# PRIMARY SOURCES

## ARCHIVES

- Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief te Mechelen (Archive of the Archbishop of Mechelen), Brussels, Belgium.
- Archive at St. Anthony Convent and Motherhouse, Sisters of St. Francis, Syracuse, NY.
- Archives of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, Honolulu.
- Archives of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, Leuven, Belgium.
- Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.
- Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

## MANUSCRIPTS AND COLLECTIONS

Bigler, Henry W. Journal. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

- Cannon, George Q. Journals. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Cluff, Harvey Harris. Autobiography. Handwritten copy. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lāʻie, HI.
- Decker, Daniel H. Mission Journal, 1949–1951. Courtesy of Daniel H. Decker.
- Farrer, William. Biographical Sketch, Hawaiian Mission Report, and Diary of William Farrer, 1946. Copied from the original and housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- Gibson, Walter Murray. Diary. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Green, Ephraim. Diary. Microfilm copy, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lā'ie, HI.
- Halvorsen, Jack L. Journal and correspondence. Copies in possession of the author.
- Hammond, Francis A. Journal. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Hawaii Mission President's Records, 1936–1964. LR 3695 21, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Haycock, D. Arthur. Correspondence, 1954–1961. Courtesy of Lynette Haycock Dowdle and Brett D. Dowdle.
- "Incoming Letters of the Board of Health." Hansen's Disease. Hawai'i Board of Health Records, series 334. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
- Jenson, Andrew, comp. Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission, 1935. 5 vols., Typescript cover, 1850–1930. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lāʻie, HI. Cited as MHHM.

Journal History of the Church. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

- Judd, Reverend Henry P., trans. "Minutes of the Old Siloama Church record, 1866–1927." Transcription and original book in the vault of the Hawaiian Board of Missions in Honolulu, HI.
- Kalaupapa Branch daily program of Sunday School, 1911–1918. Kalaupapa Branch, Hawaii Mission. LR 4289 21. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Kalaupapa Branch Hawaii Mission miscellaneous records. LR 4289. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Kalaupapa Branch miscellaneous minutes, 1928–1944. Kalaupapa Branch, Hawaii Mission. LR 4289 19. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Kalaupapa Branch Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association minutes and records, 1928–1948. Kalaupapa Branch, Hawaii Mission. LR 4289 16. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Kalaupapa Branch Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association minutes and records, 1935. Kalaupapa Branch, Hawaii Mission. LR 4289 17. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Kalaupapa, miscellaneous documents. In possession of author.
- Kalawao Death Register, 1879–1880. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
- Kalaupapa Branch, Moloka'i, assorted miscellaneous records and dealings with Kalaupapa, 1916–1984. Kalaupapa/Kalawao Collection, MSSH 561. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lā'ie, HI.
- Kalaupapa Museum Collections. Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Kalaupapa, HI.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes (ASL). 1984–1989 Oral History Interviews, Kalaupapa, vols. 1–3. Volume 1 (1984–1985), conducted for the Hawai'i State Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped. Vol. 2 (1985–1987) and vol. 3 (1988–1989), conducted for the Kalaupapa National Historical Park Service.

- Lawrence M. Judd Collection, series M-420. Hawai'i State Library, Honolulu.
- "Record of Inmates at Kalaupapa, 1866–1899." Hawai'i Board of Health Records. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
- "Records Relating to Hansen's Disease." Hawai'i Board of Health Records, series 260. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.
- Richards, Henry P. Journal, 1877–1879. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Slater, Art. Journal, 1939–1941 (Mission to Hawai'i). In possession of author.
- Sharp, Benjamin, Jr. Papers. Journal, 1893, box 1, folder 51. University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.
- Van Scoy, Rodney. "The Saints at Kalaupapa." Senior Seminar paper for Dr. Greg Gubler, History 490 course, April 4, 1989. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lāʻie, HI.
- Waddoups, Olivia Sessions. Journal, MS 15040, William Waddoups Papers. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Waddoups, William. Journals, 1901–1904, 1919, 1939–1946. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
  - ———. Journal, 1944–1946, MS 15040, William Waddoups Papers. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.
- Woodbury, John Stillman. Journal, 2 vols. Typescript in L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.
- Wooley, Samuel E. Journals. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lāʻie, HI.
- Young, Brigham. Incoming and Outgoing Letters. CR 1234/1. Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

# NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Beacon Magazine of Hawaii BYU Studies Catholic News Deseret News Deseret Evening News Hawaii Catholic Herald Hawaiian Gazette Hawaiian Journal of History Honolulu Advertiser Honolulu Star-Bulletin Liahona Ka Nonanona Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star Mormon Historical Studies Pacific Commercial Advertiser

# ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

The author has in his possession several oral history interviews he conducted from 2004 to 2015, the bulk of which are highlighted in the appendix "Reflections on Kalaupapa." In addition, the author used the oral history interview of Jack and Mary Sing by Ishmael Stagner and Kenneth Baldridge, and the interview of David Kupele by Ishmael Stagner (February 24, 1979). These interviews are available in the Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections at BYU–Hawaii in Lā'ie, Hawai'i. Furthermore, interviews of Peter Keola Jr. and Lucy Kaona by

Barbara Nakamura (August 6, 1999) have also been gleaned. The author expresses gratitude to Barbara for the use of these interviews as well as LDS film director Ethan Vincent for permission to use interviews which were conducted by Ethan and the author for the documentary film they coproduced, *The Soul of Kalaupapa: Voices in Exile* (2011). Other oral histories are listed hereafter.

- Arce, Esteban D., Oral History. Interview by Kenneth W. Baldridge, December 29, 1979. Kenneth Baldridge Oral History Collection (OH-100), 24, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lā'ie, HI.
- Apo, Aloi, and Hannah Apo, Oral History. Interview by Kenneth W. Baldridge, August 19, 1980. Kenneth Baldridge Oral History Collection (OH-133), 24. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lā'ie, HI.
- Elia, Ernest P., Oral History. Interview by Kenneth W. Baldridge, December 27, 1979. Kenneth Baldridge Oral History Collection (OH-97), 32. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lāʻie, HI.
- Kupele, David, Oral History. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU–Hawaii, Lā'ie, HI.
- Ne, Harriet, Oral History. Interview by Kenneth W. Baldridge, July 30, 1987. Kenneth Baldridge Oral History Collection (OH-297), 10. Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, BYU– Hawaii, Lāʿie, HI.

# SECONDARY SOURCES

# BOOKS, EDITED VOLUMES, AND PUBLISHED PROCEEDINGS

Adjourned with a Prayer: The Minutes of Siloama & Kanaana Hou Churches. Kalawao & Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, 1866–1928. Kalaupapa: Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa, 2011.

- Alder, Jacob, and Gwynn Barrett, eds. *The Diaries of Walter Murray Gibson, 1886, 1887.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1973.
- Arning, Dr. Eduard. *Report of Dr. Eduard Arning to the Board of Health.* Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Publishing Co., 1886.
- Arrington, Leonard J. Charles C. Rich, Mormon General and Western Frontiersman. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1974.

———. Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958.

- Balfour, Graham. *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*. Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.
- Bell, Ku'ulei. "A Servant of God. A Story of Jack Sing Kong." In Proceedings, Thirteenth Annual Conference, Mormon History in the Pacific, May 16, 1992, 1–4. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1992.
- Berlin, Adele, and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds. *The Jewish Study Bible*. Consulting editor Michael Fishbane. Jewish Publication Society TANAKH Translation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Bird, Isabella L. *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1964.
- Board of Health of the Territory of Hawaii. *The Molokai Settlement*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1907. Pamphlet.
- Bowen, Donna J. "Love Story Hidden in Graves of Lepers." *Church News*, June 25, 1988.
- Breitha, Olivia Robello. *Olivia: My Life of Exile in Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Arizona Memorial Museum Association, 1988.
- Britsch, Lanier R. Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986.

——. *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii*. Lā'ie, HI: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989.

- Brocker, James. H. The Lands of Father Damien: Kalaupapa, Molokai, Hawaii. Hong Kong: James H. Brocker, 1997.
- Brody, Saul Nathaniel. *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Bushnell, O. A. The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.
- Cahill, Emmett. *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*. Editorial contributions by Anwei Skinsnes Law, Sister Mary Laurence Hanley, and Jerrold M. Michael. Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1990.
- Cannon, Adrian, Richard E. Turley, and Chad M. Orton, eds. *The Journals of George Q. Cannon: Hawaiian Mission, 1850–1854.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2014.
- Cannon, George Q. My First Mission: designed for the instruction and encouragement of young Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882.
- Carlquist, Sherwin. *Hawaii: A Natural History*. Lāwa'i, HI: Pacific Tropical Botanical Garden, 1980.
- Case, Howard., ed. *Joseph Dutton: His Memoirs*. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin Press, 1931.
- Cerny, Jennifer. "Social Value: An Essential Step Toward Cultural Landscape Understanding." Master's thesis, Cultural Heritage Studies Program, James Cook University, Townsville, Australia, 2001.
- Chase, Lance D. "John Stillman Woodbury and the Battle Against Ignorance, Superstition and Prejudice in Hawaii, 1851–1878." In Proceedings, Sixth Annual Conference, Mormon History in the Pacific, March 2, 1985, 39–44. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1985.
  - ——. "Mormons and Lepers: The Saints at Kalaupapa." In *Proceedings, Thirteenth Annual Conference, Mormon History in the Pacific, May 16, 1992*, 7–22. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1992.

——. "Samuel Edwin Woolley: A Valet's Hero." In *Proceedings, Twelfth Annual Conference, Mormon Pacific Historical Society, May 25, 1991*, 20–34. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1991.

- Clement, Russell T. "Apostle in Exile: Joseph F. Smith's Third Mission to Hawaii, 1885–1887." In Proceedings, Seventh Annual Conference, Mormon History in the Pacific, March 1, 1986, 53–59. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1986.
- Clement, Russell T., comp. *Mormons in the Pacific: A Bibliography*. Lā'ie, HI: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1981.
- Clifford, Edward. *Father Damien: A Journey from Cashmere to His Home in Hawaii*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.
- Collingridge, Vanessa. The Life, Death and Legacy of History's Greatest Explorer. London: Ebury Press, 2003.
- Cooke, George Paul. *Mooelo O Molokai: A Ranch Story of Molokai.* Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1949.
- Corr, Donald Philip. The Field is the World: Proclaiming, Translating and Serving by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–40. Pasadena: William Carey Library Dissertation Series, 2009.

——. "Titus Coan: 'Apostle to the Sandwich Islands.'" In *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810–2010.* Edited by Clifford Putney and Paul Burlin. Eugene, OR: WIPF and STOCK, 2012.

- Curtis, Dorothea. *Historic Pali Trails of Kalaupapa National Park*. Prepared for Kalaupapa National Park, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1991.
- Damien: The Making of a Saint. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2011.
- Damon, Ethel. *Siloama: The Church of the Healing Spring*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Board of Missions, 1948.
- Daws, Gavan. Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973.

—. *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 1968.

——. Honolulu the First Century: The Story of the Town to 1876. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2006.

- De Veuster, Father Auguste Pamphile, ed. *Life and Letters of Father Damien*. London: The Catholic Truth Society, 1889.
- Dutton, Charles J. *The Samaritans of Molokai: The Lives of Father Damien and Brother Dutton among the Lepers.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1932.
- Dutton, Joseph. Joseph Dutton (His Memoirs): The Story of Forty-Four Years of Service Among the Lepers of Molokai, Hawaii. Edited by Howard D. Case. Honolulu: The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1931.
- Ellsworth, S. George, ed. *The Journals of Addison Pratt.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990.

——. Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas. Logan: The Faculty Association, Utah State University, 1959.

- Goates, L. Brent. *Harold B. Lee, Prophet & Seer.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985.
- Gerould, Katharine Fullerton. *Hawaii: Scenes and Impressions*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.
- Gibson, Emma Warren. *Under the Cliffs of Molokai*. Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1957.
- Goodwin, Conrad. A Kalaupapa Sweet Potato Farm: Report on Archaeological Data Recovery Operations, Kalaupapa Airport Improvement Project, Kalaupapa, Molokai, Hawai'i. Vol. 1. Honolulu: International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. For Edward K. Noda & Associates, 1994.
- Greene, Linda W. "Exile in Paradise: The Isolation of Hawai'i's Leprosy Victims and Development of Kalaupapa Settlement, 1865 to the

Present." Historic Resource Study. US Department of the Interior, National Park Service. September 1985.

- Gugelyk, Ted and Milton Bloombaum. *Ma'i Ho'oka'awale, The Separating Sickness.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Foundation and the Ma'i Ho'oka'awale Foundation, 1979.
- Halpern, Richard, ed. *Brother Dutton, 1843–1931: A Saint for Vermont.* Stowe, VT: Blessed Sacrament Church, 1981.
- Hanley, Sister Mary Laurence, and O. A. Bushnell. A Song of Pilgrimage and Exile: The Life and Spirit of Mother Marianne of Molokai. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980.
- Hansen, Dr. G. Armauer. The Memories and Reflections of Dr. G. Armauer Hansen. Translated by G. A. Hansen. Foreword by Frederick B. Watt. Wurzburg, Germany: German Leprosy Relief Association, 1976.
- Imamura, Carolyn K. A Strategic Plan for Transition at Kalaupapa Settlement. Honolulu: Pacific Development Basin Council, 1990.
- Inglis, Kerri A. Ma'i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.
- Jenson, Andrew. *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*. 4 vols. Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1914.
- Johnson, Benjamin F. *My Life's Review*. Independence, MO: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1947.
- Jourdain, Vital. *The Heart of Father Damien*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1955.
- Judd, Lawrence M. *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawaii: An Autobiography*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1971.
- Kahului Hawai'i Stake. Stewards of Promise: The Heritage of the Latter-day Saints on the Hawaiian Islands of Maui, Molokai, and Lanai. N.p.: 1995.
- Kenney, Scott, ed. *Wilford Woodruff's Journals*, 9 vols. Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1983.

- Kester, Matthew. *Remembering Iosepa: History, Place, and Religion in the American West.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Kirch, Patrick V. Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985.
- Korn, Alfons L., ed. News from Molokai, Letters Between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873–1876. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1976.
- Kuykendall, Ralph S., *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938, 1953, and 1967.
- Langlas, Charles, Ka'ohulani McGuire, and Sonia Juvik. *Kalaupapa* 2002–2005: A Summary Report of the Kalaupapa Ethnographic Project. Denver: National Park Service, 2008.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes. *Kalaupapa: A Collective Memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes, and Henry G. Law. *Father Damien: A Bit of Taro, a Piece of Fish, and a Glass of Water.* Chicago: Acta Publications, 2009.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes, and Richard A. Wisniewski. *Kalaupapa and the Legacy of Father Damien*. Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1988.
- Law, Anwei Skinsnes, and Valerie Monson. Photographs by Wayne Levin. *Ili Nā Ho'omana'o o Kalaupapa: Casting Remembrances of Kalaupapa.* Waipahu, HI: Pacific Historic Parks, 2012.
- LeBaron, E. Dale. *Benjamin F. Johnson: Friend to the Prophets*. Provo, UT: Grandin Book, 1997.
- Levin, Wayne, and Anwei Skinsnes Law. *Kalaupapa: A Portrait*. Honolulu: Arizona Memorial Museum Association and Bishop Museum Press, 1989.
- London, Charmian Kittredge. *Our Hawaii (Islands and Islanders)*. New York: MacMillan, 1922.
- London, Jack. The Cruise of the Snark. New York: MacMillan, 1911.

- Malo, Makia, and Pamela Young. *My Name is Makia: A Memoir of Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2012.
- Meyer, Charles S. *Meyer and Molokai*. Edited by Yola Meyer Forbes. Alden, IA: Graphic-Agri Business, 1982.
- Moffat, Riley M., Fred E. Woods, and Jeffrey N. Walker. *Gathering to Lā'ie*. Lā'ie, HI: The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies, BYU–Hawaii, 2011.
- Mouritz, Arthur Albert. A Brief World History of Leprosy. Honolulu: A. Mouritz, 1943.

—. Testimony for the Cause of the Servant of God Joseph Damien de Veuster. Rome: Guerra E. Heli, 1954. Copy found in the Archives of Archbishop of Mechelen.

——. The Path of the Destroyer: A History of the Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and Thirty Years Research into the Means by Which It Has Been Spread. Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1916.

- Murphy, Castle H. Castles of Zion—Hawaii: Autobiography and Episodes from the Life of Castle A. Murphy, Missionary to Hawaii. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963.
- Nālā'ielua, Henry Kalalahilimoku, and Sally-Jo Keala-o-anuenue Bowman. *No Footprints in the Sand: A Memoir of Kalaupapa*. Honolulu: Watermark, 2006
- Neilson, Reid L., and Fred E. Woods, eds. *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work.* Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012.
- Osorio, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2002.
- Pack, Alice C. *Building Missionaries in Hawaii, 1960–1963.* Lā'ie: Church College of Hawai'i, ca. 1963.

- Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A.D. 1850. Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1850.
- Phillips, Clifton Jackson. Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1860. Cambridge: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Piercy, LaRue. *Hawaii's Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1992.
- Proposal for The Establishment of the Kalaupapa National Historical Preserve. N.p.: National Park Service, 1980.
- Pukui, Mary K., and Samuel Elbert. *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1961.
- Putney, Clifford. *Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick*, 1797–1883. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010.
- Pyle, Ernie. Home Country. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1947.
- Reigels, Elizabeth Woolley, and Ruth Woolley Austin. "Our Lei to You: A Biography of Samuel Edwin Woolley." In *Proceedings, Seventh Annual Conference, Mormon History in the Pacific, March 1, 1986*, 35–40. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1986.
- Remy, M. Jules. L'ile de Molokai avant la Leproserie: Journal de M. Jules Remy, Naturaliste-voyageur du Muséum. Translated by Mildred M. Knowlton. Arcis-sur-aube, France: Leon Fremont, 1893. Typed copy available at Kalaupapa National Historical Park.
- Schmitt, Robert C. Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778–1965. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968.

—. *The Missionary Census of Hawaii*. No. 20 of *Pacific Anthropological Records*. Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1973.

Schoofs, Robert. *Pioneers of the Faith: History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii, 1827–1940.* WaiKāne, HI: Louis Boeynaems, 1978.

- Somers, Gary F. Kalaupapa, More than a Leprosy Settlement: Archeology at Kalaupapa National Historical Park. No. 30 of Publications in Anthropology. N.p.: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985.
- Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Smith, Henry A. *Matthew Cowley Man of Faith*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954.
- Soulliere, Laura E., and Henry G. Law. *Architectural Evaluation, Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement Molokai, Hawaii.* San Francisco: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979.
- Spurrier, Joseph H. *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands.* Salt Lake City: Hawkes, 1978.

——. "The Life and Times of Early Missionaries to Polynesia." In *Proceedings*, Second Annual Conference, Mormon Pacific Historical Society, July 28–29, 1989, 14–24. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1989.

- Stevenson, Robert Louis. Father Damien: An Open Letter to the Reverend Doctor Hyde of Honolulu from Robert Louis Stevenson. London: Chatto & Windus, 1914.
  - ———. *Travels in Hawaii*. Edited by A. Grove Day. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1973.
- Stewart, Susan. Pure Gold: A Behind-the-Scenes Look at a Builder of the Kingdom, Keith Elliot Garner. Salt Lake City: Promontory Publishing, 2003.
- Stoddard, Charles Warren. *The Lepers of Molokai*. Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1893.

—. Diary of a Visit to Molokai in 1884 with a Letter from Father Damien to His Brother in 1873. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1933.

- Summers, Catherine C. Molokai: A Site Survey. No. 14 of Pacific Anthropological Records. Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1971.
- Swinton, Heidi S. In the Company of Prophets: Personal Experiences of D. Arthur Haycock with Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Spencer W. Kimball, and Ezra Taft Benson. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993.
- Tayman, John. The Colony: The Harrowing True Story of the Exiles of Molokai. New York: Scribner, 2006.
- Thurston, Lorrin A., ed. *The Fundamental Law of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1904.
- Trapp, Maria Augusta, and Ruth T. Murdoch. A Family on Wheels. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1959.
- De Volder, Jan. *The Spirit of Father Damien: The Leper Priest—A Saint for Our Times*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010.
- Wagner, Warren L., Derral R. Herbst, and S. H. Sohmer. *Manual of the Flowering Plants of Hawai'i*. Vol. 1 and 2, Bishop Museum Special Publication no. 83. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press and Bishop Museum Press, 1990.
- Whitney, Orson F. "Elder Orson F. Whitney." In Ninety-First Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1921, 32–33.
- Yzendoorn, Father Reginald, SS.CC. *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Ltd., 1927.

## JOURNAL ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS, AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES

- Atkin, Dennis H. "Iosepa, A Utah Home for the Polynesians." In Voyages of Faith: Explorations in Mormon Pacific History, edited by Grant Underwood, 71–88. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000.
- Barrett, Gwynn. "Walter Murray Gibson: The Shepherd Saint of Lanai Revisited." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 142–62.
- "Beacon Selects its First Man of the Year, Kalaupapa's Richard Marks." *Beacon Magazine of Hawaii* (January 1969): 19–20.
- Bell, Ku'ulei. "A Servant of God: A Story of Jack Sing Kong." In Proceedings, Thirteenth Annual Conference, Mormon Pacific Historical Society, May 16, 1992, 1–4. N.p.: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1992.
- Bishop, M. Guy. "Henry William Bigler: Mormon Missionary to the Sandwich Islands during the 1850s." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 20 (1986): 122–36.

———. "Waging Holy War: Mormon-Congregationalist Conflict in Mid-Nineteenth Century Hawaii." *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 110–119.

Britsch, R. Lanier. "The Lanai Colony: A Hawaiian Extension of the Mormon Colonial Idea." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 68–83.

—. "Another Visit with Walter Murray Gibson." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (1978): 65–78.

- Campbell, Eugene. "The Mormon Gold-Mining Mission of 1849." *BYU Studies* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1959–Winter 1960): 19–31.
- Cannon, Eugene M. "Tahiti and the Society Island Mission." *Juvenile Instructor* 32, no.11 (June 1, 1897): 334.
- Cantwell, Lee G. "The Separating Sickness." *This People* (Summer 1995): 52–63.
- Chase, Lance D., and Ku'ulei Bell. "Faith, Hope and Hansen's Disease." In *Voyages of Faith: Explorations in Mormon Pacific History*, edited by

Grant Underwood, 371–86. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000.

- Creighton, Robert J. "Molokai: Description of the Leper Colony on this Island." *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (November 1885): 2.
- Frankel, Richard I. "Hansen's Disease in Hawaii: Current Status." *Hawai'i Journal of Medicine & Public Health* 47, no. 2 (February 1988): 48–52.
- Heslop, J. Malan. "Leper Colony His Home for 57 Years." *Church News* 47, no. 3 (January 15, 1977), 4.
- Josephson, Marba C. "A Glance at Hawaiian Mission History." *Improvement Era* (August 1950): 619–20, 666–69.
- Kenney, Scott G. "Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853." *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 1–26.
- Maffly-Kipp, Laurie F. "Looking West: Mormonism and the Pacific World." *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 40–63.
- Marks, Richard. "I am a Leper." *Beacon Magazine of Hawaii* (February 1968): Cover story.
- Moblo, Pennie. "Ethnic Intercession: Leadership at Kalaupapa Leprosy Colony, 1871–1887." *Pacific Studies* 22, no. 2 (June 1999): 27–69.
- Pack, Marvin E. "The Sandwich Islands Country and Mission." Contributor 17 (November 1895–October 1896). Eleven-part series (skips March), and the last five deal with missionary work.
- Panek, Tracey E. "Life at Iosepa: Utah's Polynesian Colony." In Proclamation to the People: Nineteenth-century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin Frontier, edited by Laurie Maffly-Kipp and Reid L. Neilson, 170–81. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008.
- Poulsen, Orlene J. "Kalaupapa: Place of Refuge." *Relief Society Magazine* 55, no. 3 (March 1968): 208–11.

- Russell, Francis J. "Diamond Jubilee of Missionary Effort in Hawaii." Improvement Era (May 1926): 613–19.
- Shaffer, Donald R. "Hiram Clark and the first LDS Hawaiian Mission: A Reappraisal." *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 94–109.
- Silva, Noenoe K., with assistance of Iokepa Badis. "Early Hawaiian Newspapers and Kanaka Maoli Intellectual History, 1834–1855." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 105–34.
- Silva, Noenoe K., and Pualeilani Fernandez. "Mai Ka 'Aina O Ka Ehaeha Mai: Testimonies of Hansen's Disease Patients in Hawai'i, 1866– 1897." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 75–97.
- Spurrier, Joseph H. "Jonathon Napela: Quiet Hero of Hawaii." *Ensign* 8 (August 1978): 49–51.
- Solnit, Rebecca. "The Separating Sickness: How Leprosy Teaches Empathy." *Harper's Magazine* (June 2013): 50–57.
- Tate, Merze. "Sandwich Islands Missionaries Train a Native Pastorate." *The Journal of Religious Thought* 17 (Winter–Spring 1960): 33–39.
- Waddoups, William M. "Cheer and Trust to Face Adversity." *Improvement Era* 33, no. 10 (August 1930): 714–15.
- White, Anne. "Isle of Exile." *Beacon Magazine of Hawaii*, February 1968, 14–21.
- Wineera, Vernice, Jay Fox, and B. J. Lee, "Jack Sing Kong: Kalaupapa Pioneer." *BYU–Hawaii University Magazine* (Winter 2001): 42–46.
- Woods, Fred E. "Miracles at Kalaupapa: Joining with Other Faiths to Heal Leprosy Victims. *LDS Living* (July–August 2015): 31–34.

——. "A Most Influential Mormon Islander: Jonathan Hawaii Napela." Hawaiian Journal of History 42 (2008): 135–57.

——. "Kalaupapa: Uncommon Service on Common Ground." *Interreligious Insight: A Journal of Dialogue and Engagement* 6, no. 1 (January 2008): 66–74.

——. "An Islander's View of a Desert Kingdom: Jonathan Napela Recounts His 1869 Visit to Salt Lake City." *BYU Studies* 45, no. 1 (2006): 22–34.

———. "Jonathan Napela: A Noble Hawaiian Convert." *Regional Studies in Church History for the South Pacific*, edited by Reid Neilson, et al., 23–36. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008.

——. "The Soul of Kalaupapa." BYU Speeches, 2008–2009. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2009, 215–30.

——. "The Palawai Pioneers on the Island of Lanai: The First Hawaiian Latter-day Saint Gathering Place (1854–1864)." *Mormon Historical Studies* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 3–35.

—. "De ziel van Kalaupapa." *Acta Comparanda XX Faculteit voor Vergelijkende Godsdienstwetenschappen*, 2009, 63–72.

——. "Launching Mormonism in the South Pacific: The Voyage of the *Timoleon*." In *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Fred E. Woods, 191–216. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012.

——. "Latter-day Saint Missionaries Encounter the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific, 1844–1852." *BYU Studies* 52, no. 3 (2013): 102–25.

# UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

- Allan, J. Collin. Journal. Excerpts from November 1954 to January 1955. Copy of entries in the author's possession.
- Hutchison, Ambrose T. "In Memory of Reverend Father Damien J. De Veuster and Other Priests Who Have Labored in the Leper Settlement of Kalawao, Molokai. 1931." Damiaan Centre, Leuven, Belgium. Unpublished manuscript.

- Ka 'Ohana O Kalaupapa. "We Deserve to be Remembered." The Kalaupapa Memorial, testimonies collected in support of the Kalaupapa Memorial. Unpublished manuscript, last modified in 2007.
- William Waddoups to Elder David Hannemann, April 28, 1949. Courtesy of David Hannemann, copy in the author's possession.
- Moffat, Riley M. "The Church on the Peninsula." Paper presented to the Mormon Pacific Historical Society at Kalaupapa, April 27, 2007. Unpublished paper in the author's possession.
- "Personal History of William Mark Waddoups." Courtesy of Sarah E. Hale, a great-grand daughter of Waddoups. Unpublished manuscript copy in the author's possession.

# DOCUMENTARIES

- *The Soul of Kalaupapa: Voices of Exile.* Documentary. Directed by Ethan Vincent. Provo, UT: BYUty, 2011.
- *Kalaupapa Heaven*. Documentary. Directed by Paul Cox. Australia: Contemporary Arts Media, 2007.

# THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

- Atkin, Dennis H. "A History of Iosepa, the Utah Polynesian Colony." Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958.
- Beck, Raymond Clyde. "Palawai Basin: Hawaii's Mormon Zion." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1972.
- Bock, Comfort Margaret. "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1941.
- Douglas, Norman. "Latter-day Saint Missions and Missionaries in Polynesia, 1844–1960." PhD diss., Australian National University, 1974.

- Eynikel, Hilde. "Father Damien, A Progressive Priest: The reconstruction of his Life (1840-1889)." PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1996.
- Flake, Lawrence R. "George Q. Cannon: His Missionary Years." DRE diss., Brigham Young University, 1970.
- Harvey, Richard C. "The Development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii." Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974.
- Moblo, Pennie. "Defamation by Disease: Leprosy, Myth and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Hawaii." PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1996.
- Shaffer, Donald R. "A Forgotten Missionary: Hiram Clark, Mormon Itinerant, British Emigration Organizer, and First President of the L.D.S. Hawaiian Mission, 1795–1853." Master's thesis, California State University, 1990.