XII. KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT, 1940-1980

A. Changes in 1940

1. Hospital

The outstanding improvement during this time was the provision made in the main lobby for a fully equipped office unit for the nursing administrative activities. It provided a private office for the head nurse, an open office area, dressing rooms, and a storeroom. Two offices formerly used for these purposes were thus made available for patients' rooms, bringing normal capacity of the hospital to fifty-four beds. The kitchen-dining room unit was improved and remodelled and new equipment added, creating a better arranged and more commodious operation.

2. New Construction

New construction and major repairs were confined to items of emergency or pressing need. Items specifically for patients' use included four wash houses in connection with patient cottages, a comfort station for men and women adjoining the visitors' compound, and a pavilion, partly financed by a private donation. For general settlement needs, the principal work involved a freight platform at the top of the pali to facilitate the handling of supplies down the trail by pack animals, additions to the system of paved roads and streets, and extensions to the new electric distribution system. At the steamer landing an electric winch was installed, the boat channel and basin were cleared of large rocks, and new bumpers were placed on the dock; the new staff laundry was placed in service and the crematory was opened on a noncompulsory basis for the first time in August 1939; the extensive overhaul of the ice plant was completed; the new bakery was remodelled; and on Staff Row the guest cottage was remodelled for a housekeeping apartment, and the former superintendent's quarters were reconditioned and furnished for occupancy by the assistant to the resident physician.

B. **Impending War Brings Changes**

It was fortunate that the building and rehabilitation program had gotten underway at Kalaupapa during the previous decade, because such growth would have been impossible under wartime restrictions on money and personnel. Because the Kalihi Receiving Station was situated between Honolulu Harbor and Pearl Harbor and within the limits of military targets, it was considered to be in a dangerous location. The Board of Leper Hospitals and Settlement tried to reduce possible casualties by transferring patients to Kalaupapa. At Kalaupapa, in preparation for a national emergency that might prohibit supply shipments, hospital supplies were increased and ordered for a six-month period. General supplies and provisions were ordered in excess of usual needs. Additional warehouse space was provided to accommodate the reserve stocks of provisions and supplies built up for medical and general use, quarters were expanded, and vegetable gardens increased in size.²

On May 15, 1942, thirty-five of the fifty-five patients at Kalihi, including all the children, were transferred to Kalaupapa. The presence in the settlement of forty-two patients between the ages of nine and eighteen evacuated from Kalihi Hospital created many new problems and responsibilities for the board. Attempts to provide diversions and education resulted in the organization of Kalaupapa Boy Scout Troop No.

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2. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1941, pp. 5-6; "Board of Hospitals & Settlement War Emergency Activities, 1941-1944, Pre-War Considerations," reprinted from Hawaii Medical Journal, Mar.-Apr. 1945, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu. In the early days there had been practically no gardening except for flowers, with all fresh vegetables being shipped from Honolulu or coming out of a can. The lack of shipping during the war stimulated gardening. There was no boat into Kalaupapa for nearly three months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Many of the Victory Gardens thrived so well that the produce was sold to the board for patient use, netting the patients substantial incomes.
46 and establishment of a school on October 15, 1942, using the school and shop equipment from Mount Happy School at Kalihi.\(^3\)

During the war, morale at Kalaupapa was high. Subscriptions were plentiful for war bond drives; fruit, vegetable, poultry, and hog raising increased; and medical services at the hospital were better because of the transfer of equipment from Kalihi Hospital and additions that were made to the hospital buildings.\(^4\)

C. A Destructive Tidal Wave Hits Kalaupapa

In 1946 effects of a tidal wave were felt along the west shoreline of the settlement, from Bay View Home north through the

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3. Summary of Departmental Activities, Hawaii (Terr.) Board of Hospitals and Settlement: A Brief Summary of the Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1942, pp. 4-6. Bernard Punikaia, a resident at Kalaupapa and Chairman of the Kalaupapa Patients' Council, remembers the evacuation to Kalaupapa. His recollection points up the fact that despite improvements made in living conditions and other amenities, Kalaupapa peninsula still bore the burden of a dubious reputation:

It was that event in history [attack on Pearl Harbor] which was responsible for us children being shipped to Kalaupapa. Honolulu was declared a war zone, and for us kids, I guess the Board of Health considered Honolulu to be a hazard to our health. Of course, they considered us to be a hazard to society too. But for our protection, and maybe the protection of the citizens of Honolulu, we were told we would be sent directly to Kalaupapa. The decision was made quickly. Some children pleaded with the nurses. At that time, Kalaupapa had a dreaded reputation. It was a place where people were sent to die. It was a place without hope, a final solution, a final place of isolation from which there was no return. Children were normally not sent there, unless they had relatives confined within Kalaupapa. Only the advanced adult cases were sent there. But it was the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor which changed the Board of Health policy and thus resulted in my final banishment to that place we all feared.

Gugelyk and Bloombaum, Separating Sickness, p. 104.

industrial center, on through the cemeteries by the sea, and along Airport Road to the "Fish Pond," 1.5 miles in all. (In 1917 it was mentioned that Dr. Goodhue selected a plot of low ground, surrounded it with a wall, and intended flooding about eight acres for a fish pond.) Effects were also felt from the mouth of Waikolu Valley along the foot of Waikolu pali to Wai'ale'ia Stream. In the settlement, damages were sustained on several frame buildings, including the superintendent's office, in the mechanical and electrical equipment in the ice plant, in shops, at the laundry, and at the rock crusher. Twelve beach homes were washed away and others damaged. Cemeteries along the shore were a shambles, with massive gravestones moved off their foundations and fences and stone walls destroyed. Repairs were necessary by the Department of Public Works to replace the eight-inch main along the cliffs and make certain improvements at the Waikolu headworks.5

D. Lawrence Judd Becomes Resident Superintendent

In 1947 former Governor Lawrence M. Judd was appointed resident superintendent of Kalaupapa settlement. The arrival of Judd marked another turning point in the development of Kalaupapa, for he and his wife Eva Marie made extraordinary efforts to give the residents a fuller and more meaningful life. As mentioned earlier, Judd had been very moved as a child when seeing the leprosy victims at the pier in Honolulu loaded on boats for Kalaupapa. After that time he expressed an interest in one day helping better their lot in life. During the 1921 legislative session he was a member of the committee on health, where he was involved in discussing matters affecting the public health, including the problem of leprosy on the islands. The legislative session of 1921 provided one of the first important improvements in the condition of the patients by giving some electrical power to the settlement. Several small generator units were supplied to homes that had previously had no power or refrigeration.

On making occasional trips to the settlement, Judd became convinced that more could be done to help the people. He had been able to pursue his interest in Kalaupapa while serving as the Republican governor of Hawaii from 1929 to 1934. It was during that time that conditions at the settlement had seemed bad enough to warrant the appointment of a commission of prominent citizens to investigate the situation and make recommendations. Harry A. Kluegel, an ex-army engineer, had been appointed to make a survey of the settlement, and acting on his recommendations, the territorial legislature of 1931 had largely rebuilt the settlement. 6

E. Conditions in 1948

1. Medical

In the spring of 1948 there were 280 patients at the settlement and about 38 parolees and 6 kōkuas, as well as about 85 well persons. The practice of allowing husbands and wives of patients to come to Kalaupapa to live and act as nurses had recently been discontinued, though in the long history of the settlement rarely had a kōkua contracted the disease.

Medical work at this time was centered in the sixty-bed hospital and was overseen by the resident physician and two assistant physicians. Eleven nurses (five Sisters of St. Francis, including the head nurse, and six lay nurses) and two laboratory technicians provided support services. Much of the care requiring less skill was performed by patient helpers.

In May 1946 a great change in the treatment of leprosy took place with the use of sulfone drugs--promin, diasone, and promizole. The drugs had been developed in 1943 and treatment with them as part of routine therapy began in 1946. The most promising treatment yet available, the sulfone drugs introduced hope for the alleviation and arrest

of symptoms, and possibly a cure. In April 1947 Dr. Norman R. Sloan, the settlement medical director, wrote in a report to the Hawaii Territorial Medical Association that "we hardly dare to hope for it [a cure] . . . [yet] . . . it seems safe to say that for the first time drugs of real value for the amelioration of leprosy are at hand." By mid-1948 remarkable improvement was being shown in the patients, about 85% of whom were receiving one of these drugs. Patients were given a choice of taking the treatment or not. It was stated in August 1948 that about 240 patients were under voluntary treatment. Their ulcers were healing, nodules subsided, laryngeal and nasal lesions improved, and in some people failing vision had been arrested or improved. The death rate was falling and the temporary release rate was rising. Children up to the age of fifteen appeared most susceptible to the disease, so no children except patients were now allowed to come to the settlement. Prospective mothers were taken to the receiving station at Kalihi for confinement until birth, when the baby was immediately separated from its parents. In the spring of 1948 there were sixteen patients under the age of sixteen at the settlement.

2. Social

Not long after the Judds' arrival at Kalaupapa, one of the patients said to Mrs. Judd: "Before you and Mr. Judd came all we did was eat, sleep, fish and ride bicycles. Now there is something to do every moment. . . ." The Judds were extremely enthusiastic in the fields of therapy and adult education. Indeed, probably the most important actions taken by the Judds were those oriented toward encouraging the patients to keep busy and active. Mrs. Judd acted as a

7. Damon, Siloama, p. 45.


10. Ibid., p. 3.
hospital volunteer, working several mornings a week in the hospital lab doing X-ray work. She also taught in a new series of adult education classes started under the direction of the Department of Public Instruction. In addition to a regular school up to a certain grade, special interest courses offered included carpentry, cooking, shorthand, typing, and other sorts of occupational therapy that patients with handicaps could perform. Block printing, sewing, weaving, and rug-making from abandoned seed bags were also popular. An agricultural program on the science of farming was also introduced. A new beauty shop was set up by the Honolulu Hairdressers and Cosmotologists Association. A Lion's Club was initiated by Mr. Judd in 1948, with a special interest in the blind patients. A wide variety of social activities centered around Damien Post No. 30 of the American Legion; Boy Scout Troop 46, which held a summer camp every year at Kalawao; The Kalaupapa Entertainment Club, which put on dances, plays, and auctions; the Kalaupapa Improvement Club; and the Young Peoples Club. Picture shows were exhibited twice a week at the social hall, and educational shorts were shown on Sunday evenings. By 1949 twenty-seven patients were working in the craft shop. A craft club had been organized, with a president and officers handling the club business.

Activities and social opportunities such as these helped in the continual struggle against the inertia and apathy of the patients, perhaps a symptom of the disease, and the inevitable and periodic discouragement of the members of the staff which is without doubt heightened by the limited area of the peninsula and the inability in this isolated spot to get away, even for a few hours of rest and diversion.

The Judds' desire was to give the patients something to do, a more normal life. They encouraged visitors to come and patients to go home on visits. Souls as well as bodies had to be treated. When he

11. Ibid., p. 4.
was governor, Judd had signed a law permitting the sale of beer in Hawai’i and this included Kalaupapa settlement. Before that it was never allowed and patients had to bootleg it. Judd also wanted to clean up dumps and trash in the settlement area that bred rats and a loss of self-respect. Abandoned junk was everywhere, in homes, on roads, and on the beaches. This included old autos, mattresses, iron scraps, crates, rusty pipes, plumbing fixtures, stoves, and lumber. Staff and able-bodied patients hauled the litter to pits and dumps--600 truckloads of trash. 12

A program of public relations was instituted, because a need to build morale as well as physical structures was deemed essential. Relaxation of rules was attempted and many of the artificial barriers separating the patients from well people were taken down as being unnecessary and objectionable, such as the twenty-foot-high fence around the guest house and the gate on top of the pall, the guard of which was discharged. (From the top of the high gate, a wire from which tin cans were suspended ran to the guard's cottage. Their jingling warned that someone was going up or down.) Judd also removed the railing separating the superintendent's desk from the bench where patients were to sit when talking with him. Restrictions at the dances at the social hall were also lifted. Direct daily airmail service was initiated between Kalaupapa and Honolulu on March 1, 1950, and patients whose condition justified it were allowed to fly to other islands on temporary leave. Judd also worked very closely with the various religious personnel at the settlement--Father Patrick Logan, the Roman Catholic priest; the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna, the Protestant minister assigned to Kalaupapa by the Hawaiian Board of Missions; and the sheriff of the county of Kalawao, Jonah Mahelona, who represented the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and was assisted by missionaries from Utah who lived part-time in the settlement. The Mormon Church sent replacements frequently for a while, but ultimately stopped the practice. The Buddhist faith also had a small temple at the settlement.

3. Administrative

The settlement administration was directed during this period by the Board of Hospitals and Settlement, whose members were appointed by the governor of the territory. They acted through the general superintendent of Hospitals and Settlement who administered through the permanent resident superintendent of Kalaupapa settlement. Kalawao County was unique among Hawaiian territorial counties because it was entirely administered by a single territorial institution. Kalaupapa peninsula was actually more closely tied to Honolulu than to the rest of Moloka'i because it had its own water system, livestock, airport, post office, courts, telephone system, and police and fire departments. All food and other supplies were ordered directly from the settlement administrator's office, and all maintenance of buildings, painting, electrical work, carpentry, and plumbing was handled by various governmental departments, the work being done by patient labor or civil service employees.

A uniformed five-man police force oversaw adherence to settlement regulations. Department of Public Instruction teachers provided the same academic standards as elsewhere in the territory to patients. The settlement's district court had a presiding district judge appointed by the chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court from among the patients, and a volunteer fire department was on hand for emergencies.

4. Food and Private Businesses

Inmates raised a wide variety of food for patient use. Many residents had successful businesses catering to the patients' needs. Residents could also purchase goods from Honolulu or by mail order. Supplies arrived by boat once a week or special freight could be brought in on the daily plane.

5. Housing

Territorial employees were provided with housing and food during the length of their employment. Visitors to patients had access to

a stove, refrigerator, hot water, and electricity. Beds were provided, but bedclothes and food had to be brought in by the visitor. Relatives and friends could only sit and talk with patients at the meeting house near the visitors' quarters. Nonpatient visitors or employees could not intrude on the privacy of patient homes unless on government business or in case of emergency.

6. **Water**

A continuous supply of water to the settlement came from two catch basins a mile or so up Waikolu Valley. About five miles of six- and eight-inch cast-iron pipe brought the water by gravity flow into the 950,000-gallon (750,000?) storage tanks and then throughout the distributing system. During the April 1, 1946, tidal wave, some fifteen hundred feet of pipe were washed out to sea. On that day the water rose twenty-five feet above normal at the Kalaupapa dock and about fifty-five feet at the mouth of Waikolu Valley.  

F. **Miscellaneous Structures and Sites Mentioned in 1940s**

1. **Visitor Meeting Room and Pali Guardhouse**

During his tenure as resident superintendent, Judd removed the wire netting from the visitor room and the guard from atop the pali.

2. **Crater Cross**

On Easter 1947 a group of patients asked Judd for permission to erect a large white cross on the crater hill for Easter Sunrise services.

3. **Federal Flats, Kalawao**

By the end of 1948, picnic and lā'au grounds were being developed at Kalawao by the Kalaupapa Lions Club for the use of residents and their families. This wide stretch of lawn near the ruins of

the U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station is referred to as Federal Flats. Boy Scout camp was held there in the summer, when the troop pitched tents and camped out for several months.

4. Catholic Mission

In August 1947 the Catholic mission house was remodeled when a new porch was added at the rear of the building. In 1949 the Roman Catholic diocese of Honolulu sent a contractor to Kalawao to survey Damien's church and submit a description of the work considered necessary to repair the structure. The 1949 legislature then appropriated $10,000 for repairs, to rehabilitate but not remodel the church.

5. Promin Building

Kalaupapa settlement started use of the drug promin on May 6, 1946. In early 1948 the promin building was moved to the grounds of the general hospital.

6. Bishop Home

By March 1949 a social hall (small outer building) had been added to the Bishop Home where the girls learned weaving, block printing, and sewing from Mrs. Judd. The Gregg system of shorthand was also taught. In July demolition of the infirmary building, No. 14, and transfer of the infirmary patients was being contemplated. Work began in April 1950 on converting the No. 9 building at the Bishop Home to serve as an infirmary. One of the patients of Bishop Home Building No. 9 wrote N.R. Sloan, the medical director, in protest over Building


Illustration 162. Old promin house (Building No. 7), general hospital grounds east of fumigation room, 1983. NPS photo.
No. 9, or more than half of it, being turned into an infirmary and dispensary. She noted that the rooms at No. 9 were larger than in the newer buildings and had lockers. Some residents had lived there more than thirteen years and did not want to move. She stated that Building No. 9 would not be suitable for blind handicapped patients. Because it was situated higher than the other buildings, it was more exposed to the elements. The woman also stated she had been told that the verandah on the front would be screened for a dining room. 16

7. Quonset Huts

In October 1948 it was announced that the war surplus buildings at the Pu'unānē, Maui, naval air station would be turned over to Kalaupapa settlement and Maui County. Those two entities would divide 160 surplus buildings, seventeen of which, plus equipment, would go to Kalaupapa. The huts were eventually dismantled by the county of Maui and delivered to Kalaupapa on July 16, 1949, where they were stored awaiting erection. In August a tentative proposal to construct the fifteen huts was put forth. It included:

- one large quonset hut for a material shed (storage)--concrete floor
- five small quonset huts to be used as a dormitory for workmen--wood floors
- one to be used for Kalaupapa store and warehouse storage--concrete floor
- one large one to be used as a gymnasium--concrete and wood floor


one as a staff garage

one as a Bay View Home dormitory (tentative)—wood floor, or for oil storage—concrete floor

and five to serve as patient houses—wood floor18

In January 1950 it was reported that the quonset hut program was continuing. Two warehouses were complete and a new dorm for nonpatient male workers would be ready soon. Progress was also being made on the dorm for the Baldwin Home boys moving to Bay View. At a board meeting of the Department of Health on May 4, 1950, it was stated that the actual costs of the quonset hut program had far exceeded the estimates. Therefore, no additional huts would be erected after completing the addition to McVeigh Home.19

8. Staff Quarters

In a letter concerning the budget for 1949-51, Judd mentioned the lack of staff quarters. At that time, he stated, staff members as well as visitors were living in the building behind the present staff quarters that was formerly used as a laundry. It provided two small bedrooms. In August 1949 the staff yards were reported as consisting of the "Veteran's Cottage," the medical director's quarters (No. 10), quarters Nos. 1, 5, 8, and 14, and the former airport house


19. Excerpts from Board Minutes Concerning Hansen's Disease, July 1, 1949, to March 5, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Correspondence, Reports, etc., 1956-1961, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 21.
that had evidently been moved into the staff group in April 1948 to provide housing for the Bittels (C.O. Bittel was the settlement fire marshal). 20

9. Description of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1948

A publicity folder on the settlement about 1948 mentioned a few facts about stores, businesses, and activities. Support facilities comprised a laundry, carpenter shop, plumbing shop, warehouse, store, and a nursery for trees and shrubs—all run partly by patients. Three restaurant/stores were privately run. The patients raised vegetables, pigs, and eggs for the settlement, and goods were also available at the main issue store. The major cattle herd was held in Waikolu Valley. The fire department had a 1931 Ford pumper and a 1927 ambulance/hearse. The small one-room school for younger patients was taught by the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna. 21

The Kalaupapa bakery burned on March 8, 1948. It was decided not to rebuild it as a bakery because it was cheaper to fly bread in from "topside" Moloka‘i. Superintendent Judd felt that the bakery building could be made into a fine craft shop with looms, work tables, sewing machines, and a kiln for ceramics:

While we had authorization to restore the building substantially as a bakery, we had really no need for baking bread, for we found it cheaper to bring bread in by airplane than to bake in the settlement. If we rebuilt as a bakery, there had to be an oven as an essential part of the restoration. We rebuilt the


structure substantially as a bakery, left the old oven in place, and turned it into a workshop which became the pride of the institution.

10. **Sanitary Inspection of Settlement, 1949**

A sanitary survey of the settlement took place in the summer of 1949 and the following structures were specifically mentioned:

a. **Poi and Vegetable Room**  
This room, formerly used for the manufacture of poi, was now used only for the processing of poi, the storage of vegetables, and the distribution of these commodities. The adjoining room was used for the storage of discarded equipment. The structure was considered beyond repair and in need of rebuilding.

b. **Ice House**  
It was recommended that the wooden covers used to cover the ice containers in the brine solution be replaced and the old defroster removed.

c. **Slaughterhouse**  
This old dairy barn was in dilapidated condition and was recommended for demolition.

d. **Bishop Home Infirmary**  
This building was referred to as dilapidated.

e. **Jail**  
This structure contained a kitchen and bath facilities. Filipino cooks lived in one wing of the jail and operated chicken coops and pens. (It had been stated in 1937 that kōkuas were living in the renovated jail.)


Illustration 165. Social hall, 1949. Police department here until 1950, when moved to jail.

f. Pig Pens, Chicken Farms

It was reported that twenty-five of these structures with old wooden floors built close to the ground were in operation. Chickens were being raised at all 100 outpatient cottages, and at about twenty-five, hogs were raised.23

11. Physical Improvements at Kalaupapa after July 1, 1949

After an investigation in 1948 by the Attorney General's office, the 1949 legislature abolished the Board of Hospitals and Settlement and transferred the administration of the Hansen's Disease program back to the Board of Health on July 1, 1949. Responsibility for the leprosy program was administered by the Division of Hospitals and Settlement of the Territorial Board of Health. The office of "Superintendent" was changed to "Division Director." This was a grave responsibility for the board, which had been deprived of this responsibility almost twenty years earlier after failing to provide for the welfare of the patients or to control the disease. The new Board of Health, under President Charles L. Wilbar, Jr., set out immediately to establish policies based on Wilbar's belief that leprosy (or Hansen's Disease as it was officially known in the territory by act of the 1949 legislature) was a disease and should be treated as such and that public superstition should not dictate policies of medical administration. The policies decided upon were:

1. no more admissions to Kalaupapa settlement;

2. establishment of a hospital for the care and treatment of the disease near a medical center. (Three months after the Board of Health took over, the Kalihi diagnostic and detention facility in Honolulu from which patients were deported to Kalaupapa was abolished and the desired hospital was opened--Hale Mohalu);

23. Chief Sanitary Inspector, Oahu, to Director, Division of Sanitation, August 16, 1949, Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, July 1949-September 1949, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
3. admission of newly diagnosed cases to contagious disease units of existing local hospitals on the island where the patient resided; and

4. quarantine only during the infectious stage.24

a. New Dormitory and Construction Camp

In early 1951 the Division of Hospitals and Settlement reported on progress made at the leprosy settlement in terms of physical improvements. Living quarters had been increased by construction of a fourteen-room dormitory for patients in one quonset hut, and by the addition of thirty-eight bedrooms, two baths, and a living room fashioned from a group of five quonsets that formed a new construction camp for nonpatient employees. Further improvements were made by moving the kitchen and dining room from the old construction camp (former McVeigh beach home area) to the new one and enlarging them. By July 1950 nonpatient workers had moved to their new quarters.

b. Baldwin/Bay View Homes Merge

Around the first of March 1950 the Baldwin Home for Men and Boys, because of the reduced number of patients there and a need to save operating costs, was merged with the Bay View Home. The Brothers of the Sacred Hearts continued in charge of the combined homes. In May 1950 the Reverend Alice Kahokuoluna wrote Dr. Wilbar concerning the proposed ouster of the Kaopuiki family from their present home, the house to then be enlarged and improved as a home for the Catholic brothers taking care of Bay View Home. Mr. and Mrs. James Kaopuiki were living in quarters assigned to the "Guest Matron." The house was a memorial from the Wilcoxes of Kaua'i and had been built as a dispensary for the patients many years earlier. It was now used as a

24. "This is Kalaupapa," 1950?, V.A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), pp. 5-7.
public place where families could visit relatives. Mrs. Adeline M. Ogawa, manager of the Bay View Home for many years, had lived there. 25

The brothers evidently stayed for the time being in their quarters at the new Baldwin Home. On June 11, 1950, a fire broke out in the kitchen of the brothers' quarters. It destroyed most of the kitchen and inflicted heavy damage in the adjacent dining room and bedroom. 26 It was decided that the kitchen would not be repaired and that the brothers would be housed elsewhere. The director of the Division of Hospitals and Settlement advised the settlement administrator in late August 1950 to submit a request for consideration by the Board of Disposal to dismantle and demolish the brothers' quarters and chapel at the Baldwin Home. 27 A day later the director again advised the administrator that the chapel at Baldwin Home was not to be moved, because a room in the brothers' new quarters could be used for devotions. Funds should not be sought to build new quarters in or near the Baldwin/Bay View Home for the brothers, but an existing facility should be utilized. The only one available was the house occupied by James Kapuiki (Kaopuiki), No. 277 (Wilcox Memorial Building). The Kapuikis could be moved into an apartment in the visitors' quarters, No.

25. Kahokuoluna to Wilbar, May 19, 1950, file Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, March 1-August 30, 1950, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. Why Mrs. Ogawa lived in the Wilcox building rather than in No. 10 or No. 11 is not clear.


27. Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to Institution Administrator, Kalaupapa Settlement, August 23, 1950, file Hospitals and Settlement, Miscellaneous Correspondence, March 1-August 30, 1950, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
274. A cottage in the visitors' yard could be assigned to the brothers for use for meditation if there was not room in their quarters. 

In May 1951 Superintendent Judd requested from the Catholic Church that the chapel at Baldwin Home be moved adjacent to the Baldwin/Bay View Home for the use of the blind patients. He said it was a question of moving the chapel or converting two rooms in Building No. 4 of Baldwin/Bay View into one room and furnishing it with the equipment now in the Baldwin Home chapel. This latter proposition was agreed to. These two rooms were at the left of the entrance in Building No. 4 and would be more convenient for the blind and infirm Catholic patients than walking over to St. Francis Church.

In 1951, however, most of the Catholic brothers left Kalaupapa, after fifty-six years of service. Only four were left, one administering the Baldwin/Bay View Home, two doing the cooking and looking after patients, and the fourth functioning as a pastor. Four members of the order who died in service are buried in the St. Philomena churchyard.

c. **Patient Houses**

Thirty-seven patient cottages were repaired throughout and twenty-nine painted on the interior. Roofs on all the settlement buildings were repaired.

d. **Damien Church**

In January 1950 repairs were started on the Church of St. Philomena with legislative funds. The church was renovated and rededicated on June 16, 1950.

28. Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to Institution Administrator, Kalaupapa Settlement, August 24, 1950, in *ibid*.

29. Lawrence M. Judd, Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, to the Most Reverend James J. Sweeney, D.D., May 4, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1951-May 1951, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
e. Wilcox Memorial Building

The Wilcox Memorial Building was altered and enlarged as living quarters for the Sacred Hearts Brothers.

f. Kalawao Pavilion

The Kalawao pavilion was erected as an additional recreational facility for patients in 1950.30

12. Construction Completed by End of 1950

On September 6, 1950, the Board of Disposal approved a request to dispose of fifteen old buildings at Kalaupapa. The structures were no longer suitable as living quarters and were vacant. All material worth salvaging would be used for repairs to other buildings. The annual report for the period ending December 31, 1950, mentioned several items of construction that had been carried out:

a. The quonset hut building program had been completed as far as funds allowed. Two large warehouses and a large addition to the Bay View Home as well as a five-hut construction camp were erected under this program;

b. the boat landing was cleared and the removal and rebuilding of the rock crusher was underway;

c. a new picnic pavilion at Kalawao was erected;

d. the historic churches at Kalawao were renovated under separate appropriations;

e. alterations and painting of the McVeigh Home dining room and two dorms were completed;

f. the old infirmary of the Bishop Home was closed;

g. the Baldwin Home was evacuated and combined with Bay View;

h. permission to dismantle sixteen old buildings was received;

i. the Wilcox Memorial Building was altered and enlarged for the Brothers of the Sacred Hearts;

j. the former promin house was altered to function as a sewing room, a dispensary for non-patient personnel, a nurses' retreat, and as a demonstration clinic for visitors; and

k. the kitchen and dining room of the labor camp had been altered and enlarged. 31

13. Miscellaneous Structures in 1951

a. Kamahana Building

In 1951 David Kamahana offered to sell his concrete store building for $150.00. He had been a patient at Kalaupapa and Hale Mohalu for sixty-three years. He was thirteen years of age in 1888 when he was forced to leave his parents on the island of Hawai'i and was taken to Kalawao. After a couple of months there he became depressed, climbed over the cliffs behind the settlement, and caught a boat to Honolulu. He was caught in 1896 and sent back to Moloka'i. Brother Dutton took care of Kamahana after his return to the settlement, and David helped install the water system at the turn of the century. During the last forty years of his life at the settlement, he had operated a general merchandise store, which he expanded from a push-cart door-to-door enterprise to a

31. Medical Director, Kalaupapa Settlement, to Director, Division of Hospitals and Settlement, February 7, 1951, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1951-May 1951, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.
modern business establishment in a concrete building. About eight months before his release, he was transferred to Hale Mohalu and then took up residence on the outside again. 32

b. Changes in Building Use

As of December 31, 1950, the Kalaupapa central laundry was closed, the laundry being processed commercially in Honolulu from then on. The laundry was converted to a carpenter shop and the present carpenter shop was to be used as a machine shop. The laundry collection and distribution center was moved to the old materials shed. 33


In September 1952, projects listed as having been completed during the last year involved

a. rebuilding the dam and repairing water ways in upper Waikolu Valley;

b. fencing and land clearing for cattle raising and seeding in conformance with soil conservation practices of the departments of agriculture and forestry;

c. repairing refrigeration and cold storage plants;

d. rebuilding the perishable food distribution center with a concrete floor in May; and

e. painting the exteriors of houses gray to harmonize with the landscape.


On November 21, 1952, centralized cooking of meals was instituted for those patients residing in the three unit homes and in the infirmary. Prepared food was delivered in containers to each dining room for serving. The infirmary kitchen was remodeled to serve as the central kitchen.

15. Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Sub-Committee Trip to Kalaupapa Settlement, 1954

On March 18, 1954, a sub-committee of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee took a trip to Kalaupapa. On their return, they noted several items of interest. The sub-committee members felt that about one-third of the homes, which were either beyond repair or uneconomical to maintain, should be replaced. The last major construction of houses had been in 1932 and the last road was macadamized in 1939. Many of the patients wanted the unit homes turned into cottages and to be allowed to draw rations and cook for themselves. The patients also wanted a gym. Under the 1949 appropriation made by the legislature to erect quonset huts, one was to be used as a gym. A lack of funds, however, had prevented erection of all the planned huts. The group also mentioned that the Baldwin Home had been demolished.

16. Progress Made in 1953-54

a. Airport

The Kalaupapa airport was further improved in 1953 with paving of the landing strip by the Hawai'i Aeronautics Commission.

34. C.L. Wilbar, Jr., President, Board of Health, to Kaneo Kishimoto, September 29, 1952, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Correspondence, January 1952-1953, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu; Progress Report on Administration of the Hansen's Disease Control Program During 1951 and 1952, file Hansen's Disease, Division of--Miscellaneous Reports, 1951-1956, in ibid.

b. **Landing**
   A substantial wooden landing ramp was constructed during the spring of 1954.

c. **Slaughterhouse**
   A slaughterhouse at a convenient location and equipped for one-man operation was installed.  


d. **McVeigh Home**
   In the summer of 1954, thirteen new electric hot water heaters were installed in the McVeigh Home area as part of a general changeover from oil boilers to electricity for heating water.

e. **Recreation Area**
   The Kalaupapa Lions Club resumed work during August 1954 on a new recreation area between the social hall and Staff Row. It was intended to provide a more central area than the pasture that was used or the Kalawao picnic grounds.  


17. **Proposal for Nonpatient Community on Kalaupapa Peninsula, 1955**
   In the spring of 1955, some discussion arose over the possibility of the Board of Health establishing a non-patient community in Kalawao County to which it could grant certain concessions. Dr. Richard K.C. Lee, president of the board, had long been interested in this possibility. The board proposed to set aside a section of the settlement in which nonpatients could establish a little community where they could
lead a more "normal" life and where discharged and/or temporary release patients could earn a livelihood independent of territorial subsidization.

Staff members and ex-patients would be granted the right to use certain defined areas of land on which to build residences and establish a plot for small-scale farming. Permits would be granted to discharged and/or temporary release patients to operate certain concessions, such as taxi and guide services or boat, fishing tackle, or horse rentals. Nonpatients would be granted concessions to operate a curio store, restaurant, general store, and maybe a small hotel. It was noted during discussion of the proposal, which came to nought, that the only area large enough, with water, would be near the Damien Memorial site (St. Philomena).

18. Changes During 1955-1956

The legislature of 1955 appropriated $85,000 for new patient cottages, $25,000 for paving and construction of new roads, and $10,000 for the conversion of the Kalaupapa theater so that it could show Cinemascope pictures. The $25,000 was for paving roads in the settlement and a stretch of road leading to the airport. It was suggested that the new cottages be built in a row along the leeward side of Damien Road opposite the Bishop Home area.

a. Settlement

There were now many vacancies in the settlement, the large dormitories having few occupants. At McVeigh Home, eight or ten of the patients drew food from the dining room and carried it to their own cottages to eat, leaving only about a dozen who actually ate in the dining room. This pointed out the need for further consolidation of the settlement. It was suggested it might be better to convert more apartments from existing dormitory buildings than to build new cottages.

In terms of new separate housing, the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee favored spreading the houses in the central part of the settlement on vacant lots or replacing houses that were torn down rather than grouping them in one place. The committee also favored large lots so that tenants could engage in subsistence farming and also avoid a crowded appearance in the settlement. In the long run, the committee advocated further consolidation, further conversion of existing structures to house-keeping apartments or individual cottages, and making some of the smaller units available to single persons as well as couples. 39

b. Roads and Trails
It was stated in early 1956 that the appropriation for roads and trails at Kalaupapa included repairs to settlement streets, the road to Kalawao, and maintenance of the beach trail and valley trails at Waikolu as well as of the pali trail. 40

Several projects had been completed by the summer of 1956. It was reported that the Bishop Home main dining room had been closed the first of the year due to a dwindling population in the home. The remaining residents were eating in a small dinette-kitchenette at the infirmary building. The installation of the Cinemascope process in the theater had been completed, and a contractor was building nine new cottages for nine married couples now living in dilapidated cottages. Some single persons occupying cottages in worse condition than some of those to be abandoned by the nine married couples would be moved to


40. Ira D. Hirschy, M.D, Director, Division of Hansen's Disease, to President, Board of Health, March 14, 1956, file Division of Hansen's Disease, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1954 to March 1956, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
vacated cottages and their houses would be demolished. The plan was to
demolish the nine worst cottages in the settlement.41


a. Paschoal Community Hall Dedicated

On June 19, 1958, the former social hall was
dedicated as the Paschoal Community Hall, named after Manuel G.
Paschoal, who had long championed the rights, privileges, and welfare of
the people of Kalaupapa settlement.

b. Period of 1957-1958

During these two years, several McVeigh Home
quarters were converted. Nine cottages now accommodated patients who
drew rations and did their own housekeeping. These were in addition to
the four apartments converted in 1957 and the nine new cottages built in
1956. Most married couples, of which there were then fifty-two at
Kalaupapa, were considered well housed. The census of unit homes was:
Bishop Home, eleven residents; Bay View Home, thirty-eight (two married
couples); and McVeigh Home, seventeen. In addition there were
twenty-two residents in apartments or housekeeping cottages, and
eighty-one separate cottages were divided into forty with married couples,
thirty with single occupants, six with two or three individuals each, and
five were vacant.

As stated earlier, the general mess was discontinued
in Bishop Home and meals were served only in the infirmary. Only three
patients were then in the infirmary and their move to the hospital was
being considered. The Bishop Home would be retained for ambulatory
women patients who could eat their meals at the hospital.

41. Minutes of the Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee Meeting,
July 10, 1956, file Hansen's Disease Advisory Committee, 1953-1959,
Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 2.
The 1957 legislature appropriated funds to build eleven additional cottages for married couples at the settlement. A member of the Territorial Planning Office, however, suggested again that more buildings be converted to apartments instead of using the funds to build new cottages. The conversion of the one large building at McVeigh Home to four apartments cost $2,820 for each apartment. The conversion of nine McVeigh Home cottages into housekeeping units cost $2,896 for each remodelled cottage. The most pressing problem in housing now was provided by the thirty individuals who wanted separate homes. If they moved into unit homes it would save maintenance and utility costs, but they preferred more independence.

Additional street paving was done in 1956 and again in 1958, because both the 1955 and 1957 legislatures had appropriated funds for the extension of paved streets in the settlement. A fire detection and alarm system was installed in the hospital and Buildings No. 2 and No. 3 at Bay View Home. A chlorinator was installed in the water line between the storage tanks and the settlement. Five temporary release patients were granted concessions to operate a guided tour and taxi service in Kalaupapa; the first tour began in November 1957.42

c. Fiscal Year 1959/60

During the 1959/60 fiscal year the re-laying and reinforcement of the water pipeline from Waikolu Valley to Kalawao was half completed. The completion date was set for March 31, 1961. Resurfacing of the older roads of the settlement was initiated in 1959 as a two-year project. Half of the work was completed in the 1959/60 fiscal year. After that work was delayed because of installation of a new rock crusher. That apparatus was purchased for $10,875 and installed during the 1960/61 fiscal year, but it did not start operating until December 1960.

**d. Fiscal Year 1960/61**

The new administration building was constructed during the 1960/61 fiscal year at a cost of about $20,000. It was built on the open lot east of the post office building and replaced the old building near the boat landing.

Also at this time the public works engineer of the Department of Accounting and General Services was drawing up plans for expanding recreational facilities on the basis of a $15,000 general fund appropriation made available for a park. The patients wanted a multi-purpose playing court in a central location suitable for volleyball, tennis, and basketball. They also wanted a centrally located softball field. The work was to be completed that summer.43

The conversion of McVeigh Home from a "unit home" to a housing area was completed September 30, 1960, with the remodelling of ten more cottages. All the patient quarters in the McVeigh Home area had by then been converted into housekeeping units. The main dining room was closed, and those who had been eating there either prepared their own meals from their ration allowance or were eating at one of the remaining dining rooms in the settlement.

Also during calendar year 1960, a variety of general improvements were made. Repainting was done on the exterior of the hospital, five staff quarters, six patient cottages, the Bay View Home kitchen-dining room building, and the released patients' dressing room building. New roof gutters were also installed at the hospital, and in the dining room, repainting and laying of asphalt floor tile was accomplished.44

43. Ira D. Hirschy, Director, Division of Hansen's Disease, to Director of Health, February 3, 1961, file Hansen's Disease, Correspondence, Reports, etc., 1956-1961, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

44. Progress Report, Calendar Year 1960, Department of Health, Division of Hansen's Disease, Department of Health Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 4,6.
e. **Period of 1963-1969**

During this time only a few changes were noted. In 1963 the Department of Health asked for money to reinforce the settlement's wooden bridge, probably on Puahi Street. The most recently constructed cottages were two-bedroom and painted brown. In November 1968 the fumigation of letters sent out from the settlement was discontinued. In 1969 Marines from Kāne' ohe Marine Corps Air Station repainted Father Damien's chapel, inside and out. Termite-damaged wood was replaced and masonry work was done on the belfry and chapel tower. They also restored the fence around Damien's grave. 45

f. **Period of 1970-1980**

In 1969 the Department of Health decided that no one with leprosy needed to be isolated. All new patients were to be treated on an out-patient basis. Most could live entirely normal lives except for periodic visits to doctors. Modern drug therapy enabled avoidance of lesions and scarring, and infectiousness was controlled by a new drug, rifampin, that killed leprosy bacteria within three days of treatment. At the end of 1974, 142 patients, admitted prior to July 1, 1969, claimed residence at Kalaupapa, about 119 of whom actually lived there. Many had been there since childhood and for various reasons, emotional and practical, chose to remain there. The state has assured their continued residency, although new admissions have been forbidden since 1969.

The Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Kalaupapa suggested that Kalaupapa settlement be preserved as a park after its use as a leprosy settlement had ended. A bill to make it a national historic site was introduced in Congress by Representative Patsy T. Mink. The act of October 17, 1976 (Public Law 94-518), determined that the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement constituted a unique and nationally

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significant cultural, historical, educational, and scenic resource. It directed the Secretary of the Interior to study the settlement and submit a report to the President and Congress addressing the various resources of Kalaupapa peninsula and providing recommendations for their interpretation and preservation. This was to be done in consultation with the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission, which was established by the legislation to assist in studying the question. The secretary was also to consult with other federal agencies, interested state and local officials, and patients and former patients of the settlement.

A report of the study was prepared in July 1978, and the secretary submitted it as part of a list of areas having potential for inclusion in the National Park System in October 1979. Concurrently, the advisory commission reviewed the report and prepared recommendations to the secretary. The final proposals, which became the basis of the legislation--H.R. 7217, which was introduced to the Senate on May 2, 1980--embodied the overall consensus of the state of Hawai'i, the county of Maui, the Kalaupapa residents, and the National Park Service. The Reverend David K. Kaupu, chairman of the advisory commission, endorsed the concept and language of the proposed legislation on March 25, 1980. The bill, which proposed establishment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park and boundary adjustments at existing Park Service units in Hawai'i, sought to recognize, interpret, and preserve the long history of Kalaupapa settlement, commemorate the work of Father Damien and other religious and secular groups in easing the suffering of the afflicted, and preserve and protect significant natural and early Hawaiian cultural values. It would permit the remaining residents to live at the settlement for as long as they wished, and the policy of protecting their privacy and restricting visitors to the settlement would be continued as long as necessary. However, the enactment of the bill would enable the Federal Government to proceed with the protection of historic sites at Kalaupapa--those related to the prediscovery Hawaiians who inhabited the area and those relating to Father Damien and the Hansen's disease settlement. Patients who choose to remain at Kalaupapa would still be cared for by the Hawaii State Department of Health, and the historic
A hearing on the bill was conducted on May 2, 1980, by the National Parks and Insular Affairs Subcommittee, and the full committee adopted the recommended bill on May 14, 1980. House Report 7217 passed the House of Representatives on May 19, and in an amended form passed the Senate on December 4. The House agreed to the Senate amendments on December 5, and H.R. 7217 was signed into law as Public Law 96-565 on December 22, 1980.

The legislation established Kalaupapa National Historical Park as a unit of the National Park System, its purpose being to preserve and interpret the settlement for the education and inspiration of present and future generations, by researching, preserving, and maintaining the character of the community. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to ensure that patients and native Hawaiians performed and managed the interpretation and preservation to the extent practicable. In order to provide a well-maintained community, ensure the privacy of the patients, and preserve their current lifestyle, public visitation would be limited to 100 persons a day. To ensure continuing public participation in the development and management of the park, the bill authorized an eleven-member commission, composed of patients and other interested individuals, to advise the secretary. Additionally, the secretary was authorized, with the consent of any owners involved, to undertake critical emergency stabilization of utilities and historic structures, develop temporary office space, and conduct interim interpretive and visitor services on nonfederal property within the park. He was also authorized and directed to enter into cooperative agreements with the owner of any property within the park for the protection, maintenance, construction, improvement, and interpretation of the sites, facilities, and resources of the park. Finally, the bill directed the secretary to reevaluate policies on management, administration, and public use when there was no longer a resident patient community.

46. Hearings on Kalaupapa National Historic Park, Congressional Record--Senate, December 4, 1980, S 15565.