

SITES OF SUFFERING: DARK TOURISM AND THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM;
A CASE STUDY OF KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Sites of Suffering: Dark Tourism and the National Park System; A Case Study of Kalaupapa National Historical Park

This study examines solutions to interpretive challenges at dark tourism sites. The academic field of dark tourism explores travel to and the nature of heritage sites that have gained significance from a past of tragedy and suffering. Due to the sensitive nature of such sites there are a number of inherent interpretive challenges. Through research including interviews and site visits, interpretive methods which effectively confront these inherent challenges are identified. Gaining significance from its past as a place of exile for Hansen's disease (leprosy) patients, Kalaupapa National Historical Park remains the home of about 10 patients. Once there are no longer patients living on the peninsula the responsibility to interpret this story falls to land management agencies. Utilizing the methods identified to confront dark tourism challenges, interpretation at Kalaupapa and other dark tourism sites can be systematically approached to ensure an authentic and respectful interpretive program.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Makapu'u lighthouse (shown in figure 1) situated on the southeast tip of the island of Oahu can be reached by a short hike. A paved path leads up to the lighthouse and lookout



Fig. 1. Makapu'u Lighthouse

where locals and tourists often stop to enjoy the view of the ocean, and whale watch in the winter. There were no whales that could be spotted on the rainy day in December 2011 as I made my way up to the top of the trail. What I did have a full view of was the island of Moloka'i just to the east of Oahu.

A commercially undeveloped island, close enough to Oahu to see it, but far from it in lifestyle.

Through my father's maternal lineage, my Hawaiian heritage originates from the island of Moloka'i. More specifically, my great grandmother was born and raised in Halawa Valley on the eastern shore of the island where some of the earliest archaeological evidence of Native Hawaiian occupation can be found. I had only visited Moloka'i once in my life at that time, and looking towards Moloka'i that day I was thinking of my own heritage and how it wasn't until the 1980s that my family had learned about my great great grandmother Rose Kahaneli Clark Kaopuiki, and her first husband, William Asa Clark.

Moloka'i is not only a commercially undeveloped island with a low population, it is also home to a former Hansen's Disease (leprosy) settlement on Kalaupapa Peninsula. The shame felt by families in Hawai'i with relatives sent to the leprosy colony of Kalaupapa ran deep. During the 1970s and 1980s many underrepresented groups in the United States began to vocalize their history and injustices that had occurred to them. Through this movement, patients at Kalaupapa became increasingly outspoken for their rights. As the peninsula became a National Park in

1980, feelings of shame were lessened. It was during the 1980s that my great grandmother revealed what had become of her father, my great great grandfather William Asa Clark. He contracted Hansen's Disease and spent three years in Kalaupapa before dying of the disease in 1926.

It's the type of heavy story every family carries at some point, I just happened to be looking out towards the landscape of that story during my first break from my first year of graduate school. Right then it seemed like an obvious answer that I should spend my summer internship at Kalaupapa, and I should to write my thesis about Kalaupapa. A commitment to writing on a topic that meant so much to my own family and to Hawai'i clarified my purpose as a graduate student. Through the assistance of the Cultural Resource Management Division of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, I did both those things.

Spending three months in Kalaupapa during the summer of 2012 was a journey back, back into my family's history, back to an island my family left many years ago for a different life on Oahu. Moving backwards allowed me to look towards the future, and utilize my education to contribute towards what the future could hold for a place so outside of time.

Through my summer at Kalaupapa, and the year I have spent researching, I came to realize just how intimidating Kalaupapa as a subject of research is to approach. There is no one I have talked to who is familiar with Kalaupapa that does not have strong feelings about it. There is no way that anyone could travel to Kalaupapa and not have strong feelings regarding its past, present, and future. Beginning this project, I often asked myself, who am I to be writing a thesis on Kalaupapa? And to be honest, after over a year of focusing on it, I still ask myself that.

Kalaupapa has meant so many different things to so many different people. At the same time, there is no other place that has come to mean so much to me. This thesis explores just one aspect of this beautiful and complex place. Explaining the significance of Kalaupapa is

challenging, yet the experiences of the people who live there, and have lived there, deserve that we ensure their memories and lives are not forgotten, and that the importance of the story is conveyed to a wide audience in the present and the future.

The journey of writing this thesis began in 2011 on a hike up to Makapu'u lighthouse, but could not have been accomplished without the assistance of many people. My family gave me the encouragement and support to get through this project. Kalaupapa National Historical Park, particularly those in the Cultural Resource Management Division supported my research, as well as hiring me to work alongside them in the summer of 2012. Eileen Martinez, of Valor in the Pacific National Monument, Ka'ohulani McGuire of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, and Kerri Inglis of University of Hawai'i Hilo, all took the time to read portions of my work, and guide me in the right direction. My committee chair Robert Melnick, has also had a large influence on and has guided my work. I also want to thank my second committee member Doug Blandy. Most of all, I am indebted to the community of Kalaupapa, and Kalaupapa itself for inspiring this work.

Summary of Study

Dark tourism as an emerging academic field, seeks to explain and analyze sites whose significance arises from darker chapters of history. The concept can be applied to a wide variety of sites across the United States, including battle fields, Japanese American internment camps, and prisons. Kalaupapa National Historical Park is one of those sites due to its significance arising from its former status as a Hansen's Disease settlement, and the tragic stories of the patients ripped away from their families and exiled to the peninsula of Kalaupapa. Yet, due to its continued isolation, Kalaupapa does not have an established National Park interpretive plan like other dark tourism sites within the National Park System.

The boundary of Kalaupapa National Historical Park incorporates all of Kalawao County, the smallest county in the United States, on a remote peninsula located off the north coast of the island of Moloka'i in Hawai'i.¹ The island of Moloka'i was formed by two volcanoes, and is a relatively flat rectangular island. After the creation of the main portion, or "topside" Moloka'i, the peninsula of Kalaupapa was formed by the eruption of a third volcano, Kauhako, off the north shore of Moloka'i. Connected to the rest of Moloka'i some of the highest sea cliffs in the world, the geological history of Kalaupapa formed a uniquely isolated land formation. Named Kalaupapa, or flat leaf, the crater separates Kalawao on the east side and Kalaupapa settlement on the west. This four square mile peninsula is currently accessible by air, in the summer by sea, and year round by the Kalaupapa trail from topside which drops 1700 feet, creating a place which prevents free movement of people and goods, currently, and historically.²

Despite the isolation, a large native Hawaiian population flourished on the peninsula for thousands of years. Accessing the area by land and sea, Hawaiians at Kalaupapa were part of world agricultural trade in the mid nineteenth century when the site was chosen as a Hansen's Disease settlement. Eventually, Kama'aina were forced to leave their land to make room for the increasing number of Hansen's Disease patients arriving on the peninsula, beginning in 1866.³

¹ State of Hawai'i, Section 34 *County of Kalawao Governance*, Hawai'i State Revised Statutes Chapter 326 *Hansen's Disease*.

² National Park Service(NPS), "Natural Features and Ecosystems," Kalaupapa National Historical Park, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/naturescience/naturalfeaturesandecosystems.htm> (Accessed November 10, 2012).

³ Catherine C. Summers, *Moloka'i: a Site Survey* (Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1971), 188; Conrad M. Goodwin, Carla Favreau, and Conrad Erkelens, "A Kalaupapa Sweet Potato Farm: Report on Archaeological Data Recovery Operations, Kalaupapa Airport Improvement Project, Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, Hawai'i" (Honolulu, Hawai'i: International Archaeological Research Institute, 1994), 38.

Kalaupapa National Historical Park's enabling legislation attributes its significance to its history as a Hansen's Disease (formerly known as leprosy) settlement from 1866 to 1969. It was the Hawaiian Kingdom's, and later the United States' official policy to isolate people in Hawai'i who contracted the disease between 1866 and 1969. Kalaupapa peninsula was chosen as the settlement site in 1865 by King Kamehameha V, largely due to its geographic isolation. The main settlement moved from the Kalawao side of the peninsula to the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula side between the 1890s and 1930s, the oldest structures associated with the settlement are still located in Kalawao, such as Siloama Protestant Church shown in figure 2. The settlement remains on the Kalaupapa side of the peninsula today. The agricultural landscape prior to 1866 evolved into a highly regulated landscape operated by the Department of Health. When the policy of isolation officially ended in 1969, patients were given the option of remaining at Kalaupapa, which many did.⁴



Fig. 2. Siloama Church, Kalawao

The settlement became a National Historical Park through the lobbying efforts of the Hansen's Disease patient community at Kalaupapa. Congresswoman Patsy Mink sponsored legislation that was signed into law by President Carter in 1980, establishing Kalaupapa National Historical Park. Today, the National Park Service co-manages the entire peninsula with Hawai'i State Department of Health (DOH), while the land is owned by a number of agencies including the National Park Service (NPS), Department of Hawaiian Homelands (DHHL),

⁴ Russell A. Apple and Edmund J Ladd. "Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement." National Register of Historic Places. Moloka'i Island, Kalawao County, Hawai'i, 1976. State Site Number: 60-03-1024.

Hawai'i Department of Transportation (DOT), and the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), as well as Meyer Ranch, a private company.⁵

In the context of the multiple histories, and multiple stakeholders of Kalaupapa, the patients and their wishes remain the top priority. Currently, there are approximately ten patients who live full time in the Kalaupapa settlement. The state has committed to operating the settlement for those patients who choose to remain on the peninsula until the end of their lives. There exists a certain amount of anxiety surrounding the question of how this culturally sensitive landscape will be shared with visitors and tourists once the presence of the patients is no longer directing the tone and atmosphere of the settlement.⁶

Damien Tours, a private, patient owned company, in conjunction with Moloka'i Mule Rides, also a privately owned company, currently manages the visitor tours, while the state manages the number of visitors allowed on the peninsula each day. With the aging population of the patients, and the expected future departure of state management, the potential for increased visitation and therefore increased need of interpretation of Kalaupapa's story exists.

With more than 100 years as a place of segregation, an active pre-contact population, and unique geographic features, Kalaupapa has many stories to tell. The significant histories of Kalaupapa deserve to be told to a wide public audience. Yet, how can these layers of history be revealed while still maintaining the level of respect required in a space that saw both suffering and joy? Kalaupapa is a very unique place with a unique history, and therefore it is difficult to use comparisons to look to for examples and solutions in planning for interpretation. Through

⁵NPS, *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling Legislation*, Public Law 96-565, U.S. Department of the Interior, December 22, 1980 (See Appendix B).

⁶ State of Hawai'i, State Revised Statutes (HRS) Chapter 326 Hansen's Disease, §326-1 *Establishment of Facilities for the Treatment and Care of Persons with Hansen's Disease Hawai'i*, http://www.capitol.Hawai'i.gov/hrscurrent/Vol06_Ch0321-0344/HRS0326/HRS_0326-0001.htm (Accessed 4/12/2013).

the context of dark tourism, Kalaupapa can be compared to other sites within the National Park System and a systematic approach can be used to confront dark tourism interpretive challenges.

Dark tourism seeks to explain the nature of sites, and visitor experiences of spaces which tell of human suffering and indignities, sometimes through a moral lens, and sometimes through a lens of human character overcoming adversity. Dark tourism sites tell the side of our histories which are not always the easiest to tell. The terminology of 'dark tourism' is not meant to imply that the place is 'dark', it categorizes a type of travel to places of suffering as defined in the academic field of dark tourism. Sites such as Japanese American internments camps, battlefields, and prisons, fit into this category. Kalaupapa, as a place of forced isolation and segregation, which also reveals how people overcame adversity, falls under the category of dark tourism.⁷ The field identifies a number of interpretive challenges, while comparisons to other National Park dark tourism sites provide a number of programmatic solutions to these challenges when developing an interpretive program.

This thesis uses dark tourism as the lens through which to analyze Kalaupapa as a site to be interpreted for a wide audience. It is not only tragedy and suffering that occurred at Kalaupapa, but the tragedy and suffering of the patients must be acknowledged and respected in the interpretation of the park. The concept of dark tourism will be applied to Kalaupapa National Historical Park, WWII Valor in the Pacific National Park, and Alcatraz Island. Pearl Harbor and Alcatraz are both sites with highly developed interpretive methods to convey their respective stories. Both of these sites are used to compare with Kalaupapa's current interpretive methods, and looks to their interpretive strategies to provide solutions to dark tourism interpretive challenges in support of developing an interpretive plan.

⁷ Richard Sharpley, and Philip R. Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2009), 6-7.

Currently, Patient-Residents of Kalaupapa set the tone of how the Kalaupapa story is conveyed, yet, as they pass on, the remaining land management agencies, and land owners must decide on how to convey an authentic history of Kalaupapa to the public. As one of only two Hansen's Disease segregation settlements in the United States, Kalaupapa is a unique and significant component of American medical and political history, and therefore must be available for the public to learn from. It is a very relevant time for a discussion on how to confront interpretation at Kalaupapa. *Sites of Suffering* does so in the context of dark tourism using comparisons of Pearl Harbor and Alcatraz.

Sites of Suffering relied on key scholarly work on the concept of dark tourism to build the context for park site evaluation and analysis. These works are *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, by John J. Lennon, and Malcolm Foley, and *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* by Richard Sharpley, and Philip R. Stone. These two texts established the academic field of dark tourism in the mid-1990s. Other articles concerning dark tourism are cited, but these two works are the anchors for the study's conceptual framework. Research on Kalaupapa and Hawaiian history mainly relied on secondary sources, primarily scholarly work on the medical and political implication of Kalaupapa's past, including Michelle Moran's *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States*, and *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health* by Zachary Gussow. Memoirs and archaeological reports are also cited.

Sites of Suffering employed an observer-participate method in my qualitative assessment of three dark tourism sites within the Park Service System. Kalaupapa is the case study. Tours of Kalaupapa are currently provided by Damien Tours, consisting of a four hour tour starting at the trail head and ending at the lunch pavilion at Kalawao. Tours of WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument (Pearl Harbor) and Alcatraz Island are provided by the National Park

Service. Pearl Harbor and Alcatraz were chosen as comparative sites because they are both dark tourism sites, and are managed by the Park Service. I participated in the general tour given at these parks.

In the summer of 2012, I conducted interviews with employees within Kalaupapa National Historical Park's Cultural Resource Division. This division is responsible for the collection, storage, management, and maintenance of historic structures, historic artifacts, archaeological artifacts, and oral histories of Kalaupapa. These buildings, artifacts, and histories will serve as the backbone of the interpretation of the site. The staff who work in this office are the experts on these subjects. In all, I interviewed seven employees, including the Chief of Interpretation from Pearl Harbor, concerning the current interpretation at Kalaupapa, and their opinions of how overall visitor experience at Kalaupapa could be enhanced, as well as what the essential message visitors should leave with.

Interviews varied in length from fifteen minutes to two hours, dependent upon how much of their opinion the interviewee wanted to share. I had a set number of questions that I asked every interviewee, discussions varied from the questionnaire based on each person's area of concentration. Each interview was recorded and notes were taken. Though the interviews are not directly quoted in the thesis, the information and perspectives gained from the interviews was critical to the research process.

The patients' voices in the future interpretation at Kalaupapa are the most important. I did not interview any patient-resident concerning my research; I felt that the time I spent in Kalaupapa was not sufficient time to build the trust necessary to broach the subject of recorded interviews. The community at Kalaupapa was open and welcoming and I had the opportunity to make friendships with patient-residents. It was my feeling that it would have been overstepping my bounds to request interviews.

Sites of Suffering begins with the chapter “Defining Dark Tourism and Dark Tourism Sites” which provides an overview of what dark tourism is, what a dark tourism site is, and what inherent interpretive challenges are present at these sites. This initial chapter places the study of dark tourism on a national level, while listing specific challenges to the categorization of these sites. Once an understanding of dark tourism is established, the following chapter “Dark Tourism and the Park Service: Interpretation at Alcatraz and Pearl Harbor” analyzes the tours at Alcatraz and Pearl Harbor, exploring the programmatic solutions utilized to confront dark tourism challenges. This chapter highlights what the National Park Service (NPS) standard of interpretation is, and attempts to decipher if NPS is reaching those standards at dark tourism sites.

The following three chapters focus on Kalaupapa, the case study site. First an understanding of the political, historical, and geographical factors that shaped the Kalaupapa experience is covered in chapter five titled “State of Hawai’i, Island of Moloka’i, and the Kalaupapa Peninsula: The History, Politics, and Geography that Shaped Hansen’s Disease Segregation Policies.” Once a cursory understanding of the multilayered history of the settlement is established, interpretation at the site is discussed. Chapter six “‘Except for the History and Culture, it is an Idyllic Place’: Interpretation at Kalaupapa National Historical Park” which utilizes a visitor comment for the first part of the title, analyzes the interpretive methods, and the role of NPS in the interpretation at the park today. “Future of the Past: Defining Kalaupapa as a Dark Tourism Site” applies the programmatic solutions to dark tourism interpretive challenges as defined earlier in the thesis to the case study, after defining Kalaupapa as a dark tourism site. This is followed by a concluding chapter mainly focused on a reflection of the importance of dark tourism sites in the United States.

CHAPTER II

DEFINING DARK TOURISM AND DARK TOURISM SITES

Interest in places where tragic events took place is not a new phenomenon. Since tourism began there has been an attraction to places of disaster.⁸ There are a number of methods to manage and interpret such sites. In *Shadowed Ground: American Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, Kenneth Foote argues that there are four ways in which Americans respond to spaces of tragedy. These include rectification, obliteration, sanctification and designation. He cites examples from a wide variety of tragedies including riots, homes of mass murderers, and shipwrecks. Public response to the tragedy and how the response is reflected on the landscape is discussed and analyzed. This response takes different forms such as commemoration ceremonies, and statues dedicated to the tragedy. Interpretation, an eventual response on some sites of tragedies, usually takes place at a site that becomes designated for commemoration. One form of designation in the United States is the designation of the site as a National Park, which places the site within a system whose mission is to protect natural and cultural resources for future generations.⁹

The National Park System contains within it many sites where tragedy happened. For example, Andersonville, one of the largest confederate military camps in the Civil War, or Minidoka, the largest Japanese American internment camp in World War II.¹⁰ These are two

⁸ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990),4.

⁹ NPS, "Mission," U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/mission.htm> (Accessed April 9,2013).

¹⁰ NPS, "Andersonville," Andersonville National Historic Site, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/ande/index.htm> (Accessed April 9, 2013); NPS, "Minidoka," Minidoka National Historic Site, U.S department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/miin/index.htm> (Accessed April 9, 2013).

examples of sites of suffering managed by the National Park Service. The three sites, Alcatraz, Pearl Harbor, and Kalaupapa that *Sites of Suffering* analyzes, fit into this category of tragic events designated by the National Park Service.

Kenneth Foote's work *Shadowed Ground* focuses analysis on how and why a particular site is commemorated or not commemorated. Yet, once a site of tragedy is designated, how the story should be told to the public becomes a matter of concern, and a much more specific topic of research. Though interpretation and site management are large fields of study falling under general tourism and public history, research primarily concerned with the management of sites of suffering fall under a newly emerging field.

Dark Tourism as a field of research emerged in the 1990s with the publication of John Lennon and Malcolm Foley's critical text *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. In it, Lennon and Foley explain that the term dark tourism came from the categorization of the sites visited during early 1990s fieldwork.¹¹ The text does not focus on the definition of the term, but instead uses a number of examples from holocaust internment camps to the site of President Kennedy's assassination to represent how dark tourism sites are a product of modern society's relationship to death.¹² Their argument consists of placing the concept of dark tourism in the modern age, while only touching on the challenges inherent in the development of these sites.

In addition to Lennon and Foley's work, the text *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* edited by Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone serve as the primary sources in defining the concept dark tourism, and setting the parameters of a dark tourism site. *The Darker Side of Travel* features a number of articles, the majority written by Sharpley or

¹¹ John Lennon, and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000), 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

Stone, with a few chapters by contributing authors. This text goes beyond Lennon and Foley's narrow focus of dark tourism as a modern phenomenon, and grapples with various aspects of dark tourism sites from management to interpretive methods. Both Stone and Sharpley serve as the directors of the Institute for Dark Tourism Research based at the University of Central Lancashire, England.¹³

The introductory chapter of *The Darker Side of Travel* reviews the establishment of the field, mainly acknowledging Lennon and Foley's terminology, but looks to other scholars, particularly A.V Seaton, who coined the term thanatourism. Closely related to the concept of dark tourism, thanatourism includes all death related tourism, not limiting the definition to modern tragedies as Lennon and Foley do.¹⁴ Sharpley and Stone acknowledge that the field of dark tourism is not strongly established theoretically, but go on to discuss their definition of the term, which closely aligns with that of Lennon and Foley.¹⁵ Within the first chapter, Sharpley and Stone list a number of issues that confront dark tourism sites including ethical, marketing, interpretation, and management issues. The chapters that follow address each of these issues.

Besides these two main texts, *Sites of Suffering* utilizes *A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism* edited by Sam Merrill and Leo Schmidt which is a result of a study conducted between 2008 and 2009 by the Architectural Conservation Department of Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus. It features 24 scholarly articles dealing with various aspects and sites that fall under the category of uncomfortable heritage and dark

¹³ Institute for Dark Tourism Research, "About the IDTR," Institute for Dark Tourism Research, University of Central Lancashire. <http://lgn1331135353.site-fusion.co.uk/about-us> (Accessed 1/18/2013).

¹⁴ Sharpley and Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

tourism.¹⁶ In addition to the scholarly articles published in this reader, *Sites of Suffering* will also cite a number of scholarly article that address specific sites, such as Carolyn Strange’s article “Symbiotic Commemoration: The Stories of Kalaupapa”, and the article “Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island” by Strange and Michael Kempa.

Sites of Suffering relies on *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* for the definition and categorization of dark tourism sites, but looks to *The Darker Side of Travel*, and *A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism* for the approach in analyzing the issues of dark tourism sites. As outlined in both texts, dark tourism is defined as travel to a space which was the site of death, tragedy, or suffering.¹⁷ In other words, “dark tourism is travel to sites of death, disaster, or the seemingly macabre”, a definition listed on the homepage of the Institute for Dark Tourism Research.¹⁸ The term dark tourism therefore refers to the act of travel motivated by the attraction to death and disaster. This attraction, with its moral and ethical implications, is the subject of debate and scholarly research. Yet, *Sites of Suffering* does not focus on this attraction, but instead looks to the places that provide the opportunity to satisfy this attraction.

Working from the definition of dark tourism as the travel to sites of suffering, dark tourism sites are the places where this suffering took place. This description fits a great number of sites across the world as well as within the United States. The nature of dark tourism sites make them places of complex meanings and significance. Ethical and moral dilemmas result from the continued attraction visitors have to these place. Though this thesis does not address

¹⁶Sam Merrill and Leo Schmidt, Eds, “A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism,” (Brandenburg Germany: Architectural Conservation Department of Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, 2009), 4-5.

¹⁷ Sharpley and Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, 10.

¹⁸ Institute for Dark Tourism Research, “Institute for Dark Tourism Research,” University of Central Lancashire, <http://lgn1331135353.site-fusion.co.uk/> (Accessed 1/18/2013).

the attraction, it will look at the interpretive challenges inherent at dark tourism sites.

Interpretation connects visitors to the site's story.¹⁹ Therefore, interpretation provides the key to conveying to visitors the significance of the site. To analyze these challenges a narrower description of what elements make a site a dark tourism site is necessary. Lennon and Foley present a number of elements that qualify tourist sites as dark tourism sites.

In considering a dark tourism site, there is an underlying assumption that the place is a cultural or heritage site, dark tourism is a 'segment' of cultural tourism.²⁰ This qualifier depicts the level of significance of the event that made the site into a dark tourism site. Dark tourism as a segment of cultural tourism is placed in Lennon and Foley's chapter titled 'War Sites of the First and Second World Wars'. The examples used consist of war memorial sites commemorated as points where people lost their lives, and shaped the modern world. Dark tourism sites must be international, or national in their significance. The three sites selected for this study all qualify as nationally significant, and fall under Lennon and Foley's temporal description of dark tourism.

According to Lennon and Foley, to qualify as a dark tourism site, the tragic event had to have happened in the last one hundred years, and people that experienced the event are still alive to inform others about the event.²¹ This temporal description derives from a number of factors. Firstly, that technology, specifically media, has "changed the relationship between people and world events" in the last century.²² Media, photographs, and videos manipulate how people perceive the tragic events, and will affect the attitude with which they visit the site, and

¹⁹ Sharpley and Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, 113.

²⁰ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*, 111.

²¹ *Ibid*, 119, 12.

²² *Ibid*, 119.

acknowledge its significance. Secondly, persons who experienced the 'dark' event are still around to explain in first person detail the tragedy and suffering witnessed at these sites.²³ This fact makes dealing with dark tourism sites, as Lennon and Foley define them, much more sensitive than sites of death and disaster which took place prior to the 20th century. Dark tourism studies must confront how to incorporate and respect the stories of people still living and the families of those recently passed, in managing and interpreting these sites.

Related to the temporal element of the definition of a dark tourism site, is its potential for ideological or political messages, as well as causing anxiety concerning modernity.²⁴ The prime example of dark tourism sites are the Jewish concentration camps in Europe, cited throughout *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. The concentration camps are the definition of dark tourism sites, though each is managed differently. Concentration camps were political institutions, and the manner in which they are managed today conveys a political message in itself. Furthermore, science and technology was used to mass murder the Jewish at these sites, calling into question if these elements of modernity are actually a move forward. The discourse surrounding the ideological message could go either way, such as war sites where the "official version predominate" due to that governments interpretation of the site, or even "distrust of the government" in certain cases.²⁵

Another example of the ideological messages and anxiety over modernity present in dark tourism sites given by Lennon and Foley is an exhibit that was eventually significantly modified due to the controversy. In 1995, the Smithsonian proposed an exhibit titled 'The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II'. It purportedly called into question

²³ Ibid, 12.

²⁴ Ibid, 12, 120.

²⁵ Ibid, 109.

America's use of the bomb.²⁶ In this example, the exhibit questioned American motivation in dropping the atomic bomb on Japanese civilians, while also questioning if the creation of such a weapon as the atomic bomb was really a successful utilization of modern technology.

Lennon and Foley's definition gives very distinct parameters to what elements are required to label a site a dark tourism site. This effectively limits the number, but not necessarily the variety, of sites that fall under this category. In *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, Lennon and Foley argue that dark tourism is a reflection of modern society's relationship to death. Looking at dark tourism outside of this argument, and in a wider context, the elements of the definition may not have to be so absolute.

Andersonville, a site given as an example of dark tourism sites within the National Park System, would not qualify as a dark tourism site in Lennon and Foley's definition. As a Civil War prisoner of war camp, Andersonville, or Camp Sumter Military Prison, was overcrowded by 22,000 men, and saw over a year of inhuman treatment ultimately resulting in thousands of unnecessary deaths.²⁷ The Institute for Dark Tourism Research would define Andersonville as a dark tourism site as it falls under "travel to sites of death, disaster, or the seemingly macabre".²⁸ Yet, Lennon and Foley would not call it a dark tourism site since it did not take place in the last century, and there is no one alive to inform about the experience. The site does have the potential to convey political messages, but does not cause anxiety about modern technology. Andersonville does not meet the required elements necessary for the Lennon and Foley definition of dark tourism, but does meet the requirements of a dark tourism site within a wider

²⁶ Ibid, 108.

²⁷ NPS, "What's So Special about this Place?" Andersonville Historic Site, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/ande/planyourvisit/special.htm> (Accessed April 9, 2013).

²⁸ Institute for Dark Tourism Research, "Institute for Dark Tourism Research," University of Central Lancashire, <http://lgn1331135353.site-fusion.co.uk/> (Accessed 1/18/2013).

context, outside of Lennon and Foleys argument concerning modern society's relationship to death.

Looking at the general definition of dark tourism from the Institute for Dark Tourism Research opens up research of these sites to a large variety of places throughout history, and throughout the world. There is no doubt that people have always been attracted to death and disaster, especially when thinking back to public executions, and Roman gladiators. Volumes can be written on why this attraction persists. Yet, bringing the term into the modern age adds an extra layer of complexity that *Sites of Suffering* proposes to address. Dark tourism as Lennon and Foley describe is a much more singular phenomenon than the general definition. The temporal element added by Lennon and Foley, as one of their fundamental requirements for dark tourism implies addressing living informants of the tragedy.

Sites of Suffering will utilize the Lennon and Foley definition of a place where death disaster or suffering took place, which falls under the category of cultural tourism, took place in the last one hundred years, and has the potential to cause anxiety over modernity, and convey political messages to visitors. This is a narrow scope in which to analyze sites, yet all three sites in this study, Alcatraz, Pearl Harbor, and Kalaupapa, fall into this definition, and face the challenges apparent at all dark tourism sites.

Dark tourism covers a wide variety of sites from places of mass murder, like the Holocaust, to memorial sites, such as the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington DC. Each of the sites is a response to a unique tragic event, and must be approached in terms of what is deemed the appropriate and respectful response to the each individual tragedy. Despite the extreme variety and complexities, the issues confronting dark tourism sites can be broken down into four categories of ethical, marketing, interpretation, and management.

The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism edited by Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone, looks at the categories of issues present at dark tourism sites. These categories are listed in the introductory chapter of the text. The first category of issues listed is ethical, the appropriateness of developing space for tourists to visit at a site of death and disaster.²⁹ Is it a respectful practice to travel to sites where others' have experienced pain and suffering? In the context of Lennon and Foley's definition, is it appropriate to travel to places where the people who suffered are still alive to remember their experiences at the tourist site? In terms of *Sites of Suffering*, this question has been answered in the form of the National Park Service formally commemorating the site as nationally significant. In the establishment of a national park, the federal government is signaling that visitation to these sites is appropriate. The fact that the sites are designated as significant by the federal government adds a layer of complexity already accounted for in the Lennon and Foley definition. Specially, dark tourism sites potentially conveying political or ideological messages are told within the context of a federally regulated organization.

The next category listed, marketing, questions profit making from sites of death and disaster.³⁰ Sharpley and Stone include not only profit making ventures located within the dark tourism site, but the businesses located around the site which have sprung up to serve visitors to the site of tragedy or suffering. Ultimately, this category could fall under ethical. In developing a dark tourism site one has to ask not only is it ethical to have a tourist attraction, but is it ethical to make profit from other's suffering.

²⁹ Sharpley and Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, 8.

³⁰ Ibid.

Interpretation issues is the third category listed by Sharpley and Stone.³¹ What and how information about a site is conveyed to visitors is a major challenge at all dark tourism sites. *Sites of Suffering* focuses on this issue in the context of Lennon and Foley's definition of a dark tourism site. This issue covers questions about how to include all stakeholders and survivors stories in order to give a complete picture of the site's history. The fourth and final issue category listed by Sharpley and Stone is site management issues, mainly consisting of what to do with the site based on its description as a dark tourism site.³²

Sharpley and Stone break down the issues surrounding dark tourism into categories in order to thematically present their edited text on the subject. In analyzing actual sites it is difficult to separate the challenges facing each site into categories. In essence, all of these challenges come down to an ethical question of the appropriateness of travel to sites of suffering. This question is not addressed in *Sites of Suffering* which focuses on National Parks. Therefore, respect for those who suffered, and how this is achieved through interpretation is the context for this thesis.

Seen within Sharpley and Stone's categories, these are challenges that fall under interpretation. Due to the nature of sites of suffering, their stories are complex, and often contested. As Lennon and Foley explain, these are sites where political messages are apparent, that cause anxiety about modernity, and took place within living memory. How can the place's story be conveyed to visitors when there are conflicting histories, and multiple stakeholders? What role should survivors play in the explanation of the events, where should the profit made at such sites go? How will tourists know what appropriate behavior at each individual site is? These are the types of questions that must be addressed in analyzing a site defined as a dark

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid, 9.

tourism site. Furthermore, each site comes with its own unique challenges, such as accessibility. Dark tourism provides a context with which to look at such sites, but recognizing that each site is unique and has its own story to convey is the first step in accurately portraying the past in the present and showing respect for those who remember.

CHAPTER III

DARK TOURISM WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM:

INTERPRETATION AT ALCATRAZ AND PEARL HARBOR

Numerous examples of dark tourism sites exist within the National Park System, from battlefields to internment camps. Sites representing chapters in American history that may be uncomfortable, and represent tragic stories are marked as significant in their designation as a National Park. In the majority of these locations, it is the responsibility of the Park Service (NPS) to convey to the public the reasons behind the site's significance. Through interpretation, NPS answers questions such as why should we remember the darker chapters of our history, those chapters that may not reflect well on American culture or government? Or, why should we remember and show respect for events in which people lost their lives? These are all difficult questions that interpretation must confront, particularly at dark tourism sites.

On their Interpretation and Education website, the National Park Service defines interpretations as "the process of providing each visitor an opportunity to personally connect with a place" with an ultimate goal "to increase each visitor's enjoyment and understanding of the parks, and to allow visitors to care about the parks on their own terms."³³ This is accomplished through a number of different techniques, and standardized through Park Service policies.

National Park Service policies regarding interpretation and education are expounded upon in the 2006 *A Guide to Managing the National Park System*, Chapter 7 "Interpretation and Education," which outlines the goals of the interpretation and education program. It covers the purpose of the program, evaluation criteria, partnership criteria, technology and interpretation,

³³ NPS, "Interpretation and Education," U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/learn/> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

curriculum criteria, and planning.³⁴ The Director's Order #6 Interpretation and Education further details this information. More information on the planning process for interpretation and education is found in "Comprehensive Interpretive Planning" produced in 2000.³⁵ The guidebook provides an overview of how each park should develop a long term interpretive plan.³⁶

A wide variety of parks, highlighting different resources, defines the Park System, resulting in very general and standardized guidelines for interpretation. Each park must identify what type of resources and what stories to highlight for visitors during the planning process. Chapter 7 of the NPS Management Policies describes the expected experience of visitors "within the rich learning environments of national parks and facilitation by NPS interpreters, visitors will be offered authentic experiences and opportunities to immerse themselves in places where events actually happened, experience the thrill of connecting with real objects used by previous generations, enjoy some of the most beautiful and historic places in America, and understand the difficult moments our nation has endured".³⁷ NPS policies expect a high level, authentic experience for each visitor, even at the sites of 'difficult moments', including dark tourism sites.

Often dark tourism studies focus on tourist's motivation to visit sites of death or disaster, yet *Sites of Suffering* focuses on how the story is being told. This idea was best conveyed by Paul Deprey, Superintendent of WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument on

³⁴ NPS, "The Management Policies 2006: The Guide to Managing the National Park System," U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/policy/mp/policies.html> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

³⁵ NPS, "Director's Order #6: Interpretation and Education," U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/policy/DOrders/DOrder6.html> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

³⁶ NPS, "Comprehensive Interpretive Planning: Interpretation and Education Guideline," U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000. <http://www.nps.gov/hfc/pdf/ip/cip-guideline.pdf> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

³⁷ NPS, "The Management Policies 2006," U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/policy/mp/policies.html> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

the 71st Anniversary Pearl Harbor Day Commemoration on December 7, 2012. He spoke for a moment on who visits Pearl Harbor, and then said “To tell you the truth I’m not as concerned about why people come to Pearl Harbor. I’m more concerned about what people think when they leave.”³⁸ What people think, and what people have learned about the history of a park is the responsibility of a park’s interpretation program. The manner in which a story is conveyed defines what the visitor thinks as they leave. Due to the inherent ethical questions, dark tourism sites prove challenging to authentically and respectfully interpret. To understand the methodology employed by the Park Service to interpret dark tourism sites, two site visits were conducted at well known, high volume National Parks; Alcatraz and Pearl Harbor.

Made famous in mid-century movies such as *Birdman of Alcatraz*, and *Escape from Alcatraz*, Alcatraz Island, pictured in figure 3, is a well-known National Park Service managed San Francisco tourist attraction. As its tagline suggests Alcatraz is “Much More than a Prison”. Referencing Anca Prodon’s article “Alcatraz Island: Historic Monument and Uncomfortable Heritage” found in *A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism*, as well as Carolyn Strange and Michael Kempa’s article “Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island”, *Sites of Suffering* defines Alcatraz Island as a dark tourism site.

Recognized as a cultural site, Alcatraz was designated as a part of the Golden Gate National



Fig. 3. Alcatraz Island

³⁸ Paul Deprey, Public Address, 71st Commemoration of the Bombing of Pearl Harbor, December 7, 2012.

Recreation Area in 1972.³⁹ The main narrative at the island consists of its history as a federal penitentiary from 1934 to 1963, well within Lennon and Foley's temporal limitation of 100 years, and implying the existence of living informants. The political implications and anxiety concerning modernity apparent in Alcatraz's main narrative is best described by Strange and Kemp when they say "preserved prisons are stony silent witnesses to the things former regimes were prepared to do to people who violated laws or who seemed threatening or suspicious."⁴⁰ As Alcatraz does fall within the definition of dark tourism site, the challenges apparent at dark tourism sites are also present at the Island.

Prodon addresses the multilayered history of the island. Native American use of the island, prior to western contact, is only briefly mentioned, before the article goes on to outline the island's long military history, which started in 1853.⁴¹ As a military stronghold, Alcatraz was the site of the west coast's first lighthouse, and served as a military prison characterized by lack of sanitation and overcrowding.⁴² The military outpost closed in 1933 due to the high cost of operating this isolated military stronghold.⁴³ The year following the closure of Alcatraz as a military post, it became a federal penitentiary for prisoners who were seen as particularly troublesome; Alcatraz maintained a high level of monotony and control.⁴⁴ The island's era as a

³⁹ Anca Prodon, "Alcatraz Island: Historic Monument and Uncomfortable Heritage," In "A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism," Eds, Sam Merrill and Sam Schmidt (Brandenburg Germany: Architectural Conservation Department of Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, 2009),13.

⁴⁰ Carolyn Strange, and Michael Kempa. 2003, "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island," (Annals of Tourism Research. 30, no. 2: 386-405), 402.

⁴¹ Prodon, "Alcatraz Island," 8-9.

⁴² Ibid, 9, 15.

⁴³ Ibid, 9.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 10, 15.

federal penitentiary is the main narrative of the interpretive program, though it only served as a federal prison for thirty years. At the time, Alcatraz was the highest security prison in the system, and therefore extremely expensive to run.⁴⁵ Additionally, different perceptions emerging in the 1960s about how prisoners should be treated contributed to the closure of Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary in 1963.⁴⁶

The 1960s, often cited as an era of progressivism and cultural revitalization, witnessed a major change in the use of Alcatraz. A few years after the closure of the prison, Native American activists used Alcatraz as a statement of governmental abuse of Native Americans. Reasons behind the occupation of the island are too complex to fully explain here, but included a comparison of Alcatraz Island as a rock devoid of necessary resources to Native American reservations, and the implications of resultant dependency.⁴⁷ With numerous goals, one of which included turning Alcatraz into a Native American education and culture center, occupation lasted from 1969 to 1971, ending with federal removal of activists from the island.⁴⁸ The year following, 1972, the Island was designated as nationally significant site, receiving over one million visitors a year.⁴⁹ A visit to Alcatraz details how NPS confronts the challenges to dark tourism destinations.

Located along San Francisco's busy embarcadero, Alcatraz is one of many tourist attractions in the area. A concessioner, Alcatraz Cruises, at Pier 33, provides transportation to the island. Like many dark tourism sites, accessibility is a challenge. Alcatraz's isolation made

⁴⁵ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 18.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁸ Strange and Kemp, "Shades of Dark Tourism," 391; Prodon, "Alcatraz Island," 12.

⁴⁹ Prodon, "Alcatraz Island," 13.

escape for prisoners near impossible, and access for tourists difficult. Though entry to the park is free, a ticket on Alcatraz Cruises costs around \$30 (As of April 2013).⁵⁰

Interpretation begins on the dock, with sales of t-shirts and merchandise glorifying the prisoner experience. While waiting in line to board the boat, a cruise like group picture is taken in front of a large image of the island available for purchases upon your return from the island (See Figure 6). Once seated on the boat, a recorded message gives visitors safety warnings, which leads into the NPS tagline for the island “Alcatraz-much more than just a prison”. The recorded message lists the four stories of Alcatraz’s multilayered history that the National Park Service attempts to address including the natural resources of the island, military stronghold era, federal prison era, and the Native American Occupation.

Interpretation by the National Park Service begins as the boat docks at the Island and visitors pour out onto the landing area, where a Park Ranger with the use of a microphone, directs the masses to available interpretive opportunities as shown in figure 4. Though there are special tours on certain days, the ranger’s suggestion was to make the trek up the hill to the



Fig. 4. Park Ranger Meets Visitors at Dock

cell house, go through the audio tour, and then to watch the film located in a building closer to the docking area, before loading back onto the boat. Generally this leaves a period of about an hour and a half to three hours to explore the island dependent upon what which boat you arrived on. The ranger reinforced the idea of the four narratives of Alcatraz, and noted graffiti left from the Native American Occupation. Due to time limitations, not much self-guided exploration of

⁵⁰ Alcatraz Cruises, ‘Prices and Schedules Chart,’ <http://www.alcatrazcruises.com/website/price-schedule-chart.aspx> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

the island is possible, though the walk up the hill to the cell house leads the visitor past many historic structures reminiscent of the island's military history, with an occasional graffiti-ed clue to the Native American Occupation. Signage exists to interpret natural and military history, yet on the site visit, no signage was noted that told the story of the occupation.

Once the visitors arrive at the cell house, an audio tour guides them through the building, up and down the cell blocks, outside the main building toward the lighthouse, ending in the cafeteria, where visitors proceed toward the gift shop. An audio tour facilitates the movement of visitors through the resource, while allowing informants of the period to talk directly to each visitor. The audio tour features a former inmate, and a former guard speaking about their experiences at Alcatraz, while giving visitors an overview of Alcatraz's federal penitentiary history. This is an effective way to confront one of dark tourism's major challenges of allowing informants to tell their story about the site.

The tour runs about 40 minutes and focuses on just one historic resource, and one historic period. Once the audio tour is complete, the book store offers merchandise such as coffee cups and key chains, as well as a good amount of literature on Alcatraz's historical eras. A sign posted next to the bookstore exit thanks visitors for coming to the park, and again reminds them that there are four narratives the park service is interpreting (see figure 5). The ranger at the dock suggests that visitors watch the film upon the completion of their audio tour, and before boarding the boat back to the wharf. The film is a 17 minute version of a Discovery

Channel documentary, and does cover the various layers of Alcatraz's history. The important overview of the Island's history provided by the film is downplayed, and comes off as something to do while waiting for a departing boat.



Fig. 5. Interpretive Themes Signage

Falling under the definition of a dark tourism site, Alcatraz is faced with certain challenges. Accessibility tends to be a challenge at these sites. In the case of Alcatraz, the Park service confronts this challenge by partnering with a concessioner, Alcatraz Cruises, which provides the transportation to and from the island, for a fee. NPS works efficiently to move the high number of visitors the park receives each day, yet add a sense of “cruise atmosphere” especially with the group picture in front of an enlarged image of the island shown in figure 6. Every dark tourism site is unique, and appropriate visitor behavior varies from site to site. Unlike sites such as Pearl Harbor, which requires visitors to maintain a low level of noise while on the Memorial, Alcatraz does not have specific behavior expectations related directly to the fact that the site is a dark tourism site. Yet, Alcatraz does have safety regulations, largely pertaining to the boat ride to the island. The behavioral expectations are conveyed by recorded message on the boat.



Fig. 6. Group Photos Taken in Front of Image of Alcatraz

The next three challenges are very important to interpreting a dark tourism site. The first challenge, interpreting a multilayered history, is based on having an overview of the processes that lead to the site’s significance, and who the stakeholders are. The National Park Service identifies four narratives at Alcatraz, and list these narratives a number of times, yet an explanation of them is restricted to the film that is not a focus of the main interpretive program. The under-emphasis of the story of the 1969-1971 Native American Occupation belies the political significance of the event to the Island’s and the Nation’s history. The challenge of presenting a multilayered history proves very difficult, particularly due to time limitations, and visitor’s interest. Alcatraz’s popularity largely arises from interest in the prison era history, which is where the NPS focuses its interpretation. Involving stakeholders, in this case informants of the

historic period, resulted in an audio tour of the main historic resource and era. The audio tour allows for the informants to talk directly to visitors. Use of multimedia to allow participants of the event to tell their own story is a major feature of WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument's (in this text only referring to Pearl Harbor) interpretive strategy.

Site of Suffering refers to WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument as Pearl Harbor, and looks specifically to the USS Arizona Memorial as the dark tourism site, a hugely iconic American site represented in figure 7. Lennon and Foley analyze the memorial in their seminal text *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. As stated earlier, *Sites of Suffering* obtains its definition of a dark tourism site from Lennon and Foley; additionally, Lennon and



Fig. 7. U.S Flag at USS Arizona Memorial

Foley focus on the relationship between modern society and death. Therefore, Lennon and Foley's discussion of the site focuses the Japanese attack on the technologically modern American military, and the political implications of representing the

attack.⁵¹ In addition to the anxiety over modernity, and the potential political message, the attack on Pearl Harbor took place in the last century, and has living informants from the American military, the Japanese military, and civilian witnesses. It qualifies as a heritage site, due to the event's impact on the state, nation, and the world. Pearl Harbor clearly falls under the definition of a dark tourism site and is therefore subject to the numerous challenges that confront this category of National Parks, such as a multilayered history.

A natural harbor located on the southern shore of the island of O'ahu provides the setting of this dark tourism site. The significance of the site arises, of course, from "the day that will live in infamy" the December 7, 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which led to

⁵¹ Lennon and Foley, *Dark Tourism*, 104-105.

America's involvement in the war, ultimately changing the course of world history . The event left a lasting impact on Americans, so much so that it was through public subscriptions that the memorial over the USS Arizona was funded and dedicated by 1962.⁵² The visitor center, recently remodeled, provides transport to the memorial, and interpretation of the event.⁵³

History of the harbor's importance includes much more than World War II history. Cited in Hawaiian mythology as the home of a shark god, Pearl Harbor's military history started with the filling in of a pond called Loko-a-Mano to build the navy yard.⁵⁴ Named after pearl oysters once abundant in the area, the harbor played a role in the U.S eventual annexation of the Islands.⁵⁵ A reciprocity treaty signed by the US and the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1876, allowed for duty free trade between the countries.⁵⁶ The Hawaiian economy increasingly became dependent upon that of the United States, and when the treaty came up for renewal, an amendment was added that gave the United States exclusive rights to use the harbor.⁵⁷ Though the United States did not act upon this right until after annexation, the amendment contributed to American influence on the islands and to enactment of the Bayonet Constitution in 1887, and

⁵² Ibid, 104.

⁵³ Derek Paiva, "New, Modernized Pearl Harbor USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center Opening Dec. 7," *Hawai'i Magazine.com*, November 29, 2010, http://www.Hawai'imagazine.com/blogs/Hawai'i_today/2010/11/29/Pearl_Harbor_new_visitor_center_opening_December_7 (Accessed 4/10/2013).

⁵⁴ Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T Mookini, *Place Names of Hawai'i* (University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu, 1974), 182; NPS, "Places-The History of Pearl Harbor," WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/valr/historyculture/places.htm> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

⁵⁵ Pukui, *Place Names*, 182.

⁵⁶ Ralph S. Kuykendall, and A. Grove Day, *Hawai'i: A History, from Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 151.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 160.

the eventual overthrow of the monarchy less than a decade after. As the territorial era progressed, Pearl Harbor developed into a large military installation, which bore the blunt of the Japanese attack on the American military in the Islands. NPS management of the site began in 1980, with an interpretation focus on December 7, 1941. The national and international significance of the events on December 7, 1941 at Pearl Harbor largely dictates that NPS focus interpretation on that infamous day with little attention given to other historical trends and events adding to Pearl Harbor's significance.⁵⁸

The Park visitor center is easily accessible from the H-1, a main highway on the island. A visit to the park can include attractions such as the Bowfin Submarine, and the Pacific Aviation Museum, but the main tour leads visitors through two exhibit galleries and out to the USS Arizona Memorial. WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument received approximately 1.7 million visitors last year (2012), the majority of these visitors went to Pearl Harbor, which must be interpreted in order to convey this significant story to visitors from around the world.⁵⁹

Visitors enter through the visitor center which includes the bookstore, ticket stand, two exhibit galleries, entrance to the movie theatre, wayside exhibits, and Remembrance Circle. Interpretation which remains free of cost to visitors includes the exhibit galleries, waysides, movie, and trip to the memorial. Located on the way to the movie theatre from the ticket counter, the permanent exhibit galleries tell the story of the "Road to War", and the "Attack". An audio tour is available for a cost.

⁵⁸ NPS, "Places-The History of Pearl Harbor," WWII Valor in the Pacific NM, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/valr/historyculture/places.htm> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

⁵⁹ NPS, "World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument," U.S. Department of the Interior, <https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/SSRSReports/Park%20Specific%20Reports/Annual%20Park%20Visitation%20%28All%20Years%29?Park=VALR> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

“Road to War” interprets the context of political and social histories of both the United States and Japan in the 1930s, essentially explaining what led both countries to war (see figure 8). “Attack” interprets the strategic reasons for Japan’s attack on O’ahu , and the timeline of events on the day of attack (see figure 9). These exhibits are relatively small, yet effectively give visitors a historical look at the context of December 7, 1941 through the use of models, maps, videos, and most notably, video recorded interviews of participants. Survivors tell their story directly to the visitor, including civilian witnesses. All objects, videos, and images have brail, and closed captioning to facilitate use by all visitors.

Visitors proceed to the movie theatre entrance at the time listed on their ticket. Prior to



Fig. 8. Visitors Learn about 1930s Japan and U.S. in “Road to War”

entering, a Park Ranger explains procedure, explicitly conveying to visitors that respect is to be shown by maintaining low levels of noise, and staying on the memorial only until the next boat arrives. Once seated in the theatre, visitors watch a twenty minute video about the events of December 7, ensuring that all

visitors have a basic understanding of the site’s significance before entering the memorial.

Following the conclusion of the film, visitors board a boat operated by the Navy, which

transports them to the Memorial.⁶⁰ Roughly fifteen minutes are spent on the USS Arizona Memorial, which provides views down onto the USS Arizona, and a list of soldiers that lost their lives that morning on the ship. A ranger is located near the diagram of the ship to



Fig. 9. Interactive Displays Describe the Day of “Attack” from Multiple Perspectives

⁶⁰ NPS, “Things to Do,” WWII Valor in the Pacific NM, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/valr/planyourvisit/things2do.htm> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

answer visitor questions. A solemn atmosphere is maintained, and once the next boat arrives, visitors depart the memorial. Movement of visitors through the memorial is pictured in figure 10. Once back on land, wayside exhibits



Fig. 10. Visitors on USS Arizona Memorial

further explain the site and its historic context as they lead visitors back toward the entrance. Aspects of the site not addressed in the exhibits are touched on in the content of the waysides, including one wayside about Native Hawaiian use of Harbor (see figure 11), and the mention of the shark god. This wayside contained the only information pertaining to Native Hawaiian use noted on the site visit.



Fig. 11. One Wayside Covers Pre-Military Use of the Harbor

Presenting a multilayered history is a challenge to every dark tourism site, particularly to Pearl Harbor as the December 7 attack is such a huge and significant story to the world. Yet, the site's long history before the attack is a point for consideration as development into the future continues. Furthermore, due to the sites worldwide significance, there are obvious political implications for the interpretation methods at the site. The National Park Service confronted this challenge directly in both exhibit galleries, through presentation of both sides of the story. A visitor walks away with an understanding of not just the processes at work in the United States that led to war, but the context of the era in Japan's history too.

Both exhibits reveal the Park Service's dedication to involving stakeholder's in their interpretation. Survivors from the attack, Japanese military, and civilian witnesses all tell their side of the story directly to visitors through the use of a variety of multimedia. Another challenge Pearl Harbor confronts directly is the expected behavior of visitors. Before entering the movie theatre, a ranger details what is expected of visitors, which is precluded by an expected dress code outlined on their web site saying "Visitors are reminded that they are visiting a site of tremendous loss of life in service to our country. Sandals are permissible, but bathing suits or profane T-shirts are discouraged."⁶¹ Much like Alcatraz, the main attraction is located off-shore. Due to Pearl Harbor's continued use as a military harbor, the navy operates the shuttle boat which remains free of cost for visitors.

Both of these National Park Sites, categorized in *Sites of Suffering* as dark tourism sites, approach inherent challenges differently. Yet certain patterns appear in analysis of the tours given at each site. The expected behavior of visitors at each site differs, mainly due to the nature of the resource visited. Despite difference, Park Rangers at both parks clearly outline for visitors what is expected, at Alcatraz a safety message, and at Pearl Harbor, noise level and dress.

Alcatraz Island, and WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument are located at sites with long culturally significant histories, from which one story emerges as the park's focus. A presentation of a multilayered history may not be the mission of the parks, yet a higher degree of contextual information could only add to the process "to increase each visitor's enjoyment and understanding of the parks, and to allow visitors to care about the parks on their own terms."⁶² This issue could be addressed by playing a short film that covers the basics of the

⁶¹ NPS, "Things to Know Before You Come," WWII Valor in the Pacific NM, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/valr/planyourvisit/things2know.htm> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

⁶² NPS, "Interpretation and Education," U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/learn/> (Accessed 4/10/2013).

site's history. This type of solution is available at Alcatraz, but is under-emphasized in comparison to the main narrative.

Whether or not political implications are addressed in interpretation comes in choosing the main narrative told at the site. Pearl Harbor's main narrative of the December 7 attack is a highly politicized topic, which is represented by their interpretation of both sides of the conflict. Yet, Alcatraz side steps the largest political story of the site, the Native American Occupation. The main story interpreted at both sites is the events which define them as dark tourism sites, which not only designates what political issues must be confronted, but also defines who the stakeholders are. Stakeholders at Alcatraz and Pearl Harbor include any number of individuals, groups, or organizations; yet, at dark tourism sites, it is the survivors of the significant event who can convey their own story to the visitor best. Both parks facilitate this process through the use of multimedia. Another challenge at most dark tourism sites is access, which Pearl Harbor and Alcatraz address with use of a boat to transport visitors. At Alcatraz, a fee is associated with visitor boat transport, while at Pearl Harbor the service remains free of charge.

The accessibility issue in fact works towards a better understanding of the place. It allows the visitor a "transition zone" in which to leave the place they came from behind, before entering the dark tourism site, highlighting its significance. The transition zone facilitates reflection on the tragic events, both on the way to and from the site. The 9/11 World Trade Center visitor center in New York City features a remembrance room where visitors can record their thoughts and emotions which can then be displayed at the visitor center.⁶³ The remembrance room, considered in this context as part of a transition zone, allows visitors to further explore their personal responses to the visit, encouraging a deeper understanding of the event and respect for those who experienced it first-hand. Though the World Trade Center

⁶³ Sharpley and Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, 66.

visitor center does not have the same level of accessibility issues as other dark tourism sites, a transition zone is still seen as a necessary component of the visitor experience. Neither Pearl Harbor nor Alcatraz employs a 'remembrance room' in their interpretive program. In looking at accessibility issues as a transition zone, accessibility ceases to be a challenge, and instead becomes a benefit to interpreters; as does the existence of participants, or stakeholders in the tragic event.

Through facilitating survivors or witnesses speaking directly to visitors, the middle man is taken out, allowing a deeper understanding of the event from a human level. At the same time, listening to stakeholder's viewpoints requires that the wider context be explained, such as a video with a brief look at the site's history, as well as an explanation of political issues shaping the tragic events. Pearl Harbor and Alcatraz have very different stories to tell, each is unique, as are all dark tourism sites. Yet, once categorized as a dark tourism site, certain challenges to interpretation can be deciphered and programmatically addressed. These sites provide only two examples of how these challenges are approached.

CHAPTER IV

STATE OF HAWAI'I, ISLAND OF MOLOKA'I AND KALAUPAPA PENINSULA:

THE HISTORY, POLITICS, AND GEOGRAPHY THAT SHAPED HANSEN'S DISEASE

SEGREGATION POLICIES

To understand the case study site, it is necessary to have a brief overview of Hawaiian history including the island of Moloka'i and the Peninsula of Kalaupapa pictured in figure 12. Literature of Hawaiian history is extensive, covering every period from the time of Polynesian settlement on the islands in prehistoric time, to modern day society of the islands. Sources cover the creation, and peopling of the islands, to the development of a Hawaiian cultural landscape, and the pre-contact material culture of the islands. *The Ancient Hawaiian State: Origins of a Political Society*, by Robert J Hommon, *The Hawaiians of Old* by Betty Dunford , *Ancient Hawai'i* by Herb Kawainui Kane, *The Works of the People of Old* by Samuel Manaikalani Kamakau (translated by Mary Kawena Pukui, edited by Dorothy Barrere), and *How Chiefs Became Kings* by Patrick Vinton Kirch are a few of the titles that illustrate pre-contact Hawaiian culture.



Fig. 12. Kalaupapa Peninsula from the Air

The period of western contact to Hawai'i statehood is too extensive to begin to list here, specifically surrounding the period of monarchical overthrow. A number of monographs written near the time of statehood provide an overview of political history of the islands beginning with

western contact, and ending with statehood, including *Hawai'i a History: From Polynesian Kingdom to American Statehood*, by Ralph Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, and *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* by Gavan Daws. A number of more recent works analyze this period of time from a less Euro-American centric bias including *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, by Noenoe Silva, *Dismembering Lahui: a History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, by Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, and *Ua Mau Ke Ea: Sovereignty Endures, an Overview of the Legal and Political History of Hawai'i*, by David Keanu Sai. Hawaiian historiography remains dynamic, while the intent of *Sites of Suffering* is to provide a very cursory understanding of events contributing to the development of the Kalaupapa Peninsula as a dark tourism site.

The bias apparent in Daws' *Shoal of Time* and Kuykendall's *Hawai'i a History* is discussed by Silva in *Aloha Betrayed* as colonial historiography. Silva's work covers Native Hawaiian Resistance to the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, and describes how previous work on Hawaiian history overlooked this factor and tells the history of those in power.⁶⁴ Current historiography such as Silva's text, mark Daws' and Kuykendall 's work as out dated and biased in approach. *Sites of Suffering* utilizes these outdated sources only for dates of political events. Kalaupapa is a product of both geographic and political processes that shaped the land and segregation policies on the peninsula. Therefore, a brief understanding of the geographic and political history of the islands as a whole is necessary. Yet, in developing an interpretive program for the site, an in depth look into these processes would be imperative.

A volcanic island chain in the Pacific Ocean, Hawai'i is one of the most isolated places in the world. Polynesian voyagers traveled to Hawai'i in waves beginning before 1,900 years ago,

⁶⁴ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 5.

and developed a highly complex and stratified society based on land divisions, and the Kapu System, a system of regulations and religious rules.⁶⁵ Land division was based on territorial units known as ahupua'a, which consisted of sections of land running from the mountain to the ocean providing residents with access to all necessary resources.⁶⁶

Due to Hawai'i's isolation from other land masses, western contact took place relatively late in the context of western exploration. Captain Cook, the first westerner to document the islands arrived in 1778.⁶⁷ Hawai'i quickly became a center of trade in the Pacific, while Kamehameha the Great fought for control of the island chain, which came under his rule by 1810.⁶⁸ Just a decade following Kamehameha's conquest of all eight major islands in the chain, his successor and son, Kamehameha II, opened the islands up to protestant missionaries. Missionaries altered and condemned the Hawaiian culture, while teaching western skills such as reading and writing as the Hawaiian language had previously been an oral tradition.⁶⁹ The Hawaiian ali'i, or chiefs, formed a British style monarchy and sought international recognition

⁶⁵ Herb Kawainui Kane, *Ancient Hawai'i* (Captain Cook Hawai'i: The Kawainui Press, 1997), 12; Betty Dunford, and Aimee A. Kudlak, *The Hawaiians of Old* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Best Press, 1987), 38.

⁶⁶ Patrick Vinton Kirch, *How Chiefs Became Kings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 24; Dunford, *Hawaiians of Old*, 41.

⁶⁷ Ralph S. Kuykendall, and A. Grove Day, *Hawai'i: A History, from Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 14; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968), 1.

⁶⁸ Gavan Daws, *Honolulu The First Century: The Story of the Town to 1876* (Mutual Publishing: Honolulu, 2006), 14; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 29; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 43.

⁶⁹ Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 45; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 65.

which they received in the early 1840s, from the United States, France and Britain.⁷⁰

Increasingly, Hawai'i was an international port and a player in international politics.⁷¹

The spread of western influence and culture threatened that of the Hawaiians, in recognition of this, Kamehameha III attempted to ensure that Hawaiians could remain on their family lands with the policy of the Mahele in the 1840s, in which families could gain official ownership of their kuleana lands.⁷² From the time of ancient Hawaiians to today, land divisions continue to be highly contested, and became increasingly complex as western ideals of land ownership were forced on the islands. During the mid-nineteenth century, large commercial ventures developed which depended on the ownership of large tracts of lands. These ventures included the sale of sandalwood, raising livestock, sugarcane, pineapple, and the continued presence of the whaling industry.⁷³ The array of high intensity agricultural ventures demanded cheap labor, resulting in the immigration and import of thousands of laborers from all over the world including Japan, China, Portugal, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, forever changing the ethnic and cultural mixture of Hawai'i.⁷⁴

The commercial ventures did more than change the cultural outlook of the islands, but determined the political future of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The majority of land owners controlling Hawai'i's land were Euro-American business men. A reciprocity treaty between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States in the mid-1870s allowed Hawaiian sugar into

⁷⁰ David Keanu Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea Sovereignty Endures : an Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Pū'ā Foundation, 2011), 50; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 65, 73.

⁷¹ Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 85.

⁷² Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 124-125.

⁷³ Daws, *Honolulu*, 37; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 209; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 89, 93, 96.

⁷⁴ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 211.

American ports free of custom duties, ensuring that the Hawaiian economy's ties with the American market continued.⁷⁵ American men ran a large portion of the Hawaiian economy and in the following decade their influence on the government increased greatly with a constitution this group of landowners forced King Kalakaua to sign. The Bayonet Constitution transferred powers away from the King and Hawaiian citizens to large landowners.⁷⁶ Lili'uokalani, Kalakaua's sister and successor, attempted to reverse the effects of the Bayonet Constitution with a new constitution which would have given power back to the Hawaiian people. The group of landowners used this as an excuse to overthrow the monarchical government with the aid of the American military on January 17, 1893 and later imprison Lili'uokalani.⁷⁷

A group largely made up of Euro-American businessmen took control of the government and declared a republic with the express purpose of annexation to the United States.⁷⁸ The provisional government used race as a major argument for American annexation, claiming that the United States needed to protect the Euro-American inhabitants of the Islands.⁷⁹ At the same time, members of U.S congress argued against annexation due to the diversity of race and ethnicity in Hawaii.⁸⁰ Despite opposition, especially Native Hawaiian protest and resistance, "annexation" took place a few years following, in 1898. What was referred to as annexation in outdated historiography was accomplished through a joint resolution; in Keanu Sai's work *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, he discusses how U.S actions were in fact illegal in international law, and Hawaiian

⁷⁵ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 203; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 151.

⁷⁶ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 249; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 179; Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, 59.

⁷⁷ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 279; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 179.

⁷⁸ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 281; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 184.

⁷⁹ Eric T. Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S Imperialism 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 135.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 129, 151.

sovereignty endures, “in spite of the absence of a diplomatically recognized government since 1893.”⁸¹ Despite the injustice and illegality of the overthrow, the group of businessmen went forward with the provisional, and later the territorial government. Sanford Dole, a leader in the group who overthrew the government, served as the first governor of Hawai’i in 1900.⁸²

Control of land persisted as a central issue in Hawai’i politics throughout the territorial period. Prince Kuhio Kalaniana’ole, a nephew of Lili’uokalani, who was imprisoned during the aftermath of the overthrow, was elected as Hawai’i’s delegate to congress in 1902.⁸³ Continuing ali’i dedication to the welfare of Hawaiians, Prince Kuhio pushed for the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. The act passed in 1921, allowing persons who were 50 percent or more Hawaiian to apply for 99 year leases of small parcels of agricultural land.⁸⁴ Power status in Hawai’i was not altered, and the Euro-American business men managing sugar plantations, referred to as the big five, continued to control the majority of lands in the territory.⁸⁵

The Japanese bombing of military installations on O’ahu, particularly Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 further augmented the social and political atmosphere of the islands. Military interest in Pearl Harbor began in the nineteenth century, specifically with the 1876 reciprocity treaty that granted the United States rights to use Pearl Harbor. By the 1940s, Pearl Harbor served as a major military post. With the attack of December 7, the military population on the islands rose to 250,000, basically doubling the population in a matter of years, completely transforming the landscape. After the war, labor under the big five unionized, and an American

⁸¹ Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, 104; Love, *Race Over Imperialism*, 156.

⁸² Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 290; Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, 90; Kuykendall, *Hawai’i*, 194.

⁸³ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 189; Kuykendall, *Hawai’i*, 196.

⁸⁴ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 298; Kuykendall, *Hawai’i*, 208.

⁸⁵ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 312; Kuykendall, *Hawai’i*, 210.

of Japanese ancestry who had fought in the 442nd Daniel Inouye, became Hawai'i's democratic representative in Washington DC.⁸⁶ These types of changes characterized the territory as it gained statehood in 1959.⁸⁷

Since that time, extensive cultural changes have taken place. Tourism became Hawai'i's biggest business; the islands' economy relies on it, making Hawaiian culture a commodity itself.⁸⁸ Cultural revitalization began in the islands during the 1960s and 70s, reflecting the Native American cultural movements on the mainland. Native Hawaiian groups formed in support of a number of different causes. The Polynesian Voyaging Society, formed in 1973, sailed the *Hokule'a*, a double hauled canoe, across the Pacific utilizing ancient Hawaiian navigational techniques in 1976.⁸⁹ Another influential group, and a much more political one, was the Protect Kaho'olawe O'hana, formed in 1975, to reclaim the island of Kaho'olawe from the U.S military, which used the island for bombing practice.⁹⁰ These movements fermented the revitalization of Native Hawaiian culture in the islands, which led to the formation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 1978 whose mission is to perpetuate Hawaiian culture, while enhancing the lifestyle of Native Hawaiians, and protecting the entitlements of Native Hawaiians.⁹¹ Over a

⁸⁶ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 373, 383; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 279.

⁸⁷ Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, 107.

⁸⁸ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 394.

⁸⁹ Polynesian Voyaging Society: Hokule'a, "Mo'olelo: Our Story," Polynesian Voyaging Society, March 5 2012 <http://hokulea.org/moolelo/> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

⁹⁰ Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, Susan K. Serrano, and Koalani Laura Kaulukukui, "Environmental Justice for Indigenous Hawaiians: Reclaiming Land and Resources," *Natural Resources & Environment* 21, no. 3 (Winter 2007), 42.

⁹¹ Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea*, 115; Office of Hawai'ian Affairs, "About," State of Hawai'i. <http://www.oha.org/content/about> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

decade later, in 1993, President Clinton made an official apology to Native Hawaiians for the 1893 overthrow.

Hawai'i's political and economic history, tied closely to control of the land, provides context to the development of what is now Kalaupapa National Historical Park. Though the park lies on a peninsula seemingly cut off from topside Moloka'i by the pali (cliffs), it is still part of the island, and is influenced by the island's history. Much of the political history of the state took place in Honolulu, but played out on the outer islands such as Moloka'i, the island circled in red in figure 13. Though monographs focusing primarily on the history of Moloka'i are not as numerous as those concerning the general history of the islands, many sources exist to tell the story of the island. *Moloka'i in History: a Guide to the Resources* compiled and annotated by Marie D. Strazer, published in 2000, gives a short history of the island, and provides an annotated bibliography of all the sources, from books, to newspaper articles regarding the island's history, and where to find the sources. *Moloka'i: A Site Survey* by Catharine C. Summers remains one of the most comprehensive views of the island. From an archaeological perspective, Summers gives an overview of the formation of the island, and the social history of the island starting at the 13th century to the 20th century. Information can also be found as the focus of chapters such as chapter five "Moloka'i Nui a Hina, Great Moloka'i Child of Hina," from Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor's *Na Kua'aina: Living Hawaiian Culture*.

The majority of Moloka'i's population remains Native Hawaiian and rural, differentiating this island from others in the state. In 2012, the *Moloka'i Dispatch*, a local newspaper, published an article with relevant census data specific to the island. This 261



Fig. 13. State of Hawai'i (Bing Maps, Microsoft Corp)

square mile island had a population of 7,345 people, as of 2010. Over sixty percent of the island’s population is at least part Hawaiian, twice as high as other islands in the archipelago (except privately owned Niihau).⁹² According to Hawai’i State Land Use Districting Map (figure 14), a majority of the island remains agricultural.⁹³ This pattern of land use is an extension of the island’s development through the period of western influence.

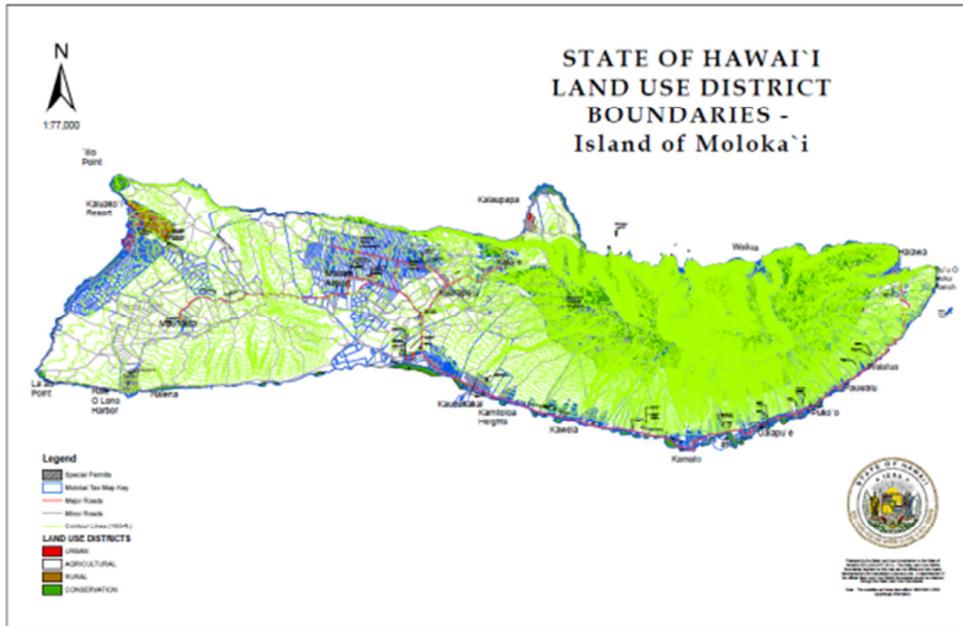


Fig. 14. State of Hawai’i Land Use District Boundaries Island of Moloka’i

Experiencing western contact within the same period as the rest of the islands, Moloka’i did not experience the same level of foreign occupancy, partly due to its lack of easily accessible harbors, and fresh water.⁹⁴ No large city developed, the island persisted as a close rural

⁹² Pukui, *Place Names*, 156; Catherine Cluett, “Tracking Moloka’i’s Population” *Moloka’i Dispatch*, March 7, 2012.

⁹³ State of Hawai’i, “State Land Use Districting,” Various Maps, http://Hawai'i.gov/dbedt/gis/maps/slud_map_for_doa_ag_conf2012_updated.pdf (Accessed 4/11/2013).

⁹⁴ Davianna McGregor, *Nā Kua’āina: Living Hawai’ian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 196; Summers, *Moloka’i*, 25.

community with Kaunakakai, located on the southern shore of the island, emerging as a population center with the construction of a wharf in the 1880s.⁹⁵

This island supported the first Hawaiian homesteaders with lands from the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921.⁹⁶ By the 1930s, many Hawaiian homesteaders signed contracts to allow their leased land to be used by large companies who themselves owned much of the land on Moloka'i.⁹⁷ Libby, McNeill, and Libby, a major pineapple company, established a plantation town on the west end of the island.⁹⁸ California Packing Corporation (now Del Monte) was another large pineapple firm operating on the island at the time.⁹⁹ Livestock served as another major industry. Moloka'i Ranch and Pu'u o Hoku Ranch, emerged as the two major land owners on Moloka'i. The entire population of the island was only 5,261 by 1970.¹⁰⁰

Moloka'i Ranch began to switch from ranching to the luxury resort market, and was sold to a foreign company in the 1980s.¹⁰¹ By the 1980s and 1990s, the pineapple, ranching, and luxury resort industries were no longer successful, and unemployment reached twenty percent by 1987.¹⁰² Moloka'i Ranch's resort was shut down in 2000, and attempts at introducing

⁹⁵ Maui County, *Moloka'i Community Plan* (Kaunakakai, Moloka'i: 2001), 5.

⁹⁶ Summers, *Moloka'i*, 25; Kuykendall, *Hawai'i*, 108.

⁹⁷ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 299.

⁹⁸ Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 299; Summers, *Moloka'i*, 25; Marie D. Strazer, *Moloka'i in History: A Guide to the Resources* (Honolulu, State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 2000), 17.

⁹⁹ Strazer, *Moloka'i*, 17; Summers, *Moloka'i*, 25.

¹⁰⁰ Pukui, *Place Names*, 156.

¹⁰¹ Strazer, *Moloka'i*, 20.

¹⁰² McGregor, *Na Kua Aina*, 244.

increased tourism on the island have been met with opposition by local residents.¹⁰³ As of 2012, Moloka'i Ranch still owns a large percentage of the island, as does Pu'u O Hoku Ranch, continuing the trend of non-local large tract ownership of land in Hawai'i.

Despite the economic difficulties of the island, Hawaiian culture remains strong. Local residents largely oppose tourism, though a limited number of tourists do visit. On GoHawai'i.com, a website sponsored by Hawai'i Tourism Authority, markets Moloka'i as "Hawaiian by Nature." Other sites use similar terminology to describe the island's culture.¹⁰⁴ Superficial as many of these claims are, the island has always been regarded as religiously and culturally intense. It was "the training center of the most powerful kahuna or priests in sorcery in all of Hawai'i."¹⁰⁵ The island is also known in myth and mo'olelo as Moloka'i Pule O'o, Moloka'i of powerful prayer, and Moloka'i Nui a Hina, Great Moloka'i, child of Hina.¹⁰⁶ This sense of cultural intensity, interpreted as the "manifestation of...power in the world of humans", or mana in Hawaiian, extends to the peninsula of Kalaupapa.¹⁰⁷ Created following the Wailau slide, a geologic event that split the north eastern portion of Moloka'i off, forging the highest sea cliffs in the world, Kalaupapa is a product of "a series of rejuvenated eruptions" that took place roughly 300,000 years ago.¹⁰⁸ Kauhako crater rises 400 feet above sea level with the peninsula

¹⁰³ Strazer, *Moloka'i*, 20; Allison Schaefer, "Moloka'i: Battle for Survival," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, January 14, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ Go Hawai'i, "Moloka'i: Hawaiian by Nature," Hawaiian Tourism Authority, <http://www.goHawai'i.com/Moloka'i> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

¹⁰⁵ McGregor, *Na Kua Aina*, 192.

¹⁰⁶ Pukui, *Place Names*, 156.

¹⁰⁷ Kirch, *Chiefs*, 38.

¹⁰⁸ Richard W. Hazlett, and Donald W. Hyndman, *Roadside Geology of Hawai'i* (Missoula, Mont: Mountain Press Pub, 1996), 193.

spreading out towards the ocean as a “relatively flat land mass” encompassing about 5 square miles.¹⁰⁹ The peninsula itself actually includes three ahupua’a; Kalawao, Makanalua, and Kalaupapa.¹¹⁰ Kalawao ahupua’a encompasses the eastern portion of the peninsula, Makanalua, the center portion, and Kalaupapa ahupua’a, the western portion. The entire peninsula is commonly referred to as Kalaupapa, meaning “flat-leaf”, though the Kalaupapa ahupua’a encompasses only the western section.¹¹¹ *Sites of Suffering* utilizes the common terminology in referring to the whole peninsula by the place name of Kalaupapa circled in red in figure 15.

The geological forces that created the unique land form of Kalaupapa, also created one of the most beautiful places in the world. A relatively flat peninsula below the towering pali (cliffs), surrounded by deep blue sea, and untouched by modern urbanization, Kalaupapa’s beauty, and it’s tragic history as a place of forced isolation, captures many people’s imaginations. Made famous through such stories as “Koolau the Leper” by Jack London, and more recently Alan Brennert’s *Moloka’i*, fiction attempts to capture and romanticize historic events. Yet, every degree of human emotion was experienced on this landscape throughout its varied history.

Extensive sources exist to tell the full history of the Hansen’s disease settlement. Documents can be found in the State Archives, and the Kalaupapa Archives, as well as various private collections.



Fig. 15. Island of Moloka’i (Bing Maps, Microsoft Corp)

¹⁰⁹ Hazlett, *Roadside Geology*, 193; Goodwin, *A Kalaupapa Sweet Potato Farm*, 21; NPS, “Natural Features and Ecosystems,” Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/naturescience/naturalfeaturesandecosystems.htm> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

¹¹⁰ Summer, *Moloka’i*, 188.

¹¹¹ Goodwin, *A Kalaupapa Sweet Potato Farm*, 27.

Articles and monographs on the subject are numerous including historical texts and recently published works. It would be impossible to list all the literature written on the subject, or to write a complete history of the peninsula in this thesis. Instead, *Sites of Suffering* utilizes a handful of sources to give an overview of the periods of history which are necessary chapters in conveying an authentic story of the peninsula.

The unique geological formation of the peninsula sets the background for an understanding of its isolation. Surrounded on three sides by the ocean, and the steeply rising pali to the south, access to the peninsula has always been, and continues to be difficult. The sharply inclining trail leading from topside Moloka'i, down to the peninsula is a roughly 1800 feet drop.¹¹² Despite difficulties of accessibility, the peninsula followed Native Hawaiian settlement and land use patterns. Sources covering this period of Kalaupapa history are limited. Small sections of texts discuss the pre-1866 population of Kalaupapa, and archeological reports also provide clues to habitation patterns.

Gary Somer's work *Kalaupapa, More Than a Leprosy Settlement*, published in 1985, gives an overview of the peninsula prior to 1866, as does Mark Mccoy's work "The Lands of Hina: An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka'i Island, Hawai'i," published in 2005. In the 1830s, missionaries quoted the population of the peninsula at 2,700 which may have included some surrounding areas.¹¹³ Largely agricultural, sweet potatoes served as the major crop, providing for increased demand as a result of the

¹¹² Ibid, 21.

¹¹³ Gary F. Somers, *Kalaupapa, More Than a Leprosy Settlement: Archeology at Kalaupapa National Historical Park* (Tucson, Ariz: National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1985), 5.

California gold rush in the late 1840s.¹¹⁴ Archeological evidence remains to tell the story of the Kama'aina (original inhabitants) from settlement period in the 1100s (earliest evidence found) to the 1900s.¹¹⁵ Following the area's designation as a Hansen's disease segregation settlement, Kama'aina were forced to relocate, often to lands on topside Moloka'i, up until the turn of the century.¹¹⁶

The year 1866 marked the beginning of Kalaupapa's century long history as a landscape of forced isolation. King Kamehameha V, who held lands, a home, and brought livestock, to Moloka'i, signed "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, 1865."¹¹⁷ The act enabled the Board of Health to designate Kalaupapa as a Hansen's disease settlement, and confine persons found to have the disease. In effect, this act criminalized those with the disease, setting in motion policies that governed and shaped a landscape, as well as the lives of the nearly 8,000 individuals.¹¹⁸

The National Register Nomination for Kalaupapa written in the 1970s, and Linda Greene's comprehensive historic resource study *Exile in Paradise, the Isolation of Hawai'i's Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865 to Present*, of 1985, both break Kalaupapa's history into shorter periods of development. Greene's first historical period

¹¹⁴ Somers, *Kalaupapa*, 12; Mark D. McCoy, "The Lands of Hina: An Archaeological Overview and Assessment of Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka'i" (Honolulu: Pacific Cooperative Studies Unit, University of Hawai'i Manoa, 2005), 34.

¹¹⁵ McCoy, "Lands of Hina," 33-34.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 34.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix A for "An Act To Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," Kingdom of Hawai'i, 1865; Angela Fa'anunu and Mindy Simonson "Cultural Impact Assessment for the Kaunakakai Ferry Systems Improvement Project, Kaunakakai Wharf, Kaunakakai Ahupua'a, Moloka'i District, Moloka'i Island, TMK: [2] 5-3-001:00," (Cultural Surveys Hawai'i: Kailua, O'ahu 2011), 22.

¹¹⁸ NPS, "Isolation of Hansen's Disease," Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/kalaupapa_settlement.htm (Accessed 4/12/2013).

titled Kalawao Settlement/Pioneer Period, covers 1866 to 1873, in which the first group of patients sent into isolation lived on the Kalawao side of the peninsula, and the arrival of Father Damien (now Saint Damien) in 1873.¹¹⁹ The second period Greene identifies as the Kalawao Settlement period from 1874-1900 describes religious and other infrastructure built, institutional organization, and the arrival of Mother Marianne, recently canonized.¹²⁰ The settlement's move to the western portion of the peninsula, referred to as Kalaupapa, is detailed in the period Greene calls Pioneer Kalaupapa Settlement 1900-1929, and the further development of the Kalaupapa settlement is titled Kalaupapa Revitalization 1931-1938.¹²¹ The last period described in Greene's Historic Resource Study is the continued expansion of the Kalaupapa Settlement, the end of the mandatory isolation policy in 1969, and the designation of the peninsula as a National Historical Park.¹²² Greene's work provides an in depth look at the significance of the built environment, and changes on the landscape throughout the history of the peninsula as a segregation settlement.

Recent literature provides an understanding of how imperialism, racism, economics, religion, and contemporary medical knowledge influenced treatment of Hansen's disease patients. This work includes Pennie Moblo's articles "Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai'i's Reform Party," and "Blessed Damien of Moloka'i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth,"

¹¹⁹ Linda W. Greene, *Historic Resource Study: Exile in Paradise, the isolation of Hawai'i's Leprosy Victims and development of Kalaupapa Settlement* (Kalaupapa, Moloka'i. Hawai'i: Branch of Planning, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, The Department of the Interior, 1985), 49-91.

¹²⁰ Greene, *Historic Resource Study*, 93-289; Jen Christensen, "Mother Marianne becomes and American Saint" CNN Health, October 22, 2012 <http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/20/health/saint-marianne-cope> (Accessed March 1, 2013).

¹²¹ Greene, *Historic Resource Study*, 289-513.

¹²² *Ibid*, 523-567.

both published in the 1990s. *Sites of Suffering* also looks to *Ma'i Lepera: Disease and Displacement Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, a recently published work by Kerri A. Inglis for context while using Michelle Moran's *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States*, published in 2007, and Zachary Gussow's *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health: Social Policy in Chronic Disease Control*, published in 1989, for a public health point of view. The stigma of leprosy dates back to the middle ages, the aversion and fear of this disease instilled in western culture through the bible, persisted as western exploration introduced western disease to the "New World" including the Pacific. Gussow and Moran address why this stigma resulted in a harsh and inhuman isolation policy in Hawai'i compared to other places in the world.¹²³

A historic text published in 1916, *Path of the Destroyer: A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and thirty years into the means by which it has been spread*, by Arthur Mouritz, a physician to the settlement, gives a historical, Euro American perspective, on the disease in Hawai'i. In it, Mouritz explores the possible introduction of the disease to the islands in the 1840s by Chinese laborers.¹²⁴ What this text really reveals is the lack of knowledge concerning the disease, regarded as highly contagious at the time, (which is now known to be false),¹²⁵ and the extremely racist view that it was the Hawaiian patient's fault if they contracted the disease not known to the islands prior to Euro American influence. The preface of Mouritz' text simply states "He (the Hawaiian) is the weak link in our chain of national health defense".¹²⁶ Some

¹²³ Zachary Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health: Social Policy in Chronic Disease Control* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 4, 19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 93.

¹²⁵ World Health Organization. "Leprosy Fact Sheet." WHO, 2013. <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs101/en/> (Accessed 3/2/2013).

¹²⁶ Arthur Albert St. M Mouritz, *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: A. Mouritz, 1916), 9.

doctors at the time hypothesized that Hansen’s disease was the fourth stage of syphilis, and therefore the hygiene, diet, and sexual habits of Hawaiians caused their susceptibility to the disease, and had nothing to do with the built up immunity that westerners had to the disease.¹²⁷ In the years 1881 to 1885, 778 patients found to have the disease were segregated; over 97% of those patients were Native Hawaiian.¹²⁸ The diagnosis became a moral judgment; the terminology surrounding treatment of patients more closely resembled that of prisoners. “Suspect” was the term applied to those with signs of possibly having the disease, once effective drugs were employed in the 1940s, patients had the chance to get “paroled.”¹²⁹ Moblo further describes the terminology by referring to those patients at Kalaupapa as “inmates”, and those found to have the disease as “condemned.”¹³⁰

Members of the Hawaiian Government identified leprosy as a threat to island society.¹³¹ Writings such as those found in Mouritz’s *Path of the Destroyer* highlight the perception of Euro-Americans in the age of American imperialism as a disease of inferior people that they had to solve with their superior western ways.¹³² The *Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy*, passed in 1865.¹³³ In the context of American history, this was a year in which the U.S was embroiled in a

¹²⁷ Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 95; Pennie Moblo, “Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai’i’s Reform Party” *The Journal of Pacific History* (34, No. 1 1999: 75-89), 80.

¹²⁸ Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 96.

¹²⁹ Michelle Therese Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 57, 50, 184.

¹³⁰ Moblo, “Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai’i’s Reform Party,” 83-84.

¹³¹ Kerri A. Inglis, *Ma’i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2013), 35.

¹³² Moblo, “Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai’i’s Reform Party,” 88.

¹³³ An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy, 1865 (See Appendix A)

war regarding race, making racial issues a major concern in international considerations. Thus Euro-American influences in the islands encouraged isolation as a representation of imperialist control; specifically in a Kingdom that would be perceived by members of the U.S Congress as too racially different than those in power in the U.S to become a territory.¹³⁴

A decade later, the reciprocity treaty passed, ensuring close economic ties with the United States. Furthermore, following the Bayonet constitution of 1887, in which Euro-American business exercised an even larger influence on the Hawaiian Government, an *Act to Facilitate the Segregation of Lepers* passed, making it a misdemeanor punishable by law to assist or help a “suspect.”¹³⁵ In an era in which racial perceptions had a large influence on American foreign policy, Euro-American annexationists feared that Hansen’s disease would negatively affect Hawai’i’s chance for annexation to the United States; the perception of the disease as a result of race and culture, thus supported the continued strict enforcement of the segregation policy.¹³⁶

Policies enacted in the late nineteenth century shaped how the history of the peninsula developed into the next century, and how its history would be perceived in a general narrative of Hawaiian history. As mentioned previously, Saint Damien emerged as the most well-known figure in Kalaupapa history.¹³⁷ A statue of Damien stands in front of the state capital in Honolulu illustrating how his sacrifice resonated with the state and the world (see figure 16). Yet, Damien was not the only person to make sacrifices for the patient population. In Pennie Moblo’s article “Blessed Damien of Moloka’i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth,” Moblo explores the figure of Damien as a martyr myth in which Damien as a white man from the west serves as the

¹³⁴ Love, *Race over Imperialism*, 151; Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 3.

¹³⁵ Moblo, “Leprosy, Politics, and the Rise of Hawai’i’s Reform Party,” 83.

¹³⁶ Love, *Race over Imperialism*, 25-26; Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 129.

¹³⁷ Inglis, *Ma’i Lepera*, 4.

one civilizing agent in a savage land.¹³⁸ As recently as 1999 this view of the Damien narrative was confirmed by the Hollywood film “Moloka’i: The Story of Father Damien” directed by Paul Cox. Moblo states “the focus on Damien eclipses the active role played by Hawaiians, and preserves a colonially biased history.”¹³⁹ In this context, Damien’s large role in the Kalaupapa narrative continues to give a colonially, and racially biased view of events in the development of the settlement. Osorio summarizes this argument in *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, saying “one reason that father Damien’s example was and is so celebrated in Hawai’i is because of the special abhorrence that Christian haole had, not just for the disease, but for its victims.”¹⁴⁰ The narrative of Kalaupapa retains a racial and colonial overtone as perpetuated by the Damien myth. Damien died of Hansen’s disease prior to the turn of the century, yet his story has a large influence on how Kalaupapa is portrayed.¹⁴¹

By 1900, Kalaupapa’s population was 1,177.¹⁴² At this time, the diagnosis of Hansen’s disease meant a lifetime sentence of incarceration.¹⁴³ The new territorial



Fig. 16. Statue of Damien at State Capital

¹³⁸ Pennie Moblo, “Blessed Damien of Moloka’i: The Critical Analysis of Contemporary Myth” *Ethnohistory* (44, No. 4 1997: 691-726), 692.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 715.

¹⁴⁰ Jon Kamakawiwo’ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 177.

¹⁴¹ Gussow, *Leprosy, Racism, and Public Health*, 105.

¹⁴² McGregor, *Na Kua Aina*, 204.

¹⁴³ Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 105.

government increased the institutional procedures and infrastructure on the peninsula, while vamping up “surveillance” for possible “suspects” across the rest of the territory.¹⁴⁴ Hansen’s disease presented a threat to annexation, and later, to statehood as perceived by those people in positions of power.¹⁴⁵ In 1930, Kalaupapa’s population was down to 606, 66% of which were Native Hawaiian.¹⁴⁶ During the war years, this number went up. The Board of Health sent patients who were being held at Kalihi Hospital in Honolulu to Kalaupapa, as a safer alternative than remaining in Honolulu after the attack on Pearl Harbor.¹⁴⁷

During the war years, new drugs, found effective against Hansen’s disease, were being tested in the U.S, but did not make it to Hawai’i until the end of the war. Sulfone drugs changed the lives of many patients, and increased the quality of life.¹⁴⁸ Sulfone drugs allowed patients the opportunity of “parole” in which they could leave Kalaupapa.¹⁴⁹ Prior to statehood, the Board of Health officially changed the terminology of leprosy to Hansen’s disease, yet did not lift mandatory isolation until 1969.¹⁵⁰ Throughout the period of forced isolation, patients were active in speaking out for their rights, and this did not change in the years following the end of mandatory isolation. At the request of patients, Kalaupapa became a National Historic Park in

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 191.

¹⁴⁶ McGregor, *Na Kua Aina*, 224.

¹⁴⁷ Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 186.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 181.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 184.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 195, 206.

1980, with the express purposes of preserving and interpreting Kalaupapa, while maintaining the community for patients who wish to reside there.¹⁵¹

The Kalaupapa peninsula continues to be a politically contested landscape. Looking at its 100 year history as a segregation settlement, the politics of the Hawaii including racial issues, imperialistic issues, and economic issues shaped the policies of Kalaupapa. Cause and effects of policy are easy to trace, human experiences in response to policies is not always so easy. Basically labeled as criminals for contracting the disease, the nearly 8,000 individuals sent to Kalaupapa throughout the 100 year history, each had a unique experience, which varied drastically in response to the changes that took place in Kalaupapa and the world throughout the century. Yet, the injustice of forced isolation from family and friends is a continued theme. Specific examples, such as the policy to remove babies born in Kalaupapa from their parents, offer insights on how devastating internment on the peninsula could be.¹⁵² Medical procedures doctors instituted, such as fumigating persons and belongings, persisting after they were found unnecessary, add to a long list of dehumanizing processes enacted on individuals.¹⁵³ Memoirs, such as *No Footprints in the Sand* by Henry Kalalahilimoku Nahaielua, and *Olivia: My Life in Exile in Kalaupapa* by Olivia Breitha, as well as interviews with patients published in works such as *Ma'i Ho'oka'awale: The Separating Sickness*, and numerous interviews held in Kalaupapa Archives are the only way to really understand what each person suffered and overcame. New literature such as Kerri Inglis' *Ma'i Lepera*, and Anwei Skinsnes Law's *Kalaupapa a Collective Memory* also look to the voice of the patients themselves, past and present, to tell the history of the peninsula.

¹⁵¹ NPS, *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling Legislation*, Public Law 96-565, U.S. Department of the Interior, December 22, 1980 (See Appendix B).

¹⁵² Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 148.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 188.

This chapter is far from a complete history of the Hawaiian Islands, Moloka'i, or the peninsula. Instead its purpose is to provide the reader with an understanding that though Kalaupapa is physically isolated, its development is directly correlated to political pressures of the state, and the experiences of the patients should be considered in this context. Overall, Kalaupapa's history is an extreme example of human rights injustice influenced by general ignorance, imperialism, racism, limited medical knowledge, and economic concerns, which lasted over 100 years, overseen by leaders of the Kingdom of Hawaii, provisional government, the Territory of Hawai'i, and the State of Hawai'i. An incredible injustice was inflicted upon thousands of people, who showed how strong the human spirit can really be, to live their lives with joy despite the ignorance, and prejudice that mandated where and how they were to live. This is a chapter in Hawaiian and American history which forces us to examine our own prejudices, and what influences these prejudices and biases. These ideas can prove difficult to convey to a mass audience unfamiliar with a specific site, yet these are also the most important stories to convey and to remember. The field of dark tourism provides a context which considers the interpretive challenges at sites with incredibly complex histories such as Kalaupapa.

CHAPTER V

“EXCEPT FOR THE HISTORY AND CULTURE, IT IS AN IDYLIC PLACE.”¹⁵⁴

INTERPRETATION AT KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Mandated isolation at Kalaupapa ended in 1969; the patient’s social activism for their rights, throughout Kalaupapa’s history, and particularly through the 1970s and 1980s, enacted changes in the living conditions, and general atmosphere of the peninsula. In 1976, the peninsula, shown in figure 17, was designated as a National Landmark, and four years later, became a National Historical Park.¹⁵⁵ National Park management was introduced at a time in Kalaupapa’s history that was

characterized by an aging population.

The peninsula’s highest population during its history as a segregated landscape occurred in 1890, when the population was 1,213 which included everyone living on the peninsula.¹⁵⁶

Today the official patient resident



Fig. 17. Kalaupapa Peninsula Looking North (Bing Maps, Microsoft Corporation)

¹⁵⁴ Eleonora Papadogiannaki, Yen Le, and Steven J. Hollenhorst, “Kalaupapa National Historical Park Visitor Study: Fall 2010/Winter 2011” (Fort Collins, Colo: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Natural Resource Stewardship and Science, 2011), Visitor Response to question 18; Is there anything else you and your personal group would like to tell us about your visit to Kalaupapa NHP.

¹⁵⁵ NPS, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Kalaupapa and Kalawao Settlements* (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2011), 3, 40.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 34.

population is seventeen (March, 2013), though many patient residents split their time between Kalaupapa, and other islands. In addition to the patient resident community, National Park Service, and State workers live on the peninsula.¹⁵⁷

The recent NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory provides an idea of what living on the peninsula today looks like. Residents of the peninsula live in the Kalaupapa settlement on the western portion of the peninsula. Structures in the Kalaupapa settlement today continue to reflect construction and improvements that took place in the 1930s in response to territorial Governor Lawrence Judd's attention to conditions in Kalaupapa.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore "the settlement contains boat landings, a road network (for cars), several neighborhoods, single-family patient housing, dormitories and hospitals for those requiring more assistance, churches, convents, community recreational facilities, cemeteries, dairies, slaughterhouses, and a light industrial area."¹⁵⁹ As a distinct county, and settlement, images of the current road map of the settlement can be found on popular map services such as Bing Maps as in figure 18.

Patients were not, and are not, inactive members of their community. In fact, patient residents are a part of a dynamic community affected by regulations unique to the situation.

¹⁵⁷ Kristin Jackson, "Exploring the Tragic Beauty of Hawai'i's Remote Kalaupapa," *The Seattle Times*, February 9, 2013, http://seattletimes.com/html/travel/2020308049_kalaupapaHawai'ixml.html (Accessed 3/8/2013).

¹⁵⁸ *Cultural Landscapes Study*, 36.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 2.

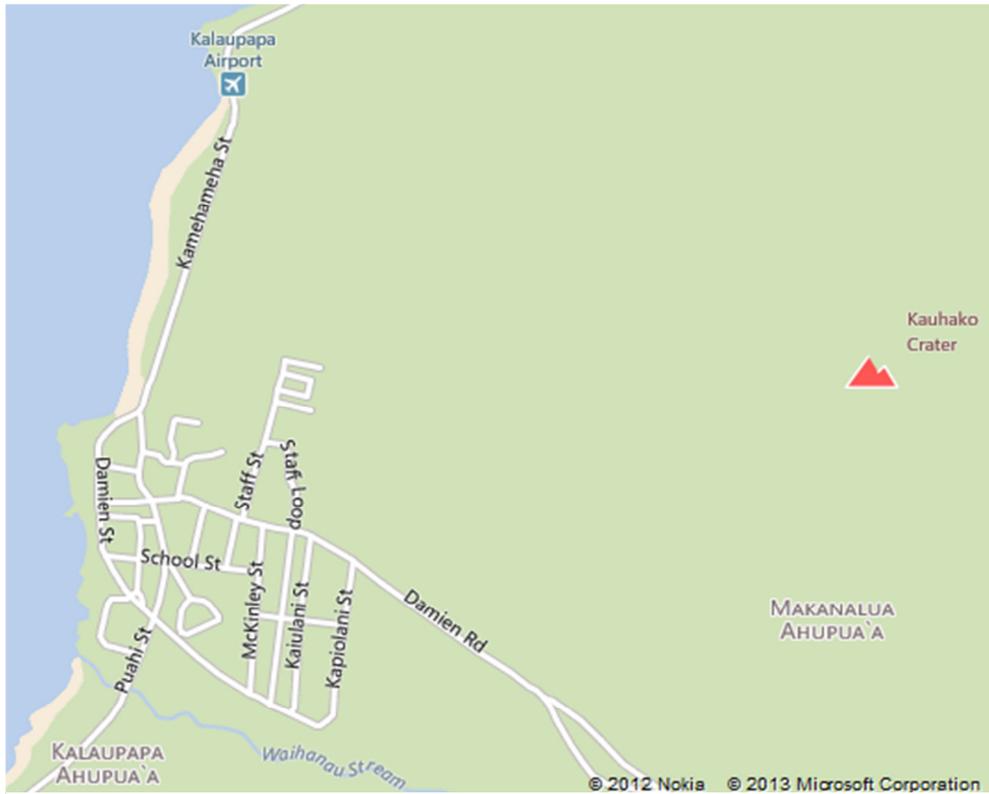


Fig. 18. Kalaupapa Settlement (Bing Maps, Microsoft Corp)

Hawai'i State Revised Statutes (HRS) Chapter 326 covers Hansen's Disease, and the state obligations towards the patients, which includes care of patients for the remainder of their lives.¹⁶⁰ The state government, through the Department of Health (DOH) provides healthcare, housing, meals, and general landscape maintenance for patients living at Kalaupapa. The state also regulates the number of visitors allowed on the peninsula at any one time.¹⁶¹ Care of patients is the focus of the state's presence, while the principle purposes of the National Park Service presence is outlined in the 1980 enabling legislation, public law 96-565. Section 102 of the document lists three principle purposes of the park. The first is to preserve and interpret the

¹⁶⁰ State of Hawai'i. Hawai'i Revised Statute (HRS) 326 Hansen's Disease, §326-1.5 *Patients Living in the Community; Policy on Service*, http://www.capitol.Hawai'i.gov/hrscurrent/Vol06_Ch0321-0344/HRS0326/ (Accessed 3/2/2013).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

park, the second is to provide a well maintained community for the patients, and third is to ensure that patients and Native Hawaiians are managing the preservation and interpretation to the extent possible.¹⁶²

Though the state and NPS are the major agencies present on the peninsula, NPS owns very little of the land acreage. The NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory clarifies the ownership of the land. NPS owns the 23 acres of land surrounding the lighthouse, while the majority of the acreage is owned by state agencies. The Department of Transportation manages the airport, the Department of Land and Natural Resources controls the waters and shoreline surrounding three sides of the peninsula, and the Department of Agriculture maintains the water diversion system. Department of Hawaiian Homelands owns the western portion of the peninsula and leases it for use by the National Park.¹⁶³ The pattern of land ownership is illustrated in figure 19 showing state ownership on the island of Moloka'i. As the map clearly states, the ownership is split between the State and the Department of Hawaiian Homelands.

Agreements between NPS and the previously listed state agencies are in addition to agreements with the Protestant and Catholic churches.¹⁶⁴ Land management agencies serve as only a portion of the stakeholder's with an interest in the future of Kalaupapa, creating an intensely complex position for NPS in planning for the future.

As the age of patient residents in Kalaupapa increase, land management agencies must plan for a future without patients, ultimately changing the purpose of their presence on the

¹⁶² See Full *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling Legislation*, Public Law 96-565 in Appendix B.

¹⁶³ State of Hawai'i, General Lease #231, Department of Hawai'iian Homelands, 1992, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/parkmgmt/upload/hhclease.pdf> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

¹⁶⁴ NPS, "Park Planning," Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/parkmgmt/planning.htm> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

peninsula. The State of Hawai'i Department of Health's (DOH) purpose in maintaining the peninsula focuses on care of patients, therefore, NPS must plan for a future without the DOH. Currently NPS is in the process of drafting a General Management Plan (GMP) which proposes to guide the park for the next 15-20 years.¹⁶⁵ How NPS purposes to fulfill one of their principle purposes of interpretation should appear in this document to be published in mid 2013.

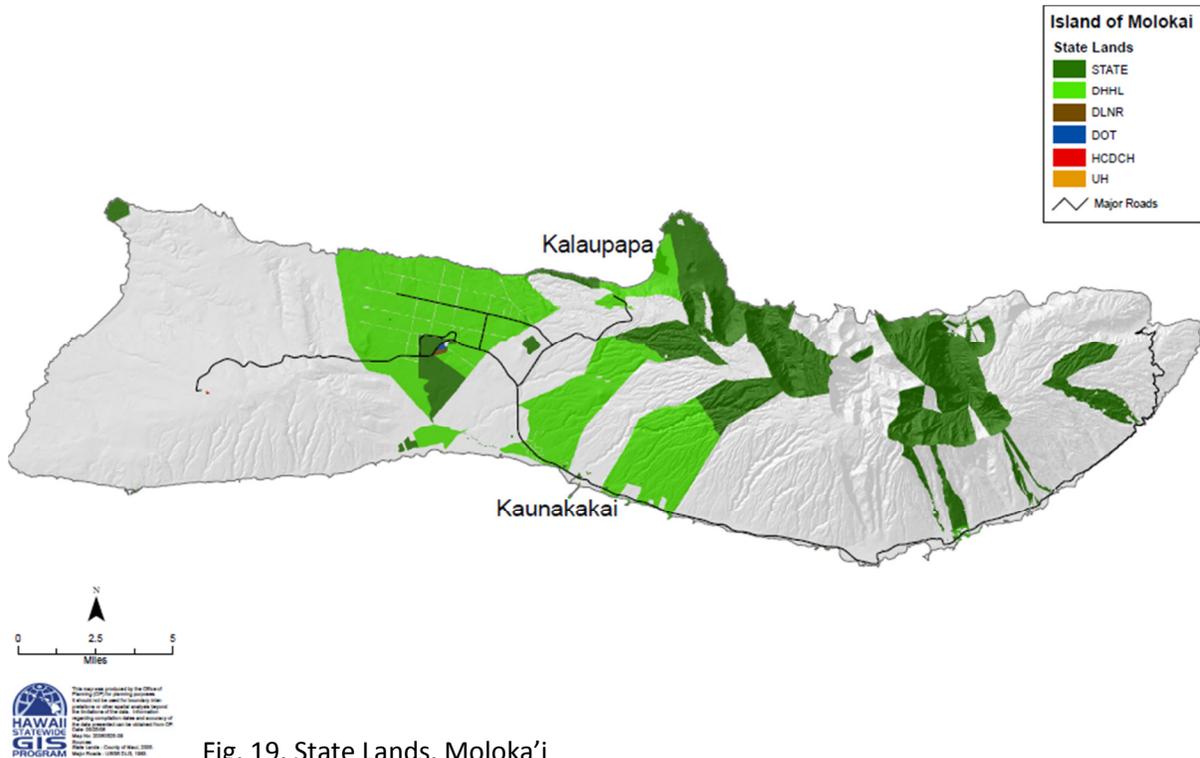


Fig. 19. State Lands, Moloka'i

Hansen's Disease consistently affected the Hawaiian population of Hawai'i at a higher rate than other ethnicities resulting in the population of Kalaupapa remaining largely Hawaiian throughout its period as a segregated settlement.¹⁶⁶ As Ishmael W. Stagner II, Hawaiian oral history scholar, states in the BYU documentary, *Soul of Kalaupapa*, "there isn't a Hawaiian family today...that is not related to more than 8,000 people that went to Kalaupapa during the period

¹⁶⁵ NPS, "General Management Plan," Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/parkmgmt/gmp.htm> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

¹⁶⁶ McGregor, *Na Kua Aina*, 224.

of its major history.”¹⁶⁷ Through this lens, it is easy to understand how deeply people of Hawai’i feel about Kalaupapa reflected in the responses to NPS scoping. NPS outreach in the GMP planning process started in 2009 and included public meetings, newsletters, and comments under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). The written comments, available on the National Park’s “Planning, Environment, and Public Comment” webpage largely repeat the idea that Kalaupapa should stay undeveloped, meaning that the atmosphere of the settlement should be preserved, and the past respected.¹⁶⁸ Ka ‘Ohana O’Kalaupapa, a non for profit agency with a mission to “promote the value and dignity of every individual exiled to Kalaupapa since 1866”, produced a position paper outlining their expectations for the future, specifically in response to the NPS GMP process.¹⁶⁹

An entire section of the position paper focuses on interpretation, citing it as one of the park’s principle purposes. They stress the importance of the voice of the patients through oral histories, the peninsula as a Hawaiian place, and the potential for a “walking museum” or walking tour of the settlement. The position paper also discusses the need for those with a history at Kalaupapa to be in charge of planning in collaboration with Ka ‘Ohana and other stakeholders. Two specific areas in which Ka ‘Ohana had suggestions for NPS within the Interpretation section consist of a number of buildings in need of preservation work, and the

¹⁶⁷ Ethan Vincent, *Soul of Kalaupapa*, Documentary, BYU-TV, <http://www.byutv.org/watch/5f63953e-de11-457b-99b7-c07b73eb084b> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

¹⁶⁸ NPS, “Planning Environment and Public Comment: Public Scoping Written Comments,” Kalaupapa NHP, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?parkID=313&projectID=24883&documentID=31143> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

¹⁶⁹ Ka ‘Ohana O’Kalaupapa, “The Ohana Mission Statement,” Ka ‘Ohana O’Kalaupapa, <http://www.kalaupapaohana.org/mission.htm> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

need to update wayside exhibits.¹⁷⁰ Currently, the only way for general visitors to enter the settlement is through Damien Tours, a patient run private company which sponsors visitors for a four hour tour of the peninsula. National Park interpretation of the site is largely limited to the wayside exhibits, created early on in Kalaupapa's history as a National Park, and placed throughout the peninsula.

Today, Damien Tours remains the only company that accommodates visitors to the park. Other tour companies did exist, such as Ike's Scenic Tours, in the 1980s.¹⁷¹ During that era, Richard Marks led Damien Tours, giving visitors a patient perspective of Kalaupapa. Of the two tour companies Damien Tours, is now run by Ohana of Richard Marks.¹⁷² Tours, limited to one per day, vary in presentation dependent upon the tour guide; though a regular route through the peninsula is maintained. The community is aware of the times and places the tour stops.

Carolyn Strange's article "Symbiotic Commemoration: The Stories of Kalaupapa" published in 2004 addresses interpretation at Kalaupapa National Park as a dark tourism site. Strange explores the representation of both Saint Damian and the story of Kalaupapa through Damien Tours, "the NPS website, the touristic and religious representations of the site, and the Center for the Voices of Humanity in Seneca Falls, New York."¹⁷³ In the article, Strange rejects Moblo's argument of Damien's narrative as a colonially biased representation, and states that

¹⁷⁰ Ka 'Ohana O'Kalaupapa, "Interpretation: Sharing the Legacy of Kalaupapa," Ka 'Ohana Position Paper, <http://www.kalaupapaohana.org/position.html> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

¹⁷¹ Henry Kalalahilimoku Nalaelua, and Sally-Jo Keala-o-Ānuenu Bowman, *No Footprints in the Sand: A Memoir of Kalaupapa* (Honolulu, HI: Watermark Pub, 2006), 148.

¹⁷² "Kalaupapa Memories" Photos by Wayne Levin, words by Anwei Law Skinsnes and Valerie Monson. (Excerpt in Honolulu Magazine August 2012: 138-143 continued on page 150-153), 142.

¹⁷³ Carolyn Strange, "Symbiotic Commemoration: The Stories of Kalaupapa" *History and Memory* (16, No. 1 2004: 86-117), 89.

the description of Kalaupapa's history as multilayered and contested that *Sites of Suffering's* utilizes would be more appropriately termed as symbiotic.¹⁷⁴ Strange argues that a symbiotic relationship exists between the past and its representation in the present saying that "the relationship between the larger-than-life Damien and the residents' wish for greater public awareness of their historic mistreatment and capacity for survival is mutually beneficial."¹⁷⁵ Her argument in support of Damien's story's predominance depends largely on a patient led tour, the article, published in 2004 describes a site visit with Damien Tours which was led by Richard Marks who was able to provide a patient perspective.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, patients no longer lead tours. An absence of patient's voice and perspective limits the connection visitors are able to make with the experience patients had on the peninsula. Though the stops made on the tour remain the same, the Damien Tour experience is very different without Richard Marks.

Sites of Suffering describes the tour that took place on Saturday July 21st, 2012, which began around 9:30 am as everyone arrived from the mule ride and from the hike at the trail head on the west side of the peninsula. Visitors that arrived by airplane were already on the tour bus, an old school bus. Visitors lined up to get on the bus once they pay the tour. Once everyone was situated on the bus, the tour guide stood up and spoke briefly on the geological and National Park history on the peninsula, followed by a brief explanation of Kalaupapa's history starting with the 1866 arrival of the first patients in Kalawao, and Father Damien's arrival in 1873. The 17 patients still living, and the 11 remaining in the settlement were also briefly mentioned.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 89, 87.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 97.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 94.

The historic structures in this section of the peninsula were pointed out including the second Baldwin Home, of which only the concrete entrance remains, and the slaughterhouse which was recently restored by the Park Service and is still in use by the residents of the peninsula. Along the route the tour guide rarely spoke as he was driving the bus, and waited until actually stops to continue interpretation. The pilot of the plane that brought visitors also participated in interpretation; he rode along in the bus, and served as an interpreter at certain points along the route since he had been on the tour so many times himself.

The first stop the bus made within the settlement was to Fuesaina's Bar, also owned and operated by the Marks family. The bar gives the visitors an opportunity to use the bathroom and buy water, soda, or snacks. It was at this stop that the tour guide lists the rules of not wandering from the group at any time during the tour.

After visitors purchased what they needed from the bar, Saint Francis Church, the Catholic Church in use today within the Kalaupapa Settlement served as the first point of interest. This stop allowed visitors to take pictures, and exit the bus to enter the Church where the Priest (Father Pat during this visit) spoke to visitors about the development of the Franciscan faith. Located within feet of Saint Francis Church, the church hall features a number of historic photographs which the pilot interpreted for the group, starting with pictures of Damien, and including before and after pictures of sulfone drugs affects in Hansen's disease patients.

By 11:00 am, the bus took its next stop at the pier located across from Saint Francis Church (see figure 20). The pier provides views of the Pali trail which the tour guide discussed. He also explained how the pier serves as an access point for the community, especially on barge day, the one day a year the barge brings supplies to the peninsula, often referred to as Christmas in July.

The bus then drove past the settlement's store and gas station. The next stop did not allow for visitors to exit the bus. Instead the guide discussed the Visitor's Quarters, going into further explanation of respecting the patients that are still living in the settlement. The explanation seemed unclear, especially when it came to who actually lived in Kalaupapa.



Fig. 20. Visitors at Kalaupapa Pier, Store in Background

The sixth stop brought the bus to Mother Marianne's gravesite (see figure 21), makai of bishop home, and across from the hospital. The guide discussed Mother Marianne's canonization which, at the time, was forthcoming. He especially touched on the process which included the exhumation of Marianne's body. He also mentioned the ruins of the hospital which burned down in 1980 that lay just to the side of the current hospital that serves only patients on the peninsula. Visitors could exit the bus, and use their cameras at this stop. Many started to wander toward Bishop Home, at which point the tour guide had remind the group to stay within the boundaries of Marianne's grave site area.

After the gravesite, the bus took visitors to AJA (Americans of Japanese Ancestry) Hall, which now serves as the book store, funded by Pacific Historic Parks. On the day of the site visit, the bookstore was closed when visitors arrived, and the bus continued on Damien Road towards Kalawao. The next stop visitors stayed on the bus while the guide explained the geographic location of Waihanau Valley where the settlement's water supply comes from, and the trail in this valley, where Damien came



Fig. 21. Visitors at Saint Marianne Grave

down to Kalaupapa in 1873.

The next photo stop was the heiau located along the route where the road drops into Kalawao shown in figure 22. The heiau has a wayside associated with it, and this is one stop where pre settlement Hawaiian history is noted. At this stop, only the pilot spoke about the area.

After the bus entered Kalawao, it stopped at Philomena church, the main attraction of the tour, also known as the church Damien built, which the Park Service recently restored. Before letting visitors off the bus, the tour guide told the story of Saint Damien and how he spent 16 years helping the patients,



Fig. 22. Visitors at Heiau Wayside

and eventually died of Hansen’s disease. On this tour visitors went into the church on their own, and read the NPS waysides located outside of the church (see figure 23).

Continuing on, the tour arrived at Judd Park on Kalawao side for the lunch stop. Prior to letting visitors off the bus, the guide explained that this was the spot in 1866, where the first 11 patients were dropped off and forced to swim to shore to begin their lives as exiles. He also made a short mention of the ancient Hawaiian fishing villages once present on the peninsula, and the settlements move to the Kalaupapa side, completed in 1932. The last message before getting off the bus consisted of a safety message about the necessity of awareness of surroundings, particularly the tree roots.

Visitors who had hiked or flown in brought their own lunches, while those visitors that were part of the mule ride got a packed lunch. Some



Fig. 23. Visitors Read Wayside Near Damien’s Church

visitors chose to eat in the pavilion, or on the grass. Judd Park provides the iconic view of Mokapu and Okala islands off Waikolu Valley, of which, many visitors spent their lunch time taking pictures.

Once lunch was complete, everyone loaded back onto the bus and passed the remains of the short lived, early 20th century leprosy investigation station. The guide stood at the front of the bus and discussed the federal government's attempt at a medical investigation center which ultimately failed due to the impersonal medical approach. The tour guide went on to explain the complex land ownership of present day Kalaupapa peninsula, and how the National Park Service is the the ideal land management agency after the patients are no longer present. The guide also mentioned the laws that existed prior to 1969, such as how patients had to go to jail for 6 months if they escaped Kalaupapa.

The bus proceeded back into the settlement and paused by the police and fire station, currently in use by the National Park Service, and the first church built in the settlement. The next place where the bus paused for the guide to speak was the intersection with a view of the Mormon Church, which no longer has parishioners, the last Mormon patient having passed only 6 months before this site visit. This would normally be the conclusion of the tour, but on this site visit, the bus headed back to the bookstore, allowing visitors to purchase t-shirts, books, and other merchandise. The bus then drove visitors back to the trail. Visitors who hiked, or took the mules got off the bus here, and visitors who flew in were driven back to the airport.

Damien Tours, a private tour company, focuses visitor's experience on the story of Saint Damien. The National Park Service has limited input on overall visitor experience. As mentioned earlier, NPS performs preservation work, such as the restoration of St Philomena Church, which contributes to visitor experience. NPS created wayside exhibits also provide visitors additional

information, yet many wayside exhibits placed throughout the peninsula are not seen by Damien Tour visitors.

Visitors to the island of Moloka'i who cannot make the trip down to Kalaupapa can go to Pala'au State Park featuring an overlook to the Kalaupapa Peninsula. The National Park installed four waysides along the overlook wall including 'Kalaupapa Overlook', 'Kalaupapa Peninsula', 'Once a Place of Exile', and 'A Misunderstood Disease'. These four waysides provide visitors with very brief information about the formation of the peninsula, and the patient experience in exile. Two of these waysides "Once a Place of Exile' and 'a Misunderstood Disease' are also located in the airport of Kalaupapa along with 'Welcome to Kalaupapa' and 'They Came to Serve'. Serving as an access point, the interpretation located at the airport, much like the overlook, is brief, though direct. The waysides introduce the visitor to where they are (Kalaupapa peninsula), what happened there (patients were exiled because of Hansen's disease starting in 1866), and at the airport the well-known Catholic figures of the peninsula are introduced. The alternative access point, the trail, features just one wayside exhibit titled 'Kalaupapa National Historical Park' with a focus on the Park's presence on the peninsula.

About twelve more waysides exist through the settlement and road to Kalawao telling specific aspects of the Kalaupapa's story, and explain the use and history of particular buildings. Where the location of the waysides correspond to points of interest on Damien Tours, visitors often take a moment to read the Park Service information, yet there are only a handful of waysides visitors get a chance to see. Wayside locations that coincide with Damien Tour points of interest where visitors get off the bus included 'An Earlier Life' providing visitors with an understanding that an active Native Hawaiian population lived on the peninsula prior to its designation as a Hansen's disease segregation settlement. The two other waysides seen on the tour were those located outside of St Philomena Church, Damien Tours major stop. The two

waysides titled ‘St. Philomena Church and Cemetery’ and ‘The Baldwin Home’ largely cover information about the Catholic figures Father Damien, and Brother Dutton, information covered on the tour.

Waysides offering information on specific aspects of Kalaupapa’s history that tour guides may not have time to cover include ‘Siloama’ a wayside about the protestant church in Kalawao, ‘Early Settlement at Kalawao’, and ‘U.S Leprosy Investigation Center’ all located along the road to Kalawao. The five waysides located within the Kalaupapa settlement are not within areas that visitors can access; though the tour does address or at least touch on these topics which include ‘Old Stone Church’ now the NPS Ranger Station, ‘A Story of Separation’, at the Visitor’s Quarters, ‘Bishop Home’, located around the corner from Mother Marianne’s grave site which the tour does stop at, ‘Kalaupapa Landing’, concerning the dock discussed near the first stop of the tour, ‘Staff Row’ not touched on during the tour, and ‘Medical Treatment at Kalaupapa’, a wayside exhibit that’s setting has been altered by a new structure as shown in figure 24.

Analyzing the methods in which NPS reaches out to the visitors that come to the peninsula through Damien Tours makes it clear that NPS plays a supportive role for Damien Tours and general visitor experience. This aligns with the third principle purpose for the park outlined in the enabling legislature which states that the Park Service is “to provide that the preservation and interpretation of the settlement be managed and performed by patient and Native Hawaiians to the extent practical.”¹⁷⁷



Fig. 24. Medical Treatment Wayside

¹⁷⁷ *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling Legislation*, Public Law 95-565 (See Appendix B).

As Paul Deprey, superintendent of WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument, said in his speech on December 7, 2012, regarding how he cared more about what visitors left knowing about Pearl Harbor, than the reasons why they came, Kalaupapa National Historical Park conducted a visitor study during the fall of 2010 and winter of 2011 revealing both the reasons people visited, and the knowledge with which they left. The study covers many aspects of visitor experience from travel plans, physical conditions, residency, transportation, and expenditures. The survey titled “Kalaupapa National Historical Park Visitor Study: Fall 2010/Winter 2011” published in 2011 by principal authors Eleonora Papadogiannaki, Yen Le, and Steven J. Hollenhorst, listed its main purpose in the letter to visitors, which consisted of learning about expectation, opinions, and interests of visitors to the park. The survey consisted of 34 questions, both multiple choice and written responses. The written answers reveal key responses to visitors’ experiences. Question 15 asks “what is the most important thing your personal group learned on this visit to Kalaupapa National Historical Park?” Visitors responses varied, with the majority answering that their group learned about the history of peninsula, information about father Damien, and the fact that patients still lived there. A number of visitor answers portray dissatisfaction with how varied the tour experience can be, such as one visitor’s disappointment that Damien’s church was locked during their tour. Other answers discuss the difficulty of travel to the site. One visitor responded that their group learned “not to come again. Far too expensive for what you get” a notion that was repeated three times. Another visitor responded that the most important thing their personal group learned was that “the government is keeping people out only to pay rangers to live in paradise.”¹⁷⁸ Question 18 of the survey asks visitors, “is there anything else you and your personal group would like to tell us about your visit to

¹⁷⁸Papadogiannaki, “Visitor Study,” Question 15 Response (Visitor Comments Section, and Appendix 1 in Visitor Study).

Kalaupapa?” Much like the responses to question 15, responses varied, some positive and some negative. One response that stood out serves as the title of this chapter “except for the history and culture, it is an idyllic place.”¹⁷⁹ Though not all visitors will receive the message conveyed by interpretive methods, the Park Service should strive to give visitors the basic understanding that it is in fact the history and culture that makes Kalaupapa significant. The visitor study clarifies that many visitors are not receiving an “opportunity to personally connect with a place”, the National Parks goal in interpretation.¹⁸⁰ Though the situation is a complex one, since Damien Tours is a private company, and the Park Service is in a supportive role, preservation and interpretation of the “Kalaupapa Settlement for the education and inspiration of present and future generations” remains the Park’s principle purpose as outlined in the enabling legislation.¹⁸¹

The enabling legislation goes on to say that “at such a time when there is no longer a patient resident community at Kalaupapa, the Secretary shall reevaluate the policies governing the management, administration, and the public use of the park.”¹⁸² It can be assumed that these are considerations going into the new General Management Plan that will guide the park into the next 20 years.¹⁸³ How can the Park Service further contribute to interpretive programs which promote understanding and appreciation of the site? Additionally, how should the park

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, Question 18 Response.

¹⁸⁰ NPS, “Interpretation and Education,” U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/learn/> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

¹⁸¹ *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling legislation*, Section 102 (See Appendix B).

¹⁸² Ibid, Section 109.

¹⁸³ NPS, “Park Planning,” Kalaupapa NHP, U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/parkmgmt/planning.htm> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

approach interpretation of such a complex site? *Sites of Suffering* suggests that an approach to interpretation within the context of the field of dark tourism would benefit the site and its story.

CHAPTER VI

FUTURE OF THE PAST:

DEFINING KALAUPAPA AS A DARK TOURISM SITE

In considering the interpretation of Kalaupapa, there are a number of unique specifications such as the complex pattern of land ownership, and the enabling legislation Section 106 part 3 that gives the first right of refusal for tours and guides to patients, and Native Hawaiians (50%+ Hawaiian).¹⁸⁴ Yet the first principal purpose for the park remains the preservation and interpretation of the peninsula.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, NPS still has the responsibility of sponsoring, supporting, or creating an interpretive program to ensure that their purposes are met, and visitor experience meets the Park Service standard. Despite the unique complexities facing Kalaupapa's future interpretive program, there are a number of issues that can be programmatically addressed.

The historical background chapter gave a brief description of Kalaupapa's history, and main narratives. Travel to Kalaupapa falls under Lennon and Foleys definition of dark tourism. As the title of a recent Seattle Times article "Exploring the tragic beauty of Hawai'i's remote Kalaupapa" suggests, the tragic history of forced isolation is the main narrative associated with the peninsula.¹⁸⁶ Individuals forced into exile overcame a great deal, and many came to see Kalaupapa as a sanctuary and place of hope.¹⁸⁷ The story of human courage was a response to

¹⁸⁴ *Kalaupapa National Historical Park Enabling Legislature*, Section 106 (See Appendix B).

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, Section 102.

¹⁸⁶ Kristin Jackson, "Exploring the Tragic Beauty of Hawai'i's Remote Kalaupapa," *The Seattle Times*, February 9, 2013, http://seattletimes.com/html/travel/2020308049_kalaupapaHawai'ixml.html (Accessed 3/8/2013).

¹⁸⁷ Ethan Vincent, *Soul of Kalaupapa*, Documentary, BYU-TV, <http://www.byutv.org/watch/5f63953e-de11-457b-99b7-c07b73eb084b> (Accessed 4/12/2013).

injustice, a disaster in terms of human rights and national policy. Furthermore, Kalaupapa serves as a heritage site having played a major role in state and national history.

Lennon and Foley's major argument in *Dark Tourism* places the concept firmly within the modern era; Kalaupapa's main narrative fulfills this component. The century long segregation policy ended as recently as 1969. Therefore there are living informants, more specifically, patient residents who still live in Kalaupapa. An additional component of the modern era accounts for the close generational ties to the Kalaupapa experience. The time limit of 100 years that Lennon and Foley describe ensures that the event happened within living memory, in this context, management of a dark tourism site is a sensitive topic.

The potential political message and anxiety concerning modernity cover a number of topics present in the Kalaupapa story. The medical knowledge and processes resulting in exile were often dehumanizing and ineffective.¹⁸⁸ The government and police, agencies meant to support people in a democratic society, used their power to enforce this injustice. Using Lennon and Foley's definition of dark tourism, Kalaupapa can be considered a dark tourism site. Labeling Kalaupapa as a dark tourism site is by no means saying that the place is 'dark' or that the focus of the narrative should be negative; instead this label suggests that due to the significance of the site arising from an injustice, a number of inherent interpretive challenges are present. Acknowledging these inherent challenges forces the consideration of the many unique aspects of Kalaupapa's story.

The first of the list of inherent dark tourism site challenges is access. Compared to the other analyzed sites, Pearl Harbor, and Alcatraz, Kalaupapa is the most difficult to access. Weather prevents boat access in the winter, cost affects access by air, and the extreme height of the pali affects access by land. Visitors arrive for Damien Tours by air, and by hike or mule ride

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

down the trail. The physical fitness of visitors may prevent some from visiting Kalaupapa, and the expensive of the trip by air may prevent others. The accessibility issue serves as a major deterrent and limitation to visitation. Viewed as a negative, this limitation could be preventing elderly, and those unable to afford the high cost from visiting a place that holds value to them, and should be available to the average American as a National Park. Yet, this limitation could also be viewed as a positive limitation. The natural barrier, pictured in figure 25, with the trail highlighted, adds to the state's limitation of 100 visitors a day in keeping the amount of people down, the tranquil atmosphere of the location is maintained.¹⁸⁹ Limiting the number of people can also add to the ease of regulation enforcers, in that the danger of people unaware of their surroundings wandering off stays low. This leads into the next challenge, that of visitor behavior. Due to the nature of dark tourism sites, visitors must show a level of respect appropriate for the place. During the Damian Tour site visit, the guide emphasized the necessity of visitors not wandering on their own, which he had to remind the visitors at a number of stops.



Fig. 25. Kalaupapa Trail Can Be Seen in the Zig-Zagging Line Down the Pali

¹⁸⁹ State of Hawai'i, §326-26 Persons allowed at places for Hansen's disease patients, HRS Chapter 326 Hansen's Disease, http://www.capitol.Hawai'i.gov/hrscurrent/Vol06_Ch0321-0344/HRS0326/HRS_0326-0026.htm (Accessed 3/13/2013).

It appeared that the message of the significance of the site and the reasons for showing respect through appropriate behavior was not conveyed in a way that resulted in the expected behavior in visitors.

The three following challenges, multilayered history, stakeholder participation, and political implications deal directly with interpretive content. Kalaupapa's history, as outlined in a previous chapter, contains a number of histories, such as the story of the Native Hawaiian population forced out of Kalaupapa in the second half of the nineteenth century. Additional layers of history include the medical history of Hansen's disease, the strong religious beliefs of residents, and how political history of the state affected a sub population of Kalawao County. Accessibility issues limit the amount of time visitors can spend on the peninsula, and therefore limiting the content which can be conveyed to visitors. Damien Tours focuses mainly on the patient experience, and the Catholic influence in Kalaupapa. Damien Tours was started by Richard Marks, who served as the tour guide; he provided visitors with a one on one experience with a resident patient.¹⁹⁰ It can be imagined how this benefited visitors, and how the perspective of the patient experience was conveyed. As patients age, this opportunity is no longer available to the general visitor.

How then can the patient experience be authentically conveyed to a visitor? The patients are the ones with the experiences that characterized the real significance of the peninsula, and it is their story that visitors go to Kalaupapa to understand. The patient voice is imperative to any interpretive program. Stakeholders also include, but are not limited to descendants of patients, descendants of the kama'aina removed from the peninsula, and Moloka'i residents. The list of stakeholders is extensive due to the complex history, and land ownership status of the peninsula which extends to the political implications of the historical

¹⁹⁰ "Kalaupapa Memories" Photos by Wayne Levin, words by Anwei Law Skinsnes and Valerie Monson. (Excerpt in Honolulu Magazine August 2012: 138-143 continued on page 150-153).

narrative. Political policy led to the removal of Kama'aina and isolation of patients and the political influences do not end there. Kalaupapa continues to be a central political issue throughout its development as a park. The previous discussion of landownership makes it clear that Kalaupapa's past and future remain contentious. The specifics differ greatly, yet the list of challenges previously listed which are inherent to dark tourism, make it possible to confront these challenges programmatically. Comparisons of other dark tourism sites, in this case, Alcatraz and Pearl Harbor, provide a list of solutions for these challenges but are not inclusive of all potential methods of confronting challenges to dark tourism sites.

In the "Dark Tourism and the National Parks" chapter, *Sites of Suffering* described the Park Service's responsibility to interpretation as connecting visitors to the sites, while educating them about its cultural and natural attributes. Kalaupapa National Historical Park has this same mandate, reinforced by its enabling legislation which requires that NPS preserves and interprets Kalaupapa in the present and in the future.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, in the historical background chapter, *Sites of Suffering* identified the many layers of history present in Kalaupapa's story, as well as having defined Kalaupapa as a dark tourism site in this chapter. As stated earlier, waysides are the most obvious way that NPS contributes to interpretation, yet they can only give an overview of what NPS has identified as the important stories of the peninsula. Looking to dark tourism as a context to interpret Kalaupapa National Historical Park it is first necessary to have an idea of what NPS identifies as significant. *Sites of Suffering* uses their draft Foundation Statement to provide this information.

¹⁹¹ See *Enabling Legislation*, Appendix B.

Kalaupapa National Historical Park's Draft Foundation Plan, dated June 2010, identifies what is most important about the park, clarifying these points for further planning processes.¹⁹²

Within this document, NPS lists primary interpretive themes which "support the desired interpretive outcome of increasing visitor understanding and appreciation."¹⁹³ Primary interpretive themes for Kalaupapa include:

1. The architecture, landscapes, and archaeology that represent the development of the Kalawao to Kalaupapa Hansen's disease settlements.
2. The Hansen's disease community that developed, and the misunderstanding about the disease.
3. Famous Catholic figures of Kalaupapa, including Father Damien, Mother Marianne, and Brother Dutton.
4. Geology of the peninsula.
5. Ecology of the peninsula.
6. Marine life surrounding the peninsula.
7. Native Hawaiian communities prior to the Hansen's disease settlements.
8. Kalaupapa's unique atmosphere.¹⁹⁴

It is clear by the number and variety of these themes that NPS acknowledges Kalaupapa's multilayered history, and many of these themes are touched upon through the wayside exhibits. Though the foundation statement lists interpretive themes, as well as listing a number of resources that can be utilized to tell these stories, it does not provide the methods that can be most effectively used to convey these themes, as an interpretive plan would. Before

¹⁹² NPS, "Draft Foundation Statement," Kalaupapa NHP (Moloka'i, Hawai'i: U.S Department of the Interior), 4.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 17-18.

an interpretive plan can be completed and implemented, strategies to convey these themes despite inherent challenges must be identified, which the field of dark tourism provides.

The first strategy is a transition zone which benefits the visitor experience through allowing a separation from the outside world and the dark tourism site. A journey from the space a visitor comes from, to the space of experiences in a dark tourism site, differentiates and adds significance to visitor experience. Accessibility issues can be viewed as a negative limitation yet can also be perceived as a positive separation. *Sites of Suffering* does not attempt to solve the problem of transporting visitors to the peninsula, a major issue that must be addressed to allow a wider audience access to the story; instead the purpose here is to acknowledge the benefit that limited access can have on visitor experience. The continued accessibility issue offers insight to the patient experience by facilitating an understanding of how cut off from the rest of the world Kalaupapa can feel. A transition zone also provides an opportunity for a visitor to reflect on their visit, and the experiences of patients. Using the example of the remembrance room at the 9/11 World Trade Center visitor center, a similar space could be implemented at Kalaupapa at the end of the site visit, adding to the transition zone. Visitors could explore their own feelings and emotions evoked by Kalaupapa and its history. Fulfilling the NPS standard of connecting visitors to sites, a reflection space as a component of the transition zone following the visit, would allow visitors to acknowledge their own reactions to the site.

Prior to the site visit, an introductory film also adds to the transition zone. At Pearl Harbor, visitors are required to view the film prior to embarking on the boat trip to the Memorial, while at Alcatraz, the film is not an emphasized component of the visitor experience. An introductory film's main benefit to the visitor experience is providing a brief look at the site's multilayered history. Unlike other methods, such as a collection of waysides, a film has the potential to quickly convey a large amount of information to visitors. An ideal introductory film

at Kalaupapa would cover the unique geology of the peninsula, the kama'aina of the peninsula and associated archaeological remains, the various eras of the peninsula as a Hansen's disease segregation settlement and associated resources. The film should also cover the current status of the park, and the park's commitment to keep Kalaupapa a Hawaiian place. Potentially, visitors could gain a cursory understanding of the site's significance prior to embarking on the tour of the resources.

A number of documentaries about Kalaupapa exist such as BYU's "Soul of Kalaupapa" and "Kalaupapa Heaven", both very informative and beautifully shot documentaries. Yet the introductory film would ideally last only about 20 minutes, and only briefly cover all the points previously listed. The short film would introduce the visitor to what they are about to see, and convey the site's significance. In addition to extending the transition zone, and informing visitors of the site's multilayered history, the film could also convey to visitors appropriate behavior on the peninsula.

Pearl Harbor interpretive program exemplifies a very direct way to deal with visitor behavior, characterized by a description on their website of appropriate dress at the park and a NPS Ranger explaining visitor behavior expectations directly to visitors as they make their way into the theatre. The presence of thousands of graves makes it particularly important for visitors to Kalaupapa to understand the reasons for appropriate behavior, therefore it may be ideal if both methods, rangers directly telling visitors, and a short message in the film may be an ideal way to convey this idea. Furthermore, an age limit of 16 prevents children from visiting the peninsula, further limiting access to the site's narrative.¹⁹⁵ It is unclear if this rule will persist

¹⁹⁵ NPS, "Permits," Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/planyourvisit/permits.htm> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

after patients are no longer living on the peninsula, yet this rule has the potential to make enforcing visitor behavior expectations easier.

Allowing visitors to hear the patient's perspective through interpretive programming cannot be over emphasized here. All stakeholders should have their story told to visitors, which would also cover how to approach the political implications of the narrative. Pearl Harbor exhibit galleries offer an example of how the Park Service approaches these challenges. The exhibit galleries feature interviews presented through video of Pearl Harbor survivors, Japanese Military, and civilian witnesses. Though WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument focuses their interpretation on December 7, 1941, multiple sides of the story and multiple stakeholder perspectives are presented to visitors. A similar approach at Kalaupapa National Historical Park would be appropriate. Ka' Ohana O'Kalaupapa describes the numerous resources available to the park for a multimedia approach to including patients and other stakeholder perspectives. These resources include oral histories of patients and descendants of patients, as well as the entire cultural landscape as a resource.¹⁹⁶

Virtual tours offer an additional multimedia strategy which Kalaupapa National Historical Park could employ. A virtual tour that walks online visitors through a set of resources representing one story of the peninsula, or virtual tours that provide visitors with an overview of the peninsula are just two options of the different methods that could be used to approach this strategy. Virtual tours are a way that Kalaupapa National Historical Park could meet their principle purposes, by preserving the community, while still allowing public access to this unique and significant place.

The suggestions of maintaining the transition zone, creating an introductory film, conveying visitor behavior expectations, and multimedia presentation of stakeholder

¹⁹⁶ Ka 'Ohana O'Kalaupapa, "Interpretation: Sharing the Legacy of Kalaupapa," Ka 'Ohana Position Paper, <http://www.kalaupapaohana.org/position.html> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

perspectives, and virtual tours, is by no means a complete interpretive plan for Kalaupapa, or any dark tourism site. These are methods to be employed in approaching the challenges specific to dark tourism sites. Analyzing a site's interpretive needs within the context of dark tourism facilitates the use of a number of programmatic solutions employed at other dark tourism sites. Kalaupapa National Historical Site is a very unique and complex site, making interpretive planning a difficult and prolonged process; analyzing it within the concept of dark tourism can only benefit and facilitate appropriate approaches to the specific set of challenges.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

There is any number of ways to perceive, honor, and think about tragedies on the American landscape; landscapes that reveal the human character in reaction to injustice. Kenneth I. Helphand's work *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime* explores gardens created in opposition to what was happening around the gardener. As Helphand explains "in defiant situations, humans display a surprising resourcefulness in design and function, in formal arrangement and in appropriation of gathering and use of material."¹⁹⁷ This discussion pertains to development of gardens, yet reflects the human response to defiant or extreme situations.¹⁹⁸ Helphand covers gardens created in World War One, and World War Two, including gardens made in the Japanese American Internment Camps in the western United States. In 1942, just a few months following the attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered thousands of Japanese Americans living on the west coast into internment camps. In an extremely racist politically move, the U.S. government argued that Japanese Americans on the west coast were a national threat. The American citizens were forced from their homes with only what they could carry often into places with inhuman conditions.¹⁹⁹ Creating gardens within the internment camps was a physical manifestation of their reaction against this unjust act. Helphand further elaborates, saying the gardens were "tangible symbols of hope that helped people survive their internment, fostered their mental and physical health, and were a

¹⁹⁷ Kenneth I. Helphand, *Defiant Gardens: Making Gardens in Wartime* (San Antonio, Tex: Trinity University Press, 2006), 6.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 1.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 156-157.

demonstration of psychological and also political defiance.”²⁰⁰ Gardening may seem like a mundane activity, but seen through the context of defiant situations, gardens are the tangible symbols of the reasons why these places should be remembered. Kenneth I. Helphand uses the terminology ‘defiant’ to define what *Sites of Suffering* terms dark tourism sites.

Defiant Gardens discusses the Japanese American Internment Camps in the western United States, many of which have since become National Parks. Tule Lake, located in northeastern California, is a unit of WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument, while Minidoka in Idaho is a National Historic Site.²⁰¹ Manzanar, one of the most well-known camps, in part due to Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston’s 1973 memoir *Farewell to Manzanar*, is located in central California.²⁰² *Sites of Suffering* does not include analysis of interpretation at Japanese American Internment Camps in its study, but these sites do provide another example of dark tourism sites within the National Park System. They also provide a strong argument for the importance of remembering sites that fall into the category of dark tourism.

Traveling to the internment camps qualifies as travel to a heritage site in which tragedy or suffering took place that happened in the last century providing for living informants of the event, and thus the political implications and anxiety over modernity which dark tourism sites present. Many comparisons can be made between internment camps, prison sites such as Alcatraz, and segregation sites such as Kalaupapa. On a basic level these sites are of the highest importance to our country’s heritage, but unlike other National Parks that engender nationalism

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 189.

²⁰¹ NPS, “Tule Lake Unit,” U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/tule/index.htm> (4/13/2013); NPS, “Minidoka National Historic Site,” U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/miin/index.htm> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

²⁰² Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar; A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973); NPS, “Manzanar National Historic Site,” U.S Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/manz/index.htm> (Accessed 4/13/2013).

and pride in our country, these dark tourism sites force us to face the opposite of pride in our government. Instead, they highlight actions by our government that are now viewed as shameful, as well as engendering disbelief in how these actions could have garnered support from the public. These places remind us that ignorance, racism, and prejudice influence national policies and legislation, what is law is not always right. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley argue that dark tourism is a modern phenomenon, not because more people want to travel to sites of disaster in the modern age, but because the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been witness to such large scale government endorsed human rights infringements across the world.

Lennon and Foley's temporal argument can be perceived as limiting to the definition of a dark tourism site. Instead, it adds urgency to the interpretive management of these sites. The experiences of those present during the dark tourism event must be recorded, and their opinions concerning the sites interpretation documented. It is the human connection forged between visitors and people who experienced the event first hand that separates and elevates dark tourism site's significance. After a century, a dark tourism site does not cease to be a dark tourism site. A temporal criterion really emphasizes stakeholders importance in the place's history.

There is no question that these places are complex politically and historically, making interpretation challenging. At the same time, interpretation at these sites remains critically important. There may be those who travel to such sites due to an interest in the darker side of history, or any number of reasons. But, as NPS listed on its Interpretation and Education website, the purpose of interpretation is to connect visitor to site. At dark tourism sites, it is most important to connect people to people. The underlying story of the human courage and dignity against systematic injustice told directly to visitors accomplishes this the most effectively. Recent books concerning Kalaupapa take on this approach by researching about the

people who experienced exile. Anwei Skinsnes Law's work *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory* and Kerri Inglis' work *Ma'i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth Century Hawai'i* both focus on the patient experience in Kalaupapa. Connecting with those who experienced exile, in Kalaupapa's case, or internment, in the case of Japanese American internment camps, allows people to go beyond the political and historical, and comprehend how policies affect real people.

There are various ways to acknowledge the human experience at sites of suffering, dark tourism is one context in which to approach the topic that considers the challenges of interpreting a sensitive site of suffering. Dark tourism cannot answer all of the questions that come up in developing a dark tourism site. What it does do is provide a starting point in considering each unique site's needs and major narratives. Kalaupapa, currently on the verge of major managerial changes with the new General Management Plan, served as the case study of this thesis, but the observations, solutions, and conclusions found in this study can be applied in the development process of other dark tourism sites, such as Honouliuli, a Japanese American internment camp on Oahu about which NPS just completed a resource study.

In *Sites of Suffering*, I used the field of dark tourism as a tool in comparisons of National Park sites to develop a list of programmatic solutions interpreters and site managers can turn to for answers. The National Park Service strives for a high standard of service to visitors and to the site on a national level. Yet on a local level, each site is unique. In addressing the unique qualities of sites of tragedy, dark tourism goes beyond traditional methods of interpretation, while still maintaining a systematic approach.

The list of solutions to major dark tourism interpretive challenges is relatively short, and simple. Despite this simplicity, it ensures that the major challenges are considered. *Sites of Suffering* identified accessibility, visitor behavior, multilayered histories, numerous stakeholders,

and political implications as the major challenge to interpretation at dark tourism sites. There are of course, numerous and varied additional challenges. In this sense, *Sites of Suffering* is limited to the examination of only major challenges common to dark tourism sites. A future study that would include a wider variety, both in type and geographical location of dark tourism sites, could better address further interpretive challenges.

Solutions proposed in this study, identified primarily through comparison, include a transition zone, an introductory film, multimedia used to include stakeholders, virtual tours, explanation of political implications, and direct explanation of expected visitor behavior. Observation and secondary research suggest these methods as the most effective to address the major challenges; yet a thorough study on each solution and its effectiveness would more clearly indicate the success of these solutions meeting NPS interpretive goals.

Dark tourism research often focuses on the motivation of tourists to travel to these sites. Though some tourists may be motivated by a fascination with death, this study makes it clear that dark tourism sites are heritage sites. The sites often tell the most significance stories of our country. Therefore, motivation behind visitation could include any number of factors. This study emphasizes that the reasons behind the travel is not what's important. What is important in the study of dark tourism sites is our responsibility to the site, and the people who experienced the events which made the site significant. This responsibility requires that the whole story be authentically portrayed for any who wishes to more fully understand the place and its history. Interpretation then becomes a much more crucial consideration in the development of dark tourism sites compared to other categories of heritage sites.

Individuals often react negatively to the term 'dark tourism.' As an emerging field, the term is not immediately recognized as the title of an academic field. It is often associated with a fascination with death, and little interest in the cultural heritage of the represented place.

Another common reaction is to assume that the site is being considered negative in itself. The term dark could also be perceived as lending racial overtones to a site. In considering the manner in which many people react to first hearing the term it is obvious that those who named the field hoped to stir up emotions as well as interest in this type of interest.

This particular study was too limited in scope to fully address the terminology of the field which would benefit from a more subdued title, allowing the significance of the sites it categorizes to outweigh the initial impact of the title. The Carolyn Strange and Michael Kemp article cited earlier in this thesis, "Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island ," list their abstract in both English and French. *Tourisme sombre* is the direct translation of dark tourism, though the connotation is different in French. In English, somber tourism, seems like a fitting title for the field. While on the initial site visit to Pearl Harbor, as my family took a photo of me on the USS Arizona Memorial I did not smile as the flash went off. A visitor on the Memorial turned towards me and said "Yeah its like you don't know whether to smile or not." In this short sentence, the visitor summed up what the feeling of a visit to one of these places is- somber.

Sites of Suffering suggests that the current title of the field does not fully convey the significance of the field. The study surrounding dark tourism sites is not important in itself, it is our responsibility to those who went before us, specifically at these dark tourism sites, that make research of the sites so imperative. Site management, especially interpretation, rises in importance due to the special considerations of dark tourism sites. In order to maintain NPS standards, systematic interpretative methods should be utilized in addressing dark tourism interpretive challenges such as those highlighted in this text.

APPENDIX A

AN ACT TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF LEPROSY, 1865

WHEREAS, the disease of Leprosy has spread to considerable extent among the people, and the spread thereof has excited well grounded alarms; and Whereas, further, some doubts have been expressed regarding the powers of the Board of Health in the premises, notwithstanding the 302nd Section of the Civil Code; and Whereas, in the opinion of the Assembly, the 302nd Section is properly applicable to the treatment of persons afflicted with leprosy. Yet for greater certainty, and for the sure protection of the people,

BE IT ENACTED, by the King and the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled:

SECTION 1. The Minister of the Interior, as President of the Board of Health, is hereby expressly authorized, with the approval of the said Board, to reserve and set apart any land or portion of land now owned by the Government, for a site or sites of an establishment or establishments to secure the isolation and seclusion of such leprous persons as in the opinion of the Board of Health or its agents, may, by being at large, cause the spread of leprosy.

SEC. 2. The Minister of the Interior, as President of the Board of Health, and acting with the approval of the said Board, may acquire for the purpose stated in the preceding section, by purchase or exchange, any piece or pieces, parcel or parcels of land, which may seem better adapted to the use of lepers, than any land owned by the Government.

SEC. 3. The Board of Health or its agents are authorized and empowered to cause to be confined, in some place or places for that purpose provided, all leprous patients who shall be deemed capable of spreading the disease of leprosy, and it shall be the duty of every police or District Justice, when properly applied to for that purpose by the Board of Health, or its authorized agents, to cause to be arrested and delivered to the Board of Health or its agents,

any person alleged to be a leper, within the jurisdiction of such police or District Justice, and it shall be the duty of the Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands and his deputies, and of the police officers, to assist in securing the conveyance of any person so arrested to such place, as the Board of Health, or its agents may direct, in order that such person may be subjected to medical inspection, and thereafter to assist in removing such person to place of treatment or isolation, if so required, by the agents of the Board of Health.

SEC. 4. The Board of Health is authorized to make such arrangements for the establishment of a Hospital, where leprosy patients in the incipient stages may be treated in order to attempt a cure, and the said Board and its agents shall have full power to discharge all such patients as it shall deem cured, and to send to a place of isolation contemplated in Sections one and two of this Act, all such patients as shall be considered incurable or capable of spreading the disease of leprosy.

SEC. 5. The Board of Health or its agents may require from patients, such reasonable amount of labor as may be approved of by the attending physicians, and may further make and publish such rules and regulations as by the said Board may be considered adapted to ameliorate the condition of lepers, which said rules and regulations shall be published and enforced as in the 284th and 285th Sections of the Civil Code provided.

SEC. 6. The property of all persons committed to the care of the Board of Health for the reasons above stated shall be liable for the expenses attending their confinement, and the Attorney-General shall institute suits for the recovery of the same when requested to do so by the President of the Board of Health.

SEC. 7. The Board of Health, while keeping an accurate and detailed account of all sums of money expended by them out of any appropriations which may be made by the Legislature, shall keep the amounts of sums expended for the leprosy, distinct from the general account.

And the said Board shall report to the Legislature at each of its regular sessions, the said expenditures in detail, together with such information regarding the disease of leprosy, as well as the public health generally, as it may deem to be of interest to the public.

Approved this 3rd day of January, 1865.

KAMEHAMEHA, R.

The section referred to is as follows:

§ 302. When any person shall be infected with the small-pox, or other sickness dangerous to the public health, the Board of Health, or its Agent, may, for the safety of the inhabitants, remove such sick or infected person to a separate house, and provide him with nurses and other necessaries which shall be at the charge of the person himself, his parents or master, if able; otherwise at the charge of the Government.²⁰³

²⁰³ Text Obtained From: NPS, "An Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy," Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, <http://www.nps.gov/kala/historyculture/1865.htm> (Accessed 4/24/2013).

APPENDIX B

KALAUPAPA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ENABLING LEGISLATION

PUBLIC LAW 95-565

National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior

NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARKS

6. Kalaupapa

PUBLIC LAW 96-565—DEC. 22, 1980

94 STAT. 3321

Public Law 96-565

96th Congress

An Act

Dec. 22, 1980

[H.R. 7217]

To establish the Kalaupapa National Historical Park in the State of Hawai'i, and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SEC. 101. In order to provide for the preservation of the unique nationally and internationally significant cultural, historic, educational, and scenic resources of the Kalaupapa settlement on the island of Moloka'i in the State of Hawai'i, there is hereby established the Kalaupapa National Historical Park (herein after referred to as the "park").

SEC. 102. The Congress declares the following to constitute the principal purposes of the park:

(1) to preserve and interpret the Kalaupapa settlement for the education and inspiration of present and future generations.

(2) to provide a well-maintained community in which the Kalaupapa leprosy patients are guaranteed that they may remain at Kalaupapa as long as they wish; to protect the current lifestyle of these patients and their individual privacy; to research, preserve, and maintain the present character of the community; to research, preserve, and maintain important historic structures, traditional Hawaiian sites, cultural values, and natural features: and to provide for limited visitation by the general public and

(3) to provide that the preservation and interpretation of the settlement be managed and performed by patient and Native Hawaiians to the extent practical, and that training opportunities be provided such person in management and interpretation of the settlement's culture, historical, educational and scenic resources.

SEC. 103. The boundaries of the park shall include the lands, waters, and interests therein within the area generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Kalaupapa National Historical Park", numbered P07 80024, and dated May 1980, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the local and Washington, District of Columbia offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") may make minor revisions in the boundary of the park by publication of a revised boundary map or other description to that effect in the Federal Register.

SEC. 104. (a) Within the boundary of the park, the Secretary is authorized to acquire those lands owned by the State of Hawai'i or by political subdivision thereof only by donation or exchange, and only with the consent of the owner. Any such exchange shall be accomplished in accordance with the provisions of sections 5 (b) and (c) of the Act approved July 15, 1968 (82 Stat. 354). Any property conveyed to the State or a political subdivision thereof in exchange for property within the park which is held in trust for the benefit of Native Hawaiians, as defined in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 shall, as a matter of Federal law, be held by the

grantee subject to an equitable estate of the same class and degree as encumbers the property within the preserve; and "available lands" defined in section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act may be exchanged in accordance with section 204 of said Act. The vesting of title in the United States to property within the park shall operate to extinguish any such equitable estate with respect to property acquired by exchange within the park.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to acquire privately owned lands within the boundary of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange.

(c) The Secretary is authorized to acquire by any of the forgoing methods except condemnation, lands, waters and interests therein outside the boundary of the park and outside the boundaries of any other unit of the National Park System but within the State of Hawai'i, and to convey the same to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands in exchange for lands, waters, and interests therein within the park owned by that Department. Any such exchange shall be accomplished in accordance with the provisions defined in subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 105. (a) The Secretary shall administer the park in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39Stat. 535), the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), and the provisions of this Act.

(b)(1) With the approval of the owner thereof, the Secretary may undertake critical or emergency stabilization of utilities and historic structures, develop and occupy temporary office space, and conduct interim interpretive and visitor services on non-Federal property within the park.

(2) The Secretary shall seek and may enter into cooperative agreements with the owner or owners of property within the park pursuant to which the Secretary may preserve, protect, maintain, construct, reconstruct, develop, improve, and interpret sites, facilities, and resources of historic, natural, architectural, and cultural significance. Such agreements shall be of not less

than twenty years duration, may be extended and amended by mutual agreement, and shall include, without limitation, provisions that the Secretary shall have the right of access at reasonable times to public portions of the property for interpretive and other purpose, and that no changes or alterations shall be made in the property except by mutual agreement. Each such agreement shall also provide that the owner shall be liable to the United States in an amount equal to the fair market value of any capital improvements made to or placed upon the property in the event the agreement is terminated prior to its natural expiration, or any extension thereof, by the owner, such value to be determined as of the date of such termination, or, at the election of the Secretary, that the Secretary be permitted to remove such capital improvements within a reasonable time of such termination. Upon the expiration of such agreement, the improvements thereon shall become the property of the owner, unless the United States desires to remove such capital improvements and restore the property to its natural state within a reasonable time for such expiration.

(3) Except for emergency, temporary, and interim activity as authorized in paragraph (1) of this subsection, no funds appropriated pursuant to this Act shall be expended on non-Federal property unless such expenditure is pursuant to a cooperative agreement with the owner.

(4) The Secretary may stabilize and rehabilitate structures and other properties used for religious or sectarian purposes only if such properties constitute a substantial and integral part of the historical fabric of the Kalaupapa settlement, and only to the extent necessary and appropriate to interpret adequately the nationally significant historical features and events of the settlement for the benefit of the public.

SEC. 106. The following provisions are made with respect to the special needs of the leprosy patients residing in the Kalaupapa settlement

(1) So long as the patient may direct, the Secretary shall not permit public visitation to the settlement in excess of one hundred persons in any one day.

(2) Health care for the patient shall continue to be provided by the State of Hawai'i, with assistance from Federal programs other than those authorized herein.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall provide patients a first right of refusal to provide revenue-producing visitor services, including such services as providing food, accommodations, transportation, tours, and guides.

(4) Patients shall continue to have the right to take and utilize fish and wildlife resources without regard to Federal fish and game laws and regulations.

(5) Patients shall continue to have the right to take and utilize plant and other natural resources for traditional purposes in accordance with applicable State and Federal laws.

SEC. 107. The following provisions are made with respect to additional needs of the leprosy patients and Native Hawaiians for employment and training. (The term "Native Hawaiian" as used in this title, means a descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to the year 1778.)

(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary shall give first preference to qualified patients and Native Hawaiians in making appointments to positions established for the administration of the park, and the appointment of patients and Native Hawaiians shall be without regard to any provision of the Federal civil service laws giving an employment preference to any other class of applicant and without regard to any numerical limitation on personnel otherwise applicable.

(2) The Secretary shall provide training opportunities for patients and Native Hawaiians to develop skills necessary to qualify for the provision of visitor services and for appointment to positions referred to in paragraph (1).

SEC. 108 (a) There is hereby established the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Advisory Commission (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"), which shall consist of eleven members each appointed by the Secretary for a term of five years as follows:

(1) seven members who shall be present or former patients, elected by the patient community, and

(2) four members appointed from recommendations submitted by the Governor of Hawai'i, at least one of whom shall be a Native Hawaiian.

(b) The Secretary shall designate one member to be Chairman. Any vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) A member of the Commission shall serve without compensation as such. The Secretary is authorized to pay the expenses reasonably incurred by the Commission in carrying out its responsibilities under this Act on vouchers signed by the Chairman.

(d) The Secretary shall consult with and seek the advice of the Commission with respect to the development and operation of the park including training program The Commission shall, in addition, advise the Secretary concerning public visitation to the park, and such advice with respect to numbers of visitors shall be binding upon the Secretary if the Commission certifies to him that such advice is based on a referendum, held under the auspices of the Commission, of all patients on the official Kalaupapa Registry.

(e) The Commission shall expire twenty-five years from the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 109. At such time when there is no longer a resident patient community at Kalaupapa, the Secretary shall reevaluate the policies governing the management, administration, and public use of the park in order to identify any changes deemed to be appropriate.

SEC. 110. Effective October 1, 1981, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title but not to exceed \$2,500,000 for acquisition of lands and interests in lands and \$1,000,000 for development.

* * * * *

NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARKS

PUBLIC LAW 96-565—DEC. 22, 1980

Approved December 22, 1980.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARKS

7. Kalaupapa

PUBLIC LAW 100-202—DEC. 22, 1987

100th Congress

Joint Resolution

Dec. 22, 1987

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes. Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

* * * * *

AN ACT

Making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies for the fiscal Year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes.

TITLE I

—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

* * * * *

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

* * * * *

. . .

Provided further, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, Public Law 96-565 is amended by adding the following at the end of section 104(a):

“The Secretary may lease from the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands said trust lands until such time as said lands may be acquired by exchange as set forth herein or otherwise acquired. The Secretary may enter into such a lease without regard to fiscal year limitations.”

. . .

* * * * *

Approved December 22, 1987.

Certified April 20, 1988.

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²⁰⁴ Text Obtained From: NPS “Kalaupapa Enabling Legislation,” Kalaupapa NHP, U.S. Department of the Interior, http://science.nature.nps.gov/im/units/pacn/aboutus/publaw_kala.pdf (Accessed 4/25/2013).

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