TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Assistance in Development Planning

Historic and Prehistoric sites, Preservation of Culture and Cultural Tourism in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

by Roland W. Force

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I. INTRODUCTION

Terms of reference of mission

Within the general framework of the UNDP-assisted project "Assistance in Development Planning" (TTP/75/001), for which the United Nations Office of Technical Co-operation serves as Executing Agency, a Unesco Consultant carried out, from 21 November to 29 December 1976, a mission to examine prehistoric and historic sites in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, with a view to proposing measures for their conservation and for the encouragement of cultural tourism. In the course of his mission he visited Palau, Ponape, Truk, Yap and the Marshall Islands.
Itinerary.

Departed Honolulu for Saipan, November 21, 1976

Arrived Saipan, November 22

Conferred with TTPI officials November 23, 24

Saipan to Yap, November 26

Worked in Yap November 27, 28

Yap to Palau November 29

Worked in Palau November 30, December 1, 2

Palau to Yap December 3

Worked in Yap December 4, 5 (visited Ulithi on December 5)

Yap to Guam December 6*

Guam to Ponape December 7

Ponape to Kusaie December 8, 9**

Worked in Kusaie December 10, 11

Kusaie to Ponape December 12, 13**

Worked in Ponape December 14, 15, 16

Ponape to Truk December 17

Worked in Truk December 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24***

Truk to Marshalls December 25

Worked in Marshalls December 26, 27, 28

Marshalls to Honolulu December 28

* Participated in a UNDP workshop discussion on the social sectors of development planning.

** Via sea transport.

*** December 18, 21, and 22 were spent in making archaeological recoveries on the island of Fefan.
Methodology.

In all districts discussions were held with District Administrators, Planners, Chairmen and members of Historic Preservation Committees and their advisors, teachers, individuals engaged in museum work, elders, those involved in the promotion of tourism, and various community leaders.

An attempt was made to visit as many of the sites that had been identified and/or nominated to the National Register as practicable. Restrictions of weather, transportation, and time did not permit visits to certain sites.

Comments were elicited from Historic Preservation Committee members and advisors as to the reasons for the nominations they had made. They were also asked to comment on sites they wished to nominate in the future. Some of the most valuable discussions had to do with site preservation and maintenance and with associated problems such as markers and desecration.

An attempt was made also to discover and visit sites that were contemplated for nomination and others about which no plans were indicated, but which seemed to have good potential. Whenever possible the sites enumerated in Micronesian Parks by Russell A. Apple (1972) were also visited and compared with identified and/or nominated sites.

Local museums were visited in Palau, Yap, and Ponape and discussions were held with government officials in Truk and the Marshalls where museums are planned. Concentration of interest was generally uniform; support problems, the need for trained personnel, recruitment and care of collections, and integration with educational programs and tourism development plans. Of particular interest in Yap, Ponape, and Truk was how a museum effort could best be coordinated with historical sites of which tourists are likely to be aware i.e., Yap money, Nan Madol, and the Truk Lagoon Underwater Fleet.

Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the United States National Park Service, Department of the Interior, has been involved with its implementation. It administers the National Register of Historic Places program. The Register includes "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture." The 1966 Act augmented and greatly expanded the provisions of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. One of its features is the opportunity for States to nominate both publicly and privately owned properties of State and local significance for placement in the National Register. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is authorized to participate in this national preservation program as if it were a State. Guam, American Samoa, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia participate in the same way. Section 101(6) of S-1201, signed by President Nixon on July 1, 1973, made the TTPI eligible to receive federal funds under the historic preservation program of the National Park Service (Ballendorf, p. 17).

Under the Act, States are eligible for 50 percent matching grants-in-aid to allow them to do three things: (1. conduct statewide surveys to identify historic resources worthy of preservation, (2. develop historic preservation plans, and (3. acquire and develop those historic resources that are included in the National Register.

Historic preservation activities in the TTPI in respect to the federal program described here are relatively new, having been initiated just two years ago. Inventories and identifications have only just begun. Historic
resource identifications are being undertaken by each district through the means of District Historic Preservation Committees established in 1975. The committees have operated under severe financial constraints. To the present time, the Congress of Micronesia has deferred making appropriations for the Historic Preservation Program, placing reliance upon district legislatures. These bodies have yet to appropriate significant funds to support preservation programs, but a start has been made in some districts.

Those who drafted the 1966 Act were aware that historic sites vary in importance and that some guidelines were essential to aid those making nominations. The criteria used in evaluating historic properties for possible inclusion in the National Register may be summarized as follows:

1. integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association,

2. association with events that have contributed significantly to the broad patterns of American history,

3. association with significant persons,

4. possession of distinctive characteristics of type, period, or method of construction; being representative of the work of a master; having high artistic value; being representative of a complex itself of significance although its components may not be, and

5. either having yielded or possessing the potential for yielding important historic or prehistoric information.
II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the 19th century European cartographers divided the island world of the Pacific into three great culture areas—Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. But before they did, early European voyagers at times grouped Pacific islanders with the peoples of the New World and referred to them as Indians. As they became more familiar with the islanders they saw them as different in appearance and customs from the peoples of North and South America. They also observed that islanders—even those in some cases who lived hundreds of miles apart—often shared similar racial, linguistic, or cultural characteristics. As a result of these observations islanders came to be classified as Polynesians, Melanesians, or Micronesians.

The three-fold typology worked out for the Pacific had a certain utility. But it also had the disability of ignoring differences within culture areas. This tendency resulted in generalizations that were far too simplistic and, therefore, distortions of reality. Such is the case with Micronesia today, just as in the past. Close to 2,000 islands are scattered over a great expanse of ocean and the 100 or so that are inhabited support a population of more than 100,000 that is exceptionally diverse in respect to language, culture, and physical type. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands today incorporates two major archipelagoes—the Marshalls and the Carolines. Although still associated with the Territory for administrative purposes, the Marianas Islands (omitting Guam) are now politically separate. Neither they nor the Gilbert Islands (the fourth major island group in Micronesia) are included in the Trust Territory or in this survey.

The date of the earliest settlement of Micronesia is not known. However, a radiocarbon date from the Marianas indicates that they were inhabited as early as 1527 B.C. (Spoehr, p. 177). As additional dates are secured through archaeological research it is likely that comparable and possibly even earlier
dates will be established for other island groups in the region. The origin of Micronesian peoples is Southeast Asia. Over the centuries contact with representatives of the Eastern world certainly occurred, though we have meager evidence of them. The dates and frequencies of these contacts are unrecorded. But the Chinese were talented navigators long before Europeans developed the art. They invented the magnetic compass, the sternpost rudder, and the watertight compartment. They were also the first to develop printed maps. There is evidence that Chinese ships visited the Caroline Islands as early as A.D. 600 (Gilbert, p. 203). However, virtually all reports of contacts with islanders stem from European voyagers who came upon the scene much later.

A Portuguese expedition reached the Moluccas west and south of Micronesia in 1512 by way of the Cape of Good Hope. A year later Balboa sighted the eastern Pacific from what is now Panama. A few years later (1521) Magellan sailed across the Pacific from the east and sighted the Marianas. A Portuguese, Alvara de Saavedra, is credited with sighting certain of the Marshalls and Carolines in 1537-38 (Beaglehole, pp. 31-39).

Although Micronesia's contact with the Western world began in the 16th century with Spanish and Portuguese explorations, visits were sporadic. A great number of islands remained in relative isolation for several centuries more. Some Micronesians, like those of the Marshalls and Eastern Carolines were not brought into frequent contact with outsiders until the advent of whaling enterprises in the 19th century. Some contacts were relatively peaceful; others were bloody. Whatever the relationship, the effect of Western contact with islanders was sickness and death as a result of introduced diseases and ultimately a loss of indigenous culture. Micronesian cultures suffered severely both through internal changes occasioned by massive depopulation and through introduced changes by Europeans.
Micronesians experienced a great deal more contact with each other over the centuries than they often are credited with and they influenced each other in many ways. For example, formerly there were voyages between Truk and Yap, Ponape, Kusaie and even Guam and Saipan. But over the years, the Trukese lost their old skills of navigation and became relatively provincial.

The Palauans preferred not to venture beyond their own reefs and so on. The result of changing patterns of contact was that Micronesians shared a great number of characteristics that derived both from a common core of culture and from influences on each other and they also developed in unique ways as a result of periods of isolation from each other.

As the great powers of the world developed colonial empires beginning in the 16th century and accelerating in the 18th and 19th, changes in Micronesian cultures became marked and the course was mapped for the ultimate dissolution of viable aboriginal life. Although Great Britain was sporadically active in some Micronesian groups such as the Palaus by virtue of naval intercessions, she did not press claims for sovereignty as did Spain and Germany, both of whom vied for jurisdiction over Micronesia. Spain's claim to the islands was upheld by Pope Leo XIII in December, 1885, but Germany was given the right to freely trade there (Clyde, pp. 17-18). The control Micronesians have been subjected to by foreign powers varied in intensity from place to place and from time to time. It ranged from the modest presence of foreigners seeking trade or souls to inundation by colonizers and military forces in the late years of Japanese occupation.

Officially the Spanish ruled Micronesia from 1886 to 1899, but their emphasis was on missionizing rather than colonizing. Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War resulted in the sale of her Pacific holdings. The United States purchased Guam and Germany bought the rest of the Marianas, the Carolines, and the Marshalls for $4,500,000 in 1899 (Clyde, p. 18).
The German era was similar to the Spanish in that the islands were not viewed as colonies for European homesteaders. However, in contrast to the Spanish who, with the exception of efforts to convert natives to Christianity at the expense of native religion, did not actively attempt to alter indigenous cultures, the Germans set about introducing changes of great magnitude. Their aim was to further world trade. But in the process a rigid control was exerted over island cultures. Warfare was interdicted and a great number of indigenous practices from tattooing to tribute taking were discouraged with an ardor peculiarly Germanic.

Islanders were conscripted for military service, roads and canals were built with native labor, plantations were created, and generally the German presence was felt as that of the Spanish had not been. Among the more beneficial undertakings of the German administration was the conduct of an intensive and exhaustive program of ethnographic research in a number of the islands. It is because of this effort and the collections of island material culture that were made for German museums that our knowledge of Micronesian cultures is as great as it is.

The German reign in Micronesia was marked by a strength of control over islanders. Reactions to this control resulted in occasional skirmishes between natives and German forces. Some such occurred in Palau when native priests were arrested and jailed and their religious structures destroyed. The most notable resistance to German control occurred on Ponape in 1910-11 with the Sokehs Rebellion. Loss of life was suffered on both sides and, of course, the German forces overcame the resistance.

Germany's involvement and defeat in World War I brought an end to her Pacific empire and her commercial endeavors and administrative control passed into other hands.
In 1921 the League of Nations awarded Japan a Class "C" Mandate over Germany's former possessions in Micronesia, thus formalizing the control assumed by Japan when she had taken the islands over by military action in 1914 (Clyde, pp. 21-25 and 33-38). The United States did not favor the League of Nations' action. President Wilson was opposed to what he viewed as unwarranted annexation and expressed the wish that Micronesia could be developed for the benefit of the indigenous peoples. But he also recognized the strategic value of the islands (Clyde, pp. 31-33). After his death the U.S. accepted the Mandate and signed a treaty with Japan in 1922 (Navy Department, p. 25).

President Wilson's perceptions proved valid. For Japan, the islands of Micronesia became a South Seas Empire she hoped might be a partial solution to a burgeoning homeland population. As the Japanese undertook active colonization of the islands, intensive homesteading; fishing, mining, and agricultural enterprises; and military installations made many of the islands predominantly Japanese.

Yet another war was to once again change the nature of administrative control in Micronesia. In a number of major battles in the Marshalls, in bombing assaults on the great Japanese naval base at Truk, and in landings on Angaur and Peleliu in the Palaus and on Saipan and other islands in the Marianas, United States forces wrested the islands from tenacious Japanese defenders at a great cost in human life. Inevitably some Micronesians lost their lives in these encounters and portions of their islands were laid waste. Among the hardships suffered by Micronesians was hunger as supply lines to Japanese strongholds were severed and military forces commandeered available food supplies. When the fighting was over Japanese nationals were returned to their homeland and Micronesians once again constituted the major presence in the islands.
In 1946, the United States requested trusteeship of the islands which had comprised the former Japanese Mandate (R. Force, pp. 74-5). When it was granted by the United Nations the trusteeship was a unique one, termed "strategic." The Marshalls, Carolines, and the Marianas, except for Guam which was already a U.S. Territory, were designated as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The Territory differed from other Pacific trusteeships in several ways. On the one hand, the United States was obliged to foster independence for the islands but, on the other, it was allowed the right to maintain military installations in the area and to be a party to the terms and date of independence for the Territory (R. and M. Force, 1965, pp. 1-16).

Today, thirty years after the Trust Territory was formed, new political relationships have developed or are contemplated between the islands of Micronesia and the United States. In the late 1800's the American Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan expressed grave concern over the control of Pacific waters. By the end of the Spanish-American War a number of Americans advocated a Pacific empire.

On February 15, 1975, the Marianas Legislature signed a covenant, establishing a Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas with the United States. The Covenant was voted upon favorably by the people of the Marianas and later was ratified by the United States Congress. A Compact of Free Association
for the balance of the Trust Territory with the United States has been discussed, but not all Micronesians favor such an arrangement. Increasingly both Palauans and Marshallese have come to stress some separate continuing relationship; one that would allow for increased measures of self-government similar to that which has been developed by the Northern Marianas with opportunity for reliance in economic and defense areas upon the United States.

The pattern of future political status in Micronesia has yet to emerge, but one thing is certain—the islands of Micronesia and their cultures are vastly changed from traditional patterns that existed in pre-contact times. The magnitude of change that has occurred in Micronesia and the search for cultural identity by Micronesians causes cultural and historic preservation to be a matter of the highest priority.
III. HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES

Yap District

The people of the Yap District have long had the reputation of being more traditional than those of other districts. They have been characterized as being highly conservative and reluctant to give up the old ways for the new. However true this may have been, Yap today has a great many of the same kind of problems of cultural preservation that are found in other districts. The impact of four foreign administrations and contact with a great number of persons from other cultures over the past century in particular has left its mark. Yap has changed, despite its inherent conservatism. It could not remain isolated. And the changes show.

The most well-known symbol of Yapese culture may still be seen. The great limestone wheels—the fabled Yap money—are still abundantly in evidence lining avenues that once accommodated dancers but that now often are thronged with Hondas and Datsuns. These weighty remnants of the past stand upright, embedded in the red soil of Yap, or lean against community houses or private dwellings. Others have toppled over and lie half buried, offering mute testimony to a time long past when there were no Hondas or Datsuns.

Even these ponderous and seemingly indestructible objects from Yap's yesterday are vulnerable. Recently in one remote village a work crew was installing a power line along a road. A huge money wheel was dislodged and toppled over, shattering into several parts, losing its integrity and its mana at once. More recently one of the large wheels in the most well-known assemblage of Yap money—the "money bank" at Rul—was "nudged" by a hydraulically operated back-hoe manned by a Korean workman. And in numerous places initials and names are scratched into the surfaces of money disks and ancient paving stones as well.

One still sees grass-skirted women on Yapese roads and men are often seen wearing the traditional thu or loin cloth. The jarring note is that the wearer may well also be wearing a crash helmet and be riding a motorcycle.
The number of traditional dwellings and clubhouses has greatly diminished in Yap, even in the last two decades. More often than not where a clubhouse once stood, only its platform remains today. And as time passes, the stonework crumbles and undergrowth covers the site. Most frequently when a new community building is constructed it will not be a traditional Yapese structure. It will have a roof of corrugated iron and it may have walls of sawn lumber or of concrete blocks. In one village where a Yapese style men's house is being constructed there is a novel blend of old and new; the workmen are using electric-powered hand tools.

The only archaeological investigation of Yap that is reported in the literature is that conducted by E. W. and D. S. Gifford in 1954. The Giffords tested a number of sites and described two varieties of pottery (1959). Of six carbon dates secured by them, the earliest (from Giliman Municipality) was A.D. 178 ± 250. The earlier of the two pottery types discovered was comparable to the Marianas plainware and spanned the period from approximately A.D. 178 to A.D. 847. Most carbon dates were late (A.D. 1758-1858) (Shutler and Shutler, p. 93). A comprehensive survey of Yapese archaeological and historic sites is yet to be made.

The three sites nominated to the National Register in 1976 were placed in the Register in September of that year. They are:

1. Rull Men's Meeting House and Money Bank (Rull Municipality, Colonia). The meeting house and the stone work associated with it are representative and typical of traditional (pre-contact) architecture. The money bank consists of a number of Yap money disks (fei), also typical of ancient sites. The house is currently being restored. Both the house and the bank meet the criteria for National Register placement very well.¹

2. Spanish Fort Foundation (Weloy Municipality, Colonia). The coral stone foundation underlies the Yap hospital. It has been modified somewhat over the years, having had fired bricks added in some places and having been altered in at least one area to accommodate a driveway. Even though its integrity has been

¹
thus impaired, it does meet National Register criteria well in that it is distinctive as to a type and method of construction related to a given historical period and it is clearly related to the first foreign administration to have governed Yap. A new hospital is nearing completion on Yap. Future plans for the structure now being used as a hospital are undetermined, but there is some thought that it might be "recycled" for use as a museum. (For a discussion of the background of Spanish fortification on Yap in 1886, see Handbook on the TTPI, 1948, p. 74.)

3. O'Keefe's Island (Tarang Island, Gagil Municipality, Colonia). This small island located in Tomil Harbor was the headquarters for an Irish-American seaman and fortune-hunter who landed in Yap in 1871 as the sole survivor of a shipwreck on a reef. David Dean O'Keefe made Yap his home for 30 years until he was again lost at sea in 1901, this time finally. In the time he lived on Yap, O'Keefe came to wealth and respect among Yapese because he shrewdly manipulated the avid desire of the Yapese for limestone money wheels quarried in Palau, 260 miles distant, for his own economic improvement. O'Keefe used his sailing ship to transport the weighty stone disks from Palau, thus supplanting the earlier practice in which small Yapese sailing canoes made the arduous voyage, often at great peril to money and men alike. The prestige that possession of the money pieces allowed meant that Yapese men could be motivated as in no other way to produce copra and trepang which O'Keefe exacted from them in exchange for the stone money. He, in turn, traded this produce in Hong Kong and Manila for great profit.

O'Keefe settled on the island of Tarang and built a house in about 1873 for himself and his part-Nauruan, part-English wife.

Only rubble marks the site of the house today. Undergrowth has encroached upon a jumble of bricks and concrete. There are several water catchment ruins nearby. One of these is quite large and appears to have been connected to the house area by an 8 or 9 inch diameter cast iron pipe. The cement work is
reminiscent of that done in Japanese times in Micronesia. Local informants were loath to accept the notion that the cistern or the house rubble was other than O'Keefe's. However, a description of O'Keefe's house at the time it was built suggests a very different kind of structure.

In a month's time, the house was complete. It rested on a stone dais, like the native huts, but otherwise it was western, a comfortable frame dwelling, painted a sparkling white and topped by a gleaming, corrugated iron roof. In front, there was a screened-in porch and a clearing for a flower garden. (Klingman and Green, p. 165.)

A smaller cistern has walls of compact worked rectangular coral stone blocks with a cement facing. The island was used in part as a coaling station during Spanish times and fragments of coal may still be found there.

A feature of the island that may be worthy of consideration in respect to future use is the abundance of plants, both native and imported, that have survived there. A botanical park might be developed to take advantage of this presence.

From Hong Kong, he O'Keefe brought flower and vegetable seeds for Dalabo's garden....The area around the house, which stood on a grassy knoll in the center of Tarrang, was carefully terraced and cultivated. (Klingman and Green, pp. 218, 19.)

Without doubt O'Keefe is the most notable foreign personality associated with Yap. The island from which he operated as trader and from which he so greatly altered Yapese social structure meets the criterion of evaluation for listing in the National Register that has to do with a site's association with a significant person. The larger stone money wheels on Yap are those brought from Palau by O'Keefe. The greater availability of these symbols of wealth and prestige meant that Yapese men of lower rank could own such money pieces and share in the prestige afforded owners. Such individuals often took on other attributes of high status as well.

Several sites which might be considered for inventory and nomination in the future are listed in Apple (1972). They are:
1. Gacham (Tomil Municipality). This desolate, elevated expanse of eroded red soil has great traditional significance to Yapese. Even young people easily identify Gacham as their most sacred site. Legends hold that the spirits of the deceased visit this isolated place at night. Other tales explain that a great storm washed away the topsoil from this region, forming the outlying islands of Yap.

2. Kaday Village (Dalipebinau Municipality) possesses several fine stone platforms and house foundations, a cobble-paved "cross island" road, and backrests of stone with relief renderings of fish and a lizard. A traditional structure present during Apple's survey is now absent.

3. Okau Village (Weloy Municipality). This village is widely believed to be extremely sacred and was traditionally a place of residence for priests, some of whom could make rain.

4. German Cable Station (Ngalog, Rull Municipality). Large concrete tower bases remain and date to 1905 and German times. The station was shelled and destroyed by a British warship in 1914.

At the end of World War I, Yap was the center for a network of cables and for this reason the U.S. was interested. The U.S. was slow to acknowledge Japan's mandatory control of Micronesia, but finally in 1922 signed a treaty with Japan recognizing her League of Nations Class C Mandate. A feature of the treaty was that Japan and the U.S. were guaranteed equal rights in all matters in Yap which might directly or indirectly affect the cable system.

5. The Takereng Canal (Fanif and Tomil Municipalities). Built in 1901 by Yapese labor, the canal makes travel from Ramung, Map, and parts of Fanif and Gagil Municipalities to Colonia faster.
6. The large guns and wrecked aircraft in the vicinity of the airport that are listed by Apple as having potential for parks do not appear to be of great historic importance. As remnants of World War II, they certainly have a historical association, but their statement is a limited one.

7. The Lanelow Man-Beating Place in Kanifay was not located. Informants seemed not to be aware of it as a site of great importance.

Stonework areas at Nif and especially at Gal in Kanifay Municipality are worthy of inventory and the latter very possibly for nomination. Featured are enormous back rests, an abundance of stone money, pavements, and house platforms. A small but well-constructed house platform at Dulukan is probably worthy of listing. At Gitam (Rull Municipality) there is a cemetery in which there are a number of large mound-graves. Some graves have significant associations on Yap, but whether or not these are they must be determined. Finally, a substantial area (possibly qualifying as a district) of stonework at Dugor in Weloy Municipality appears to hold promise as an area of significant sites. Both Map and Ramung Municipalities possess numerous money wheels, stone platforms, and traditional structures in good condition.

Not only should sites in more remote parts of Yap be identified and evaluated, but sites in the outer islands of the district should also be so treated. Communication and transport continue to create problems in relation to the distant portions of the district, but field trip vessels regularly visit the atolls and frequent visits by missionary aircraft as well as surface vessels are made to Ulithi. Local participation could be generated by establishing sub-committees of the District Historic Preservation Committee. Key individuals should be encouraged to participate. For example, a high school teacher on Ulithi, Mr. Josede Figirliyong, has some anthropological training, speaks excellent English, and is anxious to develop preservation activities on Falalap and elsewhere on the atoll.
Palau District

The Historic Preservation Committee in Palau has been quite active. It has identified nearly 70 sites, the majority of which have to do with traditional Palauan culture, but which include a number associated with Spanish, German, and Japanese administrations and several that are associated with World War II. A few have to do with the European discovery of Palau in 1783.

There is an extensive literature on Palau in English, German, and Japanese that is rich in references to traditional culture. It includes a wide range of information on sites and objects that possess important historical associations. Especially helpful are the works of Kubary, Krämer, Hidikata, Osborne, Barnett, McKnight, and R. W. and M. Force.

In 1956 Hidikata published an account of Palauan stone images that summarized the results of a comprehensive two-year survey he undertook from 1929 to 1931 when he was a school teacher in Palau. A number of the sites and objects that the Palau Committee has identified are treated. Similarly, Osborne's archaeological survey of the early 1950's (published in 1966) covers the archipelago comprehensively and also deals with certain of the identified sites and objects. Osborne has since (1969) conducted additional archaeological work in Palau, but his report has not yet appeared. A great deal of Osborne's work centered on pottery, but he also described and photographed a number of stone images and cited associated Palauan legends. These, along with Hidikata's sketches and accounts, are most helpful in the documentation of Palauan historic and prehistoric resources.

The five sites nominated to the National Register in 1976 were entered in the Register on September 30, 1976. All are associated with ancient Palauan culture and qualify exceptionally well as significant sites, in some cases because they are representative of architectural or artistic traditions and styles and in others because they have important areal or personal associations. They are the following:
1. Airai Bai (Arai Municipality). This council house (abai) is the last intact, in situ structure of its kind left in Palau. The bai on Kayangel atoll was destroyed in 1976 by a typhoon as was the museum bai in Koror. The latter, presently being rebuilt, was constructed a few years ago under the auspices of the Palau Museum. It was made in the old tradition of such structures which are generally no longer built, but it is a "reproduction" in contrast to the Airai bai which, although also of recent construction, is located on the village stone platform where such structures have stood for years. It also continues to function as a valid community building.

2. Meteu 'l Klechem (Melekeok Municipality). This monolith, octagonal in cross-section, is some seven feet long and two to three feet in diameter. It is estimated to weigh a ton and a half. It appears not to be worked and its resemblance to the basaltic columns found on Ponape, Kusaie, and to some extent on Moen, Truk as well deserves attention. The significance of the stone lies in its association with one Meteu, a younger male relative of Reklai, a high chief of Palau.

The communities of Melekeok and Koror are traditional rivals and over the centuries have often engaged in warfare. In one such encounter near the end of the 18th century Meteu was ambushed and killed by Derebai of Koror. Apparently Meteu had been involved in an attack on some Yapese bound for Koror and his death was ordained by Koror as a result.

Meteu's body was brought to Koror and laid atop the great stone that now bears his name to await ransom by Chief Reklai. The paying of ransom in such oases was common in Palau. Tradition holds that the ransom in this instance consisted of a number of valuable pieces of Palauan bead money which when paid enabled the people of Melekeok to transport both body and stone to Melekeok aboard a canoe. The stone remains today as a symbol of an historical event of moment.
3. Odalmelech (Melekeok Municipality). This monolith, one in a complex of six, is described by Osborne (p. 242) who illustrates it, as gigantic and the most spectacular of the six. Both Osborne (p. 242) and Hidikata (p. 72) note that the god Odalmelech was the village deity of Melekeok. The latter cites a Palauan legend that records the origin of the stone.

In the dark ages when the gods Odal Melech and Ngira Kainae were building Rois Melech (a hill/?terrace?) behind Ngeremelch /village/, a group of other gods from Peliou happened to pass . . . . The god Odal Melech called out and asked the group to help them with their work. Some of the gods came down and cooperated . . . . But then the tutau bird as well as the roosters crowed (advent of the dawning age), and the gods all turned to stones, and left for heaven . . . . (p. 72).

The image stands on a stone platform near the house of Sacharuleong. As the representation of a deity anciently associated with the village of Melekeok and other deities, this image has a significance quite in accord with Register listings.

4. Ongeluluul (Melekeok Municipality). This stone platform, which is somewhat delapidated, is literally the place where one whispers. Such places were found in large villages throughout Palau. They were where major strategies for war were devised in secret. The cultural attrition brought about through foreign governance has caused such council places to fall into disuse. This site is seen as symbolic of other similar sites, once important and integral to Palauan culture, but now unused and of little interest beyond that which is retrospective. The rationale for nomination is a valid one.

5. Ked ra Ngchemiangl (also called Kamyangel Terraces) (Aimeliik Municipality). One of the most distinctive, yet puzzling physiographic features of Palau is its man-made earthwork terraces. Those in Aimeliik near the Kamyangel River and in the vicinity of the abandoned village of Ngchemiangl are quite extensive and most impressive.

Osborne feels that terraces such as these (concentrations exist in
widely separated parts of Palau such as Arakabesang, Melekeok, Ngerechelong, and elsewhere) were primarily agricultural, but that there was also a military (defense) utility (p. 155). Strangely, Palauan legends and ethnographic accounts do not reveal any clear indications of use or time of construction for these terraces. The labor force required for their construction must have been enormous. In the majority of cases there are great numbers of potsherds covering the surfaces of the terraces. Osborne has suggested that such pottery is relatively late (p. 152). The terraces also lack stone remains which, if we assume older strata of Palauan culture to have been megalithic, would also point to recency. If, however, this is the case, one must query why Palauans have not recorded clearer understandings of use and construction.

Even with (and perhaps also because of) the puzzling aspects of these terraces, they deserve the attention that has been accorded them by their nomination to the National Register.

Among the sites that have been identified as important by the Palau Historic Preservation Committee are several of exceptional importance. One of these deserves nomination beyond all others. It is in Ngerechelong Municipality and is called Badrulechau (Also transcribed Bad Rulechau, Badrulchau, and Ollei Megaliths. This latter is incorrect since the village of Ollei is a great distance away. The closest village to the site once was Melegei, but it has long been abandoned.).

Hidikata (p. 54) referred to the site as "the most outstanding remains of the massive stone culture in Palau." To Osborne it is "the most spectacular archaeological site in Palau" (p. 198). Both provide good descriptions. Osborne conducted excavations there in 1969, but his findings have not yet been published.

The site is located on the dry slopes of Ngerechelong and is associated with several nearby terraces. It consists of two double rows of stone pillars
that may have been roof supports for some immense structure and a number of regularly placed stone images of massive size. A legend indicates that the structure was never finished. Pottery sherds are present. (See Apple, p. 40.)

It may be that the committee could secure from Dr. Osborne a statement of his findings and recommendations for additional work that would be helpful in preparing the background material for nomination. Without doubt this is a significant site and deserves to be listed in the National Register.

Another site of note that should be nominated is the carved megalithic monument of mother and child at Ngermid Village, Koror Municipality. (See Hidikata, p. 8; Osborne, p. 112; and Apple, p. 43.)

Among the sites identified by the Palau Committee a number were also enumerated as sites of value by Apple (1972). Serious thought should be given to their nomination. They are these:

1. Englishmen's Cave and Beach (Aulong Island) (Apple, p. 48). These sites relate to the European discovery of Palau in 1783.

2. Metukera Bisch (Metukera Bisch Island near Koror) (Apple, p. 48; Osborne, pp. 267-8). Caves on this island were used for burial and by the Yapese who quarried aragonite there for stone money wheels.


4. Ngermululau Bai (Ngerdeloi, Peleliu Municipality). The council house is gone from this site, but there are stone remains. (Apple, p. 46)

5. Omisch Cave (Ngermid, Koror Municipality). Yapese money was quarried here. Possibly associated with O'Keefe. (Apple, p. 49)

6. Olkael Cave (Asias, Peleliu Municipality). This site is associated with the origin of taro patches. (Apple, p. 47)

7. Yiil Malk (Ngeruk dapel Island, Koror Municipality). This cave has
folklore importance as the home of a demigod—half human and half chicken—who is credited with having made all of the caves of Palau. (Apple, p. 44)

8. Ngeremlengui Cannon (Ngermetengel, Ngeremlengui Municipality). Large guns installed by Japanese to defend against possible assault through an opening in the reef. (Apple, p. 50)

The identified site list from Palau includes caves, tombs, stone images, buildings, pictographs, gun emplacements, landing places, monuments, lighthouses, earthworks, stones, platforms, and fortifications. There are a number of sites that relate to cultures with which Palauan culture has come in contact, but the majority are ones with associations that are traditional. Many of these (as well as the others) are worthy of National Register listing. The Committee appears to have been operating with an enthusiasm and competence not found at the same level in all of the other districts. One reason for this is revealed in the statement by a committee member that while listing on the Register is a laudable goal, their real motivation lies in the conviction that the sites in Palau should be recorded and documented first and foremost because they are important to the people of Palau.
The following are sites that have been identified, but not yet nominated. In some instances background material is still being generated. In these cases it is noted that the Committee's research is incomplete.

1. Ongewikl Vars (Aulong Island, Koror). This is a cave where pandanus mats were woven for canoe sails (Osborne, p. 400). Its principal importance lies in the pictographs in red ochre on the ceiling and back wall. Site probably deserves nomination, but is still being researched.


5. Ibesachel (Melekeok, Melekeok). Site is the largest stone platform extant in Palau and dates to 1783 when it was built by High Chief Reklai Eltuk. It satisfies several criteria and should be nominated.


8. Japanese Crematorium (Iyebukel, Koror). Site was used by Japanese prior to and during World War II. Brick structural elements still present.
Dates to 1914 or 1915. One of two such facilities. Should be weighed by Committee as to relative importance.

9. Ngerchokl (Ngkeklau, Ngaraard). Site is a river that is associated with a folktale about filial behavior and immortality. Appears to qualify for consideration.

10. Oreal Bad (Mengellang, Ngerchelong). Site consists of a stone (broken) that rests beside the road in Mengellang Village. It was brought from Koror long ago and is a monument to the aid given to Koror in war by the village where it now rests. Its undistinguished character and broken condition actually endanger this stone. Only older members of the village know of its importance and some are only vaguely aware of its exact location. Stone should be marked. It has a special significance to Etei keblil (clan). A significant site.


12. Light House (Malakal, Koror). Concrete structure, built on Malakal Mountain to guide ships through the pass into Malakal Harbor. Represents Japanese period. Should be judged as to importance by comparing with other sites of similar association.


15. Arkabesang Terraces (Arkabasang, Koror). Large earthworks of unknown age and use. Dramatic. Deserving of consideration. Ked ra Ngchemiangl terraces of Aimeliik are more extensive, but these are comparable.

16. Ouballang (Imul, Aimeliik). Still being researched. Folktale refers to site as stairway to the heavens.

17. Ngetrur Well (Ngerbeched, Koror). Well was formerly used for the chiefs of the village of Ngerbeched. Relative importance of site to Palauans unclear.


19. Food Supply Warehouse (Aurapusekaru Island, Koror). A few large concrete pillars remain at this site where the Japanese built large warehouses. Less important than other sites dating to Japanese period.

20. Underground Shelter (Okerd, Koror). This is one of several such shelters in the same vicinity. Used from time to time since the war as a refuge from typhoons. Original shelter was in anticipation of war and was for Japanese use. Questionable importance.

21. Echerang Building (Echerang, Koror). Built in 1905, by a Palauan
using German materials and plans. Material of construction was concrete. Good condition. Significant association with a foreign administration.

22. Beduu 'l Yaes (Beduu 'l Yaes Island, Koror). Caves made for Japanese gun emplacements. Two cannons in place. Should be compared with similar sites and given a value relative to them.

23. Japanese Post (Okerd, Koror). Inscribed concrete post noting location of the Palau Zoo, a creation of the Japanese administration. Unspectacular, but representative of a facility unique to Micronesia and one that is remembered well by those who recall the Japanese era. Probably worthy, but of less importance than other sites of the same period.


25. Oyang 'l Madedok (Ngeburch, Melekeok). Site is a well that always has water, even during dry periods. Committee should review for legendary references before determining if it merits Register listing.


27. Maryknoll Convent (Ngerusebluk, Koror). Site consists of a building dating to 1904 when it was built by German Catholic missionaries. Associations are with German period and with one of several strong missionary influences in Palau. Associations would support nomination.


30. Ngibtal (Meteu 'l towachel, Ngual). Site of legendary fish-bearing breadfruit tree. The hero of this tale is also featured in another legend of renown that tells of the first natural childbirth in Palau. The strong associations with oral traditions recommend this site strongly.

31. Ngermid Mechang (Ngermid, Koror). Road end. Site of pier and causeway as well as an ancient pre-contact council house. Important.


33. Termeteet Tomb (Ngerbelau, Angaur). Research incomplete.

34. Medal a debii (Ngerchol, Peleliu). Research incomplete.


36. Metukrikull (Ngerukdapel Island, Koror). Site where the first Aibedul (High Chief of Koror) was killed. Research incomplete.

37. Bai ra Tulau (Kamyangel, Aimeliik). Research incomplete.
38. Omerool (Imeyong, Ngeremlengui). An oval-shaped stone situated on a stone platform and used to display heads taken in war. Said to be the only such stone in Palau. Rarity and associations with traditional practices recommend site for nomination.

39. Imeyuns '1 Bad (Ngellau, Ngival). References to this stone are made by Hidikata (pp. 7 and 20). Research incomplete.

40. Olekeok '1 Bad (Melekeok, Melekeok). See Hidikata (pp. 7 and 70). A stone named after Olekeok, a child of the goddess Milad. Important because of association. Research incomplete.

41. Stone Stairway (Ngchemesed, Ngeremlengui). Research incomplete.

42. Rock Construction (Imeyong, Ngeremlengui). Research incomplete.


44. Techulyaur Tomb (Ngebuked, Ngaraard). Research incomplete.


46. Bedul a Tmeloched (Elab, Ngaraard). Research incomplete.

47. Demad le Chelid (Elab, Ngaraard). Research Incomplete.

49. Obachad ra Techikebai (Elab, Ngaraard). Research incomplete.


52. Ngeklau Road (Ngeklau, Ngaraard). Research incomplete.


The following sites are relatively important and of those identified deserve nomination more than most. Research is relatively complete.

1. Spanish Landing Site (Iyebukel, Koror). Coral pier in disrepair. Former site of a canoe house and council houses. Stone steps and a wooden post of the canoe house remain. Spanish priests landed here in the 1890's. Significant site because of pre-contact importance and association with Spanish period. The actual date of the first landing by the Spanish should be checked. The 1883 date listed in the supportive material may not be accurate.
2. Shinto Shrine (Ngermid, Koror). Site is overgrown now. Wide steps, posts, and foundations present. U.S. Navy used some buildings at the site immediately after World War II for administrative offices. Two of 16 concrete lanterns remain. Compound of shrine is about two acres in size. Construction began in 1940 on the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire. Shrine was completed in 1941. Said to be the only one of its kind outside Japan. A bulldozer was observed working very near the site during this survey. Highly recommended as a site associated with the Japanese period.

3. Malsol Tomb (Elechui, Aimeliik). Stone platform for a council house. Today a modern structure occupies the site. Malsol was a great warrior from Ngeremlengui village who insulted the corpse of a chief of Aimeliik. A female relative of the deceased swore revenge. She achieved it by marrying a powerful chief whom she then influenced to send one of his warriors to seek out and kill Malsol. Significant historical associations.

4. Museum Bai (Ngerbeched, Koror). This council house was built as a project of the Palau Museum. It was constructed of authentic materials and in the traditional style. It was severely damaged in a typhoon in 1976 and is being rebuilt. The Airai Bai (already listed in the Register) is the only other council house of traditional type left in Palau. Recommended for nomination as a representative type structure.

5. Sea Plane Ramp (Ngerdis, Koror). Important installation used by Japanese during World War II. Perhaps the only one of its type in Micronesia. A significant site related to the war.
6. Gun Emplacement (Madalaii, Koror). Constructed in 1940 by Japanese using local stone and cement. Unique in Palau. The site was also used for executions by the German administration. A valuable site. Should be nominated by virtue of two associations with foreign administrations.

7. Old Man by the Sea (Yachadrengel) (Aimeliik). A natural anthropomorphic monolith. Yachadrengel is featured in Palauan legends as a skilled craftsman and architect. He is said to have invented light by making the sun and moon. Strong association with origin tale recommends this site.
Ponape District

Ponape:

Without doubt, the most celebrated and dramatic prehistoric site in all of Micronesia in terms of area, architecture, building materials, and related oral traditions is the megalithic ruins of Nan Madol in Madolenihmw municipality on Ponape's southeast coast. Actually the site is on the fringing reefs on the seaward side of Temwen Island. Nan Madol, sometimes called the Venice of the Pacific, is composed of about 100 artificial islands, access to which is by a system of shallow canals. It was formerly used for residence and ritual. The site covers about a third of a square mile and features walls and enclosures constructed of columnar basaltic prisms, some of which are exceptionally large and heavy and which are placed in perpendicular layers. Archaeological excavations of varying duration and quality have been carried out at Nan Madol by Kubary, Christian, Hambruch, and Yawata. The latest work was undertaken by Evans, Meggers, and Riesenber in 1963. They obtained three carbon dates that range from A.D. 1180 to A.D. 1430 (Shutler and Shutler, p. 93). Yawata (1932) found a few pottery sherds on the surface and in one of the tombs.

Nan Madol was entered in the National Register on December 19, 1974. As tourist visitation increases one of the principal problems connected with this site will be its protection. Trash has begun to accumulate at Nan Dowas and elsewhere and unauthorized excavation could occur despite federal regulations and a Ponape District Order prohibiting such unauthorized investigations and the removal or defacing of ancient human work from historical monuments. The area is remote and unless some official surveillance is provided for, the site could suffer. The site amply satisfies several criteria for inclusion in the National Register.
A second Ponapean site was also placed in the National Register on December 19, 1974. It is the Spanish Wall in Kolonia (see Navy Department, p. 74). This enclosure was part of one of two comparable governmental headquarters in Micronesia established by Spain in 1886. The other was in Yap. The site's association with the first foreign administration in Ponape and all that it symbolizes satisfies an important criterion for National Register listing.

The wall (a part of Fort Alfonso XIII) is severely eroded in places and this has caused some concern. A restoration effort at one end of the wall was undertaken recently with the best of motives. However, such efforts, unless supervised by experienced professionals, are not advised. The clearing of plants which had taken root in mortar cracks was no doubt beneficial. However, this activity too can dislodge loose fragments and have a deleterious effect. The special attention given one of the arches may well be the most important effort in recent attempts to retard deterioration. Archaeological investigation of the compound that was Fort Alfonso XIII is highly desirable. To date no such archaeological investigation of a historic site has been undertaken in the TTPI.

During 1976 seven additional sites were nominated to the National Register and were listed on September 30, 1976. All relate to foreign administrations and are well qualified for listing by virtue of their associations. They are as follows:

1. A Japanese Elementary School for Ponapean Children (Kolonia, Net Municipality). The building on this site is presently being used as the District Hospital, but it is scheduled to be vacated soon when the hospital moves to new quarters. On the surface this site may not seem to have great integrity since it has suffered modifications over the years. Neither would it
appear to possess great historical significance. However, for Ponapeans who see the school as an important first step in public education, it holds a very special importance.  

2. Mass Grave Site (Sokehs Municipality). In October of 1910 a disturbance occurred that came to be known as the Sokehs Rebellion. The roots of the uprising lay in an edict issued in 1907 by Governor Hahl, an administrator from New Guinea who visited Ponape. Hahl told the Chiefs that their traditional feudal-like system of class distinctions, land tenure, and tribute was ended forthwith. The Chiefs complained that this abolition would deprive them of wealth and prestige. They were over-ridden, and as early as 1908 there were several mild uprisings that were quickly put down. The German administration attempted to rectify matters, however, by stipulating that although tribute was to cease and that former users of land were to become land owners, these new owners, in lieu of paying tribute, would work 15 days a year without pay for the government. One half of their credited earnings of one mark a day was to be used to recompense the Chiefs for their loss of tribute. The labor was to be expended on such public works as roads, canals, and other economically beneficial projects. The other four districts accepted the administration's plan reasonably quickly and completed their compulsory labor for 1909. Sokehs was the last to accept the proposal and the Governor waived their work for 1909. However, he was replaced by a new administrator who refused to honor the agreement. In October, 1910, when the Sokehs people were called upon to perform work for both 1909 and 1910 they responded with reluctance. Their angry mood exploded when one of their number was seized and flogged. The Ponapeans reacted violently, killing the new Governor and three other Germans.

The German administration defended itself until early 1911 when reinforcements arrived from Rabaul and dispersed the Sokehs people. By late February all
recalcitrants were captured. Fifteen leaders were executed on February 24, 1911, and the balance of the population of Sokehs--more than 400 persons--was banished to Palau. The mass grave contains the remains of the leaders of the rebellion. As a site associated with a dramatic and significant historical event it qualifies for Register listing.

3. Japanese Hydro-Electric Power Plant and German Experimental Forestry Station (Kolonia, Net Municipality). Several features remain at this site which have relevance to its past uses. There is a shallow dam over which water still flows and which was a primary aspect of the power station. A concrete building immediately adjacent was also a part of the station. Today it is the Ponape Museum. The immediate surrounding area boasts some large trees, planted three-quarters of a century ago during German times. Among others are ivory nut palms, an Indonesian banyan, a large rubber tree, and a mango. The possibility of developing the area as a botanical park is most appealing. Kolonia would be greatly enhanced if this could be achieved. (A related possibility is discussed in the section on Cultural Preservation.) The site well qualifies for listing by virtue of its associational values in respect to two foreign administrations.

4. The Residence of the Chief Agriculturist and Number Two Power Figure in Micronesia During Japanese Times (Kolonia, Net Municipality). This thick-walled concrete building is near the Japanese Agricultural Station. It was built in the 1920's. Its occupant served as weatherman as well as agriculturist. The structure is representative of Japanese times. It was used as a jail in recent times and was modified to accommodate high security cells. At present it is unoccupied.

5. The Sokehs Japanese Artillery Road and Pohndolap Area (Sokehs Municipality). The road was built by the Japanese before World War II. The heights the road leads to were fortified and were subjected to strafing attacks by U.S. aircraft during World War II. This area was also the site of bitter fighting in 1911
when German forces fought the Sokehs rebels. Both of the sites have valid associations with significant historic events. 8

6. A Japanese Shrine (Kolonia, Net Municipality). This shrine was built in the 1920's as a place of prayer and worship. In the words of the Ponapean nominators, the shrine is a grim reminder of a period when segregation was practiced on Ponape. The shrine is basically intact and is located in an overgrown corner of an area that is now designated as a park. In Japanese times the shrine was in a controlled area—the grounds of an elementary school for Japanese dependents. The site has important historical associations.

7. German Cemetery (Kolonia, Net Municipality). The justification for Register listing is the association of those interred with German times. It is valid. The site is not original, the graves having been moved to their present location in 1938. The small plot contains more than a dozen graves, a number of which are marked with marble, stone, and cement headstones. One grave is of a German governor. Others are sailors from the cruiser EMDEN who were killed in 1911 in encounters with the Sokehs rebels. The cemetery is presently well-tended by a volunteer. The site is, however, threatened by a large community refuse dump immediately adjacent. In fact, access to the cemetery is through a portion of the dump. Not only is this unsightly, but the odors are noxious and there is a distinct possibility of encroachment by heavy equipment that is used to disburse refuse. A protective fence should be erected.

Additional sites that are listed in Apple (1972) and that should be examined further in respect to Ponapean notions of historical importance are these:

1. The German Bell Tower (Kolonia, Net Municipality). This Catholic church, built in 1907, was partially razed in 1944 by the Japanese who sought materials to build a gun emplacement. The tower, which dominates Kolonia from almost any
yantage point, and the apse are all that remain of this once imposing structure. The associated cemetery (described herein earlier) was moved in 1938.

2. Sapwtakai and Peidiker Forts (Kitti Municipality).
3. Nanmarki Anointing Place (Madolenihmw Municipality).
4. Takaien Indenlang Petroglyphs, Lehdau (Madolenihmw Municipality).
5. Goddess (Likend) House, Nandihwen Plateau (Kitti Municipality).
7. Rock Souliken Semwei, Anipein Powe (Kitti Municipality).
8. Rock Tiwien Iei, Anipein Powe (Kitti Municipality).
11. Kubary Monument, Kolonia (Net Municipality). Stands in park near Spanish Wall. A bronze plaque erected in memory of Joh Stanislaus Kubary (1846-1896) who died on Ponape. Hambruch (1932) notes that the plaque and stonework was actually Kubary's grave. Spoehr, F. M. (pp. 97-8) states that the circumstances of Kubary's death are shrouded in mystery, there being three hypotheses: suicide, heart attack, and assassination. Vincent (p. 108) flatly states that Kubary took his own life. Curiously, Christian, who was with Kubary just two days before his death, found him "hale and hearty as ever" (p. 227). In any case the plaque now merely marks the site of Kubary's grave.

In 1906 the grave was opened and found to be empty; several of his friends had removed the body to another part of Ponape. The monument today is in need of attention. It has been partially toppled and a number of the stone supports have become displaced.

As for significance, Kubary was without match as a dedicated scientific observer and recorder of both natural and cultural history in Ponape, Palau,
and elsewhere in Micronesia. He was without doubt a most significant person.

A great number of ancient Ponapean sites remain to be inventoried and described. A comprehensive archaeological site survey is needed.

Kusaie:

On January 1, 1977, Kusaie became a separate district of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. At the time of the survey upon which this report is based, however, it was still a part of the Ponape District. There is one site in Kusaie of exceptional size and importance and there are several others of possible significance that were visited or about which information was secured. The two days spent on Kusaie allowed no opportunity for a more intensive survey. It is expected that the archaeological survey of Kusaie planned for the Spring of 1977 by Bishop Museum will identify additional sites.

1. The principal Kusaiean prehistoric site is called Saru. It is located on the small island of Lele, just off the east coast of Kusaie. The largest village in Kusaie is located on Lele and completely surrounds the site. What makes this site of particular interest is that it consists of an extensive megalithic complex of relatively rectangular enclosures, formed of huge basaltic boulders and columns identical to those that form Nan Madol on Ponape. Tradition records that these ruins predate those on Ponape and that the builder who was responsible for the Lele complex later went to Ponape and built Nan Madol. Similarities between the two ruins are in the nature of the basaltic components and in how they were utilized to construct towering walls and enclosures by cribbing. Similar also are two pits in the Lele complex that were used to incarcerate people and a pit for the same purpose at Nan Dowas at Nan Madol. Both sites possess canals.

Some who have speculated on the similarities in these two ruins have pondered the awesome aspects of transporting the huge basaltic components. This task was
evidently undertaken with rafts in both Ponape and Kusaie (Frazer, pp. 21 and 26). Another similarity has to do with the selection of alternate sites in both localities prior to settling on the sites where construction finally took place. The basaltic columns and boulders used to construct the walls on Lele were quarried on Kusaie in Utwa Municipality and brought from South Harbor (Christian, p. 157). Observers are uniform in their characterization of the Lele ruins as being smaller and cruder than those in Ponape (Christian, pp. 157 and 171). The Lele ruins are viewed by contemporaries with less awe than is the case in Ponape. Indeed, the houses of Lele are positioned quite close to the overgrown walls (and have been for some time) and in some cases people have cannibalized the ruins for stone for other construction. Recently some of the undergrowth has been cleared in anticipation of the celebration planned for Kusaie's new district-status.

This site is the most impressive on Kusaie and is very much in need of both protection from further damage and professional attention by archaeologists. Not only is excavation at the site long overdue, but stabilization and restoration efforts need to be encouraged.

Other sites that may be considered as significant ones by those who will be serving on a Historic Preservation Committee on Kusaie are as follows:

1. Shoreside site, dwelling of priest/god Sinlata (Yukela, Tafunsak Municipality). Demigod is associated with the first coconut tree in Kusaie. A chant deals with the site.

2. Inland site associated with Sinlata (Utwa Municipality). Site is elevated and remote and consists of a stone platform. This area is the one from which the large basalt stones used to build Lele are alleged to have come.

3. Place of feasting and sakau-pounding (Masan, Melam Municipality). Site consists of a stone wall, a spring, and several large sakau-pounding stones.

4. Basalt stones (Inkoeya or Piljoil, Malam Municipality). Site associated with origin of fire. The site is one of the locations that first was considered
for the fortification that was later built at Lele. The legends associated with
the site indicate that the individual who knew how to make fire and who initiated
the construction of Lele had light skin and came from Asia.
Truk District

Of the six sites nominated from Truk, four are associated with World War II and two with ancient Trukese culture. All were entered in the Register on September 30, 1976. Four of the sites are located on Moen Island, the district center. The Japanese Army Headquarters is located on neighboring Dublon Island. The Truk Lagoon Underwater Fleet is dispersed over a fairly wide area within the lagoon. All of the sites nominated adequately satisfy the criteria for listing in the Register.

1. Truk Lagoon Underwater Fleet (Truk Lagoon). The assault on Japan's Imperial Fleet by U. S. Naval forces in February of 1944 was a decisive encounter. The destruction of a large number of warships greatly affected the Japanese combat capability. The psychological impact of "Operation Hailstone" may have been as important a feature of the engagement as the actual loss of tonnage and the physical damage to shoreside installations. Some historians credit the victory at Truk as the turning point in the Pacific war. Nearly 40 Japanese vessels lie on the bottom of Truk Lagoon. Together they comprise the Truk Lagoon District Monument, established by the Truk District Legislature in 1971. The monument also includes a number of U.S. aircraft that were lost and that also dot the floor of the lagoon. The direct association of this site with a battle of such importance clearly qualifies this site for listing in the National Register. Not only is there a Micronesian association, but also an American one.

2. St. Xavier Academy (Winipis, Moen Island). The principal structure in the complex of buildings that comprises this Jesuit High School is a massive structure of reinforced concrete with walls and roof four to five feet in thickness. It served as the communication headquarters for Japanese forces. Badly battered by U. S. bombers, the building sustained no serious damage. So massively was it constructed that even direct hits failed
to penetrate the roof.

The property upon which the building stands had been purchased by the Catholic Church prior to the war. When it was reclaimed, the church decided to repair the Japanese structure and use it as a nucleus for a high school. Today the structure includes classrooms, living quarters and offices for staff members, a study hall, a gymnasium, a workshop, mess facilities, and a student dormitory. The integrity of the building in respect to its components (steel doors, water tanks, etc.) is good and its location and setting are also valid. The additions constructed in recent time by the church—a chapel and several classroom buildings—do not detract from the central structure in the least. The building is well qualified for inclusion in the National Register.

3. Tonota Guns and Caves (Moen Island). Japanese forces fortified many natural caves on Moen and other islands in the Truk Group. Sometimes, as on Fefan and Dublon, they enlarged such caves and installed guns or rails for the transport of munitions and stores. The Tonota installations are typical of those found throughout the bastion that Truk was. As representative sites of this type they well qualify for Register listing.

4. Tonnachau Mountain (Iras, Moen Island). This site is the mountain itself. Loftiest peak on Moen (229 meters), it is the legendary place of origin and home of the god Souwooniiras and his son, also a deity. The association adequately qualifies the site to be listed in the National Register.

5. Wiichen Men’s Meeting House (Peniesene, Moen Island). This site (actually a complex) on the Wiichen River and Falls is the location of a long absent men’s meeting house where Moen chiefs are reported to have met with Poomey, eldest of the six brothers who were the first chiefs of Truk. The pool at the base of the shallow falls was used for bathing and sport in olden times just as it is today. The site of Poomey’s dwelling on a nearby mountain top may be seen from here. His gardens, too, are nearby. Numerous
petroglyphs are etched in the exposed mass of basalt above the falls. Some are boat-shaped. Associations with the gods and events of antiquity meet criteria for Register listing.

6. Japanese Army Headquarters (Dublon Island). The Japanese installations (concrete buildings, fuel tanks, etc.) on this island were severely damaged by the bombing and strafing of U.S. aircraft from nine aircraft carriers. The loss of this headquarters and command center was highly damaging to the Japanese war effort and was surely one of the turning points in the war. Site is well qualified to be in the National Register.

Apple (1972) lists several additional sites that are worthy of review by the district Historic Preservation Committee. They are as follows:

1. Grave of Souwooniiras (Nemosor, Fananu Island, Nomwin Atoll). This site is considered sacred by Trukese because of its association with Souwooniiras, the youngest of the six brothers who were the first chiefs of Truk.

2. Nimwes and Foumau Rocks (Tunuk and Onip, Udot Island). These sites are associated with the legend of Nimwes, the daughter of a high chief of Yap. The tale relates to ancient rivalries between Truk and Yap. In this tragic account Nimwes disobeyed her father and came to Udot by walking on the sea. When the Udot priests destroyed her power to walk on water, Nimwes died of grief.

3. Japanese Officers' Quarters (Eten Island). The reinforced concrete structures on this small island were severely damaged by aerial bombing by U.S. aircraft. The extent of damage here is greater than at other sites where Japanese structures were targets of attack. The island of Eten was greatly modified by the Japanese in the creation of an airfield that so
modified the form of the island that it actually resembles an aircraft carrier.

4. Chukuwon Naval Guns (Moen Island). These large guns were placed on this elevated site so as to defend against anticipated surface attack that never materialized.

5. Japanese monument (Nemon, Dublon Island). This natural stone bears an inscription in Japanese. In the park across the road there is another monument that appears to be a natural basalt column.

The Committee may also wish to consider two archaeological sites on Tol Island that have recently been excavated (Takayama and Seki, 1973). They are two upland sites, Ulibot and Fauba.

Of particular importance as a site to be nominated is the shoreline and immediate offshore areas for several hundred yards on both sides of the dock at Sapota Village, Fefan Island. In late 1976 potsherds were identified along with other associated artifacts as having come to light following shallow water dredging at locations bracketing the dock. The State Historic Preservation Officer requested that this survey include a visit to the site to verify the discovery and make recommendations. The visit was made and numerous examples of a heavy, coarse, plainware were recovered along with a number of small tridacna-shell adz blades, throwing stones, pounders of coral and basalt, and ornaments of tridacna and other shell.

The area to the north of the dock produced cultural materials in 1971 when dredging was done in connection with the construction of an adjacent school. Again in August of 1976 dredging for material (coral debris and sand) for road surfacing at this site and at another immediately south of the dock brought additional materials to light. Potsherds were recovered
from both sites, but were not confirmed by specialists until November. The dock was built in 1968 and villagers recovered shell adz blades at that time. The contiguous nature of the areas from which recoveries were made lend strength to the notion that the area very likely consists of a single site of rather extensive area.

Because the islands of Truk Lagoon have long been thought to be subsiding, it is not unusual to have encountered cultural materials in an area that now is submerged. Controlled archaeology under such conditions presents some unusual problems. It is possible, however, that the site actually extends inland to shoreline areas not yet submerged. Archaeological investigation of this area should be undertaken as soon as practicable by a professional archaeological team. This is not only because Fefan has not heretofore been the focus of such research, but because the appearance of pottery at the site represents the first such find in the Central Carolines. Roughly comparable pottery is known from Palau, Yap, and the Marianas, but to this time experts have thought Truk not to possess pottery. Yet to be resolved is whether the pottery was imported from the west or whether it was made in Truk. The survey revealed the presence of clay deposits nearby, but, despite this and the great abundance of sherds recovered, Trukese informants of advanced years have no knowledge of pottery having been made in Truk.

The important scientific significance of this find—whether manufacture was indigenous or whether it constitutes an example of the truly far-reaching contacts between Truk and her neighbors more than a thousand miles westward—is that a heretofore unknown feature of Trukese culture history has been discovered. The site should be afforded the kind of protection possible for sites in the National Register. Even if archaeological work in Truk ultimately
produces other finds of pottery, the site at Sapota on Fefan still stands as the type site for all time.

Justification for listing the site in the Register is found in criterion d., Section 60.6, Title 36. It is strongly recommended that this site be nominated to the National Register of Historic Sites without delay. Such listing would not only be protective of the site(s) at Sapota, but it would help focus public attention on other sites that may be discovered as the road-building proceeds around the remaining half of Fefan Island.

There is without doubt a need for a comprehensive archaeological survey of the islands in the Truk District, both high and low. But even before this is done, the Committee might find it helpful to look into the reported archaeological site survey that was undertaken in Truk in 1956-57 by former District Anthropologist on Ponape, Dr. Frank Mahony, and Mr. Raymond C. Gosda, formerly a teacher trainer on Truk (Takayama and Seki, p. 37). No excavations were undertaken, but surface collections were made (their contents are unknown to the writer). Dr. Mahony is said also to have compiled a substantial body of legendary history, some of which bears on the sites examined. Dr. Mahony is currently Director of Administration, South Pacific Commission, Noumea, New Caledonia.
Marshall Islands District

During 1976 the Historic Preservation Committee submitted its first nominations to the National Register. Both were listed on September 30, 1976. Citing disabilities of district size and the remoteness of its widely scattered atolls, communications, and funding, the Committee noted in its report to the State Preservation Officer that its progress on the district historical survey during the year was slight. The report further noted that future activity would be dependent upon the Territorial Historic Preservation Plan and Budget for 1977.

What became apparent during the survey reported upon here was that there was a lack of understanding at the district level that federal grants-in-aid for historic preservation are authorized only on a 50 percent matching basis. No provisions for this participation had been made at the district level, despite the information supplied by the district in the grants-in-aid apportionment warrant for 1977. Committee files, however, contained information supplied by the State (TTPI) Historic Preservation Officer that made the grants-in-aid policy of Title 36, Part 60, Chapter I, Section 60.3 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 quite clear. This policy was explained at length during the course of this survey and copies of the Act were given the Chairman of the Committee. The policy was also explained to the District Administrator.

The National Register was designed and is administered as a planning tool. The initiative for its use must be by local individuals rather than by federal administrators. This point has not thus far been clearly understood by key individuals in the Marshalls District.

As for the sites that have been nominated by the Marshalls District, one—the De Brum Plantation House—is acceptable. The other—The Marshall Islands War Memorial Park—does not appear to be.
1. The De Brum Plantation House (Likiep Island, Likiep Atoll). This single story frame structure was built by Jose De Brum, a European settler, in the late 19th century. Both the District Administrator and the Chairman of the District Historic Preservation Committee are members of the De Brum family which owns the house.

The ancestral De Brum was from all accounts a man of many parts. Among other things he was a photographer and a keen observer of natural phenomena. He is said to have inquired into native medicines as well. He was interested in books and had a respectable library, once kept in the house. The furnishings of the house include a number of ornately carved teak pieces from China.

Interviews with Messrs. Ernest and Leonard De Brum on Majuro revealed that the roof and floor supports for the house are in very bad repair. The roof leaks they feel have not only damaged the house itself, but some of its contents (books, letters, and possibly furniture). No appraisal of the extent of damage was possible since authorities in the Marshalls were unable to arrange transportation to Likiep.

It is very clear that this site is of considerable historic significance, deserves listing on the National Register, and should be repaired and restored. Of immediate concern is the need to halt further damage from roof leaks. The entire roof of corrugated iron very likely should be replaced, but until this is possible some stop-gap repairs are indicated. Family members and government officials were urged to take such steps as a part of the district's cost-sharing in kind. It is recommended that some means be employed to secure the kind of expert appraisal of need that was not possible on this survey with as little delay as possible. No extensive restoration should proceed without professional guidance. (For recommendations on the treatment of associated portable historic properties, see the section of this report on Cultural Preservation.)
The Chairman of the Historic Preservation Committee was unable to produce a detailed budget breakdown for restoration of the house, without which it is difficult to justify an expenditure of the total of $70,000 the 1977 budget calls for. Indeed, until a professional survey is conducted, it is not likely that a valid and realistic budget can be developed.

2. The War Memorial Park (Majuro). The rationale behind this nomination, namely, "to make the numerous mementoes of World War II more accessible to the general population and visitors," is laudable enough. But whether or not the proposed plan properly meets the criteria for evaluation of properties to the National Register is another matter. Integrity of location and setting are two such criteria. It is an arguable point that bringing the wreckage of the machines of war that are now scattered where they fell as the result of military engagements in widely separated parts of the Marshall Islands to the District center for placement in a community park adequately meets these two criteria. The objects, themselves, may possess integrity, but integrity of location and setting is present only to the extent that they would still be in the Marshalls. An alternative approach would appear to be the designation of the individual sites where such objects rest, abandoned where they fell. In this way no integrity of location or setting would be lost. Some such sites, like those on Maloelap, are more impressive and truer to the essential aims of historic preservation than would be true in the creation of an artificial assemblage in an area quite removed from those upon which the historical associations of components depend.

There is need for a comprehensive site survey of the Marshalls. It is hoped that the Bishop Museum archaeological team scheduled to visit the Marshalls in March of 1977 can make a substantial contribution to this survey.

Meanwhile, there are some known sites of possible significance that the Historic Preservation Committee could review and consider for nomination without awaiting a survey. A few years ago Wenkam (1971) proposed a system of Micronesian parks "to preserve not only unique island scenic beauty and history
but also indigenous traditions" (p. 9). Among the possible sites he mentioned were these:

1. Grave of Iroij Lablab Rilin (Arno Atoll). This grave site of the warrior hero of the Dri Mwejor clan with pebble cairn is nearly 160 feet in length. Another grave of importance is on Kijibwe Island in the Arno Atoll. It is where a relative of Rilin, Iroij Lakamo, is buried.

2. Graves of Iroij Lablab (Buoj Island, Ailinglaplap Atoll). Two powerful chiefs (Leit and Kabua) are buried here. Their monuments were presented by the German administrator in the name of Kaiser Wilhelm.

3. Typhoon Monument (Laura, Majuro Atoll). This monument was erected by the Japanese government to memorialize the destructive 1918 typhoon and commemorate the Emperor's relief measures.

4. Underwater and Surface Nuclear Bomb Test Sites (Bikini Atoll). There is a large concrete bunker at hydrogen bomb test site Bravo and a crater produced by the blast. Two small islands (Boknejen and Bokbata) were reduced to sandbars by Operation Baker and Able. While these sites are reasonably recent (within the last 50 years), their significance and historic importance in respect to the development of nuclear weapons is clear.

Another site of some possible significance in the northern Marshalls is the Missile Range installation on Kwajalein. It would be well if the Committee were to examine this site and determine its significance in Marshallese history.
All Districts

Despite variations in understandings and approaches to the preservation of historic and prehistoric sites from district to district, certain generalizations apply in some degree to all of them.

1. There are without doubt a great many more sites than have been inventoried or nominated, particularly ones related to traditional cultures.

2. There is need for professional involvement to guide the efforts of district preservation committees and to undertake fieldwork. This involvement should concentrate on leadership. Local participation (Micronesians and resident non-Micronesian advisors) is essential, but it should not be relied upon if the expertise required exceeds individual competence. This is particularly true when archaeological investigations are required and when stabilization and restoration of sites is undertaken.

3. Understandings relative to preservation are quite different from district to district. For this reason, a continuing program of education is highly desirable. The program should not be limited to preservation committees and government administrators, but should also include the general public. This requires a concerted effort that is perhaps best achieved through a public relations program that utilizes newspapers and radio.

4. Communication between the State Historic Preservation Officer and his staff and district preservation committees should be improved on a reciprocal basis. Basically this is a matter of information exchange. In like fashion, there should be an improved channel of communication between district centers and outer islands. Only in this way can historic preservation be comprehensive. Additionally, a closer liaison between district administrators and preservation committees is essential.

5. As the districts develop larger inventories of sites, they will need to establish a scale of relative importance for individual sites. This can be
accomplished with the aid of older, knowledgeable informants and through the use of published accounts of early observers and students of culture. In this way priorities in respect to preservation can be imposed.

6. More indigenous involvement and responsibility in the preparation of reports and the leadership of district preservation committees is needed. Much of the responsibility has thus far been assumed by non-Micronesian advisors. The assistance of such individuals is highly desirable, but primary responsibility should rest with indigenous personnel.

7. Adherence to federal procedures relative to National Register sites and contemplated disturbance engendered by construction, grading, dredging, etc., is essential. These procedures require, among other things, a constant and continuing involvement of the State Historic Preservation Officer and his staff. Unless information on such matters is forwarded to his office in advance of the initiation of such projects, damage to or loss of sites will occur.

8. Site protection and maintenance must be awarded a high priority. This entails protection from vandalism (graffiti, etc.), theft, litter accumulation, etc. Both enforcement procedures and marking and posting of site designations and penalties for interference with sites are involved.

9. The Congress of Micronesia should seriously consider its role in providing leadership in the area of cultural preservation through the appropriation of funds (even if district legislatures also make appropriations) so that the Territory can fulfill its responsibility in respect to the cost-sharing requirements of participation in the federal program of cultural preservation.
IV. CULTURAL PRESERVATION

The richness and unique quality of any society is founded in its traditions -- in the body of beliefs, patterned linguistic usages, customs, and practices that have been developed over time and that have been transmitted from generation to generation. Taken together, these traditions comprise the cultural heritage of the society. The preservation of this heritage is what guarantees the integrity of the society. The degree to which cultural traditions are maintained has a direct effect upon the nature of any society. Cultural integrity and social well-being are found when traditions have been maintained in strength. When they have not, the individual representative of such a society is greatly disadvantaged because his cultural supports are weakened, the sanctions for his behavior are uncertain or absent, and he and his confreres suffer the disabilities of an invalid culture.

Traditions change through time even in relatively isolated cultures, but they are particularly altered, often drastically, when cultures come in contact and most particularly when there is a marked disparity between the cultures. Such disparity has often been in technological terms. Sometimes it is in sheer numbers that cultures in contact vary. The circumstances of contact also have a great deal to do with whether or not cultural traditions are sustained. If a culture is bent upon conquest and subjugation, then the suppression of certain traditions among the vanquished is bound to occur, and with some rapidity. Under conditions in which the dominant culture in a contact relationship has a vastly more sophisticated technology, overwhelmingly greater numbers, and a philosophy which causes it to seek the alteration or erasure of certain cultural traditions in the dominated culture, then conditions are maximized for
cultural change and the loss of traditions vital to the integrity of the culture under domination.

When representatives of the Western world entered the Pacific world several centuries ago they had a more advanced technology than did the island peoples they encountered; they came from nations with enormously greater population sizes than were then found on the islands of Micronesia; and they were committed in some cases to altering features of indigenous culture. Even when such commitment was lacking the effect of the presence of the external influences they brought often contributed unintentionally to changes in traditional ways which were in some instances as great as was true elsewhere through design.

The introduction of new religious beliefs by missionaries, the introduction of trade goods (including firearms), and the establishment of colonial regimes all were deliberate practices of one culture which altered the nature of another culture. Other change was brought about by incidental, rather than deliberate, means. Uncounted numbers of islanders, for example, succumbed to diseases for which they had no immunity and which were inadvertently brought by those who came from other lands to explore and at times to exploit.

Just as traditional religious customs were changed by organized and deliberate missionary activity that burned images of native deities, discouraged sorcery, and provided new taboos and patterns of worship, so were religious and other customs invalidated nondeliberately through the decimation of an island population by lethal epidemics. If there are too few practitioners, customs fail, arts degenerate, and knowledge of the old ways passes from the scene with the demise of those whose minds retained it.
Today, after centuries of exposure to foreign influences, after massive cultural change involving both additions to as well as subtractions from their cultural inventories, and after having been politically and economically dominated for many years by more powerful nations, the peoples of Micronesia are seeking a restoration of things indigenous. They are searching for cultural validation and for the integrity of self which stems from the integrity of culture.

To look for a rejuvenation of the cultures of Micronesia to any approximation of their pre-contact configurations would be unrealistic. The isolation of old is no more and the impact of several centuries of cultural abrasion and substitution brought about by contact with the rest of the world is of a magnitude that allows no reversal of the processes it has set in motion.

When so much has been lost, the salvage of the remainder is at once more difficult and more essential. But in acknowledging the magnitude of loss, the magnitude of retention must also be stressed. Some features of culture are remarkably enduring and it is upon this base that the renaissance of tradition can be built.

Multiple factors bear upon current trends which generally are aimed at cultural revival and a reassertion of autochthonous values. Certainly the world climate of international relations has tended for some time to encourage independence. Although it may be concluded with certainty that native peoples would have preferred an even more accelerated rate of development of self-determination, there has been a decided relinquishing of external controls and a vouchsafing of greater opportunities for peoples under imposed governances to undertake for themselves. In the process several things have become clear.
First, self-governance assumed in the twentieth century is of necessity vastly different from self-governance two or three centuries ago when European discovery of the Pacific resulted in its loss by island peoples. The world has greatly changed and the islands and their people are an integral part of this change. Islanders no longer represent the Stone Age; they are very much a part of this era with its sophistication of knowledge in fields of medicine, agriculture, the social sciences, and so many others; and with its problems of population control, food production, environmental management, and human values.

The truth is that no renaissance is complete. Micronesia, in its revival of island cultures, must be selective and will perforce ultimately combine the features of culture it resurrects and reemphasizes with features of culture it has assimilated as a result of its experience under colonial or other dominant political control and as a result of exposure to other customs, modes of behavior, and beliefs brought about through missionary activity, formal education, economic development, and travel.

The fact that ancient features of culture will be integrated into a complex of values, mores, and practices greatly influenced by the rest of the world renders them no less important. Indeed, it is because of the relatively extensive augmentation of culture from without that the indigenous features assume the importance they do—because they are significant definers and guarantors of self. They make it possible for the individual in island society to identify himself as a person with a distinct and valuable heritage. In short, they lend the individual with a sense of pride in himself. With a reservoir of cultural and personal pride one may undertake his role in society from a
position of strength, confident of the inherent dignity he possesses as a member of his particular culture. To reemphasize the positive features of ancient island ways of life is to reinstate the bulwarks of human behavior which so often were either lost or suppressed with the dominance of alien peoples who, whether well-meaning or malevolent—deliberate or not—nevertheless did cause island cultures to change in ways deleterious to the maintenance of strong feelings of cultural pride and of cultural integrity.

Despite the enormity of change there is yet a great deal which may be retrieved—which may be salvaged. In virtually all island societies there are strengths of retention which can serve as the foundation for cultural revival. The best assurance of the perpetuation of any tradition is to make certain that it does not die. In other words, any additional cultural losses will tend to weaken indigenous cultures even further. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to insure that existing features of culture are preserved. Hence, cultural preservation must assume the highest of priorities.

There are a number of approaches to cultural preservation. Some of them have to do with material manifestations of culture and others with non-material manifestations. A great number of Micronesian artifacts are to be found in the museums of the world. Many such items are spectacular and because of this they were often perceived and acquired by early voyagers, traders, or missionaries. Images, ornaments, costumes, weapons, and tools comprise these collections in the main and in most cases they should remain where they are in major repositories where they can be properly cared for and be available for study by specialists. Certain of these materials constitute classic baseline collections which are our only valid examples of pre-contact aboriginal
cultural items. They should be viewed as rare or unique early books and the museums which house them as "libraries" which both preserve and make available the materials in their care for research. Metropolitan museums with Micronesian holdings can be of inestimable help to developing island museums in numerous ways.

As technology has improved so has technique, and today we are better prepared to undertake the conservation of cultural properties than ever before. Currently a network of regional conservation centers is being established throughout the world. A Pacific Regional Conservation Center has been established at Bishop Museum in Honolulu. It has been designed to serve the conservation needs of the entire Pacific area. This center is headed by one of the most experienced conservators in the world and has support from several foundations and UNESCO. Institutions from all Pacific areas are now being invited to membership in an association of museums and libraries who will, as members, be able to call upon the center for advice and assistance in conservation matters.

There is a great deal which must be done also to preserve and protect non-material features of island cultures. The published accounts of island life—ethnographies, early writings by explorers, missionaries, government officials, traders, and others have great value. Even more necessary to preserve in some cases are unpublished accounts, such as diaries, church and business records, photographs, and official documents of many kinds. All of these have relevance to heritage and too often are thoughtlessly discarded as useless or allowed to deteriorate or become lost through ignorance of their potential value. Some of this sort of material is in proper repositories—libraries and
archives—but much of it remains undiscovered in private hands and, thus, subject to deterioration and loss.

Still another category of non-material culture which needs to be preserved is that great body of traditional lore which resides in the minds of elders and of native specialists. The recording of oral traditions relative to any society is of great importance. Today the task is rendered easier by the availability of recording equipment the like of which was unknown to early observers, but the task is rendered more difficult by the steadily decreasing numbers of knowledgeable informants. Still, there is much which may be done in this area and a great deal of initiative can and should be taken by island peoples themselves. For one thing, there is an insufficient number of specialists in the world and not enough support for those who exist to do all of the interviewing and data collecting necessary. For another, very often the native investigator and recorder has greater rapport with his informants and perhaps also a greater understanding of the features of culture into which he is inquiring than is true of the non-native individual. Moreover, the native recorder of oral traditions is physically present and can carry out his mission relatively economically over an extended period of time.

Some important progress has been made in preservation activities by interested persons in several districts of the Trust Territory. Community development agencies in Yap and Kusaie are attempting through their programs involving aging persons to take advantage of the special knowledge held by elders. In Palau the Community Action Agency has undertaken the compilation of a comprehensive history of Palau and a separate project is devoted to the recording of oral traditions.
In Palau, Yap, and Ponape, museums have been developed and there are plans for museums in both Truk and the Marshalls. During the course of this survey visits were made to the three existing museums and discussions were held with interested persons. Similarly, discussions were also had with those in the districts in which museums are planned.

The Palau Museum.

The writer has observed the growth of this museum—the first to develop in the Trust Territory—for more than 20 years. The initiative and leadership of its Director, Hera Owen, is in many ways responsible for its successful growth. Similarly, the Palau Museum has long been fortunate to have as head of its board of governance Judge Francisco Morei. Perhaps the fact that there was a museum in Palau during Japanese times has meant that Palauans have had a good understanding of the concept of a museum. A number of them have contributed to its collections and continue to take pride in its growth and development.

The Palau Museum has provided representative exhibits of Palauan cultural and natural history and it has sponsored temporary special exhibits and publications. The schools of Koror Municipality pay visits to the museum and older persons from a number of municipalities have donated labor, materials, and money for the construction of the traditional council house adjacent to the museum.

The Palau Legislature has supported the museum with appropriations for some years now and this effort must be applauded. In future years this financial support will need to be maintained and increased to meet growing costs of operation. Additional talented Palauans will need to be called upon to
serve on the museum board and on the museum staff. The museum occupies a concrete building that has survived from the Japanese period when it served as a part of a weather station. It is a sound structure, but it will need to be added to as future programs develop and collections grow.

The Yap Museum.

The Yap Museum is housed in a traditional Yapese community building and is the result of the devoted efforts of Mr. Raphael Uag in particular. A representative collection of ethnographic items from Yap and neighboring islands fills the interior of the thatch-roofed structure. The museum was opened in 1966, and has received support from the District Legislature and the education department. If it is true (as was reported during this survey) that in recent time legislative appropriations have gone unclaimed by the museum, then corrective steps should be taken. The museum very much needs such support on a continuing basis and if it is not claimed, the Legislature could understandably assume there was no need and discontinue its support.

The nature of the structure has obvious visitor appeal, but from a safety standpoint the wood and thatch building poses a threat to its contents. There is no opportunity for any storage of collections in the building since the space is completely devoted to exhibition. A separate storage facility in a fireproof building should be sought. At present there are two critical needs. One is the undertaking of a comprehensive cataloguing effort. The other is for exhibit cases that can be locked and which are insect-proof.

A Peace Corps Volunteer, Mr. Rick Marksbury, a graduate student in Anthropology from Tulane University, is presently attempting to be of assistance in both areas of need. A future need will involve the continuing of the
efforts that have produced the museum as it now exists. This entails recruitment and training of indigenous personnel.

The Ponape Museum (Museum Pohnpei).

The Ponape Museum was opened in June, 1976 in a concrete building that was formerly a part of a Japanese hydro-electric installation. The site, which even earlier had been a forestry experimental station in German times, has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. It is located in Kolonia and is readily accessible, though secluded.

Mr. Pencile Lawrence, Civic Affairs Officer and Vice-Chairman of the District Historic Preservation Committee has taken a large share of the initiative in the development of the museum. Another key person who has worked for the establishment of the museum and who continues to be active in its behalf is Mrs. Adelina I. Reyes, Tourism Officer for the Ponape District. Another vitally interested community leader is Mr. Masao Hadley.

The museum features a number of exhibits of Ponapean archaeological and ethnological materials. Also it has some items from other Micronesian localities and a small exhibit on Ponapean natural history. The building is strong and secure from weather. It could easily be added to at a later time if collections expand to the point where additional storage space is required. Presently storage is managed in the lower portion of exhibit cases.

There are two opportunities for development of the museum's program that are worthy of examination. At very little expense (a projector and screen are available), a portion of the exhibit space could be arranged to allow for slide programs on a series of subjects. A subject upon which there
would be a continuing interest, particularly by tourists, is Nan Madol. Both Mr. Hadley, who is from Madolenihmw Municipality where Nan Madol is located, and Mr. Lawrence know a great deal about this subject. Tourists planning a visit to Nan Madol would greatly benefit from an orientation session in the museum where artifacts from the ruins are already on view.

A second opportunity for program development has to do with the area surrounding the museum. The great trees planted there by German forestry specialists and the park-like nature of the area, bounded on one side by a river and dam dating to the Japanese period provide an excellent setting for a park. The placement of a few benches and the erection of a thatched building or two would afford resting places and shelter for visitors, both local and foreign. The museum, as the centerpiece of a botanical park, could also encourage local artisans (those from Kapingamarangi as well as those from Ponape) to come to the museum on certain days and carry on their creativity in one or more of the thatched structures. Their wares could also be offered for sale, thereby creating some income for the museum which might well develop a sales shop similar to the one in the Palau Museum. Unless the Ponape Museum takes some initiative in the development of programs such as these and in the generation of cooperative endeavors with the tourist bureau and hotels, it is likely not to be heavily visited in its rather remote location. The site is actually quite close to the heart of Kolonia; it is simply not on the main thoroughfare. The completion of a brochure project begun several years ago is recommended.

The efforts to establish the Ponape Museum are highly commendable. Without detracting from them in the least, there is something that must be recognized—and the recognition is equally crucial in the cases of the Yap and Palau
museums. It is this. Unless the museums can be improved—both in terms of physical appearance and programs—foreign visitors from countries where museums are outstanding will not be favorably impressed. And to be successful contributors to tourism programs, the museums must inspire positive visitor reactions. Improvement and upgrading require a continuing commitment for support. District legislatures have in their museums assets of unique importance, but they require the financial support that only government can provide.

A point that government officials need to bear in mind in the three districts where museums have been established is that private citizens have freely given or loaned precious personal possessions to the museums so that they might be appreciated by their fellow islanders and by foreign visitors. In most cases these items are exceptionally rare. They are not only valuable as historical treasures, but in some cases they are also monetarily valuable since their scarcity makes them commodities which collectors in the world's art markets would willingly purchase. Government officials should recognize the public consciousness of the donors of such valuables and keep faith with them by providing for the safekeeping and proper viewing of these donations. By making such provisions they in the public sector can match the selfless personal generosity of donors in the private sector and also serve the interests of their island constituents whose patrimony these materials represent.

The Truk Museum.

A museum for the Truk District has been discussed by interested persons for a number of years. It has been slow to materialize. At this point in time funds appear to be available for the construction of a museum building at the
airport on Moen Island. Placement of the museum in this location appears to indicate that planners see the museum as closely related to tourist visitation. There are several curious aspects to this, however. There are two hotels near the airport, but the largest hotel and the one most tourists stay at is at the other end of the island, several miles distant. A number of in transit passengers regularly disembark from the through flights that stop at Truk six days a week. But any museum visit would have to be extremely brief on such occasions since the time on the ground is usually only about 20 minutes.

One of the most needed kinds of consultation for museums is in their planning. All too frequently museum buildings are designed and built without benefit of advice by someone knowledgeable from the museum field. This may well be what has happened on Truk since bids for construction have already been submitted by several companies and bids are usually based on plans. Despite the possibility that some changes might well have to be made in the plan, it is nonetheless extremely important to arrange for some professional consultation before actual construction begins.

There is another opportunity for the development of a museum facility in the Truk District. It is on the island of Fefan where the recent pottery fragments and other associated artifacts described earlier in this report were found. What is envisioned is a small school museum in the village of Sapota. Cultural learning could be encouraged in this way as children gained familiarity with objects from the past that stemmed from their very village and that a number of them had helped retrieve.

The Marshall Islands Museum.

All of the districts in the Trust Territory except the Marshalls have need
of better physical facilities for museums than they now have. They are either too small, unsafe, or in need of repair and expansion. The Marshall Islands District is different. It has a spacious, modern building that is well-constructed and that is prominently located in the business district of Majuro on the main thoroughfare. What the Marshall Islands District does not have is a functioning museum either in this building or in a temporary headquarters elsewhere. The building was designed to serve as both library and museum. The portion that was to be devoted to museum purposes is currently occupied by the offices of the District Legislature. The pre-emption is said to be temporary, but as far as could be determined in the course of this survey no specific termination date has been set. Meanwhile no museum program is operative.

The building, a two-storey concrete structure, was funded by a combination of federal and district grants and appropriations, the federal portion being substantial. The Legislature has taken a proprietary interest and justifies its use of the facility because of its cost-sharing contribution. However much this may appeal to the Legislature which needs office space, it is doubtful if a federal auditor would approve. Buildings built for particular purposes are supposed to be used for those purposes. Any other use is probably illegal and would in the United States be subject to penalties under federal authority. The Trust Territory is treated as a state in respect to the funding of a number of programs. Conformity in respect to use should be the same in the Trust Territory as in the fifty states if funds are received for specific purposes.

The question may legitimately be asked, "How much do the Marshallese really want a library and a museum?" The library is full of books, but it is unstaffed and unused. The portion of the building it occupies is kept locked.
The District Administrator and Judge Kabua Kabua, Chairman of the museum committee, each expressed the hope that a museum could be developed and each recognized the need for professional guidance. If these hopes are serious ones they need to be shared by the legislature and steps need to be taken to reach the desired goal. Otherwise, the project should be abandoned. Obviously this is not a recommendation of this report. It is merely recognition that unless people want something enough to take the initiative to secure it, it is a mistake for government or others to impose it upon them.

The preservation of certain portable artifacts of historical significance that are associated with the De Brum Plantation House should be given a high priority. These consist of furniture, books, manuscripts, and glass photographic plates. These objects are presently in jeopardy, partially because they have been stored in the house which is not weatherproof.

Arrangements should be made to inventory these materials and to place them in a safe, dry place. The photographic plates should be reviewed by the photo librarian at Bishop Museum to see if they can be reproduced. Laboratory work would need to be done in Honolulu. The Museum Committee Chairman has been provided with an application form for membership in the Pacific Regional Conservation Center in Honolulu. For a modest $25.00 fee, the Center could be called upon to advise and to treat materials. There should also be an effort to reproduce certain of the holograph materials written by Jose De Brum. Some have been reproduced by Father Thomas B. McGrath, S. J. and are in the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam. Father McGrath is currently serving on Likiep.
V. CULTURAL TOURISM

In the extremely limited number of opportunities that exist for economic development in Micronesia, tourism holds a potential exceeded only by agriculture and marine resources. The scenic beauty and benign climate have great appeal to be sure, but other parts of the world have these attributes, and in a number of instances they are nearer to metropolitan areas and, hence, less expensive to reach than those of the Trust Territory. What Micronesia has that is unique is its people and their traditions. Cultural tourism, then, is something that should be carefully examined as the people of Micronesia strive to become more economically self-sufficient.

History and cultural traditions comprise a resource. As with other resources, it may be developed and exploited or not, and, if it is, the form of the development and exploitation is exceedingly important. In so many places, because of the wrong kind of approach, a people's history and culture have been cheapened and dishonored. But, elsewhere, with the right approach, emphasis upon history and traditions has been a flattering and beneficial thing that has had positive effects. The natives of any region--island or other--should not be placed under the kind of scrutiny by visitors that is zoo-like.

To note with appreciation someone's prized possession is to compliment him. What greater compliment can be paid anyone than to appreciate his or her heritage? In the final analysis tourism is a matter of personal relations, of contacts between people who are brought together on the home territory of one of them. The more the guest understands about his host, the more successful will be their relationship and ultimately the visit. The higher the standards applied in the development of tourist attractions, the better the response. Superficial and meretricious approaches have no place in the proper development of cultural tourism. Rather, the highest standards should be applied to such programs.
There are two principal problems that must be faced. One is that a great deal of the infracture (public works, roads, ports, water, energy), and to some extent the supra-structure (accommodation, feeding, entertainment) as well, required for tourism has yet to be developed in the Trust Territory. (This point is recognized in the Five Year Indicative Development Plan for Micronesia. It states, "... great effort should be placed on improving the quality of existing infrastructure and services" (p. 133). The other problem is that so much that is visual in the way of cultural traditions has been lost as a result of two centuries of intensive cultural change.

Administrative edict was responsible for the loss of a great number of features of traditional culture in Micronesia. A few examples will illustrate. The demise of the Palau clubhouse began three-quarters of a century ago when German administrators who opposed both warfare and the institutionalized concubinage that were centered in the men's clubs caused both practices to cease by edict. The taking of heads was integral to club activity. The German administrators were opposed to head-taking. When women's clubs from neighboring villages could no longer pay visits and receive compensation for their services, there was yet another reason why the clubs were not the same. How final are rules imposed by those in political power! Rule out war and native weapons are no longer made; nor are war canoes or any other related paraphernalia.

The Germans were also against tattooing, at least in traditional ways, especially among women. In Palau a young woman approached puberty and adult status ceremonially. A tangible evidence of her progression along these lines was the sequential tattooing of her hands, lower, and upper arms. When the edict was issued forbidding tattooing for women, those who had had their hands tattooed never received any more. Similarly, those whose hands and lower arms were tattooed, never had their upper arms done. Time has taken its toll and
today very few Palauan women can be found whose bodies feature the old tattoo patterns.

The supplanting of aboriginal religious beliefs was also responsible for a great deal of cultural change. Abolish native religion and no native deities are carved any longer—at least not for worship. And a great many of the sculptures in the Pacific were representations of deities. Some are still made, of course, but they are different by far than those of yesteryear when the old beliefs held sway.

These comments are not to be construed as favoring warfare. Nor are they meant to be critical of missionary activity and the conversion of Micronesians to Christianity. In purely objective terms it must be concluded that both government officials and missionaries played significant roles in changing island cultures and the changes they brought about generally contributed to the loss of features of indigenous cultures that if they still to exist, would have great visitor appeal.

The forces of nature have even had a detrimental effect on island cultures. Humidity is the enemy of certain wooden objects and those of fiber as well. Some insects are responsible for devouring many building parts as well as artifacts of fiber and other non-resistant materials. Structures of thatch, wood, and cord were occasionally destroyed over the years by accidental fires, fanned by strong winds. And, finally, a number of tropical storms and typhoons have contributed to cultural and artistic loss. The magnificent council houses of Palau, for example, are virtually extinct. One survives in the municipality of Airai.

In 1976 a typhoon destroyed the one most recently built at a cost of more than $40,000. In the past 20 years three such structures have been leveled by typhoons. And today, several things militate against there being many more constructed; a shortage of hardwood, few skilled artisans, and excessive cost.

In the face of the cultural losses that have been suffered and with the
recognition that many tourists are quite interested in the history and customs of the people in the places they visit, and assuming that Micronesians will wish to encourage cultural tourism, two things are indicated. One is that a comprehensive program of cultural preservation is essential. Additional losses should be avoided. The things that have survived need to be protected. The other thing that is indicated is that the regeneration of things native should be undertaken.

Research and education are essential to regeneration. Regulations and their enforcement are required to preserve some things (such as historical sites) from loss. If it is properly treated, a cultural heritage can be as great an asset to a tourist destination as balmy trade winds and scenic splendor. Like any other asset it must be skillfully and carefully managed. Like any other resource, a cultural heritage can be "used up." If an important historic site is bulldozed, it is lost just as surely as the cutting of a stand of trees results in the "loss" of a portion of a forest resource.

A consideration of the greatest importance in relation to the use of native culture in the development of tourism is authenticity. In the development of promotional literature, in the making of reproductions of artifacts or structures, and in the performance of native music and dance, authenticity is essential. Anything else will dishonor cultural heritage. Inspiration and guidance should be sought from museum collections, scientific publications, and older persons who are knowledgeable about traditional ways. Authenticity costs no more than invention and quality can be had as easily as trash.

Should Micronesians decide to develop tourism more fully, they will need to cope with the same problem that other visitor destinations have faced. They must determine how much and what kind of tourism is to be encouraged. To some extent the development of tourism and the preservation of cultural heritage are mutually
exclusive activities. The more popular a tourist destination becomes, the more opportunity there is for the deterioration of quality—crowding occurs, litter is generated, land is alienated, authentic traditions become commercialized, etc. A choice must be made between quality and volume tourism. This brings us back to a consideration of the nature of the infrastructure necessary for tourism development. In many respects the infrastructure at present in most parts of the Trust Territory militates against volume tourism and perhaps this is just as well. If any lesson emerges from tourism development elsewhere it is that it must be controlled. By restricting the volume of tourism it is rendered manageable.

In a brief introductory message on the inside of the cover of a 1977 calendar issued by the Trust Territory, the Acting High Commissioner notes that although Micronesia is still "pioneering" in tourism, the "durable dedicated" traveler is offered "a bounty of attractions, scenic, cultural and historical." The message acknowledges without going into detail (through the use of the words durable and dedicated) that the kinds of tourists who will enjoy Micronesia will need to be content with some difficulties and disabilities. These stem from the nature of the infrastructure and supra-structure in the Trust Territory. Among the features that make Micronesian tourism difficult are the unevenness of hotel accommodations from place to place, irregular water quality from district to district, frequent interruptions of electrical power, relatively undeveloped road systems, communication breakdowns, variable availability of certain food items on hotel menus, and often inadequate of service and maintenance in hotels, to name but a few.
Hotels should provide high standards of performance. Tourism is a service industry--and to be successful, the service must be of a higher standard generally than is the case in most Micronesian hotels today.

The calendar message in speaking of the bounty of attractions awaiting the tourist is more accurate in respect to scenic beauty than it is in respect to cultural and historical attractions. The latter are there potentially, but they are greatly in need of development.

For cultural tourism in Micronesia to be a success, much more needs to be developed than is available today. The Net Cultural Center on Ponape is making an attempt to meet this need, but it is recognized that a great deal of improvement is necessary. The proposed Cultural and Traditional Center in Palau faces much the same kind of problem. The museums that exist need improvement and in the two districts where they are planned, higher priorities for their development are necessary.

Links between attractions such as Nan Madol and other historic and prehistoric sites in the Territory and tourist bureaus and museums are greatly needed. These links should include orientation sessions and guide services and museums and tourist bureaus are the logical agencies to develop and maintain them. Two things are requisite--funds and dedicated and knowledgeable individuals. One of the best potentials for the development of such services is on Ponape, but the other districts have potentials of their own.

At this time the development of a Five Year Indicative Development Plan by the Congress of Micronesia with assistance by UNDP affords a timely and appropriate opportunity for such potentials to be realized. The draft plan for Palau recognizes this when it notes that "historical sites are abundant" (p. 65) and it also ac-
knowledges the importance of the past to the people of Palau. What needs to happen next, if cultural tourism is to be featured, is the devising of a means of translating such recognitions into functional programs that will have appeal to visitors. The Palau plan asserts that:

The protection of the past is an essential first step in understanding the present and ourselves. Historically and culturally significant sites and artifacts must be identified and protected. The Palau Museum, the Palau Historical Preservation Committee, and the proposed Palau Cultural and Traditional Center will be combined into one organization and strengthened (p. 94).

This organization will be integral to formulating the way in which these resources can be preserved for Palauans while at the same time relying upon them in developing tourism.

The point is made in the Indicative Plan for all of the Trust Territory that for tourism to succeed "Culture and...heritage have not only to be preserved for future generations, but...they have to be shown, rather than hidden or reserved for the few" (p. 135). Moreover, "Roads, public works, buildings, and houses will have to be repaired and new ones built" (p. 135).

A great deal of thought has gone into the section of the Indicative Plan that has to do with historical and cultural matters. Statements such as those noted below are evidence of this.

A part of tourism development strategies must be the "identification of historic tourist sites" (p. 138). Legislation must be drawn up to provide for the "protection of historic landmarks and reconstructions on the removal of artifacts" (p. 139). (This means the adoption of a comprehensive antiquities law
modeled after those that have been adopted in several states and by Guam.)

District tourism staffs will need to promote "local dancing, art, and other cultural activities and museums and cultural centers" will need to be established and supported (p. 142).

This plan provides the guidelines. Again, what is now necessary is the development of implementation procedures. In the process careful attention will need to be paid to the kinds of tourist audiences that are anticipated. Tourists from Japan are likely to be quite different in their interests than those from the United States or Europe. All tourist audiences, however, will have one thing in common—they will be participating in a cross-cultural experience. Thus, they will have need of highly explicit information about historical sites, artifacts, and local customs. Otherwise their interest will flag and their understanding and appreciation of the importance and significance of Micronesian history and culture will be impaired. For example, a sacred stone will appear to the visitor to be relatively undistinguished unless it is pointed out to him that the stone is actually a representation of an ancient deity or that it was vitally concerned with some significant event in history. Generally speaking, the more completely something is explained—especially something from another culture—the better it is likely to be understood and appreciated.

Several economic considerations in respect to tourism development deserve special comment. First, the costs of tourism development (both initial and continuing) versus the potential income relative to such development need careful consideration (Five Year Indicative Plan, p. 136). Tourism is labor intensive and thus it holds a considerable potential for job-related income from external sources.
However, a number of the services that need to be rendered tourists are menial ones that are highly repetitive and that may not inspire islanders whose attitudes toward a work ethic differ in some respects to those of other cultures.

On the positive side, a properly functioning program of cultural tourism may well provide a means of helping pay for the costs of historic and cultural preservation. Without cultural tourism it is most likely that such programs would either fail to develop at all or be relatively insignificant.

The Fifth Palau Legislature recognized in 1973 that tourism could have overwhelming effects on indigenous culture and that these were to be avoided. A resolution by that body to this effect also included the point that tourism development should be designed so as to "renew, strengthen and preserve the culture of Palau." The inventory of historic and cultural sites the resolution called for is well underway. Their protection, which is also called for, must be a continuing responsibility.

Similarly the Third Yap Legislature resolved in 1974 that the development of a tourist industry not be allowed to "adulterate or destroy traditional and cultural heritage values." Proposed regulations for the Ponape District Tourist Commission call for the safeguarding and preservation of local cultures and historical monuments. Tourism goals in the Marshalls include approval of the Land Advisory Board and Planning Commission before commercial developments may proceed. This is so that historic and cultural sites may be protected. The Truk District set as one of its goals for tourism the conduct of an inventory of its historic and cultural attractions and the restriction of commercial development on or near such sites. These goals also called for the development of educational materials and programs about tourism for residents and visitors alike.

As has been commented above, the history and traditions of Micronesian
societies are what give them a unique visitor appeal. The Chief of Tourism for the Trust Territory has made the same point. Noting that sun, sea, and sand are attractions shared broadly by tourist destinations in the Pacific, he concludes that the appropriate marketing approach is one that should emphasize differences rather than similarities (Ashman, p.2). These differences have to do with island traditions and lifestyle that are different from those of tourist visitors. At base what is involved here is island culture.

Whatever the pace of tourism development in Micronesia, it seems clear that its chances for success are very much tied to features of indigenous culture that survive--sites, artifacts, music, dance, and lore. The preservation of these features and their exploitation in dignified ways, that is, in the development of cultural tourism, holds great promise. There are economic benefits to be reaped and at the same time the lives of Micronesians can be enriched through the preservation of their past.
NOTES

1. For a discussion of clubhouse life in Yap, see Frazer, pp. 158-163.

2. This source, a novelistic treatment of O'Keefe's life, contains what appear to be grave errors of fact, particularly in respect to Alfred Tetens. For this reason, the characterizations of O'Keefe's house and garden should be accepted with reservations. They may be accurate, but they may also reflect novelistic license.

3. Recently (Gillilland, 1975 and 1976 and Schneider, 1976) a controversy has arisen over the correctness of designating the aragonite wheels of Yap as money. They are so referred to in this report because they have been so designated by the Yapese (for example, see Yap District Administration, 1974 and Historic Preservation in Micronesia, 1976) and because there are numerous references to such wheels as money in both popular and scientific articles and books.

4. For an account of graves and burial customs in Yap, see Frazer, pp. 171-180.

5. During the 1963 excavations more than 70 sacks of soil and cultural material were removed from the central tomb at Nan Dowas. This plus the removal of material during earlier excavations is causing the extremely heavy basalt columns to settle. If some early effort is not made to stabilize the tomb (and perhaps others in the complex as well) it could collapse. No work of this kind should be undertaken until supervision by a competent professional is possible. An informant indicated an area that had been restored by local persons. Again, work of this sort should be professionally supervised.

6. Hambruch (1932) has noted that a great portion of the wall was razed when the Germans took over administration from Spain. The living quarters for Spanish officials were demolished by a typhoon in 1905. He also provides a rather complete characterization of the condition of the fort in 1910. (Information derived from an unpaginated partial translation in Bishop Museum Library.)
7. For an extensive discussion of education during the Japanese administration of Micronesia, see Yanaihara, 1940, pp. 241-247.

8. Sokehs Mountain, the dominant feature of this area, has a significance for Ponape that is akin to that Diamond Head holds for Hawaii.

9. Judge Linus George of Kusaie would be a good candidate for chairman of the Historic Preservation Committee that will need to be established in the new district of Kusaie.

10. The museums and libraries of the Trust Territory should become members of the Pacific Regional Conservation Center at Bishop Museum. Memberships would entitle them to receive advice and consultation on the conservation of cultural properties and to submit materials in need of laboratory treatment at greatly reduced service fees.
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