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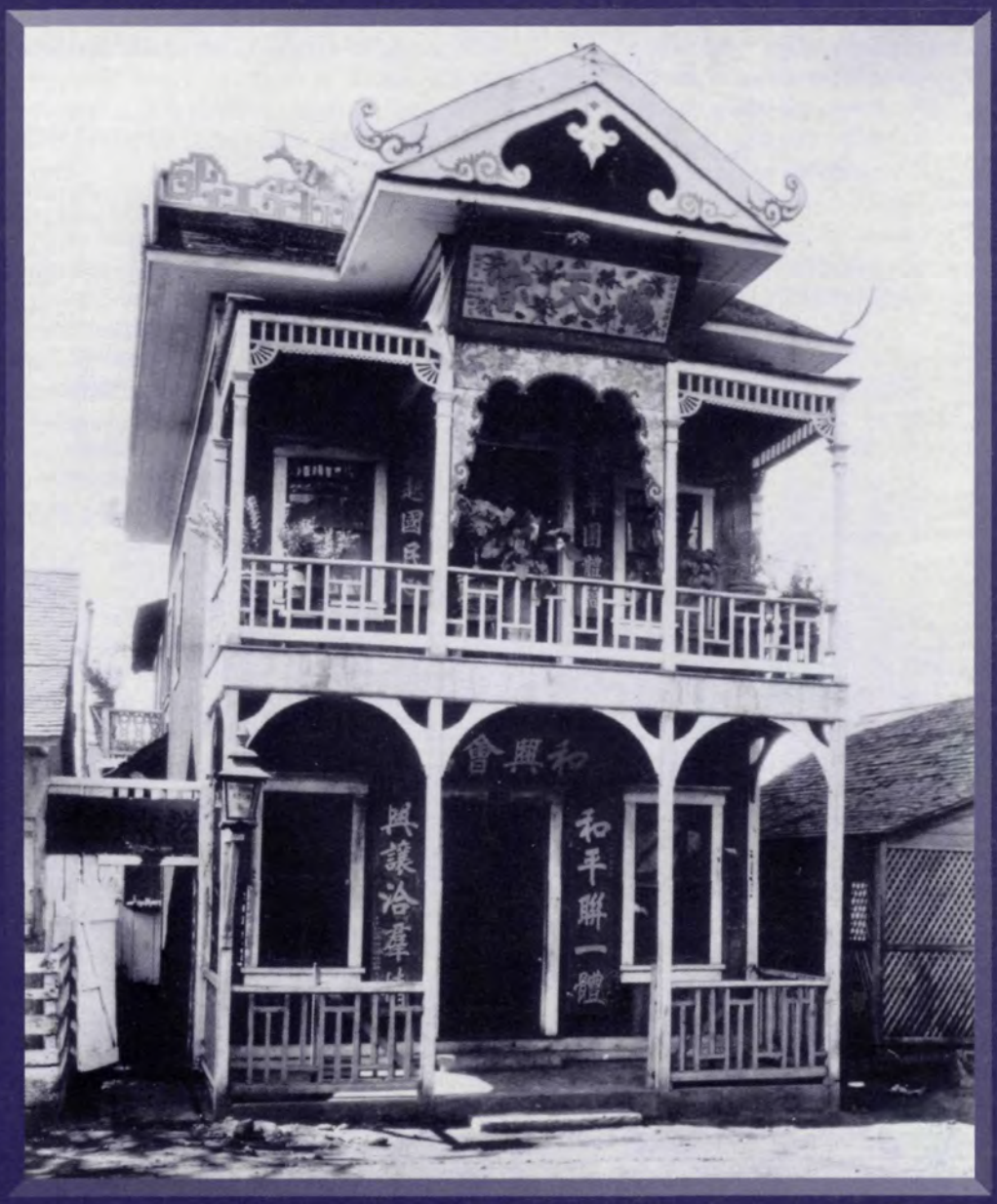
Preservation in the Pacific Basin



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Cover: Wo Hing Society building, Lahaina, Maui, c. 1908–1910. Photo courtesy Bishop Museum, R.J. Baker Collection.

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William Chapman

Asia and the Pacific

A Big Area to Cover!

Wo Hing Society building, Lahaina, Maui, c. 1912. Quill and ink drawing © by Ramsay. Used with permission.

This issue of *CRM* concentrates—if that could be the word for so complex and vast a topic—on historic preservation and cultural resource issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Extending from the west coasts of North, Central, and South America across the Pacific and into China, Korea and Southeast Asia, enveloping in its scope the scattered islands of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia and the countries of Japan, New Zealand, and *continental* Australia, the Asia-Pacific region has been held up for some time as the predicted center of action for the next century.

The economies of all of the countries in the region are definitely on the upswing. Japan, of course, is now a long-recognized powerhouse in the region, despite more recent and much-publicized setbacks. Korea is following close behind. Expansion and economic growth in countries such as Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia have been dramatic—a part of what has been termed the "Asian Miracle." Thailand's economy grows at an estimated 8.5% a year, Indonesia's at 7.0%, and Singapore's at 10% (real GDP). Gargantuan China looms increasingly into the picture. With its population of 1.2 billion, its immense resources, and the renaissance of major trading centers such as Shanghai—as well as the absorption of Hong Kong, an eventuality which takes place in 1997—China promises to dominate the region in one way or the other before long.

Angkor Wat, only one of 43 major monuments within the Angkor Historic City in northern Cambodia. Photo by the author.

The United States is in many ways at the periphery of this rapidly changing area—an area referred to as the Pacific Basin. Of course, for many years the U.S., and particularly the states along the west coast, have been tied in with Asia and the Pacific countries and islands. California, Washington, and Oregon all have substantial historic links to the region and populations that, perhaps more than other states, reflect those long-standing connections. Hawai`i, of course, is at the center of the region, although with the introduction of long-range commercial aircraft over the past 20 years, the state's central position is more symbolic than efficacious.

Still, the majority of U.S. citizens have been slow to appreciate the significance of the shift in power and influence to the Pacific Region. Efforts of the Clinton Administration to push the U.S. into the center of economic agreements and cooperation in the region, such as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Agreement (APEC), have failed to capture the attention of most Americans. As reflected in the distribution of our foreign aid, the coverage in the press and television, Asia and the Pacific are still thought of as far off, and in many ways irrelevant places; the focus remains—often frustratingly for those of us in the Pacific and with ties to Asia—clearly on Europe and the Mediterranean. The dissolution of Yugoslavia and

the subsequent turmoil and fighting there captures considerable press; continuing political problems in Cambodia, Burma, and Korea are less noticed. The focus of foreign aid shifted dramatically to Eastern Europe in the mid-1980s, following the breakup of the Soviet Union. Developing countries in Asia and the Pacific seem barely a trickle by comparison.

Not surprisingly, Asia and the Pacific increasingly have charted their own courses of development and alignment. This has been as true for historic preservation interests as in other areas. Japan has long been noted for its attention to "living treasures" as well as buildings and monuments. Pacific islanders have made the point for many years that their interests lay in preserving their *cultures*, not merely artifacts. Australia has energetically promoted its own Burra Charter, to some degree a counterpart to the famous Venice Charter, but in other ways a rallying cry for alternatives.

A conference held in Hawai`i in 1992, "Cultural Heritage in Asia and the Pacific: Conservation and Policy," sponsored by the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA), the Getty Conservation Institute, US/ICOMOS, and the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program, and a follow-up conference in Thailand this past year called "The Future of Asia's Past," have revealed many of the *differences* in Asian and Pacific approaches to preservation. It is clear generally, for example, that Asians see their monuments more as living places, still functioning as part of the social and religious life of their peoples, than as treasures to be venerated and set aside for posterity. Many Pacific islanders see the preservation of older monuments and, especially, Western-introduced elements, as virtual impediments to the development of their own forms of cultural appreciation.

Traditional meeting house (pebai), Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. Photo by William J. Murtagh.

Some of these differences are not so great as they might at first seem. The basic strictures of the Venice Charter appear to be fundamentally unchallenged, as Lester Borley, Secretary General of Europa Nostra, pointed out in discussions in Chiang Mai, Thailand, as part of the Getty-sponsored conference on "The Future of Asia's Past" last January. Still, there are important points of divergence—at least *perceived* differences in assessments of what is significant and what is not and what should be preserved or not—among the many peoples and cultures of the region. Western ideas of preservation will simply no longer be accepted *prima facie;* other points of view will have to be taken into account as part of the process.

This *CRM* means to take a stab at some of these issues and provide a preliminary forum for venting some of the more evident areas of conflict. Stressing Australia's increasingly influential perspective in the region, landscape architect and National University of Australia professor Ken Taylor discusses his country's efforts to preserve the traditional landscape heritage of Australia and give recognition to sacred sites and other places of special interest to the Aboriginal population. Peter James, Chairman of Australia ICOMOS and a former instructor in the University of Hawai`i's summer field school, provides some thoughts on the Burra Charter and its implications for the preservation of both "native" and imported heritages.

Focusing on the preservation of colonial architecture, former Hawaiian National Trust Advisor Gerry Takano describes his nearly two-year involvement with the former British colony of Fiji and that, now independent, country's efforts to develop the small town of Levuka as a tourist site. The results of an assessment of training needs in Micronesia, including the Republic of Belau (formerly Palau), the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia, undertaken by the University of Hawai`i on behalf of the National Park Service, is described in detail in the article "Historic Preservation Training in Micronesia: An Assessment of Needs."

Other more building-oriented historic preservation concerns are addressed in Jeff Cody's informative article on the preservation of European- and American-designed architecture in China and on the status of preservation efforts in Hong Kong. Robertson Collins, Vice President of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA), headquartered in Singapore, and past Vice President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, shares some informal insights into the character of Singapore's preservation efforts from the developers' and tourists' perspective. The interpenetration of "East" and "West" is treated in University of Hawai`i Architecture Professor Chris Yip's study of San Francisco's Chinatown, the subject of his dissertation for Berkeley; and the discussion by Gail

Dubrow, of the University of Washington, of the identification of the frequently illusive Japanese cultural heritage in the Pacific northwest. The history of Honolulu's own Chinatown is covered in a short article by Greg Mark.

Preservation education is the subject of Chester Liebs' article recounting his experience in Japan as a visiting Senior Fulbright Scholar. Professor Liebs, formerly Director of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Vermont and currently a board member of US/ICOMOS, spent a year working with Japanese students and instructors on a variety of preservation projects and strategies. Lowell Angell and Rosemary Ruhr discuss the University of Hawai`i's program and the ways it interfaces with the community and, in many ways, serves as a catalyst for change. Bion Griffin, Chairman of the University of Hawai`i Department of Anthropology, Miriam Stark, Professor of Anthropology, and Judy Ledgerwood, Senior Research Fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu, describe the University of Hawai`i and the East-West Center's joint effort to provide training in archeology and historic preservation to the recently re-established University of Fine Arts in strife-ridden Cambodia.

Also, Professor Bion Griffin gives some background on the University's first season in Angkor Borei, a significant 1st to 10th century site on the Cambodian border with Vietnam that the University of Hawai`i began work on this past summer. Graduate student Mike Dega describes the first season's results. In the northern part of the country, at Siem Reap, World Monuments Fund Project Director John Stubbs explains the Fund's on-going work at Preah Khan, a magnificent 11th-century site now under selective restoration. John Stubbs, who also teaches in Columbia University's Historic Preservation Program, discusses some of the difficulties facing cultural resource experts in this incomparable World Heritage area—an area incorporating the perhaps more famous Angkor Wat and some 40-plus other major monuments.

The final important theme in this issue is the War in the Pacific and the legacy of World War II. The Pacific was a primary theater of the Second World War. It was where the war began for America, following the famous December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor, and it was where the war ended, with the Japanese signing of the documents of surrender in Tokyo Bay on the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. The Pacific islands, as well as the mainland of Asia, contain the historic sites of the conflict: the battlefields of Iwo Jima and Guadalcanal; the scenes of imprisonment and forced marches such as Corregidor, Burma, and southern Thailand; and the memorials to the devastated remnants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hawai`i was America's "eye" on the Pacific war, the strategic center of the U.S. Pacific naval and military operations; so it is appropriate that an issue emanating from the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program should discuss the legacy of this enormously significant era.

In this issue Geoff White, anthropologist, Senior Fellow at the East-West Center, and a well-known author on World War II, discusses varying, and sometimes contrasting, approaches to commemorating the war. National Park Service Cultural Resources Specialist Jim Adams covers Pearl Harbor and upcoming problems faced by managers there. Jim Adams also discusses the USS *Arizona* site and other lesser-known resources in Pearl Harbor. Other National Park Service sites relating to the Pacific theater are also mentioned. Finally, Ann Yaklovich and Glenn Mason describe the assessment of World War II resources in the Pacific.

The Pacific, with its geographical and cultural links to both Asia and America, is a profoundly significant region. It is significant for its place in the history of the world and for its future potential in the world's economy. It is an area that deserves more attention from historic preservationists and cultural resource specialists, one that possesses its own kinds of legacies and requires its own particular approaches and solutions. It is hoped that this issue of *CRM* will help bring some of this work into better view.

William Chapman is Director of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Manoa, where he has been since 1993. Formerly he taught at the University of Georgia (1985–1993) and before that worked for the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office of the National Park Service in Philadelphia. He appreciates any comments on this issue and can be reached at wchapman@hawaii.edu.

This issue of *CRM* was compiled and edited by the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Manoa. Contributions were made by Chapman; Lowell Angell, program administrator; and graduate historic preservation students Delta Lightner, Jennifer Malin, Shannon Smith, and Rosemary Ruhr. Our thanks to the authors and to Ron Greenberg at the National Park Service.

This is the first of two issues edited by the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program. The second, to be published in the fall of this year, will focus on Hawai`i's own unique "cultural resource blend," including articles on Native Hawaiian perspectives, the plantation heritage, and the state's important urban heritage.

Jennifer Malin

"The Future of Asia's Past"

An International Conference on the Preservation of Asia's Architectural Heritage

Can policies that allow for economic development also ensure the preservation of Asia's architectural heritage?

What is the effect of industrial development on the Taj Mahal?

What will increased tourism mean for the monuments at Angkor in Cambodia?

How do Japanese authorities manage sustained development in the ancient city of Nara?

Tourism, development, and the protection of Asian cultural and architectural resources were the foci of the January 11–14, 1995, conference held in Chiang Mai, Thailand that brought together scholars, government policy makers, private developers, and tourism officials for discourse and the exchange of ideas in order to begin the generation of a framework for more allied preservation efforts. Organized by the Asia Society, the Siam Society, and the Getty Conservation Institute, the conference drew attendance from across Asia and the Pacific in order to discuss the immediate needs of Asian countries to generate "a judicious blend of site management, focused funding, and political will" so that ancient architectural resources might be saved in the face of rapid economic growth.

The conference included sessions such as "Preservation Policy in Asia," "Cultural Tourism and Monuments," "Vernacular Architecture and Colonial Legacy," "Public and Private Partnerships," "Threats to Architectural Sites," and "Site Management" sessions in regards to the present conservation of specific monument areas in Laos, Cambodia, Japan, Indonesia, Myanmar, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, and Korea. The World Monuments Fund (WMF) announced during the conference that it will establish a program in which grants will be provided annually to aid a minimum of the 10 most endangered world monuments as identified by a "World Monument Watch" list established by WMF.

The Grand Palace, Banglampoo, Bangkok, Thailand. Photo: William Chapman, 1995.

The management of Asia's many cultural assets, such as Chiang Mai in Thailand, Borobudur in Indonesia, or Angkor Wat in Cambodia, need to be promoted and supported not only via national legislation, but through the sponsorship and funding of captains of industry and tourism in each nation, as well as small-scale local efforts which would involve the immediate community of a site. The conference has also noted the necessity for the establishment of heritage trusts, comparable to the British National Trust, to give political and financial independence to the conservation efforts of a nation. Many of the sessions were concerned with the impact of tourism, both positively and negatively, on cultural sites. Ideally, the restoration and conservation of cultural heritage sites in Asia would promote and support the national culture as an asset, as well as improve cultural tourism economies that in turn would create revenue to be used in future conservation of the monument.

The consensus among participants was that there needs to be consideration of how to preserve the past without exploiting it and how to balance economic development with respect for the living heritage of a site. Miguel Angel Corzo, director of the Getty Conservation Fund, concluded the conference with the resolution that "It is time to make a commitment to protect our values and roots of spiritual development. Can we imagine a future without a past?"

Jennifer Malin is a graduate student in the University of Hawai'i's Historic Preservation Program and administrator of the special Micronesia Training Initiative Project.

Lowell Angell and Rose Mary Ruhr

Historic Preservation Programs and the Community
The Example of Hawai`i

Historic preservation programs are unusual among university courses for the degree to which they reach out into their surrounding communities. This interaction occurs both through on-site teaching and as a service aspect of the program. The University of Hawai`i's program is no exception and is in many ways an exemplar of this process.

Begun in 1986 as a result of community interest, the program's first director was William J. Murtagh, well-known preservationist and first Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places. He developed a curriculum leading to a graduate certificate, including an introductory course in preservation. In 1991, a summer preservation field school was established which has been offered annually in a different venue, often in direct response to community requests or identified priorities (see box).

William Chapman took over as director of the program in 1993, and has continued to try to fit the program within this paradigm. Educated at Columbia in New York and Oxford in England, Chapman's specialties are archeology and vernacular architectural studies, with a particular past interest in the historic resources of the Caribbean. More recently, he has been involved in research in the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia; he is currently scheduled to teach a special course on architectural documentation in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (see box). A former Fulbright scholar, participant at the International Center for Conservation in Rome, and past trustee of US/ICOMOS, he is also a consultant in many practical aspects of preservation. In October 1995, he conducted a historic resources damage assessment in the U.S. Virgin Islands following Hurricane Marilyn. He now works closely with a number of community-based preservation efforts, including the Main Street Program, the residential and commercial neighborhood of Kaimukì, and as a member of the design review committee for the city-regulated preservation project at `Ewa Villages, a ground-breaking effort in Hawai`i to preserve a significant aspect of plantation life and housing.

Academically, the historic preservation program continues to grow, having tripled its enrollment in the past two years. Currently, three separate "tracks" of study are available to graduate students: a Certificate in Historic Preservation, offered separately or in conjunction with another graduate degree; and an M.A. or Ph.D. in American Studies with a concentration in Historic Preservation. Courses offered include Preservation: Theory and Practice, American

Southeast Asia Summer Preservation Field School

In the summer of 1996 (July 6–August 17) the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation program will be sponsoring a 5 1/2-week special training program in the Documentation of Historic Architecture, to be held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Conducted in association with the Fine Arts University in Phnom Penh, the program will include 10 Cambodian architecture and archeology students and up to 10 international students, primarily from the U.S. A short introductory visit to Bangkok and the historic city of Ayuthaya is scheduled, as is a culminating visit to the remarkable city of Angkor in northern Cambodia. Students interested in participating may request more information from the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program, Dept. of American Studies, 1890 East West Road, Moore 324, Honolulu, HI 96822; telephone 800-993-7737 or 808-956-9546; fax 808-956-4733; email: angell@hawaii.edu.

Application deadline is May 1.

Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Site of the 1996 Southeast Asia Field School in Documentation and Historic Preservation. Photo by William Chapman, 1995.

Vernacular Traditions, Preservation Law, Elements of Style, Historic Building Technology, Historic Resources: Survey and Assessment, and Community Preservation.

A number of courses in the program have focused on community-based preservation initiatives. The course on Community Preservation consistently works with neighborhood boards, business and professional associations, and other organizations to create a foundation for preservation-related activities. Thus far, the course has focused on the areas of Kapahulu, Diamond Head, Kaimukì, and Manoa Valley. Students typically have met with community leaders, carried out inventories of historic structures, suggested boundaries for proposed districts, and drafted some preliminary design and rehabilitation standards. Issues have included the relationship between zoning and current practice, the recognition of the significance of landscape features, the conflicts between existing city and county regulations, and requirements of historic properties. The same issues have been raised and procedures carried out on neighbor islands, in the context of summer fields schools. Both Hilo on the Island of Hawai`i and Wailuku town on Maui have been treated through student projects.

Residential area, Manoa Valley, Honolulu. A typical example of the kinds of early-20th-century houses that still enrich the city. Photo by Jennifer Malin, 1994.

One of the principal areas for student and faculty involvement with the Hawai`i community has been the neighborhood of Manoa Valley surrounding the University. Comprised of an outstanding collection of late-19th and early-20th-century suburban houses, Manoa remains one of the most attractive, and therefore threatened, historic neighborhoods of Honolulu. The historic preservation program has worked closely with the recently formed Malama o Manoa (Hawaiian for "to care for Manoa"), a citizen-based community organization working to "preserve, protect, and enhance the unique residential character of Manoa Valley." With over 3,500 members, Malama o Manoa has established itself as a significant proponent of preservation in Hawai`i and, it is hoped, will serve as a model for similar organizations in other neighborhoods and communities. The organization, with the support and encouragement of the Historic Preservation Program, has launched a three-pronged effort to (1) create a special land-use ordinance governing issues such as density and protection of vegetation and open space; (2) create historic districts within the larger neighborhood encompassing the greater concentration of historic properties; and (3) institute voluntary guidelines to encourage owners to add on to existing structures and build new buildings which are in keeping with the traditional, mainly Craftsman and Colonial Revival, architectural styles of the valley. During the next year, students in several courses will be working with the Malama o Manoa organization to help "fine-tune" guidelines, establish the boundaries of the proposed historic districts, and explore the possibilities of an easement program and revolving funds.

One of the most successful collaborations between the University's Historic Preservation Program and the community has been the designation and rehabilitation of the historic `Ewa plantation town in West O`ahu. Formerly owned by Campbell Estate, a major land-owning trust, this collection of plantation villages, built primarily in the 1920s and 1930s, is the largest remaining concentration of agricultural housing remaining in the Hawaiian islands, with over 300 separate houses for field workers, as well as larger houses for managers and specialists. The villages are now located within the expanding boundaries of urban O`ahu and the newly-developed "second city" of Kapolei. Spearheaded by preservation program student Penny Pagliaro, along with members of the `Ewa community, `Ewa was the subject of the 1992 Field School, directed by William Murtagh and Peter James of Australia. Students measured buildings, compiled condition reports, and drafted a National Register nomination for the three village areas. The city has since embraced a innovative program of rehabilitation, new in-fill construction, and site improvements. The plan has been to bring the properties up to acceptable modern standards, while at the same time respecting traditional materials and design. Existing occupants are being given the first option to purchase the houses, through a complex city-managed system of subsidies and land swaps.

Another recent project has been the Program's efforts with the commercial section of Honolulu's Kaimukì neighborhood. Comprised of a surprising number of 1930s and 1940s Art Moderne one- and two-story commercial buildings, the "top of the hill" area, as it is known locally, is one of the few remaining neighborhood-oriented retail areas in Honolulu. A class in Community Preservation concentrated its efforts in the

Kaimukì area in 1993. Enlisting the help of the business community and neighborhood board, building owners and tenants initiated efforts to become a Hawai`i Main Street community. That effort is continuing through a newly-organized Kaimukì Main Street committee at the present time. With student help, including the contributions of part-time Historic Preservation Program student Scott Bogle, who actually sits on the board, the Kaimukì organization is moving toward special designation and design review. Students in the upcoming summer field school will complete an inventory of the 20-block area and produce measured drawings of some of the more significant commercial structures (see below).

The Historic Preservation Program also works closely with the State Historic Preservation Office, under the direction of Administrator Don Hibbard. Working with staff members Carol Ogata and Tonia Moy, faculty and students have prepared over 30 National Register nominations, many of which have passed the State Review Board's approval. Currently, nomination efforts are focusing on individual properties in Manoa Valley and in Nuuanu Valley, tentatively a candidate for a second community-based organization. In addi-

1996 Pacific Preservation Summer Field School
Kaimukì, Honolulu, Hawai`i

The Pacific Preservation Field School is an integral aspect of the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program's academic offerings. The six credit-hour course is co-sponsored by the Department of American Studies in the College of Arts and Humanities and the University's Summer Session and operates at a different island location each year. Now in its sixth year, the Field School is an intensive, four-week summer program providing graduate students with hands-on experience in documenting buildings or neighborhoods. The program includes actual work with materials of a building or area, in addition to study of its contents, environment, and inhabitants. Past participants have come from Hawai`i, the Pacific Islands, Asia, and the U.S. mainland, and have included both professionals and students in architecture, archeology, urban and regional planning, and historic preservation.

The first field school took place in 1991 at the I'ole Mission Station, a 19th-century complex of buildings of the missionary Bond family in North Kòhala on the Island of Hawai`i. The 1992 program examined `Ewa town on O`ahu, the most complete surviving sugar plantation complex in the state. In 1993, the program went back to Hawai`i, with the town of Hilo as the venue; study included the historic downtown area and 1899 W.H. Shipman residence. The 1994 location was Manoa Valley in Honolulu, a historic neighborhood of over 1,000 Craftsman, Queen Anne, Tudor, and Hawaiian style houses. Threatened by developmental pressures, it served as an ideal subject for the examination of conflicting forces in land-use and urban development. Last year's field school was on the Island of Maui in Wailuku, the island's largest town and county seat. Participants conducted a historic resource field survey of 120 plantation-style houses, which was presented to the local planning department and may ultimately lead to the area being designated as an historic or special

The 1995 Field School, Wailuku, Maui. Photo by Jeff Chusid.

design district. The final measured drawings were exhibited at the museum of the Maui Historical Society.

Applications are now being accepted for the 1996 Preservation Field School, Documentation of Urban Vernacular Architecture, scheduled for May 20 to June 14 in Honolulu and focusing on Kaimukì, an early-20th-century residential district. Application deadline is April 22.

Specific areas of study include vernacular architecture, training in research, documentation and recording techniques, basic terminology of architectural description, drafting and the techniques of measured drawings, and training in both 35mm and large format photography. There are guest lecturers from Hawai`i and the U.S. mainland. Past lecturers have included specialists from the National Park Service, local architects, historians, and professional architectural photographers.

Further information on the summer field school or the historic preservation program is available on request. You may telephone, toll-free, 800-993-7737, fax 808-956-4733, email angell@hawaii.edu, or write: Historic Preservation Program, Department of American Studies, University of Hawai`i at Manoa, Moore Hall-324, 1890 East West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822.

tion, students have worked as volunteers at the Historic Hawai`i Foundation and other community preservation organizations. A number of students are currently employed part-time as volunteers doing data entry in the combined Historic Hawai`i Foundation and Historic Preservation Division inventory project for Honolulu.

Also at the statewide level, the Historic Preservation Program has taken on responsibility for hosting an annual Historic Preservation Conference, undertaken in cooperation with the Historic Preservation Division and other historic preservation organizations. Last year's conference, entitled "Preserving Hawai`i's Traditional Landscapes," was funded by the National Park Service under the Cultural Resources Training Initiative (CRTI), overseen by the Western Regional Office. Participants included Margaret Pepin-Donat, Ann Huston, Charles Birnbaum, Sam Stokes, Elizabeth Watson, and William Murtagh. This first conference was significant in that it focused on issues significant not only to all the citizens of Hawai`i, but on the particular needs of native Hawaiians as well. Much of the program emphasized issues such as the cultural significance of landscapes, including traditional agriculture, land and water rights, as they pertain to issues of Hawaiian sovereignty. Representatives of Hawaiian interests included Davianna McGregor of the University of Hawai`i Department of Ethnic Studies, Liz Pa Martin, and Eric Enos.

In addition to this new annual effort, the HP program continues with an ongoing lecture series, "Experts at the Palace," now in its ninth season, with speakers invited to present information on various aspects of historic preservation to Hawai`i residents. Co-sponsored with Friends of `Iolani Palace, it is held on the grounds of historic `Iolani Palace, built in 1882 as the residence of the Hawaiian monarchy. The noon-time lectures allow for attendance by community members who might otherwise not be exposed to new ideas and activities in the field. Past lecturers have included Walter Beinecke, Trustee Emeritus of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; Francis Golding, Director of English Heritage; Nellie Longsworth, President of Preservation Action; Nicholas Pappas, Foundation Architect for Colonial Williamsburg; Bob Bush, Executive Director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation; John McGaw, National Main Street Center; and William Seale, author and historian of the White House.

On the international front, the University's Preservation Program has taken on the task of serving as the coordinator for training in Micronesia. Sponsored again by the National Park Service and administered through a cooperative agreement, the University employs a half-time graduate student specialist to provide information on training opportunities to Micronesian Historic Preservation offices and others in Micronesia interested in Historic Preservation. Scheduled for independence in 2001 under the Compact of Free Association, the soon-to-be independent states of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Belau have operated for many years with preservation programs similar to those in the mainland states. The University of Hawai`i was chosen to provide assistance and to conduct an assessment of training needs due to its location in the Pacific and its expertise in this region.

Farther beyond U.S. borders, the Preservation Program has become involved centrally with the Indo-China Initiative of the East-West Center, a non-profit organization which receives most of its annual funding from the fed-

The University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program

The University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program offers the opportunity to pursue graduate training in Preservation with an international focus.

Currently, three separate "tracks" of study are available to students: a Certificate in Historic Preservation, offered separately or in conjunction with a graduate degree; an M.A. or Ph.D. in American Studies with a concentration in Historic Preservation.

Begun in 1984, the program is part of the Department of American Studies within the College of Arts and Humanities at the University of Hawai`i, which has a multi-ethnic enrollment of over 20,000.

For complete information on the Historic Preservation Program, contact the University of Hawai`i, Historic Preservation Program, Dept. of American Studies, 1890 East West Road, Moore 324, Honolulu, HI 96822; telephone 800-993-7737 or 808-956-9546; fax 808-956-4733; email: angell@hawaii.edu.

eral government. The East-West Center promotes scientific and cultural exchange between East and West, particularly in the areas of environmental planning, economic development, and the arts. Working closely with East-West Center Research Fellow, Dr. Judy Ledgerwood, and Dr. Bion Griffin, Chair of the Department of Anthropology and former Director of the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Professor Chapman and several graduate students have begun working in the areas of training and research in Cambodia. Chapman has been invited to participate in international symposia in cultural resource protection in the region, and assisted in the 1995 efforts of the University of Hawai'i Anthropology Department in Cambodia. In 1996, Chapman and Architecture School Professor Spencer Leineweber will be travelling to Thailand and Cambodia with a group of U.S. students to begin a documentation project in Phnom Penh. They will be joined by Cambodian students who will have a first introduction to methods of historic preservation as practiced in the U.S.

Future efforts include expansion of the summer field school to sites in Asia and the Pacific, with Cambodia as the first such effort; offering the first course in Spring of 1996 on American House Museums, taught by Dr. Barnes Riznik, which will provide much-needed training for both students and professionals in what will hopefully become a museum studies program; and expansion of the preservation curriculum through development of new courses and, ultimately it is hoped, the establishment of a separate M.A. and Ph.D. degree in Historic Preservation.

Preservation cannot exist totally as an academic subject. It requires some degree of outreach, and certainly a significant involvement with the surrounding community. Without this relationship, students would be simply working in a vacuum. Deprived of institutionally-based historic preservation programs, small communities would be hard-pressed to find direction and have access to newer techniques and information. In the case of Hawai'i, a solid level of cooperation and interaction has been put in place.

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William Chapman and Delta Lightner

Historic Preservation Training in Micronesia

An Assessment of Needs

Traditional council house (bai), Republic of Belau (Palau), Micronesia. Photo by William Murtagh, 1994.

Historic Preservation does not always mean the same thing to everybody. In the European and North American experience, preservation (or conservation as it is known in Europe) efforts are directed principally at the built environment: historic houses, cities, and more recently, landscapes. Building upon a tradition rooted in conservation of artistic works and bound up as a concept of the primacy of the artifact, Western preservation concerns have generally overlooked issues of process, continuity, tradition, and other more "intangible" features of cultural life.

Not so for many Pacific Island peoples, for whom dance, chants, recitation of genealogies, and the ability to *build* artifacts such as houses and canoes, are the primary conveyers of culture. For many years, those involved in cultural preservation issues in places such as Hawai'i or elsewhere in the Pacific, including Micronesia—a collection of islands and atolls in the Western Pacific, most under U.S. jurisdiction—have complained that their own concerns were not being heard fully and were not being accommodated by the traditional apparatus. It seemed for many Micronesians an attempt to drive a round peg into a square hole and it simply did not fit.

Increasingly, however, the National Park Service, through its role in assisting programs in the Freely Associated States of Micronesia, has become cognizant of these conflicting interests. Beyond giving additional support to archeological survey efforts, the NPS has begun to place increasing emphasis on the recognition of traditional cultural attributes and the preservation of special sites other than those of archeological interest. This shift in orientation has been especially underwritten by the NPS Western Field Office, which has played a significant role in the development and support of Micronesian preservation programs.

The University of Hawai'i's efforts to assess historic preservation training needs in Micronesia grew directly out of these earlier efforts. Undertaken by the University of Hawai'i's Historic Preservation Program, in cooperation with the Western Field Office of the NPS, the aim of the project has been to examine past efforts to provide training in historic preservation throughout the former Trust Territories, currently the Freely Associated States of Micronesia (FASM), and to begin to assess future training needs and opportunities. Investigators were charged with conducting on-site interviews with a wide range of individuals interested in historic preservation in the region, as well as with employees of existing historic preservation agencies, offices, and representatives of other institutions in the islands. The project also required that contacts be made with educational institutions—both in the Western Pacific and elsewhere—in order to achieve a better understanding of their potential future contributions to training in the region. The University of Hawai'i team, which included former Keeper of the National Register William Murtagh, the Director of the Historic Preservation Program William Chapman, Emeritus Professor of Archeology Leonard Mason, and Nathan Napoka, a preservation specialist with the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Office, also was given the task of looking into existing short-term training programs of a wide variety and type and with identifying future funding possibilities.

The University of Hawai'i's participation in the assessment project was, in fact, only the most recent step in the evolution of National Park Service-sponsored training programs in the region, building directly upon the approximately three-year-long Freely Associated States Training and Technical Assistance Plan developed by the Western Regional Office in 1991–1992. The overall concern throughout the National Park Service and Micronesia's own effort, has been to develop training in historic preservation-related areas to preservation office staffs throughout the former U.S. Trust Territories in order to help sustain the programs past the period covered by the Compact of Free Association, scheduled to end in 2001.

Each of these emerging nations, the Republic of Belau (Palau), the Federated States of Micronesia (including the islands of Pohnpei, Kosrae, Yap, and Chuuk), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands, faces similar problems in terms of historic preservation and cultural resource management. All have, by mainland U.S. standards, undertrained staffs; few staff members have had extensive formal training in history, geography, anthropology, or other subjects important to their work, and there are only a sprinkling of historic preservation specialists, most trained in archeology, employed in the various federal and state offices. Office facilities are also inadequate in nearly each case. There are too few computers, too few employees with background in their use, and, in many instances, little understanding on the part of the staffs in general—outside of key professionals and the historic preservation officers themselves—of the overall purpose of the programs.

Numerous, more conventional archeological resources have been identified and recorded in several jurisdictions of the FASM, although the full range of historic and archeological sites throughout the region is still uncataloged (as it is, of course, in most areas of the continental U.S. as well). Overall, the existing inventories are far from adequate for planning purposes. There has been little interest on the part of local constituencies in the preservation of more recent historic sites, including representative examples of architecture and other features dating from the Spanish, German, or Japanese periods of occupation in the area. Management of traditional sites has also been problematical, with diffuse and sometimes conflicting authority over future use and protection. Generally, there has been a concern on behalf of the Micronesian professionals that these small countries are still ill-prepared to develop and run their historic preservation programs into the next century without further specific training. The University of Hawai'i project was intended to help identify some potential avenues of approach.

An underlying assumption of the project has been that the Micronesian historic preservation office staffs should receive training that they themselves thought was important to the future of their preservation efforts—something long emphasized by the Washington and Western offices of the NPS. The University of Hawai'i was called upon to provide an outside assessment and to help clarify these concerns. The project conducted in January and March 1994, was based on interviews with historic preservation officers and their staffs as well as contacts with other members of the respective communities of the islands visited. The

University of Hawai`i has a long tradition of research in the Pacific area, houses a number of centers and programs specifically involved in Micronesian research, and its faculty and staff hold some of the same concerns for regional and cultural identity as expressed by Micronesians. Also, one of the investigators, Nathan Napoka, is an experienced practitioner of traditional arts; he is also an accomplished chanter with a long-standing awareness of cultural issues in preservation. He brought a special appreciation of Pacific island concerns to the project.

Throughout the project the investigators were concerned to ask Micronesians, both professional staffs and community leaders, what they themselves thought was important. However, neither the inquiry nor the varied answers were easily formulated. In part, those being interviewed were put on the spot. Many of those interviewed were not entirely certain what they *did* want. In other cases, some of their concerns were at least in part being met through existing and proposed courses. Finally, some concerns, such as the overriding interests in the preservation of traditional cultures, could not be easily addressed through specialized training alone; these are major issues that extend well beyond what could be handled through courses and training exercises. Still, a number of fresh ideas for training did emerge in the course of discussions between the investigators and those interviewed.

Stone money, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). Photo by William Murtagh, 1994.

One important feature and recurrent theme of the project was the concern over what might be best characterized as cultural values. Micronesian historic preservation office staffs and the broader communities interested in preservation frequently emphasized the need for greater focus on traditional culture, over more typical historic preservation interests in archeology and historic buildings. The overall impression was that many people in the islands and jurisdictions visited were fearful that their traditional culture was being lost and that historic preservation efforts needed to be redirected in some way to help offset this trend. Exactly how this is to be done remains an open question, although some preliminary means tentatively have been identified.

Two separate issues appeared in discussions of traditional culture: one, an interest in recording traditional knowledge, practice, and activities through funding specific projects; and two, giving strength and legitimacy to local traditions through a process that might be best termed as "empowerment," that is, recognizing the traditional authority of local leaders and various specialists in order to better underwrite cultural values. These are complex issues to unravel, touching as they do on often unresolved political and social issues as well as the culturally-sensitive areas of religion or ritual, knowledge, and secrecy. It is realized that National Park Service programs can only go so far in dealing with such major issues of identity and culture. But other aspects of cultural preservation can be dealt with, it is thought, more programmatically. Many Micronesian staff members, in particular, emphasized that specialized training in more conventional areas of historic preservation was also desirable. Suggested training areas included archeological survey techniques, underwater archeology, architectural recording, heritage education, museum management, and exhibits preparation, as well as general office management issues.

The final report, submitted in 1995, listed 10 primary goals:

1. To improve coordination of training efforts through the creation of a part-time position at the University of Hawai`i. The person filling the position would be charged with networking the Micronesian staffs and other interested people, notifying staff members of training opportunities, soliciting funding for travel, and other related activities. (A specialist has just been put in place through a cooperative agreement between the NPS and the University of Hawai`i.)
2. To develop further training and staff capabilities in recording traditional culture. The first recommended step is the appoint-

ment of an ethnographer and a cultural anthropologist for Micronesian programs to serve in some ways as the equivalent of a historian in the more typical mainland U.S. offices. Further training in audio and visual recording, following upon earlier programs sponsored by the Western Regional Office, have also been recommended.

3. To better develop capabilities in the area of heritage education. This goal includes a recommendation for a jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction training program in heritage education in conjunction with local community colleges and schools.
4. To assist FASM jurisdictions in drafting new historic preservation legislation. This proposal includes recommendations for workshops and conferences.
5. To develop a stronger awareness of and links to preservation programs in the U.S. and other parts of the world. Many Micronesian preservation professionals, as well as other members of their respective communities, complained that they felt insufficiently grounded in the general principals of historic preservation as practiced in Europe and the U.S. A short course, to be coordinated through the University of Guam, has been recommended and tentatively has been approved through the NPS-sponsored Cultural Resource Training Initiative.
6. To increase the level of knowledge among FASM staffs in methods of archeological inventory, conservation, and interpretation. Representing more traditional areas of focus, these archeologically-oriented topics nonetheless remain priorities for Micronesian historic preservation offices.
7. To improve training among museum professionals in the FASM. Museum-based activities remain—and no doubt will continue to be—significant components of preservation-related work in Micronesia. It was considered essential that preservation training be directed to professionals and non-professionals in this area.
8. To improve levels of knowledge and program management, budgeting, supervision, and computer operations.
9. To increase the level of understanding of the historical value of colonial buildings and sites—as well as sites associated with World War II—among Micronesian historic preservations staffs and their constituencies. Understandably, Micronesian historic preservation programs have placed emphasis on the preservation of traditional cultures and the recording of archeological evidence. The investigative team from Hawai'i was struck by the diversity and richness of the colonial heritage of Micronesia. This legacy includes sites associated with Spanish, German, Japanese, and U.S. occupation of and involvement in the region. The Hawai'i team emphasized that more "traditional" historic preservation interests in the whole of the built environment, in fact, deserves greater attention.
10. To develop a greater awareness of the touristic value of culture and historic sites in the Pacific islands. With increasing tourism in the region and a growing dependence on tourist dollars (and yen) in Micronesia, the Hawai'i team felt that the links between tourism and preservation needed greater emphasis. A conference on tourism and preservation has been strongly recommended.

These proposals, to be realized, it is hoped to some degree over the next two to three years, would do much to enhance the capabilities of professional staffs and supporting organizations and individuals in the FASM as they move toward implementation. Staff development, specialized training programs, the structuring of links among activities in preservation, archeology, museums, and tourism will all improve capabilities for the wise manager of cultural resources in these Western Pacific Islands and jurisdictions and do much to increase the awareness of historic preservation issues throughout the region.

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The University of Hawai'i Historic Preservation Program, in cooperation with the Western Field Office of the National Park Service, has established a part-time position to facilitate historic preservation training in Micronesia. Scholarships for Micronesians to attend field schools in Hawai'i and the mainland U.S. and short-term internships are anticipated in the coming year. Anyone interested in information should contact program coordinator Jennifer Malin at the University of Hawai'i. Email: malin@hawaii.edu.

Gerald T. Takano

Learning from Levuka, Fiji—Preservation in the First Colonial Capital

World War I Monument. Levuka, Fiji.

Preservation standards such as the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards* or Australia's Burra Charter are thought by many in Europe and the U.S. to be universal in their application. But in some instances this notion is often strained when financial and other considerations insist upon the retention of what might be considered a "vernacular environment." Although preservationists in westernized countries may rally to save threatened landmarks, public support is less forthcoming in places where change comes more slowly. Such is the case in Levuka, Fiji.

Photos by the author.

Levuka was the original British capital of Fiji until the late-19th century when Suva became the new government seat. Levuka's almost austere European architecture has survived natural disasters as well as economic, socio-cultural, and political upheavals. Simple verandahed wood structures, coral stone churches, and masonry civic buildings recall an often benign British colonial presence and provide a "time capsule" glimpse of a late-19th-century Pacific seaport.

Beach Street. Levuka, Fiji.

Levuka's European exodus began in the mid-20th century, as a result immediately of the decline of copra and other commodities. More Europeans left after independence from Britain in 1970 and again after the *coup d'etat* of 1987.

By the 1980s, Levuka had become economically dependent on its government-owned tuna factory. Possible depletion of fish, elimination of subsidies, and dependency on a one-source industrial base caused a shift to economic diversification. Without additional sources of income, it was realized that Levuka's economic future was questionable. At the same time, the town's infrastructure, including many historic buildings, continued to deteriorate.

The provincial Fiji government recognized the need for an alternative industrial base on Ovalau, where Levuka is located. Lacking the alluring beach environments of west Fiji, private interest in Levuka was unlikely. What some realized was that what Levuka did possess, although tattered, was a late-19th-century seaport and significant associations with Fiji's national history.

Levuka received regional and international attention following a 1980s report by the Pacific Area (now Pacific Asia) Travel Association (PATA). This report recognized the town's potential as a prime visitor destination—one that could provide a visitor experience different from that in existing resorts. The report, *Levuka and Ovalau, Tourism Development through Community Restoration,* was important in establishing clear recommendations for Levuka's "integrated conservation and tourist promotion initiatives."

The report's recommendations included the following:

- restoration of Levuka's many existing buildings and the development of guidelines for new construction in the historic town;
- promotion of the program to national organizations in order to encourage Fiji-wide support for and identification with the project; and
- creation of a support network of local Levuka authorities and private interests to facilitate implementation of the restoration project.

Shortly afterward, the Town and Country Planning Department of Fiji established general provisions for Levuka, which were in many ways at odds with the PATA recommendations. Although these provisions included extensive regulatory

Jewish gravestone, Draiba Cemetery. Levuka, Fiji.

controls, most requirements were more generic, rather than specific to Levuka. After adoption, some issues, such as density, setbacks, and parking requirements, were contested by residents who felt Levuka-specific needs were not addressed.

Following the government's planning efforts, an updated *Heritage Conservation Study* was completed in 1994 by the Australian team of HJM Consultants Pty. Ltd. and Timothy Hubbard Pty. Ltd. Unlike previous, more generalized tourism studies, this report made more tailored recommendations for Levuka and stressed implementation of revitalization techniques, such as tax abatements, prohibitions on demolition, land reclamation, and other revisions.

Significantly, the study also emphasized the importance of Levuka's European presence for the Republic of Fiji and the South Pacific region. It noted that Levuka was:

- the seat of Fiji's first capital from the early 1860s;
- the focus of most British, Australian, and German, and much American commercial activity in the South Pacific, until the early 1880s;
- the site of the Cession of Fiji to the British Crown in 1872;
- important for the range of its building types and architectural styles;
- one of the best examples of settlement, reflective of European colonization in the South Pacific.

Recommendations included (1) retention of inter-cultural relationship — the urban forms and expressions of the layers of successive development through the post-World War II period; and (2) retention of key buildings reflective of the introduction of European administration and social development, education, and religion; these include sites such as Levuka School, St John's Church, Sacred Heart, the Wesleyan Chapel, the Masonic Temple, Town Hall, and the Levuka Hospital.

Developing national and international appeal for heritage preservation necessitates defusing public fears and anxieties, especially when the architectural stock has less nostalgic appeal to the new population. In Fiji, most of the old British and Australian settlers are gone. New part-Europeans, Fijians, Hindu and Muslim Indians, and Chinese inhabitants of different economic strata have now replaced the remnants of Anglo-Saxon colonialism.

Buildings that survive a town's economic decline are often ignored for decades until their potential for heritage development is realized. As revitalization begins, benefits to the community must be justified. Citizen concerns will inevitably arise over individual rights, acquisition of derelict parcels, property taxes, and various ownership issues. Luckily for Levuka, the mayor, who works on an unpaid basis, has provided generous support of preservation efforts.

Preservation in Levuka, as in other developing areas, can be achieved if outside objectives are compatible with community directions. Often the issue is a fiscal one. Financial incentives are fundamental in order to encourage preservation. Heritage tourism is one such motivating factor, although there is still fear among many that such tourism will ruin Levuka. This should not happen if preservation goals and activities are consistent with the town's objectives.

Actions needed to promote preservation in developing South Pacific towns such as Levuka can be summarized as follows:

Securing government and private organizational support. Official recognition of Levuka as a Heritage Town has been critical for securing financial support from sources in and outside Fiji. Financial commitments from government and businesses are required if major heritage revitalization is expected beyond low-budget cosmetic improvements. Levuka must have the infrastructure to provide visitor-friendly accommodations and improve deteriorating facilities.

Ovalau Club (oldest surviving private club) in Levuka, Fiji.

Enforcing special regulations for Levuka. Even with official historic town designation, special planning requirements and heritage controls must be understood clearly. This must be generated by the

government planning agency, with support from preservation advocates.

Achieving Non-European involvement for European preservation. "Foreign" processes and methodologies are challenging in a place like Levuka. Although it is European in origin, there are major differences between it and Western

Typical residential vernacular. Levuka, Fiji.

towns. Some residents want the town to remain "as is" and are less prone to applaud increasing land values and visitor influx. Perhaps more complicated is the indigenous Fijian village view that preservation has little affect on their lives.

Establishing workable tools. Public cooperation requires design decisions based on clear precedence. Examples can help owners understand what is required. Building restorations, construction techniques, material maintenance, "Main Street" approaches, and other efforts must relate to Fiji-based examples. Lack of money and the resulting compromised design solutions are a major problem.

Levuka Public, oldest public school in Levuka, Fiji.

Using volunteers and recruiting individuals. Fiji's nationalism and return to village dependency have ensured a strong cultural identity for Fijians. The essential framework for heritage development now comes mainly from the outside, through volunteers from abroad and within Fiji. In the future, a proposed Heritage Training Centre in Levuka will provide a range of preservation-related opportunities. Efforts to establish such a center have already begun.

Historic communities such as Levuka have seen many individuals with good intentions come and go. Essentially, success must come from the residents themselves. Still, the current momentum for preservation in Levuka depends on long-term involvement and funding from the Fiji government. Outside foreign assistance, including technical expertise, is short-term in character and fluctuates with the Fijians' evolving political expectations. Fiji's lead in South Pacific heritage town development is in jeopardy as financial resources and governmental interest diminishes.

Unlike tourist destinations elsewhere, far less financial support will flow into Levuka to warrant fears of gentrification. With no beaches or land available for major resorts, Levuka's heritage remains the territory of adventurous visitors.

Revitalization through heritage preservation is Levuka's South Seas experiment. Western formulas, however, are wisely under scrutiny. Levuka's rough charm as a "living community" can easily erode. Training local residents to understand the governmental town scheme, engage in hospitality services, and preserve the town's heritage is critical. Academic approaches to preservation without economic backing will meet with bitter resistance.

Nevertheless, what is occurring in Levuka is promising. In this new post-colonial period, Levuka's innocence will rapidly end as it addresses economic survival, consumerism, and contact with international visitors. If the preservation framework is successful, the town will have its own tools to make decisions for its future. As Mayor George Gibson has stated, "Levuka is a living town struggling with lots of negative obstructionists, but preservation will prevail."

South Pacific preservation is not just about pretty buildings and pristine symbols of the elite. Instead, it is about vernacular settings of the countless, unnamed individuals who now inhabit places like Levuka. Levuka's heritage development in an age dedicated to a new economic necessity, environmental order, and indigenous awareness will test our ideas as practiced in the West.

Suggested Reading

Levuka and Ovalau, *Tourism Development through Community Restoration*, Pacific Area Travel Association.

Gerald Takano, AIA, is a field representative for the National Trust for Historic Preservation in San Francisco and former advisor from Hawai'i for the National Trust for Historic Preservation. He has just completed a two-year project for the government of Fiji, focused on Levuka.

Photos by the author.

Robertson E. Collins

Notes on Preservation in Singapore

Historic Preservation is called conservation in Singapore and it has been tremendously successful.

Initially, there was a tourism rationale for conservation, but since the mid-1980s it has been a key component in national planning. It was initiated by the government through the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), the national planning agency. The URA owned most of the buildings in the Tanjung Pagar district, the first successful conservation area. Lessons learned here were quickly transferred to the other designated Heritage Conservation Districts, Chinatown, Little India, Arab Street.

The success of the conservation work must be attributed to two very creative directors in the URA, Mr. Goh Hup Chor and Mrs. Koh Wen Gin. They had some doubting superiors, but beyond their own vision and determination their work was supported by a thorough building inventory and architectural documentation program.

The buildings are called shop houses—usually 25'–35' wide, two-story, common walls, no basement, a back lane, no garage, brick construction, wood beams, and floors. For each building, the URA had a full file that included a report on the existing condition with measured drawings and documentation. Items covered included facade appearance, hardware, surface materials and colors, all utility specifications, including a fire protection system, rear elevation, and roof design.

Shop houses on Emerald Hill Road in Singapore, c. 1920.

Buildings were put out for tender with this detailed information. Roughly speaking, the required work ran about S$225,000 per building. The buyer had one year to complete the work. No exceptions, but once done, the owner was free of rent control which still existed in most parts of the city at that time.

The first buildings tendered were "empty shells" and sold for S$150,000. Quickly the market rose to around S$450,000. With the completed work, the owner might have S$675,000 invested in the property. Market price today would be S$1.75 million and higher depending on the location.

Conservation was melded into the broad urban planning goals. Obviously, for investors, a great paper profit has been made out of shophouse conservation in Singapore. In turn, Government had an acceptable and orderly process to begin lifting rent control and the exercise "created" a dramatic new tax base. The most important urban planning achievement was visual; visitors and residents now enjoy charming restored street-scapes and there is a softening texture in a city that is vibrant, wealthy, and very modern.

There were initial complaints that everything was too "done," too clean, too neat. No neater or cleaner than the day they were built, I am sure, and anyway, in this climate it does not take long for a charming, lightly faded patina to develop.

One of the fortunate investor features of conservation in Singapore was that these three heritage districts were where the Chinese, Muslims, and Indians had traditionally lived and were located just inland from a long spine of new high-rise towers. This has meant the districts have a heavy foot traffic of office workers who use the restaurants and shops.

The Singapore Government has had great respect for the British heritage. The City Hall, the Supreme Court Building, the twin Victoria and Albert theaters, the Custom House, and the National Museum have all been rehabilitated wisely, respectfully, and successfully.

The restoration of Raffles Hotel is no doubt the most famous project in town. This was a commercial venture and included extending the service and shopping facilities for the hotel into the back half of its block. The conservation debate still whirls around Raffles. It does have a polish it never ever had in history, but it is now a posh expensive hotel with facilities for state visitors. It is fully air-conditioned, highly successful, and endlessly and happily photographed.

Raffles should be looked at as a lesson in what logically and inevitably follows when air conditioning is put into an old structure in the tropics. Ceiling fans become props and shutters, windows, and doors are no longer thrown open to the sea breeze. If that relaxed, old-shoe quality of old Raffles is missing, it was a conscious trade-off to create an important and famous national symbol. Study it if you must, but accept it on those terms and enjoy your Singapore Sling!

Robertson E. Collins is a Vice President of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) and a former Vice President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. He is an Emeritus Board Member of US/ICOMOS and current international chair of the ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism.

Chester H. Liebs

Heritage Conservation in Japan An Eyewitness View

A 1992 invitation to Japan, from then Tokyo-based Fulbright Fellow Cherilyn Widell, to meet Professor Masaru Maeno of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, would bring an entirely new dimension to my professional life. For years I had been showing visitors an America that tourists seldom see. On this, my first visit, I was filled with inspiration and fascination by a Japan far off the paths that most tourists take.

Two short months later I was back again, this time with six graduate students, to join Maeno and his students in a survey of two threatened historic towns, Tamashima and Takahashi. Our assignment to our students was for them to "read" the buildings, structures, settlement patterns, and other cultural features to postulate the story of the towns from this visual evidence, and then report our joint findings along with what we would conserve, why, and how, to the residents of the town. Soon we discovered that the built environment was a medium that could speak volumes across even the most difficult of language barriers, and this enthusiasm carried over to the local population who, after seeing their town from a cross-cultural perspective, seemed to find renewed resolve to conserve their communities.

Author (left) discussing the future of downtown Tamashima, Japan with local official Masataki Miyake (Center) and a television reporter (right), 1995. Note the streets lined with machiya in the background. Photo by Eric DeLony.

Encouraged by the positive reactions of both students and residents, we conducted a similar exchange in the United States in the fall of 1993, in Swanton, Vermont, and Newburgh, New York, with equally positive results. Soon, Japan would become my second home as I made frequent trips to lecture, learn more about its everyday landscape, and take up the challenge to speak its language. I applied for, and was awarded, a Fulbright Fellowship for a project entitled "Learning from Everyday Places: A Bridge for Japanese/American Understanding" for the 1994–95 academic year.

After establishing a base in Tokyo, I traveled throughout Japan, studying the landscape, lecturing at conferences and universities, and advising government and non-profit agencies. As a special project I also photographed the cultural landscape along the entire route of the old Tokaido road, made internationally famous by the prints of artists such as Hiroshige. Now extensively bypassed by railroads and superhighways, and fragmented, with many stretches virtually forgotten, the Tokaido had been Japan's national main-street linking the old capital of Kyoto with the new capital Edo (now Tokyo). This article is based on my observations of the Japanese cultural landscape during my stay.

Dispelling Japanese Landscape Myths

It is a popular conception that Japan contains only the very old and the very new with little in between. In the course of my studies I found this was far from true, for Japan's surviving cultural resources reflect a chronological continuum not unlike our own. Both countries have prehistoric and historic archeological sites, medieval survivors, such as Nara's Todaiji Temple, or New Mexico's Taos Pueblo. However, the majority of extant structures, in both nations, date from approximately the same span of time—the 17th century to the present (Edo through Heisei periods). Also, the best known and best protected historic structures have traditionally been the country's many shrines and temples, castles, and homes of samurai and prosperous merchants. In recent years, however, a wider spectrum of the nation's physical legacy is receiving attention.

The Japanese tend to characterize structures under two broad headings, traditional and Western. Be they palaces, temples, homes, stores, or theaters, the basic unit of scale of traditional buildings is most often the woven straw *tatami* mat, which in turn is scaled to a single human

being at rest. Even those hundreds of skinny, five- or six-story structures, which abound today in larger cities—called "pencil buildings" because of their tall, thin profile—assume this form due to the narrow *tatami* scale lot they sit on where a traditional house or shop once stood. Traditional interior features, especially in domestic buildings, are familiar to us in the West, the paper-glazed wooden frame *shoji* (sliding room separators), the *tatami* mat floors, the *tokonoma* or sacred alcove, which in houses today is just as likely to be the home of the family television as well as a scroll and flower arrangement. Structurally, traditional buildings are built of braced wood framing infilled with bamboo strips bound with rice twine, covered with wood siding or plaster. Roofs today are mostly of heavy, glazed Chinese-style tiles though an occasional thatch roof still survives. It is not uncommon to happen upon a 200-year-old former farm house, with its thatch roof now hidden under a cocoon of metal cladding, in the middle of a crowded Tokyo-area neighborhood—a poignant but not-as-yet valued touchstone to a long-vanished agrarian past.

One of the most common, yet rapidly-disappearing types of everyday traditional buildings, are the *machiya* or town houses. Districts of these large, two-story structures, creating a continuous wall on both sides of a narrow street, often with stores on the first floor and owner's living quarters above, form the soul and spirit of the traditional Japanese town as the buildings of "Main Street" do for American communities.

While most traditional buildings were built before World War II, in cities like Tokyo, another generation of such structures arose in bombed-out areas, only to be replaced by more modern structures a few years later. Even today, traditional building is hardly extinct. Many smaller houses and commercial buildings are still framed-up in a traditional manner only to be finished off with drywall, concrete, and tile appliques.

Former dry dock, Yokohama, Japan, 1994. People now can stroll in a public plaza where once ships for the Japanese Navy were built. Photo by the author.

As for the other term used by the Japanese for categorizing buildings "Western," at least on the surface, most structures so labeled reasonably resemble the pallet of foreign design imagery that influenced them. One can find everything from Italianate main street commercial buildings and Greek-temple banks to Victorian houses built by early foreign residents, in the late-19th century, in Yokohama and Kobe. It is possible to come across streamlined buildings from the 1930s in Tokyo and Osaka, farming villages in Hokaido, which at first glance look like pictures from *Vermont Life* magazine, while larger cities seemingly have every variant of modernism, post-modernism, deconstructionism, and even neo-traditionalism.

A word of caution is needed here, for the term "Western" can be as misleading as if one were to call all American buildings influenced in part by European buildings, "European." Most Japanese Western buildings have a particularly Japanese twist. Take the house I rented near Tokyo, for example. The modern kitchen and wall-to-wall carpeting would be familiar to any American suburbanite. Yet, after entering the front door one removed one's shoes before ascending a step into the livingroom quarters. The house still had a traditional *tatami* room, and Western visitors often hit their heads on hanging lights which most Japanese easily cleared. These and scores of subtle and not-so-subtle differences were reminders that the sobriquet "Western" is a perilous term at best.

Along with the types of structures already mentioned, Japan also has a rich industrial heritage with both steeply cambered wooden traditional bridges and Western bridges of every description, and an abundance of historic industrial and factory buildings, railroad stations, and other technological remains. Many varieties of farm houses, barns, rice terraces, and other rural features dot the countryside, while the highways are spawning a particularly Japanese version of roadside architecture. The Japanese heritage is also not as culturally homogeneous as most people in the West assume, with Chinese, Korean, Polynesian, and native Ainu influences producing many subtle variations and subtypes.

Accepting the Cultural Continuum

To what extent do the Japanese recognize the totality of this inheritance? Like America of a few decades ago, which was just awakening from its fixation on things colonial to embrace broader aspects of its heritage, Japan is just beginning to look beyond the temples and shrines to take a wider view of its total legacy. Today, citizen initiatives are underway to save individual landmarks,

from Tokyo Station to Frank Lloyd Wright's *Myonichikan* (building of tomorrow), built for the Jiyugakuen or freedom school. At the same time, dozens of communities are being encouraged by agencies like the Architecture Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japan's National Preservation Agency), and non-government organizations such as the Japan Association of Machinami Conservation and Restoration, and the Japan National Trust, to save the country's traditional main street commercial buildings.

These latter structures, while still in reasonable supply, are rapidly dwindling. Made of relatively frail materials which are strong only when tied together in a unit, these buildings can be literally scooped up, loaded in a truck, and carted off in a surprisingly short time. I saw this first hand in Imaicho, when a building which was standing in early morning had completely disappeared by early afternoon. Convenience stores, vest-pocket parking lots, or "pencil buildings" soon occupy their place.

In areas where *machiya* are preserved, like Kurashiki, buildings usually have been stripped of subsequent layers, and function as souvenir stores catering to tourists. There are notable exceptions such as the Yanaka district, an older residential area of Tokyo which miraculously survived the firebombings of the War, where buildings have been less drastically renovated and while some buildings have been adaptively used for offices and art galleries, many local shops still cater to residents as well as sightseers.

Tamae bridge, 1849, under demolition, Kagoshima, Japan, 1994. Photo by Takashi Itoh.

Once a new concept also to Americans, the adaptation of old buildings to new uses can be increasingly found in Japan—from the art galleries of Yanaka to the conversion of a former dry dock in Yokohama, to a sunken pedestrian plaza as part of a high-rise office and shopping complex. Despite the growing numbers of examples, many Japanese, imbued with a taste for the new, still do not believe it is possible to reuse old buildings for contemporary purposes, and adaptive use in the United States was one of my most widely-demanded lecture topics. To further encourage reuse of historic buildings, the Japan National Trust has set up a high-level committee to recommend to the Japanese government that it adopt tax incentives for reuse of historic structures. The prospects for adoption of this proposal are uncertain.

Preservation of industrial heritage is also being widely advocated, although the movement is still quite decentralized. In some places, like Osaka, where the Department of Public Works is meticulously maintaining that city's historic bridges, these efforts have been quite successful, while in other areas, such as Kagoshima in the south of Japan, the opposite is true. Here a series of beautifully-crafted stone Edo period bridges, in excellent condition in the center of the city, have been torn down by local authorities and the national construction ministry as part of a flood prevention project denounced not only by local residents, but by many of the nation's leading engineers as well. No doubt there will continue to be this pattern of bright successes and troubling losses as Japan comes to grips with conserving its industrial past.

Many Japanese feel quite strongly about natural area preservation, just as Americans do. Environmental organizations abound in Japan, linked by the Association of National Trusts in Japan. However, as in the United States, the idea of conserving a harmonious countryside as is done in areas of Great Britain, where people, culture, land, and nature function as a harmonious whole, is a relatively new idea.

Countryside conservation is peppered with the same extremes of successes and failures as initiatives to rescue the industrial heritage. In Gifu prefecture, for example, the government is leveling centuries-old rice terraces, scaled for tending by humans, to create much larger rice fields designed to be worked with machines. Developed a number of years ago when the nation was trying to boost its rice crop, ironically this initiative has now become obsolete with the decision to gradually import greater quantities of foreign rice. Nevertheless, the demolition continues. As one farmer sadly told me, "I can hardly recognize our valley anymore."

Such tragedies are offset by happy successes such as the mountain village of Shirakawa, where huge, traditional high-peaked, thatch-roof, 19th-century wooden farmhouses "*Gasshozukuri,*" barns "*naya,*" commercial "*machiya*" and the surrounding rice terraced landscape, have been conserved as part of a working farming village. Tourists are also accommodated as a means of generating supplemental income to help sustain farming in the area. Even here though, the government is threatening to build a large highway interchange on a plateau within sight and earshot of the village, prompting the Japan National Trust to hold a conference on saving the countryside so that officials from Shirakawa and other rural villages could dis-

cuss this and other threats and successes, an embryonic example of horizontal networking in a society which is normally more vertically-organized and hierarchical.

Ten Dollar Cups of Coffee?

To what degree then are both citizens and visitors aware that Japan is more than modern buildings and ancient temples? The problem is not unlike that of the ever-recurring assertion in the American press that a cup of coffee in Tokyo costs $10. While it is hard to find such an expensive cup of coffee (most cost $2 or $3), perhaps some reporter covering the visit of a foreign dignitary staying at the nation's most expensive hotel was charged this price, and included it in an article, since quoted by dozens of journalists, many of whom have probably never been to Japan. Likewise, most Japanese repeatedly advise visitors to see a handful of places in Japan such as Tokyo, Nara, and Kyoto, and these visitors, in turn, tell others that these are the only places worth exploring. Of course, these places are indeed worth exploring, yet they receive a disproportionate percentage of foreign (and Japanese) tourists, while other fascinating destinations see only a trickle of visitors at best.

Ghost stretch of the old Tokaido Road near Mishima, Japan, 1995. While the paving dates from the early-17th century, this stretch of road was actually laid out several centuries before. Photo by the author.

To boost tourism, some of the less-visited communities are tearing down historic structures to put up huge new museums and cultural centers, often outsized versions of what was demolished. Visitors step off their buses, walk through the facility's gates, look at the exhibits for a little while, and then speed out of town, barely seeing the real historic places in the area. Other towns have put up interpretative maps, such as the city of Shimoda, directing visitors only to old temples and shrines. Still other communities are seeing value in interpreting their continuous historic past, such as in pioneering Yanaka where a series of sidewalk panels inform the visitor of the evolution of the area. Nevertheless Japan remains, in my observation, underinterpreted for visitors and little literature exists in foreign languages to guide the visitor to experience its total legacy.

Despite the language barrier and high prices, Japan's cultural landscape is worth seeing and studying, not just for its historic resources. Japan has solved, over centuries, some of the dilemmas that now face the United States. Land-rich Americans often scoff at Japan's crowded places, yet the ability to live safely and relatively harmoniously in efficient, lively, attractive, densely-packed neighborhoods, as many Japanese do, could hold a key to our own future as we are forced to seek alternatives to sprawl in the early-21st century.

It will be interesting to see to what extent Japan's emerging holistic preservation movement can become an effective force for expanding the dialog over what constitutes its physical heritage as well as influencing the form that future growth will take. My bet is that it will eventually do both; however, progress will be measured not in years but in decades.

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Jeff Cody

Heads or Tails? The Preservation of Western-style Buildings in China

Xiamen billboard.

There are two proverbial sides to the coin of preservation in today's China. What one might term the shiny "heads" side is exemplified by an ironic adaptive reuse project in Shanghai where, since 1993, one of the branches of the city's Stock Exchange has been lodged in a Russian Orthodox Church (c. 1920) located in a fashionable neighborhood of the old French Concession area. In the late-1980s the church was boarded up, garbage was often piled next to the entrance, the onion domes were crying for attention and when I used to ride my bicycle past the church I would wonder if that would be the last time I would see it intact. Now the domes are painted, the garbage is hidden elsewhere and the former nave is brimming with Chinese capitalists watching stock quotations on an electronic board under a dropped ceiling. To get rich is glorious (as the cliché goes), and perhaps to get rich in a historic, religious building might be even more fortuitous.

Former Russian Orthodox church, Shanghai.

If one looks optimistically at the future prospects for the preservation of particularly of Western-style buildings in China today, there are many "heads" you could point to. One of the most noteworthy cases is that of the former Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, at the center of the Shanghai Bund (waterfront). The lavish commercial structure, designed in a Beaux-Arts-inspired style in 1923 by the Hong Kong firm of Palmer & Turner,[1] reverted to the People's Liberation Army after 1949. It has recently been sold back to the Bank and is being restored. Other Western-style banks on or near the Bund are enjoying equal favor, either being restored as banks or otherwise refitted so they can be auctioned off to the highest bidder and then adaptively reused. However, because of high rents and substantial interior renovation costs, investors are hesitant about setting up shop in many of the Bund's 37 Western-style buildings along the 1.5 km stretch of land.[2] These buildings, most dating from 1925–1930, are probably the most famous Western-style constructions in China because they epitomize the commercial power of the foreigners who controlled so much of China's destiny in the late-Qing and Republican period (from the late-19th century to 1937, at which point China was effectively ruled by Japan). The Bund remains a palpable symbol of Shanghai. Since at least the mid-1980s many city planning officials have been trying to market the Bund as a major draw for tourists. The facades of most of the Bund's structures were scrubbed about a decade ago, and in the past three years they have been designated as local landmarks and the space between the buildings and the Huangpu River (facing "Pudong," one of China's most important development areas) has been stripped of its trees and paved as a wide pedestrian promenade. These initiatives are based upon decisions made by those in higher echelons of the municipal government, and they demonstrate a conscious attempt to intervene unilaterally and positively in order to insure the retention of several significant historic buildings.

Elsewhere in Shanghai one can flip a coin and come up with other "heads." Department stores on China's "5th Avenue," Nanjing Road, are being upgraded, their facades cleaned, repointed and sometimes sadly marred with mirrored, obtrusive projecting bays. Smaller commercial structures throughout the city and a few of Shanghai's Art Deco movie palaces are likewise receiving facelifts. The urban villa of one of Shanghai's most notorious gangsters from the 1930s, Du Yuesheng, has been transformed into a hotel of international standards. Central Place, the former site of the Shanghai Museum and in the 1930s a commercial structure, was recently refurbished by Jones Lang Wootton (Hong Kong), the first instance that a

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In the Shadow of Skyscrapers— Hong Kong's Colonial Buildings Await New Custodians

A favorite expression these days in Hong Kong is "the run-up to 1997," when China regains control from Britain of the approximately 700 square miles comprising this dense metropolis (and often less-dense 236 islands) located at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta. Hong Kong's gleaming architectural trademarks—its chock-a-block skyscrapers—might mistakenly convey the impression that all construction is new here, and it is true that the pace of high-rise building continues to be startling. However, those relatively few historic buildings that have survived blistering, free-market land speculation are testimonies to the fact that some of Hong Kong's colonial legacy is surviving (sometimes by a thread) the fierce pressure to demolish. How?

Two strategies have prevailed: either "landmark" the building in question, or find a new use that will sustain it in the territory's heady marketplace. Landmarking, or "declaring it a monument" as it is generally known in Hong Kong, at first seems to provide a thicker blanket of protection by virtue of the two major provisions that come with the declaration: no demolition and no major exterior modification without government permission. Those making the case for declaration struggle with the question of significance, and the procedures are time-consuming and therefore costly. (Given the hot market for land, however, the question of how to retain a proper context for low-scale historic structures in the midst of gargantuan neighbors is more difficult to answer.)[1] Only 58 buildings in Hong Kong have been "declared," the most recent three, the University of Hong Kong's oldest buildings, in mid-September 1995.[2] The Antiquities & Monuments Office, or AMO, which advises the Hong Kong Government about maintenance of its historic heritage, plays a key role in the declaration process. However, as in many jurisdictions, one arm of "the government" might wrestle with another over the issue of what should be saved in the full context of urban change. The AMO struggles to do so in the context of other powerful government offices such as Housing, Transportation, the Architectural Services Department (which has its own Antiquities Section), the Land Development Corporation and, most recently, the Hong Kong Police, which is considering selling one of its "declared" historic properties (c. 1884) to raise revenue for new facilities.[3] To minimize charges of being arbitrary, and to provide a solid base for managing and protecting cultural resources that come under its domain, the AMO in August 1995 began a comprehensive survey of historic buildings throughout the territory funded with a grant of US$500,000 from the Hong Kong Jockey Club to be completed in two years. This will be part of the "run-up" to July 1997 as it relates to landmarking monuments. What China will do with such a survey, with the "declaration" law (based upon British conservation experience), and the administrative procedures and offices now set in place remains to be seen.

A much more common tactic to preserve colonial buildings in Hong Kong is to pinpoint a more marketable use for them. One of the best examples of this strategy is Western Market (near the Sheung Wan area west of Central), a former meat market constructed in 1906 that was slated for demolition because of a road-widening plan until the AMO, in 1989, convinced city planners to consider renovating the exterior, gutting the interior, and remodeling it as a more upscale retail space (similar to several American and British precedents). In the four years since project completion, Western Market has become a commercial success and a preservation precedent. In 1993, for example, when the foundations of a small (c. 1913) post office substation in the downtown Wanchai area were damaged during the construction of a highrise neighbor, the government decided to change the function of the building and create Hong Kong's first environmental resource center there, in part because of the positive example of Western Market and in part perhaps to atone for the demolition a few years earlier of the Wanchai Methodist Church, which had not been declared a monument.

Another example of what might be termed the "history making money" strategy lies atop the old Bank of China (1949), across the street from the Hong Kong government's Legislative Council (Legco), itself housed in a "declared" colonial-style monument (1912). When I.M. Pei designed the new Bank of China building in the 1980s, one question was what would occur to the old headquarters, sandwiched in between Pei's tower and another new Hong Kong icon,

Norman Foster's Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank Building. On the top three floors of the 15-story, old Bank of China is the recently renovated "China Club," where bank officers from China used to dine lavishly when they transacted business in capitalistic Hong Kong, and where private entrepreneurs have re-created the historic interior (a distinctive "Chinese-Western Art Deco") and are marketing it very successfully as a swank restaurant.

The thirst for innovative marketing in Hong Kong is even bringing a historic building back from the dead. Murray House, a three-story military barracks (1843), stood on the site of Pei's Bank of China building until 1982 when it was dismantled and stored in a warehouse. Now there is a plan by the Hong Kong Housing Department to resurrect and re-assemble the Murray House carcass by 1998 as a mixed-use retailing structure (along the lines of Western Market) in Stanley, on the south side of Hong Kong Island.[4]

Can other historic, Western-style buildings avoid dismembering or demolition? Struggles continue on several fronts. In the Hong Kong Mid-Levels, Board members of the Ohel Leah Synagogue (1902) are unsure whether to renovate or demolish their place of worship, a structure that was nearly razed six years ago.[5] Trustees of St. John's Cathedral (1849) have been more fortunate with their site, which has also experienced intense development pressure. Hutchison Whampoa Company, owned by one of Hong Kong's richest tycoons, Li Ka-shing, recently received permission to build an 80-story skyscraper adjacent to St. John's. To mitigate some of the damage to the historic context of the site, however, Hutchison agreed to pay for the ongoing maintenance of the cathedral.[6] Another gnawing question centers around the issue of how to preserve "temporary housing units" constructed by the thousands throughout Hong Kong after a tragic 1953 fire decimated a squatter settlement in Shekkipmei (Kowloon). The Housing Authority wants to demolish all such "temporary housing," most of which is now substandard. However, the AMO is in favor of preserving some of the units as tangible reminders of how thousands of Hong Kong residents lived in the 1950s and 1960s. Therefore, Hong Kong is facing the question of how to preserve its more recent past, just as so many other societies are grappling with the same question (see *CRM*, Vol. 18, No. 8, 1995).[7]

In the "run-up" to 1997, "run-down" cultural resources of all styles and functions in Hong Kong await the attention they deserve. Those resources that relate directly to Chinese heritage now seem better situated for that attention, although the cases cited above suggest that Western-style resources are not being shunned. Two years ago, Hong Kong's first "Heritage Trail" was initiated, thanks to the efforts of the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust (established in 1992 to increase public awareness about Hong Kong's cultural legacy), the Hong Kong Jockey Club, and the Tang Family clan, whose nine historic buildings spread over one kilometer at Ping Shan in the New Territories form the basis for the trail. Other clan buildings, such as temples and ancestral halls in the New Territories, are currently being rehabilitated under the guidance of the Antiquities and Monuments Office. The "Chi Lin" Buddhist Nunnery at Diamond Hill on Kowloon is even creating its own historic monument from scratch, building a Tang Dynasty temple where none ever existed, according to architectural principles found in extant Chinese examples.

Tang-Revival temples and Gothic-Revival cathedrals, both in the shadow of skyscrapers—such is the reality of Hong Kong. When new political custodians take the helm after the run-up to July 1, 1997, they will inherit a host of cultural resources requiring attention. How they manage those resources will be one of the many as-yet-unanswerable questions associated with the switch from British colony to Chinese Special Administrative Region (SAR).

Notes

1 Two recent cases in the territory relating to the issue of how to permit the erection of tall buildings amid those of lower scale concern the Old High Street Hospital on Hong Kong Island and the 30-story extension of the Peninsula Hotel in Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon.

2 "Historic label for places of learning," *South China Morning Post*, 15 September 1995.

3 "Police review real estate stock," *South China Morning Post*, 11 October 1995.

4 "Building for historic comeback," *South China Morning Post*, 11 September 1995.

5 "Fury over fate of synagogue," *South China Morning Post*, 13 September 1995.

6 "Hilton plan wins final approval," *South China Morning Post*, 16 September 1995.

7 "Slum Homes Preserved for Posterity," *South China Morning Post*, 1 January 1996.

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rehabilitation of this magnitude was permitted by a foreign real estate consultancy.[3] These more privatized projects differ from those on the Bund because they effectively come under the purview of a less centralized series of "work units" *(danwei)* than those of the municipal government. The positive result for preservation of this more private marketplace is the flexibility about what kind of project materializes, but the more negative result is that there are no rigid standards being applied to those performing the work.[4] Hence, the results can range from the miraculous to the bizarre.

Warehouse being repainted, Shanghai.

This full range is similarly evident throughout several other Chinese cities. In Tianjin, near Beijing, and in Guangzhou (Canton), many buildings in the foreign concession areas are (like Shanghai) receiving the attention of municipal bureaucrats who see rehabilitation as a way to distinguish the city viscerally from other places and, thus, to be more attractive to outside investors.[5] Farther south, in Xiamen (Fujian), municipal officials have commissioned a local university's department of architecture to survey a unique area in the city, Gulangyu Island, where many overseas Chinese who had struck it rich in the 1920s and 1930s built mansions in eclectic Western-Chinese styles. The city's avowed intention is to use this information as a basis for more positive preservation practices. A Catholic church on the island, for example, has been sensitively restored by using local craftsmen to re-create destroyed architectural elements.

Zhapulu street, Shanghai streetscape.

If the Gulangyu church restoration exemplifies the miraculous, then the bizarre is perhaps best demonstrated by the struggle to restore 21 villas in Lushan (Shanxi). For centuries, Lushan was a popular resort area and a site of national significance where until the mid-1970s Chinese leaders had summer retreats and planned major political campaigns. Constructed in the late-19th century in eclectic, European styles, the villas were sold in 1993 to a Hong Kong developer, who hired the American architect Piero Patri to restore them or, in some cases, to reconstruct them almost in entirety.[6] A typhoon of controversy erupted in summer 1993 when it was announced that Villa 191, where Chiang Kai-shek stayed periodically from 1933 to 1937, and where Mao Zedong rested in 1961, was to be converted into a restaurant and karaoke lounge. The unsuitability of this reuse was so abject and the adverse publicity so widespread that the plans were scrapped,[7] but they nonetheless demonstrate how sometimes the historic preservation of Western-style buildings in post-Maoist China can approximate the theater of the absurd. Nonetheless, these cases exemplify the upbeat "heads" side of China's preservation coin.

The other, more tarnished "tails" side is unfortunately more the norm: widespread demolition of whole neighborhoods to make room for high-rise icons to progress.[8] In the context of the hottest economic growth on the planet, historic buildings in need of rehabilitation pale in comparison with multi-storied, chrome-plated new construction, especially perhaps if the style of those historic buildings connotes an imperialistic past. If one pedals today around almost any Chinese city, billboards trumpeting those soon-to-be-constructed icons are immediately evident. Very likely nearby one will also see the tattered complexion of those buildings to be replaced, some of which are structurally sound or culturally significant. Still-viable architectural details are often resold in a burgeoning market of recycled building materials. Typically, both residential and commercial buildings of the late-1890s to the late-1930s are coming down, too low-scale and ill-equipped to weather the speculative storm raging in most Chinese cities. A recent Chinese novel, *Metropolis* (1992) revolves around the social implications of this destruction.[9] Books by Chinese and foreigners that preserve the disappearing buildings in photographs have become very popular in the past decade.[10]

Throughout China the notion of "highest and best use" is taken for granted, while the planning mechanism of transferring development rights to offset lower profits is underemployed. A clean slate is assumed to be better by those who commission the new constructions.[11] To Americans familiar with urban renewal programs and preservation realities prior to the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, Chinese cities in the 1990s reflect a much repeated story: historic buildings are razed while new buildings are raised.

Often this destruction is occurring before surveys (such as the one mentioned above in Xiamen) can be conducted. Such is the case, for instance, in Harbin (Heilongjiang), where the built environment was significantly affected by Russian planning and architectural paradigms of the early-20th century. Despite the pleas of local architectural educators, phenomenal Art Nouveau-style buildings are being leveled as the municipal government tries to keep pace with frenzied economic development further south in China. Some speculative real estate investment has been curtailed throughout China in the past year by heavier tax burdens; however, the effects of these measures on preservation projects is still unclear.[12]

Selling building materials in Fuzhou.

Throughout the country one of the many races against the clock is that between those who are trying to dampen the pressure to build aimlessly, and those trying to have projects approved before political uncertainties intensify after Deng's death. However, politicians such as Zhu Rongji are in favor of holding back speculative investment, which has yielded projects such as golf courses and American-style fast food franchises throughout China at the expense of affordable residential property for lower and middle classes. Many architectural historians, preservationists, and urban experts are on Zhu's side, trying to organize architectural surveys as one means to assist policymakers in arriving at sensible decisions, as occurred in Xiamen. Organizations such as the Chinese Modern (meaning 1840–1949 in China) Architectural History Society, founded in 1986, or the multi-city survey of Chinese Modern Architecture begun subsequently with the help of this Society, are indications that these efforts might be paying off slightly.

What about citizens' groups? Although grassroots preservation organizations that oppose governmental (in)action are rare in China, occasionally there are minor victories. Three years ago in Shanghai, for instance, a few activists learned that an American fast-food company was about to construct a new facility abutting the city's former racecourse building (built c. 1927 and now the main branch of the Shanghai Library). They managed to convince politicians to divert the construction farther away from the main building. Given the right turn of events, preservation action from concerned Chinese citizens could occur in the future, but where, when, and how they will mobilize their efforts are questions whose answers lie unpredictably in the future.

When the coin stops flipping in China, then, for or against the preservation of Western-style architecture, which side will it be—heads or tails? Although the answer will probably be decided on a case-by-case basis, there are two recent trends concerning new construction that are relevant in understanding the tenacity of, and perhaps future survival of Western-style architecture in China. One trend concerns the popularity of so-called "villa architecture" by a growing class of Chinese nouveau-riches and by overseas Chinese desiring to acquire a new foothold in their *lao jia* (old fam-

Crafting architectural elements, Gulangyu Island, Xiamen.

ily home). Detached villas, many sprouted with Western stylistic features, are being marketed profitably by Asian developers on the outskirts of many Chinese cities. So far, developers have not turned their attention in any significant way to the preservation of existing Western-style building stock; however, the popularity of Western-style elements in the new suburban construction perhaps indicates a latent possibility for future preservation initiatives in central cities, similar to the Lushan case cited above.

The second trend relates to historic theme parks. In the wake of the widespread desecration of Chinese historic architecture during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), beginning in the early-

Xiamen villa.

1980s, some Chinese planners approved the construction of new complexes where historic environments were recreated for mass consumption. The two initial projects were in Beijing and Shanghai, where reconstructions were erected of the 18th-century gentry settings described in the most famous Chinese novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber.* These proved so successful that other theme parks have followed, most notably "Splendid China" in Shenzhen (between Canton and Hong Kong) where since 1989 the "world's largest miniaturized scenic spot" and the Pearl River Delta's most popular tourist attraction contains 1:15 scale models of China's most famous monuments.[13] Shenzhen followed Splendid China in 1995 with "Window of the World," a 120-acre park where 1:3 scale models of the world's major historic sites have been erected, many from the Western tradition.[14] Therefore, as fast as China is bulldozing many of its own Western-style buildings, it is recreating for mass consumption other Western-style monuments from overseas. This irony, matched with the case of the Russian Orthodox Stock Exchange in Shanghai, or the Karaoke Mao/Chiang Kai-shek Villa in Lushan, demonstrates how difficult it is to predict the prospects for the preservation of Western-style architecture in contemporary China. The certainty, however, is that the issue of what, how, and by whom the preservation will occur is well worth monitoring.

Notes

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2 "High rents put damper on Bund revival," *South China Morning Post*, 24 December 1995.

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Photos by the author.

Christopher L. Yip

Little Town in the Big City—Chinatown in the First Port of Gold Mountain

Grant Avenue, Lee Family Association, San Francisco, California.

The traditional approaches to identifying and demarcating significant cultural properties are often inadequate when addressing the expressions of culture and peoples outside of the mainstream North American experience. Assigned chronological "periods," descriptions of architectural styles, and other constructs insufficiently treat resources that, in a sense, lie at the periphery of Euro-American culture.

This is true of many immigrant groups, whose imprint on the urban landscape in particular was often ephemeral, in a material sense, though obviously profound in other ways. Italians, Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians, and various other ethnic and national groups had their impact on cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, often little-altering the fundamental physical fabric of the cities of which they became a part. The same is true of Chinese and Japanese communities, whose significance in the cultural life of the United States is only now coming to be recognized. The circumstances of San Francisco's lower Chinatown well illustrate these phenomena.

Grant Avenue looking North, San Francisco, California.

The particular conditions of social organization and daily life in San Francisco's Chinatown generated a separate identity and physical reality for its people. The Chinese Americans living in San Francisco during the late-19th and early-20th centuries did not import building types from their native places. Rather, their places of habitation and daily life reflected an adaptation of common American building types to better conform to their purposes. The Chinese immigrants' attitudes, the demographic structure of the Chinese-American community, discrimination, and legal barriers all contributed to the character of this group's experience of habitation and its morphogenesis.

The majority of Chinese immigrants to the United States before 1965 came from Guangdong Province of South China, a province that contains only about 5% of China's total population. It was relatively easy to travel to the colonial ports of Macao and Hong Kong from the densely populated farming areas of the province in and around the Pearl River Delta. This region was one of the most densely settled parts of China with villages tightly clustered together. Houses in these villages had compact plans in which a large central room replaced the courtyard.

The Chinese immigrants were predominantly males who began to arrive in significant numbers during the California Gold Rush. Later, Chinese immigrants came in search of wage labor. Pioneer populations in the United States were commonly predominantly male. According to the 1850 U.S. Census, the ratio of men to women in California was about 12 to 1. The 1852 census of San Francisco found 83% of the Euro-American population to be male. The Chinese were an example of this phenomena, and continued to have an unbalanced sex ratio for many decades. As late as 1880, the male-to-female ratio was about 21 to 1, and in 1890, 27 to 1.

Traditionally, a man from Guangdong Province married and began his family before going abroad in search of work. In this way, a new generation could help to guaranty the survival of the family name, and the young wife could take care of the husband's parents. This pattern strengthened the loyalty of the sojourner to the kinship group and the native place.

Discrimination contributed to making the United States appear to be only a temporary place of residence. In 1854, the Federal District Court in San Francisco refused citizenship to a Chinese resident setting a precedent, and the Nationality Act of 1870 blocked Chinese immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. The California Alien Land

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Gregory Yee Mark

Honolulu's Chinatown

San Francisco's Chinatown has its parallels in many U.S. cities. Honolulu's Chinatown, which was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 and is now governed by Special District ordinance, with in-place design controls, has many points in common.

Currently, Honolulu's Chinatown is defined as a 15-block area bordered by business, historic, and industrial areas in downtown Honolulu. Chinatown was originally occupied by Native Hawaiian housesites, and later served as a docking and reception area for trading and whaling ships. By 1848, Chinatown was a Hawaiian-Chinese business district, which included fenced house lots, boarding houses, sailmaking shops, jewelry stores, bakeries, barber shops, drug and herb stores, restaurants, and metal shops.

In 1852, Chinese contract workers began to migrate to Hawai'i and worked and lived on the sugar plantations. However, as a result of the islands' growing Chinese population, Honolulu's Chinatown grew into a thriving center of Chinese activity. Many Chinese established stores and other private businesses in which the owners and their families would live above the shop or nearby. In 1882, the United Chinese Society was formed, the first of approximately 100 societies that were to be located primarily in the Chinatown area.

In 1886, the first of two Chinatown fires began on Hotel Street. The first fire was unintentional, but destroyed 30 acres of the Chinatown area. Some businesses and, most importantly, some families relocated to outside of Chinatown. Chinatown was rebuilt, but in 1899, in an attempt to control an outbreak of the bubonic plague, a fire was intentionally set by the fire department and went out of control, devastating the community once again. To Chinatown residents this fire had a tremendous impact. Many were not able to recover their losses, others simply moved away from Chinatown. Many were unable to prove ownership of their property because records had been lost or burned.

Out of the ashes of the 1899–1900 fire Chinatown was rebuilt. By the 1930s, Honolulu's Chinatown was the largest in the United States. Today, many of the Chinese-owned businesses have given way to Vietnamese restaurants and shops, but the bustling ambiance of old Chinatown still pervades. There are approximately 80 Chinese Associations that still exist in or near Chinatown. Most are family surname, sub-district, and district societies. Others are trade guilds, special-interest clubs, and secret societies. Generally, these organizations can be considered to be social clubs in the 1990s, and most own one or more pieces of land in Honolulu.

Honolulu's Chinatown, view along Maunakea Street. Photo by William Chapman, 1993.

It is acknowledged by most owners and residents, as well as city and county officials, that the old and historic buildings need to be preserved, and the existing ordinance, which governs signs, facade changes, and the streetscape, addresses this issue. However, it is recognized that social issues, including housing in particular, are critical problems. The Downtown Neighborhood Board, for one, believes that more residents will improve the security and crime problems in Chinatown. As a result of increased emphasis, a number of recent housing projects and condominiums have been built at the fringes of the district, taking advantage of higher-density zoning allowed in the peripheral area. The city has also underwritten parking facilities at the edge of the district, hoping to attract more visitors.

Today, potential threats of gentrification and rapid redevelopment appear to be held at bay for the time being, though Honolulu's Chinatown remains a fragile resource.

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Act blocked Chinese resident aliens from purchasing land. In 1882, the first of a series of Chinese Exclusion Acts barred Chinese laborers from immigrating; it was extended and expanded to include other Chinese classes in 1884, 1888, 1892, and 1902. Finally, in 1924, the Exclusion Act was made permanent and Chinese women were specifically excluded. Any American marrying a Chinese man or woman was liable to lose their citizenship. In more than 30 states, laws against intermarriage with Chinese were enacted. The body of state and federal legislation blocked the expansion of the Chinese-American community by new immigration, and made increase by births exceedingly slow since there were so few Chinese-American women (both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the Chinese-American population) at the time the Exclusion Acts were passed. The legislation heightened the sense of being in a hostile environment since they were passed during a period of anti-Chinese hostilities throughout the Far West.

The predominantly male Chinese population clustered into the blocks of Chinatown because it offered low-cost residential hotels and commercial space in the heart of the city between the central business district and the first residential neighborhoods above the downtown. There they found safety within an ethnic community and affordable space close to employment opportunities generated by the central business district. In San Francisco's Chinatown, possibly as many as 20,000 people lived in a 12-block area of one-to four-story brick and wood framed structures. Discriminatory housing practices and the desire of landlords to maximize their profits generated crowding and poor living conditions. Virtually all of the Chinese in San Francisco had to live within the confines of Chinatown with the exception of house servants and laundrymen who lived at their laundries in the various neighborhoods of the city.

Absentee landlords had no incentive to improve or even maintain their Chinatown properties since they rented to a captive market. The landlords expected their tenants to maintain the property, and the Chinese tenants devoted as little of their modest incomes as possible to that task. A survey conducted by a hostile Board of Supervisors in 1885 examined a residential hotel on Oneida Place. The plan showed a multiple storied rectangular structure with a short side (2 rooms wide) to the main street and a long side along the alley. The ground floor contained 22 rooms in two rows with almost every room having direct access to an alley or yard. One staircase led to the floor above. The plan eliminated the need for an interior corridor on the ground floor. There were 40 beds in the 22 rooms; 5 rooms had 1 bed each, and 1 room contained 5 beds, the most of any room. Cooking facilities were located outside in the spaces along the sides of the building. There the Chinese built simplified versions of the traditional brick stoves used in South China. Since there was little storage space and no refrigeration, a person or small group had to purchase the food and fuel for cooking everyday at the various shops in Chinatown.

Activities normally considered a part of the "home" spilled onto the alleys, and streets, and into the businesses, and the institutions of Chinatown. One slept and stored one's few belongings in a room which was often shared with a number of other men to keep the cost of rent down for each person. Some slept at their places of employment. The entertainment and social functions were scattered throughout the community. One would meet friends on the streets, in the association rooms, and have gatherings at the many Chinese restaurants.

The few families either squeezed into one or two rooms in a residential hotel, obtained one of the few available apartments, or lived behind or above their businesses. The structures with frontages onto streets inevitably had commercial activities along the street, and residential hotels and association rooms above. Often small factories, gambling rooms, brothels, or more association rooms were wedged into the basements and back spaces of buildings.

Chinatown was completely razed by the earthquake and fire of 1906. Yet, the Chinese returned to the site. The landowners rebuilt the community quickly to lure back their Chinese-American tenants. The structures that composed most of Chinatown after 1906 were commonly rectangular multi-storied commercial buildings with commercial frontages along the street or alley, residential hotels on the middle floors, and associations occupying the top floors which were considered the most prestigious even though the buildings in Chinatown were walkups without elevators. To express their importance, it was common for wealthier associations to decorate the top floor by using balconies, lights, and curving bracketed eaves to create a presence along the street. Temples often occupied top floors and also created an elaborate sinocized effect to visually state their importance. The ground floors of the commercial blocks were activated by the businesses who sought to attract passersby. Grocers normally crowded the sidewalk with fruits and vegetables.

While other ethnic groups rapidly shifted from single-male to family-centered communities, the Chinese only slowly made the transition. The Chinese community shrank while other ethnic groups increased steadily in numbers due to the Exclusion Acts which generated a decline in the

male population. The Chinese-American population reached a low in the 1920 U.S. Census. As elderly men either died or returned to China to be with their excluded families, the slow growth of a native-born population began to shift the Chinese community from one of single males to a numerically smaller community with a rising number of families. In 1920, the ratio of men to women was 7 to 1, and in 1930 it reached 4 to 1.

The majority of Chinese, both single males and families, continued to live in residential hotels and apartments in and around the Chinatowns that hugged the edge of central business districts. These residential hotels normally occupied multi-storied mixed-use buildings with commercial space in part or all of the street frontages, and individual rental rooms in the upper floors lined up along corridors. Interior rooms received some ventilation and light from light wells. Toilets, bath and shower rooms, and kitchens were located along the corridors for the use of the tenants. In San Francisco's Chinatown, small residential hotels had as few as 10 rooms, and large ones as many as 100. Families would try to rent 2 or more rooms next to each other, and the corridors became play areas for the children. Some cooking was done in the common kitchens or on the ad hoc cooking facilities set up in the rooms by the tenants. Many meals were taken in the Chinese restaurants which catered to the tenant market.

The decline in population made the businesses of Chinatown even more dependent upon tourism and sales to people living outside of the community. This led to an ever-increasing emphasis on picturesque signage and "oriental" decorations in the storefronts to create a special image for Chinatown and thereby attract more business from outside of Chinatown.

The Exclusion Acts were repealed in 1943 and Chinese Americans were allowed to become naturalized citizens as a gesture to China, which was an ally of the United States in World War II. Jobs in industry and government opened up, and the Chinese-American middle class grew. This did not immediately lead to a migration out of the Chinatowns. Discrimination in housing kept middle class Chinese families in Chinatown. The Alien Land Law of California was not found unconstitutional until 1952, and it took the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s to open most residential areas to the Chinese.

Given the opportunity, middle class Chinese Americans dispersed into residential areas and suburbs. After having been trapped in urban ghettos for a century, Chinese-American escapees eagerly adopted the values and comforts of suburban life. This became possible after the Civil Rights Act and the decline of segregated housing practices. Second, third, and fourth generation Chinese Americans fled from the housing conditions towards the suburban ideal. Former residents of Chinatown now only came to Chinatown to buy groceries and eat in the restaurants, further accentuating Chinatown's role as a tourist and commercial center.

Three groups continued to occupy Chinatown in large numbers—the working poor, the elderly, and new immigrants. The working poor could not afford to purchase homes in the suburbs and often needed to live near their jobs. The single elderly knew no other lifestyle except that of Chinatown where they could live out their lives in a familiar setting. Elderly couples, widows, and single men continued to rent rooms in the residential hotels of San Francisco's Chinatown. They might raise their beds high above the ground for warmth and for extra storage space underneath. They shared facilities with others on their floor, and often set up small cooking arrangements in their rooms.

Many immigrant families found themselves in the residential hotels and small apartments of Chinatown. Poor immigrants refilled the Chinatown as the more affluent native-born Chinese Americans left for the suburbs. In 1980, an immigrant family of 4 (a husband, wife, and 2 young sons) lived in a 10' x 10' room. They cooked in the community kitchen and ate on their folding table in their room. They all slept in one bed.

Chinatown's structure and appearance resulted from the particularities of Chinese-American history. One finds an interweaving of at least two sets of cultural patterns within the context of historical conditions. For this or any other ethnic group in the United States one needs to uncover the subcultural differences that have gone into the making of place rather than assuming that the archetypal period styles of designing and building describe the experience of any and all groups. Each ethnic group inhabiting the American landscape must be examined for its own particularities if we are to understand the true history of the built environment. Understanding general stylistic archetypes is not enough to explain the richness and diversity of the American-built environment.

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Photos by the author.

Gail Lee Dubrow

Japanese-American Cultural Resources in Western Washington

Recent preservation planning efforts throughout the western states have brought increased attention to cultural resources significant in the history of Asian Americans. California and Nevada have been at the forefront of such activities. Beginning in 1979, the California Office of Historic Preservation assumed leadership in improving the representation of ethnic minority properties in cultural resources surveys with a study of 100 sites associated with the five largest ethnic minorities in the state's history, the results of which are reported in *Five Views: An Ethnic Sites Survey for California*. Cultural resources associated with Chinese and Japanese Americans are well-represented in that study. The *Nevada Preservation Plan* provides another important overview of major patterns in the settlement of Asian Americans in the west, although it is more useful for those interested in Chinese-American heritage, since Nevada lacked the distinctive Japanese neighborhoods or Japan towns present in other places, such as California and Washington.

The limited base of knowledge about Japanese-American cultural resources in the western region was significantly expanded with the commissioning of two preservation planning initiatives in Washington State: a statewide study that provides a *Historic Context for the Protection of Asian Pacific American Resources* and a *Plan for the Protection of Asian Pacific American Heritage in King County*. These studies have revealed a wide array of previously undocumented cultural resources significant in Japanese-American heritage.

Among the most surprising findings are overlooked resources in the urban centers of community life historically known as Nihonmachis or Japantowns. Rural areas that were home to Japanese-American agricultural communities prior to World War II also contain a significant concentration of overlooked cultural resources, which need to be integrated into current farmland and preservation planning programs. The forests and wilderness areas where lumber mills and other extractive industries operated include sites once occupied by segregated encampments of Japanese workers, some of which have promising potential for archeological investigation. Together, these new preservation planning initiatives point to the need for protecting a wider range of cultural resources than have been recognized in the past, in order to develop an accurate and complete picture of Japanese-American contributions to the development of the western region.

Some significant cultural resources associated with Seattle's Nihonmachi or Japantown are included in the city's well-protected Chinatown/International District. Perhaps the most prominent building is the Astor Hotel/Nippon Kan Theater, which has served both as a single-room occupancy hotel and as a theater and meeting hall for the Japanese-American community. While properties such as this, significant in Japanese-American heritage, were included in the nomination of the International District to the National Register, the not-unusual focus on documenting the exteriors of buildings led surveyors to overlook some interior features of great significance in Japanese-American heritage.

The single-room occupancy Panama Hotel was included in the National Register nomination

Seattle, WA. 1995. Panama Hotel. Furo or bathhouse located in the basement. Photo by John Stamets.

as a contributing element to the International District. Until recently, however, few people were aware of the undocumented cultural resources located in the hotel's basement. One half of the basement contains the only known intact example of an urban furo or Japanese-American community bathhouse. The other half of the basement contains fully packed trunks, stored there by Japanese Americans on the eve of World War II internment. These findings suggest the need to re-examine places of previously-recognized historical significance in search of cultural resources that may have been overlooked at a time when there was relatively little awareness or appreciation of Japanese-American heritage.

Some smaller Nihonmachis that failed to regain the vitality they enjoyed in the pre-World War II period have been overlooked as potential historic districts, with devastating consequences. One such place is the city of Tacoma's Nihonmachi, which was a thriving Japanese-American community from the 1890s through the 1930s. Absent the protection that historic district designation might have conferred, Tacoma's Japantown gradually has suffered an erosion of physical integrity. It isn't easy to visualize the 40-block large community that once existed from the few historic buildings that remain: the Buddhist and Methodist Churches and the Japanese Language School. It is also difficult to sustain claims for preserving the remaining buildings in the absence of the larger community that constituted their context and amplified their meaning. Japanese-American cultural resources located in larger communities, such as Little Tokyo in Los Angeles, are well-recognized and protected. However, a systematic study of smaller Nihonmachis is needed to enhance the protection of places that served as centers of Japanese-American community life on the West Coast in the pre-World War II period.

King County, where Seattle is located, has been home to a significant concentration of Japanese Americans over the course of the 20th century, not only in the city but also in agricultural centers in the southern part of the county. Some of the most significant properties located in these outlying areas have been inventoried, such as Natsuhara's General Store, which supplied merchandise to the farming community of Auburn; yet they remain to be designated as landmarks. But in other cases, until recently, even the most well-intentioned efforts to preserve historic properties missed opportunities for recognizing the critical contributions of Japanese Americans, particularly as tenant farmers. Likewise, county efforts to preserve farmlands have not operated with an adequate knowledge of the physical features that subtly, but distinctively, mark historic properties as ethnic cultural resources.

The Neely Mansion, located in Auburn, offers a reminder that interpretive programs need to address not only the owners of historic houses, but also the tenants who occupied them. This is particularly important for illuminating Japanese-American heritage since Anti-Alien Land Laws resulted in patterns of long-term tenancy (or placing property in the hands of American-born children.) The Neely Mansion was designated a King County Landmark as an elaborate example of Craftsman style architecture and as the home of a white pioneer settler to the area. Yet in actuality, the development of the property is largely attributable to the labor of Japanese and Filipino families who leased it for the greater part of the 20th century. Recently conducted interviews with past tenants documented Asian-American contributions to the agricultural history of the property.

Auburn, WA. 1939. Neely Mansion (left) and furo (right), as documented in the 1939 Real Property Inventory. Puget Sound Regional Archives photo.

These efforts to reinterpret the Neely Mansion also brought to light a previously neglected cultural resource. An outbuilding that initially appeared to have little significance turned out be the shed for a family *furo* or bathhouse used during the period of Japanese-American occupancy, opening new possibilities for helping present-day visitors to understand the daily lives of Japanese-American farmers in Western Washington prior to the 1940s. While the process of amending landmark nominations may appear to be a luxury at a time when preservationists often find it difficult to secure funding for the most rudimentary inventories of historic properties, selective efforts to revise the inventory/nomination forms for designated landmarks can enhance the

visibility of Asian Americans at many historic places that already attract visitors, and extend needed protection to long-neglected cultural resources.

Similarly, while some agricultural properties are protected from the steady onslaught of light industrial and suburban development under King County's Farmlands Preservation Act, their significance as ethnic cultural resources has not always been well documented. Thirty-three of the 80 acres that once comprised the Hamakami Farm, located in Western Washington's Green River Valley, enjoy this form of protection, which uses restrictive covenants to prevent incompatible development. While the barn and fields commonly are recognized to be important elements of the farmscape, inadequate attention has been paid to the remaining row of sheds, which were used to grow hothouse rhubarb, a crop that was grown almost exclusively by Japanese-American farmers in this part of the country. With the exception of Japanese gardens and Buddhist temples, which often served as showcases for traditional design and building practices, Japanese Americans tended to occupy and use standard American building types. For that reason, cultural resource managers need special training to identify the less obvious ethnic imprints in the built environment and cultural landscape.

Auburn, WA. 1994. Hamakami Farm. Sheds for cultivating hothouse rhubarb. Photo by Carole Davidson-Mulligan.

The most poorly documented set of cultural resources associated with Japanese Americans in Western Washington may be those located in fairly remote settings, such as the forests that contained many small segregated settlements of Japanese immigrants who worked for logging companies, mills, and railroad lines. Established by the Pacific States Lumber Company, the town of Selleck contained a cohesive settlement of Japanese workers on a site cleared for them by the company. While the company town occupied by white workers is remarkably well-preserved, the Japanese section was demolished after the company shut down. A similar pattern existed at the nearby mill town of Barneston, established by the Kent Lumber Company in 1898. While the structures associated with Barneston's Japantown were demolished long ago, cultural debris located on the surface of the site suggests the potential value of archeological investigation. Fortunately, current plans call for weaving the history of Japanese immigrant laborers at Barneston and Selleck into interpretive programs at a new visitors center in the Cedar River Watershed, where both towns generally were located. Yet, the fact that a 1909 survey found approximately 2,200 Japanese workers employed in 67 mills and logging camps in Washington suggests the importance of determining if significant archeological resources are located at any one of them.

The need remains to develop training programs that will allow cultural resource managers, particularly those located in the western region, to become more knowledgeable about the range of property types significant in Asian-American heritage, and to institute multicultural approaches to preservation education which will ensure that the next generation of preservation professionals will be better equipped to manage these tangible resources. Toward that end, graduate students in the Preservation Planning and Design Program in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Washington have been engaged

Barneston, WA. 1911. Japantown. Seattle Water Department photo.

in a series of projects designed to enhance the protection of Asian-American cultural resources, which are intended to serve as bridges between the university, preservation agencies, and underserved communities.

Funded by a Cultural Enhancement Grant from King County's Hotel/Motel Tax Program, graduate students in the Preservation Planning and Design Program drafted King County's *Plan for the Protection of Asian Pacific American Heritage*. In a related project, they also amended the landmark nomination for the Neely Mansion to recognize the contributions of Japanese- and Filipino-American farmers, and to extend protection to the furo discovered there. A grant from the National Park Service's Cultural Resources Training Initiative supported the development of a more broadly based program intended to fill gaps in the existing base of knowledge about Asian Pacific-American cultural resources in Western Washington. In conjunction with basic coursework in Preservation Planning, students completed paid internships with agencies that own or manage historic properties of potential significance to Asian Pacific-American heritage, but which have lacked the resources necessary to fully document or interpret them.

Just two examples of the special projects that students completed for their sponsors suggest the potential for bringing neglected aspects of our nation's cultural heritage to larger audiences. In one project, the presence of Japanese-American workers in Barneston was documented for a future exhibit at the Water Department's Visitors Center. Another project researched cultural resources associated with the labors of Japanese Americans on railroad lines located in the Snoqualmie National Forest, to provide guidance for impending archeological investigations, and documentation for future interpretive programs. Other student projects have addressed places significant in the heritage of Chinese Americans and Filipinos in Washington. Together they suggest the value of these sorts of partnerships for developing a more accurate and complete picture of Asian-American history through the identification, interpretation, and protection of remaining cultural resources.

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P. Bion Griffin, Miriam T. Stark, and Judy Ledgerwood

Research, Education, and Cultural Resource Management at Angkor Borei, Cambodia

The Kingdom of Cambodia is among the most blessed and cursed of nations in the world of cultural resource management. The Angkor Historical Park houses the world's greatest collection of temples. The complexity, beauty, and quality of the many structures surely warrant assignment of a heritage status second to none. In the area west of the Mekong River are the foundations of Southeast Asian civilization. South into the delta of the Mekong lie ruins as yet unstudied—ruins that bear the evidence of the shift from the Neolithic and Bronze ages into the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms that are the base of states from southern Vietnam through Burma.

Photos by P. Bion Griffin.

Sadly, however, Cambodia and its heritage are being looted and sold to antiquities traffickers from Thailand and the West. Statuary is carried off or defaced for body parts, temples are dug for hidden gold and figurines, and whole buildings are dismantled. The CRM officials of Cambodia struggle against incredible odds to impede the destruction. The University of Hawai`i and the East-West Center (EWC), both in Honolulu, have developed a joint training and research project that aims to help Cambodia gain a Cultural Resource Management program second to none. This project has grown out of the "Indochina Initiative" of the East-West Center with the cooperation of the University of Hawai`i (UH).

The Indochina Initiative was established in 1992 to focus attention and resources on specialized training relevant to the needs of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Since the beginning of 1994, the Initiative has been emphasizing training in anthropology and archeology, including cultural resource management, to graduates of the Faculty of Archaeology of the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh. Included in the program have been the authors, Griffin and Stark of the Department of Anthropology and Ledgerwood of the East-West Center; Professor Nancy Dowling of the University of Hawai`i's Department of Art; Chhanny Sak-Humphry of the Linguistics Department; William Chapman, Director of the University's Historic Preservation Program; Jefferson Fox, a research fellow at the East-West Center; and several graduate students, including Michael Dega and Kyle Latinis, who worked as on-site supervisors during the 1995 summer survey project. Carol Mortland, an independent anthropologist from the State of Washington with long ties to the region, also has participated in the program, the ultimate goal of which is to regenerate indigenous professional capabilities in archeology and preservation that were destroyed by the Khmer Rouge.

Students excavating.

Because Cambodia is the home of Angkor Wat and of thousands of smaller precious archeological sites, archeological research and education are central to the understanding and preservation of Khmer culture. After the ravages of war and the Khmer Rouge period, only three Khmer professional archeologists survived. In 1989, Cambodia reopened the Royal University of Fine Arts (RUFA). The Indochina Initiative's Cambodian students, studying at the University of Hawai`i and supported by the East-West Center, were among the first graduating class of the RUFA Faculty of Archaeology since 1975. During the 1994–95 academic year, six students studied at UH as non-degree students, completing English, cultural anthropology, and archeology classes. During the 1995–96 year, five Khmer students are again in residence in Hawai`i, two of them returning from the previous group. A grant from the Henry Luce Foundation will help support these and other students from December 1995. Some of the students will enter the graduate degree program in Anthropology. These students will eventually take up positions as faculty at the University, as profes-

sional staff at the National Museum, and at the Angkor Conservatory.

In conjunction with the classroom training, the UH/EWC conducted an archeology field training program in Cambodia during the summer of 1995. Training was conducted primarily at the "Funan" site of Angkor Borei. The dual purposes of the summer exercise were to train the Cambodian students in basic archeological field techniques such as excavation and mapping, and to plan future research and preservation. Cooperation with Cambodian authorities exceeded all expectations. The Minister of Culture and Fine Arts, the State Secretariat for Culture, the Governor of the Province of Takeo, and District officials approved the work and visited the operation, bringing national media coverage several times. Fortunately, the Dean of the Faculty of Archeology and Vice Rector of the University, Professor Chuch Phoeurn, spent considerable time at the site, working closely with the student trainees and acquainting the "novice foreigners" with the intricacies of Cambodian archeology.

Cultural resource management in Cambodia has tended to focus on preservation and restoration of the Ankorian period sites, dating from the founding of the Khmer empire in A.D. 802 through the sacking of the capital city by the Thais in A.D. 1432. During those centuries, the explosion of monumental public architecture construction saw temple building not only in the Siem Reap Province (the location of the Khmer capitals), but

Michael Dega

Angkor Borei

Chinese travellers to Funan in the mid-2nd century A.D., namely K'ang T'ai, reported that the "people of Funan 'live in walled cities, palaces, and houses'." Hall (1985) also notes that "populations lived in houses built on stilts within great earthen ramparts." Louis Malleret, a French archeologist who excavated at Oc-Eo, an early historic site in present-day Vietnam, discovered rectangular moats and ramparts around the town of Oc-Eo measures 3.0 x 1.5 kilometers (approximately 1.865 miles x .932 miles). Importantly, he described this Funanese site as lying behind five ramparts and four moats. Recent research at Angkor Borei also revealed the presence of both walls and moats around the city.

Angkor Borei is, for the most part, a moated settlement, surrounded by a wall that is approximately 6 kilometers (approximately 3.729 miles) long. The wall is composed of a brick foundation with packed earth over the top of the bricks. Sections of the wall profile that are visible due to erosion and modern road cuts through the wall revealed up to 18 layers or courses of large, stacked bricks. The wall itself varied in width between 10 and 20 meters (approximately 10.54 and 21.8 yards) wide and once rose 4-5 meters (approximately 4.37–5.46 yards) above the surrounding terrain. The wall does not completely enclose the ancient city as the Angkor Borei river runs through the middle from the west to the east. The rampart does continue on both sides of the river.

In some places, the city wall is level on top, the flatness intentionally created during original construction. The level character of the top of the wall has become more pronounced by transportation use and the wall's use as a habitational area over the centuries. The even surface creates ideal living areas for present-day occupants as their houses lie above the marshlands present on both sides of the wall. Local villagers now reside, in places, directly on the wall. It was observed that many of the bricks composing the wall were being used in the construction of new houses, garden plots, and small brick-lined water catchments near the dwellings.

Temporally, the construction of the wall may be dated through its similarity with other recognized Funanese walls such as those at Oc-Eo. Also, enclosed settlements were supposedly typical of Funan-period settlements. Thus, the wall was likely constructed between the 2nd and 5th centuries A.D. Several brick samples from the lower portion of the wall are currently being analyzed by thermoluminescence to obtain absolute dates of brick ages to infer wall construction episodes.

Functionally, the wall may have served several purposes. First, as could be called "typical" of a Funan period city, the wall enclosed Angkor Borei, separating the city from the surrounding low-lying floodplain. Second, since Angkor Borei was a major trading center, residents could have efficiently controlled the flow of goods and merchants in and out of the city. Third, water control on the floodplain was necessary as the city lies in an inundation zone and could easily be flooded. Potentially, the river running through the middle of the city could have flooded residential areas, but this seems unlikely as the banks of the river are raised and residential units would lie well above the swollen river. Fourth, the wall served a defensive role as a fortification around the city. Finally, the city

into present day Thailand and Laos. Given the splendor of these sites, it is easy to justify a priority for their conservation. Scholars and preservationists from Japan and France, as well as those associated with the World Monuments Fund, are leading efforts to help Cambodians in this domain. The East-West Center/University of Hawai'i Cambodia anthropology and archeology program, however, in its contributions, looks outside the Siem Reap area and to times earlier than the Khmer empire.

Following the lead of Professor Chuch Phoeurn, the Hawai'i team is concentrating on the prehistory of Cambodia, on prehistoric sites, and on the southern portion of the country. In addition, the terrain along the banks of the Mekong River are appropriate for Hawai'i scholars and students to explore for sites. "Prehistory" is meant in this context as anything that is "pre-Angkorian," or that dates before the 9th century A.D. The survey is not limited to the Funan age (the first few centuries of the Christian era: the term "Funan" is from Chinese sources and may derive from the Khmer word *phnom*, which means mountain) and its sites of Angkor Borei and Ba Phnom, but may include examinations into the Iron and Bronze ages, the Neolithic, and the Paleolithic. The project has, and will, concentrate on the low southerly regions that are the upper reaches of the Mekong delta and happily transpires in a land and time where and when next to nothing is known.

wall may represent a ritual function that portrays the sector controlled by elites of the area and may also incorporate a representation of the Mandala, the Hindu universe.

Other important features on the landscape are moats. Much like the moats at Oc-Eo, a Funan site in southern Vietnam, yet larger, both an inner and outer moat run along the south, east, and west sides of the city. The inner and outer moats are separated by the city wall. The inner moat runs from the southeast corner of the wall to the west for 1.5 kilometers (approximately .932 miles) and is 22 meters (approximately 24 yards) wide. The outer moat runs from the southeast corner of the wall to the west and north for a distance of 3 kilometers (approximately 1.86 miles). This moat is also 22 meters (approximately 24.06 yards) wide, thus showing a formality in construction. At present, both moats are only 1.23 meters (approximately 4.03 feet) deep and are overgrown with mangrove taxa. More than likely, the moats were much deeper in the past but due to the intense movement of soil in the floodplain region, the moat probably filled rapidly. Analysis of soil samples taken by a Livingston corer in the moats should help determine the approximate original depths of the moats. Radiocarbon dates from the moat itself will aid in dating the stratigraphic layers as well as provide a complement to the soil analysis underway to identify building episodes by stratigraphic analysis. Finally, a network of moats several kilometers beyond the city was discovered. These will be investigated further in the 1996 field season.

A third category of important features documented last summer were barays or reservoirs. Previous residents of Angkor Borei created large water management systems, both to direct the immense amount of water on the floodplain during monsoon seasons and to store water for future use. The reservoirs were probably built mainly to store large amounts of water for the dry season, thus allowing residents to produce multiple rice crops throughout the year. Water from these reservoirs may have been circulated through canals, irrigation channels, and moats to allow for year-round rice production.

Several barays were discovered within the city wall, in less populated zones, while a larger reservoir was recorded just outside the city wall's eastern side (see map). The large baray was rectangular, measuring 200 meters (approximately 218.72 yards) due east-west by 100 meters (approximately 109.36 yards) north-south. A network of small barays was located during the latter part of the field season to the east of Angkor Borei. This network will be investigated during the 1996 field season and should give a more detailed picture of water management systems in and around Angkor Borei.

The population of early historic-period Angkor Borei transformed the difficult floodplain environmental conditions by constructing large walls, moats, barays, and employing an extensive canal system. These features were critical for Angkor Borei's agricultural production and for trade with other economic centers within the Funan domain. Future research involving continued survey and excavations at the early historic city will reveal more about the intensity of agricultural production with respect to its hydraulic systems, and will shed light on the important role that this city played in the development of early Southeast Asian polities.

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The Paleolithic of Cambodia is limited to speculation; almost certainly sites exist that date to the mid- to late-Pleistocene, but no one has looked for them yet. French archeologists may have excavated Paleolithic caves in the Kampot region, but it was found, in 1995, that only remnants left after destruction through limestone quarrying were visible. The famous Neolithic site of Memot, near the Vietnam border in Kampong Cham Province, is known by word of mouth as the "mother of Neolithic sites." Excavated but unreported by the illustrious French prehistorian Bernard Groslier, this moated and deeply stratified site warrants further study. It is hoped that the EWC/UH team will excavate there in 1996, if security concerns permit. The Bronze and Iron ages, as reported in Vietnam and Thailand, are unrecorded in Cambodia, but it is believed they also underlie the Funan period deposits at Angkor Borei.

In 1995, the Minister of Culture and Fine Arts, the Honorable Nouth Narang, assigned the site of Angkor Borei to the EWC/UH team. He and his colleagues considered the site of singular importance for the Funan or Pre-Angkorian period, to be accessible, and to be secure from military conflict and unexploded land mines. As a result, training and research efforts were limited to this ancient city. The UH/EWC/RUFA team worked at Angkor Borei for four weeks in mid-1995. The preliminary research begins the process of adding to the admittedly little knowledge built up over nearly two millennia.

What little is known of Angkor Borei comes from Chinese accounts, epigraphy based on stone inscriptions, and colonial French scholarship. The so-called Funan people, according to Chinese traders in the mid-2nd century A.D., lived in walled cities that contained moats, water reservoirs, palaces, and residential areas (see commentary by Michael Dega, this issue). Their accounts suggest that Angkor Borei and Ba Phnom may have been Funan period cities. As Dega reports, Angkor Borei is a walled city (or town, depending on one's perspective) and was moated. Its importance in the political and economic scene of the first few centuries A.D. is hypothetical, but Kenneth Hall, in his book *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia,* suggests a pivotal place in regional trade and in the development of social complexity of Cambodian society.

The potential for new knowledge through excavations at Angkor Borei is great; the first modern excavation program, accompanied by high-tech data retrieval and analysis systems, should permit a fine-grained examination of the paleoenvironment, of trade patterns, and of the concentration of economy and political power. It is known from the mapping and coring work already completed that the city was walled and moated. Thus, it shares characteristics with approximately one dozen other moated settlements through Thailand and Cambodia during this time. It is hypothesized that after the 7th century population dropped, never to regain Funan period levels. It is suggested that with the collapse of the Funan "international" trading complex, power shifted to the north, as other scholars have opined.

Angkor Borei appears to be the archeological remnants of a Funan city. The nearby city of Ba Phnom reveals, even with the most cursory of inspections, archeological remains not only of Funan times, but of much later dates. Angkor Borei, however, has the surface remains of destroyed Pre-Ankorian temples, but no later, larger temples. Unless the preliminary research is mistaken, the foundations of several rather similar Funan temples were located in 1995. Based on size, brick configuration, foundation characteristics, and reported looted artifacts, they are roughly 5th, 6th, and 7th century structures. Except at the nearby sacred hilltop temple site of Phnom Da, no 10th century and later structures were found. Angkor Borei may indeed be a Funan age city, giving investigators a chance to best understand that time without having to sort out later materials. At the same time, excavations suggest that the stratigraphically lower layers of the site predate Funan, extending back into the Bronze Age.

Conservation and preservation at Angkor Borei are as critical as any in Cambodia—from some perspectives even more so. The Funan Period sites are few and are fragile and the most famous site of this period—Oc-Eo, in Vietnam—is largely destroyed. The relative lack of monumental architecture masks the importance of these sites and, in fact, allows improperly minimizing the cultural heritage value of the material. Such sites do have remains of national importance, and these are, at least at Angkor Borei, being lost. During the summer of 1995, six previously unknown temples—all reduced to mounds of brick and all in some state of looting—were located. Local residents in the last few years have searched for the temples, sunk exploratory pits to locate the center, then excavated straight down to recover deeply buried ritual treasures: gold and stone figures, ceramics, and jewelry. Nearly all the temples have already been looted; two were "in progress" during the research period (but villagers suspended digging to avoid notice). Even more deadly is the recent practice of removing temple bricks for the construction of a new temple complex or *wat* in the town's center.

Future proposed research places a high priority on excavations that better record the nature of the temples and to devise a means of retarding

their destruction. The Ministry of Culture is dedicated to ensuring their preservation; perhaps with our help this will be realized. The looting problem at Angkor Borei is larger, however, since the very ground of the ancient city and the present town contains gold flecks. Great, gaping holes abound throughout the town. The field team was told that the holes were looters' pits, dug in the pursuit of gold objects, stone statuary, and ceramics. The team wondered what on earth they did with the backdirt until they were told that under the cover of night, baskets of dirt were taken to canoes, then by canoe to sheltered locations where the dirt was panned for gold! One old woman remarked, on observing our use of 1/8" screen in excavating, "What fools they are! They'll miss all the gold with that size mesh."

A serious problem, perhaps the greatest, is that everybody in Angkor Borei believes researchers are there to find gold and objects, and must have the high-tech means of doing so. While Professor Chuch Phoeurn worked long and hard to educate the townspeople, they were clearly convinced that our coring was solely to find treasures.

An exterior moat scene with a modern causeway crossing it in the background.

In fact, the team never excavated where it was thought any valuable material would be found, but chose to work in badly disturbed locations. This was consistent with our overall goals, which were to train Cambodian students and to accomplish simple exploratory research that would enable us to design proper research for 1996 and later years.

The EWC/UH team was in Cambodia to complete the first year of training of Cambodian archeology students. The team returned to Cambodia from Hawai`i with four students and invited an additional six of the last graduating class in archeology at the Royal University of Fine Arts to join us. The team conducted a reconnaissance survey at Angkor Borei, began mapping the entire site, and instituted excavations. The excavations were designed to give hands-on training to the students and to give the researchers an understanding of the site stratigraphy. Variation over space was unknown but became better understood as the work wore on. Kiln sites with extensive sherd concentrations were located. The quays along the waterway were recovered. High status and ritual areas were pinpointed. An extensive system of moats or water collection areas were explored within the city, and these correlated (in a preliminary fashion) with raised or elevated areas.

Most interesting were the efforts to find a rectangular city wall and its adjacent moats. Team members Nancy Dowling of the University of Hawai`i's Department of Art and Bion Griffin of the University of Hawai`i's Department of Anthropology walked and walked and argued and argued over what the wall situation really was; eventually, with the mapping efforts of Graduate Students Mike Dega, Kyle Latinis, and the Cambodian students, a preliminary map was produced. This map is now being compared with the GPS mapping effort of Nancy Dowling and Jeff Fox of the University of Hawai`i's East-West Center (see map, page 38). Now that these data are in hand and suggestive of the morphology of this Funan city of Angkor Borei, the future design of research and preservation must be put in place. Central to the preservation effort is the building, staffing, and equipping of a museum and heritage center at the town. Few of Angkor Borei's present residents will ever have the time or money to visit the nation's capital, Phnom Penh, and its National Museum. Instead, a focus of local pride, education, and research may be achieved by modest effort in building a structure for housing collections, conserving artifacts, and displaying the materials that represent the heritage of the city. We in Hawai`i have the exciting possibility to participate with Cambodian scholars in this wide-ranging and important legacy. In 1996, the team will return to Angkor Borei as a further step in this direction.

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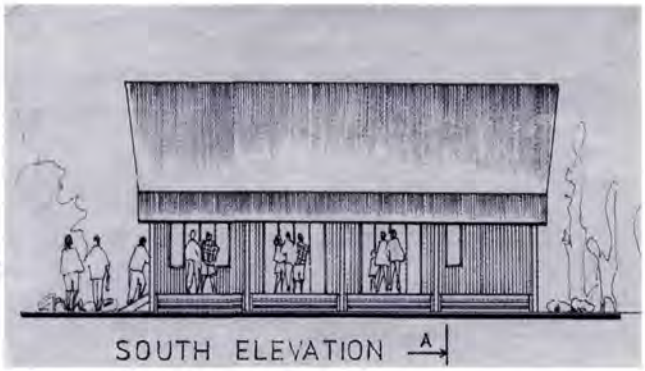
John H. Stubbs

The World Monuments Fund and Training at Angkor/ University of Phnom Penh



WMF Interpretive Center designed by graduate student Lek Sareth.

At the time of the World Monuments Fund's first mission to Cambodia in 1989 it was noticed, with relief, that the Historic City of Angkor had not been extensively damaged by the country's recent civil war. Instead, what was recognized were two principal challenges: reconstructing the maintenance operations system for the vast site, and establishing training programs in historic preservation and cultural resource management.

Over the past six years the World Monuments Fund (WMF) has addressed these needs at its ongoing project, the conservation and presentation of Preah Khan, a 12th-century monastic complex at Angkor. The WMF has sponsored 11 major missions to Angkor, a vital component of each has been the training of students of architecture and archeology from the University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh. This training has occurred both at the site of Angkor in the province of Siem Reap (100 miles to the north of Phnom Penh) and at the University of Phnom Penh.

The rich history of Angkor, especially the period comprising its heyday from the 9th through the 13th centuries, is rather well documented as a result of decades of French and Cambodian collaborative research. However, due to the hiatus in the 1970s caused by civil war, Angkor required a second "re-discovery." The country was inaccessible to outsiders during the war. The efforts of the Khmer Rouge to re-organize the nation as a closed agrarian culture resulted in the nearly complete loss of the knowledge and traditions of caring for the country's rich archeological heritage. (All but a handful of the 1,100-plus Cambodian site managers and workers at Angkor disappeared during the country's "auto-genocide.")

The Physical Challenge

All of the 63 major sites within the 200-square kilometer archeological zone are in a ruinous state, some like the key sites of Angkor Wat and the Bayon being more intact than others. The monumental remains of Angkor consist mostly of two kinds of stone, a fine gray-green limestone and laterite, a vermiculated tuff. Brick masonry and scant remains of polychromed stucco can also be found at Angkor.

Water and vegetation are the chief threats to the site, and in the past six years, widespread looting and increasing pressures of tourism have added to the problem. These threats and others are currently being addressed in an international effort to safeguard Angkor under the aegis of a newly established government agency called APSARA.

The Educational Challenge

Since 1988, the deans of the schools of architecture and archeology at the University of Phnom Penh have been heroically attempting to manage a fast-growing student population. In 1992, the student-to-teacher ratio in the School of Architecture was 214 to 1. In addition, the school had extremely sub-standard facilities, including no electricity or books. It was revealed to the author by a student that if drafting assignments were to be done at nighttime, the only solution was to move the drawing boards under the street light! At this time, drafting tools of all kinds were either in extremely short supply or non-existent. To this end, WMF provided some relief by bringing in drafting equipment donated by American architec-

Hand measuring at Preah Khan.

tural firms such as Beyer Blinder Belle (New York) and the Architecture School of Brown University. In 1994, WMF donated the first slide projector to the University.

Other institutions which have aided considerably in the re-establishment of graduate level training institutions in Cambodia have included UNESCO, Sophia University (Japan), the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, and various French institutions. In 1992, UNESCO organized a conference in Phnom Penh on training in historic preservation in Cambodia. While frameworks for establishing a variety of programs in the arts and humanities were analyzed and proposed, perhaps the biggest accomplishment of this gathering was that it made institutions that are in a position to help aware of the situation.

The WMF project team at Preah Khan—March 1994.

A Classroom Extension Opportunity

One of the largest sustained efforts in full-scale archeological site conservation at Angkor has been that of the WMF in its work at Preah Khan, located at the north edge of the archeological park. The specific conservation challenges being faced at Preah Khan have given shape to the teaching topics and formats. [A multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted approach based on thorough planning has been used in a projected 10-year program to conserve the 56-hectare (approximately 138.32 acres) site as a partial ruin within its magnificent jungle context.] Key components of the WMF approach are the use of appropriate technology (the simplest possible) and letting the on-going research and conservation activities at the site serve in educating both graduate students from the national university and local workers.

The WMF's goal at Angkor is to show, by example, how a representative temple complex can be judiciously conserved and effectively presented. In doing so, a wide range of activities have occurred at Preah Khan ranging from structural stabilization of specific areas of the site and protection of fragile stone finishes to the construction of Angkor's first interpretive center. Annually, the WMF employs up to 70 local workers and craftsmen and as many as 10 specialists. Research developments during each field campaign (October through April) allow for additional research pursuits.

Field Training at Preah Khan

Up to 14 graduate students in architecture and archeology from the University of Phnom Penh have participated each year in the WMF's various missions to Preah Khan. To date, some 23 students have directly benefitted from the experience, five of whom have been returning to the site for over three years.

University of Phnom Penh students assisting at Preah Khan have assisted the project in a variety of ways:

Documentation—field recording by hand measuring, and detailed drawings of plans, elevations, and of a range of architectural details. Documentation of the conditions of the mostly above-grade architectural remains during the degagement (excavation) process has been a principle activity. Recording the complete process of ruins stabilization has proven to be an especially important contribution for the architectural students.

Analytical Studies—assistance with the complex problems of planning for, and the actual execution of, the reconstruction of fallen masonry. Illustrations of structural systems and architectural details have proven to be useful not only for the annual reports on Preah Khan, but to heighten appreciation among visitors to the site. Translation of text for drawings and site signage has also been an important student activity.

Project Management—The graduate students have played a vital role in the management of day-to-day site maintenance and conservation operations. Up to 70 local laborers, having a variety of skills, provide the bulk of the work force at the site. All are hardworking and eager to be a part of the overall effort to safeguard Angkor. While the regular Preah Khan work force is managed

by local *chefs des chantiers* (specialty managers), illiteracy and language differences—Khmer, French, and English—have posed problems, for which the students have been of invaluable assistance in overcoming.

Design and Construction Oversight—The need for a visitors' reception center near the entrance of Preah Khan was addressed by the graduate students in architecture. An informal design competition resulted in the design of an elegant wooden structure inspired by traditional Khmer architectural forms. The design preparation of the site, the saving of local timber, and erection of the structure was done under the direction of student architect Lek Sareth with the aid of several of his colleagues.

WMF Support of Student Training

Some 14% of each annual budget for the WMF's work at Angkor is devoted to training Cambodian graduate students. This includes the accommodation of their travel, room, board, and materials.

Each of the international experts involved in the WMF's work in Cambodia is obliged to teach or advise students in the field. The WMF also requires that all members of its professional field teams lecture at the University of Phnom Penh while en route to Angkor.

Non-Cambodian students have proven to be most effective in helping to teach Cambodian students. Students from the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at Columbia University and the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University have also contributed in recent missions to Preah Khan to help Cambodian students to learn about some of the more complicated procedures such as stone repair and cleaning tests.

Preah Khan Project Manager, John Sanday, has served as a regular instructor for the returning students to the site. Other visiting professionals such as Predrag Gavrilovic, a structural engineer; Kevin Lee Sarring, an architect; Frank Preusser, a conservator; and the author also have provided occasional instruction, including thesis advising. Thesis topics have included "The Role of Water at Angkor," "Khmer Bridge Architecture," and the "Plan for the Presentation of Neak Pean at Angkor".

The WMF provided financial support for Mr. Hor Lat, ex-dean of the School of Architecture, to complete his unfinished degree in architecture in Milan, Italy in 1994–95. In December 1995, the WMF obtained financial support for Mr. Lek Sareth to commence supplementary graduate architectural training at Taliesin West in Scottsdale, Arizona. It is WMF's ambition to place and support more promising Cambodian graduate students who have trained at Preah Khan in foreign degree programs.

The out-of-classroom teaching experience afforded by the field work opportunities at the WMF's project at Preah Khan has proven to be both valuable and useful. Given the role that Angkor plays and will play in the minds, the hearts, and the future of the country, the learning-by-doing experience afforded by field work for students may be counted among the true successes on the international effort to safeguard Angkor.

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The World Monuments Fund (WMF) is a private non-profit organization founded in 1965 by individuals concerned about the accelerating destruction of important artistic treasures throughout the world. In its 30 years of activity, the WMF has orchestrated over 135 major projects in 30 countries. Today, with affiliate organizations established in Europe, the WMF sponsors an ongoing program for the conservation of cultural heritage worldwide. The World Monuments Watch, a global program launched in 1995 on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the WMF, aims to enhance the organization's unique capacity to identify imperiled cultural heritage sites and leverage financial and technical support for their preservation. For further information, contact World Monuments Fund, 949 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10028; 212-517-9367; (telefax) 212-517-9494.

Ken Taylor

Valuing the Ordinary—an Australian Perspective

Barn at Lanyon, Canberra. Detail from photo, page 48.

Over the past 20 years or so there has been a remarkable shift in attitude by Australians to their history and linked with this the implications of a cultural heritage worth protecting and cherishing. Australians at large have discovered that we do have a history and national culture that promote a sense of identity and "Australianness." This realization has been substantially a popular movement that has seen its outlet in an ever-growing enthusiasm for valuing things from the past.

A further notable aspect of the movement in Australia has been that the commonplace—the ordinary, everyday places of Australian history—have found a cherished position alongside the famous icons of national identity and great symbolic significance.[1] This recognition of the significance of the "history from below" approach and its heritage implications can be seen in conservation efforts as geographically far apart as Mugga Mugga Homestead, Canberra which dates from the 1830s, the Pioneer Women's Hut Museum at Tumbarumba in rural New South Wales, or the conservation plan for a brick factory at Maylands in Perth, Western Australia where the Hoffmann kiln is historically and technically an important artifact. Further, these places recognize the part played by ordinary people in history making and social history. Visiting such places promotes a feeling of participation: you could have been involved.

In this short article, heritage is taken to mean an inheritance from the past. In this connection, the growth in popular heritage consciousness relates to the values people put on knowing about the history of past events, places, and people. A notable phenomenon of this movement is that it is not centered solely on physical places or objects. It enthusiastically embraces the symbolism and meaning of places and associations that people have with place. Perhaps non-Aboriginal Australians are at last beginning to appreciate the Aboriginal association with places through the concept of sacred sites where sacredness applies to the ordinarily sacred.[2] Ordinarily sacred places are those which reflect our relationships with places that have meaning because we or our ancestors have connections with them. Place making and all it means to us promotes a powerful feeling of belonging and strong sense of place. It is connected with the current nostalgia for the past and the search for identity and meaning from the past that underpin the heritage movement.

Whether the Australian heritage movement is simply nostalgia for the past or a genuine interest by people wanting to know more about what they increasingly see as *their* history, or a combination of both, is perhaps immaterial. People have clearly demonstrated that they want to have a sense of the stream of time and they are expecting Australian history and its connections to help them. They want to feel contact with what Henry James called the palpable, imaginable, visitable past ... the nearer distances and the clearer mysteries.

The past has become big business as the surge of nostalgia for bygone days and the concurrent interest and pride in Australian social history sweeps the country. Many factors have influenced the cultural heritage movement, including international interest in conservation; reaction to the 1960s/early-1970s architectural modernist destruction by redevelopment of cities where history played a secondary or non-existent role; the re-emergent idea of Australian nationalism espoused by the Whitlam government of the early 1970s; the development of heritage management as a profession and public recognition of its potential; and the acknowledgement that Australia does have a national culture in the widest application of the term "culture."

Additional to these factors were the Bicentennial celebrations of 1988 which gave tremendous impetus and funding. The result now is that various levels of government—local, state, and federal—have awakened to the fact that cultural heritage is a matter of public concern as people not only want to know more about their history but are prepared to be vocal in cultural heritage conservation issues. We now have Heritage Councils advising government planning agencies; national and state heritage legislation; local and national museums where history and the making of a nation are on display. Public and private enterprise give us reconstructions of pioneer

villages and goldfields; presentation of Aboriginal culture and places; railway museums and historic railway trips; reconstructed museum farms; urban conservation areas; heritage trails; house museums; historic garden tours; historic urban trails and walks; television and film period pieces; fetes where people dress in period costume; cultural tourism; and we even have heritage motels. In fact, the word "heritage" appears increasingly in sales pitches for anything from paint to houses.

East Maylands Brickworks, Perth, is significant because of its historic and social values. It is an important symbol of the social and economic history of the area.

Clem Lloyd's comment in 1977 that "The notion that Australia had a heritage worthy of protection and preservation is comparatively recent"[3] can be seen to be complemented by Michael Williams's 1974 observation on the history of the making of the South Australian rural landscape that its "simplicity and obvious recency ... are not an impediment to its serious study."[4] At some point in the past 20 years Australians have ceased to worry that in post-1788 terms they do not have the monuments of the Old World. There has been a realization that we do, however, have a history of human achievement and social history worthy of note and of study. Linked to this is what Ian Craven, for example, in the September 15, 1992, edition of *The Bulletin* (p. 28) called "Reversing the Cultural Cringe," where he outlines the recognition in Britain of the significance of Australian popular culture—a dedication to the understanding of the ordinary and the everyday, and its serious academic study.

The intellectual roots of the current heritage consciousness undoubtedly go back to the last century when artists and writers, particularly in the latter quarter of the century, communicated what it meant to be Australian.[5] More recently, the movement can be seen to have evolved from within the community as a voluntary endeavor outside government. A prime mover and seminal influence has been the National Trust of Australia which started in New South Wales 50 years ago. The Trust's conservation efforts and attempts to raise public and governmental awareness of Australian cultural heritage places during the 1960s and 1970s were complemented by isolated resident groups and local history societies, often tackling specific issues, and others such as academics writing about heritage. A notable example of the grassroots interest was the residents' action groups in the 1970s fighting to save their homes in the Glebe and at Woolloomooloo in Sydney. Up to then the government had seen these inner city 19th-century workers' cottages as slums, notwithstanding Sali Hermann's[6] and Lloyd Rees' affectionate paintings of the inner parts of Sydney. To the residents they were homes where they had a deep sense of attachment to a place, and an ordinarily sacred place at that.

The early beginnings of the National Trust movement in Australia were characterized by conservation work concentrated on grand historic buildings of the rich and famous. This history from above approach should not, however, be allowed to obscure the vital community educational role of the Trust from its early days. One of the most important contributions of the National Trust to raising heritage awareness has been, and continues to be, its classification registers. In these are recorded places, sites, and buildings the Trust identifies as having heritage significance. These registers, available to the public and to government agencies, are a remarkable source of heritage data.[7] More recently among its heritage classification work, more everyday, ordinary places and buildings have found a place on Trust registers. There are currently about 21,000 places on Trust registers around Australia covering European and Aboriginal heritage and natural heritage.

It must be remembered that the Trust is not a government body. It is a voluntary organization receiving government grant aid. Much of its work is undertaken by volunteers guided by full-time professionals skilled and trained in heritage conservation. Its membership is about 75,000, making it the biggest community heritage organization in the country. The Trust undertakes studies, campaigns on heritage issues, and promotes public and political awareness of heritage places. As a result of its work, Clem Lloyd reminds us that the Trust "has served as a spearhead for preservation and conservation in Australia. Its contribution to the creation of a national awareness of these issues has been substantial."[8] A recent contribution has been the campaign to persuade the federal government to introduce tax incentives on historic properties, a measure which found success in the 1993 federal budget.

The 1960s and early 1970s saw little government action in the field of heritage protection. Urban renewal wrecked a number of significant historic precincts in Australian cities. Environmental matters were largely ignored in land and resource development and protection of Aboriginal sites was not an issue. The Whitlam Labour Government addressed these matters, having signalled its intention to do so in the lead to the 1972 election. The term "National Estate"[9] was adopted by the Labour Party prior to its 1972 election to circumscribe the idea and scope of Australian heritage.

The Whitlam Federal Labour Government quickly established the Hope Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate which presented its report in April 1974. Mr. Justice Hope of the New South Wales Supreme Court was the chairman. Its brief was all-embracing and included, *inter alia*, cultural heritage components, European and Aboriginal; natural heritage; cultural property; and education. The totality of the idea of the National Estate was recognized by the Hope Commission through the words of the then Tasmanian Premier, Eric Reece, as "Things that you keep."[10] This pithy analogy remains as a succinct meaning of the idea.

As a result of the Hope Inquiry, itself a historic milestone, two initiatives were implemented. One was government funding for heritage conservation, the other was the birth of the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC). The 1975 AHC Act clearly sets out a definition of the National Estate as "those places, being components of the natural environment of Australia or the cultural environment of Australia that have aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as the present community."

A major function of the Australian Heritage Commission is the development and maintenance of the Register of the National Estate. The Register provides the Australian community with a comprehensive account of the things that we want to keep. In many ways it is a public display of a significant aspect of Australian culture and identity. Registration does not put legal restraints on private property. Commonwealth departments must consult with the Commission on land within their jurisdiction that is included in the Register. In 1992, there was a total of 10,775 places entered in the Register of which 807 were Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander places; 8,217 were Historic Environment places (i.e., post-1788); and 1,751 were natural places.[11]

Heritage conservation is now a global concern as people in different countries deem it vital to keep and conserve things from their past. "Awareness of the past," as David Lowenthal suggests, "is essential to the maintenance of the purpose of life. Without it we would lack all sense of continuity, all apprehension of causality, all knowledge of our own identity."[12] Australian cultural heritage conservation practice is recognized internationally. This is particularly so through the work of Australia ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). The excellence of Australian practice is recognized through the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter). The Guidelines to the Charter present a philosophy and methodology for conservation and define cultural significance as a "concept which helps in estimating the value of places. The places that are likely to be of significance are those which help an understanding of the past or enrich the present, and which will be of value to future generations."

Like the Australian Heritage Commission Act, cultural significance is seen by the Burra Charter as being related to four values:

Historic value
Social value
Aesthetic value
Scientific value

As a result of the cumulative efforts in raising heritage awareness and resultant conservation practice over the past 20 years, Australia is recognized internationally as a principal player in cultural heritage conservation and advances in heritage practice. For example, the developing concept of cultural landscapes has found fertile ground in Australia, particularly with acceptance of the importance of ordinary places and landscapes as the repository of the history of people. The historic landscape at Lanyon, Canberra, is a notable example. The pastoral landscape with all its intellectual and imaginative associations with Arcadian beauty is balanced by the history of landscape making and the interpretation of how previous occupants lived and their values, and not just the owners, but those who worked and shaped the landscape. The simple stone barn at Lanyon, housing an exhibition of 1830s assigned convict workers' lifestyles, is as important a component of the cultural landscape as the grand homestead.

Cultural landscapes are, therefore, seen as embracing the continuity of events, people, and places through time rather than thinking of heritage as being separate and isolated dots on a map. In this context it is notable that Uluru and Katat-Juta National Park was redesignated in 1994 on the World Heritage List for its Aboriginal cultural values as an Associative Cultural Landscape under the revised World Heritage categories which finally recognize cultural landscapes.

Despite, or because of, the recency of post-1788 settlement and the rich history of Aboriginal culture, Australians have a fascinating and extensive cultural inheritance. This inheritance spans cultural icons, including the grandiose homesteads and urban splendors, the Aboriginal wonders of Uluru and Kakadu National Parks, or the Sydney Opera House. Equally, it embraces the ordinary, everyday cultural landscapes such as Aboriginal tracks commemorating thousands of years of human relationship with the landscape, the memories of European exploration, convict settlement, the small-scale settlers of the 19th century with their privations and achievements, gold mining, the development of rural Australia with its pastoral theme, forestry, and urban areas with their rich social tapestry.

Traditional stone barn in Derbyshire, England, showing cultural associations with the barn at Lanyon.

It seems to be generally accepted that public support for heritage will continue in the future, not least through visits to historic places as the leisure pursuit of cultural tourism expands. The next challenge is perhaps continued improved interpretation of cultural heritage places for visitors through the idea of cultural landscapes where everything is interrelated so that historic places acquire a richness and depth of human meaning. Perhaps we do need to learn more from Aboriginal understanding of place and the ordinarily sacred.

Barn at Lanyon, Canberra; this random rubble stone building dates from the 1830s when James Wright owned the property. He had farmed in Derbyshire, England, and brought out his manager, Thomas Locker, who was also a stone mason.

Notes

1 See Taylor, K and Winston-Gregson, J (1992), 'Reading Cultural Landscapes as Historic Documents: Windmill Hill, Appin a Case Study,' *Public History Review*, Vol 1, 1992; 127–143.

2 For a discussion on the meaning and attraction of the term 'ordinarily sacred' see Patterson, D.D. (1993), 'Redefining the Sacred in the 21st Century,' pp 290–294 in *Proceedings of International Symposium on the Conservation of Urban Squares and Parks, Montreal 12–15 May 1993*, ICOMOS Canada.

3 Lloyd, C (1977), *The National Estate. Australia's Heritage*, p 11; Savvas Publishing, Adelaide.

4 Williams, M (1974), *The Making of the South Australian Landscape. A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*, p 473; Academic Press, London.

5 See for example White, R (1981), *Inventing Australia. Images and Identity 1688–1980*, G. Allen & Unwin, Sydney; Bonyhady, T (1991), *Images in Opposition. Australian Landscape Painting 1801–1890*; Oxford University Press, Melbourne; Taylor, K (1992), A Symbolic Australian Landscape: Images in Writing and Painting, *Landscape Journal*, 11:2; 127–143.

6 Smith, B (1976), 'On Perceiving the Australian Suburb' in Seddon, G and Davis, M, eds, *Man and Landscape in Australia. Towards an Ecological Vision*, AGPS, Canberra.

7 In a 1991/92 research project funded by an Australian Research Council Grant the author reviewed over 700 entries for cultural landscapes on Trust classification registers.

8 Lloyd, C op cit, p 14.

9 The term 'National Estate' was first coined by William Clough Ellis, a British architect in the 1940s: see p 13 *Australian Heritage Commission Annual Report 1992*.

10 Lloyd, C op cit, p 11.

11 *Australian Heritage Commission Annual Report 1992*.

12 Lowenthal, D (1979), 'Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation' p 103 in Meinig, D.W., ed, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. Geographical Essays*, Oxford University Press, New York.

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Photos by the author.

Peter C. James

The Burra Charter at Work in Australia

The Burra Charter was first adopted in Australia by Australia ICOMOS in the early 1980s at much the same time as the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards* were being prepared for use in the U.S. It is the official conservation code of practice adopted by Australia ICOMOS, but it has no legal status whatsoever. Nevertheless, it has had a remarkable effect on conservation practice throughout the country and has acquired a quasi-legal status due to its adoption by government and other agencies.

The genesis of the Burra Charter (so called because it was first officially adopted by ICOMOS in the South Australian town of Burra Burra) was the ICOMOS International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, more commonly known as the Venice Charter, which was prepared by European practitioners in 1964. ICOMOS Canada and ICOMOS New Zealand have since then adopted similar charters, namely the Appleton and Aotearoa charters.

The Venice Charter was drafted with the preservation of the great buildings of Europe in mind. This is also true of the Burra Charter which, based very closely on the Venice Charter, was intended to apply to significant structures in Australia. However, a rigid application of the Charter process to less important buildings, and the invariable and often unnecessary preparation of full Conservation Plans (see below) has now become the norm.

The Burra Charter was a product of its time and owed a great deal to the Venice Charter and the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards*. In Australia in the mid- to late-1970s a professional approach to the conservation of the historic cultural heritage was being adopted for the first time. Until then almost all "conservation"[1] in Australia was carried out through organisations such as the National Trust with some work being done by government public works departments. Such works were often carried out without any formal or professional consideration.

With the formation of the Australian Heritage Commission in 1974 and the beginning of a movement to introduce State laws to protect the cultural heritage, the need for a professional body was realised. Shortly afterward, ICOMOS decided that its first major task after establishing the need for a professional approach to conservation was the preparation of the necessary standards. Thus was conceived the Burra Charter, although its birth was a couple of years and many meetings and discussions away.

The Charter itself is a simpler document than the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards*, but read in conjunction with the adopted guidelines to the Charter it is broadly similar. It defines the various terms including conservation, preservation, restoration, and adaptation. The Australian Charter defines "cultural significance" with reference to aesthetic, historic, or social value for past, present, and future generations. The Charter is divided into three parts: conservation principles, conservation processes, and conservation practice. However there is one big difference between the U.S. and the Australian documents. Whilst the U.S. document is prescriptive, the Charter sets out a process which is to be followed at the discretion of the practitioner. The Charter also adopts the policy of specifying who was responsible for the work that was undertaken and why that decision was taken.

Nevertheless, it provides a system resembling that of the U.S. and it suffers from some of what can be perceived as the same faults. Whereas they both provide that proper procedures should be followed, neither addresses the problem of aesthetic taste, which is always a problem in conservation matters. The Charter requires that new work be distinguished from old; a problem frequently played up by architects by using quite aesthetically unpleasant materials to establish the difference whereas a document or plaque could have done the job with far more pleasing results!

Since the adoption by ICOMOS of the Burra Charter, the attitude of conservation bodies, funding agencies, and professionals alike has changed dramatically. Many, if not all, funding agencies administering public funds for conservation work on the built environment require such work to be done in accordance with the Burra Charter. Many also require a Conservation Plan (see below) to be done before physical work can commence. These measures have had a remarkable effect on conservation practice in Australia, but not all of it is

good. Certainly standards have improved out of sight and now much more research is done before physical work is begun.

But there is a problem. There is still a great deal of scope, as there should be, for individual judgement; unfortunately, a proportion of practitioners choose the rigid application of the Charter in circumstances in which they should have exercised their own judgement as to the appropriate course to follow.

The conservation education system in Australia is still in its infancy, and issues such as the Burra Charter and their application often receive scant attention in relevant college or university level institutional courses. In addition, some people lack the confidence to make a decision regardless of the number of reports which are done. It is no good expecting the imposition of standards and the process of producing a conservation plan to aid an incompetent practitioner to become competent.

Similarly, through lack of judgement and/or lack of knowledge, attempts are often made to apply the Burra Charter indiscriminately to places of little or no cultural heritage significance.

Just what is a Conservation Plan? This document too has also acquired an almost mystical significance in Australia and is frequently prepared when a practitioner ought to know that all that is required is a half page of notes! The Conservation Plan grew out of the (U.S.) Historic Structures Reports format and when imported into Australia became inextricably linked to the Burra Charter process.

In theory, the Conservation Plan is an excellent concept, and fulfills the need specified in the Burra Charter to carry out full and adequate research prior to commencing any physical intervention in the fabric of the building. But there are often two problems—each of which requires an exercise of judgement by the practitioner. The first is that frequently the fabric will disclose, to the discerning and educated practitioner, far more than any research in archives or elsewhere. In many cases, the process has been hijacked by professional historians with the unfortunate result that very little attention is paid in the process to the needs of the client. Secondly, the Conservation Plan may not be able to be properly completed without some physical intervention.

The real danger with both the indiscriminate application of the Burra Charter and the preparation of Conservation Plans is that the cost of the Plan may exceed the funds available for conservation and require the application of inappropriate conservation principles so strict that the structure is no longer capable of reasonable economic use, not to mention the fact that the owner may not be able to afford the work. In many cases, the balance between conservation and practical reality is lost in an adherence to process rather than the seeking of a sensible outcome.

On balance, in Australia, the benefits of the application of the Charter in the past have far outweighed the detrimental effects that may have followed its application. But today, with the professionalism of conservation well established and the vital need to look at a broader spectrum of places requiring conservation to maintain the character of our towns and villages becoming, in the author's opinion, the predominant conservation need, the application of the Charter needs to be re-examined.

All those procedures in Australia, as in Europe, were introduced to ensure that important buildings were not vandalised in the name of conservation by unknowing or uncaring practitioners. They were intended to raise standards by installing a process and ensuring the proper conservation of elements of the cultural heritage of which they form a part.

Instead, they are often applied by narrow-minded zealots who use the Charter in a way which prohibits work which may well have saved a building for future generations. Not every building has fabric of such importance that it must not be altered or changed. A few have. Many have not.

Despite its shortcomings, however, the improvement in professionalism and process since the adoption of the Charter is extraordinary. Since the adoption of the Burra Charter by Australia ICOMOS, the sister body in New Zealand has adopted the very similar Aotearoa Charter. This is a relatively brief, clear, and user-friendly document, being, of course, more recent than its U.S. and Australian equivalents. It, too, defines terms including conservation, preservation, restoration, adaptation, and cultural heritage value. It comprises a preamble, and sections dealing with general principles and conservation processes. It makes specific reference to indigenous cultural heritage, recognising the fluid nature of indigenous conservation precepts and the role of guardians in the conservation of indigenous heritage.

Internationally, we are slowly realising that our (Western) philosophies are not always the correct ones. In many countries not of Anglo-Saxon background, the focus on fabric-based conservation takes second place to less tangible values. In Australia, we may spend a fortune filling an old beam with epoxy to ensure that the original fabric appears to remain. In other cultures, the beam would be removed and replaced by a new one of similar material and appearance. Many ancient temples in Asia retain little or no actual fabric which is more than a couple of centuries old. Our

(Anglo-Saxon) pre-occupation with the physical fabric rather than the spiritual or conceptual idea of the place puts undue emphasis on the retention of fabric long past its useful life and in some cases preventing a new and financially-viable life for the building.

For this reason, the appropriateness of the application of the Burra Charter policy to places of cultural significance to Aboriginal people is very limited. While there are places of importance to both Aboriginal and European people, the European reverence for the fabric of a place rather than its spiritual aspect creates a dilemma.

A recent example is the Kimberley repainting case in Western Australia where traditional Aboriginal people "restored" an important work of rock art by using modern materials, namely plastic paint, rather than the traditional clay and mud. It was a practical solution to the people charged with the care of the site. But the non-traditional (and definitely non-Burra Charter) process of "restoration" caused great offense to the European conservationists and the rights and wrongs of this case are still being hotly disputed by experts. To try and impose these precepts on Aboriginal peoples in relation to places of significance only to them, or to try and impose restrictions designed for bricks and mortar to the growing and ever-changing natural environment can do nothing but debase the reputation of the current document.

One of the real issues facing Australia ICOMOS today is the acceptance of the limitations of the role of the Charter; that is to say, an acknowledgement that it should apply only to places of sufficient importance to warrant the expenditure necessary for a full Conservation Plan. In many cases, the major issue is the question of working out the scale and form of the Conservation Plan necessary for the type of place.

Unfortunately, the Charter and the Plan have become inseparable in many people's minds. This issue has to be confronted in today's changing economic and social times. Similarly, the move to try and extend the Burra Charter concept to Aboriginal and natural places is fraught with danger and disaster. The Venice Charter and ICOMOS itself are Euro-centric concepts based upon the European perception of buildings and their importance.

The beneficial effects of the Burra Charter in ensuring a much higher and professional standard of conservation work is undeniable. The fact that it is not government edict but the advice of an independent expert body has been a strong point in favour of its general acceptance. But no number of standards of whatever sort will aid the practitioner who has not the knowledge or courage to make a common-sense decision. In many cases, the requirements of the Conservation Plan and the Burra Charter are very clear and precise. In very many of those cases, an attempt at inflexible application will result in outright rejection by the owner, followed perhaps by demolition of the property.[2]

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1 In Australia the term "conservation" is used as the all-embracing term for the various processes, rather than "preservation" as in the USA.

2 Whilst the factual information contained in this Article gives an accurate picture of the Burra Charter it must be noted that the opinions are those of the author (who incidentally was one of the original authors of the Charter and who has worked in the field of historic conservation for over 25 years) and do not necessarily represent those of all other members of ICOMOS in Australia.

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Australia ICOMOS is a non-governmental, non-profit, membership-based organization devoted to improving conservation philosophy and practice for culturally-significant places. Members belong to a wide range of disciplines and professions. New members or subscribers are welcome. Members receive several ICOMOS publications and the opportunity to participate in a busy program of conferences and other activities. Write to Australia ICOMOS, P.O. Box 303, Queen Victoria Terrace ACT 2600. Phone 06 270 6555.

Geoffrey M. White

War Remains
The Culture of Preservation in the Southwest Pacific

The Solomon Islands.

Like the fast-growing forest that has covered over island battle sites, memories of World War II in the Pacific are rapidly being overtaken by the busy activities of contemporary development. And yet the war continues to be regarded as a major turning point in the histories of island societies, just as relics of war still protrude from the sands and jungles of islands with names such as Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Iwo Jima, and Saipan. How is the war being remembered in the Pacific Islands today? And what are some of the policies and practices being brought to bear on the conservation of these memories?

The impact of the war on island peoples and ecologies was especially dramatic in the Pacific where the magnitude of war was heightened against the backdrop of the mostly small, isolated, and rural islands where it was fought. The sense of drama surrounding people's wartime experience can still be heard in the hushed tones with which islanders speak of the sudden appearance of fleets of warships off their islands and the subsequent transformation of tranquil plantations into sprawling bases with roads, airstrips, docks, and all the accoutrements of small cities.

The capital of the Solomon Islands (Honiara, a port town of about 35,000 people) is itself an artifact of war, located where it is because the Japanese decided to build an airstrip there in 1942 and the Allies decided to capture it, thus beginning their offensive in the Pacific. Today the airport, named Henderson Field after an American flyer killed in the battle of Midway, is the country's one international airport. War memory is inscribed in the hills, valleys, and rivers surrounding the airport, where names such as Bloody Ridge reflect the savage fighting that took place there as the Japanese attempted to retake the airfield over the course of six months in 1942 and 1943.

On top of this geography of war, one now finds another layer of memory in the form of plaques, monuments, and memorials placed at significant points as public reminders of the events that once made the Solomon Islands the center of world attention. The international visitor arriving by air in the Solomon Islands today is not long in the country before encountering reminders of World War II. Immediately upon exiting the small air terminal, he or she faces three memorial obelisks dedicated by U.S. Marine veterans in 1982. Just down the road, at the base of the original control tower, another monument and bronze plaque were installed by American veterans in 1992 during the 50th anniversary of the Guadalcanal landings.

Just as the war and its relics were the products of foreign powers, so too are these reminders of war the products of foreign ways of remembering. The Pacific war was, after all, a war between the Allies and Japan, fought over the terrain of colonized societies. The monuments and plaques that memorialize it have been installed by veterans and governments wishing to commemorate the sacrifices of their citizen-combatants, often with reference to the role of natives in supporting the war effort. But what are the meanings of the war for indigenous Solomon Islanders? And what, for them, would be the purpose(s) of preserving them? Answers to these questions are complex, entangled in the political realities of new nations attempting to articulate their own identities and histories, while at the same time attracting investment and tourism from former colonizing powers.

In a speech to a conference convened in 1987 to review Solomon Islands perspectives on

Guadalcanal. Skyline Ridge Memorial, looking toward Savo Island.

the war, Sir Gideon Zoleveke, a prominent Solomon Islander with wartime experience, declared, "The war was not our war." (Laracy and White, 1988). But such sentiments have emerged only ambiguously in the period following independence. Indigenous remembrances of the war, particularly as an object of *national* memory, are still easily buried by the elaborate practices with which former colonial powers produce their memories. Five years after Zoleveke gave his speech, he was a guest of honor and keynote speaker at 50th anniversary ceremonies commemorating the war as a common victory of the Allies over Japan; and three years after that he was a special guest of Australia at ceremonies held to mark the 50th anniversary of the end of the war.

Contemporary approaches to the cultivation of World War II artifacts and memories belie an underlying tension between the dominant memories of the warring powers and the largely unwritten local histories that frequently express meanings quite different from the heroic narratives of loyalty and sacrifice characteristic of European and American war histories (White et al., 1988). These tensions are evident in the ways in which Solomon Islanders have cultivated war memories in forms appropriate to the museum-going, memorial-making practices of foreign veterans and tourists. In this brief essay I discuss two examples: the most well-known local "war museum" begun by a citizen-entrepreneur on Guadalcanal, and the official activities organized to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Guadalcanal in 1992.

Build a Museum and They Will Come

About 12 miles down the coastal road headed west from Honiara, beyond the point where the pavement ends, stands a rusting sign announcing the Vilu War Museum. There a dirt road turns off and runs underneath the tall palm trees of a coconut plantation, leading to a grassy compound fenced in by a wall of Marsden matting—the steel grating used to construct World War II airstrips throughout the Pacific. This is Fred Kona's museum.

In 1969, when the Solomon Islands was still a colony of England, the British Chief Secretary, Tom Russell, advised Fred Kona that he should begin gathering war relics for the purpose of making a museum. Fred Kona was a native member of the government, but did not know what a museum was. He liked to say that he only knew how to make copra (then the Solomons major agricultural export). But he knew there were plenty of war relics in the bush and in the sea, and he knew that foreign companies had been active in salvaging them.

So, over the course of the next five years, Fred Kona organized his relatives and neighbors to work at dragging, carrying, and trucking an assortment of guns, helmets, mortars, cannon, and crashed planes to a central site—Vilu—where a space was cleared to receive them. By 1975, he had assembled an impressive collection of war relics, built a small thatched house for the smaller items, and installed three flagpoles. On October 2, 1975, Fred Kona inaugurated his museum with a feast that was attended by ambassadors from the United States and Japan, as well as representatives of the British Solomon Islands government.

Just as inspiration for the site had come from British, American, and Japanese interests in memorializing the war, so the museum proved to be a magnet for returning veterans of both sides. Fred Kona had, indeed, assembled an impressive array of World War II objects. Spread around the perimeter of the compound, one could find the twisted and perforated relics of such famous vintage aircraft as a P–38 Lightning, Grumman F–4–F Wildcat, and a Marine Corsair. Consistent with the non-literate roots of this museum, it had none of the signage typical of Western history museums. Instead, visitors to the Vilu War Museum could usually expect a personal narration, at least about the larger objects such as planes and cannon, from Fred Kona or one of his assistants. The Vilu curators would readily regale their visitors with stories about the planes, about where they had been found, and about their final moments. In some cases, these stories linked up with accounts that had been added by returning veterans, including

Grumman F-4-F Wildcat, Vilu War Museum.

some of those who had actually piloted the craft on display.

During the post-war years, Japanese and Allied veterans alike have continued to return to Guadalcanal on pilgrimages to revisit sites of suffering, tragedy, and sacrifice. For these visitors, Fred Kona became a kind of celebrity, developing his English along with an extroverted persona to greet and welcome foreigners from all over the world to his museum. In recognition of his work in preserving and honoring memories of those who died in the Guadalcanal conflict, the Japanese government invited him to Japan where he was given an honorary award for his efforts.

Thus, Fred Kona's Vilu War Museum became something more than a museum. It also became a memorial. In 1982, on the 40th anniversary of Guadalcanal, Japanese veterans installed a small stone memorial on the grounds of the museum. The memorial bears an inscription to the "tens of thousands of young men who fell in battle" and a wish that such events never be repeated. American veterans subsequently installed a commemorative marker alongside it, giving a physical locus to the memorial function of the memorial ground.

Fred Kona with gifts from American friends. Courtesy East-West Center. Photo by the author.

Fred Kona, who died in 1994, was quite explicit about the purpose of his museum. Speaking to me, an American, in 1984 he emphasized the museum's significance as a tribute to American sacrifices: "To remember how the United States people sacrificed themselves and we have peace in our country, and also Australia, New Zealand, England, and Solomon Islands. That's why I made the museum. To remember that. Next thing is to preserve, to keep the history...." The fact that the Solomon Islands is added at the end of Fred Kona's list reflects the fact that foreign veterans and tourists were the primary audience for the museum—people who were usually happy to pay a small entrance donation to Fred Kona or one of his helpers, who always seemed to materialize out of nowhere when a car would pull up by the compound. Fred Kona embodied his museum's spirit of public, international relations. While this personal presence was well received by his foreign visitors eager to find living links to their own past experience, the lack of any public or governmental role in managing the museum casts some doubt on whether it will survive beyond his death.

Despite the efforts of local entrepreneurs such as Fred Kona, there are no national museums or exhibits devoted to World War II in the Solomon Islands. Although the small Tourist Authority office in Honiara features posters and maps displaying war themes, there are no sites, parks, or exhibits of war history sponsored or supported by national institutions. The reasons for this are both economic and cultural. In a country where the very relevance of museums is constantly under question, and where the national museum is chronically underfunded, there has been little opportunity or support for new projects. Most of the international assistance for developing tourist resources has focused on presenting aspects of pre-European cultural traditions, not historical subjects such as the war. Proposals to create a war museum or to expand the national museum to include World War II exhibits have come mainly from foreign businesses interested in salvaging and exporting World War II aircraft. So far none of these proposals have materialized.

Recognizing these interests of foreign collectors, however, the government passed a War Relics Act in the 1980s with the intention of prohibiting the export of war materiel and limiting profiteering by outside interests. The major difficulty with the Act has been enforcement. Except for the installation of an x-ray machine in the national airport to detect foolish attempts to transport World War II munitions on board jet aircraft, the Act is largely unnoticed. In a few cases, local provincial governments have taken responsibility by setting up cultural offices that monitor the trade in artifacts. The Western Province, which passed its own cultural policy and created a Cultural Affairs Office to administer it (see Lindstrom and White, 1994), was so successful in confiscating war relics (usually from recreational divers) that it faced a storage problem. For the most part, however, the vast array of war artifacts remain outside any organized efforts at public interpretation or conservation.

A Political Economy of Memory

Despite the lack of sustained national projects aimed at developing the war's cultural resources, the government has responded to foreigners' interests in war memory, especially for purposes of promoting tourism. Seeing an opportunity to capitalize on the international attention aroused by the 50th anniversary of the battle for Guadalcanal, the Solomon Islands government

designated 1992 as the Year of Tourism in Solomon Islands and allocated a budget of $100,000 to support local planning for commemorative events.

The potential for the Guadalcanal anniversary to attract worldwide attention was anticipated by many entrepreneurs in the business of producing historical materials for popular audiences. Thus, the same team that mounted an expedition to find and photograph the *Titanic* organized a similar project, using advanced underwater technology, to locate and film many of the sunken warships that gave the waters off Guadalcanal the name Iron Bottom Sound. Sponsored by *National Geographic* and other investors, this project produced a made-for-television documentary film introduced by former U.S. President George Bush and a glossy coffee-table photograph book (Ballard, 1993). Except for occasional obligatory references to the role of native coastwatchers, there is little in this kind of technology-centered, history-as-spectacle approach that speaks to the experiences and concerns of Solomon Islanders.

Despite the creation of a Solomon Islands planning committee, the agenda for the 50th anniversary events was largely set by the former Allies, even resulting in the exclusion of the Japanese, who contribute more international aid and investment in the Solomon Islands than the United States. The U.S. World War II 50th Anniversary Committee (a Department of Defense program based in the Pentagon) organized an entire Task Force, called "Operation Remembrance," to undertake an island-hopping campaign for the purpose of supporting American veterans groups and military units participating in official ceremonies throughout the region (White, 1995). On Guadalcanal, the centerpiece of the 50th anniversary commemoration, was the dedication of an impressive monument consisting of a walled compound with large marble panels telling the story of the Guadalcanal campaign. Perched on top of Skyline Ridge overlooking the major battlegrounds, the monument was conceived as a counter-measure to an imposing Japanese "Peace Memorial" that had been installed in 1983 on a neighboring ridge overlooking the capital. Funded by the U.S. Battle Monument Commission and by donations from American veterans, the monument cost about US$500,000. The scale of plans for the monument and dedication ceremonies did raise some local eyebrows. A former Prime Minister, writing under a pseudonym in a national newspaper, asserted:

> *What possible benefits do we, as a country get out of the War Memorial?*
> *This simply reinforces local peoples' sense of inferiority.*
> *The idea to build the monument, its design, the money and the technology all belong to foreigners....*
> *And yet again, at the height of Skyline Ridge we have yet to witness another battle between USA and Japan.*
> *Do we need them to do that yet again in our own soils?....*
> *I think that apart from the praise given to our people for their services during the war years, the Americans and British need to consider some forms of compensations to our local people....*
> *I think we have already had enough of USA vs Japan during the last war.*
> (*Solomon Star*, April 28, 1989, p. 7).

These complaints about the foreign-dominated process of commemorating the war points to both cultural and economic problems that beset the development of indigenous forms of public history and conservation. The dilemma for national planners is that sites of war memory developed for the purposes of tourism inevitably speak to foreign audiences interested in objects, people, and places that fit within their own conceptions of history. How can island nations struggling to develop tourism economies that will appeal to overseas interests also build cultural and educational projects that have meaning and value for an indigenous, national public?

To date, most of the initiatives and financing for preserving and/or commemorating island war memories have come from the metropolitan powers. Papua New Guinea, the largest and most wealthy island nation, is the only country to have created a national war museum. But even here national expenditures amount to only a small fraction of what the United States, for example, has invested in its efforts to recover the remains of air crews lost in Papua New Guinea's mountains and jungles, where more planes disappeared in World War II than in any theater of war before or since. The cost of the Skyline Ridge Memorial in Guadalcanal would have paid the entire budget of the Solomon Islands National Museum for several decades. But the disparity in efforts to preserve and commemorate war memory are more than economic. The economy of memory here is undergirded by more basic questions about the meaning and relevance of "preservation," particularly preservation of World War II memories.

Looking Forward

As Chapman notes in his introduction to this collection, many in the Pacific Islands region view issues of culture and cultural preservation in a distinctly different light than is typical in the United States and the more developed nations of Asia. While there are vast differences among the soci-

eties of the Pacific, the region is noted for the substantial continuity of rural lifestyles rooted in gardening and other subsistence practices. This is particularly the case in the Southwest Pacific, where about 80% of the populations of the larger island nations of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu live subsistence lifestyles. The historical significance of the war in peoples' lives is primarily that which is expressed in songs, stories, and ceremonial practices enacted in village settings. In the rural Pacific, where literacy is only slowly making inroads, history is largely oral history. Translating these histories into relevant forms in books, films, museum displays, and so forth, requires sensitivity to the different ways in which history itself acquires relevance for peoples' lives.

Pacific Islanders have asserted repeatedly that they are less interested in preserving artifacts than in protecting and promoting indigenous culture, which in most areas remains vital, despite decades of colonial history. Attitudes toward the role of museums—a concept that still has relatively little currency for most Islanders—reflect broader differences in Western and indigenous philosophies of culture. In much of the island region, there is no "culture of preservation," at least as preservation is professionalized and institutionalized in Western societies. Except for the expatriate community and tourist visitors, there is no museum-going public that brings kids to public places on the weekend for educational experience viewing unusual exhibits.

This, of course, is not to say that there is no appreciation of such experiences. Island cultures typically have elaborate means for recalling the past (White, 1991), and most communities today are more increasingly interested in matters of traditional culture and history. But local modes of connecting to the past are embedded in oral and performative practices that make the past personally relevant and socially significant for those doing the remembering. Thus, when people who remember World War II tell their stories, they frequently do so by focusing on personal connections they developed with the foreigners who flooded through their islands. In many cases, objects such as U.S.-issue knives, plates, or helmets, acquired as gifts from the military foreigners years ago, have been carefully preserved—tucked away in storage trunks, to be displayed only when the occasion merits (such as the visit of an American traveler decades later). Like many objects in island cultures, these "souvenirs" represent objects of *exchange* that acquire meaning as tokens of relationships formed with outsiders, and the stories that tell about them.

The public management of historical resources is further complicated by the politics of knowledge that usually regards stories about the past as protected by local copyrights. Only the owners of stories have rights to tell them—rights that are often unrecognized by literacy-centered ideas about intellectual property. Thus, when a national committee of Solomon Islanders began meeting to discuss the organization of an international conference on the oral history of World War II, the first issue raised concerned control over the recording and distribution of stories that would surface in such a conference.

One of the challenges of developing indigenous approaches to war memory as public culture, especially as public *national* culture, will be to find ways to represent personal and local histories such that they obtain relevance and meaning for broader audiences. Efforts to do this will inevitably grapple with the dominant tastes and conventions of the international "market" for war memories and memorabilia. Whether new approaches to cultural management can resolve some of these tensions will be the "trick" of cultural development in the Pacific for some years to come.

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Jim Adams

World War II Battlefields and National Parks in the Pacific

Memorial spanning the sunken hull of the USS Arizona. Photo courtesy USS Arizona Memorial.

Generally when most people think about the history of Pearl Harbor it is the Japanese attack against the United States' Pacific Naval Fleet on December 7, 1941, that comes to mind. The USS Arizona Memorial, located within the Pearl Harbor Naval Base, on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i, is an icon seen by over 1.5 million visitors annually. The Memorial is unique to many other historic sites in the recency of the history it portrays. Where many areas have been attenuated in the mind of the visiting public by the passage of time, there is an immediacy to the USS Arizona Memorial that lends a heavy significance to the site and the event that is being commemorated. This significance is especially apparent to citizens of the United States born before the 1940s, but the worldwide scope of World War II has made this site important to people of almost every country and age group. There is much more to historic Pearl Harbor than this memorial, though, more that deals with the history of December 7, more that deals with the history of World War II, and more that deals with a much earlier Hawaiian history before there was a naval base and before the arrival of Westerners.

USS Arizona wreckage and oil slicks. Photo courtesy STK Photos.

USS Arizona wreckage and mooring quay. Photo courtesy STK Photos.

Unarguably, the sunken battleship USS *Arizona*, with her memorial spanning her midships, remains the most important single object for historic preservation in Pearl Harbor. A complex site for historic preservationists that have to consider *her*[1] many roles; a memorial to her lost crew and the final resting place for most of her sailors and Marines, a symbolic reminder of the United State's entry into the Second World War and the ultimate victory of the Allies, and an archeological site, to name only a few. The USS Arizona Memorial means many things to many people. Although the memorial is owned by the United States Navy, and is in the middle of one of its bases, the National Park Service has the responsibility for managing the memorial, its shoreside visitor's center and museum, and providing interpretation to the thousands of visitors on a daily basis. The task of historic preservation of the shipwreck, along with the many museum objects and artifacts, has by default been assumed by the National Park Service, USS Arizona Memorial.

The shipwreck is unquestionably the most significant physical resource at the USS Arizona Memorial. Due to the submerged nature of *Arizona*, the actual condition of the ship is hard to determine. Over 90% of the exterior hull structure of the shipwreck has been surveyed (the bottom of the hull, 17' up from the keel remains buried in the harbor mud) while none of the interior spaces has been surveyed. A historic resource of high quality, the size of *Arizona* and her location help to ensure her preservation. In the 1980s, National Park Service underwater archeologists, with the assistance of Navy divers, formally mapped the shipwreck as an archeological site and collected baseline data that document the amount of biological growth on the surface of the ship's hull and structure, measured the thickness of exterior bulkheads at various locations, and measured the depth of sediments on horizontal levels.[2] By measuring these monitoring points over a period of time, a predictive model of change can be obtained that will provide necessary information for developing a long-term management plan for *Arizona*, and can also be used for preservation

Memorial exhibit. Photo courtesy STK photos.

studies on other shipwreck sites. The leaking oil from *Arizona's* fuel bunkers also presents more challenges for the historic preservationist, as environmental concerns have to be weighed against the cultural and symbolic interpretations that are felt by many visitors who consider the oil to be the *tears* that the ship is shedding for her crew. The reality may be that there is no practical solution to the oil, and that the approximate one gallon per day (three to four drops per minute) leaked into the harbor is not of relative consequence.

Historic preservation within Pearl Harbor is an interesting challenge. Pearl Harbor is an active naval base. The base in its entirety was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1964. It is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a *historic site* without singling out any specific spot, facility, building, structure or object. The NHL designation of 1964 recognized the active nature of the naval base because of its success in its mission to support the fleet and its related role in the expansion of the United States as a Pacific power. The 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor was prompted by the effectiveness of its mission and role. While highly significant as a single event—the attack on December 7, 1941—this was not the only event that has contributed to the historical significance of Pearl Harbor. It was the all-encompassing history of Pearl Harbor that resulted in its designation as a NHL. The listing further provides that the base's continuing function outweighs its physical facilities for qualification as a National Historic Landmark. Change is a basic quality of Pearl Harbor's national significance. There is no one water or land use, building, or structure whose preservation for historic purposes *per se* takes precedence over the process of change necessary to maintain the support-of-the-fleet mission of Pearl Harbor. Navy-directed physical change is necessary, normal, and expected at Pearl Harbor to further that mission (extracted from the National Historic Landmark 1974 update). The Navy has published separately a *Historic Preservation Plan*[3] that provides a survey of all facilities within the boundary of the Pearl Harbor NHL and outlines methods for achieving optimum preservation of the naval base. In 1989, USS *Arizona,* and USS *Utah* shipwrecks were given separate NHL designations. These extenuating circumstances have to be recognized by the historic preservation managers when considering management issues within the larger context of the Navy's management policy of the naval base both within its functioning mission and historic role.

Located within the boundaries of the Pearl Harbor NHL are three other World War II NHLs. These are the shipwrecks *Arizona* and *Utah,* as well as USS *Bowfin,* a World War II submarine. *Arizona* and *Utah* received separate NHL designations in 1989. Seldom visited, *Utah* now stands as one of the two reminders of the attack on Pearl Harbor as well as being the final resting place for over 50 of her crew. *Utah* was included in the archeological surveys conducted on *Arizona. Bowfin,* nicknamed the *Pearl Harbor Avenger* since she was launched one year to the day after the Pearl Harbor attack, is the centerpiece of the USS Bowfin Submarine Museum & Park, located within Pearl Harbor.

Pearl Harbor is rich in other historic resources related to the "Day of Infamy," as well as the World War II era. Harbor dredging during 1990 and 1991, in proximity to where the battleship *Oklahoma* was berthed and capsized on December 7, 1941, resulted in several findings to include the recovery of a portion of her tripod mast. The most surprising discovery was the retrieval of an unexploded Japanese aerial torpedo that had been fired at the battleship and had become embedded in the harbor bottom instead of reaching its intended target. The remains of the torpedo are now undergoing conservation treat-

Historic ferry boat passes Battleship Row and the Arizona memorial on its way to Ford Island. Photo courtesy USS Arizona Memorial.

University of Hawai`i Maritime Archeology Field School

This course provides a basic introduction to maritime history and the scientific methods and techniques employed in underwater archeological research.

The 1996 field school takes place on the island of O`ahu, based at the University of Hawai`i at Manoa campus. Classroom instruction is complemented by field trips and on-site field research including a scuba-assisted archeological site survey. Participants are introduced to maritime history, including the history of underwater archeology, survey methodology, conservation of water-logged artifacts, technology used in underwater archeological surveys, field survey logistics, mapping, and report preparation.

This summer, students will survey ancient Hawaiian fishing artifacts found on the sea floor below ancient fishing sites in the waters off of world-renowned Waikiki Beach. Some of the classroom and field trip topics focus on traditional Polynesian fishing. While conducting the surveys, students become familiar with Hawai`i's diverse marine life.

Participants must possess a nationally-recognized scuba certification and make arrangements with the University of Hawai`i Diving Safety Officer to qualify for UH scientific diver status. Previous course work in archeology or anthropology is a prerequisite.

To request an application, or for more information about the field school, contact the Marine Option program, University of Hawai`i at Manoa, 1000 Pope Road, #229, Honolulu, Hawai`i 96822 USA; telephone: 808-956-8433; fax: 808-956-2417; Internet: sherwood@hawaii.edu; World Wide Web: http://www2.hawaii.edu/mop/mop_mast.html.

USS Arizona *underwater survey assessment.*

Submit applications directly to Marine Option Program. Deadline for receipt of applications is May 30, 1996.

Instructor:	Hans Van Tilburg, historical archeologist
Dates:	July 1–31, 1996 MTuWThF, 8:00am–3:00pm
Location:	TBA
Register for:	ANTH 668 or OEST 668 (cross-listed) Prerequisite: ANTH 210 or equivalent
Tuition:	$570 Hawai`i residents $900 non-residents Plus an Institute Fee of $450, which covers class-related ground transportation, airfills, use of textbook.

CO-SPONSORED BY UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I'S SCHOOL OF OCEAN AND EARTH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, MARINE OPTION PROGRAM; SUMMER SESSION; AND DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

ment at the USS Arizona Memorial's museum. Previous investigations have located in deep water outside the harbor entrance one of the Japanese midget submarines that took part in the attack, where it still remains. Located in a remote part of the base are cut-away pieces of *Arizona's* superstructure, pieces removed during the salvage attempt following the attack as well as pieces later removed for the construction of the memorial. Not yet located in Pearl Harbor, but her return is hoped for, is the yardtug *Hoga*, the last remaining U. S. naval vessel afloat that was present in Pearl Harbor during the attack. Efforts are being made to preserve this vessel and return her to Pearl Harbor as a museum. In West Loch, an ammunition depot located in an outlying area of Pearl Harbor, are the sunken remains of an amphibious landing ship. During April 1944, there was another famous, but not as well known explosion in Pearl Harbor that resulted in the sinking of several landing ships that were being prepared for the invasion of Saipan. These are just a sampling of the present and potential historic preservation issues that relate to World War II in Pearl Harbor

Newly constructed houses on Ford Island, 1936.

World War II Battlefields and National Parks in the Pacific

The USS Arizona Memorial is not the only national park related to the events of the Second World War. Not as accessible to the touring public are two other parks promoting preservation and the commemoration of battles fought across the Pacific Islands during World War II. War in the Pacific National Historic Park, located in Agana, Guam, interprets events in the Pacific theater of WWII. Major historic sites, aging gun emplacements, and other military equipment relics, have been preserved that are associated with the 1944 battle fought on Guam. This battlefield park provides an example of the island-hopping military campaign that was fought against the Japanese.

Located on the island of Saipan is American Memorial Park. This developing park will memorialize those who died in the Marianas Campaign of World War II.

The Pacific Theater, 1941–45

and are being addressed by cultural resource managers within the Navy and National Park Service.

Pearl Harbor is rich in archeological sites for traditional Hawaiian history as well. A joint project between the U. S. Navy and the State of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Division, funded by a grant from the U. S. Department of Defense Legacy program, is currently investigating traditional stone walled fishponds that were characteristic of Hawaiian fishing strategies. Located on the shores of Pearl Harbor are 18 buried and 3 extant fishponds. One of these fishponds, *`Okiokiolepe*, is on the National Register of Historic Places. Current research is designed to extract cores of sediment from the fishponds to trace paleoenvironmental changes that have occurred in the 2,000-year history from pre-Polynesian times until present. Samples will also be processed for radiocarbon dating, and to trace the history of fishpond construction and use in the region.

Pearl Harbor provides an excellent example of a historic cultural landscape that remains from an era that no longer exists. Ford Island is located in the middle of the Pearl Harbor Naval Base. It is rectangular, with a length of approximately 1-1/4 miles long and about 1/2 mile wide and served historically as officer housing and as an airfield. It still serves in its former function. One gets to Ford Island by either boat or plane, with boat being the most common form of transportation. Ford Island has a unique history and maintains a distinctive life-style that has shaped its cultural landscape. In many aspects, Ford Island has retained its cultural character within the last half century while the surrounding *mainland* of O`ahu has evolved. You could say that Ford Island is a time capsule, that its vernacular cultural landscape has been frozen in time. Unfortunately though, it is about to defrost.

Ford Island has a long and rich traditional history, beginning with ancient Hawaiian uses, followed by changes after the arrival of Europeans and Americans. The landscape and vernacular architecture on Ford Island reflects the development of Western culture in Hawai`i during the first half of this century. The isolation of Ford Island has been the primary element to why its physical appearance has not undergone further changes. Within the 400 acres that encompass Ford Island, with only a few exceptions of post-war constructed buildings, the architecture is representative of prewar and wartime vernacular traditions. The integrity of these structures has a common history and tradition that has been maintained over the years. The few modern additions have not caused any significant intrusions on the cultural landscape of the island nor detracted from its character.

The best way to experience Ford Island is by a visit, a visit that can give one the appreciation of what time travel could be like. To get to Ford Island, visitors ride on one of two ferries that provide the connection from the mainland. In a sense, this is our gateway through time. One of the ferries was built in 1918; the other in 1940. Approaching the island, visitors come upon the first of the concrete mooring quays where the mighty battleships that ruled the seas earlier this century once berthed. Traditionally, this area has been known as Battleship Row. No longer used, they are an

Ford Island houses in 1995; virtually no changes since 1936.

integral portion of the cultural landscape of Ford Island. Located in Battleship Row is the USS Arizona Memorial. Not only is this a solemn reminder to her lost crew, but it is a time marker signifying the ending of the era of battleships and the beginning of the reign of naval airpower. Just before arriving at the ferry landing, visitors will pass the boat house, still in operation today, that has been in use since 1935. The gray utility boats, although maybe not all original, are of the same style that traditionally have operated in the harbor. It is a utilitarian, vernacular style of harbor vessel.

Single-wall, wood-framed, Hawaiian plantation style houses constructed in 1922.

Ford Island is the residence for 39 military families who live in wood-framed, Hawaiian plantation style houses that were built in 1922 and 1936. These homes have retained their historic integrity. In addition to family quarters are the working buildings of the former naval air station, Ford Island's original naval mission. These structures have preserved the vernacular, non-styled institutional buildings that were commonly found on naval stations in the early half of this century. The combinations of these structures, the houses, service ramps for the seaplanes that once occupied the air station, hangers and other service buildings, not only provide reminders of the history of the island, but they also represent vernacular military service buildings that performed myriad functions. Their silhouettes all contribute to the cultural landscape of the island, especially as seen from the mainside areas of Pearl Harbor, Pearl City, and Aiea.

Photos this page courtesy the author.

Ford Island represents the most intact cultural landscape within Pearl Harbor. Since its original development in the 1930s, it has escaped much of time's evolution for six decades, thus allowing us to experience some of the feelings from a past time. This is about to change as a bridge will be constructed in 1996, that will for the first time provide a physical linkage between Ford Island and the mainland of O`ahu. This bridge will interrupt the view from the shore to the island, altering its cultural landscape. The view from the USS Arizona Memorial will also be altered. The addition of the bridge will also cause changes to the lifestyle of those that live or work on Ford Island. No longer will the ferries be used and now the island will be accessible to more vehicular traffic. Noise and motion will increase; the sounds of the cultural environment will change. The building of the bridge is the forerunner of further construction on Ford Island for increased housing needs. Even though the plans provide for leaving the present historical buildings in place, the community as has existed, a community based on its own traditions and cultural landscape, will no longer exist. It is the environment and the non-tangible aspects of sounds and senses that will be drastically altered. It will be harder, if even possible, to feel the same historical sentiment. The alteration of Ford Island is the dilemma that the historic preservationist must weigh against the operating needs of the naval base.

Notes

1 The customary naval tradition of referring to ships in the female gender is used here.

2 *Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.* Second Edition. Edited by Daniel J. Lenihan. Southwest Cultural Resource Center Professional Papers No. 23. Santa Fe, New Mexico (1990).

3 *Historic Preservation Plan for National Historic Landmark, U S. Naval Base, Pearl Harbor.* Commander U. S. Naval Base, Pearl Harbor, Ser 184, April 18, 1978. This plan is being revised.

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Glenn Mason and Ann Yoklavich

Historic Military Properties in the Pacific

The Midway power plant, designed with 6'-thick concrete roof, was one of the buildings hit during the Japanese shelling of the atoll on December 7, 1941. Photo by Augie Salbosa.

All photographs taken for Pacific Division, Naval Facilities Engineering Command.

In one way or another the entire nation was involved in the battles of World War II and over 300,000 U.S. citizens gave up their lives for this effort. Despite this commitment, and unlike participating countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa, the contiguous 48 states went through the war untouched by the battles and carnage of that war. Our cities were not bombed and our lands were not seized anywhere in the country—except in our Pacific territories. Even in the territories there remains little evidence of the war except on American military bases. As a result, these Pacific properties of the U.S. hold a special place in our country's heritage. In addition, the United States currently uses military bases in Japan that were important to that country before and during World War II.

Cultural Resource Management Plans and/or Cultural Resource inventories for most of these sites in the Pacific have been undertaken during the last five years, partly as a result of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and money that became available through the Defense Department's Legacy Program. These bases include those occupying nearly one-third of the island of Guam, all major military bases in Hawai`i, the island of Tinian, Midway Atoll, and several bases in Japan.

Despite the need to continually modernize military facilities to meet contemporary defense needs, these bases generally contain large numbers of extant structures built prior to the end of the war. The installations fall into three basic groups, based on their involvement in World War II.

The first group is composed of those bases that existed before December 7, 1941, and were attacked by the Japanese. These attacks were the direct cause of America's entry into the war. In Hawai`i, these bases include, in addition to Pearl Harbor, the Marine Corps Air Station site at Naval Air Station (NAS) Barbers Point, Hickam Air Force Base, Wheeler Air Force Base, Schofield Barracks, Fort Shafter and Marine Corps Base at Kaneohe Bay (a naval air station at the time). Midway was attacked by Japanese forces on December 7, 1941, and was also involved in the Battle of Midway from June 3–5, 1942, considered a key turning point in the Pacific war. In each of these cases, the buildings involved in the Japanese attack are generally treated as significant historic structures.

The second category of bases were those whose buildings were mostly built after 1941 to accommodate the general military build-up. In Hawai`i, these include a base on the island of Kaua`i, and NAS Barbers Point, and a communications station on O`ahu. These bases played

The revetments at marine Corps Air Station Ewa (now part of Naval Air Station Barbers Point) were built after the Japanese attack on December 7, 1941. A total of 75 of these protective structures for aircraft were constructed in anticipation of another attack. Photo by David Franzen.

important supporting roles in World War II and in the later Cold War period.

Most of the military bases on Guam fall into this second category. The U.S. detachment on Guam was attacked and overrun by Japanese forces in the 10 days following their December 8, 1941 invasion of the island. Although none of the buildings built by pre-World War II American forces are extant, Japanese-built fortifications exist from their 2-1/2 year occupation period and there are many buildings constructed by American forces shortly after the recapture of the island by Allies in 1944.

Many of the bases in the Pacific Islands were important as forward bases for Allied advances through the Pacific. They were developed strikingly quickly. Guam's population went from a pre-invasion level of about 40,000 people to over 260,000 in the space of six months. Just the development of infrastructure capable of supporting that many people in that period of time is notable.

The buildings on the Guam military bases constructed during the years of the war are wood or metal structures erected by Construction Battalion forces, and were usually meant to be temporary. Although most of these have been replaced, many still remain, including Quonset huts, Armco huts, offices, warehouses, and wood housing units. After the end of hostilities on the island, private contractors came in to continue the development of the forward bases.

The bases on Guam's neighboring island of Tinian were abandoned almost immediately after the conclusion of World War II. After the War, Tinian was deactivated and the metal buildings were sold as scrap. Today, what remains of Tinian's World War II-era buildings are mainly ruins, including many non-military buildings of Japanese origin dating from the 15+ years Tinian was used as a sugar plantation by the Japanese. Some of these ruins on Tinian will be forever important for their association with the construction and loading of the only atomic bombs ever dropped on human beings.

The third category of bases include those on foreign soil, particularly those that were formerly Japanese serving as military installations. These bases were appropriated by the Americans in the days immediately following Japan's surrender. Two of those bases, at Yokosuka and Sasebo, were among Japan's most important naval bases. Built by the Japanese as they began to enter the modern world after years of isolation, some buildings still in use on these bases date back to at least 1888.

This last category of historically-important bases presents a challenging evaluation problem for the architectural historian. American preservation law prohibits actual listing of properties on the National Register, or even a determination of Register eligibility, if they are located on foreign land. The properties on these bases are supposed to be evaluated using whatever environmental standard is the most stringent. Although this usually turns out to be the United States' regulations, familiarity with the host nation's regulations is necessary to thoroughly evaluate the properties on the bases.

Since most of the important buildings at Yokosuka and Sasebo were built and used by the Japanese before and during the War, expertise in Japanese military architectural history is vital to the evaluation of the buildings. As important, if not more so, is the perspective of a Japanese national in placing these buildings in the context of their own experiences. As a result, our office hired Professor Emeritus Teijiro Muramatsu of Tokyo University to provide us that expertise and perspective during our work on those bases.

Although the historic sites located at bases on foreign soil cannot be listed on the National Register, the Management Plans treat them as historic sites, with the U.S. as custodian of those properties for the time we use them. All buildings on these bases are owned by the host nation. It is natural, then, that any changes to those sites are supposed to be approved by local Japanese authorities. The Status of Forces Agreement, which contains the Overseas Environmental Guidelines Document, reinforces these relationships.

For years, the greatest stress on historic military properties came from adaptations of the bases that were necessary to maintain a modern military

This 1927 brick and concrete building was originally one of the main headquarters buildings of the Imperial Japanese Navy at Yokosuka Naval Base, with a war room on the second floor. Currently U.S. Navy officers occupy the first floor, and the second-floor room, with its exposed steel roof trusses, is still a large gathering space. Photo by Katharine Bouthillier.

This cave is part of the Hajima (Namashima) Battery Site at Yokosuka Naval Base, Japan, dating between 1890 and 1915. The battery is listed as a prefectural cultural asset. Photo by Katharine Bouthillier.

force. Today, the greatest stress comes from the base closures that are occurring in the Pacific, as they are in the rest of the United States. The Base Realignment and Closure Act (BRAC) will result in the closure of Midway and NAS Barbers Point in Hawai`i and the return of thousands of acres of land on Guam to the Guam government. These actions involve literally hundreds of historic buildings and archeological sites. The bases located on populated islands like O`ahu in Hawai`i or Guam are experiencing the same analysis and negotiation processes that many communities throughout the United States have gone through. In these cases, appropriate new uses for the historic buildings on those bases can be found.

The Midway example, however, is very different. This isolated island will be literally abandoned, to be used by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service as a wildlife sanctuary. The presence of buildings, historic or not, creates conflicts with the future primary mission of the atoll. These conflicts are made all the more acute by the remoteness and environment of the site. The compromises necessary to fulfill the new mission of the atoll and still preserve the important historic sites on it are still being crafted.

The resources contained in the many U.S. military bases in the Pacific are unique. In many cases, the only extant structures representing the World War II period are on military property. Even the Asan and Agat landing beaches on Guam, which are administered by the National Park Service as the War in the Pacific National Historical Park, have few structures within these park areas. Whether the uses of the military-controlled sites are changed due to the BRAC or the bases continue to operate, the inventories and management plans prepared for these bases are vital to the preservation of a legacy unique in the world.

Suggested Readings

Costello, John. *The Pacific War* (New York: Rawson, Wade, 1981).

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