geologic oddity, or “bomb,” this big chunk of lava thrown from the eruption

---

170 Spriggs, Facing the Nation, 380-392.
171 Interview with Albert Pu, KNHP employee, June 18, 2005.
landed on this section of the peninsula. This large pohaku is in the shape of a high-back chair, or, the formation resembles an arm-less chair complete with seat and backrest. The object must weigh 1000 or more pounds. The seat and backrest are perfectly proportioned for sitting. Oral Histories or mo`olelo stories tell of a Kapuna wahine who sat in this solidified lava chair holding court creating matches for young people or at least for her entourage of followers. The chair is quite lost in the surrounding landscape of overgrown bushes. I read about the chair in The Place Names of Hawaii and asked Lionel and Albert,\textsuperscript{175} two NPS employees, about this oddity. We were at the airport and they pointed the chair out, but we did not recognize the formation. Margaret and I looked off into the horizon of bushes and other volcanic outcroppings along this kula, or undulating dry land formations, looking for something dramatic and did not see this humble bit of volcanic work not fifty yards away.

We asked Lionel about the formation again in the winter of 2006 and the location of the “chair” and again he pointed it out to me. The chair sat on the other side of a six-foot wire-mesh fence erected by the Park Service to inhibit the deer and pig population from inundating the settlement. The path to the volcanic chair that one must take and actually be able to sit down and examine the view it offers requires a walk from the airport of a hundred yards toward the settlement, opening a rusty metal gate, and stepping onto the uneven rocky lava terrain full of lantana bushes. Then, one must carefully pick his way between low shrubbery and, a`ā, a form of lava for another one hundred yards to the presence of the chair. When you sit in the chair, you face the steep cliffs. The ocean was at my back barely one-hundred yards away from the northern point of the peninsula. The point of land is named Kahi`u, meaning fish tail, and there are many, ko`a a`i, or fishing shrines located in this vicinity to the fishing deities, or to `aumakua, of the early Hawaiians. The chair is not

\textsuperscript{175} Lionel Ka`awaloa and Albert Pu both employed at KNHP since its inception in 1980. These are excerpts of interviews and discussions with them at Kalaupapa during the summers of 2005-07.
comfortable. The seat has a bit of a lean, and you imagine the Kahuna had a woven lauhala mat at her feet and garlands spread out covering the rough earth of pāhoehoe and `a`ā types of lava. Her consorts sat upon their own mats awaiting the omniscient prophecies of this Kahuna with whom they should consort with and bring gifts to “hele no alako’.” However, as uncomfortable as the chair remains, the view is quite remarkable and dramatic with the plain of land rising up to Kauhakō crater and the steep cliffs beyond. The three valleys, Waikolu, Wai‘ali‘ia, and Waihanau, are cut into the cliffs immediately south of the peninsula and provides a spectacular backdrop against the rising plain.

I pictured this massive volcanic “bomb” flying through the air and landing here umpteenth millennia ago. Of course, the “chair” did not arrive in an upright position but had to have been propped up in the later millennia by the inhabitants. Elmer Wilson, Kalaupapa administrator from 1947 to 1974, relates that “Kahili beach was named for a woman, Kahili`opua, a chiefess from `Īliopi. She moved from the beach and took up residence around this chair with her female retainers. If someone wanted a wife or a helper, a kokua`olua, she acted as an intermediary. Her place of operation was Kanohopohaku o Kahili`opua, the rock chair that rests near the landing field. One always went to her with gifts, “hele no a lako,” which can be roughly translated as bringing supplies.

The supplies brought to the peninsula by KNHP are dependent on the superintendent at thee park. Henry Law said in conversation in Honolulu, “The universal key to preservation and protection is funding.” Removal of vegetation around the pre-contact structures, and to keep it in check, requires a great extent of manual labor and a consistent number of person-hours per week. Now that Erika Stein, an archaeologist is the superintendent, perhaps this will change. The push by the Ka `Ohana `O Kalaupapa forced KNHP to acquire an

---

176 John Clark, Hawai`i Place Names (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2002), 151.
177 A conversation with Henry Law at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, October 15, 2012.
archaeologist return to the park, and it will be funding required in keeping her replacement there once the memorial is completed. What the superintendent of any National Park determines to be important is what they budget for and thus ultimately fund.

A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient said in conversation, “Today, the money is spent mainly on the buildings and their adaptive re-use. However, one bright spot has been the rebuilding of the numerous rock walls found on the peninsula. Being Hawaiian, I’m glad of that aspect. It’s a step in the right direction.” \(^{178}\)

With the continuous drainage problems incorporated with St. Philomena in Kalawao, the historic rock walls had succumbed to precarious leaning from the saturated ground. The park took action to correct this by restoring the rock walls, completely removing a section of the wall, relaying the foundation, and then rebuilding the wall to its original height of five feet. However, a problem arose when the crew performing the work proved not to be versed in the art of Hawaiian dry-stack construction. After the wall was re-built, numerous complaints were voiced about a non-Hawaiian method of construction. A Hawaiian crew from Volcanoes N. P. rebuilt the wall correctly. This led to additional work for the crew to restore other collapsing walls in the settlement. In February of 2010, we returned to Kalaupapa for a week and investigated, recorded, and reported GPS numbers for the location of additional rock walls, roads, trails, and details of minutiae that had fallen by the wayside. In the summer of the same year, we returned for seven weeks and finished the project.

The summer of 2005, we became acquainted with Susan Boucher, the cultural resource officer. She cataloged the donated patients’ belongings in Paschoal Hall waiting for their permanent home in the then still under-construction Hale Malama curatorial building.

\(^{178}\) Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, after church one Sunday at Kana‘ana Hou, in Kalaupapa, June 3, 2007.
Working with her to catalogue the personal affects of patients were two people on contract to the park for a year. They were both from the mainland and had limited local knowledge. On one of our visits to the Paschoal Hall, where they were working with protective gloves, one of the workers picked up a rock, “I wonder why anybody would save this?” he said.\(^1\) We knew immediately it was an adze. The process of him trying to discover what it could be, or why it was important was intriguing. Eventually, he was informed what the artifact was and its intended purpose. He wrapped it back up in the old newspaper and re-packed it within the cardboard box from which it originated. He then placed it back into a refrigerated storage container. However, this time he marked it with corresponding numerical identification and waited for it to be transferred to the Hale Malama Curatorial building. This whole process – from wanting to discard the object into the trash heap, only to realize it was a valuable collectible – became a defining moment in which we had to wonder what other items might have been discarded.

Another instance occurred on a Saturday of the following summer, in 2006. We hauled the trash to the community dump on the south side of the peninsula. The EPA has now closed the dump and all trash must be barged off the island. Composting has become mandatory. However, on this day we hauled the accumulation of garbage and in the process of tossing two bags into the open trench, we noticed a photograph covered in mud, drenched from the morning downpour. The photo was lying on the surface, not quite making it to the depths of the trench. The photo was old. However, the photograph is not the story, there in the trench, were albums, and dozens of NPS catalogued items discarded from the now complete curatorial building. Upon subsequent investigation we learned the curator’s mother had deemed them scrap, and unbeknown to anybody, threw them away like empty Spam

\(^1\) The employee catalogued everything from former patients, including long-playing phonographs to photographs and clothes to books, who had bequeathed their belongings to KNHP.
cans. The photographs were buried and only a portion of the collection could be salvaged. A nurse commented to us about NPS and other employees who discard items recklessly, “There is a desperate need for a booklet on cultural resource management in Hawai`i, detailing the conduct and responsibilities of contract archaeologists and how the decisions to preserve a site are actually made.”180 A state health worker agreed. “A manual for mothers visiting their daughter, on what not to do, along with the effects of their actions, should not be too absurd an idea!”181

Mark McCoy, archaeologist with the University of California at Berkeley, has worked on the peninsula numerous summers, and he explains: “In addition to the historical settlements at Kalawao and Kalaupapa, the area is home to one of the best preserved pre-contact landscapes in the Hawaiian Islands.”182 In his multi-year efforts on the peninsula, McCoy has recorded, re-recorded and cleared up the work of other archaeologists and provides a good understanding of the historical aspects of the locale along with a succinct glossary about how archaeology works today. He dissects the meanings of Landscape Studies, Social Memory Studies, and other subfields that lead into a full comprehension of the memory, material, and cultural traditions.

The archaeology sites are required to be protected, preserved, and maintained for the edification of generations of people to come; Or, as NPS personnel are apt to quip, “Our children’s, children’s, children.”183 Archaeology not only tells the physical history of the Hawaiian people but also their cosmological beliefs and their mana about the land, the living, and the extension of generational followers and descendents. As Kirch states: “The people of Hawai`i, all who regard knowledge and understanding of the past as a vital part of any

180 Spriggs, Facing the Nation, 380-392.
181 A nurse expressed in conversation before we interviewed Henry Nalaielua when he resided in the Kalaupapa clinic.
182 McCoy, Landscape, 15.
183 The Theodore Roosevelt quote became a rallying cry for NPS with the idea of protecting and preserving the natural environment into the future.
civilized society, as well as the native Hawaiians, must take an active part in assuring that the finite treasures of ancient Hawai`i are not squandered in the next few years.” Kirch further adds:

Professional archaeologists can and do make expert and professional recommendations on site preservation, salvage, and other matters concerning the management of archaeological sites and artifacts. The implementation of the recommendations, however, lies in the hands of legislators, planners, developers, landowners, government officials, and ultimately, in the hands of the people at large.\(^\text{184}\)

According to Nalaielua, “The settlement is in a critical stage and the preservation of the land, the habitat, and the memory is delegated to all.”\(^\text{185}\) The NPS Research Study is valuable and states:

Although Kalaupapa is primarily known for the Hansen’s disease settlement, the peninsula and nearby valleys are also extremely rich in archaeological resources. There are few ancient landscapes left in the Hawaiian archipelago for large scale investigations on ancient Hawaiian and proto-Historic Hawaiian cultural processes.\(^\text{186}\)

The question of archaeological abundance is not limited to any one site of significance but to the total or “grand effect” of an unmarred landscape. This vast plain, unobstructed by modern development, takes on the persona of a treasure in itself. It is comparable, especially to Hawaiians, to the grandeur of the Teton Range in Wyoming. John Charlot, University of Hawai`i religion teacher, notes, “Looking from the dry peninsula up into the verdant green valleys is soothing to the Hawaiian mind.”\(^\text{187}\) This view is shared by Walter Ka`ima who works on the peninsula and whose mother and father are buried at Papaloa cemetery, across the street from where he lives in the settlement. “My ancestors walked, lived, fished, and died here, that is the reason I want to retain and honor this place in


\(^{185}\) Interview with Henry Nalaielua, Hansen’s disease patient, June 6, 2007.

\(^{186}\) NPS, *Historical Research Study* (Denver: Regional Support Center, 1984), 3-4.

\(^{187}\) Interview with Professor Charlot, University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, November 5, 2009.
The Ko`olaupoko district of Moloka`i extends from Halawa Valley on the far eastern side of the island to the Kalaupapa peninsula and includes all of the Wailau Slide area and the fertile valleys of Pelekunu, Waikolu, etc. The Kanaka Maoli on the peninsula planted taro, raised crops and lived their lives in relative peace until evicted in 1866 by the Hansen’s disease patients.

The airport or landing strip is a deserted locale most of the time, but when planes land a small contingent of patients and workers show up to greet arrivals or board for departure. At the airfield one day, we gazed off into the distant cliffs as we talked with a patient. He commented, “Everyone should be aware that this undisturbed view plain is important to the Hawaiians and his or her personal mythology and philosophical outlook on life.”

In the next chapter I discuss the important role of the Kanaka Maoli and the change that affected them with the arrival of Cook, the missionaries, and the introduction of leprosy to this small peninsula.

---

188 Interview with Walter Kaima, a state employee at Kalaupapa, July 12, 2005.
189 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, July 8, 2010. While we waited at the airstrip for the shuttle to arrive from “topside,” Moloka`i, the patient sang, played his guitar, and expressed his feelings.
CHAPTER IV

VARIED ASPECTS OF WINDWARD MOLOKA`I SOCIETY

You know these windward Moloka`i lands are important. They possess divergent depths and variations of cultural interest. This rugged `āina became home to endemic plants, birds, and sea life, and then centuries later the valleys housed numerous Kanaka Maoli or us Hawaiian people.”

Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, 2007

The “early inhabitants” of the islands enjoyed their environment holistically. Hula, mele and chants often refer to the land, the wind and rain and all things encountered in the natural world including plants and animals. Murray Schafer discusses sound or what he refers to as “soundscapes,” in the September 2011, edition of the American Quarterly. Schafer explains that “soundscapes” refer to a “collection of sounds” across any rural, urban, or natural environment and can be either historical or contemporary. He also explains how recurring foundational sounds and tones in a community can assist in understanding a society’s key values. “Keynotes are the starting sounds that provide the anchor for listeners to grasp subsequent sounds. Dependent on the social constructions of keynotes, “soundmarks” become community-specific sounds. These sonic imprints individualize and sustain the acoustic life of the community.” Based on this line of reasoning, Hawaiians are in tune with the natural rhythm and sounds of the environment where their artistic endeavors included dance, chants and percussion instruments.

The hula is known worldwide and is accompanied by these soundscapes with two variations, kahiko or ancient style, and awana or modern. The mele or song of the Hawaiian

---

has also metamorphosed through various incantations from a purity of “a cappella” to “Slack Key” and on through to “Hapa Haole” and “Jawaiian.” The kahiko mele and chants performed by the indigenous peoples on the windward side of Moloka`i acted as sound marks for the community and became signified by the constant wind (makani) and the roar of the ocean. Variations in Hawaiian names for the natural elements depend upon location, direction, strength, and season. On Moloka`i, names for the various winds include ala hou, a directional or due east wind as well as `ehukai and haka`ano, specific winds associated with Halawa Valley. Similarly, types of ocean waves are signifiers, if the wave is breaking, cresting etc. and include but are not limited to nalu, huia, eaea, kai ha`i, papākole or the crash of surf that washes toward shore; all of these are blended into rhythmic harmonies.

A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient expressed, “One can argue that the last enclave of Hawaiian civilization was on the north shore of Moloka`i. The rugged, wild nature of the terrain kept the encroaching throngs of foreigners at bay; they bypassed Moloka`i, and settled in Lahaina and Honolulu. The traditional lifestyle remained here.”

That traditional lifestyle also included medical care. According to Peter Buck, Director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, “In other parts of Polynesia the advancement of medical science was confined by superstitions. The Hawaiians formed an exception. They broke from superstitions and sought remedies for human ills in other fields.” In so doing, “They (Hawaiians) came to know the therapeutic uses of certain plants. They organized a profession of herbalists who had to be trained and pass rigid tests before they were recognized by the people.”

---

192 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 13, 2010. He further stated, “And this windward section, if not all of Moloka`i, should be the first place that everything, valleys, oceans, all the landmarks, should be known by their Hawaiian name.”

ho`ola, or temple set aside for the sole purpose of the healing practitioners, [and] each island had locations set aside for their practice."¹⁹⁴

In an article titled, *E `ao lu`au a kualima: Writing and Rewriting the Body and the Nation*, David M. K. I. Liu states,

Maoli medicine was advanced at the time of Western invasion, including both sub specialists ranging from surgery to obstetrics, as well as a pharmacopia of at least 100 medicinal plants. Kahuna or a specialist selected and trained from childhood devised a classification system for plants, which predated that of Linnaeus.¹⁹⁵

The kahuna made house calls, prescribed diets, and performed lomilomi (massage). Liu categorized the specialties of Maoli medicine into six levels of specialists: the kahuna lapa`au or general practitioner and pharmacologist, the physiotherapist or masseur in the practice of lomilomi and the diagnostician or the kahuna hāhā (hā meaning breath). A surgeon of minor need was called the kahuna hoholua. Hawaiians had a kahuna orthopedist of the hai iwi (bones). The kahuna ho`o hanau was the obstetrician and prescribed exercises to ease delivery.¹⁹⁶ Maoli psychiatry involved both meditation with the akua as well as counseling and possibly psychotropic medications. A significant part of dealing with family problems was a process called ho`oponopono, which involved both prayer and self-inquiry, which the psychiatrist W. Cody characterizes as “one of the soundest methods to maintain and/or restore family relationships that any society has ever devised.”¹⁹⁷

Anthropologist/archaeologist, Mark D. McCoy, points out that Kamauaua was the first ali`i nui of Moloka`i island. He was a descendant of the Nanaulu line.¹⁹⁸

---

¹⁹⁴ Buck, Explorers, 92. Along with these heiau for the kahuna and their healing arts, the Hawaiians also established places of refuge or pu`u honua, safe havens where individuals could flee to and be protected from the kapu system of justice. Protective heiau were located on all islands, with the most renowned located on the Kona Coast of the Big Island, Hōnaunau.


¹⁹⁶ Interview with Dr. Kalani Brady, October 18, 2009.


NPS archaeologist at Kalaupapa and appointed the Superintendent in 2012, relates how, “History and culture are not lineal and tangible objects and it becomes necessary to discuss the peninsula in varied patterns of actuality and objective discernment.” Stein continues, “The Hawaiian viewpoint is along the lines of the Kumalipo with Papa and Wakea and the overall birth of the `aina or the land. The third wife of Wakea, Hina, gave birth to Moloka`i.”

Marilyn Beckwith, a noted historian, states, “The term `āina constructs a relationship that exists between the elder sibling, the kaikua`ana, and the younger sibling, the kaikaina,” and in this reciprocal relationship, the land feeds and protects the younger sibling. Lilikala Kame`elehiwa expressed a similar idea in her writings, “Whereas the older sibling must mālama (take care of) the younger sibling, to cultivate her and ensure her health so that the health of future generations are maintained. Thus, if the land was healthy, the people were healthy as well; unhealthy people meant an unhealthy land. Mālama ensured the flow of mana throughout the animate and inanimate world. The ali`i served to mediate those relationships, and a pono ali`i meant a prosperous society. In this context, the `ohana cared for its close members, and relied on the perpetuation of close relationships for the continuity of the family. To care for a sick family member was to kōkua or serve. If the family was not able to heal an ill family member, they sought out traditional practitioners, specialists in herbal medicine, massage, childbirth, surgery, bone setting, or the engagement of spiritual forces or counter forces.

203 Kame`elehiwa, Native Land, 76.
Harriet Ne lived in Pelekunu valley for six years. In, *Tales of Moloka`i: The Voice of Harriet Ne*, she tells about the valleys of Pelekunu, Wailau, and Hālawa Valleys and the cultural lifestyle and daily undertakings of Hawaiians. In an interview with Gloria L. Cronin she notes,

Pelekunu’s people, in the days I remember, would rise early – perhaps at five-thirty every morning – to make use of the sun for their chores. The valley is so narrow that when the sun comes up it shines in there for only a couple of hours before going on to the next ridge. Women, children, and girls used to take the laundry to the stream, wash the clothes, rinse them, and peg them out on the grassy area with rocks. The men folks would go to work in the taro patches. They often sent us children to get lau hala. We had to walk around the coastline to Haka`a`ano, even though the hala there is very brittle from the sea spray. We would gather as much as we could, roll it up, tie it on our backs, and then walk back to our house, where my mother taught me how to strip, soften, and tie it into bundles. By about 9 a.m. some of the women would prepare lunch, boil hīhīwai, and mix poi, and broil fish caught in the stream. They also prepared guava, mountain apple, or whatever was in season. After lunch the children would go fish or swim, the men go upland to lay traps to catch wild pigs. Dinner was around 6 p.m. We ate sweet potato, poi, raw fish with limu, or cooked shellfish. After dinner, family and neighbors would gather around and listen to the Hawaiian Bible being read. The religion in the valley was Kalawina or Calvinist.

Cronin asked her, “Tell me about the fishing.”

Fishing was always important. We liked a variety of fish because our meals consisted mostly of fish, taro, and poi. The men knew the exact seasons for `ōpelu, moi and other favorite fish. On days they couldn’t catch any fish, we always had the eel cave.

In a story titled, *The Valley of Wailau*, Ne talks about the occasional gathering of the people on the north shore.

In Wailau Valley, they were also Kalawina in their religion, and twice a year they would have a Sunday School rally, or hō`ike. Then the people from Pelekunu would climb over the ridge to join them, and the members of the Kalawina group in Kalaupapa would canoe around

---

206 Harriett Ne, *Tales of Moloka`i: The Voice of Harriet Ne* (Institute for Polynesian Studies of Brigham Young University, Lā`ie, O`ahu, 1982) 44.
207 Ibid., 24.
208 Ne, *Tales of Moloka`i*, 97.
the bend and join them. The hō`ike would end with a feast of kālua pig and all the other delicacies that they could acquire from the valley.

The Reverend Dennis Kamakahi was so inspired by the (Wailau) valley when he went there to visit that he composed the popular song, “Hīhīwai,” which says, “Return to the valley, the beautiful peaceful valley. Beauty, peace… that is the valley of Wailau.”

Hawaiian historian Kepa Maly, explains, “Any locale with a Hawaiian name has a history, a mo`olelo, a story behind that name.” His work in Hawaiian oral histories includes 3,000 interviews. Maly continues, “It is important to realize that anything considered archaeological today was previously by definition, a cultural place, where people hunted, planted, fished, and worshipped. It’s not possible to understand the archaeology without knowledge of the people who lived at the site.” Along with their mo`olelo, Hawaiians associated with their physical surroundings in their language and its usage. A patient, an avid angler, explained to me in 2010, “We Hawaiians have names for the ocean. We are similar to Eskimos, they have names for varieties of snow; well we have many names for the ocean waters. Let me tell you there are at least ten, could be more, different divisions for the ocean that I am aware of.” I could not get the patient to elaborate except for a few broad terms about areas to surf, dive, and fish. Through my individual research and by reading Hana Lawai`a A Me Na Ko`a O Na Kai `Ewalu, a series of interviews that Kepa Maly undertook, these terms or names of different parts of the ocean are helpful, not only in their Hawaiian usage, but also in understanding the seas around the peninsula. There are three distinct varieties of ocean and land combinations: a reef, stark lava rock, and the regular calcareous white and black sand beaches. A strip of sand when waves have washed ashore is named ae kai; where waves break is called poina kai or where further offshore is called kai.

---

209 Ibid., 99.
211 Ibid.
212 We conducted numerous personal interviews in June and July of 2010 with a state employee, a Hawaiian, and a Kalaupapa resident, who is also an avid fisherman. These conversations were a continuation of discussions we started in May 2005.
kohala. Kai hele ku or kai papau is shallow water where a person can stand. Beyond this is a strip of kua au, where shoal water ended, and beyond is another belt called kai au, ho au, kai o kilo hee, for swimming deep (diving) or spear fishing of squid. Kai he’e nalu is the name of any surfing area.

The understanding of ocean currents and their tidal interplay with the cliffs and valleys along the north coast environment of Moloka`i are important for basic survival; fishing, swimming, hunting, and the planting of food crops. One Sunday afternoon as Margaret and I strolled along the black sand beach at the foot of the pali, or cliff, I noticed a boat off shore by Papaloa Beach. We watched the little boat drift on the ocean current. The fifteen-foot fiberglass affair, with an outboard motor, drifted closer, and a lone figure stood in the craft and constantly cast his line. The current carried him along the coastline, kept him about a hundred yards offshore. He was quite content, the engine off, constantly casting and reeling in his line. The current propelled the boat slow and steady. The wind was mālie or calm and negligible. He floated close by us, and I realized it was a patient.

Besides the abundance of food derived from the ocean, the Ko`olau Moku had been a prime agricultural area due to the continuous flow of fresh water from mountain streams.

“This is the main reason all windward areas of the islands were settled first,” Ross Cordy, a Professor of archaeology and Hawaiian history at the University of Hawai`i – West O`ahu, explained. “The population explosion became the reason subsequent generations of Hawaiians moved into dry climates of leeward sections of land.”

The steady supply of fresh water in the numerous streams in adjoining valleys had facilitated their agricultural endeavors. In the Hawaiian system of configuring the annual seasons, they calculated the growing season by the moon and used its thirty phases to decide when and what kinds of

---

213 The patient launches his boat from the pier by using a state owned crane. He tows his boat into position on the wharf, walks up to the state vehicle yard, drives the crane to the wharf, and proceeds to hoist the boat of the trailer and lowers it down onto the water.

214 Ross Cordy, PhD, at UH-West O`ahu, from my personal lecture notes from 2002.
trees, bushes, eatable items to plant. Counting from a “no moon” night to the full moon and back to another “no moon” night guided their decisions when to plant banana, taro, fruit trees, and other crops. Each phase of the moon has a name. Alternatively, each night has a different name for the type of moon present: hilo the first night of a full moon, hoaka, a crescent moon, mahina, a new moon, etc.\textsuperscript{215} All of this survival and sustainable work, as well as the everyday affairs of the Kanaka Maoli, was regulated by the kapu system. According to John Dominis Holt, a leading authority and a Hawaiian cultural practitioner,\textsuperscript{216}

In the Hawaiian system, man, the gods, and nature were a three-fold force held together by divine intention in order that all things of the earth might be protected and nourished. Hawaiians were constantly aware of the binding threads that held together all things great and small.

Holt goes on to explain the importance of the Hawaiian value of pono:

Pono is the goodness, the well-being, acting within proper etiquette toward the balance of existence. The Hawaiian chief did his best to keep his way of life and that of his people in harmony with the powerful forces that made fish to swim, birds to fly, clouds to gather above mountaintops, rain to fall, and winds to blow. Forever interconnected, it was the chief’s place to give direction to those natural forces and with them to nurture nature.\textsuperscript{216}

With the arrival of Captain Cook, everything changed. Whalers and missionaries closely followed Cook, along with sugar and pineapple plantations, which imported foreign labor. With this rapid influx of foreigners, a sudden and perverse change occurred to the Native Hawaiian. According to NPS archaeologist Gary Somers, “In 1853 there were about two-hundred people living in the area. Sixty Kanaka Maoli in Kalawao and one hundred and forty in Waikolu Valley.”\textsuperscript{217} However, the population numbers prior to Cook, and the influx

\textsuperscript{215} Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert list the complete nights of the moon in their \textit{Hawaiian Dictionary} (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 484.


\textsuperscript{217} Quote from the NPS publication on restoration of the St. Philomena Church published in 1985. The actual number is confusing in the report, as the total population is listed at 140, and stating 60 lived in Kalawao and 140 in Waikolu Valley. The number two hundred seems probable, as most of the inhabitants would live within the protective environment of the valley.
of western disease was vastly higher. Cook brought the world and its diseases to the shores of Hawai`i and the missionaries brought inner turmoil to the Hawaiians.

Mark Hamasaki, noted photographer and professor at UH-Windward Community College said, “It’s tragic when you lose the language, you lose so much culture. Those who changed the names do not respect the indigenous culture. If we can help people see the past and the relevance of places, they’ll preserve them for the future.”218 This particular comment specifically referenced windward O`ahu; however, the intrinsic meaning also fits the landscape of Hawai`i and particularly to that of Moloka`i, because the land retains an important historical record and is not “obliterated of any Hawaiian language.”219 A patient explained, “When the missionaries landed and they preached the evils of fornication and licentious behavior, we became the culprits, and then the victims.”220 Negative stereotypes concerning the patients and leprosy continue today.

A patient stated the following in a conversation after one of the monthly community meetings held at McVeigh Hall: “Into this cross-cultural hodge-podge of licit and illicit affairs, money was added to the social mix and amid this confusion we slowly lost our land under the Great Mahele.”221 The Great Mahele was not so great if you were an indigenous Hawaiian, as this procedure changed the land tenure on all islands into private property. According to John Osorio, author and professor of Hawaiian History, the Great Mahele, “was a foreign solution to the problem of managing lands increasingly emptied by people, because of the epidemics and low birthrates.”222

---

218 I enrolled in his photography classes at Windward Community College and his remarks on student projects contained insight beyond photography.
219 Ibid.
221 Interview a Hansen’s disease patient, July 5, 2010.
This usurping of the land from the Hawaiian populace on Moloka`i and the entire Hawaiian archipelago, not only by the Boston-based American Board of Congregational Foreign Missions, and the less-than altruistic descendants, but also whalers, explorers, and the plantation owners is well known. Noenoe Silva documented this deceit in *Aloha Betrayed*:

It was in response to foreign aggression, and also to missionary claims that the Kanaka `Ōiwi were savage and uncivilized, that the mō`i and the ali`i nui changed their ways of government by adopting a constitution on which European and American types of laws could be based and by adhering to international norms of nation-statehood. These moves were made with the goal of preserving sovereignty – that is, to avoid being taken over by one imperial power or another. Further, and less obviously, it was to try to refute the charges of savagery and backwardness that were continually thrust at them (Hawaiians).223

Henry Nalaielua, a Hansen’s disease patient and at one time interpretive guide for Damien Tour, expressed his ideas to me in a series of interviews from 2005 through 2007 at Kalaupapa. He explained his personal perception of historical events, “This intrusion of thought and the degradation of our culture, upon us, the indigenous peoples, led to our collapse as a people and a nation.”224 Nalaielua enjoyed lively and insightful conversations. On one of his visits to Honolulu, he was effusive and continued from where we had left off previously:

It was in the fourteenth Century that people sailed from the Marquesan Islands and settled these islands. We developed a civilization and fused into The Kingdom of Hawai`i, recognized as a territorial sovereign among other countries. The missionary settlers claimed the lands they colonized, not as outposts of a distant empire but rather as their homeland. The missionary sons and daughters ignored the locals and overthrew the kingdom.225

In Hawai`i, missionary heirs and the influx of plantation moguls controlled Hawaiian land and advanced a colonizing strategy of absorption. Nalaielua added, “We were taken captive

\[\text{223} \quad \text{Noenoe Silva,} \quad \text{Aloha Betrayed} \quad \text{(Raleigh, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004), 37.} \]
\[\text{224} \quad \text{Interview with Henry Nalaielua, a Hansen’s disease patient at Kalaupapa, June 12, 2007. Henry avoided trite conversations and was very explicit after meeting you, that he would rather be left alone to pursue his painting.} \]
\[\text{225} \quad \text{Henry Nalaielua said while speaking at his book-signing event in Honolulu for the release of his autobiography,} \quad \text{No Footprints in the Sand, June 14, 2007.} \]
within our own space by another country and culture.” Depicted and interpreted as heathens in the 1820’s by Calvinist missionaries, exploited and abused by whalers, colonialists, settlers and planters, to this day “a great deal of misconception” about the indigenous Hawaiian people exists in the world.

Language and its usage becomes the barrier to understanding between cultures and an ingredient within a conquered society that must perish. Again quoting Silva, about language usage and its interpretation,

It was on the first Lā Ho`iho`i Ea, July 31, 1843, that Kamehameha III announced, “Ua mau ke ea o ka `āina i ka pono” (roughly, “The sovereignty of the land had been continued because it is pono”), which became the motto of the mōʿi, or king of Hawai`i. It later became the motto of the kingdom, and then (strangely or perversely) was appropriated as the motto of the State of Hawai`i, where it is usually translated as, “The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.” “Ea,” which can mean “life” or “breath” as well as “sovereignty,” in its original context was clearly meant to signify sovereignty.

The word pono, Silva further states,

Translation of “pono” into “righteousness” or even “justice” is an example of the reduction of an understood multiplicity of meanings in the Hawaiian language to a single meaning in English, with a different set of connotations altogether.

Missionaries, with their preaching of fire and brimstone, combined with the loss of the kapu system under the leadership of Ka`ahumanu, wife of Kamehameha, meant the destruction of the heiau. Ka`ahumanu abandoned the kapu system and followed the Calvinists. She allowed them to preach and erect churches. The first western style building on the Moloka`i peninsula was the Calvinist church. The Hawaiian people living in Kalaupapa erected the church in 1839 with the help of the mikanele, or missionary craftsmen,

---

228 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 37.
229 Ibid., 37.
from Honolulu, who had arrived to assist. It has walls constructed of lava rock and blocks of coral reef. In anticipation of the arrival of the missionary/teacher Kanakaokai (Man of the Sea), the people of Kalaupapa constructed the church as well as a thatched house for him to live in. In 1841 and again in 1847 the building was repaired using limestone mortar. The building, originally called Kalawina, Hawaiian for Calvinist, was on land granted to the community of Hawaiians by Kamehameha III. The designation required the land to be a church, a school, or both. When a new Calvinist church Kana`ana Hou was erected in Kalaupapa in 1853, the older meetinghouse became surplus and repurposed. Today, the old Calvinist Church is the Ranger Station/Fire Department. The past lives of the building have included a jail, a warehouse, and repair shop. According to Greene, “It is the oldest standing structure on the peninsula and the only one that remains from the early missionary and pre-leprosy settlement periods.” A corrugated metal roof protects the original stone and coral walls. The gable ends are finished with board and batten siding. Henry Law writes, “A door in the west wall and a window in the south wall are topped with wood lintels and judged to be original.” The lava rock corners of the rectangular structure are visible.

While churches flourished, diseases continued to spread. Smallpox, syphilis, and other maladies drastically reduced the Hawaiian population. Communicable diseases were unheard of in the islands and tuberculosis, and other diseases ran rampant. The Hawai`i Board of Health was established in 1850 to deal with cholera and was forced to turn its attentions more and more to leprosy. The first official diagnosed case of leprosy in

---

230 According to John Barker archivist at the Mission Houses Museum in Honolulu, “This was a common practice to send out skilled missionaries and help the Hawaiians build permanent church structures where applicable.”

231 Greene, Exile in Paradise, 42.

232 Henry Law reported in his inspection of the properties in Kalaupapa in 1980.

Hawai`i was observed on a woman named Kamuli, living at Koloa, Kaua`i in 1835. The first case of a Kanaka Maoli was listed on Maui in 1840, according to David Liu writing in *California Journal of Health Promotion*.

Leprosy led to the complete separation of individuals, family, and friends. The patients were initially confined to hospitals in Kalihi and Kaka`ako on O`ahu. The entire Hawaiian populace was ordered to report anyone suspected of being contagious. This disciplinary punishment required mandatory banishment for the offender. The length of the sentence was a decree ordered by courts of law, and initiated by medical doctors. Although, the original plan called for the patients to be self-sufficient in Kalawao, this ideal never materialized. The first patients had no shelter or provisions, and were fed by the local Hawaiian population. As the number of arriving patients multiplied the local Hawaiian were overwhelmed. After the leprosy settlement was established, the lands became poorly farmed or neglected due either to the inexperience of the people in growing crops, lack of interest in farming, or to physical disabilities. Food had to be shipped in and this led to shortages, especially in winter months when rough seas hampered shipping. As a consequence, the Board of Health spent an inordinate amount of time trying to feed them. Herrmann Widemann, Board of Health President observed, “eight hundred people had to be supplied with food, and this has been the daily preoccupation of the board.”

---

234 KNHP brochure with no date attached and no mention of the research to go along with the information, and other articles that give no exact date or person who contacted, or imported the disease.
235 Liu, *Writing and Rewriting*, 73-104.
237 I accessed various record files over a period of six years that pertained information of the State of Hawai`i Board of Health Records dated from 1880 through 1910 at the Hawai`i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai`i.
Originally, a Calvinist church (Kalawina) built in 1850 on donated lands known as the King’s Acre. This structure is home to the NPS Enforcement Rangers and the Volunteer Fire Department. The building has undergone various transformations from church to warehouse to office space.

The penalty for catching the disease was at first labeled a question of morality by the missionaries. The clergy addressed the soul and character of the Hawaiian people from their own biblical understanding of sin. Missionaries thought leprosy was an advanced stage of syphilis and the stigma and label of sinner became attached to the sufferer. While leprosy infected only a small percentage of the population, the visible effects were frightful. The early signs of leprosy, circular rash marks on the epidermal or skin, could have other causes besides the dreaded leprosy. Dr. Kalani Brady, professor at the John Burns School of Medicine at the University of Hawai`i, and a Hawaiian cultural practitioner, explained, “There is no doubt, among the thousands of patients, who were sent and thus sentenced to death on the peninsula, some were misdiagnosed.”

Nonetheless, once someone was

---

238 Interview with Dr. Kalani Brady at Kalaupapa, June 20, 2007
sentenced to Kalaupapa, he or she was banished with a certain death warrant. There were eight thousand or so deaths from the disease on the peninsula. Dr. Brady continued:

There is no proof the disease was transmitted to those who were wrongly sentenced. But, the disease is passed through the respiratory system, from one’s breath to another. Thus the nature of the Hawaiian people to hug and exchange breath by pressing their foreheads together, well – the transmitter, or a mother hugging her young child, this quickly passed the disease on within the families. It was probably latent in the child for a period of four to six years.²³⁹

This segregation of Hansen’s disease people changed the lives of the Native Hawaiian living on the peninsula. Hawaiians now faced mandatory dislocation from their homes in Kalawao, and the adjacent valleys of Waiʻaleʻia and Waikolu. They were ordered by the Territorial Government authorities to move. Thus, while the Hansen’s disease patients’ lives were disrupted by shipping them to the peninsula, they in turn disrupted the lives of the indigenous Hawaiian residents. Then, after a few years, the patients moved from the wet, cold, and windy Kalawao over to the drier leeward Kalaupapa section. This brought about another forced eviction of the local Kanaka Maoli of Kalaupapa to other locales on Molokaʻi and other islands.

The fear of leprosy over the entire populace of the islands led to the laws of segregation and imprisonment. The following letter written by Charles Reed Bishop to Henry Severance, in 1873, accentuates this notion of prison or asylum.

People are afraid to come here because of the leprosy. There is really much less danger now than there was a year ago. Lepers are not allowed to be at large now, but are carefully looked after and sent to their place on Molokai. A stranger might walk on streets daily for months without seeing one, unless he chanced to meet someone on the way to the Asylum or to Molokai. For prudent and well conducted people there is no danger from leprosy.²⁴⁰

The use of the word “asylum” to describe the Kakaʻako Hospital provides us with an understanding of how the disease was perceived, especially by someone such as Bishop.

²³⁹ Ibid.
Letters written by Charles R. Bishop to a medical doctor, Daniel Lee, convey this mood, “Leprosy has spread a good deal since you were here. The sad work of separating them from the general community is being more energetically and strictly carried on than it has heretofore.”

Fifteen years later, Bishop agrees to pay for construction of the facilities to house the young women and girls under the protection of the Catholic Nuns. “I hereby request the privilege of paying the cost of houses up to the sum of five thousand dollars, to be erected under direction of R.W. Meyer Esq., and afterwards to be under control of the Board of Health.”

As one patient expressed, “The wind-swept peninsula became my prison. The backdrop of shear cliffs and raging Pacific Ocean were formidable walls and terrifying boundary.”

According to Historian O. A. Bushnell discussing the life expectancy of leprosy patients, “In 1866 a person ordered, shipped-off and confined to this wild location faced a death sentence. The average person lasted five years before he or she passed away.” Another Hansen’s disease patient commented to me about his serving felony time in Hālawa prison on O’ahu, “I was convicted of being sick. A disease sentenced me to life here on the peninsula, I just traded scenery.”

I examine varied viewpoints that concern the peninsula, and reference people who lived there and those visiting, and intersperse their reactions with a number of the patients. One of these, Emma Warren Gibson, recounts her first journey to Kalawao, where her husband worked at the US Leprosy Investigation Station in 1904.

My reflections were broken by reality, as the green, steep and rocky cliffs of Molokai were revealed nestled around a small peninsula and encompassing the settlements and the Station. The outline became clearer; the greens and blues

---

241 Ibid.
242 Ibid.
Intensified, reached into my consciousness, and I knew I was viewing the loveliest spot of all my young life. And there, as we drew nearer, was visible our beloved Stars and Stripes, flying protectively over the National Leprosarium now established at Kalawao, Molokai.²⁴⁶

This perception of beauty and “The Pacific”²⁴⁷ for peacefulness by Gibson is countered by the reality of a Hansen’s disease patient, “We Hawaiians planted taro, raised crops and lived our lives in relative peace. We were evicted from our homelands by a ruthless group of foreign racists, and wild opportunists, and then the Hawaiian was evicted from here (Kalawao) because of the disease.”²⁴⁸

A woman patient responded in jest to Dr. Brady one day in 2010, at the conclusion of a volleyball game, “No monkey show.”²⁴⁹ Dr. Brady laughed with her and said, “No, those days are long over.” She referred to the physical examination patients were subjected to in the Kalihi Hospital. The examination consisted of the patient standing upon a small platform, wearing a hospital gown. With a given signal from the doctors, the nurse removed the gown and six doctors descended upon the patient in their examination. “I felt the doctors looked past my humanity and swarmed over me and my skin like bees around a hive.”²⁵⁰ Pronounced with the dreaded disease, the patient was condemned to live at the Kalihi Hospital the rest of her life. She was eleven years old. Subsequently, sent to Kalaupapa with the outbreak of WW II, she continued to receive systematic examinations.

Dr. Brady flies into Kalaupapa every Sunday afternoon and has appointments with the patients on Mondays. We often saw him out-and-about on the peninsula and in one conversation he reiterated how the Hawaiian peoples, “suffered one epidemic after

²⁴⁷ Gibson, *Under the Cliffs*, 17.
²⁴⁸ Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2006.
²⁴⁹ A Hansen’s disease patient expressed to Dr. Brady when he brought six medical students to Kalaupapa from the outreach program at the University of Hawai’i - John Burns Medical School in February of 2010.
²⁵⁰ Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2010.
another,”251 after Western contact. He further expressed that the medical acuteness of the Hawaiian kahuna (priests or healers) was of a holistic nature and had adequately dealt with most ailments suffered by the Kanaka Maoli. However, these newest diseases, brought by sailors and whalers, were unfathomable to the Hawaiian people and they labeled them, ma`i malihini, or the newcomer’s sickness. By the 1870’s the Hawaiian medical practitioners were distinguishing between “god inflicted and physically caused disabilities,”252 and they became influenced by Western attitudes toward the causes and cures of these new illnesses.

Henry Law, the first NPS Superintendent at Kalaupapa, expressed his ideas at the Nā Mea bookstore in Honolulu. He said, “Look at the back of the latest book out by Makia Malo and Pamela Young. Read the blurbs on the back cover.”253 Law handed me the book, and I read, “How Makia had lost his hands and feet due to leprosy.”254 I returned the book to Law and he replied, “Definitely representational of sensationalism at its worst. A person loses cartilage. You do not loose fingers or feet with leprosy.”255

The settlement continues to evolve as patients die, not to disease, but to old age. The number of Hansen patient’s steadily declines toward zero. The amount of state workers also diminishes, while the numbers of Federal employees and visitors/tourists increase. The evolution of the peninsula continues, from being the home of Hawaiians, to a leprosarium, to a National Historical Park. I attended a KNHP meeting at Bishop Museum concerning the General Management Plan discussing the Park’s future. In attendance was William Aila, the Director of the DLNR in the Abercrombie administration. I was concerned about his remarks where he maintained, “The peninsula of Kalaupapa and the surrounding valleys, under the stewardship of the NPS, the DLNR, and possibly the U.S. Forest Service, should remain

---

251 Interview with Dr. Brady following a lecture he presented at the University of Hawai`i, John H. Burns Medical School on September 23, 2009.
253 Interview with Henry Law, September 22, 2012.
254 Back cover blurb on Makia Malo’s book.
intact. Quite literally, it is the last place in the major Hawaiian Island chain to be free of any kind of development.”256

By bringing the U.S. Forest Service into Hawai`i, this raises concerns over additional layers of bureaucracy bringing more rules and regulations. I was concerned his comments would lead to increased federal jurisdiction and less access to lands by the citizens and possibly more development in the long term. I asked him about any possible changes or development of the peninsula and he replied, “Not under my watch.”257

What has changed is a rebirth in dance, music, chants and other cultural arts in the 1970’s and has evolved into linguistic, historical, and multi-faceted interpretations of a living and adaptive society. The Hawaiian language, at one time banned in schools, is making a strong return.

The preceding passage from Gibson about the beauty of the setting of cliffs and ocean came to life in the Kalaupapa bookstore one day. I listened to two patients discuss their fishing experiences. One of the patients commented, “The constant rush of waves upon the rocky shoreline, well, when I tossing my throw-net, to me that’s pure enjoyment,” The other patient an avid angler himself, explained, “I like the view from my boat. The green canyons of Waikolu, Pelekunu, along with the roar of the blue ocean crashing with flying sea spray off the cliffs, I find invigorating.”258

The cliff faces can be mesmerizing and beautiful to behold. As one patient, Katherine Costales, explained, “The cliffs are one constant reminder of the geologic past and if you stare into them long enough you see different faces in the vertical ridges. You been here long

256 Interview with William Aila, the head of the Department of Land and Natural Resources, June 9, 2011.
257 Ibid.
258 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2006. One of the stops on the Damien Tour, the bookstore was at that time temporarily based in the Mother Marianne Cope Library, but with the renovation of the American of Japanese Ancestry Hall complete, the bookstore moved to AJA Hall, returning the library for patients’ use.
enough to notice?” Margaret and I looked at the cliffs and noted the varied formations in the vertical cracks and crevices, and outcropping of rock. “Not at the moment I replied.” This rugged scenery along with the extreme isolation, where cell phones lack a signal, where the Pacific surrounds you on three sides, can create a feeling of deep trepidation. A newly arrived NPS worker explained to us one day, “The silence was so abrupt when I got here, and this feeling of solitude so excessively real and foreboding, well, it was lonely. Living here becomes a form of social suicide. I’m transferring out.”

When I related this story to a Hawaiian patient, he was not surprised: “I don’t pay any attention to the NPS people. They come and go. She doesn’t realize the central idea of being here on the peninsula, or in the settlement, is to understand our culture.”

Margaret and I discussed these ideas many times with the Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patients and the various State and NPS workers who are Hawaiian. One patient, who vehemently wanted his anonymity protected, talked to me during the summer of 2010, and expressed, “More people should learn the Hawaiian language and delve into the roots of our ancestors. Accurate translations of the Hawaiian language newspapers provide clear intent of the Hawaiian people.”

---

259 Interview with Katherine Costales, Hansen’s disease patient, June 5, 2007. She spoke to us as we surveyed her house. This was on my third extended stay in Kalaupapa, and she felt comfortable with my presence to initiate the conversation.
260 Interview with a KNHP employee, June 8, 2007. We gave her a ride back to the settlement from the lighthouse area.
The ahupua`a wall

This rock wall structure delineates the Makanluna from the Kalawao sections of the Kanaka Maoli land divisions. The wall is roughly two miles in length, and runs from the ocean near the lighthouse and continues up past the crater, into a section of a heiau and up into the cliff face.

Indeed, the Hawaiian language offers insight into the past. Historian Anwei Skinsnes Law relates the story of the early patients desiring newspapers; this helps to expose myths
about the lawless heathen society of Kalawao that had turned to wanton living. These original communications were written in Hawaiian and translated; this knowledge will change the historiography of the peninsula and Hawai`i. For example, J. N. Loe, a Hansen’s disease patient, wrote one of the first letters to the Board of Health from Kalawao, asking for a newspaper delivery. Henry Law explained, “He wasn’t asking for food. When you think of the traditional image, or the people’s perception of the settlement, what does it say that one of the first letters from Kalaupapa is to ask for a newspaper?”

In 1968, the idea of the peninsula becoming a National Memorial morphed into a creating a National Historical Park. The Federal Government was insightful about the patients and Hawaiian culture as found within the NPS document *Alternatives Study/Working Draft* that lists:

Three dominant factors regarding sensitive human values and local traditions need to be recognized – the continued existence of leprosy patients as an intact social group; the unique sensitivity of persons physically scarred by the disease; and the cultural, even mystical atmosphere of the entire peninsula relative to the Hawaiian culture and pre-settlement use of the study area.”

The study goes on to relate how the patients looked forward to visitors, but did not want to be a “zoo phenomenon” or objects for curiosity. The study also states that the Hawaiian resources and traditions are intangible and therefore, the most difficult element to identify.

There are many local traditional stories about, night marchers, heiaus, burial sites, as well as other numerous mystical qualities about the entire area. They must be considered as real; and to the extent they contribute to the unique atmosphere and history of the area, they become controls and even constraints on levels of use, types of activities and location of facilities.

---


264 Henry Law in conversation at Na Mea bookstore at his wife’s book signing.


266 Ibid., 112.
The issue of access to the land for cultural gathering-rights remains a hot topic among the residents of Hawai`i, especially the indigenous people of Moloka`i. They want the peninsula and the valleys returned to them. According to John Kaimimaka, a Hawaiian kumu hula and cultural practitioner, “Hawaiian belief system is contained within the natural world and inhabits the lifeblood of the keiki o ka `āina, child of the land, and is rooted in the unaltered landscape.”267 The rights to fish, and hunt, and the gathering of cultural material are fundamental. A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient asserted, “The seventh generation of children is learning the Hawaiian language, learning the truth about the overthrow, learning the truth, finally. This fierceness of belief in their own sovereign future is growing.”268

Kalaupapa National Historical Park realizes the unique non-western Hawaiian view within the Statements of Significance. I quote from number eight:

Many who come to Kalaupapa recognize an intense, nearly tangible, mana or powerful force that Hawaiian peoples find in all things. The `āina (land), a vital source that links us to spirit is sacred and becomes our `aumakua (guide) that connects us to the continued presence of all who lived out their lives on this peninsula. The Ka `āina mana (spiritual essence) connects us to each other and to spirit.269

A patient acknowledged this effort of NPS, but remarked, “While the Park Service recognizes the intense but intangible presence on the peninsula, it cannot force employees to see the depth of the Hawaiian culture.”270 Valerie Monson states in an article in the Honolulu Star-Advertiser, “The perspective of the estimated 8,000 individuals who personally experienced forced separation from their families and places of birth has largely been omitted from Kalaupapa’s history.”271 This has had serious consequences. Monson goes on to state,

267 Interview with John Kaimimaka, a Hawaiian cultural practitioner, June 18, 2005.
269 KNHP, Foundation, 14.
270 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, July 4, 2010.
“this history has been largely told from the Western perspective of shame rather than from the Hawaiian perspective of great love.”

The Park continues to teach a line of respect for the Hawaiians, in their Foundation statement and under a Primary Interpretive Theme, which emphasizes the values and resources as follows:

Kalaupapa has an amplified sense of power and sacredness by virtue of the events, circumstances, and peoples who lived and died here. The sheer numbers of patients buried at Kalaupapa create a sense of kuleana – a cultural responsibility to care for the bones of the ancestors. In turn, the ancestors watch over this ʻāina and protect Kalaupapa. The beauty and isolation offers healing and restoration of the human spirit.

These interpretations of Hawaiian values are defined by the National Park Service and are long overdue. However, according to a Hansen’s disease patient, “While the recognition of our culture has been fermenting slowly, the park people are beginning to understand the depth of our Hawaiian culture, our heritage.”

Listed under the title Fundamental Resources and Values within the KNHP Draft are five themes the Park will address:

One: The graves, archaeological features, churches and settlement structures (that) make this a hallowed ground and invigorate the complex stories of human endeavor, suffering, mālama (caring for), and finally, peace.

Two: The setting: the steep pali, offshore islands, rugged coastlines, sandy beaches and Kauhakō Crater – all help to convey the concept of mana.

Three: The stories are interpreted as a person spirit preserved. By the sharing of stories of those who died and are buried at Kalaupapa, we also preserve their spirits, adding depth and dimension to the greater story to be told, expressed and remembered.

---

272 Ibid., A-7.
273 KNHP, Foundation, 14.
Four: Kalaupapa provides closure and healing by connecting families to their loved ones. The stories of ‘ohana (families) who were left behind are equally compelling and offer lessons in forgiveness, love, hope, inspiration and the perseverance of human spirit.

Five: Contemporary stories of the pervading presence of spirits – who can be felt and witnessed by visitors and residents alike – are a testament to the special sacredness and mana of Kalaupapa. 275

A sovereign nation is more than a flag, a constitution, or a capital; a nation encompasses the people or peoples who construct the nation. The United States, aided by a small group of non-native conspirators, overthrew the government of the Hawaiian nation in 1893. According to David Liu, “The requirements for regaining the Ka Lahui [nation], require that decolonization is not enough, what is needed is a re-kalo-nization.” He further describes this re-kalo-nization as, “the active re-assimilation of the body of the Maoli into the body of the Lahui, through the participation of protocols such as the consumption of kinolau, or body forms, and working the `aina and kai.”276 To be a healthy Hawaiian means that you understand your culture. You know it’s the way you are taught and raised. A Hawaiian patient said, “A short time ago, it was not a good thing to be Hawaiian. My grandparents spoke Hawaiian, yet we were not allowed to speak Hawaiian. We lost the language. My grandmother practiced the Hawaiian religion but she didn’t pass it on. So much was lost.”277

J. McMullin, a sociologist, wrote in Social Science Medicine, “The alienation of the Kanaka Maoli from the `āina has been accompanied by the separation of their kino (body), from the wailua (spirit), and the no`ono`o (mind).”278 He continues with his explanation as to why the Hawaiian is in turmoil. “The political economies of colonization through western

275 KNHP, Foundation, 14.
276 Liu, Writing and Rewriting, 73-120.
medicine have produced a fractionated identity between the mind, body, and spirit resulting in the unhealthy Hawaiian.”

The rejuvenation of the Hawaiian began in the 1960s and continued with Nainoa Thompson when he reintroduced long-distance voyaging in canoes. This has reawakened Hawaiians to their mana and their ancestral roots and beliefs. Thompson helped devise a Hawai`i-centered form of celestial navigation and this was tested successfully on the 1980 voyage to Tahiti. During the voyage, he reflected on both the clarity of a simultaneous perception, and an intuitive ability to know the ocean environment. Thompson states:

I gave up. I think it was because I was so tired that I just gave up forcing myself to find the clues visually. All of a sudden I felt warm, but it was raining and cold. When I gave up trying to force myself to find answers, I knew. I took command of the steering and said, “Here, we’re going to go this way.” When I relaxed and gave up, somehow I knew. Then there was a break in the clouds and the moon showed—exactly where I thought it was supposed to be. Even when I saw it I wasn’t surprised. That’s my most valuable moment, that one.

With Thompson’s complete awareness of the environment, he understands the link between himself and his ancestors who journeyed north from the Marquesasan Islands. Joining this link between a cultural past and the troubled present for the Hawaiian people is not easy, and Thompson declared, “I have pondered many times the familiarness of new experiences during the voyage, as if somehow I have had such experiences before. In understanding the blending of my ocean past as a youth with the discipline of sailing lays the most cherished parts of myself.

After returning from their inaugural sail to Tahiti, Hōkūle’a anchored off shore of the Moloka’i settlement for two days. The residents greeted them with open arms and gave them tours. Indeed, this becomes the yet unfulfilled role of the Kalaupapa land mass, according to a Hansen’s disease patient. “As our people return and remember their heritage, their ancestry,

279 Ibid., 67.
281 Ibid., 210.
to come here and sit or stand quietly on the crater rim listening to the winds, to watch a full moon rise over the ocean, well that is a special event.”282 Another patient commented on this idea of inadvertent protection. He said “Banishing the patients to the peninsula protected the archaeological record and thus the irony of this action saved the landscape. I cannot imagine Siloama or St. Philomena in ruins, but I know the state would let it happen.”283

As one Hawaiian patient expressed, “When I look upon these untouched surroundings, I envision the Kanaka Maoli of old. It is relatively easy to understand their way of acting and responding to situations. When I see the beauty of the land with no condominiums or development, well, this purity of perception is gratifying. We Hawaiians must move forward.”284

The open landscape and the vistas with their history require protection. With the arrival of the patients, major building projects took place. Both in Kalawao and then in Kalaupapa, hospitals, dormitories and other structures were built to serve the patients. In the following chapters, I discuss these buildings and the people who occupied them. A Hansen’s disease patient of local Japanese ancestry reflected, “We patients were all disoriented and confused. Our different backgrounds or social standing didn’t matter we needed hope, a reason to continue. I noticed, after we did not have any hope of ever going home, religion became the sustaining force, the most important thing in our lives. I remember all the church services being full, overflowing.”285 The next chapter discusses the five church buildings, and continues in subsequent chapters with the housing and the community buildings the patients’ depended up

282 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2010.
285 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2007. This interview updated in a phone conversation on Wednesday, October 22, 2014.
CHAPTER V

PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCHES

I sing at church. I love to sing on Sunday. My friends say I have a good voice. I enjoy hearing the echoes of the hymns off the walls inside St. Francis.

Nellie McCarthy
Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa, 2005

The entire peninsula is a historic district. Moreover, according to Joanne Wilkins, Kalaupapa National Historical Park (KNHP) architectural historian, “The significance of this district hinges on the relationships of structures to each other, and to the changing social and medical conditions of the inhabitants. The preservation of as many of these structures as possible becomes necessary to portray an accurate historical scene.” This chapter discusses the churches and their support buildings within the scope and physicality of place.

The continued arrival of leprosy patients in Kalawao meant the need for more housing and other facilities. The first group of patients who landed in January of 1866 built Siloama, the Church of the Healing Spring at Kalawao in 1871. Catholics, under the guidance of Brother Bertran, erected St. Philomena one year later in 1872. Additional houses and other buildings followed, including an infirmary, a LDS (Mormon) church, and a dormitory for boys built by Damien and then expanded with private funding into the Baldwin Home for Boys.

286 On Sunday, the church services at the different denominations were staggered so one could attend the Protestant then the Catholic services. In 2005, the LDS service was limited to four patients. The resonance of voices within the St. Francis church made the singing of hymns quite moving. The sincerity of the small contingent of Protestants was edifying, and the vocal renditions of the Mormons inspiring.

287 Wilkins commented about her concern for all the buildings, and especially the churches, located on the peninsula in conversation with Margaret and me at the Kuhio Federal Building in September of 2005.
A map of the peninsula from 1895

Kalawao is located on the right, with three churches and the Baldwin Home for Boys. Kalaupapa settlement: on the left with Bishop Home and the three churches, plus a YMCA, and the Superintendent residence are noted. The Patient Store, post office, and the wharf area, are also indicated.

The slow move of the patients over to Kalaupapa meant the construction of additional religious structures. There are five churches on the peninsula today, two in Kalawao, and
three in Kalaupapa. In the twentieth-first century, a Hansen’s disease patient explained the critical need for the churches saying, “You should understand, we were surrounded by death. Funerals everyday—sometimes two, three in one day. We arrived as kids in 1942 and saw the people dying right away. All the time they were dying.” Churches offered hope, a reason to continue. Never able to go home to see family again, religion became the sustaining force in the community. For many, it became the most important thing in their lives. In the past, when the patient population was large, the churches were always full. A Hansen’s disease patient related, “The Sunday services overflowed, even the Catholic mass on weekday mornings was full.”

On the weekends, the pulse of the settlement slows. State and federal workers are on a ten-hour four-day workweek. On Thursday afternoons, roughly two-thirds of the workers hike up the trail and go home to their families on “topside” Moloka‘i. A patient told me, “That’s my favorite time, weekends, the settlement turns into a ghost town. Nobody around to bug me, and I don’t have to worry about anybody. I feed my cats. Do whatever I like.”

We learned quickly to inspect state employee housing on Fridays. This limited any blowback from state workers. The weekends also provided us time and opportunity to explore the peninsula, and we would unexpectedly meet patients at various locales, over in Kalawao, on top the crater, or collecting salt out beyond the airport.

Residents of the settlement would wave us over as we drove by and we would stop to “talk Story.” A patient told us over a serving of cold mango from his backyard tree, “Arriving at Kalaupapa is not only a physical trip but an emotional one, and a mental one. The mental is the hardest part. How can I get better, with all this anguish of me missing my

---

290 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 3, 2006.
family I left back on Kaua`i. That was the hardest part for me. Church services provided relief.”

On Sundays, at eight am, the Kana`ana Hou church bell rings. We attended the services along with four patients, Edwin Lelepali, Katherine Costales, Shoichi Hamai, and Gertrude Ka`auwai. Two KNHP employees and three state workers also attended. As no minister or Kahu lived in the settlement, members of the congregation took turns leading the service. Lelepali brought his guitar, and he played and sang regularly. Costales would also lead the small congregation in hymns and have a lively, albeit short sermon. The service usually lasted forty minutes. The small congregation would sing a closing song and talk story for a few minutes on the steps outside before walking or driving home.

At nine am, the St. Francis bell rang, and Margaret and I would attend Mass. The residents flocked into the church. Of the thirty-four patients in the settlement, approximately twenty-five attended the service along with other government workers. Nellie McCarthy, with a crystal-clear voice, led the singing. Her tone was pure and on key.

The LDS church did not have a bell to ring. Nevertheless, when we were there in 2005, the four patients who attended, Ku`ulei Bell, Lucy Kaona, Peter Keola and Makia Malo, sang with joyous exuberance. Malo said, “We are trying to reach the heavens.”

Unfortunately, the Mormon Sunday services ended shortly thereafter, as the four patients became too sick to attend.

The Catholics held Mass service in Kalawao at St. Philomena once a month. Not to be outdone, the Protestants also held a monthly service at Siloama. We would drive over in the truck and attend both services. The setting was very peaceful and the views from the windows, spectacular. In St. Philomena, we sat in the original section, as the vistas were

---

292 Makia Malo, Hansen’s disease patient, commented at the LDS services in Kalaupapa, 2005.
good and the cross winds kept the place cool. Both locales had views of the ocean and the white-capped blue-water.


A building is not something created by one stroke—a static and crystalline object, incapable of change. Rather, it is the living outcome of an interaction between people and their place—between human beings, each with their own individual dreams and desires, and their daily needs and surroundings.  

Attendance at the churches aided the daily needs of the patients, along with their dreams and desires. As one Hansen’s disease patient expressed, “Some of us were depressed, got hung-up on their misery. Church services brought us out our internal despair.”

Ultimately, every building (houses, churches or others) become a direct expression of its locality and the materials used in construction and the response to the specifications and conditions of a site. On the peninsula, the basic weather patterns of fierce trade winds, heavy humidity from frequent rain, and the hot summer sun take their toll. These climatic conditions are a continuous force in the deterioration of buildings and structures. The architectural historian, Joanne Wilkins said, “Maintenance therefore, becomes a major concern. Because building materials under these extreme circumstances have their own needs and problems to address.”

A lack of occupants in buildings also offers a unique challenge. The infrequent use of the churches in Kalawao has led, as Bryan Harry, the former NPS Regional Director, stated, to “quicker deterioration from benign neglect. The elements take over, animals infest the building and vegetation takes control.” When I first walked into St. Philomena’s the sky

---

295 KNHP Architectural Historian Joanne Wilkins related in a conversation with us August 20, 2005.
blue paint on the ceiling was peeling in large patches, ground water had saturated the walls, and the exterior of the wooden portion had turned weather-beaten gray.

Paraphrasing Donald Insall, “that all structures exist in a state of steady movement,” in response to its own load-bearing weight, “restoration personnel need to understand the system of live loads and thrusts within and upon a building and the compensating adjustments by which the building constantly adapts itself.” The ground itself has reacted in answer to the weight of the building. In places, it has compressed or settled, either as a whole or partially over greater loads or softer ground.

Kalawai’a Goo, KNHP lead preservation carpenter, appreciates the challenges of restoration and maintenance under these difficult conditions. In one of our conversations, Goo related, “The churches speak eloquently to their strength, and durability, and they have a rustic or even artistic purity. I find this visually rewarding.” Indeed, I found the locale, the people, and the buildings aesthetically rewarding. Nature has turned material into a changing canvas. The natural elements consistently shaped these living buildings: winds buffeted, while metal roofs expanded and contracted. In addition, rainwater flowed into walls and the unprotected ironwork oxidizing the colors. Buildings constantly “breathe” both dry and damp air. Virtually any problem a building encounters will be exacerbated by water. In wood, a dry rot fungus demands a moist presence and carries this dampness to new surfaces to infest. Within stone, the internal physical microstructure can dissolve as natural salts spread and are distributed and deposited causing internal erosion. In addition, vegetation takes root in exposed crevices and increasingly disrupts and damages the structure. Goo added, “How to

---

298 Kalawai’a Goo explained to us as we examined the restored house of Hansen’s disease patient Kenso Seki, in May of 2005.
maintain that artistic level in restoration without destroying the accumulated beauty of years of nature’s work is the hard part.”

**St. Philomena**

However, while the state scrimps on repairs, the Kalaupapa Historical National Park works hard to restore historic buildings, spending multi-millions in restoration of St. Philomena. Number one on the KNHP priority list is of course, St. Philomena Catholic Church in Kalawao. A Frenchman, Victorin Bertrant, not Damien as legend has it, built the original church. Bertrant erected the small wooden church in six weeks and he dedicated the church to St. Philomena on May 30, 1872. The church was located on a north-south alignment with the entrance door positioned to the north. A small porch offered protection and the windows allowed the trade winds to circulate through the interior. This portion of the building is of a post-and-pad, single-wall construction, with a one-to-three foot clearance above the sloping ground.

Bertrant’s wood frame and stone portion of the building has a concrete slab entrance porch. The north elevation of this original building has a post and pad foundation with knee braces for angular support, and a lineal skirting of wood one-by-three inches. The exterior has shiplap siding, a porch with two support posts for the small portico with a Celtic cross located on the top. A gable roof with cedar shingles covers the framed structure. A circular stained-glass window is embedded in the north wall. The original interior of the church has a barrel ceiling, with wood floors, and three double-hung windows with casements on each side. The simple altar is located on the south wall.

---

299 Goo, NPS Exhibit Specialist and lead carpenter in charge of restoration of the buildings in 2005.  
Damien remodeled the church twice, once in 1876, and again to its current footprint in 1889,\textsuperscript{301} which increased the square footage. The church is on a gentle slope and heavy rains cause frequent problems. Damien did not allow for drainage in his construction plans and the limestone foundation and wooden pillars continually soak up the ground water. This leads to excessive mildew and dry rot fungus. With the canonization of Damien, the NPS undertook a multi-million dollar repair of the building. A complete overhaul of the foundation work replaced the waterlogged and moldy wood. The interior was repainted and the numerous pews refurbished. Joe Mollena, the lead carpenter of KNHP projects said, “We have undertaken a great deal of work here. It’s too bad the on-site-conditions will remain the same. The rains will come and our work will be nullified in a few years.”\textsuperscript{302} Damien built the central tower at the front door elevation, but it was destroyed by a fierce wind in 1887. Brother Dutton replaced the bell-tower in 1889.

The thirty-inch masonry walls are finished with a plaster outer layer. The interior walls are painted white with red accent lines to mimic coursed masonry of bricks. The windows and door openings of the masonry section are pointed gothic arches. Fluted Corinthian columns support the interior vaulting and two chandeliers break up the length of the ceiling. The west elevation contains a recessed gothic double entrance door built into the main bell tower.

Damien attempted to reconcile the foundation problems. He removed basement material, which allowed air to enter, circulate, and help ease the below-grade ground water seeping into the masonry foundation and walls. However, this was not successful.

The vaulted ceiling is painted sky blue. The interior suffers from the high moisture content within the enclosed structural walls and the paint peels rapidly. I have seen this

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., 577.
\textsuperscript{302} Joe Mollena the NPS supervisor of construction projects on the peninsula. This conversation took place on the grounds of St. Philomena during the Park Service million-dollar restoration project.
condition at various stages, from badly peeling to under repair and completely new; and then the paint reverts in a year to a bubbled surface, ready to peel again.\textsuperscript{303}

The grounds surrounding St. Philomena contain the former burial site for Saint Damien, which now holds a relic belonging to him. Brother Dutton is buried nearby in the cemetery grounds. The remains of sixteen priests from the Sacred Hearts Order as well as several religious brothers are also buried here. These graves include Reverend Father Emmeran Shulte and Brothers Rochus Rech, Victor Schumpf, Mario Serapion Von Hoof, and Severin Boites. There are also eight other burials in scripted graves and two with no inscription. The names on the marked graves are Kaikala Kameahonua, George Kualaku, A. Kualaku, George N. Kaeha, W.K. Kuhia, Emmeran Palakiko, B. Palikipu and Jo S. Barete.

Located on the north side of St. Philomena on a grassy locale, the sundial stands in terrible shape and disrepair. A three-foot tall cemented rock spire supports the face of the sundial. The numbers on the bronze face are barely discernable, and the pointer or arm of the dial is missing. A patient, who regularly cleans the area said, “It will be restored one day.”\textsuperscript{304}

\textbf{Siloama}

The Siloama Protestant Church is located fifty-yards from St. Philomena, on the same side of the road. Siloama was built in 1871, one year before St. Philomena. This earlier date surprises people and visitors, and this fact is ignored on the guided tour, in an effort to preserve the Damien legacy. The small wooden structure of Siloama is twenty feet wide and thirty-four feet long. The first leprosy patients to reach Kalawao initiated the church,

\textsuperscript{303} For further information and a detailed account one should read the, \textit{Historic Structure Report, St. Philomena Catholic Church} (Father Damien’s Church) Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka‘i, Hawai‘i, January 1985. The report gives specific advice to repair everything within the church including doorknobs on cabinets, handrails, and the headstones in the graveyard.

\textsuperscript{304} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2010.
officially called, Siloama the Church of the Healing Spring. Eleven of the sixteen patients came from other congregations around the islands. The patients saved up their meager funds, about $125.00. With an additional six hundred dollars from donations from neighbor island churches, the Hawaiian Board of Missions in Honolulu, purchased material, hired a carpenter, and bought a bell. Construction started in July and was completed in October of 1871. The building has been replaced twice. Extensive fire caused major damage in 1912, and the alignment of the building changed so the front door faced north, instead of facing west onto Damien Road. A complete restoration of the wooden termite-infested structure took place in 1966.

Siloama is a bright spot in the road when one departs the Ylang-ylang forest.
The reconstructed Siloama Church, also a wood frame building, sits on a post and basaltic or lava pad foundation. A gable roof with Greek returns highlights the north eave. A square tower supports an octagonal steeple, dissimilar from the original design of square steeple with accompanying bell. The structure resembles a small New England church with white paint, and an entrance portico that mirrors the rooflines.

According to Ethel Damon, the double-wall construction method is not an accurate depiction of the 1880 period. “Indeed, the whole structure is built to different specifications than the original.” The interior remains Congregational plain with rows of pews and twelve-light double-hung windows. The windows open up and look out to the ocean on the east side allowing trade winds to blow in. Although constructed on a slope similar to that at St. Philomena, the church does not face the same foundation difficulties because of the post-and-pad configuration. The front entrance stands a foot above the ground and the earth slopes away, so the rear floor of the church is six feet above ground. Within the churchyard are two restrooms with their famous signs: “patients” and “kōkua” for those who assist the patients. Hansen’s disease patients and those who were helpers required the restrooms differentiate by disease and not gender.

Additional features on the grounds include a perimeter rock wall, three feet high and roughly, two and a half feet wide, that surrounds the church and adjoining graveyard. There are two gates, painted bright green, one for pedestrians and a double-gate allowing automobile or truck access. The gravesite of Kanakaokai, the original Calvinist minister or kahu, is located thirty feet from the exterior of the north portion of the rock wall. Siloama Church has its own burial plots with ten gravesites located within the church boundary of rock walls. They include the original members of the church: Mr. Kalilipali, Mrs. Julia Holi,

---

Mrs. Akulakopena, and Mrs. Lillian Kahoolalahala. As the congregation expanded, they eventually moved over to Kalaupapa, where a second church was built. However, a fire destroyed this structure, and it was replaced with a new church, Kana`ana Hou, which stands today.

Kana`ana Hou

There are four structures within the rock wall boundary of this property: the church, a rectory for the minister (kahu), a Parish hall, and a double car garage. The church grounds are located between the U.S. post office and the hospital/clinic. The patients again pooled their money and hired a contractor from Honolulu to help in construction. The edifice was constructed in 1915 and when completed had a capacity for two hundred worshippers. The church was completely refurbished in 2004 by KNHP employees and they provided a new cedar shake roof, interior repair of the termite-infested walls and flooring, and new layers of sealer, primer, and paint.

The picturesque Kana`ana Hou (New Canaan) Church with its Craftsman style of square pillars, gothic windows and high-pitched cedar shingle roof has a warm and bright interior. This frame building is also of single-wall construction, with a crossbeam configuration for lateral support. This provides an open and airy interior space. The foundation is supported with stone pad-and-post with poured concrete footings under the outside stairs. The main gable roof is transected by two smaller gables which cover the windows projecting from the central sections of the east and west walls. The gablets are approximately two feet lower than the main gable. A bell tower marks the main entrance and has a wood shingle hip roof. The walls are vertical plank siding and supported by a
continuous girt below window level and a water table at the sole plate. Horizontal lattice skirt ing covers the foundation structure.

The first Sunday we attended Kana`ana Hou in 2005, a KNHP worker led the services. Four patients were also present along with two federal workers. The closing hymn was the vernacular song about, “mama’s little baby loves shortenin’, shortenin’, mama’s little baby loves shortenin’ bread.” A patient, Costales, remarked afterwards, “We do have a funny bone, a sense of humor.” To emphasize their sense of humor, one Sunday, in June of 2010, at the bequest of Edwin Lelepali, Margaret and I sang a duet.

The Kahu or Minister’s House is a single-wall plantation style house with Hawaiian elements in the bell-cast roof. The two-bedroom, one-bath house, built in 1932, is occupied

© MM Andrus
Kana`ana Hou, with its prominent bell tower and entryway pictured in 2005.

on rare occasions, when an off-island dignitary arrives on church business. The comfortably furnished interior, with a small office and library, contains five-strand rattan or bent bamboo furniture of the 1950’s era. The single-wall structure with intersecting bell cast hip roofs provides a diversion from the monotony of a pure rectangular or square structure. The building is finished with corner boards and a girt encircles the structure, broken by double-hung sash windows. However, upon closer inspection, the roof layout and the entrance porch have more style and flair than similar houses on the peninsula, as well as detailed Craftsman elements in the wood accents in the handrail and balusters.

The Mission House, or Parish Hall, a prefabricated building, acts as both a social hall and at times a dormitory for off-island visitors on service projects. The open floor plan and adjacent kitchen accommodate church-related activities. This modular pre-fabricated building was donated by a Honolulu congregation and shipped over from O`ahu. The structure, supported by iron jack-stands, is actually a doublewide trailer. Therefore, it lacks any preservation value with a current age of only twenty years. Various social functions take place here, including Lelepali’s annual Easter Feast and Luau as well as his birthday party. These events and social gatherings are a memorable side light to the patient’s history.

The nearby enclosed garage has a pitched roof, room for two cars, and the specific historic value of a visual remnant that adds to the total fabric of the community. The garage housed a large yellow 10-passenger van in 2005. The van was occasionally used when Lelepali provided rides to patients and others attending the church services at Siloama.

Two minor structures, a shade house and a storage shed, suffer from extensive deterioration very noticeable from one year to the next. The shade house progressed from a useable condition to broken-down and then collapsed on the ground. The small storage-shed had broken windowpanes and a door with loose hinges that eventually fell down. A picturesque, lichen-encrusted rock wall surrounds the church grounds, enclosing a
commemorative bell, housed under a small protective roof. Two entryways, consisting of four concrete pillars, frame the property and add a visual context of envelopment for the worshipper.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The Latter-Day Saints (Mormon) church in Kalaupapa had four members in 2009. The last ambulatory Mormon patient in the community, Ku`ulei Bell, passed away that year. Another member of the congregation, Lucy Kaona was confined to the hospital in 2009 and passed away in 2012. A third LDS member, Makia Malo, resides in Honolulu and occasionally visits the settlement. The fourth attendee, Peter Keola passed away in Honolulu.

On the Mormon property, in addition to the church (chapel), there are three structures encompassed by a rock wall: the meetinghouse, a Relief Society Hall, and a small two-bedroom house for the Branch President or visiting dignitaries. The structures are located on the east side of Kamehameha Street and face due west out to the cemetery, the ocean and the setting sun. The church is of a vernacular Mid-Century Modern design, erected in the early nineteen fifties by volunteer members from Moloka`i, Maui, and Lana`i. This chapel is a miniaturized version that follows the patterns of all the other worldwide LDS chapels; it is built on a concrete pad, with aluminum siding, and a roof of asphalt shingles featuring clean and simple architectural lines with a lone spire. The interior is also of simple and modern design with two offices and bathrooms. The five rows of pews offer worshippers comfortable seats. At the services we attended, the four patients sang with gusto and deep reverence. In addition, a pair of young Mormon men from Kaunakakai walked down the trail, led the meeting, and then walked back up the trail. In 2010, no services took place.
The Relief Society building is often confused with and described as a Parish Hall. The structure consists of one large room of 600 square feet and a small separate kitchen built in the 1940’s. The Relief Society is a Mormon organization for female members of the church. They support efforts of women in gaining further education and as volunteer help in serving the needy. The wood frame building of single-wall construction has both stairs and an accessible handicap ramp to the covered lanai that is roughly thirty feet in length. The building itself is square and features exterior one by twelve board and batten with the typical island-style jalousie windows. The asphalt shingle roof has been replaced many, many times. When a LDS worker or workers arrive for maintenance on the grounds or the buildings, they always stay in the Relief Society building, which has cable TV, a DVD player, and a telephone.

Built in 1935, the Branch President’s Residence is a single wall structure of board and batten with a hip roof. An enclosed front porch is incorporated into the west side of the building. The interior consists of two small bedrooms, one bath, a fully furnished living room and kitchen. The house is seldom if ever utilized, perhaps once a year, and upon our entering, we had to sweep away spider webs and other encroaching insects.

A monument to an early member of the LDS church is located on the Church grounds between the Chapel and the Relief Society building. This monument is erected to the memory of Johnathan Napela, Hansen’s disease patient and early leader of the Mormon faithful in Kalawao. Napela, a judge on Maui, translated the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language. He came to the settlement as a kōkua for his wife, was assistant superintendent for the health department, contacted the disease and died a few years before her. 307

307 Chase, Mormons and Lepers, 43.
Saint Francis Church

This edifice in Kalaupapa is located near the pier and across the street from the post office at the intersection of Kamehameha Road and Pauahi Street. There are five structures on this property: the main church, Damien Hall, the Rectory, garage, and a shade house. St. Francis church has by far the largest congregation in the settlement with twenty to thirty people attending Sunday Mass.

St. Francis church, erected in 1908, replaced an earlier wooden building that succumbed to fire, the number one danger of buildings in Kalaupapa. According to the report by Law and Soulierre in 1978:

This large Italian-Gothic structure is constructed from reinforced cement and with four large concrete buttresses with arched gothic windows placed in between. The interior is of a vault construction. This structure is the only concrete church and the largest structure on Moloka‘i. The rectangular building again has an arched portico at the west elevation, sheltered by a hip roof. The large nave has a gable roof, and the sacristy at the east end has a shed roof. A three-tiered steeple is located at the southeast corner. The hooded gothic windows are interspersed with buttresses on the north and south walls. Quatrefoils flank the tops of the windows. Corinthian columns offer interior support and the floor is scored concrete.  

Damien Hall, next to St. Francis Church, is a mini museum and library often used for social occasions, such as visiting choirs or musical groups that perform within the church; afterwards, a community potluck meal is served in the hall. The single-walled wooden structure is in good condition with minor problems of wood rot, and the casement windows and molding needing repair. Built in 1909, the Catholic Church takes care of the building.

The Rectory or house used by the Catholic Priest is a simple plantation style house. In the summer of 2007, the house was re-wired, re-plumbed, and a new asphalt shingled roof.

---

added. This building is very similar to other houses built in the 1930s within the settlement: single wall, corner boards, water table, exposed rafter ends, and a broken girt around the house. The Craftsman-style concrete steps with lava rock cheek-walls are capped with a concrete ledge, and a shed-style roof. The comfortable interior offers a study or office space off the front entrance, a large front room, and small kitchen, and a bathroom separates the two bedrooms. The porch offers a view of the church grounds and a side view out to the pier and ocean.

A one-car garage is located next to Damien Hall and a hothouse is located behind the garage. The garage is in good condition while the hothouse is far past prime-time condition. Also, nearby is a grotto area, complete with statue of the Virgin Mary, encased in a rock structure memorial. A Hawaiian-style rock wall roughly four feet in height and three feet wide encircles the entire building complex, which also contains the burial plot of Father Andre Maxim and a bronze statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The original St. Francis church burnt down in 1906, and the parishioners held a fundraising drive for a new church. This edifice was designed by Father Maxim and built under his supervision in 1907. Renowned in the settlement for his positive outlook on life, love, and faith, his gravesite looks toward the church entryway.

Also located on the St. Francis grounds is another commemorative bell, protected by a small wooden support structure with asphalt shingles over the small hipped roof. There are two grottos on the peninsula, one in very good condition on the grounds at St. Francis church and the other in a ramshackle overgrown area near the New Baldwin Home. At one time, Wilkins had the idea to restore this grotto area, “so those waiting at the mule ride area for

---

their tour bus could participate in a self-guided tour.310 Nothing has ever become of her concept.311

St. Francis Church has a large interior space. Statues of Jesus, St. Francis, and a painting of Damien flank the rows of pews. So many visitors have arrived and taken the tour, seeking souvenirs from the church, that the patients feel a need to protect their personal items, hymnals, rosaries, and Bibles. A handwritten note taped to the top of the backrest on the last pew, states:

TOURISTS:
Don’t steal. Leave our personal belongings alone.

In summary, while the churches are well maintained, this is not the case for many of the other buildings. Several residences at the settlement have lost integrity by continually needing repair and others are in a complete state of disrepair. However, many good examples of period housing are salvageable and represent a particular style and/or type. These buildings and houses along with the Hansen’s disease patients are discussed in the next few chapters.

310 The ideas of Joanne Wilkins, the Architectural Historian, were often met with reluctance by the KNHP staff.
311 The idea of these grottos, meditation and contemplation by the Catholic brothers, sisters, and priests, causes one to think that there must have been a grotto in Kalawao behind the original Baldwin Home. I can imagine there was a grotto up against the cliff face somewhere in the vicinity. However, I have not heard of any grotto in the area and no one has a recollection that one existed.
CHAPTER VI

INSTITUTIONAL PATIENT HOUSING

Living in McVeigh was okay. Plenty people to socialize with. But, then you get older. The dorm got noisier and I needed more space. So I moved quite often. Finally, I live here in Bay View. Quiet. I’m the last resident to live here. The workers come to visit me and I go to church on Sunday, Ku`ulei gives me a ride.312

Peter Keola, Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa 2005

This chapter details the separate housing areas in assisted dormitory living. The three dormitory settings are, the McVeigh Home for White Foreigners, Bay View Home for the Aged and Blind, and Bishop Home for Women and Young Girls. These three care-homes have distinct architectural features from one another and, as their names imply, served the different needs of the patients.

Vernacular Hawai`i architecture comprises readily identifiable characteristics: In the settlement, the buildings are often one-and-a-half stories in height and feature bell cast hip roofs, known as Hawaiian roofs or plantation-style roofs. The structures are built of single-wall wood-frame construction and supported by a post and pad configuration. This design feature allows airflow underneath the building to prevent the build-up of dry rot, moisture, and decay.

312 Interview with Peter Keola, Hansen’s disease patient, June 2, 2005. The Hansen’s disease patient lived at Bay View, where I met him in 2005. He was, given his dire circumstances, undoubtedly the happiest person I have met. In subsequent years, confined to a wheelchair, and residing in Honolulu, at Hale Mohalu on the grounds of Leahi Hospital, he would “pop” wheeles down the long hallway and say, “Eh, look at me go.”
Kalaupapa in 1930
Notice the street names and location of hospital on far right later to become New Baldwin Home. Also, notice location of Bishop Home and Bay View, with McVeigh consisting of three buildings, the two dormitories and the Social Hall/Cafeteria.

According to Law and Soulierre,

There are other construction details that stylize the buildings, vertical wooden planks with a horizontal supports labeled girts, with sole plates, and corner boards that were often painted in contrasting colors. Roofs often of wood shingles and subsequently replaced with asphalt shingles or sometimes corrugated metal. There are unusually large overhanging eves that provide cool and breezy laniais, or porches.\footnote{Law and Soulierre, \textit{Architectural Evaluation}, 8.}
The Plantation, Hawaiian and Craftsman styles of architecture are rapidly disappearing from the islands. Kalaupapa, however, is one of the last remaining strongholds. These architectural variations are represented in the single-family houses and in the institutional patient communities at McVeigh, Bay View, and Bishop Home.

**McVeigh Home for White Foreigners**

J. D. McVeigh was the Superintendent of the Kalaupapa settlement from 1902 to 1929. He is remembered as a very good manager and mentor to the patients. He recognized the patients as people and that they should be treated as such. McVeigh knew the workings of the Board of Health well, as he was employed by them for ten years prior to his appointment at Kalaupapa. He instituted social activities for the residents that included baseball teams, musical bands, and a horse racing venue which became a community favorite. He brought an atmosphere of humor, warmth, and an informal nature to the settlement. According to a Hansen’s disease patient, “He lifted the morale of everyone.”

The Board of Health approved construction for the McVeigh Home in 1908. Named to honor McVeigh, the original idea of this area was to control the overhead costs by housing certain patients who had similar diets, mainly the white foreigners, in the same location. The plan called for two dormitories that contained twelve large bedrooms, a hospital ward, a dining room, and a social hall. An extensive fire destroyed the original structure in November 1928. Replacement buildings, minus the hospital wing, were completed in November 1929. By this time, the number of white foreigners had decreased to the point

---

314 Greene, Exile in Paradise, 284.
315 “Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawai‘i,” June 30, 1912: 159.
316 Annual Report of the President of the Board of Health of the Territory of Hawai‘i for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1929: 198.
that the housing area was open to men and women of any ethnicity. Later, with the continued decline in patients, one of the dormitory buildings was divided into four apartments for state workers. The other dormitory building retains the original footprint and interior floor plan. It houses KNHP construction personnel.

In the early 1930s, the State constructed additional housing at McVeigh. These were plantation-era style houses of single-wall construction. There were two floor plans: (1) small one-bedroom efficiency cottages with combination kitchen/living room, a bedroom and a single bath, and (2) a larger house with separate kitchen and living room with two bedrooms and single bath.

In 2014, three Hansen’s disease patients reside in the McVeigh area. They are Edwin Lelepali, Daniel Hashimoto, and Elisabeth Kahihikilo. Lelepali and Hashimoto are part of the twenty-five children shipped from the Kalihi Hospital in Honolulu to Kalaupapa after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Lelepali said, “I’ve lived in McVeigh since 1942. Kalihi Hospital was very lonely. I cried a lot at night. My mother died when I was born. I was ten when I went to Kalihi. Then I came here to McVeigh.” Another long term resident of McVeigh, Hashimoto recalled, “Before I entered Kalihi hospital my father took me to a rodeo and then the Waikiki Theatre. I was nine years old when I entered Kalihi and twelve when I rode the boat over to Kalaupapa.”

Over the years the living quarters at McVeigh have undergone extensive changes. The 1930 map delineates three structures associated with McVeigh and on the 1939 map there are thirty-five. However, in Greene’s report of 1982, she listed forty-two structures within the designated area. When we surveyed the McVeigh housing in 2005, we documented 37 various structures, houses, buildings, garages, carports and assorted out-

317 Ibid., 370.
318 Ibid., 428.
319 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 429.
320 Greene, Exile in Paradise, 687.
buildings. State and federal employees reside in a number of McVeigh’s houses, while six are vacant. One abandoned house stood in a field of hale koa shrubbery. There were also remnants of a large shed and numerous lean-to enclosures near the house. When we asked Lelepali about these structures, he told us, “Me and Olivia (Breitha) ran a big chicken coop over there. We sold the eggs to other patients and to the state for re-sale in the store.”

Continuing with the buildings, the McVeigh Social Hall contains a large commercial kitchen with three stoves, two double-sinks, three refrigerators, and a separate freezer where the daily meals were prepared. Today, the hall is frequently used for community events, birthdays, bingo nights and holiday festivities. We attended numerous social functions here. In 2005, eighty people joined in on Bingo Night. The last function Margaret and I attended was Fourth of July celebration in 2010; fifteen people (patients, nurses, and a couple of state and federal workers) all celebrated. The holiday was on a Monday and the usual three-day weekend turned into a four-day holiday for the workers. At this particular celebration I noticed the attendees separate themselves into their own social groups, with Samoan patients sitting with Samoan employees; Hawaiian patients and workers sat on the opposite side, while nurses and the Catholic Priest sat in the middle. The outcast convicted-felon sat outside by himself. Truly, he was an outcast among outcasts, how ironic. He sat at the picnic table, sang songs, played the guitar knowing he was causing problems for the others by his presence. Nevertheless, he did not care. He was an individual, and told me, “Eh, I already in jail here, what they gonna do send me to another jail.” I walked back into the hall and a patient approached and said, “He brings a bad name to us patients,” then shook her head in

---

321 Interview with Edwin Lelepali, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 15, 2007. We were exploring the other side of a rock wall where numerous structures stood. They had KNHP numbers on our map, and to clarify the information we investigated the area. We conversed with Lelepali outside of his residence in the McVeigh area of the settlement.

322 Norbert Palea, personal interview, July 4, 2010. He has since resided in federal detention at Terminal Island in Long Beach, California and due for parole in 2015. Three other workers in the settlement were also accused; however, no charges were brought against them as long as they resigned their jobs, and moved away.
disgust.\textsuperscript{323} The Patient Council, the State Director of Health and KNHP personnel also conduct meetings here. The Health Department and KNHP host an open forum once a month to discuss any complaints, questions the patients may have, and to inform the community of updates on projects and new agenda items.

The two McVeigh Dormitories are mirror plans of each other. While they both have undergone interior remodeling, their exterior walls and rooflines retain the same design and footprint. One dormitory is controlled by NPS, the other by the state. Both of the buildings have massive roofs, ventilated gablets, and long lanai or verandas providing shade and protection from heavy wind and rain. The state controlled dormitory has been converted into four single apartments for state workers; and the utilities upgraded with new water lines, electrical, plumbing, and fire repression systems.

The KNHP dormitory is fully restored and the original building plan was kept in tact. A great deal of work was undertaken from the foundation to the roof. Termite and weather damaged wood was replaced, new asphalt shingle roofing with copper downspouts also installed and the building retrofitted with a fire-suppression, or sprinkler system. A large kitchen, with an adjoining entry/lounge/front room with ten-bedrooms and two complete bathrooms make up the interior space. The lanai is the central hub where the residents gather and socialize.

An important feature of the McVeigh area is the pool hall, a small rectangular building with Plantation, Craftsman and Colonial Revival touches, along with a hipped roof and encased glass windows. The roofline reflects a smaller and gentler version of the Social Hall and fits in well with the overall design of the social hall, and the two dormitories. The pool hall was the gathering place for the patients at the end of the day to relax, shoot eight

\textsuperscript{323} A Hansen’s disease patient comments about a fellow patient, who was convicted of a felony for transportation and distribution of controlled substances.
ball, play cards and talk story. As a current resident patient informed me, “A crowd of fifty to one hundred was not out of the question in late afternoon.”

Patients, not playing pool, passed the time in the McVeigh Card Room. This structure is similar to the other small cottages pictured. As attrition among the patients continued, less individual housing was needed and this house, at one time the home of Sam Kahikina and later a patient named Sagradaca, remained empty before it succumbed to the all night poker parties.

Ed Kato, a patient resident of McVeigh, was a vibrant personality and an artist. According to a patient, “He was the chief positivism activist among the patients and responsible for the painted pohaku or rocks scattered about in the community with the slogans, smile it no broke you face.”

His house is designated to become a museum, whenever funds become available to restore the property, but no routine maintenance or termite treatment has been performed. A fire suppression system was installed in 2004 and this will protect the structure from total destruction. We entered the house in 2005 and found a dusty barren interior with no evidence of an effort to keep the residence free of rats and other animals. A combination guest/logbook sat on the kitchen counter. We signed the book and described the nature of our visit as “Condition Assessment.” We had been preceded by a few entries of KNHP employees who had inspected the fire extinguisher and replaced batteries for the two smoke alarms. In the summer of 2006, we again entered the house and signed the book. There was one other entry by KNHP personnel between our two visits. In 2007, we returned and walked into the cottage, signed the book and noticed two new entries, both visits by park personnel. In 2010, we returned and had to pry open the door, as it had swollen shut. On this inspection we noticed increased deterioration of the house structure, cobwebs, rat droppings, and weathered material. Our entry was the only one that year. Kato

---

324 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2005.
325 The Hansen’s disease patient approached us when we assessed Kato’s house. He walked over after exiting his car and added his personal commentary.
relates a story about a priest who was required to bring a piece of paper with him to sit on when he visited patients’ houses, “Father Peter, a small fellow but quite a musician. He was told to bring a piece of paper, they never told him how large, so his was two inches by two inches. There were a number of rules that today look a little ridiculous.”

Eleven detached efficiency units, with a combined kitchen/front room, bedroom, and bath, were constructed in the 1930’s. With roughly five-hundred square feet of interior space, the cottages were adequate for single residents. The units have identical floor plans, single-wall construction, steep Hawaiian bell-cast roofs, and double-hung windows. The recessed porch and concrete steps add a Craftsman style element to the architecture. The cottages have a small yard and back porch with a covered washhouse. According to Henry Law, “This makes them appear larger from the outside and when the design is repeated, the structures provide a visual fabric, or layered harmonious look.” These one-bedroom cottages with their priority numbers and current or former residents are listed in the appendix. When possible the name of the patient who lived there is provided. Elizabeth Kahihikolo lived in one of these units in 2005 and she invited us in to her home. She was a delightful person, soft spoken and congenial. She told us, “Oh, I am very happy here in this house, the nurses come by every day. The fellow brings my meals, and I go out with my sister Gertrude when she goes play cards. Sometimes if I like the nurses take me for a ride around the settlement, over to Kalawao or the airport.”

326 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 463.
327 Law and Soulierre, Architectural Evaluation, 38.
McVeigh Housing:
These cottages offer a bedroom, bath, and combination kitchen/living/dining room. Individual laundry facilities are located outside at the rear of the house. The dwelling on the right is contaminated with asbestos. The one in the middle is home of a patient, and the one on the far left is occupied by a NPS employee. Note the steep bell-cast roofline, horizontal support girt, and classic double-hung windows.

During the ensuing years, her mobility decreased, and she often had to travel to O’ahu for doctor’s appointments. Eventually, she was confined to a wheelchair and became a full-time resident of Hale Mohalu. After a year she was allowed to return to her home in Kalaupapa, (pictured above) where she lives today.

In addition to the small cottages there are six, 2-bedroom houses in the McVeigh area that have a larger kitchen and living/dining facilities, as well as a bigger yard. These have board-and-batten exteriors and simple hip roofs in a square foot-print or configuration. The eaves, which extend two feet from the top plate or wall section where it meets the roof, offer protection from strong sun and rain. Elizabeth’s sister, Gertrude, lived in one of these houses. Gertrude Seabury Ka`auwai, is a feisty poker-playing woman extraordinaire. Her two-
bedroom house is well worn by her and two dogs, and multiple numbers of cats.\textsuperscript{329} In 2010 as we were surveying McVeigh, I had my camera out and taking pictures of the Social Hall. The first rule upon coming to Kalaupapa you are told; “Do not take pictures of the patients unless you have their consent.” Gertrude drove up in a rusty car, stopped, put her head out the window, and said. “You can take my picture if you want.” I quickly changed lenses and took three pictures of her sitting behind the steering wheel.

In addition, another nine two-bedroom bungalows that are not board and batten also exist within the McVeigh area. They have similar floor plans. However, their entry way is expanded with a shed roof porch and the kitchen and living/dining rooms are separated by a short hallway leading to the bedrooms. A Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, sent to Kalaupapa as a small child after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, lives in one of these two-bedroom houses. He is a gentle and very kind individual. In the summer of 2010 he refereed the bi-weekly volleyball games on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. His house needs work, paint, electrical, plumbing, and structural repair to foundation and siding. He does not want to be displaced while any extensive repair work is completed, so minimal effort is undertaken by the state to keep the dwelling livable. Lelepali explained to us, “I’m old now, but I still love UH volleyball, the women’s team. I watch them all the time on TV. I attend some home games if I’m in Honolulu for medical reasons.”\textsuperscript{330} Jimmy Brede was also in the group sent to Kalaupapa, “When we came here I could see the happiness of the fathers and mothers. We took the place of their sons and daughters and they took the place of our mothers and sisters.”\textsuperscript{331}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{329} We often gave her a ride home when the bar closed at eight pm. Her eyesight had deteriorated to the point where she could not drive at night. At one time, she had a pet goat that rode on the hood of her car as she made her rounds in the settlement to feed cats.

\textsuperscript{330} Interview with Edwin Lelepali, Hansen’s disease patient, July 2, 2010.

\textsuperscript{331} Skinsnes Law, \textit{Kalaupapa}, 440.
\end{flushright}
Fourteen other structures survive in McVeigh which are utilized by the patients, the state workers, and NPS employees. These structures consist mainly of garages, carports, washhouses, laundry facilities and sheds. Wilkins, KNHP Historical Architect said, “The building numbers along with their priority numbers offer a clue as to their value in the aspect of historic preservation and monies to be budgeted for their retention.”

The outbuildings are numbered in the six and seven hundred range throughout the peninsula, giving them little hope of being maintained. However, the churches have an influx of people who volunteer and lately have restored the shade house and shed at Kana`ana Hou. When we started in the summer of 2005, the Historic Preservation Officer, whose work we were supplementing, explained to me. “In your inspections of the buildings I suggest you do a thirty-by-thirty.” Not knowing what he meant I replied with a befuddled and collective, “What?”

“Thirty feet away by thirty miles an hour,” he said.

We laughed, but got the intent of his meaning. He felt this was a meaningless operation and that you could accomplish the work in your head and then create the needed paperwork. “The computer input-time is the real bah-humbug. I have to input about three hours on one building in order to estimate a construction project that will never be done.”

In our visits to Hale Mohalu we ran across other patients who had lived in McVeigh but now consider Hale Mohalu home. One of these patients said, “I went back to my house once. All of my stuff was gone – personal belongings, my fishing equipment, five poles, many reels, and all my lures. All my stuff gone, stolen by the workers, I never going back there.”

---

332 Wilkins, the architectural historian for KNHP, worked out of the Kuhio Federal Building in Honolulu.
333 OHP Historic Preservation Officer in Kalaupapa, Kalawai’a Goo, gave us directions on how to proceed with the Condition Assessments.
334 Goo stated in a conversation in June of 2005.
335 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient at Hale Mohalu, October 10, 2012.
Although similar in function to McVeigh, providing a centralized kitchen for meals and nursing care, the size of the dormitories at Bay View differ greatly. Originally, there were four main structures where ambulatory patients resided. The large, 20,000 square foot, buildings have a gable-on-hip style roofline with wide verandas, which look out upon the ocean, thus the name of Bay View. A patient residing at Bay View in 2005 said, “The craftsmanship of the buildings was a marvel and their subsequent disrepair deplorable, but that’s what we’re used to.” The buildings have been re-roofed with asphalt shingles. However, considerable asbestos insulation remains underneath the flooring, and this stops any further work until the asbestos is removed. Another patient remarked to us in 2007, “You know the NPS sent four of their construction gang to the mainland for asbestos removal training. They were gone for two weeks. When they come back, they never like to do the work. Removing the asbestos was too dangerous they said.” A different patient burst into the conversation with, “They shoulda been fired. But no, they still here.”

The Bay View complex was constructed in 1916 to house the blind and elderly patients. The original plan had five buildings laid out in a formal symmetrical pattern with concrete walkways connecting each building. According to Henry Law and Laura Soulierre, “The buildings were constructed in a Plantation style with some Craftsman elements and thus comprise one of the most architecturally significant groups that remain in Hawai‘i.” They possess the finer elements of the period – large verandas, diamond pattern railings, chamfered and contoured handrails with large sheltering roofs that are deeply recessed and offer protection from the wind and rain.

338 Law and Soulierre, Architectural Evaluation, 44.
Bay View is a separate housing facility accommodating the blind and disabled patients. Building 3-BV on the right is one of the remaining dormitories. On the left is the present day community kitchen. Originally, there were four large dormitories. The buildings are controlled by NPS and the dorm rooms provide living space for NPS personnel. A few rooms are available on a limited basis to NPS visitors performing temporary projects or research.

The outside appearance remains true to the original design; however, the interiors have undergone severe modifications. Two patients called the Bay View area home in 2005. One patient, Peter Keola, lived in building number one and his two rooms were neat and tidy. His collection of baseball style hats were proudly displayed on the walls. Keola said, “I’m happy hear. Very quiet. And enough people visit me so that I am never lonely.”

The other patient, Makia Malo, resided in a single-family residence located by the Quonset hut. He also maintained a condominium in Honolulu with his wife, before she passed on. Today, he is a resident of Hale Mohalu at Leahi Hospital and visits his home at Kalaupapa less and less. According to Malo, “The fourth building was termite infected and bulldozed when the number of patients declined, probably, as far as my memory works, back in the mid fifties.”

---

339 Interview with Peter Keola, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 12, 2005.
340 Interview with Makia Malo, a Hansen’s disease patient, at Hale Mohalu, Honolulu, October 8, 2008.
The present kitchen was added to the cluster of buildings in 1937. The kitchen meshes in architecturally and is part of the historical dynamic of the complex. KNHP employees and any visiting researchers and volunteers staying in Bay View use the kitchen for cooking and the community space which includes a library, rattan furniture, and a large dining table. A KNHP employee said, “I pay rent for my two small rooms, the use of the kitchen. I understand that the Superintendent is trying to have visitors also pay rent to perform their research. Do you guys pay rent over at the doctor’s house?” We replied that we did not, but we had heard about the action of both paying rent and federal employees required to get insurance for their personal automobiles.

In the center of Bay View is a building that previously housed the central kitchen and functioned much like the McVeigh Social Hall. The rear of the building acted as a medical facility and a chimney where waste material was burned. The building is a post and pad configuration with tongue-and-groove siding. The exterior has a large covered deck circling three sides. The interior is spacious with twelve-foot ceilings. KNHP cubicles divide the room with their divisions of natural sciences, environmental, and oceanography sections.

Bay View Home Chapel is now reused as a pool hall and late-night poker games on Friday and Saturday nights. The single-wall structure is perched on the same bluff overlooking the ocean as the visitor Quarters. Six to ten patients and a number of state health workers enjoy staying up with the chickens until four a.m. and losing their money to Gertrude. We watched them play poker on a number of occasions, but never joined in. We did play pool with a patient, Richard Pupule. Pupule was the honorary sheriff when we were there. We would always see him out driving around the settlement, out to the airport, over to Kalawao, back around the settlement, over to the trailhead, at all hours of the day, with his dog looking out the passenger window. We thought he enjoyed the air or being on the move.

341 Conversation with a KNHP employee as we performed inspections on the Bay View complex, July 6, 2010.
until someone explained that he was on patrol. Built in 1928, the structure was a chapel in The New Baldwin Home, but succumbed to disuse with the decline in patient population. It was moved to Bay View and operated as a morgue for a number of years. This small building is equipped with a pool table, refrigerator, and long table that can accommodate ten or so card players. At one time, a horseshoe pit paralleled the south wall with a barbecue area at the rear entrance with a panoramic view of the cliffs the Pacific Ocean and the outline of O‘ahu on the horizon.

KNHP employees use this Quonset hut as a dormitory. At one time the building housed visiting researchers, archaeologist, botanist, who arrived on the peninsula for a short stay. In the acknowledgements section of their reports some refer to the Quonset hut as “infamous,” undoubtedly for the moldy, humid, and stifling interior conditions. This Quonset hut was one of nine that arrived in Kalaupapa in 1950 from Maui.342

The Bay View Resident Manager House is a small one-bedroom, one bath cottage, with a gable and shed style roof with eaves that extend over the front lanai. Constructed in 1930, the structure recently went through a complete rebuild from foundation to roof including electrical and plumbing. Under control of KNHP is currently the home of an enforcement ranger.

The DOH Administrator of Kalaupapa has a striking location for his house and sits on the western bluff overlooking the ocean. Waves break on basaltic lava rocks not thirty feet away and at night one can see Diamond Head backlit by the lights of Honolulu, on the far off horizon. The two-bedroom plantation style house is of course well maintained, always freshly painted and the lawn always mown. The skirting covering the post and pad foundation is well maintained.

342 Green, Exile in Paradise, 538.
Makia Malo remembers about his living in Kalihi Hospital and his subsequent transfer to Kalaupapa, “I wasn’t scared. I wasn’t angry. Perhaps I was too young to realize what was happening to me. All I know is that there was this isolation. Then I came to Kalaupapa and we would often gather at McVeigh around the piano and jam.” Malo’s house, of single-wall construction, is of no historical significance except for the fact he was the last person to reside at Bay View. The house was moved to this location and salvaged from two different houses that were collapsing. “Yeah, the same time we moved the Mormon beach house for Richard (Marks) we went and tear apart two houses, loaded them on the truck and brought them over here for the guy.”

Bishop Home for Women and Young Girls

The area of Bishop Home has suffered major devastation of the resident housing. Out of the eighteen original buildings, only four remain on the property. These four buildings include the Sisters’ convent, St. Elizabeth Chapel, and two patient houses.

---

343 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 430.
Gertrude Ka‘auwai, a Hansen’s disease patient, said, “I was kolohe, a rascal. I was always leaving at night, chasing the boys at Baldwin Home or escaping up the trail to Kaunakakai.”345 A rascal to the day she passed away, she was an astute card player and excelled at “picking people clean”346 of cash playing poker and cribbage. She continued, “When I first came to Kalaupapa my father told me my mother was here. He said I would see my mother. Well – she died before I got here. Other patients treated me like their daughter, especially Sarah Benjamin. On my birthday, I would get many presents. Bishop Home and the people were wonderful.”347 Saint Marianne and the Franciscan Sisters tirelessly served the young patients who resided here as the girls experienced their emotional teenage angst by organizing choirs, musical plays and one-act productions. They offered classes in home economics, and organized special events on holidays.

---

345 Interview with Gertrude Ka‘auwai, Hansen’s disease patient, February 20, 2010. Gertrude passed away in 2011. A friend of hers described the funeral and events to me, “We gave her one last ride around the settlement, past all her haunts, and then finally to Papaloa cemetery where she was interned.”
346 A state worker commented at the bar during a cribbage game.
Originally a housing complex for single women and girls, the numerous buildings included dormitories, a cafeteria, a chapel, recreation facilities, a sister’s convent and a few houses. The convent, chapel and two houses are all that remain standing. In 1939, there were twenty structures on the property designated for the young girls. That number dwindled to eleven in 1985 as mentioned in Greene’s study. Four buildings remain standing in 2014, the convent, the chapel, and the two houses offer a slim reminder of the patient’s existence. On a map dated 1939, there are twenty structures listed within the Bishop Home complex. When Linda Greene analyzed the settlement for NPS in 1985, she numbered eleven structures within the rock wall boundary. In the Chapman and Leineweber survey of 1997, there were seven.

In Mary Hanley’s work, *Pilgrimage in Exile: Mother Marianne of Molokai*, Hanley wrote, “Mother Marianne Cope ignited the fund raising efforts for the girls who were sent to Kalaupapa.” The fund raising resulted in constructing many buildings, the main building is a two story, single-walled edifice complete with sun room/library, dining hall, expansive kitchen, and constructed in the 1930 as the residence for the Franciscan Nuns. This large single-wall structure has an exterior of board and batten. The long gable roof has second-story dormers on the northwest and southeast sides of the building and a recessed porch at the central section of the northwest side. The structure contains elements of Plantation, Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles. The recent upgrade and renovation over a period of two years, installed a fire suppression system, re-glazed windows, a new cedar-shake roof complete with copper flashing, and electrical and plumbing work.

St. Elizabeth Chapel is a single-wall wood-frame structure with an open ceiling and stained glass windows. The structure is neat, tidy and completely renovated by the KNHP in

---

349 Ibid., 687.
2006. The gable roof has exposed rafter ends and covers the small entrance landing and doorway. The Sisters and the young girls and women began and ended their days here in prayer and meditation. The St. Francis Statue is located thirty feet away from the front door of the St. Mary’s Chapel. The alabaster white monument is kept spotless.

Barbara Wai`ale’ale Marks, a Hansen’s disease patient, lives on the grounds of Bishop Home, in a two-bedroom, one-bath, single-wall style house. Built in 1933 and continually upgraded, the building remains under control of the Department of Health. The original siding has been replaced with plywood and then disguised with battens nailed onto the plywood to look original. Barbara married Eddie Marks, the brother of Richard and she resides in Hale Mohalu today. A private person she did not want to talk openly, but as we returned in the ensuing years and now with her residing at Hale Mohalu she greets us warmly when we visit. Marks said, “Oh, I miss my little house at Bishop Home. I still keep my rosary and bible in St. Francis, when I go back, I know where they are.” Barbara married Eddie Marks, the brother of Richard and she resides in Hale Mohalu today. A private person she did not want to talk openly, but as we returned in the ensuing years and now with her residing at Hale Mohalu she greets us warmly when we visit. Marks said, “Oh, I miss my little house at Bishop Home. I still keep my rosary and bible in St. Francis, when I go back, I know where they are.”

Anita Una, a Hansen’s patient, lived next door to Barbara. The two houses are mirror-images of each other. Both structures remain under the control of the Department of Health. Una’s house was also degraded by replacing original material with plywood.

A preserved Portuguese oven, made of fieldstones and standing five feet in height, sits off by itself on the north east corner of the property. We felt the unique oven, resembling a beehive in structure, was reputedly used by Saint Marianne. After numerous attempts we were successful in listing it on the list of classified structures as an important part of the history of Bishop Home. I asked Barbara Marks what she recalled about the oven, “Oh, the Nuns used to bake bread out there, said the oven gave the dough a good flavor. I cannot remember which Nuns, but two or three of them were always scurrying about.”

---

351 Interview with Barbara Marks, Hansen’s disease patient, at Hale Mohalu in Honolulu, January 20, 2014.
352 Ibid.
structures within the Bishop Home area include a carport, storage facilities, and ramshackle sheds; these are on the various lists maintained by KNHP. There are also concrete foundations of buildings “gone” and other minor structures including two concrete pillar entrance portals that delineate the Bishop Home area from the hospital/clinic.353

The Saint Damien Monument in Kalaupapa, created with funds collected by the Prince of Wales, is located on the grounds of Bishop Home. The red granite Celtic cross is located at the intersection of Pauahi St. and Damien Road. The cross was unveiled on September 11, 1893 and commemorates the story of Damien, Brother Dutton and the settlement residents and has aroused the interest and sympathy of people from countries around the world. The face of the tablet is a bas-relief of Father Damien’s with an inscription:

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.

The Mother Marianne monument is located on the western most grounds of Bishop Home and located twenty-yards due north of the Damien Monument. This monument is a reminder that she answered an appeal for help by Damien and she was the first sister of an American religious group to lead mission work in a foreign land. During her time in Hawai`i, she was in charge of the branch hospital at the 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. Various church-groups volunteer from the other islands to come over and

353 In our rounds of looking at these outbuildings, a few patients would confront us. “I control this garage you cannot come into here,” or, seeing us in a garage full of tools and fishing gear, a patient would be driving by, see us, and quickly stop. “Oh, its you guys,” they would say when they got close, and then walk back to their car.
perform on work details maintaining the statues and the associated grounds around the monuments.

Across the street from both the Cope and Damien monuments is a brass plaque mounted on a pohaku (stone) that rests in the front yard of Kenso Seki’s house, located on the southeast corner of Damien Road and Pauahi Street. This ground level, obscure plaque, which pays tribute to Bessie (Ma) Clinton, is barely noticeable. She was the head administrator at the Kalihi Receiving Station in Honolulu taking care of the numerous patients who had been diagnosed with leprosy. “When I saw that bronze plaque come off the barge one year,” a patient explained, “I wanted to toss it in the ocean. She was mean to us kids.”354 Bernard Punikai’a remembered Ma Clinton, “She had a powerful voice, she could make mountains move. My brother and sister visited at Kalihi, they ran in the gates and Ma Clinton shouted, ‘Get those children out!’”355 Another patient, Henry Nalaielua, wrote about an experience he had with Clinton in his memoir, No Footprints in the Sand, he relates that after a short escape to go out on the town with three other boys from the Kalihi receiving hospital, he was caught.

About eight ‘o clock, Ma Clinton, the hospital administrator, wanted us up at the main building. When Ma was pau (done) lecturing and scolding, she said. ‘For your punishment you’ll each take a corner of this office, until I say you can leave. Otherwise you can only leave for meals.’ After two weeks (of sitting in the corners) she said we could go, but only when we vowed never to escape again.356

A Hansen’s disease patient said, “He, (Henry) never bothered with any authorities again, he won’t talk about his experiences. I don’t blame him. We get huhu (trouble) for any loose talk.”357

355 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 430.
356 Nalaielua, No Footprints, 29.
357 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, July 4, 2010.
The confines of the settlement make it conducive for impromptu meetings with patients at the store, post office, bar, driving out to the airport or one of the beaches. These conversations, especially when we returned in subsequent years, were frequent and heart-felt. The patients, as well, as both state and federal workers, answered our endless questions with honesty and a desire to provide their understanding. The confinement of dormitory living with regulated meal times, constant turmoil of close quarters ceased when patients moved into their own homes. Individuality emerged, and they were free to be seen or not seen, as one Hansen’s patient explained, “If I no like go, I no go. If I like go, I no stay home, I go.”358

These individual houses, and the Hansen’s disease patients who lived in them, are discussed in the next chapter.

---

CHAPTER VII

INDEPENDENT PATIENT HOUSING

You guys always taking of pictures of my house. Why do you need so many pictures? Only simple house, four walls, one roof.\textsuperscript{359}

Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa 2005

Fifty-two individual houses, not affiliated with McVeigh, Bay View, or Bishop Home, are scattered about the community. The houses are single-wall construction and vary in design and floor plan from Plantation Style Bungalows of the 1930s to the pre-fabricated Hicks Homes of the late 50’s and early 60’s. These patient houses are an integral part of the history of the settlement. They are all assigned house and priority numbers along with an LCS designation by the Park Service. Each house is assigned a five-digit numerical code and entered into the NPS database computer system.

The work of measuring the physical dimensions of these houses and outbuildings of garages, carports and sheds required our trespassing into everyone’s personal living space. This intrusion was a very rare opportunity and became a substantial learning experience. Workers do not enter patients’ domain unless on a specific job or by invitation. We documented numerous covered lanais, complete with barbecue grilles, refrigerators, sinks, and patio furniture. The capacity of these facilities could host twenty to thirty people for pau hana, or after-work get togethers. Patients liked to party. Likewise, the content of the garages was a complete surprise as antique automobiles flourished including, a ’46 Ford, a vintage Cadillac, and a ’37 Chevrolet. Houses also had additional dwellings, or detached ohana units.

\textsuperscript{359} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 16, 2005.
for relatives and visitors to stay overnight or linger for a few days. In 1966, the laws of confinement were amended and now allowed immediate family to visit and reside within the settlement for up to thirteen days per year.

Kalaupapa in 1939
The McVeigh area, in the center left, has greatly expanded. Also notice the delineation of the poultry farm that enterprising patients managed. The development of single resident houses is noted along Kamehameha Street and Damien Road.

Every building on the peninsula needs repair; new roofs, foundation work, electrical rewiring, plumbing, siding replacement or just simple painting and replacing of screens. The
first problem we encountered with the housing lists was their inaccuracy. The lists contained confusing and outdated information. The last inventory of the buildings that park personnel performed was in 1985. An additional study of the architecture had been completed by Professors William Chapman and Spencer Leineweber with the UH field school in May and June of 1997. However, these architectural studies of the buildings were for preservation purposes and not for the specific funding of individual projects. The information Chapman and Leineweber produced was very thorough, important, and significant for the historical record with their accurate drawings and photographs produced by their research. Our project was based on two specifics: one, the number of structures standing, and two, the costs of bringing these structures up to grade. According to Tom Hoots, NPS representative of the FMSS computer program from Volcano National Park, we were as Exhibit Specialists, “to clear up these lists and provide order from chaos.”

Another accumulation of data is the List of Classified Structures, (LCS) and our guide and carried the most weight, as far as KNHP was concerned. Complications arose when a number assigned one building showed up on three different buildings. Joanne Wilkins, echoed Hoots, and said, “Confusion reins supreme,” as numbers were cross-listed incorrectly or the structures were missing altogether.

One list consisted of priority numbers of individual properties. This designated order was accomplished by the first superintendent at Kalaupapa, Henry Law. The number one on the “priority list” is St. Philomena. The categorization continued through to number 196, a small picnic pavilion situated across from the patient’s general store.

During our stay in 2005, we resided in the former home of Mr. and Mrs. Eracleo Augustine. The Augustines were two of the eight thousand people quarantined on the

---

360 Tom Hoots, stationed at Volcanoes National Park, was the chief officer for the FMSS system in the western region of the National Park Service.
361 Joanne Wilkins, Architectural Historian for Kalaupapa transferred to the Golden Gate National Park, and retired from NPS in 2010.
peninsula. Their residence is a single-wall, two-bedroom Hicks Home, circa 1964, with a large front room, galley kitchen, and bath. Their home is number 114 on the priority list.

When our six-week stay in Augustine’s house was complete, we worked full-time at the NPS offices within the Honolulu federal building. There we consulted our field-notes and entered the data into the national park computer system.362 Two and half years later, in 2007, another eighty structures had been added to the priority list. We removed sixty-five structures from the computer program and their classification changed to “Gone.” If a remnant of a building existed, a foundation, or cement walls remained, these were designated “Ruins.” Thirty of these remnant-structures are scattered about, including the Kalawao bakery chimney, concrete foundations and walls of the old hospital, dormitories in Bishop Home, and a house in McVeigh left standing but infused with asbestos. Ruins also included sheds, chicken-coops, garages, and old water tanks. The complicated problems of dates, numbers, and house locations, along with the various reports and their conflicting data of construction dates, and which patient resided in what house, and when they did so was another stated task we clarified. In this study, I have grouped the houses by design and floor plan and arranged them into groups as part of the clarification process. I labeled them accordingly as the Plantation Style A, B, C, D, and the Hicks Homes.

Patients wanted to live independently. As one patient explained, “After a while it (dormitory living) gets frustrating so I got away from the centralized kitchens, and the organized structure of lifestyle with set times to eat, sleep, and social activities.”363 Also, patients met, married, and moved into stand-alone housing. The State built individual houses for the patients who were both ambulatory and able to care for themselves.364

362 In order to gain access to the computer system we completed forty hours of online training sessions covering the requirements of the FMSS system, and its varied subcomponents.
364 In attendance at a NPS meeting, in Honolulu, concerning the future of Kalaupapa there were many relatives, friends, and acquaintances of the patients in attendance. A couple, who had an uncle that had lived in the
Plantation Style: “A”

Beginning in May of 1931, thirteen plantation styles “A” houses were constructed throughout the settlement. However, as of 2010, two of these houses are categorized as “Gone.” The remaining “A” structures all have rectangular footprints, measuring 24’ by 32’ feet, with two bedrooms, a large front/dining room, a full kitchen, and one bathroom located between the bedrooms. They only differ one with another in their front porch and varied back porch to accommodate interior or exterior laundry rooms. In addition, depending upon the site, elevation of the steps leading to the porch may have five or eight risers with or without a landing. The buildings are of the single-wall construction with a footing and post (4 x 4) foundation. Concrete steps with Craftsman elements provide access to the recessed corner porch incorporated under the hip roof. A chamfered post and two chamfered pilasters articulate the edges of the porch. A girt, broken by the window frame of the double-hung windows, encircles the exterior of the building. The corners are finished off with either one by three or one by six vertical strips of redwood or cedar. A water table surrounding the sole plate delineates the lower edge of the buildings. Latticework skirting covers the foundations. Enclosed washrooms at the rear of the houses were added later.

Enclosed washrooms at the rear of the houses were added later. Realizing numerous people will want information of where their uncle, grandfather, distant cousin resided in Kalaupapa, I have furnished their names with the house numbers and location in the appendix so future visitors will hopefully have this information.
Plantation Style “A”:
Twelve of this style of house remain standing and in use today by either patients or State workers. The single wall structure has two bedrooms, a bath, a large front/living/dining room, and a complete kitchen. Pictured is house number 131, note the concrete stairs, the enclosed or recessed porch and the hipped roof.

These houses maintain their structural integrity. One or two of the houses have been re-roofed a number of times and the previous layers of shingles left in place before adding an additional layer. This added weight presses down on the exterior walls and they balloon outward. According to Law and Souliere, “These vintage 1930’s cottages give a great deal of character to the entire settlement and create definite feeling of an architectural district through repetition of design and structural considerations, as well as stylistic details evident in the light-weight frame construction.”365 The houses are scattered about the settlement in no particular order or pattern on streets named Bishop, Goodhue, McKinley, Baldwin, Ka`iulani, and Kapi`olani.

I mention the houses by their order on the Priority List, and the people who resided there. The anonymity of the patients was at one time of the utmost importance. Today, however, with the advent of the group Ka `Ohana o Kalaupapa and their organization and continued recruitment of immediate family members, this has lessened their anxiety concerning the past. Indeed, some of the patients glorify in their newfound celebrity status, allowing frequent interviews on their travels to Rome, publishing their memoirs, and appearing on TV specials. However, they are still very cautious and mindful of what they say, and to whom.

The first “A” house is that of Elaine Remigio located on Goodhue Street. Constructed in 1931, this home is in good condition. The front door faces west and the building is painted gray. Typically, the house has weather damage from rain and wind, especially the right rear of the exterior walls where trade winds dominate and the roof needs repair. Other structural deficiencies and basic maintenance have not been undertaken. The house is under state control and remains vacant. Elaine Remigio explained another of the rules they had to endure, “My brother Bo worked at Kalaupapa for about thirty years, and he wasn’t allowed to come into my yard. He could only stay outside on the road and talk to me from a distance.”

These conditions of individual and family contact eventually changed but were not totally relaxed until the year 1969, when the state repealed the isolation policy and declared the disease treatable on an outpatient basis, and ceased sending Hansen’s disease patients to the settlement.

The continued deterioration of individual houses was evident from my visits and inspections over the five-year span. The last time I saw Remigio’s house, 2010, it was vacant and cobwebs engulfed the front porch. The yard contains three outbuildings, a garage, a washroom, and a utility shed with carport. There is a garden area with plants and clay pots.

---

off to the south side of the property. Fruit trees, mango and avocado, abound and an old footed bathtub rests in the yard for water storage. On two sides, south and east, a boundary rock wall exists, with a path leading through the wall to the immediate neighbor to the east.

Shoichi Hamai’s residence looks onto the north side of the St. Francis Catholic Church and across the street from the grotto. Built in 1932, the house was constructed over a heiau. In a video by park archaeologist Buddy Neller, the heiau is pointed out with all the characteristics of walls, terrace, and a refuse pit. The house was empty in 2010, while the state repaired termite damage and applied a new coat of paint. In 2005, Hamai lived here, and he often had family and friends visit for long weekends. At one time, they enjoyed a beach house he controlled, but the beach house slowly succumbed to the elements and his family stayed in the Visitor’s Quarters. Hamai was a quiet person, very introspective, and you could say a loner. We saw him on Sundays’ at Kana`ana Hou. He would depart quickly after the services. We spoke to him on occasions at Hale Mohalu in Honolulu. However, his recollections of us were intermittent at best and he gave off a physical aura of, “let me be.”

Another house built in 1931, last lived in by Sebastiana Fernandez was in “Good” condition, in 2005. The structure remained that way in 2010. In our ratings, “Good” meant minimal repair was needed. The only difference we detected over the years was the amount of spider webs and the trail of black ants on the back porch leading into the house. Fernandez continues on the state rolls, but resides outside the settlement. I have inspected and performed condition assessments on the house, yard, and the numerous outbuildings five different times. The double-car garage, the picnic lanai, and the associated guest cottage are in relative good condition. Trees protect the structure from the salt-bearing trade winds. The house faces due west on the corner of Ka`iulani Street and Damien Road.

The residence of John Nakoa is located on a large lot on Baldwin Street. Built in 1931, it is currently the home of a State hospital nurse. Large mango, Kamani, and two
avocado trees surround the house providing day long shade. A deteriorated rock wall marks the lot boundaries. Joanne Wilkins said, “If you want to see property decay in a hurry, leave it empty and watch the deterioration escalate.”

The house of Kuʻulei Bell has been empty for years. The house is configured on a large lot with numerous tall mango trees offering shade, the building also looks west from its situation on Kaʻiulani Street. A chain link fence surrounds the property and outbuildings of separate living quarters with an attached carport. In 2005, the house was empty and the resident lived at the clinic. Bell expressed,

   When I was in Kalihi Hospital, one of the nurses said. ‘You look just like your father.’ I wondered how she knew my dad; he died in an accident I always thought. When I went to Kalaupapa in 1950, my dad was dead already, but his twin sisters were there – Mary and Eva. My mother’s father, Levi Kaohu, died at Kalawao. I lived with my grand-uncle Kalahao. He played a wonderful violin. He would sit in the rocking chair and play the violin.

In 2010, her house was undergoing the ridiculously slow process by the state of repairing the property. She worked as the postmaster for many years. When she passed away, we attended her funeral service in Honolulu. Five hundred people paid their respects as well as seven fellow patients. We sat in the rear of the chapel. The patients sat in front of us and Bernard, by this time a shell of his former self, reacted to a familiar song being sung and raised his right arm in salute.

Pauline Chow resides in another “A” home built in 1931 on Kaʻiulani Street and is well maintained. Numerous mango and plumeria trees adorn the property, with hibiscus shrubs and potted plants on the front porch. Chow is often outside in her yard and while approachable for conversation; her comments are hesitant and guarded. The outbuildings

---

367 Joanne Wilkins comments at Kalaupapa in February 2010.
368 She worked as the postmaster in the settlement and when she passed away, we attended her funeral service in Honolulu at a LDS church on Judd Street. There had to be five hundred people in attendance, as well as six or seven fellow patients who either resided or were visiting Hale Mohalu, and made the trek to the funeral.
369 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 432.
include a two-car garage and a very large backyard lanai. The stand-alone lanai at one time well equipped with extensive barbecue, stoves, refrigerators, washbasins and four picnic tables all under one roof. Many fishing poles, throw nets, and other ocean gear are located within this structure. The house and grounds are well cared for and the structure in good shape, with only minor repairs needed to the foundation, paint, siding etc.

The house of Ernest Kala is isolated on dirt path called Kapi`olani Street. The home, built in 1932, has invasive shrubbery, Buffalo grass, and a tall Norfolk pine. Mango and plumeria trees provide shade. During the day, it is a tranquil place with remnants of rock walls and a large fruit orchard hidden in the backyard. However, during the night the location stands in the path of deer, pigs, and other animals on their way through to the settlement as they search for food and water. The structure has undergone extensive repair from termite damage, yet it is still in need of further upgrades. Ernest Kala was a man of diverse talents, writing numerous songs and hymns and a capable gardener. The house is painted canary yellow, faces due west, and it is the only structure remaining on the unpaved street. Under the control of the park, a long time employee resides in the house and he moved in 2008.

Built in 1937, the residence of Nicholas Ramos and his wife Puna is on a large shaded lot with four mango trees, and surrounded by moss covered rock walls. The main entrance faces east and the house is currently the home of a KNHP employee. Moderate work is required to preserve the house with termite damage to interior walls the main problem. An additional structure on the property is a duplex, built on a concrete slab with a flat roof. Another structure was an old historic workroom, a past resident tried to restore but destroyed.

370 We had the privilege of residing here in the summer of 2007 for four weeks. The tranquility was a blessed event away from the hustle and bustle of Honolulu. I walked in his backyard on various occasions and discovered many fruit trees and small rock walls acting as raised planters for the fruit and decorative trees.

371 In 2005, the wife and kokua of the patient lived on the property. She maintained her presence by performing twenty hours of service work a week for the park. She performed landscape work of weeding, mowing, and helped in trimming the numerous coconut trees. At seventy-five years of age, I admired her energy. KNHP thought she was a nuisance and in 2008 she moved out of the settlement.
instead. Thus, all integrity to the original building has been lost. However, the garage, facing
McKinley Street is old and weathered so the board and battens have taken on an artistic aura
of rusty coloration of oxidized reds and oranges. The garage had been in use in 2005. The
colorful garage stabilized with 2x4’s in 2007. The last inspection in 2010 revealed this
additional support was not preventing massive decay to the roof and rear exterior wall of the
garage and the 1” x 12” siding and sections collapsing.

The patient’s home of Alice Kamaka built in 1932, faces due west, on a small rise,
with a wide open view beyond Bishop Home, Bay View, and out onto the expanse of the
Pacific Ocean, with the island of O‘ahu on the distant horizon. The house is in good shape.
The one major problem is very severe ballooning of the exterior walls caused by excessive
roofing material. Old asphalt shingles never removed before successive layers added. In their
later year’s patients often moved from one house to another one with handicap exterior
ramps. We settled the confusion about this house, which was listed with different house
numbers and names of patients who lived here. Kamaka was the person of record and we
knew she had passed away. In our inspections of 2005 we walked up to the house and their
sitting on the small lanai looking at the day was Bernard Punikai‘a. He promptly greeted us
with, “Aloha.” We returned the greeting and proceeded to talk story with him in the mid-day.
He was warm, gracious, and wished us well in our work. He held no animosity for anyone, it
seems he had fought his battles with the governor, the state, the health department, and now
out of energy, was content to look at the world. We conversed with Bernard for a long time.
He told us, “I moved here long time ago, after Alice passed on.”

Today the house is empty. There is a movement to retain the house for a museum and memorial to Punikai‘a and the
Hale Mohalu struggle. He frequently flew to Honolulu for medical treatment and he became

372 Alice Kamaka is best remembered with her interview with Pamela Young in a video titled, Kalaupapa: My
Refuge. This was a segment of Young’s television show on PBS.
373 Interview with Bernard Punikai‘a, Hansen’s disease patient, June 3, 2005.
a permanent resident of Hale Mohalu the last few years of his life. In our quest for understanding we asked the patients endless questions to which they indulged us with either in-depth answers or a shrug of the shoulder. We slowly learned about the twenty-five young people, 10 to fifteen years of age, who arrived in Kalaupapa in May of 1942. Punikai`a stated, “The authorities felt that O`ahu was too dangerous for us and so they started making plans to ship us to Kalaupapa, especially us kids.”

Henry Nalaielua’s house, built in 1932, sits on an expansive corner lot with three mango trees and surrounded by rock walls. Nalaielua told us, “I wouldn’t let them take my pohaku (rocks). I liked my walls. There are plenty rocks in the field, they just too lazy to go out there and get them.” He was referring to the time when a crew from Honolulu was paving the roads and workers dismantled the rock walls in the settlement and crushed them for paving material. This white painted house had an accessible ramp added to the front entrance in 2007.

Another plantation style house built in 1936 and lived in by patient Norbert Palea. The house located off by itself under the protection of three large mango trees. The house, garden, and grounds well maintained. We considered the property the prettiest place on the peninsula in terms of peace and tranquility. He has the most luxuriant yard in the settlement and waters the lawn constantly with two or three hoses running to the consternation of the KNHP maintenance personnel. The numerous trees provide continual shade. The house is located off Kamehameha Street and due east of the LDS church.

---

**Plantation Style “B”**

Plantation Style “B” is a square designed house with two bedrooms, one bath, a large living room with adjoining kitchen, and a back porch. This single wall construction features a hipped roof with gablets on the eaves, with the typical girts, double-hung windows, corner boards, pad and post foundation, with tongue and groove redwood siding and flooring. Note in the photograph the wood front stairs and the horizontal lattice. Six of this style of houses are scattered about the settlement.

The first style “B” on the priority list is located on Kamehameha Street and due east of the St. Francis Church. Mae Malakaua lived here. The light green exterior blends in with the overgrown shrubbery. Under control of the state, the interior was spray painted in 2010 in preparation for a state worker. The hip roof with gablets is a familiar plantation themed roof. The house is in good condition. There is a shed-type carport in the rear. In 2005, the rafters overflowed with fishing gear and an old outboard boat sat rusting away in the shade. Over the years, the boat and fishing gear disappeared and in 2010, only the collapsing structure remained.

Located at the corner of Damien Road and Pauahi Street, Kenso Seki’s house has a small front entry porch and a combined laundry and rear entryway. A detached garage, with a long sloping shed roof and adjoining workroom, are also noteworthy, as they have retained the unique weathered beauty of age from the relentless sun, wind, and rain. The garage refurbished with great care by KNHP in 2009 and thankfully retained the original design lines.
Kenso Seki, known as the Honorary Mayor of Kalaupapa because of his cheerful dispossession and community leadership skills, lived here. The house moved to this location from the New Baldwin Home area. The two-bedroom plantation-style house was completely refurbished by KNHP in 2004.

The Souza house is located directly due east and across Kamehameha Street from the Protestant Kana`ana Hou church, in the middle of the settlement. The exact date of construction remains unknown but is within the same time-period of 1932 through 1936. The roofline is similar to Kenzo’s with hip and gablets along with all the similar features of a small porch and interior layout. The manager of the State run kitchen presently occupies the house.

Joe and Mabel Kekahuna lived in this white house, situated off by itself on Kamehameha Street on a very large lot and built in 1936. This well-maintained dwelling is occupied by a State worker. The front door faces due west out to the Papaloa graveyard and beyond to the Pacific Ocean. In good condition but in need of the same rehabilitation all
houses require, mainly, repair of foundation, replacing various wood components, roof repair and a complete paint job.

The Plumeria House is a ramshackle structure hidden from view in a thick stand of Banyan. Ready to topple-over and disintegrate into the earth, at one time, this house held the distinction of being “the den of inequity”\(^{376}\) on the peninsula. A patient explained, “Card games, rolling dice, heavy drinking, and, who knows what else went on in this house on a continuous twenty-four hour basis.”\(^{377}\) Today the property is overgrown with grass and other shrubs and we used a sugar cane knife to cut a path to enter. Inside the house dishes remain in the cupboards and furniture strewn about the rooms. We discussed saving this house with Superintendent Prokop on three different occasions, he replied, “Not much the Park can do, it is under state control.”\(^{378}\) Law and Soulierre recommended, saving and restoring a number of these houses. The houses represented styles and architectural details that are important historically. Sadly, the houses they recommend be saved are all listed as “Gone” on the 2005 Priority List. The Plumeria house is also on the save-list, and it could collapse at any moment.

\(^{376}\) Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 16, 2005.
\(^{378}\) We enjoyed informal discussions with Steve Prokop, the superintendent, during our stay. He was in regular attendance on the Wednesday and Saturday volleyball games.
Boogie’s Sister’s House

This house restored by the park in 2007. Note the detail of roofline with the recessed gablet. The house constructed in 1931 has two bedrooms, and living/dining area. Under the shed roof is a door that enters into the kitchen. Miriam Mina is the name of Boogie’s sister.

This L-shaped design with gable roof and a mini hip roof at both peaks was built in 1931. The park renovated the structure between 2006 and 2009. The house has the usual single wall, post and pad foundation style with a different front layout with a shed roof over a side door, which enters into the kitchen. When we encountered the house in 2005, it appeared to be empty. Entering the abandoned structure, to our surprise we found the house furnished and the kitchen intact with dishes, pots and pans, and cooking utensils. These items removed to Hale Malama for safekeeping. Our work in 2005 of inspection had secured funding for KNHP to rebuild the house.
Formally listed as “Boogies Sisters House” in 2005 and located on Kamehameha Street, it is the first house on the left upon entering the settlement from the airport direction. Park personnel completely refurbished the house from top to bottom, adding a new shake roof, electrical wiring, modern plumbing, foundation work, and replacing and repairing of all exterior and interior walls.

In February of 2010, we worked in Kalaupapa for one week and stayed in this house. In our subsequent investigation and by contacting “Boogie” Kahilihiwa, a patient, he informed us of the name of his sister, Miriam Mina, and we made the subsequent changes to reflect this on the records.

There are an additional five houses in the settlement with the same design and roof structure, they are: The Maximo and Katie Cabana house, built in 1937, is under control of the park and currently the residence of a maintenance employee. The house remains in moderately good condition needing a new roof, paint, and other minor repairs.

The Keao residence built in 1931. This house is off Kamehameha Street and currently the home of two state workers. In fair shape with the usual repairs needed of roof, wood siding damage, and a fresh coat of paint.

Silva House was also built in 1931 and located along Kamehameha Street, across from the Papaloa cemeteries it is currently the home of a State health worker. Again, the house is in moderately good condition with the usual problems with weather damage and neglect of needed maintenance.

The Mamuad property, built in 1936, is located on the corner of Damien Road and Ka‘iulani Street. The house is under park control, and maintenance workers reside here. The house needs major repair as plants grow out of the walls and in the rear sections along the roof. The structure has visibly deteriorated from year-to-year and the integrity of the house is in serious jeopardy needing total rehabilitation.
Louie and Sarah Benjamin house, built in 1939, is located at the corner of Kamehameha Street and Damien Road. Surrounded by trees and overgrown shrubbery, the house requires a complete upgrade. The current occupant is adamant about no physical inspection and has all entrance paths blocked with the accumulation of old bikes, washing machines, and other discarded items. Viewing the house from a distance of thirty feet, you can observe the severe deterioration of the structure.

**Plantation Style “D”**

Characteristics of this simple or “shed” style include a gable roof with a double-pitch and elongated additions cover the porch or lanai. The functional one-bedroom house’s offer little in architectural detail. The single-wall construction is typical with post and pad foundation, corner boards, and a wide water table for structural support.

Pictured is the Bay View Managers House, a one-bedroom with a small lanai and constructed in 1930 and currently under control of the KNHP. In 2005, the house was the home to a park maintenance worker who has since retired. The structure was completely refurbished in 2010 with new everything, from foundation work, to flooring, paint, roof, electrical, and plumbing. An enforcement ranger moved in after the restoration was complete.

The home of Clarence Naia is very similar to the one pictured. Naia spent his last remaining days confined to a wheelchair and often seen in the community pushing his wheelchair backwards. He attached a fishing pole with a triangular orange colored flag at the top onto his wheelchair. This served as a warning to passing motorists that he was on the
move. He always wore a stars-and-stripes bandana in lieu of a hat when he pushed his way backward along the quiet streets. Under the control of the park, the house was refurbished and is now the home to the KNHP cultural resource officer.

![Plantation Style Cottage “D”:](image)

A quiet man, not prone to interviews or talking to outside folks, I admired his quiet resolve. Especially when seeing him on video being arrested and dragged away by a Honolulu Swat Team for standing up for his inalienable rights, in Pearl City.
The Hicks Homes

Hicks Homes:

These kit houses were built in 1956 thru 1966 for the patients use. Today patients, State and KNHP personnel live in the twenty-five different houses. They are all painted different colors depending on the desires of the original patient. This house located along Damien Road was vacant in the summer of 2010.

There are twenty-five Hicks Homes in the settlement. The components barged over and erected by crews from Honolulu. Three versions of the Hicks Home are used in Kalaupapa: the 1956, 1962, and 1964 model. The 1956 version of the one-story building of single-wall construction and foundation of concrete pads, 4 x 4 wood posts, and knee braces is better constructed. The skirting consists of either four or five 1” by 3” strips of pine. The main entrance porch is located at one end of the gable roof. A shed-roof is tacked-on above the entrance as protection from the elements. A wood 2 x 4 girt extends around the exterior walls. Hicks Homes offer a simple and functional use with no architectural frills and minimalist design. The economics of thrift overrules details and aesthetics. The classification of Hicks Homes either as a modified Plantation Style or as Mid-Century Modern is open to
both arguments. The year of their construction places them in the Mid-Century category, while the use of a single-wall technique, the lack of modern material such as rock fascia or concrete walls places the houses within the Plantation Style.

Over the years structural changes occurred in the Hicks Homes, Paul Harada colorfully describes what happened. He said, “One year they huff and puff, the next year they huff, but no puff.” He added, “Originally, they came with four floor-beams and then reduced to three and on occasion only two. You can see the bugga’s sag, after a few years.”

The Harada’s, Paul and Winnie, residence is located on School Street across from the north side of Bishop Home, is in immaculate shape, and surrounded by a six-foot hedge, and the addition of a spacious covered lanai is very comfortable. We enjoyed our conversations with both Winnie and Paul who were, and are gracious hosts. Paul Harada, known for his extensive garden of fruit trees and vegetables, lived in a four-beamer. We walked by his garden during our extended work visits and often found fresh picked papaya, mango, and banana sitting on a table under a Samoan coconut palm. A small sign read, “Help your self.”

I mention a few of these homes by the contributions of the patient’s homeowner. Additional Hick’s Homes are listed in the appendix for further reference.

John Arruda’s house is plagued with ground termites–no sooner have the floor joists been replaced than they become infested once again. The historic Hawaiian rock walls on his property were repaired by the park in 2010. A succulent mango tree grows in his yard, he invited us often to partake of the fruit, and once he had just shot and smoked a deer.

Henry Hatori’s, the person accredited with erecting the Crater Cross, lived on the corner of School and McKinley Streets. This house is of course similar to other nondescript Hicks Homes and is currently under control of the Health Department. The chief

---

380 Paul Harada, personal interview, June 8, 2005. Harada lived in a Hicks Home, directly across the street from Bishop Home. He became well known for his extensive garden plot of fruit trees and vegetables. At one time, a visitor put this information on the internet so when friends of patients and relatives arrived they wanted to see the garden. However, after his passing the garden became overgrown with noxious weeds and shrubs.
maintenance worker for the state resides here along with his wife who was recently hired by
the park as an administrative worker. The house is in need of repair, with the usual culprits of
weathered roof, peeling paint, and the tongue-and-groove siding topping the list.

Eleven Hicks Homes along the Southern side of Damien Road are homes of patients,
state, and federal workers. The pre-fabricated houses have their fair share of wear and tear.
The first summer there, we stayed in a brown painted home with the designated number of
311 and constructed in 1964. Whenever we answered people’s questions about where we
stayed and replied, “In three-eleven,” they of course had no idea what we meant. Describing
the house, they said, “Oh, Augustine’s house.”

The only differences in the Hicks Homes are the exterior paint colors, number of
floor beams, or access ramps. The number of garages, sheds, and lanai areas are the main
standout. One house has an elaborate fully enclosed, twenty-foot high garage for boat
storage, with an additional two-car garage and an expansive carport for an additional four
vehicles. Three houses have surrounding chain-link fences to keep their pets in the yard.
Most yards have avocado and mango trees, occasionally grapefruit and lychee. They all share
in the peaceful tranquility of rural life in the settlement. The garages on several of the
properties are used to warehouse high quality tongue-and-groove flooring and siding. A
KNHP worker explained, “We keep material out of the rain, and the guard dogs howl if
anyone approaches.”

“Boogie” Kahilihiwa, the current president of Ka `Ohana O Kalaupapa, and his wife
Ivy, reside on Damien Road and there home is in good condition. Noteworthy are the four
outbuildings, which include a garage, carport with three bays, and an additional covered

---

381 The usual reply in local manner, “Oh, you stay Augustine’s. Nice, eh?” Whenever I asked directions or
inquired about specific places, the answers always came back in relation to a story or event that had taken place
in recent memory. “Oh, we go fishing over there,” or; “They had plenty parties in that yard.”
382 Joe Molenna, KNHP employee, explained to us in 2010. We performed our field work in the morning and
then our computer work in the afternoon inside the former police station. His office was next to the one we
occupied.
carport for his fishing boat. Boogie worked at various locations in his lifetime, when I met him he was employed at the bookstore, and his wife, the gentle Ivy, worked at the state-run gas station.

Olivia Breitha’s house is in fair condition needing minor repair of the roof and siding. She was a vehement opponent of how she and others were treated in the local or national press. “One time I write a letter telling NBC not to use the word leper. We hate that word.”383 Her house was neat, tidy, and full of personal mementos of her travels and the vast friendships she had throughout the world. Today, it is the home of a state worker.

Richard Marks, besides his vast knowledge and willingness to share stories, has collected numerous items, including antique automobiles, a 1929 coupe and a 1937 sedan, but also memorabilia of Damien, photographs of the settlement, guitars of patients, and hundreds of glass jars, vases, and bottles. His collection is spread out in different buildings in the settlement and in his front yard within The Bottle House. This detached structure was on the 2005 list to inventory. After Richard Marks’s passing, the contents were removed and the bottle-house was dismantled. In addition, his house has been renovated, modified, and now inhabited by a Hawai‘i State health worker.

The last house traveling east on Damien Road has no structural damage. Formerly the home of a patient named Brown; the well cared for property is an immaculate condition and the current home to the chief enforcement ranger, Tim Trainer. When we told him, in 2005, we were going to inspect his house that day, he said, “Don’t poke your knife in my walls, the house is in good shape.”384 In 2010, Trainer lived in the same locale.

---

383 Interview with Olivia Breitha, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2006.
384 Interview with Tim Trainer, Chief NPS Enforcement Ranger for Kalaupapa, June 15, 2005.
Beach Houses

Freedom from the perceived “monotonous grind” of life at the settlement came in the form of beach houses built by the patients with their own funds and ingenuity for their personal use. Patients fished and partied at these weekend retreats. One patient had his own “gang”, i.e. family members who came to visit in the summer. They stayed at the Visitor’s Quarters and relaxed at his beach house during the day, where they fished, prepared food, and frolicked in the ocean.

Joanne Wilkins explained, “The significance of these beach houses is cultural. They were constructed at a time when the patients could not leave the peninsula except on medical emergencies.” The beach houses allowed the patients to escape to a different setting and mind-set where the fishing and living became a retreat. There are no dates or years signifying construction time for any of these structures, but there is no question about their fundamental design and material usage.

The beach house of Bernard Punikai’a is located at the far end of ‘Īlio beach with a superb view of the ocean and the near shore reef. When we examined the house in 2010, the house was in deplorable condition and the interior ceilings were collapsing. The last I heard about the house was in the summer of 2013 while visiting Hale Mohalu, a patient related, “The house is ready to fall down. The house is too far-gone already, and us patients to old to mess with it. He didn’t give control to anybody when he passed, and nobody wanted it.”

Elaine Remigio’s beach house is a favorite of both the residents, guests, and often rented out to third parties. Located in the middle of ‘Īlio beach it has superb views of the reef and the vibrant sunsets. Since her passing, the beach house is under control of Clarence

---

385 Conversations with Joanne Wilkins at Kalaupapa, February 8, 2010.
“Boogie” Kahilihiwa; he is fixing up the single-bedroom cottage applying fresh paint and removing old wood, new windows and screens. He also blocked off the narrow lane that you could drive on and converted it to a dead end. This angered a number of both patients and employees accusing him of doing what the park service had done.

© MM Andrus

The Beach House of Bernard Punikai’a

Located close to the landing strip and along the western shore of the peninsula, the beach house is surrounded by agricultural field walls dating from early Native Hawaiians to the recent past when sweet potatoes were grown and shipped to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. Many fishing shrines are within a short walk of this location.

The Ramos beach house, located on Kamehameha Street across from the ocean, is noisy from constant airport and other traffic coming and going. We stayed in this beach house for three nights in August of 2005 when we visited over a long weekend on the

387 We rented this house for a week in 2007 when we had to vacate the Ernest Kala house, #199, temporarily and instead of staying in the Visitors’ Quarters, we moved into the beach house.
celebrated “Barge Day.” A KNHP employee, Braddha Kaiama, loaned us his personal Volkswagen to use during our stay. His instructions to us, “The car is worn out, so don’t go past the airport or over to Kalawao.” The front room of the single wall, board and batten is on a concrete slab and the rest of the house, one bedroom, kitchen and bath are on a pier and post foundation. The house is rickety and on the verge of collapse. There seems to be a common consensus among the patients this house was built with a combination of used material from other termite eaten sites. The green rolled asphalt roof gives the cottage a squatty look when viewed from the elevated road.

When we first examined Shoichi Hamai’s beach house in 2005, the state airport manager was using it as a combination, crash pad for naps, and as a workroom. He voluntarily performed mechanic work on the patients’ automobiles and kept them in good running condition. His health declined and he moved out of the settlement. After he left we watched the house fall into disrepair, then abandonment, and total collapse in 2010.

The East-Coast Beach House is a legendary weekend fishing retreat and has been handed along or passed down to the patients, the latest being Gloria Marks, wife of Richard Marks. She controls the house today. The structure is situated out on the rugged windy rocky eastern shore of the peninsula. This one-room weekend sanctuary is, according to a Hansen’s disease patient, “Well worth a visit during the day, we used to go there and fish, hang out, just get away. I used to go at night on a full moon, or to get a prolonged view of the Milky Way and other stars. But then I got older and forlorn feelings engulfed me, brought by the heavy trade winds, and the general sadness of life.”

---

388 Barge Day has long been a celebrated event in the settlement. Any item purchased on O’ahu was shipped in, cars, appliances, furniture, etc. once a year in August. Everyone gathered by the store to see what was unloaded and who had purchased what. Everyone present enjoyed a community meal provided by the state-run kitchen.

389 Braddha became a good friend, we attended his wedding, along with everybody on Moloka’i. His wife, a nurse at the Kalaupapa clinic, became pregnant and they were forced to move out of the settlement.

Olivia Breitha controlled this rickety Beach House in 2005. She passed it on to Gertrude. The small two-room structure looks more like a caretaker’s workroom as it sits in the middle of the long Papaloa graveyard. The board and batten vertical plank siding is typical with 1 x 12 lumber and a 1 x 2 batten. The foundation varies from poured concrete to stone footings and wood posts. The combination of gable and shed roofs are finished with rolled roofing material. The house was added upon, probably as a new patient owner gained access to the property and had different needs of visitors. However, the house is relatively small, with a combined front living/bedroom and a separate kitchen with attached bath. The back lanai deck has built in seating, and outdoor shower. The structure is painted forest green. The west side of the house has a steep ten-foot drop-off to the sandy beach. Gertrude Ka`auwai, a patient, told us, “At night, the sound of the waves breaking is amplified and can be either pleasant or menacing.”

Judge and Ku`ulei Bell’s beach house is near a grassy turn-around area. The house sits on a large fenced lot. The house is in disrepair, boarded-up, and not safe to enter. In the five years, we have watched the structure deteriorate. A picnic table, steps from the sandy beach, is under the shade of a huge Kamani tree. We stand in the shade, survey the area and prop up the bright green gate every time we visit. The colorful gate provides a vivid contrast to the dying house and arid landscape.

Richard and Gloria Marks beach house was moved from its original location beyond the lighthouse, where it was referred to as the Mormon Beach House. A patient told us, “Yeah we all got together and moved the house in the 70’s. It was not used anymore. Conditions out there are terrible, cold and windy all the time. So we moved it for Richard, over by Remigio’s.” The beach house is slowly decaying. In 2005 the structure was in

---

391 Ka`auwai was a legend in her own time in Kalaupapa, fierce poker player and expert at cribbage, she usually beat all comers at the bar or late night matches.
392 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patients, May 28, 2006.
good condition, but in 2010 the house had weathered and boards were loose and termite eaten. The house is located next to Remigio’s, now Boogie’s beach house, on `Īlio beach.

In 2005, our survey work started with 196 buildings on the priority list. With the conclusion of the fieldwork in Kalaupapa, we reduced the number by eighteen buildings. The eighteen had either fallen down, been torn down, or burned down. However, in pursuing further examination of our fieldwork in Honolulu, we added eighty-one additional structures to the priority list. The classification of “Ruins,” accounted for another twenty-eight of these structures. We returned to the settlement, in the summer of 2006 for a month. This project consisted of performing condition assessments on a number of the properties. In addition, we compiled a list of the structures completely “Gone” where no trace of their existence remained. This number came to: sixty-eight.

Lack of use is not the only danger to a building’s historic value. The continual remodeling of patient houses with wheelchair ramps and increased door widths can detract from the authenticity of a structure. In addition, updated utilities in laundry rooms and remodeled kitchens with increased electrical loads, has changed the building’s use and function. Goo also added, “Roofing is a major concern, not only the layers of asphalt shingles, but the type of material used. Wood shingles, shakes, or asphalt, 3-tab or rolled, is a preservationists concern.”

The wide application of tongue and groove material in siding and flooring within the settlement’s structures leads to gaps in walls and floors. Standing inside patient’s houses, you can see to the outside through the cracks in the walls. A patient explained one experience they had with a state carpenter, “I registered my complaint, a week later the worker shows

---

393 Kalawai’a Goo, 2005, said in a conversation while we stood outside of the restored house of Kenso Seki.
up, puts duct tape over the long crack, and says he will come back. He never show for another month.”

All the buildings are on the parks agenda to save, protect, and restore. The “priority list” quantifies which buildings have precedent. However, restoration relies on funding. The KNHP definition of restore usually equates to “adaptive reuse.” However, this “reuse” category, according to Goo, is, “Not restoration, but remodeling using new, not original materials,” he explains further,

The park may not change the original footprint or vertical height, but everything else, exterior doors, walls, and windows can be added, altered, and made from non-original material, i.e., drywall instead of the sugar cane based canax, plywood instead of planking, vinyl instead of wood.”

Likewise, if the interior has been successively altered can the building retain a preservation label? This situation is evident in the newly refurbished jail and police station. In 2005, the thick concrete walls and iron bars of the facility were excessively spalling; the steel reinforcing bar was rusting internally and thus cracking the thick walls. Large chunks of material had fallen off when we inspected the building in 2005. In 2009 thru 2010, KNHP repaired the structure, except vinyl had replaced the original double-hung wood windows, and the jailhouse iron bars were removed and not replaced. The interior space had been gutted and new upgrades of plumbing, electrical and dry-wall replaced the original canax. The exterior corrugated-iron roof was replaced in 2006 with a new flat version of aluminum roofing. In 2010, however, the roof was already rusting, and holes had developed in several places.

KNHP admits not all structures can or will be restored or protected. Indeed, a number of the structures are mere sheds and dilapidated hot houses. The KNHP Superintendent in 2005, Tom Workman, explained, “We will try to preserve and maintain a vast majority of the

---

395 Kalawai`a Goo, NPS exhibit specialist, personal conversation, May 28, 2005.
buildings, as well as the archaeological sites. But, the monies to perform the work are not budgeted this year.” In 2010 Workmen’s replacement, Steve Prokop, asserted, “The Park Service cannot possibly afford the costs for full restoration of all of the buildings. We will by necessity be looking for other interested outside parties to help share in costs, both with construction and maintenance.”

The historic integrity of the buildings has been jeopardized by the state. The Health department did not care about proper upkeep or maintenance, which is arguably, typical for the State of Hawai`i, subsequently any craftsmanship, no less artisanship, ran the gamut from passable to shoddy. As one state worker explained upon his retirement, “We do just enough maintenance and repair so the patients wouldn’t grumble.” As another state worker explained, “The methods used, or the quality of work is never inspected, and only need to last for a short duration of time.” The future use of all of the houses and structures is an ongoing debate between the Park Service, the State of Hawai`i, and the residents of Moloka`i. Moreover, the debate within the Park Service of the need for restoration, or to what degree of authenticity as acceptable is a lively topic. And this debate continues into the next chapter on the buildings important for the health and welfare of the patients.

---

396 Tom Workman, Superintendent of Kalaupapa in 2005, said upon introducing us to the peninsula.
397 Steve Prokop, NPS Superintendent, in a conversation at Kalaupapa in June of 2010.
398 One can look at crumbling infrastructure, inadequate maintenance, delayed costs and backlogged improvements of any state facility on any island to understand this ongoing dilemma and major concern.
399 Interview with a state employee, June 20, 2005. Anonymity was requested out of fear of reprisal.
400 Ibid.
CHAPTER VIII

HISTORIC BUILDINGS:
COMMUNITY, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND INDUSTRIAL

One of my jobs was projectionist at the Social Hall, now named Paschoal Hall. It was a good job, got to see everybody and watch the movies. Now, I work at the bookstore, chat with the tourists that visit, tell ‘em not to steal anything. I don’t know. Life’s been good lately.\(^{401}\)

Hansen’s disease patient, Kalaupapa, 2010

The transition of the patients from Kalawao, along the 2.3-mile road, to Kalaupapa necessitated a building boom. This flurry of construction is evident by comparing various Health Department maps published from 1895 thru 1983. Ten buildings existed in Kalaupapa in 1895 and this number expanded to roughly three hundred by 1983. Ninety per cent of these buildings were constructed in the 1930’s. I asked a patient about the effect of all the construction employees, this influx of workers, had on the community. The patient responded, “Just like today. They don’t cause any concern for us. Workers cannot go anywhere. They’re like a beeline; they go straight to the work site, and back to their camp.”\(^{402}\)

\(^{401}\) The majority of the patients guard their anonymity highly. Some do not want to be quoted at all, and definitely do not want to be misquoted. Over the years, numerous people have come into the settlement and caused damage in their reporting. However, as the patient population numbers have decreased and their deep concern with the future, they have given frequent interviews to the media especially regarding the canonization of both Damien and Mother Marianne.

\(^{402}\) Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2007. We noticed this on numerous occasions; the two entomologists, picked up in the morning and driven over to their work site, driven back at the end of the day,
Kalaupapa in 1950

On the immediate left is Bay View, and the multi-wing building is the new hospital which burnt to the ground in the 1980s. The Visitor’s Quarters are to the left of the hospital and above Bay View. The oval is the driveway into Bishop Home.

In this chapter, I delegate sixty-four buildings as either in the community, administrative, or industrial usage. Structures that serviced the patients in their daily existence are in the community category, store, post office, state office building. The second category consists of the houses for the staff and administration, originally all State of Hawai`i and stayed in the house doing reports. On another occasion four workers removed asbestos in Paschoal Hall, they walked to work and back to their abode, rarely venturing out into the settlement.
Health Department and later KNHP personnel as well. The third category covers the industrial buildings that contribute to the smooth running of the settlement and the warehouses that keep everyone supplied with necessary items.

The new building on the peninsula is the Curatorial Building or Hale Malama. This modern structure has office areas, a reference library, and storage space for the patients’ donated personal effects, such as, diaries, pictures, and musical instruments. The Cultural Resource manager in 2005, Susan Boucher said, “Much of the memorabilia stored in the trailers will be moved into Hale Malama, and eventually will be put on display within the visitor center at Paschoal Hall.”

Single one-and-one-half story cottages and small outbuildings surround the expansive Paschoal Hall and a core area of the larger structures such as the hospital, the administrative building, the library, staff and guest quarters, patient store and warehouses. Law and Soulierre provide a description of the structures, “These buildings create unity in the village fabric in terms of scale, density, shape, form and style that correspond to American Historical architecture from the 1930’s through the early 1950’s.” In 1931, the Territorial Legislature appropriated $300,000.00 for improvements to the settlement. Ninety per cent of those buildings are standing today. This rejuvenation of the settlement provided new facilities and amenities that produced a “normal lifestyle” for the patients, a lifestyle different from their institutionalized existence.

Community Buildings

The park, for inventory purposes, delegated the buildings into geographical areas. Bay View (BV) is one of these locales and includes individual houses, the hospital, and the Bay View Home and the Visitor Accommodations. The four buildings within the Visitor
Accommodations consist of two dormitories, a kitchen/dining room, and the Long House. As their name implies, they housed the visiting families of the patients. This group of buildings, the Long House, Wilcox Memorial Building dormitory, the Visitor’s Quarters dormitory and the separate kitchen, perch on a scenic fifteen-foot volcanic bluff overlooking the Pacific. The location offers stunning views into the clear ocean waters where porpoises play and whales frolic in winter months. At night the yellowish glow of Honolulu becomes backlighting for the Ko’olau range and Diamond Head on O’ahu. Lawrence Judd, the ex-Governor, credited with opening up the settlement by removing barriers and making the patients feel like people. However, Judd’s role in the Massie case in Honolulu still angered some patients. Bernard Punikai`a resented Judd for the racism and injustice brought out by the nationwide hysteria associated with the trial, Punikai`a said, “I disliked him immensely. But, to be fair, when he first arrived, he was instrumental in getting some of the barriers taken down.” The individual attitudes of the patients slowly changed as these separation barriers the glass and the wire partition taken down. They felt human again. Judd initiated airplane trips to the neighbor islands for the patients. Edwin Lelepali expressed his feelings about Judd, “I think the blessing came when the governor came. [Judd] started tearing down the fences, taking away all the potted plants that acted as barriers. That’s the guy who really started opening up the settlement and making us feel a bit better.”

The Long House, known for its barriers, is a rectangular structure and barely wide enough to accommodate two people sitting across from one another in conversation. The Visitor’s Quarters were traditionally fenced off from the rest of the community. This fence ran down the middle of the Long House, and required that patients and visitors enter from two different directions. Judd removed the fence between patients and their relatives. The

---

405 In 2005, I met relatives of patients who stayed here for long weekends. I also stayed here on numerous short trips when I arrived for “Barge Day” or, for the funeral of a patient.
406 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 469.
407 Ibid., 466.
KNHP renovation of the Long House was ninety-nine percent complete in 2010, needing the two exterior doors sanded, primed, and painted. One patient explained, “Although nobody uses the building today, they just go in look-see. Everyone, including our family members, visitors, appreciate the effort by KNHP to restore it.”

Richard Marks tells of a time when the patients would gather at the Visitor’s Quarters area, after the separation fence was removed and, “The older patients would bring their instruments down and play music and talk story, and us youngsters learned a lot that way. They were great musicians.”

In 2005, we met relatives of the patients who stayed in the Visitor’s Quarters for a few days. A state maintenance worker would come by and clean-up after the visitors had departed. After numerous conversations with him, we realized he was the hanai (adopted) son of Gena Sasada, the manager of the patient store and descendant of Rudolph Meyer, the first Superintendent for the Board of Health. On one occasion he said, “You can really feel the spirits of the patients lift when they have family over.”

The Visitor’s Quarters dormitory is an L-shaped design contains the familiar single-wall construction and completed in 1933. The interior consists of a long open-air hallway with screened windows on the ocean side and guest rooms on the other. At the end of the hallway, a family room provides conjoined bedrooms and a small sitting area with a separate entrance door. Two full-baths with adequate hot showers and plenty of ventilation offer a simple accommodation for any guest. The floor plan and the building retain their original design.

The Wilcox Memorial Building has undergone a series of interior reconfigurations, and alterations from the original design. Currently, a long entryway hallway divides the interior; on one side are individual rooms for single visitors, and across the hall, a small

---

408 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2010.
409 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 447.
410 Interview with a State worker, June 6, 2005. Employees are very reluctant to grant permission to use their comments without a guarantee of anonymity.
apartment is reserved for families. The original building was constructed in 1906 with money donated by the Wilcox Family of Kaua`i.

A short note here is important for understanding the patients move from Kalawao to Kalaupapa. Joseph Dutton died in March of 1931 at eighty years of age. He was the long time mentor for the boys at Baldwin Home. After Dutton’s death, and the death of Ambrose Hutchins in 1932, portions of the Baldwin Home for Boys were dismantled, transported, and then reassembled in Kalaupapa and labeled as the New Baldwin Home. Kenso Seki, a Hansen’s disease patient, made the transfer from Kalawao to Kalaupapa but always kept the memories of Damien, Dutton, and Ambrose alive at this new location. Eventually, the New Baldwin Home was no longer needed as the boys had turned to men and relocated to Bay View. The Catholic Brothers moved into the Wilcox Memorial Building. Kenso Seki moved one of the houses to a location across the street from Bay View for his personal residence.

Another of the four buildings is the Visitor’s Kitchen, a stand-alone structure containing a stove, two refrigerators, coffee makers, a microwave, and a dining area with a terrific ocean view. Constructed in 1933, the small building is structurally untouched. The configuration and floor plan is original. Located outside on the porch, a commercial-grade icemaker is in constant use by the residents. A Hansen’s disease patient said, “Oh, I come here everyday to get ice. When I go fish, I fill my coolers.”

One block away from the Visitor’s Quarters is the Fumigation Building, where patients traveling to Honolulu, or elsewhere, were required to receive treatment. A patient explained, “It was typical of the crap we had to endure. The stuff didn’t work and it smelled awful. Cockroaches lived, actually thrived in the building, so we knew it didn’t do anything.” Another Hansen’s disease patient explained, “They used to fumigate our cars

---

412 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2010.
when we had people visit. The whole car smelled and you had to leave the doors open for several hours to get the smell out, and of course our clothes smelled the same way.\textsuperscript{413} When fumigation ceased and the isolation law was withdrawn in 1969, the facility became a workroom and a supply source for custom footwear for the patients. In 2005, the building used sparingly and mainly for the veterinarian’s annual visit while they conducted spaying on the feral cats.

The next two building’s, the store and the gas station, are the central hub of activity on weekdays and a focus in the daily life of the settlement. Everyone in the community purchases gas or buys grocery items at the store. A few congregate at lunchtime on the store’s shaded lanai. Two bulletin boards flank the store’s entrance and provide notice of upcoming events. Patients have exclusive parking in front of the building. I had initially thought that after patients-hours anyone could park in front of the store. We were eventually informed, “the store-side parking is always reserved for patients.” I imagine we garnered heavy resentment among the “attitudinal patients.”\textsuperscript{414} Others in the settlement finally had arrived at a point where tolerance of the constant bickering by these three Hansen’s disease patients meant little. A state worker expressed to me one day, “Oh, that’s just (names deleted) we don’t listen to them anymore.”\textsuperscript{415}

Kamaka Air transports fresh vegetables from Honolulu to the settlement every Thursday morning. The patients show up in force when the store opens to get the fresh supply of tomato, celery, lettuce or other items. This shopping is also a regular event for both state and federal workers who gather under the store lanai at noon. After the patients have completed their shopping, the workers are free to select from the remaining vegetables. One

\textsuperscript{413} Skinsnes Law, \textit{Kalaupapa}, 461.
\textsuperscript{414} A park worker explained about a minor number of contrary patients who make a continual fuss over any infringement upon their perceived “private or hallowed” space. Out of respect for their anonymity, I will not name the individuals.
\textsuperscript{415} A State Health Department employee explained, they requested anonymity.
day as we were talking to a park worker, he looked at his watch, and abruptly ended the conversation. He said, as he took off his tool belt, and scooted over to his truck, “I gotta go, almost forgot its Thursday.” A wood and linoleum counter, with a cash register, is at the front of the store blocking your access. Behind the counter are six rows of shelves holding various canned and packaged food. You tell the worker what you would like and they place it on the counter for you. Having shipped in enough food for ourselves for the three weeks of work we only looked inside and conversed with the staff, a state employee and a patient. After three weeks, we were able to purchase food. The patient employee, one of those with an attitude problem, was miffed at this development. The manager of the store, Gina Sasada, became a valuable friend and a source of local knowledge and information. The building itself is of prime historic significance with a hollow tile, stucco exterior, a hip roof supported by six columns, and a raised recessed lanai.

The Gas Station imbues a quaint, picturesque quality with Hawaiian style hip roof sheltering both the building proper and the gas pumps. Built in 1934, the small structure has architectural and historical importance with its direct relationship to the store, the community, and the patients. A patient works at the gas station and it is always a pleasure to see her and her cheery countenance. She would always greet us with, “Eh you guys still here,” or, “Eh you guys back again.” Her pleasant attitude always uplifting to everyone.

Two warehouses keep the store adequately supplied. The New Store Warehouse constructed of sheet metal has no significance. This building replaced the older Quonset hut storage facility. However, the original store warehouse is historically important. The two-story art-deco building sits directly on the oceanfront, bulkhead wall of the wharf area. In the

\[416\] We often encountered the KNHP employee as he made his inspection rounds within the settlement.
\[417\] In 2005, the manager of the store befriended us, Gina Sasada, a descendant of Rudolph Meyer who had provided much assistance to Damien in Kalawao. Sasada provided invaluable first hand information to us on the various physical sites and the hidden nooks and crannies of the peninsula.
\[418\] Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 10, 2010.
winter, large ocean swells deflect off the bulkhead and splash upon the western exterior of the building. One day as we were measuring the building, Uncle Walter, a state employee in charge of transferring all supplies from Kamaka Air throughout the settlement gave us a tour inside. Walter asked us, “You guys know anything about when they’re going to repair the breakwater and the crumbling foundation?” Of course, we did not have a clue. However, we could see the seepage of salt water coming through the cracks in the walls. Walter mentioned, as we exited the building, “When KNHP takes over completely this would be one ideal restaurant site with ocean views. Big bucks.”

Next to the store warehouse, located on the ocean cliff, is the picnic pavilion. The pavilion, built in 1940, consists of four concrete posts supporting a Hawaiian-style roof with wood shingles. With a similar roofline, the pavilion blends in with the store and gas station. The deterioration level is high from continual salt spray and lack of maintenance. Patients often use the pavilion for get-togethers. One Sunday as we drove by a patient waved us over and we stopped. Six people were “talking story,” while one patient cooked fresh fish and lobster. I asked him about lobster season and the patient replied, “Ah, we no have seasons, as patients we can fish and dive whenever we want.”

A short walk, two hundred feet, from the pavilion is the combination of Post Office/Court House/Lions Club Building dates from 1934. This hollow tile building has a cement floor and stucco exterior finish. The hip roof extends approximately six feet beyond the walls of the building over a portico on three sides. The eave brackets feature a gentle curve, and this motif echo in the brackets of the post capitals. A Hawaiian style or bell cast roof covers an encircling walkway featuring ornate rafter ends. The Post Office building offers a focal point for idle chitchat in the mornings for the patients. Ku‘ulei Bell, the

---

419 Walter Kaiama became a good friend in Kalaupapa and we attended his sons wedding in Kaunakakai.
420 Interview with a State employee, June 5, 2005.
421 Interview with a Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2005.
postmaster in 2005, enjoyed a curt response to questions and she slowly changed to a friendly greeting after seeing us more than three times. After we attended the LDS church, she became friendlier and introduced us to her little dog, Ming Toy. The building itself is divided like a duplex; and the adjacent room contains the office of the local Lions Club with the history of the Kalaupapa Lions chapter proudly displayed with flags and burgees from other Lions units around the world. Pictures of past presidents and officers of the Kalaupapa Lions Club hang on the walls. I remembered from our earlier tour with Richard Marks, that there were signs located around the peninsula pointing out different Lions projects. These signs have slowly disappeared, either stolen or misplaced, or shipped off-island for restoration work and never returned. William Malo, the father of Makia, thought the Lions Club was instrumental to the health of the settlement. “Every year the Lions Club had a charter celebration at the settlement, and people from the outside would come to visit for four, five, six, eight hours. There were one hundred or more people coming to Kalaupapa for this occasion every year.”

Besides the Lions Club, there was also a Filipino Club and an American Legion Hall, but the buildings they occupied are long gone. However, one clubhouse still exists, that of the Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) Benevolent Society. The AJA Hall built in 1910 has a symmetrical structure with cruciform shape, with hip roofs and the two winged sections approximately one foot lower than the ridge of the central gable. Today, the AJA Hall serves as the bookstore as well as a small and temporary museum for the people on the Damien tour.

Steel reinforced concrete slabs and cinderblock walls make the Police Headquarters and the jail secure buildings. A metal corrugated hip roof over trusses completes the building. The partitioned interior of the structure contains meeting rooms, offices, and two restrooms. The jail section connects to the police station by a covered breezeway and is of similar

---

construction with five individual cells with barred windows and iron doors. At one time, the Kalaupapa Police Department had an extensive work force of five to six officers. They enforced ordinances against gambling, rowdy behavior, and patients’ trying to flee the settlement. In the last years of the settlement, as the population dwindled, the position of sheriff became an honorary title. Today, the Park Service employs Enforcement Rangers, Tim Trainer the lead Ranger, said, “We deal with minor infractions, and our main concerns are trespassers—those without authorized entry. People sneak down the trail and hide out for a few days on the Kalawao side.” The Rangers have other concerns, mainly the occasional fisherman who anchors his boat off shore of a remote valley and attempts to go ashore without permission. There are also ongoing internal problems within the settlement involving drugs, drunks, and fisticuffs that mirror the outside world and society as a whole. As one ex-health worker expressed to us upon hearing of a patients passing, “I called over there to make sure someone locked up the house. I know this person is breaking in and stealing money.”

Directly across a narrow lane from the police station, a large auditorium/theatre originally named the Kalaupapa Social Hall stands empty. The name of the building changed to Paschoal Hall to honor a Maui State Senator, Gomes Paschoal, who pleaded tirelessly for the patients’ rights. Erected in the fiscal years of 1915/16, the large structure was completely re-roofed using cedar shake. In the summer of 2010, extensive structural work finally completed as well as the removal of asbestos in the ceilings acoustical tiles. KNHP Superintendent Steve Prokop informed us, “The building has been gutted down to its framework, and the theatre seats shipped off to the mainland to be refurbished. The building, as you know, was riddled with asbestos. This summer (2010) the asbestos is finally being

423 Reading the historical record in the state archives, is a fascinating account of the limited bad behavior and downright drunken disorder that occurred.
424 Interview with Tim Trainer, June 6, 2005.
425 The former worker was explicit to us who the culprit would be, but I am not going reveal their name.
426 Hawai`i Senator Daniel Inouye inserted a great sum of money into the KNHP budget to refurbish the structure. The building re-named to honor the former state senator Gomes Paschoal.
removed by an outside contractor." Paschoal Hall is historically valuable, reflecting the era when the Health Departments attempted to make life more bearable for the patients. One patient stated, “I remember Paul Robeson singing *Old Man River*. Now that was spectacular. What a talent.”

Adjacent to Paschoal Hall, the Arts and Craft Center was originally a bakery. Elizabeth Kahihikolo enjoyed the pottery and painting classes. She exclaimed, “Oh, it’s nice to get out of the house and go over and create. I’m not very good at it, but I really enjoy painting.”

Built in 1916, this single-wall building is a hodge-podge of do-over and ramshackle additions. A fire destroyed half the structure in the late forties and the state determined that bread flown in from Kaunakakai was less expensive than operating an on-site bakery. The post-fire interior remodeling began and gave birth to the “art and craft building” for the community.

Across Beretania Street from the Craft building, is the State Office/Administrative compound. Built in 1961, this structure looks like what you would expect from that era with a fabricated array of brick, glass and cinder block, using the material regulated to the Mid-Century Modern architecture. Joanne Wilkins said, “Why this structure would have a high priority number of thirty-eight becomes anyone’s guess. It is one of those anomalies that happen. The building is relatively recent and won’t be eligible for historic recognition until 2011.”

The Kalaupapa Memorial Hospital replaced the original wooden edifice after a fire destroyed it in the 1980’s. Therefore, the hospital does not meet the fifty-year mark for historical significance. However, the park has it on the List of Classified Structures for

---

427 Steve Prokop, considered an exceptional superintendent, departed in 2013, for Redwood National Park, after five years as the Kalaupapa superintendent. The new superintendent is Erica Viernes-Stein, the chief archaeologist at the park.
428 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2006.
429 Interview with Elizabeth Kahihikolo, a Hansen’s disease patient, 2 June 2, 2007.
430 The Historic Architect for KNHP in 2005, she has since retired from the National Park Service.
protection from further decay and damage. Originally operated as an out patient clinic, the structure is located across the street from the destroyed hospital. The building is made of steel, reinforced cinderblock or hollow-tile walls on a concrete pad with linoleum floors. The institutional design of Mid-Century Modern architecture is more oriented to functional use than creating an architectural statement.  

The Outpatient Clinic/KNHP Office is located in a plantation house adapted for use as office space. The historic significance of the building dates back to when it was as an outpatient clinic known as the Promin Building where the health staff administered the sulfone drugs. As Law noted, “This building was finished in 1935 and moved to this locale in 1946.” According to Soulliere, “The building has seen hundreds of leprosy patients, both during its years as an outpatient clinic and in the later years of the settlement when the sulfone drugs were implemented.” In June of 2014, Margaret and I visited Leahi Hospital once again and conversed with Barbara Marks, a Hansen’s disease patient. She explained how, “I would go to the Promin building three times a week and get intravenous injections. I did that for six months, but they seemed to help. I’m still alive.” All the patients are grateful for the sulfone drugs, but Punikai’a explained, “When the sulfones arrived, promin, diason, promacetin they changed our lives. The interesting part is we threatened to go to court. To sue the state of Hawai’i.” The sulfone drugs had been in use since the early forties in Carville, Louisiana, yet Hawai’i physicians refused to use them as being experimental and there were no guarantees. Punikai’a remarked, “We’re not asking for

---

431 A short note on the hospitals in Kalaupapa: The hospital was at one time located on the outskirts of the settlement and converted into the New Baldwin Home for Boys when the patients moved from Kalawao. A new structure was erected closer to the settlement. This hospital caught fire in the 1980s and burnt down, and the concrete piers of the foundation ruins remain standing in the grassy field.
433 Ibid., 25.
434 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient at the Hale Mohalu facility in Honolulu, June 10, 2014.
435 Skinsnes Law, Kalaupapa, 455.
guarantees. Without the medication, you were guaranteed to die.**436** Hansen’s disease patients reported improvement within six months of taking the drugs and they became increasingly healthier and active, walking, fishing, and swimming.

The Mother Marianne Library is a Mid-Century Modern one-room structure built in 1965. Mid-Century Modern style elements include hollow tile, wood frame, and a stone masonry wall and a gable roof extending several feet from the top plate. The library will become architecturally significant in 2015, fifty years after the construction date. Its historical value will be the lava rock wall and its intended purpose as a library for the patients and staff.

The Kamahana Building, a false-front western stylized structure and named for David Kamahana who was a patient for sixty-three years. He shipped over to Kalawao on a cattle boat at age thirteen in 1888 from the island of Hawai`i. He climbed over the cliffs one day in a fit of depression, walked to Kaunakakai, and caught a boat to Honolulu. Recaptured in 1896, he was sent back to Kalawao. Brother Dutton took care of him after his return to the settlement. Kamahana helped install the new water system at the turn of the century. Enterprising by nature, he started a door-to-door merchandise business out of a pushcart.**437** His business grew, and he built the store with the help of friends. Kamahana was one of the rare individuals to want his release from the confines of the settlement. He sold the building for $150.00 in 1951, transferred to Hale Mohalu on O`ahu, and eight months later took up residence elsewhere on the islands. Richard and Gloria Marks controlled the building in 2005, and used it as a warehouse for their vast collection of memorabilia. One day we saw the door open, walked over and knocked. Richard Marks sat on a Lay-z-boy chair, resting. We talked with him for quite a while about Kalaupapa in general and the pictures of him and

**436** Ibid., 455.
Gloria and their world travels. Historically, this store is one of the only patient developed enterprises that stands today, the other being the bar and warehouse. The western style false front and large display window with the carved wooden front door are unique at Kalaupapa.

Leaving the settlement and going towards the airport one passes the Lions Club Ocean View Pavilion. According to Elmer Wilson the Kalaupapa Administrator from 1947 to 1974, this point was at one time the home of Spuds Patios while he worked at the laundry facility. The pavilion sits between two sandy beaches on lava outcropping called Kalaemilo Point. The tsunami of 1946, which inundated Hilo killing ninety people, also hit Kalaupapa and destroyed his house, so he moved into the pavilion. In 1952, the Lions Club tore down and rebuilt the structure for the use of the community. Members of the Lions Club inscribed their names in the wet concrete during construction and are visible and readable today. The structure slowly decays due to neglect, but it is still in use for birthday parties and shelter by people fishing. We joined in with the others in celebrating Olivia Breitha’s ninetieth birthday party at the pavilion. A few weeks later, the patients held a goodbye party in our honor as we returned to Honolulu.

---

438 Clark. Hawai`i Place Names, 152.
439 We attended a birthday party for Olivia Breitha held in the pavilion; it was a grand affair. The capable patients and a number of the state and federal workers provided Hawaiian music. Our own extravagant farewell party in 2005 also took place in this pavilion.
David Kamahana, a Hansen’s disease patient, sold merchandise door to door in the settlement from a small cart. The business increased and eventually moved into this storefront.

Different patients have operated the bar, a social hotspot over the years, and thus Elaine’s Place, Rea’s Bar, and now Fuseiana’s Bar, has changed names frequently. When one patient passes on, another patient takes over. A local custom for patients and workers to mingle together after work, patrons play poker, cribbage, or talk story over the T.V. We would go to the bar on occasion. In 2010, Gertrude could not drive at night, her vision slipping away. She would drive to the bar at 4:00 pm, and at eight pm, Margaret and I would drive her home. We did this for about three weeks. On another occasion, when we first met Makia Malo, he was going to walk home. We joined him and his dog for the quiet ten-minute stroll through the settlement. He was full of vitality and sang a couple of songs for us as we walked. The Bar Warehouse besides being historic is quaint and most colorful and rustic structures on the peninsula. The afternoon sun has performed its magic and changed the
wood siding and green paint into eclectic colors of burnt orange and variegated hues of the rainbow. Constructed in the 1930’s, someone tried to repair the south walls of the warehouse and replaced the exterior 1 x 12 board and batten siding with plywood. Luckily, KNHP stopped the project, but not before extensive damage occurred to the south wall of the structure.

In 1965, the City and County of Honolulu convened a Historic Building Task Force with Nancy Bannick as chairperson. Her remarks tell of the importance of saving historic buildings:

What we build new is hard to give character. Character and charm really can’t be designed; they just have to grow into a project. They come with age to buildings just as they do with people. They (buildings) need to be preserved just as older people do. There is this quality of age and picturesqueness of charm and the color that happenstance brings which otherwise we lose. We must keep the old side by side with the new.440

The Bar Warehouse is a prime example of what can be lost. Goo expressed this thought when he said, “Preservation has reached a period where stabilization of important buildings should occur, not their refurbishment which can destroy their unique esthetic.”441

---

440 Letter describing the work and necessity of the Historic Building Task Force in June of 1966 with the completion of a long list of structures on O‘ahu they deemed significant.
441 Kalawai’a Goo commented while he was working in the KNHP cabinet shop.
Bar Warehouse

The building held the yearly supplies of beer and other necessities to keep the bar open and in business. This photo cannot convey the richness in coloration of the sun burnt and weathered wood of this structure.

Staff Row

This aptly named street begins off Beretania Street and ends at McVeigh Housing. Nine buildings are located on the east side of the street and they all look out to the ocean.

According to Henry Law:

Most of the buildings along Staff Row were constructed in the late 19th Century to house the physicians, the hospital staff, and their servants. They are the stylized buildings on the peninsula. The Resident Staff were considered a separate class, and the buildings show evidence of that differentiation with higher ceilings, more detail in the woodwork on porches and lanais, and roomy interiors. All of the remaining buildings on Staff Row have been altered to some degree.442

The structures include five houses, a dormitory, the state kitchen, a food warehouse, plus numerous carports and sheds. The superintendent, doctor, and dentist had their houses here, and the nurses resided close-by in an H-shaped dormitory.

The state run kitchen is located within the former Superintendents house. The kitchen serves three meals per day to the patients and state employees. The change from a residence to a commercial kitchen and dining area required a great deal of interior remodeling. However, the exterior of the 1890 structure remains true to the original footprint and design elements of the Plantation-Hawaiian-Craftsman styles. As federal employees, we did not have kitchen privileges except on Thanksgiving Day when the staff served a turkey dinner with all the trimmings to those present in the settlement.

The Doctor’s House is an immense structure with five bedrooms, three baths, a modified Hawaiian roofline, and a wide wrap-around corner lanai. This single-walled, redwood-constructed home recently turned over to KNHP (2010) after being in use by State of Hawai’i for official visits. The electrical and plumbing utilities updated to code. Presently used as a VIP (visitors in park) residence for KNHP purposes. Built in 1930 this elaborate structure contains a large interior with ceiling heights of twelve feet. The expansive area of living and dining rooms and the large kitchen area keep the house quite cool with trade winds passing though from bedroom windows out to the living area. We stayed in this house for seven weeks during the summer of 2010.

The Dentist’s House is located between the Central Kitchen and the Doctors house. We resided in this house in the summer of 2007 for two weeks. The house has one bedroom, a large living area, and a small but adequate kitchen. Also, a screened lanai utilized as a dining room and or study and in a few instances a second bedroom for visiting researchers. The records indicate the house was built in 1892. A single-wall plantation and craftsman style of construction is evident with stone and post foundation, which is hidden behind
latticework of three linear boards. The exterior board and batten wood is in good condition. The original wood shingles of the roof are visible under the successive layers of composition asphalt shingles.

The Nurses’ Quarters, an architecturally imposing building, is located on the corner of Staff Row and Beretania Street. The plantation-style single-walled edifice, built in 1932, has an H-shape floor plan with a corresponding bell-cast or Hawaiian style roof. Two wings accommodate a large kitchen and dining area with a screened lanai on the interior of the wings. The structure has eight bedrooms and four bathrooms. Today, state and federal workers share the residence and the adequate kitchen/pantry and dining area.

The Head Nurse Residence house, built in 1905, is holding up well for a plantation-style hipped roof and a two-bedroom home. The interior was immaculate when we toured the house with the Head Nurse in 2006. Although adequately maintained the house is highly susceptible to the usual rot, decay, and other maintenance hazards. An overloaded roof, which creates stresses on the exterior walls and in turn leads to their ballooning outward, is the main concern. The deterioration from the salt air and the lack of adequate upkeep and maintenance are the main culprits for excessive wear and tear on the rear of the house.

The visiting physician, Dr. Kalani Brady, and occasionally other dignitaries use the Guest House. The date of construction is noted in 1930’s. This hipped-roof single-wall house consists of a square floor plan with kitchen, living room, two small bedrooms, and bath. Similar to other houses in the settlement is an exterior surrounding girt for support, a post and pad foundation, and other plantation style elements.

Two other structures, the Electrician’s House and the Laundry facility, have deteriorated to a point where it is too costly to repair them.

Industrial Area
Visitors marvel at the supply of building material stored at Kalaupapa. “This resembles a lumber yard,” or, “they have more wood here than City Mill,” are a few of the responses I have heard. The industrial area located north of the pier is indeed well equipped. The state has their own depot of material, from wood to electrical to plumbing and paint, with a well-equipped shop with fabrication and repair capabilities. Likewise, the KNHP has their own stockpile of material with a wood/cabinet shop to manufacture or fabricate any required item needed to keep buildings in a harmonious blend of preservation.

The following buildings are located along the ocean side of Damien Road makai of the St. Francis Catholic Church grounds: The Ice Plant structure, also used over the years as a Butcher Shop, Freezer, and then reused as the Electrical Shop in 1932. At one time, the building was the Original Bakery. The State of Hawai`i Maintenance Shop built in 1931 is a cinder-block structure with twenty-foot high ceilings and the expansive interior is full of tools and machinery that workers use in their upkeep of the settlement. The KNHP equivalent maintenance and carpentry shop was originally the laundry facility, built in 1931. The Plumbing Warehouse is a one-story, multi-bay garage that functions as a warehouse for supplies. The Crematory Building, built in 1938, surrounded on three sides, by the state warehouse for the paint supplies. The building is permanently locked and off limits to everyone. The only distinguishing mark is the numbers 262 stenciled onto the exterior wall of the crematorium. Additional industrial buildings are located near the police station, including carports for both the State and federal vehicles, a KNHP maintenance garage for their Boston Whaler, a derelict one-pump gas station, and a combined Hazmat and

---

443 Relatives and visitors staying longer than the day are required to register and wear nametags. They are not to wander alone around the settlement, and especially, not to leave the settlement area without accompaniment by a patient or their sponsor. I have seen visitors, especially on the weekends, when park and state personnel have left, frequently go swimming or wander along the shoreline. The Enforcement Rangers routinely patrol the area and with their increased numbers make it difficult for people to trespass.
combustible storage structure. The gas station is a historic structure, and adds to the total fabric of the settlement as it captures the day-to-day life of the state employees.

**Moloka`i Lighthouse**

Seven structures are associated within the lighthouse locale, including the lighthouse, two houses, a generator shed, a garage, a storage vault, and a water tank. Perched on a small hill or rise, the location has a commanding view of the airport and out to sea in three directions and to the cliffs to the south. The automated beacon, a necessary and permanent navigational aide, came into service in 1910.

The Lighthouse is a reinforced concrete tower, octagonal in plan, with a 20 foot inscribed diameter at the base and 14 feet 4 inches at the top. A molded concrete cornice supports the lantern. The stairs were made of concrete up to the fourth landing and cast iron the rest of the way. The watch-room floor was also of cast iron and supported the lens pedestal, built in 1909, with a height of 138 feet. The lighthouse is automated and controlled by the Coast Guard. At one time, it was manned and two houses were associated with the light. The original lens is stored under heavy raps in a secured garage. The Lighthouse is on the National Register of Historic Places and according to Greene, “One of the few original lighthouse structures in Hawai`i still in use.”

The Lighthouse Keepers Residence also constructed in 1909 is a stone and wood five-room house that has very adequate living facilities. The stone and concrete lanai offers a view out over the airport and to the Pacific Ocean. A fire destroyed the Assistant Lighthouse Keepers House and a new home erected in 1950. The present day, large three-bedroom, two-bath, house is reserved for the mechanic.

---

445 Ibid., 662.
and tour guide of Damien Tours. The three-bedroom two-bath house is in moderate condition. Norman Soares live in the house full-time and has worked for Damien Tours for years.\textsuperscript{446} Other buildings include a water tank, generator shed, and storage vault. In addition, a two-car garage is on the site, where rumor has it the original Fresnel lens is stored.

The land area due south of the main Kalaupapa settlement holds the ruins of the New Baldwin Home, the Rock Crusher, and the now abandoned landfill or refuse site, along with the modest corral and termination point of the mule ride. In connection to the New Baldwin Home, a Catholic meditation grotto, overgrown with weeds and bushes, is located by the steep cliffs. At one time, Wilkins wanted to improve this area with a short walking tour for the visitors. After their mule ride the people wait for the tour bus to take them around the peninsula, a wait of anywhere from ten to thirty minutes. She thought the staging area “could possibly be developed into an informative area with a self-guided tour.”\textsuperscript{447} However, the trash and accumulation of wrecked construction vehicles, pavers and graders, has left the locale a messy sight. In addition, in the back of the trash collection area, a pigsty owned and controlled by one of the patients, who is adamant about people staying away. Also, located on the outskirts of the settlement are the remains of the slaughterhouse, a dilapidated building with running water and concrete floor. The corral for the cattle was in good condition in 2005, and slowly deteriorated so that in 2010 the fence enclosure was a pile of wood on the ground. A working bathroom is located next to the slaughterhouse, and a luau pit that the workers used when the area contained the construction camp. The luau pit is complete with the round special basaltic rocks (pohaku) still in a pile. There is no evidence of the construction campsite.

\textsuperscript{446} Soares, in 2005, was the chief mechanic for Damien Tours and kept the fleet of school buses running. With the declining of Marks’ health Soares’ gradually took over leading the tour.

\textsuperscript{447} Her idea never came to fruition and the weeds and brush continues to overgrow the rock walls and the grotto.
Airport Landing Field

Originally, the landing field, planned in 1930 for a site close to the settlement, was found to be inadequate because the dairy was located nearby and the Papaloa beach sand berm held numerous burials. “The superintendent suggested a new site near the lighthouse in 1931.” After extensive groundwork, the airfield opened on August 2, 1933. Inter-Island Airways, now known as Hawaiian Airlines, flew Sikorsky S–38, an eight-passenger amphibious aircraft. Air service ceased when the airline switched to Sikorsky S-43’s and DC-3’s, planes that required a longer runway than what the Kalaupapa field provided.

During World War II, the military authorized Gambo Flying Service to furnish emergency transportation of medical supplies directly to Kalaupapa. The population of 330 patients and 65 Health Department employees contacted about an expansion of the airport allowing larger planes and better facilities. Thus, in 1951, a small passenger terminal with rest house was completed and in use today. The field was sod over grass and the landing was extremely rough on both passengers and planes. The airport sits precariously close to the ocean, where blustery trades and sea spray continually assault the landing strip. The Health Department thought a good grass covering would smooth out landings, and a water storage tank with water line and hose bibs were installed to maintain the field. This did little to help the landings and takeoffs and later in 1951 a small paved warm-up apron was constructed, which eliminated the boarding and idling problems but did nothing for the runway conditions.

The Airport Terminal is essentially a three-sided, cinder-block building, with an interior waiting room complete with plastic chairs and four bathrooms. The flat roof provides protection and the cinderblock walls provide a long and maintenance free existence. Built in

1939, and utilizing design features of Mid-Century Modern with hollow-tile, concrete floor, and a flat roof, the building is open to the elements on the makai or ocean side.

On our inspection of the airport, Edwin Lelepali, a Hansen’s disease patient, drove up in his yellow Volkswagen bus. He got out and walked around to the passenger side, opened the sliding door and promptly sat down on the van’s floor. He brought out his guitar and started strumming. We approached him and said hello. He nodded and after a moment said, “John Kaona taught me to play the guitar. He was a good instructor. He also taught me to fish, and other things, but I really enjoyed playing the guitar.” He sat in his VW van and we stood listening when Dr. Brady arrived. He was flying back to Honolulu. They immediately started singing, Dr. Brady standing there in the sunshine with the trades blowing and Lelepali sitting as they sang Hawaiian songs. Within a few minutes, we could hear the engine of the approaching airplane, and they finished their song. Dr. Brady watched the plane land safely. Then he said, “Okay, we got time for one more.” They strummed their guitars and joyfully sang another Hawaiian song as the plane turned around and taxied back. The plane stopped on the tarmac, passengers unloaded. Dr. Brady walked the twenty feet to the gap in the white picket fence and waved goodbye as he boarded the plane. Lelepali watched the plane depart. He packed away his guitar, looked at us and said, “Okay, I go now, you take care.”

Important as the work of restoration is, it now begins to take a back seat to concerns regarding the future of the settlement and the status of remaining a National Park. This “long-simmering argument” that engulfs the Hawaiian community, the Hansen’s disease patients, the Hawai`i State Government and the Department of Land and Natural Resources, Hawaiian

\[\text{This moment was one of many instances where the spontaneity of the situation was a joyful occasion, learning and sharing from the experience.}\]

\[\text{On another occasion when we were departing, flying back to Honolulu, Gertrude drove to the airport to extend her aloha. We exchanged pleasant goodbyes and as the plane accelerated down the runway, we looked out the window, and she stood, leaning on the white picket fence, crutches under her left arm as she balanced on her one leg and waved.}\]
Home Lands, and political activists, such as Walter Ritte, becomes more and more prominent as the expiration date of the NPS lease approaches (2042).
CONCLUSION: INTO THE FUTURE

I like to look down the road – DTR – you know the future. After Damien becomes a Saint the numbers of tourist will perhaps double, triple? People will be hiking down the trail at midnight in candlelight processions. Our small community will be inundated by the sheer volume of the hordes on pilgrimages.†451

Hansen’s disease patient, 2005

You seen that bumper sticker, you know the one that reads, No Hawaiians, No Aloha, well that’s how I feel. No Patients—No Kalaupapa, this place jus’ be empty space with people lookin’ for our memory.452

Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, 2010

In the summer of 2010, Margaret and I watched the red sails on the double-hulled canoe Hōkūleʻa sail around the tip of the peninsula from the direction of the lighthouse. We knew this was a rare sight, and we watched the canoe slowly lumber toward the settlement and drop anchor. The crew had requested permission to land for the night, and their request was granted as a KNHP employee had sponsored them. We watched the landing proceedings as the crew ferried back and forth in a dinghy. One crewmember made his way to shore carrying a plastic bag containing two flowered lei. He approached the sponsor and asked, “I’d like to go see my auntie, Kuʻulei.” Given permission, he immediately ran off toward the Papaloa cemetery to pay his respects. Of the eight thousand people buried on the peninsula, seventy-five percent are in unmarked graves. The well-marked gravesite of Judge and Kuʻulei Bell, who had deep roots in the Nuʻuanu and Papakolea areas of Oʻahu, is well maintained.

451 Hansen’s disease patient expressed his concerns during a monthly community meeting at Kalaupapa, May 10, 2005.
452 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 30, 2010.
Ku`ulei was a strong proponent of the Ka `Ohana O Kalaupapa and very outspoken, especially when defending the rights of the patients against the Health Department, or anyone that intruded on her dignity. She was the Post-Master for years and kept her fingers on the pulse of settlement. Another patient I nicknamed, The Happiest Man I’ve Met, passed away a few years ago. He had a dogged positivism, a rugged attitude at the end of his life. While suffering from the amputation of one leg and looking at prospects for the removal of the other, he greeted us at Hale Mohalu, in Honolulu, with a big grin. He would pop wheelies in his wheel chair and race off down the hall. “Watch me go,” he would say over his shoulder. Seventy-eight year’s young, his enthusiasm never waned, although he was confined to a wheel chair at his home in Kalaupapa. In his small two-room apartment, within the huge dilapidated Bay View dormitory with its mold and asbestos, his energy flowed out and into anyone close by. In addition, two patients who had energy for their fellows were Lelepali and Costales, both noted for their warmth and generous hospitality. Lelepali would often stop by where we lived and bring us fruit and food he purchased from the patients store. “No like you guys go hungry,” he said, knowing we had to ship in all of our food from Honolulu. Costales always fed her cats every morning in front of Augustine’s house where we stayed. She embraced conversation when addressed but also held onto her privacy. Her singing at church is memorable. “I think the park should stay, we need our memories protected. The history of us patients on the peninsula needs to be shown.”

Kalaupapa National Historical Park has been in existence for thirty-three years. The Park was established under very specific criteria of Congress. The conditions that are needed to become a National Park are:

1. Possess nationally significant natural, cultural, or recreational resources.

---

454 Lelepali is considered a living treasure, both in the settlement and as a stalwart at the Kana`ana Hou Church.
455 Costales greeted us with a hearty “Aloha,” every morning as we drank our coffee on the porch.
2. Have characteristics that make the area suitable and feasible for addition to the system.
3. Be such that the benefits of NPS protection must exceed the benefits of protection by other governmental agency or by the private sector.

The definition of “national significance” is understood to include the following four standards:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value of quality illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our Nation’s heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for recreation for public use and enjoyment, or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relative unspoiled example of the resource.

If these standards cannot be maintained, then the status or designation as a National Park can be withdrawn. A Park’s status is constantly subjected to Congressional review and oversight. Our employment, and the reason we were hired at Kalaupapa was, “to survey all the assets on the peninsula,” and our employment was a condition of that review process by a Congressional committee.

The Park had fallen so far behind in their annual reports that they were assigned a specific date, (at the end of the fiscal year, 2005), to complete the necessary reporting process or lose the federal funding for the rehabilitation of the buildings. We were hired to survey the buildings and enter the data into a NPS computer program for the completion of the review process. While we were in the Park and learning all about keeping the Park funded, we also learned about the lease NPS has from the State. It appears there is another way for a Park to be de-listed and that is if a lease is bought-out or is not renewed. That possibility faces the KNHP in 2042 if the Hawaiian Home Lands do not renew their agreement with the Park.

---

456 National Park Service, National Parks and Protected Areas (Denver: NPS), 163.
457 Wilkins stated while in the settlement in 2005. Assets can be limitless, and include roads, walls, trails, sidewalks.
Community involvement can also prevent an area from becoming part of the Park system. Jerome Arakaki, the Health Department’s lead carpenter for the settlement, noted, “The NPS tried to gain a foothold on Kaua`i and nominated the Na Pali coastline as a Park. Visitors always find the north shore cliffs and Kalalau Valley spectacular. Their natural beauty, rugged coastline and jagged peaks offer wild scenic views. On Kaua`i, we appreciate the beauty and didn’t want the feds to dictate what we can or cannot do.”

Two federal employees had different viewpoints about retaining Kalaupapa in the federal jurisdiction. Tom Workman had a cavalier attitude about the park and whether it remained within the federal system or not. He told us in 2005, “Other Parks have been decommissioned.” Bryan Harry disagreed, “To me it is imperative that Kalaupapa remain within the system. Another side benefit of the settlement is that it keeps the surrounding area very clean, uninhabited. I and others can research the endangered and indigenous birds in the valleys.” In 1980, the NPS reinforced the reasons in their proposal as to why the peninsula should become a Historical National Park. Page thirty of the proposal explains:

Manage the Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement in a manner that will ensure that the resident patients may live there with minimum disturbance from the general public and other outside elements; to provide interpretation for a small number of tourists; and to preserve for present and future generations the significant historical, archaeological, cultural, and natural features.

In a further heading listed under Objectives of the Resource Management, the document states the Park must recognize archaeological sites relating to early “Hawaiian occupation and provide for their preservation and interpretation.” I was discussing this...

---

458 Interview with Jerome Arakaki, carpenter supervisor for the State of Hawai`i, June 28, 2005.
459 From a background of the Enforcement Ranger Division, his talents in running the Park leaned more to disrupting the patient’s and finding a home for his father. He was informed that his father could not reside in the Park, and only allowed to visit for so many days per year.
460 Interview with Brian Harry, NPS Pacific Regional Office, Honolulu, August 23, 2005.
462 Ibid., 33.
topic one day with a Hawaiian patient. He commented, “Hawaiian occupation in their proposal and what that means, or what their intent is and becomes fuzzy. That is where their (NPS) interpretation and mine differs.”

Another Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient said, “To use pre-European contact terminology is belittling in this day and age. They regulate us with a mainland, or now called the continent, interpretation with terms we find belittling. The NPS is still a biased and prejudiced government entity.”

The NPS explains their reasoning:

For the purpose of this study, the entire study area is considered a single site. The stone structures and features scattered over the landscape represented occupational periods from pre-European contact to and through the early historic period in the first part of the 19th century. Archeological surveys and base maps for the entire area are incomplete, inadequate, or nonexistent. Catherine C. Summers, in her site survey of Molokai (1971), compiled all available sources. The map on page 18 indicates all sites either verified or recorded from these studies or from local sources. Additional data on the oral history of Kalaupapa is currently being assembled, and this information should provide some light on both the physical sites and on intangible cultural resources.

However, this persistent attitude of Native Hawaiians as a less-than-group is a sticking point between patients, and especially the Hawaiian contingent of patient’s, the Moloka‘i community, and others involved in indigenous issues, and the Park Service.

Henry Law wrote in 1977 when he and Laura Soulliere conducted surveys of the buildings. “The sacred and mystical qualities of the peninsula must be treated with the utmost respect,”

The list that Law and Soulliere created is the one we updated twenty-eight years later, in 2005. In 1980, Law became the first Superintendent of Kalaupapa National Historical Park (KNHP) and the Park has been in operation for thirty years without having a

---

463 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, July 1, 2010.
464 Interview with a Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient, July 1, 2010.
465 NPS, Proposal, 8.
466 Law and Soulliere, Architectural Evaluation, 3.
General Management Plan. This lack of a plan has also caused concern within the community. As one patient stated, “What are they (NPS) really going to do after we no longer exist.”

In April and May of 2010 KNHP held scoping meetings across the Hawaiian Islands from Hilo to Kapaa, Kauai, to establish a General Management Plan for the Park. The meetings specifically discussed the public’s ideas, interests, and development potential in the continued transformation of the settlement. Attendees sat in a circle and voiced their concerns:

Don’t bring in vast numbers of tourists.
Don’t let people stay overnight.
No camping, hunting or fishing.
Definitely, no cruise ship anchored off shore ferrying in tourists.

In addition, five questions were posited on a survey and collected by KNHP personnel to encompass a segment of the general management plan. The questions on the survey and the representative responses from the various participants were released in 2011, and the unedited answers with different viewpoints are quoted below:

THE QUESTIONS:

One: What do you value most about Kalaupapa?

Answers: The power of the human story and how this can touch people’s lives.

Its role in the early history of the Hawaiian people and the Hansen’s disease patients.

There are thirty types of crotons and many indigenous plants. How did they get here and please provide more education about this diversity.

Two: What are important issues facing the Park that should be addressed in the General Management Plan?

---

467 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient at Bishop Museum in Honolulu, June 9, 2008.
468 Public comments from the scoping meetings that were held across the islands that concerned the General Management Plan for Kalaupapa National Historical Park.
Answers: Access: how will this area be opened and used by public?

Preservation of the graves and graveyards, there are many unmarked graves that need to be acknowledged so people have respect.

To teach the public that Kalaupapa is not a vacation spot, educate about how sacred and special the area is to the local people.

Three: Imagine you are visiting Kalaupapa twenty years from now. What would you like to experience or not experience?

Answers: Preservation, keep everything the same. Don’t build hotels, campgrounds, or pave the dirt road going around the peninsula.

The houses that patients lived in should be used as museums people can walk through and discover.

A cultural museum is needed.

No commercialization of the salt, no fishing.

Perpetuate the Hawaiian way of life. Use this as a place to learn our culture.

Four: Do you think that the purpose and significance statements and interpretive themes capture the essence of Kalaupapa National Historical Park?

Answers: Need to explain the spiritual, sacred component.

Retain the patient’s families and the values of ohana, and Hawaiian culture.

Five: Do you have any other comments, questions, or ideas?

Answers: Limit visitors so as not to impact the fragile resources.

No visitor entrance fee, this is a Historical Park.

Have a visitor fee like any National Park for the required maintenance.

Keep up and retain the Hawaiian cultural practices and the gathering rights that are open now to both the patients and workers.
The responses reiterated the desire to protect the North Shore of Moloka`i. A majority of the people wanted to see the physical dimensions and the natural beauty preserved, along with the memory of the Hansen’s disease patients. Respondents also expressed a desire to maintain and preserve the archaeology. How to implement this idea of historic preservation while allowing a steady stream of increasing visitor traffic becomes paramount.

The statements represent community feelings as to what should transpire after the remaining Hansen’s disease patients have departed. This public sentiment toward Kalaupapa has been noticeable within the general community of the State of Hawaii for years. A Hansen’s disease patient remarked after the scoping meetings at Bishop Museum, “I’m glad they (NPS) finally organizing the General Management Plan and issued public opinion surveys, they have held round-table discussions and set the stage for the general populace to comment on how they will manage the peninsula into the year 2041 and possibly beyond.”

Further review by the park divided the comments they received into four categories, and again released them to the public for further evaluation and any additional remarks or clarifications. The observations turned into categories and became known as the Four Preliminary Alternatives to the general management plan (GMP), and were made available to the public in the spring of 2011. Notices were mailed out with a list of the subsequent meetings to take place on different locations around the islands during the month of June in 2011. The Four Preliminary Alternatives called for varying degrees of access to KNHP for the average traveler/tourist and ranged from little access to the peninsula overall with no overnight stays, to wide access to all locales on the peninsula with overnight stays in houses and camping allowed. The plans did not detail specifics, i.e. location of any campsite, or use.

---

469 Hansen’s disease patient said in conversation in Honolulu at the KNHP scoping meetings held in Atherton Hall at Bishop Museum, June 9, 2011.
of existing buildings or houses as museums, concessions, and staff and visitor lodging. Park Planners have long considered such arrangements a must. “Without visitors, there’s no Park,” both Gary Barbano, and Bryan Harry have vocalized on numerous occasions. Concise efforts by NPS planners as to what buildings to use as guest housing, concessions, and staff housing are summarized along with the multifold increase in the required number of Park personnel and their families. One study has the number of visitors at a “normal full” of eight hundred people to a “maximum full” of eleven hundred per day.

Management Zones

The Four Alternatives revolve around the management zones and areas dedicated to specific uses with their own guidelines. NPS created five Management Zones: Integrated Resource Management, Sensitive Resource Zone, Engagement zone, Operations Zone and the Wao Akua, or the Upland Forest Zone. Categories are further broken down and defined below. The data is from the NPS brochure dated Spring of 2011.

Integrated Resource Management Zone:

Emphasizes the interconnectedness of nature and culture that is evident in people’s connection with the `āina at Kalaupapa over the broad spectrum of time.

Applied to the peninsula, a majority of the area would be classified under a “widely used zone for visitors” and be divided into resource sections complete with their own alternatives. The different resources would be managed in an integrated fashion, for the protection and restoration of native and Polynesian vegetation communities, wildlife habitat,

---

470 Conversations, that happened with the NPS staff and officers at the Regional Center in Honolulu from 2005 through 2007.
471 A spreadsheet analysis titled, “Suggested Future Adaptive Use of Kalaupapa Historic Buildings”, at one time on the NPS website of Kalaupapa.nps.gov. This spreadsheet was removed from the web site in 2009.
472 KNHP, Newsletter: number 3 (KNHP: Kalaupapa, Spring 2011): 4
473 Steven Prokop said in conversation at the bi-weekly volleyball games in Kalaupapa in 2010.
and marine resources. Cultural resources would be protected to a high degree. Within this zone, significant archaeological resources and cultural landscape features would be preserved to perpetuate their historic, natural, and scenic character and for their interpretive and research values and traditional cultural activities. Visitors would have opportunities to understand and experience the significance of Kalaupapa’s natural and critical resources through a range of methods that would be complimentary to the landscape. Access would be by escort, i.e., a Park Ranger tour guide. Development levels would be minimal and only allowed in support of safety, visitor use and resource protection. Facilities could include trails, unimproved roads, and fencing.

Areas within the Park zoned under this category may possibly include the coastal and ocean areas, portions of Kauhakō Crater, Kalawao, and Waikolu Valley, and the Pu‘u Ali‘i Natural Area Reserve in the upper valley regions.

Sensitive Resources Zone:

This zone encompasses particularly sensitive natural and cultural resources that may also be of sacred or spiritual nature. Significant cultural resources would receive the highest level of preservation to perpetuate their historic, natural, and scenic character and for their research values and traditional cultural activities. There would be no adaptive reuse of cultural resources. The natural resources would be preserved in a relatively pristine condition where possible, representing the natural endemic legacy of the area. Access would be highly restricted to allow for inventory, monitoring, and other research and protection activities. Visitor access would be by escort and through a special use permit. Visitors would have off-site opportunities to understand the sacredness and significance of special areas and the importance of protecting

\[474\] KNHP, Newsletter: Number 3, 4.
them. Limited development would be allowed only where it supports resource protection activities. Facilities could include unmaintained trails, fences, and temporary facilities for resource management activities. Only non-motorized access would be allowed.

Areas could include coastal and ocean areas including the Monk seal pupping areas and offshore islets, cemeteries, along with Kalawao churches, future memorials and graves, parts of Waikolu valley, Pu`u Ali`i N.A.R., the lake within Kauhakō crater and all caves and lava tubes.

Engagement Zone:

The emphasis of this zone would be to provide opportunities for visitors to engage, learn about, and experience Kalaupapa.475

Preservation of resources would tell Kalaupapa stories. Visitors would learn about the significance of the natural and cultural resources. Opportunities could include guided and self-guided tours, an orientation film, cultural demonstrations, interpretive and stewardship programs, spiritual reflection, and overnight stays, so long as resources would not be degraded. Escorted and unescorted visitor access would be allowed in the Engagement Zone. Improvements could include facilities for visitor use. The historic structures would be “adaptively re-used” for visitor services. This adaptive re-use of existing facilities would be designed to be compatible with the cultural landscape. Facilities could include the visitor center, waysides and kiosks, trails, roads, picnic and group use areas, designated camping areas.

Areas of Engagement could include Kalaupapa settlement, Pali trail, road corridors, and again portions of Kalawao, Kauhakō Crater, and Waikolu Valley.

475 KNHP, Newsletter: Number 3, 5.
Operations Zone:

Consisting mainly of operational and maintenance facilities for the Park and its partners.476

Historic buildings and structures would also be preserved to tell Kalaupapa as well as the patient’s stories. They would have to be reconditioned for operations. Intact natural resources and processes would be preserved. Natural and cultural resources may be altered in previously disturbed areas to allow for operations. Visitors would have opportunities to learn about the operations and activities located within the historic structures. Visitor access would be controlled in certain locations and would generally be by escort only. Visitor experience may be impeded by operations due to safety and residents’ privacy concerns. The limited remodeling and refurbishing of existing facilities would be designed to be compatible with the cultural landscape. The limits of new construction would be evaluated on a case-by-case basis for certain buildings: the airport, harbor and pier, roads and parking, administrative offices, staff housing, maintenance facilities, warehouses, and garages, and utilities, and the hospital or care facility. Both motorized and non-motorized access would continue in this zone.

Upland Forest Zone or Wao Akua:

This zone based on the native Hawaiian land classification called wao akua (place of the spirits). These upland forests in the valleys would be managed for their sacredness and natural features.477

This zone includes the upland forests and the portion of the North Shore Cliffs National Natural Landmark within the Park boundary. This zone would be managed primarily for its natural values. Natural processes and ecosystem function would proceed with limited management involving elimination of threats and stressors to native species.

476 Ibid., 6.
477 Ibid., 8.
Within this zone, the natural and cultural landscape would not be differentiated. Visitor access would be restricted for safety and would occur infrequently. Access would be difficult due to steep slopes. Activities could include traditional practices and research.

**General Management Plan: The Alternatives**

The Five Alternatives for the future of the Park, also listed in the 2011 brochure, vary from one another only in the degree of accessibility by visitors to the crater, the east coast shoreline, and other sensitive areas such as caves, lava tubes, and burial sites.

The first alternative labeled “Take no Action”, a moot point in that the surviving Hansen’s disease patients control and orchestrate the rules. As one patient explained, “For better or worse, we can and do get rid of those who trample on our desires.”

I asked for an example, the patient was reluctant to provide one, but over the course of a few days the patient related how the “Chief Nurse, and head of the clinic was deposed. Someone constantly fought against him, the patient was a devout catholic and notoriously outspoken. They bombarded the health department with blatant slander and livid opinions that the person was a homosexual, until the person were dismissed. The crime was that of being homosexual.” The patient has since realized the wrong deeds and apologized to the person. The hospital administrator who replaced the one banished can be far more devious and a complete control freak, more so than the employee who was terminated. The patient is finally realizing to leave well enough alone.”

I asked Mr. Miller, the Health Department Superintendent who replaced retired Mike McCarten, about this and he said, “With the patients holding power, the Park Service treads

---

480 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 18, 2010.
lightly. As do we within the Health Department. We still act under the threat of the Bernard effect. We don’t need any protests.\footnote{Interview with Mr. Miller, Department of Health Administrator, Mr. Miller, at Kalaupapa, June 10, 2010.}

The four alternatives become variations of this with tour guides leading people to hiking and sightseeing areas, and a campground where visitors can pitch a tent.

NPS also has another adaptive use plan for the historic buildings and at one time, this plan was available on the KNHP website and has since been removed. A summary of the plan stated:

During 2005-6 the Park Service made an inspection of all remaining buildings on the peninsula listing both a suggestion of their adaptive uses–say a quarter of a century from now–and an overnight capacity in numbers of people that could be accommodated at “normal full” capacities and a “maximum crowded” capacities.\footnote{Kalaupapa Historic Buildings, nps.gov/KALA accessed December 12, 2011.}

The twelve-page document listed all intact structures at Kalaupapa and classified them variously as to which houses will be utilized as overnight visitor accommodations, which buildings will be assigned as staff housing, and which structures to use as concessions. The number of guests that each house or dormitory can sustain is also listed.

Also contained in the document are the number of NPS personnel and their families to be employed at the settlement and this number is roughly figured at four-hundred and forty-six. This is quite an astonishing number given that as of 2014 roughly sixty NPS employees, 8 Hansen patients, and 35 State workers live in the settlement.

The Patient Council allows for a maximum of 100 visitors per day with no overnight stays. The actual number of visitors, on any given day, varies from fifteen to forty, and their access to the peninsula is confined to the Damien Tour.

The number of people in Hawai`i who have relatives sent to Kalawao and Kalaupapa surprised NPS, along with the high volume of emotional connection felt and or expressed by
the populace of the islands. NPS held meetings across the state in 2008-09. A Hansen’s disease patient expressed, “They were astonished at the number of people who attended the discussions and expressed their viewpoints about what should be the main factors guiding the Park after the patients have passed on.” An overwhelming majority expressed concern that development never happen. A respondent noted, “Kalaupapa is a special place and should be treated with respect into the future.” Other residents wanted limited tourist activity with no overnight accommodations. Others thought the surviving relatives of patients should be given preference to stay on the peninsula. A Hansen’s disease patient commented to me at the conclusion of the meeting, “Whatever the outcome of the meetings, one thing is certain, NPS was given a lasting impression of the deeply rooted feelings and involvement of Hawai‘i residents. While the surviving relatives have even deeper attachments.”

The Superintendent of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Steve Prokop said. “The final proposal with the preferred plan, plus the two alternatives are being prepared at the present time, (the autumn of 2010), and will be ready for the next round of island wide discussions in the spring of 2011 or 2012.” However, those discussions have never materialized by March of 2014, and the GMP quietly dropped from the Park agenda.

A patient commented on the proposed plans, “Who will remember us?”

Individual States, with the framing of their own history, subsequently shape their various sites of memory. A growing body of heritage scholars and preservationists argue,
“state-directed historic preservation is vulnerable to unofficial and oppositional forces, i.e. developers and such, as well as political agendas.”

In 2007, the Department of the Interior held a forum for all the National Parks to submit a strategy for guidance into the future, which KNHP finished in August of that year. Under a title of Vision Statement, the Kalaupapa Park document stated, “Visitor services will need to be expanded and eventually the Department of the Interior will need to find the means to procure lands to be held in federal ownership. In doing so the National Park Service may further protect this unique area (Kalaupapa) and keep it from possible development.”

However, within the same article the Kalaupapa superintendent at the time, Thomas Workman, pointed out specifics that,

We (Kalaupapa HNP) will encourage collaboration among and assist Park and recreation systems at every level–federal, regional, state, local—to help build an outdoor recreation network accessible to all Americans. By focusing on national, regional, and local tourism efforts to reach diverse audiences, and to increase visitation by 25 percent, the limit on daily visitor use needs upward adjustment to allow more visitor use.

The buildings in the settlement portray a certain moment in time. The modification of these buildings and houses in support of future needs of both visitors and employees is a hotly contested question. The preservation of memory, Damien, Marianne, all the patients, for instance Kenso Seki, Ed Kato, Bernard Punikaia, Richard Marks, Olivia Breitha, etc. doctor’s, nurses, sisters, helpers and how they will be portrayed is a constant quandary. The Hansen’s disease patient reiterated his earlier comment, “The main question, the one on every patient’s mind here in the settlement, is who will be remembered, if remembered at all?”

491 Ibid., 6.
492 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 20, 2010.
A segment of the post-modern tourist seeks “authentic” places where real people died at so-called dark heritage sites. But, as Richard Marks has said, “Another major concern among us patients; who gets to represent the past and how?”\textsuperscript{493} This topic has become a continuous debate between the patients, their survivors, and the National Park Service. The public remembrance for future visitors has not been resolved. Thirty years have passed since NPS entered Kalaupapa, and the debate continues. KNHP acts as a safeguard for the memory of all the people of Kalaupapa, Hansen’s disease patients and Native Hawaiian. How should the memory of indigenous Hawaiian memory be portrayed? Possibly, the archaeological remains and lifestyle of the Kanaka Maoli and their protection of the ecosystem is the answer. The Native Hawaiian society of religion and medicine was a highly tuned discipline. However, the earlier Western historians that characterized Hawaiian as heathen still persist. O. A. Bushnell wrote, “They are firm believers in sorcery. With reference to their sick, there is no possibility that these primitive beings could possess any knowledge of botany and the medicinal uses of plants and other substances,”\textsuperscript{494} and he wrote this in 1993. Missionary zealots, with their Euro-centric background, thought that the Hawaiian culture lacked knowledge, when in reality the Kanaka Maoli contained a great deal of understanding and awareness of their environment.

Others have spoken loudly on how they feel about Kalaupapa and the fate of the residents. One individual, Noa Emmett Aluli, a medical doctor who resides on Moloka`i, states,

The strong sense of community identity at Kalaupapa is very special; it worries me that the forces of the outside world are so much stronger than the gentle people there.

\textsuperscript{493} Conversation with Richard Marks, the owner of Damien Tours, a Kalaupapa resident and Hansen’s disease patient, that took place within the Kamahana Store building, May 28, 2007.
\textsuperscript{494} O.A. Bushnell. \textit{The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai`i}. (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2003), 15.
I care that the rich archaeological and cultural resources at Kalaupapa are protected and preserved, without neglecting real needs of the people who live there. I am worried about the growth in interest and of visitors once the planned Damien film is released. I have some serious concerns about the increase in visitor/pilgrimage numbers once Father Damien is canonized. Similar questions emerge daily and many, many still remain unanswered; for Kalaupapa, and elsewhere in Hawai‘i.

But it is easy to sit around and identify the problems and cumulative impacts of development. Many have questioned the loss of natural, cultural, social, and economic resources of Molokai. What is harder is to come forward with all one’s mana‘o and energy to address these issues, to preserve and promote the values we believe in, and to find or make answers to those questions that appear impossible to solve. Opportunities to directly influence public policy, however, are generally rare, especially for folks that some call radicals.495

Likewise, another close associate of the patients at Kalaupapa, William Akutagawa, contends,

I believe that this assessment will be a guidepost for future developments in the state. For small communities such as Kalaupapa, it is a potential vehicle for their concerns and desires, a counter to the external forces just on the horizon and poised to dictate what is best for the people in a community. Perhaps, the time has come when we in Hawai‘i are able to learn from the past mistakes and now recognize that strategic planning not only allays fears but results in a better, long-term quality of life. This assessment proves that the “top-down” approach can no longer be accepted as fact.

The Molokai of Tomorrow will be dictated by what is occurring now. The destiny of topside Molokai and Kalaupapa are inextricably linked. We share mutual issues of water, visitor traffic, increasing energy needs, and the ultimate problems of stewardship after the last Kalaupapa resident has passed on.

Most importantly, we have a special opportunity to get to know and talk with Kalaupapa’s kokua’s and patients, and to understand some of their fears and hopes for the future of their tiny community. As much as I personally hate the destruction of any Hawaiian artifact or cultural feature, the patient residents of Kalaupapa must be given the ultimate decision making power. It must be their choice to direct any improvements to their infrastructure, to support any money-making ventures, or to take advantage of future opportunities that canonization of Kalaupapa’s humanitarians may bring.

Kalaupapa is their place on earth. It is their right to use this land as they see fit. No one should ever again be allowed to control, against their wishes, the destiny

495 Emmett Aluli. 1991. Concluding remarks to a panel discussing the Study on the Impact of Construction Workers on Kalaupapa that concerned the expansion of the landing field and the upgrade of road surfaces held at the State of Hawaii Department of Transportation.
of these former patients. What remaining years are left should be spent in the comfort they desire.\footnote{William Akutagawa. Concluding remarks to the transportation committee in 1991.}

A Hawaiian NPS worker expressed the following to me in a lengthy conversation, one of many over the course of the time I spent within the settlement: “The peninsula remains the same, geologically, archaeologically, and exists in a state of homeostasis. We should leave the land in this condition. Not develop it further.” Later that day I saw him at the post office, he added, “In fact, we should pay homage to the indigenous people with a truly National Park. The memory of the Hawaiian culture is slowly returning. One can chant the seventeen winds of Haleakala, perhaps the tides, the currents, and the seasons of Lono will be remembered on the peninsula and the valleys.”\footnote{Interview with a Hawaiian KNHP employee, June 20, 2007.}

A Hawaiian disease patient, Henry Nalaielua, in an informal discussion, said, “A Doctorate thesis written in the 1930s, included the names of the heiau on Moloka`i, but the archaeologists that came here after ignored those findings, or they never knew of their existence, and the knowledge almost lost, only to turn up again with further research. It is time to return to the basics of Hawaiian values.”\footnote{Interview with Henry Nalaielua, Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2007.} Are these lost on purpose? Resembling the great collaboration of disinformation between the State and Bishop Museum about the debacle called H-3 on O`ahu, where a luakini heiau, one of the highest order, and other significant archaeological items were destroyed by the State. A patient said,

We must go beyond any State of Hawai`i authority for protection of these last of our `Ohana sanctuaries. We must go beyond the authority of the National Park, go to a world authority for protection of native memory. Becoming a World Heritage Site could be that direction for all the Native Hawaiians and their friends.\footnote{Ibid.}

W.S. Merwin, the Poet Laureate of America, who resides on Maui, explained succinctly, “Those who can hear the trees and are attuned to the DNA of older living things,
are the ones to protect the environment. We must get beyond the feeling of Dominion over the land. Our outlook must be of peace and tranquility, not destruction.\textsuperscript{500}

The lead administrative assistant in the NPS office at Kalaupapa, Lucy Whiting, said, “In their (NPS) agreement, they were to hire Hawaiians and promote from within. They did hire Hawaiians, but they’ve never promoted a Hawaiian to management level.\textsuperscript{501}

I subsequently learned there is an inherent bias against the Hawaiians and some, especially those on Moloka`i, feel NPS officials have a colonial attitude and a rude aggressive behavior toward them. Whiting continued, “I mean a couple of these local guys have worked here twenty and twenty-five years, they know the integral happenings better than any outsider coming into the Park.”\textsuperscript{502}

As far as the local patient/Hawaiian community is concerned, the problem becomes the arrival of “outsiders”. A Hawaiian patient explained, “NPS Superintendents come in here, not knowing anything about Hawai`i or the culture. They only know the federal system of rules and terse talk and disjointed language. One superintendent was here six years and could not pronounce my name. I cannot respect that mentality.”\textsuperscript{503}

A high degree of hibernation within sections or departments of both the NPS and the State workers keep progress at bay. Indeed, as Marion Higa, the auditor of the State of Hawai`i, pointed out in her 2003 audit of the settlement:

As a result, the (State Health) department has failed to fulfill all of its responsibilities to the patients of Kalaupapa and to the taxpayers who support settlement operations. Patients’ concerns go unanswered, state dollars are wasted, and workers have gained undue benefit from the State. Finally, budget increases are granted under the guise of funding patient programs, when in fact many of the increased operating expenses can be traced to improper management of resources or unauthorized expenditures for employees.\textsuperscript{504}

\textsuperscript{500} W.S. Merwyn, United States Poet Laureate, lives on Maui, wrote poetic ode about \textit{Ko`olau the Leper} and interviewed on Channel 2 with Leslie Wilcox, February 23, 2011.
\textsuperscript{501} Conversation taking place on July 10, 2005 in Kalaupapa. Wilkins has retired from federal service.
\textsuperscript{502} Conversation taking place on July 12, 2005 in Kalaupapa.
\textsuperscript{503} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 10, 2010.
Thomas F. King is a leading authority on Cultural Resource Management and author of numerous books and articles on the subject of preservation. He sees the problem of preservation as, “bureaucracies tend to become fossilized, inward-looking, resistant to innovation, and self-protective. Their own survival, and the survival-to-retirement of their employees, comes to dominate their thinking and actions, at the expense of whatever they were created to do.” \(^{505}\) This damning evidence is apparent in Hawai`i with the development at all costs attitude of the State. King further states, “No one who knows the U.S. federal historic preservation “program” expects leadership, or even much thought, from NPS, the ACHP, or the SHPOs: the sole preoccupation of these entities today is with maintaining the status quo that allows them and their personnel to survive.” \(^{506}\)

**Fundamental Principle**

Another idea for the survival of the peninsula, besides remaining a National Park, is to gain acceptance as a World Heritage Site, “We’ve got all the ingredients,” Makia Malo said. “We should protect the place. From what I know the volcanoes is protected (Volcano National Park) we should be also, people shouldn’t be allowed to change anything, the `aina, the memories, all that stuffs.” \(^{507}\)

A former State worker currently employed by NPS and married to a patient asked me, “There are plenty World Heritage sites across the planet. Shouldn’t Kalaupapa be protected at this level?” He was wondering about the future and encroachment of Hawaiian Home Lands. In addition, he asked. “Or, can Kalaupapa even be considered? What are the

---

\(^{505}\) “Rethinking Historic Preservation,” an internet blog by Tom King at: crmplus.blogspot.com

\(^{506}\) Ibid.

\(^{507}\) Interview with Makia Malo, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 2, 2007.
necessary ingredients to qualify for the distinction of being a World Heritage Site?”

When I asked Bryan Harry about a World Heritage configuration, he replied, “I’ve never been a part of that type of acquisition, and World Heritage Sites are not my domain. The federal government is often accused of unwarranted land grabs with the procedure of eminent domain.”

Pressed further about Henry Law and his changing the GMP for the New River, he replied, “The Park does not procure land by eminent domain, we purchase it from willing property owners who want to see their lands protected.”

The Proposal Document for the Park relates how the “National Park Service can better help the patients at Kalaupapa and protect the historic treasure located within the Parks boundaries.”

This study further details the large number of archaeological sites across the peninsula providing the names of heiau and their diversity in use, households, ceremonial, and special function sites as well as temporary shelters. The document also points out the duties and obligations the Park must pursue in order to fulfill its role to both the Hansen’s disease patients for the rest of their lives, as well as the protection, interpretation of the vast cultural resources of the peninsula and surrounding valleys. However, their role in protecting, restoring, or pursuing any form of interpretative effort toward the vast cultural resources becomes highly dependent upon the superintendent of the moment. The NPS spent millions in obtaining and stabilizing a potable water system. “When I arrived,” Lionel said, “the water system was a mess, the water brackish, and sometimes ran red with dirt. When we looked into the three cisterns built into the ground up on the saddle we found dead geckos, a

---

508 Interview with KNHP employee and demanding to remain anonymous, June, 20, 2010.
509 Interview with Brian Harry, Pacific Regional Office, NPS, August, 2005.
510 Ibid. I continued to ask him about this “eminent domain” issue. I have heard that the Capitol Reef National Park in Southern Utah was established after NPS force out the local inhabitants. I had visited Capital Reef often and heard the disgruntled tales of eviction. One can see on the grounds of the Capitol Reef Headquarters a well-designed pear orchard planted in the late 1800s. This reminds me of when the U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station was built in Kalawao in 1909. The government tore down or removed ten to fifteen homes of Hansen’s disease patients to construct the federal hospital.
deer, and a pig floating in the tanks.” Today, the highly efficient system delivers potable water to every household and building on the peninsula.

Another project the KNHP spent millions on is the documentation of and preservation of the patient’s heritage. To accomplish this, the park built a controlled environment with the completion of the curatorial building, Hale Malama Facility, where patients donated their personal effects. NPS disregarded their role in carrying out their other duty in historical identification of the early Kanaka Maoli inhabitants, but today have an archaeological officer on board to correlate previous undertakings of archaeologists from as early as 1916 to the present.

The NPS system rotates superintendents, much like the military, every four to six years. The first superintendent at Kalaupapa, Henry Law, was highly skilled and personable. He painstakingly documented all the structures on the peninsula under the blanket of a “district category,” and placed the whole of the peninsula on the National Register of Historic Places.

The second superintendent, Dean Alexander, was also a highly skilled and a well-liked and respected individual. Initially, he created cooperation between the Board of Health and the patients themselves. However, he began to ruffle the patient’s feathers when the Park tried to control the wild Axis deer and pig population by building numerous fences around the peninsula. The patients felt fenced in, again. This cutting off their pathways to fishing grounds, hunting areas, and general accessibility to a populace largely confined to the peninsula led to feelings of ill will between the patients and the NPS. According to one patient, “They do some good, and then they turn around and destroy our lives by interrupting our peace and quiet.”

The resentment slowly died-off with the attrition of patients from the 350 in number to thirty-four in 2005. However, a fiercer fighting spirit of confrontation by

---

512 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2010.
the remaining patients led to the establishment of the Ka Ohana `O Kalaupapa in 2003, a protection mechanism to preserve the memory of leprosy patients by their families and individuals. This led to their establishing a monument to the Kalawao patients. This was against the wishes of NPS. A patient said, “My personal thoughts are I think that is where the Park wanted to locate the campground. I can picture three hundred tents in the large field with a view down the cliffs and a short walk to St. Philomena and Siloama. There would be a store and tour guide office. That is what they would have or possibly still try to do.”  

Because of the rugged and limited access, and the far off location, Kalaupapa has always been a difficult place to find state or federal employees to relocate, let alone finding a superintendent. The semi-military underpinning of the Park Service makes this tour-of-duty station a burden upon one’s family life, and, as one temporary worker noted, “Its social suicide to be here.” The lengthy hunt for permanent and qualified personnel has led to a number of temporary superintendents. This creates a situation of confrontation of “us vs. them” mentality when someone with no Hawaiian knowledge brought a mainland ideology, and a severe lack of local understanding. Another patient added, “Superintendents rising from the ranks of the Enforcement Ranger line of personnel within NPS, well, they bring limited understanding of any Hawaiian ideas.”

The State always has had inducements for bringing in nurses, workers, by offering a complete package that required no auto insurance, everything of personal use free down to and including toothpaste and other hygienic needs. Free food was the main draw with benefits of the state-run cafeteria, open 365 days a year for breakfast, lunch, and dinner as well as free electricity, housing, and cable TV. The federal worker, on the other hand, pays rent, utilities, and provides his or her own food. KNHP is trying to figure out how to bring

---

514 KNHP summer employee in the Cultural Resources office commented on her experience at Kalaupapa, June 15, 2010.
515 Ibid.
automobile insurance onto the peninsula and collect rent from temporary researchers that requires them to remain longer than a few days.

A Hansen’s disease patient said, “This rules-are-rules type of personality destroys any trust between the NPS and us patients.”

The first added, “They could not pronounce the names of patients, and regrettably never made any effort to communicate on a one-to-one level with us. They always had to have a meeting. Couldn’t just walk up to you, say hi.”

A recently retired NPS worker, and friend of the patients, stated, “This one superintendent further distanced himself from the community by trying to bring his aged father into the settlement to live, which was clearly not allowed.”

The cliffs and the jarring images of disfigured patients became two iconic pictures of Kalaupapa. Visiting the peninsula is beyond the scope of the average tourist, hiking or riding a mule is physically exhaustive, flying in for a four hour tour is expensive. One patient equates the peninsula and its remoteness with Las Vegas, and they said, “What happens in Kalaupapa stays in Kalaupapa.”

This petty bickering and in-house fighting for control is an underside of the community no one sees unless they reside in the settlement. A patient said, “The patient council controls the agenda and the rules. The State Health Department enforces the rules, until the NPS came along and created new rules.”

Albert Pu, NPS employee, expressed this idea to me in 2005 when I asked him about all the cats in the community. He explained, “The patients having no children of their own, or their children were taken away at birth, they look upon their pets with the same affection as

---

517 Ibid.
518 Anonymity becomes highly prized by both patients and workers. In the tight quarters of freewheeling gossip and the misconception of aggrandizement within differing parties, going on the record is tantamount to being socially and work related ostracized.
519 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 5, 2006.
mothers view their children.”\textsuperscript{521} Another patient expressed, “One superintendent wanted to get rid of our cats. We’ll get rid of you, I told him.”\textsuperscript{522}

To complicate the delicate situation of patients, state and NPS, the degree of difficulty in understanding the inside rituals of the National Historical Park is as steep and winding as the zigzags on the narrow trail down the cliff face. The patients wanted NPS to come onto the peninsula, thinking NPS would provide protection from the State and an understanding to the outside world. The patients needed their homes, lifestyle, and at utmost, their dignity preserved. Their main fear was Hawaiian Home Lands Commission would come in and destroy the past. As one patient explained to me, “When they come here the first time, oh say thirty years ago, all they could do was “run amok” around the settlement. They ran with wanton glee and exclaimed which house they were going to live in, well, we were disgusted to no end.”\textsuperscript{523}

The Park Service at the outset in 1980 was full of ideas of protecting the natural resources and improving the quality of life. Indeed, the potable water supply to the settlement was old and dilapidated, according to Albert Pu the chief maintenance engineer with KNHP, “The patients had to boil the water before they could use it.”\textsuperscript{524}

Hansen’s disease patient, Henry Nalaielua, said, “Invasive plant life continues to grow and spread. Heiau are covered over. Valuable cultural sites have been lost to thick underbrush of thorny Christmas berry and Lantana. Long field systems of rock walls defining both agriculture lots and Ahupua`a land divisions are destroyed by neglect.”\textsuperscript{525}

\textsuperscript{521} Interview with Albert Pu, KNHP maintenance supervisor, June 17, 2005.  
\textsuperscript{522} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, July 6, 2010.  
\textsuperscript{523} Interview with Edwin Lelepali, Hansen’s disease patient, June 10, 2005.  
\textsuperscript{524} Interview with Albert Pu, KNHP maintenance supervisor, June 18, 2005.  
\textsuperscript{525} Interview with Henry Nalaielua, Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2007.
Another patient joined in the conversation and added, “But to what extent should our cultural resources be preserved, excavated, or defined, labeled and put on display is another point to argue.”\footnote{Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2007.}

Bernard Punikai’a had said to me previously, “We patients wanted the NPS to preserve the archaeological inventory on the peninsula and within the deep valleys. This is where the NPS has shown lack of initiative compiled with their lack of funding.”\footnote{Bernard Punikai’a, discussion in Kalaupapa, June 19, 2005.}

Susan Buchele, NPS employee, said, “The historical contexts of the Park will envelope both the original inhabitants, Hawaiians who lived on the peninsula for one thousand years before the Hansen’s disease patients were forced to move here in 1866. It is the entangled vines of bureaucrats, both state and federal level, that is playing rough shod over the situation,”\footnote{Retired KNHP worker, in conversation at Kalaupapa, June 10, 2007.}

The thirty-eight C-shaped rock structures located on the peninsula, the most on any of the islands, are used to protect crops and workers from the wind. Erika Stein delegates the numerous structures too, the fact no development has scoured the landscape, “This is why the NPS must accomplish their goal of protecting and restoring the peninsula.”\footnote{Ibid.}

On her letterhead, Joanne Wilkins, the Historical Architect for the KNHP from 2003-07, has a quote by Teddy Roosevelt: “Keep it for your children, your children’s children, and for all who come after you,” he urged. Wilkins functions to maintain the integrity of the buildings on the peninsula and she said, “The idea of protecting the country’s important
iconic places from development and misuse so our grandchildren will enjoy the open air and panoramic vistas are the National Parks stated purpose is important to me."\textsuperscript{530}

The patients realized their numbers were fading quickly, they were the last, and their actions would be paramount on what people on the outside knew about or thought about them. One patient, who did not attend the canonization rites for Damien in Rome, said. “I have distant relatives who want to come and visit me now. All they want is to use me for their own purposes. Come here, fish, collect salt. Where were they in the 1950’s and sixties? They never visit me or even try to phone or write letters. I no recognize them as relatives.”\textsuperscript{531}

This extreme pain is a familiar refrain among a number of the patients, though not all. Richard Marks, who owned and narrated the successful Damien Tours for over twenty years, and whose anonymity has long been abandoned to the wind, was the leader of the effort to bring in the National Park. He did not want to be tossed overboard by the State, and lose his home. He fought for the National Park as a guarantee that the remaining patients live out their lives on the peninsula.\textsuperscript{532}

Kalawai`a Goo, NPS exhibit specialist and carpenter, told us when we first arrived in 2005, “Don’t talk to the patients, they will tell you anything. They make stuff up, or they exaggerate.”\textsuperscript{533} I found this to be a half-truth, but most noticeable was the intense desire for patients to get the word out, the idea across the table, they were tired of being, as a patient explained, “second class citizens.”\textsuperscript{534}

Another Hawaiian Hansen’s disease patient related, “Yeah, we always get that treatment, were tired of everybody trying to get a piece of us. We’ve suffered many years. We were told not to speak Hawaiian. Don’t practice the hula. Our native religion is full of

\textsuperscript{530} Joanne Wilkins, supervisor, Historical Architect, since retired from NPS.
\textsuperscript{531} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 15, 2005.
\textsuperscript{532} Interviews with Richard Marks over the summers of 2005 thru 2007 at Kalaupapa.
\textsuperscript{533} Conversation with Kalawai`a Goo during the summers of 2005, ‘06 and ‘07.
\textsuperscript{534} Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, May 18, 2007.
evil. You Hawaiians practice idolatry they told us.”

We conversed in the clinic, in his room where he lived while undergoing medical treatment for various ailments. He continued.

We were told to salute the American flag, do this don’t do that. I don’t respect the state; they’ll sell your soul for pittance. The feds will steal your birthrights. The NPS has been good and bad. They make mistakes, like we all do, but preserving the legacy is the most important, how to preserve this place, well – that’s the big humbug right now. You know when I’m gone, how will this place be left, how will our lives be remembered, if at all, or how will the settlement be interpreted? That’s what we are left to contend with.

This feeling of the “big humbug,” reiterated often from other patients. Marks said, “The patients want to die in dignity.” Another patient chimed in with the same idea and said, “The (NPS) people hound us to death, building fences, cesspools. Now they want to rewire all our houses and make us move out of our homes for three months, can you believe it? They want us to go stay in a dormitory, I’m seventy-two, I’m not gonna leave my house and go stay in the visitors center or in no hospital ward.”

Harry, replied in a conversation at the Honolulu Federal Building, and said, “I went with Patsy Mink to Moloka`i, and we stood on the lookout at the top of the cliff and looked down upon the peninsula. I told her the Park would not work. Parks need visitors, I stressed repeatedly to her. She was determined to push the idea of a historical park through Congress.”

A Hansen’s disease patient added, “Another reason it wouldn’t work, bureaucracy. We got the state one, now we get the federal one, and we get the patients one. We overloaded with rules and opinions.”

This determination to become a national park has led to subsequent rivalries, misunderstandings, and bitter confrontations between the patients, the state workers, and the

---

536 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2006.
537 Interview with Richard Marks, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 18, 2006.
539 Conversations with Brian Harry at National Parks support office in the Kuhio Federal Building Honolulu.
federal employees; and according to a patient, “this friction has led to bad management and poor planning within both bureaucracies.” Of course, the patients haggle with the Health Department trying to close the facilities. KNHP efforts to restore buildings and bring in additional personnel while planning to attract thousands of tourists per day. By the time the state relinquishes control of a building it is dilapidated to a point of uselessness. As of this writing, September 2014, sixteen patients’ remain on the roles of Health Department. A patient recently passed away at Hale Mohalu. Eight patients live at Kalaupapa, six at Hale Mohalu in Honolulu, and one patient each on the island of Kauai, and Oʻahu.

The future of Kalaupapa as both a memorial and historical component depends upon the surviving patients and their Ka `Ohana `O Kalaupapa organization and the KNHP to follow through with the wishes of the broader community of Molokaʻi and the rest of Hawaiʻi. The Park operates on a five-year renewable lease and this lease will terminate in 2041. The State can terminate the lease before then, but if they did, they would be required to pay NPS for all the leasehold improvements. A Hansen’s disease patient explained,

There have been accusations of ineptness and of mission-creep by NPS. This is evident in the original documents of the NPS on their intention at the peninsula, they were supposed to protect the structural integrity of the buildings, be mindful of the patients, and preserve the numerous archaeological sites. However, they have since added four full-time employees who oversee the marine habitation and try to prohibit patients and workers from fishing.”

A State worker added, “Of course the patient group, Ka `Ohana o Kalaupapa is not beyond suspicion of misleading motives. I think they want to use the patient houses as museums is a ruse. They actually want to set up a house where they can come and stay. A vacation-retreat if you may.” The state worker would not allow the use of his name but further stated.

The patients all moved around, from the Bishop Home dormitory to individual

543 Interview with a State of Hawaiʻi employee, personal interview at Kalaupapa, July 6, 2010.
houses and from one house to another. They are extremely jealous, so when a
patient who had a ramp for his wheelchair, or a new fridge, or a bigger house
passed away, three other patients wanted to move in. Therefore, to say one patient
lived here, or lived there is not correct. They might have spent their remaining lives
in one house, but before that they lived in multiple locations in the settlement.  

We watched Paul Harada return from tossing his fishing net out onto the reef, one of
his pleasant pastimes on the peninsula, and joined in conversation with him about NPS. He
replied, “Give ‘em a rock and they’ll take a reef. The NPS is always coming up with new
rules. We interpret this as trespassing into our lives, they getting in our way.” Another
patient expressed this same attitude in an interview when he replied, “They came to protect
the archaeological sites and make sure we live a comfortable life. Lately they’ve been
intruding on our lifestyle, telling us not to water our lawns, not to over fish, we ignore
them.”

One day, during the summer of 2006, I stumbled upon a Banyan tree growing near a
rocky cliff, twenty-feet from the Pacific Ocean in the Bay View area. The tree had overtaken
an abandoned wooden canoe. The front section of the canoe was clearly visible and the other
half encapsulated in the thick root system of the Banyan. This small incident reflects “the
danger” facing the National Historic Park – the growth of the invasive plant life is
suffocating, devouring, and destroying, not only the canoes and houses but the proto-
Hawaiian archaeological features. The boundaries of the KNHP contain 10,902 acres and
they are responsible for its maintenance and management. Goo said, “It’s a pity, they didn’t
remove the canoe before it became engulfed within the tree.” The canoe was made in the
1930’s and 80 years in age and considered important by the contingent of strict
preservationists.

---

545 Interview with Paul Harada, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2006
546 Interview with a Hansen’s disease patient, June 14, 2006
547 Interview with Kalawai’a Goo, May 20, 2005.
A patient explained, “I’ve been told Kalaupapa is under a blanket protection of a National Historic District type of thing, and authenticity is what makes a property historic. Well, they are not maintaining the area.” On a different occasion, the patient registered further annoyance by stating, “Park people come in here and upset everything, think their going to restore this building and that house. They don’t replace wha’ you call “in-kine”, one old two-by-four with a similar one. No, they use modern stuffs.” The patients became candid with us after they saw us on the third year of our visits. Another patient chimed in, “Yeah, I hear they have discussions if they should air condition Kenzo Seki’s house. Make it more comfortable for visitors to enter and look around. Then another faction says no, the house was never air conditioned, why cool it now?” Another patient echoed our sentiments and concerns about the Police Station, and said, “It was in terrible shape. NPS came in and restored the building but as they did, they replaced the old jail double-hung windows and bars with vinyl, those not authentic.”

While preservation is important, the monthly community meetings the patients hold addresses immediate concerns they have over the day-to-day operations. The Health Administrator, the NPS Superintendent, the community of patients, and state and federal workers attend these meetings. We attended also. At one community meeting held at McVeigh Hall, in the summer of 2010, the discussion was about visitors, and the prospect for an increase in their number. One patient, expressed their stubbornness or a convoluted form of protection when they stated, “I think they should never allow anybody down here in the future. They stay up at the lookout, no come down the trail at all.”

---

552 A statement by a Hansen’s disease patient during a community meeting in McVeigh Hall, May 15, 2010.
Ernie Pyle walked down the trail and visited Kalaupapa in the winter of 1937-38. He wrote a series of newspaper columns which are both informative and revealing. I quote an excerpt of Mr. Pyle’s column of Jan. 6, 1938:

Shizuo Harada was born in Hawai‘i. He went through high school in Honolulu, and then on to the University of Hawai‘i. He graduated on June 5, 1925. And on June 21 they found he had leprosy. Harada, like most of those who came to Kalaupapa has no idea where he contracted the disease. There had never been leprosy in his family…

Excerpt’s from Jan. 7, 1938:

I (Pyle) said to Harada: “I had always thought of Kalaupapa as being a place of great gloom and dejection. But they tell me it is really a happy community and it seems so to me.” Harada said: “Well, I guess it depends on the individual. Most of the patients are Hawaiian, you know, and they are by nature a happy people. They take things as they come. They aren’t so much affected by being here as some of us.”

“It does something to you after a few years here,” he said. “I can tell it has done something to me, but I fight against it. I find myself getting like the old-timers who have been here a long time. You lose the spirit of—I don’t know what you’d call it—the spirit of fraternity, I guess… That’s the reason I’ve tried to stay busy… Here I’ve got several leagues going—handball and things like that… But it’s hard to keep an organization going there isn’t enough permanency about it. You get good key men, and the first thing you know they’re gone. It takes the spirit out.”

He (Harada) majored in economics, and has read widely on political science and commerce. I imagine he would have been an outstanding man if he could have had a career.

“Do you do much reading now?” I (Pyle) asked Harada. His answer was one of the really sad notes in our long conversation.

“I used to,” he said. “For a long time I kept on reading in economics and agriculture, which is sort of a hobby of mine. But now I’ve got so I just read light stuff whenever I get hold of a magazine. There isn’t much point in trying to keep on learning…”

Harada is lonely, because there is no one in Kalaupapa that he can really talk with as he is capable of talking. No one whose mind has been trained and nurtured like his… He feels he is stagnating mentally.

I shall always have a mental picture, to the end of my days, of us sitting there talking. Sitting in chairs, face to face, not three feet apart. One “clean,” and one “unclean,” as Harada would put it… But whatever our appearances, we talked and talked and talked. Thoughts are wonderful things, that they could put two people who are so completely far apart, on a shelf of harmony and understanding for even a little while.
When I got ready to go, Harada asked for my address, so he could write to me sometime. And as I handed him the paper, and told him how grateful I was for the talk with him, he paid me the most touching compliments I have ever received, a compliment of such poignancy that I had barely the facility to acknowledge it. He said, with eagerness and deep feeling:

You have given me the happiest day I have ever had since I came to Kalaupapa. Thank you. Thank you.\(^{553}\)

Our extended stays occurred sixty-seven years after Ernie Pyle’s. The patients’ we interacted with offered similar experiences of sadness. Nevertheless, they were warm, loving, and full of vitality.

**Crystal Ball Gazing**

The prophetic utterance by a number of patients and workers concerning possible severe inundation to the peninsula by massive hordes of tourists, after the Sainthood of Damien, has not happened, yet. Two things occurred that affected the decline in tourists, pilgrims, and other visitors. First, the only scheduled airline into the peninsula, Pacific Wings, raised its prices to an exorbitant level, from roughly one hundred dollars for a one-way ticket from Honolulu, to five hundred dollars. This cut the numbers of people flying into and out of the small airstrip by nine-tenths. The second event curtailing visitors was a torrential rain that caused a landslide and erased a section of the trail. The daily mule ride into Kalaupapa stopped and the company filed for bankruptcy. Damien Tours relied on charter flights for their business to continue. The quiet settlement became a much quieter ghost town. Only state or KNHP employees were able to access the temporary bridge and hike the trail.

\(^{553}\) Ernie Pyle and his column written for the Washington Post Intelligencer in 1938.
The cause of the landslide became a new controversy and debate within the community. It was officially declared as an act of God by KNHP. However, a number of patients held the park responsible, as the park had brought in a work crew from the Grand Canyon to trim the trees and clean the trail. Patients thought the crew had cut down or slashed too many trees along the entire trail. This destroyed much vegetation, disrupted the root system, and when the rains came the ground gave way. The locals pointed out that the trail has been in existence since the turn of the century and had never washed out. However, in 1906, the trail, “was washed out 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 reopened nine months later. The tourists who joined the tour were promptly provided with a purely Damien interpretation of the peninsula. They learn little of the early Hawaiian presence as they passed wayside signage delineating heiau and even less of the critical habitat of endangered species. They tour the two Catholic churches, the bookstore, and Fuseiana’s bar where they can purchase a snack or soda. Henry Nalaielua tells of an incident when he led the tours. The visitors grumbled because they did not see any patients. They wanted to see people with sores, the grotesque misshapen hands, feet, and facial deformities. Nalaielua said, “I informed the tourists, that I was indeed a patient; the tourist did not believe me because I wasn’t deformed.” Later introspection led him to realize, “That must be why horror movies exist. The horror of the world is on the silver screen, but the horror of us is real and some tourists wanted to participate in their perceived vision of how we look.”

An insight into how a number of state workers feel about the work they perform was revealed one afternoon in the summer of 2010. I knew the seriousness of and the deep

---

554 Greene, Exile in Paradise, 364.
interest of the state workers toward the patients and the fierce protection of their memories by their relatives and supporters. However, one hot day, with the work hours over, I watched the Hōkūle`a head straight for the pier. The crew came ashore and under the supervision of a state worker proceeded to perform a community-landscaping project removing overgrowth around Siloama church. They departed the next morning but returned to Kalaupapa within two weeks. A hard training-sail of continued tacking back and forth into the predominant trade wind was their reason for this unexpected visit. As the canoe approached the settlement, a state worker commented, “Why are they coming back? What do they think we are a Lahaina resort?” The voice was full of indignation at the prospect of the settlement, the history, and the patients treated as a rest stop. A state worker said, “They can go to West Molokai just as easy as come here.” A Hansen’s disease patient looked disappointed at their reaction, he said, “Eh, no more aloha you guys already. I welcome them.”

When all the patients do pass-on, and Kalaupapa becomes a full-blown tourist destination, the echoes of the past will reverberate through memory will the visitors be treated with aloha or contempt? As stated during a monthly community meeting, “The heritage of the windward lands from Hālawa Valley to Kalaupapa must be protected.”

By detailing all the physical remnants on the peninsula, the `āina (or land) the mo`olelo (story) and the presence of the Hawaiians and the Hansen’s disease patients will hopefully be preserved. A patient stated, “When the state constructed the H-3 highway on O`ahu, they hid and obscured what archaeology existed within the Hālawa Valley from the

---

557 I knew the worker was protective of the patients, and often played cribbage with them at the bar, however, the vehemence expressed in her voice caught me by surprise. This reaction was similar to a patient who wanted the tourists in the future to stay up on the lookout. A patient informed me they both have, “A very protective and restrictive outlook accompanied by a lack of education and experience.”
558 State employee said.
559 Hansen’s disease patient comments to the state employees.
560 A Hansen’s disease patient, a resident of Kalaupapa since 1946, or sixty-six years, and a serious believer in anonymity for personal protection repeatedly explained to me to not use a name with any of my quotes, but keenly aware of the seriousness of protecting the future.
people. Someone told me that Bishop Museum was in cahoots with this deception. Well, we’ve had to put up with this deception all of our lives.”\textsuperscript{561}

The knowledge of what exists on the peninsula needs a wide dissemination to be adequately protected from development. NPS operates on an annual budget in which they plan and foresee the needs of tomorrow. In the future when developers pressure land agents of Hawai`i to develop Kalaupapa and surrounding valleys, hopefully, access to the documented record will exist and not be hidden away in inaccessible files. It is important to remember what Henry Law wrote in his, Architectural Evaluation, “The sacred and mystical qualities of the peninsula must be treated with the utmost respect.”\textsuperscript{562} This should be the guide of the future of the peninsula, for Moloka`i, and all of Hawai`i.

We conversed with Bryan Harry in the federal building over a period of four years. Our discussions were about Kalaupapa and the concerns of the NPS and what they envision for the historical park. Harry, a retired NPS employee, is also a past Superintendent at Yosemite and at one-time the official ombudsman for six National Parks in the Pacific Region of Hawaii, Samoa and Guam. Harry is a naturalist and lover of birds, and he feels the endangered species of birds and their “wild mating calls, should be protected,” over and above the call of preservation of any building and archaeology ruin. His continued mantra of “Parks need visitors,” which he stated repeatedly led his ideas about more tourist visits. His idea of accommodating visitors in the settlement was to house them in the patients’ houses, and build a campsite, and pave the dirt tracks on the peninsula. This would require the importation of three hundred Park personnel to provide adequate services for the 2,000 or so expected visitors per day. Searching the NPS website in 2005 at kala.nps.gov, one can find the extensive plans Bryan Harry and Gary Barbano have for when the have patients passed

\textsuperscript{561} Hansen’s disease patient, personal interview, 6 July 2010. The article he referred to was in the Honolulu Advertiser, June 7, 1999 B 1.
\textsuperscript{562} Law and Soulierre, \textit{Architectural Evaluation}, 3.
away. The website is always under development and lately under further scrutiny from the main NPS office in D.C. for having non-conforming content. This plan, for housing future visitors, was met with disbelief by the patients, the patient’s relatives, and the people of Moloka`i.

In our discussions I argued the heiau, and ko`a shrines and other sites should be equally protected. Harry agreed, but noted, “The lack of funding holds up progress. The annual operating budget for a National Park becomes a by-product of the superintendent.”\textsuperscript{563} When he heard I was writing about Kalaupapa, he stated. “Well, write good things about the park service.”\textsuperscript{564} The Park Service being a federal version of the army, or, as one patient remarked, “Boy Scouts playing like grown-ups, with a low-level aspect of military organization that is ripe for our disparaging remarks.”\textsuperscript{565} According to the newly minted U.S. Interior Secretary, Sally Jewell, “The federal government does not have a proud legacy when it comes to upholding our promises. I can’t reverse all of that in a four-year time period, but I can make important progress.”\textsuperscript{566} Though nothing functions completely according to plan, or as intended, KNHP has performed satisfactorily over the years with the fluctuating resources and limited control they have over the decision making process on the peninsula.

We were traveling in the back seat of a van being driven by Superintendent Prokop, with Henry Law sitting in the front seat, on our way to look at the continued restoration of St. Philomena. We conversed about the pending sainthood for Damien and the general preservation effort in the peninsula. Law said, “The fear of exploitation and abuse by the tourist traffic should be the main concern of the NPS and KNHP personnel, especially, when the presumed floodgates of tourists open. The knowledge of what is contained here will not

\textsuperscript{563} Interview with Bryan Harry, retired Regional Director of NPS in Honolulu, August 5, 2005.
\textsuperscript{564} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{565} Interview with Henry Nalaielua, a Hansen’s disease patient, June 8, 2007.

- 241 -
“languish, erode, and be forgotten.” I feel this knowledge and the history should be protected and enjoyed, along with the respect and memory of both the Native Hawaiian and the Hansen’s disease patients. The peninsula should not be a private reserve for a few, but an open classroom for the many.

---

567 I attended the funeral of Bernard Punakai‘a in Kalaupapa at the St. Francis Church, March of 2009. While there, I was invited to an inspection of the preservation work at St. Philomena in Kalawao. Henry Law was also present at the time and we rode in the same vehicle from the KNHP office over to St. Philomena as Superintendent Prokop drove.
APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Plants

Many invasive, indigenous, and endemic plants can be found on the peninsula and up into the valleys. The following endemic, noted with an asterisk*, and endangered plants are listed with their scientific names, followed by their Hawaiian names and then their associated plant Family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
<th>Hawaiian Name</th>
<th>Plant Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diospyros ferrea</td>
<td>Lama</td>
<td>Ebony Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erythrina tahitiensis</td>
<td>Wiliwili</td>
<td>Pea Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleomele Dracena aurea</td>
<td>Halapepe</td>
<td>Pea Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynoldsia sandwicensis</td>
<td>Ohekukuaeo</td>
<td>Panax Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Aleurites moluccana</td>
<td>Kukui</td>
<td>Spurge Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Artocarpus altilus</td>
<td>Uhu</td>
<td>Mulberry Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Broussonetia papyrifera</td>
<td>Wauke</td>
<td>Mulberry Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Hibiscus tiliaceus</td>
<td>Hau</td>
<td>Hibiscus Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Morinda citrifolia</td>
<td>Noni</td>
<td>Coffee Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Thespesia populnea</td>
<td>Milo</td>
<td>Hibiscus Family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Hawaiian Heiau

The associated Kalaupapa National Historical Park numbers and names of the heiau and shrines are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LCS Number</th>
<th>Park Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*59900</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>Kamanuolalo heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unnamed heiau near site 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59902</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>Kuahu heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59903</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>Holua and heiau at crater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59904</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heiau located on Damien Rd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59905</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heiau behind Damien Rd heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59906</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>Kapua heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59907</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unidentified heiau NW of site 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59908</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>Kawaha`alihi heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#59909</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>Ko<code>a at Wai</code>ale`ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#59910</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>Ko<code>a at Kalea</code>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59911</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burials at Makapulapai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59912</td>
<td></td>
<td>Undocumented heiau at Lava Gulch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#59913</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>Ko<code>a at Ho</code>olehua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#59914</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ahupua`a shrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#59915</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ko`a at Kaupikiawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59916</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Kaupikiawa cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59917</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>Ananaluawahine cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59918</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalaehala heiau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*59919</td>
<td></td>
<td>`Ahina heiau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Heiau identified by location and name by Wendell Bennett on the North Shore or Ko`olau District of Molokai and their disposition as of 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Halawa Valley</th>
<th>Haleolono, destroyed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hopuhawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaenakilolani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kapaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kapania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaopela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kauhuhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lalohana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Makaohalawa: destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ohia: destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Papa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pualaulau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puuoahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waioli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wakahana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Peleekunu Valley:      | Hekilikanu             |
|                        | Kaaiku                 |
|                        | Kakilikana             |
|                        | Kukaua                 |
|                        | Maniniiike              |

| Kalawao:               | Kalaehala              |

| Kalaupapa:             | Kaahema                |
|                        | Kamahualalo            |
|                        | Kuahu                  |
|                        | Kukuiokapuu            |
|                        | Puukahi: destroyed     |
Appendix C: Archaeologists

The following is a chronological list of archaeological investigations at Kalaupapa. Also including is a short description and year of their work within the settlement, peninsula, and the different valleys.

Thrum, Thomas G.: 1907
An early chronologic inventory of Hawaiian traditions and oral histories, not only on Molokai, but also on the entire Hawaiian island system.

Stokes, John F.G.: 1909 and 1919
The premier investigator for the Bishop Museum in 1909 he produced the reference guide for future archaeologists in the area on the “Molokai: Survey of Heiau.”

Fornander, Abraham: 1916
Provides a deep knowledge of the folklore and oral histories of the Hawaiian people and from his accounts we learn of the battles on Kalaupapa and the Makapulapai burial site.

Chinen, Jon J.: 1958
Worked on the Great Mahele land grants that were awarded to Hawaiians on the peninsula.

Summers, Catherine C.: 1971
Produced a summary of the Moloka`i archaeology titled Molokai: A Site Survey.

Kirch, Patrick V.: 1985 – 2000
Established a summer field school at Kalaupapa and coordinated with the NPS and the University of California at Berkeley on numerous surveys on the peninsula and throughout the region.

Somers: 1979 - 1982
The NPS archaeologist who performed quite a few archaeological efforts on the peninsula from surveys for new water lines and tanks, to inventory reports on the lighthouse, wayside exhibits, human burials, the firebreak road and other projects.

Reconnaissance survey’s for airport expansion project.

Weisler, Marshall: 1989
Provided much needed radiocarbon dates for the island of Moloka`i.

Ladefoged, T.N.: 1990
As part of the airport improvement project, he studied the surrounding dry land field agricultural inventory.
The first survey of the burial mound at Makapulapai, the Mahele award survey of Kanakaokai, and various surveys on the water system and alignment of the airport road.

Curtis, Dorothe B.: 1991
Studied the historic trails leading onto the peninsula from “Topside” of which there are three, one for each ahuapa’a, two of which are no longer in use.

Goodwin, C.M.: 1994
As part of the airport improvement project, he studied the era of intense sweet potato farming operation.

Cochrane, E.E.: 2000
Investigation into the airport perimeter fence.

Reichtman, R. B. and J.D. Henry: 2001
A full reconnaissance survey of the Kauhakō Crater.

Worked on four different archaeological surveys as well as a reconnaissance surveys on cesspool and various projects throughout the peninsula working with Patrick Kirch.

Reconnaissance survey for cesspool project, and the historic survey of Baldwin Home in Kalawao.

Tulchin, Todd, David W. Shidler and Hallett H. Hammatt: 2005
An archaeological monitoring effort when the airport wastewater plan became implemented.

Garrett, Bradley L., Shawn S. Barnes, and Marr McDermott: 2006
Archaeological replacement of non-compliant cesspools within the peninsula.

Stein, Erika T. Viernes: 2009
The current NPS archaeologist in residence at Kalaupapa and her reconnaissance survey of the Old Baldwin Home site in Kalawao in preparation of the memorial to the early patients is complete.
Appendix D: Hawaiian Ocean Terms

The following is a list of ocean conditions that occur in Hawai`i and therefore in Kalaupapa waters. The Hawaiian descriptive names are also provided.

1. The strip of sand where waves that have broken and roll to shore is called: ae kai.

2. Where waves break is called: poina kai, or where further offshore, for instance as in Waikiki, is called, kai kohala.

3. Kai hele Ku or Kai papau, which is shallow water in which one could stand.

4. Beyond this is a strip of kua au where shoal water ended and beyond is another belt called wither Kai au, ho au, kai o kilo hee for swimming deep or spear fishing of squid. Kai hee nalu within the region for surfing.

5. Beyond these sections was the blue sea or, kai uli.

6. Kai hi aku or the sea for trolling for aku and beyond this the moana or deep ocean which could also be called, waho lilo, as in far out to sea.

7. When the sea becomes tossed into billows, they are termed ale and the currents, which move through the ocean, are named au or wili au.

8. A blow hole where the ocean spouts up through a hole in the rocks is called a puhii, like wise where the water is sucked down through a cavity is called a mimili, whirlpool, also a mimiki or a`aka.

9. The rising of the tides named, kai pii for rising sea, kai nui for big sea, kai piha full sea and kai apo for surrounding sea.

10. Stationary tides is kai ku, ebb tide is kai moku or parted sea.

11. Kai koo, a violent raging surf, when the surf beats upon a point or cape, lae, of land it is termed kai ma ka ka lae.

12. A calm ocean or in the ocean is termed, lai, or, a pa e a e a, or a, pohu.
Appendix E: Patient Housing

Additional information on the McVeigh, Bay View, and Bishop Home structures.

McVeigh Housing:

State Health Worker
Priority number of 45, House # 13-M.

There is no former patient information, a State Health worker residence today, typical one-bedroom cottage, with a combined kitchen/front room. A hedge encircles the house and provides privacy.

Elisabeth Kahihiloko
Priority number of 46, House # 15-M

A patient residence, one bedroom unit with similar floor plan to 13-M.

Henry Nalaiehua
Priority number of 105, House # 30-M

Prior residence of patient, under control of NPS, today is used as employee residence.

Edward Kato
Priority number of 129, House #9-M

A noted artist among the patients, and the person responsible for all the painted rocks within the settlement with positive sayings on them, “Smile it no broke your face.”

William Ka`akimaka,
Priority number of 165, House # 25-M.

The small house remains under control of the NPS and home to a federal employee.

David Brede
Priority number of 176, House # 10-M.

This house also used by NPS for personnel. In 2010, the house was empty, as the two NPS workers had moved to another location in the settlement.

Perfecto Leabata
Priority number of 177, House # 16-M.

Prior residence of Hansen’s disease patient named Perfecto Leabata, and now the small cottage residence of Richard Miller, an NPS employee.
Mahie McPherson  
Priority number of 89, House # 1-M.  

Occupied by a State of Hawai`i health worker, the house sits on a corner lot and well maintained.

G & P Chow  
Priority number of 90, House # 2-M.  

This former home of a patient and today in control of NPS and occupied by a federal employee. Foliage surrounds the house with a large back yard and in good condition.

Kahikina (patient),  
Priority number of 162, House # 5-M  

The postal worker lives in this house. A two bedroom one bath plantation style with the features of horizontal girt, water-board drip edge, double-hung windows, and tongue and groove siding and floorboards. The electrical has been upgraded as well as the plumbing. Maintenance has been lax and the house could use a new roof, siding repair, etc. Currently the house remains empty and rundown. The interim postmaster lives the peninsula with their mate who is a KNHP employee.

No patient information  
Priority number of 198, and a house # 6-M,  

There is no resident information currently available. The house is completely rundown and close to collapse. The house remains under State control and a patient uses the house for his personal storage space.

Edwin Lelepali  
Priority number 163, house # 8-M.  

The chief volleyball official on the peninsula and a wealth of information. He is the lone survivor of the Kana`ana congregation.

Theodore Gaspar  
Priority number of 102, House # 33-M.  

Danny Hashimoto lives here now, after moving from the house next-door. This structure is a large two-bedroom house surrounded by dense foliage, with numerous sheds, carports, and a covered lanai on the property. The whole structure is in need of repair, from roof to foundation.

Daniel Hashimoto,  
Priority number of 103, House # 32-M,  

A Department of Health state worker is housed here.
Naahoopii (patient)  
Priority number of 104, House # 34-M.

Gertrude Ka`auwai  
Priority number of 108, House # 20-M.  

Legendary patient who was fiercely independent and a talented player of cribbage, poker, and other logistical games.

Chapter eight: Patient Housing: Independent

The Hicks Homes

Antonio Sagradaca  
Priority number of 72, House #117

Occupied by a NPS worker this house is in poor condition. Lack of maintenance, ground termites, and the continual power of nature has taken it toll on this house. Built in 1962, now fifty years old with minimal effort of protection the house will collapse.

Yonimuri  
Priority number of 115, House # 179

Another 1962 house, a non-descript brown color on a corner lot of Baldwin and Haleakala Streets. Housing a state employee and suffering from extreme neglect. Maintenance issues become the same as everywhere within the settlement, roof, paint, electrical, plumbing, and lack of any well-planned maintenance for long-term care.

Mario Rea  
Priority number of 116, House # 172

Mario was a vibrant patient who had a knack for business and ran the settlement bar and the east coast beach house. Presently home to the NPS superintendent the house located on Baldwin Street.

Nellie McCarthy  
Priority number of 117, House # 173

She had a golden voice and loved to sing. Well maintained the house has an attached large garage/carport with picnic tables and another one-car garage on Baldwin Street. State health workers currently live in the house.
Gloria Marks
Priority number of 120, House # 186

A chain link fence and an accumulation of ‘stuff’ surround this property on Ka`iulani Street. The house located next-door and east of Richard’s. A pink garage door highlights the front façade.

Catherine Costales
Priority number of 127, House # 178

Likewise, surrounded by plants, trees, and fifty cats. This house was being refurbished by state workers in 2010. Kaiulani and Haleakala Streets bound the corner lot. Dense shrubbery surround the non-descript house.

Richard Pupule
Priority number of 138, House # 105

In his last days, he became the honorary sheriff and endlessly patrolled the settlement in his automobile, with his faithful dog, riding shotgun. The house situated on Damien Road, painted chocolate brown, with no major structural problems.

Harry Yamamoto
Priority number of 139, House # 120

The house located on the corner of School and Bishop Streets looks out toward the Bishop Home grounds and the cliffs. Painted chocolate brown, which adds to the bland architecture of Hicks Homes, the house remains under control of NPS and currently houses the environmental officer in charge of recycling on the peninsula.

Meli and Randall Watanuki
Priority number of 146, House # 108

Meli, a patient and her husband, a former state employee now an KNHP maintenance worker, live in this Hicks Home located on Damien Road.

Cathrine Puahala
Priority number of 147, House # 107

Cathrine lived here in 2005, she has since passed-on and a state nurse resides in the location.
Hideo Matsuda
Priority number of 148, House # 112

Home to “Jazz,” a state employee, who works in the kitchen. House has the usual needs; but lived in and this keeps the rot, decay, and mildew to a minimum and alleviating the problems of invasive pests.

Sumi Sumida
Priority number of 149, House # 111

This green house is also a photograph in the appendix. A typical Hicks Home that was empty in 2010.

Mary Kailiwi
Priority number of 150, House # 110

House located on Damien Road and home to a nurse. Typical settlement work needed, paint, plumbing, electrical, siding, roof and continued maintenance.

Staff Nurse (Ai)
Priority number of 155, House # 103

Located on Pauahi Street, under jurisdiction of health department, house has numerous mango trees, “which drives me nuts because they attract the wild deer and the racket they make is unbearable at night,” the now retired nurse said. She was packing her things and moving. The house is located across the street from Bay View, next door to Olivia’s and at the edge of the settlement before the bridge. The house looks out toward the ocean; with a western exposure is a well-kept house, needs little work besides routine maintenance.

Eddie Marks
Priority number of 158, House # 182

The house on Baldwin Street is under KNHP control and is a temporary home to federal workers and visiting researchers.

Tagahoy
Priority number of 184, House # 153

Under state control, a state worker and her NPS worker live in the renovated house. In 2005, the house was under repair by the state, in 2009 the repair work was complete and a state worker moved in.

Eraceio Augustine.
Priority number of 114, House # 311

A brown house where our group of three stayed for six weeks in 2005. It is situated at the end of Damien Road in the settlement.
John and Lucy Kaona  
Priority number of 141, House # 156

In 2005, this house was empty. The list for needed repairs kept expanding. The patient resided in the clinic and that meant the state was in charge of maintenance and this means no maintenance. This leads to an accumulation of invasive population explosions of spiders, mongoose, etc. In 2005, the attached carport held three vehicles, the back porch was clean, and the interior held furnishings. In 2010, the carport was collapsing, the interior dirty and empty, extreme neglect had taken its toll. The front of the house looks onto McKinley Street and the driveway is accessed from Baldwin Street.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


**Journals**


**Scholarly Works:**


**Dissertations**


**Interviews**

Patients:


NPS and KNPH employees:


State employees:

Others:

William Aila, Patrick Boland, Dr. Kalani Brady, John Charlot, Ross Cordy, Dr. Fred Dodge, Pauline Hess, Frank Howarth, John Ka`makaina, Valerie Monson, Puna Ramos, Fred Stone, Anwei Skinsnes Law, Henry Law, and Norman Soares.

Websites

Biological Survey website:  www.biologicalsurvey.org

National Park Service:  www.cr.nps.gov/hps/laws
                       www.cr.nps.gov/nr

Video


W. S. Merwin with Pamela Young (Honolulu) KITV, 2009.