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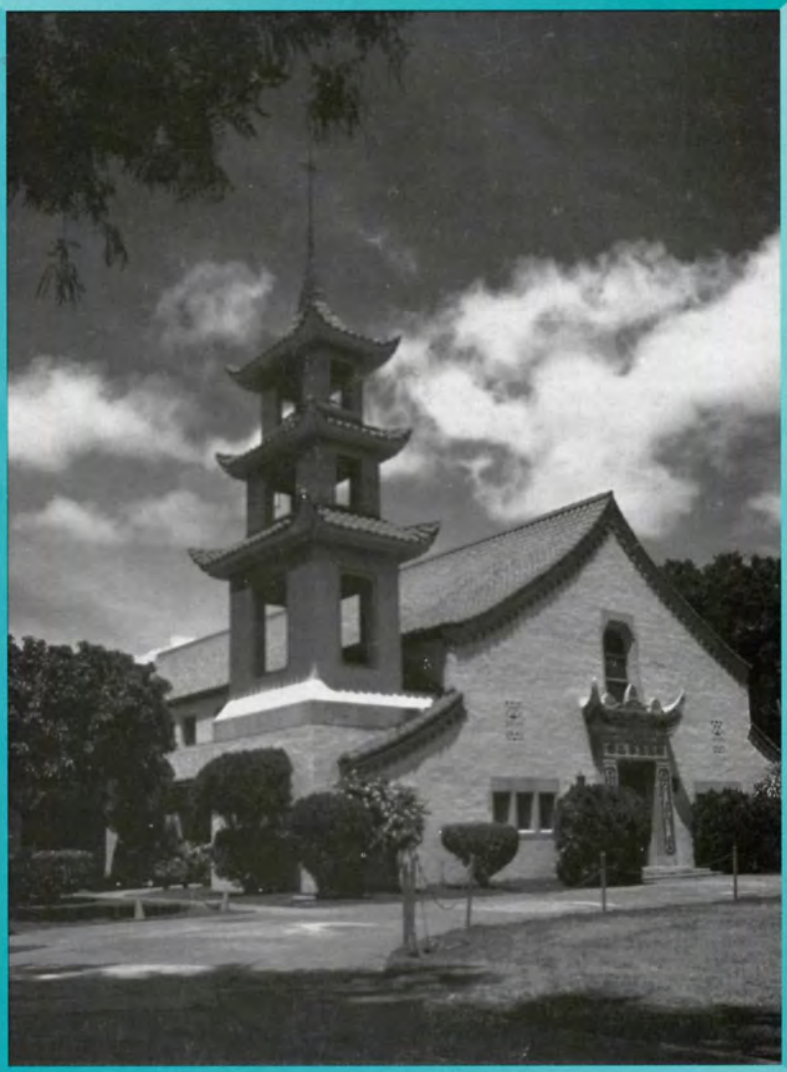
Another View from Hawai`i



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William Chapman

Another View from Hawai`i

Cultural Continuities and Discontinuities in the Asia-Pacific Region

This is the third issue of *CRM* that the University of Hawai`i's historic preservation program has had the opportunity to edit (see inset box). An earlier issue focussed on preservation and cultural resource management in East and Southeast Asia and also in the Pacific islands, especially Micronesia, where the University of Hawai`i has conducted a long-standing research and educational assistance program. A second issue was devoted to problems in cultural resource management in Hawai`i itself, where emphasis has increasingly shifted from dependence on outside expertise to reliance on indigenous perspectives and approaches.

Much has happened since those earlier issues. The economic buoyancy of the region, especially the seemingly unlimited expansion of the Japanese and Korean economies and dramatic growth in Southeast Asian countries, such as Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam, has suddenly ground to a halt. Banking failures, currency devaluations, and overall economic stagnation have caused the region to rethink its strategies and its future.

These circumstances have had a direct impact on cultural resources and their treatment as well. Less money has meant less opportunity for revitalizing historic buildings and a slow-down in more ambitious restoration plans for individual monuments. But a lack of funds for investment has also meant fewer new construction projects to threaten older buildings and environments. Furthermore, as is often the case, the hiatus in economic growth also has provided a fresh opportunity for reassessment of what is significant.

Already the Thai government, to mention only one example, has shifted emphasis from modernization to recognizing what is inherently "Thai." At least on paper, the official policy is now to recapture an appreciation for Thailand and Thai culture rather than depending on what is now interpreted as "foreign" models. This change in focus, both in Thailand and elsewhere, can potentially serve as an important vehicle for preserving traditional culture, as well as sites, buildings, and entire environments of historic and cultural significance.

To a lesser extent the "Asian Crisis" has had an impact in the Pacific as well. Increasingly dependent on Asian visitors, the economies of Hawai`i, Guam, Micronesia, and the other Pacific islands, and island nations have suffered significantly. Hawai`i is really the only state in the U.S. to have not experienced the much-publicized North American economic resurgence of the past several years. Tied strongly to Japan, Hawai`i, has experienced slow growth in all sectors, particularly tourism. Unemployment in the state is at a nearly all-time high, visitor numbers and spending are down, and property values in Hawai`i have decreased significantly from the high prices common in the late 1980s.

As a result of these reversals, state revenues have fallen greatly. This has lead to down-sizing in many areas of government, including the State of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Office, which has just experienced massive cuts in personnel. A smaller staff, in turn, means that state review of development projects affecting historic properties will be hampered; a plan put forward to subcontract the review process to private firms is perceived by many as inherently inadequate to the task. Also, funds for on-going surveys of cultural resources, for enforcement, and particularly for educational outreach are also unavailable.

But again, as in Asia, the people of Hawai`i now have a fresh opportunity for reassessment of what is important in their history and in their cul-

This is the third issue of *CRM* that has been compiled and edited by the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. Contributions were made by Chapman; Lowell Angell, program administrator; Jennifer Leung and Chris Kirk-Kuwaye at the Department of American Studies. Our thanks to the authors and to Ron Greenberg at the National Park Service.

Other issues of *CRM* edited by the Historic Preservation program are "Preservation in the Pacific Basin," Volume 19, No. 3, 1996; and "Approaches to Heritage: Hawaiian and Pacific Perspectives on Preservation," Volume 19, No. 8, 1996.

A traditional Yapese structure in Micronesia. Photo by William Murtagh.

ture today. Native Hawaiians in particular can further consolidate their own position as "keepers" of their heritage and emerge as stronger advocates for the preservation both of tangible resources and retention and promotion of less visible qualities of Hawaiian culture—characteristics embedded in language, music, dance and many other aspects of cultural life. The same holds for peoples of other Pacific islands, especially Micronesia (including the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau and the Republic of the Marshall Islands) as they slowly sever their political ties to the U.S.

For other peoples in Hawai`i, the descendants of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Europeans, and North Americans who have populated the islands for the past nearly 200 years, the shift in economic fortunes also provides a chance to look again at the state's varied heritage. Hawai`i's history is a complex one; and though the visitor industry is often intent on presenting a single theme for touristic consumption, the fact of the matter is that the history of human settlement and interaction in the islands is multi-layered and, frankly, multi-dimensional. There is no single history, no unified heritage, but in fact multiple histories and multiple legacies. All of these deserve a closer look and a more thorough assessment. We perhaps now have an opportunity to do that.

This issue of *CRM* looks at several distinct themes in the heritage of Hawai`i and the region. One collection of essays deals with urban Hawai`i and the phenomenon of urbanism more generally. Portrayed as romantic, sun-drenched islands, wafted by cooling breezes and swaying palms, Hawai`i also includes densely settled metropolitan areas with many typical urban characteristics and problems. O`ahu and the capital city of Honolulu have a present population of over 800,000, and for over a century Honolulu has been an important trading and communications center in the central Pacific as well serving as the United States' window on the East.

Suggesting some of the complexity of Hawai`i's urban heritage, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer Don Hibbard and the author look at the development of Waikīkī as a significant international resort. How buildings and other features in Waikīkī might be better understood in their historic context and how important elements might be preserved despite continuing development pressure is the question that is asked, and to a lesser degree answered, in this essay first presented in different form at the National Park Service-sponsored conference on the preservation of the recent past, held in Chicago two years ago. To further illustrate the complexity of the problem, graduate student Dee Ruzicka discusses the Hilton

Dome Auditorium, one of Buckminster Fuller's original geodesic domes, a structure now threatened with demolition.

Complementing these articles, former University of Hawai`i graduate student Scott Bogle looks at the in-town commercial neighborhood of Upper Wai`alae Avenue, in his article "Keeping Kaimukī: Making Main Street Work in Urban Honolulu." The study area for the University's 1996 Summer Historic Preservation Field School, this early- to mid-20th-century historic district faces all the problems common to deteriorating downtown commercial areas anywhere in the world. Efforts to revitalize the area following the program set out by the National Trust's Main Street Program are discussed and measured.

At the other end of the economic scale, the author, along with Helen Nakano, president of Mālama o Mānoa, Lowell Angell, and Rose Mary Ruhr, graduate student in the University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program, discuss preservation efforts in the affluent, early 20th-century neighborhood of Mānoa. A "classic" historic district, with intact streetscapes and an outstanding collection of mostly wood houses in Craftsman, Colonial Revival, and more eclectic styles, Mānoa is threatened by new, incompatible construction, the loss of open space, the removal of traditional tree cover and an increasing number of subdivisions of older properties. Efforts to gain community support for recognition and designation as a special design district have been hampered by community opposition. The authors suggest some of

the reasons for this and offer fresh strategies for community education.

From a different perspective, Don Hibbard looks at the varied architectural heritage of Hawai`i as a unique resource. Unlike most mainland cities, Honolulu has for much of its history been self-consciously "exotic." While not reflected fully in its urban forms—its streets, transportation systems and overall planning—for much of its history Honolulu has attempted to convey a sense of "the other" in its buildings. Don Hibbard examines the architecture of leading Hawaiian architects, particularly of the 1920s and 1930s, and the ways in which they incorporated Asian motifs into their work. He also looks at more popular expressions of "Orientalism" in Hawai`i's architecture: the moon gates and garden designs of many homes, the adaptation of Chinese and Japanese-inspired rooflines in otherwise vernacular structures.

Also, in a short note, the results of the University's recent efforts to document Honolulu's Chinatown area are discussed. Saved from the wrecking ball in the early 1970s, the historically Chinese district of the city has been covered by special regulatory laws for over 20 years. The University of Hawai`i's 1998 Summer Field School completed a first-ever building-by-building survey of the district and also provided instruction to a number of students in the basics of preservation practice and documentation techniques.

To provide another point of view, Australian preservationist and historical architect Elizabeth Vines discusses policies governing historic urban areas in Australia. Concentrating on her home city of Adelaide, as well as historic districts in Sydney and Freemantle in Western Australia, Elizabeth Vines retraces the history of heritage legislation in Australia, the application of the *Burra Charter* and some of the problems facing Australian cultural resource managers.

On a more "exotic" note, University of Southern California doctoral candidate Changmii Bae discusses the demolition of historically significant, though Japanese-built, buildings in Korea, demonstrating that selective memory can play an important part in national self-definition.

The work of the Asia and Western Pacific Network for Urban Conservation (AWNPUC), an international association that attempts to promote a more holistic understanding of the past, is discussed in a brief report on the organization's sixth annual meeting, held in Taipei in November, 1997. UNESCO's innovative LEAP program, an integrated approach to preserving "living" historic places in Asia and the Pacific, is also presented in a brief outline prepared by UNESCO's regional director, Richard Engelhardt.

Returning to Hawai`i, the issue also covers the complex theme of cultural definition (and redefinition) and the representation of culture to others. Hawai`i has been bound up with tourism as an economic mainstay for nearly a century. The fact of thousands (and now millions) of annual visitors and the long-standing existence of what might be considered a "culture of tourism" has had a profound impact on many aspects of the state's heritage. Music, dance and material culture have all been affected by the overriding effort to somehow "present" Hawai`i to the outside world. This more commercial kind of heritage has now gained a kind of legitimacy in its own right—it too is "historic" and, in turn, helps to define the culture of the Hawai`i today.

Several articles included in this issue help to illustrate this phenomenon. London-based, freelance writer and cultural historian Caroline Klarr provides a succinct history of Hawaiian *hula*. Now subject to an enormous popular revival, *hula* probably more than any other cultural practice has come to signify "Hawai`i" both to residents and outsiders alike. Ms. Klarr shows how the dance form evolved from both sacred and recreational forms to become a touristic icon and, now, a new source of pride for Hawaiian people.

Bishop Museum archivist and historian DeSoto Brown discusses both *hula* and other symbols of traditional Hawai`i in his article "Hawai`i—Never Easier to Sell." Using popular films as a point of reference, DeSoto Brown looks at the imagery of volcanos, Hawaiian shirts, the pineapple industry and ukeleles to demonstrate how "cul-

Plan XI, Hawai`i Sugar Planters' Association, 1919. This example was reconstructed at Waipahu Cultural Garden Park on O`ahu. Photo by the author.

ture" can be transformed through commercialization. American Studies graduate student Matt Claybaugh provides an interesting review article based on three recent books on various aspects of "Hawaiiana": Nancy Schiffer's comprehensive study of the Hawaiian shirt; Fred Hemmings' recent history of surfing in Hawai`i; and Mark Blackburn's seemingly exhaustive catalog of Hawaiian "collectibles."

To round out this aspect of the story, Kevin Roddy's review of Elizabeth Buck's detailed history of Hawaiian music and the role it has played (and continues to play) in Hawaiians' own definition of themselves has been reprinted from the *Journal of the Hawaiian Historical Society*.

Finally, Terry Webb's "A New Kind of Plantation: The Polynesian Cultural Center in La`ie" demonstrates that even cultural representations that seem wholly linked to tourism and even showmanship can have deeper routes. In the case of Hawai`i's famous Polynesian Cultural Center, Webb has been able to trace its origins to traditional *hukilau*, or fishing ceremonies, held on the northeast shore of O`ahu earlier in the century. Combined with a festive *luau*, the *hukilau* served both as a means of entertaining tourists and also encouraging converts to the Morman Church (Church of the Latter Day Saints), which had been present in the area since the mid-19th century. The present Polynesian Cultural Center, with its multistory Imax theater and evening performances of somewhat ersatz Polynesian dances, chants, and melodies—including the show-stopping "fire-dance"—can be shown through the historical record to possess deeper cultural significance as well.

A third theme of this issue is Hawai`i's fast-vanishing plantation tradition. As announced in the last University of Hawai`i-edited issue of *CRM*, the plantation economy of Hawai`i is fast approaching an end. The once productive sugar fields of O`ahu and the Big Island of Hawai`i are now dormant or are gradually being converted to other uses. The same may be true of remaining sugar and pineapple fields on the other islands as well.

With the gradual end of large-scale commercial agriculture in the state, an important part of Hawai`i's culture is threatened as well. This includes especially the scores of sugar and pineapple "camps," where the majority of Hawai`i's immigrant population at one time lived. Every year more houses, most simple wood residences dating to the early decades of the 20th century, are pulled down or abandoned—effectively eradicating an enormously significant component of the state's heritage.

This issue deals with some of the concerns revolving around this legacy. In a lead article, University of Hawai`i architecture professor and well-known preservation architect Spencer Leineweber discusses efforts to preserve and interpret plantation housing. She discusses both museum-based efforts, including her own award-winning project on O`ahu, Hawai`i's Plantation Village, and other efforts to preserve older housing in the Hawaiian islands.

City housing officer Jeanne Hamilton provides a succinct history of the `Ewa Plantation in the western part of O`ahu and the City and County of Honolulu's efforts to rehabilitate historic worker houses as apart of an affordable housing scheme. Once home to nearly 5,000 people, `Ewa Villages now preserves an important cross-section of plantation house types and other buildings associated with this important industry.

Looking at the older history of sugar production, Michigan Technological University professor Carol MacLennan, a long-time student of the agricultural and industrial history of Hawai`i, discusses early plantations on Maui and the challenges facing preservationists and cultural resource managers in maintaining and interpreting those resources. Dr. MacLennan also describes efforts to preserve the records of early and later plantations as part of the state's heritage.

Finally, Sheree Chase, Curator of the Kona Historical Society and American Studies student at the University of Hawai`i, describes her organization's efforts to preserve a historic coffee farm on the western coast of the Big Island of Hawai`i. Unlike sugar plantations, coffee farms were generally small operations, usually no more than seven acres in size. Farmed principally by Japanese immigrants, who leased their properties from larger estates or from individual land-holders, the Kona coffee farms became models of productivity and produced a variety of coffee now famous throughout the world. Ms. Chase describes the Kona Historical Society's efforts and the special require-

Typical Art Moderne (streamlined modern) commercial building in Honolulu. Photo by Scott Bogle.

A postcard incorporates 1950s images typically used to promote Hawai`i. DeSoto Brown Collection.

ments involved in preserving and interpreting life on coffee farms during the early part of the 20th century.

A fourth theme of this issue is continuing preservation efforts in Micronesia. Following upon earlier articles on Micronesian preservation activities, including the University of Hawai`i's cooperative training program undertaken in partnership with the National Park Service, David Look and Paula Falk-Creech describe the National Park Service's annual consultation meetings. Held in both Micronesia and on the mainland U.S., these consultations are critical to the National Park Service's on-going work in the region. Mr. Look and Ms. Creech put the work in historical perspective as well, discussing the present political status of the Micronesian islands.

Also, from the same region, Deputy Historic Preservation Officer for the Northern Marianas, Scott Russell, describes current preservation and documentation efforts in the former U.S. territory. As in Hawai`i and other Pacific islands, Mr. Russell points out, the preservation of "culture" as well as sites and artifacts, plays a critical role in the work of his office.

Writing from Australia, anthropologist Dirk Spenneman describes the special problem of unexploded ammunition as a cultural resource issue. Swept up in the events of World War II, the Micronesian islands were the theater for numerous engagements—which left a different kind of legacy in their wake. Dr. Spenneman suggests that as these sites become more popular with visitors, issues of visitor safety will become more important as well.

The remainder of this issue deals with topics first presented in the earlier two Hawai`i-edited issues. Cultural resource manager Jadelyn Moniz describes work conducted at the Pohakuloa Training area on the Big Island of Hawai`i on behalf of the U.S. Army. Sharon Brown, formerly interpretive planner with Harpers Ferry Center and now park historian at Kalaupapa National Historic Park in Hawai`i, discusses problems in the interpretation of Hawaiian sites. Both articles indicate the complexity of the Hawaiian heritage and the work that still needs to be done on all fronts.

Following up on the University of Hawai`i's work in Cambodia, Professor Bion Griffin, Chair of the University's Anthropology Department, reports on the University's continuing efforts in research and training focussing on the dramatic pre-Angkoran site at Angkor Borei. Felicia Mayro of the World Monuments Fund describes WMF's work at Preah Khan in Angkor and efforts that have resumed there after the disruptive political events of the summer of 1997.

As a follow-up to previous reports on The University of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Program, Anthropology graduate student and the University of Hawai`i's Marine Archaeology and History coordinator Suzanne Finney describes the University's 1997 Summer Historic Preservation Field School project in Kalaupapa, the famous Hansen's disease (leprosy) colony on Moloka`i. Still home to some 60 patients, Kalaupapa is gradually being transformed into a National Park Service-managed visitor site. The University of Hawai`i project resulted in an inventory of existing cultural resources and a blueprint for interim development.

Asia and the Pacific remain exciting areas for historic preservationists and cultural resource managers. Much also is still taking place in the region. It is our hope that this issue of *CRM* will remind both professionals and preservation advocates in North America that this vast part of the world continues to deserve attention.

William Chapman is the Director of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. He is an anthropologist and historic preservationist with research and teaching experience in international preservation and a specialty in vernacular architecture studies.

Photo Credit from CRM Vol. 19, No. 8, 1996

In "The Significance of Heiau Diversity in Site Evaluations" by C. Kēhaunani Cachola-Abad, photos should be credited to Anne Kapulani Landgraf from *Na Wahi Pana O Ko`olau Poko: Legendary Places of Ko`olau Poko*, University of Hawai`i Press, 1994. Figure 3, Alāla *heiau* at Kailua, O`ahu; figure 4, Wailea *heiau* at Kailua, O`ahu; figure 5, Kukuiokāne *heiau* at Kane`ohe, O`ahu. Reprinted with permission.

Carol D. Shull

Preserving Hawai`i's Heritage
Who Makes It Happen?

When Bill Chapman asked me to do an article for this issue of *CRM*, he did not know that I would be writing about him and others I met in Hawai`i—the people and organizations working to preserve Hawai`i's heritage for all of us to enjoy. Here are just a few examples of the dedication, creativity, and zeal they demonstrate in attacking the preservation challenges on those beautiful islands.

I was invited to Hawai`i to speak as part of the Experts at the Palace lecture series. The University of Hawai`i at Mānoa sponsors these lectures for the public held at the National Historic Landmark, `Iolani Palace, in downtown Honolulu. When I got to this magnificent place, I found H.J. Bartels, the Managing Director of the Friends of `Iolani Palace there to welcome me, reminding me that preservation needs more of these active friends groups. The lecture was well attended by local professionals, students from the University, representatives from state and local preservation organizations, and other citizens. This series brings an international group of speakers to Hawai`i and provides a forum for preservation advocates to learn from the lectures, mingle with each other, and introduce a wide variety of citizens to preservation issues.

After the lecture, Bill Chapman, Lowell Angell, the program administrator for the University's preservation program, and David Scott, Executive Director of the Historic Hawai`i Foundation, took me to lunch and to visit National Trust advisor, Mary Cooke, in her National Register listed home in Mānoa. Mary is a founder of Mālama o Mānoa, the nonprofit community organization established to preserve, protect, and enhance historic Mānoa Valley. Both she and Lowell, who also lives there, are working through the organization to get the district listed in the National and State registers, and to achieve special district status to protect it from the threats that are described in the article in this issue.

Mary gave me *Mānoa, The Story of a Valley*, a book by Mānoa Valley residents sponsored by businesses, organizations, and individuals and published with the encouragement and assistance of Mālama o Mānoa. The book says that proceeds from the initial hardcover edition "will be used to establish a Mālama o Mānoa Educational Endowment Fund, the income from which will support educational efforts to help preserve, protect, and enhance the unique 'sense of place' of our Mānoa community." In the publication, which won an award from the American Association for State and Local History, a variety of contributors lovingly describe the multicultural heritage of this Honolulu neighborhood and what it means to those who have been part of its history. Mary, who took the time to attend my lecture and to show me through her home, was leaving right away with David Scott to attend a National Trust Advisors meeting on the mainland.

My next stop was the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa campus to talk to Bill's graduate students about some of their projects. Every state university system should have a historic preservation program to train students to do our work. Professor Chapman assigns his students practical preservation projects that provide a public service, contribute to achieving community preservation goals, and train students to carry out the real work of historic preservation. I heard about the 1996 Summer Field School that prepared an inventory of buildings in the Upper Wai`alae Avenue commercial area of Honolulu, which student Scott Bogle describes. In 1997, the students worked at Kalaupapa, one of seven units of the national park system in Hawai`i. In 1998, the students will complete a survey to record the buildings in Honolulu's National Register listed Chinatown Historic District. I am eager to add the results of their work to the National Park Service's documentation on this outstanding historic district. Students have done National Register nominations, too. Bill is also working with Don Hibbard to develop the context for evaluating the more recent historic buildings in Honolulu. Their work will make it possible to add some of these buildings to the National Register and help educate Hawai`i's citizens about their importance.

Don Hibbard, the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, spent a whole day taking me around the island of O`ahu to see historic places in Honolulu and `Ewa Plantation. Jean Hamilton from the Department of Housing and Community Development in Honolulu writes in her article that the historic preservation community led the City and County of Honolulu to modify its plans to

assure that the historic character of the `Ewa Villages plantation sugar camp was preserved and provide affordable housing for its residents. Don and his staff in the historic preservation office described the challenges they face in fighting opposition to designation of historic resources because of development pressures, especially on O`ahu, and the threat of staff cuts in a bill proposed by the legislature. They showed me some of their impressive public education publications, a 1998 calendar with beautiful photographs of Native Hawaiian traditional cultural places, and handsome brochures describing the state preservation program, registration, the historic preservation development process, and small towns in Hawai`i. Hawai`i state laws require the review of projects that will affect designated historic properties and encourage preservation by making owners eligible to apply for state grants for preservation projects and county tax exemptions for historic residences. That evening there was a special meeting of the state review board, where we discussed how to evaluate buildings with integrity problems. I was reminded of the countless hours that review board members and other public spirited people donate to the preservation cause.

Maui is one of the Hawaiian Islands that are certified local governments (CLG). County planner Elizabeth Anderson, who runs the Maui CLG program, arranged for me to come to Maui to meet with her and local preservation advocates. Janice and Tom Fairbanks provided me a place to stay in their beautifully restored bed and breakfast, The Old Wailuku Inn at Ulupono in Wailuku. Linda Decker, president of the Maui Historical Society and Cathy Riley, Executive Director of the Society's National Register listed Bailey House Museum, arranged a luncheon meeting there where I could talk with citizens who are committed to preserving Maui's heritage. The Bailey House, built by missionaries as part of a school for Hawaiian girls, now houses the society's museum of artifacts from the missionary and early Hawaiian periods of Maui's history. Elizabeth and I also had a chance to look at some other historic properties with the Chair of the Maui County Cultural Resources Commission, Dorothy R. Pyle. Dorothy had written an eloquent letter to the Chair and Members of the Ways and Means Committee of the Hawai`i State Senate opposing proposed cuts to the development project review staff of the State Historic Preservation Office. I understand that the cuts did not occur. I would bet that Dorothy's letter helped with its testimony to the critical role that State preservation office plays in protecting cultural resources.

Every state needs a strong statewide nonprofit preservation organization. David Scott is the Executive Director of the Historic Hawai`i Foundation, which was founded in 1974. David told me about the Foundation's work and gave me a brochure describing the conference they were sponsoring celebrating National Preservation Week and National Tourism Week entitled "Heritage Preservation and Tourism, Working Together to Strengthen Hawai`i's Economy." David showed the Foundation's political savvy in holding a conference that would call attention to how critical preserving heritage resources is to bringing more tourists to Hawai`i, an essential strategy for recovering from the current recession. The conference had a number of cosponsoring organizations and featured outstanding speakers like Donovan Rypkema, author of *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide*, and Mayor Joseph P. Riley of Charleston.

Before I left the mainland, architect Puanai Maunu sent me an email message on behalf of the AIA/Honolulu Chapter Women in Architecture Committee inviting me to meet with the members one evening at Spencer Leineweber's beautifully restored historic home in Mānoa. Spencer is not only an award winning practicing architect doing the kind of preservation projects she describes in her article in this issue, but she is an Associate Professor at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa's School of Architecture. Preservation work is not just a part of their profession for women like Spencer and others who make time in their busy lives to help save and promote Hawai`i's heritage.

Hawai`i has 292 listings in the National Register that include 2,159 contributing resources; 32 are National Historic Landmarks. I saw many more that should be registered and preserved on my whirlwind tour of four of the Hawaiian Islands. Some of these places include Mānoa; `Ewa Plantation and other sugar, pineapple, and coffee plantation resources; commercial districts; exceptionally significant 20th-century buildings in Honolulu; Native Hawaiian traditional cultural places; small towns and rural historic districts that illustrate Hawai`i's unique multicultural heritage. The people and organizations I have described here and others like them will make it happen in Hawai`i, because they care.

Carol Shull is the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, NPS.

William Chapman and Don J. Hibbard

Waikīkī—Where the Past Collides with the Future

Waikīkī skyline. Photo by David Franzen.

The resort area of Waikīkī presents a visual challenge for historic preservationists and cultural resource managers. Unlike famous historic resorts on the mainland U.S., Waikīkī has experienced no true hiatus in its development. In fact, change and development have occurred at a relatively regular pace since Waikīkī's sudden boom in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the time of Hawai`i's statehood. Waikīkī is not, then, a stagnant backwater waiting to be rediscovered by preservationists, but an ongoing development phenomenon.

Since the introduction of jet service to Hawai`i in 1959, the visitor industry in Hawai`i overall has moved forward and not looked back. By 1967 its earnings had surpassed those of sugar and pineapple combined, and since 1972, when visitor spending overtook defense spending in the Islands, the visitor industry has been Hawai`i's number one generator of revenues. In advancing to the top of the economic ladder, the industry has literally obliterated Waikīkī's past. The older, court type hotels, smaller bungalows, and low-rise apartment complexes dating principally from the 1920s through the 1940s were demolished to make way for new development; many 1950s and 1960s buildings, in turn, have either been swept away or adapted and "modernized" to keep pace with newer hotel and commercial changes.

The general public hardly considers the range of 1950s and 1960s, and especially 1970s, highrise buildings for their historic value. Their significance, moreover, is as yet far from understood. They are obviously significant, and perhaps exceptionally significant, for their role in Hawai`i's recent history. But is this sufficient reason for considering their preservation, or must they be significant beyond this major, albeit limited, context? And though preservationists and historians might recognize significance in building of this period—and even in some cases "project" significance into the future—does this mean that the public, and its representatives in the political arena, are ready to accept these judgments as well?

The State of Hawai`i's Historic Preservation Division, in cooperation with the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i, has begun the process of developing a set of contexts with which to better evaluate buildings and other items of significance in the Waikīkī area. This follows upon earlier, less systematic attention to the area by the state office, which included a number of National Register nominations of both individual properties and more encompassing thematic nominations.

At this point, the "context" project is in many ways an academic exercise, both figuratively and literally. The nationally developed context or theme-based format for understanding and evaluating resources, in fact, has proved useful in placing properties together and giving cohesion to an often seemingly disparate set of properties. Overall, the contexts are local (or state-wide) ones, although there are some properties with obvious links to national contexts, such as the several military properties in the Waikīkī area or Buckminster Fuller's aluminum geodesic dome (1957) at the then Kaiser Hawaiian Village Hotel. Although there will be obvious limits to what can be done with the list once it is completed—many of the properties, for example, will be considered too recent in date to nominate even with a liberal interpretation of the criteria considerations—nonetheless, with completion of the contexts and compilation of a complete inventory, we will at least know what still exists and what is likely to be considered important in the not-too-distant future. What we will not have, at least at this point, is a strategy in place for preservation of these identified resources.

To develop any sort of preservation strategy, those involved with the preservation of Waikīkī must move beyond merely identifying significant properties. Again, the recent history of Waikīkī has centered on change. There is no reason to think that this trend will abate. To be effective, preservationists will need to know where and when to fight their battles. A system is needed not only to evaluate significance, but more importantly, what has been labeled "high preservation value."

Waikīkī's history helps to illustrate the problems at hand. Waikīkī has undergone what might be considered as five major transformations in the last two centuries. It served as a traditional seat of power for the island of O`ahu from the mid-1400s until 1809, when Kamehameha I moved his court to Honolulu, a natural deep draft harbor that provided a haven for western ships. This move, coupled with a precipitous decline in the Hawaiian population,

led to Waikīkī becoming a backwash of civilization, or to use Twain's words, "historic Waikīkī." From the 1860s onward the district emerged as a popular ocean-side retreat, a day use recreational area that existed side by side with the revival of wetland agriculture by the Chinese. With the completion of the trolley line to the beach in 1904 and the destruction of the wetland agricultural fields in the 1920s, Waikīkī became an increasingly resort-oriented, suburban residential area. From the mid-1950s onward it has developed into an urban resort that now attracts more than six million visitors a year.

The recently rehabilitated Moana Hotel (1901) stands as the oldest building in Waikīkī. Built on the heels of the United States' annexation of Hawai'i as a territory, it was Waikīkī's first successful hotel endeavor, and the third attempt at establishing a seaside hotel at the beach. Today it is dwarfed by the successful visitor industry it anticipated.

Other turn-of-the-century Waikīkī hotels such as the Seaside, the Waikīkī Inn, and later the popular Halekulani Hotel (1917), were characterized by a cottage atmosphere. These have either disappeared with time or were consumed by more ambitious hotel projects during the 1920s and 1930s. Despite a seeming boom in hotel openings in Waikīkī during the first decade of the 20th century, the 300-room Alexander Young Hotel (1903), situated in downtown Honolulu, boasted more hotel rooms than all of Waikīkī.

The construction of the Ala Wai canal in the 1920s presaged a dramatic shift in the Waikīkī landscape. The canal diverted the three major streams that ran through the district. In turn, this led to the demise of the wetland agriculture and duck farming that dominated the area, and banished the voracious mosquito from the ocean front. The subdivision and suburbanization of Waikīkī followed, and Hawai'i's first world class hotel, the Royal Hawaiian (1927) appeared on the scene. The construction of the hotel coupled with the introduction by Matson Navigation Company of new ocean liners, including the Malolo, the world's fastest at the time, and the improvement of Honolulu Harbor, including the erection of Aloha Tower, led the *Honolulu Advertiser* to declare by 1938 that Waikīkī had made the "transition from a once rural community into a smart center visited and enjoyed by the great and near great of the world."

Establishments supporting the "glamour" of the district included Gump's (1929), a branch of the San Francisco store, which specialized in *objets d'art* from East and West, and the beautiful tropical-deco Waikīkī Theatre (1936), with its lush landscaped courtyard and fountain and an interior decorated with artificial foliage and a "rainbow" proscenium. These still remain along Kalākaua Avenue, but in transmogrified forms. The interior of the latter was gutted following the Hawai'i Historic Places Review Board's 1979 rejection of its nomination on the grounds that the building was "neither over 50 years old nor of exceptional significance."

World War II brought thousands of servicemen to the islands, and they returned to the mainland with glowing tales of paradise. Visitation to the islands increased after the war and by the mid-1950s hovered around the 100,000 mark. In 1955 the Waikīkī Biltmore Hotel, Rosalei Apartments and Princess Kaiulani Hotel succeeded each other as the tallest buildings in the territory in a matter of less than six months, marking the commencement of Waikīkī as an urban resort.

The impetus for new development was accelerated in 1959 when the jet airplane reduced the flight time from the west coast from an uncomfort-

Buckminster Fuller Dome

The Hilton Dome Auditorium in Waikīkī, a geodesic dome designed by R. Buckminster Fuller, who pioneered the exploration of lightweight architectural design and materials, passed its life expectancy of 40 years in January of 1998. Erected in 22 hours building time in 1957, the 145-foot diameter aluminum dome remains a direct link between today and Fuller's groundbreaking engineering and design methods of the 1950s, which introduced architects to sophisticated geometric concepts and innovations in construction. The Hilton Dome Auditorium is the first production of Hawai'i developer Henry Kaiser's license to mass produce Fuller's design at his Oakland, California aluminum works. Fuller's lightweight, low-cost dome in Waikīkī was the first of many prefab Kaiser domes and has proven to be durable for today's development climate. As with many other buildings of the "recent past," this structure is threatened presently by new development plans.

View of the R. Buckminster Fuller-designed Hilton Dome Auditorium, Waikīkī. Used with permission of R. Buckminster Fuller, Carbondale, IL., and supplied by Leco Photo Service, New York, NY.

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able 12 hours to just 5. That year also saw Hawai`i admitted as the 50th state, the publication of James Michener's *Hawai`i*, and tourism jump to a quarter of a million people.

In 1955, the *Honolulu Advertiser*, on the opening of the 350-unit, 10-story Reef Hotel, had speculated that someday Waikīkī might be able to support a 700-room hotel. By 1962, the construction of the Reef Tower and its addition expanded the capacity of the Reef alone to 883 rooms. By 1986, the 50 square blocks of Waikīkī included five hotels with inventories in excess of 1,100 rooms, with the Hilton Hawaiian Village offering 2,612 rooms. Later development would surpass even these figures. The resulting optimism for the future has resulted in Waikīkī shedding its past just as a lizard sheds its skin. The district exists for today, a totally modern, upbeat urban center in the mainstream of contemporary excitement and trends.

Here the 1950s is ancient history, much of it already destroyed, most recently the Waikīkīan Hotel (1956) with its hyperbolic paraboloid roof and open-air Tahitian Lanai Restaurant, and the impending demolition of Canlis Restaurant (1953) with its striking architecture and "modern" tropical ambiance, and Buckminster Fuller's geodesic aluminum dome (1957). The few remaining 1950s and earlier buildings are nostalgically clutched at as reminders of a gentler time. Citizens groups have proposed registration of these structures for they know they may not be long for the fast-changing resort area.

How we are to sort through this complex array of buildings, building remnants and other features to pick out those properties that **must** be preserved remains another problem. What has been utilized is a system for evaluation, with some elements borrowed from the existing structure of the National Register program and its guidelines, and other elements tailored for local application in Hawai`i and Waikīkī.

Overall, there are six areas of consideration: integrity, uniqueness, rarity, a work by an outstanding designer, condition, and the existing level of public recognition. Several other areas may be considered including innovative technology or materials, and a site of an important event or place associated with a significant figure.

- ***Integrity*** is well defined by the National Register program, although elements within what are considered the various aspects of integrity, such as "feeling" and "association," remain somewhat unclear, especially to the lay person.
- ***Uniqueness*** is a concept most members of the public can be brought to understand. The only building in Waikīkī designed by locally-prominent architect C.W. Dickey, for example; the only hotel from the 1920s period.
- ***Rarity***, like uniqueness, enjoys a broad level of public recognition and acceptance as important to the value of a property. A rare example of a 1920s bungalow, for example. Rarity is seen as a key element for promotion of value to the public.
- ***Name recognition value***, or work by outstanding designers, both Hawaiian architects, as well as Mainland architects practicing in Hawai`i, seen as a valuable "asset." Support from professional organizations can be expected, as this aspect recognizes the value of their professions.
- ***Condition***, often confused with integrity, is the realistic potential of a property for preservation. Condition has wide acceptance as an element in "value" and as a yardstick for assessment. A property in poor condition, for example, might justifiably be demolished, while one in excellent condition could be less easily dismissed.
- ***Innovative technology or materials*** in buildings can generally be understood by the public, as with "rarity" or "the work of an outstanding designer." What better thing to be recognized in Waikīkī than buildings or other features exemplifying the resort area.

The category of "important events or places associated with important people" can best be used to reinforce another point of significance. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel, for example, is significant for its architecture, its architects and its high level of public recognition, as well as for its association with important visitors.

Many cultural features associated with native Hawaiians are now highly valued by the general public. Justifying the value of the historic grove of royal palms near the Royal Hawaiian Hotel is relatively easy due to the growing recognition of the importance of Hawaiian history.

These six key and two auxiliary factors provide at least an outline for the assessment of "cultural value" for particular properties in Waikīkī and elsewhere in the state. They lift the criteria for the assessment of historical significance out of a strictly intellectual realm into the more practical domain of preservation, and provide the state with a method for making decisions about protection, or at least about which properties to support, as well as a rationale for gaining favorable public opinion.

Waikīkī is a place of the present, and, in an important sense, of the future. As preservationists, we are concerned that elements of the area's development be preserved as a record and to ensure variety and contrast, if nothing else. What the future will bode, of course, remains unknown.

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Scott P. Bogle

Keeping Kaimukī

Making Main Street Work

1930s and 40s commercial buildings, Kaimukī. Photos by William Chapman.

The urban fabric of Hawai`i's Territorial era, woven before the onset of the high-rise hotel and the freeway, becomes harder to find in a size larger than a swatch with each passing year. By some accounts, Honolulu retains only two or three relatively intact districts representative of the city's commercial development in the first half of the century, prior to the development of tourism as the state's main industry. Preserving the historic character and revitalizing the economy of one of these districts, known as Kaimukī, has been the goal of a series of initiatives by the City and County of Honolulu, the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program, and the Kaimukī business and residential community during the past three years. The progress of these efforts provides an interesting look at the challenges of urban revitalization and historic preservation in Honolulu.

Situated atop a hill in East Honolulu, Kaimukī was founded in 1898 as what some have referred to as Hawai`i's first sub-division. Kaimukī's development began in earnest following a major fire in Honolulu's Chinatown district in 1900, as families and businesses sought out inexpensive land in the newly developing district. In addition to residential construction, the early 1900s saw the district grow with the establishment of a hospital, several schools, and an extension of the Honolulu trolley line.

The main thoroughfare through Kaimukī, Wai`alae Avenue, was also the primary road leading to developing sections of East O`ahu. With the growing residential population and heavy through-traffic, it was an ideal location for businesses, and during the 1920s-1950s Kaimukī developed into one of the primary commercial districts for the city.

The 1950s saw construction of a shopping mall in the Wai`alae-Kahala district abutting Kaimukī in the east, as well as the mammoth Ala Moana Center in Waikīkī. Added to the impact of this new retail competition was the extension of the Lunalilo freeway through Kaimukī, bypassing the main downtown commercial area. As with so many small towns on the U.S. mainland, mall development and extension of the interstate highway system bypassing the town center marked the beginning of a long period of decline for Kaimukī.

As has also been the case for many other towns though, several decades of slow economy have resulted in the preservation of a remarkable number of 1930s and 1940s buildings in Kaimukī's commercial center. Primarily one- and two-story concrete structures, the buildings show two main stylistic influences. The more common of these is a stripped down local interpretation of Art Moderne, with broad flat awnings sheltering the sidewalk, narrower overhangs cantilevered over second story windows, and additional architectural detailing emphasizing the horizontal line. Also prominent is a Spanish Colonial Revival influence, with stucco walls, arched door and window openings, and hipped terra cotta tile roofs. While this style is most common among civic buildings in the area, it can also be seen in a number of the commercial structures.

Interest in preserving this historic fabric and revitalizing the district's economy has spurred a number of studies and assessments of the community over the past several years. These have included two urban design studies commissioned by the City and County of Honolulu during 1991-1993, and a community preservation study conducted by a class from the University of Hawai`i in the spring of 1994. Recommendations included a variety of streetscape beautification projects; adoption of voluntary design guidelines to ensure sympathetic infill projects and building restorations; pursuit of National Register District designation; and, finally, establishment of a Main Street program to implement these objectives.

In the fall of 1994, a pilot Main Street program was established by the Kaimukī Business and Professional Association and members of the local community. The fledgling organization undertook a number of small projects during late 1994 and early 1995, but then budget cuts eliminated state funding for Main Street and a split among board members led to the dissolution of the group in August 1995.

In the spring of 1996, the Kaimukī Main Street Association was reactivated by remaining board members, and is presently working on a number of projects to raise community awareness of the value of their historic architectural

resources, and build support among the business community for storefront rehabilitation and economic revitalization efforts.

A major boost in this effort came from the University of Hawai`i Historic Preservation Program, which held its Pacific Preservation Field School in Kaimukī in the summer of 1996. Students in the program updated an existing inventory of buildings in the commercial district and began an inventory of residential areas of the community; prepared measured drawings of several domestic and commercial structures; and created designs for infill buildings along Wai`alae Avenue consistent with the architectural character of the district.

While the time is ripe for moving ahead with preservation and revitalization efforts, the Main Street project in Kaimukī faces a number of challenges in building an effective program. First among these is raising awareness of the value of the historic resources in the community. While there are few if any architectural masterworks in the neighborhood, the district's buildings are exemplary of Honolulu's commercial architecture during the 1930s and 1940s. More than just a scattering of old buildings, though, Kaimukī continues to function as a pedestrian-friendly neighborhood business district, providing an increasingly rare glimpse of Honolulu in an earlier era.

Following on the task of fostering appreciation for the neighborhood's character is the challenge of preserving and perpetuating the architectural elements which give the district that character: in particular an unbroken sidewalk frontage and broad awnings overhanging the sidewalk and protecting shoppers and passersby from the subtropical sun. At present, these elements which help define the district are not permitted by local building codes, which mandate a four foot setback, and prohibit awnings extending over the public space of the sidewalk. Recent infill buildings have attempted to address this with set back pedestrian arcades, but the separation from the sidewalk traffic has limited the success of the designs. At present the Main Street group's Design/Structure committee is working with the municipal Department of Land Utilization to explore zoning options that would allow for these elements to be included on new construction in the district, as well as repaired and replaced in kind as needed on historic properties.

Demonstrating to the district's building owners the economic benefits of this sort of rehabilitation is another critical task. While a number of building owners are already involved with the Main Street group, others fail to see the historical or potential economic value of maintaining and improving their old structures. In most parts of the state, and definitely in urban Honolulu, the value of most real estate is in the land rather than in the building stock. Thus the temptation to demolish and redevelop is always great. Examples of returns on investment in facade rehabilitation realized by building owners in other Main Street towns, provided by the National Main Street Center, will be a useful tool.

Even in the instance where the building owner is convinced of the value of rehabilitation, local business owners, few of whom own their spaces, are wary of improvements of this sort for fear of increased rents. This perceived difference of interests among building owners, as well as residents, will need to be carefully addressed with each of the groups involved.

Along similar lines, while promoting economic growth in the community, the program will need to take care that "revitalization" doesn't come at the expense of small 'mom and pop' establishments which have been the backbone of the district for decades. One of Kaimukī's many strengths has always been the broad array of goods and services offered, and replacing this with a collection of upscale boutiques such as are found in many a festival marketplace or gentrified historic district is not likely to meet the needs of the community.

Perhaps the greatest challenge, and one of the keys to establishing all the other tasks described above, will be fostering communication and bringing together the diverse interests in the community. Not an easy task in any community, in Kaimukī this is made more difficult by the fact that the designated Main Street project area is split among three separate Neighborhood Boards. At the same time the district comprises only a small part of urban Honolulu, and is but one of many concerns for the Mayor and City Council. Kaimukī benefits from an active and committed Business and Professional Association promoting local business, and the aforementioned Neighborhood Boards designed to address the concerns of local residents, but communication between these entities has historically been limited.

Drawing support from all of these diverse interests, the role of Main Street in Kaimukī must be one of mediator, bringing the groups together through cooperative projects and community planning efforts to find common ground and work jointly to preserve and enhance the historic fabric and economic vitality of the neighborhood we all share. Through such an effort perhaps we can avoid the fate of becoming a city of swatches.

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William Chapman
with Helen Nakano, Lowell Angell,
and Rose Mary Ruhr

Mālama o Mānoa

Preserving a Historic Residential Community

Mānoa is a peaceful, residential area on the outskirts of metropolitan Honolulu. With its outstanding collection of Craftsman, Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival architecture, the neighborhood stands as a striking reminder of the general quality of middle and upper-middle class life in Hawai`i during the early part of the 20th century.

A survey initiated by the Junior League in the 1980s identified over 300 buildings of historic interest. These are distributed among three fairly well delineated separate districts within the Mānoa (Hawaiian for "wide") Valley. In addition, as the League survey and subsequent studies have demonstrated, Mānoa is distinguished by its overall planning features. Houses traditionally were situated on large lots, and the entire valley was (and still is, to some degree) characterized by dense tree coverage, open lawns and mock orange, hibiscus and panax hedges.

As with the rest of Hawai`i, Mānoa has been subject to increasing development pressures in recent years. Many larger lots have been subdivided, larger houses have been constructed in newer sections of the neighborhood, and historic vegetation and open areas are being replaced by paved parking stalls and driveways. Historic hedges, in turn, have been removed, typically in favor of more permanent masonry walls and wood fences.

Photo by William Chapman.

Many historic houses are threatened, as they are either replaced by large, often stuccoed buildings in keeping with more contemporary tastes or are simply surrounded—and in fact overwhelmed—by newer buildings.

In 1992, a group of preservation-minded residents formed an organization known as Mālama o Mānoa (roughly translated as "caring for Mānoa"). Inspired by well-known preservationist William Murtagh, former Keeper of the National Register and founder of the Historic Preservation Program at the University of Hawai`i, local residents, including Mary Cooke, one of Hawai`i's National Trust Advisors, Helen Nakano, Lowell Angell, Spencer Leineweber, Tom Heinrich and Kozen Kaneshiro pressed for protection of the valley through National Register listing and the adoption of some kind of design controls at a local level.

By 1995 the organization could claim a membership of 3500 and had sponsored a number of preservation-related events and activities. In order to enlist wide representation, Mālama o Mānoa held public forums on Mānoa's history, engaged in community improvement projects, including collecting litter on the banks of the stream that bisects the community, and had initiated a graffiti clean-up program involving many of its members. The organization also sponsored public lectures on various aspects of architectural history and historic preservation, held community suppers and fund-raisers and also underwrote the production of a book on the valley, with contributions from 12 local authors. The book received an honor award from the American Association for State and Local History.

One of the primary activities of the society, however, was drafting and promoting legislation to protect historic buildings, streets, and open-spaces. Given advice by planners, including member and former head of Planning for the City and County of Honolulu, John Whalen, Mālama o Mānoa became a proponent of the special districting for the valley. Emphasizing issues such as lot coverage, canopy trees, parking and open-space preservation, the organization sought to put an end to thoughtless intrusions within the area and to raise community awareness over aesthetic and environmental issues affecting the valley.

While this process seemed seamless and well coordinated, the organization ran up against unanticipated opposition. Lead by a vocal group of property rights advocates and others who simply did not understand or accept the potential value of special designation and community and governmental oversight, the steps toward both listing and

special districting were interrupted during a dramatic series of public forums sponsored by the local neighborhood board. Many residents did not wish to see their own chances to either add to their properties or build new residences impeded by new regulations. Others resented the efforts of what they considered a kind of "cultural elite" to legislate the future of the valley.

Rather than press the issue, the leadership of Mālama o Mānoa decided to reposition themselves and return to community consensus building. Many of the organization's earlier efforts, especially the outreach activities and community-based environmental work—cleaning and beautification of the stream has remained a priority—have been continued. Mālama o Mānoa has also taken on the local power company in its plans to erect high-voltage electrical towers along the valley rim. The National Trust came to the organization's aid by declaring the valley rim one of the "Eleven Most Endangered" historic sites in 1997 as a result of Hawaiian Electric Company's proposal.

In the meantime, Mālama o Mānoa has begun to reconsider the steps it needs to take to gain control over the neighborhood's future. One possibility is to concentrate on the core historic areas within the valley and seek designation for both these and individual historic properties. Another is to continue neighborhood consensus building and educational efforts with the hope of changing people's minds.

What this effort has illustrated is that community control over historic resources, especially in a state still facing strong development pressures (despite a declining economy), is not an easy task. The designation of historic districts and special control areas was perhaps easier 10 or 20 years ago than it is today. Mālama o Mānoa has its work ahead of it if it hopes to enlist broad support for community control over this important heritage.

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Helen Nakano (president) and Lowell Angell (board member) are leading members of Mālama o Mānoa and residents of Mānoa Valley.

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Don J. Hibbard

Hawai'i
The Crossroads of the Pacific

First time visitors to Honolulu can not help but notice the diversity of peoples on its streets, and the equally variegated architectural forms scattered throughout its neighborhoods. Within less than a block's walk, a pedestrian can delight to the sight of a complex of Spanish Colonial Revival school buildings focused on a mall lined by Chinese banyans; to a bell tower dramatically fashioned as a pagoda soaring to the sky; and a shogun's castle with a corrugated metal roof capped by golden dolphins. These wondrous, if not exotic, images cannot fail to incite the mind, and when collaged and congealed, they may relay a message that indeed, here in the middle of the Pacific, there exists a congenial multi-cultural society blessed with harmony and self-respect. If such ruminations are stirred, a major purpose of these designs has been served.

During the period 1914-1939, Hawai'i's architectural scene took on a new and distinctive character with the appearance of a number of buildings, the forms and embellishment of which derived from and celebrated Asian antecedents. Blending the building traditions of East and West, the presence of these buildings corresponded with a conscious effort to develop in Hawai'i a society premised on equal opportunity and respect, regardless of race and culture.

The 19th-century Hawaiian culture had established the foundation for such a harmonious multi-ethnic society. King Lunalilo noted, in his first address to the Hawaiian Legislature in 1873,

> This nation presents the most interesting example in history of the cordial co-operation of the native and foreign races in the administration of its government, and most happily, too, in all the relations in life there exists a feeling which every good man will strive to promote.

However, it was not until the monarchy had been overthrown, and the islands were annexed by the United States, when Westerners were securely in political control of the islands, that the question of race relations required reinspection. Tumultuous political changes might have resulted in social realignments as well. Colonialism, already a driving spirit in the plantation-based

The Himeji Castle-influenced Makiki Christian Church (1931), Honolulu, Hawai`i.

economic and political spheres, could have easily entered the sphere of social relations.

However, enlightened people over the next 10 to 20 years, articulated the position that Hawai`i should be considered a unique sociological laboratory, successfully striving to have people with diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds live in harmony and peace. Wallace R. Farrington, a major proponent of this viewpoint and the editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* set forth this position as early as 1895 in an editorial entitled, "Brains not Color:"

> There is no country in the world where race or color is given as little prominence as in these islands; no place where individual, intellectual and moral worth so completely wipe out the demarkation of race lines, which form social and political barriers in the United States.

These thoughts were picked up by Alexander Hume Ford who not only publicized them, but actively catalyzed this ideal and helped make it real.

Ford was a newspaperman and writer who came to Hawai`i in 1907 by way of Chicago and Asia. Through his monthly *Mid-Pacific Magazine* (1911-1936) he portrayed Hawai`i to be, "the meeting place of East and West," to paraphrase Somerset Maugham's words. In addition to his printed proselytizing, Ford started in 1911, the Hands Around the Pacific Club in an effort to promote multicultural harmony in Hawai`i and international understanding throughout the Pacific basin. An offspring of this organization, the 12-12-12 Club periodically invited a dozen representatives from several of the Islands' different ethnic groups to meet over dinner to discuss racial misunderstandings and issues relating to Hawai`i in a successful effort to gain each others' perspectives. Through such conscious efforts a society developed that prided itself on its multiculturalism and its respect for cultural diversity.

These efforts to foster ethnic equality eventually were translated into tangible representation. Early physical manifestations of this attitude toward racial harmony were subtle, as evidenced by St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1914). A rather boxy and ponderous Gothic revival structure, typical of the period, it housed a Chinese congregation. This congregation traced its roots back to St. Paul's Anglican Church at Makapala on the island of Hawai`i. St. Paul's was established in 1884 to meet the needs of Chinese working on the sugar plantations in North Kohala, who previously had been converted to Christianity in their homeland. When a number of these workers left the plantation and migrated to Honolulu in 1886, they formed St. Peter's. This church was so successful, that by 1900 half the Episcopalians in Hawai`i were members of its congregation.

The edifice they chose to erect in 1914 in almost all aspects resembled its contemporaries; however, its entry treatment set it apart. The tripartite facade features a tower at the left corner, and an entry porch with a centered, Gothic arched, double doorway, and steps to the right of center. Rather than lead to the doorway, the steps front on a blank wall. This indirect entry configuration may well derive from the traditional Chinese belief in *feng shui*, and the need for a spirit screen to avoid direct entry to a building by evil spirits.

In the 1920s, a period when former newspaper editor Wallace R. Farrington was the appointed governor of the Territory (1921-1929), more explicit architectural statements appeared in ecclesiastical architecture. The Chinese Christian Church sold its 1881 Gothic revival church in downtown Honolulu and in 1929 erected a new church on King Street opposite McKinley High School. At the time McKinley was Honolulu's only public high school, and its student body was comprised primarily of Asian children. Instructed in the principles of democracy and following the progressive educational philosophy of John Dewey, many of the leaders of post-World War II Hawai`i would emerge from this educational experience.

The Chinese Christian Church held an architectural design competition to select the architect for their new building. The competition's guidelines stressed that the new house of worship had to express the congregation's Chinese heritage as well as meet "orthodox Christian needs." Architect Hart Wood's winning design accomplished these goals in a masterful manner. Dominated by a pagoda-inspired bell tower, the church featured a basilican floor plan with an inset lanai flowing from either side of the nave. In addition to the belltower a

variety of ornamental details conveyed the Chinese associations of the building.

Other Congregationalist Churches followed the example of the Chinese Christian Church, and like the public schools, proved to be a leading force in promoting the "brotherhood of man." The Makiki Christian Church, which had been organized in 1904 by Reverend Takie Okumura commenced building a new church in 1931. Reverend Okumura, an important leader in the assimilation of the Japanese into Hawai'i's society, instructed architect Hego Fuchino to draw plans in the form of a shogun's castle. The minister and architect used photographs of such buildings in Japan to develop the final design, which evolved to resemble the spectacular Himeji Castle. When the plans were presented to the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association for approval several of the members questioned the wisdom of housing a church in a fortress associated with militarism and war. The Reverend Okumura explained that in Japan the castle was a place of defense, used to provide protection and peace. He also noted that the earliest known building constructed for Christian worship in Japan was the Tamon Castle. His proposed plans were approved and the Reverend Okumura applauded for striving to "preserve the good heritage of the Japanese and Christianize it." At the time the building was erected Japan and China were at war. As a gesture of good will to indicate that the animosity between the two nations did not extend to Hawai'i, all materials for the building were purchased from City Mill, whose president was K. A. Chung.

The Korean Christian Church, which was organized in 1918 by Dr. Syngman Rhee, hired Yuk Tong Char in 1938 to design its imposing edifice, the facade of which was inspired by the Kwang Wha Mun gate in Seoul. Char had previously received the commission for the 1937 Hilo Chinese Church. The plan for the Hawai'i Island church follows, in a vernacular manner, the Gibbsian prototypical New England church; however, such decorative elements as the up-turned eaves of the building and steeple, window treatment, and octagonal columns all relate to Chinese traditions.

The Church of the Crossroads also adopted Asian motifs in its 1934-1937 building complex designed by Claude Stiehl. In addition to a red columned connecting colonnade, reminiscent of the Summer Palace outside Beijing, the complex of four buildings features two Japanese influenced buildings, art deco stylized tropical floral ornamentation, and carved panels in the lectern and pulpit which represent Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. This church had been formed in 1923, as Hawai'i's first interracial congregation by students from McKinley High School and Mid-Pacific Institute, a private school started by the Congregational Church, which by 1910 boasted of having 300 students from 10 different races.

In another endeavor to foster interracial harmony, Theodore Richards, platted in Kane'ohe the Kokokahi (one blood) subdivision in 1927, as a "Christian inter-racial community." Sited in a small valley on the Windward side of O'ahu, this development focused on a Y.W.C.A. at its ocean end and

The Battle of the Marquee

Honolulu's 1922 Hawai'i Theatre, recently re-opened after a 12-year, $31 million renovation, continues to generate controversy over the fate of its marquee. The neo-classical Beaux Arts theatre, listed on both the State and National Registers, originally featured a very simple exterior canopy. After several modifications, it was entirely replaced in the mid-1930s by an elaborate art deco marquee featuring the largest neon display in the islands. Inside, the lobbies likewise were done over in a "tropical deco" style, with Hawaiian floral and foliage designs, Polynesian geometric patterns, and various Asian elements, all crafted by local artisans.

Hawai'i Theatre, March, 1941. Author's collection.

The interior deco was demolished early in the course of the renovations and the marquee met the same fate recently, in ill-advised decisions by those in charge to return the theatre to its "opening day" appearance, ignoring the changes in the building over its 75-year history.

The SHPO has insisted that if the 1930s marquee is not replicated, the theatre organization is liable for return of the approximately $14 million in public taxpayer funds provided them.

The battle continues with no resolution to date.

Lowell Angell
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"Friendship Garden," a quasi-jungle and oriental garden at its mountain terminus. The subdivision was distinguished by the fact that the individual lot owners represented a cross-section of the various ethnic groups of Hawai`i. This representation was assured by a lottery system which drew prospective buyers names from pools based on ethnicity.

Residential designs utilizing Asian motifs also appeared during this period. Such houses were initially built by affluent westerners with aesthetic affinities for Asian art. Mrs. C. M. Cooke commissioned Hart Wood in 1924 to design a Chinese style house on Makiki Heights. This residence and its accompanying Chinese gardens served as a setting for Mrs. Cooke's extensive Chinese art and furniture collection. Following an extended stay in Japan, Mrs. Alice Poole, an active member of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, had Claude Stiehl design a Japanese style house in Mānoa valley in 1931. In 1937, Dr. Faus had a house built in Japan, dismantled, shipped to Hawai`i and re-erected at Portlock by the original Japanese builders, complete with accompanying traditional Shinto ceremonies. Such expressions not only validated the cultures from which the forms sprang, but also announced that people of these cultures were to be equal participants in the future of Hawai`i. From the mid-1930s onward, houses reflecting the Asian heritages of their owners began to appear. Bungalows and cottages sporting upturned eaves, moongates, and oriental railings dotted various residential districts about the city.

Other structures also appeared throughout the city, ranging from the up-scale Gumps Store in Waikīkī, purveyor of objects of art from around the globe, and Fong Inn's Chinese Furniture Store, to Lau Yee Chai and Wo Fat Chinese restaurants, to the Chinese-inspired New Palama Theater and the Japan-influenced Toyo Theater. The Kuakini Medical Center's main building featured an onion dome and other Japanese motifs, and the Visitor Bureau in its Waikīkī building opted for a design based on Chinese architectural embellishments.

However, the tour de force of commercial buildings reflecting the intersection of East and West was the Alexander & Baldwin corporate headquarters built on Bishop Street in 1929. Alexander & Baldwin was one of the "Big Five" companies grounded in Hawai`i's sugar industry, which heavily influenced the economy, politics and society of the Islands. Architects C.W. Dickey and Hart Wood incorporated into this building's classical facade a plethora of Chinese derived ornamentation in recognition that the sugar industry, and, in turn Alexander & Baldwin, was closely linked with Chinese labor. Inscriptions for good luck and long life intermingled with Chinese fretwork, Chinese cherub faces, water buffalo, dragons, and other

The Chinese Christian Church in Honolulu, designed by Hart Wood and constructed in 1929.

Photos by the author.

motifs to provide the terra cotta-clad building a most distinctive look. It was a look associated with the late 1920s and Hawai`i's emerging ethnically integrated society. That such a major player should make such a major statement, indicated to all that a belief in Hawai`i's harmonious multi-cultural society had been embraced by the people in power.

Within the context of Hawai`i as the "Crossroads of the Pacific" the amazing architecture developed in the territory during the 1920s through 1939 can be better understood. Churches deriving from the design of shogun fortresses and stores incorporating Chinese motifs, became part of the streetscape of Hawai`i during this period. These buildings fulfilled the traditional role of architecture, to convey in a substantial manner the convictions of a society. Architecture is the art of the establishment, requiring land and capital to develop. The investment of substantial sums of money to place buildings on the landscape that proudly proclaimed the cultural traditions of the peoples of Hawai`i, reinforced and verified the belief that such peoples could live in harmony and acceptance in the Islands.

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Elizabeth Vines

The Australian Approach to Heritage Precinct Revitalization

The issue of conservation and appropriate ongoing management of historic country towns and city heritage precincts has developed sporadically in Australia over the past 30 years. Maldon, in Victoria, was declared Australia's first "Notable Town" by the National Trust in 1966. Heritage Legislation was introduced in the 1970s—in Victoria (1974), Commonwealth legislation (1975), New South Wales (1977) and South Australia (1978). In the remaining States and Territories this did not occur until the 1990s. This legislation provided a legal recognition and protection to significant landmark buildings, many of which had already been classified individually by the National Trust. The city of Melbourne led the rest of Australia in the early 1980s, introducing broad and sweeping conservation area controls over large sections of the inner suburbs, but these have recently been watered down by the incumbent Liberal government.

With heritage legislation now in place, the challenge in the 1990s is the management of change and appropriate enhancement of heritage precincts, whether they are officially protected by Heritage Legislation or not. Throughout Australia there are now many examples where physical improvements to heritage precincts have dramatically transformed the economic structure of once depressed and threatened environments. Precincts of national significance, such as the Rocks in Sydney, only 25 years ago were under threat from major demolition and redevelopment proposals. Within the last decade many significant heritage precincts of national significance have been revitalised, such as the East End in Adelaide, and Fremantle in Western Australia. The change in eating habits with the introduction of outdoor cafes throughout cities (and now increasingly in country towns) has changed the nature of street usage and much more thought, attention, and financial resources are allocated to the enhancement of streets.

However, the new enthusiasm for heritage conservation has resulted in a new threat for significant precincts. The overzealous and overenthusiastic attempts of well-meaning individuals to revitalise and enhance has sometimes led to the implementation of misguided and expensive strategies at odds with the conservation of an area.

It is essential to understand the cultural significance of the place and to clarify what is important in any streetscape enhancement. The *Burra Charter* (discussed in the previous Pacific Basin issue of *CRM*), has assisted in guiding practitioners involved in cultural heritage management. However, this charter does not provide advice on precinct enhancement and many urban designers have little or no knowledge of the principles of heritage conservation. It is essential to work to an overall heritage precinct enhancement strategy. In many cases streetscape revitalisation proposals do not consider the totality of the street or precinct—focus is often given only to streets, with expensive urban design solutions proposed (which make major changes in the street configuration); or to the redevelopment and major upgrading of buildings, done in isolation from the context of the surrounding environment.

Heritage Surveys establish a degree of certainty and clearly identify at the outset of any precinct enhancement, the significance of sites, clarifying for the community what is important. These surveys are now a standard procedure for municipalities in most States of Australia but vary in quality and thoroughness. In certain cases, areas are now being resurveyed in response to new planning legislation which requires more detailed assessment of character. Planning legislation (which differs throughout the States and Territories

The East End, in Adelaide. Only five years ago, prior to the crash of the State Bank, this precinct was proposed for major commercial development. It is now the restaurant hub of the city with frontages conserved and restored.

Mayborough, Queensland. Known as the "Heritage City"—recent attempts to introduce planning controls to prevent timber house removal have met with much heated opposition. This house, constructed in 1919 and part of a streetscape of similar houses, has no protection and current zoning allows for inappropriate unit development.

in Australia), is now increasingly focusing on retention of "character items" with accompanying debate about property owners' rights if such neighborhood character becomes more closely controlled. This debate is not new. In Queensland and the Northern Territory, locations are only just grappling with broader heritage controls and in some instances the debate has been heated and passionate.

However, the increased attention and financial resources allocated to streetscape enhancement throughout much of Australia is evident and encouraging. Planting of regular avenues of trees, once decried and removed as nuisance material, is now wide-spread.

The burgeoning enthusiasm for restoration of individual buildings has contributed to these improved streetscapes. There is now new found enthusiasm for reinstatement of post-supported verandahs and traditional detailing to building facades throughout the country. The 1950s and 1960s in Australia saw the removal of many post-supported verandahs throughout cities and country towns. The perceived conflict between verandahs and motor cars often resulted in municipal by-laws requiring their removal but this is now being reassessed and policies and by-laws revised. Unfortunately in many traditional main streets, little consideration is given to the effect of unregulated signs. Buildings often become unrecognisable, sometimes almost totally concealed, by a jumble of brightly coloured, mismatched signs. The visual blight of many advertising and corporate signs in Australia is a widespread problem. The complete absence of billboards and the carefully regulated signage in the Hawaiian Islands are in stark contrast to the Australian situation.

Another controversial issue is that of facadism, for building retention where only the front wall of a significant building is retained. The value of the original building contributes to the unique character of heritage precincts. There are still "real" old buildings remaining to be conserved, but this could soon become a thing of the past unless more emphasis is given to true conservation and preservation of building fabric.

Traditional main streets are generally under threat from large commercial shopping centers, but in some cases this has been countered by the introduction of outdoor cafes and boutique shopping.

There are now financial initiatives at the local council and state government level to assist with the careful management of commercial heritage precincts. Main Street Programs based on the North American model originated in New South Wales in 1988 and government led programs now exist in most states of Australia. In 1978, Heritage Advisory Services were introduced in Victoria and this program has now expanded throughout Australia. Free on-site architectural advice is provided to property owners within many significant heritage towns and suburban areas. Local committees, local municipal Councils and the Heritage Advisor now collaborate and make appropriate decisions about ongoing maintenance and care of Heritage Precincts and individual sites. In New South Wales alone, the Heritage Advisory Program now covers over 90 municipalities. It will be interesting to see whether these services, largely funded by the Federal Government will survive the severe budget cutbacks of the newly elected Liberal Federal government. At the local community level certain councils of Australia have established Local Heritage Funds to provide incentive grants and low interest loans to add to limited state and Federal Government Funds for conservation work in heritage precincts.

What is evident throughout the country is that the successful heritage precinct projects are those driven by dedicated and articulate community representatives who obtain skilled professional advice at the outset.

Elizabeth Vines, a conservation architect, is a partner in the firm MacDougall & Vines, an Adelaide-based Architectural and Conservation Practice and is involved in the conservation of individual buildings and the formulation of revitalization strategies for heritage precincts throughout Australia. Her particular projects include Conservation Strategies at Broken Hill (NSW), Mayborough (Qld) and various inner city precincts such as Port Adelaide.

Changmii Bae

Re-Creating the Urban Landscape of Modern Korea

On August 15, 1995, Korea celebrated the 50th anniversary of independence from Imperial Japan, which had occupied Korea from 1910 until 1945. To commemorate its independence, the Korean government decided to demolish the Choson Ch'ongdokpu Cheongsa (CCC) building, the former headquarters of the Japanese governor-general of Korea in Seoul. After the CCC is destroyed, a part of the architectural complex of Kyungbok Palace called Keonjeongjeon, demolished by the Japanese colonizers to build the CCC during the colonial period, will be rebuilt.

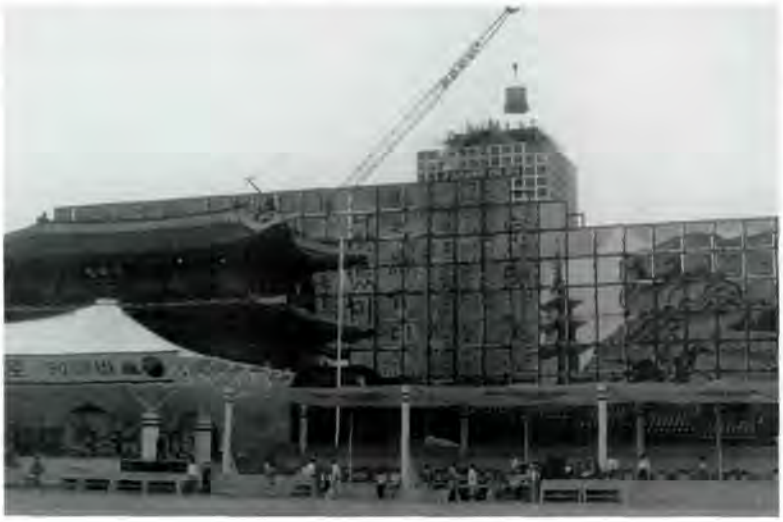
The demolition of the CCC will create a new symbolic landscape representing contemporary Korea. The transformation of landscape through construction, demolition, and reconstruction indicates the crucial key to understanding the relationship between a place and a people and a particular culture. The landscape[1] is forged by cultural, political, and ideological formulation which in turn shapes and empowers the current cultural norm of a society. Because landscapes and their meanings are continuously created and transformed for contemporary purposes, they are not merely physical objects which people take for granted. The particular historical, social, and cultural contexts are important factors in understanding the complexity of landscapes.

The demolition of the CCC and rebuilding of Keongjeongjeon create a new landscape for Seoul highlighting the social and political issues of contemporary Korea. Several issues to be discussed around the demolition of the CCC are cultural identity politics in relation to the colonial legacy; postcolonialism in contemporary Korea; and the issue of the democratization of Korea arising from the process of decisionmaking. Democratization should not be considered a separate issue because of the fact that cultural politics might ultimately lead in that direction. For example, rebuilding an old palace represents the indigenous high culture which largely alienated the majority of the people in Korea. The idea of democracy adapts and conflicts with pre-modern tradition in Korea.

The search for a national identity has attracted considerable attention in contemporary Korea. The demolition of the CCC and the reconstruction of Keonjeongjeon manifest the search for an acceptable collective memory of the colonial past and the national identity of contemporary Korea. The memory of the colonial experience contains conflicting assessments of Korea. On the one hand the CCC has played a crucial role in the modernization of Korea. Some historians argue that the birth of Korean nationalism was indebted to the Japanese colonial state while nationalist historians are eager to find proof of modernization in precolonial Korea.

Japan ended the 518-year rule of the Choson Dynasty in 1910 when it formally annexed Korea. In that year the GGK (Government General of Korea) decided to construct the CCC inside the Kyungbok Palace in downtown Seoul. The initial architect was George de Lalande, a German. Soon Nomura, a Japanese architect, took charge of the design and construction of the building after de Lalande's death in 1914. Construction began in 1916 and ended in 1926. building was constructed in the neo-classical style as a way of demonstrating Japan's equivalence to the European powers. CCC remained the home of the colonial government until Japan surrendered to the U.S. at the end of World War II.

After independence from Japanese imperial rule with the end of World War II, the CCC was seen as a key symbol of the birth of two Koreas and the modern South Korea. From 1945 until 1948 the CCC was the base of the United States Army Military Government in Korea. In 1950, when the



The old landscape of Seoul is reflected in the new. Photo by the author.

Korean War broke out, the CCC was captured by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the official name of the North Korea Troops. Later that year Seoul was retaken by General MacArthur, and the Republic of Korea flag was raised over the CCC. The CCC building carries the physical scars of war that bring to mind the "legacy of fear and insecurity that continues even now to affect the two Koreas both in their internal development and in their relations with each other."[2]

Following the CCC's history as the scene of authoritarian regimes, military coups and dictatorships in modern Korean politics, the CCC was designated as the National Museum in 1982. In the course of renovation, the design of CCC was tailored to meet the purpose of a museum while preserving the Central Hall and the first meeting room used by the government of modern Korea.

Dissenting opinions were not taken into consideration during the current decisionmaking leading to the demolition of the building. The meaning of the CCC has changed periodically. Many find in the result an anxious attempt to synthesize the fragmented identities of individuals that are prevalent in contemporary Korea. Anti-demolition groups and individuals are opposed to the use of the building as an instrument to legitimize the current government, which, for them, is a disappointment. Possibly the anti-Japanese sentiment which has been inherited since Korea was a colony of Japan prevents people from challenging authoritarian decisions over the demolition of the CCC.

Most would agree that plans to demolish the building symbolize an absence of historical consciousness. Relocation of the building was suggested by those opposed to the idea, but this plan was dropped in the face of stiff resistance. The unwillingness to pay for maintaining and preserving the historic building indicates more than a lack of concern. Concurrent intellectual trends encourage an indigenous cultural identity supportive of demolition, simply because the building represents "foreigners." Thus, the question of whether to demolish the building reflects deeper issues of Korean identity and the future direction of Korean society.

Rescuing individuals from past memory is not easy. The criticism of nationalistic rhetoric may cause unexpected negative consequences in postcolonial societies. The critical perspective on Japan goes along with the anti-national narratives. In this sense, comparative researches are invaluable.

The History of the CCC

1928: Opening of the CCC.
1945: End of World War II. CCC converted into Capital Hall.
1948: The Assembly Hall of Korean Government.
1950: Korean War erupts.
1953: End of Korean War.
1962: Reconstruction and renovation of CCC due to damage from the Korean War.
1982: Conversion of the CCC into the Central National Museum of Korea.
1986: The opening of the Central National Museum.
1995: Decision made to demolish the CCC.

Note

1 Duncan differentiates landscape from environment. "[A] landscape ... is a culturally produced model of how the environment should look. It is, therefore, not merely and environment but a type of arrangement of hills and trees, or towns and houses. Environments become transformed into landscapes as people transform them physically or merely reinterpret them in such a way as to bring the environment in line with a particular landscape model" John Agnew and James Duncan, eds., *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 186.

2 Eckert, *et al.*, *Korea Old & New: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 346.

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1998 Summer Field School

The 1998 Summer Historic Preservation Field School took place in the historic "Chinatown" area of Honolulu. Continuing the University of Hawai'i's Historic Preservation program's emphasis on the identification and recording of historic urban centers, the field school concentrated on the 12 block area adjacent to Honolulu's downtown. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973, Chinatown includes a significant collection of late-19th- and early-20th-century buildings. A first complete inventory was done, and the students enrolled in the program participated in a design "charette" focussing on new buildings in historic contexts and on revision of existing design guidelines. The program was supervised by the Historic Preservation Program director, Bill Chapman, with the help of historical architect and program graduate Paul Morgan. Dr. Jeff Cody of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (formerly of Cornell) assisted with the survey. Urban designer and landscape architect Peter Drey, from Atlanta, directed the design sequence. The project was sponsored by the University of Hawai'i Summer Session and the Department of American Studies and the Hawai'i Heritage Center. Additional financial support was given by the Hawai'i Foundation for the Humanities.

Saving Asia's Historic Cities

The 6th Annual AWPNUC Meeting

Over 200 registrants attended the 6th annual Asia and Western Pacific Network in Urban Conservation (AWPNUC) conference on conserving Asia's cities, held in Taipei, Taiwan, November 21-25, 1997. Held at the Chien Tan Overseas Youth Activity Center and sponsored by the Yaoshan Cultural Foundation, in the shadow of the famous Imperial Hotel, the conference featured speakers from 26 countries, with talks ranging from the conservation of Euro-Chinese (Sino-Portuguese) shophouses in old town Phuket, Thailand to urban policy and conservation in the host city of Taipei. Among the papers were: Radiman Ganung on "Grassroots Mobilization of Professionalism in Conservation Work at Menang Village, East Java;" Ryotaro Katura on "Earthquakes at Citizen-Based Town Planning [in Japan];" Rosli Haji Nos on "Management of Changes and Policy Options for Heritage Sites—The Malacca Scenario;" and David Lung on "Heritage Preservation in a High Density and Valued Environment—The Case of Hong Kong."

Historic shophouses in Bangkok, Thailand. Subject for the 1997 and 1998 University of Hawai'i Asian Preservation Field Schools. Photo by William Chapman.

In addition to the two days of formal papers, the conference also included a series of "mobile workshops." These focussed on the coastal areas of Kaohsiung; Kinmon Island, located just 2,100 meters from mainland China; and Taipei city. Participants had an opportunity to visit historic fortifications, pagodas and, especially, to view extant rows of traditional shophouses—a basic building block of many Southeast Asian cities in particular.

As the conference organizers recognized, Asian cities have come late to historic preservation. The historic cores of many cities have been, in many cases, overwhelmed by new development. Witness, for example, Kuala Lumpur with its new twin towers or historic Bangkok and its often startling juxtapositions of new and, usually neglected, older buildings. As Professor Mei Cheng, Vice Chairman of the Academic Committee of the conference, recognized in his introduction "urban conservation is facing even harsher challenges in the developing countries." The conference, along with the other work of the AWPNUC, was intended to call attention to this need and also help bring people of like mind into contact with one another.

The AWPNUC was formed in 1991 at a seminar held in Penang, Malaysia. With subsequent meetings in Adelaide, Australia (1993), Hanoi, Vietnam (1994), Nara, Japan (1995), and Jogjakarta, Indonesia (1996), the organization has been active in disseminating information on research and preservation strategies among its membership.

For further information contact:
AWPNUC Secretariat
19 Kelawai Road
10250 Penang, Maylasia
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The AWPNUC has recently published *Heritage Habitat Handbook* (1997), a useful resource guide to preservation in the region. Edited by Khuo Salma Nasution, a founding member of the organization, the publication includes a bibliography and a list of organizations and individuals involved in heritage protection. Among the countries included are Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, China (including Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan), India, Indonesia, Japan, Maylasia, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam. Those interested in obtaining copies should contact the AWPNUC offices at:
19 Kelawai Road
10250 Penang, Maylasia
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William Chapman

Richard A. Engelhardt,
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Integrated Community Development and Cultural Heritage Site Preservation in Asia/Pacific through Local Effort (LEAP)

Throughout the Asia-Pacific region there is growing recognition that the challenge of heritage preservation is not restricted to a limited number of sites of international tourist interest, but it is a general concern of national policy and part of the process of sustainable development, building upon each society's unique cultural and historic traditions. Unlike historic sites in many other areas of the world, most historic urban centers in Asia continue to be occupied by the descendants of the people who first built them. Either they are owners/occupants of traditional houses or they are communal inhabitants of religious or other public historic monuments who continue to use them for the original purpose for which they were built. National and local policy makers are recognizing the need for local community involvement in the conservation of their heritage cities.

Fortunately, many of the historic cities in Asia have survived throughout the centuries with their urban fabric intact and their traditional communities prosperous. However, the present rate of population growth, fueled by rural-urban migration, the consequent construction boom and demands for expanded infrastructure in cities throughout the region, the disregard for the preservation of the basic environmental prerequisites for life such as water and air, and the economic dependence on mass tourism of many historic towns, all give serious cause for alarm over the continued existence of these historic cities and the ways of life which have formed the basis of cultures of the region for the past many millennia.

In the past, it has too often been the response of officialdom to these factors affecting the conservation of heritage cities to put severe restriction on the use of the sites, even to the point of forcibly removing the population altogether. However, experience has shown that when local communities are removed from a site, a site dies, or, if preserved, is preserved only for foreign tourists. UNESCO's program in *integrated community development and cultural heritage preservation through local effort (LEAP)* aims to make local communities themselves the custodians and protectors of their own communities and in doing so enable them to develop their ancient towns into modern cities with their heritage intact. This innovative program is financed by a funds-in-trust contribution for the Government of the Netherlands.

Empowering the local community is central to the program, so that the inhabitants of traditional historic towns can

- understand and advocate the long-term conservation of the historic buildings;
- play a leading role in the actual work of protecting, conserving, presenting and managing the historic areas; and
- benefit financially from the enhanced conservation of the historic urban areas while maintaining their social and spiritual traditions intact.

Project activities include

- identification and training of institutions and individuals engaged in maintenance of historic buildings;
- documentation of historic vernacular architecture and development of low-cost, appropriate techniques for building maintenance;
- community development training in conservation and maintenance;
- conservation curricula development for non-formal education;
- "door-to-door" outreach programs to engender "stewardship" ethic in the local population;
- promotion of supplementary income generation activities for poverty alleviation which complement maintenance and conservation activities (such as in traditional building trades); and
- establishment of community-managed credit schemes for conservation and maintenance of historic public buildings and private homes.

Initially, five pilot demonstration sites—historic towns (Hoi An, Vietnam; Kathmandu, Nepal; Luang Prabang, Laos; Vigan, Philippines; and Lijiang, China)—were selected for project implementation during 1996-97. The next phase will include cultural landscapes—(Cordilleras Rice terraces, Philippines; Lake Toba, Indonesia; Mustang, Nepal; Khar Bulgas, Mongolia; and Andaman, Thailand).

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Caroline Klarr

Hula—Hawai`i's Own Dance

The *hula* is probably the most internationally recognized art form from Polynesia. In the words of Kawena Pukui, the *hula* is "Hawai`i's own dance."[1] The role of *hula* in ancient Hawai`i remains a matter of speculation. However, it is very likely *hula*, or some form of it, was originally performed in both sacred and secular contexts. In her text on *Hula Pahu*, Adrienne Kaeppler proposes that there were two forms of movement systems in old Hawai`i, *ha`a* and *hula*. *Ha`a* was the sacred form, performed in the ceremonial complexes of the *heiau*. Kaeppler believes *hula pahu* to be an evolved secularized form of the traditionally sacred dances. In Kaeppler's model, *hula* was distinguished by public performances in secular contexts, such as in royal courts. The confusion occurred in translating the different movement systems into English, which uses the term "dance" to designate different types of movement systems. Information about *hula* in old Hawai`i is derived from chants, the journals and art of early visitors,[2] Hawaiian historian documents,[3] Hawaiian newspapers, and oral traditions. Probably the most famous legend associated with *hula* are the adventures of Pele and Hi`iaka. Pele is the Hawaiian volcano goddess and Hi`iaka, short for Hi`iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, is her younger sister. In the legend, Pele travels to Kaua`i and falls in love with a beautiful *hula* dancer named Lohiau. After returning to Puna, Pele entreats Hi`iaka to go fetch her lover, and bring him back. Hi`iaka agrees and many adventures ensue, including Lohiau dying and coming back from the dead—thanks to Hi`iaka's sacred *pa`u hula* skirt. This tale is most closely associated with the ancient ceremonial complex or *heiau* at Ke`e on the north shore of Kaua`i. Hawaiians believe this *heiau* is dedicated to Laka, one of the primary *hula* gods, and, thus, is a proper repository for articles disposed of after a performance.

In the first half of the 19th century, Hawaiian culture came under increasing pressure from acculturation as more outsiders and missionaries arrived on the islands. *Hula* was targeted and persecuted by missionaries because of the subject matter of the chants which glorified the Hawaiian gods, the physical motions of the movements such as the hip rotations, and the absence of full body covering characteristic of the traditional costume. In 1830 *hula* was banned by Queen Kaahumanu, wife of Kamehameha I, when she converted to Christianity.[4] Although reinstated two years after her death, it was discouraged by missionaries who, not recognizing its cultural and symbolic value, labeled it "obscene."

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, *hula* became the subject of early photographers who capitalized on young Hawaiian women, often producing revealing photographs under the guise of "*hula*."[5] This trend continued, with more tasteful photographs made into postcards by the turn of the century. These photographs marketed images of "exotic," if not "erotic," island women. It was this image of the *hula* girl that caught the eye of Hollywood who marketed the stereotypical image of a sensuous woman, half-clad in a grass skirt.[6]

Despite all of the erroneous publicity, *hula* managed to retain its traditions and dignity. However, it was not until the end of the century when King David Kalakaua was crowned king that the *hula* again flourished. Major *hula* celebrations occurred in 1883 with the coronation of King Kalakaua and Queen Kapi`olani, and again in 1887 when the king arrived safely home from his trip around the world. In 1886, for the King's Jubilee on

Early depiction of hula dancers published as a postcard in 1903. Desoto Brown collection.

his 50th birthday, *hula* events were held throughout the duration of the celebration which lasted two weeks.[7] The contributions of Kalakaua to preserve Hawaiian culture and *hula* are memorialized in the Merrie Monarch Festival, which is held annually in Hilo and is named after the former king's nickname.

Hula is now, and has always been, an integral part of Hawaiian culture. The most important components of the *hula* are the chants, *mele*, words or songs which accompany the dance movements. *Mele hula* contain midden meanings, *kaona*, which simultaneously speak of topics such as the beauty of a flower to symbolize a lover, a love affair, a child, a community, and so on. Another example taken from a contemporary song, *Ka Leo O Ka Mamo*, speaks of endangered birds as metaphors for the indigenous language and culture which is likewise threatened.[8] The term *kahiko*, ancient or old style (as in *hula*), is used to refer to all dances accompanied by chants. Sometimes the dancers chant, but often independent musicians chant while using drums to keep rhythm. *Kahiko* is recognized as a separate genre of *hula*, most closely associated with the ancient traditions and the style of *hula* performed in the courts of King Kalakaua. The other category of *hula* is *`auana* which is the style of *hula* most often performed in night clubs in Waikīkī, at weddings, and for fun and entertainment. Most *hula* competitions require dancers to be able to perform both *kahiko* and *`auana* dances.

Hawaiians dance *hula* informally, for fun at private parties, birthdays, or on special occasions to honor individuals. Organized *hula* performances are large scale events, with the most important being the annual competition of the Merrie Monarch. In Hawai`i, students can learn from family or friends, in universities or in *halau*. The traditional context for dancers to learn *hula* is the *halau*, or *hula* academy. That in ancient times each *halau* carried on a unique tradition is suggested by the proverb, "all knowledge is not found in one *halau*." Today *halau* exist all over the world.

Hula remains the trademark of island culture for outsiders who visit Waikīkī or attend staged "*luau*" in order to see their first live *hula* performance. For Hawaiians in a contemporary context, *hula* functions as an indicator of a shared cultural identity and a source of ethnic pride in the modern pluralistic society. In spite of acculturation, modernization, and the passage of time, for Hawaiians the sentiment is most clearly expressed in the words of the 19th Governor Boki, when he said, "Dance we will—no taboo!"[9]

Notes

1 Mary Kawena Pukui, "The Hula: Hawai`i's Own Dance," in *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual and Standard Guide*, combined with *All About Hawai`i*, 1942, pp. 107-112.

2 For early accounts see journals of Captain James Cook and James King (*A Voyage to the Pacific Oceans... 3 vols.*, London, 1784); Captain George Vancouver (*A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean... 5 vols.*, London: Stockdale, 1801); Captain Otto von Kotzebue (Glynn Barrat, *The Russian View of Honolulu from 1809-1826*, Ontario: Carlton University Press, 1988); and Missionary William Ellis (*Journey of William Ellis: A Narrative Tour...* Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1979). For early artistic renditions of *hula* see John Webber (accompanied Cook). Louis Choris (accompanied Kotzebue), Jacques Arago (French artist on vessel *Uranie*, captained by Louis Claude Freycinet, arrived at Honolulu in 1819) and missionary William Ellis. Photographic copies of these images are available through the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

3 See John Papa I`i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (trans. by Mary Kawena Pukui, Honolulu: B.P. Bishop Press, 1993); Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai`i* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992); and David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (trans. N.B. Emerson, Honolulu: B.P. Bishop Press, 1991).

4 Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai`i* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), p. 299.

5 Examples of such photographers are H.L. Chase, A.A. Montano, J.A. Gonsalves, and J.J. Williams.

6 The grass skirt originates from the Gilbert Islands in Micronesia. For a history of Hawai`i and *hula* in films, see Luis I. Reyes, *Made in Paradise: Hollywood's Films of Hawai`i and the South Seas* (Honolulu, Mutual Publishing, 1995).

7 Dorothy Barrere, Mary K. Pukui and Marion Kelly, "Hula: Historical Perspectives," *Pacific Anthropological Records*, No. 30 (Honolulu: B.P. Bishop Museum Press, 1991), pp. 50-52.

8 Pandanus Club, *Ka Leo O Ka Mamo* from *E Huli Mai*, Bluewater Records and Pandanus Records, 1987.

9 Jerry Hopkins, *The Hula* (Hong Kong:Apa Productions, 1982), p.17.

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DeSoto Brown

Hawai`i

Never Easier to Sell

Among the historic films in the collection of Bishop Museum Archives is a 1962 example from the Hawai`i Visitors Bureau which was intended for viewing by professionals in the travel business. Most of this short movie consists of famous radio announcer Webley Edwards extolling the Hawaiian Islands. But also interspersed is a continuing comedy skit of a travel agent coping with a difficult customer. All finishes happily for these two when agent and fussy traveller alike decide they'll head for Hawai`i—and in a final twist, the actors step out of character to tell the audience that in reality they're looking forward to their next trip to the islands, too!

Despite the generally light tone of the whole thing, viewers today cringe at the film's seemingly crass title: *Hawai`i—Never Easier to Sell.* (This phrase is directed toward travel agents pushing Hawai`i as a destination.) As mercenary as it might seem, "selling" Hawai`i like this has been going on for over a century, and it is an effort that has encompassed everything from movies like this one to magazine ads, postcards, aloha shirts, and much more. Furthermore, the process continues to grow in importance as tourism has come to be our economy's foundation.

People all over the world have thought of Hawai`i as a dream paradise for decades. They think this even today because of advertising that has successfully "sold" them the concept. And the promotional use of certain aspects of native Hawaiian culture, and natural attributes as well, has been central to the effort. As we will see, sometimes the Hawai`i-themed materials have been the result of intentional advertising efforts, and other times they have come from people just trading on the name and image.

The *hula dancer* first became known to those beyond Hawai`i in the late-19th century. Although dancers had travelled to the mainland before the 1890s, it was in that decade that the image appeared in the U.S.A. Partly this was due to the publicity generated by Hawaiian politics, especially with the annexation of Hawai`i by the United States in 1898. By 1915 a flower *lei* and a grass skirt (the latter originating in the Gilbert Islands and not truly Hawaiian at all) made anyone into a

hula dancer on vaudeville stages throughout the country. But more notable than the accoutrements were, of course, the movements themselves. These were described variously as suggestive, artistic, or sometimes comic, depending on the performers and the audience. Naturally it was rare that any mainland performer had much idea of how the *hula* was actually performed. Most commonly the dance would be reduced to some simple repetitious motions to be shown off (at worst) on a sideshow stage. But the "South Seas"-style nightclubs fashionable throughout the country from the late 1930s through the 1960s gave true Hawaiian *hula* dancers a chance to show how it really ought to be done, and performers from Hawai`i travelled the U.S.A. demonstrating their abilities.

The study of ancient-style *hula* was, and still is, a rigorous mental and physical process. Those who doubt this need only watch the dancers in any current day dance competition. But for promotional purposes it was easy to reduce this complex tradition to some simple movements that could be taught "In 10 Easy Lessons." Published instructional booklets boasted of this, and since the 1920s, teachers in private studios and hotels have given quickie courses. Ungainly amateurs (usually men) would be dragged onto nightclub stages for similarly humiliating "lessons" for an audience's amusement.

Even more common than actual, live dancers were other depictions of the *hula* girl. Postcards

made common use of her beginning from the earliest examples (from 1898 onward). She could also be found on playing cards, aloha shirts, commercial trademarks, luggage stickers, greeting cards, record labels and nearly anything else. Perhaps best known, though, are the various *hula* dolls that have been in production since the 1920s. Some of these "dolls" are in the true sense of being toys, but some others display an adult sensuality considered typical of women less constrained by Western civilization. And since *hula* is a dance so distinctive, it is natural that some of these dolls do not simply stand still, they actually move. The simplest way for this to happen was by attaching the doll's torso to her waist with a spring disguised by the fringe of the *hula* skirt. Placed in the rear window of a car (as often was done), the dancer could jiggle alluringly for motorists in vehicles following her. More complex movements were achieved through wind-up mechanical devices. Topping the list in complexity, cost and size were metal lamp bases in which the dancer's skirt was attached to a mechanism that slowly undulated when the power was switched on.

Surfing was associated almost exclusively with the Hawaiian Islands in the minds of the American public probably until the 1960s. This steamship company brochure, which dates from about 1919, uses a picture of a surfer to announce its service to Honolulu. DeSoto Brown Collection.

Such "*hula* girls" as these (along with similar but inert figurines of plaster, carved wood, plastic and so forth) were once common souvenir items. But what was once common has become rare and sought-after; collectors today pay prices in the hundreds—or even thousands—for these artifacts.

Volcanoes exist in other parts of the world, but the dependability and safety of the active Halemaumau crater on the island of Hawai`i made it especially promotion-worthy. From the time Westerners first saw it in 1823 until a major eruption in 1924. Halemaumau was almost never without a glowing, molten "lava lake" that could be easily viewed. (That is, once one had ridden or hiked up the mountain from Hilo.) This attraction was so unique that for many years (and starting from the earliest Hawai`i travel promotion from the 1880s and 1890s) the only side trip recommended for tourists to take from O`ahu was to see the volcano. To underscore this important feature, benignly smoking or fountaining volcanoes appeared in a variety of depictions of Hawai`i. Two of the earliest mainland-published examples of "Hawaiian" sheet music (*My Honolulu Fairy* and *My Honolulu Queen*, both 1899) show volcanoes as the sole evidence of a Hawai`i theme. Postcards, travel brochures and various other commercial artwork up through the 1920s are similar. Fictional dramas set in the islands, first on stage and later in the movies, invariably used volcanoes in their plots. All of these were influenced by *The Bird of Paradise*, a 1912 Broadway production set in Hawai`i which was the first story to show a maiden sacrificing herself to a volcano. Even a travelling mainland musical stage review of the late teens, *My Honolulu Girl*, chose Kilauea volcano as the third of the "3 Big Gorgeous Scenic Changes" which showcased its "18 Big Musical Numbers." In addition to two Hollywood film versions (in 1932 and 1951) of *The Bird of Paradise*, the volcano threat appeared in a number of other movies. Interestingly, after a serious treatment early on, the concept eventually became enough of a cliche that both the 1937 *Waikīkī Wedding* (starring Bing Crosby), and the1942 *Pardon My Sarong* (with Abbott and Costello) show volcanoes whose eruptions are phony, entirely engineered by people!

Surfing is an ancient sport. It was well established by the time Westerners arrived in the late-18th century. Those early explorers were astounded at what they perceived to be a dangerous, even frightening method of recreation. Like so much else of Hawaiian culture, surfing dwindled and nearly disappeared as foreigners forbade it and the Hawaiian people themselves died off from introduced diseases. Fortunately for the world of sport, surfing was revived early in this century at Waikīkī.

The Waikīkī connection would prove auspicious. This pleasant beach, located near (but not yet really part of) growing Honolulu, boasted a reef-protected area of dependable waves. Experienced surfers could enjoy them; beginners could learn on them. From around 1900 into the 1940s, in fact, hardly anyone surfed anywhere else in Hawai`i. And despite the sport's introduction to the West Coast and Australia by 1915, surfing remained for decades an image associated almost exclusively with the islands. If you saw a picture or a movie of

The cover of this 1900 calendar, published in Honolulu, features an illustration of the erupting Kilauea Volcano. Pictures of this active volcano were commonly used in promotional materials in this period. DeSoto Brown Collection.

a surfer back then, it was pretty sure that you were looking at something to do with Hawai`i.

An especially noteworthy part of the Waikīkī surfing set were the beachboys—the (mostly) Hawaiian men who taught tourists how to surf. They played with the rich and famous who came to stay at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, showing up in publicity photos of rich people and movie stars relaxing on the beach. When Shirley Temple came to Hawai`i in 1935 at the peak of her film name, she was ceremonially presented with her own personalized small-sized surfboard by members of the Waikīkī Beach Patrol. Moviegoers all over the world saw the staged event in newsreels that Shirley's studio (20th Century Fox) produced. Less publicized and more seamy were the interactions that took place after hours; the drinking and partying, when some beachboys charmed their way into intimate encounters with lady tourists.

Of course, all this would change. Hawai`i couldn't keep surfing just to itself, and when it became a sudden and significant American fad in the early 1960s the scene shifted abruptly to California. Silly "beach party" movies and a distinctive subgenre of rock & roll that originated there insured that the West Coast got the attention. Nowadays, the sport is international in scope, but Hawai`i retains its cachet as surfing's true home.

Pineapples became so connected to Hawai`i's image that it is probably a surprise to many that the plants themselves came from South America and have no natural connection to the islands at all.

The pineapple industry started small, just around the turn of the century. American know-how elevated the fruit into a massive crop, well-accepted in the rest of the U.S.A., in the space of just over a decade. The superiority of the Hawai`i-grown product was reiterated in advertising, and cans were always carefully labeled *Hawaiian Pineapple* (not just plain old *Pineapple)*, But interestingly, for many years, not much established Hawai`i imagery was used promotionally. For every can of *Ukulele* or *Honolulu Lady* brand pineapples there were quantities of undistinguished Dole or Libby labels (or hundreds of other lesser-known names) with no Hawai`i images. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Hawaiian scenery began to appear in advertising, but not until the 1950s was the full-on connection pushed with pictures of Diamond Head and *hula* girls. It was considered wiser to portray pineapple as an everyday staple, not an expensive "treat," and so the exoticism of Hawai`i was not usually played up. In the same way, published recipes for years emphasized the fruit's economic versatility. Again it was not until the 1950s that advertising finally suggested that throwing a slice of pineapple on top of any food justified it being named "Hawaiian" (e.g., "Ham With Hawaiian *Leis*"—a canned ham adorned with pineapple chunks). However, how long this long-established connection will continue to be perceived is questionable. As of this writing only one pineapple cannery still functions locally, with the Dole company's once-touted "largest fruit cannery in the world" (and others) having been closed due to competition from Asia. Pineapple's Hawaiian years are winding down.

The subjects used to promote Hawai`i have changed and evolved. The favorites of today will be replaced tomorrow as the islands' visitors shift in their tastes and origins. But barring an unforeseen economic upheaval, Hawai`i's economy will continue to depend largely on tourism—and thus promotion, in whatever form it takes and whatever images it utilizes, will continue into its second century and beyond.

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*DeSoto Brown, born in Hawai`i, has written four books on various subjects connected to the 20th-century history of the islands:* Hawai`i Recalls *(1982),* Aloha Waikīkī *(1985),* Hawai`i Goes to War *(1989), and* Coverama: The Collector's Guide to Antique Hawaiian Milk Covers *(1994). He has collected ephemera relating to this field, especially promotional publications, for over 25 years. He is employed as an archivist at the Bishop Museum Archives in Honolulu.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Transforming Vernacular Culture

Matt Claybaugh

The Soul of Surfing is Hawaiian. By Fred Hemmings. Hong Kong: Sports Enterprises, Inc., 1997.

Hawaiian Shirt Designs. By Nancy Schiffer. Hong Kong, Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1997.

Hawaiiana: The Best of Hawaiian Design. By Mark Blackburn. Atglen: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1996.

Three books, all out within the past two years, offer interesting glimpses into the history of tourist culture in Hawai`i. Fred Hemmings' *The Soul of Surfing is Hawaiian* is an eclectic collection of surfing's legendary faces, places, and events. The text incorporates historic and contemporary photographs, personal vignettes, myths and legends, with a sprinkling of Hemmings' unique world view to develop a loosely chronological depiction of surfing culture. Hemmings' work explores the evolution of surfing from its cultural roots in ancient Hawai`i, through its recreational popularity in Waikīkī and the famous north shore of O`ahu, to maturity as a professional international sport. A former world champion surfer and pioneer promoter, Hemmings offers insights into marketing techniques which placed the sport on a global stage and simultaneously advertised the natural beauty of Hawai`i.

Surfing provides an interesting context from which to examine the relationship between indigenous art forms and their global representations. Through Hollywood's appropriation of surf imagery, many have come to associate surf culture with California. Furthermore, the internationalization of professional surfing has disassociated it from its Hawaiian roots. *The Soul of Surfing's* greatest asset is that it celebrates the personalities of surf culture, and reaffirms the sport's birthright by (re)locating its Soul in the islands.

The "Hawaiian Shirt" (or "Aloha Shirt") has long symbolized an excursion to the islands, and in *Hawaiian Shirt Designs* Nancy Schiffer explores the transformation of the material artifact from its origins as a plantation work shirt *(palaka)* to its present status as a Hawaiian icon. Although a few historical inaccuracies tend to mar the work, this primarily pictorial history provides a rich visual chronicle of Hawai`i's most discernible souvenir.

Schiffer writes, "the fact that these shirts became enormously popular in the middle of the 20th century indicates how people respond to the Hawaiian culture, which seemed exotic, romantic, and relaxing." Here, Schiffer accentuates a link between material items and the corresponding values they elicit. To capitalize on the inherent popularity of aloha wear, official and unofficial advertising followed. Hawaiian Products Week was initiated by the Hawai`i Chamber of Congress in the 1930s (replaced by Aloha Week on all islands in 1947), with residents being encouraged to dress in Hawaiian print shirts and *mu`umu`u*. The popularity of these events furthered marketing and solidified the product's iconography. Schiffer's work offers a visual reconstruction of a culture in transition, whereby the values associated with the material artifacts influenced external as well as internal perceptions.

Mark Blackburn's *Hawaiiana: The Best of Hawaiian Design* captures the shifting focus of Hawai`i's material culture by providing full color images of representative products. As a collector and retailer of such items, he describes the book as "a look at the Hawai`i of the Golden Age of travel." Primarily depicting wares produced for tourist consumption, the work catalogs such diverse Hawai`i collectibles as menus, postcards, broadsides, fashions, figurines, musical instruments, quilts, furniture, and jewelry and assigns approximate value to each. Intermixed with the primary text are tidbits of island facts, such as the number of flowers in an *ilima lei*, the cost of living, and the tallest coconut tree on record.

Although beautifully designed, the book's questionable spelling, inexact use of Hawaiian terminology, and historical inaccuracies diminish its authenticity. The illustrations, however, are spectacular. By including an appraisal of each item, Blackburn's work serves to validate the intrinsic worth (cultural and monetary), of such historical keepsakes. An excellent survey for those interested or involved with Hawaiian collectibles.

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Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai`i. By Elizabeth Buck. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

Reviewed by Kevin M. Roddy, Public Services Librarian at the University of Hawai`i at Hilo.

Elizabeth Buck's fine addition to Hawaiian history examines Western impact on Hawaiian society by looking at gradual changes in *hula* and *oli* (chant); however, this book is not a history of *hula* or *oli*. In a clear, well-written introduction, Buck suggests that the "continuous productivity" of *oli* in Hawaiian society, coupled with the changes brought to it by Western influence, might afford an interesting view of the dynamic of political and cultural change over time.

It is difficult for modern-day thinkers to "conceptualize social relations and institutions in societies in which economic, political, and ideological practices were not shaped by the forces of capitalism" (p. 19), so in chapter 2, "Thinking about Hawaiian History," Buck invites the reader to make such constructs using Marxist-informed and post-structuralist theories. Chapter 3, "Hawai`i before Contact with the West," requires no prior knowledge of Hawaiian history or culture for essential arguments to be understood. In Buck's opinion, the notion of Hawai`i as "paradise," promotes a limited and simplified view of a very complex and rich precontact social and political structure.

Precontact Hawai`i was sometimes a brutal and scary place, one certainly not immune to the foibles of human passions—greed, power struggles, political conflict, and class hierarchy. Buck examines the transformation of Hawaiian communal structure prior to Captain Cook's arrival from one that was centered on the *maka`āinana* (commoner) to one that favored the *ali`i* (chiefs), sometimes at the expense of the *maka`āinana*. Though historian David Malo documented the occasional *maka`āinana* victory in struggles between the two classes, the uncompromising political dynamic of *ali`i* as ruler and *maka`āinana* as commoner was never seriously threatened. This intermittent tension, a minor fray in the social fabric, however, did make Hawaiian society more susceptible to manipulation by merchant and missionary alike, which led to eventual rapid decline.

In chapter 4, "Western Penetration," Buck recounts the sad story of Western merchants essentially turning the *ali`i* into merchant middlemen, the *Māhele's* commodification of land, and the Hawaiians' steady alienation from their own lands (which many scholars and Native Hawaiians believe to be the single greatest tragedy in Hawaiian history), along with the theft of crown lands and the seizing of political power by Western big business.

In chapter 5 ("Transformations in Ideological Representations: Chant and Hula") and chapter 6 ("Transformations in Language and Power") Buck's thesis is fully realized. After Western contact, changes to *hula* and *oli* were inevitable. Buck observes that both were vulnerable, yet resilient to Western contact. Much of the ancient *hula* tradition passed down to the present day was conducted secretly by individuals and *halau* on the outer islands and in the remote districts of rural O`ahu, far from prying missionary eyes. Missionary suppression and Western devaluation of the *hula*, along with rapid economic changes in the society, contributed to Hawai`i's second greatest tragedy—the alienation of the Hawaiians from the Hawaiian language. Prior to Western contact, *oli* was a political and social form of expression. Suppression of the Hawaiian language would be certain death to *oli*. Though Kalākaua revived these ancient arts, the overthrow of Lili`uokalani ended the *oli's* political power. The political nature of *oli* was a threat to Westerners, who recognized the enormous power of the Hawaiian language and were determined to annihilate it. *Hula* and *oli* again went underground. For centuries, Hawaiians encrypted many if not all *oli*, with *kaona*, or hidden meanings. Transparent to Western eyes, *kaona* preserved the messages of those who composed them, enabling many *oli* to survive.

Buck also notes that the change from orality to literacy was a formidable political tool that greatly impacted the Hawaiian language, as foreign morals and ways of thinking were introduced at a monumental point in Hawaiian language history. Languages of other societies have also been corrupted this way, with equally devastating results. Fortunately, the Hawaiians have been able to reclaim and reinvigorate the one remaining thing that is theirs alone, the Hawaiian language, and are moving forward.

Elizabeth Buck's book is an important contribution to research and public library collections. Buck's style and readability will appeal to researchers and general readers. She has faithfully maintained Hawaiian orthography with the proper use of *kahakō* (macrons) and *`okina* (glottal stops) for Hawaiian words and has made a fascinating, complex part of Hawaiian history accessible to a wide audience.

A version of this book review was originally printed in *The Hawaiian Journal of History* Volume 28, 1994, published by the Hawaiian Historical Society. Reprinted with permission.

T.D. Webb

A New Kind of Plantation

The Polynesian Cultural Center in Lā`ie, Hawai`i

Just as tourism has been called Hawai`i's "new kind of sugar",[1] the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC), now one of Hawai`i's most popular tourist attractions, is reminiscent of the Lā`ie sugar plantation laid out by missionaries sent to Hawai`i by Brigham Young, the great Mormon colonizer. In 1865, Lā`ie became the "gathering place" where Hawaiian converts to Mormonism could live apart from the rest of the world.[2] Lā`ie was selected on the strength of a prophetic dream in which Brigham Young, then the prophet and president of the Mormon Church, appeared to Francis A. Hammond, a missionary serving in Hawai`i, and told him that Lā`ie was the chosen site.[3]

The Mormon colonization of Lā`ie occurred at a pivotal point in Hawai`i's history when the land, capital, and skills had been amassed to propel the Hawaiian sugar industry into the world market.[4] The mid-19th century was also crucial for Mormonism. Between 1850 and 1980, the Church dispatched great numbers of "economic missionaries" throughout western North America to found colonies and build the Lord's kingdom. They mined gold and lead, manufactured iron, farmed cotton, milled textiles, and built factories, towns and temples.[5] Even the families sent from Utah to Lā`ie came as agricultural missionaries, not just evangelists.[6] In Brigham Young's plan, Lā`ie was to export crops to Utah where they would enter the vast redistribution of goods that made up the early Mormon economic system.[7]

The Lā`ie Plantation sugar mill, constructed by the Mormons. Courtesy of BYU-Hawai`i Archives.

Lā`ie was not initially bountiful, however. After experiments with several types of produce, sugar cane was selected as Lā`ie's major crop. But sugar cane requires vast amounts of water, and water in Lā`ie was scarce. For 20 years, the Hawaiian converts and the missionaries struggled to produce only a poor grade of sugar with a limited water supply that kept sugar cane production and life in general at disappointing levels.

In 1885, to ease the growing distress, Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the prophet Joseph Smith, told the Mormons in Hawai`i:

> Do not complain because of ... the lack of water, the scarcity of foods to which you are accustomed, and the poverty as well. Be patient, for the day is coming when this land will become a most beautiful land. Water shall spring forth in abundance, and upon the barren land you now see, the Saints (i.e., Mormons) will build homes, taro will be planted, and there will be plenty to eat and drink.[8]

The words gave the Lā`ie Mormons the heart to persist, and soon they struck artesian wells that supplied the promised abundance of water. Plantation productivity boomed. By 1900, Lā`ie shipped its due to Utah, and also supplied funds to build new chapels and provide financial assistance to needy Church members throughout Hawai`i.[9] This turn of events added greatly to Lā`ie's aura of holiness.

Tourists and the Temple

In 1900, George Q. Cannon, then a member of the Church's presidency, visited Hawai`i, and promised the congregations that because of their faithfulness, they would have the opportunity to participate in sacred temple ceremonies.[10] He apparently made no mention of how this would occur, but when a temple was constructed in Lā`ie in 1919, his statement was regarded as prophecy, and the temple, like the colony itself, was endowed with prophetic stature.

The temple drew faithful Mormon converts from all over the Pacific, many of whom resettled in Lā`ie. It also attracted tourists intrigued by reports of the unusual edifice on O`ahu's remote north shore. Tourist guidebooks of the period include the temple as the main attraction in coastal tours, comparing the visual effect of its striking white outline to that of the Taj Mahal.[11]

Hawai`i's tourism industry grew as Lā`ie's sugar industry declined. The plantation fell into debt during the 1920s and in 1931 was leased to the larger and better equipped Kahuku Plantation Company, whose land adjoined Lā`ie.[12] This brought Lā`ie to an economic standstill. Many residents became unemployed and moved away. Eventually, however, the presence of large numbers of outsiders in Hawai`i opened new visions to La`ie's Mormons, and in 1948, exploitation of the tourist market began with the reintroduction of the well-known *hukilau* on the shore of the Lā`ie Bay. This popular weekend tourist attraction began in 1937 to raise funds to build the Mormons Tabernacle in Honolulu.[13] It reappeared in 1948, and brought considerable sums of money into Lā`ie's economy during the 1950s and 1960s.[14]

Each *hukilau* attracted hundreds of tourists from Honolulu. After they helped pull *(huki)* the fishnet festooned with leaves *(lau)* to shore, Lā`ie residents entertained them with songs, dances, storytelling and feasting. A splendid noon *luau* was followed by a program of songs and dances.[15] The entire operation was devised and executed by the residents of Lā`ie, who showed a truly entrepreneurial flair for marketing the multi-cultural talents of their village.

The Church College of Hawai`i

The Church College of Hawai`i was both precursor and motive for the PCC. When the college opened in 1955, it fulfilled an ambition begun in 1921 by Apostle David O. McKay when he attended a flag-raising ceremony performed by the students at Lā`ie Elementary School. The sight of Hawaiian, Samoan, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino children saluting the American flag greatly moved McKay. As the story is told in Lā`ie, the experience prompted his vision of the future establishment of the Church College. Actually, it was the following day on Maui that McKay recommended that a college be built in Lā`ie.[16]

The College was built three decades later, soon after McKay succeeded to the Church presidency. At the ground breaking, he uttered this prophetic statement:

> We dedicate our actions ... that this college, and the temple, and the town of Laie may become a missionary factor, influencing not thousands, not tens of thousands, but millions of people who will come seeking to know what this town and its significances are.[17]

In 1974, the Church College was renamed Brigham Young University-Hawai`i Campus, or BYU-Hawai`i. But no one forgot McKay's prophecy, and the Polynesian Cultural Center, entertaining up to a million customers yearly, is considered its fulfillment.

The Polynesian Cultural Center

After the College opened, Church officials tried unsuccessfully to attract businesses to Lā`ie to provide jobs for the students. Natural resources also offered little prospect for economic development. Sugar had already proved inadequate to support the community. Coral for cement manufacture and local clay deposits were not extensive enough to meet the long-term objectives of the College.

The popularity of the *hukilau*, however, suggested that Lā`ie's tourist market was its most promising resource. Richard Wooten, then Church College President, and several faculty members and local Church leaders proposed to build a center where the College's students could pay for their education by entertaining tourists with Polynesian songs and dances.[18] Some Lā`ie residents feared, however, that this would create a Waikīkī-like environment in Lā`ie, and favored expansion of the *hukilau*, which had proved very successful.[19] Certain Church leaders in Utah agreed, and advised President McKay to reject the plan.[20] But McKay ended the discussion by announcing that the center would be built.[21] Just as he had single-handedly founded the Church College, McKay also decided that the PCC would be the economic venture to support its long-term continuation.

The primary motive for the Center was to provide support for the College.[22] Today, as many as 700 of BYU-Hawai`i's 2,000 students earn money to pay for their education by working as PCC guides, dancers, musicians, and concessioners. The PCC also provides direct financial aid to BYU-Hawai`i for unrestricted use and for research in Polynesian Studies.[23]

Another purpose of the PCC is to preserve Polynesian culture.[24] The PCC considers itself a living museum in which Polynesian craftsmen, dancers and others teach traditional art forms and cultural practices to tourists and to student performers. From the artisans, the young learn dances, games, ceremonies, food preparation, songs, carving and costuming, which they perform daily for tourists at the Center's seven village replicas, in stage revues and in the creation and display of material objects.

Very often the students are unfamiliar with the traditional customs and arts of their own homelands when they begin work at the PCC. A Maori student states:

> Everything that I know now (about Maori culture) I learned at PCC. I learned about each building, what it meant. I learned how to sing certain songs ... I learned how to pronounce the language properly, I learned how to move properly the way they did ... when you dance. I became more proud of my culture than when I was in New Zealand.

Lā`ie in the 1970s, with the PCC in the foreground, and BYU-Hawai`i just behind. The temple grounds, not shown, are just beyond the BYU-Hawai`i campus. Courtesy of BYU-Hawai`i Archives.

Like the temple and the College, the Center had its own prophetic forerunners. As early as 1951, Mormon Apostle Matthew Cowley proposed that Polynesian craftsmen in Lā`ie construct "little villages" in the traditional manner to attract the tourists.[25] Cowley spent much of his life in Polynesia for the Church, and he knew that the journey from widespread Pacific Islands to Lā`ie to attend the temple was costly. He suggested that the Polynesian dwellings, along with performances of traditional songs and dances, would attract the tourists who came to see the temple and provide money for the Polynesians' passage home while acquainting tourists with Polynesian arts. His suggestion interested some local Church leaders, but no immediate action came of it.

Yet many Mormons attribute to Cowley the inspiration that led to the PCC. His simple plan to help the Polynesians thus became a prophetic vision, and the PCC became the fulfillment of that prophecy.[26] This gives the Center its own sacred stature, and puts it on an equal footing with the temple and BYU-Hawai`i, elevating it above the *hukilau*, which was a local enterprise lacking any comparable prophetic origin.

Cowley died before the Church College was founded, so his vision of little villages included no student performers, no earmarking of the proceeds for the College instead of temple attendees. But by 1959, these other intentions had developed far enough among College leaders for them to test a Polynesian dance revue performed by Church College students. Faculty members trained a student troupe and staged them at various locations in Honolulu.[27]

The result, called "Polynesian Panorama," was a hit. Two years of shuttling the student performers back and forth to Waikīkī convinced decision makers that a spirited, tourist-oriented Polynesian revue with a student cast was definitely marketable. And although some argued that Lā`ie was too far from Honolulu, others insisted that the success of the *hukilau* demonstrated that the Mormon gathering place could draw audiences large enough to make the venture profitable.

When it opened in 1963, the PCC supplanted the *hukilau*. It included the traditional huts vaguely resembling Cowley's little villages, the audience participation, cultural activities, the feast of the *hukilau* and the staged extravaganza of the Polynesian Panorama. The PCC, however, greatly escalated Lā`ie's commitment to tourism by going after much larger tourist audiences.

From the Prophets to the Players

Like the plantation a century earlier, the PCC was by no means an immediate success. The spectacular evening stage shows received fine reviews, but the distance of Lā`ie from Waikīkī hotels and tourist spots kept attendance low. After four years, the Center had lost $740,000[28] and Church leaders seriously considered closing it.[29]

The Center did not begin turning profits until its management struck a deal with the tour companies to include the Center in their publicity and their itineraries, and bus their passengers to the Center. Initially, Center managers refused to deal with these companies, insisting that the Center could attract tourists without their help. But in the face of financial disaster, they granted the tour companies a 30% return of the Center's profits from their passengers.[30] Like the commercial motivation behind the inception of the PCC, its success was due to shrewd business arrangements.

Now, as Lā`ie's economic base employs a thousand persons, the PCC recalls the Church's 19th-century sugar plantation. But instead of natural resources, the Center exploits the cultural resources of Lā`ie's multi-cultural community. The Lā`ie plantation may have preceded the PCC by a century, but in Lā`ie's social structure, they both represent the same type of economic imperative prescribed by the Church for Lā`ie twice in a 100-year period.

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Spencer Leineweber

Plantation Housing in Hawai`i

The cultivation of sugar changed the face of Hawai`i. Sugar cane, which originally arrived in Hawai`i in Polynesian voyaging canoes, eventually became Hawai`i's most successful agricultural product. Sugar changed the economic patterns, land ownership, and the demographics of the islands. By the turn of the 20th century, sugar was grown by large companies, mostly aligned with American interests. Much of the land fell into the control of foreigners after the *mahele* of 1848, when the crown lands were divided. As a highly labor intensive crop, the cultivation of sugar—coupled with pineapple production by the beginning of the 20th century—required the importation of over 400,000 workers in a 50-year period. These patterns can still be seen today in the continued development of planned communities often under corporate sponsorship, and a population that is primarily Asian in background.

Many pockets of plantation communities still exist, primarily in the agricultural areas. Some of these contain excellent examples of the housing built for sugar workers; a number of which were the result of a major program of the Hawai`i Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA). The HSPA was formed in 1895 to support the technical and agricultural requirements of the booming sugar industry. Partially as a result of several strikes by workers a standard set of housing plans was developed by HSPA beginning in 1919. By the mid-1930s, a number of individual companies had developed their own plans in addition to those of the HSPA, all with the intention of improving the overall living conditions of workers. Although many of the plantations in Hawai`i are no longer producing sugar, the housing specifically developed for the

Barbershop and Okinawan House at Hawai`i's Plantation Village. Photo by Augie Salbosa.

immigrant workers still remains in many clusters of plantation camps. However, hundreds of such structures are now under threat, as agribusinesses increasingly divest themselves of their holdings and company housing is privatized. Efforts to preserve what remains are becoming increasingly critical.

Over the last 10 years, there have been a number of innovative approaches to re-use of these significant remnants of small-scale buildings of both the sugar and pineapple industries. A small village on Kaua`i has been restored to house employees. On O`ahu, a large concentration of nearly 300 individual houses is being renovated for affordable housing. Also on O`ahu, a living history museum has been created using restored and replicated structures. Each of these efforts to preserve the plantation era architecture has supported a step toward the recognition and interpretation of the culture and society of the plantation era. Each is significant in its own way.

The first large scale effort to maintain plantation houses for continued use was initiated by Grove Farm Museum on the island of Kaua`i. The workers' camp, which lines the edge of the historic plantation homestead, was restored in the 1980s as an essential element in preserving the story of the Wilcox family, who were important in the early history of sugar on the island of Kaua`i. Although one house is used as a living history exhibit because of its proximity to the main museum structure, the other houses are still lived in by the workers. Nevertheless, these properties too are tied to the mission of the Grove Farm Museum, an educational institution devoted to the interpretation of both the Wilcox family and plantation life in the Hawaiian islands. The scale and ambiance of this original community aids the interpretation of the museum and protects it from encroaching development. Following further threats to resources of this kind, guidelines for the rehabilitation of Kaua`i's plantation housing stock were developed in 1988 based directly on the experience of the renovation work at the Grove Farm camp. These were printed by the Community Housing Resource Board of Kaua`i for distribution throughout the islands and have done much to inform individual owners of what is significant about their homes and how to maintain them.

The `Ewa Village project on O`ahu presented a different level of intervention and interpretation. `Ewa was an entire company town planned, constructed, and maintained by `Ewa Sugar Company to house more than a thousand workers. Although half of the camps in `Ewa Village have been demolished in the last 10 years, three of the major housing clusters still remain in this central O`ahu community. When 600 acres of land were condemned as a part of a new master planned community, nearly 300 homes became the property of the City and County of Honolulu. A non-profit development corporation comprised of leaders in the preservation community and representatives of the land owners was selected to act as the general contractor for the restoration of the houses. The project, for the initial village of approximately 150 houses, was to be completed in 1996. The work has been under the direction of Executive Director Doug Davich, a preservation contractor.

The aim of the other rehabilitation projects within the `Ewa Village scheme is to allow for the continued existence of the cohesive `Ewa community; to assure this, a complex program of subsidized finance and resale has been introduced to allow the sugar workers to gain ownership of their own homes. Multiple funding sources from federal and city loan programs have made the projects a reality. Nearly 50 men in carpentry, plumbing, and electrical crews are working to complete all of the restoration work by late 1998. As homes are repaired, they are sold back to the existing tenants or other families from the original community. Restrictive covenants protect the area from future incompatible development.

In the area of education, a private organization has taken the initiative to "tell the plantation story." Also on O`ahu, Hawai`i's Plantation Village is also a concentration of plantation homes on the site of a former rice plantation, adjacent, however, to one of the largest sugar mills as well. Operated as a living history museum, this education facility is devoted to telling the story of Hawai`i's immigrant plantation workers through, in part, a presentation of their housing. The physical context of the museum was developed after extensive research of plantation housing on all the islands. The development of the museum involved restoration of two National Register properties on the site, the Inari Shrine and the Chinese cook-house. It

Worker's Cottage at Grove Farm Museum. Photo by William Chapman.

also included construction of replica buildings and preservation of existing taro fields. The decision to replicate buildings rather than move original threatened properties to the site was a carefully considered choice. The Design and Development Committee members felt that to wrest historic properties from their original context would not be a good preservation alternative and would set a bad precedent.

With the cooperation of local ethnic and civic organizations, each major group is represented by a prototypical house, outbuildings, and demonstration gardens. Original construction techniques—techniques that evolved during several periods in plantation history—were carefully preserved or demonstrated in each of the 31 wood buildings, grouped into what appears as a cohesive village community.

In order to construct the Plantation Village, extensive research of plantation architecture was undertaken at libraries, archives, museums, and sugar companies to determine the development of plantation architecture over time. Hundreds of hours were spent examining microfilm records or covered in protective suits—centipedes are a significant hazard on abandoned plantation building sites—to study the framing of early plantation structures. The buildings serve as a physical record of the range of architectural types, construction materials, and techniques used in the plantation camps. The development of "single wall construction," in which only the exterior sheathing boards are used in bearing to support the roof, can be clearly traced in the structures of the village.

These three projects only touch upon the demands still facing those concerned with the preservation of the plantation housing legacy. Thousands of plantation houses in many areas once devoted to sugar still exist. On the Hamakua coastline of the Big Island of Hawai`i, where sugar production has recently ended, literally hundreds of houses are under direct and immediate threat. The Hamakua coastline in particular is a remarkably scenic area and the temptation to convert the area to resort development is extremely high. Since the area is economically depressed due to the lack of agricultural production, the future of these communities is even more fragile. It would be unfortunate, however, if the main examples of plantation housing were to be found only in a few protected communities and museums.

The negative impact of the demise of sugar is not easy to resolve. Although sensitive zoning and creative economic supports are part of the solution, it appears that sugar, even in its demise, will change the face of Hawai`i once again.

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Deteriorating building at `Ewa plantation site. Photo by William Chapman.

Jeanne Hamilton

Incorporating the Plantation into 21st Century Hawai`i

Plantation agriculture in Hawai`i over the past 120 years laid much of the foundation for the state's current multicultural society. Plantation agriculture shaped patterns of land ownership, the economy, social relations, local cuisine, pidgin language, and humor. Landowners and plantation managers brought in waves of Chinese, Japanese, Okinawan, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Korean, and Filipino immigrants to work in the fields and mills. These workers transformed the land, economy and culture of Hawai`i through their labor.

Plantation managers needed to attract and keep immigrant plantation workers under difficult working conditions of industrialized agriculture. In the first half of the 20th century, plantation managers built communities with houses, stores, schools, churches and recreational facilities around the mills. As the plantations are closed today for economic reasons, these existing communities of workers and retirees lose their basis for existence. Workers are laid off with varied prospects for re-employment. Lands are returned to the original lessor or sold in bulk. Continued life in the plantation camps is problematic. Community facilities and employee rental housing are often deteriorated; and the plantation systems for water, sewer, drainage, electricity, and roads do not meet local government health and safety standards.

Many aspects of local culture emerged from plantation communities, but the opportunity for preservation of the physical framework of the plantation is rare. The City and County of Honolulu's `Ewa Villages Revitalization Project is a unique attempt to preserve many parts of a plantation and to build a renewed community around it.

The `Ewa Plantation Company leased land some 20 miles from Honolulu and began operations on the `Ewa Plain of O`ahu in January, 1890; initially, the workers were transient contract laborers. In the first half of the 20th century, housing and community facilities were built to retain the work force. By the late 1920s, some 5,000 people lived on the plantation. On its leased land, `Ewa Plantation built and maintained more than 600 homes for workers, skilled employees, and supervisors in numerous camps, some of which exist today and are called "`Ewa Villages." `Ewa Plantation also built athletic and recreational facilities, social clubs, a community store, a health center, a hospital, and an administration building.

Declining profits in the 1950s and 1960s caused `Ewa Plantation to sell to another sugar company, O`ahu Sugar, in the early 1970s. Sugar mill operations were shifted to the O`ahu Sugar mill. The employee housing continued to be used, but much of the physical plant declined. The community had been built solely on sugar cultivation and processing. Individuals had small cottage industries, but no economic activities developed that could carry the community beyond the demise of sugar.

Anticipating the 1995 expiration of the sugar company's land lease, the City and County of Honolulu began planning for the future of `Ewa Villages in the 1970s. The `Ewa region was slated for development of a "Second City" and significant suburban expansion. Fernandez Village, a plantation camp constructed in the 1950s, was out of the flood zone and near a major road and modern infrastructure system. In the 1980s, lots were subdivided and sold to the plantation workers with minimal design control over rebuilding and renovation work by the new homeowners. Ten years later, Fernandez Village shows little evidence of its origin as a plantation camp.

Advocacy from the historic preservation community and community groups led the City and County of Honolulu to modify its plans for the remaining plantation camps. The current 620-acre `Ewa Villages Revitalization Project has four mandates: to provide affordable housing opportunities and a continued sense of community for the current residents (250 families) and other island families, to preserve the historic character of the plantation villages, to develop a drainage program to remove the villages from the flood zone, and to break even financially. A historic core of some 140 acres is designated that includes the entrance to the community and the community buildings, the remaining buildings in the mill area, and the three existing plantation villages.

The entrance to the plantation is maintained as a banyan-lined road with the re-use of the administration building, community store, mill area, post office, and large houses for the manager and supervisors. The community buildings are being used for school, childcare, and youth facili-

ties. A neighborhood commercial area and a district park are planned for the old mill area and are expected to incorporate some of the remaining mill structures. The Manager's House is slated to become a community interpretive center. The three supervisors' houses will be used for special needs housing. A Bachelors' Quarters for skilled employees will be renovated into rental housing for current residents.

Typical c. 1937 workers' houses, `Ewa Plantation before (above) and after rehabilitation (right). Photos by William Chapman.

Rehabilitating and re-using the existing housing and community facilities pose major engineering challenges. The three remaining plantation camps were in a flood plain. Construction of a public golf course contained and directed the sheet flow from the fields and removed the area from the flood zone. New water, sewer and drainage lines are being built while the substandard plantation system is maintained to service current residents until switchover. New roads are constructed to meet health and safety standards while retaining some of the old plantation characteristics, such as the narrower width and absence of curbing and side drainage. New overhead utilities are being installed, and the area is being subdivided to permit the sale of homes.

Almost 280 workers' and skilled employees' houses remain in the three villages. The `Ewa Villages Nonprofit Development Corporation was established as a nonprofit construction firm to lower the costs of renovation and to implement historic preservation standards. The renovated houses and newly subdivided lots will be sold to current residents and to the general public. Rental housing will be built for current residents who do not purchase homes.

The project would not be financially feasible without the concurrent development and sale or rental of approximately 1,300 new housing units over roughly a 10-year period. Approximately 300 houses will be built as infill structures in the existing villages; these infill homes are designed with compatible post and pier construction, dimensions, rooflines, and setbacks. The other new homes are being built in eight new villages.

A community association, the `Ewa Villages Owners' Association, is being established. It will have the responsibility to enforce design guidelines developed to maintain `Ewa Villages' historic sense of place. Exterior changes by owners within the historic core will also be subject to review by the State Historic Preservation Office.

Economic shifts are erasing plantation agriculture in Hawai`i. In the face of plantation closure and job loss, deteriorated housing, substandard infrastructure, and rural isolation, the opportunity to preserve the plantation community is rare. Nevertheless, the state's recent plantation history shaped much of present-day Hawai`i; and the challenge of the `Ewa Villages Revitalization Project is to incorporate the physical structures of that past into a new community.

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Carol A. MacLennan

Hawai`i's Early Plantation Heritage

Sugar plantations played a pivotal role in Hawai`i's dramatic, and sometimes tragic, entry into the world economy of the late-19th century. At mid-century, plantations began to populate the more remote Hawaiian communities with Chinese and Japanese workers, to clear the forested landscape, to claim increasing water resources once used by Hawaiian taro farmers, and to require government investment in roads, harbors, and courts necessary to support the sugar industry. Eventually, economic and political demands of the plantation system on the Hawaiian native government brought pressure for annexation to the U.S. Over a 50-year period, Hawai`i changed from an agricultural society characterized largely by subsistence production to an industrial society organized by the needs of plantation production. The earliest mills were powered by animals and fire wood, employed 50 to 100 Hawaiians, grinding cane from about 200 surrounding acres. Workers lived in scattered housing of either grass or woodframe construction. The typical sugar plantation of 1900 utilized powerful steam engines, employed 200-300 workers, relied on elaborate irrigation flumes to water the fields, and housed an industrial community of ethnically-based work camps. Whole families worked in the sugar fields. The change was radical.

It makes sense to preserve and interpret aspects of plantation life, community landscapes, and the technology of sugar production that came to life during these earliest years of sugar's growing power in Hawai`i. Debates of the 1990s often draw us back to the early plantation system. Questions about loss of Hawaiian sovereignty, about the impacts of recent plantation closures on Hawai`i's outer islands, about the future development of Hawai`i's water and forest resources all encourage a deeper look at the plantation in Hawai`i's history.

The plantation had a significant impact on the politics of the young Hawaiian nation. With the emergence of a native Hawaiian constitutional monarchy in the 1840s, the demand for money by a cash-starved government gave a boost to the plantation system. As the centerpiece of an export economy, increased sugar production became synonymous with proper government. But sugar and the plantation system brought irreversible changes to the native Hawaiian economy. The demands for increased export income fueled pressure to privatize landholdings and sell large tracts of government-owned acreage. Access to forests for wood fuel to power the mills and water to irrigate the cane lands was imperative to an expanding industry. As the documentary record shows, these changes did not occur without vocal dissent from native Hawaiians.

It was the early plantations that brought workers from China, Japan, South Sea islands, Portuguese colonies, Europe, and the U.S., before 1900, together into new communities to plant and harvest sugar cane, transport it to the mill, crush, grind, and crystallize it for the San Francisco market. This was the period of contract labor, or indentured servitude, when workers from China and Japan were recruited in large numbers to fulfill 5-year contractual obligations on plantations. Plantation stores, worker camps of Chinese men, Japanese families, and Hawaiian households, 6-day work schedules, irrigation systems drawing water from miles away, powerful grinding and boiling machinery in the mills, grueling work by men, women and children cutting cane in the field and transporting it by ox carts to the mills—all characterized the early industrial plantation.

To document and interpret Hawai`i's plantation history is to understand the multiple uses of power which have brought about the Hawaiian economic, political and cultural transformation. It

Irrigation flume to carry water to the plantation from a distant source. Irrigation systems such as this were built on Maui in the late-19th century. Photo circa 1880-1895. Photo courtesy Hawaiian Historical Society.

was on the early plantation where patterns of work, technology, and industrialization were established. There are few plantation structures still standing which date back to the 1800s that invite interpretation. But there are, instead, rich documentary sources available in Hawai`i in which to dig for information.

Structural remains from the earliest plantation periods exist in the form of partially standing stone walls of sugar mills. Housing from this early period of plantation development no longer exists—long ago removed to make way for more cane lands. The Wilder mill, located at O`ahu in Kualoa, still stands as a partial stone structure. A failed plantation, it operated in the 1860s on O`ahu's windward shore. Partially standing also, is the Make`e sugar mill at Ulupalakua on Maui. A stone wall and chimney are all that remain. Both the Wilder and Make`e mills tell a story of plantations that failed in the years prior to annexation when competition between Hawaiian, Manila, and Peruvian sugars in the San Francisco market was fierce. Newspaper accounts and personal correspondence document the issues facing planters in this environment—paramount among them was sugar mill technology that constantly broke down, difficulty in transportation of cane from the field to the mill, and a Hawaiian workforce that preferred independence to indentured servitude whenever possible. This is the era that spawned the plantation store, food dependency by Hawaiian workers on plantation managers, and a debt system that continued well into the 20th century.

In addition to standing mills, there exist the remains of elaborate irrigation ditches and flumes built in the 1880s and later which carried water from distant rain forests to plantation lands. Access to and control of water became the primary means by which sugar planters and their plantations achieved the economic power over island life by 1900. The Hawai`i State Historic Preservation Office has begun to document these ditches through the written record. However, no inventory of physical remains of these ditches and flumes yet exists.

Most of what we can learn about features of early plantation life and technology is hidden in a rich source of business archives. A NEH project in the 1980s retrieved and inventoried plantation records from Hawai`i's still-existing sugar companies. A relatively untapped source of information, the Hawai`i Sugar Planters' Association archives, now housed at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, provides scholars and citizens alike with production records, maps of worker housing, photographs, medical information on workers, plantation store records, and voluminous correspondence. Records exist for 20 plantations, dating back as early as 1850. Records for 15 other plantations are available at the Bishop Museum, housed in the Theo. H. Davies collection. The Grove Farm Homestead houses record back to the 1860s for the Grove Farm Plantation on Kaua`i.*

To the cultural resource specialist, business archives may seem a bit dry and impenetrable. But in Hawai`i they will provide some fascinating information on the plantation system's rise to power. The story of sugar's development of water resources, buried in these records, is the story of a changing landscape. Dietary and consumption habits of working families are found in the plantation store records. The tale of worker indebtedness to the plantation store is buried in old ledgers and journals. The health of plantation workers is found in infirmary records of plantation companies. And the tales of technological experimentation, failure, and success is detailed in manager reports and correspondence.

While the structural features of Hawai`i's early sugar industry have all but left the landscape, the story that remains largely untold is waiting in the archival record.

1860s mill at Kualoa, O`ahu. Wilder Sugar operation ran from circa 1864-1870. Photo circa 1920. The stone walls have further deteriorated. Photo courtesy Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS).

Note

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Sheree Chase

The Uchida Coffee Farm in Kona, Hawai`i

Preservation often means reaching out—both to new constituencies and toward the recognition of little appreciated resources. This has been the case with Hawai`i's many small-scale coffee farms, scores of which still dot the western (leeward) coast of the Big Island of Hawai`i. Identifying these often ephemeral, but strongly ubiquitous places, and making their value known both to the "mainstream" of preservationists, historians, and planners and to the communities that inhabit and work them has been a challenging task. Beginning in the early 1990s, however, this is precisely what the Kona Historical Society has undertaken to do.

The Kona Historical Society (KHS) is located in the district of Kona on the Big Island of Hawai`i. The Society headquarters are located in the historic Greenwell Store, listed on both the State and National Register of Historic Places and is situated in the southern uplands at an elevation of about 1,500 feet above sea level. The KHS is a community based, non-profit organization with a staff of four and a membership of over 800. The Society's primary mission is to collect, preserve, and disseminate the post-contact history of the Kona District. The district runs 60 miles along the southwest side of the island in the leeward coast and is situated at the foot of two active volcanoes, Mauna Loa and Hualalai.

The KHS serves the community as the only repository for Kona history, both material culture and ongoing research and preservation projects. Its collections include visual images, artifacts, a small research library, extensive research files containing land use records, and oral histories of the district between 1845-1950.

Kona Coffee Farm c. 1930 overlooking Kealakekua Bay.

When British explorer Captain James Cook landed at Kealakekua Bay in 1779, he and his crew found a productive agricultural region, a land "in high cultivation" at elevations between 1,000 and 2,000 feet. Dense with breadfruit, sugar cane, sweet potato, taro, and banana, this area supported a population of at least 10,000 people at the time of contact.

After the Kona district was "discovered" and then exploited by the Western world, new crops were experimented with such as tobacco, pineapple, sisal, cotton, commercial sugar cane, and coffee. Coffee would be the only commercial crop sustained in the area into the 20th century. Introduced to Kona as an ornamental in 1828 by an American missionary, coffee very quickly became the crop upon which plantations were built by early European and American planters. Throughout the 19th century, nearly everyone—Caucasian, Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese—participated in the production, processing, and export of the fledgling industry. Fluctuations in the world market, plant disease, and insect problems would create a series of "busts" with an occasional "boom" throughout the later decades of the 19th century. Toward the end of the century, large-scale planters began to divide their landholdings into smaller family-sized farms, generally of 5 to 10 acres. Initially farmed by Portuguese immigrants, production on the smaller holdings quickly became dominated by incoming Japanese laborers.

By the turn of the century, the isolated Kona district had become a haven for Japanese immigrants *(Issei)* disenchanted with life on the large sugar plantations. In Kona, an enterprising immigrant could secure a five-acre coffee lease for very little capital and lose himself in the remote coffee land. The Kona district offered these rugged individualists the opportunity to achieve both a financial and personal independence unattainable in Japan or on the sugar plantations. As these pioneers carved out a place for themselves in the district, they adapted traditional Japanese architectural styles and building techniques, agricultural methods, religious practices, and daily life to their new environment. Within 50 years of immigration, the Japanese were the predominant population in the district. The Japanese who settled in Kona during this period played a significant role in the development of Kona in the 20th century.

Uchida Coffee Farm kitchen with a traditional Japanese open hearth. The woodbox is at right. Photo by the author.

The multi-ethnic and multi-cultural community that shaped what we now refer to as Kona's "coffee lifestyle" is still very much alive in the district. Second generation Japanese Americans *(Nisei)* born on coffee farms continue to farm the lands cleared and planted by their parents as do Filipinos, Hawaiians, and Portuguese. After decades of hardship and struggle by these early pioneers, Kona coffee now ranks itself as one of the premier gourmet coffees renowned worldwide for its consistent body and flavor.

By 1991 the *Issei* had, for the most part, passed on and the *Nisei* were also reaching their twilight years; once gone, their stories were in danger of being lost forever. Coupled with Kona's growing population and accelerated demographic changes, the need to preserve this unique architectural and cultural history became increasingly apparent. Built between 1900 and 1945, the hundreds of small coffee farms—at one time there were over 1,500—that once dotted the rural Kona landscape were rapidly disappearing. Nowhere was the architecture, material culture, or the stories of Kona's unique coffee farming being preserved. This was the primary impetus for the Kona Historical Society Board of Directors' decision and commitment to preserve a typical coffee farm from this era.

In order to preserve this history, it was known that the Society would need the support of the coffee farming community, in particular the Japanese and Filipino communities. They were the people whose story it was; they had lived the history. A volunteer steering committee made up of members of this community was established. These were individuals who could sell the project to the community as well as provide the expertise needed in documenting both the material and social history of coffee farming families.

Since that time the KHS, with the support of the Kona community, has worked toward that goal. In 1994, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Hawai'i State Legislature, private foundations, and the Kona community, the KHS secured a farm site that met both national criteria for preservation and the practical needs of providing access to the public by the KHS. All of this and more was found at the D. Uchida coffee farm established in 1913 by immigrants from the Kumamoto Prefecture, Daisaku and Shima Uchida.

The Uchidas were typical of many Japanese immigrants who arrived in the district between 1845-1920. Because they were raised in a rural rice producing region in the Kumamoto Prefecture of Japan, the idea of an independent family-operated farm appealed to them. Between 1913 and the late 1920s, the industry underwent a "boom" and the Uchidas, like many others, prospered. In 1925, at the height of the coffee "boom," many farmers built larger homes and coffee pulping mills. The Uchida farm, as it stands today, was built between 1925-1945 and includes a Japanese-style bath house and several sheds and chicken coops. The farm buildings are surrounded by a five-acre coffee and macadamia nut orchard.

Once the site had been secured, a photographic record of each of the structures was made. The KHS then organized a team of scholar and preservation professionals to work with the KHS staff and community members to preserve and interpret the site. An initial meeting with this group helped to lay out the long-range plan for the project which established the period of interpretive significance as 1925 when the existing buildings were constructed and 1945 with the end of World War II. Planning took into account the need to stabilize and restore the structures as well as provide for the research needed in order to tell the stories associated with the structures. This included the collection, documentation, and interpretation of the artifacts and other material culture associated with Japanese coffee farms of the period.

This research includes a survey of farms of the period still occupied by *Nisei* farmers, canvassing of the district for artifacts from the period, oral history interviews with the Uchida family on the use of interior and exterior spaces and the location and use of artifacts, and oral history interviews with other *Nisei* so that it was possible to draw a picture of what life was like for immigrants and their children living in the remote coffee lands during the early decades of the 20th century. To date, nearly 1,000 artifacts, hundreds of photographs, and dozens of oral histories have been collected, documented, described, transcribed, and catalogued. Measured drawings of the complex have been completed, and several reports document the history of the machinery at the farm are in place.

Historically, the Kona district is the only coffee-producing region in the United States. The remote location and climate provided a unique opportunity for immigrants hardy enough to survive the austere conditions of the coffee farm life and the ever-fluctuating world coffee market.

For over 80 years, the Uchida family, like others, worked the coffee and raised their children, through two World Wars, earthquakes, epidemics, the never-ending "busts," and the all-too-infrequent "booms" of the coffee industry. Through it all, they maintained a work ethic, strong family ties, and a lifestyle that has become synonymous with Kona coffee farming, yet this lifestyle remains unique in modern Hawaiian history. It is hoped that this project will serve as an initial step toward the recognition of the unique and fragile resources and that the museum effort will help create a preservation consciousness among those still inhabiting the working farms of the Kona district.

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Editor's Note:

The Kona Historical Society has completed the restoration of the mill and hoshidana at the Uchida coffee farm and restoration of the house began in spring of 1998.

Meeting in the Freely Associated States of Micronesia

The Freely Associated States of Micronesia (FAS) is comprised of the Republic of Palau, Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia, including Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae and Yap. The U.S. Historic Preservation Fund has been extended to these sovereign governments until the year 2001, with the exception of the Republic of Palau who signed their Compact of Free Association in 1995 (the U.S. government agreed to provide funding for 15 years under the compacts). Palau may receive HPF grant funds until 2010. In 1986 when the Compacts of Free Association were signed, the United Nations trusteeship for these island groups ended. The National Park Service (NPS) main objective in assisting the FAS is to provide financial and technical support to establish programs appropriate to Micronesian society and culture; programs that will accrue sufficient local support to continue after the termination of the Compacts of Free Association.

Group photograph at Bai-ra-irrai, the traditional Palauan bai *or men's meeting house on Airai Island in 1996. Photo by David Look.*

The NPS meets annually with the Historic Preservation Officers (HPOs) and other FAS staff members to discuss current program direction, review activities and plan for the future. The meeting also provides opportunities for training courses, lectures, field trips, and staff interaction and communication.

Key historic preservation program issues discussed were the 1996 and 1997 program reviews, FAS program status reports, FAS project status reports for 1997 projects, cultural resource training initiatives, and recruitment for archeologist and anthropologist positions. The Republic of Palau received the 1997 Outstanding Historic Preservation Program Award for the Cultural Affairs Office's performance in identifying, preserving, and protecting the cultural resources of Palau for its citizens and future generations.

This year's annual meeting was held in Yap, Federated States of Micronesia, February 2-3, 1998, with David Look, AIA, Cultural Resources Team Leader, Paula Falk-Creech, Micronesia Program Coordinator, and Mark Rudo, Archeologist. FAS representations included: Carmen Bigler, Secretary of Interior and HPO for the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and Clary Makroro, Deputy Historic Preservation Officer; Vicky Kanai, HPO for the Republic of Palau, Rita Olsedong, Palau HPO Archeologist, Florencio Gibbons, Palau Oral Historian, and David Orak, Deputy HPO; and Emensio Eperiam, Deputy HPO for Pohnpei State, Berlin Sigrah, HPO for Kosrae, Standon Andrew, Staff Surveyor for Kosrae, and John Tharngan, Yap Historic Preservation Officer.

David W. Look
Paula Falk-Creech

Scott Russell

Historic Preservation in the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas

The Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas encompasses a string of 14 small islands situated in a remote stretch of the Western Pacific roughly 2,000 kilometers northeast of the Philippines. Saipan, the largest island with a land area of 120 square kilometers, possesses the bulk of the commonwealth's 60,000 residents. It is also the most developed with scores of hotels, golf courses and other commercial establishments catering to hundreds of thousands of tourists who visit the island each year. To the south of Saipan are Tinian and Rota, with much smaller populations and more modest development, and to the north are 10 rugged, sparsely populated islands that are difficult to visit since they lack harbors and airfields.

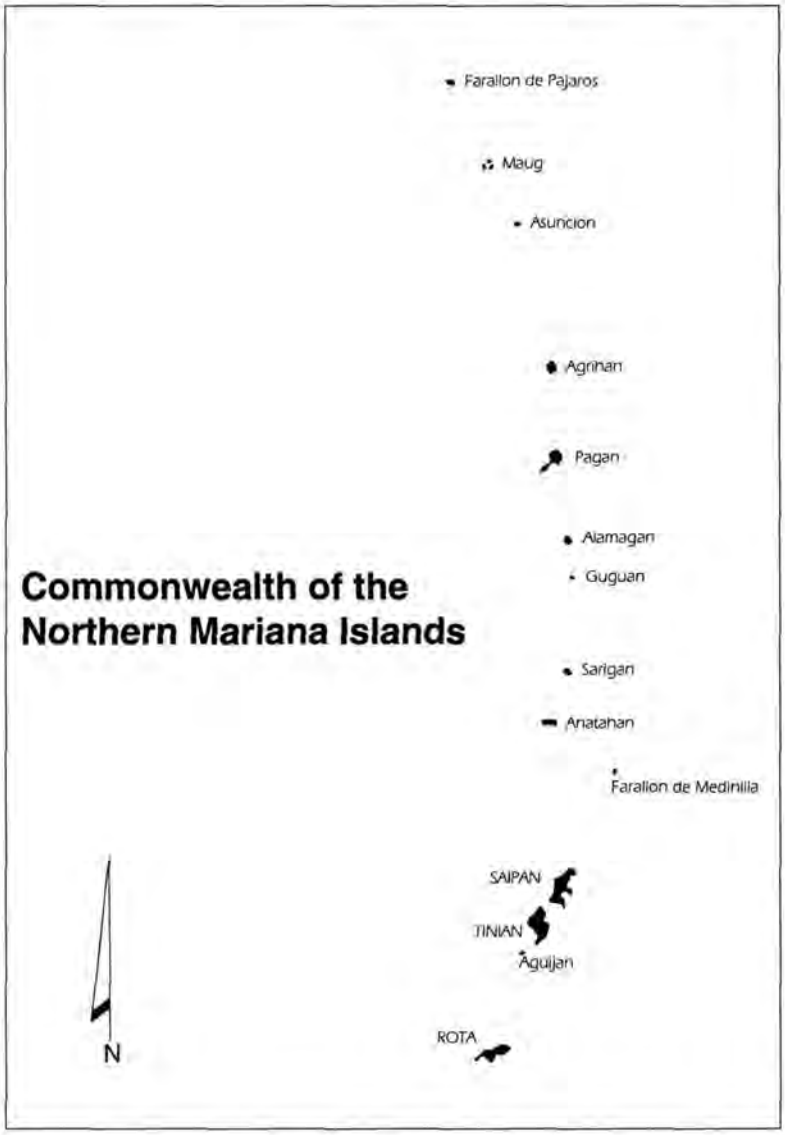
The islands were first settled in approximately 1500 B.C. by seafaring immigrants from Island Southeast Asia. These settlers constructed their villages and buried their dead throughout the islands, particularly in coastal beach areas on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota. In the early-16th century, the islands were visited by Spanish explorers and Rota became a reprovisioning stop for Manila galleons carrying silver from the New World to trading centers in the Philippines. A century and a half later, a Jesuit mission was established on the islands. Within 40 years the mission had converted the islanders to Catholicism, a process which led to the collapse of the indigenous social order. After more than three centuries of colonial rule, Spain sold the Northern Marianas to Germany at the end of the 19th century. Germany, in turn, lost the islands to Japan at the beginning of World War I. During the 30 years of Japanese rule, the islands were developed as sugar plantations manned by thousands of Japanese agricultural workers. During World War II, Saipan and Tinian were scenes of fierce fighting between American and Japanese forces. In the summer of 1945, the war was brought to an end following atomic bomb attacks launched from an airfield on Tinian. Human occupation over this span of four thousand years has left a rich and complex patchwork of historic resources throughout the Commonwealth.

The House of Taga latte site on Tinian. These latte stones, which are five meters high, supported an ancient Chamorro residential structure possibly associated with Taga, a legendary chief.

Historic preservation activities in the Northern Marianas began tentatively in the mid-1970s when a committee was formed to provide advice on preservation matters to a part-time staff. A few years later, thanks to its newly acquired Commonwealth status with the United States and to an amendment to the National Historic Preservation Act, the Northern Marianas became eligible to participate in the federal historic preservation program and to receive annual grants from the National Park Service.

In 1982, the Commonwealth Legislature passed Public Law 3-39, the Commonwealth Historic Preservation Act, which establishes the Historic Preservation Office (HPO), provides annual appropriations to support program activities and extends protection to historic, archeological and cultural resources in both public and private ownership. Presently, the HPO maintains its main office on Saipan and branch offices on Rota and Tinian. It is headed by the Commonwealth Historic Preservation Officer and possesses staff with professional expertise in history and archeology.

The passage of the Commonwealth Historic Preservation Act coincided with the tremendous development boom that transformed the once quiet and rustic Saipan into a modern tourist destination. Major resort development is also planned for Rota and Tinian and government homesteading areas are slated to be opened on several of the northern islands. To keep up with the development, the HPO has focussed much of its efforts on survey and identification. Over the past 15 years, dozens of professionally supervised archeological surveys have been completed and thousands of sites added to the HPO's database.



Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Professional-level surveys have been supplemented by the work of the HPO's archeological technicians who are responsible for conducting reconnaissance surveys and recording sites. Thanks to these efforts, much of Saipan, Tinian, and Rota has been inspected.

In spite of strong developmental pressures, the HPO has given priority to the in-place preservation of significant sites, especially those that are associated with ancient settlement or that contain human remains. Most developers realize the value of preservation to their projects, and historic resources are now routinely identified and considered during the early planning stages.

When important sites cannot be avoided, the HPO requires the implementation of appropriate mitigation measures. This often involves archeological excavations designed to address research topics important to advancing our understanding of the islands' past. Mitigation may also involve interpretive development and reinterring human skeletal remains.

In recent years, the HPO has increased its efforts to educate the public in the areas of history and culture. These efforts include producing two publication series that present the results of archeological and historical research, conducting public lectures, organizing tours, and completing the interpretive development of important historic resources. Much attention has also focused on conducting archival research and recording oral histories and ensuring that the results of this research are made available to students, teachers, scholars and to others with an interest in the islands' past.

The centerpiece of the HPO's public education efforts is the Commonwealth Museum of History and Culture that is housed in the oldest historic structure on Saipan. In the planning stages for nearly a decade, museum construction was supported by revenues derived from the sale of artifacts recovered from the *Concepcion* shipwreck, an early-17th-century Manila galleon. Exhibit design is now underway and the museum is expected to open its doors to the public in early 1998. Once completed, the museum will showcase the cultures and history of the Northern Marianas to visitors and island residents alike.

As with other Pacific Islands, historic preservation and cultural resource management have a long way to go in the Northern Marianas. The issues are often complex and resources typically encompass far more than simply sites and buildings. In the Northern Marianas, it is the "culture" of a people that takes priority.

Additional Reading

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Scott Russell serves as the Deputy Historic Preservation Officer for the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, a position he has held for the past 15 years. He has been involved in a wide variety of activities in Micronesia, and has authored articles and books on the history and historic resources of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Dirk H.R. Spennemann

Cultural Heritage Management of Unexploded Ammunition

The ethics of cultural heritage management stipulate that heritage places, if deemed culturally or historically significant, should be maintained in place and unchanged lest their significance be impaired.[1] Any conservation management must be respectful to the historic fabric of the site and should contemplate reversible methods of conservation intervention only as the last resort.[2] Usually cultural heritage sites do not pose an unreasonable risk to the heritage manager and/or visitor, recent developments in the public liability field notwithstanding. There are items, however, that had been designed to maim or kill, that survived by circumstance that period of their initial application, and that now pose a serious threat to cultural resource managers, visitors, and the sites alike: unexploded ammunition.

The Pacific War has seen the development of several permanent and temporary military bases on several islands and atolls in the central and western Pacific by both Japanese and Allied forces. Vast quantities of ammunition, ranging from small arms to large coastal defense and naval guns, as well as aerial bombs were moved to the bases and stored in concrete bunkers or open bomb dumps. Small quantities were stored in ammunition-ready magazines at the gun emplacements, where they were needed. Most of this ammunition was either expended during military action or was removed after the war. Some, however, remains. In addition, enemy action brought substantial supplies of ammunition onto a base. While most of the bombs and shells exploded, some did not. A U.S. intelligence report following the U.S. capture of Kwajalein Atoll, Marshall Islands, indicated that approximately 50% of the naval shells failed to detonate on impact, an observation reinforced by a statement by the commander of the Japanese garrison made after surrender of Taroa.[3] Several of these were buried into the soft sand. Despite initial cleanup and a number of subsequent ordnance removal missions there is still an abundance of ammunition located on the islands. Scrap metal drives of the 1970s as well as utilization of explosives for bombfishing have further scattered the ordnance.[4] Much of the ammunition is found during normal vegetation clearing in the course of agriculture/gardening and during conservation management action.[5]

Unexploded aerial bomb. Note that the tail fins of the bomb (at left) are missing, while the fuse is still undamaged. The bomb, located in the intertidal zone, is subject to extreme environmental decay. (Wotje Island, Wotje Atoll, RMI).

The archeological World War II heritage of Micronesia is very rich and most of the sites on the island are relatively untouched. Given surface sites of the kinds seen on several of the outer islands in the Marshalls it has to be assumed that—unless proven otherwise—the artifact is still *in situ*, i.e. in the position it was when the site had been abandoned after the U.S. troops had left the island, following the surrender and evacuation of the Japanese garrison and the subsequent bomb removal. Wherever and whenever possible, an artifact should remain in its original location. While this can easily be maintained for the major artifacts, such as aircraft wrecks and guns, the abundance of small artifacts provides a managerial nightmare. An almost unsolvable dilemma is posed by the live ammunition.

Significance

Archeological surveys of World War II heritage sites in the Pacific frequently encounter unexploded ammunition, both as isolated finds and as elements contributing to a site, such as a coastal defense gun emplacement.[6] While all unexploded ammunition constitutes a moveable cultural resource, the ammunition found within a gun emplacement, either in form of unexpended ammunition for that gun, or in form of unexploded ammunition propelled with the intent to destroy that gun, forms part and parcel of the historical significance of the site. Take a group of 127mm dual

The position of unexploded ammunition can pose substantial problems. In this case, a visitor placed a shell partly into the muzzle and left it there. The shell has now corroded and fused with the muzzle. Removal of such ammunition is very complex if damage to the gun barrel shall be avoided. 150mm coastal defense gun overlooking Madelonimwh Harbor, Temwen Island, Pohnpei State, FSM.

purpose gun shells at Japanese gun emplacement in Micronesia as an example (such as encountered on Mile atoll). The ammunition found at the emplacement has significance as it exemplifies the military function of the gun (or the military action against it in the case of U.S. ammunition at such a site) and complements any evidence of war-inflicted damage the gun or its emplacement may exhibit; its position next to the gun (as opposed to an ammunition dump) is evocative of the haste in which the place was abandoned after surrender; and its state is demonstrative of the post-war scrap metal drives which saw the shell extracted from the copper-alloy casing which could be sold; and its presence is indicative of the complexity of ordnance removal in tropical vegetation, as the ammunition has been missed by three removal missions.

Several of the WWII sites are advertised as tourist attractions by local airlines,[7] dive magazines,[8] and specialist military magazines.[9] As visitation increases, the likelihood of irresponsible visitor behavior will also increase, ranging from handling of ammunition out of curiosity or with the intent of souveniring, to accidentally stepping on it in the undergrowth. Live ammunition not only poses a serious health hazard for both the archeologist recording the sites and the tourist visiting them, but also poses a threat to the sites themselves. Any uncontrolled explosion could lead to the destruction of a site. Such damage to the sites affects not only the archeological and historical value, but also affects the value of the sites as a tourist attraction. In view of the increased volatility of the ammunition (see below) it is clear that ordnance removal has to be considered—and considered soon.

Management Options

The key ethical principle underpinning all management of unexploded ammunition is that human life and welfare shall not be endangered. Thus any management of unexploded ammunition needs to consider first and foremost the life and property of the people living near these sites and the life and welfare of the ordnance crew and then its impact on the cultural heritage site affected. In the past, this was seen as carte blanche to blow up ammunition willy-nilly, thereby unduly damaging or even destroying heritage items and sites.

Which options do exist?

- explosion in place
- removal of the ammunition and explosion at a remote location
- temporary removal of the ammunition, disarming, and return to the site
- no action alternative

In view of the significance of the unexploded ammunition to exemplify the use and history of the gun placements, as well as the historic events, the presence of the ammunition next to the emplacement, at the location where it was found, is important. In situations of no action alternative, if the ammunition is left in place and unchanged, then the environmental forces currently active will continue, among them corrosion and mechanical impact, such as falling branches and coconuts.[10] As the corrosion of the metal components of the shells and casings continues, the ammunition will become more and more volatile, until such time that it can explode in an unpredictable manner, thus endangering visitors and residents. Further, intentionally or accidentally lit brushfires are known to have set off ammunition, albeit so far without serious injury. Therefore, under the principles of ensuring the physical safety of inhabitants and visitors on one hand, and ethical heritage management on the other, the no action alternative is not a practical option.

In view of the above dangers, then, the ideal scenario would see the documentation of the ammunition in place, its subsequent removal and after having been disarmed ("made safe") off location, it would be returned to its previous position. While this would have been possible without too many complications immediately or soon after the Japanese surrender, the passage of time and the ensuing corrosion of the ammunition has meant that this is no longer a viable alternative for most of the ammunition, especially of Japanese origin. Especially as the war wore on, Japanese ordnance had been manufactured of inferior alloys due to material shortages. Differential corrosion now

poses a major problem. On occasion the position of the ammunition poses even greater problems.

If disarming of the ammunition is not possible, it should be removed from the location and exploded off-site at a place where the explosion will not harm archeological surface or subsurface sites. Instances have been reported where unexploded ammunition had been collected and placed into a WWII pillbox. There it was blown up, destroying the pillbox in the process. Such an act of vandalism is obviously not acceptable and contravenes ethical and legal parameters of CRM in the U.S. and the Freely Associated States of Micronesia.

The worst-case scenario for cultural heritage managers is that the ammunition is not deemed safe to be moved, and that the EOD team requires its disposal in the place it was found. If this disposal is allowed to proceed without every possible effort of damage mitigation to the cultural heritage site, then the ensuing explosion may destroy the site in its entirety, or at the least, will create a situation where new and old damage to the installation will create a new historic context.

To date, explosive ordnance removal teams seem to have been able to conduct the removal with little scrutiny by heritage professionals. In the late 1970s unexploded ammunition was collected on the Japanese base of Taroa (RMI), placed into the bow of the Japanese shipwreck *Toreshima Maru* and detonated, severely damaging a historic shipwreck, incidentally the last supply ship ever to reach that garrison. It was only circumstance that the large number of depth charges located in the stern did not detonate, too. Thus the total destruction of the ship was prevented.

The Road Ahead

For the lay person it is unclear whether a piece of unexploded ammunition can be made safe, or whether it has to be exploded, and if so, whether it can be moved off location. These decisions can and should only be made by ordnance specialists. Since on the other hand, EOD specialists tend to have little training in cultural heritage issues, it is incumbent that EOD teams are dispatched to locations where the presence of cultural heritage sites are known or suspected, accompanied by a CRM specialist who can assess and document a site if disarming is not possible. Since the EOD actions can impair or destroy cultural heritage sites eligible for inclusion in the National Register (*inter alia* by virtue of the 50-year rule), it is incumbent that a section 106 process be executed.

Notes

1 cf. *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings.* U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992.; *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historic Archeological Sites and Districts.* National Register Bulletin 36; J.Kerr, *The Conservation Plan. A Guide to the Preparation of Conservation Plans for Places of European Cultural Significance* (Sydney: National Trust, 1995).

2 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings.* U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992.

3 cf. S. Kamada, Evidence given during interrogation, in: *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, The American Campaign Against Wotje, Maloelap, Mile and Jaluit* (Washington: Naval Analysis Section, United States Strategic Bombing Survey, 1947) pp. 136-141.

4 cf. F. X. Hezel and C. Graham, *Truk's Underwater Museum. A Report on the Sunken Japanese Ships.* A project sponsored by the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation. Report prepared for the Micronesian Resource Study, Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, 1989.

During a 1969 EOD mission on Mile, 613 "known pieces" (as shown to the team by islanders and Peace Corps volunteers) and 2,594 other pieces of ordnance were destroyed. The cooperation by the locals was not the best, it appears: the EOD team found 11-1/2 55-gallon drums of picric acid, some of which already in a crystallized form. On returning the following day in order to remove and destroy these drums, only 10 drums were present. The missing 1-1/2 drums could not be located and none of the locals would be of assistance. The report mentions that bomb fishing was of great importance to the locals and that they would not volunteer the whereabouts of unexploded ammunition (Message Commander Naval Ordnance Systems Command to headquarters Washington. ORD S-434, COMEODGRUPAC/JWI:rc Serial N 159, dated 2 May 1969; Summary Report and letter from Commander Explosive Ordnance Disposal Group Pacific to Commander Hawaiian Sea Frontier COMEODGRUPAC/JWI:rc 800C Serial N 350, dated 4 September 1969. Archives of the TTPI Microfilm Roll N545, Group 0058).

5 cf. D. Look and D. H. R. Spennemann, *For Future Use: A Management Conservation Plan for the World War II Sites in the Republic of the Marshall Islands.* (San Francisco and Albury: U.S. National Park Service and Johnstone Centre of Parks, Recreation and Heritage, 1993a); D. Look and D.H.R. Spennemann, "Saving WWII Historic Sites. Conservation Course in the Marshall Islands." *CRM* 16 :5 (1993b), pp. 22-24.

6 D. H. R. Spennemann, M. Holly, and N. Lajuan, "Report on the Occurrence of Live Ammunition on

Mile Island, Mile Atoll," *Report OTIA-TAG-MAR-42-5/90* (Majuro Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands: Alele Museum, 1990); D. Look and D. H. R. Spennemann, *op. cit.*, note 5 (1993a); W. M. Adams, R. E. Ross, and B. L. Krause, *Archaeological Survey of Taroa Island, Maloelap Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands*, Report prepared for the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation. March 10, 1990. p. 104.

7 cf. D. H. R. Spennemann, *Mile, Mile Atoll*, Air Marshall Islands *Sunday Escape*, Folded tour brochure, 2pp, (Majuro: AIR Marshall Islands, 1991); *op. cit., Taroa, Maloelap Atoll*. id. (1992) Wotje, Wotje Atoll.

8 G. Murphy, "Majuro: Gateway to Coral Paradise," *Skin Diver* 39:3 (March 1990), pp. 128-134.

9 cf. W. H. Bartsch, "Wreck Discovery: Unknown Maloelap," *After the Battle*, 54 (1986), pp. 28-41.

10 D. Look and D.H.R. Spennemann *op. cit.*, note 5; D. H. R. Spennemann and David W. Look, "Impact of Tropical Vegetation on Historical Cultural Resources. A Photographic Case Study from the Marshall Islands," The Johnstone Centre for Parks, Recreation and Heritage, Report N 18, (The Johnstone Centre for Parks, Recreation and Heritage, Charles Sturt University, Albury, NSW, 1994).

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Jadelyn J. Moniz Nakamura

Managing Cultural Resources in a Multi-Use Area

Nestled in the saddle between the mountain slopes of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai on the island of Hawai`i is the U.S. Army's Pohakuloa Training Area (PTA). This active training area is home to land-based training of the 25th Infantry Division (Light), the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Marine Corps, the National Guard and those Pacific Rim countries allied with the United States.

Besides being an active military training facility, PTA is also rich in cultural resources. PTA encompasses approximately 108,000 acres and contains over 170 formally recorded archeological sites. The number of sites identified at PTA is staggering, considering archeologists have surveyed only 20% of the land.

The Army is responsible for managing and protecting the cultural resources on these lands. Through its Ecosystem Management Program (EMP), the Army has enhanced its role as cultural resource managers that began nearly two decades ago. At PTA, archeologists are attempting to achieve several goals: develop proper management planning; complete the inventory survey of all PTA lands; enhance research opportunities; ensure the protection of archeological sites; and educate the military and public about the cultural heritage at Pohakuloa.

Located in a marginal region of the island, PTA lies at an elevation between 1,500 m (5,100 feet) and 2,750 m (9,000 feet). The annual average rainfall for this area is approximately 500 mm (20 inches). The average temperature during the day ranges between 50 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit, while at night it may plunge nearly 40 degrees. The vegetation at PTA is a mix of subalpine and montane dry shrublands.

In part, because of its marginal position on the island, it was not until the last decade that archeologists considered this region to be significant for investigating the prehistoric past. Previously, focus on the upland region was on the middle and upper slopes of Mauna Kea, in particular the adze quarry which Hawaiians used for over 700 years.

In response to mandates provided by federal historic preservation laws, archeologists began to investigate the lower slopes and PTA flats. The surveys resulted in the identification of several site types at Pohakuloa. The most frequent site type archeologists find are culturally modified lava tubes which make up 70% of the prehistoric properties. Other sites identified include cairns, lithic quarries and workshops, trails, platforms, walls,

excavated pits, open air shelters, shrines, and petroglyphs.

The earliest evidence of human activity in Pohakuloa dates to A.D. 700 and spanned over 1,000 years. Hawaiians used this area extensively for procurement of birds, wood, and water. Hawaiians hunted seabirds that once nested in the region for food, and forest birds for their colorful feathers used in royal cloaks and head pieces.

While hunting, Hawaiians used the caves for habitation and for collecting drinking water. They placed gourds on the floor of the caves to collect water that dripped from the ceiling. The Pohakuloa forests also provided sandalwood and other economic and medicinal plants which Hawaiians gathered. Bundles of sandalwood can still be found in the caves where they were left for later transport to the coast along the ancient trail systems that crossed through the area.

Management of these resources is an important responsibility of the U.S. Army Garrison, Hawai'i. Regulations mandate that the Army make informed decisions regarding the cultural resources under their control. These decisions must be in compliance with public laws, in support of the military mission and consistent with sound principles of cultural resource management. In response to the challenge of protecting its natural and cultural resources, the Army, with funding from a 1995 Congressional appropriation, initiated the Ecosystems Management Program (EMP). The goals of the EMP is to preserve, protect, and enhance the resources on lands utilized by the Army in Hawai'i. Four areas of concern are being addressed by the EMP program: cultural resource management planning, inventory, education and research.

Management planning at PTA has included the development of a Historic Preservation Plan and a site protection plan for the Bobcat Trail Habitation Cave, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Both of these plans address the requirements of the Army and its land managers in evaluating, assessing, managing, and protecting historic properties.

Inventory of all training lands is a primary goal of cultural resource management at PTA. Using EMP funding, the Army, through the Army Corps of Engineers, contracted with Ogden Environmental and Energy Services to conduct several large-scale field projects.

The first project involved phase one implementation of the site protection plan for Bobcat Cave, one of the largest and more intensively used sites found at Pohakuloa. The results of this project included the discovery of new features and development of a comprehensive inventory that will serve as a model for management of other sites at PTA.

A second project included ground reconnaissance of 1,500 acres of training land in eastern PTA, the use of high resolution imagery, and paleoenvironmental analysis. Preliminary results of this project indicate there are several hundred new prehistoric features in the area. Once completed, recommendations included in the survey report will help personnel manage both the sites and fixed ranges located in this part of the training facility. If successful, the high resolution imagery may also identify sites that are in areas too dangerous for personnel to enter. It may also be a useful aid in the initial planning phase of new Army projects.

In 1998, a second phase of the eastern training area survey will begin. Resource managers plan to complete survey on approximately 2,000 additional acres of training lands.

Another management concern is site protection. To protect historic properties we must identify and monitor forces that impact sites. Thus, we are developing a Geographic Information System (GIS) database to store site information. In addition, we are performing regular field checks to monitor historic properties and educate the military and public regarding the sensitivity and care of these sites.

View of shrine with the Pohakuloa flats and Mauna Kea in the background. Photo courtesy S. Henderson.

Prehistoric petroglyphs at PTA. Photo by the author.

The GIS system will aid civilian and military personnel in identifying environmentally sensitive areas. The monitoring program will protect sites from threats such as ungulate and human trampling, vandalism, looting, and unregulated site visits.

Finally, the purpose of the public outreach program is to educate and enhance the awareness of both the military and community on the cultural resources at PTA. This effort incorporates the use of an award winning environmental video that the Army shows to its troops when they arrive at PTA for training. The video underscores the fragility of PTA's resources and outlines the rules for protecting and avoiding historic sites. The outreach program has included presentations on archeology at local schools and other community functions. PTA also hosted the 1997 University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Archaeological Field School. The field school trained students in basic archeological techniques while helping the Army fulfill some of its inventory requirements.

Resource managers have much more to do at PTA. Archeologists need to continue inventory survey in compliance with all state and federal laws. Education of the military and public must expand so that we may continue to preserve our resources and appreciate the heritage of Hawai'i. Research needs to continue so we may further understand the role of the saddle region in the prehistory of Hawai'i. The Ecosystem Management Program will be integral in achieving these goals as cultural resource management planning continues to evolve at PTA.

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Teaching with Historic Places Lesson Plan on Pearl Harbor

The National Register of Historic Place's Teaching with Historic Places program offers classroom-ready lesson plans based on National Register properties across the country. Lesson plans use primary documents, readings, maps, and historical and modern photographs to bring the engaging stories of these places into the classroom. A lesson plan on Pearl Harbor, "Remembering Pearl Harbor: The USS *Arizona* Memorial," has students trace the course of the Japanese surprise attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and consider the significance of the USS *Arizona* Memorial. For lesson plan ordering information, contact Jackdaw Publications, P.O. Box 503, Amawalk, NY 10501; (800) 789-0022.

Sharon Brown

Interpreting Women's History

Three national parks on the Big Island of Hawai`i, Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park (NHP), Pu`ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site (NHS), and Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park (NHP), are currently developing Comprehensive Interpretive Plans. The interpretation of women within the context of Hawaiian history and living culture is considered a primary concern.

Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP is the oldest park, established in 1955. It has a visitor center, amphitheater, trails, and other visitor facilities. Pu`ukoholā Heiau NHS, established in 1972, has "temporary" facilities, but a 1989 Development Concept Plan calls for a new visitor center, trails, and wayside exhibits. Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP is the newest park, established in 1978, and has a recently approved visitor center facility, recreated Hawaiian village, and a center for the practice and perpetuation of Hawaiian culture.

In spite of differences in levels and amounts of visitor services, visitor experience and interpretive challenges face all three parks. These include

- Providing opportunities for visitors who are not Hawaiian to gain an appreciation for Hawaiian culture
- Providing opportunities for native Hawaiian visitors to renew or strengthen their cultural tie through the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture (language, dance, music, crafts. games)
- Promoting respect for living culture
- Meeting the needs of visitors who have only cursory knowledge or understanding of Hawaiian history, culture or language
- Promoting safe and responsible visitor actions, especially appreciation and protection of the sacred nature and "spirit" of the archeological sites (especially temples and burials) and cultural landscape

Part of the current planning effort involves the development of interpretive themes. Themes are ideas that are critical for visitor understanding and appreciation for the park's purpose and significance. Interpretive themes are the key stories that every visitor needs to know while visiting the park. An additional challenge, then, is the integration of Hawaiian women's history into each park's interpretive program.

The following aspects of women's roles and contributions to Hawaiian society (economic, religious, social) provide context and are common to interpretive themes at all three parks.

- Hawaiian society was complex with strictly defined economic, religious and social roles for women.
- Goddesses, *Akua Wahine*, of which Hina is the prototype representing the attributes of women, are part of Hawaiian theology.
- All genealogies of Hawaiian *ali`i*, or the ruling class of chiefs and royalty considered to be of divine origin, go back to an original couple, *Wākea* (the man) and *Papa* (the woman).
- The most crucial aspect of a woman's station in life was her social rank.
- *Kapu*, meaning both "sacred" and "forbidden," referred to the Hawaiian system of tabu and prohibition. This system contained sanctions regarding behavior between individuals (including men and women) and among classes (royalty and commoners); among other sanctions, men and women did not eat together and lived apart most of the time. This system provided social control and conservation of resources in Hawai`i.
- Several royal men and women were the instigators of the overthrow of *kapu*, the indigenous religion, in 1819. These women promoted the subsequent spread of western ideas and Christianity throughout the Hawaiian kingdom.
- Generally, Hawaiian women were not involved primarily with the production of food; they made mats and *tapa* cloth and personal ornaments.

Each of the three Hawaiian cultural parks on Hawai`i have the cultural and natural resources to illustrate individual stories, as well as provide broader contexts regarding Hawaiian culture.

Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP

The Hawaiian concept of sanctuary, *pu`uhonua*, that offered people a second chance at life is the primary story at this park. In the centuries before 1819, Hawaiian people—men, women, and children—caught in circumstances such as being on the losing side in war, or being defeated in battle, or inadvertently breaking *kapu*, could escape a death sentence if they could physically get to the *pu`uhonua*. A priest, *kahuna pule*, would perform a ceremony of absolution and the defeated warrior or law breaker could return home safely. In addition to being the site of a *pu`uhonua*,

the *ahupua`a* (traditional Hawaiian land division) of Hōnaunau was the residence of ruling chiefs of Kona. With its bountiful food and drinking water supplies, Hōnaunau supported both royalty and commoners.

There is a stone in the park that is associated with a female member of the Kamehameha family. Ka`ahumanu stone served as a hiding place for Ka`ahumanu after she quarreled with her husband, Kamehameha the Great. After the death of her husband in 1819, Ka`ahumanu proclaimed herself *kuhina nui*, or regent. She shared rule over Hawai`i with her stepson Kamehameha II (Liholiho), the son of Kamehameha and Keopuolani. Ka`ahumanu and Keopuolani, together with Liholiho, initiated the abolishment of the *kapu* system. Beginning with breaking the restriction against men and women eating the same foods at the same table, and followed by the destruction of temples and images throughout the kingdom, the traditional religious practices of Hawai`i were abandoned.

Ka`ahumanu and Keopuolani also played crucial roles in the admission and acceptance of American missionaries in the Hawaiian kingdom. Keopuolani, the highest-born woman in Hawai`i and the mother of two kings, converted in 1823. After Ka`ahumanu's conversion to Christianity she enforced many of the religious dictates of the missionary cause. The Reverend Hiram Bingham, a missionary originally from Vermont, taught her to read and write. After Ka`ahumanu's death in 1832, Hawaiian leaders were unsuccessful in an attempt to regain native Hawaiian control of the islands, and foreigners continued to influence the Hawaiian government.

Another park resource, the Hale o Papa, or *Heiau No Na Wahine*, was used by royal women who were not permitted to worship the gods of the men, or to touch or eat foods which were acceptable offerings to the male gods. There are different interpretations regarding how this feature was used, either as a women's *heiau*, or as a place of seclusion for chiefly women during menstruation.

Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP

The opportunity exists at Pu`uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP to interpret women's worship, the strictures of *kapu* regarding women, the penalties for women who break tabu and how they could receive absolution in the *pu`uhonua*, and the activities of women in the abolishment of *kapu* and the adoption of Christianity in the Hawaiian kingdom.

Pu`ukoholā Heiau NHS

The founding of the Hawaiian kingdom can be directly associated with one structure in the Hawaiian islands—Pu`ukoholā Heiau. Built in 1790-91 by Kamehameha the Great together with chiefs and commoners, the temple was to incur the favor of the war god Kūka`ilimoku. As stranded British sailor John Young looked on, the temple was built and dedicated, a chief rival was sacrificed, and the war god Kū was pleased. Kamehameha the Great waged several subsequent battles using Western military strategy and weapons to extend his control over all Hawaiian islands. The monarchy he established lasted 83 years.

John Young became a trusted advisor and associate to Kamehameha, who named him governor of the island of Hawai`i from 1802-1812. Young advised the ruler on military, economic, and commercial matters, and he supervised trade with ships at Kawaihae Bay for foreign goods. Young, his wife Ka`oana`eha, and their children lived in the first Western-style house in the islands, built in 1798.

Pelekane is the site of a royal compound on the shore to the northwest of Mailekini Heiau. The area contained the royal residence and housing for nobility comprising the royal court for generations of Hawaiian ruling chiefs. The second Hawaiian monarch, Kamehameha II (Liholiho) had a royal residence in Pelekane in 1819. Pelekane is also the birthplace of Queen Emma (granddaughter of John Young and wife of Kamehameha IV) who founded the Queen's Hospital and introduced the Episcopal Church into Hawai`i.

There are several opportunities for interpreting Hawaiian women's activities at Pu`ukoholā Heiau NHS. The historic site is principally associated with a "great man," but the John Young household and the royal residences illustrated facets of women's lives as well.

Koloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park

Composed of pre- and post-contact lava flows from Hualalai Volcano, the landscape at Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP looks harsh and incapable of supporting life. But there is plant and animal life here, and this land and its physical spirituality supported human life for a thousand years. The

Hawaiian people who settled at the *ahupua'a* of Kaloko and Honokōhau adapted to their natural surroundings, maintained a balance in their use of food sources, and conducted their lives with respect for survival.

Each *ahupua'a*, moving from sea to mountain, contained areas for fishing, living spaces with inshore marine resources and underground springs, crop production, timber cutting, and hunting. The Hawaiian people lived in self-sustaining communities with fresh and brackish water supplies, sea and fishpond harvests, and upland cultivation of sweet potatoes, taro, breadfruit, and coconuts. Early Hawaiians practiced environmental adaptation through the construction of the fishponds, agricultural planters, and walled enclosures, and took advantage of the natural food sources. Subsistence activities were balanced with creative and religious activities.

Archeological evidence of Hawaiian habitation and cultural activities throughout the park is extremely rich and varied. There are more than 205 recorded archeological sites within the boundary and another 200 sites noted. Two fishponds were built circa 1400-1600, and the Kaloko area supported a large population of both commoners and royalty, including members of the Kamehameha family. But more than just a collection of archeological sites, as a whole the park consists of tangible, physical expressions of past culture with numerous intangible associations of ongoing living culture. These associations include language, religion, dances, crafts, family systems and a socio-economic system of sharing and cooperation.

The activities of both royal and common Hawaiian women at Kaloko and Honokōhau are linked to the landscape and to the living culture. Interpretive opportunities at the park are almost limitless concerning women's life cycles, religion, clothing, genealogy, production of utilitarian items, and cultural values, status, interpersonal relations with men, and other topics.

Scholarly analysis and discussion of women's ideology and behavior is ongoing. Still unknown or debated is the extent to which Hawaiian women participated in agriculture, the amount of freedom women had in practice, the level to which women pursued their own personal and political interests, and the extent of men's control over women. As interpretive planning at the three parks is finalized and recommendations implemented, it will be the responsibility of interpreters to evaluate and incorporate scholarship about pre- and post-contact Hawaiian women into personal services programs and media. Hopefully, the interpretation of Hawaiian women's history at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau NHP, Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS, and Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP will stimulate the creativity and imagination of all visitors.

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Laura Schuster-Carter, archeologist at Kaloko-Honokōhau NHP, and Joni Mae Makuakane-Jarrell, park ranger at Pu'ukoholā Heiau NHS, contributed sources and review for this article.

Preserving Hawai'i's Traditional Landscapes

The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's Historic Preservation Program, in cooperation with the National Park Service (Pacific Great Basin Support Unit) has completed an edited set of proceedings from the 1995 conference "Preserving Hawai'i's Traditional Landscapes." Including talks by leading cultural resources experts Samuel Stokes, Elizabeth Watson, and Charles Birnbaum, the proceedings also include panels by many local preservationists and others interested in the problems implicit in preserving cultural landscapes. Those interested in receiving copies should contact:

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Work at Angkor Continues

This past March the World Monuments Fund restored its full program at the Preah Kahn Conservation Project in Siem Reap Cambodia, after curtailing its activities in response to the events that began in early June 1997 when Prince Ranarriddh fled Cambodia, ousted by second Prime Minister Hun Sen.

As communications with Cambodia were interrupted, WMF staff pored over newspapers and Internet reports to determine the status of our team of more than 60 Cambodian workers and professional staff working at the 12th-century temple complex. We could not abandon the individuals we had trained and nurtured, but the consequences of further violence directed at the site and the WMF team had to be considered.

In late July, email messages from Phnom Penh reported that the situation was stable and that most people in the region felt little fear of personal danger. At Angkor and Siem Reap all was quiet; our team had not missed a day in the field. Though tourism is down, positive signs indicate a renewed confidence in the country's stability.

An international group of consultants, led by John Sanday, Preah Kahn Conservation Project Field Director, continues to work at the site, conducting intensive training courses for the students, professional staff and work force. Over the past 18 months, the Cambodian team has received instruction in structural consolidation survey and repair of fractured stone beams supporting corbelled vaults; stone replacement principles and procedures, including cutting, fixing and dressing of new stone; and tree removal (a new forestry team was trained in the techniques of tree felling as necessitated by several of the large trees falling during the course of the year, indicating the need to develop new protocol and techniques).

In addition, members of the FachhochschuleUs program at Angkor Wat demonstrated research technology to analyze sandstone as well as instructed in methods of sample-taking for laboratory testing.

The first five students who trained at Preah Kahn graduated in December 1995 and January 1996 from the University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh, and are now members of the Preah Kahn Conservation project staff. Two, Lek Sareth and Var Morin, received further training at the Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture, and the ICCROM Stone Conservation Course, respectively, and now teach at the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Fine Arts. Chan Chamrouen, also a former student, teaches at the Faculty of Archaeology.

Five new students in their last two years at the Faculty of Architecture have arrived for training in documentation, stone conservation and architectural conservation.

As WMFU's initial 10-year commitment in Cambodia nears its completion, we are developing plans for a research center in Siem Reap. The center will facilitate scholarly research at Angkor while fostering educational opportunities for young Cambodians.

Since the 1996 *CRM* (No. 3, Vol. 19) article on WMFU's work at Preah Kahn, WMFU's efforts to conserve Preah Kahn as a partial ruin and train Cambodian professionals and laborers to identify, assess and solve conservation issues remains an active, successful and evolving endeavor.

Felicia Mayro with Bonnie Burnham, John Sanday, Var Morin, and Lek Sareth

A naga *guards the entrance to the Preah Kahn temple complex in Angkor. Photo by William Chapman.*

Suzanne S. Finney

University of Hawai`i 1997 Summer Field School
Kalaupapa, Moloka`i

Eleven students from as far away as Washington, DC, and Guam attended the 1997 Pacific Preservation Field School at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa. They represented the fields of architecture, anthropology, and American Studies. The goal of the field school was to survey the buildings in Kalaupapa National Historical Park on the island of Moloka`i, draw the exterior of several noteworthy structures, and review the structural changes since the last survey published in 1979. Two field trips to Moloka`i totalling six days enabled the students to inventory the buildings and take measurements for drawings. This field school introduced the students to the documentation of historic vernacular architecture.

The 1997 field school focused on documenting the buildings of the town of Kalaupapa, one of the most interesting sites in the state. This is the area where hundreds of people suffering from Hansen's Disease, previously known to the world as leprosy, were exiled for life. For over 100 years patients lived and died in isolation, removed from family and friends.

Kalaupapa National Historical Park on Moloka`i is one of the most remote areas in Hawai`i. Originally accessible only by sea, there is now a walking trail down from "topside" over 2,000 feet above, and a small airstrip. It is still inaccessible by motor vehicle. When antibiotics were discovered to halt the spread of Hansen's Disease, the need for a quarantined area such as Kalaupapa disappeared. Residents were given the choice of returning to their families and leading lives outside the settlement, or staying and living out their lives at Kalaupapa. For many the peninsula was the only home they had ever known and they were uncomfortable with the idea of starting over in a new, possibly hostile environment. As long as they remain the area will continue to be restricted.

The Hawai`i Department of Health managed the settlement on behalf of the state until entering into an agreement with the National Park Service (NPS) for joint control. In 1980 the NPS established the Kalaupapa National Historical Park. It is also on the National Register of Historic Places. The NPS maintains the park and ensures that the residents remain undisturbed. When the last resident leaves the settlement, either through death or relocation, the Department of Health will relinquish whatever remaining control it might have. The NPS must then deal only with the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

In 1976 a survey was conducted by the NPS to help facilitate their eventual administration of the area. All buildings within Kalaupapa were documented. At the time, over 200 structures were catalogued. The final report from 1979 indicates more than 400 buildings were extant at that time. This survey provided important information about the exact holdings of the Kalaupapa settlement, including the age of buildings, architectural type, distinguishing features, and historic significance. The survey was conducted to comply with the 1966 Historic Preservation Act passed by Congress that mandates all federal agencies create an inventory of potentially significant sites within their jurisdiction.

The 1997 survey built on the 1976 survey. Students used the previous inventory to locate and catalogue the buildings in Kalaupapa today. With information not available at the time of the previous survey, students were able to clarify some of the questions concerning certain buildings such as date of construction and original use. In addition, four structures were chosen for measured drawings: the pool hall; Plumeria House, an early resi-

Kalaupapa, Moloka`i. Patient's cottage and former store.

Kalaupapa, Moloka`i. Patient's cottage and former store.

dence; the visitor's center; and a fishing cottage were chosen for their unique architectural design as well as their significance in the community.

The most significant changes between the previous survey and the 1997 survey occurred at sites where the structure was either missing, replaced, or its use had been changed. The local bar in 1976 is a storage shed in 1997. The dilapidated Quonset hut used for storage is replaced with a prefab metal building. Yet despite these changes, what struck the students most is the relative lack of change the entire peninsula has undergone since the 1930s. The integrity of many of the original buildings and communities is still intact. The public structures such as the post office and gas station are virtually unchanged since they were built. Most of the buildings documented in the 1976 survey still exist in some form today. There is a special quality found at Kalaupapa that occurs only because of its complete isolation from the outside world for so long.

Photos by William Chapman.

The use of students to conduct the survey has proven to be an invaluable tool. The NPS would not have been able to conduct such a survey on its own at the present time, yet a survey was desperately needed. Students received hands-on education with surveying and measured drawing. In return they know that their work is contributing to the future of Kalaupapa by providing information that will help determine further preservation techniques on the peninsula.

A 1990 transition study lists the buildings still in existence at the time. Coupled with the information from the 1976 survey and the 1997 survey it should provide valuable information about the history on the settlement in the past 20 years. A final report will be created to reflect the results of the 1997 field school. This report will be turned over to the administrators at Kalaupapa.

Suzanne S. Finney is a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa and a participant in the 1997 Pacific Preservation Field School.

Maritime Archaeology Certificate

The University of Hawai`i at Mānoa now offers a Graduate Certificate in Maritime Archaeology and History. Completion of the certificate requires a minimum of 20 credits from a number of fields such as anthropology, oceanography, and history. This program is the first stage of what many hope to be a progressively intense development by the University of Hawai`i into underwater archeology in the Pacific region. The central location of the university, coupled with its excellent research facilities, makes UH an ideal location for this program and future work within the Pacific. Cooperating faculty from throughout the UH system are supplemented by faculty and professionals from agencies and institutions both nationally and internationally. The certificate program, run through the Marine Option Program, graduated its first group of students in May. A major highlight of the program is the summer field school that allows students to incorporate their interest in diving with archeological experience in some of the most beautiful waters in the world. For more information contact the Marine Option Program at http: <www2.hawaii.edu/mop/mop _GMAHCP.html>.

The 1998 summer field school was offered from June 15 through July 17. Three out of the five weeks were spent in the field on the Big Island of Hawai`i. This year's field school was the shipwreck of the S.S. *Maui*, a steamer sunk in 1917 due to navigational error. The wreck lies in approximately 20 feet of water, within sight of a state park. Training included hands-on operation of remote sensing equipment, report writing, map completion and surveying. For more information contact the Marine Option program at email: <mop@hawaii.edu> or visit the web site at <http://www2.hawaii.edu/mop/ mop_mast.html>.

The East-West Center/University of Hawai`i Program in Cambodian Heritage—An Update

The Hawai`i program, now associated with the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh and Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, continues with active research and training. Dr. Miriam Stark returned to Angkor Borei, the possible ancestral Funan city from which Khmer culture sprang, in the summer of 1997, collecting ceramic samples from outlying sites and continuing development of the research plans for lengthy excavations. Bion Griffin and Mike Dega collected brick samples from the city wall and possible religious architectural units for thermoluminescence dating. Further work on developing a zoning plan for the protection of key areas was undertaken, with plans made by Dr. Stark to return in June 1998 for final work on the plan. Griffin and Dega, along with University of Hawai`i Cambodian graduate student Tea Van visited Sambor Prei Kuk, the pre-Angkorian capital (7th and 8th centuries A.D.), and discussed further work at this poorly known but important location. The three also visited Neolithic sites east of the Mekong River. Mr. Dega returned in February 1998, joining a German excavation team in excavating these Neolithic sites. Both Tea Van and Bong Sovath of the Royal University are now classified graduate students in the Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai`i with the financial support of the East-West Center.

UH faculty and students on site at Angkor Borei. Photo by William Chapman.

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