

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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DATE ENTERED

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*  
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

**1 NAME**

HISTORIC Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement

AND/OR COMMON Kalawao Settlement, Kalaupapa Peninsula

**2 LOCATION**

STREET & NUMBER Kalaupapa Peninsula

\_\_\_ NOT FOR PUBLICATION  
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

CITY, TOWN Moloka'i Island \_\_\_ VICINITY OF

STATE Hawaii CODE 15 COUNTY Kalawao CODE 009

**3 CLASSIFICATION**

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DISTRICT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OCCUPIED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	___ MUSEUM
___ BUILDING(S)	___ PRIVATE	___ UNOCCUPIED	___ COMMERCIAL	___ PARK
___ STRUCTURE	___ BOTH	___ WORK IN PROGRESS	___ EDUCATIONAL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE RESIDENCE
___ SITE	<b>PUBLIC ACQUISITION</b>	<b>ACCESSIBLE</b>	___ ENTERTAINMENT	___ RELIGIOUS
___ OBJECT	___ IN PROCESS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: RESTRICTED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT	___ SCIENTIFIC
	___ BEING CONSIDERED	___ YES: UNRESTRICTED	___ INDUSTRIAL	___ TRANSPORTATION
		___ NO	___ MILITARY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OTHER <u>Leprosy Colony</u>

**4 OWNER OF PROPERTY**

NAME State of Hawaii; Hawaiian Homes Lands; U.S. (Lighthouse)

STREET & NUMBER c/o Governor, State of Hawaii

CITY, TOWN Honolulu \_\_\_ VICINITY OF Hawaii STATE

**5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION**

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC. Department of Health, State of Hawaii

STREET & NUMBER 1250 Punchbowl Street

CITY, TOWN Honolulu STATE Hawaii 96813

**6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS**

TITLE THEME XXI - Political and Military Affairs 1865-1910 - Special Study, Hawaii History

DATE 1962  FEDERAL \_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_ COUNTY \_\_\_ LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS 1778-1910 - National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. p. 184

CITY, TOWN STATE

# DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
<input type="checkbox"/> EXCELLENT	<input type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATED	<input type="checkbox"/> UNALTERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ORIGINAL SITE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/> RUINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ALTERED	<input type="checkbox"/> MOVED      DATE _____
<input type="checkbox"/> FAIR	<input type="checkbox"/> UNEXPOSED		

## DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Kalaupapa, as a generalized Hawaiian place name, includes the peninsula; the cliffs which separate the peninsula from the rest of Molokai Island; the valleys and gulches which open onto the peninsula; the shelf land of Nihoa to the west reached by foot along a rocky narrow beach; and the major valley of Waikolu to the east, which is the water source for the peninsula and which is physically and historically linked to the settlements on the peninsula. Waikolu (which means "three waters" in Hawaiian) is an ahupua'a, an ancient Hawaiian political land division -- not a measure of area -- still recognized in land descriptions today. The peninsula itself contains three ahupua'a: Kalawao (which means "announce mountain area") on its eastern side and including cliff area; Makanalua ("double gift") in the middle and running from the top of the cliffs to the sea in typical ahupua'a manner; and Kalaupapa ("flat plain") on the western side. Nihoa ("firmly set") is isolated like the peninsula by cliffs from topside Molokai and was apparently in ancient times a semi-independent political entity of lesser magnitude than an ahupua'a. This small shelf was probably attached for political purposes to the chief who ran the Kalaupapa ahupua'a. Waikolu Valley, the peninsula and its valleys, and Nihoa are accessible to each other by foot. Together they are cut off by the cliffs behind them from the major portion of the island of Molokai. Kalaupapa Peninsula: "the whole bearing to the cliff that overhangs it somewhat the same relationship as a bracket to a wall." (Stevenson 1890) [See Photos 1,2,3]

Kalaupapa, as a generalized place name, has land access of a sort to topside Molokai via a steep, multi-switchback trail that enters the peninsula between Kalaupapa Settlement and the rocky beach that leads to Nihoa. Late in the leper period it was shortened and thus steepened, and is in use today. A daily mule train treads it for tourists. [Photo 4] An airstrip serves Kalaupapa with twin-engine, flag-stop air taxis daily, delivering fresh bread, milk and produce from Honolulu and day-use-only tourists from all island airports. [Photo 5] There is a barge landing -- used twice yearly -- for freight at Kalaupapa Settlement, in waters in the lee of the trade winds. [Photo 6] There is an abandoned landing near Kalawao Settlement [Photo 7] also now abandoned, on the trade wind side -- it was used usually when the trade winds were not blowing, but sometimes when they were.

The ahupua'a of Waikolu, the valley, contains about 3,362 acres (1,360 hectares); the ahupua'a of Kalawao -- 1,980 acres (802 hectares); Makanalua -- 1,904 acres (771 hectares); Kalaupapa -- 1,251 acres (506 hectares); and Nihoa -- 97 acres (39 hectares). All areas include cliffsides. All but Nihoa form the modern (unorganized) County of Kalawao, run by the Department of Health, State of Hawaii, as a leprosarium. The Board of Health of the Kingdom of Hawaii ran the peninsula and valley in historic times. Nihoa is unoccupied and is part of Maui County. The leper colony, all now centered at Kalaupapa Settlement, has a population of about 200 patients and staff. There are also islands offshore of Waikolu Valley. [Photo 10] Island area is 20 acres (8 hectares). All of the land above is owned by the State of Hawaii, with about 1,000 acres of the land in that

# SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW			
<input type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RELIGION
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY)
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION		

SPECIFIC DATES      1866 --      BUILDER/ARCHITECT      Board of Health, Hawaii

## STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Theme: IXb (Society and Social Conscience) Social and Humanitarian Movements.

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Note: Item 7 contains information pertinent to the significance.

To try to stem an epidemic of leprosy which was a major factor in the depopulation of native Hawaiians, the Kingdom of Hawaii instituted in 1866 a century-long program of segregation and isolation of lepers. Lepers were banished to the isolated peninsula of Kalaupapa, a natural prison, on the island of Molokai. Life was short and death ever present for the lepers -- who arrived and died at rates of up to a thousand a year -- at the peninsula settlements of Kalawao in the 19th century and Kalaupapa in the 20th.

During the 75 year epidemic, leprosy considerations permeated the islands' legal code, the Hawaiian government spent up to five percent of its total budget for the care of lepers, and for a time two percent of the Hawaiians were afflicted with leprosy.

Fr. Damien, a Catholic priest from Belgium suffered from the disease in the final four of his 16 years voluntary service to the lepers on the peninsula. Sustained news coverage of Damien's presence among the Hawaiian lepers brought Kalawao better facilities. These and his local reforms and community activities created hope for the lepers at Kalawao that life while it lasted in exile would be as good as possible. On Damien's death in 1893 he became famous as the "Martyr of Molokai," generating world-wide movements of concern for lepers and the search for a cure.

Damien's St. Philomena's church, the Protestant Siloama church, and rock shelters of early leper arrivals still stand in the now abandoned community of Kalawao. Kalaupapa Settlement, with institutional-Hawaiian architecture of the 1930's and earlier, is the home of the last of the peninsula's patients, their disease now non-contagious and arrested through modern medicine.

To the Hawaiian lepers at Kalawao and later at Kalaupapa, the separation from family and friend was worse than the disease. But their conditions -- housing, care and food mostly provided by the Hawaiian government -- however limited and primitive, were better than those of their counterparts in other countries. Hawaii's long-term program for leprosy was both a public health measure to protect island people

# 9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Apple . . .

etc.

(see continuation sheet)

## 10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY \_\_\_\_\_

UTM REFERENCES

A	0,4	71,814,0,0	2,34,818,0,0	B	0,4	71,814,0,0	2,33,73,00
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING		ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
C	0,4	71,992,0,0	2,33,73,0,0	D	0,4	71,052,0,0	2,34,88,0,0
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING		ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

see continuation sheet

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE Hawaii CODE 15 COUNTY Kalawao CODE 009

STATE Hawaii CODE 15 COUNTY Maui CODE 009

## 11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE Russell A. Apple, Pacific Historian  
Edmund J. Ladd, Pacific Archeologist

ORGANIZATION Office of State Director, Hawaii

DATE Sept. 5, 1975

STREET & NUMBER Suite 512, 677 Ala Moana Blvd.

TELEPHONE 808/571-3027

CITY OR TOWN Honolulu, HI

STATE Hawaii 96813

## 12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ LOCAL \_\_\_\_\_

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE

TITLE

DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
ATTEST:

DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 2.

special category known as Hawaiian Homes Lands. The Department of Health management includes the Hawaiian Homes Lands. Nihoa, within plain sight from the Kalaupapa Settlement lies outside its jurisdiction.

There follows a discussion of the geology of Kalaupapa, its native vegetation with checklist, and of Kauhako crater lake; a discussion of Kalaupapa's prehistoric and historic archeology; and a discussion of the historic structures and buildings. The natural history sections come from a preliminary draft of a March 1975 proposal for a state natural area to include portions of the Kalawao and Makanalua ahupua'a. The proposal was prepared by the Natural Area Reserve Systems Commission of the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawaii. The commission's acting chairman is John A. Maciolek, a zoologist, and leader, Hawaiian Cooperative Fishery Research Unit, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S.D.I., and an assistant professor, University of Hawaii. The archeology section was prepared by Edmund J. Ladd, Pacific Archeologist, National Park Service, U.S.D.I. Portions of the buildings and historic district discussion were prepared for use by the State Historic Preservation Officer by Gavan Daws (see Bibliography, item 9), then the historian on the State Historic Places Review Board and formerly on the history faculty of the University of Hawaii. The quoted architectural details were described under contract to the State Historic Preservation Officer by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum -- John Wright, staff historian.

Kalaupapa Peninsula is a small shield volcano, 405 feet in elevation and about two miles across at its southern base. This peninsula has unusual and significant natural features consisting of volcanic formations, native vegetation and invertebrate fauna, and one of the four natural lakes of Hawaii.

Geology and Lava Caves.

The Kalaupapa shield is the most recent evidence of volcanism of Molokai, presumably occurring in the late Pleistocene and long after formation of the notable Molokai sea cliffs. Its pahoehoe basalt contains unusually large crystals of olivine, feldspar and augite. Kauhako Crater indents the center of the shield. Parts of the crater rim display a shelly pahoehoe structure characteristic of numerous overflows from a lava lake that veneered the summit with thin layers of highly fluid, gaseous lava -- much the same as is occurring now at Mauna Ulu in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. The Kauhako Trench leads north out of the crater for about one mile. In some places the trench is 100 feet deep and in others it is roofed over. Possibly, it was once a very large lava tube. Several hills created by overflows from this channel extend seaward.

Most of the nearly 20 caves [see Photo 8 for one] surveyed are remnants of larger caves plugged by siltation, breakdown, or subsequent lava flow. Most of these caves are parts of three lava tube systems. The largest is the main lava trench which drained the crater. Two separate smaller systems distributed or carried lava down the east slope of the shield. Other caves probably exist because pahoehoe characteristically forms roofed-over channels as it flows.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 3.

Such caves await discovery, but some caves may not have drained, are too small, or otherwise are not available for man to enter. A large lava tube enters the sea on the east coast, north of Kalawao. Noddy terns enter and leave this cave between incoming waves to nest on ledges inside above the water line.

The cave survey is far from complete. No arthropod is yet known to be endemic to the caves at Kalaupapa, although one species, a blind isopod, may be. There is good potential for the existence of unique cave animals. Grazing and browsing pressure by domestic and feral animals over much of the peninsula has caused the native fauna to retreat in range with the small remnant stands of native flora. With regrowth of the native vegetation after removal of grazing pressure and management, surviving fauna should expand.

Native Vegetation.

Three distinct vegetational communities with prominent native elements occur on Kalaupapa Peninsula. Although the vegetational survey is incomplete, the most obvious native species have been recorded and are entered on the checklist.

First of these, the Beach Strand Community, contains five or more native plant species. It is least disturbed by virtue of the harsh conditions that prevail along the rocky, spray-swept windward shoreline, and the hardiness of adapted species. Next, on the slopes of the shield eastward from the trench-line, the Coastal Strand Community also consists of at least five native species. Among them, akia and 'ilima are rare prostrate ecotypes that have thusfar withstood severe grazing pressure.

The most significant vegetational feature is the Summer-Deciduous Dry-Forest Community within Kauhako Crater. [Photo 9] Represented there are more than 20 species of trees and shrubs plus several trees introduced by the early Hawaiians. This is the only remaining windward coast community of its type known in the State. Although decimated by domestic and feral animal grazing, it retains a relatively high natural value worthy of protection and possible restorational expansion.

Checklist of Hawaiian Vegetation on Kalaupapa Peninsula  
(Native Species Except P = Polynesian Introduction)

BEACH STRAND COMMUNITY

- Euphorbia degeneri ('akoko) Spurge Family
- Heliotropium anomalum (hinahina-kahakai) Heliotrope Family
- Ipomea brasiliensis (pohuehue) Morning-glory Family
- Jacquemontia sandwicensis (pa'u-o-hi'i'aka) Morning-glory Family
- Scaevola taccada (naupaka) Naupaka Family

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 4.

COASTAL STRAND COMMUNITY

Fimbristylis of hawaiiensis Sedge Family  
Lycium sandwicense ('ohelo kai) Nightshade Family  
Portulaca lutea ('ihi) Purslane Family  
Sida sp. ('ilima) Hibiscus Family  
Wikstroemia sp. (akia) Akia Family

SUMMER-DECIDUOUS DRY-FOREST COMMUNITY (Kauhako Crater)

TREES

Diospyros ferrea (lama) Ebony Family  
Erythrina tahitensis (wiliwili) Pea Family  
Pleomele [=Dracaena] aurea (halapepe) Lily Family  
Reynoldsia sandwicensis ('ohe-kukuluae'o) Panax Family

- P Aleurites moluccana (kukui) Spurge Family
- P Artocarpus altilis ('ulu) Mulberry Family
- P Broussonetia papyrifera (wauke) Mulberry Family
- P Hibiscus tiliaceus (hau) Hibiscus Family
- P Morinda citrifolia (noni) Coffee Family
- P Thespesia populnea (milo) Hibiscus Family

SHRUBS

Argemone glauca (puakala) Poppy Family  
Artemesia australis (hinahina-kuahiwi) Sunflower Family  
Canthium odoratum (alahe'e) Coffee Family  
Cocculus ferrandianus (hueheu) Moonseed Family  
Cuscuta sandwichiana (kauna'oa) Morning-glory Family  
Euphorbia celastroides ('akoko) Spurge Family  
Lipochaeta sp. (nehe) Sunflower Family  
Nototrichium sandwicense (kului) Amaranth Family  
Osteomeles anthyllidifolia ('ulei) Rose Family  
Peperomia ('ala'ala-wai'nui) Pepper Family  
Phyllanthus sp. ('akoko) Spurge Family  
Plectranthus parviflorus ('ala'ala-wai-nui-pohina-wahine) Mint Family  
Plumbago zeylandica (ilie'e) Naupaka Family  
Scaevola taccada (naupaka) Naupaka Family  
Sida sp. ('ilima) Hibiscus Family  
Tephrosia purpurea ('auhuhu) Pea Family  
Wikstroemia sp. (akia) Akia Family

Asplenium nidua ('ekaha; bird's nest fern) Spleenwort Family  
Doryopteris sp. ('iwa-'iwa) Maidenhair Family

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 5.

Kauhako Crater Lake. [Photo 9]

The most striking single natural feature of Kalaupapa Peninsula is the small body of water at the bottom of Kauhako Crater. Craters, large and small, abound in Hawaii but only a very few contain perennial water. At first glance, Kauhako's water might be dismissed as a simple pond or pool. It is less than one acre in surface area and has a murky greenish to yellowish brown color. But its remarkable depth, 815 feet, was unknown until recent years. Such depth, especially for a water so small in surface area, results in morphological and chemical features that qualify Kauhako as one of the most unusual lakes in the world.

Lake Kauhako is the crater of Uao, whose extrusions formed Kalaupapa Peninsula. Its surface is at sea level; the nearest coastline is one mile distant. Lake water apparently derives from the marine water table that permeates the peninsula. It is saline like the ocean except for the top few feet which are slightly diluted with freshwater from rains and seepages. The watermass is strongly stratified because wind, the predominant mixing force in most lakes, is ineffective at the water's surface 400 feet below the crater rim. One consequence of permanent stratification is that the lake is anaerobic below a depth of about 12 feet because sinking detrital organic matter has used up free oxygen during its decomposition.

Although anaerobic microorganisms are the only creatures in the depths of Lake Kauhako, life flourishes in the aerated uppermost layer. The color and turbidity apparent at the surface result from an abundance of unicellular phytoplankton -- diatoms, dinoflagellates, and other algae -- upon which minute zooplankton feeds. Most obvious plant growths around the lake margin are small beds of the pondweed, Ruppia, crusts formed by the filamentous blue-green alga, Schizothrix, and small "bubbles" of the green alga, Valonia. The fauna of this productive layer is dominated by two native shrimps and a few lesser invertebrates. Very abundant is the euryhaline opaeuna (Palaemon debilis), a shrimp found elsewhere in Hawaiian shoreline pools and estuaries. Much less common and more unusual is the tiny red shrimp, opaeula (Halocaridina rubra), an endemic whose habitat is restricted to certain brackish pools in recent lava flows. While the species of plants and animals thusfar identified from Lake Kauhako are distinctly Hawaiian but not unique to the location, the community structure is different from any found elsewhere in the State. A scientific report on the limnology of Lake Kauhako is in preparation.

Archeology [Photos 8, 11, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39]

The entire Kalaupapa Peninsula - from the mouth of Waikolu Valley on the east, to Kahiu point on the north (near the Coast Guard lighthouse) and to the small isolated ruins of Nihoa (labeled Kaluanui on USGS maps) is a document of man's effects and adaptations to and on this isolated, seemingly inhospitable and harsh land from pre-contact times to the present.



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 6.

Ecologically, archeologically or historically the story of this land cannot be torn asunder - separated and compartmentalized - the story of the people -- pre-contact, leper, to modern Hawaii -- is told in the land.

The land, formed from the fiery pit of Kauhako Crater below the verdant cliffs of "top side Molokai," is like an appendage - an after-thought of nature - Madam Pele. Its highest elevation is 405 feet above sea level. The tradewinds constantly whip the eastern shore in summer and the west shore during winter. There are occasionally "Kona winds" from the lee side of the island, when, as one resident phrased it, "it's just like a duck pond." Otherwise the winds are hot and dry - a most unlikely place to plant or grow anything - and yet, the landscape is dotted with evidences of these and other activities of the former residents.

For the purpose of this survey, the entire peninsula is considered a single site. It is sub-divided into four major ahupua'a, land divisions, including the Waikolu Valley, Kalawao, Makanalua and Kalaupapa land sections, the latter three being divisions on the peninsula. The stone structures and features scattered over the landscape represent occupational periods from the pre-historic (before 1778-79) to and through the early historic period (1800 - present). The leper period (1866) begins the late historic to modern period. These relative age levels are true only for the Kalaupapa Peninsula. They must not be construed as absolute, except for the late historic and modern periods, where written documents are available for reference.

Archeological and historical surveys and base maps for the entire region of Kalaupapa Peninsula and Waikolu Valley are incomplete, inadequate or non-existent. Catherine C. Summers, in her site survey of Molokai (1971), compiled all the available sources - the bibliographic references listed are taken from Summers' report. There are listed a total of 20 sites for Kalaupapa Peninsula of which 16 are religious sites (11 heiau, 4 ko'a and 1 piko site where umbilical cords were deposited), two cave sites, one holua slide and one village complex. (TABLE I)

TABLE I

Ahupua'a	Heiau	Ko'a	Cave	Holua	Village	Other	Total
Kalawao	2	2	2			1	6
Makanalua	3	2		1			6
Kalaupapa	4				1	1	6
Waikolu	2						2
	11	4	2	1	1	1	20

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
- INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 7.

The sites recognized in previous work are important, but they represent only half the picture from one cultural level - the pre-contact period. Except for the two caves, other habitation, shelter, camp or agricultural sites are not listed. In a brief on-site survey of two days [Aug. 4-5, 1975] many stone structures and features associated with other than religious functions were noted. From Kahiu point south there are at least three major house sites, including what the Bishop Museum identified as "canoe sheds," dozens of C-shaped shelters that are probably prehistoric and late historic in age and numerous agricultural walls and enclosures. In and near the main leper settlement are "kuleana" walls, house sites, pre-leper grave sites and taro growing areas (dry land taro). Individually, these structures are unimpressive and most do not have "excavation potentials," but they are non-portable field artifacts that when identified, recorded, mapped and studied, will provide insights into the total land use patterns, functions and adaptations by the indigenous people to what appears to be a harsh and inhospitable environment.

The following 20 sites are listed for Kalaupapa Peninsula. The Bishop Museum survey team, under the State-wide Inventory of Historic Places, were able to identify and locate only four sites in 1974. These have been nominated to the State Register. The other sites, according to local residents, have been destroyed by the State in their "Range Improvement Program" evidence of which can be seen in the large stone piles behind Kalaupapa village and on the west and south sides of Kauhako Crater. (TABLE II)

TABLE II

<u>Site No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Ahupua'a</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>State Register</u>
307	Kuka'iwa'a heiau	Waikolu		
286	'Ahina heiau	Waikolu		
287	Kalaehala heiau	Kalawao	Destroyed	
288	Ko'a @ Waialua	Kalawao	Not Loc.	
289	Kawaha'alihi heiau	Kalawao	Not Loc.	
290	Ananaluwahine Cave [Photo 8]	Kalawao	Nomin.	Reserve/local
291	Ko'a @ Kaupikiawa	Kalawao	Destroyed	
312*	Kaupikiawa Cave	Kalawao	Nomin.	Reserve/local
292	Kapua heiau	Makanalua	Not Loc.	
293	Holua slide	Makanalua	Destroyed	

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 8.

294	Heiau (no name)	Makanalua	Not loc.
295	Heiau (no name)	Makanalua	Destroyed
297	Ko'a	Makanalua	Not loc.
298	Ko'a @ Kalaea	Makanalua	Nomin. Reserve/local
299	Kuahu heiau	Kalaupapa	Destroyed
300	Ka'ahemo heiau	Kalaupapa	Destroyed
301	Heiau (no name)	Kalaupapa	No record
302	Kamanaalalo heiau	Kalaupapa	Not loc.
303	Pikoone (beach)	Kalaupapa	Not loc.
304	Nihoa complex	Kalaupapa	Nomin. Reserve/local

\* Bishop Museum site No., excavated 1971 by University of Hawaii.

Physical History

There were no real reception facilities nor reception committee, local inhabitants, doctors, nurses, orderlies or helpers ashore or with the first load of lepers when they landed on January 6, 1866, on the beach of rocks at the mouth of Waikolu Valley. This was a year and three days after His Hawaiian Majesty Lot Kamehameha, who ruled as Kamehameha V, approved the Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy. The new law gave the Board of Health the authority to enforce segregation of persons afflicted with leprosy, to establish an isolation settlement for confirmed cases, and a receiving hospital (it was placed at Kalihi-kai, then two miles west of Honolulu town) where suspected cases could be examined and receive treatment. The area chosen for the isolation settlement was the Waikolu, Kalawao and Makanalua ahupua'a, an area, together with Kalaupapa ahupua'a, which the board considered to be a natural prison. During 1865 and 1866 the Board acquired the houses, crops and fruit trees of the Hawaiian families living in the three ahupua'a and apparently evicted the residents. Rainy Waikolu, with its permanent stream, was to supply the water, and its irrigated taro terraces supply the corms for the making of poi, the Hawaiian staple food. The first arrivals evidently used the abandoned facilities they found. " \* \* \* it was expected that the lepers, many of whom were able to work, would continue the cultivation and thus supply a large part of the food requirements of the settlement; cattle,

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 9.

pigs, goats and poultry were supplied, as well as equipment for fishing. It was thought that the settlement would be to a large degree self-sustaining. These expectations were not realized. At the end of the first year, highly critical reports were published about the conditions existing at Kalawao, and these drew forth explanatory and defensive statements \* \* \*. The plan of operation of the settlement had to undergo some alteration."

(Kuykendall 1953: 74-75) A small hospital was built for advanced cases, and superintendents were appointed, one after the other. The first three could not speak the Hawaiian language. Then one of the lepers, Kaho'ohuli, formerly Captain of the King's Guard, became superintendent and remained until his case was too far advanced for such service. Several lepers were later resident superintendents. During the early years, there was no resident physician. "In this early period, husbands, wives, other relatives, or friends were allowed to go with the afflicted exiles to live with and care for them. These kokuas (helpers) materially increased the population of the settlement." (Kuykendall 1953: 74) The kokua policy was abandoned ca. 1873, but many kokua who had lost their leper friend or relative they arrived with, stayed on to help others.

It should be noted that of the resident families at Kalaupapa several continued to live on their lands there well after 1900, before the transfer from Kalawao to Kalaupapa of lepers and staff was fully completed. Kalawao's resident families were uprooted in 1865 and replaced with lepers. The Board of Health gradually acquired all the private lands of Kalaupapa, starting about 1890. Lepers and staff infiltrated Kalaupapa.

Kalawao appears to have been chosen because of its adjacency to Waikolu. Water and taro was therefore close. The initial colony did not become self-sufficient. Supplies had to be imported, and water piped. The settlement at Kalawao was established. It was thereafter cheaper, if more inconvenient, to maintain it. Kalaupapa had better weather and a sheltered landing. The final move of the settlement from Kalawao to Kalaupapa was in progress by 1900, almost coincident with the annexation of Hawaii by the United States.

When His Hawaiian Majesty Lunalilo ascended the throne in 1873, there was renewed emphasis in the kingdom on the enforcement of the leper laws. "In the year 1873, as many victims of the disease were identified and shipped to Kalawao as in the seven years since the settlement was opened. There were harrowing scenes at the Honolulu waterfront, as month after month the little ships left for Molokai, loaded with victims bound for exile.: (Daws 1973: 60) In the single year of Lunalilo's reign, 1,200 cases were examined; half were discharged as not having leprosy; and 500, including about a half dozen foreigners, sent to Kalawao. Caught in the campaign of segregation were Peter Y. Kaeo, a member of the royalty and a cousin of dowager Queen Emma, and William P. Ragsdale, a lawyer and politician from Hilo who voluntarily submitted. He became one of the leper superintendents. In the roundup of lepers there was "no consideration of fortune, rank or nationality \* \* \*. The housing and other facilities were inadequate, the food and water supplies limited.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

TE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 10.

Frequent shortages of poi, for which there was no satisfactory substitute, were a grievance to the afflicted Hawaiians." (Kuykendall 1953: 258)

Three Periods

The physical history of the leprosarium on Kalaupapa Peninsula divides into three periods. The first might be called the Pioneer Kalawao Period and covers the period from 1866 through 1873. It runs from the initial landing of lepers in 1866 through the great influx of lepers in the year of Lunalilo's reign. During that period, by the end of 1872, the close of the reign of Kamehameha V, about 1,300 suspected lepers had been examined and about 500 exported to Kalaupapa, accompanied by about 100 kokua. The year 1873 marks the end of the kokua period, a rebuilding of storm damaged Kalawao and the beginning of more rigid enforcement of the kingdom's segregation-isolation laws. There were about 600 lepers (and kokua) in residence at Kalawao in May 1873.

The second period may be called the Kalawao Settlement Period and covers the period 1873 through 1911, the year the United States Leprosy Investigation Station closed its imposing facilities at Kalawao. In the period, the Kalawao Settlement developed into a mature community. [Photo 12] The third period, still continuing, can be called the Kalaupapa Settlement Period, and begins in 1911. During this period Kalawao Settlement was abandoned, most of its facilities and buildings were lost, and Kalaupapa Settlement developed, by 1940, into a mature community. The move to Kalaupapa officially began in 1890, but was not complete until 1932 with the transfer of the Baldwin Home for leprous boys from Kalawao to Kalaupapa.

Before the three periods of the leprosarium are discussed, it should be noted that Waikolu Valley and the Peninsula were inhabited before 1866 and that there has been no archeological examination of Waikolu and therefore no identification of resources. If however, Waikolu Valley is a typical Hawaiian "wet" valley, some speculation as to what could be found there is in order. The discussion below is based on limited data concerning settlement patterns in Hawaii.

Waikolu Valley. "There is no single pattern of settlement for the Hawaiian Islands. The patterns were complex and related to different environmental habitats. The two general types recognized are agglutinated and non-agglutinated. Relatively high population density, grouped community, clustered sites and clear boundaries between the cluster and sites outside the cluster are the characteristics of the agglutinated pattern \* \* \* . Non-agglutinated sites are the more common settlement pattern, with several groups \* \* \* . "Wet" valleys had permanent streams, and usually irrigation ditches and gravity-fed irrigated terraces and plots. But even "wet" valleys had sides and areas that were "dry" with terraces to trap rainfall and moisture and utilize water runoffs down slopes, intermittent stream beds or talus areas. In valleys the limited data suggests that habitation sites were not constructed on good or potential agricultural land,

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

COUNTY

Kalawao - Maui

FOR NPS USE ONLY

ENTRY NUMBER

DATE

(Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 11.

but always on agriculturally unsuitable land. Some habitat on sites were within fields on knolls or ridges, and others on the upper talus slopes of valley sides." (Apple and Kukuchi 1975: 59-60)

It is not believed that Waikolu Valley was permanently inhabited after 1866. Certainly the taro and other products growing in 1866 were harvested by the able early leper arrivals, or their kokua, but how much additional planting or maintenance was performed in the Pioneer Kalawao Period is uncertain. Later, perhaps as early as 1873, since the available records are unclear as to the source of the first water line to Kalawao, the permanent stream in Waikolu was tapped and its water piped first to Kalawao Settlement and later to Kalaupapa Settlement. The stream is the present source of Kalaupapa's water. Waikolu Valley's waterfalls in its headlands are also the modern source of irrigation water for topside Molokai's leeward plains. A tunnel through the upper cliff wall begins the modern irrigation system.

Pioneer Kalawao Period (1866-1873)

By the end of 1872, about 500 lepers and 100 kokua had landed at Kalawao. Houses vacated in 1865 by the evicted resident families were obviously inadequate in number, and perhaps in location. The lepers, landed in groups intermittantly, needed shelter from the wind, night cold, and rain. Some caves (lava tubes) were available and loose boulders on the ground could be piled and roofed with thatch, canvas or boards. Some shacks were built; source of lumber unknown. Rock shelter walls, believed to date from this period and use were seen in 1975. One such enclosure is the feature of Photo 11. One shelter cave has been excavated by the Bishop Museum's Department of Anthropology. Other shelters, foundations of early cottages, and structures, or ruins of same, probably exist and could be discovered and identified through archeological survey. A fictional, but probably fairly accurate, account of leper life at Kalawao during this period is a sub-theme in the novel Hawaii (Random House, New York, 1959, and various editions) by James A. Michener. This sub-theme was also in the movie "Hawaii", taken from the novel.

By 1873, the meager descriptions of Kalawao Settlement indicate it was an irregularly scattered community of grass houses and cottages of rough lumber, all in poor condition. There was a make-shift hospital, and a small dispensary. There was also a permanent community of non-lepers at Kalaupapa. It has been estimated that there were 600 people living at Kalawao in May 1873. With at least five persons to each cottage or shelter, there may have been about 100 buildings at Kalawao at the end of the period. The following buildings, still standing in 1975, the only ones known to have survived intact an official State policy of demolition, date from the Pioneer Kalawao Period.

Protestant Church Building at Kalaupapa. In Hawaii's early missionary period a stone church was built at Kalaupapa. It was completed in 1839, and replaced in 1847 by a larger stone building about 70 by 78 feet. This church was called Kalawina (Calvin). This structure fell and was rebuilt in 1853. Part of it

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 12.

was blown down in an 1882 storm. The standing portion was then used as a jail and then a storehouse, its 1975 use. [Photo 13]

Siloama Protestant Church Building at Kalawao. The Protestant patients organized a congregation in December 1866 and saved \$125.50 for a church building. Additional funds were donated in Honolulu and lumber shipped to Kalawao. The building was completed, and dedicated October 28, 1871. Rebuilding occurred in 1880, and the structure was "refurbished" ca. 1966 for the centennial of the congregation's organization. [Photo 14] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"Siloama Church is double-wall wood-framed (20 by 40 feet) structure with a low-pitched gable roof surmounted by a tall octagonal belfry and spire. The wood floor is raised several feet on boulder pads, walls are covered with drop siding and the shingle roof has box eaves and returned ends. The entrance consists of a pair of four-panel molded doors with a wood frame and a molded pediment. Presently there is a gabled porch with a bargeboard with slightly curved ends. The interior is a single open space with raised chancel on the S.E. end. The walls are vertical flat planks with a simple cornice and decorated frieze, consisting of diamond-shaped wood blocks with natural finish set against the white painted walls of the church. The 11 foot 4 inch ceiling is finished with flat panel boards divided into rectangular sections. A circular molding is set at the top of the chandelier outlet. The floor is wood planks set on joists. Pews are arranged in a single center row and lengthwise along the side walls. The windows (three on each side) are typical double-hung twelve-light wood sashes with plain wood frames on the interior, and small pediments on the exterior."

St. Philomena's Catholic Church Building at Kalawao. Built by Sacred Heart's Brother Victorin Bertrant, it was blessed May 30, 1972. This was the original wooden church, now a chapel in the north transept. This original structure was enlarged -- lengthened -- ca. 1876 by Fr. Damien. In 1888 a storm blew down its steeple, which was reconstructed as part of the major stone enlargement that year by Fr. Damien. The enlargement was completed after Damien's death in 1889 by "Brother" Joseph Dutton. Damien painted the exterior in a variety of bright colors to please and attract the Hawaiians. Holes he cut in the floor (for spitting by patients), and the interior paint scheme which featured brown paint up to the waist height so that blood stains would not show, have been preserved. [Photo 15] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"St. Philomena Catholic Church and its cemetery occupy an open site (about one acre) sloping down gently to the north from the small earth road in front. It is approached through a pair of wooden gates set in masonry piers and surrounded by rough fieldstone walls.

"The original church is a wood structure which presently is a chapel in the north transept. The later addition is a stone structure with a central tower, forming the present nave and west portal. The original church is a small gabled wood frame with an entrance porch on the west end. It presently

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 13.

has interior columns, a barrel vaulted ceiling and typical double-hung twelve-light sashes. Small pediments articulate the windows (three on each side) on the exterior, and a rosette window is set over the entrance on the gable end.

"The grand addition is built of 30 inch stone walls plastered on both sides with a wood gable roof continuing from the original wood building, which now houses the curved sanctuary and vestry behind. The west front entrance end is formed with large reverse curved corners leading up to the square central campanile above. The central entrance is a deep masonry opening with a pointed arch and a pair of heavy molded wood doors. Windows (four to each side) are tall pointed arches with triple-hung eighteen-light sashes and pointed lunettes above the blue, green and pink sectioned glass fanlights.

"The interior is a large open nave set on a wood framed floor, with a central pointed vault and flat ceilings over the side aisles with slender fluted Corinthian wood columns. Terminating beyond the central crossing is an elaborate half-round sanctuary built up of wood panels and frames. The crossing is raised one step and the altar beyond is three steps higher, with an elaborate altar piece and jigsaw rail. Behind is the vestry and below is a stone-walled cellar approached by outside stairs. The entire interior is decorated with fluted columns, carved capitals, molded cornices and painted decoration. The barrel-vaulted ceiling is articulated by bands of red, blue and yellow arches that intersect at evenly spaced medallions set along the ridge of the ceiling. Wall surface is painted white with red lines to delineate a cut stone surface. Keystones and voussoirs are painted over window areas to imitate the stone work hidden by the plaster finish.

"Exterior finish varies from bevel siding on the older section to boards and battens near the altar end to stone with plaster on the larger front addition.

"The rectangular tower set over the entrance rises from the ground with lancer vents. A parapet on the top has four pinnacles at each corner with metal crosses."

Kalawao Settlement Period (1873-1911)

The irregularly scattered 100 or so cottages and huts, the hospital and dispensary buildings standing in May 1873 were leveled to a great degree by a storm later in 1873 or during the first half of 1874. Some buildings may have survived. Fr. Damien had arrived in May 1873 and this levelling gave him the opportunity to promote a major rebuilding of Kalawao Settlement. The Catholic Bishop in Honolulu raised funds for this purpose, and the Board of Health reacted to public criticism and pressure by shipping lumber. New cottages and a hospital resulted. Down buildings supplied some of the building materials. The new buildings were reported to be stronger and in "neat rows." Their building by patients under Damien's direction promoted community morale and provided some pride. Some of the cottages evidently had whitewashed exteriors at times. Damien is said by one of his admirers



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 14.

to have helped build 300 patients' homes -- time period unspecified. (see Farrow 1954: 115-120) Many observers remark on Damien's carpentry activities. He is known to have built Our Lady of Sorrows and St. Joseph's churches on topside Molokai and church buildings at Kalaupapa. Damien himself built two houses, both near St. Philomena's. The first was built after the storm in 1873 or 1874, was a single story, one-room frame house, 10 by 16 feet. In 1878, Damien replaced this by building a new house for himself; of two stories, 14 by 24 feet in plan. There was workroom and bedroom on the second floor, reached by an outside staircase. The bottom was used as a kitchen, dispensary and consulting room. On Damien's death this house was razed and the lumber used for other purposes -- a commentary on the perennial shortage of building materials on the peninsula.

Construction and rebuilding was apparently an on-going process at Kalawao during the period 1873-1911. Among other construction projects was a water line installed by patients under the supervision of Damien. According to one story, a cargo of iron water pipes arrived ca. 1873 aboard the schooner Warwick, "John Bull," master. Bull is said to have drawn generalized plans in the sand to inform Damien concerning water system principles. Source for water was a circular pool 75 feet in diameter and 18 feet deep in Waihanau Valley, Makaanalua ahupua'a. (Farrow 1954: 113) Patients in 1975 believe the first pipes were wooden (one has been saved and stored by Richard Marks at Kalaupapa) and the source was the stream in Waikolu Valley. A cistern of cemented rocks, still standing but unused and over-grown, is attributed to Damien. There were probably several water systems at different times, and perhaps several expansions or relaying of any or all. The existing system does have its source in Waikolu Valley. Damien is also said to have master-minded a new road between Kalawao and Kalaupapa, blasted rocks for the Kalaupapa landing, made coffins and dug graves, practiced an amateur brand of medicine, cleaned and bandaged sores, dispensed pills and simple medicines, and amputated gangrenous limbs. Gavin Daws in his biography of Damien (1973: 111) is convinced that the Board of Health relied upon Damien for such things more than on the come-and-go superintendents and intermittent resident physicians. Damien's associate, "Brother" Dutton wrote in 1905 that Damien had been "as always ready to take up with great vigor anything that presented itself as his actual duty; and further, anything at all that he thought would be good whether it was actually his duty or not; anything that appeared to him to be good -- good to do -- was something for his immediate action, apparently considering it really his duty. He did not give much time to the study of expediency, or the cost nor the dangers." (Dutton, as quoted in Daws 1973: 189)

By 1888, the year before Damien died, as reported by the Board of Health to the legislature, the total number of buildings on the peninsula was 374. This total consisted of 350 cottages for the patients (there were more than a thousand); 2 storehouses, 2 taro receiving houses, a store, 2 dormitorios, 12 hospital buildings, a two-cell prison, a receiving house at Kalaupapa for new patients, a physician's house, and dispensaries at Kalawao

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 15.

and Kalaupapa. There were also five churches -- 2 Protestant, 2 Catholic and 1 Mormon. A thousand cattle grazed on the peninsula. There were trees and vegetable gardens at Kalawao.

The two dormitories, one for boys and one for girls, had been started toward the end of the 1870's by Damien for the care of leprous orphans (at least orphans in the sense that parents did not accompany them) exiled to the peninsula and for those born at the settlement and without guardians after their patient-parents died. By 1883, there were 44 orphans in residence. Healthy children born at Kalawao of diseased parents were sent to Kapiolani Home in Honolulu. New dormitories for the orphans were begun in 1886, and in 1887 two eating halls, one for boys and one for girls were built. Each had a population ca. 1890 of about 150. The separate orphan establishments evolved into two institutions largely financed by Protestant benefactors.

The Henry P. Baldwin Home for boys with leprosy took the place of Damien's orphanage for boys at Kalawao. It was endowed from profits of sugar plantations owned by a son of a Protestant missionary. It was under the administration of the Board of Health but staffed and managed locally by Brothers of the Sacred Hearts order. It opened in 1895 across the road from St. Philomena's church at Kalawao. It is the group of buildings in the foreground of Photo 12. The Baldwin Home occupied the same site as the boys' orphanage which preceded it. Ruins of the Home exist [Photo 16] but the site is overgrown in 1975. "Brother" Joseph Dutton was in charge from 1895 until his death in 1931. In 1932, the Kalawao Home facility was abandoned and the Brothers and orphans transferred to new buildings at Kalaupapa. Their site is occupied in 1975 by a rock crusher. Adjacent to the Kalaupapa site are walls and terraces associated with agricultural and landscaping activities conducted by the Brothers and their charges.

A comparable home for girls, called the Charles R. Bishop Home, after its benefactor (another wealthy Protestant, a banker and widower of the last of the Kamehamehas, Bernice Pauahi Bishop), was built at Kalaupapa in 1888, the year before Damien died. Part of the materials came from the discontinued Leprosy Branch Hospital at Kakaako, Honolulu. It too was under the administration of the Board of Health, but staffed and managed locally by the Franciscan Sisters of Charity. The Sisters had also staffed the Kakaako Hospital. While Damien was a patient there in July 1886, he had requested Mother Superior Marianne Kopp to send the Sisters to Kalaupapa to care for the orphan girls. They arrived in 1888, led by Sister Marianne, who devoted the rest of her life to the girls. The home as an institution is still in existence, and in 1975 houses the nuns and lay women who work with the patients in the Kalaupapa Settlement. All original 1888 buildings are believed to be gone. There follows a 1974 architectural description of three buildings on the site of the original Bishop Home. It is not known when they were built, but probably ca. 1930. [Photos 17,18,19]

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 16.

"Bishop House is a one-story wooden structure with a gable roof. Partially covered with clapboards on the gable ends, the major wall areas are composed of boards and battens. Double-hung windows open up all sides. Over the front is a series of dormer windows with three sets of casement windows having scalloped awnings. It houses nursing Sisters.

"St. Elizabeth Chapel located adjacent to the Bishop House, is a one-story 20 by 40 feet wooden building with a gable roof. A gable entranceway supported by four square posts is located three concrete steps up from the grade. Carved bargeboards, ends and brackets add a decorative touch to the rectangular chapel. The building is covered with clapboard siding. The single entrance door has a thumb latch.

"Located behind St. Elizabeth's Chapel is a large, one-story wooden house now abandoned. The structure has a hip roof partially covered with shingles. Most of the shingles are now missing. Ventilated gable ends appear on each side, and a vent is placed directly over the entrance. It is articulated by a curved bargeboard. A front verandah runs the entire length of the building and is supported by slender double posts and elaborately carved brackets. Double entrance doors have a horizontal fanlight above and are flanked by twelve-light double-hung windows. One of the few structures in the complex with elaborate decorative details. Its high hip roof is well proportioned and adds a distinguished feature to the architecturally interesting structure."

St. Francis Church at Kalaupapa. Damien built a small wooden church in the then existing non-leprous Kalaupapa ahupua'a ca. 1874, and helped in its rebuilding in 1881. This rebuilt church burned down in 1906, and the present St. Francis church was completed by 1908. [Photo 20] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"St. Francis Catholic Church is a large church of reinforced concrete in the Italian Gothic style. It consists of a great nave (about 40 by 80 feet) with a full west end porch three bays wide, a large sacristy and a high square campanile on the S.E. corner. The roof is a low-pitched gable on timber trusses. The side walls are reinforced with four large concrete buttresses with five pointed arched windows between. The sashes are 16-light double-hung wood with a decorated Gothic lunette above. Two small molded "quatra foil" lights pierce the upper wall of each window bay, adding both light and decoration to the upper spaces.

"Wall finish is light cement on both interior and exterior. The interior is a single great nave with full sacristy at the east end and large choir loft over the west entrance. The space is divided by two rows of large round simplified Corinthian columns, bearing a high Gothic vault full length over the center, and a row of secondary vaults over the aisles on each side. The vault construction is made out of plaster, shaped and hung from the roof trusses above. The vaults continue over the raised chancel. Behind is

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 17.

the vestry in a lower shed roof area adjoining the tower. The pews are arranged in four sections with three aisles between. On the entrance end under the loft is a reception area, a steep choir staircase on one side, confessionals and water fonts. One pair of nine foot wide double doors and two single doors give entrance from the west porch."

United States Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao. "Brother" Dutton wrote of it: "The U.S. Leprosarium is the greatest institution on the islands, or in the world, probably, of its sort. The appropriation by Congress was generous, the buildings are extensive, the outfit very elaborate, of best quality and of latest invention; everything present day science can provide. (Bushnell 1968: 87) The cost of the station was \$300,000 after the Territory of Hawaii deeded a square mile of land in 1905 to the United States for the facility. There were 114 acres of grassy slope for the complex; 9 acres for a landing; 4 1/2 acres for a spring; and about 502 acres of pasture for livestock grazing. Homes and gardens of patients on the deeded areas were confiscated, and some of the homes burned. When built and staffed in 1909 there were three fenced compounds: residences; executive; hospital. There was also housing for the 32 Chinese workmen who built it. The architect lived in Washington, D.C. There were storehouses, ice houses, laboratories, animal pens and barns. There was an ice machine, and the first electricity on the island of Molokai was produced by the station's generator. But then Dutton was an American, not a Hawaiian.

The station's "no trespassing" signs were reinforced by double fences ten feet apart and locked gates. Under the agreement between the Territorial and Federal governments the patients were to be volunteers. There were a total of nine patients out of 900 patients in residence brave enough to leave their friends in Kalawao Settlement to seek treatment. One by one their gregarious Hawaiian natures rebelled at the isolation, and they withdrew from the program. They were lonely and bored confined within the station. No visitors were allowed. Each of the nine patients cost the United States about \$33,333. The USLIS was a "citadel not of mercy, but of science at its cold worst \* \* \*." (Bushnell 1968: 86) The USLIS did not have a cure for leprosy anyway.

The station closed permanently in 1911 and its staff moved to the Kalihi Branch Hospital in Honolulu. The idle buildings sat locked until the United States returned the land to the Territory in 1922, when they were torn down for building material for use in the Kalaupapa Settlement. A few of the concrete pillars which supported one of the buildings still stands. [Photo 21] The station itself, in all its glory, can be seen in the background of Photo 12.

Molokai Lighthouse in Makanalua Ahupua'a. Built in 1909, the navigational aid is a reinforced concrete tower 138 feet tall topped with a lantern which places the focal plane at 213 feet above sea level. Effective candle power of the light exceeds 1,000,000. The octagonal tower is divided into two unequal vertical sections. Approximately five feet above the arched entrance door is

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 18,

a bank of concrete which marks the first division. The remainder of the shaft comprises the second section. The second section is pierced by six openings that admit light to the staircase of 189 steps. This lighthouse is one of the few original structures still in use in Hawaii. The Federal real estate on which it sits consists of 22.88 acres. The Coast Guard has retained a small acreage around the lighthouse itself and released the remainder, including quarters, to the General Services Administration. Recently the GSA has leased the quarters to patient Richard Marks, who intends to rent them to individuals and small groups visiting the peninsula. The Coast Guard's 14th district headquarters in Honolulu, Aids to Navigation Branch, maintains the light and keeps a detailed historical file on the lighthouse. [Photo 38]

Damien Monument at Kalaupapa: Shock in England over his death and a desire to pay tribute to Damien, resulted in a fund to help leprosy victims in the Empire and to provide a suitable monument from the British Empire to the priest who had died of leprosy. A cross of red granite was secured that contained a sculptured portrait head of Damien in white marble. The design was by artist Edward Clifford, who had visited Damien at Kalawao in 1888, had made portraits of him, painted landscapes of the settlement and had written a book about Damien. The monument was shipped freight-free to Honolulu, and arrived in 1891. His Hawaiian Majesty Kalakaua personally went to Kalaupapa and selected a site. But the installation bogged down in Hawaiian politics and awaited the overthrow of Her Hawaiian Majesty Liliuokalani in 1893 to be settled. The Bishop and clergy of the Cathedral joined representatives of the Provisional Government in September 1893 to dedicate the monument. It still stands.

Ruins of the Kalawao Settlement Period. Those seen in a two day visit include (1) the Kalawao graveyard site, with a few headstones still extant, and the site of the first burial of Damien (the State recently built a corral on the graveyard and rerouted a road across it); (2) the standing chimney of the Kalawao slaughter house; (3) the standing chimney of the Kalawao bakery, [Photo 22] operated by a Chinaman; (4) the steps of the Mormon beach house [Photo 23] (the house was moved into Kalaupapa Settlement); and (5) orange and other exotic trees growing in the area, recently covered by brush and trees. Heavy overgrowth probably obscures many ruins, walls and foundations, including the ruins of Ka Pā Pupule (the crazy pen), just outside Kalawao Settlement proper. Ka Pā Pupule was a dance hall and drinking establishment run by patients for patients. It was long lived and upset the establishment, both church and state. Secret stills on the forested lower slopes of the cliffs supplied it.

Kalaupapa Settlement Period (1911---

The move from Kalawao to Kalaupapa officially began in 1890, when the Board of Health reported to the legislature, "It is thought best that the people be gradually concentrated at Kalaupapa, where there is plenty of room. Streets should be laid out in regular order according to some definite plan,

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 7 page 19.

and all new buildings erected thereon. Kalawao, as the buildings decay, should be abandoned as a place of residence, both on account of its inconvenient distance from the landing and its climatic inferiority to Kalaupapa." (as quoted by Daws 1973: 233) The Board of Health bought out the remaining private landowners; a new set of water pipes was installed and a new cemetery started. The results of this town planning are seen on the attached USGS map and in photos.

Among buildings still standing in Kalaupapa Settlement, completed in an earlier period and mentioned above are the Protestant church building (1853) now in use as a warehouse; Bishop Home (1930?); St. Elizabeth's chapel (1930?); abandoned house beyond chapel (?); St. Francis Church (1908); and the Damien Monument (1893). The rest of the standing buildings were built, of course, in the period, except for a patient's cottage or two which may date from early in the century. [Photos 24,25]

Except for a handful of private homes built in the last decade or so by patients, the prevailing dates of construction appear to be well before World War II. In parts of the town there is a mild feeling of rural institutional atmosphere. This is in the architecture and orientation of the buildings to each other. Overall the feeling is of informality and leisure -- an established community away from the mainstream of progress. This is no military base of spit, polish and trimmed lawns and hedges. Nor is it a typical Hawaiian plantation town of the 1930's. A few of the homes of the patients do have a plantation worker's architecture, however. [Photo 26] There is no other town known like it in Hawaii, or perhaps anywhere. It is unique, and the adjectives Pacific Island colonial, Hawaiian and Institutional could all be used to describe Kalaupapa Settlement, and yet none fit completely. A feeling of Hawaiianness predominates. The town is unhurried and uncrowded.

Of the approximately 140 buildings, with perhaps 10 percent vacancy, the following are chosen as illustrative of Kalaupapa Settlement period buildings.

Kanaana Hou Church. (New Canaan church). A branch of Siloama's church was built in Kalaupapa in 1878 and enlarged in 1890. In 1884 the congregations of Kalawao and Kalaupapa united as Kanaana Hou. The present church building was built in 1915. [Photo 27]

Bay View Home. For patients who need domiciliary care. [Photo 28] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"The complex consists of several one-story wooden structures, all with front verandahs. Most buildings are raised two feet above the grade on concrete posts. The group of buildings are all oriented to each other and are located in a grassy area near the ocean. The buildings have hip roofs with ventilated gable ends. Roofs are covered with asphalt shingles. Porch areas are

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 7 page 20.

articulated with diamond-pattern balustrades and chamfered posts with capitals. Several buildings have carved brackets. A well adapted group of buildings, nicely oriented to each other."

Hospital. [Photo 29]

Paschoal Community Hall. [Photo 30] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"The Paschoal Community Hall is a large 1½-story structure capped with a hip roof. The front entrance is marked by a double hip roof with ventilated gable ends. Bargeboards on the gable ends are slightly curved at the ends. The lower roof line covers the front porch. The porch is five bays wide and is enclosed by a diamond-patterned balustrade. Chamfered posts with simple capitals are set between each two balustrade units. A staircase leading to the upper floor is situated off the porch area. Side entrance project on both sides and are covered by a hip roof. Windows consist of sliding units."

Staff Row. [Photos 31,32] A 1974 architectural description follows.

"Staff Row consists of a row of houses for the use of the colony's employees. Two houses of architectural interest are the former Doctor's house, now used as the Staff dining hall, and the home for the settlement's administrator.

"The former Doctor's house is a one-story wooden structure set on stone foundations. The house is elevated approximately three feet above the grade. A front porch stretches 2/3 the length of the building and is divided into four equal bays. Slender wooden posts with carved brackets decorate the front of the building. The entire structure is capped with a hip roof covered with asphalt shingles. Boards and molded battens cover the walls. A front entrance staircase leads to the porch. Two single doors give entrance to the building.

"The Administrator's home is a rectangular one-story structure capped with an intersecting gable roof. A small front porch is protected by a shingle-covered hip roof. Chamfered posts with simple capitals line the L-shaped verandah. A rectangular louvered vent appears on the front gable end."

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 8 page 2.

from leprosy (especially to save the native Hawaiians from extinction), and a humanitarian movement to care for the needs in their last years of the lepers transported to the peninsula.

For more than a century, beginning in 1866, Kalaupapa Peninsula has been associated with a disease that, more than any other, embodied and symbolized the disastrous consequences -- biological and cultural -- of contact between the Hawaiian Islands and the rest of the world.

Orientation to Leprosy and the Hawaiian Experience

"Leprosy, \* \* \* is historically probably the most dread disease to afflict mankind. No word carried for so many thousands of years such stigma and such derogatory connotations as the word 'leper.' The reason for this was not that the disease was so fatal, for it is \* \* \* rarely fatal: death of leprosy patients was generally caused by some superimposed infection from a more virulent organism.

"\* \* \* one of the reasons for this dread is quite the opposite -- the fact that the disease is not fatal but rather condemned the victim to a long life of pain and progressive disfigurement \* \* \*. A quick-killing disease like smallpox, typhoid, or even the plague was far less dread than one that condemned its victim to become a member of 'the living dead.' \* \* \*

"The incubation period for leprosy is very long -- ranging from several years to at least as a full decade \* \* \*. It struck, so to speak, out of the blue -- unannounced and with no visible or identifiable cause. Most victims had no knowledge or memory of any contact with a person with the disease, so, ipso facto, the victim was either (a) being struck down by God for his sins or (b) having the disease erupt because through inheritance it had been in him all the time. In the first case, he was by definition a sinner who should be cast out of society, and in the second case, his whole family was to blame and that family line should be discontinued for the public good \* \* \*.

"For these reasons most societies have for thousands of years treated victims of leprosy differently than it has treated victims of other diseases. The traditional policy was segregation and isolation from the rest of society -- with related policies regarding marriage of leprosy victims to stop the line that 'bred it.' \* \* \* In some societies, the more extreme policy of simply killing the victims was practiced \* \* \*.

"There is some reason to believe that the Black Death that killed probably 25 per cent of Europe's entire population in the 14th century (and killed as much as 75 per cent of the population in some countries) was far more effective [than segregation-isolation] in reducing the incidence of leprosy because leprosy patients were far more susceptible to the plague than the rest of the population. This was partly because of their unsanitary living conditions and greater exposure to rats and fleas and partly because of their already weakened physical condition \* \* \*.



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 3.

"Currently [ca. 1969] there are about ten million persons in the world suffering from leprosy \* \* \*. In the United States, almost all cases occur in Florida, Texas, Southern California, and Hawaii -- with most of these cases being among immigrants rather than native born. Florida has a high incidence among Cuban refugees, Texas and California among Mexicans, and Hawaii [now] among people who have come from Samoa and the Philippines." (Hitch 1969)

Hawaii's leprosy epidemic -- among Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians -- lasted from ca. 1860 through 1924. During that period Hawaii's total number of cases came largely from that racial grouping. Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were particularly susceptible to leprosy, as with many of the diseases introduced by foreigners in the period after Cook discovered the islands in 1778. Epidemic leprosy probably landed with the Chinese laborers imported, with the sanction of the Hawaiian government, by planters in the early 1850's to work Hawaii's fields of sugar cane. In the period 1870-1880, the height of the leprosy epidemic, Hawaii's incidence rate was more than 1,000 cases per 100,000 population per year. In the 1880's, more than five percent of the kingdom's budget went for leprosy matters -- \$100,000 each biennium from 1882 through 1887. This was probably a greater proportion of this small nation's income than any other country allotted for the care of a single disease. It was during these years that income from the export of sugar cane was high.

After 1880, the incidence rate among Hawaiians decreased only slightly, while Hawaii's total rate declined markedly. This was due to overall population change -- the size of the native Hawaiian population decreased rapidly while the non-Hawaiian population increased rapidly. After 1924, leprosy incidence among Hawaiians declined at the same rate as with other island ethnic groups. The year 1924 marks the end of the epidemic.

Hawaii practiced a fairly effective policy of segregation and isolation of lepers (some exceptions were made through political friendships or bribery and there were many cases concealed by families) in the period 1866 through 1969, but some epidemiologists now believe that by the time a leper had been diagnosed and isolated that he had already exposed others, particularly members and friends.

Modern medicine recognizes four types of leprosy, all caused by the same bacteria, Bacillus leprae, which is similar to the bacteria which causes tuberculosis. The different types depend upon different reactions of the patient to the bacteria. "The majority of cases are 'tuberculoid' leprosy which is non-contagious and generally the mildest form of the disease. At the other extreme is 'lepromatous' leprosy which is contagious and is the most severe form. In between are 'intermediate' leprosy which has characteristics of both these types and 'indeterminate' leprosy which in time [without modern medical treatment] may develop into either the tuberculoid or the lepromatous type." (Hitch 1969)

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 8 page 4.

A fifth type of person is immune -- probably through heredity -- to the bacteria. The non-leprous Hawaiian woman at Kalawao who had five husbands in succession, all terminal lepers, was apparently one of the immune ones. In general, Hawaiian women were less susceptible to leprosy than men.

"In communities where leprosy has been present over an extended period of time, practically all adults and most children are immune to the disease, \* \* \* regardless of how extensive their exposure had been." (Hitch 1969)  
The grim reaper of natural selection then, may have removed over recent generations most of those Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who were without immunity to leprosy once exposure began in the 1850's. The Polynesian Hawaiians experienced their exposure to leprosy late in the world's history.

Leprosy became curable for the first time in 1943 with the development of the sulphone drugs. Treatment of Hawaii's lepers with sulphones as routine therapy began in 1946. In the early 1960's it was discovered that even a patient with viable Bacillus leprae in his skin -- if he had been under sulphone treatment for a short time (30 to 90 days) -- was not infectious. The leprous host was no longer an instrument of contagion. This latter discovery had drastic implications for Hawaii's long standing policy of isolation of lepers. True, in 1911 and 1924, Hawaii's Territorial legislature had relaxed the leprosy laws so that patients with certain types of leprosy -- although still classified as lepers -- could get temporary release from the leprosariums on the basis of laboratory findings. In 1969 Hawaii's treatment program and subsequently its legal code concerning lepers and leprosy changed (to be discussed below).

With the leprosy epidemic already evident, His Hawaiian Majesty Kamehameha V approved late in 1865 an act which provided for the segregation and isolation of lepers, starting the evolution of a complex leprosy code which was "interspersed throughout the laws of Hawaii. \* \* \* there was special reference to leprosy in laws pertaining to marriage and divorce, estate and income taxation, claims against estates, absentee balloting, employment rights and State pensions of patients, fishing rights in waters off Kalawao, separation of infants from mothers, penalty for concealing persons with leprosy, rights and duties of kokuas (helpers), the oath of loyalty, the practice of medicine, the sentence of convicts, and the term 'Hansen's Disease' instead of 'leprosy.' Clearly the legal, social and medical history of leprosy in Hawaii is an integral part of the historical fabric [sic] of the islands -- in fact such an integral part of that changing treatment policy depended on major revision by the legislature [ca. 1969] of the entire health code and sections of the legal codes affecting many other areas other than health." (Hitch 1969)

In 1969, Hawaii abandoned its century-long practice of separation-isolation of leprosy victims. The new medical program: (1) leprosy patients are hospitalized on an individually determined basis, based on medical-social grounds (laboratory results are no longer the primary criterion for

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 5.

admission or discharge); (2) hospitalization is voluntary -- except in the rare cases of individuals whose refusal to cooperate with medical management of his leprosy poses a threat to public health; (3) outpatient programs place emphasis on education and motivation, to keep patients on therapy and under medical supervision (the treatment regimen is individualized for each patient); (4) contacts of diagnosed patients are examined on a outpatient basis, and (5) laboratory techniques are standardized with the National Communicable Disease Center, Atlanta, Georgia. Hawaii's primary hospital for leprosy victims is Hale Mohalu, in Honolulu, but leprosy patients are confined to other hospitals for treatment of other conditions.

Patients at Kalaupapa Settlement on Molokai's isolated peninsula remain by choice. Many have become institutionalized there -- Kalaupapa is their home and accustomed lifestyle; others prefer rural Kalaupapa to Hale Mohalu in the urban setting of Honolulu on the island of Oahu; -- all patients at Kalaupapa have the promise by Board of Health Officials that they may live out their lives on the peninsula as wards of the State of Hawaii. Within a generation, the last of the thousands of lepers transported since 1866 to Kalawao and Kalaupapa will have completed their lives there; but these last do so voluntarily, their disease arrested and non contagious.

Contrasting Views of Leprosy in Hawaii

Attention has been called to the dread of leprosy and attitudes prevalent in the Western world, as expressed by Hitch, quoted above. Hitch tells of a prominent Honolulu business executive who refused to marry and have children because an ancestor had been leprosy. Daws (1973: 232) tells of Anna, wife of Sanford Ballard Dole, son of a Protestant missionary, president of the Hawaiian government after the monarchy fell (1893), and first governor of the Territory of Hawaii. Anna a Caucasian, "led a private life dominated by such a dread of leprosy that she would not go from room to room in her own house without covering the doorknob with a handkerchief."

Most Caucasian physicians and all white Protestant clergymen who visited Kalaupapa Peninsula refused to touch the lepers. Doctors usually left medicine on fence posts for the patients. No Caucasian native speaker of English ever accompanied as a kokua a leprosy white sent to Kalawao, but there is a record of a French kokua who accompanied a French leper. No white Protestant minister ever volunteered to live at Kalawao permanently, just visit. White Protestant ministers in Hawaii were married. It was unthinkable to leave the family to go there to live and even more unthinkable to take the family along.

Christians in Hawaii, even Fr. Damien, saw a link in the 1880's between syphilis and leprosy. This theory was developed and promoted by Dr. George Fitch, a government physician, who viewed leprosy as the final or fourth stage of the venereal disease. The white man, according to Fitch, had

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE		Hawaii
COUNTY		Kalawao - Maui
FOR NPS USE ONLY		
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE	

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 6.

acquired some immunity to leprosy from centuries of exposure in Europe. Even licentious white men in the islands who had contracted syphilis were largely protected from the fourth stage -- leprosy.

"Fitch had next to no support for his ideas in the medical profession itself, \* \* \*. But among good Christians Fitch's ideas acquired a sort of moral persuasiveness. To the rigorous Christian mind, Hawaiians were immoral because [they were] sexually promiscuous. Promiscuity among the kanaka [term for native Hawaiians] seemed impossible to stamp out. It was a form of contagion, epidemic in its incidence, awful in its consequences. So was leprosy. The Christian mind readily linked one with another, and Christians talked in the same breath of the contagion of the soul and of the body, of moral and physical leprosy." (Daws 1973: 133) White Christians saw the root of leprosy in Hawaiian sexuality. To them, Hawaiian culture was "endless and endlessly renewed sexuality \* \* \*" (Daws 1973: 134) and their organized Protestant religions tried to stamp out the culture including the language, while saving the Hawaiians as a people from extinction and paganism.

Imperialism, incipient as with the Americans in the Kingdom of Hawaii and mature as with the British in India, brought white men in contact again with a horrible disease that had not been imperative to them since the Middle Ages, before leprosy had retreated from their European continent. But in the non-Western world, especially the tropics, leprosy was widespread. White men in the 1800's faced it again only when they expanded imperially. Cleansing the leprous soul of the heathen was one of imperialism's manifestations and duties. White clergymen of all faiths worked at it overseas. But white men, even their doctors, knew no cure for the physical leprosy.

Hawaiians were well aware that epidemic diseases had arrived in the islands with the white men. These diseases, including cholera, smallpox, influenza, measles, the venereals, and finally leprosy, had drastically reduced their numbers. The 300,000 Hawaiians of 1778, when Cook landed, were reduced to just under 57,000 by 1872, the lowest point in the Hawaiian census counts.

Hawaiians believed that there were two kinds of diseases -- haole and kanaka. Haole originally meant foreigner or anything foreign, but more and more its use referred to white men and their introductions to Hawaii. Kanaka meant man, humanness, and beloved family attendant; it was the Hawaiians' term for themselves. When the term kanaka was used by a white man it was usually used in a derogatory sense.

When it came to disease, Hawaiians believed that a haole could be cured of a haole disease by haole medicine; a kanaka could be cured of a kanaka disease by kanaka medicine; but a kanaka with a haole disease could not be cured with haole medicine. Some Hawaiians were so strong in these beliefs that a few of the lepers at Kalawao refused haole medicine. The kanaka medicines used on the peninsula, or used in other Hawaiian communities in the islands, were as ineffective against leprosy as were the haole treatments.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 7.

Hawaiians viewed the separation (from family and friends) which accompanied leprosy as inhuman, and perhaps a racial plot against them. Some Hawaiians said that the required smallpox vaccinations caused leprosy; that lepers taken to Kalawao were in reality killed there by whites; that Hawaiians called to the Honolulu receiving hospital were dosed with leprosy; and that the bodies of dead lepers were "cut up" during autopsy proceedings by white physicians. Hawaiians treated their dead with loving respect. Defilement of a body by autopsy was a final insult and could cause trouble in the Hawaiian afterlife.

But above all, in spite of disfigurement and the open sores, Hawaiian lepers needed to touch and be touched. Hawaiian lepers on the peninsula, or hidden within the bosoms of their families elsewhere in the islands, continued to marry and have children. Physical contact and continued close association between non-leprous Hawaiians and leprous Hawaiians did not stop. There was no Hawaiian cultural conditioning against leprosy and lepers as there was with Europeans and Americans. A Hawaiian leper, no matter how disfigured, remained a beloved brother, father, uncle, grandfather, friend, son or lover and was wanted at home, wanted as part of his extended family, and wanted as part of his local Hawaiian community. The crying and wailing at the wharfs as lepers boarded for Kalawao was because of the enforced separation coming. This fear of separation and the need to be close to loved ones explains the kokua -- the healthy Hawaiians who voluntarily went to Kalawao with leprous friends or relatives. Official policy put an end to the kokua program in 1873. Leprosy was hated by Hawaiians not for itself as an epidemic or what it did to humans, but for the segregation-isolation of lepers enforced by the white mans' laws.

The introduction of epidemic leprosy to Hawaii was thought by some Hawaiians to be a plot by white men to eradicate the Hawaiian people and complete the white domination of the islands. It can be said that leprosy affected the Hawaiian people's views (1) of themselves as a biological and cultural entity capable of survival and (2) of white men, especially Americans, as the destined controller of overseas territories peopled by non-whites. Leprosy and the attitudes associated with it in Hawaii became and remained part of America's societal and imperial history.

Kalawao, the Press, and the News Peg

Kalaupapa Peninsula, itself isolated within an archipelago which itself was isolated from the world, became locally newsworthy in 1866 when the first lepers were banished to it. By the time the big roundup of lepers began in 1873, Kalawao was an infamous place to numerous Americans. Letter and articles, many written by Protestant clergy in the islands, were being quoted frequently in the major American religious and secular periodicals. Some coverage probably spilled over to England. Leprosy and Kalawao were common subjects in communications from or about Hawaii after 1866.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 8 page 8.

With the 1873 roundup underway, Walter Murray Gibson, later prime minister for His Hawaiian Majesty Kalakaua and in 1873 the editor of the Honolulu newspaper Nuhou (April 15, 1873), urged King Lunailo to visit the settlement for the morale of "the saddest and most hopeless outcasts of the land," and added, "if a noble Christian priest, preacher or sister should be inspired to go and sacrifice a life to console these poor wretches, that would be a royal soul to shine forever on a throne reared by human love." The king did not go (he wrote a letter to the lepers instead), but the suggestion of need for spiritual assistance at Kalawao touched the Catholic Bishop in Honolulu. Bishop Maigret, at a dedication of a church in Wailuku, Maui Island, with his clergy present, asked for a volunteer to visit the Catholics on Molokai Island (including the lepers). Fr. Damien was among the volunteers, and with the Bishop "embarked on the S.S. Kilauea, and arrived at the landing of Kalaupapa on the 10th of May [1873] at 11 o'clock in the morning. The intention was that Father Damien should stay in the settlement for two or three weeks, and then return to his district. But during the few hours of the Bishop's stay, the lepers prepared and presented a petition signed by 200 persons, asking the Prelate for a resident priest. Mgr. Maigret did not make any decision. Says he in his journal: 'They ask me for a priest who can remain habitually with them; but where to find one?'. However, Mr. Gibson, hearing of the incident on the Bishop's return to Honolulu, thought that it was the fulfillment of the wish he had uttered a few weeks before, and wrote in the 'Nuhou': (May 13, 1873) \* \* \*. The venerable Bishop addressed the lepers \* \* \* and introduced to them the good father, who had volunteered to live with them and for them. Father Damien formed this resolution at the time, and was left ashore among the lepers without a home or a change of clothing except such as the lepers offer. We care not what this man's theology may be, he is surely a Christian Hero.'" (Yzendoorn 1927: 200)

Three days later (Nuhou, May 16, 1873), Gibson wrote, "We hope his Majesty will remember the good priest who has gone voluntarily to minister unto His Majesty's afflicted people on Molokai. If this is not a 'faithful minister of the Gospel,' we don't think he is to be found in these islands."

Bishop Maigret's hand was forced by the press. When Damien wrote asking for a permanent assignment to Kalawao, Maigret let the news stand as official, if premature. Within ten days the news coverage had resulted in the taking up of a subscription -- \$130, and mostly from Protestants some writers say -- for the benefit of Damien's work. This subscription also made news.

Then began the public controversy over Damien in the periodicals which continues in 1975, 86 years after Damien's death. The controversy seems to have begun with Protestant clergy who felt the Catholic-Damien move to Kalawao was a reflection on them and on Protestantism and resented the favorable press coverage. Rivalry between Catholics and Protestants was by 1873 of long standing tradition in Hawaii. Protestant columnists and letter-writers-to-editors of Protestant oriented publications pointed out that a leprous Congregationalist deacon, a Hawaiian, lived and conducted regular services

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 9.

at Kalawao; that 20 copies of a Protestant publication were sent free regularly to the lepers at Kalawao; and that the Mormons had a non-leprous elder, a Hawaiian, a kokua to a leprous wife, in residence at Kalawao and that he conducted regular services. All true. The protest point made was that Protestants and Latter Day Saints had not been really negligent. One writer pointed out that Mormon elder J. H. Napela's devotion, "is certainly as praiseworthy as that of Father Damien (sic)." (Hawaiian Gazette, May 21, 1873)

Daws (1973:- 61-62) writes, "\*\*\* the Honolulu press was acting as if Damien had done something singular \*\*\*. The provincial of the Sacred Hearts mission in Honolulu, writing to the father-general of the Congregation in Paris, had no explanation for the phenomenon; he could do not much more than describe it. The only topic of conversation he said, was the devotion of Damien, the risk he ran of catching an incurable disease. He was being admired and exalted for his sacrifice in going among the victims of leprosy without a place to live, without the necessities of life. And yet, as the provincial remarked, there was nothing unusual in this among the Sacred Hearts Fathers and Brothers at Kalawao before Damien. But 'all that had happened without noise, without public admiration. The honor of attracting attention, exciting sympathy, stirring up the press, was reserved to Father Damien.'" Damien had become and continued to be Kalawao's news peg, a peg partially carved by the press itself.

From 1873 on, Damien in his Kalawao setting among the lepers made news, kept alive by Damien's running public battle with the Board of Health in his efforts to improve the shelter, care and food, in quantity and quality, of the lepers. The plight of the leper colony below the imprisoning cliffs brought donations. The Bishop sent donated drums, flutes, guitars and brass horns for a Kalawao band. Sisters sent ribbons and colored clothes for uniforms to be worn by the competing burial societies. Sheet music came; choral contests became popular. The Board of Health finally sent rudimentary medical supplies. A store opened and granted each leper six dollars a year in clothing to replace the former allotment in kind. Food rations improved. The diocese forwarded shiploads of gifts; regular steamer service began. Present always in the press coverage was the unspoken question: would Damien catch leprosy?

Damien was diagnosed as a definite leper at the turn of 1884-1885. For the remainder of his life he worked under the same sentence of death as his patients and parishioners. This situation's press coverage was wide in the Western world. The news moved men like Ira Barnes "Brother" Joseph Dutton to leave a job in America and James "Brother James" Sinnett to leave Ireland to join Damien and work on the peninsula. It moved men like Anglican priest Hugh Chapman in London to set up and maintain a fund for Damien's use at Kalawao. Chapman was attacked in print for trying to "create sympathy for an idolatrous priest in that abominable region." (London Tablet, Nov. 6, 13, 1886) It moved men like Edward Clifford, London artist, Protestant laymen

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 10.

philanthropically interested in leprosy, who read about Damien's disease in a Soho, London, girls' club magazine, to tour the leprosy centers of India and visit Damien at Kalawao. Clifford favorably compared the Hawaiian Settlement to its counterparts in India, painted pictures and wrote a book about Damien. Damien's mother died of shock after reading the news in a Belgium newspaper.

Charity donations to Kalawao increased greatly and often by-passed the Bishop in Honolulu. Damien was informed by the Bishop that the Bishop, " \* \* \* would prefer to be told what the money was being used for, rather than have to find out in the newspapers." (Daws 1973: 208) Damien and his immediate superiors in Honolulu often were at odds. Damien was no organization man. Neither was he a publicity seeker.

Part of Damien's fame can be put in the context of the medical history of leprosy, as it related to Western history and imperialistic history in general. Damien was born in 1840, at the beginning of the decade in which for the first time leprosy was given a full and reasonably accurate medical description. He committed himself to live and work at the settlement in 1873, at the moment when Norway's Hansen successfully identified the bacillus of leprosy. At this point in medical history it was popularly assumed that leprosy was hereditary, just as it was assumed to be primarily a disease of non-European, generally tropical, and "primitive" places. Damien's life, with its evidence that a white man could contract the disease through work among non-whites, was part of the context for a change in the thinking about the disease. Damien's experience made it popularly clear that leprosy was not hereditary but contagious.

Damien, age 49, died April 15, 1889, at Kalawao. Obituary notices of a generally laudatory kind were carried in newspapers around the Western world. San Francisco had the news on May 9 and New York on May 10; London on May 11. The London Times (May 13, 1889) wrote that Kalawao " \* \* \* a scene of loathsome and disparing riotousness \* \* \*" had been transformed by Damien into a model colony, an ideal society. Deathbed photographs of the disfigured Damien, which the Hawaiian government wanted suppressed, sold widely in Honolulu and were shipped abroad. Thousands of Londoners bought copies and in Birmingham the riot police were called after they went on display.

In London, Anglican clergyman Hugh Chapman wrote to the Times that he wanted to continue his fund for Damien's work. The Archbishop of Canterbury, a Catholic Cardinal, two dukes, an earl, a Baron de Rothschild, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales endorsed the concept and contributed. The fund started as the Father Damien Memorial Fund, but changed its name to the National Leprosy Fund as its concepts and purposes broadened. It provided a monument to Damien at Kalaupapa; brought special treatment to leprosy victims in England; and started research into leprosy in the British colonies, especially India.



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 11.

But controversy -- was he s<sup>l</sup>ight or sinner -- continued after Damien's death. The Rev. H. B. Cage, Protestant clergyman, of California, wrote to the Rev. Dr. Charles McEwen Hyde, a Protestant clergyman in Honolulu, for a balanced and reliable judgement on Damien. Hyde, in the midst of world wide obituary praise of Damien, replied that Damien, "\*\*\* was a coarse, dirty man, headstrong and bigoted \*\*\* no hand in the reforms inaugurated [Board of Health did them all] \*\*\* not a pure man in his relations with women, his leprosy due to his vices and carelessness." (as quoted by Daws 1973: 12) This would have remained a private opinion had not Cage seen to the letter's printing verbatim in a Protestant periodical in San Francisco. From there, it was picked up for reprinting elsewhere.

In Sydney, Australia, Hyde's blast of Damien was read by Robert Louis Stevenson, then the most famous of living writers in the English language. Stevenson had visited Kalawao a few weeks after Damien's death and was impressed with what he saw and learned there about Damien. Stevenson wrote a polemical counter-blast, a open letter to Hyde, which became a classic. Stevenson's polemic and Hyde's charges have been endlessly reprinted worldwide to keep Damien's name alive, if controversial.

Considerable media coverage occurred in 1937 when Damien's remains were exhumed at Kalawao at the request of the King of Belgium and taken to Belgium for reburial. In 1938, the Catholic church began beatification proceedings for Damien. They continue. In 1969, the State of Hawaii chose Damien to be one of two people to represent Hawaii as "illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each State may deem worthy of this national commemoration." A statue of Damien stands beside that of Kamehameha the Great in the National Statuary Hall. The Damien statue, by sculpturess Marisol Escobar, shows Damien in an advanced stage of leprosy.

Damien: Doer and Symbol

Multiple reforms, a steady progress in facilities, supplies and programs for the humanitarian care and morale of lepers awaiting death at Kalawao occurred during Damien's tenure there. Damien appears to be largely responsible for the reforms. Under the light of publicity which accompanied Damien's predicament and labors on the peninsula, governmental and private works of duty and charity improved facilities and conditions. Damien was a man of exceptional energy and capacity for action. Granted that the kingdom's Board of Health did as much as could reasonably be expected for leprosy victims in that place and time, there remained an enormous amount to be done on the spot for the sufferers. Damien, as well as being a priest, was at one time or another, perforce: nurse, doctor, public works planner and supervisor, carpenter, mechanic, superintendent, law enforcement officer, coffin-maker and gravedigger. Damien was not the only resident minister of religion at the settlement:

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 8 page 12.

a succession of Protestant pastors of Hawaiian blood served there; and Mormon elders, also Hawaiian, looked after patients of their faith. But Damien was the one man, white or Hawaiian, who stayed for such a length of time, and the one man of Kalawao who in his life and works embodies greatness.

Because he touched them, hugged them in Hawaiian-style greeting, conversed to them in their language, dressed their sores, amputated as necessary their fingers, toes and feet, shared his tobacco pipe, dipped into the common calabash of poi, laughed with them, played with diseased children, and showed no cultural distress at their disfigurement, Damien was accepted by the Hawaiian lepers. He was the one white man who cared and understood them. Damien's aloha for them, his reforms and programs created hope that life while it lasted in exile would be as good as possible.

An American naval surgeon, G. W. Woods, visited leper colonies all over the world. He visited Kalawao in the summer of 1876. His testimony of 1876 agrees with that of the London artist Clifford in 1888 that Kalawao was the best of its kind in the world.

Simultaneously with the reforms at Kalawao, Damien became a symbol in the Western world, a position largely brought on through press coverage. Damien appeared to his contemporaries in Europe as a benign imperialist, a man who went on behalf of his civilization to the ends of the earth, to do good among dark-skinned unfortunates there. Europeans could watch the working-out of his destiny from a safe distance. Damien was adequately remote, a half-a-world away.

"Other men and women of religion locked themselves away in places as cut off from the world as Kalawao to work among the victims of leprosy and to die of the disease. By and large such deaths went unnoticed \* \* \* it was the special fate of Damien not only to die of leprosy but to have his death seen as somehow representative, so that he came to embody for the whole world what it was to be a leper; his affliction signifying what the open sores of one man might mean to all men \* \* \*. Damien was uniquely the Leper of all the world."  
(Daws 1973: 5)

Life of the Lepers

After 1873 -- life was harder in prior years -- and with regular steamer service, each leper received a weekly ration of five pounds of meat (or could choose three pounds of salt salmon) and a bundle of concentrated poi (pa'i'ai) weighing 21 pounds (or could elect to take ten pounds of rice, or seven pounds of bread and flour). Salt ration per leper was five pounds a month. Quality and delivery dates varied, as did amounts available. Patients could take the value of the weekly food ration in cash to save or spend. Many lepers saved enough to build private homes.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
Hawaii	
COUNTY	
Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries) Item 8 page 13.

A small store, with subsidized merchandise, extended each leper an annual credit of six dollars for clothing. Each patient drew against it as need arose.

Bedsteads replaced floor mats in the hospital after 1873. Patients usually lived five, six or more to each cottage. All lepers lived at Kalawao and were allowed to go to Kalaupapa only on boat days. They walked, unless they could afford a mount. Patients could plant gardens, hunt and fish as they wished.

Prior to Damien's full effect on life and attitudes, Kalawao's axiom was "Aole kanawai ma keia wahi" -- in this place there is no law. Damien reported to the Board of Health in 1886 that promiscuity, prostitution, slavery of able children, expulsion of the weak and aged to die unattended, the hula, sorcery and native doctors still existed but in diminished amounts. Home brew and strong distilled spirits were made. Damien instituted inter-leper marriages, organized a band, choral groups, public works projects, celebrations, parades, burial societies and social organizations. The Hawaiian language prevailed.

In the Hawaiian language, the term for leper and leprosy was lepera; and for Damien: Kamiano. Life at Kalawao and attitudes in Hawaii in general during Damien's tenure on the peninsula are described fictionally and with accuracy in the novel Molokai (See Bibliography, Item 9) by Oswald Bushnell, part-Hawaiian, and retired professor, University of Hawaii, of microbiology and medical history.

The significance of the archeological story is contained in the collection of structural remains scattered over the peninsula and not as individual isolated units (sites). The archeological story provides the background for the history of the land and its people. To the pre-1778-79 Hawaiian, the peninsula was not isolated and was not thought of as a "natural prison." Legends and stories recount tales of the island itself, and undoubtedly Kalaupapa Peninsula, as being the "friendly island." Until inter-island travel by canoe ceased, perhaps in the 1860's, when large sailing ships became the main means of inter-island travel, and when Kamehameha V established the leper settlement, Kalaupapa Peninsula was inhabited by people who were there by choice. The religious-socio-political history, however, was under the direct influence of the Maui, Hawaii, and Oahu chiefs. " \* \* \* the island itself, being the fifth largest in size of the Hawaiian group, was not of major political importance \* \* \* ." (Summers 1971)

The original leper settlement was in the land section of Kalawao, near the mouth of Waikolu, Waialeia Valleys and later moved across the peninsula to Kalaupapa where a boat landing was established. The first lepers arrived at Kalawao, from Honolulu, on January 6, 1866. (Kuykendall 1953) Since then the peninsula has been closed to all, or most, outside influences. The archeological remains have only recently come under threat of "modern" man.

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 14.

There is probably no other place in Hawaii where an outdoor laboratory exists virtually untouched by outside forces from ancient to modern times. To date, there has been little to no field work on Kalaupapa Peninsula. The archeo-historical picture is blank. Traditional and oral accounts, legends and stories abound, some of which have been recorded by travelers, missionaries and residents. These sources are unorganized and scattered. One cave shelter, site 312, was excavated by University of Hawaii students with only limited success.

The major significance of the archeological resources is in a supportive role to the history of the land and the people. Prehistoric land use, settlement patterns, population studies in relation to the land use, sea exploitation, agricultural patterns and systems, and oral traditions are only a partial list of possible subject areas that can be studied here leading up to the main historical importance of this land - the leper story.

Note: Miss Lynette Roy, a part-Hawaiian, experienced in oral history projects at the University of Hawaii, is currently conducting an oral history project among patients and long-tenured staff members at Kalaupapa. The project is sponsored by the Hawaii Natural History Association of the four National Parks in the islands and funded by the Hawaii Newspaper Agency and the Cooke Trust.

Application of Criteria of National Significance

- A. 1. Kalaupapa Peninsula is a historic district at which events occurred that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified prominently with and which outstandingly represents the broad social history of the Nation; and from which an understanding and appreciation of our American heritage may be gained.
2. Kalaupapa Peninsula is associated importantly with the life of Father Damien, a person nationally (and internationally) significant in the history of the United States.
3. Kalaupapa Peninsula is associated significantly with public health and humanitarian measures of more than a century's duration in an effort by the political ancestor of one of the States and by a U. S. Territory to save an ethnic group from extinction.
4. Kalaupapa Peninsula contains structures that embody the distinguishing characteristics of "institutional Hawaiian" architecture of the 1930's and earlier that are exceptionally valuable for a study of style and methods of construction.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 8 page 15.

5. not applicable.

6. The archeological sites of Kalaupapa Peninsula and its associated valleys and gulches are relatively undisturbed and have potential to shed light upon periods of occupation, including the historic, and may reasonably be expected to produce data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

B. Kalaupapa Peninsula historic district possesses integrity of original location and intangible elements of feeling and association. Kalaupapa Settlement in the historic district has a composite quality derived from original workmanship, original locations, and intangible elements of feeling and association inherent in an ensemble of historic buildings having visual architectural unity.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

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FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE		Hawaii
COUNTY		Kalawao - Maui
FOR NPS USE ONLY		
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE	

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries) Item 10 page 1.

Verbal Boundary Description. Kalaupapa National Historic Landmark.

The eastern boundary of proposed Kalaupapa National Historic Landmark begins at a point on the north shore of the island of Molokai, Hawaii in the area of Wainene (716250 E., 2342500 N. zone 4 UTM). From this point the boundary runs in a southerly direction coincident with the boundary of Kalawao County to a point at the top of the ridge above Leinaopapio Point, at approximately the 3000' elevation. From this point it runs in a south-easterly direction along the top of the pali to the point, Ohialele, at the top of Kipapa Ridge. The line continues, along the top of the Papaala Pali, in a southerly direction, still coincident with the Kalawao County line, to the point Puu Alii. It continues in a westerly direction across the peninsula formed by Waikolu Valley and Pelekunu Valley to a point, Hanalilolilo, at the head of Waikolu Valley. The boundary continues along the top of the pali in a northwesterly direction to the point Kalahuapueo, thence to the point Puu Kaeo, thence to the point Kaluahauoni, all the time coincident with the Kalawao County Boundary. The line continues along the top of the pali in a westerly then northerly direction to the point Alae, thence in a southerly direction, along the top of the pali, to the vicinity of the diversion dam, crosses the Waihanau Stream, continues along the top of the pali in a northerly direction to the point Puu Kauwa. Thence it continues along the top of the pali still coincident with the Kalawao County line to the area (point) Iliilika, thence to Keolewa. It continues thence westerly to a point at approximately 706100 E., 2343650 N. (zone 4 UTM). No longer coincident with the Kalawao County line, the boundary continues along the top of the pali on the Palaaau State Park boundary and beyond to the point 705250 E., 2343800 N. From this point it runs mauka to the shore thence to a point 1500 m offshore (705400 E., 2345650 N.). From this point it runs in an easterly then northerly direction 1500 m offshore then around the Kalaupapa Peninsula. Upon rounding Kahu Point the line continues in a southeasterly direction to a point 500 m due north of Mokapu Island, continues in an easterly direction to a point 1500 m offshore (717175 E., 2343600 N.) thence southerly to a point 500 m offshore (716500 E., 2342600 N.) thence to the point described as the beginning point 716250 E., 2342500 N.

- \* NOTE: 1. Coordinates given in the above description are all zone 4, Universal Transverse Mercator grid. Coordinates have been scaled off the map and are approximate.
2. The boundary of Kalaupapa National Historic Landmark is coincident with the Kalawao County line except that portion of the boundary enclosing the land area Nihoa, and a zone  $\pm$  1500 m offshore. Kalawao County is wholly within the landmark.

UTM References

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A (4) 718400 E., 2348800 N. | B (4) 718400 E., 2337300 N. |
| C (4) 705200 E., 2337300 N. | D (4) 705200 E., 2348800 N. |

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE Hawaii	
COUNTY Kalawao - Maui	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

Item 10 page 2.

Map References:

- 1:24000, USGS, Kamalo, Hawaii
- 1:24000, USGS, Kaunakakai, Hawaii
- 1:62500, USGS, Island of Molokai, Hawaii

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Hectares</u>
Total land area inc. offshore islands	8,613.97	3,486.08
Total water area	7,031.0	2,845.45
Offshore islands	20.50	8.30
Land divisions		
Waikolu	3,361.59	1,360.44
Kalawao	1,980.52	801.52
Makanaiaua	1,903.99	770.55
Kalaupapa	1,250.8	506.20
Nihoa	96.57	39.08
Total Landmark	15,645.	6,331.53

D

A

PACIFIC OCEAN

UTM REFERENCE

A 4/718400/2348800

B 4/718400/2337300

C 4/705200/2337300

D 4/705200/2348800

NIHOA

KALAUPAPA

NAKAAHUALA

KALANAO

MOLOKAI DISTRICT

WAIKOLU



C

B

A

D

USGS TOPO - MOLOKAI 1952  
1:62500

KALAUAPA NATIONAL  
HISTORIC LANDMARK  
KALAUAPA, HAWAII

UTM REFERENCES  
A 4/718400/2348800  
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D 4/705200/2348800

