ETHNIC INTERCESSION: LEADERSHIP AT KALAUPAPA LEPROSY COLONY, 1871–1887

Pennie Moblo
University of Hawai'i

Western notions of leadership can obscure the complexity of colonial history. This article examines ethnic relations in Hawai'i via its Hansen's disease colony during the years immediately preceding the overthrow of the monarchy. Popular accounts of Kalaupapa portray a nineteenth-century prison of iniquity where native Hawaiians, sequestered from the controls of civilization, degenerated to a state of "savagery" until a European priest saved them. This image is challenged by letters and reports to the Board of Health, which invoke an alternative history focused on the dialogue between native patients and foreign advisors in government. It is argued here that the settlement functioned with mitigated autonomy until shifts in power induced tighter control. The goal is not to replace the white heroic myth with a brown one; rather, the data introduced invoke an interpretation politicized by tension between native Hawaiian and foreign interests. Kalaupapa was a Hawaiian community with permeable boundaries and indigenous leadership. Successful resident managers were not rebels or crusaders; they were mediators between white administrators and native patients.

Hansen's disease, which had been known in Hawai'i since around 1830, did not become a medical concern until population decline became a concern of the sugar industry, and King Kamehameha V signed the "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" on 3 January 1865.[1] The members of the Board of Health opened two hospitals: one near Honolulu for light or doubtful cases and another for those in an advanced state of illness. The Kalawao *ahupua'a* (land division) at Kalaupapa—a peninsula on the north side of Moloka'i Island that had hundreds of acres of cultivable land, an abundance of water, and was separated from the rest of the island by steep cliffs—seemed ideal

Pacific Studies, Vol. 22, No. 2—June 1999

for the severe cases. While the hospital at Honolulu was strictly managed, Kalaupapa remained preinstitutional, that is, it lacked the restricted administration of life from above, as described by Goffman (1961). Although the Board of Health was regulated by whites, Kalaupapa came under the management of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian patients. The native superintendent was in charge of daily affairs, but Rudolph Meyer, a German resident at the top of the Molokaʻi cliffs, controlled the purse strings. The Board of Health was responsible for the settlement but relied on Hawaiian legislators for funds. The politicians, in turn, owed their position to Hawaiian voters, many of whom were patients or relatives of patients.

Life at Kalaupapa

Nearly all of the leprosy patients sent to Kalaupapa in the first two decades were native Hawaiians (see Table 1) who possessed subsistence skills that could prevent dependency. Although they raised taro and sweet potatoes, poultry, hogs, and various other foods, the patients never achieved the envisioned self-sufficiency. Goods the patients could not produce themselves were acquired from kin or the Board of Health. The patients also received assistance from the *kamaʻāina* (native residents) of Kalaupapa *ahupuaʻa,* who had been farming there for generations. The government provided housing, but many people chose to build their own homes: wood or traditional grass houses, depending on their family resources. They also formed congregations that worshiped with circuit riders. Although the board tried to keep the patients isolated, it was virtually impossible to prevent them from communicating with the *kamaʻāina* and with friends and relatives. Many of the early arrivals were allowed to take family members with them as *mea kōkua* (helpers) to nurse them and to assist with domestic chores. This action was not as rash as may be presumed; fewer than 5 percent of patient spouses who lived at the settlement contracted the disease (McCoy and Goodhue 1913; McCoy 1914).

When the leprosy settlement at Kalawao, Kalaupapa, received its first inmates in 1866, it was administered by white nonpatient managers. After five years of rebellion, a more normal village environment was realized under the leadership of part-Hawaiian patient resident-superintendents—or undersuperintendents, as they were called (to emphasize their subordinate position to Meyer, who handled government appropriations because natives were not trusted with financial affairs [Hillebrand 1870]). Meyer's large family, management of the Molokaʻi Ranch, entrepreneurial ventures, and numerous government appointments left him little time to intervene in the day-to-day affairs of the colony. He rode his horse down the rugged trail to the settle-

TABLE 1. **Nationality, Number, and Sex of Lepers Received Annually from the Foundation of the Settlement**

	Hawaiian		Mixed Hawaiian		White		Chinese		Other		
Year	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
1866	101	38					2				141
1867	56	12			1					1[a]	70
1868	72	37	2	2	1		1				115
1869	73	53									126
1870	31	26									57
1871	125	55	3								183
1872	69	36									105
1873	289	191	2	1			3		1[b]		487
1874	51	37	1	1	1						91
1875	121	82	2	2	3		1		1[c]		212
1876	55	39	1		1						96
1877	107	53	2				1				163
1878	134	101	1	2	1						239
1879	79	42	1	1	1		1				125
1880	31	17	2		1						51
1881	151	76	2		2		1				232
1882	49	18	1		1		2				71
1883	181	116	3				1				301
1884	60	37	3		2		6		1[d]		108 [*sic*]
1885	68	28	2		1		3				103 [*sic*]
Total	1,903	1,094	28	9	16		22		3	1	3,076

Source: Mouritz 1886.

[a] Lascar [b] Rarotonga [c] Mauritius [d] Manila

ment when necessary and corresponded regularly with the succession of assistants who ran the community, by messenger until the installation of a telephone line connected them directly. The normalization of leprosy was ended in 1887 by the "Bayonet constitution" that triggered the loss of native autonomy finalized with the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893.

Kahoʻohuli

On 12 April 1871 Kahoʻohuli, formerly captain of the Hawaiian Guards, arrived at Kalaupapa to assume office as the first peer superintendent. He was to survive there just a year, not long enough to leave a strong impression, but when Meyer descended the *pali* (cliffs) at the end of May, he found

the community happy and everything in excellent order under the captain's direction. The people seemed pleased with their new *luna* (manager), and Meyer heard no complaints from them.

The Board of Health instructed the captain to inform the patients that they must relinquish privately owned cattle; they were given three months to get rid of their livestock, which the board offered to buy if they thought the price reasonable. Every inmate was allowed to keep one horse, and those willing to give the board two extra days' labor a month for each additional animal were allowed to keep up to four; to prevent breeding, no stallions were allowed. Limiting the number of horses conserved pasture for Board of Health cattle and curtailed unauthorized transport of persons and goods to and from the settlement. The original plan for a self-sufficient colony had already been undermined by the leasing of Waikolu Valley, which was initially part of the settlement, to King Kamehameha V and would be further compromised by the aspirations of persons who were in a position to profit from government contracts.[2] Disallowing personal livestock would not only reduce the problem of overgrazing, it would make patients dependent on the Molokaʻi Ranch, of which the king was the owner and Meyer, who encouraged the action, was manager. The agreement between the Board of Health and the Molokaʻi Ranch was one of many lucrative arrangements made at the patients' and taxpayers' expense.

In June, William Humphreys, a patient who had been jailed on Oʻahu for his leadership in an insurrection against past-superintendent Caroline Walsh, took advantage of the changed management to file an admission of guilt, plead for clemency, and request a return to Kalaupapa. Humphreys' protégé, Kaʻaumoana, signed as well. Humphreys' rivals had petitioned against allowing the men to return, and because the Board of Health had its own reservations about the dissidents, Humphreys was still writing from the Oʻahu jail in August to repent for his impropriety and to beg to be permitted to return to Molokaʻi. After consulting some of the inmates, Kahoʻohuli initially barred the return, fearing that it would disturb the peace, but by December Humphreys' apologies had been accepted, and he returned to find his former residence and position as assistant to the superintendent occupied by W. N. Pualewa. He sought reimbursement for improvements he had made on the house and settled quietly into village life.

The farmers of nearby Pelekunu Valley had been providing taro for patient rations, but when their contract expired, the king successfully tendered his bid to furnish *paʻi ʻai* (hard poi) to the colony. Kahoʻohuli was optimistic about the arrangement he made with Kupihea, the king's land agent who oversaw *kamaʻāina* cultivation at Waikolu Valley; there would be suffi-

cient taro to last the winter months without sending to Hālawa, Wailau, and Pelekunu (Kahoʻohuli 1871).

Kahoʻohuli's management of the community was not without incident. Minor complaints were made against him with regard to the supply of taro, and he was accused of feeding milk to his pigs. He assured the board that the taro supply was sufficient and that milk was available for hospital patients and any others who were willing to milk cows. He gave one of his accusers a cow with the stipulation that she deliver a quarter of the milk produced to the hospital patients. When she refused to share, he took the animal away from her. He raised pigs, he said, because Meyer objected to his keeping cattle, and he fed them on the residue from butter making. He admitted that he imposed a four-dollar court fee to cover the cost of a summons and to pay witnesses; to other complaints he replied that there was insufficient tallow for everyone, so the most needy received what he had, and that he imposed labor only on the able-bodied.

Kahoʻohuli became ill in January 1872 and turned management over to Pualewa, his assistant. Within a month, a rash of runaway inmates prompted Meyer to request new handcuffs and foot irons for the punishment and "safekeeping" of escapees; the cuffs he had were so large that they easily slipped off (Meyer 1872a). One man crossed the nine-mile-wide Pailolo Channel to the island of Maui, and another was caught at Kaunakakai but escaped. Later, unable to get off the island, the fugitive was compelled by hunger to return to Kalawao.

A few months later, Meyer investigated irregularities in the *paʻi ʻai* bills; although the board had been charged for enough poi to feed the entire community, the amount received was inadequate for their rations. When it was discovered that Pualewa had come to a furtive agreement with Kupihea, Kahoʻohuli asked Meyer to dismiss Pualewa and appoint William Humphreys in his place. Meyer, however, was reluctant to make any changes considering Kahoʻohuli's poor health and Humphreys' reputation as a rebel. Patient complaints about the quantity and quality of *paʻi ʻai* continued until Pualewa was superseded by Humphreys.

William Uweleʻaleʻa Humphreys

When Kahoʻohuli died on 4 June 1872, Meyer appointed Louis Lepart and William Humphreys to fill the position of superintendent jointly until the board could make other arrangements; Pualewa became head constable.[3] Meyer defended his choices by stating that Humphreys was more competent than Pualewa and that he was the only man appropriate for the job;

moreover, his influence was so great that Meyer feared what would happen if he named anyone else. Lepart would look after the interests of the board. Administrators in Honolulu were not pleased with either selection, notwithstanding Meyer's assurance that he had made it clear to the men that their appointments were temporary. Meyer underscored Humphreys' talent for inspiring people and said it was the downfall of Superintendent Walsh that she had made an enemy of him. On his return from jail, Humphreys had done so well assisting Kahoʻohuli that the captain requested he be named his successor. Yet Meyer distrusted Humphreys, and, for that reason, he had asked Lepart, who was incompetent but honest, to assist. A trustworthy man with the ability to govern was essential, explained Meyer, and he had done the best he could at the time by employing two men.

> Native luna, (Leper if not too far gone or non-leper) are the best, being watched, well-treated and strictly drawn to account will give the board . . . far less trouble than any one foreigner that you can get, and all I would ask of you is to appoint men soon, because I told the two present ones, it would only be for a short time. Humphries [*sic*] is ambitious and undoubtedly hopes in his heart that he may be appointed. Lepart is without ambition in the fullest sense and rather lives like a native than to do anything and would not accept the place even if offered, and is not fit either. (Meyer 1872b)

In spite of the board's disapproval, Meyer's choice seemed to have been a fair one. In August he found everything in the best of order; the *paʻi ʻai* was good and in adequate supply. In addition to the usual requests for salt, blankets, rice, plates, pots, rope, soap, and cotton, the patients asked for books, slates, and pencils so that the school could reopen with Pualewa as schoolmaster.

As the number of inmates rose to more than four hundred, the allocated funds would only provide clothing for those who lacked the means to obtain their own. Meyer justified the reduction by pointing out that when everybody received blankets and clothing, many who did not need them gave them away or used the blankets as saddle cloths. In order that they might better appreciate what they did get, Meyer delayed dispersal until the advent of cold weather. In September 1872 two petitions were sent to the board objecting to the scant distribution of supplies, but Meyer reported that everyone was satisfied after rations were given out the following month. In October Humphreys was made *luna.*

The death of King Kamehameha V in December of 1872 was followed by the succession of Lunalilo, who intended to enforce the laws of segregation

passed nearly a decade earlier; 487 people with leprosy were sent to Kalaupapa in 1873, nearly doubling the population. One of Humphreys' first assignments was to expel ten *mea kōkua* to make room for the new arrivals, and additional evictions followed as the settlement became more crowded and rations had to be stretched further.[4]

People with leprosy suffered most during stormy winters, and mortality rose to seventeen during the chilly January of 1873. In March, Humphreys became severely afflicted with dropsy and requested that medicine be sent to him by Board of Health physician George Trousseau. After taking a single dose, he felt so much better that the following day he told his assistants that he no longer needed them. He repeated the treatment that day and felt quite well until late in the afternoon, but he died that evening. According to patient Peter Young Kaeo, a cousin of Queen Emma, many natives thereafter refused to take Trousseau's tablets, which, they asserted, had killed their superintendent. When the doctor next visited, a patient fired on him; the doctor was unharmed but remained unpopular (Meyer 1873b, 1873c; Korn 1976:54). The death of Humphreys increased the suspicion common among Hawaiians that the *haole* (white people) were trying to kill them off, and, growing impatient with the failure of doctors to cure leprosy, they petitioned that non-Western remedies be tried.[5]

The original legislation for the segregation of persons with leprosy had been extended in 1870 in a futile attempt to stem the flow of relatives traveling back and forth to visit inmates and to restrict communication between classified lepers and the *kama'āina* of Kalaupapa. On 1 March 1873 it was further revised so that any person free of leprosy found on Board of Health property without a permit could be fined ten to one hundred dollars. It gave the board the power to make and promulgate any rules it deemed essential in controlling persons in its custody. Near the end of March, Meyer explained to the *kama'āina* of Kalaupapa the board's desire that they vacate their homes "for the common good, as well as their own" so that the colony could be expanded (Meyer 1873a). The property consisted of twenty-four *kuleana* (lots), eighty acres in all; the soil, although rich, was very stony and of little commercial value. The people were asking fifty dollars per acre, but the figure had dropped to ten dollars per acre in 1865, when the board made its first purchases at Kalawao, and Meyer knew prices would become more favorable to the government with time. The Board of Health already possessed housing for a hundred new patients, and, when it bought the homes at Kalaupapa Village, it would have enough for an additional hundred.

The death of Humphreys left the colony without leadership, and Lepart was once again installed as temporary (Meyer underlined the word) *luna* until a proper replacement could be found. The poi dealers had taken ad-

vantage of Humphreys' illness by making bundles four pounds shy of the standard twenty-one pounds. Meyer asked the board to withhold payment to Himeni, one of the culpable taro growers, but the following week Himeni delivered less *pa'i 'ai* than was needed to feed half the people, and many went hungry.

Within two weeks of his taking charge as superintendent, Lepart asked to be released from the disagreeable post. A controversy had erupted over Makaieana, a patient native to Moloka'i, who had tried to kill his wife. The culprit was briefly imprisoned at Honolulu, and on his return to Kalawao, he ran away for several days—presumably to his home. When he returned to the settlement, apparently of his own volition, Meyer insisted that he be put in jail as a lesson to all that running away would not be tolerated. Six patients, most of them newcomers, demanded the prisoner's release and threatened Lepart with violence.

Jonathan Napela

It was painfully clear to managers Lepart and Meyer that the laws governing the colony could not be enforced. Meyer warned the president of the board that if violators were not penalized, they would run away all the time. He wanted to punish the ringleaders but did not have the means to do so; neither he nor Deputy Sheriff Rogers possessed a single iron.[6] The people were armed, because they had never been prevented from arming themselves, and there was no way to make them stay put. Meyer suggested that people who harbored escapees should be subjected to punishment. He knew the inmates were unfortunate beings and not criminals, but the "common good" required their isolation from society, and the means had to be found to enforce segregation and to keep order among them. As a final request, he added, "I furthermore beg to provide a good *native* [emphasis his] Superintendent . . . as Mr. Lepart desires to be released as soon as possible" (Meyer 1873c). In May 1873 Jonathan H. Napela, who was moving to the settlement to serve as *kōkua* to his wife, was appointed undersuperintendent. Lepart sold his property at Makanalua to a patient and moved to 'Ōhi'a, in southeast Moloka'i, where he was safe from further requests that he act as interim manager.

Jonathan Napela and his wife, Kiti Richardson Napela, were of chiefly rank. Napela was an early convert to the Mormon faith and helped translate the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language. He was about sixty years of age, educated, Hawaiian, and with his high status, he seemed an apt candidate for resident superintendent. But when Meyer made his trek down the cliffs to Kalaupapa in June, he found more than a hundred illicit visitors

there from Maui (the isle from which the new *luna* hailed). Both Isaac Previer, the head constable, and Napela had unauthorized guests in their homes, a situation Meyer condemned as encouragement for contact between inmates and those from whom they were supposed to have been sequestered. Meyer discharged Previer on the spot and gave Napela a "little blowing up" (Meyer 1873d; Board of Health 1868–1881:75).

The board could no longer get *pa'i 'ai* at the rate of twenty-five cents per bundle, and although the growers at Hālawa Valley on the east end of Moloka'i were willing to provide three hundred bundles a week, they wanted the price they received at Lahaina: thirty-seven cents per bundle. Ever conscious of economizing, Meyer suggested that rice be distributed instead. Although Meyer attempted to convince the board that patients preferred rice to poi, when taro was in short supply, the patients threatened to rebel.

As the community in exile grew, so did its churches. Father Damien arrived on 10 May 1873 as the first resident clergyman to St. Philomena Catholic Church, which had previously been served by priests visiting from other parishes. The Protestant congregation welcomed a Hawaiian preacher with leprosy named Holokahiki at Siloama Church, and Napela conducted Mormon services in a wooded section of Kauhakō Crater at the center of the peninsula. The presence of the *haole* priest irritated the *kama'āina,* because, while the government denied them free access to their ancestral land, Damien insisted on coming and going as he pleased. Former residents, who had unwillingly sold their homes for settlement expansion, complained to Sheriff Rogers that, like them, Damien should be made to comply with the law. When the board insisted Damien conform to regulations requiring that he obtain permission before leaving or entering the settlement, they were accused of interference with his religious duties and heard not only from the bishop but from the French consul. The diplomat insisted the priest be given the same rights as other *haole* clergymen, and even though the Protestant ministers had no special privilege to visit freely, the incident has been interpreted by Catholic historians as sectarian jealousy (Stoddard [1885] 1908; Farrow 1954; Englebert 1954; Bunson 1989).

The homes of most of the Kalaupapa *kama'āina* had been purchased, and the eighty-one people who had occupied them were ready to leave by the end of June. The owners had come down from their fifty dollars-per-acre asking price to half that amount. The purchases—which included seven wood houses, twenty grass houses, and forty-five head of cattle—had cost the board just $2,612. Some people sold their dwellings to relatives of the patients instead of to the Board of Health. Twenty-six people refused to sell and stayed on their *kuleana,* but Meyer was sure they would leave once they found themselves isolated by stricter segregation laws. Having gained full control of the

harbors at Kalaupapa and Waikolu, the board expected to be able to curb illicit traffic to and from the settlement. In addition, the board placed restrictions on the road by which visitors had been descending the cliffs almost daily.

William Ragsdale

William Ragsdale—a part-Hawaiian legislative translator who possessed, as Mark Twain observed (1934:85), "a readiness and felicity of language" that was remarkable—arrived at Kalaupapa on 14 June 1873. With heroic gestures to serve the lepers masking his own affliction, Ragsdale made a dramatic exit from Honolulu. In exile he turned his rhetorical talents to writing obliging letters to the members of the Board of Health he had known in Honolulu and remained more popular with them than he was at Moloka'i. Within two weeks of his arrival, Ragsdale was in pursuit of the head position. As tenacious a writer as he was a translator, Ragsdale's lengthy letters constantly reassured daunted board members, while making assaults on Napela's management. On his arrival he wrote:

> I will carefully post you on everything that occurs here, either to yourself or through Mr. Meyer. . . . There seems to be no head or tail to the institution just now because the luna does not preserve his dignity, or at least the dignities of his office. To make all those who are under his charge respect him, he can be kind and keep his dignity at the same time, there must be some system, or else the Institution can never be carried on with economy. Cleanliness ought to be observed around the hospital. . . . We are killing say 8 or 10 . . . cattle per week. . . . If [the heads were] cooked under ground, it would go first rate. The brains could be [converted] to some other use than eating, . . . all the marrow . . . could make a lot of candles. . . . There is a thousand of other things that could be used to advantage which is at present thrown away. (Ragsdale 1873b)

Ragsdale cleverly played on the two dominant concerns of the government: discipline and economy. He planned to put the patients to work building stone walls that would not only keep cattle out of the gardens, but provide people with useful occupation. He assured the minister of the interior that their lepers were better fed than plantation laborers.

Ragsdale declared the effort to carry out isolation was "cheering" to him, and he was sure a strict policy would retard the spread of leprosy. He planned to arrest any untainted person caught mixing with the lepers and would visit every house to ascertain how the people were doing and how

they had contracted the disease. In addition, he intended to write to the Hawaiian newspapers instructing anyone afflicted with leprosy to do his or her duty to family and country by committing himself or herself to the leprosarium.

Like other inmates who could afford to do so, Ragsdale established himself as a landholder. He purchased nine taro patches, twenty-six chickens, a sow, a pig, and a pumpkin patch—vowing to promote industry among his neighbors. He eagerly rendered his services to encourage husbandry among the people able to do manual labor (although he insisted precarious health prevented his doing so himself) and was ever ready to defend board members from discontented native patients. He claimed to have pacified dissidents roused by accusations that the Board of Health sent the patients of a certain Chinese herbalist to Moloka'i when they discovered he could cure leprosy. The inmates insisted that the board did not want them cured and was trying to kill them off to save money. Ragsdale had reprimanded the accuser, who was an officer, and told him that the board was only doing what had to be done for their national salvation, "otherwise the whole people would become lepers and in a few months or years at most there would not be one Hawaiian living in the whole Kingdom of Hawaii" (Ragsdale 1873a). He told the inmates that the board was trying everything in its power to bring them comfort. Ragsdale called attention to a malcontent named Kao, who had grown stouter in the two years since his arrival, and asked, "Does this look as if the [board] wishes to kill us off?" (ibid.). The entire assembly then agreed that the board members were very kind and that they were all satisfied, or so Ragsdale claimed. With an ever-present potential for mutiny, it was easy for Ragsdale to sell himself as the ideal broker between the board and the disgruntled inmates. He assured the Honolulu administrators that they had no reason to fear violence from the lepers after his meetings with them.

With growing hostility at Kalawao against the Board of Health, Trousseau began to fear for his life. He had again been shot at, this time by a leprosy "suspect" detained at the Kalihi hospital for observation. Although the gunman was found innocent by reason of "temporary insanity" induced by the drinking of *'awa* (kava), the doctor was distrusted by many patients (Korn 1976:128). The shooting provided Ragsdale the opportunity to offer further assistance: he would do everything in his power to prevent feelings of animosity toward the board and its officers, Trousseau would be safe, and all reports or threats from patients ought to be ignored.

Peter Young Kaeo, who arrived at about the same time as Ragsdale, also used his wealth to establish a small, but comfortable, estate for himself. Kaeo was of the Hawaiian *ali'i* (chief, royal) class, the great-grandson of Keli'imaika'i, a half-brother of King Kamehameha I. Unlike those of Bill Ragsdale,

Kaeo's letters reflected the views of the patients rather than what the board wanted to hear. The people looked to Kaeo, a member of the House of Nobles, to offset Ragsdale's fervor. He suggested that the *kamaʻāina* should be allowed to remain at Kalaupapa, because they had already mixed with the patients and if the disease was contagious, they would carry it to the general public when they were evicted. He also asked that greater assistance be given the infirm during the cold spells that were so hard on them.

Near the end of October 1873, Napela was discharged from his office at the recommendation of board member Samuel G. Wilder, and Ragsdale assumed the position of resident superintendent. The reason given for Napela's dismissal was "corruption" in allowing food rations to be issued to persons not on the list of lepers. Although the recipients were elderly *kōkua,* unable to work in the taro fields, the government could not afford Napela's benevolence. As the settlement population swelled, cost was a major concern. Where Napela had done little to appease the board, Ragsdale made a concerted effort to win their confidence.

The year 1873 was one of the most difficult at Kalaupapa: more than three hundred people were sent there between March and September, and the population reached 806 in October, causing a great strain on resources. Although houses had been purchased from the *kamaʻāina,* accommodations as well as food and clothing were inadequate; Kaeo claimed some newcomers had resorted to living in caves (Korn 1976:80). Many of the *kōkua*—who had helped provide staple crops and other assistance—had been removed, which reduced food production.

In December, Protestant patients accused Father Damien of converting one of their members on her death bed and proceeding to bury her a Catholic. The Reverend Holokahiki (1873) suggested that a priest be sent who also had leprosy or, better still, that a native Hawaiian be ordained to minister to the Catholics.[7] The *haole* missed the cultural basis of Holokahiki's objections: Damien believed he was being persecuted by sectarian jealousies, and Meyer assumed Holokahiki felt slighted that he always stopped for coffee with the priest and never with the Protestant clergyman. The white population saw Damien as a man of courageous compassion—the humanitarian side of Western expansion—but the native patients knew him as an associate of the Board of Health.[8]

When Meyer made his inspection at the beginning of November, it looked as though things were going well for Ragsdale, who was "in his element" (Meyer 1873e). By the end of the month, however, there were signs of trouble. People complained that food prices in the government store were higher than elsewhere, and they wanted more rice than Ragsdale allotted them. When men threatened to break into the store to help themselves to provi-

sions, Ragsdale had the leaders jailed. The disgruntled inmates occupied themselves in brewing *ʻōkolehao* (distilled ti-root liquor) and with disruptive drunkenness. In December, Peter Kaeo wrote to his cousin, the queen, that Ragsdale had become abusive, swearing at the natives and giving his three "kept" women food that should have gone to inmates who were starving. Kaeo speculated that "since he has been Luna he has made more Enemyes and less friends" (Korn 1976:156). Ragsdale claimed that the Mormons made trouble for him because they no longer lived like princes, as they had when Napela was the superintendent (Ragsdale 1873c).

When the taro supply on Molokaʻi fell short and poi dealers were unable to fill their contracts, there was difficulty in finding food for Kalaupapa. About two hundred taro patches were put into cultivation at Waikolu Valley, but there was no relief for the immediate shortage. Ragsdale estimated that, although the valley had around seven hundred terraces, it would take sixteen to eighteen months to put them into production, and there would be no taro ready to cook within the year. To ease its burden, the board requested that all but the "real lepers" be taken off the ration books. *Kōkua* who had become too old to work in the gardens or for some other reason needed support were removed from the list; only six or seven infants of leprous parents were to receive food from the government (Ragsdale 1874). Ragsdale's self-proclaimed "study of economy" on the board's behalf increased the patients' disdain for him.

The Reign of Kalākaua

Lunalilo's reign was ended, after less than a year, by his death in February 1874 of tuberculosis. He was succeeded by David Kalākaua, whose pro-Hawaiian stance and frequent cabinet changes impeded the administration of Kalaupapa. Laws passed between 1874 and 1887 reflected a lenient attitude toward Hansen's disease, starting with the repeal of section 6 of "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," passed a decade earlier, which had made all property of persons committed to the care of the Board of Health liable for expenses incurred in attending to their confinement. In 1876 Hawaiians were exempted from medical licensing when they treated leprosy, and in 1886 inmates were excused from paying personal taxes. The only act that might be seen as stringent was the 1884 decision to buy the remaining private lands at Kalaupapa for the expansion of the colony.

The segregation of people with leprosy was one of an aggregate of factors that had signaled to the natives that they were losing control of their islands. In an attempt to regain authority, Hawaiians petitioned the legislature with demands that Hawaiian be the official government language; that foreigners

be barred from buying land; and that schools, prisons, medicine, and leprosy hospitals be under local jurisdiction.[9] Where there had been only four letters to the 1872 legislature regarding the disease, seventeen were sent to the 1874 session following the exile of three hundred people the previous year. Seven petitions called for the return of patients to their homes, where family members could care for them. The ten from Kalaupapa complained about Ragsdale's management, made objections to treatment by *haole* doctors, requested that spouses be permitted to remain as *mea kōkua,* and asked that *mea kōkua* be allowed to leave the colony for employment or to obtain food.[10]

In April 1874 Kalākaua visited Kalaupapa accompanied by Queen Kapi'olani, members of the Board of Health, and a variety of distinguished guests, including the French commissioner and the writer David Malo II, son of the Hawaiian historian. They were greeted by a band of disfigured boys playing a drum, a fife, and two flutes, and by nearly half of the 697 inmates—all of them dressed in their Sunday best. Their cheerful greeting gave way to tears when the king addressed them in a short but moving speech, and it was an equally emotional event for the visitors, who were overwhelmed by the grotesque faces of the severely ill they saw in the hospitals. At Kalawao, they found Peter Kaeo and Kiti Napela well situated in neatly fenced and whitewashed houses, "as suited to persons of their means and connections in life and reasonably cheerful under their sad conditions of exile" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1874). The king and the members of his entourage encountered other familiar faces among the inmates, including that of former legislator John 'Ūpā, who was managing the settlement store. Following the visit, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that the community was doing well under the care of the ten patient constables who distributed food, looked after the property of the board, and protected the patients' gardens. Residents were growing a variety of fruits and vegetables as well as tobacco. With three places of worship to choose from, their religious aspirations were well provided for, and there were two schools for the children.

The Board of Health had become increasingly annoyed by the presence of the 184 residents who were not inmates and used the publicity of the visit to announce its intention to expel them.

> These are known as "kokua," or assistants, but their principal occupation appears to consist in assisting the lepers to consume their rations. They do little or no work, will not improve the opportunity afforded to raise taro to sell to the board; pasture their animals *ad libitum* on the government land; live on the lepers; are the authors of evil reports, and are a bad lot generally. They own kuleanas in the neighborhood, and so cannot be forced to leave the district without

> a special act of Parliament, which is to be hoped will be passed for their benefit during the coming session. (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1874)

Ragsdale, by contrast, was portrayed favorably by the press:

> Necessarily, his authority among his fellow exiles—removed as the community is from the range of courts and . . . beyond the operation of law—is almost autocratic, but so far as we could learn from the lepers themselves, he uses that power discreetly and with moderation. He is however assisted in the discharge of his governmental duties by a committee of twenty, chosen by the lepers from among their own body, by whom ordinary controversies and disagreements are settled. But the superior mind of Ragsdale guides and regulates his little principality in most matters of government, quite as absolutely and undisputedly as the captain of a ship whose word is law. (Ibid.)

No doubt the flattery pleased Ragsdale, but his authority was hardly undisputed: the other patients complained bitterly about his autocratic style of governing.

Tension between Ragsdale and the other patients climaxed on 23 June 1874, when people asked Peter Kaeo to intervene on their behalf because Ragsdale intended to squander $243.62 that the king had sent for them on a feast. When Kaeo, accompanied by a few patients, called on the superintendent, they found him defiant, armed with a pistol and a knife, and bolstered by *kama'āina* from Kalaupapa Village brandishing axes, knives, and pickaxes. Kaeo and Alapai, a teacher, called Meyer's attention to the situation, and although Meyer would not respond to Alapai—who had shown an unwillingness to conform to the rules of the board—he did write to both Ragsdale and Kaeo. Of the former he asked that he learn to control his temper: he was to give the people what the board agreed to furnish and to ignore uncomplimentary remarks, he was to let them meet in the schoolhouse as long as they did so in an orderly and peaceable manner, and he was to make no threats he could not carry out. Meyer appealed to Kaeo to use his influence over the people to avoid further disturbances. A successful reconciliation was reached at a meeting when Ragsdale and Kaeo publicly apologized to one another, and Kaeo announced he would remain Ragsdale's friend and assist him. Since the people did not want the proposed feast, it was suggested that a large fishnet be purchased with the disputed funds. Ragsdale was thereafter more congenial and, even after Kaeo's return to Honolulu in

June of 1876,[11] affairs went smoothly aside from the occasional petition from a disgruntled inmate asking that Ragsdale be dismissed.

The winter of 1874 brought a late storm that damaged houses and left the inmates, whose disease made them acutely sensitive to cold, subject to damp weather. Those who could afford them bought shingles with which to repair their homes, and the Board of Health supplied scantlings—upright beams—for framing houses. The owners held a life interest in their residences, and, if they maintained them, they could bequeath or sell them to other inmates. Property, except for animals, was not to leave the colony; when a patient died without specifying an heir, his or her effects were sold at auctions, and any money left after paying debts was delivered to the deceased's family. By the end of 1875, the community was more comfortable; many of the new patients had built homes, and some of the wealthy among them had more than one. Peter Kaeo had a beach cottage as well as his estate at Makanalua, and Napela had houses to rent. J. ʻŪpā, the store manager, ordered a stove so that he could bake bread, and Keʻeaumoku (W. C. Crowningburg) asked S. G. Wilder to send him a bat and ball so that they could play baseball during their leisure time. Seventeen people were on the payroll, including constables, a milkman, a *paniolo* (cowboy), a butcher, a steward, a washer and a cook for the hospital, and a jailor who also assisted at the hospital. William Williamson, an English brick mason, was in charge of the hospital from 1873 until his death in 1875.

In 1876 a smallpox epidemic diverted the board's energies away from affairs at Kalaupapa, and the patients' relatives flocked to the settlement, often under suspicious circumstances. A Honolulu resident by the name of Pahunui would, for a price, simulate the symptoms of leprosy by shaving off eyebrows and treating his clients with *ʻilieʻe,* an herb that blemished the skin. The pseudo-victims would then report to the Board of Health as suspects and allow themselves to be sent to Molokaʻi to join their loved ones.

William Keolaloa Sumner

When Ragsdale's health began to fail in 1877, Meyer suggested that he appoint an assistant so there would be someone trained to take his place should the "unhappy accident" of his death occur. The only man they deemed capable was William Sumner, an elderly half-Hawaiian patient recently arrived from Honolulu who was honest and well liked, who understood the needs of and knew how to work with other inmates, and who could speak and write both English and Hawaiian. In October a bout of poor health prevented Meyer from visiting Kalaupapa, and he tendered his resignation as agent to

the board. Ragsdale, however, was on the verge of death, and Meyer's familiarity with the settlement was critically needed.

Although Sumner was respected by the residents, it was felt he lacked the necessary business sense to run Kalaupapa economically, and Meyer suggested that Father André Burgerman be assigned to assist him in administration. Burgerman, who had come to Hawai'i for the purpose of living among the victims of leprosy, had been disappointed to find the position of priest to the lepers already taken by Damien. Because he had studied a little medicine, he remained at the settlement to dispense drugs. Although he was liked and trusted by the sick, Burgerman did not get along with Damien, who became indignant when he found out his rival was under consideration for an administrative position. When Ragsdale died, it was Damien who was asked to manage the settlement temporarily until a permanent superintendent could be found. Legislative Representative Thomas Birch was rumored to have contracted leprosy, and it was hoped that he might take the position, but Birch denied his illness and turned down the offer.

For the first time since 1871, the community was under the direct authority of a nonpatient *haole.* Within a week of Damien's assuming control, inmates complained about the lack of care given at the hospital; two weeks later a petition signed by a committee of patients was submitted to the Board of Health asking that he be discharged and that Sumner be appointed *luna.* Although he had promised not to show sectarian discrimination, Damien had Protestant minister J. K. Kahuila, a patient, put in irons and removed to the O'ahu prison. According to Damien, the reverend's language was infamous and rebellious against the Board of Health and its regulations, and Kahuila, if he were not removed, would make trouble for the board during the following legislative session (De Veuster 1878).

Kahuila's wife, Miliama, secured the services of Honolulu lawyer W. R. Castle, who charged that his client had been the victim of the unnecessary and arbitrary use of power. The confrontation had taken place after Kahuila's wife, who had been allowed to accompany her husband to the settlement on condition that she leave on the same boat to Lahaina and from there home to Ka'ū, did not board because the schooner was returning to Honolulu instead of going on to Maui. Damien insisted that the wife go anyway. When Kahuila objected and others supported him, he was charged with undermining Damien's discipline and with telling people they were not obligated to work because they were legally considered dead.

Kahuila denied the accusation, called for an investigation of Damien's "overbearing manner," and insisted he would rather stay in the O'ahu jail than to return to Kalawao under Damien's control (Board of Health 1868–

1881:172). Kahuila was assured that Damien's position was temporary, and board member S. G. Wilder traveled to Kalaupapa to find a replacement. After the visit, the board secretary notified Damien that the duties of the superintendent were to be turned over to Sumner (Board of Health 1881–1888:174).

Although the community again had a manager who was part-Hawaiian and a patient, 1878 would be a year of turmoil for the settlement and for the kingdom. The sugar industry was booming, and the amount of land put into the crop rose from 12,225 acres in 1874 to 22,455 acres in 1879 (Kuykendall 1967:62, 197). The resulting rise in prices of beef, poi, rice, and other foods made it difficult to keep expenses within the Board of Health appropriation (Smith 1878:3). *Haole* citizens and the Hawaiian legislature became polarized over the reciprocity treaty, which offered duty-free export of sugar to the United States for white businessmen and increased the importation of labor that reduced Hawaiian wages.

The increased number of people sent to Moloka'i caused, as it had in 1873, overcrowding and hardship. Sumner was well liked but considered too old and weak to maintain strong leadership, and Meyer continued to control colony finances. Complaints about Sumner came from patients Clayton Strawn, William Crowningburg (Ke'eaumoku), and David Ostrom with their bids to assume his position; Strawn was an ambitious American, Crowningburg was a part-Hawaiian *ali'i,*[12] and Ostrom was an American who had lived in Hawai'i off and on for thirty years and had been working in the settlement dispensary since 1875.

Toward the middle of 1878, the distilling of *'ōkolehao* reappeared briefly but was quickly stopped by jailing the drunkards. The binge was blamed on Sumner by his critics; Damien, Sumner, and Meyer each took credit for ending it. Among the frequent offenders was the head constable, William Crowningburg, whose ties to royalty ensured him a paid position despite petitions from other patients to have him removed from office. When he arrived at the settlement in 1874, Crowningburg had been employed at the Moloka'i store, but he was reassigned after he was caught stealing money. As constable, he was charged with excessive force and abuse of power, especially in his treatment of Kahuila, the Protestant minister Damien had imprisoned during the brief interval of his superintendency. Crowningburg threatened other inmates and fought with fellow police officers, usually after drinking *'ōkolehao,* until Sumner was forced to dismiss him.

Samuel G. Wilder, a prominent Honolulu merchant and entrepreneur, became the minister of the interior and president of the Board of Health in July of 1878. Hawai'i's reputation in the United States of having lepers at large was bad for international business, and Wilder gave the issue imme-

diate attention (Board of Health 1868–1881:181). He proposed sending a large number of people to Kalaupapa, but it was full; more cottages had to be built to accommodate new inmates. Some authorities optimistically believed the islanders were becoming more willing to send their "unfortunate ones" to Molokaʻi, but this was not so; most Hawaiians still hoped to establish sanctuaries on all the islands so that families could look after the welfare of their sick members (Parke 1878). Nine petitions sent to the Hawaiian legislature in 1878 called for an end to exile at Molokaʻi and the establishment of branch hospitals on other islands.[13] Illicit communities of victims had been established in remote valleys throughout the islands, where they were sequestered yet their families could still assist them.[14]

Hawaiians showed few signs of having developed a fear of the affliction and continued to appear at Kalaupapa hoping to serve as *kōkua.* Some were successful, like the wife of a forty-year-old patient named J. W. Nakuina, who hiked down the cliffs with a *kamaʻāina* at midnight without permission from the Board of Health. Friends in Honolulu had failed to dissuade her from going to Molokaʻi or persuade her to marry someone else. Her husband tried to convince her to leave when she arrived at the settlement, and Sumner, who was her uncle, told her to consult Meyer; she refused. Because she was a talented seamstress, she was allowed to stay, and the couple opened a coffee shop.

From the time of Sumner's installation as *luna,* Meyer had encouraged the board to find an assistant to handle financial matters. Like other *haole,* Meyer believed that Hawaiians should not keep accounts or distribute rations, because they tended to be more generous than the Board of Health could afford. The position was filled by Clayton Strawn, an American patient who had arrived in 1878 (Meyer 1878). Strawn quickly busied himself with getting houses built for the new patients the board was sending, starting with one for himself. Since labor was in short supply, he suggested that *kōkua* be allowed to enter, and to ensure they would have to work, he established a system of distributing rations with zinc tags, which made it difficult for patients to obtain more than their individual shares of food.

In 1879 Doctor Nathaniel Emerson (son of an American missionary) took charge of Kalaupapa, although Sumner and Strawn retained their offices. The doctor left the settlement in March for Maui and Oʻahu, and returned near the end of May. In July he was on Maui again and in September, on Kauaʻi. He returned to Kalaupapa in mid-October but left a month later, stating that everything seemed to be going fine and he saw no reason to stay (Emerson 1879g).

The board wanted Sumner to retire, but Emerson advised that there would be trouble if they tried to get rid of the part-Hawaiian leader. Emerson

did not consider Sumner's judgment very good, but the old man was well liked, and although Strawn was extremely cooperative, he lacked "a conciliatory way" with the Hawaiians (Emerson 1879a). Emerson got along well with the American Strawn, to whom he entrusted business when he was away. He suggested that Strawn's position be made equal to Sumner's, because Strawn was improving his manner toward the Hawaiians.

Nineteenth-century beliefs in Western supremacy made it difficult for white patients to accept the superintendency of native Hawaiians.[15] Although Strawn assumed a patronizing attitude, he was tolerated because of a favorable working relationship with Sumner. He felt he should be the superintendent instead of Sumner but wisely accepted a lesser position. Joseph Pickford was different. Pickford, an Englishman, was diagnosed with leprosy in 1876, and, denying that he had the disease, he had gone to Victoria, British Columbia, to seek treatment. When he returned to Honolulu, he asked to be allowed to remain free, taking medicines prescribed in Canada. He was sent to the settlement anyway; there he sought the company of other foreigners and wrote to the board on behalf of David Ostrom and Father Damien. The British government supplied him with an allowance of one dollar a month until the beginning of 1879, when the consul general informed the Hawaiian government that Queen Victoria's treasury would no longer provide for him. The British contended that since he had been confined for the safety of the community, he was Hawai'i's responsibility. Pickford was given a job as butcher, but he did not get along with the Hawaiian men working under him or with his half-Hawaiian superintendent. When Sumner became ill and requested some meat, Pickford impertinently replied that, although an animal had been killed and dressed, it was not time to serve out rations. Meyer gave Sumner permission to dismiss Pickford, but the Englishman saved face by resigning.

The settlement population had swollen to more than eight hundred by the end of 1878, and it was difficult to procure enough *pa'i 'ai* to feed everyone. Emerson was alarmed that the captain of the steamship *Warwick* lingered at Pūko'o, on the southeast coast of Moloka'i, instead of bringing supplies to Kalaupapa as had been arranged. Delays were excusable when rough seas made landing difficult, but the water was so calm "a man might have gone ashore in a tub" (Meyer 1879). Food was insufficient for weekly rations, taro at Waikolu was scarce, and even sweet potatoes were running short; the settlement seemed near famine. For Emerson, who was not yet accustomed to hardship, the situation seemed urgent, but Meyer reassured him that it was, although serious, a common plight. The people would understand, he said; they knew the supplies would arrive. A few days later they did.

The local farmers had tried to take advantage of Emerson's inexperience

by selling him sweet potatoes at $1.00 a bag, twice the usual price. To the enraged physician, this action constituted nothing short of manslaughter, and he threatened to send any *kōkua* up the *pali* who would not sell him at least half his sweet potatoes at $0.50 a bag. Emerson did not expect to have any further trouble with the *kōkua,* who seemed to have had the idea that his superintendency "was to consist 1st of aloha, 2nd of aloha and 3rd of aloha—without reference at all to strictures" (Emerson 1879b). Having dealt with them harshly, he believed that he had won their respect.

Food became increasingly difficult to obtain. In 1868 the price of *pa'i 'ai* was $0.25 a bundle, but by 1871 the board was paying $0.37 to $0.50 per bundle, and in 1878, $0.50 to $0.60 per bundle. In mid-1879, the price jumped to $1.25 to $1.50 per bundle in Honolulu, and the local growers were unwilling to sell it to the Board of Health for less. Although Meyer hoped the Moloka'i growers would find it just as profitable to sell it locally at $0.50 a bundle as to ship it to Honolulu for more, he was unsure of future supplies and ordered rice. The following year the price went back down to $0.50 per bundle, but the supply was unsteady.

By August 1879 there were again signs of tension between Emerson and the patients. Kahuila, who had been Damien's nemesis, and others were calling for Strawn to be removed. Emerson saw no reason for doing so; to him the Hawaiian leaders were evil, cowardly liars who threatened Strawn in his absence (Emerson 1879e). In mid-October the Hawaiians again petitioned for Strawn's removal, presenting grievances claiming inadequate rations and against Strawn's character. Emerson defended Strawn, who was one of the few people at the settlement he seems to have gotten along with, and countered the charges against him.

Emerson had much to learn about economic efficiency. When the constant flow of cattle down the trail from Moloka'i Ranch rendered the road in such bad condition that twenty head purchased by the board were lost during one drive, he requested that laborers be sent to repair it. Meyer's solution was less expensive: he paid the cowboys only for cattle that arrived at the bottom of the *pali* alive. In the following cattle drive, thirty head made it to the peninsula, and although one animal had to be butchered on the trail, its meat and hide were saved.[16]

The doctor believed it was in the best interest of the Board of Health to increase its control at the settlement. The board already supplied food, and Emerson set about monopolizing the remaining two sources of influence: medical care and housing. He insisted that Fathers Damien and André should not be dispensing medicines, many of which contained dangerous ingredients such as arsenic and mercury. When Damien received "hoang-nan" pills for the treatment of leprosy from a missionary in China, Emerson was

skeptical. After five months, however, many people showed positive effects from their use, and they became more popular than the doctor's prescriptions (which were, he insisted, every bit as effective) (Emerson 1879d). Emerson found Damien eager to trade the medicines for a wagon, horse, and harness to be used as a hearse, thereby restoring the doctor's function and freeing the board from its apparent obligation to the Catholic mission for providing medical services.

Emerson was particularly displeased with André Burgerman for undermining his authority as medical superintendent. When Father André allegedly told some of Emerson's patients his remedies were poisonous or unsuitable to their cases, Emerson responded by calling Burgerman a "pestilent fellow," an "ignorant charlatan," and accusing him of solacing himself with leper women and of being a hypocrite. The priest, he claimed, had prejudiced his patients against him, criticized his medicines, and advised the sick to change doses or not take the medication at all. Since Burgerman also clashed with Damien, he was transferred to Maui.

To increase government control over housing, Emerson encouraged the board to purchase the pleasant home left by the Napelas.[17] "I should dislike very much to have this fall into the hands of the Catholic priests. They are always trying to buy; it gives them power. In my opinion they have quite enough already" (Emerson 1879f). Emerson's attitude toward Catholics was inconsistent with the cooperative arrangement between the Board of Health and the bishop. Emerson's misgivings about the priests, whose utility was more tangible than was his own, had little influence on the board.

Taro production at Waikolu dwindled to almost nothing. In 1866 the patients had been allowed to live in the valleys with their families, but concern with control over them had prompted the board to move people to the villages of Kalawao and Kalaupapa. The patients were deterred from maintaining gardens, and the *kōkua* lost interest in cultivating large tracts, because the government did not compensate them adequately for their labor. The board took a portion of their crop in exchange for the privilege of nursing their sick spouses. The abandoned terraces at Waikolu were consequently damaged by wild hogs.

While Kalaupapa was neglected by administrators in Honolulu, the segregation laws were fervently challenged. A dozen patients resisted board control by building homes on private land within the bounds of the settlement; Strawn was instructed to order them to live in Board of Health houses, but he could not make them comply. The *kama'āina* of Kalaupapa freely associated with inmates, and people from nearby Pelekunu Valley visited when they landed freight. When Strawn asked to see their permits, he was

confronted with threats and insulting language. One group was so brazen as to go to a coffee shop kept by an inmate, and when Strawn attempted to detain them in order to send them to Meyer for punishment, they resisted, making scurrilous taunts as they got away. Himeni, who frequently traded with the residents of Kalawao, made so light of regulations—and was so bold, openly defiant, and insulting to Strawn—that Emerson feared that if Himeni were not punished, the law would be ignored and the superintendent would find it impossible to prevent incursions from becoming a common occurrence (Emerson 1880a). The board, able to ignore such annoyances from a safe distance across the Moloka'i channel, did nothing.

Emerson was unsympathetic toward the patients and did not get along with them any better than he did with Catholic priests. When men grew frustrated that water was not reaching their homes and chopped the pipes with an ax, Emerson marched them off to jail. His Protestant work ethic is evident in his assertion that the dissenters were lazy: although able to plant and thus make money, they did nothing. "They waste their rations and with their *kokua* wives, who do not draw any rations, eat themselves out before the end of the week and then complain. It is of no use to increase their rations, for they have enough for themselves now, though not enough for themselves and wives" (Emerson 1880b).

Although he rejected government physician George Fitch's conviction that leprosy was the fourth stage of syphilis, Emerson believed sexual activity, especially with promiscuous women, had something to do with spreading it —a notion he shared with many Victorian doctors. Since leprosy afflicted men twice as frequently as it did women, they assumed women were carriers, yet, paradoxically, when the Board of Health limited the number of *kōkua* allowed to stay at the settlement, most of those expelled were female. Men —who could farm, fish, and otherwise contribute to the material welfare of the patients and reduce the cost of running the colony—were encouraged to stay; whereas women, seen as both economically less valuable and a greater source of contagion, were undesirable attendants. The resulting imbalance in the sex ratio increased discontent among the patients.

About six months after his arrival, Emerson asked a portly, good-looking woman, who had come as her father's *kōkua,* to leave. She was, he claimed, "causing jealousies and heart burnings among the leper women married and unmarried," and her "influence on the manners and morals of the unpledged male lepers" was especially fateful (Emerson 1879c). Although her father benefited greatly from her presence, Emerson could not tolerate her and asked that she be denied reentry—for the good of the whole—unless, of course, she contracted the affliction. (And that, with all her "carry-

ing-on," he thought was quite likely.) Two weeks later he detained a woman who had accompanied her husband, who had tubercular leprosy, to Kalaupapa. She was, Emerson insisted, tainted with both leprosy and syphilis and had infected four previous husbands, all of whom died. He was determined to make the fifth spouse her final victim by keeping her there permanently.

Political Polarization on Leprosy

On 14 August 1880 the cabinet ministers were asked to hand in their resignations, and the body was reconstituted. Emerson was removed from his position as resident physician by Walter Murray Gibson (Emerson 1880c; Meyer 1880). Although they had shown little interest in Emerson's medicines, 291 patients signed a petition asking that the services of a doctor be retained, and Charles Neilson was assigned to take Emerson's place.

When Neilson arrived, he found the supply of Chinese (hoang-nan) and "Japanese" pills nearly exhausted, but the patients did not seem to have benefited from them and were willing to try Gurjun oil from India. British doctors reported a number of cases cured by Gurjun, but strict dietary restrictions made the treatment controversial. Neilson also received six cases of Masanao Goto's medicine from Japan for trial use. In response to a request from the board that he perform postmortems on people at the settlement, however, he declined, stating that the natives were so against the idea that he was afraid they might murder him if he tried and that the study could be carried out more successfully at Honolulu. The board ordered a microscope so that the organism that caused the disease might be identified and patients more accurately diagnosed. However, the instrument they selected was too limited to be used to this effect, and leprosy continued to be identified by a consensus of government-appointed physicians (Board of Health 1868–1881: 214; Neilson 1881).

The *haole* cabinet installed in September of 1880 brought increased polarization on the leprosy issue. The Honolulu businessmen and members of the House of Nobles who joined the Board of Health discussed whether they should keep a physician at Moloka'i. Although they had decided that removing lepers from society was all that they could do to stem the disease, they had not convinced the Hawaiians that it was incurable, and, as a "concession to the feelings of the natives," Neilson was instructed to remain at the settlement (Board of Health 1868–1881:208).

The Hawaiians petitioned the legislature of 1882 for an end to segregation. They saw a connection between diseased Hawaiians and white prosperity, and their concerns reached the board in threatening notices:

A Punishment to the Evil: for evil deeds!!

> With heaviness of heart and for the love of kindred who are cast away to Kalawao, taken there not for any good but are thrown away like pigs in consequence of evil law. From the time of the ministerial administration of E. O. Hall [minister of the interior under Lunalilo, 1873], the native Hawaiians have ever since been compared as like dogs thrown to the sea. And therefore warning is hereby given to the Min. of Int. H. A. P. Carter and Mem[bers] of the Bd. of H. to immediately stay any further carriage of lepers to Kalawao after the issuing of this notice. If this is not heeded, then the plantations from Hawaii to Kauai will be burned down at an unknown moment until this warning is taken notice of. The government had better consider.
>
> P.S. There should be a leper asylum in Honolulu, or else asylums built on each of the several islands. (Native Free Mason 1881)

Events at the leprosy settlement in 1881 were eclipsed by a virulent epidemic: between 1 December 1880 and 2 April 1881 more than 4,400 Chinese laborers were brought into the kingdom, and with them came smallpox (Board of Health 1868–1881:218–280). Quarantine prevented the spread to other islands, but the result was devastating at Honolulu and on Kauaʻi: 797 cases, 287 deaths.

News from Kalaupapa became scarce. Neilson was gone from the community more than he was there and seemed to take little interest in his work. Mail was sent through Meyer, and little seems to have reached the board. Sheep were substituted for cattle, although, according to Meyer, the patients disliked mutton.[18] Kahuila and Kanakaʻole continued to complain about Strawn, but Meyer denied the situation was as oppressive as portrayed. Meyer grew annoyed with native patient managers—whom he deemed unreliable in running Kalaupapa as an efficient enterprise—yet he had no time to do it himself (Meyer 1881).[19]

A site was chosen for a girls' home to be directed by Father Damien as a step in controlling the promiscuity he perceived around him. Damien asserted that "many an unfortunate woman had to become a prostitute to obtain friends who would take care of her and [her] children" and that "children, when well and strong, were used as servants" (De Veuster 1886). As the Catholic-run homes were established, distant relatives or friends were not recognized as legitimate guardians.[20] Adulterous relations certainly occurred

between married men and women segregated from their mates, and there were small-town scandals; but it is unclear exactly what Damien considered to be prostitution. Because women received rations from the Board of Health they did not need to procure food with sexual favors. Native girls were, by European definition, promiscuous and therefore needed moral supervision.

Kalawao became increasingly perceived as punishment. In December of 1881 Kaka'ako Hospital opened at Honolulu for the treatment of mild leprosy cases with experimental cures. Strict regulations were imposed at the new facility to maintain discipline: (1) loud noises, fighting, and drunkenness were forbidden; (2) patients were to obey all directions given by the doctor or steward in charge; (3) they were not to assemble on the verandas; (4) they were forbidden to eat salt fish or out of common calabashes, although the eating of poi with the fingers from individual bowls would be allowed; and (5) all persons were to work in the gardens if so instructed. Regulation number six was intended to see that the first five were obeyed; it stipulated that persons violating the other rules would be punished by immediate dismissal to Kalawao (Board of Health 1881).

After Gibson became premier in 1882, most of the country's resources were directed to strengthening the monarchy, which was increasingly threatened by foreign interests. The issues of leprosy and Kalaupapa were pushed to the periphery of government attention, and, since Gibson assimilated the president's chair, Board of Health meetings became irregular. Neilson was replaced by Fitch, who, functioning as visiting physician, commuted from Honolulu. Damien accepted assignment as the doctor's assistant, although he felt it outside his general vocation as priest. Damien adhered to Fitch's assertion that leprosy represented a stage of syphilis; even after he had been diagnosed with the malady himself, he maintained that 90 percent of its incidence was connected with venereal disease (De Veuster 1886:37).

Damien asked that his appointment be put down in black and white so that he "would be able to act for the welfare of all concerned without being molested by unprincipled men" who were jealous of him (De Veuster 1882). He was undoubtedly referring to Kahuila and other Hawaiians who had tormented him during his brief superintendency. The post under Fitch may have been consolation for the priest, who, having been in Honolulu a few months earlier when Meyer informed the board of Sumner's failing health, had promptly volunteered to reassume the office of assistant superintendent (Board of Health 1881–1888:15; De Veuster 1882). The board had declined the proposition. Damien exaggerated his new position in a letter to his brother, claiming he had been commissioned to build a hospital large enough for several hundred patients to be treated entirely under his direction. "So I have

to work," he boasted, "not only as priest, but as doctor and architect" (De Veuster 1889:138–139).

The Politics of Contagion

Few records survive of the settlement between 1882 and 1886. Whether this paucity was due to a lack of concern with leprosy during the period, whether it reflected patient distrust of the board, or whether documents were intercepted by Meyer, misplaced, or discarded is unclear. The few incoming letters in the Board of Health files were from Damien and leprologist Edward Arning. The patient voice was expressed in petitions to the legislature demanding that patients be released because Fitch had assured them that leprosy was noninfectious. There was a public outcry in 1883, when a large number of people were sent to Kalaupapa following the publication of a threat to boycott Hawai'i's products if the government did not curb leprosy (*San Francisco Chronicle* 1883).

The contradictory descriptions of Moloka'i in the board report to the Legislative Assembly of 1884 divulge the vested interests of their writers. Fitch used his account to laud conditions at Kaka'ako Hospital in Honolulu, where he acted as physician and surgeon, by comparing it favorably to Kalawao. He described Moloka'i patients lying in pus-soaked overalls, receiving spoiled or soured food, and going for days without provisions; parents were told that daughters sent there were destined to "serve the purposes of God knows how many loathsome rakes" (Fitch 1884:vi). Such occurrences were "part of the history of the place from its inception," and the transfer of "the most unfortunate of earth's suffering mortals" to Kalawao was, in his view, unchristian (ibid.:iii–vi).

English physician J. H. Stallard, who had accompanied Fitch on a tour of the settlement, wrote a highly critical and inconsistent report on his observations of both the branch hospital at Kaka'ako and Kalawao. Although segregation was pretense at Kaka'ako, he found the people well treated and able to partake of good food, abundant exercise, and "occupation" (work was considered therapeutic in preventing the natives from becoming lazy). He found it an outrage that patients were not segregated: new cases mixed with old, the young with the aged, men with women.

In Stallard's description of Moloka'i, he characterized the patients as cheerful, clean, and contented people living without complaint in tidy dwellings surrounded by plots of onions, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and flowers. They possessed luxury items of personal adornment and horses, giving the appearance of happiness and freedom. The scenery was beautiful, the vege-

tation was luxuriant, the soil was rich, and every necessity was provided. He praised the government for replacing "wretched grass huts" with wooden dwellings, bringing piped water from the streams, building hospitals, and providing for the segregation of men from women. This initial challenge to Fitch's description was followed by accusations that the natural advantages of Moloka'i had been destroyed by defective administration; excessive mortality was not the result of leprosy, but rather of dysentery brought on by neglect. Stallard claimed that the patients were being starved to death, their diet was inappropriate, and that there were no doctors or medicines available. In the eyes of the paternal Englishman, patients were being dumped on the shore and left to fend for themselves, which amounted to murder. "The natives, and especially the lepers, cannot be relied on for rendering much assistance, for it is well known that leprosy blunts the sympathies and weakens the energies of its victims" (Stallard 1884:xliii). He was appalled that if a native chose not to go to the hospital, he was allowed to die at home. Stallard agreed that the care at Kaka'ako was superior to that at Kalawao, but he believed the solution was to take the care provided at Kaka'ako to Kalawao, where segregation could be maintained. He was confident that leprosy, like plague and other diseases, could be eliminated under "good sanitary organization and better sanitary administration" (ibid.:xlvii).

Rudolph Meyer, who had overseen matters for twenty years, vigorously denied that patients perished of starvation, dysentery, or neglect. Even inmates who had the means of providing themselves with comfortable homes —Williamson, Pickford, Ostrom, Ragsdale, Humphreys, the Crowningburgs, and the Napelas—eventually died. Inmates were supplied with beef, salmon, and mutton, and only rarely did these supplies not arrive weekly. Although Stallard considered salt salmon inappropriate to a patient's diet, people bought it themselves and would be eating it whether the board supplied it or not. In reply to accusations that spoiled rations were distributed, Meyer responded that Hawaiians preferred their poi aged. As for the lack of care, he thought that, although hospitals were provided for persons who had no *kōkua* to tend them, medical conditions could be improved by obtaining foreign-trained nurses. He disliked doctors, saw no need for a resident physician, and believed those who had stayed at the settlement (Emerson and Neilson) had been of little benefit. Other settlement workers agreed with Meyer that nurses would be of more value to the patients than doctors.

Fitch and Stallard both had reason to emphasize stark conditions at Kalaupapa: it was Fitch's intention to have a new hospital put under his control at Honolulu, and Stallard's report accompanied his proposal for the appointment of a chief medical officer and a letter stating his own qualifica-

tions for the position. Stallard's self-serving advertisement for a "sanitary administration" in Hawai'i failed to impress the Board of Health, as did the inference that they were murdering their patients.

John H. van Giesen (1884), steward at the branch hospital, provided a more neutral account of what the group saw at Kalawao based on his talks with the patients. He described a panorama—sweet potato patches, bananas, sugarcane, cabbage, and onions cultivated by patients—that extended the length of the settlement at the foot of the cliffs and gave the impression of a prosperous village. Waikolu had enough water, he claimed, to supply all of Honolulu, and about forty acres could easily be cultivated. The only land in the valley in which taro was being grown was three acres tended by a *kama'āina,* because Meyer refused to let inmates live there. During Ragsdale's time, the area had been extensively planted, with a third of the harvest going to the board for rations; but under the administrations of Father Damien, William Sumner, and Clayton Strawn, the *kōkua* who cared for the crops became demoralized—especially when Strawn made them work in his private garden. Eventually, *kōkua* were allowed to pay fifty cents instead of doing their obligatory time in the fields, and taro ceased to be planted. When van Giesen saw the plots, they were covered by guava and weeds; he estimated it would take at least two years to get another harvest. Although they continued to provide *pa'i 'ai* of good quality, the taro growers in the neighboring valleys were dissatisfied, because they had to climb the cliffs to Meyer's home to cash in the receipts they received from the superintendent, and they often went months without payment.

The patients complained that sometimes the twenty-one-pound bundles of *pa'i 'ai* were largely leaves, with only fourteen to eighteen pounds of poi. In addition, the water system needed upgrading, and the hospital could stand being whitewashed more often as a disinfectant and to eliminate the peculiar smell attending leprosy. Van Giesen found the invalids well cared for by native stewards and thought that the gardens around the hospital gave it a homey quality. The inmates had given him a list of requests to be taken to the legislature: they wanted their *pa'i 'ai* allowance to be raised from twenty-one to thirty-three pounds per week, the meat ration increased to eight pounds, and the yearly clothing allowance to be doubled. Entire families were trying to survive on the rations for one person, and some patients wanted to adopt children to fetch and pound their *pa'i 'ai.* Good *kōkua* were essential, but there had been abuses by both patients and their helpers: *kōkua* who did not earn their keep and patients who exploited them. Overall, van Giesen found the people better off than they had been on his visit a year earlier. He believed Meyer to be a conscientious man but noted that his infrequent visits

to the settlement left him oblivious to patient needs. Meyer admitted that he did not have charge of the community, which had suffered administratively since Ragsdale's death.

Arning was the first leprologist to conduct scientific investigations in the islands. He was new in the kingdom (he arrived in November 1883) when he toured the colony with Fitch, Stallard, and van Giesen, and had nothing to say about it. He was more concerned with the archaic attitude he saw toward leprosy, especially the notion espoused by Fitch that it represented a stage of syphilis. If this were true, he remarked, it would overturn everything known about both diseases, and he felt obligated to refute it. "The theory is, perhaps, not quite as harmless as many would believe, as it has led . . . the public to consider leprosy as an outcome of licentiousness, which term certain classes of society unhappily seem to use as a synonym of syphilis, and to look upon the unfortunate lepers as the victims of their own or their parents' transgressions" (Arning 1884:liv).

Arning had struck out at the feature that made the syphilis theory attractive: it was congruous with the belief that the Hawaiians were responsible for their own demise. Arning believed in segregation (every leper was a potential "hotbed" of disease), but to consider the disease incurable and conceal the afflicted was a medieval barbarism that every professional man ought to oppose. He intended to treat the disease with the techniques available to him: by surgical interference and experimental applications of electricity. Bacterial disease was most easily combated in its early stages, and he proposed that children and young people be accommodated at a group home, where they would receive special attention and regular schooling.

William Hillebrand stressed to the board the importance of Arning's work, recalling Koch's discovery in Berlin of the bacteria that caused tuberculosis and the French government's support of Louis Pasteur. Arning represented the optimism of science and Hawai'i's chance at becoming a part of medical history. The vision of great scientific discoveries in the islands was not shared by everyone, and in 1885 Arning was dismissed by Gibson, then president of the Board of Health, because he would not release research notes, specimens, and photographs related to his work.[21]

Gibson issued a special report on leprosy in 1886 that espoused his views: a selectively homogenized version of nineteenth-century thought condensed from answers to his queries by foreign governments. He refuted claims that leprosy arrived with Chinese immigrants and insisted that it was a natural phenomenon that had been lying dormant among the native population. Citing Fornander's theory of Polynesian migration, he tied leprosy in Hawai'i to its prevalence in the "cradle of . . . the great and ancient races from whose loins were derived the Hawaiians" (Gibson 1886:24). The dormant germ

had been activated by a demoralization of the system through uncleanliness, he alleged; the blood was poisoned "by a degraded condition of living or by excessive indulgences of the animal nature in a tropical climate" (ibid.:29). The latent flame of disease was ignited by the coming of Captain Cook's ships and the subsequent impregnation of the "poor, ignorant, simple and innocent minded natives" (ibid.:32). Gibson's belief that syphilitic blood poisoning activated a dormant leprosy is similar to the indigenous concept of *'ea,* the genetically passed disposition for illness that resulted in the eruption of infections later in life, which made it comprehensible to the Hawaiians (Kamakau 1964:103–104).

To those who cited Father Damien's having the disease as proof it was contracted by other means, Gibson argued that the priest became ill only after inhaling fetid breaths, cleaning ulcers, watching over the dying, and handling cadavers—living, eating, sleeping, and sharing with the infirm. There was no reason for people to be alarmed or to treat the leper as an outcast. They should show charity to the victims, especially since the disease seemed to be incurable. He saw the Hawaiians as mentally depressed as well as physically ill and stated that it was moral encouragement that they needed. With regard to the necessity of segregation, he was vague. He believed that it was wise to keep the diseased from the healthy but that herding them to a single location was unnecessary and that places of seclusion should be maintained on each island. Gibson's proposals were politically agreeable. The importation of labor was not the source of disease; it was the well-known animal nature and sexual appetites of the naive primitive aroused by European debauchery. His suggestion that places of isolation be maintained on every island was seized with hope by the families of the infirm.

The controversy over contagion was politically well defined. The *Saturday Press,* a newspaper started by a committee of merchants opposed to the Gibson-Kalākaua policies, was adamant in its call for compulsory segregation. Their condemnation of leprosy was a denunciation of government policy and of Hawaiian culture: "We know the loose habits of the Hawaiian people, the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, and thinking people are not alarmists because they call public attention to the rapid spread of leprosy in these islands on account of such national customs and the do-nothing policy of the Hawaiian government whether King or Cabinet" (*Saturday Press* 1883). These accusations were picked up by the *San Francisco Chronicle,* motivating the threatened boycott of Hawaiian goods at American ports.

Expressing the opposite viewpoint was the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* owned by Gibson, which, in an 1885 article, lauded the government's humane treatment of the victims of leprosy. "The Hawaiian Government is deserving

of all praise. But the leper is the stock-in-trade of the Opposition. Without this festering sore there would be no excuse for its existence; wherefore everything pertaining to the management and care of these unfortunates is distorted to serve the narrow and selfish purpose of local politicians" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1885). Instead of talking about contagion and dirty habits, this article discusses possible cures, including Chaulmoogra oil, which would later become a common treatment (Mouritz 1916:186–187, 1943:130–131; Daws 1973:238).

Ambrose Kanoeali'i Hutchison

While the debate over contagion and the need to segregate continued in Honolulu, propitious changes were made at Kalaupapa. Arthur Mouritz was appointed physician in 1884, and a young part-Hawaiian patient by the name of Ambrose Hutchison became the superintendent. Hutchison was born at Honomā'ele, Hāna, on the island of Maui, and spent his boyhood at boarding school in Honolulu under the tuition of Archdeacon George Mason. He had noticed the loss of feeling that indicated he had leprosy when he was about twelve years of age. The disease advanced slowly, and he was twenty-three before he was taken by policemen from his home and locked in a prison cell, without food or drink, before being sent to Honolulu for cursory examination by government physician Robert McKibbin. He arrived at Kalaupapa on 5 January 1879 with Board of Health president S. G. Wilder and Emerson, who had just been appointed resident physician. He stayed with a patient kinsman of his mother while he built himself a residence, and he proved to be a valuable employee of the Board of Health—starting in 1881 as chief butcher and beef dispenser.

The following year Hutchison was promoted to head storekeeper of the Kalawao store, and on 8 March 1884, at about the age of twenty-eight, he took charge as resident superintendent. William Sumner and Clayton Strawn were sent to Kaka'ako branch hospital in Honolulu.[22] Like Sumner and Ragsdale, Hutchison was Caucasian and Hawaiian, but unlike his predecessors, he seems to have won admiration in both cultures. Napela, Sumner, and Humphreys had the respect of the native patient community but did not fare very well with the Board of Health authorities; Ragsdale was very popular in Honolulu but lacked support at Kalaupapa. Hutchison developed the lifelong trust and friendship of both Mouritz and Meyer, the men with whom he shared administrative duties; the deep regard Mouritz felt for him was reflected in the biographies that appear in his books about leprosy in Hawai'i. Hutchison "displayed marked ability and highly creditable administrative powers for a man so young"; not only did he act as superintendent, sheriff,

surveyor, and supervisor, he had to write policies and enforce them (Mouritz 1943:77).

The young manager found himself with his greatest challenge in the 1885 removal of nonleper girls of leper parentage to Kapiʻolani Home, carrying out Queen Kapiʻolani's response to some parents' requests, when she visited with King Kalākaua in 1884, that children be taken away from Kalaupapa to prevent their contracting the disease. Built at the Kakaʻako branch hospital at Honolulu, the home was to be under the supervision of the Franciscan Sisters. On October 27, Hutchison received notice from Fred Hayselden, Gibson's son-in-law and secretary to the Board of Health, that girls between the ages of four and twelve years who had been examined and found clean of leprosy were to be sent to the home. A steamer was chartered to deliver a load of cattle from the Molokaʻi Ranch and to take the girls to Honolulu. Two days before its arrival, the parents were told to have their daughters, dressed in their best clothes, waiting when the boat came; the superintendent would issue free passes to relatives who wanted to accompany the girls to Honolulu and return.

When the ship arrived, two patients armed with knives attacked *kōkua* employed in loading hides, seriously injuring three men. While John Gaiser, the butcher, went for Mouritz, Hutchison assumed responsibility as sheriff in controlling the crowd. Two of the victims suffered fatal wounds, but Hutchison and Damien saved the third man. The motive for the stabbing appears to have been the mandatory removal of children from their parents (Hutchison n.d.; Kamae 1886).

By the middle of 1886, the patients complained of government neglect and drafted a petition to the Hawaiʻi legislature asking that a committee be sent to inspect the settlement.[23] Representative Lorrin A. Thurston, eager at the chance to discredit Kalākaua, suggested that the matter be looked into immediately, and on July 16 a party of notables—cabinet ministers, diplomats, legislators, clergymen, and reporters—went to Molokaʻi, where they were politely greeted by Ambrose Hutchison and a band of boys playing two drums, three tin flutes, and a triangle. About two hundred patients appeared at a meeting to express their concerns, but when a man named Kahului complained about the weekly rations, Gibson responded by telling the people how much the government was doing for them. He said that difficulties had been exaggerated, and now the members of the legislature could see for themselves the comfortable houses and scenic beauty of Kalaupapa. When he finished, Polish patient John Liefanesky explained the plight of foreigners with regard to getting food that was palatable to them. Kamae of Hāmākua insisted that the Board of Health members should be replaced, because the president had visited only once since 1879. The colony desper-

ately needed regular steamer service, and the patients were angry at Rudolph Meyer for implementing the policy of forcibly taking away their children. Meyer's dual role as agent of the board and manager of the Moloka'i Ranch had allegedly resulted in his sending them inferior cattle and profiting at the expense of the patients, and his refusal to reinstate the policy allowing patients to receive cash in lieu of rations made them entirely dependent on Board of Health provisions. The patients requested larger poi rations, soap, and a steady source of water.

The inmates felt the board was not doing enough for them. None of the complaints was aimed at Hutchison but, rather, at Meyer's vested interests and at the Honolulu administrators. Since Meyer no longer visited the settlement and did not know what was happening there, they were receiving taro flour without the fuel with which to prepare it and substandard rice. The inmates had built 227 houses at their own expense compared to 110 by the board (only 80 of which were for patients, with the remainder for employees). Since the settlement had expanded across the peninsula, it needed a second butcher shop and a post office more accessible to the disabled. A number of patients complained about the quality, quantity, and lack of choice in the food received. They were no longer allowed to raise chickens, apparently because Meyer claimed they wasted their rations on fowl, and without the right to grow pigs and chickens, they were restricted to what the board supplied: low-quality beef and salt salmon.

Damien maintained that the patients were well cared for but that the doctor was seldom available, and when he was gone, the drugs were locked up; the only way to get them was to break into the cabinet. Hutchison added that Hawaiians often cast aside prescribed treatments to use medicines of their own, and Doctor Mouritz would not see anyone he knew to be under the treatment of a *kahuna lapa'au* (native medical practitioner). When asked whether there were any *kahuna* there, Hutchison exclaimed: "Kahunas! Yes; nearly everybody is a kahuna" (Hawaiian Legislative Assembly 1886:375).

Because an improved water system was the most pressing and rectifiable condition, discussion on the topic continued even as the gathering broke up. The reforms addressed in the meeting had to wait for a change of government; during the latter half of 1886 and into 1887, the Kalākaua-Gibson regime was on the defensive and unable to act.

Conclusions

The period from 1870 to 1890 was one of rapid change in Hawai'i: as the sugar industry expanded, there were adjustments in land distribution and population composition. With increased international trade came epidemics

—and with new wealth, a shift in power favoring the nonnative population. As authority fluctuated, the factions governing leprosy grated against one another.

On 6 July 1887 a group of businessmen succeeded in taking power away from Kalākaua and forced him to accept the "Bayonet constitution," which, among other repressive features, imposed property qualifications for voters that excluded many native Hawaiians. The government replaced Hutchison with nonpatient superintendents in 1889, but the change brought such a lapse in order that Hutchison was reinstated in 1892 and remained in the position until his friend and supporter Rudolph Meyer died in 1897.

Board of Health documents from Kalaupapa during the period from 1871 to 1887 divulge changes taking place in Hawai'i during the two decades of relative calm before the squall that swept power from native Hawaiians. Leadership did not come in the form of the white-savior missionary-frontiersman of the Damien myth (Moblo 1997). Local authority was a matter of negotiation rather than overt force and was manifest in individuals of mixed parentage who could function efficiently in both native and foreign cultures. A prime example is Ambrose Hutchison; he was friends with Mouritz, Damien, André Burgerman, and other foreigners in service to the board, but his devotion to Hawaiians was explicitly couched in his will:

> For the love and affection I hold for my mother, Maria Mo-a, and Maria Kaiakonui, my wife (deceased), who were of the pure Hawaiian aboriginal ancestry, from whom sprung from and hold dear and my heart longing desire to perpetuate their race from extinction which forecasting shadow of time forbode their doom, which only the power of a mercifull and all loving God can stay, from the evident fate which await them and leaving firm faith in the love and mercy of God, who alone can save and perpetuate and multiply from being effaced from the land, which, by His grace he gave to their forefathers and foremothers and their descendants as a heritage forever and to this end and purpose, I consecrate my worldly estate both real, personal or mixed. (Hutchison n.d.)

Hutchison lived until 1932, by which time Hawai'i was firmly established as a territory of the United States, and Kalaupapa was strictly segregated by law, by fences, and by stigma. The leprosy settlement, as a symbol of Hawaiian impotence (Moblo 1997:700–702), evolved into an institution of what Foucault calls "social protection" (1994:82), where the poor were protected by the rich and the rich, against the poor.

APPENDIX

Kalaupapa Resident Superintendents, 1865–1902

1865	Louis Lepart	Former French missionary employed by December 1865 to prepare for the first exiles; agreed to stay until a permanent superintendent was found
1867	David Walsh	Englishman initially employed as the schoolteacher; took over as superintendent in November
1869	Caroline Walsh	David's wife; took over after his death with assistance from a Mr. Welsh; when unseated by patient insurrection, rancher Rudolph Meyer agreed to oversee employment of a native Hawaiian
1871	Kahoʻohuli, assisted by Pualewa (dismissed) and W. Uweleʻaleʻa Humphreys	Arrived March 1871; died 1872
1872	Lepart with Humphreys	Assigned temporarily after the death of Kahoʻohuli
1872	Humphreys	Until his death in October 1873
1873	Lepart	March–April, temporary
	Jonathan Napela	April–October, dismissed
	William Ragsdale	Replaced Napela; died February 1877
1877	Father Damien W. Keolaloa Sumner	Patients petitioned that Damien be removed and part-Hawaiian Sumner be installed
1878	Sumner with Clayton Strawn	To serve jointly: Sumner satisfied the patients' demands, American Strawn was the administration's choice
1879	Nathaniel Emerson, M.D. Sumner and Strawn	Emerson took over administration as resident physician; Sumner and Strawn were in charge during his frequent absences

1880	Clayton Strawn	With resident physician Neilson
1881	Rudolph Meyer with Strawn	Meyer appointed superintendent, November 19
1884	A. Kanoeali'i Hutchison	Under Meyer's supervision
1890	Thomas Evans with Hutchison	Maui sheriff put in charge; resigned in March
1891	William Tell with Hutchison	Former head of Honolulu police
1892	Hutchison	Acting superintendent
1898	C. B. Reynolds, assisted by William Feary	Board of Health agent since 1885
1902	Jack McVeigh	Reynolds forced to resign by Hutchison and others

NOTES

1. Although leprosy is now officially known as Hansen's disease, the politically correct form is generally ignored here in favor of the historical "leprosy" and "lepers" used in the nineteenth century, usually without moral connotation.

2. The productive taro fields of Waikolu were leased out in 1867 to compensate for the Board of Health having overspent its budget in building the settlement.

3. William Uwele'ale'a Humphreys was the son of William Humphreys, a native of New Hampshire who settled on Maui. Although he is listed as American in Board of Health records, it appears that William Jr. had a Hawaiian mother; he spoke English but wrote in Hawaiian to the Board of Health and used his Hawaiian name as a member of the 1864 legislature. Lepart went to Hawai'i as a French missionary and left the priesthood to farm at Kalaupapa. When it was decided to put a leprosarium there, he was asked to served as interim superintendent.

4. There had been 115 attendants living at Kalawao: sixty-four spouses, twenty-six parents, four grandparents, fourteen children, and a sister-in-law of patients—plus Kaho'ohuli's cook and nine members of his or his assistants' families.

5. The following are examples of requests to treat leprosy in 1873: Kaiwi'okalani, Hawaiian *kahuna,* to the Board of Health, May 8, Board of Health Letters (hereafter BHL), box 5, Archives of Hawai'i, Honolulu; Board of Health 1868–1881:74–77; P. W. Waha acceptance of board offer to let him treat lepers, May 18, BHL box 5; Board of Health 1868–1881:74; a patient claims "Kā'ana'ana" (Akana, Sing Kee) can cure leprosy and the Chinese doctor is granted permission to treat patients at Kalawao, Ragsdale, July 1, BHL box 5; Board of Health 1868–1881:79.

6. Meyer writes, "Mr. Rogers, the Deputy Sheriff—he has not a single iron in his possession nor have I." It is unclear whether he means iron shackles or a shooting iron (Meyer 1873c).

7. The suggestion was futile, since the Catholic church did not have a seminary in Hawai'i until World War II prevented bringing missionaries from Europe.

8. Although Damien was under the supervision of the board, they communicated through the bishop. None of Damien's letters appears in the Board of Health records from 1874 to 1877; thereafter, Damien wrote occasionally requesting supplies for the boys' home he managed.

9. Petitions, Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Archives of Hawai'i (hereafter AH), series 222.

10. Petitions (1872, 1874), Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, AH, series 222.

11. Peter Kaeo was pronounced "not a leper" by the legislative Committee of Thirteen (Korn 1976:xii, 282–283). An average of eight people were released each year from Kalaupapa.

12. William Charles Crowningburg was also called Ke'eaumoku IV after a chief who had supported Kamehameha I in his conquest of Hawai'i. He was the son of a German-American settler and a Hawaiian woman descended from Kala'imamahū, a half-brother to King Kamehameha I (Korn 1976:231; Kame'eleihiwa 1992:117, 121–122).

13. Petitions 1878, Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, AH, series 222.

14. Sheriffs' and doctors' reports show that refuge was taken in Hāmākua on the island of Hawai'i, at Kula on Maui, and at Kalalau on Kaua'i (the site of Jack London's short story "Ko'olau the Leper").

15. Nine white patients, all male, were admitted between 1867 and 1879; five had died, leaving four: John Kack, David Ostrom, J. Pickford, and C. Strawn.

16. The hides of cattle butchered for rations were sold to offset the cost of running the settlement.

17. According to a family Bible cited by genealogist James "Sonny" Gay, Jonathan died at Moloka'i on August 6, and Kiti died 23 August 1879. Korn gives Jonathan's date of death as 1888 (1976:16).

18. For Meyer, manager of the Moloka'i Ranch, which had furnished cattle to the asylum, it meant diminished profits, since the sheep were coming from Walter Murray Gibson's ranch. Gibson joined the Board of Health on 7 September 1880. On September 14 he signed a contract to provide sheep for the settlement, and on October 2 he resigned; the animals proved to be difficult to transport and to tend (Board of Health 1868–1881:199, 216; Meyer's letters to the Board of Health, 10–17 November 1880, BHL).

19. In addition to his duties managing the Moloka'i Ranch and starting his own sugar plantation, Meyer served as a road supervisor, an agent to grant marriage licenses, an election inspector, and an agent to review labor contracts. He also helped plan lighthouses for Moloka'i.

20. This perception may reflect a failure to comprehend the complex of relationships by which native Hawaiians claim affinity by adoption or fostering; administrators often complained that the "parents" a child was living with were not "real."

21. Fitch's unauthorized publication of Arning's research in support of unproven assertions regarding leprosy prompted the caution. Although Arning's dismissal was opposed by colleagues in the medical profession, he had decided that Hawai'i was not suitable for scientific research (Arning 1886).

22. Sumner died at the hospital in 1885; Strawn returned to Kalaupapa in 1888.

23. Petition number 457 (n.d.) 1886, submitted by W. H. K. Kekalohe to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, AH, series 222.

REFERENCES CITED

Arning, Edward
1884 Dr. Arning's Report. In *Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1884,* appendix E, pp. liii–lxi. Honolulu: Board of Health.
1886 Report of Dr. Edward Arning. In *Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1886,* appendix I, pp. xxxvii–liv. Honolulu: Board of Health.

Board of Health (Hawai'i)
1868–1881 Minutes. Bound volume 2. Archives of Hawai'i.
1881 Rules for Leper Hospital. N.d., Board of Health Letters, Archives of Hawai'i, Honolulu (hereafter cited as BHL), box 9.
1881–1888 Minutes. Bound volume 3. Archives of Hawai'i.

Bunson, Margaret R.
1989 *Father Damien: The Man and His Era.* Huntington, Ind.: Our Sunday Visitor.

Daws, Gavan
1973 *Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai.* New York: Harper and Row. Reprinted 1984, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

De Veuster, Joseph (Father Damien)
1878 Letter to S. G. Wilder. February 25, BHL box 34.
1882 Letter to Walter Murray Gibson. August 19, BHL box 34.
1886 Special Report from Rev. J. Damien, Catholic Priest at Kalawao, March 1886. In *Appendix to the Report on Leprosy of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1886,* pp. cx–cxxiii. Honolulu: Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

De Veuster, Pamphile, editor
1889 *Life and Letters of Father Damien, the Apostle of the Lepers.* London: Catholic Truth Society.

Emerson, N. B.
1879a Letter to S. G. Wilder. January 27, BHL box 7.
1879b Letter to S. G. Wilder. February 14, BHL box 7.
1879c Letter to S. G. Wilder. May 6, BHL box 8.
1879d Letter to S. G. Wilder. October 4, BHL box 8.
1879e Letter to S. G. Wilder. October 15, BHL box 8.
1879f Letter to S. G. Wilder. October 21, BHL box 8.
1879g Letter to S. G. Wilder. November 11, BHL box 8.
1880a Letter to S. G. Wilder. June 18, BHL box 8.
1880b Letter to S. G. Wilder. July 14, BHL box 8.
1880c Letter to S. G. Wilder. July 19, BHL box 8.

Englebert, Omer
1962 *The Hero of Molokai: Father Damien, Apostle of the Lepers.* Translated by Benjamin T. Crawford. Boston: Daughters of St. Paul.

Farrow, John
1954 *Damien the Leper.* Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, Doubleday. Copyright 1937, Sheed.

Fitch, G. L.
1884 General Report by Dr. Fitch. In *Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1884,* appendix A, pp. i–ix. Honolulu: Board of Health.

Foucault, Michel
1994 *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* New York: Vintage. 1973 translation, Tavistock.

Gibson, Walter M.
1886 *Leprosy: Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1886.* Honolulu: Daily Bulletin Steam Printing Office.

Giesen, J. H. van
1884 Report by Mr. J. H. van Giesen. In *Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1884,* appendix C, pp. xvii–xxx. Honolulu: Board of Health.

Goffman, Erving
1961 *Asylums.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Hawaiian Legislative Assembly
1886 Among the Lepers. In *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly of 1886,* compiled from reports of the *Daily Bulletin.* Honolulu: Daily Bulletin.

Hillebrand, William
1870 Letter to "My Dear Sir." BHL box 8.

Holokahiki, S. N.
1873 Letter to E. O. Hall. December 25, BHL box 5.

Hutchison, Ambrose Kanoeʻaliʻi
n.d. Manuscript on Father Damien. N.d., BHL box 34.

Kahoʻohuli, W. H.
1871 Letter to C. T. Gulick, Secretary of the Board of Health. November 7, BHL box 4.

Kahuila, J. K.
1879 Report of the Church of Siloama, 1879. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

Kamae, N. B.
1886 Testimony of Kamae of Hāmākua. In *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly of 1886,* compiled from reports of the *Daily Bulletin,* p. 370. Honolulu: Daily Bulletin.

Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani
1964 *Ka Poʻe Kahiko: The People of Old.* Translated by Mary Kawena Pukui; edited by Dorothy Barrère. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Kameʻeleihiwa, Lilikalā
1992 *Native Land and Foreign Desires.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Korn, Alfons L.
1976 *News from Molokai: Letters between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873–1876.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaiʻi.

Kuykendall, Ralph S.
1967 *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1874–1893.* Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press.

McCoy, George W.
1914 A Statistical Study of Leprosy in Hawaiʻi. In *Studies upon Leprosy.* Public Health Bulletin No. 66. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

McCoy, George W., and William J. Goodhue
1913 The Danger of Association with Lepers at the Molokai Settlement. In *Studies upon Leprosy.* Public Health Bulletin No. 61. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Meyer, Rudolph
1872a Letter to C. T. Gulick. February 6, BHL box 4.
1872b Letter to F. W. Hutchison. June 21, BHL box 4.
1873a Letter to C. T. Gulick. March 28, BHL box 5.
1873b Letter to G. Trousseau. March 31, BHL box 5.

1873c Letter to E. O. Hall. April 16, BHL box 5.
1873d Letter to S. G. Wilder. June 13, BHL box 5.
1873e Letter to C.T. Gulick. November 7, BHL box 5.
1878 Letter to S. G. Wilder. August 7, BHL box 7.
1879 Letter to S. G. Wilder. February 2, BHL box 7.
1880 Letter to S. G. Wilder. July 22, BHL box 8.
1881 Letter to J. A. Hassinger. May 24, BHL box 10.

Moblo, Pennie
1997 Blessed Damien of Moloka'i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth. *Ethnohistory* 44:691–726.

Mouritz, Arthur A.
1886 Report on Leprosy to the Board of Health. February, BHL box 35.
1916 *The Path of the Destroyer: A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and Thirty Years' Research into the Means by Which It Has Been Spread.* Honolulu: Star-Bulletin.
1943 *A Brief World History of Leprosy.* Honolulu: A. Mouritz.

Native Free Mason
1881 A Punishment to the Evil: For Evil Deeds. N.d., BHL box 11.

Neilson, Charles
1881 Letter to the Board of Health. May 19, BHL box 10.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser
1874 The Leper Asylum of Molokai. April 18.
1885 Treatment of Lepers at Home and Abroad. May 28.

Parke, Marshall William Cooper
1878 Letter to S. G. Wilder. September 3, BHL box 7.

Ragsdale, William
1873a Letter to E. O. Hall. July 1, BHL box 5.
1873b Letter to the Board of Health. July 2, BHL box 5.
1873c Letter to E.O. Hall. December 11, BHL box 5.
1874 Letter to the Board of Health. February 6, BHL box 5.

San Francisco Chronicle
1883 Leprosy in Hawaii. February 15.

Saturday Press
1883 Leprosy. February 3.

Smith, J. Mott
1878 *Report of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1878.* Honolulu: Board of Health.

Stallard, J. H.
1884 Dr. Stallard's Report and Proposals. In *Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly of 1884,* appendix D, pp. xxxvi–l. Honolulu: Board of Health.

Stoddard, Charles Warren
[1885] *The Lepers of Molokai.* Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria.
1908

Twain, Mark
1934 *Letters from the Sandwich Islands Written for the Sacramento Union.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.