Kalawao County

Moloka'i, Hawai'i

The land inclines sharply to the lofty mountains and the nearly mile-high summit of Mount Kamakou, then ends abruptly with emerald-green cliffs, which plunge into a lurid aquamarine sea dotted with tiny deserted islets. These breathtaking 3,250-foot sea cliffs, the highest in the world, stretch 14 majestic miles ... laced by waterfalls and creased by five pristine valleys ... once occupied by early Hawaiians who built stone terraces and used waterfalls to irrigate taro patches.

Long after the sea cliffs formed, a tiny volcano erupted out of the sea at their feet and spread lava into a flat, leaf-like peninsula. (Foster, 2004, p. 460).



Kalaupapa Peninsula. Courtesy of National Park Service (NPS/Image).

This narrative extolls the natural beauty of an *'āina* of *ka'awale* (land of isolation). Yet in the course of history, because of this isolation, it also became known as the *'āina* of *kaumaha nohoi* (deep sorrow) and *pilikia* (misery, hardship, and suffering), *ka luakupapa'u kanu ola* (the grave of living corpses or a living tomb), *'a'ole kānāwai ma kēia wahi* (a place where there is no law), and a "prison fortified by nature" (Inglis, 2004; Frazier, 1987; Stevenson, 1991). Today there are efforts to heal and preserve this *'āina* called Kalawao County.

The intent of this Information Sheet is to alert data users that there are five, not four, counties in the State of Hawai'i when researching data from various sources. Special notation should be provided when Kalawao County data is omitted or incorporated in reported statistics. Other topics such as legislation, geography, history, and demographics about this unique county are also investigated.

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Research Division Demography Section Information Sheet, 2015

HAWAI'I'S FIVE COUNTIES

On April 30, 1900, the Organic Act established the Territory of Hawai'i consisting of the islands of "Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, Niihau, Kahoolawe, Molokini, Lehua, Kaula, Nihoa, Necker, Laysan, Gardiner, Lisiansky, Ocean, French Frigates Shoal, Palmyra, Brooks Shoal, Pearl and Hermes Reef, Gambia Shoal and Dowsett and Maro Reef" (Organic Act, 1900, § 2). In 1905, the Territorial Legislature passed the County Act that established the five counties of O'ahu, Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, and Kalawao (Act 39, 1905, p. 44). Two years later, the County of O'ahu became the City and County of Honolulu (Act 118, 1907, p. 200).

The following table and map show the jurisdiction areas of these counties which consist of the eight major islands, the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI), and the waters three nautical miles off their shores.

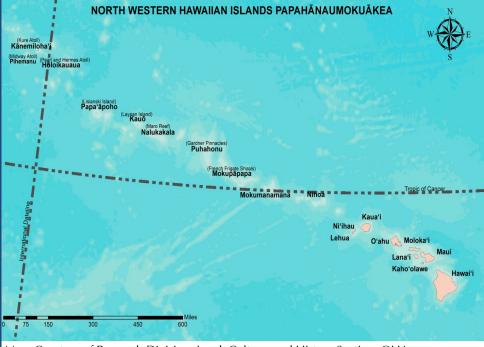
County	Jurisdiction
Hawai'i	Hawai'i Island
Honolulu	(City and County of Honolulu). O'ahu and NWHI from Nihoa to Kure except Midway, an
	unincorporated territory of the U.S. Palmyra was included until 1959.
Kalawao	Kalaupapa Settlement consisting of Kalaupapa, Kalawao, and Waikolu villages
Kaua'i	Kaua'i, Lehua, and Ka'ula; and Ni'ihau
Maui	Kahoʻolawe; Lānaʻi; Maui and Molokini; and Molokaʻi except Kalawao County
Sources: Povice	d Laws of Hawai'i 1015; Caboon 1000

Table 1. County Jurisdiction

Sources: Revised Laws of Hawai'i, 1915; Cahoon, 1999.

Ko Hawai'i Pae 'Āina (Hawaiian Archipelago)

In 2006, President George Bush made the NWHI area a national monument. A year later, it was renamed the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument for Papahānaumoku and Wākea, two Hawaiian ancestors. In 2010, it became the first mixed (natural and cultural) UNESCO World Heritage site. Co-



Map: Courtesy of Research Division; Land, Culture, and History Section; OHA. Source: Papahānaumokuākea, 2015. Notes: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). managers are the Department of Commerce's NOAA, the Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Hawai'i State Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR).

Land masses include:

- Nihoa,
- Necker (Mokumanamana),
- French Frigate Shoals (Mokupāpapa),
- Gardner Pinnacles (Pūhāhonu),
- Banks and Seamounts,
- Maro Reef (Nalukākala),
- Laysan (Kauō),
- Lisianski (Papa'āpoho),
- Pearl and Hermes Atoll (Holoikauaua),
- Midway (Pihemanu), and
- Kure Atoll (Kānemiloha'i).

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Map: Courtesy of NPS/Image.

The Hawai'i Revised Statutes (HRS) Section 326-34 County of Kalawao; governance states:

(a) The county of Kalawao shall consist of that portion of the island of Moloka'i known as Kalaupapa, Kalawao, and Waikolu, and commonly known or designated as the Kalaupapa Settlement, and shall not be or form a portion of the county of Maui, but is constituted a county by itself. As a county it shall have only the powers especially conferred and given by sections 326-34 to 326-38 and, except as provided in those sections, none of the provisions of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes regarding counties shall be deemed to refer to or shall be applicable to the county of Kalawao.

(b) The county of Kalawao shall be under the jurisdiction and control of the department of health and be governed by the laws, and rules relating to the department and the care and treatment of persons affected with Hansen's disease, except as otherwise provided by law.

Also, the Maui County Charter Article 1 Section 1.2 Geographical Limits states: "The Islands of Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe and all other islands lying within three nautical miles off the shores thereof and the waters adjacent thereto, except that portion of the Island of Moloka'i known as Kalaupapa, Kalawao and Waikolu, and commonly known and designated as the Kalaupapa Settlement, shall constitute the county."

Kalawao County has no county government; a sheriff is appointed by the Hawai'i Department of Health (DOH). The HRS Chapter 326, Sections 326-1–326-40 Hansen's Disease detail topics including patient treatment, care, services, expenses, and privacy; general excise, income, and real property tax exemptions; employment, compensation, and pensions; Kalaupapa store; fishing laws exemption; and Damien Memorial Chapel.

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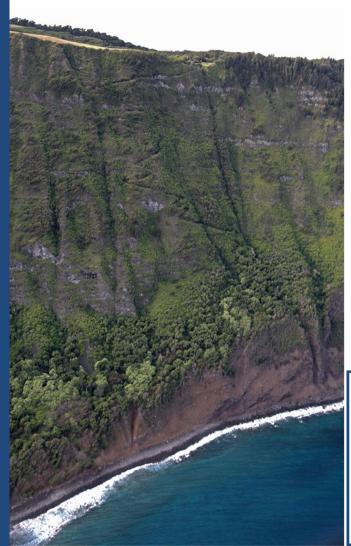
GEOGRAPHY OF MOLOKA'I

Moloka'i Island has been described as a fish or shark with the head facing the east, the tail in the west, and the peninsula as the dorsal fin. It was formed by three volcanoes:

- 1) West Moloka'i or Mauna Loa,
- 2) East Moloka'i or Wailau with Mount Kamakou, and
- 3) Pu'u 'Uao with Kauhakō Crater to the north (Hazlett & Hyndman, 1996).

According to *mo'olelo* (stories, myths, legends), Moloka'i is the island child of Wākea (sky god) and Hina (moon goddess, goddess of fertility, goddess of the rising and setting sun) as reported by historian Paku'i. Hence the saying *Moloka'i Nui a Hina* (Great Moloka'i, Child of Hina). Hina's birthplace and home in east Moloka'i is Ke-ana-o-Hina or Cave of Hina. Within the cave is Wāwāhonua'aho, a gourd containing the famous winds Ilinahu, Uluhewa, and Lūlūku. Hina would visit her child in the form of heavy rain and provide the fishermen with abundant *kala* (surgeonfish). If they failed to thank Hina with *kala*, the fishermen would never catch fish again (Kelley, 2000; McGregor, 2007).

GEOGRAPHY OF KALAWAO COUNTY



Kalaupapa Trail. Courtesy of NPS/Image.

Kalawao County is located on the north coast of Moloka'i on the Kalaupapa (formerly Makanalua and Kalawao) Peninsula (Stein, 2010). Kalawao translates as "announce mountain area" and Makanalua as "two presents or double gift" (Ulukau, 2004). Makanalua also means "given grave or pit" in reference to Kauhakō Crater which was used as a burial site (Mouritz, 1916).

The peninsula is isolated by *nā pali* (sea cliffs) a quarter-mile high on the south and the Pacific Ocean along the coast. Access is by small plane at Kalaupapa Airport and barge (once a year in the summer). Access by foot or mule from "topside" is a 3.2 mile trail of 26 switchbacks that were hand-carved in 1907 by Manuel Farinha, a Portuguese immigrant who hung from ropes draped over the cliff (Dawson, 1998). Historically, there were at least two steep *pali* trails with names including 'Ili'ilikā, Waihānau, Damien, Kala'e, Pali, Makanalua, Kalawao, and Kalaupapa (KALA,2011).

Fishing and Farming Villages

There were three villages: Kalaupapa (flat leaf), Kalawao, and Waikolu (three waters) (Ulukau, 2004). This Ko'olau *moku* (district) has 4 *ahupua'a* (land divisions): Kalaupapa (west side of peninsula), Makanalua (center of peninsula to the northern tip), Kalawao (eastern coast and Wai'ale'a Valley), and Waikolu (Waikolu Valley) (McCoy, 2005).

SELECTED BRIEF HISTORY OF KALAWAO COUNTY

As cited in McCoy (2005), the first Native Hawaiian inhabitants of Moloka'i settled in Hālawa Valley for hundreds of years, in Waikolu Valley ~A.D. 1100–1650, and in Kalaupapa Peninsula ~A.D. 1300–1400. They had a fishing and agricultural subsistence. Archaeological and cultural evidence found on the peninsula include 16 *ko'a* (fishing shrines) and 26 *heiau* (temples) such as Makali'i. Farmers raised pigs; cattle, horses, donkeys, and mules were introduced in the 1800s. They mainly grew *kalo* (taro) in windward Kalawao and '*uala* (sweet potato) in leeward Kalaupapa using wetland and dryland agriculture, respectively. There is evidence of trails across the peninsula for crop exchange. Numerous low rock walls subdivide the peninsula. They may have been pig pens, windbreaks for crops, as well as property boundaries. Of notable size at over a meter high, the "Great Wall of Kalaupapa" between Makanalua and Kalawao *ahupua'a* may have been constructed between 1795–1866.

'Uala

Brought as a canoe plant by the Polynesians, *'uala* (*Ipomoea batatas*) was an important staple for Native Hawaiians. Kamapua'a, god of the *'uala*, had a pig snout to dig up the tubers (White, 1994).

According to *mo'olelo, 'uala* came to Moloka'i via Pāka'a, a servant of an *ali'i* on Hawai'i Island who fled after finding disfavor. He planted six fields for the six district chiefs of Hawai'i Island. The *'uala* provided sustenance for his pursuers when their food ran out. (Goodwin, 1993; Fornander, 1918–1919).

During the California Gold Rush, Kalaupapa farms provided *'uala* for the miners from 1849–1851 (McCoy, 2005).



Peninsula Terrain. Courtesy of Kai Markell, OHA.

Historically, Moloka'i was left alone due in part to the respected, powerful, and fearsome reputation of the *kahuna* (sorcerer-priests). *Mo'olelo* tell of Lanikaula, a wise and famous prophet in the 1500s and his sacred *kukui* (candlenut) grove. Moloka'i was known a place of *po'oko'i* (sorcery) and as an 'āina *ho'ounauna* (land where spirits were sent on malicious errands). It was the home of the only *kahuna* who knew the secret of the Kalipahoa (fire gods) who poisoned the trees of Maunaloa (Beckwith, 1989).

However, by the 1700s, chiefs from O'ahu, Maui, and Hawai'i had ruled Moloka'i. In the center of the peninsula, Makapulapai was the battlefield of a civil war between the Moloka'i chiefs of Ko'olau and Kehaka. The Ko'olau chiefs wanted the southern fishing grounds, since rough seas in the north prevented fishing for half the year. With help from O'ahu chief Kuali'i and his *ko'i pohaku* (stone adze) named Haulanuiakea, the Ko'olau warriors were decimated (McCoy, 2005). Burial sites included Ananaluawahine Cave and the large Makapulapai Burial Complex consisting of 60 burial platforms. In 1795, Kamehameha the Great conquered Moloka'i.

Mo'olelo

One version of the legend of Kamalo and Ka'uhuhu (a shark god) takes place at Anapuhi ("cave of the eel") in the cliffs of Kalawao and Kalaupapa. Kamalo, a priest, sought revenge because the chief Kupa slew his sons for beating sacred *pahu* drums. Kamalo was told to build a fence, use sacred white *kapa* (bark cloth) staffs, and fill the enclosure with 400 red fish, 400 black pigs, and 400 white chickens at Ka'uhuhu's *heiau*. Ka'uhuhu then sent a cloud and a rainbow which turned into a storm, destroying Kupa and his followers in the harbor at 'Aikanaka (man-eater) (Stein, 2010).

Historical Quick Facts

- > The Peninsula was known for *kūmanomano* (a type of *kapa*) and *'ahapi'i* (chiefly *kapa* painted with fine lines from *kukui* bark dye (McCoy, 2005).
- > Kalaupapa was known for its fine-grained white salt (in Strazar, 2000).
- Kauhakō Crater has the only deep lake in Hawai'i and is the largest depth-to-area ratio lake on Earth (less than one acre in surface area and 815 feet deep) (U.S. Geological Survey, 2012).
- > Women wishing to become pregnant should spend a night at Kauleonanahoa, a fertility rock, located at Kalaupapa Overlook.
- Pa'ani kahiko (ancient sports and games) included he'e nalu or surfing (powerful surf called pu'ao for skilled riders), kūkini (foot racing), mokomoko (boxing), hākōkō (wrestling), lelekoali (swinging with a morning-glory vine), kukuluae'o (stilt walking), ho'olele lupe (kite flying), hōlua (sledding), kōnane (checkers), 'ulumaika (pitching disks), pahe'e (ring-and-ball game), as well as spinning tops, jack stones, string figures, darts, bow and arrow, etc. (McCoy, 2005).

KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

Names for the quarantine areas on Moloka'i include Moloka'i Asylum, Leper Settlement, Kalawao Settlement, Makanalua Settlement, Kalaupapa Leprosy (or Leper) Colony, leprosarium, Lazaretto, and Kalaupapa Settlement.

Names for the disease include leprosy, *ma'i lēpela* (leprosy sickness), *ma'i pākē* (Chinese sickness), *ma'i ali'i* (chief's sickness), *ma'i ho'oka'awale* (separating sickness), *ma'i ho'oka'awale 'ohana* (disease that tears families apart), *ma'i makamaka 'ole* (disease that deprives one of relatives and friends), and Hansen's disease (Inglis, 2004; Gugelyk & Bloombaum, 1979; Greene, 1985; Ulukau, 2004). Perhaps the disease was introduced by the Chinese immigrants. According to Ambrose Hutchison, Resident Superintendent in 1879, a Chinese man came during the *'iliahi* (sandalwood) trade between 1812–1830 and became a cook for an *ali'i* during the reign of King Kamehameha III (Inglis, 2004). Both died of the disease.



Leprosy Legislation

The Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy was signed by King Kamehameha V on January 3, 1865. Its seven sections empowered the Board of Health (BOH) to acquire land to isolate and confine leprous persons, arrest and deliver alleged lepers for medical inspection, establish a hospital for treatment, require a reasonable amount of labor and property from patients for expenses, and keep detailed accounts to report to the Legislature at regular sessions.

Kalawao. Courtesy of Kai Markell, OHA.

Kalihi Hospital and Detention Station opened on O'ahu in 1865 to process the 2,764 reported cases of leprosy in 1865–6 (Dutton, 1911). Makiki Valley and Pālolo Valley were considered for the exile, but Kalawao was chosen for its isolation. During the 103-year period between 1866 when the first 12 patients landed in Kalawao and 1969 when the BOH officially ended the quarantine, more than 8,000 patients were sent to Kalaupapa Settlement (KALA, 2014). For the first 20 years of this period, 98.6% of the patients sent to the Settlement were Hawaiian or mixed Hawaiian; the remaining 1.4% was White, Chinese, or Other (Moblo, 1999). For the last 20 years, between 1949–1969, 32 patients voluntarily transferred to Kalaupapa (KALA, 2011). During this period of time, Hawai'i went from a Kingdom, to a Republic (1894), then a Territory (1900), and a State (1959).

Brief Timeline (1865–2012)

1865	BOH secured land in Kalawao <i>ahupua'a, kama'āina</i> relocated
1866	<i>Kōkua</i> (helpers, <i>'ohana</i> (family)) allowed to accompany patients until 1873
1870	Leprosy legally recognized as grounds for divorce
1873	Dr. Gerhard Hansen identified germ (Mycobacterium leprae) that caused leprosy. BOH secured land in Makanalua <i>ahupua'a</i> .
1884	Royal visit by Queen Kapi'olani and Princess Lili'uokalani
1890	Population shifted from Kalawao to Kalaupapa
1895	BOH secured Kalaupapa <i>ahupua'a,</i> remaining <i>kama'āina</i> ordered to leave
1897	500–700 residents signed Kū'ē Petition against Annexation
1908	Children born at Kalaupapa separated from parents
1909	Kalaupapa Hospital (renamed New Baldwin House in 1932) and U.S. Leprosy Investigation Station opened with \$250,000 from Congress. The station closed in 1913.
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Sources: U.S. National Park Service, 1975; Revised Laws of Hawai'i, 1915; Greene, 1985; Silva & Fernandez, 2006; Levin, 2012; Stanford, n.d.

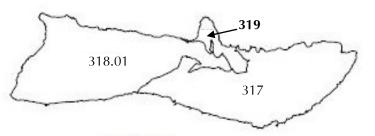
Resistance

The Native Hawaiians were not passive about the segregation policy of involuntary confinement. There were letters sent to newspapers, petitions to the government, complaints against the BOH, escapees, reports of discrimination regarding treatment and food rations, and riots by patients who wanted to choose their own leaders (Moblo, 1998 & 1999; Silva & Fernandez, 2006; Herman, 2001). Kama'āina (indigenous people) who did not want their kuleana (land holdings) bought by the BOH petitioned the King (Inglis, 2004). The American author Jack London visited Hawai'i in 1909 and wrote a fictionalized short story based on real events, Ko'olau the Leper, which ended with the violent outcome of resistance in Kalalau, Kaua'i. Kula in Maui and Hāmākua in Hawai'i were other sites of refuge for individuals avoiding quarantine.

Harboring lepers was a misdemeanor with a maximum \$100 fine; police officers failing to transport alleged lepers for examinations were subject to a \$10-\$200 fine and dismissal (Mouritz, 1916). Patients were treated as criminals (Harrington & Yngvesson, 2001). According to Dr. Kalani Brady, one of a group of doctors treating the remaining patients at Kalaupapa, "there was no template for creating a guarantine station, so they borrowed the penal code, and suspected patients were put on trial" (Chinitz & Christian, 2009, p. 23).

DEMOGRAPHICS

Kalawao County is Census Tract 319. There is another Census Tract 319 known as Spreckelsville on Maui Island. This is the only duplicate census tract number in Hawai'i and is allowed because they are in different counties. The 351 Hawai'i census tract names are provided by the Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism (DBEDT) and are not official U.S. Census Bureau tract names.



Source: Office of Planning Hawai'i Statewide GIS Program.

Quick County Facts (Census, 2010)

- Smallest land area of 12 square miles
- County seat at Kalaupapa
- Governed by the State Department of Health (DOH) who appoints a Sheriff
- Post Office Zip Code 96742
- Federal Information Processing Standards (FIPS) code 15005

In U.S. Census Bureau reports, Kalawao County data is reported separately from Maui County data or omitted because of small data sets. Hawai'i State and Maui County reports usually include Kalawao with Maui County data. Users of the data in various government reports need to be vigilant when reporting statistics by geographic levels such as state, county, island, tract, district, etc.

Quick Demographics (Census Quick Facts)

- Second smallest county **population** with 90 residents (patients, DOH, and National Park employees) (2013) Density: 7.5 persons/square mile (2010)
- ▶ 47.8% Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone (2013)
- Median age is 58.3 years (2013)
- ➤ 53.3% Females with 63.5 years median age, 46.7% Males with 52.0 years median age (2013)
- Smallest percentage of **children** (no residents under the age of 25) (2013)
- > 30.0% of population 65+ years old (2013)
- ▶ Visitors (personal guests of residents and tourists 16+ years) need prior government permission
- > 46 households, 1.39 persons/household (2009–2013). 113 housing units (2013)
- \$59,375 median household income (2009–2013)
- > \$88,750 median family income (2009–2013)
- \$45,515 per capita income (2013 dollars, 2009–2013)
- > 14.7% below **poverty** level (2009–2013)
- > 87.7% with high school or higher education, 41.5% with Bachelor's degree or higher (2009–2013)

Population Estimates

Population estimates for Moloka'i Island are limited and include personal observations during Captain James Cook's third voyage in 1779, visiting teacher and missionary contacts/censuses from 1823–1836, and Hawaiian government censuses from 1850–1896. For example, counts may have been done for Maui Island concentrating on the Lahaina district, or Kalawao County was included with Maui County data (in Strazar, 2000; Schmitt, 1977).

As for Kalawao County population estimates, Kalaupapa National Historical Park (2014) reported that 1,000 to 2,700 kama'āina lived on the Peninsula from the early to mid-1800s. Greene (1985) cited population figures of 2,700 for 1836, 700 for 1841, and ~100 for 1866 and 1873.

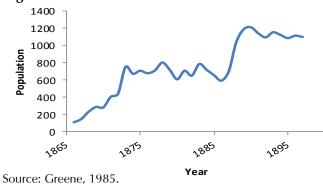
For patient counts between 1866 –1897, **Figure 1** shows data reported by the BOH in 1897 (Inglis, 2004). The numbers were counts as of December 31 in a given year, using the number of admissions minus deaths, discharges, and those unaccounted for. The peak was 1,213 patients in 1890. During this period, the total admissions was 5,395 with 4,028 deaths.

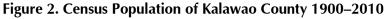
According to Mouritz (1916), some segregation records had errors and discrepancies; the unsegregated included those who hid, were concealed, or died.

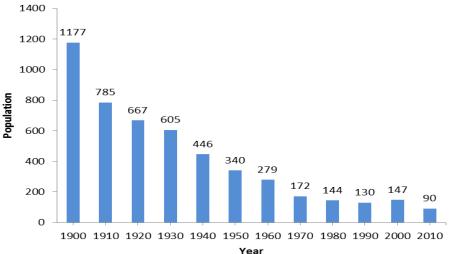
Census counts for Kalawao County between 1900–2010 are displayed in **Figure 2**. **Figure 3** shows yearly Census counts between 2001–2013.

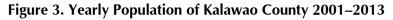
The last section of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes, 326-40, stipulates that patients receive care for life whether they choose to remain at or leave Kalaupapa. According to the *Report to the Twenty-Seventh Legislature, State of Hawai'i* (2014), there were 16 patients ranging in age from 72 to 91 with an average age of 81 years.

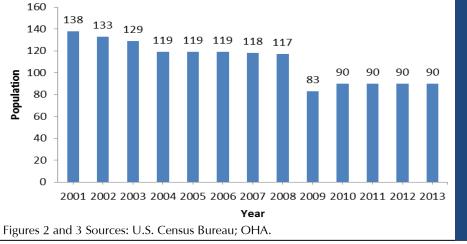
Figure 1. Patient Counts 1866–1897











KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (KALA)

In 1976, U.S. Representative Patsy Mink introduced legislation, H.R. 12012, [Public Law 96-565 (94 Stat. 332)], for the establishment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park (KALA, 2005). Four years later, President Jimmy Carter signed Public Law 96-565, whereby 10,700+ acres would be managed by the National Park Service (NPS). Landowners include the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) and the State Departments of Health (DOH), Transportation (DOT), and Land and Natural Resources (DLNR). The U.S. Coast Guard owns and operates Moloka'i Lighthouse. The 1984 Cooperative Agreement (No. 80000-82-38) between the NPS and the Hawai'i DOH delineate responsibilities pertaining to cultural and archaeological sites, historic architecture, as well as natural resources including marine communities, fresh water streams, wet and dry forests, and endangered endemic plants and animals.

The purpose of the park is to honor and perpetuate "the *mo'olelo* of the isolated Hansen's disease community by preserving and interpreting its site and values. The historical park also tells the story of the rich Hawaiian culture and traditions at Kalaupapa that go back at least 900 years" (KALA, 2010, p. 7).

Kalaupapa Memorial Act

In 2009, President Barack Obama signed the Kalaupapa Memorial Act, which was re-introduced by U.S. Senator Mazie Hirono (Hirono, 2007). Representative Edward Case had introduced the bill in 2005, but left office before its passage. Senator Daniel Akaka introduced a companion bill as part of the Omnibus Public Lands Act of 2009 (Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, 2011).

This act recognized the sacrifices of the patients and their families, and apologized for the harsh restrictions. It authorized Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, a non-profit organization, to establish a memorial in Kalaupapa and collect names for the Kalaupapa Names Project (over 7,700 in 2011). The proposed memorial will list the name and arrival date of each individual to illustrate and comprehend the sheer enormity of the lives and families affected by confinement; and to restore the dignity, honor, and identities of patients who were given numbers or referred to as a collective generic group. There are only 1,300 marked graves according to the NPS. Many shallow graves were exposed to animals, weather, and the tsunami of 1946. The memorial will include a site for the other 6,700 individuals who have no tombstone.



St. Philomena Church Cemetery. Courtesy of Kai Markell, OHA. Ola Ka Inoa and the Restoration of Family Ties program received a \$100,000 OHA grant in 2011 to assist families in learning about their Kalaupapa ancestors via a searchable database. Kalaupapa PhotoBank contains scanned and catalogued historical photographs and is in the public domain. An additional OHA grant of \$53,666 in 2013 was for school outreach through a historical exhibit.



Pali from Kalaupapa. Courtesy of Kai Markell, OHA. From "gateway to hell" to "gateway to heaven" according to the late patient, Bernard Punikai'a, (Ferrar, 2012), this 'āina chosen for its isolation is now recognized worldwide for its legacy of inspiration and testament.

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