

A History of the Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii at Mānoa
1922-2007

As Considered, Seen and Distilled by

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April 2007

The Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM), may be seen as having a Hawaiian colonial origin, yet a foundation in American academic organization and ethos. Hawaii is unique in America, and UHM is a unique institution—a reflection, or repetition, of mainland universities, yet a product of the Hawaiian context. From the earliest of days—Captain Cook, missionaries, colonials, the intellectuals have seen fit to investigate the lives and ways of the Hawaiian people and the people of Hawai'i. Anthropology in Hawai'i was birthed in this frame, as mainland anthropology earlier was an amalgamation of inquiries into its own Native Americans, the “Indians.” As the 21st century proceeds, our anthropology continues its adherence to mainland agenda, its foci on the natives of the region, and its individual perspectives and priorities of the practitioners. But, while Hawaiian anthropology was once the sole domain of the University and the Bishop Museum, the globalization of the academy places the Department in a new and dangerous environment. The ongoing history suggests that competition and rising voices of native anthropologists will force a radical and continuing rethinking of its future.

The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Department of Anthropology came late to academic anthropology. The Department followed mainland leads. That said, in another sense Hawai'i always lead the way—concerning Hawai'i, Oceania, and Asia. But, initially, The Bernice P. Bishop Museum led, and the University followed. The Museum, founded in 1889 by Charles Reed Bishop in honor of his late wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, aimed to store, preserve,

and value the heritage materials of the Princess's people, the Hawaiians. The museum quickly attracted a range of local and visiting *haole* scholars, as well as such eminent personages as the Maori Sir Peter Buck, or Te Rangi Hiroa. I will not explore much of the early Museum relations,ⁱ but must comment that the first anthropology course taught at UH was by the famous, even today, E. S. Craighill Handy in 1922 (Luomala 1968-69:4)ⁱⁱ. This followed the first Pacific Science Conference in 1920 that brought an impressive group of "early" American anthropologists, and others, to Honolulu. The Bishop Museum got a real shot in the arm from the conference and from its cooperation with Yale University on the Bayard Dominick expedition to various Polynesian islands. (The Marquesas was one of the most prominent in published results, leading to interests that have continued both at the Museum and the Department of Anthropology, UHM.) Interestingly, Handy's courses were offered in the History Department.

Race mixture, race relations, inter-marriage and the migration of new and diverse peoples seems to have played a huge role in funded research in Hawaii from the thirties into the fifties. I suspect a whole book could be written on the attention the sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists brought to this fertile topic. Even the famous Carey D. Miller of Home Economics (Miller Hall is named for her) weighed in with comparative studies of basal metabolism (Luomala op.cit.16)! A staggering amount of money funded years of research. The Rockefeller Foundation, between 1927 and 1937, supplied \$215,000! In 2006 dollars, this would be between \$2,500,000 and \$3,000,000!!! It seems that nothing changes – several faculty members associated with anthropology taught very little, but were, as we say, research faculty funded by the grant. As Katherine Luomala put it "Newcomers to the faculty tend to take for granted the emphasis on research and its sympathetic encouragement by the administration and the board of regents. Perhaps the taking-for-granted is the finest praise for those who established

the tradition and those who fought to keep it during the Great Depression before World War II when it was gravely threatened.” . . . “The subject of racial blending in Hawaii on which all [the social scientists] focused their investigations was certainly a logical and fortunate choice for establishing the University tradition of research and of cooperation between disciplines in both research and teaching” (p. 7).

In anthropology by the late 1920s, resident scholars were already in to the now disparaged study of Hawaiians’ and others’ “cranial architecture” aka skull measurements. Frederic Wood-Jones published his “Measurements and Landmarks in Physical Anthropology (1929). Stanley Porteus, for whom Saunders Hall, the home of the Department of Anthropology, was once named, worked as a psychologist with anthropologists and sociologists concerning native and immigrant peoples. Wood-Jones and Porteus co-taught courses and worked together in interdisciplinary fashion, setting the fashion for future collaborations. When Wood-Jones left in 1930, Harry Shapiro stepped into the void. Shapiro, a Harvard Ph.D., brought a wider focus to research interests and two graduate students, William Lessa and Fred Hulse (Luomala op. cit. 13). These two went on to considerable fame and fortune throughout their careers. (Hulse at the University of Arizona was the mentor of Mike Hanna, a physical anthropologist [Department of Physiology] at UHM from 1968 to 2001. Lessa moved from physical anthropology and became an extremely prominent ethnographer of Micronesia, especially Ulithi Atoll.ⁱⁱⁱ Shapiro lasted until 1938, but only as a Research Associate for the Rockefeller grant, never teaching. He is, in his Hawai’i context, recognized for this monograph *Migration and Environment: A Study of the Physical Characteristics of the Japanese Immigrants to Hawaii and the Effects of Environment on their Descendants* (1939). During this time the prominent sociologists such as Andrew (Andy) Lind (*Island Communities* 1938 and Romanzo Adams (*Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* 1937) were setting the tone for quality research, publication, and teaching. The sociologists, by

sheer weight of numbers and commitment to locally focused research dominated the scene. Anthropology still had yet to claim its full place in the sun. One could argue that in spite of the power of the Rockefeller Program, with its lack of attention to instruction, the research program handicapped anthropology's overall growth. Indeed, about this time the Bishop Museum anthropology flowering was beginning. We see already soon-to-be luminaries such as the Maori Sir/Dr. Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), who also was a Research Associate at UH.

Felix Keesing arrived at UH in 1934. His arrival is clearly a turning point for anthropology, since he is responsible for setting up the department itself.^{iv} Keesing had been engaged in Pacific Island studies for some four years and had worked out of Hawai'i. We mark the formation of the Department of Anthropology as 1934, since it was thusly noted in the University catalog (Luomala op. cit. 19). A sketch on the UHM library archives web site is as follows:

During his stay at the University of Hawai'i Dr. Keesing became department chair for the combined department of Anthropology and Sociology. It appears from the catalogs of courses for 1937/38 and for 1938/1939, that the departments merged effective fall semester 1937. Keesing was listed by the catalogs as chair of the department, 1939/40 and 1940/41. In 1941/42, Keesing is listed as the only full professor in the combined department, with Dr. Andrew Lind as department chair. The following year, Dr. Keesing is not listed as faculty.

In fact, the Department of Anthropology was combined with the Department of Sociology in 1937. Then President Crawford was instrumental in Keesing, Lind, et. al., developing a required foundations course "Introduction to the Study of Man" (Luomala op. cit. 24). One can today only imagine the closeness and the sense of academic community in the small university of the day. That the President was interested in the general education courses, likely knew personally nearly every faculty member, and aided progress is wonderful, and its loss is to be mourned in the 21st century.

Felix Keesing brought considerable status to the department that he was a force in forming. He had experience in the Pacific and the Philippines^v. He gained more experience in Hawai`i, publishing from his research on Molokai (*Hawaiian Homesteading on Molokai* 1936) and *The Philippines: A Nation in the Making* (1937) are only two that can be mentioned. Keesing must be credited with bringing anthropology more to the international front with his role in the well funded Seminar of Education which brought a suite of international scholars to Hawai`i, and for the 1934 Rosenwald Fund grant of \$24,000 for enhancing research in the department (Luomala op. cit. 21). And, in 1936, Keesing guided the first master's thesis in anthropology. Roman R. Cariaga wrote *The Filipinos in Hawaii; Economic and Social Conditions, 1906-1936*^{vi}. Curiously, the thesis is omitted from the master list of departmental theses and dissertations on the departmental web site. As we look at turning points in the development of the Department and of anthropology at Hawaii, the tenure of Felix Keesing, and his eclectic yet rigorous research agenda certainly made a difference in future developments.

Another famous name to influence the Department was John Embree, author of *Suye Mura* (1939)^{vii}, a study of a Japanese village (in Japan). John Embree had graduated from UH as an undergraduate! After gaining his Ph.D., he returned to Hawaii to teach and write the book. I believe that Keesing's and Embree's international Asian scholarship helped push a rather inward looking, Pacific and Hawaii oriented group of scholars towards the focus we enjoy today.

Archaeology and physical anthropology were not in great prominence, but were ably handled by Gordon Bowles. Bowles, a Harvard Ph.D., conducted anthropometric studies and taught, beginning in 1938. Early interests in cranial shapes saw Bowles's student, John de Young, produce an MA thesis on "Preliminary Measurements of the Hawaiian Crania with an Emphasis upon the Frontal Region" (1941)^{viii}. The war years put an end to this, with the Department not recovering this strength until decades later. Of course, one should remember

that any number of part-timers or visitors taught and conducted research. Buck, Emory, and Handy from the Bishop Museum were part of the University community (Luomala op. cit. 26). Linguistic anthropology, the fourth field of the discipline, did exist in the late 1930s, with Denzel Carr, a specialist of Asian languages, teaching within the Department (Luomala: 27).

Judging from Katherine Luomala's enthusiastic report, the years immediately preceding WW II must have been exciting, stimulating, and collegial. She emphasizes the interaction of Bishop Museum and University scholars, although noting that a division of labor, of sorts, existed. UH studied, in the Pacific, "problems of native adjustment to modern conditions or 'acculturation'.... Anthropologists working through the Bishop Museum would engage in reconnaissance studies of native culture as it was before western culture had completely altered the past beyond recognition" (p. 29). In other words, the Museum, as boss dog, got the "good stuff" by the standards of the day! Associate positions allowed individuals to move between the two institutions. Interestingly, she notes that in the 1950s this division began to disappear with the demands of researching post-war peoples and with the creation of the trio of the Museum, the University, and Yale University. But, I get head in time. December 7, 1941 changed it all. The teaching of anthropology continued on a much reduced scale, as nearly all the resident scholars dispersed, participating in the war effort. Their experiences, the demands of the immediate post-war period, and a rush of new, young researchers into the void set anthropology on a new, yet surprisingly similar, course of development.

Perhaps the most important early post-war impact on the Department of Anthropology was the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) Project. This project brought many anthropologists to Hawai'i and the Pacific, and markedly enhanced the Pacific foci of the Department. Leonard Mason, who joined the faculty in 1947 still with only the MA degree (Ph.D. 1955), was a key player in this action. In fact, he spent much if his time at UHM

and until his death, in October 2005, intimately involved with anthropology and policy development aimed at enhancing the quality of life of the Marshallese. I was told, for example, of a case involving land ownership disputes wherein he stood up to the Iroij Laplap “High Chief” who had “grabbed” land, and supported the claims of lesser chiefs. He became something of a hero over this stance (Ben Finney Personal Communication 5-30-2006). Glenn Petersen reports in the April 1997 ASAO Newsletter:

He is one of that generation of scholars who became deeply familiar with Micronesia during the Second World War and who set out in the immediate wake of the war to conduct studies aimed at both rehabilitating the shattered lives of the Micronesian peoples and contributing to our professional knowledge of them.
<http://www.soc.hawaii.edu/asao/pacific/honoraryf/mason.htm>

Len Mason was a long-time Chair of the Department, overseeing its early post-war growth and maintaining a collegial atmosphere and a commitment to quality research. He also maintained the legitimacy of the pre-war interest in applied research, thereby keeping Hawaii anthropology out of the strictly “pure research” fold. This in turn has allowed us today to maintain the legitimacy of multi-disciplinary approach that focuses on application.

The late 1940 and 1950s saw the Department still a small department with an equally small yet dedicated cadre of undergraduate students and a few graduate students. William (Bill) Davenport was an undergraduate working with Kenneth Emory and Sir Peter Buck. Later he was a Research Associate of the Bishop Museum off and on for 21 years, and was a great friend of the Department’s faculty. He also became a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. Katherine Luomala, who joined the faculty in 1946 was a pre-war Museum associate, conducting research that continued into the rest of her illustrious career. Saul Riesenbergs was a Department faculty member, teaching from 1949 to 1957, and then moving to the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology where he spent the rest of his career. He was also a Trust Territory anthropologist and advised concerning policy in American Samoa. An early

member of the CIMA project, he brought the Department's attention of Pohnpei and the Central Caroline Islands. In addition, he was important in furthering the interdisciplinary ties of psychology, anthropology, and sociology (Kyoshi Ikeda, Personal Communication, 5-8-2006). What is joined together can be torn asunder; in 1951 the union of Sociology and Anthropology and Linguistics was severed, separated departments being founded. In spite of numerous efforts to heal the broken marriage (at least by outside counselors/beaurocrats) the divorces are still in place.

David Eyde and Eugene (Gene) Ogan were undergraduate students who went on to professional success. Gene, now resident again in Hawai'i, became a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota. Dave returned on the faculty in the late 1960s, only to move on in 1970. His doctoral studies at Yale were among the Asmat of (now) West Papua. I recall from 1969-1970 his enthusiasm for and tales about living among a people then rather distant from western influences, especially his being taken downriver, terribly sick, in a dug out canoe poled by, yes, cannibals, and wondering where his future lay. On a more sedate note, William (Bill) Bonk went through the Master's program while conducting excavations with Kenneth Emory and fellow student Yoshi Sinoto at South Point and many other sites. Bill's 1954 thesis was "Archaeological Excavations on West Molokai." He then moved to UH Hilo, where he was the mainstay of Big Island archaeology for decades. William Alkire completed his MA thesis in 1959 cultural ecological adaptation in the Carolines, Micronesia, and eventually became a Professor at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

One of our international stars appeared in the Department in 1958, beginning his unusual and especially important contributions to the Pacific and to anthropology. Ben Finney (1958-59) stepped outside the mold and submitted his master's thesis "Hawaiian Surfing, a Study in Culture Change." We will see him return after his Ph.D. at Harvard, from Tahiti and New

Guinea research, to spend the rest of his academic career in the Department. More of his accomplishments will be reviewed later in this paper.

The Master's degree history of the Department certainly contains fine work done by serious scholars. And, with the beginning of the Ph.D. program in 1959, several bright lights appeared, people now seasoned scholars and professionals if not already retired. The first Ph.D. was gained by Adrienne Keppler (BA 59, MA 61, Ph.D. 67) with "The Structure of Tongan Dance." Adrienne went on to an illustrious career as Oceanic Ethnology Curator at the Smithsonian Institution, and long maintained ties to the Department.

The Department's Philippine focus began in 1961 when Harry Nimmo entered the graduate program in the first cohort, beginning his long and successful visits among the Bajau boat people of the southern Philippines. Harry continues to publish, most recently with his innovative and fun fictionalized ethnography "The Songs of Salanda and Other Stories From Sulu." Dick Stone studied intergroup relations among the peoples of Sulu, Philippines, and traffic in Manila, and James Stewart rice farming in Cotabato, Philippines. Alice Dewey, a newly minted Ph.D. from Harvard, a student of Douglas Oliver, joined the faculty in 1962 and, as with the above students, began her intensive commitment to graduate education. Nearly all of the early graduate students in cultural anthropology, and not a few archaeologists, count her as their mentor.

Alice came as a replacement to Robert Jay, with whom she had been associated during Harvard's Java project. Jay was a specialist in Javanese village agriculture and was in the Department about three years. Alice originally came as a one-year replacement in 1961-62, then left for a study of New Caledonian Javanese, and then returned to her permanent faculty position.

In addition to Bill Bonk, William (Pila) Kikuchi was a prominent member of the MA student group, finishing his MA in 1963 on "Archaeological Surface Ruins in American Samoa."

Pila, who also worked with the Bishop Museum, went on to complete a University of Arizona Ph.D. on Hawaiian fishponds. Then Pila settled in to a long career as the anthropologist at Kaua`i Community College. Fred Blake remembers Pila as an outstanding member of the Department's anthropology club and as a leader on hikes to visit archaeological sites. Pila retained his love of outdoors, teaching, and of students until his death in 2003 (Personal Communication, 5-4-2006).

Archaeology took another leap forward in 1961 with Wilhelm G. Solheim II (Bill) joining the faculty. Interestingly, he had earlier worked at South Point with Kenneth Emory, Bill Bonk and Yoshi Sinoto! His doctoral dissertation was a study of the Iron Age Philippines and its pottery. His best-known student, Chester (Chet) Gorman came with Bill, beginning some fifteen years of collaboration and the placement of Southeast Asian archaeology on the world map. Donn Bayard also joined Bill's team, and they together excavated Non Nok Tha, an early village site in Thailand. Chet's research at Spirit Cave threw the archaeological world into disorder when archaeobotanical data suggested an early horticulture. While this hasn't stood up under close scrutiny, Hawaii took off as a center of Southeast Asian archaeology, and has maintained a lead ever since.

As we move further into the 1960s, we see more new faces among both faculty and students. Steve Boggs joined the faculty in 1966, coming from the offices of the American Anthropological Association with interests in education, psychological anthropology and applied research. Fred Blake came as a freshman in 1960, graduating in 1964. Fred, now a leading specialist on China, took classes from Katherine Luomala (a favorite), Alice Dewey, Bob Jay, and Martin Orans, his mentor. Martin was here two years, and was a specialist in India. I note that his loss may be critical as shifting the Department away from South Asian studies, a shift that continues, unfortunately. Fred points out the vibrancy, importance and fun of the

anthropology club, in which both undergraduates and graduates were heavily involved. Students like Chet, Pila, and Patti LaPorte were active in the club, which hiked to heiau, picnicked on the beach, and led students into archaeology projects (Fred Blake Personal Communication 5-4-2006). And then the graduate program started, and the faculty's attention shifted away from undergraduates.

On a different note, a confluence of the Peace Corps, President Tom Hamilton, and the new East-West Center created a powerful new climate for the growth of anthropology. The Peace Corps brought back volunteers excited about transitioning into a scholarly focus on their host communities throughout the Pacific and Asia. President Hamilton is regarded as a friend of the faculty, of research, and of an excellent university. The East-West Center, originally connected with the University, brought quality funding and programs that supported faculty and students and in general favored more applied research. And, at this time, the Bishop Museum was at its best. The archaeology program, led by Kenneth Emory and Yoshi Sinoto had realized substantial research in Hawaii and Polynesia. Putting the EWC, the Museum and the University together with an increase in federal funding for research and student support, all the stops were out- for a while.

As the years moved to the middle of the sixties decade, another set of graduate students began to make their presences known and new faculty came – and went. Among students, Joe Berland, Jean and Warren Peterson, Dawn Ryan, Nancy Pollock, and Karl Hutterer began their climbs to outstanding Ph.D.s. An undergraduate, Francis Ching, went from his BA to head up the new historic preservation/archaeology section of the Division of State Parks. Francis employed many UH students and graduates in his years as a government and then contract archaeologist.

Alice Dewey, known for her pioneering market studies in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, nurtured many of the students of the 60s and 70s – and later. William (Bill) Lebra and Tom Maretzki moved into senior positions as East Asian specialists, both initially interested in Okinawa and psychological anthropology. Tom replaced Len Mason as Chair of the Department in 1965 and Bill created and led the Social Science Research Center (SSRI) in 1962.

Robert (Bob) Harrison, a Borneo specialist, Richard (Dick) Pearson, Henry (Hank) Lewis, joined the mid 60s. Takie (Tak) Lebra, first as a lecturer, transitioned onto a tenure track in 1971 that led to virtual stardom among our faculty. Tak is easily considered the University's leading specialist on Japanese culture, continuing her writing today well into retirement in 1996. Dick Pearson pioneered the archaeology of Okinawa and, indeed, all of East Asia. Rising quickly to Associate Professor, he complemented our cultural anthropology interests in East Asia. Dave Eyde had returned to a faculty position, bringing his skills to bear on the then great interest in New Guinea. Naomi Quinn joined the faculty in 1968, coming from Stanford with a new Ph.D. Hank Lewis started the Department's emphasis on cultural ecology. He joined with geographers to offer ecology field schools in Kohala on the Big Island. During the late 1960s cultural ecology was all the rage, and Hank was a natural teacher and leader. Ahead of his time in fire ecology studies, he went on to promote this field as Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta.

On a personal note, Hank was instrumental in birthing decades of research among the Agta of the Philippines, now one of the better-known societies of hunter-gatherers. Hank had visited Palanan, Isabela, on a break for his doctoral fieldwork among Ilokano rice farmers in the Cagayan Valley. In Palanan, as he told it, he found the Agta, a small, dark-skinned people replete with bows and arrows, loin cloths, and beads. Foragers in the Sierra Madre, he recognized their anthropological interest. Upon joining the Department in 1968, he directed Jean

Peterson to them for her doctoral research. She eventually produced a body of literature that continues to involve us. Her husband, Warren Peterson, excavating the Dimolit site nearby Agta camps, reported one of the seminal sites still considered a marker of early Proto-Austronesian speakers' dispersal south through the archipelago. And, Hank also told me of the Agta immediately upon my joining the Department in 1969. I was actively seeking a society of tropical forest foragers, and soon found the Agta ideal hosts. Eventually – I get ahead temporally – three doctoral dissertations and one master's thesis resulted from Hank's initial insights.

The trip of Kenneth Emory to the University of Arizona in early 1968 brought unexpected impacts on the Department. William Longacre, a young star that UH hoped to hire, hosted him. Kenneth's lecture caught the attention of Rob Hommon and myself, both of us seeing the potential in a "new archaeology" approach to the study of the Hawaiian chiefdoms or a proto-state (in Hommon's view). Hommon joined the Bishop Museum later that year; I agreed to a job offer one year later. In addition, Pila Kikuchi, learning of Arizona, left Hawaii for his Ph.D., as noted above.

The University underwent explosive growth from about 1967 to 1973. Departments were created, programs enhanced, and funding was at unprecedented levels for graduate student support and faculty research. The National Science Foundation and the National Institutes for Health awarded fellowships, doctoral grants, supported undergraduate research, and, in a word, drove a new prosperity in academe.

The Pacific Islands Chair in Anthropology was created in 1968. The first holder of the Chair was Sir Raymond Firth, the grand old man of Pacific and especially Polynesian studies. Sir Raymond taught one year with great effect. The following year the Chair was awarded to Douglas Oliver, a National Academy of Sciences scholar coming from Harvard, who held the position until his retirement in 1978. Perhaps no two men had greater eminence than Firth and

Oliver. Hawaii was blessed with their wisdom and stature in the field, but trouble was waiting in the wings. The Chair had not been endowed, hence the Chair had to scratch for funds, which were beginning to dry up with a very new climate in the country, the University, and the Department. Approval was given in 1980 to once again fill the position which was held for a one year term by Marshall Sahlins, Roger Green and Ward Goodenough.

On the bright side, Irene Takata joined the department as secretary in 1966. She continued to oversee its operation until 1984, when she moved to Urban Planning. Dick Leiban, then Chair, saw her as the ideal secretary, with infinite patience for assisting faculty and students. Part of the success of the department in the troubled days was Irene's mellowing spirit and hard work retyping (oh the bad old days) manuscripts for publication!

The so-called Vietnam War^{ix} was being fought in the countries of Indochina, on the streets of America, and certainly throughout the halls of academe. Students worldwide were engaged in anti-war activities, as we all know. In addition, students and some faculty, especially young, untenured faculty, sought to break down systems of hierarchy, of privileged decision making, and of the control of the "old guard." Hawaii participated in this cultural revolution, albeit perhaps half-heartedly. The political scientist Oliver Lee led an occupation of Bachman Hall. Several anthropology graduate students sought to gain a voice in departmental decisions, including the tenure process. Junior faculty had little voice in hiring and firing, so to speak. The climate was one in which many senior faculty, especially Tom Maretzki (Chair), Bill Lebra (who said what he thought!), and even Bill Solheim were at times cast as enemies of reform. Hank Lewis and Dick Pearson, Associate Professors, were caught in the middle. By 1969, the faculty added Mike Pietrusewsky, Alex Lessin and myself. I was hired as an alternative to an old friend of the Department, William Longacre of Arizona, who declined a job offer. I was his early Ph.D. student in the "new archaeology" and was tasked to conduct Hawaiian archaeology, field

schools, and eventually work among foragers in Asia. Mike P was a new Ph.D. specializing in physical anthropology and human osteology. Roger Green of the Bishop Museum felt that a physical anthropologist would assist in analysis of archaeologically excavated human remains! Roger, who had been Doug Oliver's student at Harvard, and who had worked in Tahiti, was a powerful influence on the development of the Department's program, along with Douglas (Doug) Yen, also of the Museum. They did not figure in the trials and tribulations of the Department's culture wars, having enough on their own hands at the Museum.

All the infighting, worrying about tenure, about fairness in decision making, and posturing came to a head in 1970. Under Dean David Contois' guidance, a new Chair from outside was sought, and found, in Washington, D.C. Richard (Dick) Lieban left his Director's position in the Anthropology Division of the National Science Foundation arriving in spring 1971 (Bill Solheim as Acting Chair succeeded outgoing Tom Maretzki). At the same time the turmoil over the non-tenuring of Thomas (Tom) Gladwin, a darling of those most committed to change, began to subside. One could suggest that as the Asian war effort diminished the *sturm und drang* in the Department subsided. Of course, casualties did occur, and serious losses came with the process. Hank Lewis, Naomi Quinn and Dick Pearson moved to mainland positions. Alex Lessin did not complete his dissertation in time to retain his position and drifted off. Frank Mahoney, a Pacific specialist, was hired but not tenured, due perhaps to bad advice concerning his dossier. He went on to the South Pacific Commission until his premature death. We lost four solid scholars and superb teachers in Mahoney, Pearson, Lewis and Quinn. Archaeology did continue hiring, bringing Dave Tuggle from Arizona in 1970. The Department never regained its prominence in East Asian archaeology, never realized the potential in cultural ecology that Lewis envisioned, and never gained the theoretician that was Quinn. The overall damage to the Department's reputation is hard to assess; certainly I was repeatedly warned that I would be

joining a fractious program. Looking back, the whole affair was one turning in the road. But on the bright side, Ben Finney joined the department, coming from the Australian National University, and after his Harvard Ph.D. on Tahitian peasants and proletarians, after his New Guinea entrepreneurs research, and after his 1966-67 first experiments in nautical anthropology with the reconstructed Polynesian double canoe Nalehia.^x

A second turning point, for the worse, was the 1974 firing of all university untenured faculty. The Chancellor, Durwood Long (not fondly remembered by many) indeed terminated the contracts of all the University's untenured faculty at a moment of supposed fiscal crisis. The termination was eventually "terminated" and assistant professors still had their jobs. But, the Department lost James (Woody) Watson, who left for the London School of Economics, and is now the Chair of the Department of Anthropology at -yes- Harvard. The turn at this point is not the loss of one professor (we did then hire Fred Blake), but the University as a whole lost its momentum, or its possibility of becoming a truly major player in Pacific and Asian Studies. We blinked, and paused, and let our chance slide. Since that time the University of Hawaii has lost ground as a preeminent research institution. Conditions worsened. The social science building, first named Porteus Hall in 1974, then Social Sciences Building in 1998, and in 2001 named Saunders Hall, housed faculty and graduate students, as was planned. Many today forget that the plans included a companion building, to be located where the Queen Lili'okalani Student Center now stands. All the laboratories and research facilities were designed for Porteus Phase II. Alas, as we see, it was never built, a victim of the state's budget crisis and political ill will. Even a meeting with then Governor George Ariyoshi in the SSRI conference room, and a promise to move it ahead, was just that – a promise. Today the space problem has reached a crisis level. The Department, the College, and the University simply lack even remotely adequate research facilities and space. Making matters worse in the 1980s, many faculty members considered,

rightly or wrongly, that then President Matsuda was either disinterested in or hostile to the Arts and Sciences, or to faculty in general. Morale across campus unquestionably fell, and a level of bad blood was reached that has yet to completely subside. I doubt that it will disappear until the last of the 1960s and 1970s hires retire or die.

While the Department was suffering the war years, high quality research and teaching did thrive. Archaeology students joined Bishop Museum researchers in Makaha Valley. The archaeology field school ran from 1967 through 1972 in Kohala, and in the early years received National Science Foundation support for undergraduate participation in research, as well as Hawaiian Homes funding and special legislative line item funding. Dave Tuggle, who joined the faculty in 1970, ran field schools each year, including one in the Philippines, co-taught with Karl Hutterer. Those were the golden years of field schools. Many of Hawaii's present senior archaeologists were trained at Lapakahi and the windward valleys of Kohala. As noted, Hank Lewis's cultural ecology field schools trained graduate students. Stell Newman and Paul Rosendahl gained their Ph.D.s from Kohala excavations. Stell went on to head the State Historic Preservation Office and later to work with the National Park Service before his untimely death. Paul founded a successful archaeological consulting firm, still in operation out of Hilo. University based Hawaiian archaeology began to dominate research, with the Museum beginning to feel budget limitations and its loss of Green and Yen to New Zealand and Australia, respectively.^{xi} Jean Peterson defended her dissertation on the Agta, and Warren his on the Dimolit excavations. Chet Gorman and Donn Bayard defended their Thai researches. Karl Hutterer and Tom Riley, archaeologists of the Philippines and Hawaii, respectively, earned their Ph.D.s. While Jean, Chet and Donn are now deceased, Tom is Dean of Arts and Sciences at North Dakota State University and Karl the Director of the Santa Barbara Natural History Museum. Terry Rambo turned his years of experience in Vietnam to a doctorate that then led to

the East-West Center. Charles Langlas' New Guinea based dissertation led to mainland teaching and then to UH Hilo and work with the Hawaiian community.

More faculty shifts came as hiring and "head hunting" continued on the mainland. Jacob (Jack) Bilmes arrived in 1973 and Fred Blake in 1974. Both moved to tenure track positions in 1975. Although the American university job availability plummeted after 1975, and Hawaii entered an academic recession, the Department rebuilt after the difficult years. Richard (Dick) Nelson replaced Hank Lewis as cultural ecologist in 1971, and soon Richard (Dick) Gould replaced Nelson. Nelson returned to his first loves, the art and independent writing. Gould brought a well-known reputation in archaeology to the department, as well as expertise in Australian archaeology. The cultural ecology program, however, lost steam with Nelson's atheoretical focus and disinterest in maintaining field-training programs. The program was further lost with Gould in the archaeology camp. This was probably a turning point that didn't permit a qualitative growth at a time when the faculty and the times were advantageous. Eventually Gould left for Brown University and underwater archaeology. Leslie (Les) Sponsel took over the cultural ecology program in 1981, in addition bringing interests in the Amazon, primates, and physical anthropology to the field. Splitting his interests between the Amazon and Thailand, and maintaining Nelson's and Gould's relative lack of student field training, the program has not thrived to the extent that he, and the creators, desired. Les has pushed to develop a competitive program, building a network of ecological specialists throughout the University. Hank Lewis was, however, unique in a sense. Few cultural anthropologists are comfortable setting up multi-student training programs, and few still generate the substantial funds necessary.

Alan Howard, however, was an exception to this generalization. Alan is a Pacific, indeed Polynesia specialist and eclectic in his interests. He has focused principally on the island of

Rotuma, although early in his career he developed a large program of research in Nanakuli, on the island of Oahu. Alan joined the Department in 1971 –half time, with the other half at the East-West Center. He shifted to full time in 1979^{xii}. This was followed by a large National Institutes of Health grant to send several graduate students to the field in “pre-doctoral” research. In 1988 he and Mike Hanna and developed a multi-disciplinary team study of Samoans in American Samoa, Hawaii, and California. This program was a combination of medical anthropology, population studies, and ethnography.

Ben Finney was instrumental in founding the Polynesian Voyaging Society and in getting the now famous Hokule’a built for its 1976 voyage to Tahiti and back. This was an innovative experimental voyaging cultural revival program that led to a renaissance in canoe voyaging throughout Polynesia. Significantly, and not adequately recognized is the stimulus Ben’s ideas and results gave to the Hawaiians, Tahitians, and others in their own cultural revival, still ongoing. His recent books, *Sailing in the Wake of Ancestors-Reviving Polynesian Voyaging* and *Voyages of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey* give evidence of this contribution.

Between 1969 and 1979 Alice Dewey chaired 16 completed doctoral dissertations. Dave Tuggle began an intensive program in Hawaiian archaeology by gaining NSF funds for work in the windward valleys of Kohala. Mike Hanna, a physical anthropologist who came to the UH Department of Physiology in 1968, was active with departmental graduate students and with Alan Howard’s Samoa project. Dick Gould took students to Australia’s Central Desert. Yoshi Sinoto of the Museum directed two archaeology field schools in Marlon Brando’s Tahitian island Teti’aroa (1972-73). Dave Tuggle returned to Arizona, Jack came to us after fieldwork in Thailand and became our resident anthropological linguist. Before Jack we relied on Mike Forman in the Linguistics Department; indeed Mike Forman has remained until today a close friend and colleague of Anthropologists.

The research among the Agta of the Philippines was carried out by several graduate students and myself. In 1974-76 I conducted ethnoarchaeological research among Agta, and returned in 1980-82 to study the participation of women in hunting and other subsistence activities. Tom Headland completed his doctorate among Agta, as did Navin Rai. Tom remains a top scholar of Agta and of hunter-gatherers, and brought together the people that helped resolve the infamous Tasaday controversy. Navin went on to a career that has led to a senior position at the World Bank. Connie Clark completed her UHM MA among the Agta, as did Karen Mudar at Michigan State. Marcus Griffin, a UHM Anthropology undergraduate, finished his doctorate in anthropology at the University of Illinois Urban in 1996. His study added to the corpus of data on Agta begun in the late 1960s by Jean Peterson. As a result of Hank Lewis's original assistance, the University of Hawai'i and the Department are very well known in hunter-gatherer circles. The doctorate of a later student, Lye Tuck Po, working among the Batek of Malayasia should also be noted; her research interests were closely related to issues raised among the Agta.

Dick Lieban was responsible for the initial creation of a program in medical anthropology, assisted by Alan Howard. Mike Hanna took an increasingly important role in a broad based medical anthropology. Dick held a "cultural" emphasis concerning medical anthropology, as is shown in his landmark ethnography *Cebuano Sorcery*. Late in his career he returned to the Philippines for a lengthy study of "psychic surgeons" and other folk medical practitioners.

In 1981 Matthew Spriggs joined the archaeology faculty, bringing his unique personality, joie de vivre, and general enthusiasm to Hawaiian archaeology. He was initially a true "new face" and was able to communicate and effect cooperation across line of interest that had developed in local archaeology. He put together a much needed bibliography of manuscripts in Hawaiian archaeology, especially ably gaining copies of contract archaeology reports for the UH

library's Pacific and Hawaiian collections. Spriggs conducted field schools and in general brought new visions into the department's program. Unfortunately, he left for Canberra in 1987.

Two Pacific specialists joined us, Jocelyn Linnekin in 1984 and Michael Graves in 1986. Jocelyn came to us after doctoral research at the University of Chicago under Marshall Sahlins. Her research was conducted within a Hawaiian community on Maui (*Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community* (1985). While in the Department her important ethnohistorical book was published (*Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* 1990). Michael came to us from the University of Guam and from Arizona, where he received his Ph.D. on Kalinga (Philippines) pottery under Bill Longacre. Michael had extensive experience in the American Southwest and in the Mariana Islands.

Ben Finney began his ten year tenure as Chair in January 1986 (through December 1995), succeeding Dick Lieban, who had lasted an amazing fifteen years at the helm of the good ship Anthropology. Ben was instrumental in expanding the archaeology program, negotiating with then College Dean Deane Neubauer. Ben lobbied then Vice President Tony Marsella and Senator Malama Solomon, bringing home new positions, including that of "archaeology laboratory manager." This was a stroke of good fortune, since it led to the hire of Jo Lynn Guinness in 1990, who turned the management of the program around, re-organized the Dean Hall facilities, and continues to keep archaeology on an even keel.

Terry Hunt and Barry Rolett joined the faculty in 1988^{xiii}. Ben's initiative brought them to the Department when Vice President Marsella was convinced that more Hawaiian archaeology would be politically wise and that assigning two FTE slots would do the trick. Terry came to us from the University of Washington, with Hawaii experience, having been an undergraduate at UH Hilo. Barry had excavated in the Marquesas, and was asked to undertake Hawaiian

archaeology as well as develop a major Marquesan focus. Another minor turning point came with both new hires leaving Hawaiian archaeology after a few years and developing major research programs further into the Pacific. Terry ranged widely, settling into Rapa Nui, where he has worked ten years. Barry returned nearly every year to the Marquesas, although he also shifted to Taiwan and now coastal mainland China, on the trail of the illusive ancestors of the Austronesian speaking peoples, or at least their adzes.

Claudia Chang took a position in archaeology in 1988-89, coming from her faculty position at Sweetbriar College. An ethnoarchaeologist with extensive experience among Old World pastoralists, she was interested in working with graduate students and in finding a Pacific research location. She found Hawaii less inviting than expected and returned to Sweetbriar and a career in the archaeology of Bronze Age Kazakhstan. With her loss, Ben assigned her position number to the incoming medical anthropology position while using the medical faculty three quarter position funding to raise selected faculty members' salaries. He, in doing so, dealt with serious salary compression, but brought down the ire of the faculty union on the process, resulting in the next union contract forbidding Chairs' power of salary adjustment. No good deed goes unpunished.

Nina Etkin arrived in 1990 to fill the troubled void in the medical anthropology program left by Dick Lieban's retirement in 1985 and through her great prominence in ethnopharmacology, brought a new and science based emphasis to the medical program. Nina was lured away from the University of Minnesota where she had established a stellar reputation as a medical anthropologist and ethnopharmacologist. At Hawai'i she has continued to dominate those fields as well as interfacing with the Medical School and other programs on campus.

Medical anthropology had flourished in the Department during the tenure of Dick Lieban and with the activities of Alan Howard, Mike Hanna, and several post-doctorates. Several

nursing faculty and students joined the graduate program. A cultural focus dominated fieldwork and theoretical interests, although a more quantitative, biological approach came with Nina. The nursing interests diminished, and graduate students with strong foundations in the sciences appeared. Anna Dixon, Lisa Gollin, Cynthia Fowler, Aunchalee Loscalzo and Pollie Bith all gained strong doctorates in medical anthropology under Nina's guidance.

Ecological anthropology has long been a focus of interest in the Department. As noted earlier, the growth of the program, as indicated by full time faculty, by numbers of enrolled graduate students, and by funding levels and research publications, has not been what past and present ecological anthropologists would want. Unlike medical anthropology, its national and international popularity as a field within anthropology has waxed and waned. Once called Cultural Ecology, now Ecological Anthropology, it has, like medical anthropology, shifted between "cultural" and "hard science" foci. Beginning in the mid-1980s, Les Sponsel has developed a program in "Spiritual Ecology" focusing largely on aspects of Thai Buddhism. Les has also continued his interests in the Yanomamo peoples of Venezuela, most clearly in terms of the Napoleon Chagnon wars.

Ben Finney, already internationally known for his Polynesian voyaging research, moved his ideas on migration to a larger domain in pioneering the anthropology of space. Through books, articles, and conferences he explored humankind's expansion into the solar system and beyond. Joining Carl Sagan, Russian cosmonauts, and the like, he gave a new twist to the exotic.

In 1995 Miriam Stark, yet another student of Bill Longacre joined the faculty as a Southeast Asian archaeologist. Kathy Morrison had replaced Bill Solheim in 1992 upon his retirement in 1991, but she moved on after two years. Miriam brought extensive field experience in the Philippines, Thailand, and the American Southwest. She immediately took over the Cambodian Angkor Borei project started by myself the previous year. James Bayman began as

an instructor in 1994, coming with Miriam from Arizona, but in his case, Arizona State University. He soon developed a program in Hawaiian archaeology and a reputation for superb training of undergraduate students. He assumed an FTE faculty position in 1999 and now is a tenured Associate Professor. A favorite with students, Jim maintains research and field training in Hawaii and Arizona. He also is noted for his advocacy for local participants in archaeology.

Through these years the Department was well handled by, as noted, first Irene Takata, then with the help of Ethel Okamura, who as an APT person^{xiv}, managed the graduate student program from 1971-1990 and, certainly, the graduate students. With Irene's shift, Elaine Nakahashi assumed the position of secretary in 1984, and in April 2006 celebrated her 30th year with UH. Mary Ambrose assumed Ethel's position in 1991 upon the latter's retirement, and in 2002 she in turn retired. Elaine continues to nurture, advise, and tolerate faculty and students with great good humor. She no longer has to type papers as did Irene, since when I was Chair, I informed office staff that faculty could type their own papers since each (except Alice Dewey) had his or her own computer, software, and printer. Many mahalos are due Harry Partika, Head of the College of Social Sciences Information Technology, who has continued over the years to be a strong supporter of the Department.

I became Chair of the Department in January, 1996, and lasted until June 2001, when I moved to the Associate Dean's position in the College of Social Sciences. These were years of very difficult budget cuts (yet again) within the State and the University. My goals included not losing faculty positions as members resigned or retired. With the help of Michael Graves, then Special Assistant to the Vice Chancellor, Carol Eastman (an anthropologist and member of the Department during her tenure), no position counts were lost; perhaps unique within the College's departments. I also tried to smooth relations between the cultural anthropology and archaeology faculty, relations that were at times in the past strained. In addition, I assisted the growing

interest among Hawaiian students in developing an “indigenous anthropology,” efforts led by then graduate students Ty Tengan, Lynette Cruz, and Maria Orr (see Ty’s graduate student publication <http://www.publicanthropology.org/Journals/Grad-j/Hawaii/TenganSept21.htm>). Finally, I began the research program in Cambodia.

During the late 1990s several cultural anthropologists came together to develop the Discursive Practices program. The impetus was in part a result of the College’s demand for departmental strategic plans and mission statements. The faculty and graduate students worked diligently on thinking about the future of the Department and of anthropology itself. [These documents once were on the dept’s web site – gone and forgotten I suppose] Jack Bilmes, Fred Blake, Andy Arno, Gregory Maskarinec, Geoff White and Chris Yano were and are the principals in moving this graduate concentration into reality and excellence. The Discursive Practices program is the newest concentration, adding to the Department’s strengths in ecological and medical anthropology. “The “discursive practice” specialization deals with the processes by which cultural meanings are produced and understood. This approach offers a distinctive perspective on linguistic anthropology as well as cultural anthropology as a whole. It subsumes, but extends well beyond, the traditional field of linguistic anthropology and is central to contemporary cultural anthropology, especially its concern with ethnographic methods. The key objective of a discursive practice approach is to develop theories and techniques relevant to the analysis of meaningful behavior in actual situations”^{xv}.

In 1997, Christine Yano replaced Takie Lebra, who retired in 1996. Chris was well known at UHM, having completed here M.A. in Musicology (Ethnomusicology) and Anthropology, and Ph.D. in Anthropology. Her Ph.D. work was on a Japanese popular music genre, enka, which she analyzed as a cultural form that incorporates constructions of emotion, gender, and the nation. This has been published as *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation*

in Japanese Popular Song (2002). In 2006 Chris published her book *Crowning the Nice Girl: Gender, Ethnicity, and Culture in Hawai'i's Cherry Blossom Festival*. Andy Arno joined the Department in 2000, moving over from the Department of Communication. Previously he had been an anthropologist with the Communication Program at the East-West Center. His “expertise lies in the processes of social ordering through structured communication”... and he is “interested in the entire range of institutionalized systems of communication about social conflict, including art, ritual, and news, that bring processes of social ordering to bear in specific social contexts”^{xvi}. Heather Young Leslie, a medical and feminist anthropologist from Canada, augmented the medical anthropology program and the Pacific focus in 2002. She added a strong ethnographic field methods interest, mid-wifery experience, and long-term research in Tonga to the Department’s strengths.

Ty Kawika Tengan joined the faculty as soon as his dissertation in the Department was completed in 2003. His dissertation “looked at the intersection of gender and culture in the formation of identity in the Hale Mua, a group working to establish a cultural foundation for Hawaiian men through ritual, martial arts, and carving on the island of Maui”^{xvii} Ty is half time with the Department of Ethnic Studies. He continues to strengthen connections among the students and faculty of the Hawaiian community.

Upon my move to the Dean’s office, Michael Graves became Chair of the Department, but delayed assuming the position for a year as he moved out of the Vice Chancellor’s office. Nina Etkin stood in as Acting Chair for a year from 2001-2002; Michael began developing his major research program concerning prehistoric agriculture and settlement in upland Kohala, on the Big Island. This returned UH archaeology to where it had early on flourished under Pearson, Green, Newman and Rosendahl, and where Dave Tuggle and I began our Hawaiian archaeology

careers. Michael retired as Chair and took leave as faculty member in December, 2006, becoming Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico.

Before Michael left he was able to secure Ann Sakaguchi in 2005 as a full time Associate Specialist hire, the first Specialist in the Department. Ann came with a strong background in health that aids the medical anthropology program, and with a large extra-mural training grant in the field of disaster management. Ann, also with health connections throughout the state and with a background in Japanese, brings new multi-disciplinary strengths to the Department.

Geoff White became Chair, replacing Michael, in spring 2007. Geoff had held a half-time Professorship in the Department since 2000, while maintaining a Senior Researcher position at the East-West Center. Geoff has interests in psychological anthropology, the politics and ideology of culture; historical discourse; war memory; culture, self, and emotion; ethnographic methods; Pacific Island societies; and America. Before he became Chair he, with Ty Tengan, began discussion of the history of Hawaiians within the Department.

Alex Golub is the most recent (2006) hire in the Department. He brings us full circle back to former decades interest in New Guinea. In addition, he is closely involved with bringing anthropology and the internet together.

As in the twenties and thirties, lecturers, visiting scholars, and teaching adjuncts have played a major role in the success of the Department; as of late one could often view these as exploited low-wage workers and less as valued and honored colleagues. This is miserable situation, although one worse in many other local and mainland universities. In any case, the contributions of lecturers cannot be slighted. Others are “Cooperating Graduate Faculty,” “Affiliate Graduate Faculty,” and “Adjunct Faculty.” Last but not least are “Emeritus Faculty.”^{xviii}

Dan Brown at UH Hilo Anthropology Department and Rebecca Cann of the UHM Genetics Department are good examples of Cooperating Graduate Faculty. Both have served on graduate student committees, both interact with Manoa colleagues, and both are highly esteemed researchers and teachers. Others during the period covered by this paper include, but are not limited to, Dru Gladney of Asian Studies, Jon Okamura of Ethnic Studies, and Suzanne Falgout of UH West Oahu College. Among Affiliate Graduate Faculty over the years are Nicholas Barker and Jefferson Fox of the East-West Center, Gregory Maskarinec, Director of Research, Family Planning and Community Health, John A. Burns School of Medicine (and an Anthropology UHM Ph.D. graduate), and Rob Borofsky of Hawaii Pacific University (also Anthropology UHM Ph.D.). Gregory, widely recognized as a prominent scholar of religion and Nepal, taught many lower and upper division courses in the Department.

Among lecturers, Richard Rohde gave great service before his early death in 2002. Nancy Cooper and Jaida Samudra each carried a heavy teaching load while conducting new research.

An area yet to be explored in this history is the roles and influences of each Chairperson. Another focus might be the tensions among the fields and programs in a department that adheres to the ideology of a four-field anthropology. This latter has long been a bone of contention, especially when cultural anthropologists have attempted to politically and economically use their beliefs that other fields have been and are subsidiary to cultural. The archaeologists, usually the biggest raisers of extra-mural funds, have at times taken umbrage at such a tone. Once, back in the 1970s, when a suggestion of splitting archaeology out into a new department was tendered, much consternation ensued! In the 1990s, tensions diminished, only, in my opinion, to flourish again after 2000. Much of this discussion centers around the future history of the Department—what kinds of faculty hires will be achieved, what theoretical foci will be favored, and what

directions the Department will take in the face of increasingly diminished resources and lack of State subsidy. I'll leave the legacy of the chairs to a future draft, and end history now.

Of course, "The past is not dead, it's not even past." William Faulkner and, of course again, this paper is far from complete, but there it is. With inspiration, perhaps more will be written, especially concerning accomplishments of alumni.

Many thanks to Ben Finney, Leslie Sponsel and Elaine Nakahashi for their input.

ⁱ I explore Museum/University relations in recent decades in my paper "Hawaiian Archaeology – a Post-Colonial History." *Journal of Hawaiian Archaeology* (Vol. 7, 1999)

ⁱⁱ I draw heavily on Katherine Luomala's (1968-69) history of the Department of Anthropology. This invaluable document contains far more detail than can be included in the present effort.

ⁱⁱⁱ See <http://www.asao.org/pacific/honoraryf/lessa.htm> for an excellent sketch of Lessa's life and contributions.

^{iv} Katherine Luomala notes (p. 18) that she owes her information for the period beginning in 1934 to Keesing himself, through letter communication in 1956.

^v Keesing's later (*Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon 1962*), based largely on earlier work remains a classic for Philippinists. *Social Anthropology in Polynesia* (1953) was a direct result of his Hawaii years.

^{vi} Thanks to Jon Okamura for alerting me to the Caiaga accomplishment.

^{vii} As Ben Finney pointed out to me, John Embree's wife, Ella, a native Russian, was fluent in Japanese. John, less able, was fortunate to have Ella do most of the main fieldwork in Suemura and among Kona coffee growers. Ella, as Ella Wiswell, taught Russian at the University of Hawai'i for many years, dying recently in her nineties.

^{viii} Anthropometry, the study of skeletal material through measurement, lasted at UHM until legal challenges and legislation brought by the Hawaiian community in the 1990s. RIP! The Bowles and the Young skeletal collection was excavated from Makapu, and still today are in great contention as to ultimate disposition.

^{ix} The Vietnam War is named the American War "in other parts."

^x The academic "war" was in full force with radicalized students fighting the appointment, instead favoring Tom Gladwin, the ex-colonial officer of Micronesia and darling of the Students for a Democratic Society. I well recall the vitriol over this appointment and denial of tenure. Things never change in academe. In my opinion Ben has been one of the stars of the Department.

^{xi} Again, see my article "Hawaiian Archaeology: A Post-Colonial History."

^{xii} See the booklet "Anthropologists' Self Portraits: an introduction to faculty at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa" prepared by the Hawaiian Anthropological Association, 1988, for a good view of the faculty at that date.

^{xiii} A good brief on each current faculty member as well as other aspects of the Department may be seen at <http://www.anthropology.hawaii.edu/People/Faculty/index.html>.

^{xiv} APT: "Administrative, Professional, and Technical" is a University of Hawai'i position which usually requires an employee hold a four year college degree. The secretarial and clerical staff need not hold such a degree. APT positions tend to be administrative. Ethel Okamura and Mary Ambrose managed the graduate programs (working with the Graduate Chairs) and the departmental budgets (assisting the Departmental Chairs).

^{xv} www.anthropology.hawaii.edu/programs/specialization/Discursive%20Practice/index.html. (4-23-2007)

^{xvi} <http://www.anthropology.hawaii.edu/people/faculty/arno/> (2006).

^{xvii} <http://www.anthropology.hawaii.edu/people/faculty/tengan/> (2006).

^{xviii} CGF are non-departmental anthropologists in the University of Hawaii system who hold doctoral degrees and may serve on graduate student committees. AGF are anthropologists and those in closely related fields who have been nominated to serve on graduate student committees, but are not in the University of Hawai'i. The Adjunct position is largely a courtesy assignment for someone who is associated in a non-salaried fashion with the department. An Emeritus Professor is a Full Professor who is honored upon retirement by the emeritus title.