POLITICS, CULTURAL CONTINUITY, AND THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM ON PONAPE

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NOTE ON PONAPEAN ORTHOGRAPHY

In all cases, spelling of Ponapean words will follow the Standard Orthographic style developed by Paul Garvin and used by Ken Rehg and Damien Sohl in the Ponapean-English Dictionary, published by the University Press of Hawaii through the Pacific Area Linguistics Institute. If quotations of other styles are used, the Standard form will follow in parentheses.

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INTRODUCTION

This study is presented as a means to understand some of the functional aspects of the Ponapean response to the introduction of one particular foreign institution, the U.S. Historic Preservation Program. In order to accurately analyze this response it is first necessary to describe the nature of Ponapean social and political organization. This description will provide the reader with the background necessary to comprehend some of the factors underlying Ponapean behavior toward alien influences. Chapter One will discuss that background and will emphasize certain elements of traditional Ponapean social structure that have helped to define the relationship of Ponapeans to outsiders.

It is also essential to review the history of Western contact in Ponape. In Chapter Two, I intend to show that many Ponapeans were extremely adept at adopting those cultural practices from Westerners that could serve them well in their society, while rejecting those for which they could see no use. Throughout the chapter I will refer back to the principles of traditional Ponapean social organization. This chapter will give the reader the historical perspective necessary to clearly see how, throughout all of their contact history, Ponapeans have selectively accepted or rejected Western introductions depending on the context of prevailing socio-political needs of the community. In each phase of Western contact,

be it traders, whalers, beachcombers, missionaries, or foreign powers, I will cite specific instances where the political motivations of the Ponapeans served as a barometer of sorts in their decisions to accept or reject a foreign introduction.

Into this history of political maneuvering and competition for status and prestige was thrust the U.S. Historic Preservation Program. Chapter Three will explain the historical background of the program and its application to Micronesia and Ponape. I will also describe the program's gradual acceptance by the Ponapeans as a consequence of the unanticipated political advantages and social prestige that was associated with membership on the historic preservation committee.

Chapter Four is an in-depth account of the activities of the Ponape Historic Preservation Committee (HPC) from September of 1977 to June of 1978. In this chapter I will apply my hypothesis that the acceptance or rejection of a foreign institution is based primarily on the social and political motivations of the Ponapeans. It is the continuity of this highly political response by Ponapeans throughout their history that is one of the dominant themes of this paper.

Lastly, in Chapter Five I will attempt to synthesize my findings.

Chapter 1

PONAPEAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Ethnohistorical accounts of aboriginal Ponape describe the many political transformations that have occurred over time. As various rulers consolidated their territories, tribal boundaries fluctuated to reflect existing political realities. In the ebb and flow of political struggles to control an island blessed with fertile soil and teeming with marine resources, warfare played an extremely important role.

Ponapean chronicler Luelen Bernart tells of the coming of the legendary heroes Olsipa and Olsopa, their success in building Nan Madol, and Olsopa's ascension to the throne as the first of the Saudeleurs (Bernart 1977:29). From their seat of power on the islet of Pahn Kedira at Nan Madol, the Saudeleurs ruled over the entire island. During this period, the island was divided into three sections, Jaunalan' (Saunaleng, reef islands around Nan Madol), Ononlan' (Wene and other sections of Kiti), and Pikeniap, which included the northern part of Ponape island, as well as Pakin (Ibid:33-34).

As time passed, the Saudeleurs began to develop a reputation for oppression and cruelty. According to legend, this cruelty was the undoing of the Saudeleur dynasty. The thunder god, Nansapwe, intervened, and through his influence a man named Isohkelekel was born in Kosrae. It was Isohkelekel's ultimate goal to conquer the Saudeleurs. With the help of some Ponapeans, Isohkelekel and his men were able to crush the Saudeleur dynasty and establish a new political system with a Nahn-

mwarki and a Nahnken as leading titleholders.

Later, a general dissatisfaction with the rule of Isohkelekel led to a peaceful division of the land and the establishment of several autonomous political regions. Still later, a further division was made when the son of the first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw split off from his father and became ruler of the new state of Uh (Ibid:87).

Struggles for power in each of these areas brought about changes in the identity of ruling clans. Approximately three generations before Western contact, the Soun Kawad clan, originally from the Gilbert Islands, succeeded in overthrowing the ruling clans of Sokehs. In addition, just prior to Western contact, the independent sections of the state of Kiti were consolidated, following a series of wars, under a single administration headed by a Nahnmwarki and a Nahnken (Riesenberg 1968:16). The autonomous tribe of Net was one exception to the Nahnmwarki/Nahnken leadership system generally found on the island (to be described below). Its political structure was uniquely different until the late German period, when the German governor Kersting established, for administrative convenience, the more customary dualistic rule headed by a Nahnmwarki and a Nahnken. Prior to that action, when there appears to have been only a single series of titles, Lepen Net served as the paramount chief (Ibid:19).

Ponape is now divided into five autonomous political regions that can be called tribes or states. Each tribe contains a number of matrilineal, exogamous clans. Clans are divided into sub-clans, which are ranked by seniority. The senior man of each of these sub-clans is its chief. In Madolenihmw, for example, the ruling sub-clan is Dipwinpahnmei/Inenkatau for the Nahnmwarki line and Dipwinwai/Upwutenut for the Nahnken line (Ibid:14-15). The senior men in each of these two

sub-clans rule together as paramount chiefs for Madolenihmw. Theoretically, members of the two ruling sub-clans intermarry and thereby perpetuate their jointly shared power and prevent other clans from achieving chiefly status.

The relationship between the two ruling sub-clans (and their leaders) functions to prevent one or the other from acquiring excessive political power. Although the two sub-clans work together to rule the tribe, they are at the same time constantly maneuvering between themselves for political advantage, particularly when one is weak or vacillating. The role of the Nahnmwarki as sacred high chief and the role of the Nahnken as a talking chief of sorts are at once complimentary and competitive. The role of the Nahnken as 'prime minister' and the political advantages that might be gained from this position are offset by the special deference and exclusive privilages that only the Nahnmwarki commands (Ibid:110).

Within each of the two ruling sub-clans, there is a series of twelve ranked titles. Classically, upon the death of a Nahnmwarki or a Nahnken, each titled individual climbes one step in his respective line. In reality, however, promotion of individuals and succession to royal titles are not solely a function of seniority within the sub-clan. Achievement, success in warfare, and loyal support for the paramount chiefs is also considered. The Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken measure carefully the potential political advantages that might be gained in approving one individual over another. Thus, irregularities in promotion are not uncommon (Ibid:39). This aspect of the political system ensures a high amount of interpersonal competition between those vying for accession to the royal titles.

Within each of the five tribes recognized today (Madolenihmw,

Uh, Kiti, Sokehs, and Net), there are a number of sections (kousapw). These sections are headed by section chiefs (kaun en kousapw) who are selected by the Nahnmwarki and Nahnken of each tribe. The sections are further subdivided into farmsteads (paliensapw) which are occupied by extended families. The relationship of the heads of farmsteads to the section chiefs and of the section chiefs to the paramount chiefs is feudal in nature (Riesenberg 1968:8).

Although it does occur periodically, the likelihood of a member of a commoner clan obtaining one of the twelve ranked titles in either of the two lines is slim. Outside the ruling clans, however, commoners may hold titles that confer status, prestige, and recognition upon the recipient. These commoner titles are also ranked according to class. There are at least four classes. The highest rank is koanoat, a step lower is sak, and lower still is dipwahk (McGarry 1968:18). All three of these terms are either honorific or polite forms of the words for "food" or "to eat", and their use depends on the relative rank of those among whom the language is being spoken. The fourth class of commoner titles is that of kousapw or section titles. Most adult males today possess at least one of the three higher titles, or at the very least a kousapw title.

These commoner titles, in contrast to royal titles, are conferred mainly for loyalty or achievement and industry in various competitive activities. Through certain forms of prestige competition, individuals are able to gain status in relation to their fellow commoners.[1] "Promotions come about in part through bringing to feasts for presentation to the chiefs larger, better, and more frequent food offerings than other men, thus demonstrating industry, ability, loyalty, and affection toward the chiefs. But more important than

presentation at feasts are the direct offerings of first fruits (nohpei) and the occasional gifts of food between first fruits" (Riesenberg 1968:76).

There are various kinds of first fruits offerings, among them being yams, breadfruit, kava (sakau), bananas, mango, pandanus, sugar cane, and taro. Other occasions for sharing food include wedding feasts, funerals, dedications of community houses, celebration of the completion of a new canoe or fishing net, and feasts in preparation for warfare.

All of these feasts are opportunities for individuals of commoner clans to distinguish themselves among their peers. However, intense as competition for titles and status may become, an individual cannot openly flaunt success or publically display conceit or arrogance. To do so would invite severe ridicule and in some cases a rebuke from the chiefs. A true Ponapean is humble, defers to others, and publically seeks no personal gain.

An added incentive for production of foods for feasts is the ritual of food distribution. All food contributions are initially checked by the chiefs aided by their retainers, and outstanding efforts are praised openly by the chiefs. Later, the food is cooked and distributed among festive participants according to their titles. Those who possess the highest titles are given the most desirable portions of the food which had been presented to the chiefs.

Ultimately, though, it is through such competition at these feasts that promotion in the political system is achieved, providing commoners with the potential to gain status otherwise denied them by descent considerations.

To conclude, it may be helpful to quote Riesenberg (1968:111)

as he contrasts the polity of Ponape with those of Polynesia and Melanesia:

> "Ponape would seem, at least at first glance, also to have the complex coloring of Polynesian political institutions. Here too we encounter ruling classes, status ascribed through descent, centralized power, royal prerogatives, elaboration of honorific usages and language (and here honorific forms are not limited to vocabulary, as in Polynesia, but are woven into the structure of the language itself), involuted etiquette, economic control by the chiefs, tributary rights, power of confiscation and banishment, etc. We also find at the same time, however, a certain degree of social mobility, with status achieved through individual skills and industry, prowess in war, and prestige competition, as in most of Melanesia."

It is precisely this prestige competition as well as the possibility for irregularity in promotion and succession that function as catalysts for the intense political maneuvering so characteristic of Ponapean society. The nature of the Ponapean political system, then, provides the means for determining the relationship of Ponapeans to foreign institutions, and as a result serves to help define their response to those institutions. In the chapter that follows, we shall see how various Ponapeans have used foreign ideas, institutions and material goods to gain political advantage in this highly competitive society.

Chapter 2

CONTACT HISTORY

Although there is some disagreement, the first European to sight Ponape was probably the Spanish explorer Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. De Quiros was commanding the Mendana expedition which had been diverted after Mendana's death in the Solomon Islands. While enroute to Manila, ". . . on December 23, 1595, Quiros sighted an unknown high island which from the description is clearly Ponape. Quiros could not find a safe way into the lagoon. Natives came out in canoes, but only one dared to come outside the reef. To Quiros he appeared to be naked, had long hair, signaled in the direction from which he had come, broke something white, which he ate, and raised coconuts to his lips to drink. They called to the man to come on board, but he would not" (Fischer 1966:20).

It was not until more than two hundred years later that history again records European contact with Ponapeans. In 1828, the Russian captain Lütke was the first to record actual contact with the islanders. Although he did not land, canoes were paddled out to the boat by Ponapeans and some trade took place (Riesenberg 1968:3).

There are records of other visitors at or about this same time who made contact with Ponapeans. Much of the information contained in these reports is of little value in understanding the dynamics of the contact relationship between the Ponapeans and the Europeans.

The first detailed, extended account of European contact with Ponapeans is that of the infamous castaway James F. O'Connell. Although much of what O'Connell says must be sifted through carefully

in order to separate fact from fiction, the work does give some insights into various Ponapean responses to Western contact. In analyzing the narrative, the first notable response made by the chiefs toward the castaway was to distribute the foreigner's material goods among themselves (O'Connell 1972:108).

The castaway was then tattooed, presented with a wife and provided with that woman's home (Ibid:113-118). It is interesting to note that O'Connell was taken in by Ponapeans of relatively low rank. This would seem to indicate that he was among several other whites on the island at the time, and his value to the higher ranking chiefs was therefore minimal.[1] About the only function O'Connell served was as a curiosity to other Ponapeans. It may be that Oundel, O'Connell's "father-in-law", benefitted socially from the Irishman's presence. Although O'Connell did accompany his family's chief into battle, the chief obviously did not obtain any advantage as a consequence of the castaway's support (Ibid:192-194).

O'Connell left the island in 1833, and by that time Ponape had become a well known and frequently visited port of call for whalers and traders. In the early 1840's Captain Andrew Cheyne listed some of the reasons for Ponape's growing popularity: "The islands produce about 500 lbs. of tortoise shell annually. . . ginger, arrow root, sassafras, many species of excellent timber, coffee and sugar might however be easily added to the list of exports. Whalers procure annually about 50 tons of yams, and abundance of bananas, breadfruit and poultry (Shineberg 1971:173).

By the mid 1840's, Ponapeans had developed extensive trading relationships with all foreign ships visiting the island. Among the Western goods most desired by Ponapeans were ". . . muskets, gunpow-

der, lead, flints, cartouch boxes, cutlasses, broad axes, tomahawks, fish hooks, butchers knives, adzes, chisels,. . ." (Ibid.) Cloth, tobacco, blankets, and cooking pots were also regularly requested.

One of the consequences of this early extended contact with traders and whalers was the establishment of a fairly sizeable beachcomber community. Dr. Campbell, writing in 1840, states that the Ponapeans' ". . . friendly disposition and indolent life has influenced many foreigners either to leave or run away from their ships and settle among them" (Campbell 1840:1-2). Various first-hand accounts of the period describe the changing relationship of the beachcombers to Ponapean chiefs. One such description was given by a Captain Blake in 1839:

> ". . . the European seamen reside with Chiefs or petty Chiefs under their immediate protection, to whose tribe they are considered to belong and whose people become as it were their working attendants or slaves, pulling them in their Canoes, fishing for turtles for them, collecting shells, etc., in short, doing whatever may be required for them; the only compensation they receive being occasional small payments in small pieces of tobacco. The Chief perhaps receives nothing for a long period; but on the arrival of a ship when trading is carried on, he is presented in return for his protection and the services of the people of his tribe, with one or two muskets, Axes, adzes for making Canoes, powder or a portion of tobacco, or whatever he may most desire; and this seems to be the sort of tenure by which the white men hold their settlement in the island" (Riesenberg 1968:4).

Mahlmann, who was on the island at a later time (1868-1871), also defines the role of the beachcomber as essentially a facilitator of trade (Ibid:5).

Zelenietz and Kravitz, however, expand the view of the role of the beachcomber to include warfare among other things. They also define the "dynamic nature of the beachcomber's position" and describe several changes in the relationship of Ponapeans to the beachcombers(Zelen-

ietz and Kravitz 1974:223). During the first historical phase (1830-1840), when there were few foreigners in Ponape, beachcombers were used by the chiefs to help acquire foreign goods and to support them in time of war. These early beachcombers were integrated into the Ponapean social system and were married into Ponapean families. The second phase (1841-1851), saw increasing foreign contact and the utilization of beachcombers as facilitators of trade and exchange. Here, again, integration into the social system was accomplished. Later, however, the growth of the beachcomber population created a large band of unintegrated beachcombers who had little or no relationship with the Ponapeans, either the chiefs or the commoners. The increasing foreign contact brought with it European diseases, and consequently, in the early 1850's, an alarming series of epidemics severely depopulated the island. Zelenietz and Kravitz state that these epidemics caused a reduction in the beachcomber population as well, and by the time of the establishment of the first permanent mission in 1852, missionaries had replaced the beachcombers as the islanders' primary source of foreign materials (Ibid:244-245).

Underlying the Ponapeans' relationships with traders, whalers, and beachcombers, and the islanders' desire for goods acquired from these foreigners, were the principles of status, prestige, and the potential for achieving social mobility and political power inherent in the Ponapean political organization. Guns and ammunition were valuable both to those Ponapeans who held power and to those who sought power. Acquisition of weapons could have served to create an imbalance of power, resulting in the consolidation of two or more tribes under a single ruler. But more than one factor prevented this from occurring. The key reason was that no one tribe was able to acquire

a significantly greater number of weapons long enough to gain control over another. Possibly more important, however, was the trend toward depopulation, which was rapidly reducing the number of men available for warfare (Zelenietz and Kravitz 1974:245). The ultimate effect of depopulation was to change the nature of warfare, and to reduce the importance of war as a means of enhancing social and political status.

Protestant Missionaries

The first missionary effort on Ponape was in the year 1837. But health and lack of support doomed the attempt by the Catholic Father Maigret, and seven months after his arrival in Ponape he fled to Hawaii where he later became Bishop of Honolulu (Riesenberg 1968:5).

Greater success was achieved by a Protestant group, the American Board of Commisssioners for Foreign Missions. With the missionizing of Hawaii already behind it, the Board established the first permanent mission on Ponape in 1852 (Crawford and Crawford 1967:17).

The mission's beginnings were extremely difficult. Most of the converts during the first year of service were Europeans. The missionaries concentrated their efforts on the Ponapean chiefs, employing a tactic that was very successful in Hawaii.

As the smallpox epidemic raged through the island in the early 1850's, the mission's immunization program was able to show positive results. "Dr. Gulick's immunizations were initially misconstrued (Ponapeans believed he actually spread the illness) but gradually gained acceptance. The natives finally came voluntarily to him by the hundreds and had themselves immunized. With the growing success

the influence of the missionaries also increased" (Hambruch 1936:173).[2]

Ponapeans who did choose to become members of the new religion were severely persecuted, even in the 1860's. "In Madolenihmw, the baptized natives were exiled from the state, their fiefs taken away from them, their possessions destroyed" (Ibid:175). However, there were successes in other areas of the island. This success was not always related to acceptance and understanding of church dogma. By this time the missionaries had come to control much of the commerce between foreign ships and the islanders. So it was not surprising to see the Wasai of Sokehs ordering his people to attend church services. It was not that he held a particular inclination for "The Word", but because he hoped the missionary Edward T. Doane would then direct a portion of the ship traffic to the until-then deserted Sokehs harbor (Ibid:174).

Persecutions of Ponapean converts continued and eventually even the safety of the missionaries could not be assured. Then in June, 1870, the American warship "Jamestown" put in at Ponape. Before it departed an agreement had been secured with the Ponapean chiefs to safeguard the lives and property of the missionaries and their converts (Ward 1967:203). (See Appendix A for a copy of this treaty.)

By the mid 1870's the beachcomber population had all but disappeared, and the missionaries were making progress, particularly among some of the chiefs who saw advantages to be gained from an association with the American missionaries. As previously noted, the success of the smallpox immunization program served to win the support of several chiefs, as literally thousands of their subjects had been dying in the epidemics. Excessive depopulation of ruling sub-clans threatened the power of the chiefs. Lastly, since the missionaries

had access to a considerable amount of ship traffic, they could direct commerce toward those chiefs who saw fit to embrace Christianity, and withhold commerce from those who did not.

One of the very important side effects of Protestantism on Ponape in the 1870's was the mission education of a group of Ponapeans who, as a result of their Western training, would play a major role in the conflicts that were to follow during Spanish rule. An unusual member of this "new elite" was a Ponapean named Henry Nanpei. Nanpei was born in 1867, the son of the Nahnken of Kiti and a woman of a commoner clan. Because of the principle of matrilineal succession, Nanpei could never attain the position of Nahnmwarki, even though he was eligible to achieve a relatively high title (Nanpei is title number six in the Nahnmwarki line). But Henry did not allow his advancement restrictions in the traditional sphere limit his oportunities elsewhere. Through his training by the missionaries, Henry developed many Western skills. "He started the first Ponapean-owned store, using the money, cloth, liquor and other gifts he and his father had received from the visiting ships. He also planted coconuts on the land inherited from his father and on additional land that he acquired himself. In this way he became the largest Ponapean landholder, copra producer, and trader on the island, and Ponape's wealthiest and most distinguished citizen (Bascom 1965:34).

The complex character of Henry Nanpei will be further discussed later. It is sufficient to say here that he and others schooled in the Protestant religion would eventually become leaders in the revolt against Catholicism and Spanish rule.

The Spanish Colonial Period

In 1885 as the result of a ruling by Pope Leo XIII, Spain obtained possession of the Caroline Islands. The Spanish arrived on Ponape in 1886 to raise the flag over Santiago, an area previously called Mesenieng by the Ponapeans. Spanish Capuchin missionaries reached the island shortly thereafter, and quickly erected the first Catholic church in the colony of Santiago.

The Spanish were truly unprepared to colonize the Ponapeans, and severely underestimated the islanders' ability to organize a revolt on Ponapean soil. The Spanish also failed to take into account the strength of the Protestant mission. It wasn't long before the Spanish clashed with both the Ponapeans and the missionaries. The result was the deportation in June of 1887 of the Protestant missionary, Rev. Edward Doane, who went to Manila. Soon thereafter the Spanish began to build a stone fort designed to protect the colony, and Ponapeans were hired to construct the walls. But three reprobates who served as translators for the Spanish embezzled the payroll and threatened the Ponapean laborers with harm if they did not continue to work without pay. The islanders responded by killing the reprobates and several Spanish troops. Spurred by this success, they then grouped and attacked the partially built fort, crushing the Spanish troops and killing the Spanish governor (Fischer 1966:38-39).

Immediately, the Protestant missionaries were blamed by the Spanish for inciting the incident. Several writers have noted the overzealousness of both religious organizations in the events of 1887 and for the remaining period of conflict with the Spanish administration. All of that notwithstanding, it is clear that "with the coming

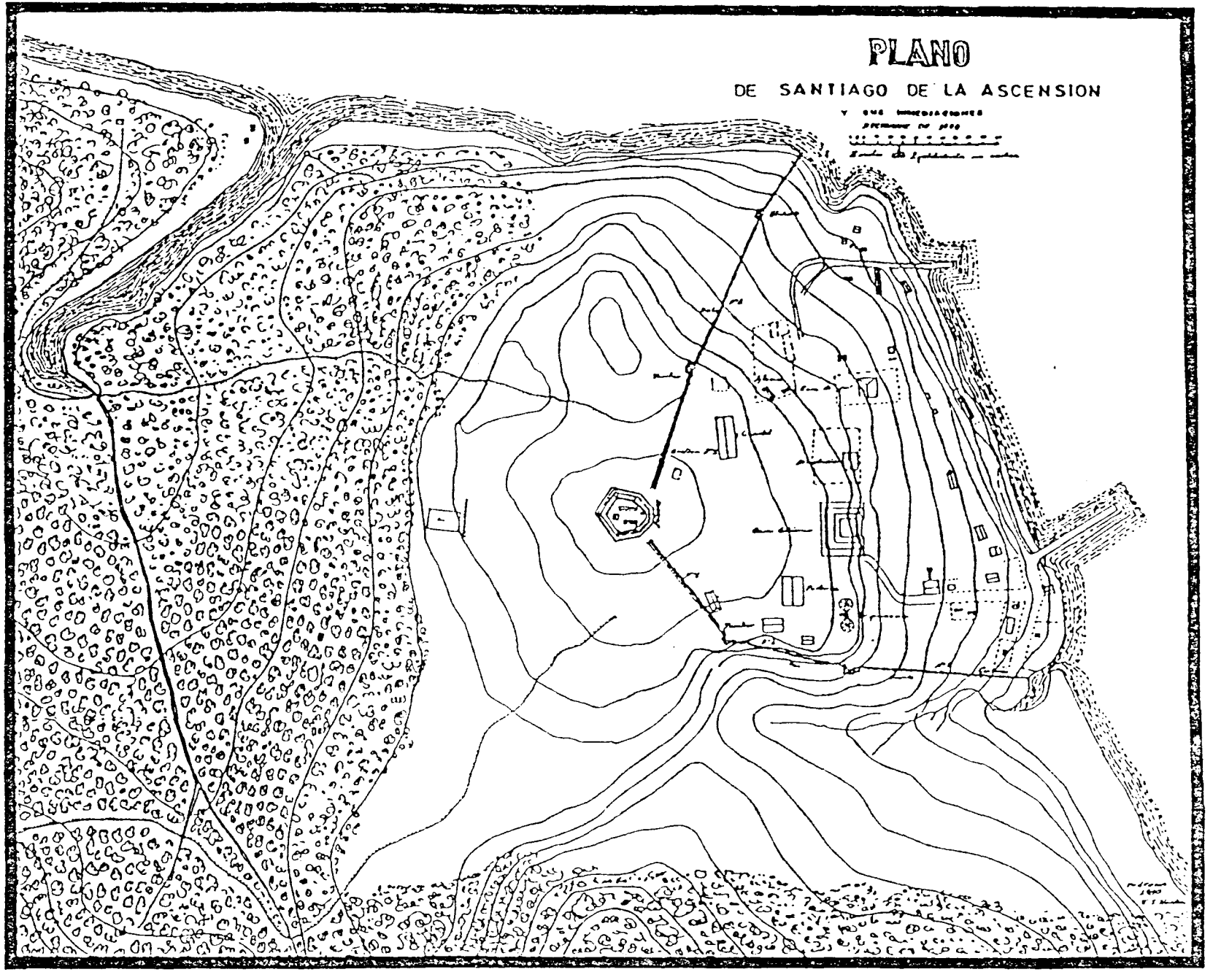


Figure 2. A map of the Spanish Colony of Santiago de l'Ascension in 1890 showing the original perimeter of the Spanish Wall (from A. Cabeza Pereiro's La lula de Ponape). Redrawn by K.S. Hanlon, 1980.

FROM: Hanlon, David, From Mesenieng to Kolonia: An Archaeological Survey of Historic Kolonia. Historic Preservation Office. T.T.P.I. 1980.

of the Capuchins to Ponape, two hostile camps were set up and clear lines of demarcation were drawn between rival groups so that Ponapean converts could allign themselves with one or the other, depending on the advantages offered them. Even if religious hostility did not actually cause the conflicts that marked this era of Ponapean history, it provided a means of institutionalizing the lines of conflict and undoubtedly also reinforced them (Hezel 1970:9).

It seems that the Spanish were not desirous of a peaceful coexistence with the Protestant missionaries. The events of 1887 did little to improve the situation. Later, in 1890, with a strategy closely approximating that employed in Santiago, the Spanish attempted to build a church only sixty feet from the already standing Protestant church in Oa, Madolenihmw. The Spanish seemed intent on forcing a confrontation, and the result of this incident was quite similar to the clash of arms in Santiago. Once again, the Spanish were defeated, incurring heavy casualties while fighting Ponapeans in the dense jungle of Madolenihmw. Spanish casualties from the battles in 1887 and 1890 numbered 205, that is, 118 dead, 73 severely wounded, and 14 slightly wounded (Hambruch 1936:223).

The 1890 rebellion by Ponapeans brought an outcry from the Spanish Capuchins, who were convinced of the Protestant mission's involvement in the uprising. In the battles wake, all American missionaries were expelled from the island by the Spanish administration (Ibid.). This action, however, did not altogether eliminate Protestant mission work on the island. For many years, the American missionaries had worked diligently to inculcate their followers with Christian beliefs and ideas. Several of these Ponapean Christians, upon the expulsion of their teachers, assumed the leadership roles left vacant by the

departed missionaries. Henry Nanpei of Kiti was the most active and powerful of these Ponapean Protestants. As noted above, Nanpei had achieved a tremendous amount of power and prestige on Ponape using Western methods. Luelen Bernart, another product of the mission schools, writes that Nanpei made most of his fortune from copra and the ivory nut trade (Bernart 1977:119).

Nanpei was the leader of a group of five Ponapean Protestants, including Bernart, William of Mant in Uh, Ettekar of Madolenihmw, and David (Soulik en Mwudok) of Kiti. Besides sharing a common religious belief, each of these men faced the common problem of a relatively low birth. "In each case, the traditional paths of power severely restricted their opportunities for advancement. On the other hand, Protestantism and a facility with Western ways offered a chance for significant influence over the traditional leaders, who had little or no schooling. Nanpei's position at the head of this circle gave him especially strong influence, not only in Kiti but also in Madolenihmw and Uh, where the Protestants held the highest titles (Ehrlich 1978b: 138-139).

As the power and influence of these men began to grow, the traditional leaders began to recognize the impending threat to their authority. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, to note the almost concurrent increase in the number of Catholic converts. This was particularly true of the paramount chiefs. Within a year after the expulsion of the Protestants, the Nahnmwarki of Sokehs, the Soulik of Awak (autonomous section of Uh) and the Nahnmwarki of Kiti had been baptized into the Catholic church. Astonishingly, the Capuchins failed to recognize the politicization of their church. At least, their reports show no evidence of such an awareness. "The interest of the

Nalio Nanpé'i Nāněken en Kiti

Naneken en Kiti mit Frau Nalio und Stiefsohn Nanpé'i.

Nanpé'i im Alter von 16 Jahren.

Nanpé'i etwa 22 Jahre alt.

J. Kubary phot.

Frau des Nanpé'i (Tochter des Tagalen Narcissus und einer Ponapefrau).

Nanpé'i en Kiti
und Frau im Jahre 1910.

Hambruch phot.

FROM: Hambruch, Paul, Ponape. Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908-1910.

Nahnmwarki of Kiti in the Catholic religion became all the stronger with the rise in prominence of his rival, Henry Nanpei, who was the pastor of the Protestant church in Kiti. As Nanpei's prestige grew to threatening proportions, the Nahnmwarki seems to have had no choice but to side with the opposing faction . . . in this case, the Catholic Church" (Hezel:1970:15).

These rapid conversions resulted in increasing tension, which was exacerbated by the alleged murder of a Protestant Ponapean by the Catholic chief of Awak. A battle between Catholics and Protestants ensued at Awak, with alliances conforming to age-old tribal factions and rivalries. The Protestant tribes of Madolenihmw, Kiti and Uh took their place against the northern areas of Net, Sokehs and Awak. The Spanish, as expected, sided with the Catholics. Although they prevented the annihilation of the Awak people, the Spanish once again failed to defeat the Ponapeans in battle (Ehrlich 1979 :140).

Nanpei was accused of masterminding this "religious" conflict, but his role in the affair was never proven by the Spanish authorities. Probably a more accurate explanation of the Ponapean revolts and religious conflicts was provided by the Spanish governor, Luis de Cardarso. His investigations revealed that ancient, deeply rooted quarrels, originating prior to Western contact, were the primary cause of the fighting. Inter-tribal disputes and rivalries between the chiefs and other high titled Ponapeans created the basis for political alliances which in turn correlated with religious affiliation (Hambruch 1936:209-210).

German Colonialism

The Spanish-American War brought an abrupt end to Spain's effort to colonize the Caroline Islands. On October 12, 1899, following the purchase of the Carolines from Spain, Germany raised its colors over Kolonia, Ponape, formally establishing its sovereignty over the islands.

Of all the German policies implemented on Ponape, the land reforms were undoubtedly the most important. In order to understand the social and political context into which this land reform was introduced, it may be profitable to review the changes in aboriginal land tenure that had already taken place prior to German occupation.

Some alienation of land to foreigners had occurred during the intense trading and whaling era from 1835-1870. The American Board had received tracts of land in each of the tribal areas for the construction of schools and churches. To be sure, the total land area alienated was relatively insignificant.

It was Nanku, the Nahnken of Kiti and Henry Nanpei's father, who first broke the rules of matrilineal land inheritance (Fischer, Riesenberg and Whiting 1977:107). Because of his warm disposition and generous treatment of foreign visitors to Ponape, the Nahnken had developed a favorable reputation among foreigners by the 1860's. Among his guests was an Englishman named James Headley. Headley, who had married Nanku's daughter, provided the Nahnken with a document — a will stating that the heirs of Nanku, including Henry Nanpei, would receive a large tract of land. The ageement was upheld by the Spanish government in 1896 (Bascom 1965:34). Three years later, the German administration confirmed this agreement and upheld Nanpei's claim

to a portion of Ant Atoll, accepting as evidence of ownership the will signed by his father, Nanku, on May 27, 1863 (Fischer, Riesenberg and Whiting 1977:107-108).

Prior to the German period, Nanpei already had begun to acquire numerous parcels of land, paying for some, receiving others as gifts, or in some cases, as repayment of debts. Responding to American missionary influence, Nanpei and other Ponapean Protestants could be expected to actively seek the abolition of feudal and communal land tenure, hoping to replace it with a system of individual rights based on the principle of patrilineal inheritance (Petersen 1976:114).

These examples of individual land ownership and the beginnings of the transformation of inheritance patterns suggest that Ponapeans were actually quite prepared to absorb the changes planned for them by the German administration. It is interesting to note that Nanpei, upon the Germans, immediately established contact with the governor, prepared a feast in his honor, and provided him with information on request. It wasn't long until the German governor, Dr. Hahl, agreed to uphold Nanpei's claim to Ant Atoll. Soon after, Hahl was replaced by Vice Governor Berg, who carried out an unsuccessful campaign to collect all weapons and ammunition on the island. Berg later died of heatstroke on an expedition to the Nan Madol ruins. Ponapeans asserted that it was not a heatstroke but a divine curse for violating the sacred nature of Nan Madol. Berg was succeeded by by Vice Governor Fritz, who began to implement the articles of the land reform program in 1907 (Yanaihara 1940:132-139).

Essentially, the land reforms sought to release the commoners from their almost continual tribute and competitive feasting, in order to increase the time available for copra production and public works

projects. The implementation of personal property ownership and the registration and distribution of title deeds was designed to improve the productive capabilities of individual land owners. Another major element of this reform was the patrilineal inheritance of land parcels. It was intended by the German government that these reforms would eventually increase its revenues.

The Germans then established a system of public labor whereby a man was required to work fifteen days a year for one Deutsch Mark per day. The chiefs, as compensation for renouncing their feudal authority, were given half of this payment. Roads, bridges, and other public projects were planned to be built with this public labor (Ehrlich 1978 :144).

The ultimate effect of the German land reforms was to reduce the authority of the chiefs, but it also forced them to become more accessible and more responsive to public opinion.

In 1907, an old dispute between Henry Nanpei and Sou Kiti over possession of Ant Atoll was revived. Nanpei's claims originated with wills and documents received from his father, Nanku, and were upheld by the Spanish and German governments. Sou Kiti's claims, on the other hand, originated from past clan associations and genealogies, including that of a now-defunct priestly clan. Sou Kiti's claim was obviously more legitimate than Nanpei's in terms of traditional considerations (Hambruch 1936:287-288). While the issue was being considered by the German government, Nanpei allegedly had the people of a certain section of Kiti damage the land and property of Sou Kiti in order to provoke him into retribution. Nanpei hoped this would eventually lead to Sou Kiti's expulsion. The plot failed, however, and Sou Kiti promptly sought the advise and assistance of the Cath-

olic Mission.

Governor Fritz, upon learning of these developments, immediately sent for warships and reinforcements in case a repeat of the late 19th Century hostilities were to occur. His show of strength served to cool tempers, and within a short time, public works projects were resumed in earnest. The land dispute between Sou Kiti and Nanpei was never officially resolved, although Ehrlich reports a source in Ponape who stated that in negotiation Nanpei received Ant Atoll. Sou Kiti was promised that his sub-clan would replace the ruling sub-clan of the Nahnmwarki as soon as possible, thus giving him access to that coveted title (Ehrlich 1978 :143-144).

It was about this time that old tribal rivalries began to surface again. Sokehs and Kiti, each suspecting the other of foul play, prepared for war. Only good fortune and the fear of a powerful sorcerer prevented an open conflict (Ehrlich 1979 :147).

In 1909, Governor Fritz was replaced by Boeder, who was charged with the responsibility of carrying out the construction of a road around the island. Boeder's character was ill-suited to deal effectively with the Ponapeans, and it wasn't long before tensions began to multiply. The tribe of Sokehs had demanded and received an extension on their obligation to conform fully to all elements of the land reform. Boeder was now forcing them to comply with the agreement. The Germans demanded faster work on the road in Sokehs. The warrior leader of the Sokehs workers, a man known by the title of Soumadau en Sokehs, was infuriated with the way the Ponapeans were being treated by the Germans. Rumors began to circulate that Sokehs had vowed to kill all the whites on the island. To make matters worse, Governor Boeder offended the Kiti tribe when he publically humiliated

a young relative of Henry Nanpei. By now both tribes were plotting to murder the governor, although considering the recent tension between them it is unlikely they worked together in laying plans to achieve that goal.

Later, an overseer by the name of Hollborn severely beat a Sokehs worker who was reported to be guilty of slothfulness. The Sokehs workers plotted feverishly against the Germans that night, and the next day brought quick and violent retribution against the colonialists. Hollborn, Boeder, and several other German leaders were killed. The rebels escaped to Sokehs Island where they dug in and waited for more than forty days for the arrival of German troops. The Germans, along with Melanesian soldiers, captured the all of the rebels in two months and on February 24, 1911, seventeen were executed and the remaining insurgents were banished to Yap and Palau (Fischer 1966:57).

Once again Nanpei found himself at the center of a conflict. Many Germans felt the Sokehs warriors were able to avert capture for as long as they did because of Nanpei's support. But the allegations remained unproved and Nanpei continued to elude the authorities.

The last governor of the German regime, Kersting, began to distribute land deeds in 1912, which once and for all solidified Nanpei's claims to more than twelve parcels of land in Kiti alone (Ehrlich 1979 :150).

The German period was an extremely important era of political and social transformation. On the one hand, the Nahnmwarki lost absolute control over their land as well as the right to be honored by tribute feasts. On the other hand, titles retained their potency and continued to be inherited through the matrilineal system characteristic of Ponape and other areas of Micronesia (Petersen 1976:124).

The possibilities for acquiring power and influence outside the traditional title system increased, but the system was flexible enough to incorporate Western forms of achievement into consideration for titles. Here again, as in the Spanish period, we see Ponapeans adopting foreign ideas and institutions in order to increase their own social mobility and to enhance their own political and personal power within the Ponapean system. It seems that foreign intervention increased the chances for Ponapeans' achievement of social status, thereby increasing the intensity of their political activity.

The Japanese Period

The Japanese succeeded the Germans in 1914, becoming the third foreign power to rule Ponape in less than three decades. The Micronesian Islands were declared a Class C Mandate by the League of Nations in 1920, to be administered by Japan.

Generally speaking, the Japanese did little to either enhance or reduce the power of the paramount chiefs. They continued to implement the German land reforms of 1912, and also began to appropriate large amounts of "government land". For example, any land not being cultivated was claimed by the Japanese government. The Japanese, in response to the conditions of the Mandate, introduced locally elected officials. They also incorporated the paramount chiefs into the administrative structure by granting them the Japanese title of *sosoncho*, or supreme village head. The latters' administrative responsibilities, however, were delegated to the elected official (Fischer 1974:168-169).

The drinking of *sakau* (kava) and feasting in general were frowned

upon. The Japanese viewed these customs as counterproductive and attempted, with varying degrees of success, to reduce their frequency. Permits were issued by Japanese police to islanders wishing to hold a feast. Fischer states that the ". . . presence of the policemaster (Japanese) in each state, or village as the Japanese termed them, had the effect of reducing the power of the traditional chiefs as compared with the German period (Ibid.). He qualifies this observation however, by commenting that because of the reduced responsibilities of the chiefs, the net effect was an increase in their popularity among the people.

With warfare nonexistent, Ponapeans, despite Japanese controls, used the traditional avenue of prestige competition to improve social and political status among themselves.

The end of World War II caused a drastic change in the size of the Japanese population as Americans took over the administration of the formerly mandated islands. At their apex in the late 1930's and early 1940's, the Japanese in Ponape had reached 14,000, more than the Ponapeans. But within months after the end of the war in 1945, all Japanese had been shipped back to Japan.

The American Period

Of all the foreign powers to rule Micronesia, the Americans have undoubtedly brought about the most profound changes in the traditional systems of the area. The introduction of legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government superimposed on the various Micronesian forms of rule, has caused many observable changes (Hughes 1970: 41-45).

In comparison to other metropolitan countries ruling the Pacific island territories, the United States has done little to shape introduced political institutions to make them more compatible with traditional polities (Meller 1974:268). One of the major consequences of this policy has been the virtual elimination of traditional leaders from participation in government at levels higher than the municipality. In essence, then, the introduction of American political institutions in Micronesia has served to create a new class of leaders. "The new elite on Ponape is largely composed of leaders who are not in the traditional noble class, but who have been elected to political office primarily on the basis of their formal education, fluency in English, and experience with American administration" (Dahlquist 1974:179).

There was an attempt, from 1952 to 1958, to incorporate the paramount chiefs into the new political system. This was the bicameral legislature called the Ponape Island Congress, which consisted of the Peoples House and the Nobles House. But after a flurry of activity, the lack of legislative understanding and English language skills caused the gradual withdrawal of the paramount chiefs from the Congress, and soon the Peoples House was dominating the legislature. (Meller 1969:125-126).

One of the most interesting of the traditional chiefs to the growing power of the "new elite" class has been the proliferation of high koanoat titles in the commoner system. Dahlquist (1974:189) provides a convincing explanation for this phenomenon: ". . . the traditioal leaders, by awarding high titles to members of the new elite, are recognizing new gambits in an old game-- the prestige competition. They approve new avenues to success with traditional rewards, and thus bind the new elite into the complex of traditional socioeconomic and

and political subordination."

Another response has been an increase, compared with Japanese times, of Ponapean feasting activity. Admittedly, permits for feasting were available during Japanese rule, but it seems that with the revival in the emphasis on titles, the feasts which consummate these titles have also increased in frequency.

Fischer (1974:174) offers another explanation of the relationship between the traditional chiefs and the new elite. He contends that title transactions are an expression of solidarity and cooperation between the traditional and modern spheres.

The proliferation of pretigious titles has certainly served to balance power between the traditional and imported political systems. The ability of the chiefs to respond effectively to the growing power of the new elite demonstrates the adaptability of the Ponapean social system. This flexibility inherent in the Ponapean social and political structure is a major reason why it continues to thrive even to the present day.

As we have seen throughout the various phases of Ponapean history, political maneuvering, intrigue, and competition are ongoing processes. If there is any element of traditional Ponapean social organization that has remained a dynamic force through the years, it is the viability of the political system.

In the following chapters, I will demonstrate how this process is continued today, focusing on the Ponapean response to one foreign institution, the United States Historic Preservation Program.

Chapter 3

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM TO PONAPE

In 1966 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act. (See Appendix B.) As with other legislation passed at this time, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands fell under the jurisdiction of the act (Title I, Section 101b). A later executive order signed by President Richard M. Nixon in 1971 delineated the responsibilities of federal and state agencies in regard to the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. It was this executive order that called upon each state or territory to locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of Interior all sites, buildings, districts and objects under jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (See Appendix C.). It was this executive order that led to the formation of the Trust Territory Historic Preservation Program. The Trust Territory Code defined the nature of the program by authorizing the Deputy Director for Resources and Development to survey, study, and acquire sites of historical significance to Micronesians. He was given responsibility to restore, manage, and administer the development of areas possessing historic value. Lastly, he was charged with developing and implementing educational programs concerning these historic sites (T.T. Code, Title 67, Chap.11, Section 252-256).

Consequently, in 1974, then-acting High Commissioner Peter T.

Coleman appointed a historic preservation officer. The selection of six committees was organized through the district administrators in early 1975. Later, the Trust Territory Review Board for Historic Preservation was assembled with representatives from various branches of the government and from each of the district committees. "This new board met for the first time in the spring of 1976 to review and evaluate the nominations to the National Register of Historic Places submitted by each of the six committees to the state historic preservation officer (SHPO)" (T.T.P.I. 1976:9).

The initial activities of the Ponape Historic Preservation Committee (HPC) were confined to selections of historic sites on Ponape that might qualify for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Later, in 1976, preservation work on several of the sites nominated for the National Register began. Work on the Sokehs Mass Grave Site, the Spanish Wall, Nan Madol, and the Japanese Artillry road on Pohndollap was begun in earnest.

However, there were serious problems with the accounting procedures used by the technical advisor to document the Ponape committee's business. In totalling local contributions to this federal matching program, the advisor attempted to match federal funds with federal funds. For example, in the clearance of the Spanish Wall, Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) workers were hired to cut brush and remove stones. Further, Community Development's Youth Work Program provided the funding for a major portion of the clearance— about $11,000 worth. This labor was termed "local contribution" and the committee's advisor expected that the federal government would approve of this 'double jeopardy' and grant the Ponape committee dollar-for-dollar matching funds. However, upon close inspection of

the documentation, it became apparent that there was little that could be legitimately deemed a local contribution. It is also important to note that much of the committee's activity was directed by the American technical advisor and carried out by a variety of youth groups so that the committee members were not fully engaged in the preservation process. As a consequence the committee found itself with a limited operating budget and an even more limited understanding of the nature of the historic preservation program. The situation became even more apparent after the departure of the advisor. In the several ensuing meetings that were held, there was acute confusion in regard to the goals of historic preservation and its relationship to other government agencies such as tourism, the YCC, and the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act, otherwise known as CETA (Reyes, A., Minutes of Ponape HPC meetings, 1977).

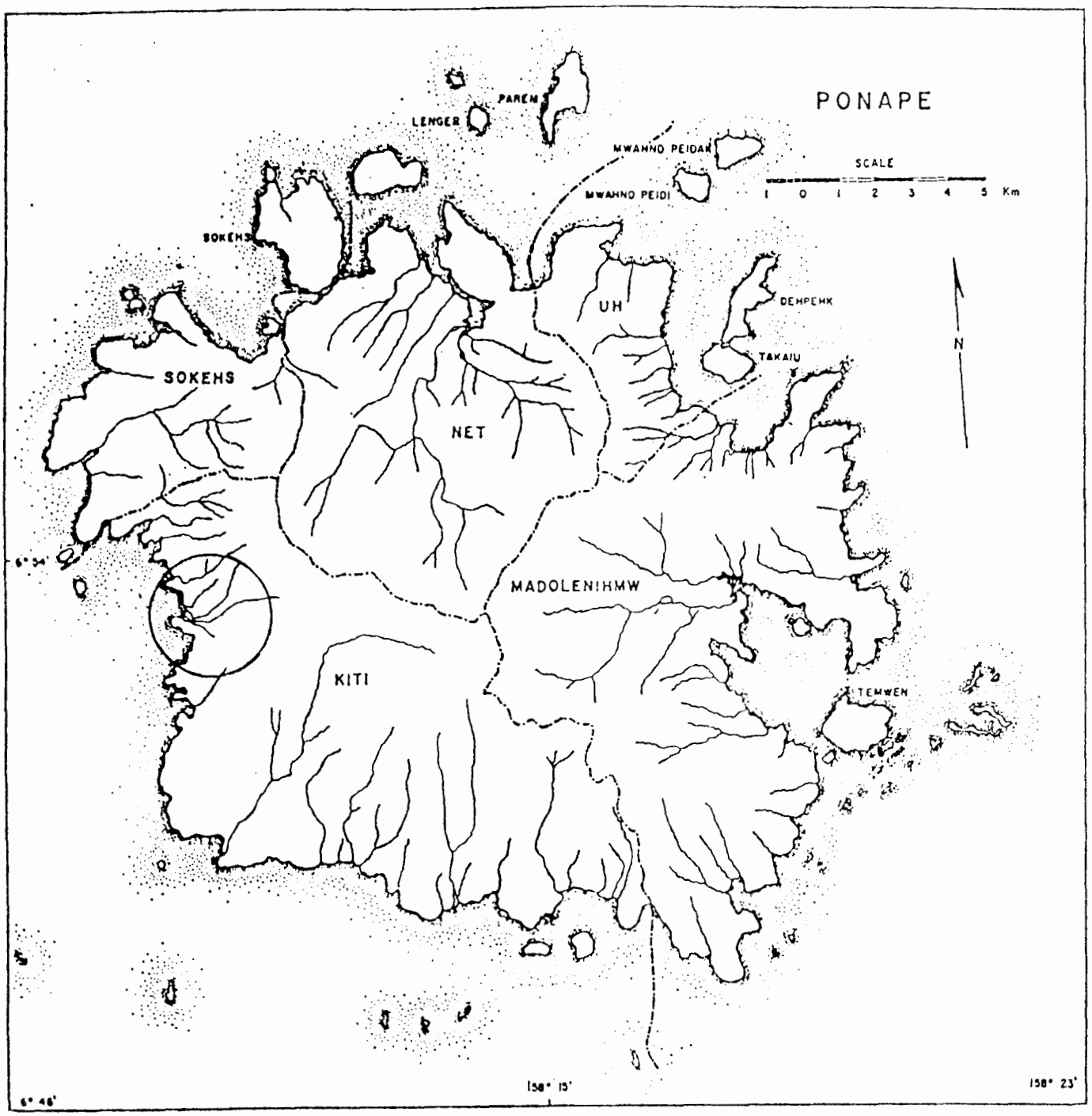
It wasn't until the appointment of Dr. Thomas King, in July of 1977, as technical advisor to the Trust Territory government that the situation changed. Dr. King was an archeologist from the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation of the National Park Service. [1] He perceived the necessity for a reorganization of the existing Historic Preservation system in the T.T.P.I. as well as for a program of education designed to inform the district committees of their legal rights in dealing with territorial government agencies involved in public works construction. During the fall of 1977, King, working through the district administrators, selected administrative coordinators for each committee. Countless hours were spent with each committee explaining the complex documentation procedures of the Historic Preservation Program.

While King was on Ponape during the first organizational meetings in late September of 1977, he and Pensile Lawrence, the HPC member from Kiti, decided to inspect the section of the Ponape Island circumferential road that was under construction near Pehleng village in Kiti. Upon arriving at the site, Lawrence pointed out a pei or stone house foundation that was likely to be buried or otherwise destroyed by the bulldozer working at the site. Many times, pei are associated with burial tombs and therefore have historical significance.

Consequently, King discussed with Paul Wilson, a Ponape Transportation Authority (PTA) engineer, the possibilities of delaying construction at the site until an adequate mapping could be completed. Wilson agreed, saying he believed the site would not be reached for two to three weeks. On the following Monday, Oct. 3, 1977, the first working day after the inspection, Wilson wrote a memorandum to the PTA commissioner noting the agreement. This memorandum reached the commisssioner on Tuesday morning, Oct. 4.

On Oct. 3, Wilson met the Kiti work crew and instructed them to remain strictly within the right-of-way when they reached the archeological site. At this time, he still believed that the site would not be reached for two to three weeks. That day, however, bulldozers began cutting the slope from the far end of the 0.4 mile road construction contract and spread the resultant fill back along the road. By that afternoon, the historic site had been buried.

By the end of the week, all initial bulldozer work on the Kiti contract had been completed. Thus, it appeared that PTA had deliberately defied the agreed-upon recommendations as soon as possible (Chang and Denoncour, Memorandum to King, Oct.17,1977).



- Pehleng Area Road Construction

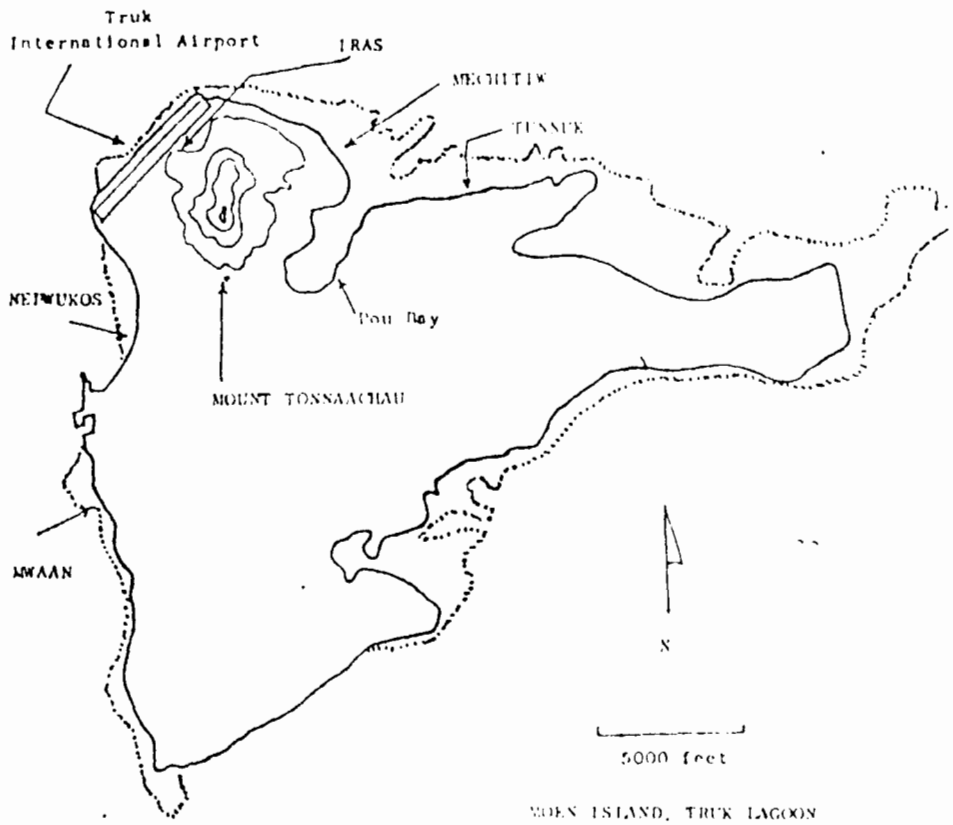
FROM: Riesenberg, Saul. The Native Polity of Ponape. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology. 1968.

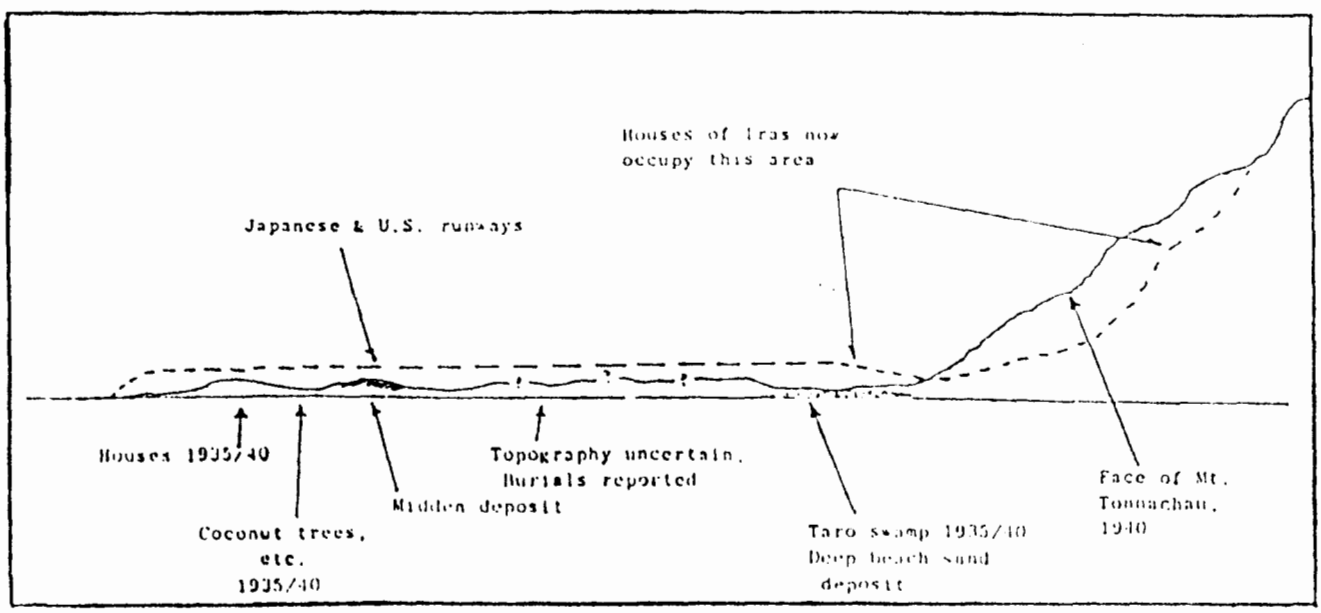
King was convinced that Wilson and the PTA had acted in bad faith. He consequently informed the PTA that he was requesting an inquiry into the incident by the Micronesian Bureau of Investigation (MBI). King also met with the PTA commissioner and discussed with him Historic Preservation regulations that require the completion of a cultural resource survey before any federally funded construction could begin.

It seems that King had a definite purpose in mind in requesting the investigation by the MBI. It wasn't merely retribution against the PTA for having buried the archeological site. King's later comments reveal the motivation for his agressive stance on this relatively minor incident. "It has been my experience . . . that before one can count on cooperative relationships (with construction agencies) one must be able to operate in an environment of mutual respect. I see no evidence that PTA has the least respect for historic preservation, and I intend to do whatever is necessary to ensure that this respect develops" (King, Memorandum to Chang and Denoncour, Oct.21,1977).

This incident set the groundwork for a cooperative, working relationship between the Ponape HPC and the PTA. But more importantly, the committee began to see the effect historic preservation laws could have on federally funded construction projects.

Later, in October 1977, word reached Ponape about the problems the Trust Territory government had encountered with their plans to expand Truk International Airport.[2] At issue was whether or not the construction would have an adverse impact on the Mount Tonnaachau Historic Area, a site listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Two villages, Iras and Mechitiw, were in the historic area,





A cross-section of old and new Iras Village, based on the excavations and other research

From: King, T.F., Capital Improvements and Historic Preservation: The Case of Truk International Airport. Micronesian

and both villages believed that the expansion would destroy sites of historic significance (T.T.P.I. 1978a:4). The officer in charge of construction disagreed, saying there would be no impact at all on historic sites. The problem was eventually resolved through a "Memorandum of Agreement· specifying how the government would take steps to reduce the damage done to the historic places" (T.T.P.I. 1978b:1).

In both the PTA and the Truk Airport situations, King succeeded in educating government officials and local citizens to the laws and purposes of historic preservation. But the most important effect of this success was to demonstrate to the Ponape committee the potential for political manuevering that could be accomplished within the legal confines of the program.

Chapter 4

THE PONAPE HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMITTEE SEPTEMBER 1977-JUNE 1978

Introduction to the Committee

One of the problems encountered by the Ponape HPC in the early phase of its operation was the lack of a trained Ponapean administrator who could coordinate survey and planning work and meetings and document the results in order to sucessfully apply for funding from the territorial Historic Preservation office on Saipan. That office sought to appoint and train a Ponapean coordinator in order to solve that problem.

About a month after the reorganization conference in September 1977, the acting district administrator, Bermin Weilbacher, chose Narsi Kostka, chief magitsrate of Uh, for the coordinator position. Kostka gave up his post in Uh for the opportunity to work with the HPC, which is important to note for it gives an indication of the prestige already acquired by the HPC. This prestige was not so much related to the success of the committee's efforts as to the stature of the individual members of the committee, due in large part to the traditional titles held by those members.

The chairman of the HPC, Heinrich Iriarte, holds the title of Dauk Net, third in the Nahnmwarki line of royalty. Heinrich has also been extemely active in the American-style political system. He served as a municipal councilman from 1956 to 1968; municipal judge for four years; president, Ponape Island Congress, 1957-1959;

member, Council of Micronesia, 1959-1964; member, House of Representatives, Congress of Micronesia, 1969-1972; Ponapean delegate, Micronesian Constitutional Convention, 1975; and Speaker, First Ponape District Legislature. Heinrich's energetic and spirited personality has made him a well known and respected leader. Hughes, in his study of the Ponape District Legislature, characterizes Heinrich as ". . . clearly a forceful and dynamic person . . . the respect of the other representatives seemed to be based far more on his experience and ability than on his status as a Noble" (Hughes 1974:102). In addition to his position as chairman of the HPC, Heinrich held the post of chief magistrate of Net municipality.

Kesner (Masao) Hadley served as the representative from Madolenihmw municipality where he holds the title of Nahmadaun Idehd. His title is fifth on the Nahnken side of the chiefly lines. Many feel his knowledge of Nan Madol is second to none and he has provided much valuable information relating to those ruins. Among his students have been the Smithsonian expedition members Evans, Meggers, and Riesenberg who utilized Kesner as a major informant during their 1963 study of Nan Madol. In the production of the recently completed Book of Luelen, Kesner served as a valuable interpreter for the editors and translators, Fischer, Riesenberg and Whiting.

Another equally knowledgable member of the committee is Pensile Lawrence, representative from Kiti and possessor of a high koanoat title, Nanohn Onohnleng. Because Pensile is from Kiti and a member of the Soun Kawad clan, his chances of receiving a high title in either of the two ruling lines are extremely poor. Pensile is a relative of the noted Ponapean author, Luelen Bernart, and along with Kesner was an invaluable aid in the interpretation of The Book

of Luelen. Pensile also served as an informant with the Smithsonian expedition as well as with numerous other anthropological research projects carried out on Ponape since the advent of American rule. His outstanding knowledge of things Ponapean, as well as his facility with the English language, make him a particularly valuable interpreter.

Tintel Abraham, HPC representative from Sokehs municipality, has long had a reputation for his personal knowledge of Sokehs oral history, genealogies, and sites of historical value. His title of Noahs Paliker is from this formerly independent section of Sokehs. During a survey of the Sokehs Mountain area (Pohndollap), Tintel assisted the committee in locating the precise site of the fort that Soumadau en Sokehs and his rebels used to hold off the Germans in the 1910 rebellion.

Miguel Marquez, Nahlaim Pah, the committee's representative from Uh, also served as the municipal judge for that area.

Kikuo Apis, a native of Pinglap Atoll, was the committee's outer island representative. Kikuo was also a member of the Congress of Micronesia and proved to be very helpful to the committee with his work on Historic Preservation legislation.

Dakasy Lucias, Souwel, was the Kolonia Town representative to the committee.

As previously noted, Narsi Kostka, Nahnihd, was appointed to the position of committee coordinator after having served as the chief magistrate of Uh municipality. He functioned effectively as coordinator, giving the committee a much needed full time administrator to carry out the essential documentation procedures.

With this group of Ponapeans representing a variety of social

strata, it is not surprising that the higher titled individuals would emerge as leaders in HPC operations. Unquestionably, Heinrich Iriarte was the driving force behind much of what the committee accomplished. He added political clout-- in traditional circles as well as in the modern spheres.-to the actions of the committee. But because he did not hold a position of authority outside his own municipality, his role as committee chairman would serve effectively to extend his power and influence throughout the entire island.

As mentioned before, Historic Preservation legislation required any government agency to complete a cultural resource survey before carrying out a federally funded construction project. In effect, this meant that the committee could disapprove any construction that threatened sites of historic significance. In fact, the matter was much more complex with mitigation procedures well defined by law. However, during the early days of the program, the committee chairman made it quite clear that government agencies must consult with the committee before any construction project was initiated. This allowed the chairman and the committee to be constantly informed about planned construction and to be provided with detailed plans for those projects.

So, for Chairman Heinrich Iriarte, the success of the committee could be seen by Ponapeans as a political coup. It enabled him to remain in close contact with federal and district authorities and their plans for construction projects.

In Heinrich's position as chief magistrate, he and other magistrates had much to gain from working with each other. It is no secret that at this time there was considerable rivalry between the municipal and district governments over delegation of authority to

collect revenues. The magistrates had hoped to be given the responsibility to levy taxes, but in a move that created disharmony, the legislature refused to give that power to the municipalities in drafting the District Charter (Ponape District Legislature 1978).

Another important factor to several of the committee members was the total lack of power accorded traditional chiefs by the draft of the District Charter (Ibid.). Several of the members wished to have the traditional authority of the chiefs specifically affirmed by the new charter.

As a consequence of these developments, Heinrich Iriarte, who was both a chief magistrate and a traditional leader, was dependent on the Historic Preservation Committee as a tool with which to impose his will in the area under his authority. For others on the committee, the committee served to satify different political needs.

Kesner Hadley's work with the committee enhanced his prestige as a man of knowledge. Simply being chosen and actively serving on the committee was a recognition of his knowledge and understanding of traditional Ponapean customs--tiak en sapw (the customs of the land).

It was a similar situation with Pensile Lawrence. From the early days of the Trust Territory when district anthropologists were employed, Pensile worked with John Fischer, Saul Riesenberg, Frank Mahony, and others in order to help Americans better understand the complex political system of Ponape. This has been beneficial to Pensile, as the esteem with which he was viewed by various anthropologists helped build his reputation as a Ponapean who succeeded in the modern world and principally on Ponapean terms.

And so it was with other committee members. By simply working

with the program, they represented themselves as men who respected the old ways and actively sought to honor the Nahnmwarki system. As a result they were viewed more favorably by the paramount chiefs.

There is no question that for some of the members of the committee, preservation work in and of itself was justification for their participation in the program. But the intense amount of activity by the committee from late 1977 to June of 1978 cannot be solely a consequence of idealism.

Money at this time was not a factor. The committee did not have money to spend, and therefore they could not afford to pay themselves. They would not develop sufficient cash reserves for that purpose until at least seven or eight months later.[1]

With these ideas in mind, we will look carefully at the committee's achievements between December 1977 and May 1978 to demonstrate that other factors were at work besides idealism or money, factors more closely related to prevailing socio-political needs.

Committee Activities

One of the first actions of the newly organized committee was to demand from Saipan headquarters a voice in the review process required of research anthropologists (Ponape Historic Preservation Committee -P.H.P.C., 1977a). Committee members were upset with one anthropologist who had done work on Ponape during the previous summer. He allegedly had not met with the committee and had completed his field work and departed before some of the committee members were aware of his presence.

With due respect to the anthropologist, at the time of his study

the committee was not particularly active although it did exist. It is my interpretation that the committee members were just beginning to understand the authority they held, and their action now was an effort to establish the "ground rules" for visiting social scientists. The committee also felt that each anthropologist should meet with them before beginning any field work. In this way, the committee could oversee the anthropologist's progress and even provide assistance if necessary. Required periodic reports would also give the committee access to whatever new information the anthropologist may have collected. The ultimate effect of these new requirements was to monitor all activity that fell within the domain of the HPC.

On December 14, the committee reconvened to resolve a dispute that had developed between the district government and a group of potential homesteaders from Sokehs municipality (P.H.P.C. 1977a). It seems that the homesteaders had followed the proper procedures in registering for their various parcels of land situated on top of Sokehs Mountain, otherwise known as Pohndollap. The Sokehs Mountain Japanese artillary site had been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. There were several anti-aircraft guns, a long-range gun, barracks foundations and a search light spread out over a considerable area of land. The district administrator (Distad) had ruled that these men could not be allowed to homestead the land in question because the area had been deemed an historic site and as a result could be used for homesteading purposes.

The Distad had not consulted with the committee on this matter, so the members were very interested to hear about the conflict. The

committee members decided to climb the mountain, survey the area, and debate whether or not homesteading the land would adversely affect the historic sites. After thoroughly surveying the Pohndollap region, the committee decided that homesteading could be allowed there, as long as the homesteaders agreed to protect the historical value of the land on which they farmed.

The Historic Preservation office in Saipan concurred and a report was sent to the Distad listing recommendations for resolving the conflict (P.H.P.C. 1977b). Consequently, the HPC, in recommending a position opposed to the Distad's policy was establishing itself as an agency to be reckoned with. The committee was not going to be a simple rubber stamp for government policies, but would pursue goals independent of the administration's position on various issues.

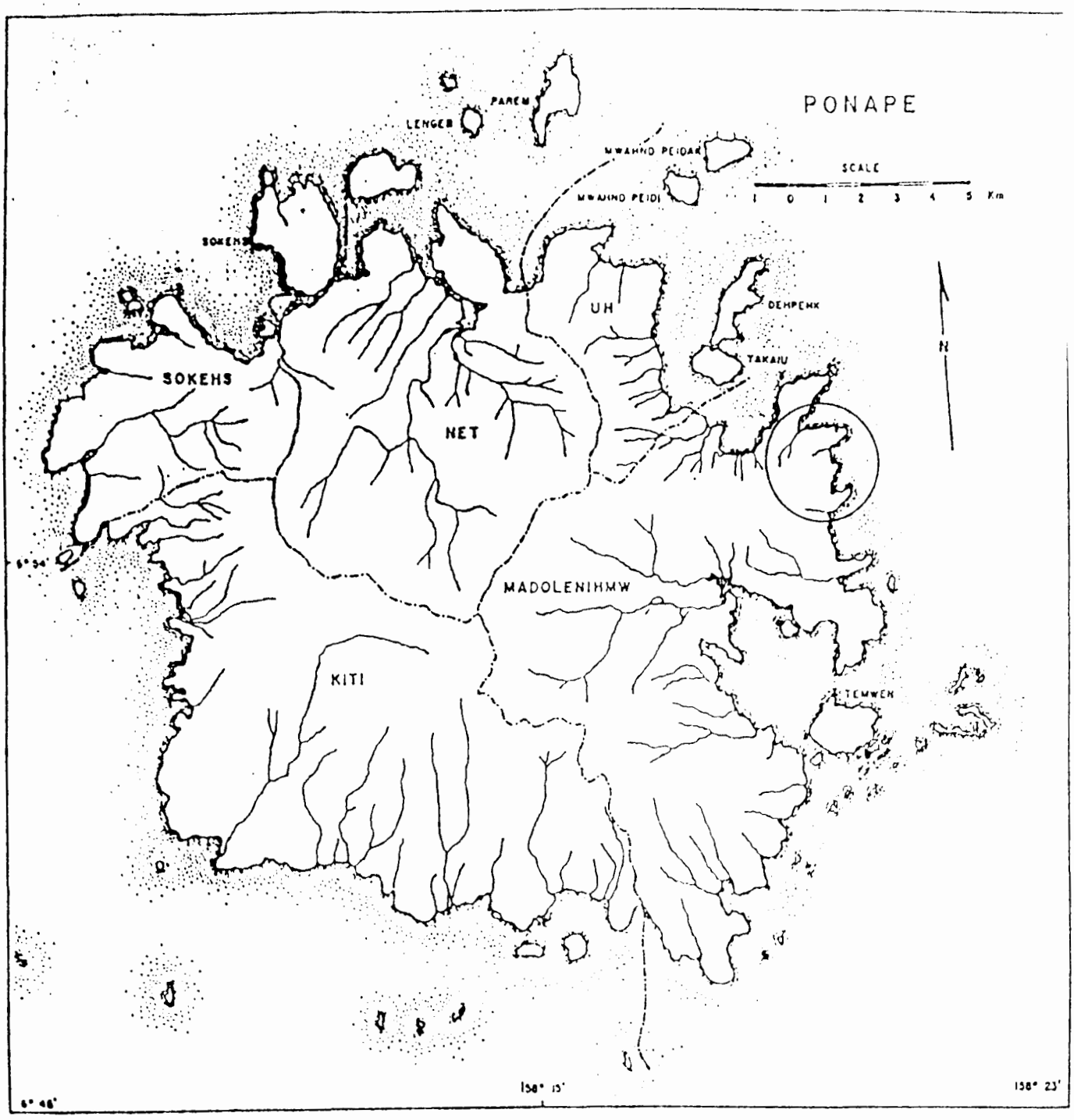
It is interesting to note that at about this time, the Ponape Transportation Authority (PTA) sent a memo to the chairman expressing a desire to cooperate with the committee on its proposed road construction in both Madolenihmw and Kiti (P.H.P.C. 1977a). This recognition of the committee's role in carrying out cultural resource surveys on federally funded construction sites was a major step in the development of the program. Frm this point on, the PTA would plan their right-of-way only in close consultation with the HPC.

It was after receiving the PTA memo that the committee decided to carry out surveys of the proposed sections of the circumferential road in Madolenihmw and Kiti. The kousapw (section) of Mesihsou was the site of the proposed road construction in Madolenihmw. During the initial inspection, a house foundation was discovered just off

the right-of-way. Masao Hadley estimated that the house had been built by the original inhabitants of the village. Further along the right-of-way, some old fortifications were uncovered that had been used by the Ponapeans during the 1890 rebellion against the Spanish at Oa (P.H.P.C. 1977c). The fortifications intersected the proposed right-of-way, and as a result were a matter of great concern to the PTA engineers working on the project. The engineers visualized a project delay similar to the Truk Airport. The engineers spoke with the HPC chairman and explained that because of the steep cliffs in the surrounding area, changes in the proposed right-of-way were out of the question, due to engineering considerations.

The committee members then discussed the history of the fortifications. It was learned that the Germans had removed a portion of the wall in order to construct a foot path through the area. Later, the Japanese had rebuilt a portion of the wall and extended it some forty feet. The committee decided that only the portion of the fortifications used by the Ponapeans during the 1890 rebellion would be deemed historically significant. That section happened to lie twenty to thirty feet from the edge of the proposed roadway, and the PTA was therefor considered to have ample clear- to construct the road according to its original plan. In a move designed to avoid any potential confrontation with the committee, the PTA decided to move the road even further away from the fortifications, compromising their preferred engineering design of the curving slope of the road in the process. The committee accepted the revisions and later approved the plans officially.[3]

On the Kiti side of the island, in Pehleng, a similar situation



- Mesihsou Area Historic Site

FROM: Riesenberg, Saul. The Native Polity of Ponape. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology. 1968.

occurred. The proposed right-of-way passed through a site of cultural importance to the people of the area (P.H.P.C. 1978a). After consultation with the committee, the PTA again altered its original plans and rerouted the road around the site.

When the Historic Preservation office in Saipan heard of the second incident, they requested that the Ponape committee formulate a system for making decisions about the possible impact of construction on a given land area. This is exactly what the committee wanted to avoid. HPC members wanted to make decisions based on their own needs and desires, not on expectations from Saipan. They acted independently from the Distad's office and wished to extend that independence in their dealings with Saipan as well.

It is probably necessary to point out that the Historic Preservation program, at this time, was offering the chairman a means to assert his influence in other municipalities besides his own. His position as chief magistrate and as Dauk necessarily limited his authority to Net municipality. The political factor was a major reason for Heinrich's enthusiastic participation in the program. His strong leadership compelled other members to involve themselves as well. And the committee's early successes encouraged the members to expand their activities. They increased contact with district agencies, seeking to test their influence wherever possible.

About this time (January-February 1978), debate on several articles of the proposed Ponape District Charter became quite heated. One of these issues concerned the lack of real power accorded the traditional leaders of Ponape. Article III, Sections 1, 2, and 3, basically give lip service to the traditional leaders. Although the provisions of the Charter would not take away the rightful

power of the chiefs, neither would they define these powers. Article III also says that the chiefs may hold office or perform any function in the administration of government. Certainly, that is no special right, since every law-abiding citizen possesses that same right (Ponape District Legislature 1978). It is true that Ponape's chiefs knew for quite some time that this kind of situation would eventually occur. As mentioned in the section of this report on the American period, one of the chief's response to this development was to increase the number of high commoner titles (koanoat titles in most instances) available and to consider Western forms of achievement when awarding titles. The effect of this has been to incorporate even the most Westernized Ponapeans into the traditional sphere of prestige competition and feasting. Participation in the Historic Preservation program has been, for a few high titled men, another means of responding positively to a changing world.

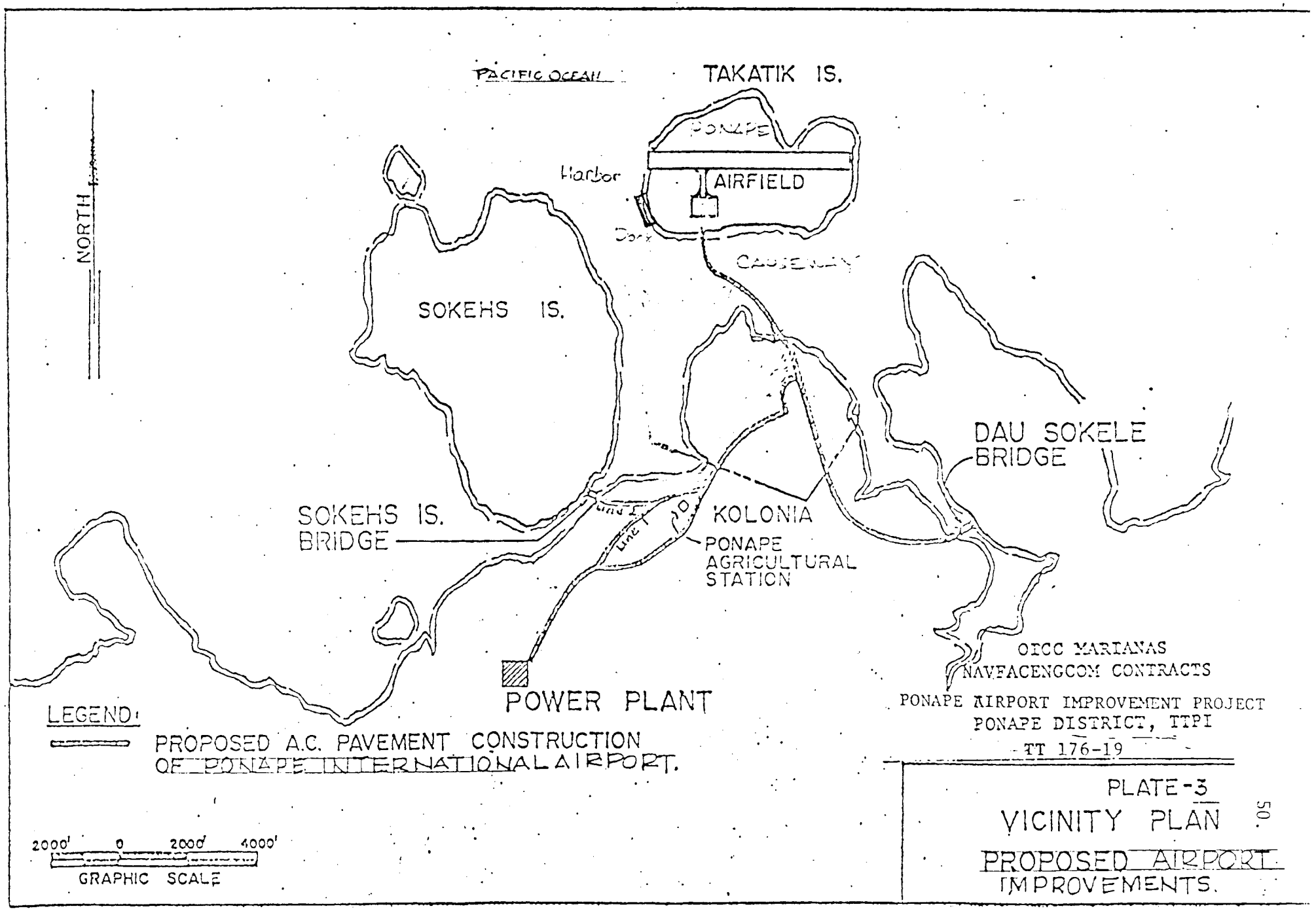
The second issue of importance in respect to the Charter proposal was the authority to levy taxes. The chief magistrates of the municipalities wanted this authority, and wanted to be able to exercise that authority whenever necessary. The district legislature, on the other hand, wanted to reserve that right for itself as well as the authority to delegate that responsibility to the municipalities if necessary. The legislature granted itself those powers in Article VIII, Section 1: "The District government shall have the power to impose and collect all catagories of taxes not otherwise limited by this Charter (Ibid.). Article IX, Section 1, stipulates that the district legislature may grant this power to the municipalities (Ibid.). The chief magistrates were hoping for a means to

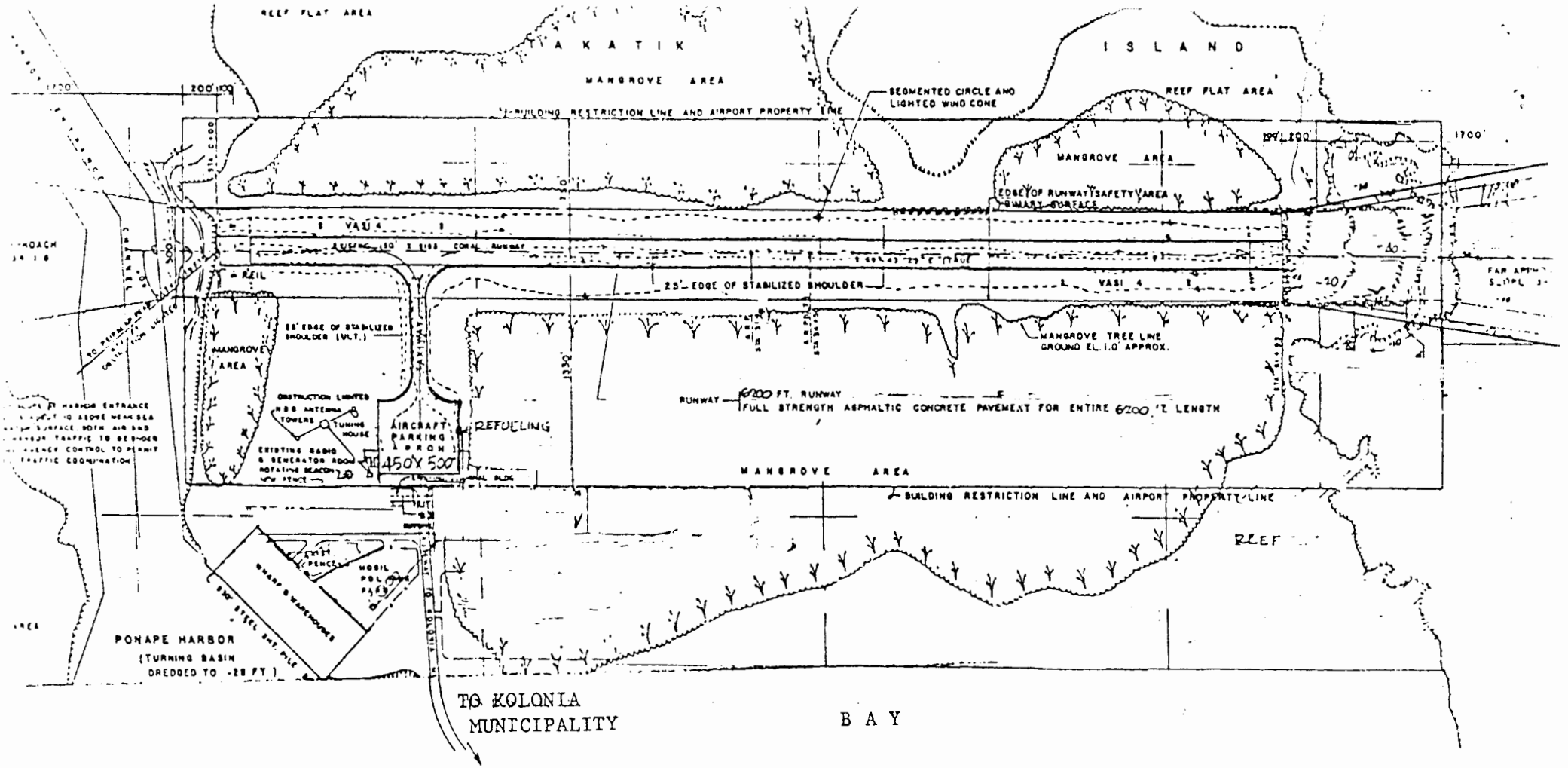
acquire revenue other than through normal budgetary allotments.

On February 15, 1978, the Congress of Micronesia approved the Ponape District Charter (Congress of Micronesia 1978). The Charter still had to be signed by the High Commissioner, but after the Congress had approved the bill, the chances for a major amendment were slim. So the traditional leaders and chief magistrates did not acquire the power they desired with the Charter. It may be recalled that the chairman was at once a traditional leader and the chief magistrate of Net. After this period of debate, and possibly in response to the approval of the Charter by the Congress, the HPC chairman's level of participation in committee affairs increased markedly.

The next survey undertaken by the HPC was a major task--a cultural resource survey of proposals in the Ponape District Capital Improvement Program. Planned projects included airport paving, docks, and road improvements in Kolonia and on the road leading to the new hospital. Also included were the installation of electrical and water supply systems in certain sections of Kolonia and environs (P.H.P.C. 1978b). Actually, the roads presented little problem, as it was the district's intention to pave already existing roadbeds. Electricity and water supply lines would run adjacent to and under roadways, and therefore would seem to be of little consequence to historical preservation interests.

But an essential element of the program was a proposed quarry that would provide the crushed stone needed for asphalt paving. The suggested site of this quarry was in Net municipality near the Nanpil River. This area is quite heavily forested, and consequently the conduct of an accurate survey could turn out to be a time con-


PACIFIC OCEAN
TAKATIK IS.
PONAPE
AIRFIELD
Harbor
Dock
CAUSEWAY
NORTH
SOKEHS IS.
DAU SOKELE BRIDGE
SOKEHS IS. BRIDGE
KOLONIA
PONAPE AGRICULTURAL STATION
POWER PLANT
LEGEND:
PROPOSED A.C. PAVEMENT CONSTRUCTION OF PONAPE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.
2000' 0 2000' 4000'
GRAPHIC SCALE
OICC MARIANAS
NAVFACENGCOM CONTRACTS
PONAPE AIRPORT IMPROVEMENT PROJECT
PONAPE DISTRICT, TTPI
TT 176-19
PLATE-3
VICINITY PLAN
PROPOSED AIRPORT IMPROVEMENTS.



PROJECT SKETCH (N.T.S.)

PONAPE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

IMPROVEMENTS PLAN

PONAPE DISTRICT, TTPI

GRAPHIC SCALE

PLATE 4

PONAPE AIRPORT IMPROVEMENTS

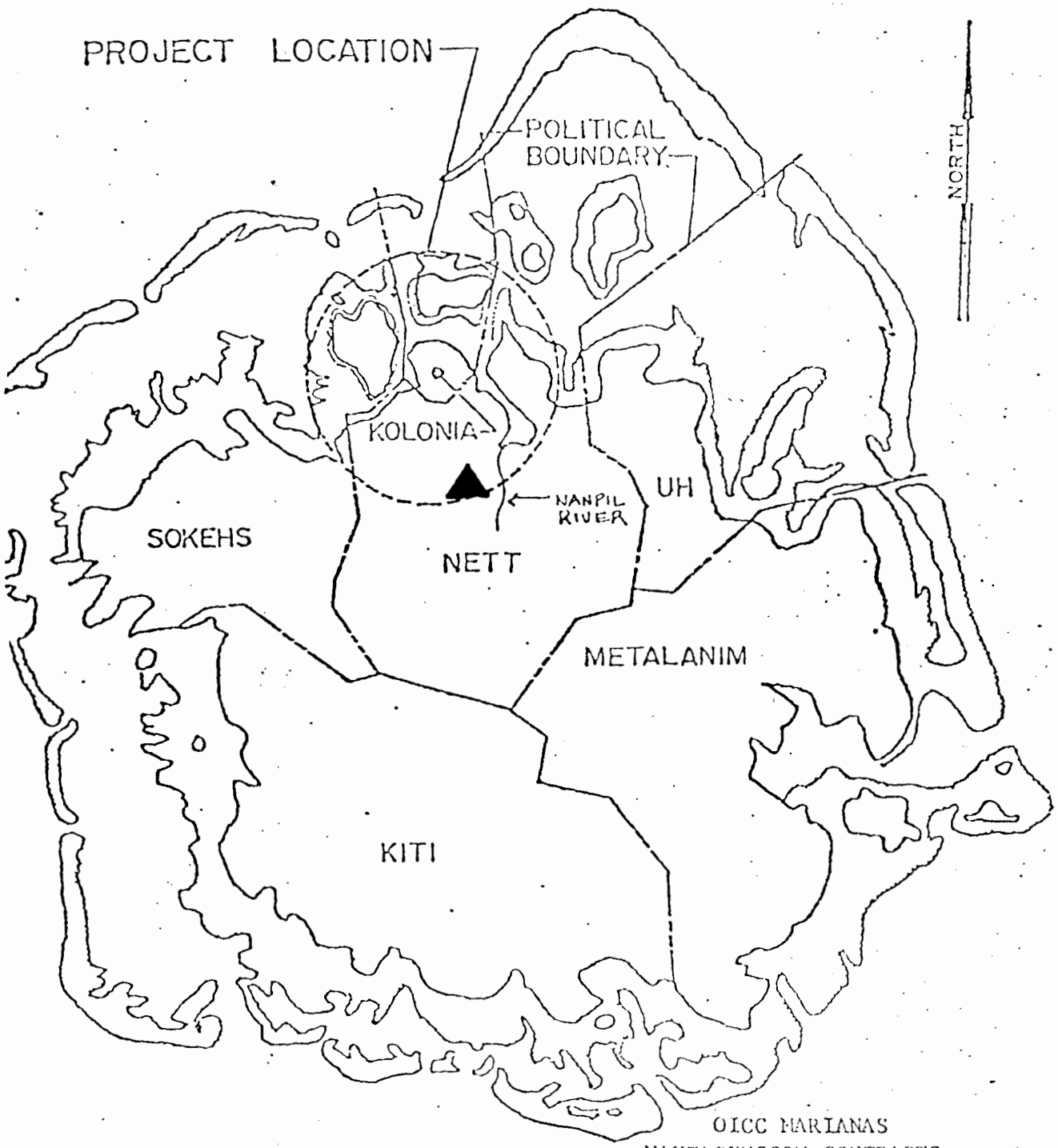
suming project for the committee.

To complicate matters, on February 22, 1978, the committee received news that a bill was being considered in the Resources and Development Committee of the Congress of Micronesia that would seem to eliminate historic preservation review procedures for construction within designated "industrial park areas". The chairman of the committee appeared before the Resources and Development Committee at a public hearing, and strongly urged that committee to either kill the bill or amend it to incorporate Title 67 of the Trust Teritory Code, the Historic Preservation law.[3]

The Resources and Development Committee decided to amend the bill to include, among other changes, a clause specifying adherence to Historic Preservation regulations. The bill was ultimately vetoed, though, by High Commissioner Adrian Winkel on March 29,1978 (Pacific Daily News,March 1978). One must wonder, recalling the problems caused by non-compliance of the government with Historic Preservation laws in the Truk airport controversy, if the intent of the bill had been to create a loophole in existing regulations.

Later, on February 22, the same day that news of the Resources and Development bill had been received, the HPC received a memo from the Distad urging prompt action on the required surveys for the Capital Improvement Program construction projects. The following day, the chairman called a meeting to discuss a variety of issues before the committee. The chairman expressed his displeasure with the Distad, but called a meeting of HPC members for February 27 to survey the Net Quarry site.

When that day arrived, only Pensile Lawrence and Narsi Kostka traveled to the site of the proposed quarry and began to interview



OICC MARIANAS
NAVFACENGCOM CONTRACTS

PONAPE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IMPROVEMENTS
PONAPE DISTRICT, TTPI
TT 176-19

▲ – PROPOSED QUARRY

10,000' 0 20,000'
GRAPHIC SCALE

PLATE-5
PROPOSED NANPIL QUARRY SITE

various individuals concerning the existence of potential historic sites in the area. Although several legends were elucidated, none of those interviewed claimed any knowledge of specific sites. Pensile and Narsi returned to Kolonia with the intention of conducting a more in-depth survey of the area when detailed maps and plans became available.

Uncharacteristically, however, members of the committee did not return to complete this survey during the period covered by this review. There may be several reasons why a detailed inspection of the area was delayed. One reason might be presumed to be simply neglect. However, there may be a far more complex explanation for the situation. As mentioned previously, the Ponape District Charter had a major impact on the roles of traditional leaders and chief magistrates, in the latter case because the legislature had reserved for itself the authority to levy taxes. As a consequence, the municipalities were very much interested in alternative means of collecting revenues. It is possible, therefore, that operation of the Nanpil Quarry offered a potential long range source of revenue for Net municipality. It is also quite possible that the failure to complete an in-depth cultural resource survey was due to the conflict of interest for the chairman of the HPC as both Dauk Net and chief magistrate of Net municipality. A cursory survey, later carried out by Melody Actouka and Dr. Arthur Saxe, archeologists engaged in work at Nan Madol, and several members of the Lands and Surveys Department revealed two recently built house platforms (Saxe, Allenson and Loughridge 1980:Appendix II,p.6).

It is my feeling that the chairman, fearing there might be more sites in the area, did not actively seek completion of an in-depth

survey as he had done in Madolenihmw, Kiti, and other areas.[4] Although he may not have deliberately prevented the committee from completing the survey, the chairman may simply have allowed other work to take precedence over the quarry issue.

During the month of February, 1978, an American attorney named James P. Hagerstrom, working privately as an advisor to the district administration, informed the HPC of a scrap-metal salvage operation that was to be carried out on Ponape. An American company, Rowan's American Export, had entered into an exclusive franchise agreement with the district, and it was the firm's intention to cooperate with the Historic Preservation Committee in identifying features of historical importance. At the time of the request, the committee was tied up with a number of other urgent matters and their response to Hagerstrom's request for a survey was delayed (P.H.P.C. 1978c). A number of areas, distributed over the entire island, were to be explored for salvage. Much of the material was of Japanese origin and had been untouched since World War II. Of particular historical importance to the committee were two areas, Langar Island, site of a Japanese seaplane landing ramp and innumerable war objects, and the old Japanese sugar mill in Sapwalap, Madolenihmw.

In order to fully explain the salvage operation, the exclusive franchise agreement with the district, and the law enabling a "foreign" corporation to carry out a salvage operation, Hagerstrom asked to meet with the HPC and the chief magistrates of all municipalities. During the meeting, Hagerstrom explained that the salvage company would negotiate privately with individual land owners for metal on their property. He then explained that a Ponape district law, L.B. 202, actually gave the government the power to remove scrap metal

from private property (Personal Communication, Denoncour to King, April 11, 1978). The chief magistrate of Madolenihmw, Ekiner Elias, protested, saying the bill was unconstitutional, but that he would withhold his opposition to the project until the HPC had completed its survey (Ibid.). It was quite evident, however, that he was particularly opposed to the salvage of the old Japanese sugar mill. Elias felt that the mill should be restored and preserved as an historic site. As a result of his opposition, the committee delayed a decision on the issue and failed to show up at a scheduled inspection of Langer Island. The island's chief magistrates had much to gain from cooperating with the committee, both in terms of historical interests and monetary interests as well. Their collective opposition could delay and possibly prevent the salvage operation from clearing Langer Island and the sugar mill. No official disapproval was communicated to Hagerstrom by the committee during this time, but its general inaction did effectively delay the operation.

Gradually, the committee began to expand its influence over the activities of various government agencies on Ponape. A particular example of this concerned a plan by the office of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) to clear vegetation from several islets at Nan Madol. The CETA office intended to hire a group of unemployed Ponapean youths to clear the various islets in order to facilitate visitor access to this historic site. Because Nan Madol is on the National Register of Historic Places, any kind of preservation work is subject to regulation according to guidelines designed to protect the site. CETA was not aware of these guidelines, but Dan High, the T.T. attorney-general, had in-

formed that office that, indeed, there were laws which had to be followed. Several of the committee members met with the CETA program director and explained the guidelines. The members proposed a resolution of the problem by suggesting that committee member Kesner Hadley, an acknowledged traditional authority on the site, supervise the clearance work (Ibid.). The effect of the agreement would, once again, allow the committee to extend its influence over government agency plans which might affect areas of historic value.

The accomplishments of the Ponape HPC were becoming well known throughout the island. Prior to this time, the committee had not established a close relationship with either the Distad's office or the District Legislature. There had been occasional communication with the Distad, but generally it was in connection with surveys of the Capital Improvement Projects. There had been almost no contact with the legislature until mid-April, 1978. In both cases, this lack of communication tended to serve the interests of the committee, in that the HPC did not have to continually justify its decisions, or place itself in a position where it could be pressured by either the executive or legislative branch of the government. The committee preferred to operate independently and did so throughout this period. By mid-April, however, mutual interests suggested the desirability of a meeting between the legislature and several of the committee. The legislature wished to understand better the functions of the HPC, and the committee sought funds and stronger Historic Preservation legislation.

Dr. Arthur Sax accompanied Pensile Lawrence in discussions with various legislators on April 19 and May 19, explaining the work of the HPC at Nan Madol and in connection with the proposed road con-

struction (Saxe, Allenson and Loughridge 1980:Appendix II,p.14). The two men also explored possibilities for more comprehensive Historic Preservation legislation. Later, coordinator Narsi Kostka provided the legislature with a report on the committee's work in Madolenihmw (P.H.P.C. 1978d). The committee later met with Dr. Thomas King and outlined what they considered to be important provisions in a new Historic Preservation bill. A draft was produced and distributed to the legislature for its information (P.H.P.C. 1978e). However, no significant Historic Preservation legislation was passed at this time.

On June 5, the Distad requested a meeting with the committee's coordinator, Narsi Kostka. During the meeting, Narsi explained in detail the federal regulations on Historic Preservation and how the various government agencies were cooperating with the committee to ensure full compliance with the law. The Distad indicated his general displeasure with the concept of Historic Preservation, and expressed the hope that a controversy such as the one at Truk Airport would never occur on Ponape. He said he felt that Historic Preservation regulations were an impediment to economic development on Ponape. The Distad concluded by urging the committee to quickly com- its surveys and grant its approval of upcoming construction projects, so as to prevent the district from losing federal monies for construction (P.H.P.C. 1978f).

With both the legislature and the Distad, their prior lack of contact had allowed the committee to operate without any heavy political pressure from the more powerful sectors of the government. Upon establishing regular communication, the committee would later come under increasing pressure to satisfy the economically-motivated

demands of both the Distad and the legislature. During the period under review, however, the HPC was able to effectively monitor and influence construction activities all over the island at its own pace and without interruption. It was able to accomplish this because relatively few people knew or understood Historic Preservation laws concerning federally funded construction. The committee also benefited from the reputation that Historic Preservation had established in Truk. More importantly, the group had a powerful and forceful chairman who recognized the potential for wider political power inherent in the program. Exercising such power, the chairman sought to advance the interests of the traditional system as well as those of the municipal governments. For other members of the committee it offered status and prestige and a place in the introduced administration where they could be publically recognized, not for their ability to speak English or for their expertise in winning votes, but for their Ponapean identity and their unquestioned knowledge of things Ponapean.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing Ponapean political development, it is apparent that the traditional system has undergone a series of changes since the island's discovery by the West. Those changes have modified a social organization which continues, however, to be characterized by a high degree of political activity and interpersonal competition for status, prestige, and power.

While the high-titled individuals of the two ruling lines in each tribal area struggle among themselves for the right to the title of Nahnmwarki or Nahnken, the commoners, by displaying exceptional achievement in crop production, showing loyalty to the chiefs, and exibiting unusual prowess in other activities, can also seek to improve their status in the social order. The elements of social mobility and the dynamics of promotion and succession create a flexible, organic society which contrasts with some societies elsewhere in Micronesia and Polynesia where positions of power and status are primarily functions of proper birth. The flexibility of this political system has helped to define Ponapean response to foreign contact.

In many instances, absorption of foreign ideas and institutions was primarily a function of prevailing socio-political needs. The most outstanding examples of this were the religious alliances that developed along the lines of age-old political divisions in the latter part of the 19th Century. Conversions of high chiefs to Pro-

testant or Catholic Christianity frequently were prompted by a prior threat from an opposing tribe, clan, or individual. Men like Henry Nanpei forced the traditional system to expand its boundaries in order to absorb ever-changing political realities induced by Western contact.

Gradually, Western modes of achievement became one of the considerations recognized by the chiefs in awarding the various commoner titles. In fact, during the American period the number of koanoat titles increased greatly over earlier periods of Ponapean contact history. The effect in the changing society has been to absorb foreign elements into the traditional system of socioeconomic exchange. Members of the new elite now exchange money and imported goods to increase their social prestige through acquisition of the new titles granted by the chiefs. Once again, this response to foreign institutions was based on changing political realities, that is the new educated elite was developing too much power and, in order for the traditional Ponapean system to survive, adjustment to contain the elite was necessary.

Although the Historic Preservation program is a relatively recent phenomenon, the Ponapeans' acceptance of this program and the intense activity by the HPC functioned to satisfy a socio-political need existing at that time. For some of the committee members, it was a defensive response to the decreasing power of the traditional leaders and chief magistrates. For others it offered a positive means to enhance their social status and prestige in relation to their peers.

Most importantly, though, the Ponape Historic Preservation

program has taken its place alongside many other introduced foreign institutions in serving the contemporary social and political interests of Ponapeans. Implementation of this program is unique, however, in that it has allowed members of the committee to perform successfully on primarily Ponapean terms.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Although individuals receive the titles, other members of their respective kin groups assist in the production and preparation of food for competition and hence enjoy added status in the system as well.

Chapter 2

1. O'Connell's interests were best served by recording that he and the other members of his party were the only whites on the island at the time. As mentioned in the text, his treatment by the Ponapeans tends to dispute his contention.

2. In each case, notations from the Hambruch volumes are taken from a rough translation of the original German by Ruth Runeberg and Elizabeth Murphy with the Pacific Islands Studies Program, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, funded by a grant from the Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office.

Chapter 3

1. King received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Riverside. He has served as director of archeological research units at San Francisco State University, University of California at Los Angeles, and UC-Riverside. He was among the founders of the Society for California Archeology and the Society of Professional Archeologists. He has written extensively on the subject of historic preservation and is one of the authors of Anthropology in Historic Preservation: Caring for Culture's Clutter. Most recently he served as the Chief of Staff, President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

2. The Trust Territory government's Capital Improvement Program is administered by the Officer in Charge of Construction (O.I.C.C.), Naval Facilities Engineering Command, based on Guam.

Chapter 4

1. Because of the problems encountered by the committee in documenting "local match" work, the program was faced with a shortage of cash to support its attempts at preservation. As a result, the committee did not receive any compensation for their efforts from September of 1977 to June of 1978.

2. Technically, even the signature of the chairman did not give PTA clearance on their road project. Only the Historic Preservation Officer in Saipan could grant that approval. The chairman realized, however, that without the full support of the committee, unilateral action from Saipan was unlikely.

3. Other interests opposed the bill as well. Many felt that empowering the High Commission to designate industrial park areas was against efforts toward decentralization.

4. Ultimately, the quarry was built and at least for a period of time it was used to supply crushed stone for paving the airport runway.

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APPENDIX A

The Friend, Honolulu
Nov. 1, 1870: 28, 102, 3
MSaP

Treaty with the United States and Inhabitants of Ponape, or Ascension.

Know all the rulers of the earth, that we the King and High Chiefs of the Island of Ponape, do bind ourselves, our heirs, and lawful successors, from this time and forever, to protect the lives and property of all persons who may be shipwrecked on the shores of any part of our territories, and to give them all possible aid and comfort till they are able to leave for their homes, or such other places as they may elect. And further; That such shipwrecked persons shall in no way be restrained of their liberty or freedom while within the limits of our territories, unless for the prevention of crime by such shipwrecked persons. And further; That having voluntarily received missionaries, they shall be allowed perfect freedom in preaching and teaching of their doctrines; nor shall any of our people be forbidden or withheld by any person within the limits of our territories from attending such preaching and teaching. And further, that any of our people who now are, or hereafter may become Christians, shall not be interfered with in their new religious opinions or belief. And further: Any foreigners who may hereafter acquire land in our territories by lawful purchase, shall, on the payment of the sum mutually agreed upon, be furnished with a deed descriptive of the land so purchased, which deed shall secure said purchaser, his heirs, assigns and executors forever in the quiet and peaceable possession of the land. And further: That all foreigners residing or trading within the limits of our territories shall be safe and secure in the possession of their property and the pursuit of their lawful business; nor shall any person within our dominion entice any seaman to desert from his vessel, or harbor or conceal said seaman after such desertion, under a fine of (50) fifty dollars.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our several hands and seals this eighteenth day of June, 1870, on board the United States ship Jamestown.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT OF 1966

AN ACT to Establish a Program for the Preservation of Additional Historic Properties throughout the Nation, and for Other Purposes, Approved October 15, 1966 (Public Law 89-665; 80 STAT. 915; 16 U.S.C. 470) as amended by Public Law 91-243, Public Law 93-54, Public Law 94-422, and Public Law 94-458.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress finds and declares—

(a) That the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic past;

(b) That the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people;

(c) That, in the face of ever-increasing extensions of urban centers, highways, and residential, commercial, and industrial developments, the present governmental and nongovernmental historic preservation programs and activities are inadequate to insure future generations a genuine opportunity to appreciate and enjoy the rich heritage of our Nation; and

(d) That, although the major burdens of historic preservation have been borne and major efforts initiated by private agencies and individuals, and both should continue to play a vital role it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities, to give maximum encouragement to agencies and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, and to assist State and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities.

TITLE I

Section 101

(a) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized—

(1) to expand and maintain a national register of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture, hereinafter referred to as the National Register, and to grant funds to States for the purpose of preparing comprehensive statewide historic surveys and plans, in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary, for the preservation, acquisition, and development of such properties;

(2) to establish a program of matching grants-in-aid to States for projects having as their purpose the preservation for public benefit of properties that are significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture; and

(3) to establish a program of matching grant-in-aid to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, chartered by act of Congress approved October 26, 1949 (63 Stat. 927), as amended, for the purpose of carrying out the responsibilities of the National Trust

(4) to withhold from disclosure to the public information relating to the location of sites or objects listed on the National Register whenever he determines that the disclosure of specific information would create a risk of destruction or harm to such sites or objects.

(b) As used in this Act--

(1) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(2) The term "project" means programs of State and local governments and other public bodies and private organizations and individuals for the acquisition of title or interests in, and for the development of, any district, site, building, structure, or object that is significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture, or property used in connection therewith, and for its development in order to assure the preservation for public benefit of any such historical properties

(3) The term "historic preservation" includes the protection, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, or culture.

(4) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

Section 102

(a) No grant may be made under this Act—

(1) unless application therefor is submitted to the Secretary in accordance with regulations and procedures prescribed by him;

(2) unless the application is in accordance with the comprehensive statewide historic preservation plan which has been approved by the Secretary after considering its relationship to the comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plan prepared pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 897);

(3) for more than 50 per centum of the total cost involved, as determined by the Secretary and his determination shall be final;

(4) unless the grantee has agreed to make such reports, in such form and containing such information as the Secretary may from time to time require.

(5) unless the grantee has agreed to assume, after completion of the project, the total cost of the continued maintenance, repair, and administration of the property in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary; and

(6) until the grantee has complied with such further terms and conditions as the Secretary may deem necessary or advisable.

(b) The Secretary may in his discretion waive the requirements of subsection (a), paragraphs (2) and (5) of this section for any grant under this Act to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, in which case a grant to the National Trust may include funds for the maintenance, repair, and administration of the property in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary.

(c) The Secretary may in his discretion waive the requirements of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) of this section for the purposes of making grants for the preparation of statewide historic preservation plans and surveys and project plans. Any grant made pursuant to this subsection may not exceed 70 per centum of the cost of a project, and the total of such grants made pursuant to this subsection in any one fiscal year may not exceed one-half of the funds appropriated for that fiscal year pursuant to section 108 of this Act.

(a) No State shall be permitted to utilize the value of real property obtained before the date of approval of this Act in meeting the remaining cost of a project for which a grant is made under this Act.

Section 103

(a) The amounts appropriated and made available for grants to the State for comprehensive statewide historic surveys and plans under this Act shall be apportioned among the States by the Secretary on the basis of needs as determined by him.

(b) The amounts appropriated and made available for grants to the States for projects under this Act for each fiscal year shall be apportioned among the States by the Secretary in accordance with needs as disclosed in approved statewide historic preservation plans.

The Secretary shall notify each State of its apportionment, and the amounts thereof shall be available thereafter for payment to such State for projects in accordance with the provisions of this Act. Any amount of any apportionment that has not been paid or obligated by the Secretary during the fiscal year in which such notification is given, and for two fiscal years thereafter, shall be reapportioned by the Secretary in accordance with this subsection.

Section 104

(a) No grant may be made by the Secretary for or on account of any survey or project under this Act with respect to which financial assistance has been given or promised under any other Federal program or activity, and no financial assistance may be given under any other Federal program or activity for or on account of any survey or project with respect to which assistance has been given or promised under this Act.

(b) In order to assure consistency in policies and actions under this Act with other related Federal programs and activities, and to assure coordination of the planning, acquisition, and development assistance to States under this Act with other related Federal programs and activities, the President may issue such

regulations with respect thereto as he deems desirable, and such assistance may be provided only in accordance with such regulations.

Section 105

The beneficiary of assistance under this Act shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the disposition by the beneficiary of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

Section 106

The head of any Federal Agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register. The head of any such Federal agency shall afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under Title II of this Act a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking.

Section 107

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to be applicable to the White House and its grounds, the Supreme Court building and its grounds, or the United States Capitol and its related buildings and grounds.

Section 108

To carry out the provisions of this Act, there is hereby established the Historic Preservation Fund (hereafter referred to as the "fund") in the Treasury of the United States.

There shall be covered into such fund $24,400,000 for fiscal year 1977, $100,000,000 for fiscal year 1978, $100,000,000 for fiscal year 1979, $150,000,000 for fiscal year 1980, and $150,000,000 for fiscal year 1981, from revenues due and payable to the United States under the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (67 Stat. 462, 469) as amended (43 U.S.C. 338), and/or under the Act of June 4, 1920 (41 Stat. 813) as amended (30 U.S.C. 191), notwithstanding any provision of law that such proceeds shall be credited to miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury. Such moneys shall be used only to carry out the purposes of this Act and shall be available for expenditure only when appropriated by the Congress. Any moneys not appropriated shall remain available in the fund until appropriated for said purposes: *Provided*, that appropriations made pursuant to this paragraph may be made without fiscal year limitation.

TITLE II

Section 201

(a) There is established an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") which shall be composed of twenty-nine members as follows:

(1) The Secretary of the Interior,

(2) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development;

(3) The Secretary of Commerce,

(4) The Administrator of the General Services Administration;

(5) The Secretary of the Treasury;

(6) The Attorney General;

(7) The Secretary of Agriculture,

(8) The Secretary of Transportation;

(9) The Secretary of State;

(10) The Secretary of Defense;

(11) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare;

(12) The Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality;

(13) The Chairman of the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities;

(14) The Architect of the Capitol;

(15) The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution;

(16) The Chairman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation;

(17) The President of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers; and

(18) Twelve appointed by the President from outside the Federal Government. In making these appointments, the President shall give due consideration to the selection of officers of State and local governments and individuals who are significantly interested and experienced in the matters to be considered by the Council.

(b) Each member of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (17) of subsection (a) may designate another officer of his department, agency, or organization to serve on the Council in his stead.

(c) Each member of the Council appointed under paragraph (18) of subsection (a) shall serve for a term of five years from the expiration of his predecessor's term; except that the members first appointed under that paragraph shall serve for terms of from one to five years, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, in such manner as to insure that the terms of not less than one nor more than two of them will expire in any one year.

(d) A vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment (and for the balance of the unexpired term).

(e) The Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Council shall be designated by the President. During the absence or disability of the Chairman or when the office is vacant, the Vice Chairman shall act in the place of the Chairman.

(f) Fifteen members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

(g) The Council shall continue in existence until December 31, 1985.

Section 202

(a) The Council shall:--

(1) advise the President and the Congress on matters relating to historic preservation; recommend measures to coordinate activities of Federal, State, and local agencies and private institutions and individuals relating to historic preservation; and advise on the dissemination of information pertaining to such activities;

(2) encourage, in cooperation with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and appropriate private agencies, public interest and participation in historic preservation;

(3) recommend the conduct of studies in such areas as the adequacy of legislative and administrative statutes and regulations pertaining to historic preservation activities of State and local governments and the effects of tax policies at all levels of government on historic preservation;

(4) advise as to guidelines for the assistance of State and local governments in drafting legislation relating to historic preservation; and

(5) encourage, in cooperation with appropriate public and private agencies and institutions, training and education in the field of historic preservation.

(b) The council shall submit annually a comprehensive report of its activities and the results of its studies to the President and the Congress and shall from time to time submit such additional and special reports as it deems advisable. Each report shall propose such legislative enactments and other actions as, in the judgment of the Council, are necessary and appropriate to carry out its recommendations.

Section 203

The Council is authorized to secure directly from any department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality of the executive branch of the Federal Government information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this title; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality is authorized to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics to the extent permitted by law and within available funds.

Section 204

The members of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (17) of section 201 (a) shall serve without additional compensation. The members of the Council appointed under paragraph (18) of section 201(a) shall receive $100 per diem when engaged in the performances of the duties of the Council. All members of the Council shall receive reimbursement for necessary traveling and subsistence expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties of the Council.

Section 205

(a) There shall be an Executive Director of the Council who shall be appointed in the competitive service by the Chairman with the concurrence of the Council. The Executive Director shall report directly to the Council and perform such functions and duties as the Council may prescribe.

(b) The Council shall have a General Counsel, who shall be appointed by the Executive Director. The General Counsel shall report directly to the Executive Director and serve as the Council's legal advisor. The Executive Director shall appoint such other attorneys as may be necessary to assist the General Counsel, represent the Council in courts of law whenever appropriate, assist the Department of Justice in handling litigation concerning the Council in courts of law, and perform such other legal duties and functions as the Executive Director and the Council may direct.

(c) The Executive Director of the Council may appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees in the competitive service as are necessary to perform the functions of the Council at rates not to exceed that now or hereafter prescribed for the highest rate for grade 15 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code: *Provided, however*, That the Executive Director, with the concurrence of the Chairman, may appoint and fix the compensation of not to exceed five employees in the competitive service at rates not to exceed that now or hereafter prescribed for the highest rate of grade 17 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

(d) The Executive Director shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such additional personnel as may be necessary to carry out its duties, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.

(e) The Executive Director of the Council is authorized to procure expert and consultant services in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

(f) Financial and administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel and procurement) shall be provided the Council by the Department of the Interior, for which payments shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement, from funds of the Council in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Chairman of the Council and the Secretary of the Interior; *Provided*, That the regulations of the Department of the Interior for the collection of indebtedness of personnel resulting from erroneous payments (5 U.S.C. 46e) shall apply to the collection of erroneous payments made to or on behalf of a Council employee, and regulations of said Secretary for the administrative control of funds (31 U.S.C. 665(g)) shall apply to appropriations of the Council: *And provided further*, That the Council shall not be required to prescribe such regulations.

(g) The members of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (16) of section 201(a) shall provide the Council, with or without reimbursement as may be agreed upon by the Chairman and the members, with such funds, personnel, facilities, and services under their jurisdiction and control as may be needed by the Council to carry out its duties, to the extent that such funds, personnel, facilities, and services are requested by the Council and are otherwise available for that purpose. To the extent of available appropriations, the Council may obtain, by purchase, rental, donation, or otherwise, such additional property, facilities, and services as may be needed to carry out its duties.

Section 206

(a) The participation of the United States as a member in the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property is hereby authorized.

(b) The Council shall recommend to the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Smithsonian Institution and other public and private organizations concerned with the technical problems of preservation, the members of the official delegation which will participate in the activities of the Centre on behalf of the United States. The Secretary of State shall appoint the members of the official delegation from the persons recommended to him by the Council.

(c) For the purposes of this section there are authorized to be appropriated not more than $175,000 per year for fiscal years 1977, 1978, and 1979; *Provided*, That no appropriation is authorized and no payment shall be made to the Centre in excess of 25 per centum of the total annual assessment of such organization.

Section 207

So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, held, used, programed, or available or to be made available by the Department of the Interior in connection with the functions of the Council, as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall determine, shall be transferred from the Department to the Council within 60 days of the effective date of this Act.

Section 208

Any employee in the competitive service of the United States transferred to the Council under the provisions of this section shall retain all the rights, benefits, and privileges pertaining thereto held prior to such transfer.

Section 209

The Council is exempt from the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (86 Stat. 770), and the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act (80 Stat. 381) shall govern the operations of the Council.

Section 210

Whenever the Council transmits any legislative recommendations, or testimony, or comments on legislation to the President or the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit copies thereof to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. No officer or agency of the United States shall have any authority to require the Council to submit its legislative recommendations, or testimony, or comments on legislation to any officer or agency of the United States for approval, comments, or review, prior to the submission of such recommendations, testimony, or comments to the Congress. In instances in which the Council voluntarily seeks to obtain the comments or review of any officer or agency of the United States, the Council shall include a description of such actions in its legislative recommendations, testimony, or comments on legislation which it transmits to the Congress.

Section 211

The Council is authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to govern the implementation of section 106 of this Act.

Section 212

(a) The Council shall submit its budget annually as a related agency of the Department of the Interior. To carry out the provisions of this title, there are authorized to be appropriated not more than $1,500,000 in fiscal year 1977, $1,750,000 in fiscal year 1978, and $2,000,000 in fiscal year 1979.

(b) Whenever the Council submits any budget estimate or request to the President of the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit copies of that estimate or request to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs."

Presidential Documents

Title 3—The President

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11593

Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and in furtherance of the purposes and policies of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (83 Stat. 852, 42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.), the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (80 Stat. 915, 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.), the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 666, 16 U.S.C. 461 et seq.), and the Antiquities Act of 1906 (34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. *Policy.* The Federal Government shall provide leadership in preserving, restoring and maintaining the historic and cultural environment of the Nation. Agencies of the executive branch of the Government (hereinafter referred to as "Federal agencies") shall (1) administer the cultural properties under their control in a spirit of stewardship and trusteeship for future generations, (2) initiate measures necessary to direct their policies, plans and programs in such a way that federally owned sites, structures, and objects of historical, architectural or archaeological significance are preserved, restored and maintained for the inspiration and benefit of the people, and (3), in consultation with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (16 U.S.C. 470i), institute procedures to assure that Federal plans and programs contribute to the preservation and enhancement of non-federally owned sites, structures and objects of historical, architectural or archaeological significance.

SEC. 2. *Responsibilities of Federal agencies.* Consonant with the provisions of the acts cited in the first paragraph of this order, the heads of Federal agencies shall:

(a) no later than July 1, 1973, with the advice of the Secretary of the Interior, and in cooperation with the liaison officer for historic preservation for the State or territory involved, locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of the Interior all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

(b) exercise caution during the interim period until inventories and evaluations required by subsection (a) are completed to assure that any federally owned property that might qualify for nomination is not inadvertently transferred, sold, demolished or substantially altered. The agency head shall refer any questionable actions to the Secretary of the Interior for an opinion respecting the property's eligibility for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. The Secretary shall consult with the liaison officer for historic preservation for the State or territory

(over)

involved in arriving at his opinion. Where, after a reasonable period in which to review and evaluate the property, the Secretary determines that the property is likely to meet the criteria prescribed for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, the Federal agency head shall reconsider the proposal in light of national environmental and preservation policy. Where, after such reconsideration, the Federal agency head proposes to transfer, sell, demolish or substantially alter the property he shall not act with respect to the property until the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation shall have been provided an opportunity to comment on the proposal.

(c) initiate measures to assure that where as a result of Federal action or assistance a property listed on the National Register of Historic Places is to be substantially altered or demolished, timely steps be taken to make or have made records, including measured drawings, photographs and maps, of the property, and that copy of such records then be deposited in the Library of Congress as part of the Historic American Buildings Survey or Historic American Engineering Record for future use and reference. Agencies may call on the Department of the Interior for advice and technical assistance in the completion of the above records.

(d) initiate measures and procedures to provide for the maintenance, through preservation, rehabilitation, or restoration, of federally owned and registered sites at professional standards prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

(e) submit procedures required pursuant to subsection (d) to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation no later than January 1, 1972, and annually thereafter, for review and comment.

(f) cooperate with purchasers and transferees of a property listed on the National Register of Historic Places in the development of viable plans to use such property in a manner compatible with preservation objectives and which does not result in an unreasonable economic burden to public or private interests.

SEC. 3. *Responsibilities of the Secretary of the Interior.* The Secretary of the Interior shall:

(a) encourage State and local historic preservation officials to evaluate and survey federally owned historic properties and, where appropriate, to nominate such properties for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

(b) develop criteria and procedures to be applied by Federal agencies in the reviews and nominations required by section 2(a). Such criteria and procedures shall be developed in consultation with the affected agencies.

(c) expedite action upon nominations to the National Register of Historic Places concerning federally owned properties proposed for sale, transfer, demolition or substantial alteration.

(d) encourage State and Territorial liaison officers for historic preservation to furnish information upon request to Federal agencies regarding their properties which have been evaluated with respect to historic,

architectural or archaeological significance and which as a result of such evaluations have not been found suitable for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

(e) develop and make available to Federal agencies and State and local governments information concerning professional methods and techniques for preserving, improving, restoring and maintaining historic properties.

(f) advise Federal agencies in the evaluation, identification, preservation, improvement, restoration and maintenance of historic properties.

(g) review and evaluate the plans of transferees of surplus Federal properties transferred for historic monument purposes to assure that the historic character of such properties is preserved in rehabilitation, restoration, improvement, maintenance and repair of such properties.

(h) review and comment upon Federal agency procedures submitted pursuant to section 2(e) of this order.

Richard Nixon

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 13, 1971.