

## Primary Source Bibliography

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. "Sandwich Islands: Letter from the Mission." *The Missionary Herald*. Vol. 45. Oct. 1849. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<http://books.google.com/books/reader?id=f9QWAQAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PA360>>.

This is an article written from the American point of view in regards to the decimation of the Hawaiian population by foreign diseases. We used a quote from this article on our "Annum Mortuum" page as a reflection of the general sense of death among the Hawaiian people.

"An Act to Establish a Hawaiian Board of Health." *The Hawaiian Gazette*. 1 Jul. 1868. *Chronicling America*: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1868-07-01/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

This is a newspaper featuring an act that established a Hawaiian Board of Health, which featured Hawaiian physicians and leaders exclusively. This provided information about the lack of Hawaiian perspective in decision-making for the medical treatment of Hansen's Disease throughout the state. Although this act was passed, it did not do much to change the leadership for the benefit of the native patients at the time.

An Act to Establish the Kalaupapa National Historical Park in the State of Hawai'i, and for other purposes, Pub. L. no. 96-565, 94 Stat. 3321 (1980). *United States Government Printing office*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-94/pdf/STATUTE-94-Pg3321.pdf>>.

This is the act that created the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. We included an excerpt from this law on the "National Park Protection" page to give context into the purpose of its creation as a way to ensure the patients were able to remain in Kalaupapa and to preserve the history of the settlement.

An Act to Facilitate the Segregation of Lepers. 11 Sept. 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is the document that made helping Hansen's Disease patients avoid being sent to Kalaupapa a misdemeanor offense against the government. We included an excerpt on the "Government Reform" page to show the lack of power by the Hawaiian monarchs during a Western takeover and the effect of the Western stigmas on the disease due to the use of the derogatory term "lepers."

An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy. 3 Jan. 1865. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is the document that legally allowed the Board of Health to send Hansen's Disease patients and suspected patients to Kalaupapa in 1865. We included an excerpt on the "Medical Segregation" page to give evidence into wording of the law and the powers of the Board of Health at the time.

"An Editorial." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. 21 Mar. 1969. Print.

This is an article written about the end of medical segregation in Kalaupapa after the discovery of sulfone drugs as effective treatment for Hansen's Disease. We used this article to summarize the abolishing of the segregation law on the "Government Reform" page.

Bishop, Charles Reed. Letter to President of the Board of Health E.O. Hall. 13 Nov. 1873. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Charles Reed Bishop, an American businessman who moved to Hawai'i and married into the royal Kamehameha family. In this document, he mentions Father Damien's concerns about the conditions in Kalaupapa and how it should be amended. We included this document on the "Kalaupapa's Saints" page to give an example of one of the Western businessmen Father Damien convinced to contribute money to improve the living conditions at the settlement.

Breitha, Olivia. *Olivia: My Life in Exile in Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Arizona Memorial Museum Association, 1988. Print.

This is a bibliography written by patient Olivia Breitha about her time at Kalaupapa. She serves as a primary source for information because she experienced everything first hand. We included quotes from this book on the “A Lasting Legacy” page and pictures of her on the “A Century of Violated Rights” page due to her perspective towards the Board of Health during medical segregation.

Bushnell, O.A. “The United States Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalawao.” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*. Vol. 2. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1968. Print.

O.A. Bushnell is a Professor of Microbiology at the University of Hawai'i. This is a statistical data table featuring information about the government breakdown of funds being set aside for the treatment and research of leprosy. We used this data table on our “Government Reform” page to give an idea of the government funds and attention that was being invested in the patients and managing the disease during the early twentieth century.

Ching, Lori. Personal Interview. 21 Feb. 2014.

Dr. Lori Ching is the Hawai'i Hansen's Disease Community Program manager for the local Center of Disease Control and Prevention. She provided a wealth of knowledge about the ethical standpoint in medicine as well as the current protocol in dealing with possible Hansen's Disease outbreaks as well as the current method of treating cases of Hansen's Disease in Hawai'i.

Citizens for the Preservation of Kalaupapa. Letter to the Kalaupapa Historical National Park Advisory Commission. 17 Aug. 1979. “Statement of Support for Kalaupapa National Park.” Print.

This is a letter written by the Citizens for the Preservation of Kalaupapa regarding the reasons why the

settlement should become a historical National Park. We used quotes for the “National Park Protection” page to show the mindset and intentions of the advocates before President Jimmy Carter officially made the settlement a national park.

Clark, Bud. Personal Interview. 20 Apr. 2014.

Bud Clark is a professor who specializes in enlightenment and the Kingdom Era History of Hawai'i at the University of Hawai'i Maui. We interviewed him regarding the political perspective of the time period during the segregation law and included a quote from him on our website due to his unique insight.

Cope, Marianne. Letter to Lorrin Thurston. 25 May 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter Mother Marianne Cope wrote during her time at Kalaupapa. We included a quote from her letter on the “Government Reform” page to give context about the significance of her arrival in Kalaupapa and her religious belief in the importance of helping the patients there.

Cup Choy, Zita. Personal Interview. 5 Mar. 2014.

Miss Zita Cup Choy is a docent educator at 'Iolani Palace who conducted research about Kalaupapa. We interviewed her about her perspective concerning the ethical controversy of the settlement's establishment and used quotes from her responses on our website to give another historian's view about the government's responsibility and the violation of patients' rights.

Dayton, David. Letter to members of the Board of Health. 29 Jan. 1891. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by President of the Board of Health David Dayton to members of the Board after his trip to Kalaupapa for examination of the living conditions there. We used this letter to gain understanding about the beginning of the government reform leading into the twentieth century that signaled an upgrade

in the lives of the patients after decades of mistreatment.

Dayton, David. Letter to President of the Board of Health William Smith. 7 Jun. 1893. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written to David Dayton regarding his report on the status of patients at Kalaupapa and the census he took of residents at the settlement. We used this to keep track of the number of patients that were sent there from 1866 to 1900 since there was an influx of patients that began after Westerners seized the Hawaiian government.

De Veuster, Joseph. Letter to President of the Board of Health Walter Murray Gibson. 4 Aug. 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Father Damien to the Board of Health about his proposed hospital plans in Kalaupapa. We included this on the "Kalaupapa's Saints" page to give evidence about Father Damien's advocacy for human rights and patients' rights.

De Veuster, Joseph. Letter to President of the Board of Health Walter Murray Gibson. 18 Aug. 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Father Damien to the Board of Health about his proposed bathing facility for the patients and the materials he would need to build it. We included this document on the "Kalaupapa's Saints" page to give visual context for Father Damien's advocacy for patients' rights.

De Veuster, Joseph. Letter to Secretary of the Board of Health F. H. Hayselden. 21 Jul. 1886. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter by Father Damien to Board of Health secretary F. H. Hayselden regarding the need for

medicine for the patients at Kalaupapa. We used this letter to understand the various aspects of Father Damien's aid for the Hansen's Disease patients.

De Veuster, Joseph. *The Life and Letters of Father Damien: The Apostle of Moloka'i*. 9 Nov. 1887. Print.

This is a memoir and compilation of letters written by Father Damien regarding his time at Kalaupapa. We used a quote from this page on the "Government Reform" page to give context about his perspective towards life even though he became afflicted with Hansen's Disease.

Erteschik, Louis. Personal Interview. 11 Mar. 2014.

Louis Erteschik is the Executive Director of the Hawai'i Disability Rights Center. We conducted an interview via telephone with him to get his insight about the violation of patients' rights under the segregation laws. We used a quote from this interview for our argument on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page.

Gibson, Walter Murray. "Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislative Assembly." 1884. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a report written by Walter Murray Gibson, the President of the Board of Health at the time. It concerns his observations and assessment about the conditions at the settlement. We included an excerpt from this report on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page concerning his observation about the inadequate necessities for life at Kalaupapa.

Haole, Josiah. Letter to President of the Board of Health William Smith. 26 Apr. 1894. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa patient Josiah Haole to Board of Health President William Smith

regarding the condition of the patients at the settlement as well as the despair at being separated from his wife. We featured a quote from this letter to give an example of the patients' perspectives at this time.

Hawai'i Board of Health. "Annual Report." 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a report made by members of the Board of Health regarding the method of carrying out the law of segregation. We included a quote from this report on the "Medical Segregation" page to give a balanced perspective of the government's responsibility to control the disease.

Hawai'i Board of Health. "Annual Statistical Report." 1946. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a statistical report of the number of patients at Kalaupapa during the sulfone era of the medical segregation period leading to the abolishing of the segregation law. We used the statistics of this report in a table on the "Government Reform" page to show the gradual decline of patients at the settlement.

Hawai'i Board of Health. "Extracts from Reports of Presidents of the Board of Health, Government Physicians and others." Honolulu: Daily Bulletin Steam Printing Office, 1879. *Harvard University Library*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/8069466>>.

This is a compilation of reports from various presidents of the Board of Health and its agents. We used this to glean information about the change in perspective regarding the responsibility of the board to contain the Hansen's Disease epidemic and the patients' welfare. We used analytical quotes from various presidents throughout our website.

Hawai'i Board of Health. "Rules and Regulations for Lepers and Kokuas." 1888. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a set of rules made by the Board of Health to dictate the separation between Hansen's Disease

patients and their kokuas at the Kalaupapa settlement. We used this document to understand how controlling the board was and how insensitive it was to those who were afflicted by the disease by using the term “leper” repeatedly throughout the rules and regulations.

Hawai'i Board of Health. “Special report of the Board of Health upon the cholera epidemic in Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, in August and September, 1895.” *Hawaiian Gazette Printing Company*. 1896. *U.S. National Library Digital Collections*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://collections.nlm.nih.gov/bookviewer?PID.nlm:nlmuid-101185188-bk>>

This is a report by the Board of Health regarding cholera. We used this for information about the establishment of the board as well as protocol in dealing with disease outbreaks in Hawai'i at the time to compare the degree of social effects between cholera and Hansen's Disease.

Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources. “Kalaupapa Report on Senate Resources No. 354.” 1975. Kamehameha School's Midkiff Library. Print.

This is a report done by the Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources regarding the history of Kalaupapa and the proposal for a National Historical Park there. We used quotes from the report on the “Conclusion” page and on the “National Park Protection” page to give the government's perspective in the aftermath of the conflict.

Hawai'i Department of Health. “Annual Statistical Report.” 2000. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a report made by the Hawai'i Department of Health regarding the number of patients living in Kalaupapa after the abolishing of the law for medical segregation. We used this data in a table on the “Government Reform” page to show the gradual decline of patients to the settlement.

Hawai'i Revised Statutes. § 326. *National Park Service*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.



<<http://www.nps.gov/kala/parkmgmt/upload/Hrs326.pdf>>.

These are Hawai'i statutes regarding Kalaupapa and the treatment of Hansen's Disease there after 1969. They concern the aftermath of medical segregation and the responsibility of the government as well as rules and regulations for patients and kokuas. We used it to learn about the changes that occurred at the settlement after segregation was abolished.

"The Hawaiian Leper Colony." *The New York Times*. 8 Apr. 1893. *The New York Times*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. < <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F30A1EFF3D5415738DDDA10894DC405B8485F0D3>>.

This is an article featured in *The New York Times* regarding the status of the Hawaiians in Kalaupapa. We featured this quote on the "Medical Segregation" page regarding the struggle of the people who were living with Hansen's Disease and sentenced to isolation.

"Health Board and Legislators." *The Hawaiian Gazette*. 22 Mar. 1901. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1901-03-22/ed-1/seq-8/>>.

This is an article about the changes in presidents for the Board of Health as well as its method of governing the people who were segregated to Kalaupapa. We used this article to get information about the Western board of health members and to understand the possible sense of racism behind the decision for medical segregation.

Higgins, Colette. Personal Interview. 27 Mar. 2014.

Colette Higgins is a professor of history, arts, and humanities at Kapi'olani Community College. We conducted a personal interview with her regarding the political aspect of the establishment of Kalaupapa

and the segregation law. She provided us with key quotations and perspectives that we used on our website.

Hillebrand, William. Letter to the Board of Health. 1865. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter by Board of Health physician William Hillebrand to the board regarding the need to send the afflicted to Kalaupapa in an effective and humane measure. We included a quote on the "Medical Segregation" page to give context about the intentions of the government in regulating its responsibility to isolate those afflicted with the disease to protect the population.

Honolulu Friend. "The Sandwich Islands." *Daily Southern Cross*. Vol. 5, Issue 265. 11 Jan.

1850. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=DSC18500111.2.10&dliv=&e=-----10--1----0-->>.

This is an article written by a correspondent of the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper in 1850. The article notes the difference in the Native Hawaiian population as a result of the census from 1823 to 1849. It mentions the "Annum Mortuum" quote that we used to establish the historical content of our topic.

Hsu, Peter and Jared Nielson. "Population Update 2010: The R & E Annual Update Series." Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation, 2010. Print.

This is a statistical graph about the Native Hawaiian population from pre-Western contact to 2010. We used a portion of the data on the "Annum Mortuum" page to give historical context into the population decimation at the hands of foreign diseases.

Hutchison, Ambrose. Letter to President of the Board of Health William Smith. 14 Feb. 1895. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa patient and superintendent Ambrose Hutchison to Board of Health President William Smith about the status of kama'aina in Kalaupapa. We included a quote from his letter on the "Government Reform" page to show how quickly the kama'aina were forced to leave after Hawai'i became a territory and to show the further oppression of the Kalaupapa patients.

Hutchison, Ferdinand. "Report of the President of the Board of Health." 1865. Hawai'i State Archives.

Print.

This is a report on Kalaupapa written by President of the Board of Health Ferdinand Hutchison. We used a quote from this report detailing why Kalaupapa was selected for the site of medical isolation in order to detail the reasons behind its selection on the "Medical Segregation" page.

Joint Resolution of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i. 9 Mar. 1903. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a document signed by the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i Sanford Dole, which continued the segregation of Hansen's Disease patients to Kalaupapa in the midst of a government takeover by Westerners. We used this document to understand how Hansen's Disease played a role in the concerns of the government during the political reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Joint Resolution to provide for the creation of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. H.J. Res. 220. 19

Feb. 1975. Kamehameha School's Midkiff Library. Print.

This is one of the early legal documents prepared by Congresswoman Patsy T. Mink in favor of the creation of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. We used an excerpt of it for our "National Park Protection" page to show the early advocacy of Mink in preserving the settlement for its controversial history.

Jordan, Timothy. Personal Interview. 1 Apr. 2014.

Timothy Jordan is a representative of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. We conducted an interview with him to learn more about the historical implications of the park's establishment and included a quote on our website.

Ka'ehu. "Song of the Chanter Ka'ehu (Mele a Ka'ehu ka Haku Mele)." *Simple Courage*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1992. 10-12. Print.

These are the lyrics to Ka'ehu's song about the medical segregation that was forced upon those afflicted with Hansen's Disease. We included a quote from his song on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to show the perspective of the Hawaiian population who felt wronged by the Board of Health.

Ka'imiola. Letter to the Minister of the Interior. 15 Nov. 1866. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by a Hansen's Disease patient Kai'miola to the Minister of the Interior about his belief that the Board of Health violated the marriage contract by refusing to allow his wife to join him in Kalaupapa. We used an excerpt of his letter on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to give an example of the patients' letter and petitions during this time.

King David Kalakaua. "Hawaiian Kingdom Civil Code." Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Office. Feb. 1884. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <[http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/civilcode/pdf/CL\\_Title\\_2.pdf](http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/civilcode/pdf/CL_Title_2.pdf)>.

This is the compiled list of laws that were being enforced at the time of King David Kalakaua's rule as well as the civil code laws that he had published for public awareness. We included an excerpt regarding the legal practices of medicine by licensed physicians to contrast the violation of patients' rights at Kalaupapa by allowing non-licensed physicians to administer and distribute medicine to the afflicted inhabitants.

King Kamehameha III. "An Act Relating to the Public Health." *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King*

*of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session.* Honolulu: Library of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. 36-39. 1991. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.  
<<https://play.google.com/books/reader?printsec=frontcover&output=reader&id=Q3YDAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.RA2-PA28>>.

This is the actual text of the act passed by Kamehameha that established the Board of Health in 1851 and its responsibilities and capabilities in investigating the spread of disease within the population. We included excerpts from this act on our “Establishing the Board of Health” page to give visual evidence of the wording of the act and to show evidence of the influence of Western culture on the evolution of Hawaiian politics.

“Legislature’s visit to Kalaupapa may be last of junkets.” *The Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. 12. Apr. 1915.

*Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014682/1915-04-12/ed-2/seq-12/#date1=1836&index=0&rows=20&words=hospital+Kalaupapa&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Hawaii&date2=1922&proxtext=Kalaupapa+Hospital&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>>.

This is an article about the government reform regarding Kalaupapa during the early twentieth century. We used information from this article to explain how the Board of Health improved the lives of the residents and allotted a better definition of freedom for those living at the settlement.

Lepart, L. Letter to Board of Health member T. C. Heuck. 8 Jan. 1866. Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Board of Health member L. Lepart to fellow Board of Health member T. C. Heuck regarding a report about his observations of life at Kalaupapa. We included a quote on the “A Century of Violated Rights” page to show board regulation of the settlement and Western observation of the life of patients.

“Leprosy On Decline According to Report.” *The Maui News*. 8 Sept. 1922. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014689/1922-09-08/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1836&index=0&rows=20&words=Bayview+home&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Hawaii&date2=1922&proxtext=Bayview+Home&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>>.

This is an article about the government reform that occurred during the early twentieth century for the benefit of Kalaupapa residents. We included a quote from this article on our “Government Reform” page to illustrate the increased attention placed on the welfare of the patients due to the responsibility of the government to protect the lives of its people.

“Leprosy Question Already Threatens.” *Evening Bulletin*. 20 Feb. 1909. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016413/1909-02-20/ed-1/seq-12/>>.

This is an article about the increased American government involvement during the early twentieth century in Hawai‘i. It remarks about the attention the government placed on regulating the patients in the Kalaupapa settlement as well as in preventing its spread among the population of Hawai‘i through the enacting of several bills in 1909. We used information from this article to gain insight into the increased reform during this time period for the “Government Reform” page of our website.

Lunalilo, William. Letter to Kalaupapa residents. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. 10 May 1873. Hawai‘i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by King Lunalilo regarding the continuation of the medical segregation during the late nineteenth century. We included a quote from this letter on the “Medical Segregation” because it

reflects the perspective of the Hawaiian monarchs who felt bad about sending their people to Kalaupapa but knew that it was necessary at the time.

Makanoanoa, John W. Letter to *Nupepa Kuokoa*. 18 Jul. 1866. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa patient John Makanoanoa regarding his experience with being shipped to Kalaupapa after his medical assessment. We included an excerpt on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to provide an example of the infringement of human rights.

Meyer, C.W. Interview by Ambrose Hutchison. 22 Jan. 1866. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is an interview conducted by Kalaupapa patient with C. W. Meyer, an agent of the Board of Health during the time when Kamehameha V signed "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy." We added a quote from this interview to the "Medical Segregation" page to give an idea of the pain that Kamehameha V felt in signing this law.

Meyer, Rudolph. Letter to the Board of Health secretary. 1870. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter by Kalaupapa overseer Rudolph Meyer regarding his perspective about the medical segregation of afflicted Hansen's Disease patients. We used a quote from this letter on the "Medical Segregation" page to show the Western perspective of the Hawaiians who were segregated.

Miun, F.L. Letter to President of the Board of Health William Smith. 24 Mar. 1893. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Dr. F. L. Miun, an appointed physician by the Board of Health, involving his report of the welfare of the Hansen's Disease patients and the condition of their homes. We used an excerpt from this letter on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to give insight into the petitions and

letters received by the Board of Health asking for better accommodations for the patients.

Namaka, Daniel. Letter to President of the Board of Health William Smith. 22 Mar. 1893. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa patient to the William Smith, the president of the Board of Health at the time. The letter is in Hawaiian but is most likely a petition for his wife to join him in Kalaupapa for the remainder of their lives. It is but one of the many petitions that were sent to the Board of Health in Hawaiian that is a part of the historical collection at the Hawai'i State Archives. We included this document on the "A Century of Violated Rights" to give an example of just one of these petitions and letters received by the Board of Health.

Napela, Jonathan. Letter to President of the Board of Health E.O. Hall. 23 Oct. 1873. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa resident Jonathan Napela to the president of the Board of Health E.O. Hall regarding his desire for his wife to join him in Kalaupapa. Napela became a prominent leader at Kalaupapa for the advocacy of patient rights. We used a quote from his letter on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to give an example of patient letters and petitions written to the board during the period of medical segregation.

"No more lepers wanted." *The Hawaiian Gazette*. 31 Dec. 1901. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1901-12-31/ed-1/seq-2/>>.

This is an article about an early proposal for Kalaupapa to become a reservation by the United States government. We used information from this article to gain understanding about the sense of government reform during this time period and to discover a sense of progression during the turn of the century.



“Patient Bill of Rights and Responsibilities.” *Naval Health Clinic Hawai’i*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.med.navy.mil/sites/nhch/Pages/PBOR.aspx>>.

This is the patients’ bill of rights and responsibilities for Hawai’i’s Naval Health Clinic facility. It includes many of the historic changes to the legal protocol for medicine that resulted from ethical lessons from the Kalaupapa settlement. We included this on our “conclusion” page to bring closure to the project by showing the continued significance of Kalaupapa in the medical field.

“Persons Apprehended and Examined for Leprosy.” Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is the actual document used by Hawai’i Board of Health agents to keep track of the people sent to Kalaupapa and the people who were apprehended and given a medical examination to determine whether or not they were afflicted with Hansen’s Disease. We used an excerpt from the document on the “Medical Segregation” page to show how a majority of those who were examined were Hawaiian.

“Petition of Kalaupapa patients to Hawaiian Legislature.” 3 Jun. 1874. Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a petition written and signed by various patients at Kalaupapa to the Hawaiian legislature about their outrage of being medically treated by people who are not medically trained. We included an excerpt of this petition on the “A Century of Violated Rights” page to provide an example of the petitions by the patients for their rights.

“Record of Inmates at Kalaupapa, 1866-1899, Series 260. Vol. 8.” Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a census record of the number of patients at Kalaupapa and the influx that occurred after King Kalakaua signed the Bayonet Constitution. We included the data from this record on the “Government Reform” page to show the effect of the political change on the medical segregation to Kalaupapa.

“Report of Princess Lili’uokalani to King Kalakaua.” Kalakaua Correspondence 1884-1886. Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a report made about the living conditions of the patients at Kalaupapa at the end of the nineteenth century as well as the observations of Princess Lili’uokalani during her trip there. We included an excerpt on the “Government Reform” page to show how the monarchs began to plan for positive changes to the settlement towards the end of their reigns.

“Report of R. W. Meyer in Report of the President of the Board of Health to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom.” *The Hawaiian Gazette*. Honolulu, 1892. Print.

This is a report made about the Kalaupapa patients and the change made by the decree that remaining kama’aina in Kalaupapa must leave. We included a quote from this report on the “Government Reform” page to show the effect of the political changes at the time on the status of the Hansen’s Disease patients at Kalaupapa.

Reynolds, C. B. Letter to President of the Board of Health Dr. Trousseau. 8 Jul. 1887. Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter by a Hawai’i Board of Health agent C. B. Reynolds to the board’s president. We used this letter to gain insight into the Western perspective of the living conditions at Kalaupapa and the method of apprehending Hansen’s Disease patients for export to the settlement.

Rice, Milton. Letter to L. E. Pinkham. 15 Mar. 1905. Hawai’i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Dr. Milton Rice to the 1905 President of the Board of Health L.E. Pinkham regarding his research of three Hansen’s Disease patients. We found this letter in the corresponding

letters files at the Hawai'i State Archives and used it as a source to show the government reform during the early twentieth century since it was a time when the patients' lives were being improved.

"Sickness." *The Polynesian*. 14 Oct. 1848. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is an article printed in *The Polynesian* about the effect of foreign epidemics on the Hawaiian population during 1848 and 1849. We used a quote from this article on the "Annum Mortuum" page to give historical context about the population decrease before the spread of leprosy.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. Personal Interview. 16 Feb. 2014.

Anwei Skinsnes Law is an extremely distinguished Kalaupapa historian and author who first traveled to Kalaupapa in 1968. This is an interview we conducted with her via email. She provided us with her perspective about the dynamic role of the government during the early twentieth century on the changes in Kalaupapa at the time.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. Letter to Mother Marianne Cope. 22 May 1889. Archives of the Sisters of St. Francis of Syracuse. Print.

This is a letter written by author Robert Louis Stevenson regarding his observations of the patients' living conditions and the distinctive community at the Kalaupapa settlement. We included excerpts from his letter throughout the website as an outsider's perspective about life in Kalaupapa.

Uwelealea. Letter to *Ku Au Okoa*. Sept. 1868. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter written by Kalaupapa patient and leader Uwelealea who became known among Westerners as William Humphreys. We included a quote from one of his many letters to the Hawaiian newspapers regarding patients' rights and his overall observations about life at the settlement.

Western members of the Evangelical Association. "Statement on Leprosy and Resolutions." 10 Jun. 1873.  
Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a report written by Western members of the Evangelical Association regarding the Western perspective of why segregation is necessary in Hawai'i. We included a quote on the "Medical Segregation" page to show this perspective compared to the Hawaiian perspective.

Wilder's Steamship Company. Letter to Kalaupapa Settlement Superintendent C. B. Reynolds. 29 Jan. 1901. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a letter sent by the Wilder's Steamship Company regarding their intention of traveling to Kalaupapa to deliver a group of patients to the settlement. Since this is before any real government reform occurred and the company is foreign, it can be inferred that this was one of the American ships that mistreated the patients. We used this document to shed some light on the information from Richard Marks' video clip on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page.

### **Secondary Source Bibliography**

Allison, Samuel D. "Letters to the Editor." *American Journal of Public Health*. Feb. 1949. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.39.2.226-b>>.

Samuel Allison was a doctor who wrote articles for the *American Journal of Public Health*. This is an article recounting the history of the establishing of Hawai'i's Board of Health in 1851 as well as the development of the board and its archives of documents throughout the years. We used this article to help give us basic understanding about the timeline of events leading to the establishing of the Kalaupapa settlement and the enforcement of the 1865 segregation laws.

Amundson, Ron and Akira O. Ruddle-Miyamoto. "A Wholesome Horror: The Stigmas of Leprosy

in 19th Century Hawai'i." *Disability Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 30. 2010. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/1270/1300>>.

Ron Amundson and Akira O. Ruddle-Miyamoto are writers and professors at the University of Hawaii at Hilo. This is an article about the stigmas those afflicted with leprosy suffered at the hands of the Westerners who were the firm supporters of isolation for the successful means to eradicate the disease. We used quotes from this article in regards to the reactions to leprosy by the Hawaiians and the Westerners as well as the historical context about the government changes in Hawai'i too.

Arinaga, Esther K. and Caroline A. Garrett. "A Murder, a Trial, a hanging: The Kapea Case of 1897-1898." *The Hawaiian Journal of History*. Vol. 42. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society. 2008. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.  
<[https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/564/HJH42\\_201-230.pdf?sequence=1](https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/564/HJH42_201-230.pdf?sequence=1)>.

Esther Arinaga is a retired public interest lawyer and a published essayist about past lawyers of Hawai'i. Caroline Garrett is a retired educator and is a published essayist and writer for various historical newspapers. This is an article they wrote about the political and social implications of an execution of a man during the segregation period. We used an anecdote from this article and quotes about the historical context of the time as well as the analysis of the government's violation of the patients' rights.

Asato, Lisa. "Kalaupapa monument 'will bring tears' to resident's eyes." *Nuhou*. Vol. 26. May 2009.  
Kamehameha School's Midkiff Library. Print.

This is an article written by public information specialist Lisa Asato about the 2009 Kalaupapa Memorial. We included a quote from it regarding background into the enacting of the law to create the memorial and its symbolism for the families of those who died or were forcefully sent there.

Bayer, Ronald. *Simple Courage*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1992. 12. Print.

This is a quote printed on the *Simple Courage* book from Dr. Ronald Bayer, a medical ethicist, about the summary of feelings towards Kalaupapa. We included this on the "Conclusion" page to give a final view about the history and the controversy that marks the settlement.

Bennett, Brian H., Parker, David L., Robson, Mark. "Leprosy: Steps Along the Journey of Eradication." *Public Health Reports*. Mar. 2008. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2239329/>>.

Brian Bennett, David Parker, and Mark Robson are distinguished doctors who contributed to this article about the general information about leprosy as well as the historical stigmas for those who were afflicted with it. We included quotes from this article on the "Leprosy's Attack Begins" to help give background information about the disease for those who may not know anything about leprosy.

Bernholz, Charles D. "Pestilence in Paradise: Leprosy Accounts in the Annual Reports of the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i." *University of Nebraska-Lincoln Digital Commons*. 30 Mar. 2009. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1194&context=libraryscience>>.

This is a publication by University of Nebraska-Lincoln professor Charles D. Bernholz. It recounts the history of the Kalaupapa settlement along with present concerns of the patients and state regarding its perpetuity. We used this source to get background information about the change in perspective and government responsibility from past to present.

Blaisdell, Kekuni and Gavan Daws. "Leprosy: The Separating Sickness." *Simple Courage*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1992. 13-17. Print.

This is an article by historians Kekuni Blaisdell and Gavan Daws about the history of Kalaupapa and the general facts about Hansen's Disease and its social repercussions. We included quotes from their article on the "Leprosy's Attack Begins" to show the cultural difference in perspectives about leprosy between Westerners and Hawaiians.

Bloombaum, Milton and Ted Gugelyk. *The Separating Sickness, Ma'i Ho'oka'awale*. Honolulu, HI: Separation Sickness Foundation, 1996. Print.

Milton Bloombaum and Ted Gugelyk are distinguished authors in the history of Kalaupapa. This book retells the history of the establishment of the settlement and includes numerous interviews by patients who retell their experience with being captured and forced to live in Kalaupapa. We included quotes from this book and interviews to reveal the stigmas of the Hawaiian lepers by the Westerners compared to the feelings of the Hawaiians towards their own people.

Brocker, James H. *The Lands of Father Damien*. Honolulu: James H. Brocker, 1997. Print.

James Brocker is a former Kalaupapa pilot who wrote and self-published this book about the history of Kalaupapa. We used this book primarily for its photographs that give visual context into life at the settlement after medical segregation ended. The colored photographs were taken by Brocker himself and the black and white photos were collected from the Hawai'i State Archives, the Damien Museum and Archives, the Hawai'i Catholic Herald & Lisa Benoit, and the Hawai'i Department of the Interior.

Cahill, Emmett. *Yesterday at Kalaupapa: A Photographic History*. S.I.: Mutual Pub, 1991. Print.

Emmett Cahill was a distinguished author of books about Hawai'i's history. This book was one of his greatest accomplishments because of the amount of time it took for him to interview leprosy patients and collect various sources to be included. We included several quotes from his book as well as photographs that he collected from the Hawai'i State Archives throughout our website.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Legal Authorities for Quarantine and Isolation." 10 Jan. 2012. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.cdc.gov/quarantine/AboutLawsRegulationsQuarantineIsolation.html>>.

This is an informational article by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention about federal regulations in dealing with protocol for quarantine and isolation. We used quotes from this article on the "A Lasting Legacy" page to give information about the current diseases that are federally approved for quarantine and isolation since Hansen's Disease is not one of those diseases anymore.

"A Century of Public Health in Hawai'i." *American Public Journal of Health*. Vol. 41. Jan. 1951. *American Public Journal of Health Archives*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdf/10.2105/AJPH.41.1.91>>.

This is an editorial about the evolution of public health in Hawai'i. We used information from this source regarding the first members of the Board of Health on the "Establishing the Board of Health" page to give context into the dominance of Western leadership prior to the establishment of the Kalaupapa settlement.

Chang, Heidi. "Mother of Outcasts to be a saint for leprosy." *National Public Radio*. 19 Oct. 2012. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.npr.org/2012/10/20/163269139/mother-of-outcasts-to-be-a-saint-for-leprosy-work>>.

This is an article about Mother Marianne's canonization for her dedication to aiding Hansen's Disease patients at Kalaupapa. We used the picture from the article to provide visual context into the life of Mother Marianne Cope.

Cosgrove-Mather, Bootie. "Last Days of a Leper Colony." *CBS News*. 22 Mar. 2003. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/last-days-of-a-leper-colony/>>.



Bootie Cosgrove-Mather is a CBS News correspondent who wrote this article about Kalaupapa leader Richard Marks and the settlement's history. We used a quote by Marks to illustrate the stigma of those afflicted with Hansen's Disease due to the physical repercussions and association with being unclean.

Fearnley, Lyle. "From Chaos to Controlled Disorder: Syndromic Surveillance, Bioweapons, and the Pathological Future." *Anthropology of the Contemporary Research Collaboratory*. Mar. 2005.

Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/1563/workingpaperno5.pdf?sequence=1>>.

This is an article by researcher Lyle Fearnley about the current discoveries of diseases for bioweapons and the advancements made in dealing with disease outbreaks. We used information from this article to compare with the responses of our interview with Hawai'i Hansen's Disease Community Project manager Dr. Lori Ching to get an idea about the credibility of utilizing diseases as weapons.

Fernandez, Pualeilani and Noenoe Silva. "Mai Ka 'Aina O Ka 'Eha'eha Mai: Testimonies of Hansen's Disease Patients in Hawai'i, 1866-1897." *Hawaiian Journal of History*. Vol. 40. 2006. Print.

This is an article written by historians and University of Hawai'i at Manoa professors Noenoe Silva and Pua Fernandez about the wealth of knowledge about Kalaupapa's history due to the numerous petitions and letters written by patients during their medical segregation. We used quotes from the article from specific patients as well as Silva and Fernandez's analysis of the time period on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page.

Forbes, David. W. "Hawai'i Kingdom: Laws and Statutes." *Hawaiian National Bibliography*. Vol. 3.

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1 Nov. 2001. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<[http://books.google.com/books?id=IB\\_F9CffeN8C&pg=PA394&lpg=PA394&dq=laws+of+his+ma](http://books.google.com/books?id=IB_F9CffeN8C&pg=PA394&lpg=PA394&dq=laws+of+his+ma)

esty+kamehameha+III+1851&source=bl&ots=KI42bGg2Q-&sig=jdapyn-  
S9DdKODQdFfzPgvkOauA&hl=en&sa=X&ei=4JP4UtCZH4iEoQT3\_oDwCQ&ved=0CD4Q6AEwB  
Q#v=onepage&q=laws%20of%20his%20majesty%20kamehameha%20III%201851&f=false>.

David Forbes is an editor for the University of Hawai'i Press. He compiled a list of historical events and resources into the Hawaiian bibliography. This is an article and a historical account of the 1865 enacting of "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" by King Kamehameha V. We used this article to learn more about the impact of the act as well as the important quotes from the act itself.

Frazier, Frances N. *The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau*. Lihu'e: Kaua'i Historical Society, 2001. Print.

Frances Frazier is an author who wrote this book featuring correspondence between Kaluaiko'olau and his wife Pi'ilani during their time apart after Ko'olau was apprehended for having leprosy. We featured a quote from this story on our "A Century of Violated Rights" page to give evidence of the patients' reaction to the medical segregation law.

Hagan, M. *Leprosy on the Hawaiian Islands*. 1886. Print.

This is a book about the arrival of Hansen's Disease to Hawai'i and its progression into a viable threat to the Hawaiian population. We used a quote from this book on the "Leprosy's Attack Begins" to give context about the disease itself and the physical descriptions of the Hawaiians who were afflicted with the disease.

Hawai'i Department of Health. "Administrative History." 2014. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a summary of the history of the Hawai'i Department of Health and the Board of Health that is in the department's files at the Hawai'i State Archives. We used a quote from this summary on the "Government Reform" timeline to show the abolishing of the Board of Health in favor of the Department of Health as well as the powers of the department.

*Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen, Lili'uokalani*. Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1898. *Open Library*. 4 Jun. 2012. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<[https://openlibrary.org/books/OL13600003M/Hawaii's\\_story\\_by\\_Hawaii's\\_queen\\_Liliuokalani](https://openlibrary.org/books/OL13600003M/Hawaii's_story_by_Hawaii's_queen_Liliuokalani)>.

This is a book about Queen Lili'uokalani's reign leading up to the annexation of Hawai'i and her imprisonment by the American government. We used quotes and information regarding the annexation and the establishment of the provisional government in Hawai'i to give context about the effect of the political turmoil on the circumstances of patients at Kalaupapa.

Herman, R. D. K. "Out of Sight, Out of Mind, Out of Power: Leprosy, Race, and Colonization in Hawai'i." *Hulili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*. Vol. 6. Honolulu: *Kamehameha Schools*. 2010. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.  
<[http://www.ksbe.edu/spi/Hulili/Hulili\\_vol\\_6/12\\_Out\\_of\\_Sight\\_Out\\_of\\_Mind\\_Out\\_of\\_Power.pdf](http://www.ksbe.edu/spi/Hulili/Hulili_vol_6/12_Out_of_Sight_Out_of_Mind_Out_of_Power.pdf)>.

R. D. K. Herman is a writer for the Kamehameha Schools' Hulili Publication as well as the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian. This is an article he wrote about the decimation of the Hawaiian population due to foreign diseases prior to the spread of leprosy. We included quotes and primary source photographs from this article on the historical context pages to establish the history of the time leading to the spread of leprosy and the establishment of the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement.

Hiscock, Ira V. "A Survey of Health and Welfare Activities in Honolulu, Hawai'i." New Haven: Qunniack Press, 1929. Print.

Ira V. Hiscock was a doctor who worked for the Department of Public Health at the Yale School of Medicine. He published this survey on the health and welfare in Hawai'i, which includes a section on leprosy and a table about the breakdown of the Territorial Board of Health into the leprosy bureau.

"Historical Chronology." *Remembering Kalaupapa*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.whirledwydeweb.com/kalaupapa/chronology.html>>.

This is a timeline of significant events in Kalaupapa's history. We used important political events on our "Government Reform" page to connect the changes in government with the changes in leadership and rules and regulations at Kalaupapa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Hutchison, Robert. Interview by Anwei Skinsnes Law. *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2012. Print.

This is a quote by Robert Hutchison, the great-grandson of the late Dr. Ferdinand Hutchison. We used this quote on the "Medical Segregation" page to show the difference in cultural perspectives regarding the treatment of Hansen's Disease between Hawaiians and Westerners.

Ikeda, James K. "A Brief History of Bubonic Plague in Hawai'i." *Hawaiian Entomological Society*.

Vol. 25. 1 Mar. 1985. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<[http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/11175/25\\_75-81.pdf?sequence=1](http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/11175/25_75-81.pdf?sequence=1)>.

James Ikeda is a writer for the Hawaiian Entomological Society about Hawaiian history. This is an article he wrote about the bout of cholera that hit Hawai'i during the 1850s, prompting the formation of the Board of Health. We included a quote on the "Establishing the Board of Health" page to give examples of how the Board operated and how inefficient it was in its early years in terms of preventing the deaths of Hawaiians from contagious and foreign diseases.

Inglis, Kerri A. "Cure the dread disease: 19th Century Attempts to Treat Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands."

*The Hawaiian Journal of History*. Vol. 43. 2009. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<[http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/12241/HJH43\\_101-](http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/12241/HJH43_101-)

124.pdf?sequence=1>.

Kerri Inglis is a history professor at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo and a renowned historian and writer. This is an article she wrote about the establishment of the Kalaupapa settlement along with the public response during this time due to the sense of violated human rights in the eyes of the patients. We included numerous quotes and tables from this article that originated from various primary source interviews and data from social scientists and various authors.

Juvik, Sonia P., Langlas, Charles, McGuire, Ka'ohulani. *Kalaupapa 2002-2005 A Summary Report of the Kalaupapa Ethnographic Project*. National Park Service, 2008. Print.

Sonia P. Juvik, Chales Langlas, and Ka'ohulani McGuire are social scientists that conducted a social experiment about life in Kalaupapa. This book is a summary of their results as well as a retelling of the history of the settlement and its progression towards becoming a nationally recognized historical park. We included quotes from this book on various pages relating to the aftermath of the Kalaupapa settlement as well as pictures and tables from the book.

Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa. "The History of Leprosy/Hansen's Disease in Hawai'i." Honolulu: Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, n.d. Print.

This is a timeline produced by Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, an association of Kalaupapa patients, descendants and advocates. We included events from this timeline on our "Government Reform" page to establish a progression of time and a change in the government of Hawai'i. We also used this as a basic reference source for outlining our website according to the chronological time frame of significant events regarding the settlement.

Kahilihiwa, Clarence "Boogie" Woody Kekaula. "Foreword." *Ili Na Ho'omana'o O Kalaupapa: Casting Remembrances of Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Pacific Historic Parks, 2012. Print.

This is a foreword written by Kalaupapa resident and President of Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa Boogie Kahilihiwa for Anwei Skinsnes Law and Valerie Monson's book *Ili Na Ho'omana'o O Kalaupapa*. We included a quote from his foreword on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page and the "A Lasting Legacy" page to show this progression in perspective of the patients during the period of medical segregation.

"Kalaupapa: No disruption for the patients." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. 2000. A1. Print.

This is an article about the breakdown of the different departments and organizations that are currently responsible for the maintenance of the Kalaupapa settlement and the welfare of the residents. We included a quote that summarizes the different local departments that have some responsibility for the settlement on the "National Park Protection" page.

"Kalaupapa's Patients." *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. 6 Mar. 1975. A16. Print.

This is an article written for the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* about the history of Kalaupapa and the land itself. It was written during the time when the patients were concerned about what was to become of the settlement since the number of residents was dwindling after the discovery of sulfone drugs. We included a quote from this article on the "Medical Segregation" patients to give context about the circumstances after the segregation law was passed.

Kestecher, Natalie. "The Hawaiian peninsula with two saints and America's darkest medical history." *ABC Radio National*. 23 May 2013. Web. 21 Feb. 2013.

<<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/360/kalaupapa-and-the-27separating-sickness27/4709042>>.

This is an article by ABC Radio correspondent Natalie Kestecher about Father Damien, Mother Marianne Cope, and the Kalaupapa settlement. It details the two saints roles at the settlement as well as the reform

after the period of medical segregation ended. We included a quote by Kalaupapa resident Gloria Marks on the “A Lasting Legacy” page to illustrate an example of the need for the preservation of the settlement.

“Ko’olau the Leper and the Kalalau Valley Rebellion.” *Hawai’i Digital Newspaper Project*. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/ndnp-hawaii/Home/historical-feature-articles/koolau-the-leper>>.

This is an article summarizing the rebellion of lepers on the island of Kaua’i that was staged by Ko’olau. We included excerpts from this article on the “Medical Segregation” page to show the public response to the 1865 segregation law for those with leprosy. It shows the change in perspective for the lepers and the first example of how the patients felt their rights were being violated by the Board of Health.

Lee, Richard K. C. “United States—Hawai’i.” *Public Health and Medical Sciences in the Pacific: A Forty-Year Review 1920-1960*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1961. Print.

Richard K. C. Lee was the Director of Public Health and Medical Activities who wrote an article about the communicable diseases in Hawai’i from 1920-1960. We included a table from this article in our website to show the change in the number of Hansen’s Disease patients pre-sulfone to post-sulfone drug discovery.

“Leprosy Timeline.” *University of Hawai’i at Manoa Library*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/content.php?pid=124921&sid=2879970>>.

This is a timeline about the leprosy epidemic and the Kalaupapa settlement in Hawai’i. We used this resource as reference in planning out our project and its progression from historical context to the aftermath of the medical segregation to Kalaupapa.

Levin, Wayne. “Foreword.” *Kalaupapa, A Portrait*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1989. Print.

Wayne Levin is a photographer who collaborated with Anwei Skinsnes Law for the book *Kalaupapa, A Portrait*. Aside from the use of his photos throughout our website, we also included a quote he made from the foreword of the book on the “Conclusion” page concerning his pride in conducting the research and visiting the settlement.

“Leviticus 14:54-57; Matthew 10:8.” *New American Standard Bible*. Anaheim: Foundation, 1960.

These biblical verses reflect the missionaries’ perspective of leprosy as well as the ideology of Father Damien and Mother Marianne Cope in dedicating their lives to helping the lepers. We included these verses on the “Leprosy’s Attack Begins” and the “Kalaupapa’s Saints” pages on our website.

London, Jack. “Our Guiltless Scapegoats, The Stricken of Moloka’i.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. 2 Jun. 1916.  
Print.

This is an article written by Jack London regarding the pioneer research of Dr. William J. Goodhue for treating Hansen’s Disease patients. We included a quote from this article on the “Government Reform” page to give context about the history of Kalaupapa during the early twentieth century.

Maui Arts & Cultural Center. “Kalaupapa Gallery Guide.” *Maui Arts & Cultural Center*. n.d. Web. 21. Feb. 2014.

<[http://www.mauiarts.org/imagez/KALAUPAPA\\_GALLERY\\_GUIDE\\_PRINTER\\_final%20redu.pdf](http://www.mauiarts.org/imagez/KALAUPAPA_GALLERY_GUIDE_PRINTER_final%20redu.pdf)>.

This is an article about the history of the Kalaupapa settlement as well as the perspectives of several patients. We used the timeline in this article to glean basic information about the history of the settlement and quotes from patients to analyze their views on various events.

McAvoy, Audrey. “Former leprosy patients hear long-awaited apology.” *The Garden island*. 14 Aug. 2008.



Kamehameha School's Midkiff Library. Print.

This is an article written by Associated Press reporter Audrey McAvoy regarding the official apology to Kalaupapa residents in 2008. We used a quote by U.S. Senator J. Kalani English featured this article to detail the apology and its significance for those who were sent to Kalaupapa.

Metler, Ronald. Interview by Anwei Skinsnes Law. 1989. Print.

This is an interview conducted by Anwei Skinsnes Law with Department of Health physician Ronald Metler. He summarizes the history and controversy of the Kalaupapa settlement, and we included a quote about his perspective on the "Conclusion" page to bring closure to the website.

Moblo, Pennie. *Defamation by Disease: Leprosy, Myth and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Hawai'i*. Diss. University of Hawai'i, 1996. Hawai'i State Archives. Print.

This is a dissertation written by anthropologist Pennie Moblo at the Hawai'i State Archives about the history of Kalaupapa and Father Damien during the nineteenth century. We included several quotes and statistical data tables on our website that came from Moblo's dissertation that resulted from years of researching.

Moblo, Pennie. "Ethnic Intercession: Leadership at Kalaupapa Leprosy Colony, 1871-1887." *Pacific Studies*. Vol. 22. Jun 1999. *Brigham Young University Collection*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<https://journals.lib.byu.edu/spc/index.php/PacificStudies/article/viewFile/10161/9809>>.

This is an article by anthropologist Pennie Moblo regarding the cultural change in leadership at Kalaupapa by patients who petitioned against Western leaders there. We used this article for information about the general establishment of the settlement as well as information about the patients' reactions to medical segregation and how they fared during the settlement's early years.

Moran, Michelle T. "Regulating the 'Colony': New Rules for the Moloka'i Settlement." *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States*. UNC Press Books, 2007. Print.

This is a chapter from writer Michelle Therese Moran's book about the history of leprosy in America. It talks about the political effects of the creation of the provisional government in Hawai'i leading up to the annexation for people living in Kalaupapa. We included quotes on the "Government Reform" page to show this progression and succession in political power in Hawai'i.

Mouritz, A.A. St. M. *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 1916. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=NQ01AQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&authuser=0&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA5>>.

A. A. Mouritz was a former physician at Kalaupapa. This is a book that gives a historical account of the spread of leprosy in Hawai'i during the 1850s and 1860s, the stigmas that are associated with the disease, as well as the statistical information relating to the patients that are sent to Kalaupapa as a result of the 1865 segregation law. We used tables and quotes from this book on various pages throughout our website such as the "Establishing the Board of Health" page with the names of the original members of the Board in order to give historical context and background information about the lack of native Hawaiians involved in decision-making for the welfare of the people at the time.

Nalaelua, Henry. Interview by Anwei Skinsnes Law. 1985. *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2012. Print.

This is an interview conducted by Anwei Skinsnes Law that is featured in her book *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. We used a quote by Henry Nalaelua considering his desire for a National Park at Kalaupapa to show the patient's perspective of its creation.

National Park Service. "A Brief History of Kalaupapa." *National Park Service Archives*. 2014. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/a-brief-history-of-kalaupapa.htm>>.

This is an article about the history of the Kalaupapa settlement in terms of its establishment and the patients' way of life during its early years. We used quotes from this page on the "Government Reform" and "Medical Segregation" page to highlight the progression of time with the change in perspectives for Hawaiians and Westerners.

National Park Service. "Hansen's Disease (Leprosy)." *National Park Service Archives*. 2014. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/hansens1.htm>>.

This is an article about Hansen's Disease and the extent to which it affected Hawai'i during the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. We used the picture featured on this article as well as quotes about the stigmas associated with this disease to provide information about the social repercussions that the ill had to face.

National Park Service. "Historic Building Preservation." *National Park Service Archives*. 2014. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/historic-preservation.htm>>.

This is an article about various repairs made to significant buildings in Kalaupapa. We included quotes on our "National Park Protection" page to show the impact of the establishment of the National Historical Park on the preservation of the settlement.

National Park Service. "Kalaupapa Settlement Revitalization, 1931-1938." *National Park Service Archives*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <[http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/kala/pdf/B10Recital~.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kala/pdf/B10Recital~.pdf)>.

This is an article about the reform that occurred during the mid twentieth century regarding the improvement of buildings and hospitals in Kalaupapa. We used this article to understand the impact of the government on the progression of the settlement and the welfare of the patients for the “Government Reform” page.

National Park Service. “Leprosy Through the Ages.” *National Park Service Archives*. n.d. Web.

2 Feb. 2014. <[http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/kala/pdf/B2LepAges.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kala/pdf/B2LepAges.pdf)>.

This is an article about the discovery of leprosy and background information relating to its scientific discovery as a bacillus. We included quotes from this article on the “Leprosy’s Attack Begins” page to give evidence into the stigmas of the disease as well as context into the different perspectives of it between the Hawaiians and Westerners.

National Park Service. “Mother Marianne Cope and the Sisters of St. Francis.” *National Park Service*

*Archives*. 2014. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/marianne.htm>>.

This is an article about the impact of Mother Marianne Cope’s arrival in Hawai’i and her influence in the arrival of future Catholic missionaries that offered aid to the patients at Kalaupapa. We used this article to gain understanding about her significance to the settlement and included pictures from this article on the “Kalaupapa’s Saints” page on our website.

National Park Service. “Settlement History - the 20th Century.” *National Park Service Archives*. n.d. Web.

21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/history4.htm>>.

This is an article about the government changes to Kalaupapa during the twentieth century as well as the decrease in medical segregation at the time due to the discovery of antibiotic treatments for Hansen’s Disease. We used photographs on this page as well as quotes on the “Government Reform” page to provide visual and informational context about the time period and its significant events regarding the

evolution of patient treatment at Kalaupapa.

Nordyke, Eleanor C. and Robert C Schmitt. "Death in Hawai'i: the Epidemics of 1848-1849."

*The Hawaiian Journal of History*. Vol. 35. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society. 2001. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/339/JL35007.pdf?sequence=2>>.

Robert C. Schmitt and Eleanor C. Nordyke are writers for the *Hawaiian Journal of History*. This is an article in the publication's 2001 about the history of epidemics in Hawai'i in 1848 and 1849. This article included primary source quotes and tables that we included along with analysis about the foreigners' attitudes toward the Hawaiians and the historical context about the decimation of the Hawaiian population before leprosy started spreading in the mid-nineteenth century.

Office of Hawaiian Affairs Databook. "Chronology of Government in the Hawaiian Islands." *OHA*. 2011.

Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.ohadatabook.com/T05-EA-11.pdf>>.

This is a timeline of events depicting the change of government in Hawai'i from Western contact in 1795 to present day. We used this to help analyze the intentions of the government during the enforcing of the segregation law during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in regards to the forceful isolation of lepers to Kalaupapa. We also used it to outline the responsibilities of the government and the change in rulers from native Hawaiian to Western leaders.

"Political History." *Hawaiian Kingdom*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/political-history.shtml>>.

This is an informative timeline that explains the progression of the change in Hawai'i's government from a monarchical government to an American state in 1959. We used this timeline as a reference for our analysis of the political repercussions of the increased influence of Western politics in Hawai'i for the

patients living in Kalaupapa.

Scollard, David. "Superstition and Medical Science." *Simple Courage*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1992. 30-33. Print.

This is an article written by Dr. David Scollard regarding the scientific aspect of Hansen's Disease and the importance of Dr. Hansen's historical discovery of leprosy as a bacillus-causing disease rather than by divine intervention. We used this article to understand the missionaries' point of view about leprosy at the time since there was a lack of medical understanding about how the disease was contracted and included a quote on the "Medical Segregation" page to show how Westerners dealt with the disease.

Hanley, Mary Laurence. "Mother Marianne." 1918. Print.

This is an article written by Sister Mary Laurence Hanley regarding her experience with Mother Marianne Cope and her contribution to life in Kalaupapa. We included an excerpt of this article on the "Kalaupapa's Saints" page to provide context into her significance to the patients at the settlement.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2012. Print.

Anwei Skinsnes Law is a historical expert of the history of the Kalaupapa leprosy settlement. She received the 2013 Samuel M. Kamakau Award for Hawai'i Book of the Year Award and the Ka Palapala Po'okela Award of Excellence in Hawaiian Language, Culture, and History for this book. It has provided us with a wealth of knowledge about the history of the settlement and the patients' perspectives as well as information about the significant figures involved with its establishment. Additionally, it includes several quotes from actual patients, Board of Health members, and photographs from the Hawai'i State Archives that we included on various pages on our website.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. *Kalaupapa, A Portrait*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1989. Print.

This is a book by Anwei Skinsnes Law about the Kalaupapa settlement and the voices of the patients who lived there. It includes a plethora of primary source interviews conducted by Anwei along with primary quotes by patients after the period of medical segregation ended. We included several quotes from this book throughout the website along with photographs from this book that were taken by Wayne Levin.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. "Challenging the Stigma: Hawai'i's Role in Dispelling the Myths of Leprosy."  
Honolulu, Hawai'i Medical Journal. Vol. 47, No. 2. 1988. Print.

This is an analytical article written by Anwei Skinsnes Law about the similarities between leprosy and AIDS. We used a quote from this article on the conclusion page to show the current relevance of the isolation to Kalaupapa with the AIDS epidemic.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei and Monson, Valerie. *Ili Na Ho'omana'o O Kalaupapa: Casting Remembrances of Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Pacific Historic Parks, 2012. Print.

This is another book by Law that we used for its wealth of primary source photographs and historical analysis of the Kalaupapa establishment. We used quotes from this book on various pages throughout our website, but most notably, we learned about the government aspect in the enforcing of the segregation law in regards to the change in Hawai'i's government through this book.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei, and Richard A. Wisniewski. *Kalaupapa National Historical Park and the Legacy of Father Damien: A Pictorial History*. Honolulu, HI: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1988. Print.

This is a book written by Kalaupapa historians Anwei Skinsnes Law and Richard Wisniewski in regards to the basic history of the Kalaupapa settlement involving its establishment, Father Damien's arrival, and the creation of a National Historical Park there. We included quotes and photographs from the book on

several pages throughout our website to bring an analytic perspective about Mother Marianne and the political turmoil during the early twentieth century.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. "The Patient, Physician and Public Health Policy." *Simple Courage*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, 1992. 25-29. Print.

This is an article written by Anwei Skinsnes Law about the effect Kalaupapa made on the public health policy in Hawai'i. She gives a brief history about the discovery of sulfone drugs as treatment for Hansen's Disease as well. We included a quote from this article about the change in the patients' perspectives about their rights on the "A Lasting Legacy" page to show the effect of the end of the medical segregation.

Skinsnes Law, Anwei. "Recovering the Voices from Kalaupapa's Distant Past." *International Federation of Anti-Leprosy Associations*. 11 Dec. 2006. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.ilep.org.uk/news-events/article/recovering-the-voices-from-kalaupapas-distant-past-94/>>.

This is an article by Anwei Skinsnes Law in regards to the patients' petitions to Kalaupapa in response to the decree for medical segregation as well as the effect of the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i by the United States. We used quotes from this article on the "Government Reform" page to illustrate the negative effect of the annexation on Kalaupapa patients.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Travels in Hawai'i*. 1889. Print.

This is a memoir written by Robert Louis Stevenson that talks about his observations of the patients' lives at Kalaupapa. We included a quote from this book to the "Medical Segregation" page to give the Western perspective of the settlement and the life there.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*. 1901. Print.



This is an autobiography written about Robert Louis Stevenson and his travels around the world. We included a quote on the “Government Reform” page concerning his observations about the Bishop Home for Girls as an example of the strides made to improve life for the patients.

Stoddard, Charles W. *The Lepers of Moloka'i*. 1893. LibriVox. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<https://librivox.org/the-lepers-of-molokai-by-charles-warren-stoddard/>>.

This is a book written by author Charles Stoddard about the historical repercussions of the Kalaupapa settlement and background information about Hansen’s Disease. We included a quote on the “Leprosy’s Attack Begins” page to give historical context about the disease,

Tayman, John. “Softer Notes.” *The Colony: The Harrowing True Story of the Exiles of Moloka'i*. Simon and Schuster, 2010. Print.

John Tayman is a research author who wrote this book after several years of collecting information about the Kalaupapa settlement. This is a chapter from this book that talked about the creation of the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. We included quotes on the “National Park Protection” page to give context and the effects of its establishment.

Tayman, John. *The Colony*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006. Print.

John Tayman is an award-winning editor who wrote *The Colony* after years of research. This is a historical account of the Kalaupapa settlement and the lives of the patients who were sent there. We used quotes from this book regarding the connection between the settlement’s history with the recent concern with AIDS patients for our conclusion.

“Timeline: Defining Rights and Responsibilities.” *Native Voices: Native Peoples’ Concepts of Health and Illness*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/315.html>>.

This is a timeline of significant medical events in the history of Native American and Native Hawaiian people. We included a quote and a picture from this timeline on our “Establishing the Board of Health” page to set up the historical context regarding King Kamehameha III.

Terse, Nicholas. "Experimental Dreams, Ethical Nightmares: Leprosy, Isolation, and Human Experimentation in Nineteenth-Century." *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. Ed. Sandhya Shukla and Heidi Tinsman. Durham: Duke UP, 2007. 138-49. Print.

Nicholas Terse is the author of this chapter in Shukla and Tinsman's book *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a transnational Frame* about the spread of leprosy in Hawai'i and the implementing of the 1865 segregation law in the eyes of the patients and the government. We included quotes about the statistical information in regards to the patients who were sent to Kalaupapa on the “Medical Segregation” page.

Times Staff and Wire Reports. “Resident of Kalaupapa leprosy colony helped end quarantine.” *Los Angeles Times*. 16 Dec. 2008. Web. 21 Feb. 2014.  
<<http://articles.latimes.com/2008/dec/16/local/me-marks16>>.

This is an obituary of Kalaupapa leader Richard Marks and his contribution to preserving the Kalaupapa settlement and advocating for patients' rights during his tenure there. We included a quote from him on the “A Lasting Legacy” page to show the prolonged stigma associated with being afflicted with Hansen's Disease.

U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian. “Annexation of Hawai'i, 1898.” *Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs*. n.d. Web. 21 Feb. 2014. <<http://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/hawaii>>.

This is an article about the annexation of Hawai'i and the significant dates, events, and people associated

with the fateful occasion in Hawai'i's history. We used informational quotes from this article to give brief context about the annexation itself and the government implications for the patients at Kalaupapa.

World Health Organization. "Leprosy." Jan. 2014. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs101/en/>>.

This is an article by the World Health Organization (WHO) about the basic facts about leprosy and the history about the disease as well. We included basic facts on our "Leprosy's Attack Begins" to give background information about the disease that help set the tone for the stigmas that those afflicted with it faced.

World Health Organization. "New Individuals Diagnosed with Leprosy - 2010." *Weekly Epidemiological Record*. Vol. 86. 2 Sept. 2011. 389-400. Print.

This is a list of statistics collected by the World Health Organization regarding the individuals who were diagnosed with leprosy in 2010. Most of the individuals were from developing nations rather than in America or Hawai'i. We included the data from this report on the "A Lasting Legacy" page to show the lack of a threat Hansen's Disease is to Hawaiians and Americans today.

Worth, Robert M. "Leprosy in Hawai'i; the end of an epidemic." *International Journal of Leprosy and other Mycobacterial Diseases*. Vol. 64. 1996. n.d. 21 Feb. 2014. <[http://www.leprosy-ila.org/leprosyjournal/gn1/detalhe\\_artigo.php?id=NzEy&secao=EDITORIAL#](http://www.leprosy-ila.org/leprosyjournal/gn1/detalhe_artigo.php?id=NzEy&secao=EDITORIAL#)>.

Robert Worth is a reporter for the *International Journal of Leprosy and other Mycobacterial Diseases*. We included quotes and statistical graphs from this editorial about the history of leprosy in Hawai'i and the end of medical segregation to give context about the change in perspective, opinion, and knowledge of Hansen's Disease.

Zax, David. "An incredible miracle on Moloka'i." *The Week*. 16 Jul. 2013. Web. 2 Feb. 2014.

<<http://theweek.com/article/index/246806/an-incredible-miracle-on-molokai>>.

David Zax is a correspondent for *The Week* and *The Big Roundtable*. This is an article about a former patient's experience meeting Father Damien. We included a Hawaiian saying that the patient Audrey Toguchi mentioned as the unofficial motto of Kalaupapa on the "A Century of Violated Rights" page to help give the Hawaiian perspective of the 1865 segregation law.