CRM

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
Information for Parks, Federal Agencies, Indian Tribes, States, Local Governments, and the Private Sector

VOLUME 19 NO. 8 1996

Approaches to Heritage

Hawaiian and Pacific Perspectives on Preservation

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
National Park Service
Cultural Resources

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

To promote and maintain high standards for preserving and managing cultural resources

DIRECTOR
Roger G. Kennedy

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
Katherine H. Stevenson

EDITOR
Ronald M. Greenberg

PRODUCTION MANAGER
Karlota M. Koester

GUEST EDITOR
William Chapman
Jennifer Malin, Assistant

ADVISORS
David Andrews
Editor, NPS
Joan Bacharach
Museum Registrar, NPS
Randall J. Biallas
Historical Architect, NPS
Susan Buggey
Director, Historical Services Branch
Parks Canada
John A. Burns
Architect, NPS
Harry A. Butowsky
Historian, NPS
Pratt Cassity
Executive Director,
National Alliance of Preservation Commissions
Muriel Crespi
Cultural Anthropologist, NPS
Craig W. Davis
Archeologist, NPS
Mark R. Edwards
Director, Historic Preservation Division,
State Historic Preservation Officer, Georgia
John Hnedak
Architectural Historian, NPS
Roger E. Kelly
Archeologist, NPS
Antoinette J. Lee
Historian, NPS
John Poppeliers
International Liaison Officer
for Cultural Resources, NPS
Brit Allan Storey
Historian, Bureau of Reclamation
Federal Preservation Forum

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Stephen A. Morris
Certified Local Governments (CLG) Coordinator, NPS
Kay D. Weeks
Technical Writer-Editor, NPS

CONSULTANTS
Wm. H. Freeman
Design, Imaging, Production–Freeman Publishing Services
Janice C. McCoy
Editing–Editorial Notes

Contents

VOLUME 19 NO. 8 1996
ISSN 1068-4999

Approaches to Heritage

Foreword 3
Senator Daniel K. Inouye

Hawaiian Perspectives on Historic Preservation and Cultural Resource Management 4
William Chapman

Historic Preservation in Hawai`i: An Archeological Perspective 8
Michael W. Graves

The Significance of Heiau Diversity in Site Evaluations 11
C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad

Hawaiian Cultural and Natural Resource Management 17
Davianna Pomaika`i McGregor

To Preserve an Island 21
Rowland B. Reeve

Heritage Preservation in the Pacific Island States 24
Neal Putt

The Cultural Landscape at Ke`anae and Wailuanui 25
Elizabeth Anderson

Learning About The Past, Learning From The Past 29
Bishop Museum and Communities Working Together
Maurice Major

Archeology and the Public at Bishop Museum 31
Toni L. Han

`Ōlelo Hawai`i—Hawaiian Language as Cultural Resource 33
M. Puakea Nogelmeier

Preserving Hawai`i's Traditional Landscapes 36
Jennifer Malin

Overview of Historic House Museums and Parks in Hawai`i 37
Barnes Riznik

Managing Historic Resources in an Evolving Hawaiian Community 40
Kalaupapa NHP
Dean Alexander

Robert Louis Stevenson in the Pacific 44
William J. Murtagh and Delta Lightner

Portugal in Asia 45
A View of Preservation in Macau
Cherry Barnett

Micronesia Update 47
Jennifer Malin

University of Hawai`i Summer Program in Architectural Recording 49
William Chapman with Jennifer Malin

1996 Pacific Preservation Field School 52
Dorothy Barton

Cover: Birthplace of Princess Ruth, Hawaii. Photo courtesy NPS.

Statements of fact and views are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect an opinion or endorsement on the part of the editors, the *CRM* advisors and consultants, or the National Park Service. Send articles, news items, and correspondence to the Editor, *CRM* (2250), U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; (202-343-3395, Fax 202-343-5260, Internet: ron_greenberg@nps.gov).

Foreword

I am pleased to introduce this issue of *CRM* which focuses on cultural resource management and heritage conservation in the state of Hawai`i. During my years in the United States Senate, I have worked to educate my colleagues about Hawai`i's unique and special resources. The blending of Polynesian, Asian, and European cultures has given us a rich and priceless heritage. This multicultural setting provides both great opportunities and challenges for those of us who call Hawai`i our home.

As can be seen in this issue of *CRM*, there are a number of motivated individuals dedicated to the preservation of Hawai`i's cultural resources. From the repatriation of Native Hawaiian cultural artifacts to the restoration of Kaho`olawe, there are many exciting projects. However, given the magnitude of the work to be done, and the limited resources with which to do it, important questions are being asked about the focus of preservation—what should be preserved, and how do we best accomplish this daunting task of preservation.

Through the Department of Defense's Legacy Program, and the development of the Museum of the American Indian, I have worked to insure that our native cultural resources will be respected and preserved for the future. In Hawai`i, millions of federal dollars have been devoted to identifying and preserving cultural resources at Mākua Valley, the Schofield Training Area, and the Pohakuloa Training Area. I commend the many in our community who have devoted a significant portion of their lives to the cause. I applaud *CRM* for highlighting the endeavors of some of these people and hope it will serve as an educational tool through which others can appreciate their contributions and emulate their commitment.

As we approach the 21st century, cultural resource conservation must provide a window to look and see where we have been, to understand where we are today, and to plan our strategy for the future. It cannot be a choice. It must be a commitment—**our** commitment.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
United States Senator

William Chapman

Hawaiian Perspectives on Historic Preservation and Cultural Resource Management

Hawai`i has long been recognized as a special place—both by visitors and by those privileged to live in these beautiful Pacific islands. Among what makes Hawai`i special is its stupendous natural character—many of us believe it is the most dramatic in the world—and, of course, its unique cultural heritage.

Unlike most of the North American states, Hawai`i possessed a proud and still clearly visible native population at the time of absorption into the U.S. Certainly a cruel fallacy as we now realize, the other "western" states were considered by both settlers and government officials as somehow "underpopulated" and "underutilized" at the time they were first admitted to the Union as territories—the great myth of "virgin land." Native American populations had been decimated by European diseases, pushed off traditional agricultural and grazing lands, and had indeed become marginalized inhabitants of what was often considered an "empty" West.

Native Hawaiians had experienced much of the same displacement and decline in numbers, but they remained a significant component of the population during the 1890s, when issues of territorial expansion into the Pacific were being debated at a national level. Native Hawaiians were also a strong cultural and economic presence at the time, linked to prominent Euro-American merchants and planters through both business ties and marriage and—until the overthrow of Queen Lili`uokalani by a clique of mostly American businessmen in 1893—still headed by a unique and colorful monarchy.

In recent years the historic significance of Native Hawaiians, their important place in the cultural history of the Pacific as well as the explicit and implicit claims of the Hawaiian people to better recognition and treatment—as both a people and a culture—have gained increasing attention. This renaissance has taken many forms: consideration of various routes toward some type of political sovereignty; renewed attention to traditional agricultural practices and the cultural meanings of those practices; a virtual explosion of interest in Hawaiian language, both in high schools and universities and through the innovative language immersion programs of the Hawai`i State Department of Education. Hawaiian names, for both people and places, Polynesian crafts, voyaging canoes, and traditional navigational techniques, even ancient tattoo designs, have all witnessed a resurgence. Although many doubt that the islands ever will press for or attain full independence from the U.S., it is indeed clear by now that *some* form of cultural redefinition is taking place and that Hawai`i will never be simply "another" state in the U.S.

These developments have had important impacts on how Hawaiians view their heritage and their cultural resources. For many years the domain of Euro-American archeologists and ethnographers, Hawaiian cultural resources are increasingly being viewed as the rightful province of Native Hawaiians themselves. Hawaiians have played a prominent role in the development of NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) at a national level; through island Burial Councils, Hawaiian people have accepted responsibility for the treatment of ancestral remains locally. Native Hawaiians have had increasing say both within the state government and through organizations such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) over how the Hawaiian cultural heritage should be approached in terms of both preservation and management. Hawaiian activists have been outspoken in their opposition to development activities that threaten historic or prehistoric sites and also living practices—including Hawaiian sacred sites. No longer are Hawaiians silent about their culture and history; the "future," to paraphrase one popular slogan, "is theirs!"

Interestingly, many would argue that the Native Hawaiian story is only one that needs to be told and remembered. Hawai`i has long prided itself on its cultural diversity. Over the past 150 years, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Okinawan, Filipino, and more recently many mainland Southeast Asian peoples have immigrated to Hawai`i, making their own significant marks and leaving their own legacies. The same is true of Europeans and North Americans, representing groups as diverse as Portuguese, Danes, Spanish, and Germans, in addition to the better known Anglo-American settlers and merchants.

Although the present attention to the Native Hawaiian presence often precludes a more complete or inclusive viewpoint, all of these groups interacted in some way with the original population. It is a rare Hawaiian family that does not have some European or Asian ancestor in addition to Hawaiian ones; and few Hawaiians escaped the influence of other cultures in other profound ways.

It is clear, then, that the full history of Hawai`i is a complex one and needs to be understood as such. Unfortunately, the contributions of the many ethnic "minorities" in Hawai`i are still not well represented in the state's inventory of places of historic value; by far the largest number of National Register listed sites, interestingly, are, in fact, pre-contact Hawaiian sites and most listed buildings are, not surprisingly, those associated with the Euro-American elite. In addition, very little research has been done on the *historic* period in Hawaiian history, at least in terms of extant cultural resources, and very few archeological investigations have been made of Hawaiian sites of later or post-contact times; it is as if this aspect of "history" is simply not important. Still, it is easy to see why the story of the indigenous Hawaiian people—and particularly the culture of *pre-contact* Hawaiians—might be given precedence overall; it is for one a story of what can be considered a "host culture" and also simply a story that has gone untold for too long and the story of a people that has been neglected despite the longstanding life of Hawaiians on the islands!

This issue of *CRM* highlights a number of recent developments in Hawaiian views of their heritage and its treatment. Not all the interesting potential topics are covered. It would have been useful, for example, to have a piece on music as a conveyor of culture and especially one on dance—two of Hawai`i's most distinctive and recognized contributions to the world. There also is much more to be said about the role of different local organizations, including the University of Hawai`i's sometimes controversial Department of Hawaiian Studies, in sustaining and reviving traditions and Hawaiian culture. But there is an essay on language and others on agriculture and landscape and on changing views on archeological resources that begin, at least, to bring some Native Hawaiian concerns and perspectives into the light.

Contributions have been made to this issue by a wide variety of people—both Native Hawaiians and others. Beginning the discussion is a thoughtful examination by University of Hawai`i anthropologist Michael Graves of the role of Euro-American archeologists and archeology in preserving aspects of Hawaiian culture, but at the same time often alienating themselves and their work from the Hawaiians themselves. Kēhaunani Abad then demonstrates how Euro-American categories and definitions have obscured the full range of sacred sites on Hawai`i, tragically leading to the loss of many sites which became, through the grid of misunderstanding, unrecognizable as such. University of Hawai`i Ethnic Studies professor and Hawaiian activist Davianna McGregor suggests then something of the depth of traditional Hawaiian approaches to scarcity and management, pointing out that the culture itself possesses the means by which to tackle problems of management of the built world as well as the natural one.

Case studies by Hawaiian author and photographer Rowland Reeve and by Elizabeth Anderson, the latter of the Maui County Planning Department, help to make these more abstract observations concrete. Rowland Reeve discusses the island of Kaho`olawe, for many years a bombing site for the U.S. Navy and now a preserve for Hawaiian culture. Speaking as a Hawaiian, Reeve eloquently describes the Native Hawaiian commitment to preservation of this eighth-largest Hawaiian island and the hopes he has for its future. Anderson, a cultural resource planner, discusses the award-winning cultural resource study

One of the taro lo`i that comprise the traditional, historic, and cultural landscape at Ke`anae on Maui. Photo by Group 70, Inc.

completed by the county and by George Atta of Group 70, a local planning firm, for the management of a remote and fragile part of the island of Maui. Traditional agricultural practices as well as later adaptations define and sustain this unique landscape—one worth preserving for both historical reasons and cultural ones.

Returning to archeology, Bishop Museum specialist Maurice Major discusses the relationship between CRM archeology—as represented both through the Bishop Museum's work and by the numerous private CRM firms in Hawai`i—and Native Hawaiians, providing a number of significant insights. Tony Han, also at the Bishop Museum, discusses her institution's increasing educational role in helping to transmit the culture of Hawai`i both to its own citizens and visitors. Kaho`olawe, the well-publicized voyaging canoe Hokulea as well as the on-going traditions of Hawai`i have all been subjects of recent exhibits at the museum, considered to be the foremost museum in the region and certainly the holder of the largest Hawaiian and Pacific collections in the world. Shorter entries on Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau, the National Park Service's interpretive site on the island of Hawai`i and the Hōkūle`a voyaging canoe suggest something of the range of Hawaiian preservation interests—interests that focus not only on artifacts but on *living* cultural practices as well.

Transformation of a historic shophouse in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Photo by the author.

University of Hawai`i Hawaiian language instructor Puakea Nogelmeier discusses just how significant such "non-tangible" resources are to the preservation of Hawaiian culture in his thoughtful article on Hawaiian language. At one point suppressed by the dominant Euro-American community, Hawaiian language has experienced a dramatic revitalization both among native speakers and for others in the broader Hawaiian community. Language, the author argues, is a significant transmitter of culture, one that in fact gives structure and, in a sense, substance to other activities. Preservation of language use is itself a legitimate preservation activity in the profoundest sense!

In a slight departure from the more "Hawaiian-oriented" articles that predominate in this issue of *CRM*, Dean Alexander, Superintendant of Kalaupapa National Historical Park on Moloka`i, discusses the complex issues of preservation in this extremely fragile and problematical site. Established as a remote settlement for sufferers of Hansen's disease (leprosy), Kalaupapa was home to Native Hawaiians—probably in disproportionate numbers due to the population's susceptibility to outside diseases—Chinese, Japanese, and, indeed, representations of all of Hawai`i's ethnic groups. Still maintained as an operative health care facility, Kalaupapa presents unique problems for cultural resource managers—ones that test our assumptions about historical significance, interpretation, and choices that need to be made.

The University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program has consistently tried to address many of these broader issues in its courses and through a number of public forums in which it has played a key part. Graduate assistant Jennifer Malin describes the program's conference on traditional landscapes, held at the East-West Center in 1995. Originally considered as an opportunity to discuss a range of historic landscapes in the state—including special places such as Kalaupapa—the conference also helped to underline the critical concerns of Native Hawaiians in the preservation not only of scenic places but cultural practices in the profoundest sense.

Expanding on this theme, Barnes Riznick, former Director of the Grove Farm Museum on Kaua`i and also an Adjunct Professor in the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program, offers an overview of house museums in Hawai`i and the role they play in interpreting the complexity of the Hawaiian experience. He also

suggests something of their significance in a region where more integrated ideals of preservation have yet to gain a firm hold.

The remaining articles remind us of the place Hawai`i occupies in the Pacific and the unique role the University of Hawai`i plays and can continue to play in this rapidly changing region (a subject covered in *CRM*, Volume 19, No. 3, 1996, of in our first try at guest editorship). Former Director of the University of Hawai`i Program William Murtagh, with graduate student Delta Lightner, tells the interesting story of the restoration of Robert Louis Stevenson's mansion in Western Samoa—a surprising resource for the Pacific area but also a reminder that perhaps we *should not* be surprised at what we encounter in so diverse a region!

Cherry Barnett, an independent historian working in Hong Kong—where I had an opportunity to teach at the Chinese University as a guest lecturer in April 1996—writes about the exotic island of Macao and efforts by the Portuguese government to ensure the preservation of some of its heritage there before transfer to China early in the next century.

Finally, as a follow-up to our earlier edition of *CRM*, the University's successful summer field schools in architectural documentation, one held in urban Honolulu and the other in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, are described. Further articles on the University's archeological program at Angkor Borei south of Phnom Penh, and on continuing involvement with the work of the World Monuments Fund at Preah Khan in Angkor Historical Park will be covered in a subsequent issue.

The guest editorship of this issue of *CRM* has provided us again with an opportunity to focus on a region often overlooked by American historic preservationists and cultural resource managers. As suggested in the earlier *CRM* issue, Hawai`i has the advantage of serving as a unique eye on the Pacific and on Asia and also is in a position to work closely with those becoming interested in historic preservation for the first time—especially Pacific islanders and the peoples of East and Southeast Asia.

In the spring of 1997, the University's Historic Preservation Program, in association with the Department of Anthropology, is conducting a first course on the topic of historic preservation in Southeast Asia. Funded in part by the U.S. Department of Education, the course will include speakers from throughout the U.S. and Southeast Asia; a special conference on critical issues is also scheduled for March 6–8 to coincide with the course. Also in January 1997, the program is offering a course on the "Fundamentals of Historic Preservation" to be held in Guam, principally for staff members of Micronesian historic preservation offices. This is being carried out as part of the University of Hawai`i and the National Park Service's continuing partnership for training in the region. (The Micronesia Program is discussed in the Volume 19, No. 3 issue of *CRM* and the subject of a longer article by NPS administrator David Look scheduled for a later issue.) Information on these programs and also on the PREMA program for Pacific museums is included in this issue.

I would like to thank *CRM* editor Ron Greenberg for this opportunity to spotlight Hawai`i and cultural resource issues in the region. We have been invited to edit another issue in 1997 and will look at that time at some of the "other cultures" of Hawai`i. This will include articles on the plantation heritage of the islands and on the lesser-known *urban* heritage of Hawai`i. Finally, we will cover some of our continuing work in Asia and the Pacific and, we hope, offer a forum for additional "perspectives" on heritage preservation in the region.

William Chapman is the Director of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, 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 is the second of three issues to be edited by the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa Historic Preservation Program. This issue has been compiled and edited by William Chapman, Director of the Historic Preservation Program, and Jennifer Malin, graduate assistant and coordinator of the program's Micronesian Training Initiative. Additional assistance was provided by Lowell Angell, Program Administrator, and graduate student Rosemary Ruhr. For information about the Historic Preservation Program, please contact Lowell Angell at 1-800-993-7737 or email at <angell@hawaii.edu>.

Michael W. Graves

Historic Preservation in Hawai`i

An Archeological Perspective

As in the rest of the United States, historic preservation in Hawai`i has become an increasingly important component of land-use planning and resource management. Its importance in Hawai`i has grown for several reasons, including the following:

• Land is viewed as relatively scarce here in the only island state in the nation. Thus, decisions about its use take on wider significance, often involving commitments of additional resources and limitations on access. This scarcity is compounded by the fact that much of the land ownership in Hawai`i remains concentrated among relatively few entities, both private and public (state and federal governments). Together, the state and federal governments control the largest share, with over 1.75 million acres in Hawai`i. The large private land holding units represent lands held by former Hawaiian monarchs (e.g., the Bishop Estate) as well as early Euro-American commercial interests (i.e., sugar plantations, cattle ranches).

• There is an incredible density of archeological properties associated with Native Hawaiians, and these exhibit a remarkable diversity of forms and associated functions. The nature of the Native Hawaiian archeological record is a result of the relatively late date at which contact with Europeans occurred (toward the end of the 18th century) at which point the numbers of Hawaiians were large and distributed widely both along the coast and inland. This population was dense; and in all of the main islands of the archipelago much of the land had been at least partly converted to human use or was periodically visited. It is difficult, therefore, to undertake any kind of development in any part of Hawai`i without encountering archeological properties. Ironically, in a state noted for its ethnic diversity, historic preservation for archeologists has generally meant properties associated with Native Hawaiians, both prior to and after their encounter with Euro-Americans.*

Historic preservation in Hawai`i, of course, was greatly affected by the passage of a series of federal laws [e.g., the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), etc.]. At the same time, the state of Hawai`i has enacted its own legislation, much of it mirroring federal statutes. This legislation provides protection to historic properties or provides that their significance be assessed prior to an undertaking. Private contract archeology firms have become established and grown within the state over the past 20 years, in order to fulfill both state and federal historic preservation compliance procedures. Such firms, as elsewhere in the United States, now provide through their surveys and excavations most of the primary archeological data that is used to interpret Hawaiian history prior to European contact. The State Historic Preservation Division (SHPD) must review all state and federal projects (and the archeological reports that follow) in which historic properties are likely to be found. Additionally, the SHPD reviews virtually all of the land-use changes proposed at the city and county levels, thus providing this agency with an opportunity to comment on all important land-use developments in the state. This level of vertical and geographic integration in historic preservation is virtually unknown elsewhere in the United States.

There are other important differences in Hawai`i that serve to distinguish the approach to historic preservation here. First, despite being the original human colonizers of Hawai`i, Native Hawaiians do not yet have a sovereign or legal entity to represent their interests as do most Native American groups. Nor do Native Hawaiians have or occupy a designated land base, although there are lands devoted to Native Hawaiian housing needs. There is a state agency, [the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA)] devoted to the concerns of Native Hawaiians; and much of its funding is now provided for by the state from the sale or rental of lands that were formerly part of the Hawaiian nation (what are called ceded lands). Second, many Hawaiians are well-organized and acquainted with their rights under federal and state laws with respect to historic preservation. Hawaiians have been relatively quick to appreciate what historic preservation statutes offer them as individuals and as groups. Both state and federal laws have increasingly recognized the special role and rights of Native Hawaiians in matters such as historic preservation. OHA or other Hawaiian groups are now more routinely con-

sulted as part of the historic preservation review process. As important, Native Hawaiians understand the strong moral position they occupy with respect to the historic properties associated with their ancestors.

The modern judicial system in Hawai`i has recognized the special rights of Native Hawaiians and has sometimes sought to mix or bridge English common law jurisprudence with the cultural principles and customs derived from Hawaiians. This approach is especially significant for historic preservation in that it constrains the notion, increasing common elsewhere in the United States today, that land ownership implies some monopoly or exclusivity of rights. Native Hawaiians have rights to some lands and resources which predate the arrival of Europeans.

Consequently, despite the lack of a formal land base or recognized sovereignty, Native Hawaiians, because of their prior occupation of the archipelago and through their various organizations and state judicial recognition, have a considerable role to play in historic preservation. To Hawaiians such properties are not simply a resource or a part of planning, but they are integrally tied to their tradition and history. Preserving these properties helps to preserve tangible and intangible aspects of a changing Hawaiian culture and at the same time Hawaiians view the preservation of such sites as a means to develop and practice aspects of their re-emerging or continuing cultural heritage. More generally, historic properties, especially those associated with Hawaiians, represent one of the components that we must adjudge in making determinations about what constitutes wise stewardship of the finite land resources of the state.

With this said, let us also acknowledge that in Hawai`i, as elsewhere in the U.S., there are powerful economic forces for development of lands. Over the past 50 years, the state has become increasingly urbanized, especially on O`ahu (where Honolulu is located) but also on the neighbor islands. Coastal lands have been targeted for development (for resorts and other commercial needs) and virtually all of these areas were occupied by Hawaiians at one time. Lands used formerly for commercial sugar and pineapple production are slated to be redeveloped for new purposes (golf courses, housing developments). Although it is often assumed that historic properties have been destroyed in such areas, their archeological potential remains unresolved. Unfortunately, we have seen development projects placed in localities where there will be considerable impact to Hawaiian historic properties. The construction of a new leg of the federal interstate highway system on O`ahu (H-3), in one of the last remaining valleys where archeological sites were relatively undisturbed, is a sign of such forces at work.

Nonetheless, Hawai`i has played an important role in the recent history of historic preservation that is worth noting. In the case of *Aluli vs Brown* (and the U.S. Department of Defense) the federal courts established in the early 1970s that the Navy was responsible under NEPA for the survey of the island of Kaho`olawe (see Rowland Reeve's article for more information on the island of Kaho`olawe), despite the fact that the island had been controlled by the Navy for a number of years, and that the Navy's activities on the island had predated the passage of NEPA. This case was brought by a Hawaiian organization, the Protect Kaho`olawe `Ohana (PKO), and the court ruled that the Navy had to undertake an archeological survey of historic properties on Kaho`olawe to comply with federal law. Although archeologists now think of archeological surveys as an implicit part of the inventory process, at the time this case was argued many federal agencies were not prepared to assume this responsibility on lands they managed or for their undertakings on land under their jurisdictions. Recently, the Navy has terminated its use of the island for target practice and military exercises and now the federal government has ceded control and ownership of Kaho`olawe back to the State of Hawai`i. These actions were due, in part, to the continuing concerns expressed by the PKO regarding the impacts of the Navy on the significant historic properties documented on the island as part of the original survey.

Native Hawaiian groups and organizations were among the first in the nation to petition the federal government and museums to repatriate humans remains and other forms of Hawaiian patrimony as allowed under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). These groups were also among the first to call upon the NAGPRA Review Committee to resolve a dispute concerning the repatriation of two sets of human remains from the Hearst Museum of the University of California, Berkeley. In so doing, they have shown Native American groups how the provisions of NAGPRA can be successfully implemented now without necessarily waiting for all the inventories to be completed by museums.

Historic preservation has also played an equally important role at the state level. Stemming from the excavation of a large Hawaiian burial site in the late 1980s on the island of Maui, a number of changes have now been made in state law with respect to unmarked burials. There are now procedures which guide inadvertent discoveries of human burials and which limit impacts to human

burials during inventory and data recovery projects. The state has established a series of Burial Councils (on which Native Hawaiians and other citizens of the state sit) to assist in making decisions when human burials are discovered. Through consensus the Councils guide the process of recovery and recommend appropriate levels of osteological analysis and plans for reinterment.

Since the island of Kaho`olawe was returned to the state, a land-use plan has been developed in which historic properties play an important role, both for their potential value to inform on the island's history and to serve as a medium for the reaffirmation of Hawaiian culture. Selected areas of the island have been set aside for the long-term preservation of historic properties. Other areas of the island where historic properties occur may be developed for educational purposes or for adaptive reuse of the sites where Hawaiians formerly lived, farmed, and prayed.

New amendments to the state's historic preservation review process ensure the right of the public, especially local communities, to be directly involved in proposed land developments. These amendments stipulate that Native Hawaiians must be consulted not only in the review process, but also when developing ethnohistorical and oral historical inventories and descriptions. In a recent decision, the state's supreme court, upheld that access to important resources (ocean, forested areas) and to important kinds of sites (trails and possibly religious sites) by Native Hawaiians must continue to be provided. These actions give individuals and groups a recognized role in all aspects of the historic preservation process, and they accord special roles for those who may have information about historic properties that is not available through archeological sources.

Many archeologists in the state are discomforted by the developments reported here for they undermine the exclusive authority that archeologists have formerly had to make determinations about site significance. Yet, as I have tried to show, these developments provide new avenues to the preservation of Hawaiian historic properties and open the process to interested parties and the public. In my view, the strength of historic preservation ultimately derives from the manner and extent to which the general public is involved in the decision-making process. What makes historic preservation in Hawai`i of such great interest and potential is the seemingly contradiction we face between the need for continuing economic (and hence, land) development and the recognition that this state's resources are ultimately finite and somewhat fragile (given our isolation and size). Prehistoric and historic properties are part of those resources (and increasingly are tied to economic development) and thus the decisions we make about preserving them have far reaching implications. In Hawai`i, as perhaps nowhere else, how we go about this and the results we achieve tie all of us together in a manner that may ultimately determine how well we inhabit these special islands.

Note

* Although historic properties associated with other ethnic groups are recognized, the focus of this essay will be on aspects of Hawaiian sites, given their ubiquity, historical significance, and cultural role for Native Hawaiians today.

Michael W. Graves is a professor of anthropology at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. His archeological research in the Pacific has focused on Hawai`i, French Polynesia, Micronesia, and in the Philippines, where he has written extensively on such topics as social complexity, exchange and interaction, and the application of evolutionary theory to archeological materials. Dr. Graves edits the journal Asian Perspectives *and is the past editor of the journal* American Antiquity.

Historic Preservation in Southeast Asia

A Conference on Cultural Resource Management

The University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program in the Department of American Studies, together with the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, East-West Center, and the Department of Anthropology, will be sponsoring a three-day conference on historic preservation issues in Southeast Asia on March 6–8, 1997. Speakers from the U.S., Europe, and Southeast Asia will be featured. Conference organizers are William Chapman of the Historic Preservation Program, and Professors Miriam Stark and Bion Griffin of the Department of Anthropology. Anyone interested in participating or receiving more information about the conference should contact the Historic Preservation Program at 800-993-7737 or email <angell@hawaii.edu>.

C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad

The Significance of Heiau Diversity in Site Evaluations

Hawai`i archeologists and ethnohistorians of the late-19th and early-20th centuries relied on credible Native Hawaiian informants to identify and describe the functions of *heiau*, places of Native Hawaiian religious worship.* Today, after over 200 years of westernization, such informants are not always available or acknowledged. Yet *heiau* remain highly valued among modern Hawaiians who strive to perpetuate Hawaiian spiritual values and practices.

Federal and Hawai`i state historic preservation laws authorize western-trained archeologists, rather than non-archeologically-trained Hawaiians, to determine the functions of sites and their significance, potentially distancing Hawaiians from their cultural sites. This includes assessments regarding whether or not an unrecorded site is a *heiau*. If archeologists assess a site to be a *heiau*, they will often be asked to suggest a more specific site function. These archeological evaluations affect decisions regarding site preservation and the ability of Hawaiians to continue their religious practices. Yet, as important as such archeological decisions are, few agreed upon criterion, processes, and standards have been established within the discipline to make them.

What most archeologists do when evaluating whether a site is a *heiau* is to compare the site in question to *heiau* with which they have become familiar—they apply an ethnographic analogy. If the site is similar to ones from the archeologist's experience, then the site is generally deemed a *heiau*. If it is dissimilar, the site is usually rejected as being a *heiau*. The same process is typically followed to determine the specific religious function of a site thought to be a *heiau*. If it is similar to the often war-related *heiau luakini* known to the archeologist, then she or he will likely suggest such a label. If the site looks more like those the archeologist recalls were agricultural *heiau māpele*, then it will often be called that.

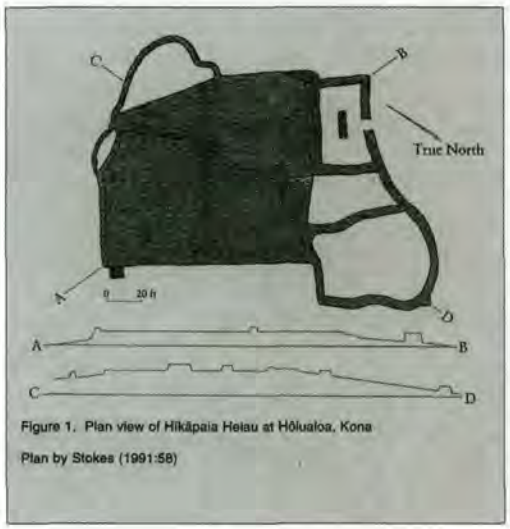


Figure 1. Plan view of Hīkāpaia Heiau at Hōlualoa, Kona
Plan by Stokes (1991:58)

Figure 1. Plan view of Hīkāpaia heiau *at Holualoa, Kona. Plan by Stokes (1991:58).*

Applying ethnographic analogies to determine site function is often a sound method when dealing with site types that are thoroughly recorded and that display a consistent and limited range of physical expressions. Identified *heiau*, on the other hand, exhibit tremendous diversity in their sizes, shapes, environmental settings, and functions (Kamakau 1976; Malo 1951; McAllister 1933; Stokes 1991; Summers 1971). Hence, without full knowledge of such diversity, archeologists will base their assessments on a limited sample of *heiau* sites. Such a confined subset of a highly varied population will almost certainly provide a skewed perspective. Using this perspective to develop an ethnographic analogy may produce inaccurate results. These dilemmas become clear when one considers three main issues:

- the tremendous physical diversity *heiau* exhibit;
- the necessary broad and non-physical nature of an accurate definition of the term *heiau*;
- the problems involved in assessing the specific religious functions of *heiau*.

How physically diverse are *heiau*? A common notion of *heiau* is that they comprise a set of human-built structures that are made up of one or more of these elements:

- rectilinear terraces;
- rectilinear enclosures;
- rectilinear platforms;
- rock mounds; or
- upright stones.

While such descriptions encompass a majority of *heiau*, there are numerous examples of well-documented ones that fall outside of these parameters.

The notion of *heiau* being rectilinear is not a firm rule. Kamakau (1976:135) noted that some *heiau* were rounded. Thrum (1907:42, 45) recorded two such *heiau*, Pā`īlio at Kīlauea on Kaua`i and Hakika at Paliluahine on O`ahu. A related example is Hīkāpaia *heiau* (figure 1) that is perhaps best described as a free form. The definition of its name records the Hawaiian intent that its architecture not follow rigid rules of rectilinear construction. The second half of its name, *"paia,"* means walls. The first half, *"hīkā,"* refers to something

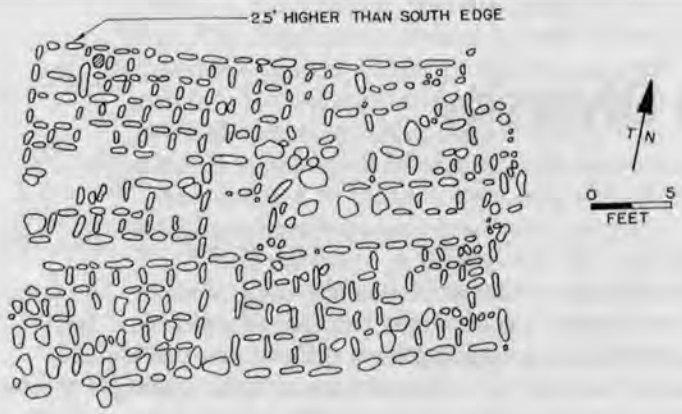


Figure 2. Plan view of Nā Imu Kālua Ua Heiau at Nā'iwa Moloka'i

Plan by Stokes in Summers (1971:82)

Figure 2. Plan view of Nā Imu Kālua Ua heiau *at Nā`iwa, Moloka`i.*

which spreads like vines, as do the features of this *heiau*.

There are also sites that do not match the stereotype of *heiau* being composed of terraces, enclosures, walls, mounds, or upright stones. One such *heiau* is Nā Imu Kālua Ua at Nā`iwa, Moloka`i which consists of a series of open compartments on the ground, each about two feet square, formed by flat stones placed on edge at right angles to one another (figure 2; Stokes in Summers 1971:81).

Sacred places on a landscape with no built structures are another category of *heiau*. At Honomuni on Moloka`i, Stokes was taken to a "level stretch of grassy land" which was a *heiau* associated with washing the bones of deceased *ali`i* (Stokes in Summers 1971:144-45). It was called Kapukapuahakea. Thrum (1907:38) recorded three such sacred places among Kaua`i *heiau*, Naulili at Makaweli, as well as Ka`ahu and Kopahu at Waimea.

Natural landscape features such as rock outcroppings also served as *heiau*. A related pair of O`ahu *heiau* are natural geological features. These are Alāla (figure 3) and Wailea (figure 4). Fishermen prayed and gave offerings at these sites and also used them as sighting points to relocate bountiful fishing grounds (Sterling and Summers 1978:239).

Earthworks represent a fifth type of non-stereotypical *heiau*. An example comes from Niuli`i in Kohala where Stokes (1991:172) recorded *heiau* Pohākūpā. Its name describes how it was likely created, *"pohā"* meaning to break or crack, and *"kūpā,"* to dig or scoop. Pohākūpā was a more than 3,800 square feet rectangular compartment dug 4.5 feet deep into the ground which was paved with *`ili`ili* (stone pebbles) and furnished with two small platforms.

These non-stereotypical *heiau* were ones prominent enough to be remembered and recorded by the early 1900s. If one added unreported *heiau* that families and groups of specialists used in more personal settings, the range of diversity would stretch to *heiau* that today could be misidentified as having been used for other purposes such as habitation. An example of this is the males' *hale mua* where gods of the *`ohana* (extended family) were worshipped.

The non-stereotypical *heiau* examples also necessitate the recognition that a definition of *heiau* relies on a Hawaiian cultural perspectives rather than empirical traits that archeologists have selected. The consistent feature of *heiau* comes from the Hawaiian cultural view of them as places of worship where *mana* (supernatural or divine power) is concentrated and transferred through religious practices. The *mana* of a *heiau* originates from its associated deities in their spirit forms and tangible body forms in the environment. Those who create and use the *heiau* further enhance its *mana* through their labor, prayers, and offerings. A deity's *mana* increases as faithful worshipers present *ho`okupu* (offerings) at the *heiau*. Worshipers also gain *mana* by being in the presence of the deities, communicating with them, and receiving inspiration and support from them.

Such a culturally-based *heiau* definition encompasses all recorded examples of this diverse

Left, figure 3. Alāla heiau *at Kailua, O`ahu.*

Right, figure 4. Wailea heiau *at Kailua, O`ahu.*

class. An archeological definition of *heiau* relying on physical traits would overlook the full range of *heiau* diversity.

Given this situation, one can begin to see the parallel problem of applying ethnographic analogies to identify the specific religious functions of sites recorded only generically as *heiau*. The security of such evaluations would depend on how well and uniquely *heiau* functional classes are defined in available records. Researchers would need to answer four major questions for them to rigorously evaluate the specific religious function of a given *heiau*:

- What are the various functional class possibilities for any religious site?
- What physical traits do all examples of a given functional type display (i.e., what are the critical attributes for each functional type)?
- What are the physical critical attributes unique to each functional class?
- Does the site in question display unique physical critical attributes of a given functional type?

Even identifying all possible functional classes is problematic; early ethnohistorians and archeologists, on which we rely today, use *heiau* terms that may relate to function or other possible *heiau* attributes. Some *heiau* terms that are often thought to be functional types could as well denote architectural forms (Valeri 1985:177). Alternatively, labels may relate to a Hawaiian classification system not well understood by us today and which may define *heiau* by the offerings made within them, the status of those who used them, or may be labels for *heiau* dedicated to sets of related deities.

One way archeologists have avoided but not resolved the problem of insecure and incomplete descriptions of all functional classes is to simply compare a *heiau* in question to well-described functional types. *Heiau luakini* could be considered such a thoroughly documented class. *Luakini* are often thought to be dedicated by a paramount chief to one or more war gods who are invoked to assist in war and the general prosperity of a nation and who receive human sacrifices.

If one were to address the smaller question of whether a site is a *luakini*, the next step would be to determine if all *luakini* display uniformity in one or more traits, or in other words, to identify critical attributes of this class.

Architectural expectations archeologists have used in evaluating whether a site is a *luakini* is that it have a "flat, unifying, rectilinear foundation . . . on which the features all sit" (Cordy and Dye n.d.:10). However, counter examples to such a stereotypical view exist. Maui ruling chief Kahekili offered human sacrifices to Kāne at *heiau* Malumaluakua in Wai`ehu (Walker 1931:142). This *heiau* was "a level spot without evidences of walls or platforms" situated in the middle of a *kukui* grove and marked by "a large rock in the center."

Another example not meeting archeological expectations for *luakini* is Helekū *heiau*. Chief Alapa`inui built this *luakini* in Hālawa Valley, Moloka`i. It comprises "a collection of small pavements, pens and terraces" situated on a slope forming a disunited set of structures at varied elevations (Stokes in Summers 1971:173, Figure 81). Moreover, Alapa`inui built another *heiau*, Kakau, in nearby Hālawa Iki that was also situated on a slope and disjointed in relation to the horizontal and vertical arrangement of its components (Stokes in Summers 1971:169, Fig. 80). Alapa`inui dedicated Kakau to the war god Kūkā`ilimoku which strongly suggests it too was a *luakini*. These non-stereotypical *luakini* are further representations of *heiau* diversity—perhaps a building style of Alapa`i's *kahuna kuhikuhipu`uone* (a priest who advised on building and locating *heiau*) or a style of the Hālawa area. These examples illustrate the lack of physical uniformity among recorded *luakini*.

Another critical attribute that has been suggested for *luakini* is that they be comparatively large, reflecting the sizable labor pools accessible to paramount chiefs who are said to have commissioned them. Yet this feature cannot be confirmed as a unique critical attribute of all *luakini*. The dimensions of many smaller *luakini* overlap with those of *heiau* dedicated to such activities as hula, fishing, *kapa* making, and medical healing. While the average size of all *luakini* would surely be larger than averages for other classes, the size of any single site cannot be securely used to assert that it is or is not a *luakini*. There is a lack of

Figure 5. Kukuiokāne heiau *at Kane`ohe, O`ahu.*

physical uniformity within even the well-documented *luakini* class.

Further confounding the issue of identifying unique attributes of a functional class of *heiau* is that Hawaiian oral traditions relate that many were committed to multiple functions which often cross what are stereotypically perceived as functional class boundaries.

In fact, the boundaries separating *heiau* functional classes are not distinct. This is not surprising when one considers that Hawaiians worshipped countless deities whose genealogies, histories, domains, and worshippers were interrelated. Indeed, why would we expect Hawaiians across time and space to compartmentalize their religious sites into neatly delineated and unique types based on physical traits that we might be able to perceive today without having been immersed in the culture that created them?

Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned from even an incomplete survey of the literature is that archeological evaluations of the religious functions of sites are laden with layers of uncertainty. The ability of archeologists to determine if a site is a *heiau* and if a site served a given specific function, depends on the degree of uniformity *heiau* exhibit as a comprehensive class and as subclasses based on function. This empirical uniformity simply does not exist. There truly are no physical features that all *heiau* share. The same can be said for functional subclasses of *heiau*. Stereotypical ethnographic analogies cannot be used to assess if a site is a *heiau*. Equally problematic is the parallel problem of using stereotypical ethnographic analogies to determine the specific religious functions of *heiau*. This is true even when applied to such well described classes as *luakini*.

If archeologists continue to use stereotypical ethnographic analogies of *heiau* in assessing site function and significance, an unknown proportion of sites used for religious purposes, and which Hawaiians consider culturally significant, will be lost. What will be saved is a more narrow array of religious sites that meet the stereotypical archeological expectations of *heiau*.

If archeologists remain unaware of the problems of stereotypical views of *heiau*, they could easily overestimate and misrepresent the validity and reliability of their site function and significance assessments. Or even more egregiously, they might assert that their stereotypical definitions of *heiau* based on physical traits should be afforded higher authority over culturally derived Hawaiian assessments.

This is precisely what happend with Kukuiokāne *heiau* (figure 5) which was destroyed in 1990 to build a portion of the H-3 highway which will provide a fourth traffic corridor connecting the windward and leeward sides of O`ahu. Despite the public outcry and protests from Hawaiian religious practitioners and cultural experts who evaluated the site to be Kukuiokāne *heiau*, the Hawai`i State Historic Preservation Division followed the assessment of Bishop Museum archeologists that the site was an agricultural terrace and allowed bulldozers to level the top of it, cover it with dirt, and pave it over for the H-3 highway. In retrospect, the lead archeologist that investigated the site is "convinced" that he made a mistake and that the site was part of Kukuiokāne *heiau* (Williams 1991:7).

The limitations and insecurities involved in archeological assessments of the religious functions of sites need to be recognized during the historic preservation process and acknowledged to such audiences as Native Hawaiians over whose cultural patrimony archeologists are often given control.

Note

* *Heiau* are a type of sacred place in Hawaiian culture which were built as places of worship, offering, and sacrifice. While *heiau* are considered to be the most enduring and significant architectural forms from Hawaiian culture previous to western contact, no two were exactly alike in form or layout. The spiritual use of any *heiau* also widely varied, and *heiau* existed for the purposes of healing, war and human sacrifice, husbandry, fishing, agriculture, and to promote rainfall, to name but a few. In this article, C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad suggests that, despite attempts by western scholars to define and apply a typology to *heiau*, their full significance and complete range of material character have not been adequately understood.

This article well illustrates the increasing interest of cultural resource managers in issues of sometimes competing cultural interests. For more in-depth background on cultural and sacred sites, the reader is referred to *CRM* Special Issue Volume 16, 1993, "Traditional Cultural Properties," edited by Patricia Parker, as well as National Register Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*. The National Park Service has been at the forefront in recognizing the sensitivity of sacred and cultural sites for native peoples and it is hoped that the dialogue will continue long into the future.

References

Cordy, Ross and Thomas Dye. "Re-evaluation of the Functional Interpretations and Significance Evaluations of Sites B1-75 & B1-85 H-3 Project

—continued on page 16

Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau: Place of Refuge of Hōnaunau

Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park is not only a reminder of how life was lived by Hawaiians prior to western contact in the late 1700s, it is a reminder of the seemingly sudden changes that came about in the society after that contact. Traditionally, *kūlanakauhale pu`uhonua*, or cities of refuge, were places of sanctuary and renewal for Hawaiians who had broken the *kapu*, or sacred laws, a violation punishable by death; safe places for noncombatants during times of battle; and refuge for defeated warriors. *Pu`uhonua* provided protection, forgiveness, and absolution to those able to reach its walls.

In 1961, Congress created a national historical park at Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau, the last remaining historical site of its kind, and it received National Historic Landmark status in 1966. Since then, the NPS has worked to restore the 180-acre site to its appearance in the late 1700s, before Kamehameha II abolished the Hawaiian system of *kapu* in 1818, influenced perhaps by newly-arrived western and Christian people and ideas. The interpretation of the park allows visitors to step into the past and experience first hand what Hōnaunau and the Hawaiian community might have been like in that bygone era.

Reconstruction of a hale pili *used for storage on the royal palace grounds at Hōnaunau. Photo by Bill Chapman.*

There are three *heiau* that lie within the great stone wall that surrounds the refuge at Hōnaunau, giving the area sanctity. (The stone wall has been repaired but is for the most part the original wall built in the 1500s.) Hale o Keawe *heiau*, originally a temple mausoleum where the bones of at least 23 chiefs had been placed prior to 1818, has been reconstructed. `A-le`ale`a *heiau*, built before 1550, is a temple platform that at one time may have had several grass houses on it, and it is thought to have replaced the old heiau of which rubble still marks the site. Among the *heiau* sites are stone artifacts that are associated with legends of the *ali`i*, the Hawaiian chiefs,

He-lei-pālala royal fishpond at Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau. Photo courtesy National Park Service.

and a specially made stone for the game *kōnane*, which visitors can teach themselves, using rules for the game from the visitor center. Petroglyph carvings, ancient tidepools, and native plants also help convey the atmosphere of the area's history.

Adjacent to the refuge at Hōnaunau lie the royal palace grounds and He-lei-pālala, fishpond of the ruling chief. Reconstructions of Hawaiian houses used by the chiefs and commoners have been erected using *`ohi`a* wood framework and *ti* leaves and *pili* grass for thatching, setting standards for other *hale pili* reconstructions at interpretive sites throughout the state. Part of the experience of the place of refuge is to encounter Hawaiians from the local community who continue to practice their skills at weaving, carving, net fishing, and gathering shellfish along the shoreline here. The experience is a self-guided one, allowing the visitor to be absorbed into the atmosphere and spirit that pervades the park site.

The park remains a refuge in many ways. Secluded and quiet, away from the busy roadways and modernized world of the Big Island, Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau is a sanctuary from the outside world and the often commericalized tourist sites in the area. It also retains its sense of sacredness and the special history associated with *pu`uhonua* among visitors and locals.

—Text from NPS park brochure.

Papamu, *an original stone used in the ancient Hawaiian game of* kōnane. *Photo by Bill Chapman.*

—continued from page 14

Halawa Ahupua`a, `Ewa, O`ahu." TMs. on file, State Historic Preservation Division, Department of Land and Natural Resources. Honolulu, n.d (1992).

Kamakau, Samuel M. *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Poe Kahiko.* Translated by Mary K. Pūku`i and edited by Dorothy Barrére. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1976.

Malo, David. *Hawaiian Antiquities.* Translated and edited by Nathaniel B. Emerson. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951.

McAllister, Gilbert J. "Archaeology of Oahu." *Bishop Museum Bulletin* 104. Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1933.

Sterling, Elspeth P. and Catharine Summers. *Sites of Oahu.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978.

Stokes, John F. G. "*Heiau* of the Island of Hawai`i: A Historic Survey of Native Hawaiian Temple Sites." *Bishop Museum Bulletin* in *Anthropology* 2, edited by Tom Dye. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991.

Summers, Catherine C. "Molokai: A Site Survey." *Pacific Anthropological Records* 14. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Department of Anthropology, 1971.

Thrum, Thomas. "*Heiaus* and *Heiau* Sites Throughout the Hawaiian Islands." *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual* (1907):36-48.

Valeri, Valerio. *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii.* Translated by Paula Wissing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Walker, Winslow M. "Archaeology of Maui." TMs. on file, Bishop Museum Archives. Honolulu, 1931.

Williams, Scott "The Sound of One Head Banging: Kukuiokāne *Heiau* One Year Later." Paper Presented at the Fourth Annual Society For Hawaiian Archaeology Conference, Honolulu, 25 May, 1991.

C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad is a doctoral candidate in archeology at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa.
Photos by Anne Landgraf.

Fundamentals of Historic Preservation Training Course

University of Guam
January 13–24, 1997

The University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program—Micronesian Training Initiative and the National Park Service (NPS) Pacific Great Basin Office—Cultural Resources Training Initiative, along with the University of Guam and Guam Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, are coordinating a two-week training course directed at the SHPO staffs and preservationists in the Western Pacific region, including Guam, Palau, the Marshall Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and the Federated States of Micronesia. Funding is being provided by a grant from the National Park Service.

Using the University of Guam as the venue, the course will offer information on the basic issues of historic preservation—the "hows" and "whys" of the field. It will include basic terms and definitions used in the field; an overview of the world history of preservation; an introduction to conservation theory; an outline of both North American and European preservation efforts, as well as more recent efforts in other parts of the world; an introduction to the principal organizations world-wide; preliminary information on preservation treatments of wood, masonry, and metals, as well as paint analysis and more recent materials; fundamental information on documentation; preservation law; archeological resources and their protection; and discussion of traditional culture and cultural preservation issues as they apply to the Pacific region in particular. The course is intended to introduce attendees to the field in the broadest sense so that they may put their own efforts into perspective.

Lectures will be taught primarily by Drs. William Chapman and William Murtagh and a variety of other lecturers and discussion leaders familiar with issues of preservation in the Pacific. Speakers will address topics including, the people and cultures of Micronesia; European and Asian colonization of the region; World War II in the Pacific, and material culture of World War II.

Jennifer Malin and Lowell Angell of the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program are Coordinators of the course. The training program is aimed at a wide audience, including Historic Preservation Office staffs, government officials, planning department personnel, representatives of citizen-based historic preservation organizations, and private sector architects, archeologists, landscape architects, historians, preservationists, as well as school, college, and university teachers who would benefit from the training. For additional information about the Fundamentals of Historic Preservation Training Course, please contact:

Historic Preservation Program
Department of American Studies
University of Hawai`i at Mānoa
1890 East-West Rd., Moore 308
Honolulu, HI 96822
phone 808-956-9546; fax 808-956-4733
or email <malin@hawaii.edu>.

Davianna Pomaika`i McGregor

Hawaiian Cultural and Natural Resource Management

`E malama pono i ka `aina;
nana mai ke ola.
Take good care of the land;
it grants you life."

—Aunty Edith Kanakaole, scholar and kumu hula

Important to the perpetuation of traditional Hawaiian methods of cultural and natural resource management are the isolated and largely undeveloped rural communities, many of which have historically been bypassed by the mainstream of social and economic development. Throughout the islands of Hawai`i, these rural subsistence communities have continued, from generation to generation, to practice cultivation, gathering, fishing, and hunting for survival in accordance with the *`ohana* (extended family) values and responsibilities taught to them by their ancestors. It is in these areas that the natural resources, which have sustained this traditional lifestyle, have in turn been maintained through the cultural practices or ideas of *aloha `aina/kai* (cherish the land and ocean) and *malama `aina/kai* (care for the land and ocean).

Ke`anae peninsula on Maui, where traditional Hawaiian subsistence practices are used as a form of natural resource management. Photo by Group 70, Inc.

In studies conducted to document the traditional beliefs, customs and practices in the remaining handful of rural Hawaiian communities (in particular the islands of Moloka`i and Kaho`olawe, Ke`anae and Wailuanui on Maui, Waiahole and Waikane, and Hakipu`u on O`ahu, and the Puna district of Hawai`i), it is evident that traditional resource management methods play an essential role to the perpetuation of native culture.

Overview

The quality and abundance of the natural resources in and surrounding rural Hawaiian communities can be attributed to the persistence of *`ohana* (extended family) values and practices in the conduct of subsistence activities. An inherent aspect of these *`ohana* values is the practice of conservation to ensure availability of natural resources for present and future generations. These rules of behavior are tied to cultural beliefs and values regarding respect of the *`aina* (the land), the virtue of sharing and not taking too much, and a holistic perspective of organisms and ecosystems that emphasizes balance and coexistence. The Hawaiian outlook which shapes these customs and practices is *lokahi* or maintaining spiritual, cultural, and natural balance with the elemental life forces of nature.

In communities where traditional Hawaiian customs and practices have continued to be practiced, the *`ohana* respect and care for the surrounding natural resources. They only use and

take what is needed. They allow the natural resources to reproduce. They share what is gathered with family and neighbors. Through understanding the life cycle of the various natural resources, how changes in the moon phase and the wet and dry seasons affect the abundance and distribution of the resources, the subsistence practitioners are able to plan and adjust their activities and keep the resources healthy. Such knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation through working side-by-side with their *kupuna* or elders.

This ancestral knowledge about the land and its resource is reinforced through continued subsistence practices. While traveling to the various *'ili* of the traditional cultural practices region through dirt roads and trails, and along spring-fed streams, and the shoreline, practitioners continuously renew their cultural knowledge and understanding of the landscape, the place names, names of the winds and the rains, traditional legends, *wahi pana*, historical cultural sites, and the location of various native plants and animals. The practitioners stay alert to the condition of the landscape and the resources and their changes due to seasonal and life cycle transformations. This orientation is critical to the preservation of the natural and cultural landscape. The land is not a commodity to them. It is the foundation of their cultural and spiritual identity as Hawaiians. They proudly trace their lineage to the lands in the region as being originally settled by their ancestors. The land is a part of their *'ohana* and they care for it as they do the other living members of their families.

Taro lo'i, where fresh water running from the mountains provides continual irrigation through the crops. Photo by Group 70, Inc.

Principles of Hawaiian Cultural Resource Management

There are certain basic principles which are useful in guiding the management of Hawaiian cultural resources.

First, the *ahupua'a* is the basic unit of Hawaiian cultural resource management. An *ahupua'a* runs from the sea to the mountains and contains a sea fishery and beach, a stretch of *kula* or open cultivable land and higher up, the forest. The court of the Hawaiian Kingdom described the *ahupua'a* principle of land-use in the case *In Re Boundaries of Pulehunui*, 4 Haw. 239, 241 (1879) as follows:

> A principle very largely obtaining in these divisions of territory [ahupua'a] was that a land should run from the sea to the mountains, thus affording to the chief and his people a fishery residence at the warm seaside, together with products of the high lands, such as fuel, canoe timber, mountain birds, and the right of way to the same, and all the varied products of the intermediate as might be suitable to the soil and climate of the different altitudes from sea soil to mountainside or top.

Second, the natural elements—land, air, water, ocean—are interconnected and interdependent. The atmosphere affects the lands which, in turn, affects running streams, the water table, and the beaches and ocean. Cultural land-use management must take all aspects of the natural environment into account.

Third, of all the natural elements, fresh water is the most important for life and needs to be considered in every aspect of land-use and planning.

Fourth, Hawaiians' ancestors studied the land and the natural elements and became very familiar with its features and assets. Ancestral knowledge of the land was recorded and passed down through place names, chants which name the winds, rains, and features of a particular district, and legends. Hawaiians applied their expert

knowledge of the natural environment in constructing their homes, temples, cultivation and irrigation networks. Therefore, it is important to consult Hawaiian place names, chants, legends to learn of the cultural and natural resources of a particular district. Insights into the natural and cultural resources of a particular area can also be gained by studying the location and construction of traditional Hawaiian sites.

Sources of Information About Cultural Resources

For cultural resource management it is important to reconstruct the cultural history of a particular area in order to plan the management of its cultural and natural resources.

In the early-19th century, the four Lahainaluna Hawaiian scholars—David Malo, Samuel Kamakau, Kepelino, and John Papa I`i—each documented through oral histories, many facts of Hawaiian custom, belief, and practice. Explorers, artists, and missionaries added to the ethnography of Hawai`i in their journals, diaries, writings, and works of art. Government records and documents are in the Hawai`i State Archives. Of special importance are the Land Commission testimonies and records.

In the 20th century, Kahaulelio documented fishing traditions, custom, and practice. Mary Kawena Pukui collaborated with E.S. Craighill and Elizabeth Green Handy to document the customs and practices of Hawaiians in planting taro, sweet potato, banana, and other food crops. Cultural anthropologists and ethnographers Abraham Fornander, Peter Buck, Nathaniel Emerson, Kenneth Emory, Theodore Kelsey, Marion Kelly, and Dorothy Barrere have each written volumes of information documenting customs and practices unique to particular districts as well as those generally practiced throughout the islands. The *Hawai`i Ethnographic Notes* collection of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and its audio recording collection of chants and oral history interviews has a wealth of information concerning Hawaiian custom, belief, and practice.

Traditionally, cultural knowledge was remembered and passed down through oral tradition in chants, legends, myths, genealogies, and place names. There is still a wealth of knowledge which is kept alive and practiced by living generations of Hawaiian families, and those who received traditional training such as *kumu hula* and *kahuna la`au lapa`au*. Moreover, the living culture is constantly undergoing growth and change. Therefore, any effort to understand and document the natural and cultural resources of an area must include consultation with the Hawaiian *`ohana*, *kumu*, and cultural groups who live in the area, have use rights and take responsibility for the cultural and natural resources of the area.

Boundaries

There are two areas which comprise a cultural landscape—the core area and the broader traditional cultural practices area. The core area includes land-used for residence and cultivation. These include areas of taro cultivation, irrigation networks, and associated settlement and circulation systems.

The broader traditional cultural practices area usually coincides with the traditional *ahupua`a* and *moku*. It includes all of the zones needed to gather, hunt, and fish for subsistence, cultural, and religious purposes. In many cases, the areas used by *`ohana* for gathering, hunting, and fishing may have extended beyond the *ahupua`a* into other areas of the *moku* or district or another part of the island. One must rely upon the *`ohana* of the area who are subsistence practitioners to describe the boundaries of the traditional cultural practices area.

Landscape Components

A cultural landscape is composed of physical elements which manifest the technological and cultural basis of human use of the land through time.

The components of a Hawaiian cultural landscape include: areas of taro cultivation; other areas of cultivation; circulation networks; buildings, structures, non-structural facilities, and objects;clusters; internal boundaries; an irrigation ditch system, including roads and tunnels; archeological and historic sites; open areas; small-scale elements; viewing points; and cultural resources and use areas.

Of these components, I will expand on the cultural resources and use areas.

- ***Wahi Pana***. These are sacred sites such as *heiau*, shrines, burial caves and graves and geographic features associated with deities and significant natural, cultural, spiritual or historical phenomenon or events. Edward Kanahele offered the following description of *wahi pana* in the introduction to *Ancient Sites of O`ahu* by Van James (1991):

  The gods and their disciples specified places that were sacred. The inventory of sacred places in Hawai`i includes the dwelling places of the gods, the dwelling places of venerable disciples, temples, and shrines, as well as selected observation points, cliffs, mounds, mountains, weather phenomena, forests, and volcanoes.

- **Streams and Springs**. These waters are important as habitats for native species of

Taro lo`i. Photo by Group 70, Inc.

marine life, for taro cultivation, and for domestic uses.

- **Shorelines, Reefs, Nearshore and Offshore Ocean.** These areas are important for gathering of foods, medicine and for conducting cultural and spiritual customs.
- **Forests.** Forests are important for hunting pigs and other animals; for gathering plants used for medicine, foods, ceremonial adornment, ritual offerings; and for the conduct of spiritual customs.
- **Domains of *`Aumakua* or Ancestral Deities.** Particular natural and cultural areas are important as traditional domains of *`aumakua* or ancestral spirits and deities, where Hawaiians renew their ties to ancestors through experiencing natural phenomena and witnessing *ho`ailona* or natural signs.
- **Trails and Dirt Roads.** Trails and dirt roads are indispensable to afford access to the cultural resources and use areas, both *mauka* to forests and streams and *makai* to streams and the ocean.

Summary

All of the people living in Hawai`i today enjoy the rich cultural and natural resources which make Hawai`i a special place to live because of the persistence of Hawaiian *`ohana* values and practices. As we enter the 21st century it will become increasingly important for everyone to begin to adopt the Hawaiian way of loving and caring for the land. It is the responsibility of everyone who enjoys living in Hawai`i to protect the precious resources of the islands.

References

Traditional Hawaiian Cultural, Spiritual, and Subsistence Beliefs, Customs, and Practices And Waiahole, Waikane, Hakipu`u, and Kahana, Davianna McGregor for Native Hawaiian Advisory Council, September 15, 1995.

"Kaho`olawe Use Plan," PBR-Hawai`i, for Kaho`olawe Island Reserve Commission, 1995.

Kalo Kanu O Ka `Aina: A Cultural Landscape Study of Ke`anae and Wailuanui, Island of Maui, Group 70, Inc., Davianna McGregor, Cultural Surveys Hawai`i, Inc., for the County of Maui Planning Department and the Maui County Cultural Resources Commission, May 1995.

Native Hawaiian Ethnographic Study for the Hawai`i Geothermal Project Environmental Impact Study, Jon K. Matsuoka, Davianna McGregor, Luciano Minerbi for the Oakridge National Laboratories Environmental Impact Study for the U.S. Department of Energy, 1993.

*Governor's Moloka`i Subsistence Task Force Report,* Jon K. Matsuoka, Davianna McGregor, Luciano Minerbi, Moloka`i Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism, 1993.

Native Hawaiian and Local Cultural Assessment Project, Luciano Minerbi, Davianna McGregor, Jon K. Matsuoka, State of Hawai`i Department of Health Hawai`i Environmental Risk Ranking Project, 1991–1993.

Davianna Pomaika`i McGregor is an Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. She is active in the Hawaiian community in organizations such as the Pele Defense Fund and Protect Kaho`olawe Ohana.

Rowland B. Reeve

To Preserve an Island

Kaho`olawe is the smallest of the eight major islands in the Hawaiian chain. For most of the last 50 years, the island has been used as a military bombing target. In 1980, following an extensive archeological survey, the entire island of Kaho`olawe was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. In 1994, control of the island was transferred from the United States Navy to the state of Hawai`i which will hold it in trust until the formation and recognition of a sovereign Hawaiian nation.

After nearly 50 years of isolation and abuse, the island of Kaho`olawe has once again been returned to the people of Hawai`i.

When we speak of protecting and managing cultural properties, we are normally thinking of the preservation of a single structure or a group of related structures, such as a historic building or an archeological site. Occasionally, we have in mind a small village or a sacred area covering a number of acres. Seldom, if ever, do we contemplate the management of a cultural property the size of an island. Yet, that is just the task presently confronting the Kaho`olawe Island Reserve Commission.

Established in 1993, just prior to the transfer of the island of Kaho`olawe from the United States Navy to the State of Hawai`i, the Kaho`olawe Island Reserve Commission has as its mission the protection, restoration, and preservation of the entire island, its cultural sites and natural environment. When the state took over management of Kaho`olawe, it declared the island a natural and cultural reserve "to be used solely and exclusively for the preservation and practice of all rights customarily and traditionally exercised by Native Hawaiians for cultural, spiritual, and subsistence purposes; preservation and protection of its archeological, historical, and environmental resources; rehabilitation, revegetation, habitat restoration, and preservation; and education." All commercial activity has been banned from the island. It is envisioned that the island may someday become "a learning center where traditional Hawaiian cultural customs, beliefs, and practices can be freely practiced and can flourish for future generations." The Commission, consisting of seven members: two from the Protect Kaho`olawe `Ohana (the grass-roots organization which for 20 years has worked to stop military use of the island and return it to the people of Hawai`i), one from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, one from the Hawaiian community, one from the City and County of Maui, and one from the State Department of Land and Natural Resources, was set up to carry out this mandate and to plan for the island's future. Its job will not be an easy one, for the events of Kaho`olawe's varied, and at times violent, past have severely scarred the island.

Originally home to a small but thriving Hawaiian community, Kaho`olawe has, since western contact, been used as a penal colony, a ranch, and a military bombing target. Each of these activities has left its mark on the island's landscape. Of

Evidence of the military's tenure on Kaho`olawe still litter the landscape.

A small shrine stands near the adze quarry of Pu`umoiwi, the second largest such quarry in the Hawaiian Islands.

immediate concern to the Reserve Commission is the legacy left by almost 50 years of military use. From December 8, 1941, when the island was taken over under martial law, until October 22, 1990, Kaho`olawe served as a target range and training area for the U.S. Navy. Kaho`olawe was bombed from the sea, land, and air. Records show that almost every piece of ordnance developed during that period, with the exception of nuclear and chemical weapons, was tested on the island. A goodly portion of what was dropped on Kaho`olawe failed to explode, and remained, undetonated, on or just below the ground surface. Despite past efforts to clear some of this debris, many parts of the island remain littered with shrapnel and unexploded shells.

As part of its agreement to transfer control of the island to the state, the Navy agreed to undertake a major cleanup effort. That effort has now begun. Over the next eight years a private contractor employed by the Navy will remove all of the surface ordnance and debris from the island, and clear subsurface ordnance from specific areas designated by the Reserve Commission. Numerous archeologists and cultural specialists will be involved in the clean-up effort to help insure that none of the island's traditional sites are damaged during the clean-up. This is a daunting task, as evidence of Kaho`olawe's early inhabitants can be found almost everywhere on the island. Following the clean-up, the Reserve Commission will have the responsibility of caring for these cultural sites, protecting them from the destructive elements of man and nature.

The management of Kaho`olawe not only entails the preservation of its cultural sites, but also the restoration of its natural environment. The island lies in the lee of the great volcanic dome of Haleakalā on neighboring Maui, whose massive shoulders block the northeasterly trades, cutting Kaho`olawe off from the life-giving rains that green the windward slopes of the other Hawaiian islands. As a result, Kaho`olawe has always been a relatively dry island. Most of the rainfall that reaches it comes in the form of heavy *kona* (southern) storms, which occur during the winter months, or from the occasional light evening mists that drift over from Haleakalā to settle on the island's upper slopes. In earlier times, these upper slopes were covered in dryland forest: an open, savanna-like environment of scattered trees and shrubs underlain by a thick carpet of *pili* grass. The island's lower slopes were primarily grass and shrublands. Rainfall in the upland interior was just sufficient to support fields of dryland crops such as sweet potato, yam, and sugar cane, with which Kaho`olawe's early inhabitants supplemented their diet of seafoods gathered from the rich waters surrounding the island.

Introduced goats have caused major damage to the island's fragile native ecosystem.

A contemporary lele *(offering platform) stands on the heights above Hakioawa valley. Kaho`olawe may become a model for both the preservation of historic sites and their continued cultural use.*

Not long after western contact, possibly as early as the 1790s, goats were introduced onto Kaho`olawe. By 1850, visitors to the island were remarking on the large herds that roamed wild over the landscape, inflicting major damage to the native ecosystem. By 1879, the goats had stripped the vegetation from the upper slopes, opening the land to the erosional forces of wind and water. As one visitor noted, "the upper plains [are] entirely denuded of top soil... the whole interior plain has been so swept by wind and floods, that nothing but a very hard red grit is left." Though some efforts were made in the 1920s and 1930s to control the goat population, they were never fully eradicated. For much of the Navy's tenure on the island, the goats were allowed to roam free and virtually unmolested. They multiplied rapidly, causing further damage. The bombing of the island only served to increase the erosion begun by the goats. Huge gullies cut into the flanks of the island, and the sea around it ran red with soil runoff. It took a law suit brought by the Protect Kaho`olawe `Ohana to force the Navy to address the problems of environmental degradation. Eventually, in 1992, the last of the goats were eradicated. The Reserve Commission, in cooperation with the `Ohana, has already begun revegetation efforts. These attempts at environmental restoration are designed to help stop the ongoing erosion and repair the centuries of damage done to the island's fragile ecosystem.

Erosion has also had a damaging effect on a number of cultural sites. Six to twelve feet of rich topsoil has been stripped from the uplands, leaving only a barren, red "hardpan." Buried within this soil were the remnants of temporary campsites occupied by the islands early inhabitant while they were tending their upland fields. The remains of these campsites—fire-cracked rock, flaked stones, and sea shells brought up from the coast as food—now lie scattered across the hardpan. These sites have been literally excavated by the elements. How to protect these sites during the process of environmental restoration is a problem now being studied by the Reserve Commission.

Along the coast, where erosion has been relatively minimal, the cultural sites are much better preserved. Though the bombing has damaged a number of sites, the military's occupation of the island has, ironically, helped to preserve much of what might otherwise have been lost. By isolating Kaho`olawe, the Navy unwittingly saved the island from the triple threats of agricultural, residential, and resort development, which have had such a devastating effect on the cultural heritage of the other Hawaiian Islands. Kaho`olawe remains one of the few places where one can still encounter a traditional Hawaiian landscape. In the valley of Hakioawa, for instance, one can see the remnants of an entire village, its house sites, canoe sheds, and shrines. Since the late 1970s, the Protect Kaho`olawe `Ohana has conducted traditional Hawaiian religious ceremonies at Hakioawa, and some of these shrines have been rededicated. The Reserve Commission has the delicate task of balancing preservation with continued cultural use.

In planning for the future, the Kaho`olawe Island Reserve Commission has drawn from the past, modeling its management strategy on traditional Hawaiian land management practices. These practices, developed over centuries of interaction with the land, will help the Reserve Commission cope with the problems and challenges facing it in the years ahead.

---

*Rowland B. Reeve is a writer and photographer in Hawai`i and has recently published* Kaho`olawe: Na Leo o Kanaloa.

Photos by the author.

Heritage Preservation in the Pacific Island States

PREMO (Preservation by the Museums of the Pacific Island States) 1994–1998 is a program for heritage preservation in 22 Pacific Island states. In this unique project, the professional staff from museums and cultural centers have established new directions for heritage preservation. Since the founding meeting, professionals in the region have insisted that collections preservation must always be linked to the preservation of living cultures. Conservation must also be linked at all times to the development of the entire museum, where funds are almost always inadequate.

What does this mean in results?

The most moving example was the closing session of a week-long seminar held in Noumea, New Caledonia, 1994. Elders from the local Kanak community held an Aé Aé ceremony on the museum grounds. Some 200 spectators participated as chiefs called out their lineage and musicians played flutes that had not been heard in decades, followed by dance music on traditional instruments. It was the first time in living memory that such an event had been held in the capital.

A kava drinking ceremony on the occasion of the founding of PIMA (Pacific Island Museum Association) at the UNESCO Pacific Museum director's Meeting tour of the Fiji Museum.

There were also many other activities linked to museum and community development. To date, PREMO partners have:

- established the Pepperleaf Vine, a fax network between all museums and cultural centers in the 22 isolated nations in the region;
- published three issues of the first newsletter exclusively for and by regional heritage professionals;
- developed a database of 225 heritage professionals and institutions in the region, including a file of potential course instructors;
- with UNESCO, established a committee for a Pacific Islands Museum Association, which will be the first in the region;
- joined with UNESCO Pacific Regional Office to cooperate in museum development in the Pacific;
- included sessions on collections conservation, recording living cultures, tourism, preservation of traditional crafts and income from crafts, in a seminar on "Preservation of Heritage Records";
- with UNESCO, launched a children's poster competition (Our Culture, Our Heritage) in 15 nations;
- held an intensive one-week course for heritage professionals from the Pacific Islands, "Preserving the Pacific Traditions of Wood and Tapa" (organized by Cook Islands National Museum and ICCROM as an event for PREMO).

For more information, please contact: Neal Putt, PREMO/ICCROM, Via di San Michele, 1300153, Rome, ITALY, email <NP@iccrom.org>

—Neal Putt is the Coordinator for Preventative Conservation at ICCROM in Rome.

Preserving Pacific Heritage Sites

PREMO will be holding a seminar on Preserving Pacific Heritage Sites in Palikir, Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). The seminar, which is being funded by FSM, UNESCO Pacific Office, the University of Canberra, and the World Monuments Fund, will be a two-week long course aimed at enabling heritage professionals in the Pacific to take a leading role in heritage site preservation in their home states.

The course will begin with an excursion to Nan Madol, a highly significant site near the city of Palikir, dating to 1,000 A.D. There will then be an introduction to the process and guidelines of heritage site management, and a group exercise to Nan Madol as a case study. Participants will learn the principles of identifying heritage sites and conducting community consultation during the identification process. They will also learn how to establish significance and draft statements of significance. The course will include sections on legislation and administration to achieve World Heritage designation, and work to develop strategies for World Heritage designations. Participants will prepare site conservation plans, and work in groups to prepare management plans. Other course topics include site archeology, record systems, site collections and museums, conservation works and maintenance, and interpretation and visitor management.

Elizabeth Anderson

The Cultural Landscape at Ke`anae and Wailuanui

Taro plant. Photo by the author.

Ke`anae, the subject of an extensive cultural resource study sponsored by the Maui County Planning Department, is a noted landmark on the island of Maui. The rugged peninsula juts into the sea, jagged black rocks smashing the waves to white spray, while the rest of the coast is high verdant cliffs where the highway perches, curving in and out of steep gulches. But the interior of Ke`anae peninsula resembles a quilt in shades of green, created by small irrigated taro patches, along with clumps of bananas, *noni,* and *ti.* In fact, it is a man-made garden, since much of the soil was brought onto the rugged *a`a** lava by hand. Water is diverted from Palauhulu stream shortly before it reaches the ocean and is brought down to Ke`anae by means of a flume where it nourishes each of the taro ponds in turn, before it is released to the sea. A similar quilt or mosaic of taro fields is found in the neighboring valley of Wailuanui. These two areas contain some of the oldest land-use patterns in Hawai`i, which have persisted to the present day, surviving technological advances and changes in cultural and governmental systems.

The taro plant *(Colocasia esculenta)* is a social, nutritional, and spiritual foundation of the Hawaiian culture. Nowhere else in the world was a taro cultivation more developed than in Hawai`i. It was the staple for hundreds of thousands of Hawaiians before European contact. Planning, development, and maintenance of well-engineered irrigation for taro pond fields required a stable political system and community cooperation. All parts of the taro plant are used for food. Not only is *poi* made from the corms, but the stem is used in soups and stews, and the leaves are used for *laulau* and *lu`au* dishes mixed with fish, squid, or meat. Taro is also connected to the origin stories of the Hawaiians. The child Haloa, stillborn and buried, became a taro plant. His younger brother, also named Haloa, became the ancestor of the people. In the Hawaiian language, parts of the taro plant and its growth patterns bear the same names as the human body and the Hawaiian family. The plant has a *piko* (navel) and the stem is called the *ha,* which is also a word for breath, the basis of life. The main plant center is the *makua* (parent); the smaller plants budding out of the *makua* are the *ōha* (children or offspring).

Taro is the source of many Hawaiian proverbs such as: *I maika`i ke kalo ka `ohā*—"the goodness of the taro is judged by the young plant it produces,"—a metaphor for the parents being judged from the behavior of their children. The title of the study of the cultural landscape of Ke`anae and Wailuanui (produced for the county of Maui in 1995 by Group 70 International, Inc., Davianna McGregor, Ph.D., and Cultural Surveys Hawai`i, Inc.) is drawn from another Hawaiian saying: *Kalo kanu o ka āina,* "taro planted on the land" interpreted to mean "Natives from the land from generations back." (Pukui 1983)

The Maui County General Plan calls for preservation of the unique qualities of Maui's com-

Taro fields—Ke`anae. Photo by the author.

munities, but it does not define those unique qualities. The 1994 Hāna Community Plan more specifically calls for "preservation and enhancement of the current land-use patterns which establish and enrich the region's unique and diverse qualities." The taro landscape at Ke`anae and Wailuanui manifests a viable traditional economy which has maintained historic and cultural integrity, traditional lifestyle, and social continuity to an equal or greater extent than any of the other taro growing landscapes in Hawai`i. Physical isolation, economic constraints, the characteristics of the environment itself, and the traditional attitude of the community have all contributed to this integrity. Therefore, the Maui Planning Department decided to use a cultural landscape approach to define the patterns and practices that add up to a unique community. Ke`anae and Wailuanui were chosen for the study with the purpose of guiding land-use decisions which will affect traditional farming and cultural practices, as well as the physical appearance, of many of Maui's rural communities.

Irrigated taro fields. Photo by the author.

Using federal monies through the Certified Local Government Program, the recommendations of the Hawai`i State Task Force on Cultural Landscapes (1994), and National Register Bulletin 30 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*, county planning staff recruited a research team. The skills of archeologists, ethnographers, architects, and planners were used to conduct the study. (The CLG funding was supplemented by *pro bono* services from members of the consultant team who made a professional commitment to the quality of the project.) The researchers worked closely with members of the community; interviews, visits, and field trips were an integral part of the study.

The Ke`anae region has a long history of relative isolation from the rest of Maui. The local topography is rugged: deep valleys and high cliffs cut into the sides of the great shield volcano, Haleakalā; sea cliffs and boulder beaches stretch along the coast. Abundant rainfall creates perennial streams and encourages vigorous forest growth. Until the Hāna Belt Road was completed in 1926, the area was largely inaccessible except by foot, horseback, or boat. This physical isolation has insulated the community of Ke`anae and Wailuanui, allowing it to retain many characteristics of local indigenous culture which have been lost in more readily accessible areas of Hawai`i.

The cultural landscape of today developed in an historical context of changing land tenure systems, influences of Chinese and other immigrants to Maui, and advancing technology. Records of the Hawai`i Land Commission document land-use during the 1850s. Testimonies given by applicants for land awards reveal locations, boundaries, land usage, place names, and a family's investment of time and custom in an area. Some 490 taro patches of various sizes were claimed at Ke`anae and Wailuanui. Other crops listed on the claims include dryland taro and sweet potatoes, *olana* (renowned as the best material for cordage), and *hala* (Pandanus—used for weaving). Several claims include pools and fishponds.

The Ke`anae peninsula is a recent lava flow. The story goes that a chief of the Ke`anae region was involved in rivalry with neighboring Wailua. Determined to increase taro productivity, he set all his people to work carrying soil in baskets from the valley down to the lava point, which had been used only for fishing. The soil and the banks enclosing the patches were transported and packed into place in the course of many years. The legend implies that intensive planning and labor required to redesign a barren *a`a* peninsula into an irrigated, productive landscape. This is a well-engineered cultural adaptation of a specific environment. Taro farming today is a hand-reared crop, better defined as horticulture, in contrast to modern mechanized large field agriculture.

Vegetation in the region today is primarily of Polynesian or foreign introduction. Taro, coconut, and *ti* were all brought by the Polynesians as essential cultigens for settling new islands. Forests of eucalyptus and ironwood were planted by Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933. Ginger, African tulip trees, and other garden plants have become established in the forests along the highway and in the study area. Most endemic vegetation has retreated to the uplands.

Changing technology, economics, and lifestyles have affected systems of circulation and settlement. Convex earthen banks around the taro

pondfields serve as dividers between the fields and still provide trails for foot traffic within the community. Fences are scarce and people walk through each others' land and fields. Road circulation is limited to the periphery of Ke`anae and Wailuanui Homestead Road. Ninety percent of all residences and public buildings in the region are located along these roadways. Increased dependence on jobs "outside" is causing a change in settlement pattern with residences and stores locating up along the main road. The Ke`anae Landing (Hawai`i Inventory of Historic Places 1992) was the area's link to the sea and commercial transportation until the 1920s. The Pi`ilani Highway, an improved trail created by the pre-contact Hawaiians for overland travel, is still found in many areas along the coast, though erosion and aggressive vegetation have affected it.

Taro patches, Ke`anae peninsula c. 1934. Courtesy Bishop Museum.

Archeological sites are present and some have retained their structural integrity. The taro fields at Ke`anae were listed on the Hawai`i State Register of Historic Places as a result of this study. A comparison of the 1994 map of the fields with a map made in 1903 of Land Commission Awards shows that the layout of the fields and the configuration of water flow through them has not changed. Given the complex layout and the constraints of the topography, it is likely that the configuration of the Ke`anae taro field system has remained the same since its initial layout long before European contact. A thorough study of archeological sites in the area has a high potential to yield information on the origins, chronology, and development of Hawaiian taro cultivation and the development of the associated Hawaiian community (Hammatt, 1995).

The architecture of the community is consistent with a plantation vernacular residential style: hipped roofs made of corrugated metal, wide overhangs, porches, double-hung windows with broad trim, single wall construction, and uncomplicated interior plans, with a modest size of 500 to 1000 square feet. Two churches dating to the 1860s and the 1912 Ke`anae School have each been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Several bridges in the region have also been determined eligible for listing on the register, some for their design and construction, but generally for their role in overcoming the challenge of providing reliable surface transportation through the rugged Ko`olau district to connect central Maui with Hāna.

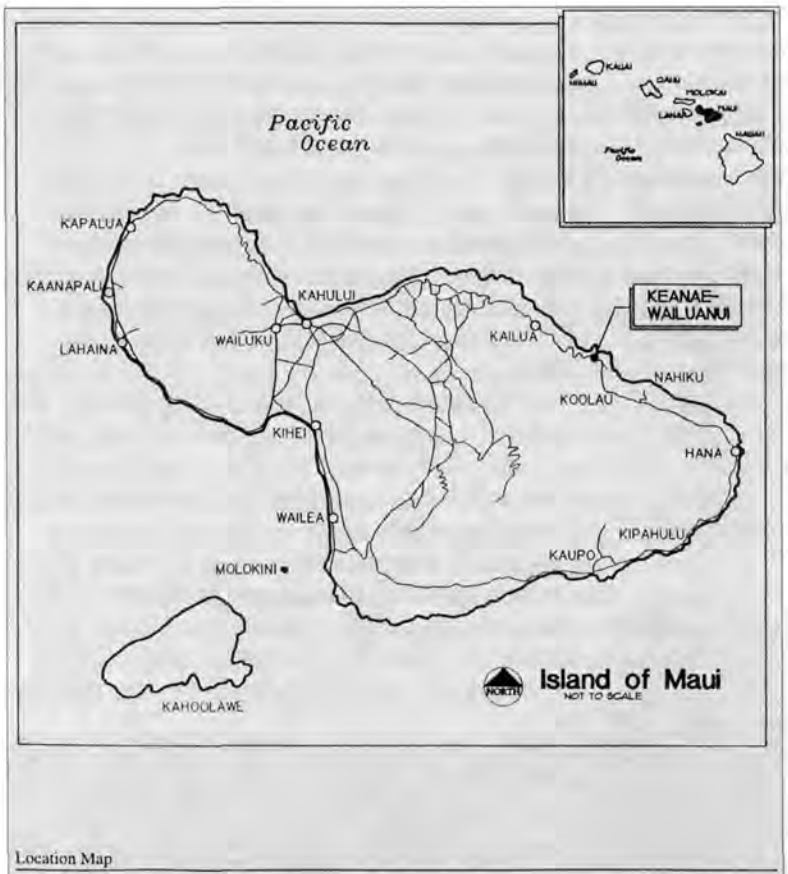
The landscape was also studied in terms of traditional cultural practices, such as fishing and gathering. This became an entire section of the study which documents the Hawaiian perspective on the use of land, reaching beyond subsistence practices to traditions and values. It is clear that the Ke`anae-Wailuanui cultural landscape, from the perspective of the people whose families have lived in the region for generations, is also a traditional cultural property (National Register Bulletin 38).

The Ko`olau Ditch, which taps the East Maui watershed for plantation crops and domestic water on the other side of Haleakalā, is also important in the traditional cultural practices region. It provides access to the mountain for hunting and collecting (while diminishing the surface flow) and the stream wildlife which have been used by the Hawaiian people since their settlement of the island of Maui.

The inventory of components includes types of structures, clusters, boundaries, open areas, and viewing points. Landscape use patterns are considered in terms of spatial organization and the natural determinants of settlement and construction. Taro cultivation has affected land tenure in this region, giving it a scale and variety that completely differs from the huge plantations and ranches which dominate most privately held land in Hawai`i.

The Ke`anae-Wailuanui cultural landscape was found to be significant under all four criteria of the National Register and an additional criteria used in the state of Hawai`i because it also represents an important resource in the perpetuation of traditional Hawaiian cultural practices. The area manifests integrity in terms of spatial organization, physical setting, and historic associations. Other cultural influences have been assimilated, and the region is a modern community in many ways. However, there remains an unbroken relationship to the foundations of Hawaiian culture through the traditional cultivation of taro, the major component of the landscape.

Planning issues are approached in terms of threats to the integrity of the region. The recom-



Location Map

KE'ANAE - WAILUANUI CULTURAL LANDSCAPE Figure 1

mendations are intended to enhance vitality as well as to maintain community character.

Hundreds of tourists daily travel the scenic Hāna Highway, burdening the narrow road and bridges as well as state parks along the road. Tourists need better guidelines to structures and areas which are accessible to them. Residents should have greater opportunities to profit directly from the tourists, with greater commercial opportunities than regulations for the agricultural district currently allow. Public facilities, particularly the Ke`anae Arboretum and scenic overlooks, must be improved to accommodate greater numbers of parked cars to give tourists the opportunity to observe the scenic and cultural area without interfering with the residents' use of their own community.

Invasive plants need controls, which government agencies manage. Also, the yellow apple snail has been a problem to taro farmers for more than six years, and control of the snails, which were imported as a food crop themselves, is essential for the health of taro crops.

Protective measures such as covenants and easements for exceptional open space resources and viewsheds should be implemented. State and county engineers will need to consider the character-defining elements of the historic bridges in making decisions to repair and improve the highway. Design should be approached in terms of a rural community; roads, bridges, and subdivisions should not be required to meet urban standards.

The county government has provided property tax relief to owners of lands in active taro production; however, assistance in maintaining the local irrigation system, further incentives to community development, and an awareness of the significance of the cultural landscape will help maintain the identity of the region.

Note

* *A`a* is a rough, jagged lava rock formation that contrasts with the smooth, unbroken *pahoehoe* type of lava formation.

References

Department of Land and Natural Resources

1994 *Cultural Landscapes Task Force Report to the Seventeenth Session of the Hawai`i State Legislature*, State of Hawai`i Honolulu, HI.

Hammatt, Hallett H.

1995 *Taro in Hawaiian Culture: Taro Cultivation*, in "Kalo Kanu O Ka `Aina: A Cultural Landscape Study of Ke`anae and Wailuanui, Island of Maui" Maui County Planning Department.

National Park Service

n.d. National Register Bulletin 30 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* by Linda F. McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller and Robert Z. Melnick. U.S. Department of the Interior.

n.d. National Register Bulletin 38 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* by Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King. U.S. Department of the Interior.

Pukui, Mary Kawena

1983 *Olelo No`eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*, Bishop Museum Special Publication No. 71. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Elizabeth Anderson works as a planner for the County of Maui Planning Department. She uses experience in anthropology and archeology to apply cultural resources management to community planning. She is a graduate student in the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program. The study of Ke`anae and Wailuanui was named the outstanding project of the year by the Hawai`i Chapter of the American Planning Association in 1995.

Maurice Major

Learning About The Past, Learning From The Past

Bishop Museum and Communities Working Together

Today in Hawai`i, the Bishop Museum and over a dozen firms do what might be termed CRM archeology, primarily for Section 106 reviews. While contract archeologists may be too loose-knit to be considered a unified "community," they communicate more with each other than they do with Native Hawaiians and other interested groups. Outreach by archeologists and interest by others has begun to change this situation.

Earlier in this century, two pioneers of archeological investigation in Hawai`i operated differently amid the island communities. Bishop Museum's Kenneth Emory and John Stokes both practiced generalist anthropology, collecting ethnographic information, recording oral history, and learning to speak Hawaiian—all in addition to recording archeological sites. Some of their practices, such as collecting burials and recording a limited range of information about sites, now appear inappropriate and obsolete, but Emory's and Stokes's careers still hold lessons for today's archeologists. Although they were scholars, these men did not separate themselves from the communities in which they worked and accepted information offered to them by nonprofessionals. Their friendly relations with contemporary Hawaiians helped advance both their immediate goals and the discipline of archeology in Hawai`i.

Today, CRM firms operate under competitive bidding conditions that leave little or no time for community interaction. Because of the pressure of deadlines and the absence of statewide policies or procedures for involving the community, communication between archeologists and the communities in which they work occurs sporadically at best. In the context of increasing interest in sovereignty among Native Hawaiians, which in part stems from, and reinforces interest in, the ancient culture, this situation can be and has been perceived as evidence of archeologists' disregard for Hawaiian understandings of and attitudes toward the past. Archeologists can ill-afford to let this remain the case in a place where descendants of our subjects still live on the land.

One area in which mechanisms do exist for communication between archeologists and Hawaiians is that of human burials. In 1990, the state legislature passed an act establishing for each island a Burial Council charged with recommending treatment of human remains. This empowered Native Hawaiians in an arena that had previously been the domain of state and CRM archeologists and opened official lines of communication among the parties. Archeologists often end up mediating the interests of community members and clients, a position that can lead to greater cooperation, but often involves discomfort. In some cases, archeologists have worked with cultural monitors suggested by Burial Councils, an arrangement that has fostered understanding between CRM professionals and Native Hawaiians.

But governmental mandates do not represent the only way in which archeology is becoming more enmeshed in the community. Bishop Museum archeologists recently have made advances in the areas of fieldwork partnerships

and public education. (See Toni Han's article that discusses exhibiting partnerships in this section.) On Maui, Bishop Museum archeologists worked closely with Lahaina Restoration Foundation, using community volunteers to help excavate. On Moloka`i, the Museum's last three projects have employed Hawaiian activists during fieldwork in an effort to establish constructive dialogue with a "tough audience" and expand the pool of archeologically-aware individuals on the island. Through these projects Hawaiians who may once have been adversaries of CRM professionals now act as partners, and networks are being established that connect archeologists and community members. As a result, sites may be better protected.

Through employment with CRM firms, internships sponsored by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, in association with the University of Hawai`i's Anthropology Department, as well as through community activism, an increasing number of Hawaiians are taking the initiative to become "archeologically involved." The Moloka`i Archaeology Series, monthly lectures and field trips led by archeologists who have worked on the island, has been organized by local residents interested in furthering public understanding of archeology. Each session draws 50 to 150 non-archeologists; guided tours include almost as many participants, exposing many local residents to both archeological theory and the field sites themselves. On the archeologists' end, the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology's initiation last year of an annual Archaeology Week, represents a new arena of outreach benefitting both archeologists and the communities they serve.

The area of publications, however, remains a weak link in communication between archeologists and others. CRM reports consist primarily of the technical volumes produced to satisfy contracts; they are usually distributed only to clients and State Historic Preservation Divisions. Academic journal articles may be more accessible physically, but do not speak to a lay audience. For many islands, the only widely available published materials are decades-old Bishop Museum monographs. Popular magazine articles rarely come from archeologists, instead being the domain of professional writers who sometimes grasp neither the subtleties of archeological interpretation or the real constraints of CRM fieldwork. Newspaper articles and television news address controversies, particularly between archeologists and Native Hawaiians, and balanced coverage of archeology in the news media is rare. In fact, the often sensationalist coverage has made many archeologists wary of communicating outside their discipline, exacerbating their problems with communities.

The practice of archeology outside of the non-archeological community cannot continue indefinitely, and archeologists need to demonstrate how their discipline contributes to the wider world. Changes in the legal environment have mandated dialogue between communities and CRM professionals. Projects that voluntarily involve Native Hawaiians in archeological work represent one avenue that is increasingly well-travelled, and growing public interest in the past provides the opportunity to expand and replicate such efforts. Public outreach programs such as Archaeology Week and the Moloka`i Archaeology Series show promise in educating those who may not wish to be directly involved in doing archeology, but who remain interested in the findings. With continued efforts, partnerships can be built so that the practice of archeology may more closely resemble the past, when archeologists belonged to the community and the community participated in archeology. Through encouraging open communication, archeologists may avoid repeating past mistakes that drove wedges between themselves and communities.

Suggested Reading

Emory, Kenneth Pike. *O`ahu Excavations*, Bishop Museum Press, 1961.

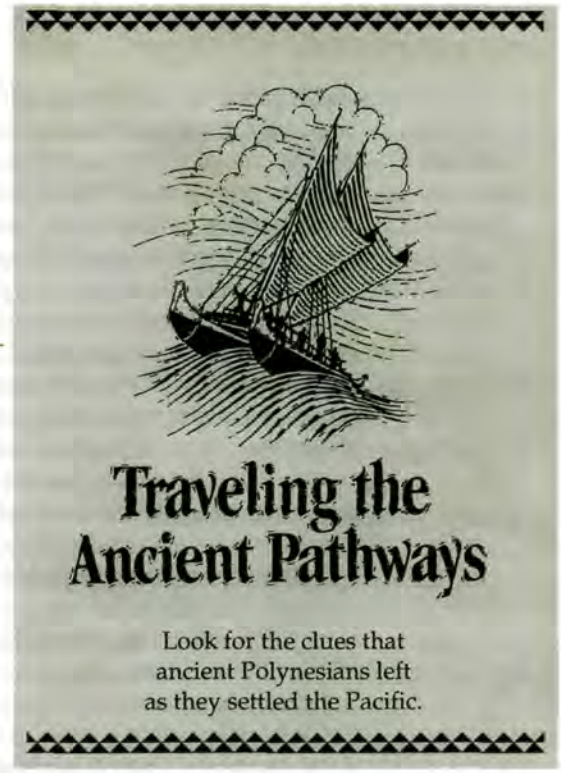
Stokes, John F.G. *Burial of King Keawe*. 1930.

Maurice Major is an assistant anthropologist at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai`i.

Photos of volunteers by P.C. Klieger, 1993.

Toni L. Han

Archeology and the Public at Bishop Museum



The role of the museum in cultural resource management is a continually challenging one. Museums need to address not only the conservation of cultural artifacts in order to preserve them for the future, but also must take responsibility for the interpretation and presentation of museum holdings for the general public. The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu is an important source of cultural information for Hawai`i and other Pacific islands and serves as an extremely significant conveyor of island heritage to citizens and visitors of the state.

Bishop Museum was established in 1889 to house the "treasures" of the Kamehameha dynasty. Its founder was Charles Reed Bishop, the husband of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, granddaughter to Kamehameha the Great, who unified the Hawaiian Islands. Since its beginning, it has become the foremost repository of natural, cultural, and archival resources of the Pacific region. The anthropology collection currently includes 73,450 Pacific and Hawaiian ethnological artifacts, as well as 1,105,000 archeological specimens, and it continues to grow.

Just as collections have expanded, the Bishop Museum audience has also increased. The audience now includes families and other community members who have a vested interest in the region and neighborhood in which they live. The Bishop Museum Association alone has over 10,000 members.

As it becomes increasingly difficult to fund research expeditions like those of the 1920s and 1930s, and with donations diminishing yearly, collections during the last 30 years have centered around a vigorous program in cultural resource management. Responding to the mandates of county, state, and federal laws and regulatory procedures, the museum began its CRM program in the late 1960s. Since then, Bishop Museum has conducted over 520 projects, extending throughout the main islands of Hawai`i, Samoa, and Micronesia. Non-CRM, but often federally-funded (NSF, DOD-Legacy) projects have been conducted in all of the major island groups in Oceania.

In the last decade, movies such as the *Indiana Jones* series, *Rapa Nui, Congo, Romancing the Stone,* and travel books have contributed to the romance of "ancient" and "exotic" cultures and places. The growth of the communication and electronic media format has enabled a wider range of accessibility to a larger group of people around the world. With this exposure, the public is no longer satisfied with passive learning through exhibitions. People now demand and expect a higher level of participation in the process of learning. They want to know more about cultural diversity and values; they want more than superficial displays of aesthetically pleasing examples of the culture. They want to be transported physically, intellectually, and spiritually into the past.

At Bishop Museum, this challenge has been approached by presenting archeological information using a multi-level approach. Designated cultural resource specialists work with archeologists, educators, and public outreach staff to develop and interpret archeological as well cultural information to make it available to the public. Working with other departments, the challenge is to demystify archeological findings that are often only published in scholarly journals. Working from an education perspective has forced the museum staff to better articulate the information and interpret results. Working with the public outreach and community development departments have provided other venues by which archeology can reach a wider community.

In the last two years, archeology staff have played a critical role in the presentation of two exhibitions, *Hawai`iloa, Ka `Imi `Ike—Seeker of Knowledge* and *Kaho`olawe, Ke Aloha Kupa`a i ka Aina—Steadfast Love for the Land.* Both of these exhibitions relied heavily on archeological data,

which added not only to the artifactual content but also to the contextual integrity of the subject matter. The *Hawai`iloa* exhibit dealt with traditional Hawaiian navigational methods, theories, and possible migration routes of the ancient Hawaiians. Modern Native Hawaiian navigators acknowledge that archeological research has provided much of the basis from which they have resurrected the ancient wayfinding techniques.

The *Hawai`iloa* exhibition was divided into two main components. One described and displayed the efforts of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and other native practitioners of all crafts that were needed to recreate and construct a traditional Hawaiian, double-hulled, long distance voyaging canoe. The other component dealt with the ancestral Hawaiians. Where did they come from? How did they get here? What did they bring, and why and how did they change? This is where archeology has played a pivotal role. Information had to be presented in a way that appealed both to those who knew about Polynesian pre-history and to those who knew little or nothing about the region in general. Not only did we strive to teach about the specific issues, museum archeologists also felt strongly that archeological methods, techniques, limitations, and interpretation needed to be presented. All of this had to make sense, be interactive, fun, and thought provoking, as well as instill a sense of Hawaiian values.

We managed to succeed by providing the following devices:

- a computer voyaging game, which simulates the sea-faring experience;
- a take-away worksheet, entitled, "Traveling the Ancient Pathways,"—a two-sided, 11" x 17" format which on one side had a stamping exercise designed to navigate the visitor between various island groups of Polynesia to teach them about significant cultural features of a specific island group (Fiji, Tonga, Marquesas, etc.) and on the reverse side, questions were posed so that groupings based on shared cultural traits could be circled and conclusions drawn about the pathways of Polynesian voyagers;
- a 30-page Teacher's Packet of the following activities—preparing for a trip, identification of plants and plant properties, navigation with a log sheet for an imaginary trip, role of crew members (navigator, sailmaster, etc.), an excavation done in the schools using classroom garbage, plotting a course on the ocean, learning about constellations, and constructing a paper star compass.

Other programming included lecture series by scholars and native craftspeople, hands-on demonstrations of crafts, and a sail on the canoe itself.

Our current exhibition about the island of Kaho`olawe is currently in its final planning and design phase. Similar programming like the *Hawai`iloa* is being planned for this exhibition. A teacher's packet, lectures, films, a computer exercise, and a possible island tour are being planned. The most significant aspect of this exhibition is the partnering of museum staff with several community groups, primarily a Native Hawaiian, politically active group, the Protect Kaho`olawe `Ohana. Until 1991, the island had been used by the United States Navy as a bombing target. For the last 20 years the Hawaiian community has worked hard to stop the bombing and to secure the island back for the people for cultural and educational use. Bishop Museum worked with members to determine culturally appropriate materials for the exhibition, and involved them with the design and gathering of new materials.

The exhibition focuses on the island, its past, present, and future. It attempts to represent the island as a living entity. The island's past is illustrated through early archeological investigations conducted in 1913 and 1931. Much of what is known about the island's past is drawn from these investigations. Virtually no other archeology was done during the period 1940 to 1990, although scattered monitoring has been conducted by Navy archeologists and others contracted by them. As mandated by the current agreement between the state, federal, and Native Hawaiian organizations, cultural and extensive archeological investigations are planned and will be conducted as part of the clean-up of ordnance and revitalization of the island. It is hoped that the exhibition will stimulate appreciation of Kaho`olawe's past and its potential for future use as a cultural center.

The future of archeology at Bishop Museum relies on the use of the data gathered for educational purposes to be used through exhibitions, publications, and outreach programs. It will require our staff to be creative, innovative, and sensitive in presenting our data while still maintaining objectivity and accuracy. The Bishop Museum's anthropology department has its foundation in the dirt, having conducted excavations and collections before the required regulatory laws were created. Now it is time to give back that information to a community that wants to be part of a meaningful dialogue between the past and the future.

Toni L. Han is a cultural resource specialist in the Department of Anthropology at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai`i.

M. Puakea Nogelmeier

`Ōlelo Hawai`i
Hawaiian Language as Cultural Resource

Historic preservation most often deals with tangible, physical aspects of culture, such as sites, architecture, and artifacts. In many cases it would be easier to recreate sites, duplicate architecture or recraft artifacts rather than go through the processes of restoring and preserving them. However, the value of preservation is in the maintenance of form as well as in the continuity of cultural and historical significance. The same value of historic preservation applies to a less tangible cultural aspect: language.

Preservation and perpetuation, in preference to linguistic reconstruction, has been a guiding principle in the efforts made in restoring the viability of Hawaiian as a living language in Hawai`i today. A major language in the constellation of Polynesian languages, Hawaiian was diminishing toward extinction in this century, but public interest coupled with personal and academic commitment have changed the status of the language in the course of the last two decades. Today Hawaiian is the language of scholarship, of instruction of media, and of daily communication in a growing population of Hawaiian language speakers. The process of revitalizing Hawaiian language to this point is really an account of a successful effort at historic preservation; a work in progress.

The decline of the Hawaiian-speaking population paralleled the disastrous decline of the Hawaiian population as a whole, and exceeded it by the end of the last century. By the 1880s, English was elevated as a language of business and government, a change in status that made it seem desirable or inevitable, even for many Hawaiians, for the education of their children to be carried out in English. The number of students in Hawaiian language schools began a precipitous fall, a direction which was encouraged and supported as Hawaiian language came to be viewed as a hindrance to progress and westernization. In 1896, three years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, English was formally established by policy as the only language of instruction in government schools, a policy which closed off most avenues for learning or using Hawaiian outside of the home.

Early calls to restore Hawaiian language to its former prominence, or at least to maintain its viability as a daily language, began in the latter decades of the last century, mostly by Hawaiians who regretted the rapid change in the language and its status from generation to generation. Letters occasionally appeared in the Hawaiian language newspapers criticizing the shallow grasp of the language by the younger generation, and this lament was echoed in letters well into this century. The tenor of the exhortations became more serious as the use of Hawaiian by young people became increasingly rare. Historic preservation, however, designated an organized effort at reclaiming an "artifact" and restoring its condition and its links to the context in which it existed in an earlier period, and while these early, individual appeals surely reflected a broader public sentiment, they did not result in an organized movement to change the status of the language.

Official response was scattered and addressed the diminishing of the Hawaiian-speaking population with varying levels of success. Hawaiian civic clubs honored the language, but a changing membership eroded the number and scope of such endeavors. The University established Hawaiian language class in 1921 but the interest generated there declined after World War II, and by 1961 attracted only 27 students for the academic year (Schutz, *Voices of Eden*, U.H. Press, 1994:360–361). On the advent of statehood in 1959, the University of Hawai`i Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art and Culture was created, but seriously underfunded and saddled with a very broad mission, the group has been limited to documenting Hawaiian more than perpetuating it.

In the 1970s, there began a renaissance of interest in the Hawaiian culture as whole which created new a groundswell of interest in Hawaiian language. Hawaiian classes at the University were growing again and the public high schools were starting to introduce the language as elective courses. Hawaiian clubs, such as *Hui Aloha `Āina Tuahine* were formed at the University and in high schools. The *Kūpuna* Program was initiated, introducing all public school students to Hawaiian language and culture by bringing Hawaiian elders into the classroom on a regular basis. The *`Ahahui `Ōlelo Hawai`i*, a Hawaiian language association created in 1977, was formed to support teachers of the language and to create links among the students and the native-speaking community. The growing number of students and teachers of the language and their interaction with the native-speaking community crystallized awareness and concern about the small and ever-diminishing number of native speakers, most of whom were

elderly and scattered throughout the island chain or members of the small Ni`ihau community, people who were raised speaking Hawaiian as their first language.

Native speakers of Hawaiian increasingly came to be acknowledged as unique resources for the link that they represented to the indigenous language of the islands. Individually and collectively, native speakers were approached by teachers, students, and agencies asking for their help in teaching the students and their teachers, to provide insight into the language from the native speaker's point of view rather than rely on the expanding body of linguistic analysis and research. This nebulous, but growing, group of learners and native speakers were the first strong links in a chain of organized efforts to address Hawaiian language as a shared project of preservation.

The *mānaleo*, a term coined to express the concept of the native speaker, responded to the new surge of interest and many joined, in one way or another, the effort to keep the language alive. They took on projects, set up schools, acted as resources for Hawaiian language teachers, visited or taught classes and workshops, helped in coining terms to update the language, allowed themselves to be extensively recorded on tape and film, and generally became working partners in the move to keep Hawaiian viable for another generation, at least. This alliance of the academic community has been a major force in shaping the regrowth of the Hawaiian language and has had an impact on the form and context in which the language may be observed today.

Other elements of the increasingly organized effort to build the language community began to emerge and be put into motion. By 1978, lobbying at the Constitutional Convention resulted in Hawaiian being named as one of the two official languages of the state, a resolution that provided more status than support, but one that set a precedent in how Hawaiian language came to be viewed. Experimental language schools were attempted by Hawaiian agencies such as *Alu Like* and the newly created Office of Hawaiian Affairs, providing experience in the field but not resulting in a stable educational format.

In 1984, the *Pūnana Leo* Hawaiian language preschools were formed after a New Zealand Māori model, and three years later, the *Kula Kaiapuni*, Hawaiian language elementary schools, were initiated as a project under the Department of Education. The preschools, as private facilities, needed no sanction to teach in Hawaiian, whereas the elementary classes, part of the state of Hawai`i public school system, required government approval of the use of Hawaiian as a language of instruction. Approval involved changing the English-only policy that had been in effect since 1896, and the earlier acknowledgement of Hawaiian as an official language of the state helped to facilitate this approval in that these new schools were not viewed as foreign-language schools under the auspices of the state, but as indigenous language institutions.

The advent of the Hawaiian language immersion schools created a watershed of change in the direction and speed of growth for the emerging Hawaiian language community. Enrollment in the immersion schools increased the number of students actively learning the language, and it fostered the interest and participation of students' family members, many of whom enrolled in language classes or took up independent study. Enrollment at every level began a rapid climb—at the University, in the intermediate and high schools, both public and private, in the community education schools of the Department of Education, and in private classes. This growth in enrollment at every level continues to expand.

New organizations, such as the *Hale Kāko`o Pūnana Leo* and *Hale Kuamo`o*, were formed to further facilitate Hawaiian language instruction through teacher training and production of materials and the *`Ahahui `Ōlelo Hawai`i* expanded its services. For the first time in decades, books and classroom materials were being produced in Hawaiian on a scale that made Hawaiian language skill an economic asset outside of classroom instruction. A new demand was created for teachers, curriculum developers, authors, and editors with proficiency in the language. The number and types of positions and specialties continue to grow, servicing the immersion school and the broader population.

The increased demand for skilled speakers of the language boosted the number of students enrolling in Hawaiian classes and the level of language that these students desired to learn. While enrollment figures have soared since the advent of the immersion schools—500% at the University and 700% at Kamehameha Schools—the numbers reflect only part of the development. Students are requesting and gaining a much higher level of fluency today than was offered a decade ago, mirroring the move from academic study mostly for comprehension to the mastery of Hawaiian as a language for everyday use at work, home, and play.

Three thousand or more students of all ages are currently in Hawaiian language classes or schools, and a large population has already gained some level of fluency. Native speakers are more frequently heard by the general public than previously, in spite of their diminished numbers, simply because there are more places for them to use their

language and more requests for them to do so. Hawaiian language books are available at bookstores and libraries and the language is heard on television, on radio, and at public events. Hawaiian language has come again to be a visible, desirable, and permanent aspect of Hawaiian culture. With increased presence of the language and a growing number of ways to learn it, Hawaiian has gained a new status as a recognizable sign of cultural participation.

The quality of the language being perpetuated and the level of acceptance and support for the language could not have been possible without a broad range of participants, including the *mānaleo*, teachers, students, families, government entities, and the general public in Hawai`i. Just as the multi-faceted efforts to save a building or site work against the continual forces of erosion and decay, each of these parties has provided direct participation, funding, or encouragement in a way that has helped Hawaiian to flourish in light of the powerful forces that eroded both the status and vitality of Hawaiian as a language of its people.

Many individuals have helped to lead this restoration, but the *mānaleo* have played the most pivotal role in the process and must be credited for the product that can be seen today. Without their approval and support, the efforts of the teachers and students would not have been so widely embraced as a public effort, a family effort, and an individual effort. Without their insight into the intricacies and nuances of the language, Hawaiian taught today would be mere mechanical analysis. And without their hours of labor, such as the young Ni`ihau teachers who founded the first *Pūnana Leo* schools and the elders who often worked for free at the schools, much of the institutional framework existing today would never have been established.

The restoration of Hawaiian language is an ongoing historic preservation project of immense proportions. Unlike other projects, there was no decaying theater in place, no snapshots or clear descriptions of ideal form, and no narrative describing accurate use or interpretation. But like many other large projects of historic preservation, it required a many-tiered approach to the work, it entailed crucial support from all segments of the community of context, it has always had less funding than would allow it to be possible, and there is never a point at which one can say the work is completed.

M. Puakea Nogelmeier is an assistant professor of Hawaiian language in the Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa.

Hōkūle`a: *Star of Joy*

The revival of Hawaiian canoe voyaging and open-ocean non-instrument navigation had its origins three decades ago as an anthropological experiment to disprove eurocentric theories of settlement of the islands claiming South American origins, or that ancient Hawaiians arrived as a result of an accident—drifting to the islands by chance. It would eventually turn into the symbol of Hawaiian cultural revival and ethnic pride in the 1970s and which continues today to inspire and motivate both Native Hawaiians and other island communities throughout Polynesia to "rediscover" their origins and connections in the Pacific.

The most well-known of the traditional voyaging vessels is the double-hulled canoe *Hōkūle`a*, or "Star of Joy." Famous for its 1,900-mile journey to Tahiti in 1976 without the aid of navigational devices, *Hōkūle`a* came into existence after a long and studied attempt to create a prototype of a traditional Hawaiian canoe based on common Polynesian design features and references to details in petroglyph carvings.

*Hōkūle`a* not only spawned a renaissance in traditional voyaging in Hawai`i, but throughout the Pacific islands as well. In 1995, *Hōkūle`a* and two new Hawaiian canoes, *Hawai`iloa* and *Makali`i*, made a trip to Tapuatapuatea, Ra`iatea in the Society Islands to meet up with voyaging canoes from around the Pacific. Interest in the *Hōkūle`a's* 1976 voyage had sparked interest in Tahiti and many other islands to reclaim their sailing and navigational legacies. The Cook Islands, Tahiti, New Zealand, Rapa Nui, Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa all participated in the gathering, the first of its kind in over five centuries. After re-dedicating the temple at Tapuatapuatea where Polynesian voyagers traditionally met to discuss inter-island matters and honor their deities, all of the canoes traveled together to Hawai`i.

As with Hawaiian language and dance, the rejuvenation of the traditions of navigating and canoe building have provided a chance for the Hawaiian community to, literally and figuratively, retrace its roots. "Preservation" of native culture has been an incredible learning tool for old and young Hawaiians, both native and non-native, allowing them to become stewards of their history and understand the larger Polynesian connections that Hawai`i has in the Pacific.

—Jennifer Malin

Jennifer Malin

Preserving Hawai`i's Traditional Landscapes

As the final melodies of the chanter's *oli* echoed through the auditorium, the 1995 conference, "Preserving Hawai`i's Traditional Landscapes," officially got underway. The National Park Service-funded training conference on landscape preservation and identification was held on September 15–17, 1995, at East-West Center near the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa outside of Honolulu, and at a field site on the `Ewa plain of west O`ahu.

Traditional landscapes can take divergent forms, and the island landscapes of Hawai`i are both unique and threatened ones. Native Hawaiian cultural and sacred sites, agricultural terraces and intricate pond-fields, windblown fields of sugarcane and pineapple, and rolling hills of pasture lands cultivated for cattle grazing all demarcate different stages in the history of Hawai`i. With the decline of agricultural industries and the increasing demand for housing and commercial development, the traditional landscapes and rural character of Hawai`i are being changed forever. This transition also means that some of the islands' most scenic areas and historic legacy will be lost. The conference was an examination of these invaluable resources and a discussion of ways that they may be preserved for the future.

*Ua mau ke ea o ka `aina i ka pono.* "The life of the land is preserved in righteousness." The state motto of Hawai`i was repeated many times throughout the course of this significant and often emotional conference, as the diverse participants grappled to identify what exactly it is that defines the traditional Hawaiian landscape and what measures need to be taken in order to preserve it. Over 180 participants registered for the first two days of lectures and workshops; 65 attended the on-site workshop on agricultural housing rehabilitation at the site of the former `Ewa sugar plantation. Participants included planners, architects, academics, students, members of community advocacy organizations, landscape architects, and other interested members of the public. There was a substantial representation of Native Hawaiian participants in attendance, as presenters and moderators, representatives of Native Hawaiian organizations, as well as individual community members. The islands of Kaua`i, Maui, Lana`i, Moloka`i, and O`ahu were all represented, and conference attendees came from as far away as the Republic of Palau, New Zealand, New York, and Washington, DC.

Topics covered during the conference included Preserving Landscapes: The Challenge for Hawai`i; The Native Hawaiian Landscape; Protection of Open Space; Cultural and Archaeological Landscapes; and Landscapes Under Threat. Several of the sessions focused on the problems facing Hawai`i and the sudden threats to cultural and historic landscapes. Other sessions identified the range of historic and cultural landscapes in the state and introduced participants to ways of recognizing those landscapes through the National Register program. Participants were introduced to methods employed elsewhere in the United States to protect special areas through citizen-based programs. They also discussed innovative land-use programs and other means of protection. Workshops were offered to introduce participants to differing means of landscape recognition and protection.

Plenary sessions featured Samuel Stokes of the Rivers, Trails and Conservation Assistance branch of NPS speaking on "Preserving Landscapes: The National Perspective"; Charles Birnbaum, ASLA, Coordinator of the NPS Historic Landscapes Initiative on "Treatment of Cultural Landscapes"; and Elizabeth Watson of the National Coalition for Heritage Areas on "Heritage Areas." William Murtagh, former Keeper of the National Register and a previous director of the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program, served as a moderator for plenary sessions and led the Panel Discussion on "Protection of Open Space."

The third day of the conference featured a field trip to the leeward part of the island of O`ahu, to the village of `Ewa, now undergoing a city and county-funded rehabilitation program after the closing of the `Ewa sugar plantation (`Ewa Villages Revitalization Project will be covered in a future issue of *CRM*). Participants were introduced to the project site—one of the few remaining residential sugar communities on O`ahu. The trip was an opportunity for conference-goers to experience at close range one of the many threatened landscapes under discussion and view varying stages of its rehabilitation.

The issue of open space versus development was perhaps the most significant and heated topic discussed during the entirety of the conference. It was recognized by all in attendance that there is need for more coalition between the community and its concerns with the developers and government officials that affect the future direction for the land-use and development of Hawai`i. Appropriate land-uses to replace the previous plantation economy are needed, with due concern to how the outcome will affect not only the tourism industry and the state economy, but the kind of communities that local people are going to live in. A strong undercurrent of concern for Native Hawaiians and traditional cultural landscapes ran continuously throughout the program. Priority needs to remain focused on ways of protecting areas with a high level of cultural and religious significance, and promoting a return to traditional values of land stewardship, *Malama `aina*, and a collective vision in values concerning growth and development in a state with such a small land mass. *He ali`i ka `aina; he kauwa ke kanaka.* "The land is a chief, man is its servant."

Jennifer Malin is a graduate student in the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program and a co-coordinator of the "Preserving Hawai`i's Traditional Landscapes" Conference.

Barnes Riznik

Overview of Historic House Museums and Parks in Hawai`i

Changing Ideas of Preservation and Interpretation

Criteria for establishing historic property museums continue to evolve in Hawai`i, from early memorials to powerful groups such as the 19th-century royalty and American missionaries to concerns over the past 25 years for culturally-inclusive interpretations. Examples of these interests are indigenous, pre-western Hawaiian habitation settlements, the role of sugar plantations and multi-ethnic immigrants in the shaping of modern Hawai`i, and the historical plight and social stigmatization of Hansen's disease patients sent to live in isolation on Moloka`i at Kalaupapa. Clearly, criteria for preservation and interpretation of history museums and parks are being remade continually, and as Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig have said of American history museums as a whole in their critical appraisal, *History Museums in the United States*, diversity demonstrates that "museums cannot be isolated from the complex, social, cultural, and historical contexts in which they are situated."[1]

`Iolani Palace is located in the urban capitol district of Honolulu and was restored as a historic house museum memorial to the late-19th-century monarchy. The grandiose, high Victorian building has been returned to the appearance of the royal residence of King Kalakaua and his successor, Queen Lili`uokalani. The palace shows their Euro-American tastes and lifestyle in the years before the monarchy was overthrown and the Hawaiian islands annexed by the United States.

After annexation, `Iolani Palace was converted to offices and legislative chambers for the territorial and then the state government. When the state capitol was built adjacent to the palace grounds in 1968, a full-scale restoration of the palace was launched by Friends of the `Iolani Palace, with on-going financial help from the state. A large number of the palace's original furnishings and works of art were acquired and restored; they had been exhibited or stored in government archives and the Bishop Museum, or cared for by Island families, including descendants of the royalty, or discovered in other places around the world. As part of a well-researched furnishing plan, these palace objects include part of an opulent coronation regalia, portraits by American and European artists, furniture, vases, china, glass, and silver.

`Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O`ahu. Photo courtesy The Friends of `Iolani Palace.

The restoration continues. Now in the 16th phase of the project, the Friends group has been able to restore the Palace's front gate and entry drive and its ornamental flower beds by removing 70 automobile parking stalls and parking signs and by closing vehicular access through the front gate.

In contrast are *in situ* examples, remote in time, of pre-Western Hawaiian habitation settlements. The State Department of Land and Natural Resources maintains Lapakahi State Park on the leeward side of the Big Island's Kohala Mountains; it and other preserved sites represent the direction Hawaiian archeology has taken since the mid-1960s toward the survey and interpretation of large land units to uncover habitation

patterns. Lapakahi shows how ancient Hawaiians adapted to environmental conditions: along the coastline is a concentration of residential sites, burial platforms, fishing shrines, canoe houses, and other structures dating from 400 years ago; the fishing zone was connected to agricultural areas inland which contained habitation shelters.

Also on the Big Island, the National Park Service at Hōnaunau *(Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau* National Historical Park) has reconstructed native Hawaiian pole and thatch houses, *hale pili*, and provided technical preservation guidelines for other Hawaiian house reconstructions at Makaha, Kailua-Kona, and Waimea Falls. (See p. 15.)

Uchida coffee farm in Kona, Hawai`i. Photo by Sheree Chase.

The preservation and interpretation of sugar plantation history has become more important as plantations on the Big Island and O`ahu have gone out of business and the remaining ones struggle for survival on Maui and Kaua`i, facing overwhelming foreign sugar competition. The *New York Times*, in reporting the closing down of two more Hawaiian sugar plantations, noted recently that "For mill workers thinking about restaurant work and field hands seeking construction work there is a pervasive feeling of slipping slowly into the history books. Already, there is an educational sugar plantation village on O`ahu and a preserved homestead on Kaua`i..."[2]

Grove Farm, one of these museums, was founded by George N. Wilcox in 1864. His homestead was the day-to-day center of plantation operations until Wilcox's death in 1933, and it was used continuously as the family's home until 1978. The homestead was a small, general farm operating in the middle of the surrounding plantation canelands. It is an 80-acre site operated today by a non-profit educational institution and belongs to a cultural landscape category known as a preserved rural historical area. It conserves and interprets home life, land-use, gardens, orchards and pastures, and buildings, including rehabilitated plantation workers' homes. Grove Farm has followed the U.S. *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* and focuses on preservation that maintains and repairs existing historical materials and retains the property's form as it has evolved over more than a century.

As part of its public program, Grove Farm has documented plantation operations—field work, irrigation, and the factory processing of sugar—in Koloa on Kaua`i before the plantation was shut down in September 1996. The video project produced 14 hours of archival tape and interviews. A one-hour historical documentary about Koloa will be presented on broadcast television.

Waipahu Cultural Garden Park is a non-profit museum on O`ahu that has recreated a sugar plantation camp on a three-acre site near the defunct O`ahu Sugar Co. mill. The park tells the story of Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Okinawan, Korean, and Filipino camp life in class-conscious, formal exhibits, and in reconstructed houses based on plantation standardized plans, photos, and other records. The newly-constructed Waipahu camp houses are cared for by members of ethnic groups who have given artifacts to furnish the exhibit and homes, who have planted house gardens and who help to interpret the re-created village.

Another example of the preservation of the traditions of immigrant culture is at the Kona Historical Society. Interpreting the role of immigrants in defining the cultural character of the Kona region of Hawai`i is the central idea behind the Society's plan to restore the six-acre Uchida family coffee farm in Kealakekua as a "living history farm," typical of Japanese *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese Americans) in Kona from 1925 to 1945.

With an interpretive planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Society worked with a team of community members, scholars from the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, museum staff from Old World Wisconsin and local museums, and a preservation architect. They discovered that the Uchida's house and other significant vernacular coffee farm structures remained relatively unchanged since 1920, and, like most other small Kona farmers, their property was on leasehold land held by a handful of corporations and individuals. There were at one time more than 1,000 such coffee farms in the Kona "coffee belt" in that period; there are still several hundred farms in operation. Unlike sugar, Kona

Grove Farm Homestead. Main house, c. 1860 with 1915 addition. Lihue, Hawai`i. Photo by the author.

coffee continues a strong place in the world market, and the restored coffee farm can compare and contrast today's family life, farming and technology with the ethnic community of 50–75 years ago.

As one museum manager has written, "The historic house's greatest asset is its personal history; its greatest potential lies in its ability to engage the public and sensitize it to the larger social context that has shaped that history and is in turn reflected in it."[3] Although the earliest examples of house museums in Hawai`i memorialized royalty at palaces on O`ahu and the Big Island and commemorated missionary families at different former mission stations, the public programs at several of these museums reflect growing, popular interests in material culture and landscape; active, close ties with communities; and issues of historical perspective.

In 1915, the Territorial Governor leased Hanaiakamalama, Queen Emma's former summer palace, to the Daughters of Hawai`i as part of the creation of Nu`uanu Park (and to prevent the demolition of the modest royal residence by park planners in Honolulu). The Daughters repaired the house and collected objects associated with Queen Emma. The furnishing plan emphasizes formal exhibition and the museum's decorative arts focus. This has lead to a survey, documentation, and cataloguing of Hawaiian furniture and cabinetmakers. The Daughters' sponsorship of research and a subsequent furniture-study publication in 1983 presented the Queen Emma Summer Palace collections and those in Hawai`i's other museums and private collections to a wide audience.[4]

Wai`oli Mission House, built in 1837 in Hanalei on Kaua`i, was the first house restoration in Hawai`i to recreate original room uses when the house was preserved in 1921. The furnishing plan was based on oral memories of the children and grandchildren of the Wilcox missionary family who returned original objects to the house. As one re-examines the letters and other records of the Wilcox family's involvement in preservation of the house, it becomes obvious that the property in the Hanalei Valley was preserved for more than sentimental reasons.

The restoration was also a means of serving the Hanalei community. The meetinghouse was restored in 1921 for the Protestant Church, which has used it as a religious community center. The large pasture in front of the former mission house was made over into a community recreation park, and the wetlands behind the house were leased to taro and rice farmers. The restoration also showed the importance of scenery and vegetation in preservation. Wai`oli is part of a visually dramatic setting, the house located in the center of a large lawn with outward views to the mountains and to the sea. The landscaping protected a special relationship to nature and the out-of-doors in its unpretentious Arts and Crafts treatment.

Later, the playing fields were leased to the county and a non-profit museum set up to receive the house and surrounding property. In recent years the museum body bought an additional 20 acres of wetlands to help keep land in taro farming and to protect viewsheds from the park or house

The Mission Houses Museum. These three historic houses served as the family homes, printing offices and storehouse. Originally built between 1821 and 1841. Honolulu, Hawai`i. Photo by Norman Shapiro.

for public benefits much as a conservation land trust might do.

In Honolulu, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society began in the 19th century as a hereditary membership and genealogical organization. In 1907, the old mission house in Honolulu, built in 1821, was rescued from decay to be used by the Society as its headquarters and library. In successive restorations, including current revisions, the three historical structures on the site, now known as the Mission Houses Museum, have come to look much as they did in the early-19th century. In the last decade, museum programs have confronted stereotypes of missionaries by presenting different perspectives of western influences on indigenous culture. In 1985, the Mission Houses Museum staff introduced bi-cultural perspectives in public forums throughout the Islands to discuss the lives of missionaries and other Hawaiian residents in the 1820s. It also provided new educational opportunities for visitors to explore the theme of "Where Two Worlds Meet" in a number of interpretive media and forms of learning and experience. Mission house tours, an orientation gallery and "living history" presentations invited visitors to explore documentary sources and points of view in other museums and libraries. In sum, visitors experience changing ideas as historical and cultural perspective continue to be redefined. There are many fresh views of the richness and conflicts of culture to be discovered and shared by wider audiences.

Notes

1 Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, eds. *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment.* Urbana and Chicago, 1989, p. xix.

2 The *New York Times*, August 9, 1996.

3 John A Herbst, "House Museums," in *History Museums in the United States*, p. 112. See also pp. 106–109 for discussion of Mission House Museum.

4 Irving Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture and Hawai`i's Cabinetmakers*, Honolulu, 1983.

Barnes Riznik, Ph.D., is the former director of Grove Farm Homestead and Waioli Mission Houses in Lihue, Kaua`i, and a Hawai`i Advisor to the National Trust for Historic Preservation, as well as Adjunct Faculty to the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i.

Dean Alexander

Managing Historic Resources in an Evolving Hawaiian Community

Kalaupapa NHP

Kalaupapa is a place of paradoxes. Upon arrival at the airport a visitor is greeted with a sign forbidding entry without a permit. Persons without permits are subject to arrest. Down the road a mile or so is a friendlier sign welcoming you to Kalaupapa National Historical Park.

Kalaupapa is remembered as the place of forcible exile for suffers of Hansen's Disease (leprosy) with all the painful memories of illness, separation, and confinement. At the same time it is also remembered as a place of beauty and a touchstone to the "Old Hawai`i" of small villages and plantation camps. The place of exile from which escape was desired has now become a pu`uhonua, or sanctuary from which to escape the hectic, modern life. Kalaupapa became a place of exile due to its isolation and difficult approaches. This isolation is a burden to all residents, but it is also a highly prized commodity actively defended by the community. It is also one of the reasons that so many significant natural and cultural resources have survived here.

Kalaupapa is one of the more interesting and unusual park management assignments in the National Park Service (NPS). Unlike most historical parks, Kalaupapa National Historical Park is still a living and evolving community. At this point in time, the primary resource of the park is not the land, nor the buildings, but is the Hansen's disease patients themselves. Some 70 patients still have rights to reside in the settlement, and they are the aspect that most distinguishes Kalaupapa from other units of the national park system. Removed from their families, often at an early age, and sent to an isolation settlement on an inaccessible peninsula on the north shore of Moloka`i, they have lived lives that are different than most Americans. Most have seen their once healthy bodies disfigured by the disease. Many of the older patients were sent here only after the doctors had given up hope of arresting the disease.

The Kalaupapa settlement. Photo by the author.

Kalaupapa is also a story of hope and caring, and of the conquest of a seemingly invincible disease. The first Hansen's disease patients arrived at the Kalaupapa peninsula of Moloka`i in 1866, one year after King Kamehameha V approved the isolated spot for the "Moloka`i Leprosy Settlement," as it came to be known. These first patients were left on the windy eastern portion of the peninsula at Kalawao without doctors, nurses, medicine, or appropriate shelter. Before long, the Kalawao patients gradually began to drift to the western village of Kalaupapa where the weather was calmer and steamer anchorage provided a connection to the outside world.

Father Damien deVeuster, a Belgian priest, arrived at Kalawao in the Kalaupapa Settlement in 1873 to minister to the needs of the already more than 700 Hansen's disease patients living there. By 1885, there were between 300 and 400 dwellings on the peninsula. During Damien's time at Kalaupapa, the population continued to grow at Kalaupapa village, and by 1932, the Board of Health abandoned the Kalawao site altogether.

In the 130 years since the first patients arrived, over 7,000 Hansen's disease patients were involuntarily exiled at Kalaupapa. Those patients that remain at the Settlement in 1996 choose to stay because of the sense of community, comfort, and understanding that has been established there over time. Father Damien deVeuster was beatified by the Catholic Church in May 1995 for his work and sacrifices among the patients.

Drugs that were effective against the disease were developed during World War II, and first issued in Kalaupapa in May 1946. Many patients have subsequently lived very long lives. The quarantine was finally lifted in 1969. However, in consideration of the isolation in which many came to maturity and the curtailment of their liberties, as well as concerns for their privacy, the patients were given the option of staying in Kalaupapa for the remainder of their lives. And so, the settlement continues as a living community principally under the management of the Hawai`i Department of Health.

Kalaupapa was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1976 due to its integrity as surviving example of a leprosarium, and its extensive archeological resources. The park was established in December 1980. By this act, the National Park Service was added to an existing partnership of state and federal agencies and private groups that are involved in managing the area. The park was established to preserve and interpret the resources for current and future generations, but it was also established to protect the lifestyle and privacy of the patients. This creates management difficulties as challenging as the preservation verses public use conflicts typical of most parks.

To carry out its mission, the National Park Service relies on numerous intangible resources and comparatively few tangible ones. The NPS owns 23 out of about 8,000 land acres. Most of the historic buildings are owned by the State of Hawai`i Department of Health or individual patients. The NPS occupies its offices and quarters by the permission of the on-site state administrator. So what is the NPS's role here and how does it get its job done?

A short answer is that the NPS staff does research on the natural, historic, and archeological

Bay View residential area, Kalaupapa Hansen's disease settlement. Staff housing, built circa 1916, prior to recent stabilization and rehabilitation by the National Park Service. Photo by Hunter Glidewell.

Bay View, Kalaupapa National Historical Park. National Park Service crew removing overgrown vegetation at the beginning of the rehabilitation project. Photo by Hunter Glidewell.

resources of the park, operates the water system and through cooperative agreements with state agencies and churches, maintains historic buildings and grounds. But this short answer does not give the real nature of the work here. Some additional context is needed. And some additional paradoxes emerge.

An Open Ended Period of Significance?

Most historical parks have a defined period of significance that guides resource management. At Kalaupapa things are somewhat different. The period of historic significance is in some ways open ended. The continued presence of the patients, the survivors of the isolation policy recognized in the NHL nomination, means that changes to the settlement are a part of the period of historic significance. Therefore, changes that the patients make to the community and the changes that health department makes to meet the changing needs of the patients (such as wheel chair ramps) may be perfectly acceptable, even though they alter historic structures. Unlike many historic park settings that are "frozen in time," Kalaupapa will continue to evolve for the foreseeable future. Therefore, history, the study of the past, continues into the present; and historic preservation must be blended with the management of a modern institution.

Multiple Agencies, Different Missions

As mentioned earlier, the Kalaupapa settlement is a unit of the State of Hawai`i Department of Health. While there is broad overlap in the missions of the NPS and Health Department, especially in regards to maintaining patient lifestyle and privacy, the two agencies do have different missions. These differences cause the two agencies to take different views of several issues. The treatment of "abandoned" buildings is a good example. The State Health Department, charged with running a safe and sanitary settlement, views such buildings as health and safety hazards that should be demolished. The NPS has a historic preservation mission, and views the same buildings as historic structures which should be saved and, if possible, reused. The Service also views the outbuildings as an integral part of a historical site, while the state takes a more utilitarian view.

With about 400 structures in the settlement and a declining population, keeping all of the buildings on the site is probably not feasible. Many of the older structures were designed for an institutional way of living that included central kitchens and small allocations of personal space. Even though almost every building was modified for use as single family homes or apartments, the older buildings tend to be too big or too small for the current "standards" of single family residences that the patients and staff prefer. This factor contributes to the neglect of many of the older cottages. By the time the state determines they have no need for the structure and are willing to allocate it to the NPS, the building is often badly deteriorated. Recognizing the different missions of the agencies, the NPS tries to stabilize and reuse buildings the state can not justify continuing to maintain. In this way, the NPS maintains a base of older historic structures, while the state economizes and focuses its resources on items within its mission.

Church-State Relations

The line separating church and state is extremely problematical in Kalaupapa. Three religious denominations own six church buildings that are among the most important historic structures in the park. They also use several state-owned structures. While maintenance of the church buildings is easily accommodated by coop-

Bay View, Kalaupapa National Historical Park. Completed project, back in use as employee quarters. Photo by Hunter Glidewell.

St. Philomena Church, Kalawao. Still an active church used on special occasions and the focus of most of the memorialization of Father Damien.

Father Damien's original grave. Father Damien's remains were returned to Belgium in the 1930s. As a part of Father Damien's beatifaction, some of his remains were returned to the Kalaupapa patients as a religious relic and reinterred at the original grave site in 1995.

erative agreements with the several churches, some other aspects are less clear. The recent return of a relic of Father Damien illustrated some of these problems. Father Damien, a significant figure in the historic story, is an important secular figure. The relic is an important historic artifact. Possible sainthood for Father Damien is an important event commemorating this historic figure. But beyond this, the issues become more complex. Beatification and canonization are particularly Catholic institutions and involve religious practices. How far should the NPS go to support religious ceremonies honoring this important person? There is no hard and fast answer to this question. Park staff must use their best judgment and focus on the NPS missions of protecting the resources and privacy of the patients.

Kalaupapa presents a challenging park management situation. A combination of factors, including an on-going historic period, limited ownership of the key resources, and a combination of management agencies with different missions, create a situation in which the standard answers in NPS policy and guidelines do not fit well. The park manager must use moral suasion, tact, and flexibility to ensure that key resources are not destroyed or irreparably altered. At the same time, the community must be able to change to meet the needs of the resident population. The next decade or so will be a particularly challenging period as the settlement's population continues to decline creating a growing surplus of buildings. While it would be ideal to find compatible new uses for these buildings to help defray the cost of maintaining them, the restrictions on public access and the need to protect the patients' privacy severely limits the possibilities. New partnerships will need to be developed in the next few years to help ensure that an adequate base of historic structures are maintained into the future.

A typical patient's cottage built in the 1930s. Cottages such as this are continually being adapted to meet the needs of the patients and the Hawaii Department of Health. View includes the spectacular Moloka`i Seacliffs.

References

Cahill, Emmett. *Yesterday at Kalaupapa*. Mutual Publishing & Editions, Limited, 1990: Honolulu.

Daws, Gavan. *Holy Man: Father Damien of Moloka`i*. University of Hawai`i Press, 1984: Honolulu.

Dean Alexander is the Park Manager at Kalaupapa National Historical Park, Moloka`i.

Photos this page by Stephen T. Kozosky.

William J. Murtagh and Delta Lightner

Robert Louis Stevenson in the Pacific

The Pacific area possesses a number of historic sites as the properties of unusual interest to historic preservation. One of these is Vailima, the estate home and final resting place of Robert Louis Stevenson, located three miles from Apia in Western Samoa.

"Tusitala," or "teller of tales," as he was locally known, and author of such enormously popular novels as *Treasure Island*, *Kidnapped*, and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, had turned to the climate of the tropics to alleviate his life-long battle with tuberculosis. A Scotsman, he had first journeyed to Samoa in 1889 at the age of 39 to research articles for the *New York Times* on the "Samoa question." He chose for his site a 300-acre coconut plantation, naming it Vailima after the five streams that cross the property.

The construction period of Vailima spans more than a century, from 1891 through 1993, when the final restoration was concluded. Original materials for the house were acquired from Australia and the mainland United States. These included choice Oregon redwood, glass for windows, and most other components. To complete the homestead, 72 tons of furniture were shipped from England to equip the five-bedroom house. A ballroom large enough for a hundred dancers and an expansive library grace the first floor. The house also features the only interior fireplace in Samoa. The restored dining room conveys something of the property's lavish past, of dinners of New Zealand oysters on ice and special imports of Bordeaux wines served up free-flowing. Stevenson was visited frequently and honored in his exotic home by heads of state and his contemporaries. Queen Victoria sent a damask table cloth and a sugar bowl used by Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott; Rodin was inspired to produce a sculpture for Vailima.

After Stevenson's death, the property was taken over by Gustave Kuntz, who added the principal wing. From 1904–1962, Vailima housed governmental officials, first German and then the New Zealand high Commissioner. The King of Western Samoa used the grounds as the royal residence from 1962 until the mid-1980s. During this time, the building endured many structural additions, as well as suffering damage from two cyclones.

Finally in 1992, the Robert Louis Stevenson Museum Foundation assumed occupancy and charted a course for restoration. Paul Fritz Engineers of Milwaukee and Arizona took charge. Michael McDaniels, the project interior designer from Arizona, was able to recover a minimal amount of original furnishings and obtain a number of appropriate period pieces. Paint-color studies were carried out by a London company with representatives in Suva, Fiji. The work that began in January 1993 was complete when the residence was reopened as The National Museum of Western Samoa, on December 5, 1994, the 100th anniversary of Stevenson's death.

At a monthly operating cost of $8,500 U.S., the continued success of the museum is much dependent on visitor entrance fees ($6.50 U.S.). Therefore, the site is a much-touted destination for the 2,500–3,000 tourists who visit Western Samoa each month. The present administration by the National Museum is an amicable blending, boding a bright future for Western Samoans and Stevensonophiles alike.

William J. Murtagh, Ph.D., is former Director of the Historic Preservation program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa and Director of the Pacific Preservation Consortium. He was the first Keeper of the National Register for Historic Places and authored the book Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America.

Delta Lightner is a graduate student at the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa.

This short description of the Stevenson house is based on a talk presented by William Murtagh at the US/ICOMOS breakfast meeting, held at the Fort Worth conference of The National Trust for Historic Preservation, October 1995.

Cherry Barnett

Portugal in Asia
A View of Preservation in Macau

Today, in a world of fast travel and communication, one tends to be less than conscious of the isolated location of Macau in historical terms. First settled by the Portuguese in 1557, it was a crucial link in that country's trade in Asia, particularly in Japan and China. Stupendously lucrative before the Dutch and British became fierce trading competitors, this tiny 6.93 square kilometer sub-tropical colony on a peninsula at the mouth of the Pearl River delta was able to retain and develop the art of civilized living in the Iberian manner—grand houses, churches and forts proliferated around and above a fine bay. Already far from its heyday by the time nearby Hong Kong was established in 1841, Macau then had to fight to maintain its attraction. Desperate for new resources of local revenue, gambling was made legal in the 1860s, for example. Indeed, present gambling taxes represent more than half of the annual revenue of the government of Macau.

As post-World War II Hong Kong prospered to become the world's eighth largest trading entity, so did the volume of visitor traffic between Hong Kong and Macau. (Apart from horse racing, gambling is banned in Hong Kong.) A significant consequence since the beginning of the 1990s has been the raising of the stakes concerning architectural historic preservation in Macau!

The stone facade of St. Paul's in Macau, built in 1620. Photo by William Chapman.

The enclave will become a Special Administrative Region of China at the end of the millennium but, understandably, Portugal is anxious that a nearly 450-year connection should not be dismissed or just gradually disappear under only too evident modern development pressures. A primary drive for substantial historic preservation work came from a new charitable body—Fundaçao Oriente—funded by an annual 1.6% special tax on the profits of the gambling syndicate—Sociedada de Turismo e Diversoes de Macau (STDM). With a significant capital fund protected in Lisbon, the broad aim is to support Portuguese-inspired communities anywhere in the world, but most particularly in Macau. In the Asian context, offices have been established in Goa and Macau within the past five years.

An early indication of Fundaçao Oriente intentions and resources was the purchase and preservation of the Casa Garden as their Macau headquarters. A 1770s house at one time leased as a residence for the chairman of the select committee of the British East India Company, the building is more widely remembered in recent times as the former Camoês Museum adjacent to the Old Protestant Cemetery. Among the plethora of projects the mid-19th-century Dom Pedro V Theatre, completely faithful to western classical principles and an attraction launched with funding from both Macau and early Hong Kong, has also been purchased and restored; likewise, a terrace of turn-of-the century houses in the Tap Siac district.

While such purchases might need Macau government approval, they also created pressure

for greater preservation initiatives from both government and the church. Missionaries were never far behind colonial traders, and Macau—once described as seeming to have a church or seminary on every corner—became the center for Jesuit endeavors to convert China to Catholicism, as well as a haven for persecuted Japanese Christians.

Church and state—often at passionate odds in Macanese history—have recently drawn together to develop the ruins of St. Paul's Church into a site museum. Originally founded as a wooden structure in 1609 and, with the adjacent college a potent symbol of Jesuit ambition, it was destroyed by fire in 1845. The surviving 1620 stone facade has long been the most visited monument in Macau, but in May this year it became possible to enter the site itself to appreciate the size if not the long-lost golden interior. However, a small space beneath the altar area has been enclosed and reconsecrated to facilitate viewing the tomb of Fr. Allessandro Valignano, the priest largely responsible for establishing Christianity in Japan and founding the Jesuit college in Macau. Bones of 17th-century Japanese and Vietnamese martyrs are also displayed nearby in a series of tiered, glass-fronted boxes.

Adjacent to St. Paul's is the 17th-century Monte Fort, now under conversion into the Museum of Macau. The Cultural Institute of the Macau government has announced an estimated cost of US$13 million, with technical responsibility held by the Portuguese architect Carlos Bonina Moreno. Two basements will be excavated to provide 15,000 square meters of space, and the 1920s ground floor building replaced.

Early Macau was contained within a defensive wall, but while St. Paul's, the Monte Fort, and the nearby Leal Senado Square may be the central focus linked by pedestrianized narrow streets, many other historic sites are interspersed among moderate quality modern buildings. As a result, older stucco and color-washed houses, "palaces" and churches stand out—provided the visitor is briefed where to look. Government headquarters and the governor's residence, both overlooking the Bay of Macau, were formerly 19th-century "palaces" built by the prominent Cercal family.

Church funds are undoubtedly the most limited among the three main players of the "game" of historic preservation, but fashionable São Lourenço church was reopened in October 1995. Older churches are characterized by painted wooden ceilings and heavy Baroque altars, but projects to restore São Domingos and protect the roof of the domed church within the seminary of São José are both receiving government assistance.

Restoration has not been restricted to Western architecture alone. Among 44 temples in Macau, the important A-Ma temple now glows with walls of Chinese red at the original Portuguese landing point, and a newly painted Taoist temple snuggles beside St. Paul's. Even though the unrestored Mandarin's House may have a doubtful future, the Lou Lim Leoc Garden with a western-influenced pavilion—created by another wealthy 19th-century Chinese merchant—happily accommodates practice sessions by numerous traditional Chinese amateur orchestras amid its many visitors.

At the close of the colonial era, Macau is unusually united. With an international airport opened in December 1995, all agree that tourism revenue in the new century can be a mighty protection for the unique atmosphere of Macau. Historic preservation standards of workmanship may not be universally high; simplification is often evident to the trained eye, and maintaining stucco/color washed buildings is a never ending task. But finally Macau is benefitting culturally from being eclipsed by Hong Kong. With a longer history and many extant historic buildings, Macau has stepped away from the path of continual decline to one of positive action. Indeed, as well as being a "gateway to China," Macau now advertises itself as a City of Culture.

Cherry Barnett is an independent historian in Hong Kong.

Jennifer Malin

Micronesia Update

Since January of 1996, through a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service, the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program has worked to assist in meeting the training needs of the Historic Preservation offices of the Freely Associated States of Micronesia (which include the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia—Pohnpei, Kosrae, Yap and Chuuk).

A bai, a traditional men's meeting house, which was built three years ago on a traditional bai platform in the state of Airai, Palau. Photo by Kimberlee Kihleng.

The Historic Preservation Program's Micronesian Training Initiative has been able to approach many of the 10 primary goals originally outlined in a 1995 assessment of needs conducted by the university and the NPS Western Field Office (see "Historic Preservation Training in Micronesia," *CRM* Volume 19, Number 3, 1996).

With one part-time staff member and the challenge of starting from scratch, the project has created itself along the way, with much assistance from NPS, the Micronesian historice preservation staffs, and the University of Hawai`i College of Arts and Sciences. The first step was in addressing the universal question: Where to begin?

The first few months of the project were spent in locating an ethnographer to spend the summer in the Republic of Palau to help inventory, evaluate, and make suggestions for the improvement of the Palau Historic Preservation Office (HPO) oral history program (see Kimberlee Kihleng's brief report, below), at the request of the division chief. At the same time, plans were made for the deputy HPO from the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Clary Makroro, and Kosrae HPO staff Standon Andrew to attend the University of Hawai`i Pacific Preservation Field School for four weeks to study the documentation of urban vernacular architecture. Both Micronesians worked on teams with other students doing measured drawings and learning the basic principles and philosophies of historic preservation.

Another technical assistant from the University of Hawai`i (Suzanne Finney, who comments on her work below) was requested by the Federated States of Micronesia to assist in the Pohnpei State Historic Preservation Office with site inventory tasks and renovation of the Spanish Wall in Kolonia. The technical assistant was also prepared to offer informal instruction on map reading, site mapping, and excavation techniques to survey aides from Pohnpei.

Some of the training opportunities came unexpectedly. Scholarship recipients Hemley Benjamin from the Marshall Islands HPO and Elvis O'Sonis, Yap HPO, were among 10 participants in the University of Hawai`i Marine Option Program Maritime Archaeology Techniques field school. With little advance planning, graduate student and diver Ceil Roberts, who was assisting with the four-week field school, was able to return to the Marshall Islands with Hemley Benjamin to help to develop an underwater resource management plan for preservation and tourism at Jaluit Atoll. The two were able to apply the learned information almost immediately and attempt to streamline a procedure that would work best with the needs and concerns of the Marshalls.

Also unexpected was the arrival of UH Urban and Regional Planning graduate student Michael Cain, who walked into the office one day and asked if he could offer his services in conducting a survey of cultural resources in the coastal area of Weno in Chuuk State. Being fluent in Chuukese, familiar with the location, flexible about scheduling and conditions, and willing to work with the Chuuk Historic Preservation Office to survey historic World War II and pre-historic sites that could be added to the state inventory and later the register made his proposal hard to ignore.

The Micronesian Training Initiative and NPS have also supported the publication of *The Plants and Environments of Chuuk*, and *The Plants and Environments of Yap*, produced as the final two in a series of books on Micronesian plants and ecosystems, for use as teaching materials to encourage the protection and sustainable use of tropical island ecosystems.

Currently, the project is awaiting the safe return of the last of its technical assistants to the University of Hawai`i, and continuation of research, reports, and cultural resource management plans for the Micronesian offices. At this time, the Historic Preservation Program is working to coordinate a training course on the fundamentals of historic preservation at the University of Guam in January of 1997.

Notes from Abroad

Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia

—Suzanne Finney, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa:

I have been working to restore the Spanish Wall in Kolonia Town. The wall was built in 1887

to contain the Spanish hostilities which destroyed the original colony, killing the governor and over 50 other people. The wall is a prominent landmark on Pohnpei and is right next to the main street through Kolonia from the airport. Much of the wall was covered with vegetation and trees have been allowed to grow unmolested for many years. The wall was in danger of collapse in many places. Our mission has been to stabilize the wall and prevent any further decay. At some later point, when further research has been completed, a program to restore the wall to its original state may be conducted. The largest portion of my time is spent on this project. I started with researching the wall and am now supervising a labor force of six Pohnpeians in clearing the wall of weeds and trees and preparing mortar for stabilizing some of the portions of the wall near collapse.

Republic of Palau

—Kimberlee Kihleng, Ph.D.:

For a three-month period I served as an ethnographer with the Palau Historic Preservation Program, Division of Cultural Affairs. The main objectives of my work were to conduct an inventory and evaluation of an ongoing oral history project and to develop a research design for the future collection and documentation of oral histories, traditions, and culture. The Division's oral history component has been in existence for the past 12 years and has consisted of a staff historian working closely with the Society of Historians to develop in written form an overview of traditional Palauan culture and lifeways.

The inventory conducted focused on three different areas, the first being the project's accomplishments, where I was concerned with those aspects of Palauan history and culture that had been recorded and documented. The second area looked at the methodology used in collecting the oral history and ethnographic data. The perceived needs and wishes of those involved in the design and future development of the project was the final area of concern. Some of these concerns were: Should all collected oral histories be put in written form, given the orality of Palauan culture and the sacred, secretive, and political nature of many oral traditions? What of alternative, more islander-oriented media and ways of transmission and preservation? What topics should be the focus of collection and documentation efforts in the future? Are the oral history narratives that are being collected and presented representative given that there are several different versions of history? What of the issue of cultural variation and diversity within Palau? And, finally, what of the systematic organization of oral history data and issues of accessibility, confidentiality and public education?

The evaluation of the project dealt with this range of issues and centered on the fact that there are actually two different aspects of the oral history program within the Division—archeology and ethnology. The archeology component has been concerned with oral history collection based on specific sites and features, such as the stone platforms, pathways, and monoliths found throughout Babaldaob Island serving as the remains of traditional villages or the ancient terraces that make up a prominent part of the Palauan landscape. The ethnology component has dealt with the broader concerns of Palau's cultural heritage, such as sociopolitical processes and activities, cultural events, persons, clans, and villages. These two aspects are closely related to one another in terms of an overall oral history program, but have been treated quite separately, and Division efforts in documentation have not been coordinated to any significant degree.

A research design is being developed to aid in the systematic collection of oral history data that are site specific as well as those that are more ethnographic in nature. It is a design that is more islander-oriented, being based on the needs and wishes of the Division, is better focused, and will provide a more dynamic and innovative view of Palauan history and culture. The basis of the design is the documentation of village histories in which one of Palau's 16 states and its respective villages, both traditional and contemporary, will serve as a baseline for implementing the design followed by the eventual collection of village histories in the other 15 states.

Two sets of questionnaires were developed to be used by the staff as guidelines for conducting more focused interviews in the villages. One is site-specific and will be used by staff archeologists to collect oral history information on traditional and historic sites and features as well as assisting in nominating a greater number of sites to Palau's Register of Historic Places. The second questionnaire will be used by the staff historian to collect a wide range of ethnographic data within villages. An interview agreement was also developed to deal with issues of confidentiality and sacred or secretive forms of knowledge. Village members should be actively involved in all stages of the research project to assist in education and awareness of preservation efforts.

Jennifer Malin is the coordinator of the Micronesian Training Initiative at the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program.

William Chapman with Jennifer Malin

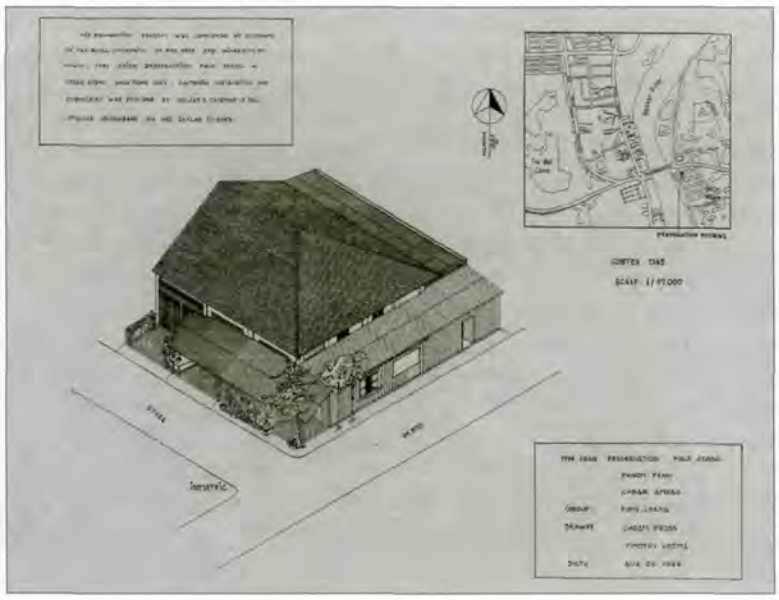
University of Hawai`i Summer Program in Architectural Recording

Students taking measurements in the field in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Photo by William Chapman.

Cambodia is a country still emerging from nearly 20 years of civil war, invasion, and political turmoil. Its professional class, including architects, archeologists, and historians, were nearly all lost during that tumultuous period. Returning some level of technical competence, especially in the area of historic preservation and documentation techniques for historic buildings, has been one of the priorities for the University of Hawai`i's multi-faceted cooperative training program.

In 1996, the University's first architectural recording field school—following two years of successful archeological field schools (see *CRM* Volume 19, Number 3, 1996)—was held in the historic capital city of Phnom Penh—a city of approximately one million people located in the south central part of Cambodia. Headed by University of Hawai`i faculty members William Chapman and Spencer Leineweber, the 1996 program provided instruction for 16 Cambodian and 9 American students in architecture, planning, Southeast Asian Studies, and historic preservation. Funded by a generous award from the Asia Cultural Council and the U.S. Information Service, the program was carried out in cooperation with the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh and had the cooperation of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism and the Ministry of Culture of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

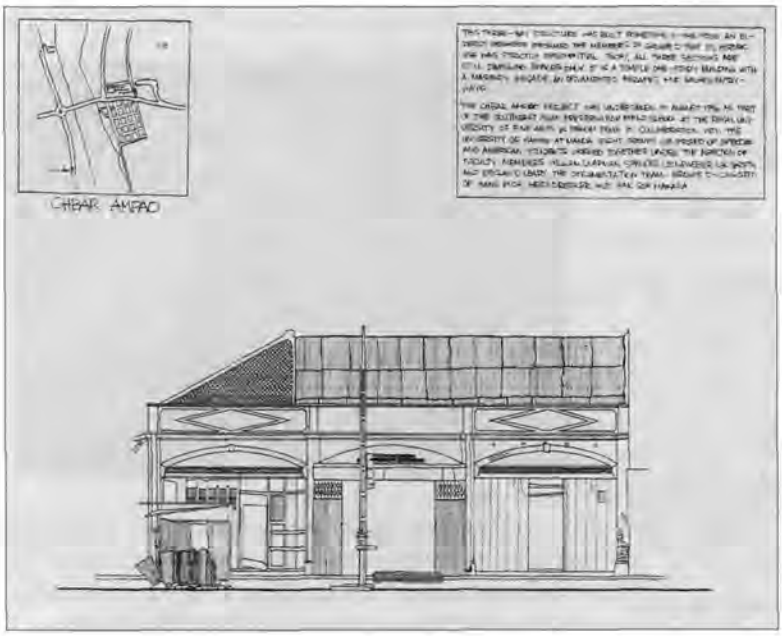
Axonometric drawing of shophouses, Chbar Ampau, Cambodia.



The 1996 summer field school was intended to fill a significant gap in the present curriculum of the Royal University. Founded in 1965, essentially as an outgrowth of the earlier École des Beaux Arts, the University of Fine Arts provides instruction in architecture, planning, painting, sculpture, dance, music, and archeology. Instruction in architecture has only recently been reinstated—the first class graduated in 1995—and at this point covers only basic aspects of the field.

Historic preservation does not figure at all in the present curriculum. There is little formal instruction in architectural history or urban design—all subjects covered by the field school. Most significantly, there has been no instruction in or regular program in architectural recording—a subject generally considered as the foundation for other historic preservation-related work. The summer field school, therefore, helped to fill this void. Students were given lectures and "hands-on" instruction in an increasingly significant aspect of architectural practice. They learned to appreciate and make accurate records of historic buildings and learned also to appreciate this patrimony.

The program focussed on the traditional and historic architecture of Phnom Penh and Southeast Asia generally. Students were introduced to basic methods used in the survey and documentation of historic architecture and to basic principles of new design in historic contexts. The program included instruction in mapping, architectural terminology, photography, measured drawing techniques, and drafting. Professor Leineweber conducted a special week-long exercise on urban design in historic contexts. The American students also participated in a preliminary tour conducted by Professor Chapman in Thailand, visiting historic sites in Bangkok and making a day-long excursion to the ancient city of Ayutthaya. They also had an opportunity to travel to the historic site of Angkor in northern Cambodia as a final excursion.



Measured drawings: Student-drawn elevation of shophouses in Chbar Ampau, Cambodia.

Probably the strongest feature of the program was the day-to-day interaction of Cambodian and American students. This was an explicit aim of the project, with the hope being to break down barriers between participants from various backgrounds. In the past, instruction at the University of Fine Arts has been very much "top-down" in character. This has consisted mostly of visiting outside instructors who are able only to give occasional formal lectures.

The 1996 field school differed significantly from past experience in instruction at the University of Fine Arts. Students worked together on teams usually consisting of two Cambodians and one American each. American and Cambodian students also interacted informally at many levels. Students went on excursions together, shared meals, and visited one another frequently. Cambodian students also invited Americans to their homes, introduced them to Cambodian foods, and taught them some Cambodian language.

American students, for their part, helped instill in their Cambodian counterparts a greater appreciation for their country and their cultural patrimony. Up to now, most of the instruction in architectural history at the University of Fine Arts has focused on the ancient Khmer legacy. This is certainly a profoundly significant heritage, and there is much more research required in the area of Khmer civilization, including ancient Khmer architecture. However, much else of value has tended to be overlooked. This has been especially true of colonial architecture, including many architecturally-significant buildings designed during the period of the French Protectorate (from 1863 to 1953) as well as many lesser buildings also constructed during this period.

Most significant among this "lesser" architecture are the virtually thousands of shophouses built in Phnom Penh between approximately 1890 and 1950. Comprised of shop fronts on the ground floor and either interior loft spaces or additional stories above living units, this building type served as the basic building block of Phnom Penh—as well as of many other cities in Cambodia and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Resided in by Khmer peoples as well as Chinese, Cham, Vietnamese, and other ethnic minorities, shop houses were—and are—central to the urban life of Phnom Penh.

In addition to the shophouses, the field school focused attention on traditional wood-frame houses, the typical urban residences of middle-class Khmer in the city until recently. Increasingly recognized as a significant aspect of Cambodian patrimony, this architecture, nonetheless, remains largely undocumented. Again, the field school set out to fill this gap in a small way.

The project area for the 1996 field school was an approximately 16-block concentration of buildings located in the southeastern section of the city. The area was selected for its "representative" value in that it possessed many of the features of Phnom Penh in microcosm—shophouses, a market, a temple, school, hospital, and a number of traditional houses. Settled by the late-19th century, this area, known as Chbar Ampau, served as an important commercial hub at the point of a popular ferry crossing. Construction of a bridge in 1929 ensured further development in the area.

The present area consists of a densely built-up commercial district with a large market on the north and significant blocks of shophouses and residences to the south. Effectively abandoned as was the rest of Phnom Penh in the late 1970s, the area has since become a patchwork of older buildings overlain with many smaller wood buildings and shacks. Most of the "historic" buildings date from the period after construction of the bridge, or post-1929, and extend through around 1953–54.

The charge to the students was to unravel this history. Students initially mapped and surveyed a 12-block segment, including the core of older development. Individual forms were filled out on over 300 buildings and shopfront units. This number included both older or historic buildings and more recent additions as well in order

both to create a more complete record—a frozen moment from 1996—and because it was simply so difficult in the absence of written records or surviving local informants—many of the area's original inhabitants had died during the Pol Pot period—to differentiate the old from the new.

Following the survey, more historical research was done. This was the task of the American students, in particular, who visited archives and libraries and spoke (usually through interpreters) to the few remaining older residents. The area was then mapped and final forms were keyed to the map.

This task completed, the students were assigned a single street front from one of their blocks to draw up. This was done at 1:100 scale and helped students develop a better understanding of the relationships among buildings, obtrusive newer additions (or deletions), and the presence of exceptional architecture. The final inked versions of the drawings were used in turn for the urban design exercise held in the last week.

The most technically challenging aspect of the course was the measured drawing exercise. Students were assigned nine buildings to measure and draw. Measurements were taken in accordance with the standards of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Measured to the 1/2 centimeter, the field notes were transcribed to measured drawings at 1:50 scale. Final drawings, which consisted of site plans, elevations and interior plans, were then completed in ink. These provide a permanent record of these rather simple, yet distinctive, buildings.

One implicit feature of the program and other programs such as this is to call attention to the need for historic preservation more generally. Historic preservation may at first appear to be a rarified specialty in a developing country such as Cambodia. However, as the tremendous international tourist interest in the Angkor monuments demonstrates, culture and history have definite economic value. The outstanding colonial and vernacular architecture of Phnom Penh is, in fact, significant enough to serve as a complement to the famous sites at Siem Reap. Additionally, existing buildings have real economic value. They can be re-used, redeveloped, or simply maintained as continuing assets in a city that requires new investment in order to progress.

The 1996 field school made a small contribution to increasing public awareness. The school was covered in the local press, including an excellent short article in the *Cambodia Daily*. Local television news covered the "official" opening ceremony. There was also attendance by members of the public, government ministers, and embassy staffs. The closing event even featured the exquisite Royal Dancers and musicians.

At an international level, the program has received additional publicity. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* sent a journalist to cover the story. Both Professors Chapman and Leineweber made a presentation at the annual National Historic Preservation Conference last month. Overall, this is seen as simply a first step in developing further interest in the preservation of Cambodia's significant historic architectural heritage.

In terms of research, we see the 1996 field school as a beginning as well. Measured drawings and other historical records, such as those produced this summer, can form the basis of a national program. While the program's work represented only a modest beginning, it does provide a precedent for a more systematic undertaking. One proposal for 1997 is to extend the study to a provincial level, beginning with a field survey and then developing a program for measured drawings. Other possibilities are additional research on shophouses in Phnom Penh and other Cambodian cities, research on colonial architecture, and also further investigations of vernacular building traditions. All of these research avenues represent important new areas for both Cambodians and others. It is hoped that the University of Hawai'i and the Royal University of Fine Arts can continue to collaborate for many years to come.

A shophouse inventoried in the Chbar Ampau field area, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Photo by Timothy Kojima, Cheam Pross, Eung Leang.

William Chapman is the Director of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, where he has been since 1993.

Jennifer Malin is a graduate student in the University of Hawai'i's Historic Preservation Program.

Dorothy Barton

1996 Pacific Preservation Field School

The Pacific Preservation Field School in many ways was an experiment in cultural diversity. This year's program concentrated on the documentation of urban vernacular architecture, gathering 18 students from Hawai`i, the U.S. mainland, Micronesia, Cambodia, Thailand, and other countries. The background of the participants varied, with professionals and students in archeology, architecture, urban and regional planning, and historic preservation studying preservation theory and gaining hands-on experience in architectural recording.

The course was developed and taught by Professor William Chapman, director of the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program, and Spencer Leineweber, FAIA and professor of architecture at the university. Through their direction, guest lecturers, community forums, and considerable field work, the students tackled training in research, documentation and recording techniques, basic terminology of architectural descriptions, drafting and techniques of measured drawings, training in 35mm photography, and preservation theory.

The field school was an opportunity for the students to work with a community dealing with immediate preservation problems and issues. The venue in 1996 was Kaimukī, an early-20th-century section of Honolulu. During the late-1960s, a highway was extended through the area, cutting off most of the business and dividing parts of the neighborhood. While this was detrimental to economic activity at the time, it also served to preserve many aspects of the neighborhood.

Today the Kaimukī neighborhood consists of many 1930s and 1940s Art Moderne commercial buildings surrounded by Craftsman and plantation style homes. The main street through Kaimukī has maintained much of its original character but has also obtained something of a feeling of neglect. The community is beginning to recognize the need to revitalize the area, hoping to not only increase economic activity, but also plan for growth that maintains the character of the pedestrian-friendly neighborhood.

Field school students at work in the studio. Photo by the author.

The students began by building a block-by-block inventory of the neighborhood. Over 20 blocks were surveyed, creating a record and encouraging preservation of the remaining older buildings in Kaimukī. HABS-standard measured drawings were done of some of the most influential examples of Kaimukī architecture. All of these drawings, ranging from a complex of five 58-year old cottages, the 1948 Art Moderne Venus Beauty Salon, to the lava rock Epiphany Episcopal School and Church, will be placed in the State Historic Preservation Office.

In the final exercise of the field school, students drew renderings of various commercial buildings along the main street and then proposed either a preservation, restoration, or rehabilitation plan that could improve the appearance, structure, and usefulness of the building without losing the atmosphere and integrity of the community. The field school concluded with the students presenting their proposals before a mock charette.

Finally, the existing plans and the student artistic proposals were put on display for the community at one of the many new coffee houses along the Kaimukī main thoroughfare. The future field schools of the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program hope to build on this success and lead to further hands-on learning involving community interaction next year on the island of Moloka`i.

Dorothy Barton is a graduate student in the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa.

CRM

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Cultural Resources
P.O. Box 37127
Washington, DC 20013-7127

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

VOLUME 19 • NO. 8
Cultural Resources
Washington, DC

FIRST CLASS MAIL
Postage & Fees Paid
U. S. Department of the Interior
G-83