VII. Kalawao Settlement Period, 1874-1900

A. Social and Physical Conditions Improve

1. New Hope Arises

a) Legislature Takes More Interest in Settlement

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

b) Reaction to Father Damien's Placement at Kalawao

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) Father Damien's Position in Settlement Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

2. Father Damien Attacks Problems of Settlement

a) Initial Fight Against Poverty and Vice

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

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

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

b) Tenure as Resident Superintendent

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

2. Ibid., p. 138.

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

c) Daily Routine

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d) Improved Housing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e. The Church and Churchyard

(1) Presbytery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Religious Zeal Awakened

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) Cemeteries

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) St. Philomena Remodeled

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

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

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

(5) A Church at Kalaupapa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(6) A Wider Ministry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. Leprosy Settlement in 1876

1. Visit of "Committee of Thirteen"

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

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

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

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

2. Notes by Dr. G.W. Woods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

F. Orphanages Established

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

In February 1878 Father Damien wrote:

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

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31. Daws, Holy Man, p. 138.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Princess Liliuokalani, after her visit in 1881, reported

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

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

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

1. Hospital Compound

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

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36. Ibid., p. 177.

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

2. Water Supply

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

H. Royal Visit of 1881

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Much Charitable Aid Extended to Damien

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

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

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

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

2. Need for Nurses

a. Call for Help Sent Out

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

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

b. Mother Marianne Cope Responds

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

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

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

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

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

c. Father Damien Meets Mother Marianne

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

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

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

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

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

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42. Ibid., p. 449.

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

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

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

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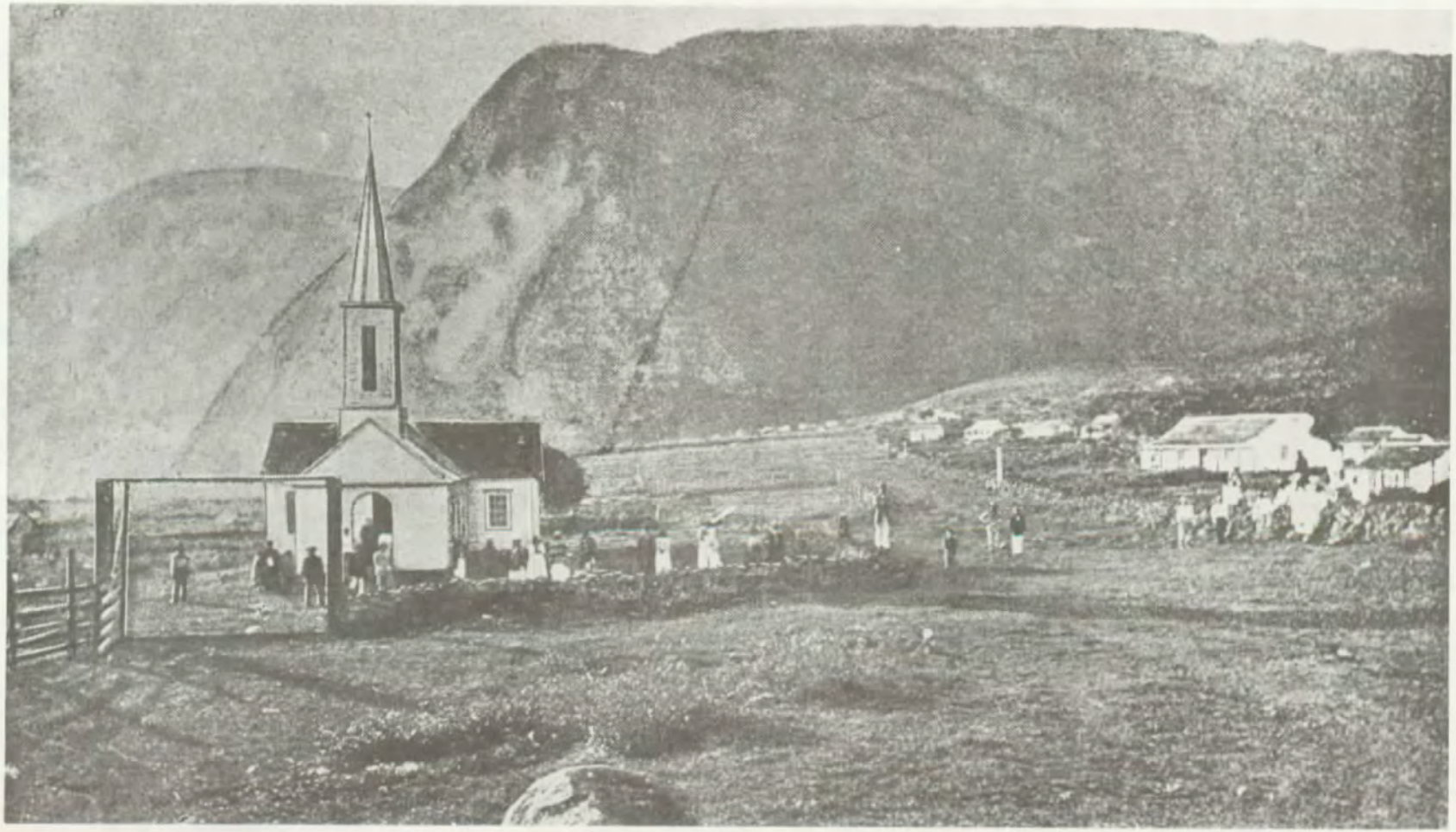
43. L.A. Thurston, Minister of the Interior, to Hon. C.R. Bishop, April 18, 1888, acknowledging receipt of letter requesting privilege of erecting buildings for a womens' and girls' home at Kalaupapa. Offer approved by cabinet and Board of Health. Interior Department Letters No. 35, Feb. 17, 1888-July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

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



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

K. Impressions of Leprosy Settlement, 1884

1. Report of Dr. J.H. Stallard

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Mouritz stated that

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

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

2. Visit of Queen Kapiolani

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

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

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

a. Landing Place

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

b. Jail, or Lock-up

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

c. Slaughtering Place

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

d. Schools

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

e. Water Supply

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

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

f. Recommendations for Improvement

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

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

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

increasing the hospital accommodation to 200 patients;

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

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

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

compelling helpless lepers to go to the hospital;

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

increasing the supply of food and clothing.

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

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

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

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

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

a. Kalawao Settlement

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

b. St. Philomena Church

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

c. Kalawao Guest House

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

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

d. Father Damien's House

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

L. Leprosy Settlement, 1885

1. Visit by President of Board of Health

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

a. Hospital Compound

(1) Dormitories and Cottages

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Kitchen and Yard

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

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

b. Store and Dispensary

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

c. Damien's Mission

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

d. Church at Kalaupapa

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

M. Leprosy Settlement, 1886

1. Report of Father Damien

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

a. "The Dwellings of the Lepers"

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

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

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

b. "Exercise for the Lepers"

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

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

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

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

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

d. "Medical Treatment"

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

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

2. Report of R.W. Meyer

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

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

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

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

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

a. Dwellings

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

b. Activities

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

c. Hospitals

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

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

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

d. Children

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

e. Improvements Made

(1) Harbor

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

(2) Storehouse at Dock

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

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

(3) Well House

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

(4) Physician's House, Kalawao

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

(5) Cookhouse, Hospital Yard

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

(6) Reservoir, Kalawao

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

(7) Water Supply, Kalawao

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

f. Law and Order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

g. Livestock

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

h. Recommendations

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

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

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

3. Goto Treatment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Arrival of Brother Dutton

a. Life of Ira Barnes Dutton

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

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

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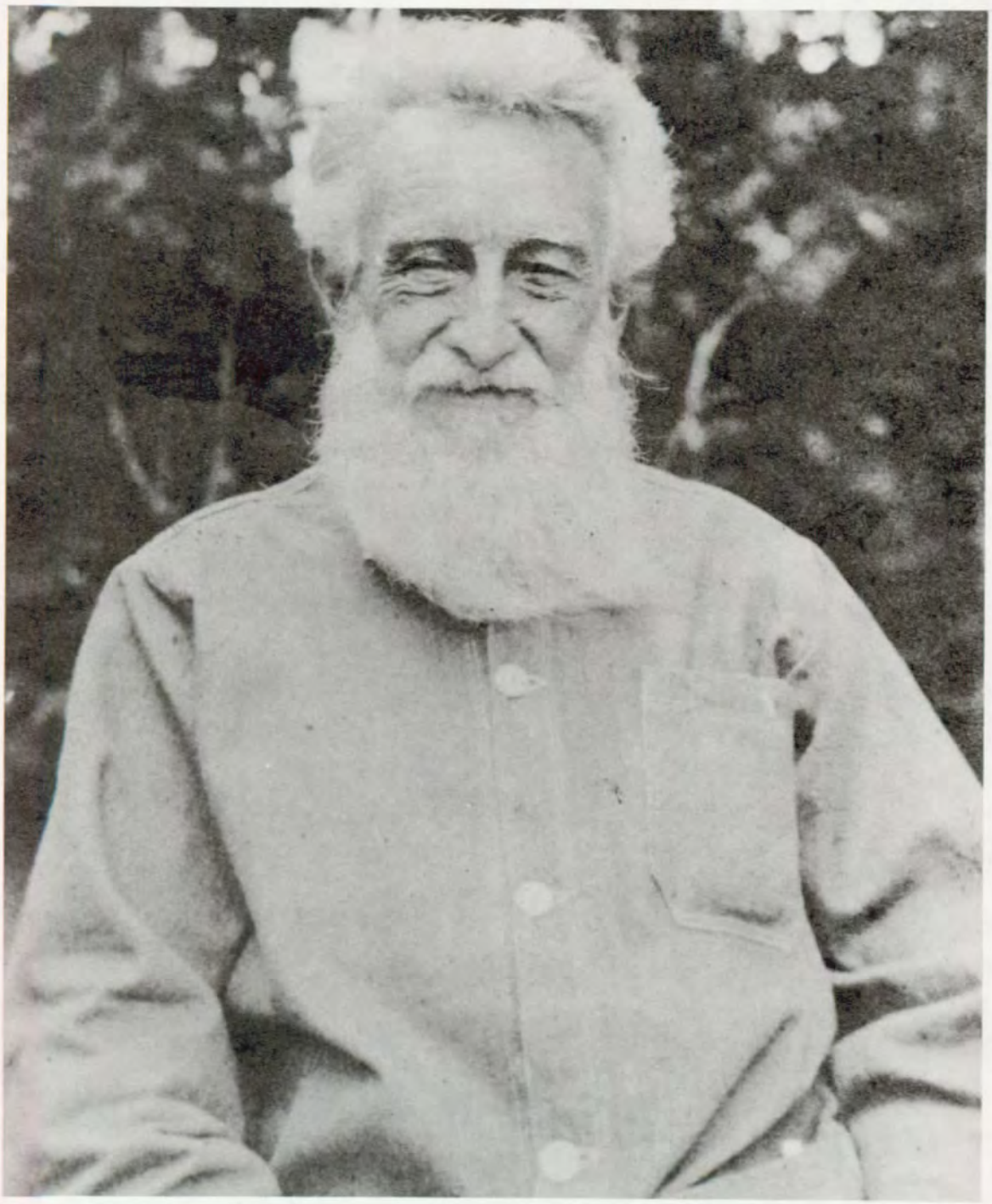
62. Another treatment used was gurjun oil, brought to the settlement from India by Edward Clifford, an Englishman and artist of sorts with an interest in leprosy who visited Kalawao in 1888. The brown, sticky oil was mixed with lime-water to make a soft ointment to be rubbed daily on the skin. The treatment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

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



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

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

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

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

b. Arrival on Moloka'i

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dutton himself said:

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

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

c. Work Begins

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

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

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

65. Ibid., p. 199.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

N. Kalawao Improvements Beginning in 1887

1. Orphanage Dormitories

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

2. Water Supply, Kalaupapa

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

3. St. Philomena Church

a. Tabernacles

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Landscaping

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

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

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

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

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

c. New Addition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

77. Case, Joseph Dutton, p. 91.

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

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

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

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

O. Colony in 1888

1. Help for Damien Arrives

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Charles R. Bishop Home

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Report to the Legislature of 1888

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

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

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

a. Agriculture and Livestock

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

b. Buildings

(1) Houses

The committee visited several of the houses of the patients:

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

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

(2) Service Facilities

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

c. Foreign Patients

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

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

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

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

a. Buildings

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

b. Livestock

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

c. Improvements

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

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84. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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

P. Colony in 1889

1. Death of Father Damien

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although it was most fitting and in accord with Damien's wish to be buried on Moloka'i among his flock, in 1936 King Leopold III of Belgium asked the Territory of Hawai'i to return the priest to his native country and requested help from President Franklin D. Roosevelt to bring the body back to Belgium. On January 27, 1936, the body was exhumed in front of dignitaries of Church and State. Patients chanted Ke Ola and Aloha 'Oe, the traditional ode of farewell, as the body was placed in a casket of koa wood, an honor reserved for royalty. The villagers looked upward with tears in their eyes as the coffin was flown to Honolulu where full official honors were paid to the remains and a solemn funeral Mass was celebrated in the cathedral. The highest dignitaries were present as well as numerous government, civil, and military officials, representatives of religious orders, and all classes of society. An American ship carried the casket to Panama and a Belgian ship then carried it on to Antwerp. In a triumphant return to his homeland, the humble missionary was greeted by the king, members of the government, religious officials, and an enormous crowd. Funeral services were conducted in the cathedral and later in the evening of May 3 an automobile carried the casket through Tremeloo to Louvain. Toward midnight Father Damien arrived at the place from which he had embarked seventy-three years before. His remains were finally laid to rest in a crypt of St. Joseph's Chapel.

In 1935 the territorial governor of Hawai'i signed a law setting up an annual gift of $3,000 to assure the preservation, as a national monument, of the church and graves of St. Philomena.

2. Legacy of Father Damien

So many years after his death, the glory and renown and the controversy and jealousy that surrounded Father Damien during his lifetime can be viewed from a better perspective. When Damien first arrived on Moloka'i, he found a still undeveloped leprosy settlement consisting of a few thatched grass huts, some wooden shacks, and a primitive hospital building. Upon his death, the peninsula held almost 400 buildings, including dormitories, neat cottages, a hospital complex, a prison, a store, a physician's residence, and storehouses. The water supply had been increased, food and clothing rations bettered in quantity and quality, and the beginnings of another formal community started at Kalaupapa. Whatever else may be said about him, it cannot be denied that much of this development was due in great part to Father Damien. The publicity surrounding his work on Moloka'i was a constant impetus for reform and improvement on the part of the Hawai'ian government, which unfailingly provided money and labor for new facilities and homes. Damien was relied upon by the Board of Health to help in the daily administration of the settlement. Superintendent Meyer's presence at the settlement was sporadic, and no resident physician was provided for several years; to the young Belgian parish priest, therefore, fell the tasks of running the hospital, the slaughterhouse, the landing, and other service facilities, simply because he was there.

Damien was the first priest to remain at the settlement and live daily with the people. Because he showed no fear of their disease and treated them as friends, they trusted him. Physical contact among friends and family was important to the Hawai'ian leprosy victims, and as soon as Damien decided to physically touch them and to share possessions, he became one with them, as well as eventually one of them. And although he helped bring about many physical improvements, more importantly he gave the people spiritual aid and promised hope for a better future--if not in this life, then in the next. He brought order,

peace, and spiritual comfort first, and then helped the kingdom address the temporal problems of adequate housing, better food, water, and medicine. In return he endured endless labor and untold physical suffering, but gained inner peace and tranquility.

Damien's activities at the settlement were at all times subject to controversy. He was frequently accused by his superiors and government officials of vanity and showmanship; the vast amount of publicity his work generated was considered by many detractors to be due to his active efforts. Those who knew him best, however, were always impressed by his humility. The publicity was often an embarrassment to him but tolerated because it showed to the world the difficulties his people were bravely enduring and encouraged donations of money and clothing and other charitable acts. He was said by his superiors to be hard to get along with, though the many distinguished visitors who came to Moloka'i found him generous, warm-hearted, and amiable and struck up enduring friendships with him. It was only in fighting for reforms and benefits for his flock that Damien could be stubborn, impatient, abrasive, and inflexible. As he became older and sicker, he probably became more obstinate and unyielding because of all he wanted to accomplish before he died. Damien was also alone most of the time, and, because he was not close to his fellow churchmen, either physically or temperamentally, he often resorted to doing things his own way on a daily need basis. Overwhelmed by all the improvements needed, he considered only the needs of his people, while the Catholic mission in Hawai'i had to consider the interests of the mission as a whole. In addition his superiors were wary of antagonizing the Hawai'ian government and its powerful Protestants, so they were often harsher on Damien than they might have been otherwise; it was difficult to extend him as much aid as possible while at the same time trying to moderate his actions and not offend the Board of Health.

One of the primary criticisms of the Damien legend has been that his admirers have ignored the work of so many other pioneer missionaries or that their work at least has been viewed as incomparable

in scope or effect. This is true to some degree, for certainly other early missionaries in the islands, both Protestant and Catholic, sacrificed much in terms of personal comfort to bring the word of God to Hawai'i. It should be emphasized, however, that Damien stood apart from many of his fellow missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, if not especially in terms of religious zeal, devotion, or virtue, at least in terms of exceptional personality and character traits and a wide variety of skills--manual labor, administration, medicine, public relations--that enabled him to accomplish far more with much less, but which often made his position within the strict Catholic Church organization very uncomfortable. He sought only to do good, although often with an indiscreet zeal that irritated his colleagues, and his activities in behalf of the sick were bonded with a passion for the cause of the Church and his congregation. To promote these two causes, he proceeded energetically, flattering no one, and fearless of the attacks of his adversaries. He existed in a world of tensions and contradictions, living with the hostility of fellow churchmen, the unending praise of the world press, and with an always tenuous dependency on the generosity of the Hawai'ian government. Coupled with his extraordinary character was his place in time, the peculiar set of circumstances that thrust him in the middle of a unique social and medical experiment that became widely observed, studied, and publicized.

Damien's importance lay in attracting attention to the plight of leprosy victims, specifically in Hawai'i, but in a larger sense, around the world. What might have turned into a squalid, forgotten village of outcasts became instead a model leprosy colony with the aid of government and charitable funds and through individual tenacity. The work of Father Damien aroused a renewed sympathy, not only in Hawai'i but around the world, for sufferers from leprosy. As the years passed and communications between nations increased, it became clearer that the medical and social problems of a country should not be isolated from public view, but dealt with without shame, because they were a part of the common experience. This time period more or less marked the dividing line between ancient and modern treatment of leprosy. Shortly

before Damien reached Kalawao, the Norwegian scientist Gerhard Hansen had isolated the bacillus causing the disease, and together

> The work of the priest and the scientist showed the world that both Hansen's Disease and the "disease" of man's inhumanity to man could and should be cured.[87]

Even his slow death from the ravages of leprosy served a purpose, for it reaffirmed what Hansen's discovery of the bacillus seemed to indicate--that the disease was contagious rather than hereditary. It also proved that leprosy was not contracted by first contracting syphilis, as some members of the medical profession and the public at large had believed. The work of Father Damien de Veuster on Moloka'i is considered one of the greatest examples of apostolic activity in history. The fact that the priest, who had voluntarily offered his services despite the health risks to help people of another race, had died of leprosy was tremedously horrific and moving to Damien's admirers. His death immediately made him a saintly figure to the remote Europeans who had followed his missionary activities so closely. Omer Englebert wrote that

> Whatever be its source, the renown of Damien has suffered no loss with the passage of time. . . . Before Damien, people pretended to forget that lepers were men. His example made men blush for their cruelty and bend again to their duty. From his day, lepers have ceased to be treated as pariahs; they are no longer driven from the helping hand extended to all other sufferers; and the human race no longer bears the shame of casting from its bosom the most wretched of its children.[88]

Damien entered the colony as an obscure parish priest and left it acclaimed as a hero and martyr. He made the name of that once notorious exile famous all over the world as an example of what governments, doctors, and clergy could do to better the situation of

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87. Bruce B. Westfall, "Father Damien, the Martyr of Molokai," Paradise of the Pacific 75, no. 5 (May 1963): 11.

88. Hero of Molokai, p. 360.

afflicted peoples by meeting both their spiritual and earthly needs. It must be remembered that Damien could not have accomplished the good he did without the continuing aid and support, both in terms of money and encouragement, of the kingdom and the Board of Health. They, too, were experiencing great difficulties in working out, on a trial-and-error basis, the best way to deal with an incredibly controversial and heart-rending social and medical problem that necessitated tactics that were contrary to the native Hawai'ian way of life. Add to the situation the sudden arrival of a fiery young priest who brooked no opposition to his demands, and the emergence of the model leprosarium of later years was indeed a small miracle.

After his death, the question of sainthood for Damien was raised. Despite acknowledgement in the years after his death of his heroic and self-sacrificing ministry, his superiors debated over whether it exemplified exceptional merit. As Gavan Daws astutely perceived:

> . . . Damien was an unusual man living in a turbulence of holiness. So he emerged as a troublemaker in the eyes of his immediate superiors, who knew him as a person, and as a hero in the eyes of the world, where he was known only for what he did: in any case an oddity, an eccentricity, an embarrassment, an exception to rules--an exceptional man, who remained at the same time perversely most ordinary in his personal ways, the ways of a peasant born and bred. This interplay of the ordinary and the extraordinary was given dimensions of moral tragedy and grandeur by his leprosy, forcing all those who knew him or heard about him, once the world got hold of his story, to ponder the problem of sanctity as Damien's life posed it--whether there might be any such being as Robert Louis Stevenson asserted: a man with his own idiosyncrasies and personal defects, with all the grime and paltriness of mankind, but none the less a hero and a saint.[89]

The importance and value of his work to the Roman Catholic Church was proven by the exhumation of Damien's remains and their removal in 1936 to a national shrine in his homeland. In 1938

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89. Daws, Holy Man, p. 249.

beatification proceedings were finally begun. The process moved slowly, however, and not until 1969, after fourteen years of research and study, did the Roman Catholic Church initiate the first major step toward the canonization of Joseph de Veuster as Saint Damien. On July 7, 1977, Father Damien was declared Venerable and his virtues "heroic," the last step before beatification. Father Damien is one of two persons selected by the state of Hawai'i to be represented in the National Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol (the other is Kamehameha I, unifier of the Hawai'ian Islands).

Though Damien's physical presence has been removed from the peninsula, he remains a strong presence in the minds of residents and visitors alike. The most obvious reminders of him are St. Philomena Church and his tombstone in the adjoining cemetery, the pū hala tree long since decayed and cleared away. Also at the settlement is the English monument designed by Clifford and elsewhere on the island are churches he built for Catholics "topside" on Moloka'i. The greatest monument of all is the modern leprosarium that developed f ṇ the crowded, unhealthy, and lawless little settlement he first found at Kalawao.

3. Visit of Robert Louis Stevenson

One of the reasons Father Damien's story has become so well known is because of a letter defending him and his ministry written in response to a letter that appeared in the press after Damien's death critical of the priest and his accomplishments. The bitter letter of denunciation was written by Charles McEwen Hyde, a Protestant clergyman. The letter of defense was written by the famous British writer Robert Louis Stevenson and became a classic document in English literature as one of the most spirited and furious attacks in any language. Stevenson visited the settlement just after Damien's death. A search for health had led him to cruise with his family among the warm islands of the South Pacific in a chartered yacht. He arrived in Hawai'i in 1889, and for five months he traveled, wrote, and learned to know the

people of the islands, including the royal family. A few items noted by Stevenson are mentioned here for general descriptive interest:

a. Pali Trails

In describing the three valleys set into the face of the pali (Waihānau, Wai'ale'ia, and Waikolu), Stevenson mentioned that though from a distance they appeared to be verdant niches, in reality their rock faces were so steep that only in Waihānau Valley was there a usable path. It was often destroyed by rains, however, and had to be continually maintained. It could not be ridden up and was a very exhausting climb and descent even for strong men. Stevenson wrote that the existence of another path to the west was mentioned by some residents. (According to a 1948 article on the settlement, in 1898 the right shoulder of the Waihānau Valley mouth was used as a trail, but by the 1940s, erosion, landslides, and disuse had obliterated it. Wai'ale'ia was said to be impassable; Waikolu could be climbed, but with difficulty.[90]

b. Landing Places

Because Kalaupapa was more sheltered, it was the customary landing place for boats. When entrance there was impossible, ships passed farther east to the vicinity of the two small islets near Kalawao and landed passengers with extreme difficulty and danger on a spur of rock.

c. Kalawao

The official quarters there consisted of the hospital enclosure and prison--a green area within a stockade with a few papayas and a flowering oleander, surrounded on three sides by low white houses. A little way off, enclosed in walls and hedges, stood the guesthouse of

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90. "Kalaupapa Settlement," rev. ed. May 15, 1948, V. A.9, M-420 (Judd Collection), p. 2. This earlier trail along Waihānau ridge was considered to have been a better trail than the present Kala'e (pali) trail further westward on the cliff face. It was used by Father Damien to go "topside."

Kalawao, and beyond that, the doctor's quarters. The guesthouse was utilized for visits by members of the Board of Health.[91]

Q. Board of Health Inspection Visit, 1890

In March 1890 the president of the Board of Health and some associates made another inspection visit to the settlement. In their report they mentioned several items of interest in regard to buildings:

1. Bishop Home

Within this complex, a schoolhouse with a large assembly room was being built.

2. Kalawao

Father Damien's cottage was noted as being on the opposite side of the church from his grave. The church, cottage, and grave were all enclosed by a fence, the front portion of which was bounded by the government road. The other three sides of the fence faced the group of old buildings constituting the Boys' Home. It was planned to place the three Catholic sisters in the neat cottage then being built on the opposite side of the road from the church. Though still living at Kalaupapa, the sisters had been in charge of the Boys' Home for about the last two months. The site of the Boys' Home was termed unfortunate--on the old graveyard below the road and subject to flooding. All the buildings were old except for the kitchen and dining room. The infirmary at Kalawao was under the direction of Dr. Sidney Bourne Swift, aided by Brother Dutton.

The inspectors visited the slaughterhouse, which they termed a model of perfection. The floor of the slaughter room was concrete, and drain pipes conveyed the blood to the pig corral where offal also was thrown. A cattle pen adjoined the slaughter room. The cattle killed were furnished on contract by Sam Parker from his ranch on

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91. Robert Louis Stevenson, Travels in Hawaii, ed. by A. Grove Day (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 47, 50-51.

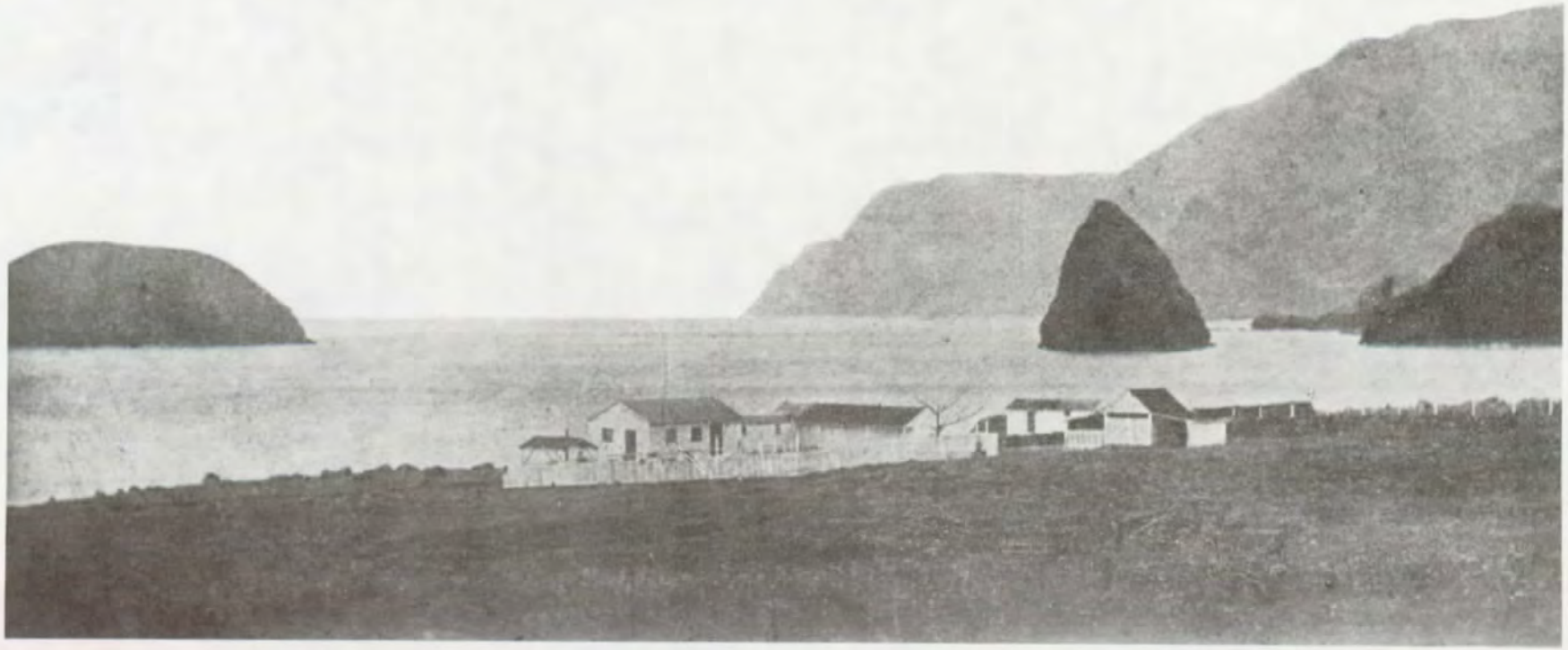
Illustration 24. Inside Kauhako Crater, ca. 1890. Note terraced fields and house. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu. (Department of Interior, USGS)

Illustration 25. Siloama Church and Kalawao settlement after 1890. Note alterations made to Protestant church. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 26. Close-up of structures seen in left background in Illustration 25, no date. Dutton wrote in 1910 regarding these buildings:

> Beach at Kalawao, Mokapu and Okala. Our old home was on this ground.
> Our wash house there yet. Also old cart house used as stock shelter.
> The little house beyond--open door--Bros. (classes?--illeg.) was had there.
> I lived there about 5 yr. when old house was in use.

Courtesy Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu.



the island of Hawai'i. All killing of beef was done by nonleprous personnel.

3. Kauhakō Crater

The floor of the crater was planted in potatoes and other vegetables. A trail used by natives on their way to bathe led down to the edge of the lake.

4. Pali Trail

The officials mention ascending the pali by a new "road" built the previous October.[92]

R. Biennial Report of Board of Health, 1890

1. Buildings

This report stated that several of the large buildings at Kaka'ako Branch Hospital, which had been established in 1881 for the treatment of leprosy, had been taken down and removed to the leprosy settlement where they were re-erected.

The president of the board, during his visit to the settlement in 1890, noted many new buildings: at Bishop Home, three large dormitories, a school, and a recreation hall; at the Boys' Home an infirmary, dormitory, and dining room and stone cookhouse with a concrete floor; a hospital building of two wards; a new slaughterhouse with concrete floor and a cattle pen; an attached cookhouse and servant's cottage for the sisters in charge of the Boys' Home; a dining room for the sisters' chaplain at Bishop Home; a dispensary at Kalaupapa; an oil and soap storeroom at Kalaupapa; and a superintendent's house with office and outbuildings. The board president also noted that the first resident superintendent had arrived on January 1, 1890.

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92. "The Molokai Trip," Hawaiian Gazette, March 25, 1890 [from Bulletin of March 18], Father Damien Clippings 1890, MS Grp. 165.4, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

2. Proposed Improvements

Proposed improvements at the settlement involved:

1) reducing expenses and improving conditions by forming the residents into communities with a central cookhouse and dining room and feeding them in common;

2) concentrating people at Kalaupapa where there was more room, a better climate, and they would be closer to the landing. The Kalawao buildings, as they decayed, would be abandoned; and

3) erecting a visitors' house at the Kalaupapa landing to accommodate twenty people, where friends and relatives could visit under certain restrictions.

3. Sidney Swift Report

The physician of the settlement, Dr. Sidney Swift, commented in the 1890 report on the unhealthy climate at Kalawao due to the extreme changes in temperature--from excessive heat to chill--due to being in the shadow of the cliffs, and on the unhealthy proximity of the old abandoned graveyard. Drainage of that area was necessary because during wet weather the rain filled the old graveyard depressions and created harmful "vapors."

4. R.W. Meyer Report

R.W. Meyer reported that there were six churches on the peninsula--a Protestant, Catholic, and Mormon one at both settlements. Meyer also stated that the idea of the Home for Boys originated with former Superintendent W.P. Ragsdale, but was carried to completion after Ragsdale's death by Damien. Meyer described the Baldwin and Bishop homes as composed of about twenty-four buildings. The Kalawao hospital comprised ten buildings. Meyer also mentioned two dispensaries, one at Kalawao and one at Kalaupapa; a resident superintendent's house (at Kalaupapa?); and a doctor's residence, a store, three storehouses for provisions, two poi houses, two prisons, and a boat house at Kalaupapa.

Illustration 27. Superintendent's residence on Staff Row, Building No. 5, 1983. Although a house was built for the superintendent in 1890 in this area, and this has been referred to as that structure, it does not appear to date from that early a period. It has, however, undergone several alterations. NPS photo.

Illustration 28. Superintendent's office on the corner of Staff Row and Beretania streets, 1930s. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

It is difficult to tell if the doctor's residence mentioned is the one at Kalawao or possibly what later became the assistant resident physician's house on Staff Row.

Improvements by 1890, in more detail, included:

a. Bishop Home

Twelve new buildings had been added to the original complex. The largest was a hall intended for recreation and for use as a school and sewing room. It could be made into one room if required. Also added were four new dorms, a cookhouse for the sisters, a servant's house, a carriage shed, and bathrooms. The original cooking and eating houses had been enlarged, a "dead house" added, and fencing erected around the premises.

b. Boys' Home at Kalawao

One large and one small dorm had been added, as well as a new stone cookhouse with a bake oven, an eating house, a washhouse for the use of the nurse washing sores, and a cottage for Brother Dutton. A cottage for the nurse had been added, and another for the Sisters of St. Francis--considered the handsomest building in the settlement--had been built by Benjamin Reed.

c. Hospital

A large new ward, a "dead house," and a new fence surrounding the yard had been added to the hospital.

Other improvements consisted of the new dispensary at Kalaupapa, a new prison surrounded by a fence (the old stone church), and the large cottage for the resident superintendent enclosed by a high board fence. A new graveyard had been fenced in that had been used for more than a year, the graveyard at Kalaupapa had been enclosed with

a stone wall, and new cottages had been built for the chaplain of the Sisters of St. Francis and for the Protestant pastor.[93]

S. Colony in 1891-1892

1. Cultivation of Waikolu Valley

During 1891 pressure was put on the Board of Health to allow further cultivation and settlement in Waikolu Valley. In the fall of that year, R. W. Meyer notified William H. Tell, new superintendent of the settlement, that the Board of Health wanted to provide suitable and remunerative labor for all able-bodied residents at the settlement and would allow them to cultivate taro in Waikolu Valley (to be known as the Waikolu Taro Plantation) under certain conditions. The reasons given by the board for granting only limited privileges to those people wanting to farm in the valley were--

1. that the valley was several miles into the mountains and covered with many KĪ plants from which an alcoholic beverage ōkolehao was distilled;

2. that if the land was opened to all, both patients and kōkuas would want to live there and probably run illicit stills;

3. that the patients and kōkuas living in the valley could not be controlled as easily as those in more open settlements;

4. that settlement there might contaminate the water supply;

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93. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1890 (Honolulu: Gazette Publishing Co., 1890), pp. 8, 40, 45-46, 87, 118-21.

5. that residents there could conceal illegal visitors; and

6. that suitable cultivable ground was limited.[94]

2. Kuleanas (Private Homesteads)

According to David Dayton, in early October 1891 there were seventeen kuleanas at the settlement, totalling sixty-six acres of land, that were still owned by private individuals. The board renewed pressure to acquire the lands, by condemnation if need be, because it felt that the entire segregation process was being aborted by outsiders coming onto the peninsula and staying on the private homesteads.[95] It had always been considered necessary to cut off illicit mingling with the residents for the preservation of discipline and for better management.

3. Miscellaneous Information on Buildings

In the spring of 1892, C. N. Spencer, the minister of the interior, wrote the president of the Board of Health with the following suggestions, made as a result of his recent visit to the settlement:

1. that the wall between Kalaupapa and Kalawao be rebuilt (possibly the stone wall that currently parallels the Kalaupapa to Kalawao road on its south side);

2. that bathtubs be placed in the new bathhouse and water let in as soon as possible at the Boys' Home at Kalawao;

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94. R. W. Meyer to W. H. Tell, September 12, 1891, and David Dayton (President, Board of Health) letter of same date, in 1891-1894, Lands--Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

95. David Dayton, Pres., Board of Health, to C. N. Spencer, Minister of Interior, October 2, 1891, Leper Settlement--Lands Purchased, Correspondence (1891-96), Incoming General Correspondence (Lands), Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

3. that people be encouraged to plant sweet potatoes and other vegetables and enclose their house lots with stone fences; and

4. that pa'i 'ai and other provisions intended for Kalaupapa not go first to Kalawao, but be placed in a suitable house at Kalaupapa for distribution.[96]

4. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1892

Improvements and repairs during the past months had included, at Kalaupapa: rearrangement of wards; erection of a large hall (Beretania), two new wards, an eating house, a cook house, and a wash house; dismantling of the old Kaka'ako buildings; and erection of a new visitors' house near the superintendent's residence, a new schoolhouse, and a milking pen.

At Kalawao a bathhouse at the Boys' Home and a new office adjoining the doctor's residence were constructed, and repair work was done on the former superintendent's house at Kalawao in the vicinity of the doctor's house.

The board noted that the bulk of the population was now at Kalaupapa.[97]

T. Report of the President of the Board of Health, 1894

1. Goto Baths

Dr. Goto arrived again from Japan early in 1893, having been engaged by the Board of Health to give special treatment to

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96. C. N. Spencer to David Dayton, March 2, 1892, Interior Department Letters No. 54, February 24, 1892-April 19, 1892, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 47-48.

97. Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Session of 1892 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1892), pp. 105, 122.

Illustration 29. Kalaupapa dispensary, ca. 1932, built ca. 1890. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

Illustration 30. Labelled old visitors' quarters, Kalaupapa, ca. 1895. This structure was said to have been erected near the superintendent's residence. This building later, however, was situated near the landing, and indeed the area shown here appears more open and to be located near the water. This is probably the guest house built in 1906 instead. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


DISPENSARY

Hawai'ian leprosy victims. A hospital building was erected at his request at Kalawao, in addition to dorms, a bathhouse, a kitchen, and a dining room for forty patients. Goto had 140 patients under his care at the hospital and the Bishop Home, including outside patients with their own facilities for heating water. The hospital was equipped and patients admitted in May 1893.

2. Water Supply

The board intended to construct a water reservoir on the high ground between Kalawao and Kalaupapa to insure a plentiful supply of water. The main pipe along the cliff near the sea between Waikolu and Kalawao was still exposed to waves during heavy storms and susceptible to damage from falling rocks.

3. Planting

During the previous winter, the board had planted a large number of ironwood and eucalyptus seeds, and it hoped to continue the practice. After rows of those hardy trees matured, other more fragile trees and fruit trees could be grown within the shelter of those groves.

4. Government Buildings

A list of buildings at the settlement owned by the board included, at Kalauapapa, the superintendent's residence, the visitors' house, the superintendent's office, the house of the chaplain to the Sisters of St. Francis, the house for the Protestant pastor, and Beretania Hall; at Kalawao, the resident physician's house and office, a visitors' house, and the house occupied by Dr. Goto.

The Bishop Home was composed of the sisters' dwelling house, wards or dorms, a hall for recreation and school, a servant's house, an office, cookhouse, eating house, wash house, and a bath and other outbuildings. The Boys' Home consisted of a dwelling house, dorms or wards (five old, eleven new), a recreation hall, a servant's house, an office, and various outbuildings.

Total buildings at the settlement were 531, of which 151 were residences.

5. Schools

Kalaupapa had both an old and a new school.

6. Hospital at Kalawao

The complex at Kalawao included the steward's house, dorms or wards, a cookhouse, and other outbuildings.

7. Stores and Warehouses

These structures included a new Board of Health store and a cottage for the storekeeper at Kalaupapa, the old store at Kalawao that was no longer used, two provision storehouses, two oil, soap, and salt storehouses, one storehouse for salted hides, one boathouse, and a slaughterhouse.

8. Workshops

Workshops included a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, and two dispensaries.

9. Improvements and Repairs

Improvements and repairs had involved an addition to the Bishop Home of two new hospital wards, a bathhouse with a heating apparatus used in connection with the Japanese bath treatment, a second butcher shop at Kalaupapa to lessen the distance to the meat supply for its residents, a new store near the landing at Kalaupapa, a new chief storekeeper's cottage, the new home for boys and helpless men at Kalawao, and the new hall or reading room built from donations of the English people and named in honor of its donors "Beretania Hall" (a corruption of "Britannia").

10. Kama'āinas

The kama'āinas at Kalaupapa were still living on their kuleanas in 1894, but the government was slowly removing them. The

Illustrations 31-32. Bathhouse at rear of dispensary at Kalaupapa, along the shore, 1932. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

kuleanas, with their houses and plantings, had already been valued by a Board of Commissioners, and the government could take them over at any time. Owners were given the choice of either receiving the value of their kuleana in cash or purchasing lands elsewhere.[98]

U. Baldwin Home

1. Construction

Father Damien's home for boys at Kalawao had always been one of the most important facilities at the settlement and a project very dear to his heart. After Brother Dutton's arrival, most of the work of the home fell to him, which consisted of providing leadership and discipline, medical treatment, and food and clothing. From early 1886 to 1888, the Boys' Home had consisted of a cluster of small rude huts and cabins near Damien's house. In 1888 two large buildings were erected and many of the most dilapidated cabins were destroyed as their occupants were moved to the new structures. On January 1, 1889, the Damien Home was accepted as an official reality by the Board of Health and operated as a home under the management of Father Damien.

After Damien's death, the Board of Health placed Mother Marianne in charge of the home, and provided a horse and carriage for the sisters to use in traveling between kalaupapa and Kalawao. On May 22, 1889, Sisters Crescentia and Irene arrived at Kalaupapa from Kaka'ako to help at the Boys' Home. While the sisters generally supervised the domestic operations, such as sewing and housekeeping, Dutton was expected to be disciplinarian and leader; he, however, concentrated mostly on keeping the accounts, attending to correspondence and general business affairs, handling the sore dressing, and attending the sick at the home and in the Kalawao hospital. By late spring 1890, the first official Home for Boys at Kalawao was completed. On May 15, Sister

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98. Report of the President of the Board of Health to the President and Members of the Executive and Advisory Councils, 1894 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1894), pp. 3-5, 13-16, 29-31, 33. The kama'aina problem is further discussed in V, 2.

Crescentia (Directress), Sister Renata, and Sister Vincent moved into the new Convent of Our Lady of Mercy at Kalawao and assumed charge of the home. This convent stood across the street from St. Philomena and from the cluster of houses next to the church in which the boys lived, and was to be used during the day when the sisters wanted privacy. They still returned to Kalaupapa at night. In 1892 funds were given to the board by Henry P. Baldwin, Protestant sugar planter, financier, and philanthropist of Hawai'ian missionary stock, for the erection of four separate buildings to comprise the Baldwin Home for Leprous Boys and Men at Kalawao. Its purpose, decided upon in discussions among William O. Smith, president of the Board of Health, Brother Dutton, and Baldwin, was to assist the men of the colony, make them comfortable, provide some recreation, and generally help them make the most out of their lives. The new home was occupied during the first week of May 1894. The complex consisted of twenty-nine separate structures, most new, but some moved across the street from the grounds of St. Philomena. Because of the disciplinary problems involved in running a home full of active boys, it was decided that a group of strong Christian men should be put in charge. On December 1, 1895, the Catholic sisters were relieved of duty at the home by the arrival of four Sacred Hearts brothers, who were placed under the direction of Brother Dutton in order not to antagonize the Protestants at the settlement.[99]

Brother Dutton described how the home for boys developed:

> It was, when I first came, just a little cluster of shanties and cabins scattered around his house. In 1886 Father Damien

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99. Case, Joseph Dutton, pp. 118-19. See Illustration 2024. According to Joseph Dutton, "that good sized white house was the one used by Father Damien as a Girls' Home, under the care of Julia, a native woman. The Brothers' [of the Sacred Hearts] house stands there now, first built for the Franciscan Sisters, and "Baldwin Home" covers the ground this side and back of that location." Joseph Dutton, Kalawao, May 1908, in Hawaiian Historical Society Library, Honolulu; Hanley and Bushnell, A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile, pp. 325-27, 332-33, 355, 357.

Illustration 33. Kalaupapa settlement, no date but pre-1906, showing typical whitewashed houses and enclosed fields. The early St. Francis Church may be seen to the extreme left on the horizon. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

had some twenty or thirty of the lepers living near his house; in 1887 we had sixty, in 1904 there were a hundred and twenty. The cluster of little cabins did not answer the purpose very long. In 1887 it began to spread, and we built two houses of considerable size. This enlargement was sufficient as to capacity up to 1890--in fact, we had to do with it until May, 1894. But it was somewhat patchwork and not suitable for complete operation. Therefore, in 1890, we began to discuss a new and better home.

In 1890-1-2 (along there) starts were made for our new home, but for one reason or another little progress was made. I was quiet at my work, not wishing any change; but Mr. W. O. Smith, then president of the Board of Health, took a notion in his head in 1893 to get me to take hold of the construction of the home, as Mr. Baldwin would supply the means. I told him I could carry it out if left entirely in my hands and not bothered, and so it was. Neither the Board of Health nor anyone else asked anything about the plans. I called for anything and everything that was needed; no one made any suggestions or asked any questions.

The home was occupied in May, 1894. Soon after, the Board of Health came to see it. Everyone was astonished to see the old rock-pile turned into what it was. There was so much praise that I was almost ashamed, having come here to be a servant.[100]

The home cost around $6,000. Baldwin contributed the initial outlay of money for construction, while the Board of Health, which later maintained the home, assisted in a number of ways. Mr. Baldwin continued to give generously to improvements for the home until his death in 1911, at which time his family took over that responsibility. Baldwin's financial generosity, coupled with the planning and unceasing labor of the Sisters of St. Francis, the Sacred Hearts brothers, and Brother Dutton, created a model institution.

The site of the home had formerly been a treeless barren rocky area covered with rubbish. Brother Dutton and some of the patients removed the rocks and debris to make room for the new

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100. Dutton, Samaritans of Molokai, pp. 221-22.

Illustrations 34-35. Catholic rectory between Siloama and St. Philomena churches, ca. 1895-mid-1900s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives and Damien Museum, Honolulu.

buildings. While the institution was primarily for the housing and care of boys, regulations were passed later by the Board of Health which permitted the entrance, when room was available, of older patients who desired to live there, although only males were allowed. The Baldwin Home was to be a retreat at all times open to leprous boys and to men who, through the progress of the disease or some other cause, had become helpless. It was not to be used as a free boarding house for those wanting to shirk their work obligations. All boys arriving at the settlement under the age of eighteen, unless in the care of their parents or guardians or near relatives who would watch over them, were to enter the home until reaching eighteen, when they could leave with permission of the superintendent. The inmates were given clothing, food, care, and medical attention, and in return were expected to work about the establishment. (Similar regulations governed the Bishop Home.)[101]

2. Description

The new complex was visited during a semi-annual inspection of the settlement in May 1896. At that time the Baldwin Home was described as an enclosure of about 2½ acres, rectangular in shape. On three sides were the dormitories, schoolhouse, laboratories, and bathrooms. On the fourth (north) side was the residence of the brothers. One of the brothers ran a tailor shop, one cooked for the brothers' mess, and two more attended to the housekeeping and dining room. The brothers also provided medical care. All the buildings were well separated as a protection against fire. The center of the enclosure, was a well-kept closely-cut green lawn whose centerpiece was a rock garden with a fountain of water.[102] By 1899 one of the chief features of

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101. "Baldwin Home--Regulations" and "Bishop Home--Regulations," file 1893, Rules & Regulations for Lepers & Kokuas at Leper Settlement, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

102. "The Semi-Annual Inspection of the Leper Settlement (from Evening Bulletin, May 25, 1896), Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 2, no. 7 (1896): 109.

Illustration 36. Siloama Church and graveyard to left, July 11, 1905. Structure to the right may be the Mormon Church, which was moved to that side of the road in 1904. Courtesy Gartley, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Illustration 37. St. Philomena Church, Kalawao, July 11, 1905, after enlargement by Father Damien and Brother Dutton. Beyond the church are Damien's old two-story rectory (facing viewer) and another structure that might be the House for the Dead associated with the Baldwin Home, where corpses were laid out in preparation for burial. (Or this might be Dutton's old house.) It is no longer in this location in Illustration 38. Courtesy Gartley, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Kalawao was the garden attached to the home--a banana plantation with several acres of vegetables.[103]

Vegetation at the home became quite lush through the years. In his memoirs, Dutton described bushy masses of countless Croton plants--actually small trees--back of the garden and all around the sides. The variegated foliage gave the home the appearance of being set in a big, red bouquet.[104] In addition to being ornamental, the trees provided fuel after they had aged a few years. Whenever a Kona wind blew in, the plants were cut down close to the ground to prevent their being uprooted. They would grow out again quickly and flourished among the stones in areas not yet fully cleared and graded. The garden had a little ash house and a big date palm near the center. Within a circle of red trees were about 2,000 banana trees. The rocks taken off the surface of the garden area were buried in long trenches.

Buildings in the complex by the early 1930s numbered about fifty-five, including small structures such as the ash and oil houses. The brothers' house (formerly lived in by the Catholic sisters) was the best constructed, with a fine yard in front, on the road nearly opposite the singing house (fashioned from Damien's old two-story house). At the edge of the garden was the recreation hall, sixty by thirty-four feet with a verandah, containing a schoolroom and band room. Dormitories, each twenty by thirty-six feet, were to the right and left of the hall.

On the west side of the yard were six more dorms. The mattress house was behind this row. In the corner near the garden was a little cottage on a terrace where a white leprosy victim lived. Beyond the mattress house was a large shed for lumber, connected with the tool

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103. "A Trip to Molokai," Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 5, no. 3 (March 1899): 47.

104. Case, Joseph Dutton, p. 111.

Illustration 38. Baldwin Home for boys and helpless men after 1905 but prior to 1909. To the extreme left of the picture is the singing house fashioned from Damien's old two-story house. Note that the house near it shown in Illustration 37 is missing. Dutton stated that he had moved his cottage adjoining the church to the Baldwin Home to be used to store paint. The large white structure to the right of the compound is the recreation hall. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


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house, carpenter shop, and paint shop. The paint shop was the cottage Damien originally built for Dutton adjoining the church. Dutton had it moved across the road and into the home complex.

In the dormitories the smaller boys were at the lower end on the right side in front of the tailor shop. Advancing up the hill, the residents increased in age and size to the recreation hall. On the other side were full grown men, gradually increasing in age so that the two lower dormitories housed the old and helpless. From there they were moved to the house for the dead, near the church, just below the singing house. Below the two dorms for old and helpless patients was the office, containing the stock of drugs and a storage room for drugs, surplus small materials, and tools, opening into the shoe shop, saddle room, and Dutton's bathroom. The bathhouse and sore dressing rooms connected with the office by ten-foot-wide verandahs. The verandahs, with long benches lining the sides, were used for playing games and musical instruments and for perusing magazines and books.

In front of the office was the machinery department. An open way of about fifty feet stretched from the front of the office down to the front gate, opposite the church, with the machinery buildings ranged along both its sides. Under one roof were the poi house, boiler house, beef room, pantry, and banana room. Nearby were a dining room, kitchen, woodshed and coal room, a lime and cement room, and a slop house. The storage house, for provisions and housekeeping articles, fronted on the road.

The Bishop and Baldwin homes were both under the general control of the Board of Health in Honolulu, whose officials attended to the business matters. Mother Marianne was in charge of the Baldwin Home until 1895, at which time Brother Dutton became director, and with the aid of the Picpus brothers who arrived that year, the home continued to run smoothly for thirty-six years.

Illustration 39. Baldwin Home, no date, ca. 1900. Courtesy St. Louis-Chaminade Education Center, Honolulu.

By the time the home was finished, the general movement of people toward Kalaupapa had already begun. This was a slow process, actually beginning in the 1880s. According to Dutton, it was not until 1902 that all the patients at Kalawao, except for those in the Baldwin Home, had moved to the other side of the peninsula. As originally built and expanded upon, the home consisted of forty-five buildings, mostly dormitories. Some were torn down through the years and others erected. Dutton did much landscaping, involving laying out lawns, building stone walls, and planting trees and shrubs.

At the rear of the home and along the base of the cliff, alongside the garden wire fence, was a row of coconut trees extending all along the east side, back of the dorms and tailor shop. These thirty or so trees came from Samoa. Forty-five Japanese plum trees, about fifty eucalyptus trees, about fifty alligator pear (avocado) trees, a dozen or more date palms, and many hibiscus and pomegranates were also planted. In the very center of the playground was a large hala tree, with three- to six-foot-long drooping leaves.

With the help of the Sacred Hearts brothers, Dutton put in a modern sewer system to replace the unsanitary cesspools. The Baldwin Home continued in use at Kalawao until 1932, by which time all the functions of the settlement had been transferred to Kalaupapa and the Kalawao home was abandoned. The remaining buildings were burned in 1936. The new Baldwin Home will be discussed in a later chapter.[105]

3. Remaining Years of Brother Dutton

Dutton's management of the Baldwin Home involved a variety of responsibilites. He oversaw routine matters, dealt with disciplinary problems, beautified the grounds, and saw that proper recreation and amusement were provided for his charges. Public interest

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105. Much of the information on the old Baldwin Home was taken from Case, Joseph Dutton, pp. 110-16, 118-21.

Illustration 40. Baldwin Home, Kalawao, no date, but ca. 1900, looking north. Dutton's office is to the left, facing the flagpole, and his cottage is probably the one in the left bottom corner. Courtesy Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Illustration 41. Baldwin Home office, Kalawao, ca. 1905. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 42. Brother Joseph Dutton standing in front of his cottage at Baldwin Home, 1921. The cottage was located to the right of the recreation hall, on a small plot of land surrounded by a low stone wall. It was enlarged as extra space was needed. Illustration 40 shows the larger structure. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

Illustration 43. Brothers' cottage, Baldwin Home, Kalawao, 1932. This was the earlier convent built for the Sisters of St. Francis who briefly supervised the home. Courtesy Kalaupapa Historical Society, Kalaupapa.

in the Kalawao settlement remained strong even after Damien's death. Donations and gifts continued to arrive, providing the home with all sorts of games, a band, and a reading and amusement room where all books and magazines donated or subscribed to were rigidly censored by the stern Brother Dutton before being made available. As the Catholic brothers took over more of the duties of running the home, Dutton spent more time in correspondence, which helped keep the home in the public consciousness, although he never discussed its business in his letters. His address book contained more than 4,000 names in all parts of the world; bags of mail delivered to him sometimes weighed as much as fifty pounds.

Because of the communications he kept up and the friendships made, tributes were often paid him. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt ordered the U.S. Atlantic Fleet (Great White Fleet), cruising around the world, to deploy off the island of Moloka'i to salute the former soldier in a gesture of goodwill for his devotion to the leprosy residents. Dutton had asked that the fleet appear so the patients could view it and feel pride in their country. Always very patriotic, Dutton, at the age of 76, volunteered to go to the front when the United States entered World War I. To interest the residents in the world outside, Dutton encouraged them to contribute to worthy wartime causes, such as the Red Cross (to which they subscribed nearly $6,000), Japanese relief, Near East relief, and the Starving Children of Europe.[106] They also purchased nearly $3,000 in War Savings Stamps. Dutton was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union Civil War veterans' association, and each year GAR members at their annual encampment voted to send Dutton a silk flag. To further instill a sense of patriotism in the patients, Dutton erected a flagpole in front of the office of the Baldwin Home. Raising and lowering the flags sent by the GAR became part of the home's daily routine. In 1925 the United States Pacific Fleet

106. Skinsnes, "A Self-Imposed Exile," p. 8.

sailed in review before Kalawao while Dutton stood at attention next to the flag. Other honors included the naming of a school in Beloit, Wisconsin, after him; a Papal blessing in 1929; and a testimonial from the Hawai'ian legislature.

After his arrival in 1886, Dutton never left the settlement. In the spring of 1930 he went to Kalaupapa for an eye operation, and in June, at age 87, an eye affliction and general poor health made it necessary for him to be hospitalized in Honolulu. He died on March 26, 1931, and was interred near Damien's grave at Kalawao. Dutton's life was a source of inspiration for those who worked with him and followed him. This humble, devout, diversely skilled, and educated individual was the right person in the right place at the right time. A loyal friend and ideal helpmate for Damien, his low-key, courteous manner helped moderate the Father's sometimes hasty temper and impatient personality. Dutton's skillful administration of the Baldwin Home, and the Catholic brothers' untiring physical efforts, resulted in many improvements, not only structural, but in the general morale and outlook on life of the patients.

V. Move to Kalaupapa and Purchase of Remaining Kuleanas, 1894

1. Gradual Move to Kalaupapa

The two villages of Kalaupapa and Kalawao had existed before the establishment of the leprosy colony. After 1866 Kalaupapa was inhabited by earlier residents and kōkuas and was closed to leprosy victims. Early on, however, the sick began drifting over to the west where it was warmer and nearer to freight and passenger debarkation. Some of these people worked at the landing, where there was a freight warehouse and a small wharf at which boats from the inter-island steamer could land. The lack of water kept the population low, however. The distance between the settlements was so slight that the narrow Father Damien road or the longer trail around the seacoast were frequently traveled. After water pipes were extended to Kalaupapa, more people moved there. This movement from Kalawao to Kalaupapa had been ongoing since the 1880s, and by the early 1900s Kalaupapa was the center of activity and settlement. As new accommodations were erected at Kalaupapa, the old houses and service buildings at Kalawao were

destroyed. Only the Baldwin Home would remain in use as a residence at Kalawao, until the rehabilitation of Kalaupapa settlement in the 1930s and the death of Brother Dutton prompted the removal of its function to the western side of the peninsula.

2. Condemnation of Remaining Private Homesteads

On January 18, 1894, a commission was appointed by the Minister of the Interior to appraise remaining private lands on Moloka'i. This move was prompted by Act 55, passed in the fall of 1893, which authorized the minister to take possession of any land and property on Moloka'i that the Board of Health required. The act stipulated thirty days' notice to the occupants before the government could take possession. To accomplish the transfer of ownership, an attempt was first made to agree with the owners on the amount to be paid for the land. If no agreement or compromise could be reached, three disinterested persons or commissioners were appointed to ascertain a just compensation to the landowners.[107]

On November 30, 1894, a notice to kama'āinas was signed by the president of the Board of Health and given to all parties at the leprosy settlement whose kuleanas had been or were being taken by the government for the better implementation of the Act of Segregation to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy. The notice stated that beginning on May 15, 1894, their kuleanas were considered the property of the government. Every portion of the peninsula, all the roads from LeinaoPapio at Waikolu to Kalaupapa landing, to Nihoa and including it, and all trails or roads to the top of the mountains to Kala'e now compromised the leprosy settlement on Moloka'i. Any parties found on these lands without a permit

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107. Report of a Commission Appointed by the Minister of the Interior, January 18, 1894, to Appraise Certain Lands on Molokai Required for the Use of the Board of Health, Non-Restricted Incoming General Correspondence, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. This report contains survey information and property descriptions, with family genealogies and land title information.

from the authorities would be considered trespassers and subject to prosecution.[108]

W. Last Years of Nineteenth Century

1. Work Performed by Department of Forestry, 1897

At the end of 1897 William Clark, forester at the leprosy settlement, submitted a report of work accomplished by the Department of Forestry at the settlement for the year ending December 31. During the past several months he and two helpers had been involved in planting and distributing the stock of trees on hand at the nursery. In addition to planting trees in the gulches of the old crater, Clark noted that more than 8,500 trees were set in Waihānau Valley. The roof of the nursery building had been altered by substituting glass sash for the cloth sections first installed, thereby improving the lighting and solving maintenance problems.[109] An 1897 article in the Damien Institute mentioned that the government nursery grounds were located just above Kalawao. The forester had planted about 10,000 young trees raised from seedlings. Most of them were ironwood, many of which had been planted in the volcano crater.[110]

2. Building Construction

Major construction by the Board of Health at Kalawao ended with erection of the Baldwin Home for Men and Boys. A few years previously the Board of Health had suggested that the patients should be moved to Kalaupapa on the western shore of the peninsula where the climate was better, a good dock was available, and the larger area facilitated expansion. The beginning of the twentieth century brought

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108. 1891-1894, Lands--Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

109. Wm. Clark, Forester, Leper Settlement, to Wm. O. Smith, President, Board of Health, December 31, 1897, 1896-1899, Kalaupapa Miscellaneous, Hansen's Disease Records, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 1.

110. Damien Institute Monthly Magazine 3, no. 9 (1897): 135.

further development at Kalaupapa and a gradual shifting of the administrative focus to that area, where a number of new complexes and service facilities were completed during the first two decades of the 1900s. One major complex was still to be built at Kalawao, but because it was under a separate administration, it will be treated separately in the next chapter.