

Upon a Stone Altar

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Upon a Stone Altar

A History of the Island of Pohnpei
to 1890

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Editor's Note

TO FULLY APPRECIATE this volume, the reader needs to be informed about David Hanlon's personal relationship with Pohnpei. He first went to this island in the Eastern Carolines in 1970 as a Peace Corps volunteer and remained there for three years. He became fluent in the language and earned the respect and friendship of many of the Pohnpeian people.

After taking an MA degree at Johns Hopkins University and spending two years at the Japanese embassy in Washington, DC, Hanlon returned to Pohnpei to teach at the Community College of Micronesia for the academic years 1977 and 1978. Another year was spent conducting an archaeological survey of historical sites in the north of the island; then, in the summer of 1983, Hanlon returned for more research directly related to this volume. Part of that summer was spent in archival research at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. Hanlon completed his PhD in Pacific history at the University of Hawaii the following year.

In what is becoming a healthy tradition in Pacific scholarship, Hanlon essentially rejects long-standing traditional disciplinary boundaries to present an insightful mixture of cultural anthropology, archaeology, oral traditions, and archival history, tempered by almost seven years of residence on Pohnpei. Combined with his thoughtfulness and his ability as a young and promising historian, the blend is rewarding and makes this work a pleasure to read.

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ROBERT C. KISTE

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Preface

RISING OUT of the ocean with mountain peaks over 2500 feet high, the island at 7° north and 158° east presented a striking contrast to the many coral atolls encountered by European explorers in their travels about the western Pacific. The land, verdant, abundant with food and fresh water, was a welcome sight to mariners after long months at sea. Presuming the rights of discoverers and conquerors, these early voyagers gave different names to the island. One unknown seafaring traveler, perhaps noticing the mystical effect created by the low-lying clouds that often shrouded the tall peaks, called the island Ascension.¹ Later visitors applied more worldly appellations. In 1828 Commander Fedor Lütke, leading a Russian naval expedition through the Pacific, named the island and the atolls nearby the Senyavin Islands after his flagship.² Passing through the area in 1832, Captain L. Fraser of the British ship *Planter* decided on a more regal application; in honor of the reigning English monarch, he bestowed the name William the Fourth Group.³ At different times in various ports of the world, Quirosa, Morris Island, John Bull's Island, and Harper's Island, served as designations for these 129 square miles of Pacific refuge.⁴

The middle decades of the nineteenth century brought more visitors with more names. Straining to distinguish the sounds of a strange, seemingly unintelligible language, ships' captains thought they recognized words such as "Banebe," "Bonabee," "Bonnybay," "Pounipet," and "Ponape" used by the people when pointing to their island.⁵ The men of the ships couldn't be sure; furthermore, the real name of the island was of no consequence to them. The island's only value lay in the respite, provisions, and limited trade items it could supply to visiting whaleships and trading vessels. Rested and restocked, the ships sailed on. For those who cared to listen carefully, however, the people of the island called their home *Pohnpei*.

It took a great while for those from European and American shores to listen. Until fairly recent times, there was little interest in studying the past of a Pacific Island society or, for that matter, of any nonliterate, technologically less sophisticated group of people. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Romanticism's fascination with the neoclassical concept of the noble savage focused European intellectual attention on exotic cultures and lands; this attraction, however, proved to be fleeting, superficial, and not especially enlightening for a civilization committed to a belief in linear historical progression. In the nineteenth century, there came a more systematic inquiry into what made "savages" savage. Western scholarly interest in non-Western societies developed from a desire to understand the factors that led some groups of people to flourish as great civilizations while others perished or stagnated. In their studies, these early social scientists replaced the term "savage" with the only slightly less pejorative "primitive societies." Evolutionists such as Herbert Spencer held primitive societies to be examples of arrested civilizations unable to progress from a simple, homogeneous, technologically backward state to more complex, differentiated, and efficient levels of social organization.⁶ Though himself an evolutionist, Lewis Henry Morgan, laying the foundations for Marxian anthropology, offered a more idealized but equally inaccurate depiction of primitive human beings.⁷ Morgan described the earliest societies formed by human beings as egalitarian communities distinguished by free and open access to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods. He believed that politicization within these early societies eventually led to stratification, exploitation, and inequality.

Neither evolutionists nor early Marxists had touched upon the rich complexity of human societies. The development of anthropology as a formal scholarly discipline helped promote an appreciation of the critical distinctions among different cultures. The particularism of Franz Boas characterized different human societies as unique systems operating, not on external laws of evolutionary growth, but on specific, culturally defined principles.⁸ In helping to develop the science of anthropology, Boas emphasized the role of history in the development of human cultures. Despite coming from somewhat different theoretical perspectives, Marcel Mauss and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, through their ethnographies, focused attention on the institutions, practices, and rituals of human society.⁹ With a wealth of data about structures and functions, anthropologists next turned to a consideration of the meanings that supplied the unity of any given cultural order.

Investigations into the meaning assigned cultural actions quickly invited a larger examination of the thinking employed by different groups of human beings in constructing their societies. With his publication of

The Elementary Forms of Religious Life in 1912, Émile Durkheim had argued early on that the ultimate meaning of religion lay not in any relationship with the supernatural but in the reaffirmation of humans as social beings united, in part, by a strong system of belief.¹⁰ In 1931 Lucien Lévy-Bruhl posited a prelogical mentality for primitive peoples through which they sought to explain their worlds.¹¹ British-trained anthropologists such as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski looked for universal principles or attempted to demonstrate the prime importance of practical reason in the thinking that went into the making of cultures. In his analysis of myth, Claude Lévi-Strauss contended that there exists no qualitative distinction between the so-called primitive mind and scientific thought.¹² He believed the logic of mythical thought to be as clear and as orderly as that of modern society. Human beings, insisted Lévi-Strauss, had been thinking equally well over the course of centuries. Differences between myth and science resulted not from the quality of the intellectual process but from the nature of the problems to which they were applied. Lévi-Strauss' thinking allied itself with the earlier work of Paul Radin who had written of the spirit of inquiry and willingness to speculate among the nonliterate peoples he had studied.¹³

Other anthropologists discovered that "primitive peoples" were logical not only in their explanation of the supernatural but also in their responses to the more mundane forces of change. Through their studies of acculturation, scholars such as Ian Hogbin, Margaret Mead, Ernest Beaglehole, and Raymond Firth demonstrated the vitality and creativity with which living cultures managed change.¹⁴ It was Clifford Geertz, however, who stunned the anthropological world with his description of the destitute peasants, illiterate tradespeople, and common laborers of Java discoursing freely on questions of free will, the properties of God, the nature of time, the reliability of the senses, and the relationship between nature and passion.¹⁵ While many present-day social scientists delve into questions of cognition, behavior, personality, ecology, and systems theories, Geertz, with his emphasis on the detailed or "thick" description required to capture the complexity and richness of the symbolic activity through which cultures express themselves, has contributed perhaps the most to obliterating, in scholarly circles anyway, the often pejorative cultural distinction between the West and the rest of the world.

Historians have been equally slow in recognizing the complexity and worth of most non-Western societies. In the Pacific, this limitation was especially pronounced. Wedded to the written record and bound by cultural prejudices, most historians regarded the Pacific as a largely primitive, inconsequential area of the world, of and by itself. The area's only significance lay in its role as a watery arena for the expansionist activities of Western powers. The kind of history that resulted from this approach

tended to be a largely Eurocentric exercise that, in effect, excluded Pacific Islanders from any role in making their own worlds. This tradition has carried over centuries. Representing a grossly distorted, popular interpretation that persists to this day, Alan Moorehead, in his 1968 work *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767–1840*, wrote of the disease, disruption, death, and cultural destruction that followed when the large, technologically advanced civilizations of the West collided with the small, primitive, technologically backward societies of the Pacific Islands.

Individuals with a more intimate experience of the Pacific discovered a reality quite different from the situation described by Moorehead. Developing a profound respect for the peoples of the Pacific among whom he worked as a government consultant in the post-World War II period, Professor James W. Davidson, the veritable founder of the discipline of Pacific history, encouraged colleagues and graduate students alike at the Australian National University in Canberra to penetrate beyond the borders of the islands they studied to a deeper understanding of life in the heartlands.¹⁶ Davidson's inspiration and guidance led to the writing of "Islander-oriented" histories with a strong commitment to discovering the ways in which island peoples responded to Euro-American intrusion. Through a process of deductive logic, these histories used ships' logs, traders' journals, missionary letters, and colonial documents to demonstrate many instances of different groups of Pacific Islanders managing quite effectively the forces of change brought to their islands from the outside. This extremely important advance in the historiography of the area led to deeper questions about the distinct cultural presuppositions island peoples used to interpret the world about them.

At this critical moment in the development of the discipline of Pacific history, historians, looking for ways to deal more effectively with the island cultures about which they wrote, discovered the work of anthropologists who were seeking a historical framework within which to understand change in the societies they studied. Appearing in the early 1980s, two works—Marshall Sahlins' *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* and Greg Denning's *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880*—marked an important, necessary wedding of history and anthropology in the field of Pacific studies.

In his book, Sahlins views myth as a historical precedent that shaped the Hawaiian response to the arrival of European forces.¹⁷ Using the case of Captain James Cook as Lono, Sahlins explains the death of the British explorer within the Hawaiian cultural context. Cook's second visit to Hawaii in November 1778 coincided strikingly with the celebration of the

makahiki, a yearly rite of thanksgiving and supplication associated with the god Lono. The timing of his visit, his movement around the islands, and his participation in certain rituals, all supported the Hawaiians' identification of Cook with Lono. When bad weather forced Cook's unscheduled return to Hawaii in February 1779, the Hawaiians viewed his reappearance as the action of a greedy, rapacious god, not content with the offerings and sacrifices made to him. Threatened by the presence of an insatiable deity, Hawaiians, in accordance with the logic and patterns of their past, turned upon the supposed god. Cook's death, then, became a historical metaphor for a mythical reality.

Sahlins' use of myth, a source of historical expression better described as accounts of the more distant past, has added a highly enriching dimension to the study of the Pacific Islands. In elucidating the cultural structures that helped shape the Hawaiian response to the outside world, Sahlins has created an important vehicle for bringing nonliterate peoples out of the shadows and placing them in the forefront of histories about their islands. While not arguing for a strictly structural approach to the writing of history, I believe Sahlins' approach does hold particular relevance for the study of Pohnpei's past.

In writing this history of Pohnpei, I have relied on oral traditions that, in speaking of the island's early periods, convey many of the key values that have helped to shape Pohnpeians' involvement with their land and the larger world. Respect for Pohnpeians' own understanding of their past, I think, demands such an approach. Pohnpeians know their past through an extensive body of oral traditions that includes sacred stories (*poadoapoad*), legendary tales (*soaipoad*), songs (*koul*), chants (*ngihs*), prayers (*kapakap*), spells (*winanhi*), and narrative accounts of more recent events (*soai*). For many Western scholars who rely solely on the written word, histories derived from oral traditions constitute an unsettling problem. General objections to the use of oral traditions in the writing of history focus on their loose sense of chronology, their incorporation of the supernatural, their unreliability due either to deliberate distortion or to faulty human memory, and their reference to fundamentally different cultural values and categories not immediately intelligible to outside observers.¹⁸ Problems of transcription, conceptualization, and interpretation, as well as the influence exerted by the situational contexts in which oral traditions are narrated, combine to complicate the work of the most sensitive recorder. There also exist larger epistemological questions and the well-heeded warnings against the dangers of translating the living word to paper.¹⁹ These concerns cannot be dismissed lightly; nonetheless, the fact remains that on Pohnpei oral traditions continue to live beyond the confines of bound pages in the minds of the people. Through

this extensive body of knowledge Pohnpeians know and interpret their past. Oral traditions, then, persist as the principal form of historical expression on Pohnpei.

The use of oral traditions as a historical source also involves a larger issue. Thomas Spear has phrased the issue directly with the question, "Oral Traditions; Whose History?"²⁰ Despite the intensity of the assault upon their oral traditions, Pohnpeians harbor few doubts about themselves and their past. Armed with grandiose theories about Pacific migrations, settlement patterns, and social stratification, many modern scientists have come seeking to fit the island's past into their perfect schemes. Their findings have only tended to confirm what Pohnpeians already knew. Linguistic research has identified influences from both the south and the east, areas referred to in the island's settlement histories as Eir and Katau, respectively.²¹ The discovery of pottery shards at various locations on Pohnpei suggests some form of contact with areas to the west, or Katau Peidi.²² No test pit or radiocarbon date has yet yielded any information that contradicts Pohnpeians' understanding of who they are. A commitment to the use of Pohnpeian sources leads, then, to putting aside the Western scholarly distinction between history and prehistory as a largely meaningless qualification imposed upon the island's past from the outside. Indeed, the vitality of Pohnpeian oral traditions provides access to the larger patterns at work in those periods of the island's past prior to contact with the Euro-American world. Because of this potential for an expanded understanding of Pohnpei's past, I have chosen to describe my work, which seeks in part to examine these larger patterns and their influence upon later events, as a general history rather than an ethnohistory or an account of culture contacts.

Any history of a Pacific island that includes the arrival of Europeans and Americans, however, cannot be one of a people in isolation. In a very real sense, the story of these islands since foreign contact binds together peoples from very different worlds. How then does one present a history that includes both "natives" and "strangers"? Bemoaning the strict empiricism that has tended to dominate the field, Greg Denning urges a cross-cultural approach to the study of Pacific history. "The critical advantage of a cross-cultural approach," writes Denning, "is that cultures in their exposure to one another lay bare their structures of law, of morality, their rationalizations in myth, their expressions in ritual and symbol."²³ A good history of the contact between different cultures, he believes, requires an analysis of the meanings each group gives to its words, gestures, symbols, and rituals; it also requires an appreciation of how these forms of communication are transmitted, received, interpreted, and changed across beaches and other boundaries.

To examine the complex of interaction between Pohnpeians and those

who reached the island from European and American shores, I have employed the writings of beachcombers, whalers, traders, missionaries, travelers, and colonial officials as well as the surprisingly detailed and factually accurate accounts of these relatively recent events provided by Pohnpeians. The accuracy of these observers' descriptions as historical sources suffers from a combination of factors that include the limitations of language, the brevity of direct contact, ethnocentric prejudices, culture shock, and the inordinate attention given to the more exotic aspects of the island's culture.²⁴ To be sure, these ethnohistoric sources often reveal more about the authors and their times than they do about Pohnpei. Still, in the glimpses and information they provide of Pohnpei during the first decades of contact with the Euro-American world, these writings remain an important historical source.

In attempting to compensate for their deficiencies, I have placed these early written accounts against Pohnpeian sources, the existing body of anthropological literature, and my own experience with and knowledge of the island. When necessary and where possible, I have endeavored to correct factual errors, fill in gaps, suggest feasible explanations for Pohnpeian actions, and offer alternative interpretations to the meaning and significance of the events being assessed. In structuring this work, I have avoided any obligatory opening chapter on Pohnpeian culture. Such a standard summation, I feel, would give an idealized, ahistorical, and ultimately distorting view of Pohnpeian culture. Instead, I allow the evidence of my sources, both Pohnpeian and non-Pohnpeian, to determine what statements can be made about the origins, development, persistence, or decline of cultural practices and institutions on the island.

Pohnpei is one of the most interesting and colorful of all Micronesian islands. The island's past, with its rich experience of interchange between its own population and groups of people from the outside, exemplifies many of the major themes and issues current in the study of Pacific Islands history. Since the beginnings of intensive foreign contact, Pohnpei has experienced wars, rebellions, epidemics, forced labor, land seizures, and colonial domination, as well as the less violent but equally powerful experiences of barter with Westerners, conversion to Christianity, and the introduction of modern economic practices. Far from submitting to the consequences of any "fatal impact" with the Euro-American world, Pohnpeians have shown themselves capable of adapting creatively and constructively. In short, Pohnpeians have managed to survive successfully in a modern world not totally of their own making and not completely within their power to control.

I choose to end my study at 1890 for a number of reasons. By that year, a central theme in Pohnpei's past may be seen with considerable clarity. Extensive contact with the Euro-American world, though it had

changed certain aspects of the material culture and severely tested the social order of the island, had not made Pohnpeians any less Pohnpeian. The people had opted for foreign goods, ideas, and practices brought to their island from across vast ocean distances; the selection and adaptation of these resources to the Pohnpeian cultural environment demonstrated a strong conscious practicality. A second reason involves the pattern of resistance to foreign domination. While certain foreign resources proved desirable, domination by the peoples who provided them did not. By 1890 the first colonial overlord, Spain, had been effectively nullified as a dominant force on the island. In their struggle with the Spaniards, Pohnpeians showed themselves both capable and insistent on governing themselves.

Third, 1890 marks the formal departure of the American Protestant missionaries from the island. Until the missionaries' return in 1900, Pohnpei enjoyed respite from a formidable foreign presence that for almost forty years had attempted unsuccessfully to restructure the political, social, economic, and religious order of the island, and through its writings, to reduce the island's past to a simple struggle between good and bad, Christian and pagan, light and dark. Finally, for a historian concerned about the quality of sources, the departure of the missionaries in 1890 marks the end of a considerable body of ethnographic and historical data. Despite their acute cultural biases, the missionaries, more than any other set of foreign observers, tried to describe and understand the ways of a people they found lacking in moral and social graces. Spanish colonial documents from archives in both Madrid and Manila do not begin to match the richness of missionary correspondence; the Spaniards proved as inept at ethnographic description as they did at colonial administration. A second Spanish source, the writings of those Capuchin missionaries who began working on the island in 1887, demonstrates concern more with the politics of proselytizing than with cultural description.

Writing the history of another culture entails the recognition of limits. In its attempt to reconstruct the past, history, by its very nature, is an imperfect discipline. The necessity of including cultural analysis, a process Geertz refers to in positive terms as "guessing at meaning," compounds the inherent shortcoming of writing history.²⁵ Not surprisingly, in carrying out my study of the Pohnpeian past, I have encountered a number of problems, some of which I have not been able to resolve completely. The totality of Pohnpeians' sense of history, for example, is beyond the scope of this work. During my most recent trip to the island, I tried explaining the purpose of my research to a friend and teacher from the south of Pohnpei. I came, I told him, to gather as much information as possible for a history of the island. I added that I hoped to

make my history as Pohnpeian as possible. Without blinking, the man asked if, then, I planned to include a history of the reef, forests, mountains, hills, rivers, streams, boulders, and rocks on the island. I knew him well enough to understand he wasn't being facetious.

The activities of human beings constitute but one part of the island's past; equally important to Pohnpeians are the actions of natural and supernatural forces. The name of the island conveys a very strong indication of the way Pohnpeians view themselves and their past. The word *Pohnpei*, 'Upon a Stone Altar', implies this linkage of the supernatural and natural worlds between which the people of the island seek to mediate with rituals, ceremonies, and prayers. I feel myself capable neither of discerning divine will nor of charting complex geological and biological processes. Still, the reader should be aware that Pohnpeians hold these aspects to be important dimensions in any history of their island.

Pohnpeians possess a keen sense of history; nevertheless, I hope this study will add to their understanding of the past. In this modern age, the people of Pohnpei should find especially useful an increased knowledge of why Europeans and Americans first came to their shores, how these outsiders regarded them, and the ways in which they sought to exploit the island. Colonial and neocolonial structures and practices do carry a strong element of cultural intimidation. Pohnpeians, I think, need to be reminded from time to time of their past successes in dealing with forces of domination from the outside. Non-Pohnpeians, it is hoped, will find pause for thought in a past that involves them, too. Clifford Geertz has expressed it in most moving words:

To see ourselves as others see us can be eye-opening. To see others as sharing a nature with ourselves is the merest decency. But it is from the far more difficult achievement of seeing ourselves amongst others, as a local example of the forms human life has taken, a case among cases, a world among worlds, that the largeness of mind, without which objectivity is self-congratulation and tolerance a sham, comes.²⁶

Finally, there needs to be addressed a concern over the possible intimidation of the written word. I do not intend, or expect, that my history of the island will become *the* history of Pohnpei. While appreciating the gravity of the issue raised, I remain confident of Pohnpeians' sense of themselves and their past. Over time, the people of the island have shown themselves to be neither indiscriminate nor mindless in their use of foreign goods and ideas. I believe their consideration of this work will prove to be no different. Pohnpeians' debates among themselves over the meaning of prior events suggest that they too understand history to be not in itself the past, but rather an interpretation of the past.

On Pohnpei, someone who has just spoken on some aspect of the island's past closes with the words: *Ahi soaipoad rorowei likin ihmwa-mwail. Ma emen mwahngih, e nek kainenela pwe pereki meh i pwapwa pwa*, "My words are placed before you who have listened. Those among you who know better should correct my errors." I offer these words as both a preface and a prologue for the pages that follow; they capture in a succinct way the possibilities and pitfalls involved in the study of the past. The hopes and fears of anyone trying to write the history of a Pacific island could not be expressed more eloquently.

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In this catalogue of deeply felt debts, I have saved mention of some of the most important to last. The years I've lived with Pohnpeians—times which involved many laughs and a few tears—have rendered meaningless the words "thank you." There is no way I can begin to repay these very special people for their warmth, affection, and kindness. They have taught me not only about their past but about how to live in a world that sometimes confounds the best of intentions. The members of the Miguel, Villazon, Eperiam, Ladore, Depit, Andereias, and Hadley families are but some of the many who went out of their way to aid this stranger in crossing some formidable barriers, physical and otherwise, that separate Pohnpei from the rest of the world. I wish to acknowledge also those Pohnpeians whose names are dispersed throughout my bibliography. Academic jargon labels them "informants"; in truth, they are the real historians of Pohnpei.

Finally, there are Messrs. Lino Miguel and Benno Serilo, or Lepen Moar Kiti and Souruko en Tirensapw Kiti as they are more properly and

respectively called. Through droughts, under heavy rains, on the open ocean, in dense rain forests, at funerals, during feasts, over cups of *sakau en Pohnpei*, and occasionally with a few bottles of *sakau en wai*, they took me into Pohnpei's past, allowed me to ask the silliest questions, and patiently explained the meaning and significance of Pohnpeian cultural practices that only I found complicated. Kalangan en Kupwuramwail: Lepen Moar, Sau, oh Mehn Pohnpei koaros.

Spelling and Pronunciation of the Pohnpeian Language

NOTES ON SPELLING

ONE OF THE MOST time-consuming aspects involved in the study of Pohnpeian history is struggling with the different spellings employed by writers over the last 150 years. Despite the standard orthography developed by Kenneth L. Rehg and Damian G. Sohl (*Ponapean-English Dictionary*, 1979), the problem continues, as Pohnpeians from different areas of the island insist, quite understandably, on incorporating dialectical variations into their spelling of the language. The whole issue becomes particularly acute in the case of Pohnpeian place names that, when spelled correctly, can carry substantial clues to the significance of historical events in a given locale. A misrendering of these place names not only results in confusion but invites a misinterpretation of some facet of the island's past.

For purposes of consistency and clarity, I have relied on Rehg and Sohl for the spelling of all Pohnpeian words and titles. The topographic map of the island done by the United States Geological Survey at the request of the United States Department of the Interior and in cooperation with the Pohnpei State Historic Preservation Committee provides me with the spelling for place names on Pohnpei Proper. For the spellings of islets and other areas in Nan Madol, I have used Ayres, Haun, and Mauricio's "Nan Madol Archaeology: 1981 Survey and Excavations," and Masao Hadley's manuscript, "A History of Nan Madol," translated and edited by Paul M. Ehrlich.

Readers interested in the development of Pohnpeian orthography are encouraged to consult the editors' introduction to Luelen Bernart's *The Book of Luelen* (1977), and the introduction to Kenneth L. Rehg's *Ponapean Reference Grammar* (1981, 1-19).

A GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

To assist readers in the pronunciation of the Pohnpeian language, I have included the following table showing Pohnpeian letters, appropriate phonetic symbols, word examples from Pohnpeian, and approximate English equivalents. Note that for the vowels *i*, *e* and *u*, there are two possible pronunciations each. For an explanation of this and other complexities of the Pohnpeian sound system, see Rehg (1981, 20–65).

Pohnpeian letter	International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)	As in the Pohnpeian word	Approximate English equivalent
p	p	pohn	spin
pw	p ^w	pwihl	—
d	t	deke	stick
k	k	kin	skin
s	s ⁱ	soh	miss you
t	tʃ	tih	—
m	m	mehn	man
mw	m ^w	mwahu	—
n	n	nahn	no
ng	ŋ	ngahp	singing
l	l	lih	lean
r	r	rong	—
w	w	wini	window
i	i or j	ni or pei	beat or yes
e	e or ε	esil or de	bait or bet
a	a	amwer	pot
oa	ɔ	roang	bought
o	o	rong	boat
u	u or w	uduk or dahu	boot or wet
h	h	ohl	—

Upon a Stone Altar

CHAPTER I

The Other Side of Yesterday

AMONG THE FOREIGN SHIPS that began reaching Pohnpei with increasing frequency in the 1830s was the British cutter *Lambton* under the command of Captain C. H. Hart. The ship arrived at Pohnpei in January 1836. The events of its first visit gave no hint of the violence that would surround the ship's return later in the year. During the *Lambton's* initial stay, the ship's surgeon, a Dr. Campbell, composed one of the earliest extended accounts of life on Pohnpei, then known to the larger world as Ascension.¹ As would many who followed, Campbell noted the majestic beauty of the island, the quality of its harbors, the fertility of its soil, and the bounty of marine life in its surrounding waters. Campbell also had some kind words for the people. He described them as friendly, intelligent, physically attractive, and fearless. They did suffer, though, from a listlessness caused by a superstitious belief in island spirits. They also, thought the observer, knew precious little about their island's past.

In his journeys about the island, Campbell found particularly fascinating an extensive complex of stone ruins that lay immediately off the southeastern coast. The site consisted of numerous artificial islets built upon coral fill and enclosed by large rectangular columns of prismatic basalt rock. Campbell thought the ruins boasted "an antiquity as great as that of the Pyramids."² He couldn't be sure, however. Language barriers combined with culturally prescribed silence on matters of sacred knowledge thwarted his efforts to gain more information about the site. A frustrated Campbell proclaimed the Pohnpeians ignorant of all traditions concerning "the work of a race of men far surpassing the present generation, over whose memory many ages have rolled, and whose history oblivion has shaded forever, whose greatness and whose power can only now be traced from the scattered remains of the structures they have reared, which now wave with evergreens over the ashes of their departed glory, leaving to posterity the pleasure of speculation and conjecture."³

Had he brought time, patience, and commitment to his inquiry, Campbell eventually could have learned a great deal about the complex of artificial islets the Pohnpeians called Nan Madol and about the island's larger past. Many later visitors to the island shared this rush to judgment; the result was more than a century of "speculation and conjecture" by foreigners about Pohnpei's past. Nevertheless, Pohnpeians continued to speak their own histories of the island among themselves.

Pohnpeian accounts of the island's past begin with a canoe, not with a ship. "A canoe set sail from a foreign shore," commences the first stanza of a song that tells of the creation of the island⁴ (Map 1). Sapikini, a canoe builder in a far-off land to the south called Eir, decided to sail out into the horizon in search of what lay on the other side of Kitoaroileng Dapwaiso, 'the Eaves of Heaven'.⁵ The reason for the voyage remains somewhat unclear, though the use of the term *uiai ala* or, in modern Pohnpeian orthography, *wawaila* 'to go secretly or stealthily', strongly indicates escape or flight from some oppressive circumstance.⁶ If so, the voyage was a purposeful one.

There traveled with Sapikini seven men and nine women; each of these sixteen individuals possessed an almost supernatural skill used to ensure the success of the voyage. Assisted in their journey by a divine wind, the group sailed on until they met an octopus, Litakika, who directed the party toward a large submerged reef extending "from the West to the East." Reaching the reef, the people of the canoe decided to build upon it; what they built was an altar. With help from the heavens, they called forth large rocks to serve as a foundation. They next created a surrounding reef to shelter their work from the heavy seas. For additional protection, they encircled the altar with a line of mangrove trees. All of this done, two of the women, Lioramanipwel and Lisaramanipwel, covered the stone structure with soil they had brought from their homeland in the south.⁷ The voyaging party then stood back and watched as their altar became an island. To mark its holy origins, they named it Pohnpei, 'Upon a Stone Altar'.⁸ The most important of the many statements made about the charter of the new island in the story of Sapikini concerns its sacredness.⁹ From the beginning, Pohnpei existed as a divinely sanctioned land. *Pohnpei sapw sarawi ehu*, "Pohnpei is a holy land," is the first statement Pohnpeians today make about their island.

After planting the fruit seeds and taro shoots they had brought with them, the canoe party sailed on, leaving a man and a woman to protect and populate the land. Other voyages from different areas followed, bringing with them the essentials for life on the new island. A second canoe brought the couple Konopwel and Likarepwel with more soil.¹⁰

Four men from a place called Imwinkatau arrived on a third voyage and instructed the inhabitants of the island on how to build proper shelters.¹¹ Meteriap, carrying with him the ivory nut palm to provide the roofing for the people's dwellings, stepped ashore from a fourth voyage.¹² Fire for cooking, light, and warmth came with Mesia on a fifth voyage.¹³ A sixth voyage out of Katau Peidi 'Downwind Katau' in the west landed the sisters Lisoumokele and Lisoumokiap with important varieties of banana plants and yam seedlings.¹⁴ From Eir in the south, there washed ashore at Mesihso on the eastern coast of the island the first coconut, one of the most versatile and useful of all natural products.¹⁵

The superhuman activities of Pohnpei's first inhabitants created the features of the land. From the magical play of the brothers Sarapwau and Mwohnmur resulted Takaiuh, a rock precipice on the north shore of what is now Madolenihmw Harbor that early nineteenth-century European visitors would call Sugarloaf.¹⁶ A contest between the two boys and the magician Lapoange forged the Lehda River channel in the east.¹⁷ Another legendary struggle between the warrior Saumwin Kepinpil and Warikitam, the emissary of the foreign sorcerer, Souiap, gave rise to the mountains of Kahmar in the north.¹⁸ Gifts from the heavens enriched the island's flora and fauna. The god Luhk bequeathed the kava plant and the pandanus fruit.¹⁹ From the corpse of the divine eel, Mwas en Leng, sprouted a particular variety of banana.²⁰ Mwas en Pahdol, the ancestral mother of the Lasialap clan, provided the island with different species of fish and eel as well as the wild palm tree.²¹ Prayers, spells, and incantations, revealed through contact with godly beings, helped the people harness the productive powers of their island.

Over time, Pohnpei became more than just an island; it developed into an independent, self-sufficient world. The land, rich and bountiful, satisfied all of the people's physical requirements. Taro, yams, breadfruit, sugarcane, bananas, and numerous fruits constituted the basic food supply. The lagoon waters within the island's surrounding reef contained an abundant supply of fish. The meat of dogs, birds, and rats supplemented the people's diet. Men wore a loincloth made from the outer layers of the banana trunk; later, they would weave a *koahl* 'grass skirt' from strips of hibiscus bark. Women wrapped themselves in pieces of cloth shaped from the inner bark of the breadfruit tree. Other species of trees provided valuable materials for shelters, canoes, and weapons.²² The shells of oysters and clams furnished blades for cutting-tools. The people used rocks, big and small, to pound, build, hunt, cook, fight, mark boundaries, and trap and carry supernatural power. In many ways the land defined the character of human activity, determined the range of possibilities, and shaped human values and beliefs. The island took in weary voyagers from distant places, nourished them, and over time, made them

into Mehn Pohnpei or the 'People of Pohnpei'. Gradually there evolved a covenant between the people and their island called *tiahk en sapw* 'the custom of the land'. A resilient, flexible order, *tiahk en sapw* ultimately defined what it meant to be Pohnpeian.

Closely associated with the creation of the island is the coming of Pohnpei's clans (see Appendix 1). The Dipwinmen was the first of the clans to reach the island.²³ Sapikini's canoe returned a second time to Pohnpei. Finding that the life of the new land was secured, the occupants of the canoe urged Limwetu, the woman left behind to watch over and people the land, to gather up her children and return with them to Eir. Limwetu saw how different her children had become from the people of Eir and worried about the consequences of uprooting them from the only home they had ever known. After much agonizing over the decision, she decided to remain with her children on Pohnpei. Though becoming blind and decrepit in her old age, Limwetu did not die; rather, she became a small bird that, the people say, flies about Pohnpei to this day.

The story of Limwetu holds special importance because it records the transformation of an alien people into Pohnpeians and at the same time underscores the clan as the basic distinguishing unit of social organization on the island. The story's focus on Limwetu, rather than her mate Parentu, emphasizes the importance of matrilineality as the determining principle of clan membership. The term *Dipwinmen*, 'Creature Clan', serves to remind clan members of her living presence and of the continuity of their relationship with the land.

As do other clan histories, the story of the Dipwinmen establishes the group's charter; it distinguishes the clan, enhances its reputation through an association with mythical beings and supernatural acts, and legitimizes its place on the land through an account of clan feats, accomplishments, and contributions to the overall life of the island. Other clans reached Pohnpei in this early period. Following the Dipwinmen from the south was the Dipwinwai 'Foreign Clan'.²⁴ The Ledek came from Katau in the east. Clans such as the Lasialap and the Dipwinluhk, claimed descent from divine beings on Pohnpei itself.²⁵ Once these first clans were settled on Pohnpei, division, caused by population pressures, limited access to controlled resources, and internecine feuding over political power gave rise to new clans. The Sounpwok, Sounsamaki, Sounrohi, and Sounpeliempil developed as offshoots from the Dipwinmen, Pohnpei's first clan.²⁶ Many in the West tend to regard such histories with a considerable degree of skepticism; taking a more conciliatory approach, some scholars interpret them as symbolic in both meaning and content. For members of these different Pohnpeian clans, however, these histories exist as articles of faith.

While Pohnpeians understood the bond with the land that united

them, they gave equal importance to the distinctions that separated them. In this early period, the people identified themselves most immediately with their clan (*sou*). Each clan worshipped ancestral spirits, honored a living representation of that spirit, placed strict prohibitions on marriage between fellow clanmates, observed set practices and restrictions, and gave tangible expression to other distinguishing values. The clans spread throughout the different parts of the island with subclans (*keimw*) asserting dominance over large areas, and matrilineages (*keinek*) within the subclans laying claim to particular pieces of land within the larger controlled territory.²⁷ The Dipwinmen concentrated in the south with the senior subclan, the Upwutenpahini, assuming political control; junior subclans, over time, moved west and north into other parts of the island from this southern base. The Dipwinwai spread throughout the island, with one of its subclans, the Sounmwerekirek, ultimately proving dominant in the northwest area of the island now known as Palikir.

Later groups coming to the island found it difficult to earn a place among the entrenched clans. From Katau Peidi in the west sailed the Dipwinpehpe. Landing in the west at Lehnpuwel, now known as Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe were promptly chased into the mountains by the Pwuton, the then dominant clan in the area.²⁸ The Sounkawad from Ratak, an area to the east believed by some to be the eastern chain of the Marshall Islands, experienced a similar fate. Unable to reach any kind of accommodation with the Lasialap and other powerful clans in the north, the Sounkawad sought shelter among the interior mountains in a place called Nankawad.²⁹

Different groups of people had established themselves on Pohnpei; they had made peace with the land, but there was no peace among Pohnpeians. Apart from their relationship with the land, there existed no political order to bind the people as one. Luelen Bernart, the first island historian to express himself in writing, describes the period this way: "Now, the land became larger and also higher and more populous but they had no ruler. There were no nobles. . . . there were also some people who propagated a bad variety of people who were mutations of human beings called cannibals. They were cruel. There were many among them who would eat their siblings . . . if they had the opportunity."³⁰ The mention of cannibals (*liet*) emphasizes strongly the unchecked hostility and aggression that prevailed among and within the clans. Order was needed; as had everything else in this early period, that order came from beyond Pohnpei's shores.

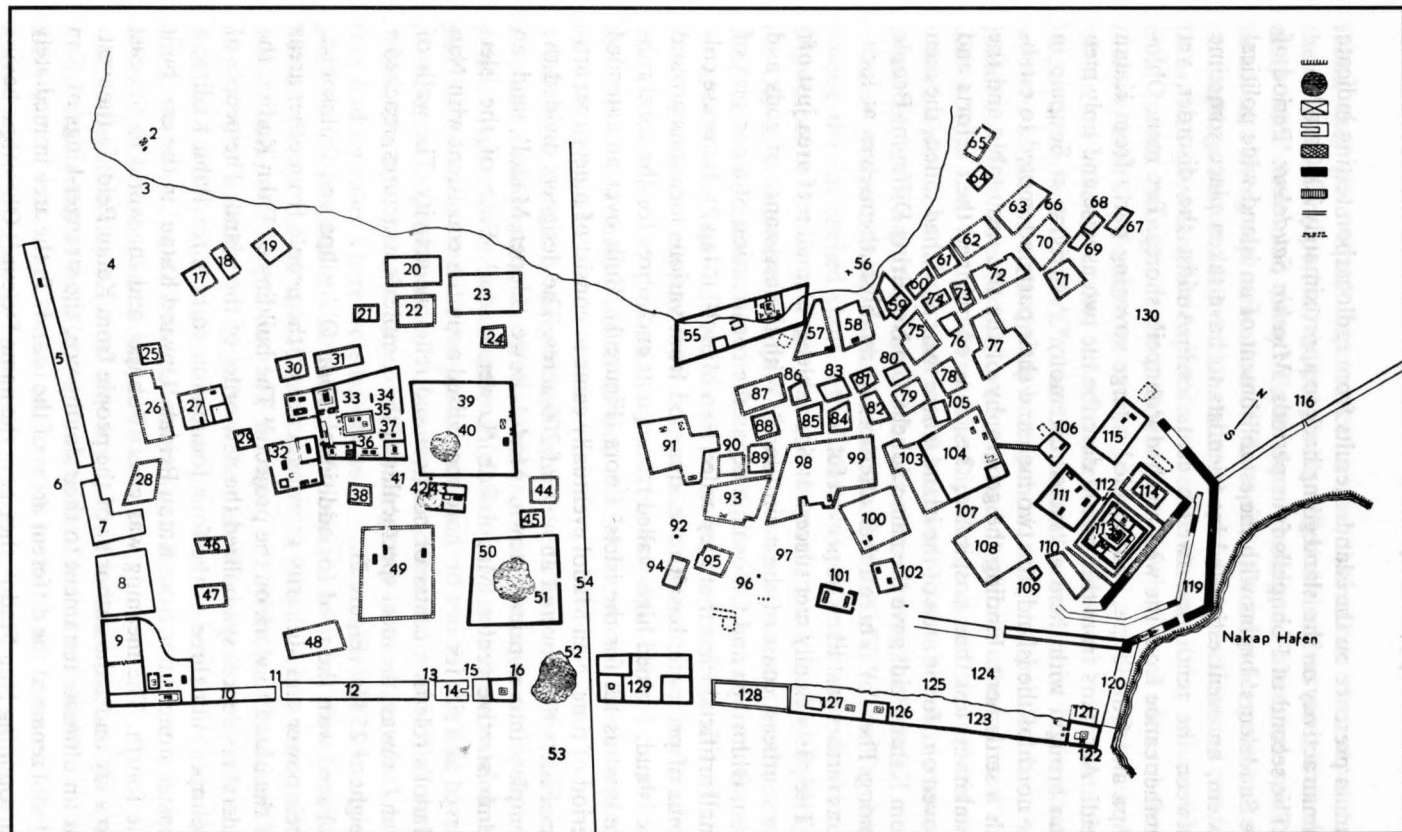
Pohnpeians today refer to this first period in their past as *Mwehin Kawa* 'the Period of Building'. It is identified in time as *keilahn aio* 'the other side of yesterday'.³¹ Not content with such a vague temporal designation, archaeologists have sought a more exact dating of the first

human presence on the island. Results from radiocarbon testing indicate human activity on the island going back to approximately 2000 B.P.³²

The second of Pohnpei's four periods, *Mwehin Saudeleur* 'Period of the Saudeleurs' begins with the establishment of an island-wide political system, an event estimated by scientists to have taken place sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries.³³ Amidst the disorder, yet another canoe from the west reached Pohnpei's shores. Two men, Ohlo-sihpa and Ohlosohpa, commanded a large voyaging party from Katau Peidi. Accounts from this period describe the two as wise and holy men who brought with them a "sacred ceremony."³⁴ Arriving at Soupaip in the north of the island, the two men and their party attempted to establish a settlement. Finding the geography of the site unsuitable and the inhabitants less than hospitable, the group abandoned their efforts and moved on. To the area of the island where their work had failed, the men from Katau Peidi gave the name Sokehs 'Do Not Bring Different People among Them'.³⁵ Three other attempts to establish themselves at locations farther east likewise proved futile.³⁶

The party finally met success at Sounahleng, a small reef area just off the southeast coast of the main island. With the assistance of gods and men, Ohlo-sihpa and Ohlosohpa began the construction of a complex of small artificial islets that they called Nan Madol³⁷ (Map 2). Immense columns of prismatic basalt rock, quarried from various locations around the island, formed high-walled rectangular enclosures for the coral rubble used as fill for the islets' floors (Figure 1). Built over an extended period of time, Nan Madol eventually came to consist of ninety-two artificial islets that covered an area of 200 acres. The designers divided the complex into a priests' town, Madol Powe 'Upper Madol', and an administrative center, Madol Pah 'Lower Madol'. Each of the islets served as a site for one or more specialized activities consistent with Nan Madol's role as a center of political and religious activity. The walls of Nan Dauwas, the most spectacular of the complex's structures, reached a height of 25 feet (Figure 2).

Faced with the need for additional labor, Ohlo-sihpa and Ohlosohpa, their power and authority growing, coerced the people from other areas of the island to work on the project.³⁸ The building of Pahn Kadira, the rulers' residence, symbolized the new order of the island. The people of Pohnpei built three of the four foundation corners for Pahn Kadira; a master stone cutter from Katau Peidak 'Upwind Katau' in the east built the fourth. The meaning was clear: Pohnpei and the world to the east now lay under the authority of the people from Katau Peidi in the west. As an ultimate testament to their dominance, the stranger-kings of Nan Madol renamed the different areas of the island. To the area immediately surrounding Nan Madol, they gave the name Deleur.³⁹ Ohlo-sihpa having



Map 2. Nan Madol, by the German anthropologist Hambruch. (Hambruch 1936, 20)

Nan Madol Place Names

This list was developed by Rufino Mauricio from Paul Hambruch's 1910 map of Nan Madol and from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Sketch no. 328 of the Nan Madol ruins. Hambruch's original spellings have been adjusted to comply with the standards of modern Pohnpeian orthography.

The exact names of several islets within the Nan Madol complex are unknown; in these instances, Mauricio has provided in parentheses English approximations derived from Hambruch's descriptions in German. For further detail, see Ayres, Haun, and Mauricio 1983, 279–281.

1 Temwen	31 Wasaw	61 Peinmei	91 Usennamw	121 Karian
2 Sowihso	32 Kelepwel	62 Likindaloke	92 Lelekatau	122 Karian
3 Likonpalang	33 Pahnkadira	63 Imwinahlap	93 Dapahu	123 Lukepenkarian
4 Nan Lehn Moak	34 (Seat)	64 Peinuht	94 Pahnkatau	124 Leleu
5 Pohnkeimw or Pohnkeimwpaiei	35 (Temple of) Nankieilmwahu	65 Sapwenluhk	95 Paraktuka	125 Pikennahnsapwe
6 Mweiden kitti	36 Keimw en Mahn Dirip	66 Dewenloale	96 Sarwi	126 Sapwuhtik
7 Pahnmwaid	37 (Bath)	67 Imwinmap	97 Madolpowe	127 Angeir
8 Mweid or Mweidalap	38 Peinmwek	68 Map	98 Peilapalap	128 Pahnmmasangap
9 Pahnwi	39 Peikapw	69 Sapwengei	99 Rasalap	129 Lemenkau
10 Pahnwi	40 Namweias	70 Sapwolos	100 Pwilak	130 Pohnmwaidak
11 Mweidenwalwel	41 Keimwen Sokehs	71 Ainiair	101 Peinering	
12 Kepinehd	42 (Turtle)	72 Sapwenpwe	102 Peinioar	
13 Mweidennahnsapwe	43 Idehd	73 Peiniap	103 Pahseid	
14 Pikalap	44 Peitaup	74 Sapwakapw	104 Usendau	
15 Mweidalap	45 Dekehtik	75 Sapwendau	105 Sapwuhtohr	
16 Lemensai	46 Pahniso	76 Sapwuhtik	106 Pwalahng	
17 Peinmet	47 Peinair	77 Sapwuhtir	107 Dewen Nankieilmwahu	
18 Likinsou	48 Mand	78 Nihmokemok	108 Peikapw Sapwawas	
19 Sapw wei	49 Palakapw	79 Nihrik	109 Narukep	
20 Sapwenleng	50 Dorong	80 Nihdor	110 Pahn dauwas	
21 Pedenleng	51 Lehnkai	81 Dauahdpeidak	111 Dau	
22 Pilenleng	52 Nemwenkau	82 Pohndake	112 Dewenkasapahl	
23 Pahn dipap	53 Pohnpikalap	83 Dauahdpeidi	113 Nandauwas	
24 Pedeped	54 Madolpah	84 Usenpei	114 Pohndauwas	
25 Peinpwe	55 Peinkitel	85 Sapwohng	115 Kandorok or Kohnderek	
26 Nihkonok	56 (Spring)	86 Sapwenpei	116 Pohnmwairok	
27 Reilap	57 Peidoh	87 Sakakpeilong	117 Peinot	
28 Dolewe	58 Pwilel	88 Likinpei	118 Peinot	
29 Peiniang	59 Reidipap	89 Sakahpas	119 Nanmwoluhsei	
30 Reitik	60 Sapwereirei	90 Pereilap	120 Lelou	

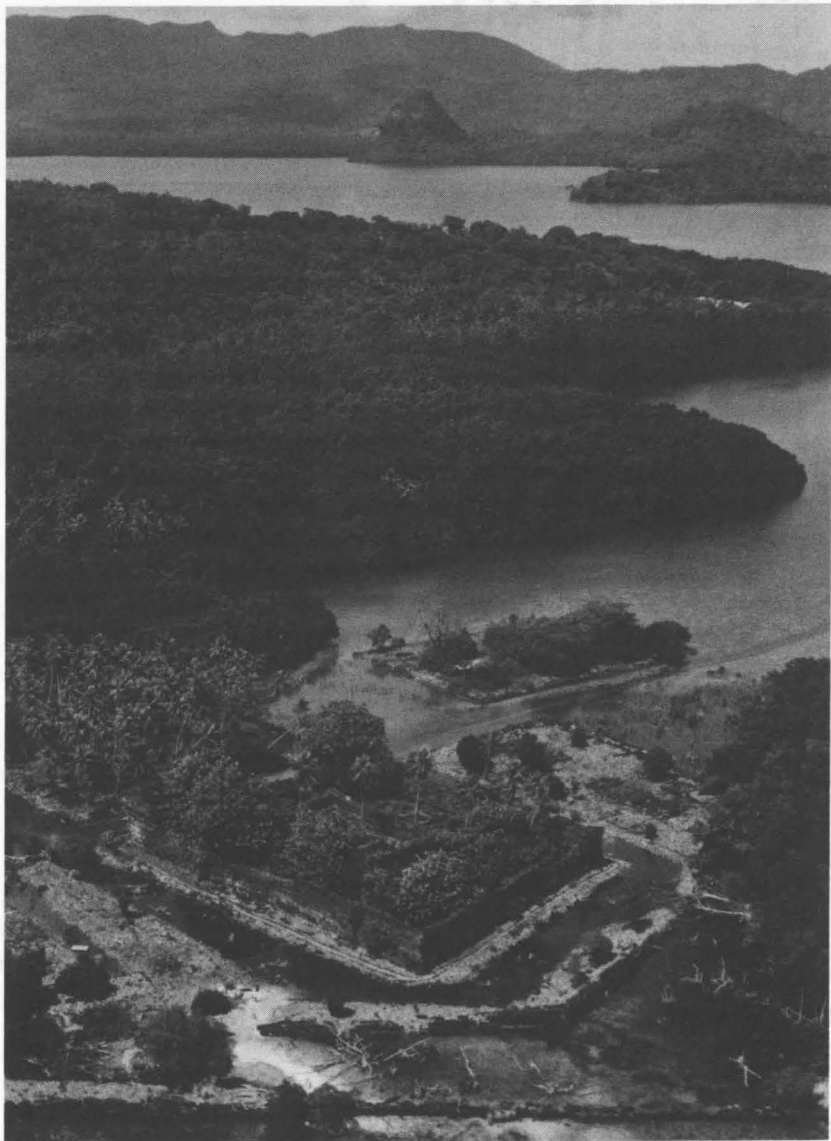


Figure 1. An aerial photograph providing a partial view of the northwest section of the Nan Madol ruins. Temwen Island, Madolenihmw Harbor, the precipice Takaiuh, and the mainland of Pohnpei all can be seen in the background. The large high-walled structure in the right foreground is the islet of Nan Dauwas; the Saudeleurs and later Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw were buried here. Nan Dauwas is numbered as item 113 on Hambruch's map of Nan Madol (see Map 2). (Courtesy of J. Stephen Athens, International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc.)



Figure 2. The exterior west wall of Nan Dauwas. (Courtesy of J. Stephen Athens, International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc.)

died, Ohlosohpa became the first Saudeleur 'Master of Deleur'. The east, west, and north areas of the island received the names Malenkopwale, Kohpwaleng, and Pwapwalik, respectively.⁴⁰ Identified only as members of the Dipwilap 'Great Clan', the Saudeleurs remained apart.⁴¹ Distance bred mystery and intimidation. Nan Madol's offshore location and the megalithic character of its architecture attested to the alien, dominating nature of its inhabitants. Nothing grew in the coral rubble that formed the floors of the islets; tribute in the form of food brought from the island fed the Saudeleur. The rise of Nan Madol brought order to a contentious land, but it was an order born of domination.

In organizing the island under a single political system, the Saudeleurs confirmed the existing territorial divisions on the island.⁴² The eastern area, which the Saudeleurs called Malenkopwale, consisted of seven major divisions: Wenik Peidi, Wenik Peidak, Enimwahn, Lehda, Senipehn, Lepinsed, and Deleur. In the west, were Onohnleng, Kepihleng, Lehnpuwel, and the island of And. Six major areas made up the north: Palikir, Sokehs, Tipwen Dongalap, Kahmar, Nan Mair, and the island of Pakin. The Saudeleurs also recognized the claims of the leading clans in the different areas of the island. Titles were bestowed upon the different sectional chiefs, thereby reconstituting their previously existing authority under the new order of Nan Madol.

The Saudeleurs arranged the tribute schedule to coincide with the island's agricultural seasons.⁴³ During *rak* 'the season of plenty', the rulers of Nan Madol required offerings of breadfruit, which grew bountifully all over the island; in *isol* 'the season of scarcity', the people delivered less plentiful, more labor-demanding foods such as yams, taro, and fermented breadfruit. Special ceremonies marked the beginning and end of each season. There were also designated times for the presentation of food from the seas. Having satisfied their overlords, the people of the island, in each of the two seasons, made similar offerings to their local chiefs.

There developed at Nan Madol a title system denoting clearly defined responsibilities.⁴⁴ A Sou Koampwul served as the Saudeleur's chief adviser. Another individual, Pilik, oversaw the preparation of the Saudeleur's food. A group of specially titled individuals stood watch over the entrance to Pahn Kadirā while Sou Pohn Dauwas guarded the royal dwelling itself. Most important were the obligations of the priests who conducted the ceremonies that, in symbolic manner, reaffirmed Nan Madol's control over the land. The Saudeleurs worshipped Nahnisohtsapw.⁴⁵ At a time determined by divination and the change in agricultural seasons, the priests performed an extended ceremony of homage, supplication, and atonement called the *Pwung en Sapw*.⁴⁶ The ceremony culminated in the offering of a turtle as tribute to Nahn Samwohl, the great saltwater eel that dwelled in a shallow pool on the islet of Idehd in Nan Madol. Nahn Samwohl's acceptance of the offering indicated that Nahnisohtsapw was pleased with the conduct of human affairs on Pohnpei.

Potent symbolism underlay Nahn Samwohl's role as the medium between the people and the Saudeleur's god. Pohnpeians had venerated the eel prior to the establishment of Nan Madol. The cult of Ilake flourished in the area of Onohnleng among a number of the subclans of the Dipwinmen.⁴⁷ The Lasialap, another of the island's senior clans, traced its beginnings back to a sacred eel. Indeed, eels figured prominently in many of the island's traditions. The eel honored by many Pohnpeians, however, was a small freshwater species that inhabited the island's streams. By contrast, Nahn Samwohl was a large moray eel drawn from the ocean waters off Pohnpei; it was large, foreign, frightening, and ravenous. It represented quite effectively Nan Madol's dominance over Pohnpei.

The use of the turtle as an offering to Nahn Samwohl in the closing ceremonies of the *Pwung en Sapw* also held symbolic significance. The Saudeleurs called the three major political entities into which they had divided the island *weis* or *wehis* 'turtle' states.⁴⁸ The story of Liahnensokole and her two sons explains the metaphor of the turtle in the ritual

polity of Nan Madol.⁴⁹ Desirous of eating the meat of a dog, a food reserved almost exclusively for the Saudeleur, the two brothers Senekie and Senekia casually remarked at a public gathering that they would be willing to offer their mother, the turtle Liahnensokole, in return for a chance to partake of the royal delicacy. Hearing of their remark, the Saudeleur gave them a dog to eat and ordered that they bring their mother to Nan Madol the next day. Though overcome by their predicament, the two had no choice but to comply with the Saudeleur's command; the brothers traveled immediately to their mother's dwelling. Before they could state their purpose, Liahnensokole spoke, "You two boys have sold me to the Saudeleur. Clean me and decorate me so that I will be appropriate for Nahn Samwohl." The boys did as they were told, preparing their mother as an offering to the great eel. The sacrifice of the mother thus saved the lives of her sons.

An altar constructed near the islet of Idehd commemorates this first sacrifice. The name given to the sacred piling of stones was *Pei en Nam-weiiias* 'Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle'. The turtle, the symbol of a nourishing mother, represented the land. The Saudeleurs had forced themselves between the land and its people, between the mother and her children. To secure the preservation of life required sacrifice to these demanding, powerful interlopers. As had the two boys, the people of Pohnpei sacrificed their mother, the land, in order to win life from the Saudeleur. Pohnpeian submission to the Saudeleurs, ritually renewed through the ceremonies and sacrifice of the *Pwung en Sapw*, assured survival.

Stories from this second historical period tell of the people's sufferings under the increasing cruelty of their foreign rulers. The Saudeleurs, it was said, controlled all areas of human activity on Pohnpei; so total was their dominance that, during the reign of Sakon Mwehi, a single louse found on a person's body had to be carried straight away to Nan Madol.⁵⁰ Pohnpeians credited the rulers of Nan Madol with being omniscient as well as omnipotent. The Saudeleurs' mythical dog, known by the title *Ounmatakai* 'Watchman of the Land', reported all infractions.⁵¹ At a magical pool called Peirot on the islet of Peikapw, the Saudeleurs could view all events taking place on Pohnpei and beyond; no human activity escaped their notice.⁵² Their cannibalism could be real as well as metaphoric; it is said that one ruler, Raipwinloko, had an intense passion for the taste of human flesh.⁵³ The products of all human endeavors were offered first to the Saudeleur, who took what he pleased for himself and his court, often leaving little for the people of the island.

The story of Satokawai demonstrates the consequences of an individual's failure to give the Saudeleur his required due.⁵⁴ During a fishing expedition, a young man, Satokawai, came upon a large fish stranded on

the reef. The youth took the fish back to his home where he and his mother ate it without giving any consideration to the Saudeleur. Learning of this violation, the Saudeleur ordered the boy to seek out and bring him a scale from the *Malipwur*, a fabled sea creature that no human had ever seen. The task was seemingly impossible. The boy's search took him through strange waters to distant lands. Despite the immense odds, Satokawai, with the help of ocean spirits, managed to secure a scale and return with it to Pohnpei in the body of a fish. The Saudeleur expressed pleasure with the scale and forgave Satokawai his earlier offense. But Satokawai's feat earned him no honor—just a reprieve. Nothing could assuage the young man's intense feelings of anger and humiliation. Calling all of his clanmates together into a single dwelling, Satokawai set the structure on fire and then jumped defiantly into the flames himself. Death provided the only release from the Saudeleur's tyranny. Satokawai's fate showed the futility of resistance to the Saudeleur's rule in the early part of this second period in the island's past; it also demonstrated Pohnpeians' determination to struggle nonetheless in the face of that futility.

Lepen Moar, the ruler of the section called Senipehn in the east, incurred the Saudeleur's wrath over a similar failure to make proper offerings.⁵⁵ For eating a stalk of baked bananas from a pile of food designated as tribute for Nan Madol, a serious breach of ritual etiquette, Lepen Moar was assigned the task of securing a feather from the legendary bird *Derepeiso*. With the aid of clan spirits and divine beings, Lepen Moar succeeded in his task. Like Satokawai, the ruler of Senipehn had accomplished his task with divine assistance; the spirits of the land remained with the people. Unlike Satokawai, Lepen Moar chose life. The story concludes with a mention of the displeasure felt toward the Saudeleur by Inahs, a goddess of the Sounkawad clan of which Lepen Moar was a member. In its reference to the dissatisfaction of indigenous Pohnpeian gods and spirits, the story foreshadows the doom of the Saudeleurs on Pohnpei.

The root cause of Pohnpeian resentment lay in Nan Madol's greed. The Saudeleurs' refusal to return an adequate share of the land's wealth threatened the people's very existence. The story of the brothers Semen Pwei Tikitik and Semen Pwei Lapalap reveals the extent of the people's frustration.⁵⁶ The brothers would sit and watch as fleets of canoes laden with food for the Saudeleur passed by their home on the reef island of Mall. The two felt burdened by their work and by the lack of proper compensation. Despairing of their circumstances, Semen Pwei Lapalap and Semen Pwei Tikitik decided to leave Pohnpei. Only the younger brother survived the trip. Coming to dwell in a land where the chiefs and the people shared authority, Semen Pwei Tikitik learned much; yet, as a

foreigner, he encountered hostility and eventually was forced to leave. With the knowledge he had acquired about life in another land, the young man headed home. As he traveled, his anger grew. Upon reaching Pohnpei's shores, Semen Pwei Tikitik headed straight for Nan Madol. There he confronted the current Saudeleur, describing the oppression that had forced him to leave Pohnpei and the knowledge he had gained about cooperation between chiefs and people and about what it meant to be a foreigner. Semen Pwei Tikitik, his fury becoming uncontrollable, proceeded to kill the Saudeleur. The death of an individual ruler, however, did not end immediately the oppressive ways of the larger Saudeleur rule.

As indicated by later stories of the period, defiance spread. The people of some sections of the island began to assert themselves against foreign domination. In the northwest part of the island, an area under the rule of Lepen Palikir openly defied Nan Madol's power.⁵⁷ Angered by this rebelliousness, the Saudeleur of the time sent his emissary, Sou Koampwul, with the order that Lepen Palikir appear before him at Nan Madol. Rather than travel by canoe with Sou Koampwul, Lepen Palikir went by land. Reaching the chiefly residence at Nan Madol, Lepen Palikir turned upon the Saudeleur and killed him. His action earned for his section of land the name Likinlamalam 'Outside of Proper Ways'. Kepihleng in the west also broke with Nan Madol.⁵⁸ Sapwtakai, its Nan Madol-like complex of megalithic structures built by Lempwei Sapel, another refugee from the Saudeleur's wrath, bespoke Kepihleng's challenge.⁵⁹

These instances of defiance and assassination display an increasing erosion of the Saudeleurs' control over Pohnpei. Indeed, Nan Madol's hold over the island had become in many ways more symbolic than real. The rupture between the Saudeleur and the Pohnpeian god, Nahn Sapwe, begins the final chapter in Nan Madol's decline.⁶⁰ Originally associated with the Dipwinpahnmei clan, Nahn Sapwe, the thunder god, became the most prominent of the many gods and spirits on Pohnpei. As the "god above the land," the voice of Nahn Sapwe could be heard by all Pohnpeians. He existed as an indigenous unifying force in an otherwise divided land. For a time, the Saudeleurs and their god Nahnisohnsapw had imposed themselves upon the island. Pohnpeians, however, had begun to grow restive and contemptuous under Saudeleur rule; they now offered token homage to Nahnisohnsapw, while maintaining steadfast belief in their own gods. The Saudeleur's attack on Nahn Sapwe, a desperate, self-destructive act, constituted a total break with the island. Though dominating the people of the island, the Saudeleur, ultimately, could not subjugate the divine forces that provided the life of the land.

Saum en Leng of the Salapwuk area in the mountains of western Pohnpei served as a major priest of a cult dedicated exclusively to the

worship of Nahn Sapwe.⁶¹ A prophet as well as a priest, Saum, through divination and prayer, had learned of the impending collapse of the Saudeleurs; he announced his findings to all who would listen. Hearing of the prophecy, the Saudeleur Saudemwohi stripped Saum of all his rights and privileges. The Saudeleur, hoping to end a powerful source of opposition and at the same time shore up his declining power, now turned to eliminate the worship of Nahn Sapwe.⁶² To minimize popular resentment, the Saudeleur waited for appropriate provocation. It soon came. The following story, though mythical in dimension, underscores Pohnpeians' increasing resentment of the Saudeleurs' rule in this period.

Angered over an affair between Nahn Sapwe and one of his Pohnpeian queens—a metaphor, perhaps, for the continued hold of Nahn Sapwe over the people—the Saudeleur ordered the thunder god seized and staked on the ground outside the royal residence at Pahn Kadira where he was to remain until dead.⁶³ Another Pohnpeian god, Songoro, the spiritual guardian of the Dipwinwai clan, took pity on Nahn Sapwe and freed him. As protection from further assaults by the Saudeleur, Sangoro arranged to have a *sawi* 'sea bass' carry Nahn Sapwe to Katau. The role of the *sawi*, a totem or sacred animal for the Ledek, Sounkawad, and Dipwinpahnmei clans, revealed the near-unanimous opposition against the Saudeleur that had now developed among Pohnpei's people.⁶⁴

Arriving at Katau, believed by some in this instance to be the island of Kosrae, Nahn Sapwe sought out clanmates with whom he could take refuge. There was only one, an elderly woman called Lipahnmei. The god and the woman eventually joined together in an incestuous act to produce a son. Distinguished by the divine, outrageous circumstances of his birth, the boy, Isohkelekel, was to become the vehicle of Pohnpei's revenge. On Katau, the godly youth grew up hearing stories of the Saudeleur's evil perpetrations against the gods and people of Pohnpei. Upon reaching maturity, Isohkelekel set out for Pohnpei with 333 companions to put an end to the roughly five hundred years of Saudeleur domination. The war fleet appeared first off the small island of And near the western coast of Pohnpei; archaeologists estimate Isohkelekel's arrival at approximately A.D. 1628.⁶⁵ Learning of the approaching expedition, Soulik en And, the chief of the island, prepared a basket of breadfruit kernels to feed the party and a bowl of coconut oil with which to anoint them. The anointing of the voyagers with coconut oil was a purifying ritual of welcome. The offering of breadfruit kernels, the repast of men about to fight, constituted an invitation to war against the Saudeleur. Proper greetings completed, Isohkelekel's party and the people of And cemented their holy alliance by constructing an altar, the *Pei en Pak*.⁶⁶

The people of Katau remained for a time on And. During this period, Isohkelekel slept with a high ranking woman of the island, Likamadau

‘Woman Who Gives Thought’.⁶⁷ As suggested by the woman’s name, the relationship amounted to more than one of simple hospitality or passion. The intellectual as well as sexual dimensions held particular significance. Unlike the Saudeleurs, Isohkelekel and his party demonstrated in this way a willingness to establish a total relationship with the land and its people. Isohkelekel’s stay at And presaged the ultimate success of his mission; a potentially alien, hostile force had made its peace with the land. Isohkelekel’s quarrel lay not with the people but with the Saudeleur; his arrival meant deliverance for Pohnpei.

On the day designated by divination as the most auspicious for beginning their final approach, Isohkelekel set out for the main island. The party passed through the channel at Kehpara and sailed north and then east around the island. Refusing to respond to the hostile challenges they encountered at a number of locations, the Katauans landed at Nahrihn-nahnsapwe, a reef island near Nan Dauwas, where Nahn Sapwe had begun his journey of exile from Pohnpei. Here, the group performed a series of religious ceremonies that reaffirmed the sacred purpose of their voyage. This done, they moved a little farther south along the eastern coast until they came to a break in the reef called Ewenkep. The Saudeleur, disturbed by the news of a foreign fleet so near his capital, commanded Sou Koampwul to bring the entire fleet, as his guests, to Kelepwel in Nan Madol. His suspicion aroused, the Saudeleur “wanted himself and Isohkelekel to be in the same place.”⁶⁸ Aware of the close scrutiny of the Saudeleur, the Katau people bided their time patiently; they married Pohnpeian women, fathered children who linked them more closely to the land, and learned as much as they could about the customs of the island. Isohkelekel himself took an older woman, Lipahdak Dau, as a consort and teacher.⁶⁹ To protect his identity and ultimate aims, Isohkelekel assumed the posture of a common man when in public.

Undecided about what to do, the Saudeleur continued to provide for his guests at Kelepwel.⁷⁰ The need to provide large gifts of food to a sizeable party of outsiders, however, exacerbated the long-standing tensions between the rulers of Nan Madol and their Pohnpeian subjects. In an incident recalling an earlier confrontation, the Lepen Moar of the time, successor to the title of the man who had successfully defied an earlier Saudeleur, refused orders to bring food to Nan Madol. Instead, this ruler of Senipehn, curious about the foreigners dwelling under the protection of the Saudeleur, sent several of his people to spy on the group. Their report of one among the Katau group with “true red” in his eyes, say the accounts, filled Lepen Moar with awe.⁷¹ At the same time on Kelepwel, Isohkelekel, aware of what the Pohnpeian chief was thinking, entreated his people to treat Lepen Moar with respect. The confrontation with the Saudeleur was imminent; when it was over, it would be necessary to make

peace with the people of the land. The almost instinctive mutual respect between the two men underscored the ultimate accommodation that was to come between the island's people and the forces of Isohkelekel.

Soon after Lepen Moar's investigation into the situation at Nan Madol, some seemingly harmless play at the water's edge between the chief lieutenants of Isohkelekel and the Saudeleur led to outright war.⁷² Equipped with spears, slings, javelins, rocks, and spiked clubs, the two forces converged. Isohkelekel's people carried the initial stages of the fight; however, at a place called Pei Ai 'the Fight Changes', the Saudeleur's troops, sustained by the reckless courage of the Pohnpeians, who fought for their rulers against the still alien, largely unknown group from Katau, turned the tide of the battle. The war raged for several days. During a period of particularly intense fighting, a Sounkawad warrior, Daukir, serving under Lepen Moar, hurled a rock that struck Isohkelekel in the face. Rather than retaliate, Isohkelekel remarked upon the courage of the young man and, calling him "brother," ordered his troops not to kill the Pohnpeian.

Isohkelekel's men suffered extremely heavy casualties and soon found themselves with their backs to the sea. At this most precarious of moments arrived Nahnesen, Katau's fiercest warrior, who had remained behind when Isohkelekel set out on his journey of conquest. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Nahnesen, in a gesture that would be repeated again by Pohnpeian warriors of later generations, speared his foot to the ground.⁷³ Firmly anchored, Nahnesen promised death to anyone who would try to retreat beyond him. "What do we retreat from? Men with inflated chests?" Nahnesen called out to his people. The threat worked. Isohkelekel's men turned and began marching inland, recapturing lost ground. Sensing the renewed vigor of their opponents, the Saudeleur's troops lost heart and fled. The final battle took place at a waterfall in Sapwalap, known as Kamau Pwoungapwoung. Faced with certain death, the Saudeleur, goes the story, changed himself into a small blue freshwater fish and jumped into the pool at the base of the waterfall, never again to interfere in the affairs of Pohnpeians.

With the fall of the Saudeleurs, the people set about restructuring the political order of the island, an order that would be essentially Pohnpeian. Befitting the importance of such an undertaking, especially in the sacred land of Pohnpei, ceremonies eliciting divine assistance and sanction guided the Pohnpeians in their task. The story of the canoe hewn in Eirke presents one of the most important events in Pohnpei's past.⁷⁴

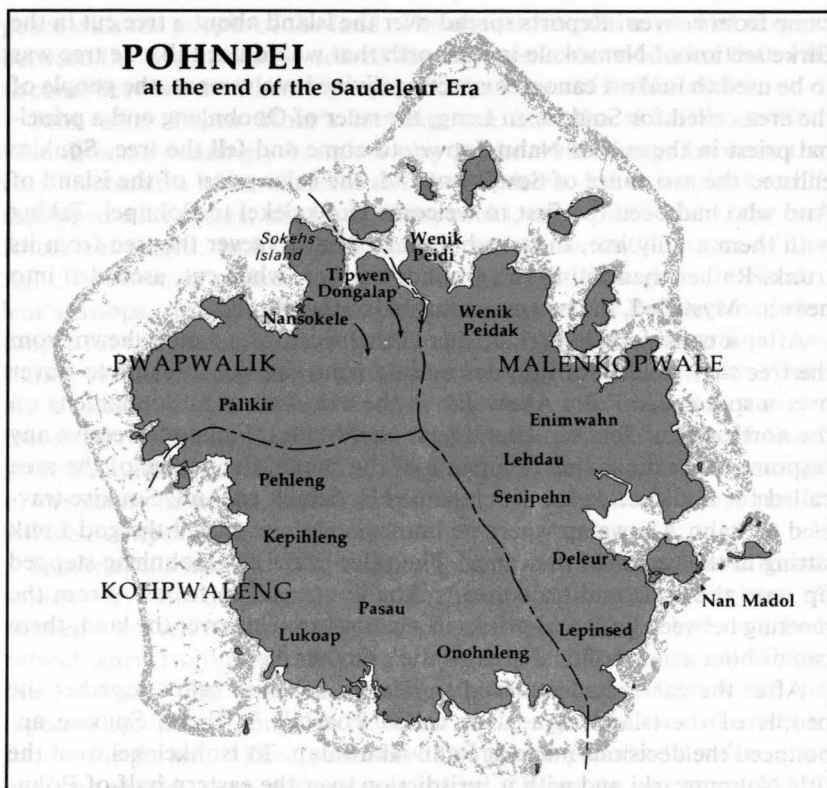
After the defeat of the Saudeleur, a tentative peace prevailed over the island. Isohkelekel established himself at Pahn Kadiria in Nan Madol and ruled over Deleur, the most immediate area of the Saudeleur's former domains. A final decision on a new political arrangement for the island

came from heaven. Reports spread over the island about a tree cut in the Eirke section of Nansokele in the north that would not fall; the tree was to be used to make a canoe. Suspecting divine involvement, the people of the area called for Soukise en Leng, the ruler of Onohnleng and a principal priest in the cult of Nahn Sapwe, to come and fell the tree. Soukise enlisted the assistance of Soulik en And, the ruler-priest of the island of And who had been the first to welcome Isohkelekel to Pohnpei. Taking with them a holy axe, the two holy men went to sever the tree from its trunk. Rather than fall to the ground, the tree, when cut, ascended into heaven. Mystified, the two men returned to their homes.

After a considerable period, there came word of a canoe, hewn from the tree that would not fall, descending from the sky. It came to hover over a spot called Pahn Akuwalap in the area known as Sounahleng on the north side of Temwen Island near Nan Madol. Failing to receive any response from the divine occupants of the canoe, the people of the area called for Soukise. Again accompanied by Soulik en And, Soukise traveled to Pahn Akuwalap where he immediately recognized the god Luhk sitting in the center of the canoe. The ruler-priest of Onohnleng stepped up onto the craft and beckoned to Soulik en And to follow. From the meeting between gods and priests in a canoe hovering over the land, there came about a new political organization on the island.

After the canoe had returned to heaven, Soukise called together the people of the island at a place called Poasoile.⁷⁵ There, Soukise announced the decisions made at Pahn Akuwalap. To Isohkelekel went the title Nahnmwarki and with it jurisdiction over the eastern half of Pohnpei Island that now came to be called Madolenihmw.⁷⁶ The west, united under the Saudeleurs as Kohpwaleng, reverted to a series of independent sections: Onohnleng, Pasau, Lukoap, Kepihleng, Pehleng, and the island of And. In the north, the Saudeleur state of Pwapwalik gave way to earlier sectional divisions now designated as Palikir, Sokeh, Tipwen Dongalap, and Nansokele (Map 3). The third of Pohnpei's historical periods, the *Mwehin Nahnmwarki* 'Period of the Nahnmwarkis' thus began.

Feasting served as the focal activity of the new state. As they had with the Saudeleurs, the people of Madolenihmw brought to the court of Isohkelekel the first fruits of all their productive activities; their offerings gave tangible proof of their allegiance to the new order. Unlike the Saudeleurs, however, Isohkelekel received the people as well as their produce. A change in the basic structure of the feasting house provided physical evidence of this closer relationship. Under the Saudeleurs' rule, the feasting house (*nahs*) sheltered only the Nan Madol nobility; the preparation and presentation of all offerings took place outside the structure. The discomfort felt by the people under burning sun or chilling



Map 3. (Adapted from Ayres, Haun, and Mauricio 1983, 274)

rain was but another part of the tribute the Saudeleurs had exacted from them. At Pelakapw in Nan Madol, Isohkelekel supervised the construction of a different kind of ceremonial house. While Isohkelekel and his chiefs sat on a raised platform in the *nahs*, a central sheltered space was provided for the people and their activities. This new feast house, different in style, received the name Koupahleng.⁷⁷ Its layout and design symbolized a now closer union between the people of Madolenihmw and their chiefs.

Under Isohkelekel, Madolenihmw became the most elaborate and centralized political entity on the island. Borrowing from the polity established by the Saudeleurs, the conqueror drew up an extensive title system to meet the ceremonial and administrative needs of feasting.⁷⁸ Isohkelekel also worked to develop more basic alliances and loyalties that would insure the effective functioning of his government. To strengthen his ties with the people, Isohkelekel took wives from among the Dipwinwai and the Lasialap, two of Pohnpei's senior clans.⁷⁹ Beyond Nan Madol, the

Dipwinpahnmei, the clan of Isohkelekel, assumed a number of the major section titles in the east.⁸⁰

Despite his strong conciliatory actions and his willingness to enter into a much more involved, mutually beneficial contract with the island, Isohkelekel's divine patrimony set him apart from the people. More god than man, Isohkelekel could behave in ways not permitted ordinary human beings. His marriage to his sister, the severest violation of clan rules, reinforced this fact.⁸¹ Isohkelekel's successors would retain this godly aura; if not gods, they were, through their descent from Isohkelekel and his father Nahn Sapwe, still godly. The distinction was a critical one; it served to maintain the boundaries between the ruler and the ruled. At the same time, the social distance separating the chiefs and the people was fraught with danger. Rebellion in a land as divided as Pohnpei was an ever-present threat to those who sought to impose order from above, as the fate of the Saudeleurs forcefully underscored. There arose a crucial need for an intermediary between chiefs and people, an individual who could deal intimately with both sides.

The title Nahnken met this need. The story of the first Nahnken, Nahlepenien, defines the nature and importance of the office.⁸² A swell of anxiety was aroused in Isohkelekel by the report that one of his queens, a woman of the Lasialap clan, was pregnant. The demigod from Katau feared the birth of a son who, through his more intimate blood ties to the people of the island, might one day rise up in revolt against him. To prevent such an occurrence, Isohkelekel, before setting out on a journey, ordered the Lasialap woman to destroy the child if it should be a male. Soon after Isohkelekel's departure, the woman gave birth to a son. Rather than destroy the infant, the woman hid him with one of her clan-mates, a common fisherman called Nahnsoused en Rohdi.⁸³ One day, a number of years later, Isohkelekel's canoe came upon the old man and the young boy fishing off the small island of Mwudokalap. Pohnpei's first Nahnmwarki commanded his attendants to have the boy bring him some fish. Taking two fish, the boy, called Nahlepenien, strung them together and approached the canoe. Placing his foot on the canoe's outrigger, he stepped up on the central platform, and sat down beside Isohkelekel. The attendants stared in terrified dismay at Nahlepenien's actions; his casual familiarity had violated all norms of prescribed behavior in the presence of a chief. Sensing something very special about the boy, Isohkelekel invited him to a feast at Pahn Kadira. Arriving at the residence, Nahlepenien continued his transgressions on chiefly sanctity: the boy entered the wrong end of the *nahs*, failed to make the proper greetings, violated sacred space as he walked casually about the structure, and finally sat down nonchalantly with his back propped against the back wall of the building. His actions only endeared him more to his

father, who gave him the title Nahnken 'Favored One'. The Nahnmwarki then created a separate line of titles to serve the Nahnken; the liberties taken by Nahlepenien became sanctioned behavior for all future nahnkens.

The circumstances of his early life had cemented Nahlepenien's ties with the people, but he was still very much a chief. His conduct, by right of his royal blood, lay beyond the bounds of accepted social behavior. In the middle of the feast at Pahn Kadira, Nahlepenien decided to go fishing again for his father. On his way to the shore, the new Nahnken came across his father's eldest sister, a woman considered in Pohnpeian kinship terms to be his mother.⁸⁴ Forgetting about the feast and his plans to fish for his father, Nahlepenien decided to lie with the woman. By his string of shocking actions, culminating in an act of incest with a classificatory mother, he vigorously asserted his chiefly prerogatives. Confirming the privileges of the Nahnken, the Nahnmwarki, rather than showing displeasure, broke all precedent by sending a cup of *sakau* 'kava', the ceremonial beverage, to the place where the boy and the woman rested. By marrying his father's eldest sister, the most senior of clan women and hence the carrier of the chiefly line, the Nahnken, in one action, reaffirmed his princely position, insured the purity of the chiefly line, and created a crucial link between the rulers and the people. Born of a godly chief and a local woman, the Nahnken stood as the physical embodiment of the principal elements that constituted the new political order.⁸⁵

Isohkelekel's passing brought ritual closure to the founding phase of the nahnmwarki system. The circumstances of his death matched the stunning drama of his life.⁸⁶ Seeing the reflection of his aging face in a pool of water, Isohkelekel grew depressed. The Nahnmwarki worried that old age would leave him enfeebled and helpless. Calling his first lieutenant, Nahnesen, Isohkelekel informed him of his decision to die. That night, Isohkelekel bent down the body of a young palm tree, tied his penis tightly to it with a piece of cord, and then released it. The tree shot upward, ripping off Isohkelekel's penis; the conqueror of Pohnpei bled to death in excruciating pain. Isohkelekel's suicide was ultimately a courageous act that belittled pain and spoke of honor over life. Following the example of Isohkelekel, later generations of Pohnpeian men sought to make certain that their deaths upheld the dignity of their lives.

According to an order he had left with Nahnesen, Isohkelekel's body was buried secretly at Pei en Namweiiias, 'the Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle'.⁸⁷ In life, Isohkelekel had freed Pohnpei from the oppression of the Saudeleurs. Claiming the eastern portion of the island as his own domain, Pohnpei's first Nahnmwarki had restored the rest of the island to its many different groups of people; over time, most of these other areas would copy the political system established for Madolenihmw. In

death, Isohkelekel lay enshrined in the altar dedicated to the sacred symbol of the land, the turtle. The conditions of his burial ensured his eternal union with the land. The son of a Pohnpeian god and a foreign woman, Isohkelekel thus died to become, himself, a Pohnpeian god.

This abbreviated summary drawn from Pohnpeian traditions leaves untouched much of the richness and complexity of the island's past before contact with the Euro-American world. Material on this period, described here in the briefest, most general terms, fills literally volumes of transcribed oral traditions and, indeed, continues to live in the minds of the people far beyond the confines of bound pages. The totality of the Pohnpeian past, with its emphasis on the activities of gods, people, and the forces of nature, escapes simple narration. Pohnpeian historical accounts are concerned as much with the development of individual places, clans, and practices as they are with an island-wide sequence of events. Although much of Pohnpei's early past remains beyond the scope of this work, some basic patterns stand clear.

With the first voyage of creation and settlement commanded by Sapi-kini, there begins a tradition of people coming to the island from the outside. These people brought with them animals, plants, ideas, and technologies. Over time, there developed a way of being called *tiahk en sapw* 'the custom of the land'. *Tiahk en sapw* provided a cultural unity that at the same time allowed division. A common relationship with a sacred land united a people, while traditional distinctions in the beliefs and practices they brought with them from other lands kept them apart. *Pohnpei soh te ehu*, "Pohnpei is not one," is the way Pohnpeians explain that fact today.

Unlike other voyagers to the island's shores, the Saudeleurs imposed an alien, exploitative unity that interposed itself between the people and the land. Isohkelekel helped free the people from this oppression and, in so doing, became himself a part of the land. By the time of his death there had evolved a flexible, resilient cultural order that maintained itself by accepting alien forces from the outside, neutralizing their more threatening aspects, and incorporating their advantageous, beneficial features. The arrival of a European ship on the horizon did not constitute a singular occurrence; rather it marked but another one of many events that took place on the other side of yesterday.

CHAPTER 2

Ghosts from the Open Ocean

THE FIRST SHIP to appear off Pohnpei's shores differed markedly from the canoes that had brought life. Attracted by the sight of the large white sails against the horizon, the people of the island paddled out from the shore to inspect this latest arrival. Stopping at the reef, the important physical boundary that separated the island from the rest of the world, the Pohnpeians gazed in awe at the vessel sitting high atop the water with its tall masts, intricate rigging, wide deck, and metal frame. The people, recognizing the ship to be an ocean-going craft, thought it came from *wai*, the great lands far beyond the horizon mentioned in their histories. Particularly fascinating were the light-skinned, strangely dressed, hairy-faced occupants of the vessel; the Pohnpeians called them *eni en pohn-madau* 'ghosts of the open ocean'.¹

The word *eni* 'ghost' referred not to divine qualities but to the alien, potentially malevolent nature of these beings. The long-standing tradition of foreign people landing at their island from distant shores had prepared the Pohnpeians for this event; still, they found the distinguishing features of this particular group quite remarkable. The failure of the ship's occupants to respond to the rituals of welcome aroused suspicion. As the ship moved away, the people were left to ponder the meaning of this brief meeting. A limited but violent encounter with a landing party from a later ship confirmed the people's fears. The sight of other vessels over time caused the people to flee in panic from the shores while their priests paddled to the reef to chase away these ghostly beings with prayers, chants, and spells. For a time, the priestly services worked; the ships, after moving along the reef for a time, sailed away. Sightings and passings, however, eventually gave way to contact. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, Pohnpeians were coming to understand these "ghosts from the open ocean" a little better.

Western sources identify the first ship encountered by the people of Pohnpei as the *San Jeronimo*, the battered, weather-beaten flagship of

the ill-fated second Mendaña expedition.² Alvaro de Mendaña had first sailed into the Pacific in 1567 in search of Terra Australis Incognita, the great southern continent. While other explorers dreamed of the gold to be gained from the colonization of this rich, near-mythical land, Mendaña considered his voyage a *conquista espiritual*.³ Failing to locate the great continent, Mendaña came instead upon a group of islands that quickly came to be known as the Solomons. Though certainly not as spectacular as the great continent, the Solomons, believed Mendaña, held great spiritual promise. A zealous man, almost fanatical in his religious convictions, Mendaña sought to return with a civilized, God-fearing party of Spaniards that would bring Christianity to the islands' heathen savages. It was not until 1595 that Mendaña, backed by officials worried about England's intrusion into Spain's great "lake," finally sailed again into the Pacific.

Despite its lofty objectives, Mendaña's first voyage had been marred by violence. On this second expedition, the Spaniards again responded with violence to people they found strange and threatening; passing through the Marquesas, they killed two hundred of the islands' inhabitants.⁴ Unable to relocate the Solomons, Mendaña finally settled instead on the island of Ndeni which he called Santa Cruz. Relations with the people of the island proved no better than those with the Marquesans. Broken by the strains of hostility and dissension, Mendaña died on 18 October 1595, just six weeks after landing on the island. With its leader dead and many others dying, the colonizing party, now under Mendaña's wife, Doña Isabel, opted to return home. Responsibility for the return voyage fell to the chief pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. On 18 November 1595, the *San Jeronimo*, the *Santa Catalina*, and the *San Felipe* set sail from Graciosa Bay, the site of the expedition's failed colony. Once a self-assured party with grand designs, the survivors now came to resemble in some ways those earlier island voyagers who had sought a place of refuge from the oppressive circumstances of their lives.

On the morning of 23 December, Quiros saw a high island to the northwest; the land held the promise of provisions and fresh water so desperately needed by the rapidly dwindling group of survivors. Fearful of the heavy surf pounding against the uncharted reef that surrounded the island, Quiros brought the ship about and had it hold its position during the night. Dawn's light revealed that the winds had pushed the ship dangerously close to the rocky shallows of the treacherous reef. Only a vow to St. Anthony of Padua, believed Quiros, saved the ship from certain ruin.⁵ Avoiding the reef by the narrowest of margins, the ship escaped to leeward and sailed up the island's western coast.

As the ship moved north along the coast, canoes came out from the island. Quiros described the encounter this way:

As they were unable to cross the reef, they jumped on it and made signs with their hands. In the afternoon, one single native in a small canoe came around the end of the reef. He was at a distance to windward, so that we could not see whether he had a beard. He seemed to be a good-sized man and naked, with long loose hair. He pointed in the direction whence he had come from and, breaking something white in his hands, he ate it and had coconuts for drink. He was called to but did not come.⁶

The Pohnpeians had given the Spaniards a ceremonial welcome similar to the reception they would accord Isohkelekel some thirty-three years later. Fear, however, proved stronger than thirst or hunger. Unsure of what it all meant, the bedraggled party opted to continue on its journey of misery. All Quiros could write of the island was that it seemed partly cultivated, heavily forested, and well populated.

Filling a gap left in written sources, Pohnpeian oral traditions speak of the first actual landing. Sometime after the *San Jeronimo* had gone, another ship, perhaps flying Spanish colors, appeared on the island's horizon. After moving along the reef, the ship came to anchor at the small reef island of Nahlap at the entrance to Rohnkiti Harbor. Attempting to establish rapport with these foreigners, the people of the island made propitiatory offerings of kava and invitations to feast. Reassured, a landing party from the ship stepped ashore at a place called Sekeren Iap. Pohnpeian accounts of the landing party make mention of men wearing "hard skins," and of one among them dressed in black and having a shiny object hanging around his neck.

This unidentified party of voyagers found both welcome and resistance. In this first face-to-face encounter, each side attempted to express to the other who they were; both Pohnpeians and voyagers employed words, gestures, and symbols that, across a broad cultural chasm, were misunderstood and misinterpreted. The voyagers knew nothing of the island, its people, and their past. The importance of kava, the significance of feasting, and the meaning of a foreign presence on the island mattered little to a people convinced of the superiority of their own ways. In need of provisions, the voyagers could not hide the tone of insistence behind their requests. They offered what they believed to be proper compensation. If denied, the voyagers, as the Pohnpeian accounts indicate, were prepared to use force; the tools of violence rested closely by their sides.

In a land populated by many contending factions, new arrivals were seen most immediately as potential threats. Whatever else they thought of the voyagers, Pohnpeians understood their weapons to be implements of war. A proud, self-confident people standing on land granted them by divine right, the Pohnpeians balked at the intimidation implied in the voyagers' requests. Plans for feasting soon gave way to hostilities. The

Pohnpeians initially sustained heavy casualties. One island warrior did manage to spear one of the intruders "through an opening in his face."⁷ Through persistence and sheer numbers, the Pohnpeians drove the foreigners back to the ship. The voyagers then sailed away, leaving behind only the less-than-glorious memory of a violent people with hard skins.

Events on Pohnpei did not wait for the arrival of other foreign ships. The political system established by Isohkelekel in Madolenihmw had begun to spread, with centralization of power in other areas of the island. Angered by the irresponsible play of his children that resulted in an injury to his eye, Nahlepenien, the first nahnken, forsook Madolenihmw.⁸ The pleas of his panic-stricken family could not shake Nahlepenien's resolve. Leaving his children behind as heirs to the ruling titles in Madolenihmw, Nahlepenien traveled to Wenik in the northeast area of the island, where he established the modern state of U.⁹ Now called Sangiro 'Knows Not Exhaustion' because of his perseverance in the face of his children's incessant pleas for his return, Nahlepenien inaugurated a title system in U modeled after that in Madolenihmw.¹⁰ Taking for himself the title nahnmwarki, Nahlepenien gave the remaining royal titles to fellow members of the Lasialap clan; the titles associated with the nahnken's line went to the children of the Lasialap nobles.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the north central region of the island fell to the Sounkawad clan.¹¹ Desirous of better land, easier access to the sea, and more power, the Sounkawad rode the floodwaters of the Nanpil River down from their mountain home at Nankawad and drove out the Lasialap who formerly had wrested control of the area from the Dipwinmen. The Sounkawad's conquest created the chiefdom of Sokehs. The sons of two Sounkawad sisters assumed political leadership; the son of the elder sister took the title Wasai Sokehs and ruled as the paramount chief over the entire area. The son of the second sister became Lepen Net, with jurisdiction over a large semiautonomous area within Sokehs known as Net.

Attempts at unification also occurred in the west. By the time of Isohkelekel's conquest, the west was divided among the five major areas of Onohnleng, Pasau, Lukoap, Kiti, and Pehleng.¹² Soukise ruled Onohnleng while Saupasau governed the neighboring region of Pasau. Kiti, formerly known as Kepihleng, was governed by Soukiti from the ancient capital of Sapwtakai. Farther north, in Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe had driven out the Pwuton and established a political order under Nahnmadau en Pehleng. Having established control over Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe eventually moved against Kiti, driving out the ruling clan, the Sounkiti. Pehleng's conquest of Kiti in the mid-eighteenth century drew the entire western half of the island into war.¹³ The Sounkiti, the displaced ruling clan, fled north to Sokehs and Net.

Clan honor demanded revenge. As the most senior chief of the Dipwinmen, the clan from which the Sounkiti had evolved, Soukise en Leng bore the primary responsibility for reprisal.¹⁴ Concerned about the influx of these refugees and the possibility of hostilities spreading to his area, Nahnsoused en Net, the second ranking chief of Net, journeyed to Onohnleng to inquire about Soukise's intentions.¹⁵ As a major priest of Nahn Sapwe and the ruler of Onohnleng, Soukise enjoyed a position of special prominence on the island. Onohnleng had managed to maintain much of its autonomy despite the Saudeleur rule. While Nan Madol sought to bring the entire island under the spiritual order of Nahnisohnsapw, the ruler-priests of Onohnleng helped keep alive the worship of Nahn Sapwe and other Pohnpeian spirits. A yearly religious ritual called *Kampa* reaffirmed the people's commitment to the gods and spirits of the land.¹⁶ Following the demise of the Saudeleurs, Soukise had served as an intermediary between the gods and the people in establishing a new order. The task of checking the Dipwinpehpe's aggression fell, quite naturally, to Soukise.

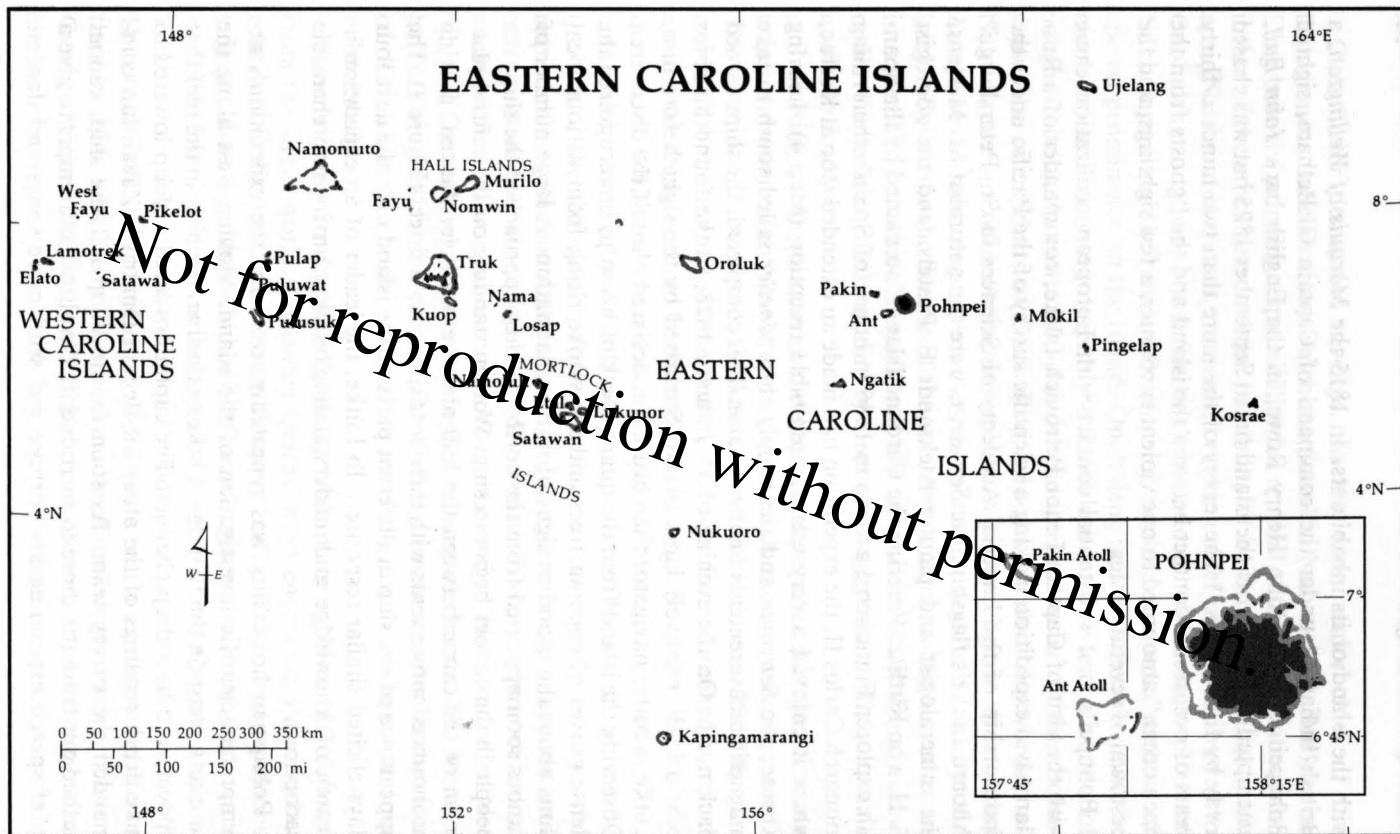
Promising to move against the Dipwinpehpe after *Kampa*, Soukise urged Nahnsoused en Net to return to the north and await further word. The ceremonies completed, Soukise organized his forces. The Dipwinmen of Onohnleng, supplemented by warriors from Lukoap, marched against the Dipwinpehpe. In planning his strategy, Soukise relied heavily on a ruse. While the main force marched overland, a phantom fleet, comprised mainly of makeshift dummies, traveled by sea. Confused by the tactic, the Dipwinpehpe divided their forces equally to meet the approaching columns. After a fierce struggle, Onohnleng's superior land force captured the stone fortress of Sapwtakai. The opportune arrival of an allied fleet of war canoes under the command of Nahnsoused en Net allowed Onohnleng's weaker sea forces to carry the battle. The western half of the island from Pehleng to Onohnleng was now united as the state of Kiti under the rule of Soukise en Leng, who became its first nahnmwarki.

These changes in the island's polity took place with no interference from the larger world. Following Quiros' brief encounter, Pohnpei lay relatively undisturbed by Western shipping traffic. While oral traditions suggest visits by other unidentified ships, almost two hundred years passed before the next recorded sighting of the island.¹⁷ Captain Thomas Reed of the ship *Alliance* out of Philadelphia passed Pohnpei on 23 December 1787.¹⁸ In his journal, Reed wrote that a canoe put out from the island but kept a safe distance from the ship. Twenty-five years later, Captain William Watson in the British bark *General Graham* recorded a similar experience in the ship's log; again, no direct contact was made

with the island or its inhabitants. In 1815 the *Marquis of Wellington*, a British Indiaman under the command of Captain G. Betham, sighted Pohnpei. Captain John Henry Rowe, in the English bark *John Bull*, attempted to anchor off the island on 10 September 1825 but was chased away by five canoes.¹⁹ The legacy of the more than two hundred thirty years of occasional contact between the island and the “ghosts from the open ocean” amounted to one violent encounter, a few sightings, and the bestowal of several names.

Pohnpei's first substantial contact with European civilization came with the visit of Captain Fedor Petrovich Lütke, commander of a Russian naval expedition making a scientific survey of the Pacific under the sponsorship of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.²⁰ Aboard Lütke's flagship, the *Senyavin*, were the naturalist M. Mertens, the mineralogist and painter Aleksandr F. Postels, and the zoologist F. H. von Kittlitz. Entering the Caroline Islands, so named by the Spanish explorer Francisco Lazcano in 1686 in honor of Spain's then-ruling monarch Carlos II, the expedition had made an extended stop at Kosrae, where it enjoyed a very warm, hospitable reception (Map 4). Leaving Kosrae, the *Senyavin* and the supply ship *Moeller* sailed south to take magnetic measurements on the equator. This completed, the ships turned back north. On the evening of 15 January 1828, Lütke found his ships near a high, relatively large island. Surprised by the sight before him, Lütke, a better navigator than historian, declared himself the discoverer. Observing the island from the quarterdeck of his ship, he recognized the dense groves of coconut trees and the smoke rising from various locations about the island as signs of human habitation. A large number of canoes soon appeared from the north. As they approached the ship, the people in the canoes began to sing. Women standing on the central platform of the canoe between the hull and the outrigger danced, making pronounced movements with their heads, hands, and feet (Figure 3). The appearance of the ship at different parts of the island over the next four days elicited similar responses. To Lütke, the leader of an expedition in search of knowledge and understanding, it was an incomprehensible cacophony.

Pohnpeian hospitality was repeatedly to stymie the expedition's attempts at scientific investigation of the island. Moving west along the southern coast on the first day, Lütke noticed an opening in the reef that appeared to be a deep channel. The captain ordered a sloop lowered to take depth readings of the area; Lieutenant Dmitrii I. Zavalishin commanded the survey team. As soon as the sloop left the ship, canoes rushed out from the shore to surround it. Zavalishin's attempts to give a brief speech explaining his purpose met with more songs and dances.



Map 4.

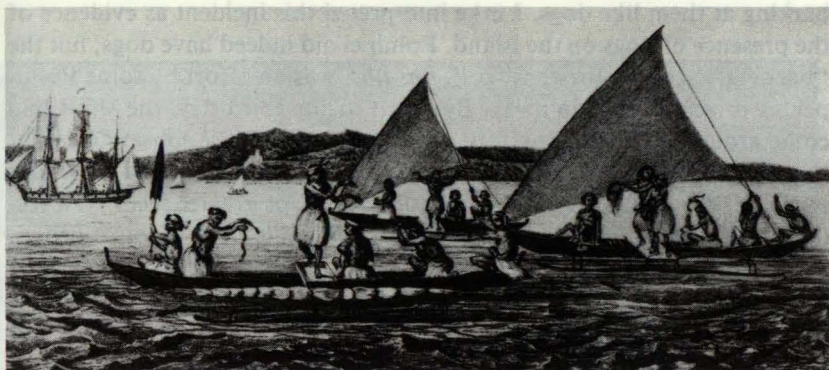


Figure 3. Aleksandr F. Postel's depiction of the Pohnpeian reception accorded Lütke's 1828 expedition at Mwudok Harbor in the south of the island. (Hambruch 1932, 90)

Amidst the general excitement, the people threw coconuts into the boat and, through gestures, invited the group to land. Frustrated by the scene about them, the survey party returned to the *Senyavin*.

The next day, Zavalishin tried again. This time entering the channel opening through the reef, he and his party crossed the critical boundary that separated Pohnpei from the rest of the world. The survey team soon found itself surrounded by forty canoes carrying at least two hundred Pohnpeians. Ignoring the singing and dancing and the gifts that literally showered down upon the boat, the group continued to go about its work. Having accomplished what it could, the party prepared to return to the ship. As the boat began to move away, the canoes crowded closer about. Not deterred by the lack of a response to their greetings, a number of Pohnpeians, hoping to force a landing, attempted to remove the boat's rudder. The survey team's refusal to acknowledge the ritual gestures of welcome being extended, coupled with its penetration of Pohnpeian space, constituted both an affront and a challenge. Zavalishin noticed in the bottom of one canoe a bundle of spears, which was quickly covered up. The people's shouts became louder; the lieutenant thought they began to sound like taunts and challenges. One man finally hurled a spear that Zavalishin barely managed to dodge. A pistol shot fired over the heads of the Pohnpeians silenced them briefly. During the lull, the sloop pulled away from the crowd of canoes and managed to reach the ship safely.

The *Senyavin* and the *Moeller* then continued north along the western coast of the island. During the night the ships passed a group of men armed with long spears standing watchfully on the reef; the night before they had encountered a similar group of people standing on the reef and

Nan Madol Place Names

This list was developed by Rufino Mauricio from Paul Hambruch's 1910 map of Nan Madol and from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Sketch no. 328 of the Nan Madol ruins. Hambruch's original spellings have been adjusted to comply with the standards of modern Pohnpeian orthography.

The exact names of several islets within the Nan Madol complex are unknown; in these instances, Mauricio has provided in parentheses English approximations derived from Hambruch's descriptions in German. For further detail, see Ayres, Haun, and Mauricio 1983, 279-281.

1 Temwen	31 Wasaw	61 Peinamei	91 Usennamw	121 Karian
2 Sowihso	32 Kelepwel	62 Likindaloke	92 Lelekatau	122 Karian
3 Likonpalang	33 Pahnkadira	63 Imwinahlap	93 Dapahu	123 Lukepenkarian
4 Nan Lehn Moak	34 (Seat)	64 Peinuht	94 Pahnkatau	124 Leleu
5 Pohnkeimw or Pohnkeimwpaiei	35 (Temple of) Nankieilmwahu	65 Sapwenluhk	95 Paraktuka	125 Pikennahnsapwe
6 Mweiden kitti	36 Keimw en Mahn Dirip	66 Dewenloale	96 Sarwi	126 Sapwuhtik
7 Pahnmwaid	37 (Bath)	67 Imwinmap	97 Madolpowe	127 Angeir
8 Mweid or Mweidalap	38 Peinmwek	68 Map	98 Peilapalap	128 Pahnmwasangap
9 Pahnwi	39 Peikapw	69 Sapwengei	99 Rasalap	129 Lemenkau
10 Pahnwi	40 Namweiiias	70 Sapwolos	100 Pwilak	130 Pohnmweidak
11 Mweidenwalwel	41 Keimwen Sokehs	71 Ainiar	101 Peinering	
12 Kepinehd	42 (Turtle)	72 Sapwenpwe	102 Peinioar	
13 Mweidennahnsapwe	43 Idehd	73 Peiniap	103 Pahseid	
14 Pikalap	44 Peitaup	74 Sapwakapw	104 Usendau	
15 Mweidalap	45 Dekehtik	75 Sapwendau	105 Sapwuhtohr	
16 Lemensai	46 Pahniso	76 Sapwuhtik	106 Pwalahng	
17 Peinmet	47 Peinair	77 Sapwuhtir	107 Dewen Nankieilmwahu	
18 Likinsou	48 Mand	78 Nihmokokemok	108 Peikapw Sapwawas	
19 Sapw wei	49 Palakapw	79 Nihrik	109 Narukep	
20 Sapwenleng	50 Dorong	80 Nihdor	110 Pahnndauwas	
21 Pedenleng	51 Lehnkai	81 Dauahdpeidak	111 Dau	
22 Pilenleng	52 Nemwenkau	82 Pohndake	112 Dewenkasapahl	
23 Pahndipap	53 Pohnpikalap	83 Dauahdpeidi	113 Nandauwas	
24 Pedeped	54 Madolpah	84 Usenpei	114 Pohndauwas	
25 Peinpwe	55 Peinkitel	85 Sapwohng	115 Kandorok or Kohnderek	
26 Nihkonok	56 (Spring)	86 Sapwenpei	116 Pohnmweirok	
27 Reilap	57 Peidoh	87 Sakakpeilong	117 Peinot	
28 Dolewe	58 Pwilel	88 Likinpei	118 Peinot	
29 Peiniang	59 Reidipap	89 Sakahpas	119 Nanmwoluhsei	
30 Reitik	60 Sapwereirei	90 Pereilap	120 Lelou	

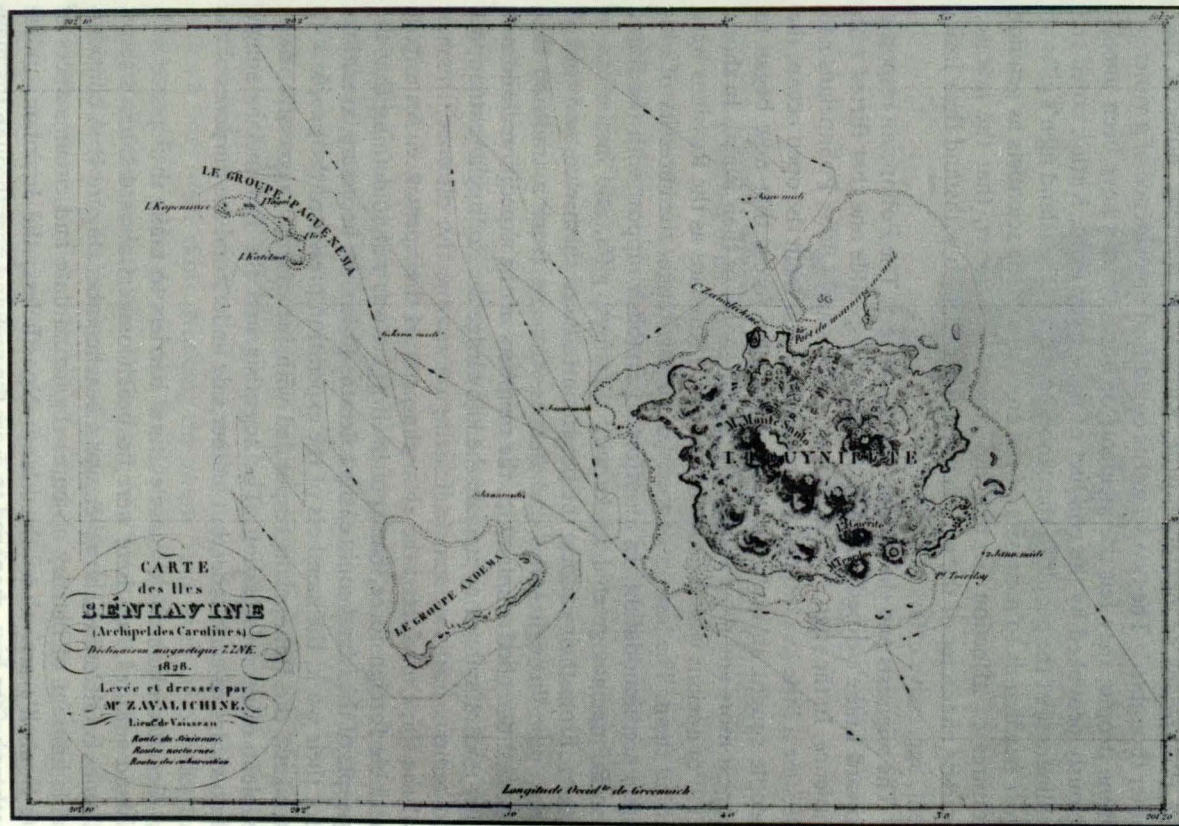
barking at them like dogs. Lütke interpreted this incident as evidence of the presence of dogs on the island. Pohnpei did indeed have dogs, but the “barking,” actually the chase call, *uhs uhs*, was an effort by some Pohnpeians to scare the ship away. By dawn of the third day, the ships had come around to the northern part of the island. Lütke, observing what seemed to be the opening to a natural harbor, again decided to send a party to search out a suitable place to anchor. For greater security, a second boat manned by an armed party accompanied Zavalishin’s group. As soon as they had moved within the confines of the reef, a host of canoes set out from the shore. Within moments, the two boats were surrounded. The Pohnpeians, dispensing with all greetings and offerings, roped the rudder of the lead boat and tried to tow it to shore. Pistol shots fired into the air failed to subdue the crowd that now grew bolder and noisier. Only after a thundering broadside of cannon fire from the *Senyavin* temporarily distracted the Pohnpeians did the two boats manage to extricate themselves.

Believing that any effort to land would surely mean bloodshed, Lütke made a futile effort to tame this uncontrollable land by renaming it (Map 5). The main island and the two outlying groups of coral atolls also explored by Lütke received the name Senyavin Islands, in honor of the Russian naval hero whose name also adorned the expedition’s flagship. Lütke called the northern bay the Port du Mauvais Accueil, or “Harbor of Poor Welcome.” The piece of land that jutted out into the bay he called Cape Zavalishin. To Dolotomw, a prominent peak in the south that he mistakenly believed to be the highest on the island, Lütke accorded the title Montesanto.

Though limited in his contact with the people, Lütke made a number of very general comments on their physical appearance. He described the Pohnpeians as medium sized, well built, strong, and decisive. He found little appealing in their faces, however; he wrote of “large prominent eyes which express mistrust and wildness. Their joy is effervescent and exaggerated. A constantly forced laugh and eyes that constantly look around lend them no grace. I have not seen a single friendly face.”²¹

Lütke left Pohnpei with little to show the outside scientific community, aside from a few specimens of Pohnpeian handicraft and some hydrographical data. A small dog taken from one of the canoes that had come alongside the ships proved no more cooperative or enlightening than its island masters. After spending most of the return voyage under a cannon carriage howling, the pointy-eared, droopy-tailed dog indignantly fled the ship at the Russian port city of Kronstadt.²²

Shaken by their inability to penetrate the island, the men of science tried to explain their failure. Lütke blamed the people; their excitable nature, their lack of concentration, and the harsh, toneless character of



Map 5. The earliest European map of Pohnpei, produced by the Lütke expedition. (Hambruch 1932, 90)

their primitive jabbering, said the captain, precluded any ability to communicate with the outside world.²³ Zavalishin and many of the crew saw the Pohnpeians as innately hostile. Kittlitz and Mertens, however, had other thoughts.²⁴ The two scientists could find no evidence of a violence-prone people; they felt the incidents of hostility may have been unconsciously provoked by the conduct of the survey team. Kittlitz noted the willingness of the people in the canoes to barter. The island men's gifts of their headbands to members of the crew struck the scientists as genuine gestures of affection. Kittlitz did concede, however, that the intense, fearless character of the people made it difficult to withstand their insistent, aggressive offers of friendship.

The scientists and the sailors were all correct. The Pohnpeian response toward Lütke's expedition was a largely hospitable one that flirted with violence. In the span of time between Quiros and Lütke, Pohnpeians had become a little less intimidated by these ghosts from the open ocean; the people sought an understanding of the new forces that now began to appear more and more frequently off the shores of their island. In short, the Pohnpeians were as curious about the Russians as the Russians were about them. The lessons of the island's past taught the necessity of ultimate accommodation. In an effort to establish rapport with the ships, the Pohnpeians greeted Lütke with offerings, gifts, and invitations to feasts. From their canoes, the people introduced themselves and told of their past through songs and dances. Coming from a tradition that stressed detached scholarship, the members of the expedition could neither understand nor appreciate the knowledge the Pohnpeians attempted to communicate to them. In insisting on an objective distance, the men of the ships reinforced the alien character of their presence. An ungovernable foreign force that kept itself apart was not something that the people of the island could easily tolerate. To win the necessary conditions for their work, the members of the expedition presented the people with trinkets; the Pohnpeians responded with increasingly aggressive, near-violent offers of feasting. The scientists and the Pohnpeians sought knowledge of each other, but neither side understood the purposes of the other.

Beachcombers could cross cultural barriers to make their peace with island cultures, but there were no beachcombers aboard Lütke's ships. James F. O'Connell, however, was a beachcomber (Figure 4). A considerable amount of blarney obscures the actual date and circumstances of O'Connell's arrival on the island. Nonetheless, the Irishman, unlike others before him, managed to cross the reef and pass through the mangrove swamp to live among the people.²⁵ A dispossessed man from a tormented, suffering land, O'Connell harbored few illusions about the superiority of European civilization. The Irishman arrived on Pohnpei



Figure 4. A portrait of the beachcomber James F. O'Connell.
(Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

with five companions; he claimed they were all survivors of a shipwreck and had just spent three burning days and four chilling nights on the open ocean.²⁶ Spotting their boat as it entered the northern channel, Pohnpeians hurriedly put out from the shore at Net in a fleet of canoes. Uncertain about the exact nature of the boat's occupants and more suspicious following their recent experiences with Lütke, the people feigned an approach, pulled back, and then hurled a barrage of stones and spears. The weary refugees could do little but prostrate themselves on the bottom of the boat. Realizing the group was incapable of effective resistance, the Pohnpeians pulled the boat ashore, seized its contents, stripped the men of their clothes, and then led them to a crowded ceremonial meetinghouse.

The appearance of the white men caused a stir of excitement. The people crowded around the strangers, poking at the different parts of their bodies and expressing special amazement over the blue veins that ran beneath their white skins. Noticing the *uhmw* 'rock oven' smoldering in the center of the *nahs*, the six men feared the worst. Their apprehensions were groundless; nonetheless, O'Connell, in a "desperate feeling of recklessness," stood up and danced an Irish jig (Figure 5). The dance caused the Pohnpeians to click their tongues against their teeth in delight. A feast of welcome followed. The people anointed their guests with coconut oil (*leh*), presented them with baskets of food, and offered them drinks of kava (*sakau*). The feast continued for four days, during which time canoe-loads of people from different sections of Sokehs came to view these white men from a very different world. Through their actions,

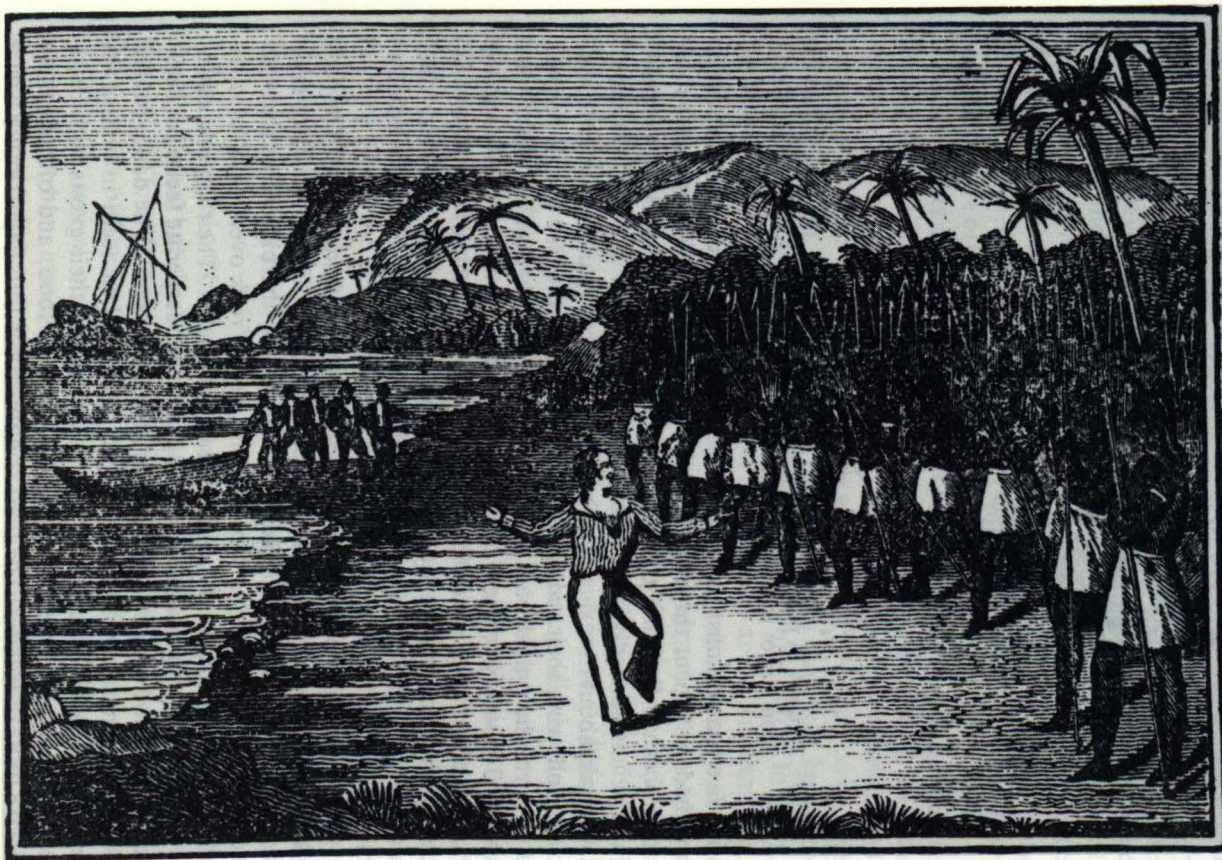


Figure 5. A depiction of the “life-saving” jig performed by O’Connell upon his arrival at Pohnpei. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

the Pohnpeians let these shipwrecked sailors know there was a place for them on the island.

O'Connell described Pohnpeian society as highly stratified, with class distinctions between the "moonjobs" and "nigurts" as he called them.²⁷ Noting that the "moonjobs" were lighter than the "nigurts," O'Connell believed the segregation in Pohnpeian society followed racial lines. He was wrong. Based on a matrilineally determined ranking of clans and subclans, Pohnpeian society distinguished between the *soupeidi* 'nobles' and the *aramas mwal* 'common people'. The difference in skin color, if indeed one existed, resulted largely from the quite different life-styles of the two groups; the *soupeidi* governed from the raised platform of the *nahs* while the *aramas mwal* worked outside, performing the physical labor required of them.

At the time of O'Connell's arrival, the chiefs dominated Pohnpeian society. Indeed, their status was now the single most important organizing concept around which Pohnpeian society revolved.²⁸ Pohnpeians knew themselves through their relationships with the chiefs, who linked the people with the land, with their past, and with their gods. Two distinct chiefly lines governed each of the four states or chiefdoms then existing on Pohnpei (see Appendix 2). At the head of the first line, the *pali en soupeidi*, stood the *nahnmwarki*. Protected by island gods and ancestral spirits, the *nahnmwarki*, as the physical embodiment of the whole system, lived apart from the people. His person was sacred. The *nahnken*, who headed the second line, or *pali en serihso*, made most of the practical, day-to-day decisions of government. In addition to the four principal chiefdoms of Madolenihmw, U, Kiti, and Sokehs, there were smaller autonomous areas such as Awak and Palikir ruled by two lines of chiefs, but with different titles and having different traditions.

Each *wehi* 'chiefdom' was composed of smaller sections of land called *kousapw*; these *kousapw*, in turn, consisted of individual farmsteads or pieces of land called *pelisapw*. Each *kousapw* possessed two governing lines of titles that mirrored those of the larger chiefdom.²⁹ Originally called *meseni en keinek* when the clans served as the principal units of social organization, the section leader, by O'Connell's day, had come to be known as the *soumas en kousapw*.

When addressing the *nahnmwarki*, the people used the third person plural and spoke in a special language of respect to honor both the man and the spirits about him. A serious infraction of his will could lead to banishment or death. All land and all things produced from it belonged in principle to the *nahnmwarki*; this control over the land provided the basis for his more worldly power. All the lesser chiefs and *kousapw* heads held their land in trust from the *nahnmwarki*; the common people, in turn, received rights to individual farmsteads from these leaders. Thus all

of the people lived and worked upon the land at the nahnmwarki's pleasure. It was he who gave and he who took away.

To ensure the nahnmwarki's goodwill, there thrived an elaborate system of tribute feasting. There were feasts of respect, feasts of thanksgiving, and feasts to present the first fruits of the different agricultural seasons. There were feasts for new houses, new canoes, new fishing nets, wars, funerals, marriages, births, and atonement.³⁰ In short, a feast marked almost every human activity, and over each feast presided, in spirit or in person, the nahnmwarki.

In addition to celebrating a particular event, each feast affirmed the social order of rank, prestige, and respect upon which the island society rested. The rituals of feasting were complex; they varied depending on the nature of the occasion and the area of the island where the feast was held. During certain seasons, feasting was an almost daily occurrence. Feasting constituted a celebration, an affirmation, and a sanctification of what it meant to be Pohnpeian. Above all else, it was a religious ceremony that reinforced the deep spiritual ties between the past and the present and symbolically united the land, the chiefs, the people, and their gods.

Despite his ritual preeminence, the nahnmwarki's political power could be less than absolute. The practical need for harmony between ruler and ruled usually provided a check against flagrant abuses of chiefly powers. Indeed, the powers of individual paramount chiefs varied considerably. The nahnken, the lesser chiefs of the *soupeidi* and *serihso* lines, and the section heads could all assert themselves against a weak individual who, by reasons of lineage alone, held the paramount title of nahnmwarki. Pohnpei's chiefly system also recognized merit. Commoners, through service to their chiefs, could rise in rank. What remained constant was the focal point that the chiefly system provided the island's cultural order.

In a natural extension of Pohnpeian logic, the six shipwrecked sailors were seen as belonging to the paramount chief of the area. Distributing these sailors as he would any other form of wealth, the Wasai Sokehs entrusted O'Connell and George Keenan, another Irishman, to the care of Oundol en Net, a lesser chief; the remaining men were assigned to other chiefs of Sokehs.³¹ O'Connell's arrival at Oundol's domain in Net provided cause for further celebration. Following the welcome, the chief ordered both O'Connell and Keenan to be led to an isolated hut where they were to be tattooed. The tattoo (*pelipel*) held special significance in Pohnpeian society.³² There was pain in life; Pohnpeians saw the ability to endure pain as a necessary prerequisite for an honorable existence. The courage to withstand the month-long ordeal of having elaborate patterns etched into the skin with an ink-dipped rake made of thorns or sharpened

animal bones attested to the worth of an individual. No man or woman was considered eligible for marriage without the proper marking of the body. Men had their arms and legs tattooed; women, in addition to these areas, had their buttocks, thighs, and genital regions marked (Figures 6 and 7). O'Connell was perhaps fortunate that the Pohnpeians did not require him to undergo yet another male rite of passage, the *lekilek* or castration of the left testicle.

Aside from their decorative value, the patterns of the tattoo identified an individual's lineage. They also recorded clan histories and other great events in the life of the island. In a real sense, Pohnpeians wore their histories on their bodies. Not surprisingly, they wondered how the whites recorded their history. Responding to their inquiries, O'Connell showed his hosts a copy of Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, a book he had salvaged from the ship. The Pohnpeians found particular amusement in the printing and pictures of the book. Thinking its pages would make attractive personal ornaments, the women tore them out and wove them into bark-cloth ponchos. When the rain later washed out the print and pictures from the pages, the women complained that the history of the white people was no good because it disappeared with the rain. Pohnpeians' use of the *pelipel* was much better, they said, because it lasted. Looking at the markings made recently on his own body, O'Connell conceded that the women indeed had a point.³³

O'Connell had suffered through the excruciating ordeal and emerged with the respect of the people. Oundol en Net called him brave, bestowed a title on him, gave him his daughter's hand in marriage, and reserved for the newly tattooed Irishman a sleeping place in his chiefly house. George Keenan, on the other hand, shrank from the ordeal with loud shrieks and cries; the Pohnpeians called him cowardly and childlike. Disgusted, Oundol sent him off to live with a lower-class woman in a small, thatched-roof structure at the edge of the main residential compound.

O'Connell's efforts to assert his independence met with strong chiefly rebuke. An attempt to take an unauthorized tour of the island earned him a severe beating. O'Connell's verbal berating of his wife, Liouni, led to a near-fatal confrontation with her offended father and a party of armed Pohnpeian warriors. But if Pohnpeians insisted on his submission, they also provided for his protection. O'Connell's wife stabbed a man to death for an affront to her husband.

O'Connell saw Pohnpeians as a resourceful, competent people who used their rich environment well. He described the Pohnpeian dwelling house, with its steep-pitched roof that covered reed walls and bamboo floors built atop a raised foundation of piled rocks, as a solid, functional structure. Using cutting-tools and blades formed from rocks, shells, and bones, Pohnpeians felled the strong trees of their forests to make their

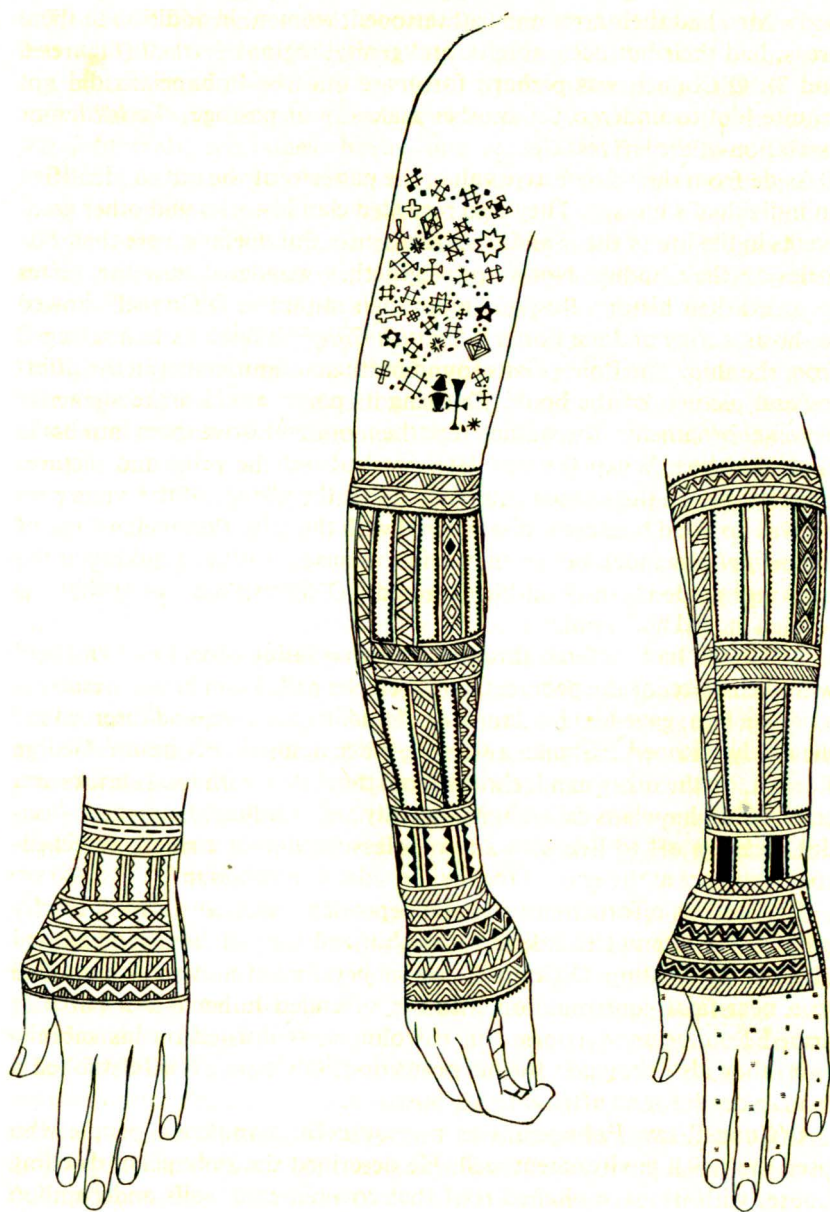


Figure 6. An example of Pohnpeian *pelipel* 'tattooing'. (Hambruch 1936, 2:274)

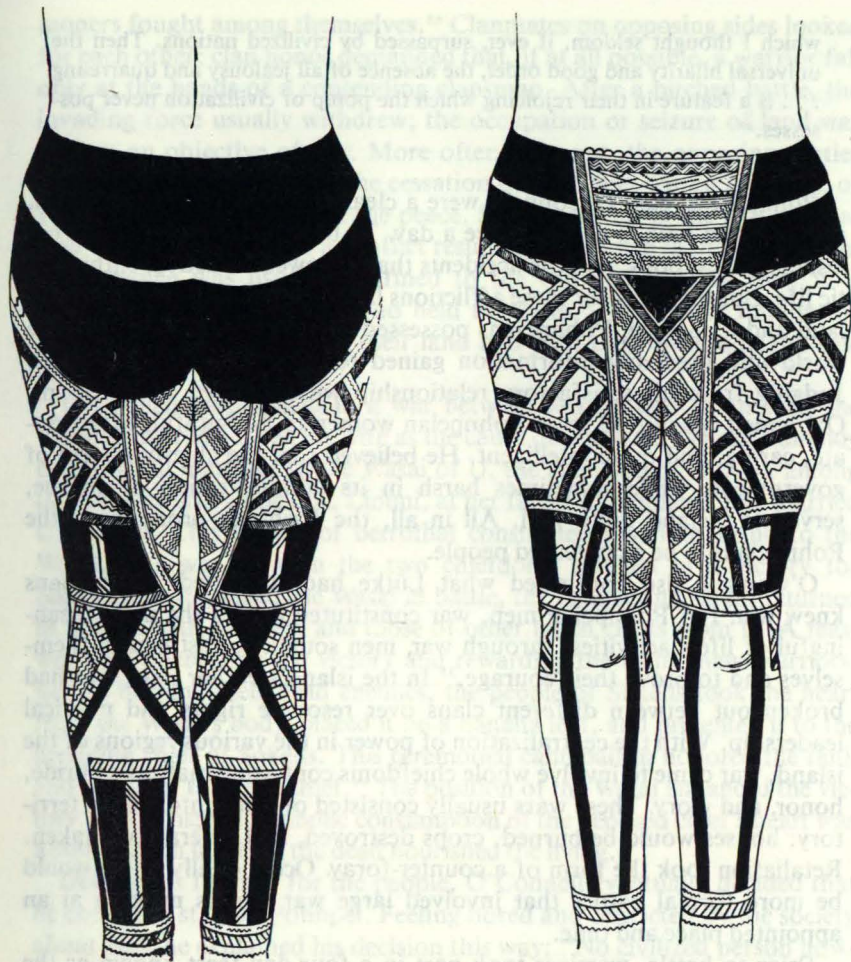


Figure 7. A Pohnpeian body tattoo. (Hambruch 1936, 2:277)

canoes and to hew foundation posts for their buildings. From the different parts of the coconut tree, they fashioned mats, loincloths, twine, torches, visors, baskets, fans, brooms, and cups. The people gathered at night to sing, dance, tell stories, and observe the heavens. They had names for the stars, the different phases of the moon, and the various seasons of the year. While lacking a system of writing, Pohnpeians used drums, conch shells, and folded leaves to make announcements or transmit messages. Remarking on the canoe feast (*katepeik*), O'Connell wrote:

The whole scene, the decorations of the canoes, the chiefs in gala dress, and the women on shore with their heads dressed in flowers, formed a pageant

which I thought seldom, if ever, surpassed by civilized nations. Then the universal hilarity and good order, the absence of all jealousy and quarreling . . . is a feature in their rejoicing which the pomp of civilization never possesses.³⁴

Pohnpeians, said O'Connell, were a clean people, too; men, women, and children bathed at least once a day. To be sure, they suffered from lesions, sores, boils, and the accidents that followed an active, enthusiastic life. But the cures for these afflictions lay within the capabilities of the land and its people. Pohnpeians possessed a healthy curiosity about the world and used any information gained to enhance their own skills. Judging from his satisfactory relationship with his own wife, Liouni, O'Connell considered most Pohnpeian women to be faithful, affectionate, caring, and quite intelligent. He believed that the chiefly system of government, while sometimes harsh in its administration of justice, served the island quite well. All in all, the Irishman pronounced the Pohnpeians to be a contented people.

O'Connell also confirmed what Lütke had suspected: Pohnpeians knew war. For Pohnpeian men, war constituted one of the most meaningful of life's activities; through war, men sought to distinguish themselves and to prove their courage.³⁵ In the island's earlier past, war had broken out between different clans over resource rights and political leadership. With the centralization of power in the various regions of the island, war came to involve whole chiefdoms contesting matters of pride, honor, and glory. These wars usually consisted of raids into enemy territory; houses would be burned, crops destroyed, and several lives taken. Retaliation took the form of a counter-foray. Occasionally, there would be more formal battles that involved large war parties meeting at an appointed place and time.

Prior to battle, warriors took part in a four-day feast known as the *kepwenek*. On each of the four days, an *uhmw en edied* would be prepared; in this "oven of smoke" was placed the flesh of rats, dogs, and later pigs. The oven would be opened quickly and its still-raw contents divided into very small portions that would then be distributed among those assembled. The willingness of the warriors to consume the uncooked flesh of animals attested to their bravery. The practice also allowed Pohnpeians to enter battle on relatively empty stomachs, thus ensuring their dignity in the event of death. Indeed, the loss of bowel control during battle or the discovery of half-digested food in the intestines—an investigation conducted on dead adversaries after the cessation of hostilities—brought ridicule and shame upon a warrior and his clan.

Rank, order, and prescribed ritual characterized Pohnpeian conflicts. Warriors sought out their social equals; chiefs engaged chiefs while com-

moners fought among themselves.³⁶ Clanmates on opposing sides looked for each other; clan honor demanded that, if at all possible, a warrior fall only at the hands of a contending clansman. After a pitched battle, the invading force usually withdrew; the occupation or seizure of land was seldom an objective of war. More often than not, the opposing parties would come together after the cessation of hostilities for an exchange of formal apologies to restore the peace. Sometimes, as in the Kiti unification war, the outcome of a conflict resulted in a change in the ruling clan. This change was usually confined to the top and resulted only in a replacement of the people who held the titles. The greater number of people simply remained on their land and paid their tribute to the new line of rulers.

O'Connell participated in a war between Sokehs and U; in fact, the beachcomber identified his wife as the cause of that war.³⁷ Though already betrothed in marriage to the Wasai of U, the chief second in rank among the nahnmwarki's title line, Liouni, at her father's command, had married O'Connell. This breach of betrothal constituted a serious insult to the Wasai. The war between the two chiefdoms resulted in a victory for Sokehs. Having killed the Wasai in battle, the conquering forces returned to Sokehs with his body and those of other fallen chiefs from U. A feast was held celebrating the victory and rewarding the triumphant warriors. Before burning their dead enemies, the people of Sokehs took the heart from the Wasai's body, placed it on a banana leaf, and presented it to the presiding chief of Sokehs. This ceremonial cannibalism honored the rank and power of the dead chief.³⁸ The position of the Wasai enhanced the victory of Sokehs; the symbolic consumption of the deposed chief's heart was a communion in which the dead nourished the living.

Despite his feelings for the people, O'Connell eventually decided that he could not stay on Pohnpei. Feeling bored and restricted by the society about him, he explained his decision this way: "No civilized person however, theorized and philosophized though he were in contempt for the shackles of civilization, could content himself with innocent, unsophisticated, natural men forever."³⁹ James F. O'Connell opted to return to a world that would first put him in a Manila jail and then make him a freak attraction in an American traveling circus.

The ship on which O'Connell left Pohnpei was the *Spy*, a trading brig out of Salem, Massachusetts, under the command of Captain John B. Knights. After spending several days trying to locate a suitable opening in the reef, the ship found a passage and began to approach the island on 27 November 1833.⁴⁰ O'Connell had spotted the ship on its first attempt. Overcoming Oundol en Net's objections, O'Connell and Keenan, after a failed first try in which their canoe was swamped by rough seas, finally reached the *Spy* with a load of tortoiseshell and fresh provisions. Having

spent several years on the island, O'Connell had come to look like a Pohnpeian. When he called for a rope to board the ship, one of the crewmen looked down and cried out in astonishment, "Captain, the natives of this island speak English!"⁴¹ Once on deck, O'Connell proceeded to pilot the ship to a safe anchorage in Madolenihmw Harbor.

The sight of the scraggly beachcomber did little to reassure the already nervous captain. Tension immediately arose between the two. Warned by Knights against attempting any kind of trickery, a surprised O'Connell quickly assured the highly suspicious captain of his own peaceful intentions and those of the people of the island.⁴² A weak, nervous, almost paranoid man, Knights was making his first voyage in command of a trading vessel and had little to show for his efforts to date; he knew his sponsors back in Salem would be less than pleased if things did not turn around. Though encouraged by the quantity of tortoiseshell brought out to the ship by O'Connell, Knights worried about the unrestrained enthusiasm of the Pohnpeians who now crowded the decks of the *Spy*. Worse than showing no profit would be to lose the vessel altogether. On the morning of his second day at anchor in Madolenihmw Harbor, Knights had the ship's four guns fired into the air to prevent the Pohnpeians from boarding. With sentries posted about the deck and in the fore-topsail, Knights commenced trading, using O'Connell as interpreter.

The Salem trader described himself in his journal as a man who had come to trade at a fair price. He promised to deal fairly with all parties concerned and he expected the same treatment in return. He was assuming, however, an understanding of trade not shared by the Pohnpeians. The direct exchange of one commodity for another of equal value was not a part of the Pohnpeians' concept of economics. Rather than trade, the Pohnpeians chose simply to appropriate what they wanted. Curious about noises emanating from near water level, Knights peered over the ship's rail to see Pohnpeians trying to pry loose the iron ribbing from the ship's side. Enraged, he ordered the would-be thieves away and threatened to have them killed if they ever returned. The next day, Knights was equally amazed to find that the two iron poles placed to mark the channel had also disappeared. That afternoon, about a hundred canoes came alongside the ship. During a heavy rain, the ship's mate discovered a Pohnpeian again trying to free the ship's iron siding. The mate hurled a breadfruit at the man; the canoes responded with a steady volley of stones and spears. One stone felled the second mate, bringing triumphant shouts from the canoes. Fearing the worst, Knights ordered a volley of musket fire into the canoes. With several of their number killed and others injured, the Pohnpeians pulled away.

Knights called the Pohnpeians great thieves. Ships' captains reaching the island in later years would second this assessment emphatically.

Wrote one: “[The] Natives are a graceless set of scamps. They did not steal the main mast or the anchor for the simple reason that they could not carry them off.”⁴³ Pohnpeians were indeed thieves. O’Connell saw their proclivity to steal as the harmless, understandable pilfering of the rich by the poor.⁴⁴ The real explanation, however, lay in the ritual polity of the island. Through feasting to honor their gods and chiefs, the people sought to free the wealth of the island. Offerings earned the people a share in the abundance of the land. When feasting failed, Pohnpeians turned to theft to secure what they considered rightfully theirs.

Theft constituted a justifiable alternative to feasting. Numerous incidents of theft fill the accounts of the island’s earlier past. In addition, the act of stealing often represented a legitimate expression of protest against some perceived injustice. Both Satokawai and Lepen Moar stole; their actions expressed righteous defiance against the oppressive greed of the Saudeleurs. Pohnpeians, then, used theft to liberate what was otherwise inaccessible. Faced with a new presence in their waters, Pohnpeians attempted to free the wealth of the foreign ships through gifts and invitations to feasting. When the ships failed to respond properly, Pohnpeians, acting according to historical precedent, stole.

Chiefly prerogatives also shaped the Pohnpeian response to the presence of the *Spy*. Within the island’s waters, the ship, according to the logic of the island, belonged to Pohnpei, more particularly to the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw. On the afternoon of the fourth day, the Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kesik (who would die less than three years later in an incident involving another ship) appeared in his chiefly canoe at the vessel’s side (Figure 8). The Nahnmwarki’s presence immediately brought silence and order. An alien ship now became the temporary shelter for the most prominent of the island’s chiefs. Knights described him as a “miserable looking old fellow” but noticed the extreme deference accorded him by all of the Pohnpeians about the ship. Hearing Knights’ complaints about the earlier incidents of theft and violence, the Nahnmwarki, with a hint of challenge underlying his formal expressions of regret, told Knights to kill all future thieves. The Pohnpeian chief then presented the captain with a mat, a live turtle, and some shell; gifts from a nahnmwarki, called *kepin koanoat*, symbolized recognition, respect, and obligation. The Nahnmwarki’s action was an attempt to bring the ship within appropriate Pohnpeian categories. Knights, determined to avoid any crippling debt or obligation, placed some trifles before the Nahnmwarki. Looking less than impressed, the Nahnmwarki, treating the captain as he might any other individual under his jurisdiction, ordered rum to drink. When Knights replied that he had none to give, the Nahnmwarki left. Pohnpeians could reach no understanding with this foreign, hostile, insulting presence within their waters. Violence became

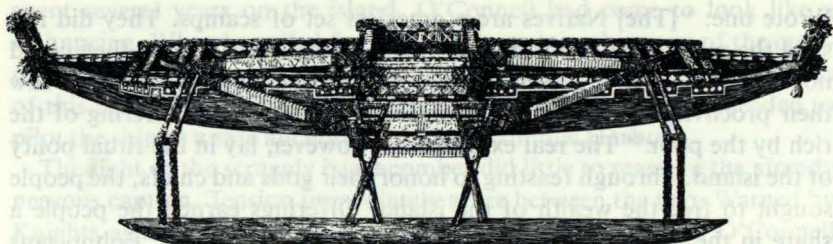


Figure 8. A Pohnpeian *warasapw* 'canoe' of a ranking chief. (Hambruch 1936, 2:308)

the only form of communication between the ship and the island. That night, the Yankee trader shot a Pohnpeian who, from his canoe, was trying to hook a pair of trousers with a barbed pole he had slipped through the cabin window.

All trade with the vessel now ceased. A canoe purchased earlier by Knights and fastened to the stern of the ship disappeared. The theft of the canoe, more a gift than an item of trade to begin with, marked the total rupture of relations between the ship and the island. Knights ordered a longboat to pursue the thieves. No sooner had the boat been lowered than a fleet of canoes rounded the point of land that served as the upper lip of the harbor. A shot over their heads failing to deter the Pohnpeians, Knights ordered a direct volley into their ranks from the swivel cannon he had had rigged in the topsail. The shot shook the mast, almost causing it to split. Observing O'Connell on the deck, the Pohnpeians, before withdrawing, complained to him bitterly about the deaths of their comrades and the scandalous conduct of Knights. Understanding how grievous the captain's actions appeared to the people of the island, O'Connell could only profess his personal innocence. Knights, his paranoia fed by rumors of a planned takeover of the ship by a group of rowdy castaways who had just been brought to the island from the nearby atoll of Pingelap aboard the whaler *Nimrod*, decided to leave.⁴⁵ The next morning, the *Spy*, after almost foundering on the reef as it passed out of the harbor channel, beat an ignominious retreat from the island, with O'Connell on board.

O'Connell had worried that later arrivals to the island would pay for the *Spy*'s offenses against the people of Madolenihmw. His fears were unfounded. Violence was not an inherent feature of the relationship between the ships and the island; Knights' quick resort to force in the face of seeming disorder had engendered the hostility of the Pohnpeians. Ships reaching the island between 1833 and 1835 stopped for a few days, replenished their supplies, traded for what tortoiseshell was available, and sailed on. Captain Cathcart of the *Waverly* described the islanders as "friendly" and more intelligent than those of Kosrae.⁴⁶ Captain John

Winn of the Salem trading schooner *Eliza* found the island's supply of tortoiseshell rapidly dwindling but remarked favorably on the island as a place to rest and restock.⁴⁷ Fleeing Kosrae, where thirteen of its crew had died in hostilities with the inhabitants, the *Honduras* limped into Pohnpei. Within a short time, the captain had signed on a crew of Pohnpeians to replace the men lost on Kosrae.⁴⁸ The trading schooner *Thetis* of Honolulu stopped at the island to regroup after a mutiny at sea took the lives of the master, two mates, and three other people.⁴⁹ For the time being, Pohnpeians contented themselves with small-scale theft and barter, while pondering ways to deal effectively with the ships.

For those ships forced to make a more extensive stay, relations with the islanders could prove more problematic. The northeast trade winds that blew between December and April usually made the harbor at Madolenihmw, on the windward side of the island, inaccessible during that period. Ships failing to leave the harbor soon enough found themselves forced to wait out the winds for three months. Putting in at Madolenihmw Harbor in April 1836, Captain C. Hingston of the British whaleship *Falcon* of London, thought he had avoided all problems with the winds. But an unexplained shift in the wind pattern that year kept the ship in the harbor for the next three months. Over this lengthy period, the ship became inextricably involved in the complexities of Pohnpeian politics. Scholars have described the violence that erupted around the *Falcon* as an example of the ultimate vulnerability of island societies to Western impact. But the root causes and dynamics of the *Falcon* incident were essentially Pohnpeian.

Persistent tension underlay the polity of Pohnpei. While acquisition of the highest titles resulted theoretically from an orderly advance through the title system, actual succession often involved individual merit, scheming, intrigue, bravado, and even force.⁵⁰ In Madolenihmw, the highest ranked of the four island states, the tensions of political life ran particularly high. While establishing the charter of divine and chiefly privileges, the acts of incest committed by Isohkelekel and Nahlepenien added an element of instability to Madolenihmw's political order. The still-current phrase *neitik en Madolenihmw* 'born of Madolenihmw' refers to the unsettling, socially disruptive acts of incest that promoted dissension within Madolenihmw's ruling clan.⁵¹ The continuing, centuries-old rivalries among the different sections of Madolenihmw further exacerbated the in-bred weaknesses of Isohkelekel's system of rule. Pohnpeians to this day describe Madolenihmw's erratic, volatile political past with the phrase *wehi keredi kereda* 'a state of steppings down and steppings up'.⁵²

The pre-Western-contact story of Oun Sapwawas exemplifies the strong current of unrest that affected the Dipwinpahnmei, the ruling

clan, and the entire chiefdom of Madolenihmw.⁵³ Two sisters of the senior subclan of the Dipwinpahnmei had sons who held prominent titles. The two eldest sons of the older sister bore the titles Wasai and Nahnawa, the second- and fifth-ranked titles, respectively, in the nahnmwarki's line, while the younger sister's son held the lesser title Oun Sapwawas.⁵⁴ During a visit to Temwen, the younger sister incurred the displeasure of her older sibling. In a fit of anger, the older sister charged that the younger had no real children; implicit in her statement was the charge that the younger sister had failed to raise her children to be dutiful and responsible individuals. Distraught, the younger sister returned to her home in the Lohd Pah section of southern Madolenihmw and told her son, Oun Sapwawas, of the insult. The incensed Oun Sapwawas swore revenge. The visit of Nahnawa, the younger of the older sister's two sons, provided an opportunity. In the middle of the feast welcoming Nahnawa, Oun Sapwawas murdered his distinguished cousin.

The Wasai, learning of his brother's murder, decided on a scheme to lure Oun Sapwawas and his forces from their home ground. With Lepen Moar, the ruler of the Senipehn area in northern Madolenihmw, the Wasai held a clandestine meeting to plan a mock war. To promote an aura of authenticity, the two chiefs decided not to inform their warriors of the secret alliance between them. As agreed, the forces of the Wasai and Lepen Moar met in a series of engagements designed to make Oun Sapwawas believe that a state of war really existed between the two men. Battles were fought in earnest, with serious casualties on both sides. Dissension within the ruling clan had shattered the peace of the entire chiefdom. Men died to insure the success of a political charade conceived to avenge the honor of offended chiefs.

Feigning near-total defeat after a series of bloody encounters with the Wasai, Lepen Moar sent an urgent request to Oun Sapwawas for assistance. The ruse worked. With an armed party of warriors, Oun Sapwawas left Lohd Pah and traveled overland to central Madolenihmw, where a large ambush party lay in wait. At the appointed moment, the party swooped down upon Oun Sapwawas. His forces were routed, and Oun Sapwawas himself was soon captured. Before finally executing him, his captors forced him to endure a series of excruciating tortures. Luelen Bernart writes of the event: "And such is the way that the people of the state of Madolenihmw are, pitiless toward each other; they do not cooperate smoothly with one another from that day to this."⁵⁵

The Madolenihmw into which the *Falcon* sailed was a divided, dissension-ridden chiefdom.⁵⁶ The Dipwinpahnmei subclan, the Isonenimwahn held the title nahnmwarki with the *keinek* or matrilineage known as the Upwutenmei being dominant. Two other lineage groups within the

Isonenimwahn, the Litehriete and the Litehsilite, struggled for privilege and position. The situation in 1836 was particularly volatile. The Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kesik, lived on Temwen Island. On Na Island near the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor dwelt the Wasai. An exceptionally energetic, ambitious, and brave man, the Wasai, a member of the Litehriete lineage, had risen to challenge the preeminence of the Nahnmwarki.⁵⁷ So strong had the Wasai become that many sections of Madolenihmw paid tribute to both Temwen and Na.

The Wasai's power resulted in part from his shrewd manipulation of the new factor in Pohnpeian politics—the ships. From the beginning, the Wasai realized the political advantage that lay in the material goods brought by the ships. The Wasai, trying to learn as much as possible about the ways of the white men now arriving in increasing numbers at Pohnpei's shores, had befriended O'Connell. Hearing stories of kings and presidents, the Pohnpeian chief had asked O'Connell to give him a foreign name that suited his station on Pohnpei. The chief sought both a confirmation and an enhancement of his own rank through association with the sources of foreign wealth and power. O'Connell responded with the title "Washington."⁵⁸ Later, in 1835, the Wasai had given refuge to a group of surviving seamen who reached Pohnpei in an open boat after their ship, the whaler *Corsair*, had been wrecked in the Gilberts.⁵⁹ In a daringly skillful maneuver, the Wasai had interceded in the sailors' behalf after representatives of the Nahnmwarki had threatened them with death for their refusal to give up the longboat. Dr. Campbell, the surgeon aboard the British cutter *Lambton*, described the Wasai during the ship's first visit to Pohnpei in January 1836: "though only second in authority, [he] is the most powerful and (though not in appearance) the most warlike chief on the whole island; his name is both dreaded and respected while his modest and unassuming character recommends itself to the particular attention of the stranger."⁶⁰

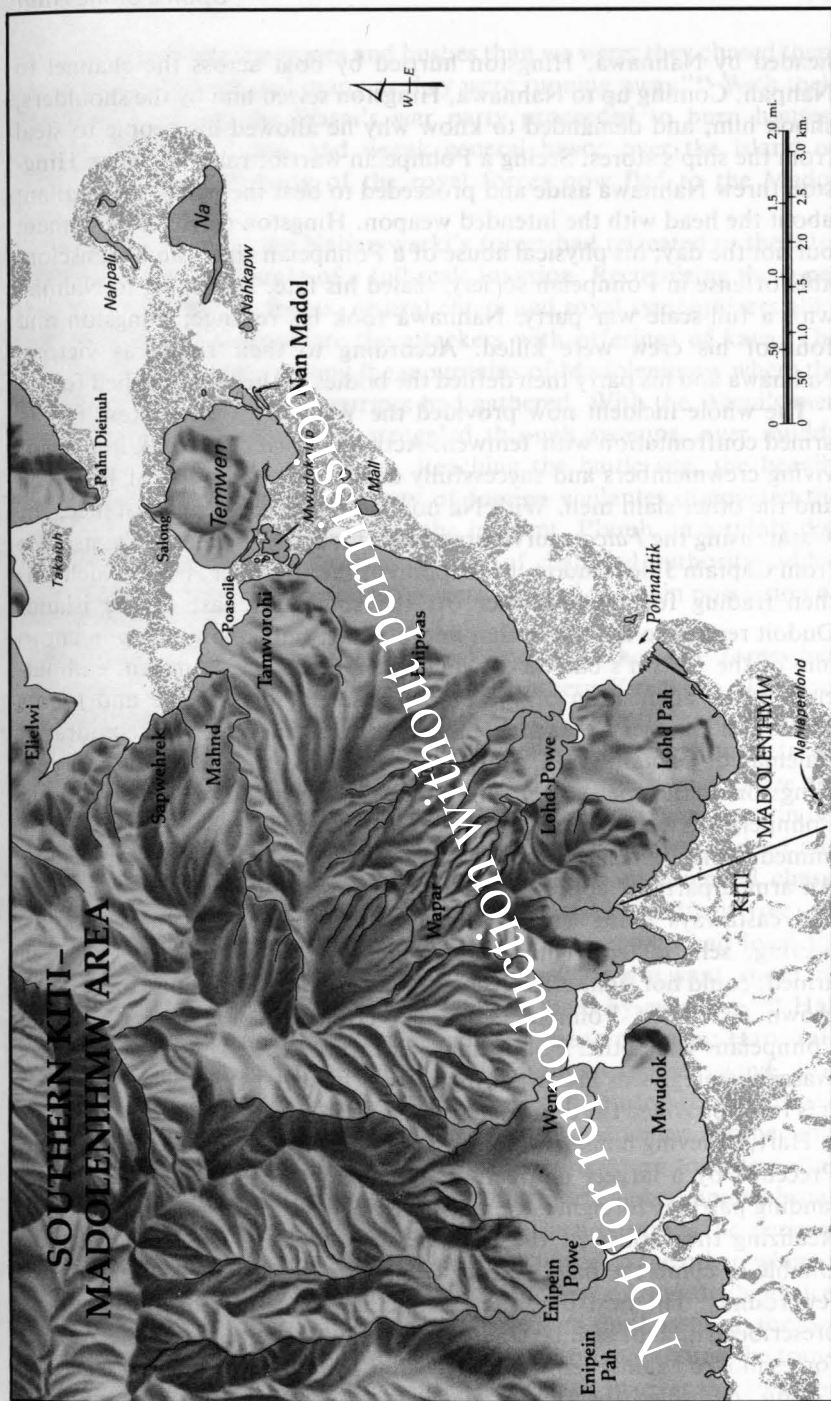
Approaching Madolenihmw Harbor in early April, the *Falcon* soon found its decks swarming with excited Pohnpeians. The heavy labor required during the season of scarcity or *isol* was completed and the island had entered the season of plenty called *rak*.⁶¹ There was now more time and attention to give to the visit of a whaleship. For five weeks, relations between the ship and the island were exceedingly cordial. The Pohnpeians brought breadfruit, yams, coconuts, and embroidered belts in return for tobacco, pipes, and other items. The affections of Madolenihmw's women were also easily procured. With all repairs completed and food stocks replenished, the *Falcon* was ready to sail by the middle of May; but unseasonably strong winds confined the ship for another two months.

The *Falcon* had come to anchor off the point of land called Pahn

Dieinuh⁶² (Map 6). Across the harbor channel lay Temwen Island, the Nahnmwarki's residence. To the east near the channel entrance was the island of Na, the home of the Wasai. Unwittingly, the ship had positioned itself within sight of Madolenihmw's two most prominent competing camps. As the weeks passed, the ship began to figure prominently in the scheming of these two contending factions.⁶³ Becoming more and more irritated by the continued presence of a foreign ship that refused to conform to or even honor the proper codes of conduct, the Nahnmwarki's camp came to see the ship as a threat. Temwen became covetous of the guns, powder, knives, and hatchets on board the ship—items that carried potent political significance but were withheld from trade. The fear that such goods might somehow fall to Na or some other rival added an unsettling element. The longer the ship remained, the greater was the anxiety it caused Temwen. With his primacy being challenged from within, the Nahnmwarki could ill afford to ignore indefinitely the disrespectful, disruptive presence lying at anchor in full view of his capital.

Speaking for his father, the Nahnmwarki's son urged that the ship be seized and its cargo delivered to Temwen where it rightfully belonged. The Nahnawa of Madolenihmw, the Nahnmwarki's brother and an outspoken opponent of the increasing foreign presence on the island, seconded the plan. A change in the attitude of the women visiting the ship alerted both the captain and crew to an impending confrontation. When informed by a young chiefly woman from Temwen that an attack was imminent, Hingston ordered the decks cleared and all firearms readied. That same day, a fleet of canoes approached the ship. Observing the crew to be armed, the war party divided and turned toward the shore. On the morning of 7 July 1836, Hingston, unwilling to wait any longer for the winds to abate, ordered the ship to weigh anchor. Unable to tack against the still-prevailing trades, the ship, despite the considerable efforts of all aboard, was soon blown upon the reef. Over the course of the next two weeks, the crew salvaged most of the ship's cargo, including nine hundred barrels of whale oil, and stored it all at Nahpali, a nearby reef island at the southern edge of the harbor channel. Nahpali, ironically, was held in fief by the hostile Nahnawa.⁶⁴ The ship's cargo now rested solidly on Pohnpeian soil. According to the dictates of *tiahk en sapw*, it became the property of the Nahnmwarki.

Hingston found the Wasai, living on Na just south of Nahpali, an eager, hospitable host. The captain's stay with the Wasai, however, only strengthened the determination of the Nahnmwarki and his inner circle. Neither gifts nor the presence of an around-the-clock guard at Nahpali deterred the royal camp. Over the course of a month, small-scale theft soon gave way to outright confrontation. On the morning of 7 August, hearing that the ship's cargo was being seized by a party of Pohnpeians



Map 6.

headed by Nahnawa, Hingston hurried by boat across the channel to Nahpali. Coming up to Nahnawa, Hingston seized him by the shoulders, shook him, and demanded to know why he allowed his people to steal from the ship's stores. Seeing a Pohnpeian warrior raise his spear, Hingston threw Nahnawa aside and proceeded to beat the would-be assailant about the head with the intended weapon. Hingston carried the moment but not the day; his physical abuse of a Pohnpeian chief, an unconscionable offense in Pohnpeian society, sealed his fate. Returning to Nahpali with a full-scale war party, Nahnawa took his revenge; Hingston and four of his crew were killed. According to their rights as victors, Nahnawa and his party then defiled the bodies of their vanquished foes.

The whole incident now provided the Wasai with the pretext for an armed confrontation with Temwen. Acting decisively, he took in the surviving crewmembers and successfully demanded the bodies of Hingston and the other slain men. With Na now an open center of resistance, the Wasai, using the *Falcon* survivors as intermediaries, requested assistance from Captain Jules Dudoit, the captain of the schooner *Avon*, which was then trading for bêche-de-mer off the southern coast of the island. Dudoit replied to the Wasai that he would act only upon consignment to him of the *Falcon*'s barrels of whale oil. Meanwhile, Temwen, emboldened by its acquisition of the *Falcon* arsenal, sent threats and taunts across the channel to Na. At this point, with the situation temporarily stalemated, Captain C. H. Hart of the *Lambton*, the man who had met Hingston on the open seas north of New Guinea and urged him to stop at Pohnpei, arrived in Madolenihmw Harbor. It was 11 August. Hart's immediate insistence on revenge served the Wasai's purposes admirably. An armed party of approximately forty Europeans, made up of sailors and castaways living on the island, gathered around Hart, a domineering, self-righteous individual. Hart's party, no matter how well armed, could not fight effectively on the rugged, wet, slippery, and overgrown terrain of Pohnpei. The only effective counterforces against Pohnpeians were other Pohnpeians. The most critical component in the Wasai's strategy was his own army of four hundred Pohnpeian warriors; this force provided the critical margin of victory.⁶⁵

Hart, believing himself in control, planned a direct assault on Temwen. Preceded by a largely ineffective bombardment from the *Lambton*, a landing party of foreigners went ashore on Temwen's rocky eastern side. Realizing the futility of the approach, the Wasai's canoes held back. Unable to climb the bald inclines, Hart's forces withdrew after firing a few rounds. The next day, the Pohnpeians took the lead. Following a prescribed ritual of taunts, challenges, and obscene gestures, the Wasai's forces moved against Temwen. John Plumb, a surviving seaman from the *Falcon*, described the fight: "They [the Wasai's men] of course were

more active among the stones and bushes than we were; they chased them in fine style and speared many as they were running away.”⁶⁶ With their opponents routed, the Wasai’s war party proceeded to burn houses, destroy all food crops, and wreak general havoc over the island of Temwen. The main body of the royal forces now fled to the Madolenihmw mainland.

By the fourth day, the Nahnmwarki’s forces had retreated to the interior against the onslaught of a full-scale invasion. Recognizing the superiority of the Wasai’s forces, neutral chiefs and royal sympathizers alike now attempted to propitiate the attackers with offerings of kava. The final battle took place among the mountains of Madolenihmw where the Nahnmwarki’s remaining warriors had gathered. With the Wasai’s men far in advance, Hart’s party struggled through swamps, over muddy paths, and up rugged precipices. Reaching the battle site, the heavily armed but weary and ragged party of foreign vigilantes discovered the hostilities already over. Describing the incident, Plumb, in a thinly disguised effort to salvage some semblance of dignified authority, added that of course their Pohnpeian allies were allowed to retain possession of all confiscated goods.

Before the final engagement, the two leaders of the royal forces had fled. The Nahnmwarki sought refuge in southern Kiti while Nahnawa retreated to one of the Mwahnd islands off U.⁶⁷ With the consent of the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, who had no pity for one of his most bitter traditional enemies, a boat was dispatched from the *Lambton* to seize the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw. Coming across the chiefly refugee in the Nanpahlap section of Wene, the party shot the Nahnmwarki dead and returned to Madolenihmw with the body.⁶⁸ After an extended chase, Nahnawa was found leaning dejectedly against a breadfruit tree. To James Hall, a deserter from the whaleship *Conway* who had lived for two years on Pohnpei, Nahnawa said, “I know what you want, shoot me where I stand; I am tired of life for I am hunted by everyone.”⁶⁹ Hall assured the Pohnpeian noble that he would come to no harm; Hart, said Hall, only wanted to transport him and his family to another island.

Hart proved no better a judge than a general. During the hostilities, Hart of the *Lambton* and a Captain W. Hart of the *Unity*, another ship involved in the conflict, had established a set procedure for alternating authority.⁷⁰ As a symbol of this authority, the Harts agreed upon a broad pennant that carried the title Commodore. Each evening, the pennant would be lowered from the one ship and transferred to the other, where it would be raised the next morning to show the seat of that day’s justice. Deciding by mutual consent to hang Nahnawa on the *Lambton*, the two captains Hart spent a considerable amount of time negotiating the transfer of the pennant that was originally scheduled to fly over the *Unity* on

the day of the execution. Captain P. L. Blake of the HMS *Larne*, the British man-of-war sent to Pohnpei to investigate the whole episode in 1839, called it a ludicrous practice.⁷¹ Blake was quite right, but then men in ships, convinced of their own superiority, often did strange, ludicrous things in trying to make themselves and their actions understood by people on the other side of island beaches.

Dying was the last planned act of life for Nahnawa of Madolenihmw. The Pohnpeian chief did not fear death; on being captured, he had asked Hall to shoot him. What Nahnawa dreaded most was the manner of his dying. Hart's kangaroo court threatened to rob him not only of his life but of his dignity. Brought aboard the *Lambton* in the early evening, Nahnawa, dressed in his finest chiefly garb, awaited his certain fate. The Pohnpeian chief passed several hours drinking rum and smoking cigars. When asked why he had killed Hingston and the four crewmen of the *Falcon*, Nahnawa, realizing the gulf that separated his world from those of his captors, replied: "It is no use to bother me anymore about it. I have done it and I am now in your power, do with me as you think proper."⁷²

At ten o'clock that evening, Hart had Nahnawa taken on deck where he was chained to a ring hold. One attack already having been made on Nahnawa by one of the *Falcon's* surviving crewmen, Hart ordered Fred Randall, another of the resident whites on the island and a deserter in 1834 from the whaleship *Earl Staupole*, to stay the night with the Pohnpeian chief.⁷³ During the night, Nahnawa attempted to kill himself twice, first by tying the inner string of his loincloth about his testicles and pulling tightly. Stopped by Randall, the Pohnpeian later used his broad beaded belt, one of the insignia of his chiefly rank, for the same purpose. Again, Randall interfered. Nahnawa then asked Randall to shoot him. In a final act of desperation, Nahnawa asked to be let go so that he could find an appropriate way to die on the island. Randall attempted to comfort the condemned man with the same promise of life on another island used earlier by Hall; Nahnawa replied that he had heard that lie before.⁷⁴

In the morning, Nahnawa watched as they prepared the halyard for the hanging. Some of the sailors aboard ship taunted him by placing the rope around their necks, raising it above their heads, and making grotesque faces. The appearance of the hangmen, two black seamen from the *Avon* dressed in long red robes, wearing wigs made of canvas and hemp, and having paint smeared across their faces, confirmed that there would be no dignity in death for Nahnawa. Noticing James Hall aboard ship, Nahnawa asked facetiously if this was the "island" he had promised.⁷⁵

Soon after, Nahnawa, his arms pinned to his side, was led to the starboard side of the forecastle. Because of his two suicide attempts the night

before, his last walk was a slow painful one. Stood upon a cask with the noose now tightly about his neck and a bandage over his eyes, the Pohnpeian chief was asked if he had any last wishes. Nahnawa asked only that he be allowed to die, as befit his rank, at the hands of a fellow chief. The request went unheeded. Trying to cover his barbarism with ceremonial pomp, Hart had twenty armed sailors lined up in two rows along the main deck. Shouting to the two or three who had their muskets pointed at Nahnawa, Hart threatened them with death if they failed to aim out over the water.⁷⁶ All things ready, Hart gave the signal; as the volley of musket fire sounded, Nahnawa "was run up in the smoke." At noon, the chief's body was cut down, towed ashore by his Pohnpeian rivals, and dumped unceremoniously over the remains of the deposed Nahnmwarki in a shallow grave at Pahn Dieinuh. The Wasai now assumed the title of paramount chief for Madolenihmw.

The *Falcon* incident profoundly affected the order of things on Pohnpei. The Litehriete replaced the Upwutenmei as the ruling lineage among the Dipwinpahnmei's subclan, the Isonenimwahn; the resentment and bitter feelings generated by this event would plague Madolenihmw for decades to come. Many of the surviving members of the Upwutenmei took refuge on Dehpehk Island off U; they were joined in their bitterness by three black American sailors, deserters from whaleships, who also harbored deep resentment against the white world. The chieftdom of Kiti rejoiced over the severe blow dealt to its principal rival, while Pohnpeians as a whole learned about the efficacious application of guns to political purposes.

Outside observers offered their interpretation of the meaning and significance of the events of 1836. Commander Blake of the *Larne* called C. H. Hart's involvement the act of a "downright piratical marauder."⁷⁷ Hart's massacre in 1837 of almost the entire adult male population of nearby Ngatik Atoll for what turned out to be a few pounds of rotted tortoiseshell helped shape Blake's opinion. Rear Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, commander in chief of Great Britain's Asian squadron, described Hart's conduct as "one of the most extraordinary instances on record of persons perfectly unauthorized by Law sitting in judgment over a fellow creature, condemning him to death, and deliberately carrying that sentence into execution."⁷⁸

Foreigners resident on the island mistakenly believed that the retribution dealt the defiant rulers of Madolenihmw would give the people a healthier respect for the sanctity of commerce. Those given to thought saw the tragedy as the deplorable but inevitable consequence of contact between assumedly superior Western civilizations and small, seemingly inferior island societies. More than anything else, however, the *Falcon*

incident showed Pohnpeians acting in light of their traditions and cultural presuppositions to manipulate a new factor in the political life of their island. In the decades to come, Pohnpeians would continue to search for ways to control the changes brought to their island by an increasing number of ships. But in this first period of sustained contact with the outside world, the people of the island had already come to a fundamental assessment. In the passage of time from Quiros to Hart, Pohnpeians had learned that the beings who inhabited these ships, while decidedly foreign and sometimes malevolent, were not ghosts from the open ocean, but men.

CHAPTER 3

The Terms of Trade

THE MIDDLE DECADES of the nineteenth century witnessed an intensification of contact between Pohnpei and the outside world. Whalers and traders became the next wave of foreign voyagers to reach the island. To the Pohnpeians the vessels were floating islands that contained many new and varied items of material wealth. The coming of the ships, however, posed problems for a decentralized society governed by chiefs whose authority always lay open to challenge from both domestic and foreign sources of opposition. Pohnpei's ruling chiefs sought to reaffirm their authority and enhance their privilege through their dealings with the ships. In the first years of intensified contact, the most immediate concern for the rulers of the island's various chiefdoms and autonomous areas lay in finding ways to do just that.

By right of custom, all things on the island should belong to chiefs, including foreign ships that passed through the surrounding reef into Pohnpeian space. Early encounters had taught the chiefs that the men on these strange vessels operated on a very different system of logic. Rituals of welcome, invitations to feast, and occasional resorts to violence all had failed to bring the ships under the order of the island. Indeed, Pohnpeians saw traders and ships' captains as acting like foreign sovereigns who jealously guarded their domains. Wealth that lay outside the chiefs' control presented a serious threat that invited chaos, challenge, and rebellion. There arose then a need for mediating agents, individuals who could successfully arbitrate the demands of the ships and those of the island. Out of necessity in the 1830s and 1840s, Pohnpei's chiefs turned to the island's beachcombers, the refugees and castaways of the ships' world.

Beachcombers reached Pohnpei from European and American shores embittered and disillusioned by the lands of their birth, choosing to cast their lot with a seemingly primitive, alien society that nonetheless offered

them a place, a purpose, and a status that far exceeded the prospects of their old lives.¹ Pohnpeians found beachcombers more accessible, more manageable, and ultimately more intelligible than those who spat contemptuously as they viewed the island from a ship's deck. Having broken with European or American society, beachcombers were prepared to teach Pohnpeians something of the ways of the world from which they had fled.

As did everyone else in Pohnpeian society, beachcombers served the chiefs; their well-being and livelihood depended directly upon the goodwill of the island's rulers. Living alone or in small groups around the edges of the island, Pohnpei's beachcombers realized their acute vulnerability. The chiefs' power to punish or to banish placed a formidable check on any wayward propensities the beachcombers may have entertained. However they might act among themselves or toward ships' captains, the beachcombers took great pains to maintain the support of the chiefs in whose domain they resided. Both sides understood each other quite well. During his visit to the island in 1839, Commander P. L. Blake of HMS *Larne* noted the considerable trust the chiefs placed in their foreign agents.²

Pohnpei's chiefs used the beachcombers residing within their domains to negotiate the terms of trade. The commodity most sought after by the trading schooners reaching the island in the 1830s was tortoiseshell. Among the traders who plied the Pacific, Pohnpei gained a reputation for its ready, abundant supply of this shell, taken from the hawksbill turtle. Based on observations made in 1840, Captain J. de Rosamel of the French government ship *La Danaïde*, estimated that Pohnpei supplied 400 to 500 pounds of high quality tortoiseshell each year.³ Systematic exploitation of the shell, believed de Rosamel, could yield from 1200 to 1500 pounds annually.

At the appearance of a sail on the horizon, the beachcomber paddled out to the approaching vessel with the chief's supply of shell (Figure 9). On completion of all barter, he returned to the shore with such items as muskets, adzes, axes, knives, gunpowder, and tobacco. The beachcomber's commission depended on the margin between what he secured in trade from the ships and what the chief accepted as satisfactory compensation for his shell. Most beachcombers in the 1830s and early 1840s earned an adequate living; some managed to accumulate considerable quantities of trade goods which they, in turn, used to open small trading stations of their own on shore.

By 1840 approximately forty beachcombers lived on the island.⁴ The circumstances of their arrival varied. The majority, in these first years, were Englishmen. Blake believed that many were escapees from the British penal colony in Australia.⁵ Actually, the greater number of Pohnpei's

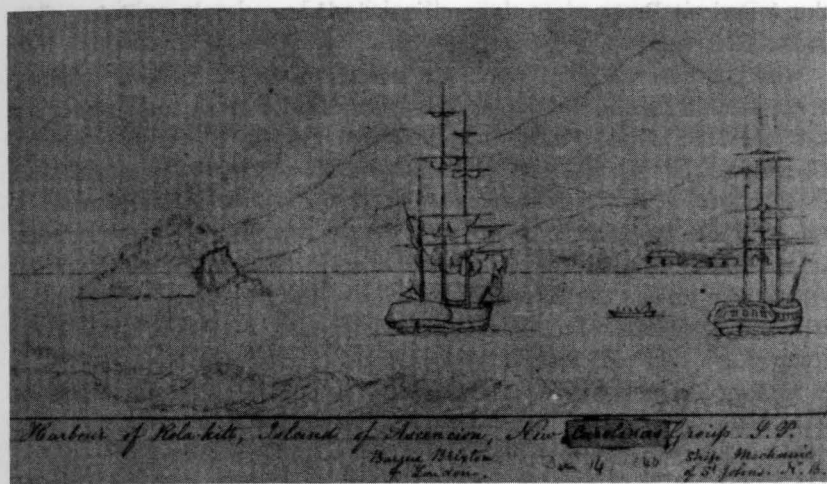


Figure 9. The harbor at Rohnkiti in December 1840. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts)

foreign residents were common seamen who had deserted from the whaleships that began reaching the island in the mid-1830s. Shipwrecked sailors complemented the ranks of the deserters, along with a few independent men who, attracted by what they saw of life on the island, decided to terminate their services with the trading schooners that brought them to Pohnpei.

Beachcombers' relationships with the islanders could involve blood or family ties as well as mere functional service to the chiefs. James Headley, the son of a river pilot in London, reached the island aboard the ill-fated *Falcon*.⁶ Headley took shelter with the Wasai of Madolenihmw following the murder of Hingston and the four other crewmen. After fighting for the Wasai against the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Headley sailed on to Guam and Manila with Captain C. H. Hart aboard the *Lambton*. He returned to Pohnpei in July 1837 where he eventually established himself on Mwudok island as a harbor pilot. Marrying Liahtensapw, one of the daughters of the then Nahnmwarki of Kiti and a member of the Dipwinluhk clan, Headley sired a family that would rise to prominence in later times.⁷ His daughter Meri-An married the Nahnken of Kiti; their child, Henry Nanpei, became the richest, most prominent, and most influential Pohnpeian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two of Headley's great grandsons, Moses and Samuel, served as nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Headley impressed the ships' captains with whom he came in contact. No friend of the forces of organized religion, however, Headley, until his death in 1868, proved a constant nemesis to

the American Protestant missionaries who began work on Pohnpei in 1852.

Another beachcomber, Louis Corgot, a creole from the Seychelles, arrived on the island in 1836 aboard the schooner *Avon* commanded by Captain Jules Dudoit.⁸ Disenchanted with Dudoit's greedy scheming, Corgot left the ship and eventually established residences at Rohnkiti and Lohd, where he served as the chief pilot for both harbors. De Rosamel of the ship *La Danaïde* complimented Corgot on his skills as a harbor pilot.⁹ The French captain believed that of all the harbor pilots on the island, Corgot was the best. The same American Protestant missionaries who suffered under Headley credited the survival of their mission in its early years to the assistance given by Corgot.

Among Pohnpei's beachcombers, O'Connell, Headley, and Corgot were more the exception than the rule. Other members of the beach community showed themselves to be violent, rowdy, corrupt, and rootless. Most took one step across cultural boundaries but not two; they broke from one world without committing themselves to another. Living on the edges of the island, these people were in many ways marginal men. Commander Blake expressed shock over the physical appearance of Patrick Gorman, an Irishman who had deserted from the American whaler *Howard* in the mid-1830s. Blake wrote of Gorman: "It would be impossible to convey the idea of the wild and savage picture which this man presented to me on board the *Larne*. He had on a sort of narrow mat with a long greasy fringe around his middle called a Wye-Wye and worn by the natives. His long hair hung clotted with oil; he had several wreaths of beads around his head, and was tattooed from head to foot."¹⁰

In the chaotic, insecure world of the beachcombers, violence was not uncommon. Gorman had joined Hart in his July 1837 expedition to nearby Ngatik Atoll to lay claim to a rumored cache of tortoiseshell.¹¹ An earlier attempt having been thwarted by Ngatikese resistance, Hart vowed to return for the prize. Hart and his crew were accompanied this second time by Gorman, several other beachcombers from Pohnpei, and two canoe-loads of Pohnpeians who followed the *Lambton* in tow. Meeting with a hostile reception, Hart's party stormed ashore and in the fighting that followed killed or drove off almost the entire adult male population of the island. Many of the women also perished, choosing to kill themselves and their children rather than submit to the invaders. The victory netted for Hart only 25 pounds of hawksbill tortoiseshell and another 100 pounds of relatively worthless green turtle shell. Over this now devastated island, Hart placed Gorman as nahnmwarki with the charge to collect as much shell as possible. After Hart's departure, the newly installed "Nahnmwarki of Ngatik" came upon a helpless old man lying near one of the island's paths. Feeling somehow threatened by this

sole surviving member of the island's adult male population, Gorman shot him. To the later inquiries of Blake aboard the *Larne* in 1839, Gorman termed his action self-defense.

The beachcombers on Pohnpei generally wreaked their violence upon each other. In late 1838 John McFarlane's shooting of Edward Piggington threw the whole white community into turmoil.¹² McFarlane, a crewman aboard an Oahu schooner who had decided to leave ship at Pohnpei, became incensed over Piggington's purchase of shell that he, McFarlane, had refused to buy earlier. Feeling that his ability to barter was being undercut by Piggington's willingness to pay higher prices, McFarlane journeyed from his home on Na to Dekehtik, an offshore island in the north where Piggington kept a small pig farm. Seizing two of the animals as recompense, McFarlane returned to Na. Piggington, hearing of the theft, traveled from his station at Metipw, in Madolenihmw, to Na where he confronted McFarlane. As Piggington was about to step out of his canoe, McFarlane shot him.

The delicate balance of the island's white community had been shattered. Fifteen men met at a Billy Barlow's house to decide on an appropriate course of action.¹³ As had Captain Hart during the *Falcon* incident, the beachcombers attempted to legitimize their barbarity with hollow ceremony. Their mock legal proceedings completed, the tainted jury voted for McFarlane's death. As a Portuguese national exempt from any future retribution by British justice, George May was chosen to shoot McFarlane. Encouraged by the group—and several drinks of grog—May consented to the task.

Reaching Na, the group discovered McFarlane's house to be an armed camp. Inside, McFarlane sat with two pistols in his hands and a small cannon, nine muskets, and two kegs of gunpowder close by. After considerable coaxing, the extremely gullible McFarlane agreed to put aside his suspicions and travel with the group to Piggington's place at Metipw where all would share in the division of the dead man's property. During the course of a dinner, May, though drunk, nervous, and unable to eat, finally stood up and shot McFarlane. Another conspirator drew his cutlass and delivered the fatal blow to the fallen man's head.

Beachcomber justice for a black man required less pretense. In 1842 George Salter of the *Falcon*, John Brown of the *Avon*, and Edward Workman conspired to murder James Townsend, one of the three American blacks living on Dehpehk.¹⁴ Townsend had angered the three by purchasing tortoiseshell already promised them. Salter, Workman, and Brown viewed Townsend's act as a threat to their livelihood on the island. The fact that Townsend was black eased any remaining constraints they may have felt. To avoid any legal entanglements caused by European or American men-of-war that might one day visit the island,

the three recruited a Pohnpeian to commit the murder. All things arranged, the three invited Townsend to settle his differences with them over dinner at Salter's place in Awak. He accepted the invitation. At a given signal, the hired assassin entered Salter's house and shot Townsend through the heart.

Europeans and Americans were not the only beachcombers on Pohnpei. Other Pacific Islanders also found themselves carried by circumstance to Pohnpei. Some deserted from whaling ships while others, brought to collect *bêche-de-mer*, or sea slugs, were abandoned by their white employers. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, men from the East Indies, the Loyalty Islands, Belau, the Gilberts, Hawaii, Rotuma, and Mangareva all struggled for survival on the island.¹⁵ Competition over the limited resources available at the edges of the island sometimes led to violence with the white beachcombers. Exiles from the harsh life aboard a whaling ship, five Maoris from Aotearoa (New Zealand) had established themselves at Rohnkiti.¹⁶ In 1843, suspecting that several members of the white community planned to steal away their Pohnpeian wives, the Maoris killed the two principal promoters of the scheme. The group then fled to Mwudok where they placed themselves under the protection of Dauk Kiti, the third-ranking chief after the Nahnmwarki of Kiti. From there, they attempted to incite the entire chiefdom against the white beach community by telling of the many ships captured without penalty by Maori warriors. A stalemate followed. With the Maoris confined to Mwudok and the whites afraid of an island-wide uprising against them, both parties soon sought some form of reconciliation. A meeting was held at George May's house to restore the peace. Satisfied that they had explained their grievances and their reasons for killing the two whites, the five Maoris prepared to leave. As they were about to pass through the door, George May and another Portuguese beachcomber, Goliath, stood up from the table and shot two of the five Maoris dead. The surviving three retreated to Mwudok. The distinction between brown and black made little difference to white beachcombers. The edges of the island, they believed, belonged to them; it was as easy to kill an islander (Pohnpeians excluded) as it was a black.

Pohnpeians quickly recognized the racism that permeated the world from which the ships came. The people of the island had little doubt about their own self-worth, but the conduct of white men toward dark-skinned people made them uneasy. An early European visitor to the island paraphrased the reactions of one Pohnpeian in these words: "How great and powerful the King must be whose people consist of chiefs. The whites never work. Mostly ships which reach our islands from time to time bring colored people with them who perform such tasks for them and who are well-paid in order to be served by them."¹⁷ As a result, Pohnpeians sought to demonstrate something of their courage in ways

that white men could understand. If white men could travel over vast seas to distant lands, then Pohnpeians could do the same. Available ships' documents for the period from 1828 to 1860 record at least forty-four Pohnpeians who signed on as crew aboard foreign vessels leaving the island.¹⁸ The islanders' own accounts of the period suggest there were many more.

William H. Wilson, second mate of the whaleship *Cavalier*, pitied these Pohnpeian voyagers for the hardship and abuse they would experience aboard ship.¹⁹ He doubted that many would ever see their island again. His concern was justified. Several days after leaving the island, two Pohnpeians who tried to seize the whaleship *Sharon* met a gruesome death at the hands of a vengeful crew; a third party to the attempted seizure spent the rest of his life in a miserable Sydney jail.²⁰ For the people of the island, however, glory and honor could only be won through risk of life. Pohnpeians used the word *kauat* to refer to singular demonstrations of courage in the face of near-impossible odds.²¹ One Pohnpeian who had braved the uncertainties of a trip to Hawaii and returned to tell of it said proudly to a European traveler then on the island, "Me no Black man, me go Hawaii."²²

Beachcombers on Pohnpei posed the biggest problem for naval officers, ships' captains, and traders. As cultural renegades, the beachcombers scandalized those who came to the island seeking to instill in Pohnpeians some appreciation for civilized practices. Blake called the presence of beachcombers on Pohnpei and elsewhere in the Pacific "a circumstance strange and extraordinary."²³ Another European visitor described them more bluntly as the "outcasts and refuse of their nations . . . guilty of every profanity and crime."²⁴ Traders, more concerned with the order necessary for profitable commerce than with the islanders' welfare, worried that the outrageous conduct of these "moral vagabonds" might engender in Pohnpeians an aversion to all whites. Whatever their failings, beachcombers, unlike all other outsiders, at least acknowledged the order and logic of a culture other than their own. Ringing the island, beachcombers served the Pohnpeians as mediators of change and as buffers against some of the harsher aspects of Euro-American society. Pohnpei's rulers used beachcombers to help tap the bounty of the ships; the foreign individuals with whom the chiefs were most concerned, however, were the traders and captains who actually controlled the new sources of material wealth.

For beachcombers, Pohnpei offered a haven from the outside world; for traders, it held the seeming promise of considerable commercial profit. The ultimate source of this profit lay not on Pohnpei but in China. Faced with the Chinese lack of interest in Western goods, European and American merchants involved in the China trade looked to the Pacific Islands to redress the critical imbalance in the flow of specie. San-

dalwood, bêche-de-mer, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl shell, sharks' fins, ginger, and birds' nests were all found to have appeal in Chinese markets.

Arriving at Pohnpei on 11 December 1842 on the British trading ship *Bull*, Andrew Cheyne was immediately struck by the acres of bêche-de-mer lying in the shallow waters within the island's reef. The Scotsman also saw the need for a trading depot to supply the increasing number of whaleships calling at the island. Encouraged by these prospects, Cheyne remained behind on the island for an initial five-month period; the island, remarked the trader in his journal, presented a "splendid prospect."²⁵

The illegitimate son of James Cheyne and Elizabeth Robertson, Cheyne grew up in the household of his uncle, John Cheyne, a substantial landholder in the Shetland Islands off Scotland and the proprietor of a relatively prosperous fishing business.²⁶ With the experience gained from participation in his family's commercial ventures, Cheyne set out to make his fortune in the China trade. The circumstances of the China trade, in turn, led him to the Pacific Islands. Traveling through the Caroline Islands, Cheyne envisioned a pan-Micronesian company with trading terminals in Belau, Pohnpei, and Kosrae.²⁷ Served by two trading vessels making regular circuits through the area, the company would expand from a simple trading base to development of sugar and coffee plantations. The outlay of initial capital, estimated by Cheyne at £10,000, could be recovered quickly through an intensive exploitation of bêche-de-mer. Law and order on the island would be enforced by having the British government appoint the company representative as official consul for the area.

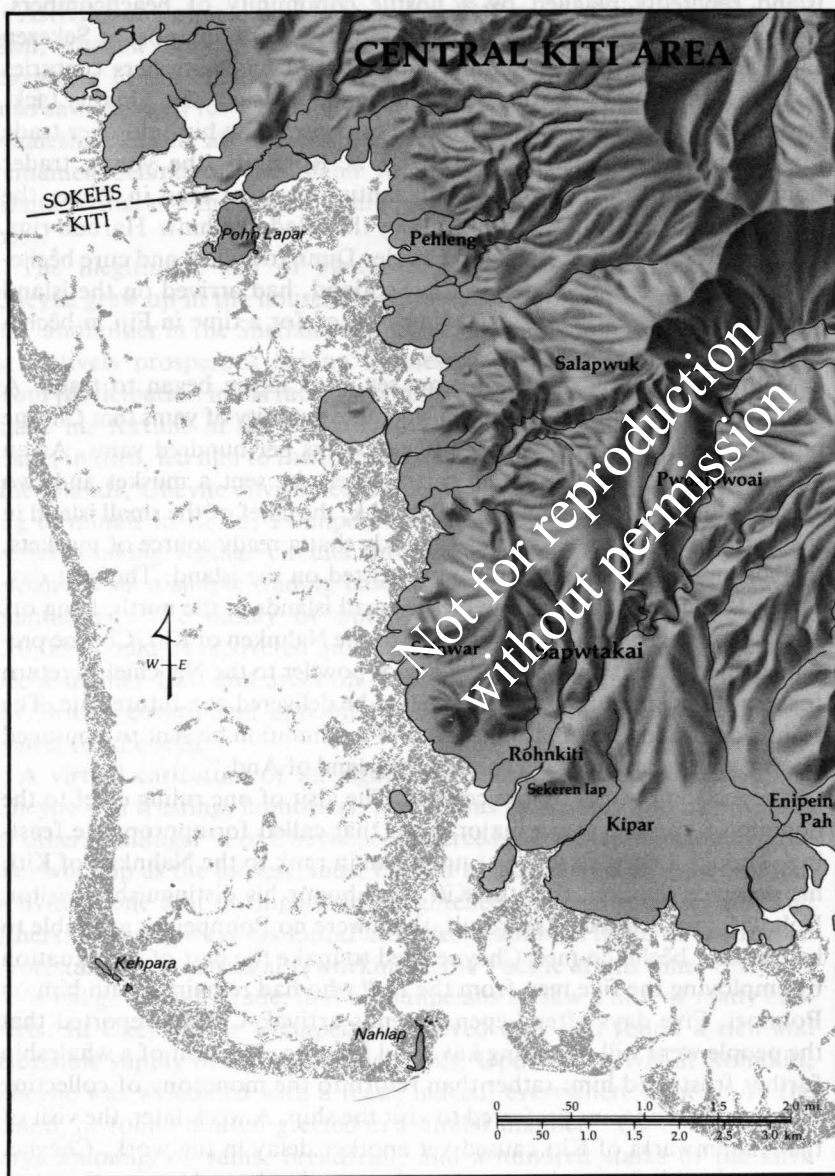
A virtual caricature of an eighteenth-century Scottish Presbyterian, Cheyne was trusting, humorless, scrupulous to a fault, and unforgiving of others' failings.²⁸ For Cheyne, commerce ranked second behind Christian worship as the loftiest, most blessed and divinely decreed of human activities, one that distinguished enlightened civilized societies from all others. In many ways his moral attitudes resembled those of the British Protestant missionaries also working in the Pacific at this time. Cheyne's personal gospel was trade; in the Pohnpeians he saw a host of ready converts. In Cheyne, the Pohnpeians believed they had found a rich and accessible supply of Western trade goods. Upon his arrival at Rohnkiti, Cheyne was welcomed with a feast; indeed, everywhere he went on the island, he found himself greeted in a similar manner.²⁹ On one occasion, large amounts of yams, breadfruit, and a hundred stalks of the kava plant were placed at his feet.³⁰

On the morning of his second day on the island, Cheyne visited the Nahnken of Kiti, Luhk en Sakau.³¹ Seeking to ingratiate himself with the ruling chief of Rohnkiti, Cheyne found a warm, hospitable reception

from the Nahnken, who enthusiastically endorsed his plans for developing trade. As the self-proclaimed pioneer of Western commerce on an island reputedly plagued by a hostile community of beachcombers, Cheyne, to protect his interests, built a fortified trading post at Sekeren Iap, the site of the first landing on the island by Westerners centuries before (Map 7). Over the compound, he hoisted the Union Jack. Seemingly entrenched, Cheyne moved to consolidate his hold over trade on Pohnpei. In addition to his base at Rohnkiti, the young trader bought, or thought he bought, substantial tracts of land in Wene, the southernmost area of Kiti, and along the Madolenihmw Harbor rim. Cheyne enlisted Robert Reid and Charles Dunn to collect and cure bêche-de-mer. Dunn, from Sunderland in Scotland, had arrived on the island eighteen months earlier, after having worked for a time in Fiji in bêche-de-mer operations there.

With his fledgling operation now set up, Cheyne began to trade. A canoe from Dehpehk brought a considerable quantity of yams that Cheyne purchased with tobacco at a rate of ten sticks per hundred yams. As an advance payment for promised tortoiseshell, he sent a musket and two kegs of gunpowder to Souwen en Dehpehk, the chief of the small island in the north off U. The news spread quickly that a ready source of muskets, the consummate political good, now existed on the island. The next day, Lepen Parem, the chief of one of the small islands in the north, lying off Net, arrived to trade. At the insistence of the Nahnken of Kiti, Cheyne presented another two muskets and a keg of powder to the Net chief in return for a specified amount of tortoiseshell to be delivered at a future date. The Nahnken also insisted that muskets and ammunition be sent to Sousaped en And, the second-ranking chief of the island of And.³²

Cheyne soon began to lose control. The visit of one ruling chief to the domain of another was a major event that called for appropriate feasting. Though Lepen Parem was not equal in rank to the Nahnken of Kiti, his presence required that the Kiti chief honor his distinguished visitor. Rohnkiti thus feasted. As a result, there were no Pohnpeians available to help collect bêche-de-mer. Cheyne tried to make the best of the situation by employing the five men from the *Bull* who had remained with him on Pohnpei. Five days after Lepen Parem's arrival, Cheyne reported that the people were still pounding kava and feasting. The visit of a whaleship further frustrated him; rather than return to the monotony of collecting sea slugs, Pohnpeians preferred to visit the ship. A week later, the visit of the Nahnmwarki of Kiti caused yet another delay in the work. Cheyne, overcoming his frustrations, rose to the occasion by welcoming the paramount chief with a salute from the compound's small cannon. Pleased with the presents he received from Cheyne, the Nahnmwarki returned to the *nahs* where the Nahnken feasted his presence.



Map 7.

While Rohnkiti again busied itself with chiefly rituals, Cheyne contented himself with a tour of the island. Returning after an absence of several days, he found things unchanged; feasts and ships' visits constantly depleted his local labor force. Word of the eighteen-hundred-dollar profit earned from the *Bull's* sale of sandalwood procured prior to the ship's arrival at Pohnpei cheered the trader. His joy was short-lived, however. The cargo of trade goods brought by the *Wave*, another of Cheyne's ships, proved worthless. Sick and depressed, Cheyne left the island for Hong Kong aboard the *Wave* on 17 May 1843. Arriving first at Macao, he sat down to examine the balance of his first efforts on Pohnpei. Going over accounts, the Scotsman found that his first five months on Pohnpei had consumed not only all of the profits from the sale of the *Bull's* cargo of sandalwood but had resulted in an additional six-hundred-dollar loss.³³

Cheyne believed that the beachcomber community on Pohnpei was the most serious impediment to his work; indeed, he blamed his initial failures on them. Within hours of his ship's first arrival at Rohnkiti, Cheyne had identified the sixty or so whites then living on the island as pirates. It was this group of renegades and degenerates, wrote Cheyne, that prevented the island from realizing its true commercial potential.³⁴ That first night, a delegation of beachcombers had visited the ship for the express purposes, said Cheyne, of thievery and of selling liquor to the crew. On the alert, Cheyne quickly ordered the group from the ship.

There did indeed exist serious opposition from the island's beachcombers. Aware that Cheyne's plans for commercial development threatened their positions as liaisons between the island and the ships, the beachcombers endeavored to undermine his efforts. Where possible, they bought tortoiseshell and other goods previously ordered from Pohnpeian chiefs by Cheyne. The ultimate winners were of course the chiefs who, not accepting the bonds of verbal contracts, sold to the beachcombers for a better price. There were also threats against Cheyne's life. John Brown, the most violent of the beachcombers in Cheyne's opinion, led a party from Dehpehk against the trading compound at Rohnkiti; the attack was rebuffed by Kiti warriors who, under orders from the Nahnken, protected Cheyne and his important store of goods. On another occasion Joe Bates, the murderer of a man named James Thomson, took a shot at Cheyne. By March 1843 his relations with the beachcombers had deteriorated to such an extent that Cheyne felt he could no longer leave Rohnkiti without an armed escort.

The biggest obstacle to Cheyne's plans, however, came not from the beachcomber community but from Pohnpeian society itself. The notions of trade brought by Cheyne were alien concepts to the cultural order of the island. The Pohnpeian economy did not exist as an easily isolated

activity of life on the island; rather, it was only a part of a totally integrated cultural entity. Among themselves, Pohnpeians did not trade; they gave. In giving, they earned for themselves return gifts. The basic concepts around which this exchange took place were *doadoahk*, *wahu*, *nohpwei*, and *kisakis*.³⁵

Doadoahk 'work' constituted one of the most fundamental activities on the island. All effort focused ultimately on the *nahnmwarki*; work performed in his behalf divided itself between *taulap* 'great work' and *tautik* 'small work'.³⁶ Great work included direct labor and all expressions of obedience, etiquette, and deference. Pohnpeians considered it the most difficult form of service because it entailed a lifelong commitment to the chiefly order around which the life of the island revolved. The most immediate and visible expression of *taulap* was *nohpwei*, the offerings of first fruits brought as tribute to the *nahnmwarki*. Like all other forms of *taulap*, these offerings manifested the people's *wahu* 'respect' for their chiefs. *Tautik*, on the other hand, usually meant participation in war. Short in duration, war, though important, did not require the persistence, stamina, patience, and attention to detail demanded by *taulap*.

The *nahnmwarki* acknowledged the work of the people with gifts called *kepin koanoat*. While usually referring to direct gifts of food, the term *kepin koanoat* in a broader sense implied any gesture or recognition by the *nahnmwarki*. Titles, land rights, the settlement of disputes, and chiefly consent were all, in a sense, *kepin koanoat*. *Kepin koanoat* demonstrated the respect, goodwill, beneficence, and affection that the *nahnmwarki* felt toward his people. Among themselves, the common people expressed these same values through gifts called *kisakis*.

For Cheyne and others from the West, trade meant the simple, direct, and final exchange of equally valued goods. With the completion of the commercial transaction, the relationship between the parties ended. Exchange of this nature had no meaning within the Pohnpeian order of things. For Pohnpeians, the notion of exchange was determined by and expressive of social rank; exchange was not quick and final but rather a part of a lifelong relationship with the participating individual. Pohnpeians did come to understand the Westerners' notion of trade; they recognized it as the surest way in which to acquire access to the wealth of the ships. Pohnpeians also understood it as the base and abrupt denial of any social involvement other than in the act of trading itself. Given the impersonality of Western trade, it is not surprising that Pohnpeians sometimes failed to honor the principles of contract and agreement. Cheyne railed at the perfidy of those chiefs who, encouraged by the beachcombers, accepted payment in advance for goods they never delivered.³⁷

In general, the chiefs of the island dominated the trade with the ships. The traders' interest in the natural products of the island fell neatly within the confines of chiefly control over the land. Political goods such as muskets, pistols, gunpowder, flints, lead, and bullet molds proved the most popular items of trade. Pohnpeians paid for these items with tortoiseshell. Cheyne, in 1843, estimated the total number of guns on the island to be 1500.³⁸ The chiefs would either hold the guns themselves or pass them on to trusted lieutenants and lesser chiefs to be used in times of conflict. Far from increasing the bloodshed, the presence of the guns, noted Cheyne, actually limited the level of violence. He attributed this phenomenon to the Pohnpeians' appreciation of the devastating consequences that would result from the widespread use of firearms. The chiefs prized guns as much for their intimidating value as for their effectiveness as implements of war.

After weapons, men's goods such as axes, adzes, fishhooks, chisels, knives, saws, planes, and files proved the most popular. These goods achieved a somewhat wider distribution throughout Pohnpeian society because they could be employed to facilitate or enhance all *taulap* performed for the benefit of the chiefs. Chiefly women sought cloth, thread, needles, scissors, blankets, beads, and small wooden chests. In return for these nonpolitical goods, Pohnpeians offered wood, water, yams, breadfruit, bananas, chickens, fish, and pigeons. Beachcombers raised pigs for trade with the ships. Pohnpeians, too, found value in pigs; they quickly came to use these foreign animals as the primary source of meat to be offered to chiefs at feasts.

Money had no value for the people of the island. When forced to choose between silver and copper coins, the Pohnpeians selected the copper because of its more attractive color.³⁹ The people usually bored holes in the middle of the coins and wore them as ornaments around their necks. Tobacco, always one of the most popular items of trade, came to serve as a currency of exchange for the more common items supplied by the island. Cheyne gave a stick of tobacco for a day's labor.⁴⁰ Yams and breadfruit cost ten sticks of tobacco per hundred, while a stalk of bananas brought two sticks. A dozen chickens earned twenty-four sticks of Negrohead tobacco.

Cheyne believed that the beachcombers' total intimidation of the people was the principal reason behind the general failure of commerce on the island. Nothing could have been further from the truth. As noted by Cheyne and other visitors in this period, the beachcomber community lived on the fringes of Pohnpei and on the smaller surrounding reef islands. The violence of their world remained largely self-contained. When transgressions against the people of the island did occur, there quickly arose the threat of Pohnpeian retaliation. Before the *Falcon* inci-

dent, Nahnawa of Madolenihmw had represented a large segment of chiefly society that wanted to eliminate the white presence from the island by force.⁴¹ In Kiti, Cheyne heard of a plot among the lesser chiefs who, excluded from much of the trade, wanted to rid the chiefdom of all whites.⁴² The Nahnmwarki and Nahnken of Kiti, however, ordered the plan stopped. Sousaped en And killed two deserters from a French whaler who had indiscriminately cut down a number of his breadfruit and coconut trees. Rumors of a French takeover of the island met not with submission but with preparations for war. Traveling to Wene in March 1843, Cheyne found the people cleaning muskets, casting bullets, and making cartridges. Thomas Boyd, the man whom Cheyne described as the scourge of the entire island, was to come to Cheyne in 1844 with a request for passage off the island.⁴³ Earlier, in January 1843, Cheyne had sent Boyd to Hong Kong in chains for trial on charges of piracy, conspiracy to commit murder, theft and the unlawful disruption of commercial activity. Boyd had returned to Pohnpei several months later, after a British magistrate in Hong Kong had dismissed all charges against him. Now working in Cheyne's bêche-de-mer operations at Rohnkiti, Boyd feared attempts against his life by several chiefs who accused him of cheating them.

Returning to Pohnpei with the ship *Naiad* in October 1843 after his respite in Hong Kong, Cheyne found it necessary to reorganize his bêche-de-mer stations.⁴⁴ Thomas Boyd was sent to Pakin to oversee the work there. Cheyne delegated James Headley and several Lascars to build a station on And, while W. Mackie, John Davy, fourteen Belauans, and twenty-two Lascars operated the main station at Rohnkiti. In addition to his commercial woes, Cheyne discovered that animosity had developed toward him among the chiefs. Visiting the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, Cheyne learned that the people of the island held him responsible for the influenza brought by his supply ship, the *Wave*. The disease had broken out on Pohnpei shortly after the departure of the ship earlier that year, in May. Cheyne's professions of innocence failed to change the Nahnmwarki's mind; the paramount chief forbade his subjects to work on Cheyne's ships. The chiefs of Kiti also expressed displeasure with the homosexual acts perpetrated on young Pohnpeian males by the *Naiad's* carpenter and blacksmith. Sailing to Madolenihmw to inspect his interests there, the trader found operations disrupted by a war between the northern part of Madolenihmw and Dehpehk. Though not wishing to involve himself in the fray, Cheyne could not resist the temptation to direct a volley of cannon fire at the house of his rival, John Brown. In one of his few successes on the island, Cheyne scored a direct hit on Brown's place at Dehpehk.

His accounts in order, Cheyne sailed south on 13 December 1843 to investigate commercial prospects in the Solomons. When he returned to

Pohnpei on 11 April of the following year, Cheyne found his business in shambles.⁴⁵ Mackie, in Cheyne's name, had been charging harbor duties of \$20 for each of the ships putting in at Rohnkiti. To the vigorous complaints of several captains, Cheyne could only plead his personal ignorance of the arrangement. Violence also hindered Cheyne's operations. John Gill, one of his agents, had been killed in a dispute with George May. A Belauan worker brought to the island by Cheyne was murdered in Palikir. Worse yet, the production of cured bêche-de-mer fell far below his estimates. Expecting Mackie to have collected a total of 700 barrels in his absence, Cheyne counted only 20. The trader then sailed to Pakin only to learn that just 17 of the expected 150 barrels had been procured there. Despairing of all prospects on Pohnpei, Cheyne left the island for good on 22 April. In Hong Kong, he calculated his losses for this latest period on Pohnpei at \$3068.⁴⁶ In sum, Cheyne's plans for Pohnpei amounted to little more than a grand illusion. Twenty-five years later, still in pursuit of a Pacific trading empire, Cheyne would be killed by a group of Belauans from the island of Koror who feared the implications of his decision to trade with their rivals on Babeldoab.⁴⁷

Other traders followed Cheyne to Pohnpei, but none with the grandiose dreams of the Scotsman. The most prominent commercial force to reach the island in the 1840s was the American whaling fleet.⁴⁸ Whale oil was needed to keep the lamps of Europe and North America burning. An especially thick variety of oil taken from sperm whales served as an important lubricant in the manufacture of both cotton and woolen goods in New England. Secondary products derived from the mammal included candles and the whalebone strips used to make women's corsets. The whaleships that left New Bedford, Nantucket, and other whaling towns in southern New England were floating factories. The blubber from which the oil was derived could be melted down, and the oil thus released placed in casks and stored in ships' holds for later off-loading at Honolulu.

British ships, operating out of Australia, reached the central western Pacific in the 1820s while most American vessels were still working the "on-shore" grounds off the western coast of South America. The British presence in the whaling grounds of the western Pacific was brief. Whaleships such as the *Albion*, *Nimrod*, *Falcon*, and *Conway* that touched at Pohnpei in the 1830s were the trailing remnant of the British fleet. The development of the North Pacific fisheries ultimately led American whalers to Pohnpei. Plying the northern waters during spring, summer, and early fall, the ships headed east before the onset of winter. After stopping at Honolulu to off-load their cargoes of whale oil, the ships spent the winter months following the whales' migration routes west along the equator. Reaching the eastern Carolines, the whaleships found

Pohnpei and Kosrae ideal places to rest and restock. A notice in *Nautical Magazine* in 1835 described Pohnpei as an "island well-worth the attention of whalers."⁴⁹

Between 1834 and 1840, some forty vessels stopped at Pohnpei.⁵⁰ With the expansion of the American whaling fleet into the northern Pacific, the number rose dramatically. By the early 1850s, nearly thirty ships a year were putting in at Pohnpei.⁵¹ In the peak years of 1855 and 1856, more than one hundred vessels anchored there.⁵² Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw quickly established themselves as the centers of foreign activity on the island, largely because of the quality of their harbors. Captain de Rosamel of *La Danaide* stopped at Pohnpei in 1840 to conduct a hydrographical survey; he considered Madolenihmw, though blocked by northeasterly trade winds during the first months of the year, the largest and most readily accessible of the harbors.⁵³ F. Michelena y Rojas, a Venezuelan traveler visiting the island in 1841, seconded de Rosamel's evaluation of Madolenihmw; he termed it a safe and comfortable harbor that could accommodate several ships at a time.⁵⁴ Though a generally more difficult harbor to navigate, Rohnkiti became the most popular among visiting ships' captains. There lived Nahnku, who, since his succession to the title of nahnken in 1843, held a reputation for exceptional hospitality and open-mindedness.

The harbors of Pohnahtik in southeastern Madolenihmw and Mwu-dok in southern Kiti, the latter also known as Headley's Harbor, provided secondary ports of call. The natural harbor in the north first noted by Lütke in 1828 went largely unused in this early period. Describing the harbor in his widely used *Description of Islands in the Western Pacific*, Cheyne found the northern anchorage safe only between the months of December and April.⁵⁵ He believed that the westerly winds that prevailed during the rest of the year around the north of the island made the harbor treacherous.

Life on a whaleship alternated between long, monotonous weeks of boredom and the intense, exhausting work of killing whales and melting down the blubber. For the young inexperienced crews of New England plowboys who, influenced by the writings of Richard Henry Dana and Herman Melville, sought romance and adventure, the physical discomforts and harsh discipline of shipboard life sometimes proved unbearable. A lush, beautiful island such as Pohnpei provided an enticing alternative to a return to the sea. Not surprisingly, desertion was the severest problem for ships putting in at the island. The whaleship *Offley* of London had so many men desert that there were not enough hands left to sail the ship out of Pohnpei in 1841.⁵⁶ Out of a crew of eleven, the *Fortune* of Plymouth, Massachusetts, lost seven during an 1843 stop at the island.⁵⁷ In 1851 the *George and Mary* of New London, Connecticut, left seven

men on the island.⁵⁸ Captain Meader of the *Martha* out of Fairhaven, Connecticut, lost a total of nine men during the course of the ship's three-week stay in 1856; a search party of six sent to track down the first three runaways deserted in turn, with a goodly amount of supplies from the ship's hold.⁵⁹

Deserters often found allies among the beachcombers on the island. In 1842 the captain of the *Magnet* out of Warren, Connecticut, complained of a white beachcomber who incited several of his crew to desert.⁶⁰ Adding insult to injury, the beachcomber, at the head of a party of 400 Pohnpeian warriors, detained two of the ship's longboats until a third delivered the deserters' belongings from the ship. By 1850 deserters from whaleships had raised the number of foreign residents on Pohnpei to approximately 150.⁶¹ Americans replaced Englishmen as the dominant group among the beachcomber community. Fishermen from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, identified as Portuguese or Mehn Pwohtiki by the Pohnpeians, also reached the island aboard American whaling ships. One observer described the differences between the new and old classes of beachcombers this way: "The green hands who left American ships . . . are mild, pleasant, and disposed to establish order and treat the natives well but the Englishmen who are old men . . . and dead to every feeling but sensuality cannot induce the Americans to violence, consequently they hate them."⁶² The distinctions among nationalities failed to impress the Pohnpeians, who had come to view many of the foreigners residing on their island as "stupid, lazy, begging, and treacherous."⁶³

Faced with this chronic problem, ships' captains resorted to a number of alternatives. They often hired Pohnpeians or disillusioned beachcombers who had had their fill of life on the island. At other times, the captains enlisted the support of Pohnpeian chiefs by offering a bounty for the capture and return of deserters. Determination, however, sometimes won out. One deserter returned by Pohnpeians made a second escape by paddling ashore in the captain's wooden bathtub.⁶⁴ On occasion, Pohnpeians, dissatisfied with the reward offered them, would themselves turn around and free the deserters.

When a whaleship appeared, it would usually be piloted into one of Pohnpei's harbors by such men as Headley or Corgot. A crew spent an average of about three weeks mending sails, cleaning decks, and caulking a ship's seams. Once at anchor, the ship would be visited by canoes laden with goods for trade. The whaleships found a ready supply of wood, water, pigeons, yams, breadfruit, bananas, coconuts, and a varied assortment of fruits at Pohnpei. Pigs and chickens could also be procured, but the islands' ability to supply them varied from year to year. In general, the ships found a more reliable supply of fresh meat at Mokil, some 90 miles to the east. Indeed, ships' captains believed Mokil to be as

tame as Pohnpei was wild. With men in trousers and women wearing cotton blouses, the Mokilese, thought one observer, offered an encouraging example of the benefits to be derived from the civilizing process.⁶⁵ Captain Samuel James of the missionary packet *Morning Star* described the Mokilese as "an honest, industrious race for which much credit is due to the foreigners residing on the island for teaching them these qualifications."⁶⁶

The presence of whaleships in Pohnpei's harbors meant more trade. Less well stocked with goods than the trading schooners, the whalers depended heavily on tobacco to secure needed provisions: "Nothing is wanting if only you have tobacco and pipes. The entire population might be bought for a hundred-weight of tobacco."⁶⁷ In the decade between 1843 and 1853, the terms of trade changed little.⁶⁸ A large hog cost five dollars, with the Pohnpeians accepting tobacco at the rate of fifty cents per pound as pay. A barrel of yams brought 5 pounds of tobacco, and a boatload of wood, 6 pounds. Mats were valued at 1 pound of tobacco, as was a barrel of fresh island apples. A chicken that had cost two sticks of tobacco in 1843 now earned the Pohnpeians only one stick. For the year ending in April 1853, Kiti and Madolenihmw supplied the ships with 457 pigs, 425 pounds of tortoiseshell, 1818 barrels of yams, 385 boatloads of water, 2300 chickens, 3657 pigeons, 42,000 coconuts, and 80 barrels of apples, along with lesser quantities of other fruits.⁶⁹

This outflow of food stock did not seem to place any immediate stress on the island's natural resources. Arriving at the island in 1859 when ship traffic had already begun to decline, Eliza Williams, wife and traveling companion of Captain Thomas Williams of the whaleship *Florida* out of Fairhaven, Connecticut, described the Pohnpeians as living lazily in the lap of abundance.⁷⁰ While the terms of trade had not improved much over the decades, the Pohnpeians continued to redress the imbalance through theft. They had failed in their attempts to control the ships directly. These foreign vessels with their desirable wealth continued to lie outside Pohnpeian cultural categories, but in refusing to accommodate themselves to the island's order, they became exposed and vulnerable. Echoing a common complaint among all ships' captains, Thomas N. Russell of the whaleship *Lancaster* out of New Bedford commented that the relative inexpensiveness of the island's goods was more than offset by the Pohnpeians' proclivity to steal.⁷¹

On shore, the whalers contented themselves with whatever diversions they could find. Walks about the harbors, boat trips around the island, and pigeon hunting were all quite popular. The crew of the *Emily Morgan* of New Bedford joined a group of Pohnpeians on a boar hunt in 1856.⁷² Sometimes boxing matches and wrestling contests were staged between the Pohnpeians and the whalers. The crew of the *Cavalier* of

Stonington, Connecticut, took special delight in watching their intensely disliked captain take successive lickings at the hands of several Pohnpeians.⁷³ There were also several makeshift taverns on the island, run by members of the beachcomber community. Pohnpeians themselves sold coconut toddy and rum made from locally distilled molasses to the ships for two to three dollars a bottle.⁷⁴ On occasion, violence flared. In 1850 a riot between Pohnpeians and the crew of the *General Scott* of New Bedford left several seriously injured on both sides.⁷⁵ For the most part, however, the whalers and islanders got along reasonably well.

There were even humorous incidents at times. Stories from the first years of contact mention Pohnpeians who mistook soap for food, or who thought the faces staring back at them in mirrors were those of ghosts. One story tells of a Pohnpeian man, Nahnaikoto from the Enipein Pah section of Kiti, who set out to steal what he could from a whale-ship at anchor in nearby Mwudok Harbor.⁷⁶ Discovered by the watch, the frightened but quick-thinking Pohnpeian blurted out the word "women." Awakened by the commotion, the captain and most of the ship's crew came forward to see what was going on. Believing that Nahnaikoto had come with an offer to bring women, all aboard ship quickly voiced their approval and sent the little man off with urgings to be quick.

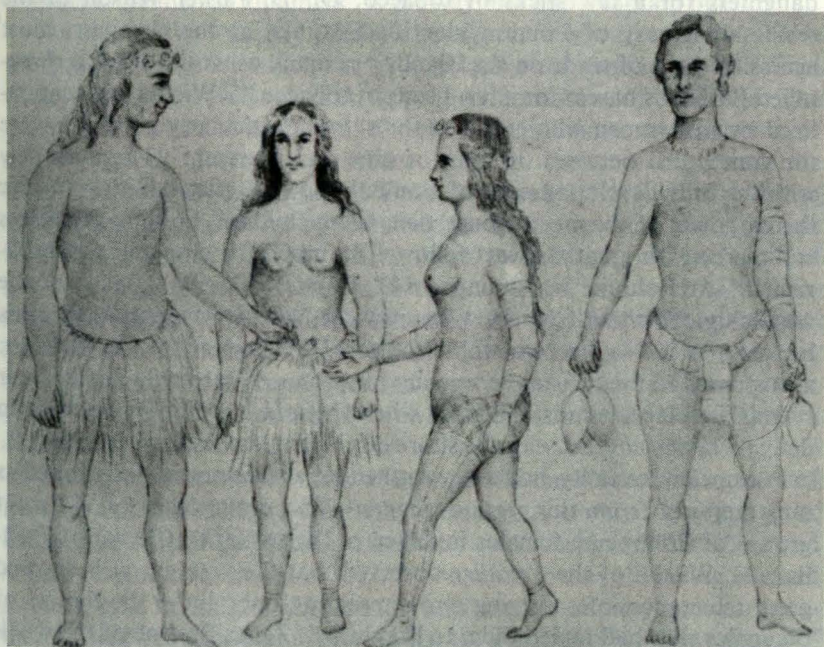


Figure 10. An early drawing of Pohnpeians from the 1840s. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts)

The Pohnpeian, realizing the impossibility of gathering a group of women at so late an hour, decided on an alternate plan. On reaching the shore, Nahnaikoto gathered together several pieces of brightly colored cloth secured from earlier dealings with other ships. Then, paddling out to the edge of the mangrove swamp, he tied the pieces of cloth to the branches of trees. Proceeding on to the ship, he climbed aboard and said to the captain in his best Pidgin English, "Look, Kepin, you see women? Stop at *nan weleniahk* (the edge of the mangrove swamp)." The captain and crew peered out into the darkness and saw what seemed to be women in brightly colored dresses standing at the edge of the mangrove swamp. Expectations rising, the men urged Nahnaikoto to escort the ladies aboard. The Pohnpeian made it known, however, that he needed goods to entice the rather shy ladies any further. In a few moments, Nahnaikoto was paddling back to shore with a canoe-load of goods, including a musket for himself. He stopped at the edge of the mangrove swamp only long enough to retrieve the pieces of cloth he had hung in the trees before disappearing.

The facet of the contact between the whalers and the Pohnpeians noted most prominently by the outside world was the sexual commerce. Pohnpeians were said to be selling their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters for a few sticks of tobacco. Dr. D. Parker Wilson of the whaleship *Gypsy* of London identified women as the cheapest, most accessible item of trade on the island, "as many as would stock a three-tailed Bashaw's harem for a few heads of tobacco."⁷⁷ Wilson was scandalized by the women who crowded the ships. Particularly alarming were the young girls between the ages of nine and fourteen: "There are few with the fully developed signs of womanhood. Yet, they willingly receive the embraces of the most robust men. Mere children, holding shameless commerce with great stalwart fellows! So much for climate and barbarism."⁷⁸ At Pohnpei in January 1849, Captain Marshall Baker of the whaleship *Elizabeth* from New Brunswick, New Jersey, confided in his log that "all of us keeps a wahina ashore."⁷⁹ The crew of the *Cavalier*, accustomed to the constant company of women aboard ship during their stay at the island, almost mutinied when Captain Thomas Dexter tried to deny them any contact with the shore during the last week of their stay.⁸⁰

Pohnpeian sexuality, however, was neither as free nor as uninhibited as most reports from this period suggest. The enthusiasm of different groups of Pohnpeian females involved in the sexual traffic varied. William H. Wilson of the *Cavalier* observed that the younger girls showed great reluctance, often crying and consenting only under the threats of the males who had taxed them to the ships.⁸¹ Zenas Bourne of the whaling bark *Avola* of New Bedford noticed the same situation twenty-two years later. Bourne described the young girls as nervous and shame-

faced, responding only to threats of physical abuse from their male chaperones.⁸² On the other hand, the "veterans," noted Bourne, boarded the ship with a casual air, their eyes scanning the deck for old acquaintances from previous years' voyages.

The prostitution of Pohnpeian women amounted, ultimately, to but another act of theft within the context of the island's order. All classes of Pohnpeian society had found utility and worth in the goods brought to the islands by the ships. With the chiefs controlling the land and dominating the trade with the ships, the only means of unrestricted acquisition of material goods for both common men and common women, aside from petty theft, lay in the sexual commerce. Men in particular sought access to the items that would help them advance their social standing. So disposed, they exploited their control over certain groups of females on the island.

Cheyne, Bourne, and William H. Wilson all had noted the active role taken by Pohnpeian males in the sale of their women. Often the men sat and waited in their canoes as the girls and women conducted their business aboard ship. Leaving the ship, the females immediately delivered to the men the payments received for their services. At other times, the men remained aboard ship for days with their female charges; "the women as boarders, the men as bummers" is the way one ship's captain put it.⁸³

The ships' crews usually paid for sexual services with tobacco. Given the conditions under which the Pohnpeians were conducting this illicit trade, tobacco proved the most appropriate medium of exchange. The common men had to be careful about the conspicuous accumulation of material goods. Payment in tobacco allowed them to circumvent the chiefs' powers of confiscation. Easily concealed from view, tobacco could later be used at an opportune time to secure more prized goods from beachcombers' stores. In addition to tobacco, women received presents ranging from cloth, hairbrushes, combs, and mirrors to trinkets. The island's chiefs usually tolerated this very limited form of traffic. When the illicit sexual trade did threaten to disrupt their dominance, however, chiefs issued bans, referred to as *inapwih*, that effectively shut down the contact between ships' crews and island women. The Nahnken of Kiti did just this in 1854.⁸⁴

As suggested by the accounts of Bourne and the Wilsons, the group of Pohnpeian females most vulnerable to exploitation were the young girls. Kinship and marriage codes shaped the relationship of the sexes and helped reinforce the social order in Pohnpeian society.⁸⁵ Having reached puberty, girls no longer had casual access to the company and conversation of their brothers and male cousins; the concept of *pel* 'sexual taboo' placed severe restrictions on their contacts with these male relatives. Once married, women were expected, by their conduct, to bring honor to

the family into which they married as well as the family in which they were raised. The younger unmarried girls, not yet completely bound by these conventions, were relatively freer and hence vulnerable to possible exploitation by their fathers and senior male relatives from their father's line. Strong clan ties prevented exploitation by senior male relatives from the mother's side of the family. As a member of the same clan, the mother's brother (*ullap*) was regarded with particular respect and trust by the children of his sister. Captains' logs describe young girls arriving at ships' sides with their faces hidden behind large taro or banana leaves. Pohnpeian accounts explain this practice as an attempt by the girls to avoid giving overt offense to their clanmates and to hide their shame.

While observed, these strictures on sexual behavior were less strictly enforced for common women; indeed, their relationships with men were less structured and less supervised. Common women, Bourne's "veterans," stood at the edges of Pohnpeian society and were able to experiment more freely with the options presented by the ships' presence. In addition to material rewards, the ships offered opportunities otherwise unavailable. Enjoying the excitement and attention aboard ship, the women were often reluctant to leave. Common women also competed intensely for the patronage of certain members of the ships' crews, especially the captains. One such lady, displaced from the captain's cabin by another woman, defiantly tossed an arm-load of farewell gifts into the sea.⁸⁶ In later decades, common women would also show themselves responsive to another foreign presence on the island—Christianity.

Though grossly sensationalized in reports transmitted to Hawaii and ports farther east, the sexual traffic between ships' crews and certain groups of Pohnpeian females did exist. It in no way expressed the totality or importance of women's place on the island, however. Indeed, many Pohnpeians themselves referred disparagingly to those females who willingly involved themselves in the sexual trade as *lienseisop* 'women who paddle to the ships'. In general, the status of women in Pohnpeian society was high. The creation histories of the island make special note of the contributions of legendary women such as Likarepwel, Lisoumokeleng, and Lisoumokiap who brought soil, seedlings, and various forms of plant and animal life to the island. Women's sexual unions with godly beings gave rise to many of Pohnpei's clans. While the divine lords of the land, sea, and sky were ascribed male characteristics, clan deities who nurtured the people and interceded on their behalf with the other gods of the island were female. Earthly women also played pivotal roles in the evolution of the island's polity. Likamadau and Lipahdak Dau won for Pohnpeians the affection and loyalty of the demigod Isohkelekel, who later freed the island from the centuries-old tyranny of a foreign line

of rulers and established a chiefly form of government that persists to this day.

With the island's political order based upon matrilineally determined clan lines, the blood of women quite literally determined the ranking of men. The importance of the clan as the key unit of social and political organization on Pohnpei in this period meant that women's most important roles were as mothers and sisters. The primacy of clan or blood ties, however, did not minimize the importance of the marriage relationship. A chief's effectiveness depended not only on his own talents but on those of his wife or wives. The Pohnpeian proverb, *nan ihmwalap mwahu*, referring to harmony in a royal residence as a prerequisite for good government, attested to the private but considerable powers of rulers' wives.⁸⁷ Indeed, Pohnpeians likened the general influence of women to an outrigger that steadied the canoes of men.⁸⁸

While taboos did limit sexual contact between men and women during certain times, there was no concept on Pohnpei of female pollution. Andrew Cheyne noted the particular deference accorded the women of the island; he attributed this to women's productive as well as reproductive skills. While men concerned themselves with agricultural activities and general service to the chiefs, women, wrote Cheyne, focused their energies on making elaborate headbands, belts, mats, and baskets, all of which held considerable prestige value.⁸⁹ A decade earlier, the beachcomber O'Connell had described tattooing on the island as a highly refined art form entrusted almost exclusively to women and used for purposes of recording individual lineages and clan histories.⁹⁰ As with most other aspects of Pohnpeian culture, however, the importance of women went unnoticed by outsiders, whose understanding of others was limited by their own particular notions of propriety.

The presence of the foreign ships, and the people, goods, ideas, and technologies they brought, certainly affected but in no way dominated the life of the island in this period. Pohnpeians in general understood the vast chasm that separated their world from that of the ships. More important to the people of the island were the differences among themselves. While the land on the perimeter of the island served as the stage for the play of beachcombers, traders, and ships' crews, life at the heart went on. Pohnpeians continued to work, to feast, and to make war; they utilized the goods from ships to serve more traditional goals and values. In 1850 the chiefdoms of Madolenihmw and Kiti clashed. The culminating battle took place at Nahlapenloh, a small reef island off the extreme southeastern coast of Madolenihmw (Map 6).⁹¹ The struggle, while employing beachcombers and Western firepower, evidenced a distinctly Pohnpeian character.

Madolenihmw and Kiti were traditional rivals. Since the time of the Saudeleurs, the different sections of Kiti had defied the dominance of the east. With the fall of the Saudeleurs, Madolenihmw had assumed ritual primacy over the island's affairs. The role of Soukise en Leng in the creation of the nahnmwarki form of government, however, gave Onohnleng, now known as Wene after the Kiti unification wars of the late eighteenth century, an almost transcendent claim over the island's polity. Not surprisingly, numerous wars took place between the different sections of Kiti and Madolenihmw. Following the establishment of the nahnmwarki system of government in the east, an invading force from central Madolenihmw captured the fortress of Nahndolenpahnais.⁹² The fortress, located in the Kepinne section of Onohnleng, guarded the most important of the area's agricultural lands. Madolenihmw's control over the area constituted a life-threatening grip on Onohnleng's principal source of food. Madolenihmw's near-conquest of Onohnleng was averted when the Lisermwudok subclan of the Dipwinmen drove the invaders out of the fortress and back across the mountains to Madolenihmw. There were also many battles along the southern coastal border between Kiti and Madolenihmw. In the eighteenth century, the legendary warrior Isosauri had ended the frequent intrusions into Onohnleng at the battle of Loangtakai in southern Madolenihmw.⁹³

In 1850 hostilities between Kiti and Madolenihmw again broke out with Nahnken Nahnku's attack on the Sapwehrek section of Madolenihmw.⁹⁴ Madolenihmw retaliated with an attack on Mwudok in which three people were killed. Kiti forces then descended on the Lohd area in Madolenihmw and from there moved across the mountains to attack Lehdau. Kiti's forays brought a two-pronged offensive from Madolenihmw; a force from Lehdau attacked the Pwoaipwoai section of central Kiti, while warriors from southern Madolenihmw laid waste several reef islands off the southern Kiti coast. Tiring of the intermittent raids, Nahnken Nahnku challenged the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw to a formal battle at Nahlapenlohd. Because the Nahnmwarki of Kiti was weak and sickly, responsibility for the fight fell to the Nahnken and those lands immediately under his control.⁹⁵ The Nahnken assembled his fighting force at the island of Penieu off Wene.

As their warriors did in all wars, Pohnpeians enlisted supernatural assistance to augment their martial skills. Pohnpeian accounts of the battle tell of a ghostly fleet of canoes that left Penieu and moved within the reef along the edge of the mangrove swamp. The main body of warriors paddled undetected beyond the reef. Focusing on the ghostly fleet with its emaciated, sickly looking, and small number of warriors, the Madolenihmw forces began to laugh. The laughing ceased, however, when the occupants of the canoes raised their paddles, aimed them like guns, and

proceeded to drop several Madolenihmw warriors with a death spell known as *kesik dol*. Meanwhile, the Nahnken's fleet, having passed undetected through a channel in the reef, now bore down on the Madolenihmw warriors. A small cannon rigged and manned by James Headley and Narcissus de los Santos, a recent Filipino deserter from an American whaleship, fired on the Madolenihmw forces. Using sections of an anchor cable as ammunition, the cannon sent segments of metal chain flailing through the air; the volleys killed several Madolenihmw warriors, including one who was hiding behind a coconut tree. When Nahnawa en Madolenihmw, the chief warrior of the Madolenihmw forces, was shot dead by the Kiti warrior and future Nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok, the Madolenihmw forces fled. Accounts describe the casualties on that day as particularly heavy. Blood washing upon its shores, go the Pohnpeian accounts, stripped Nahlapenlohd of all vegetation, causing it to shrink in size.

Internal political machinations help to explain the outcome of the battle. Madolenihmw, still unsettled by the events of 1836 that resulted in a change in the ruling lineage of its senior clan, did not fight as a single, cohesive force. Nahnawa en Madolenihmw, from Enimwahn in the north of the chiefdom, had been challenging the primacy of Luhk en Kidu, who had succeeded to the title of Nahnmwarki following the *Falcon* incident. A member of the dispossessed lineage, Nahnawa sought to regain the paramount ruling title for his lineage.⁹⁶ Faced with a serious challenge from within, the Nahnmwarki used the pretext of a war with Kiti to rid himself of a major rival. Accepting the Nahnken's challenge of formal battle, the Nahnmwarki gave responsibility for the preparation of Madolenihmw's war forces to Nahnawa. Whether or not the Madolenihmw chief suspected the manipulation going on about him, Nahnawa, according to the code of a Pohnpeian warrior, could not turn down the royal charge. The entire Madolenihmw force gathered at Lohd Pah to await the enemy fleet. With the Kiti canoes, or what was believed to be the Kiti canoes, coming into sight, the Nahnmwarki ordered Nahnawa to test the strength of the opposing forces by leading an advance war party to Nahlapenlohd. The Nahnmwarki held the balance of the Madolenihmw warriors at Lohd Pah, awaiting, he said, the proper moment to commit them to battle. That moment never came. The destruction of Nahnawa en Madolenihmw constituted the ultimate objective of the Nahnmwarki. When the chief of the Madolenihmw forces fell in battle, the Nahnmwarki, satisfied, ordered the remainder of them to return home.

Skirmishes continued between the two chiefdoms over the next few years. With tensions again building, the Nahnken of Kiti decided to wage an all-out campaign against Madolenihmw. This time the Nahnmwarki

committed himself to the offensive, thus ensuring a united effort from all of Kiti. Securing guns in trade from the ships that continued to anchor at Rohnkiti, the Nahnken again gathered the Kiti forces at Penieu. In Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, who had died in the smallpox epidemic of 1854, was succeeded by Luhk en Mwei U. With Madolenihmw particularly ravaged by the epidemic and with no immediate challenge to his authority from within, the new Nahnmwarki saw little sense in going to war. In a letter drafted for the Nahnken of Kiti by the American Protestant missionaries now working on the island, the Nahnmwarki was requested to choose between peace and war. He opted for peace. Madolenihmw's submission ended the renewed threat of hostilities between the two chiefdoms. Each side had employed beachcombers, guns, and other foreign forms of assistance; the reasons for Kiti's triumph lay in its superior strategy, its more effective use of supernatural forces, and the internal dissension that crippled Madolenihmw.

The patterns of Pohnpei's past were revealed in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Increasing contact with the outside world, primarily through American whaling ships, had brought people, goods, ideas, and new technologies to the island. Pohnpeians discovered particular value in the material goods brought by the ships. Muskets, pistols, and gunpowder had an immediately recognizable political worth. The island's chiefs coveted them as intimidating and effective implements of war. Other goods, such as adzes, knives, chisels, planes, saws, and fish-hooks, lifted some of the heavy burden of *taulap* required of all Pohnpeian males. Cloth, needles, thread, and iron pots added new dimensions to women's work. At the same time, cotton shirts, trousers, blankets, wooden chests, and straw hats began slowly in this period to displace the grass skirts, belts, bark cloth wraparounds, mats, baskets, and headbands produced by Pohnpeian women.⁹⁷ To communicate with the ships, Pohnpeians acquired a pidgin trade language. Sailors stepping ashore on the island were often greeted with a "Hello, Jack! Give us a chew [of tobacco]?" To better identify the foreign goods that now became a part of their lives, the people of the island borrowed their English equivalents. To buy became *pwain*; a pig became a *pwihk*; tobacco was called *tapaker*. Pohnpeians knew powder, lead, and pipes as *paute*, *leht*, and *paip*, respectively.⁹⁸ If the acquisition of these material goods meant changes, they were nonetheless changes within a cultural context that understood change. Pohnpeians engaged not in a frenzied orgy of indiscriminate adoption of material goods but in a process of selective incorporation whereby items of discernible value were employed to serve distinctly Pohnpeian objectives. At the same time, chiefly restrictions on com-

moners' access to these items, the limited supply of goods available from the whaleships, and the general decline of shipping traffic after 1856 all combined to temper the impact of material goods on the life of the island. The decline of certain traditional skills did not constitute cultural disintegration or decline, but instead was the result of pragmatic conscious choices by the people of Pohnpei to make use of the more technologically superior goods of the West available only through commerce with the ships.

People reaching Pohnpei from the outside could see life only at the fringes of the island. Judging solely from a rowdy lot of beachcombers, these transients called the island lawless. From the extensive whaling traffic that began to visit in the 1830s, Pohnpei had earned an even greater notoriety. Tales spread about rampant drunkenness, violence, and licentiousness there. Pohnpeians were reportedly engaged in wanton prostitution of their women. Many observers from the outside believed this sexual commerce had brought the island more sickness than material wealth. Pohnpeians were said to be sick, dying, and degenerate; venereal disease was identified as the cause: "Since the native came into contact with the European, he now adds to his primitive vices inebriety, indulgence in tobacco, and that other vice, more evil than all of the rest, the pox."⁹⁹

Not all depictions of life on Pohnpei in this period were so biased. The island's population did indeed suffer from the infectious diseases brought by the ships; Pohnpeians, however, found ways to counter the ravages of some of these foreign illnesses in this period. Cheyne noted that Pohnpeians had developed an effective herbal cure for venereal disease.¹⁰⁰ During his ship's stay at Pohnpei, U. J. Andersson on the Swedish war frigate *Eugenie* expressed surprise at the number of children he encountered; he found no evidence whatsoever of the massive depopulation rumored to have hit the island.¹⁰¹ Comments such as these, however, went unheeded amidst the sensational shrill that echoed from the trading schooners and whaleships that returned to Honolulu.

Reports of chaos on the island led to the visits of three British men-of-war. The ships *Imogene*, *Larne*, and *Hazzard* stopped at the island in 1838, 1839, and 1845, respectively.¹⁰² The visits accomplished little. After completing investigations into charges of misconduct against British nationals, the ships sailed on. Geopolitical surveys brought other naval vessels to Pohnpei. The French ship *La Danaïde* visited in 1840; the Swedish vessel *Eugenie* paid a call in 1851, as did the French corvette *Capricieuse*. The USS *Vincennes*, the flagship of the United States' North Pacific Exploring Expedition, anchored briefly there in 1854.¹⁰³ To the chagrin of ships' captains and traders who desired some form of

European control over affairs on the island, the sum total of these later visits amounted to little more than a few pages of observations scribbled into ships' logs.

Outsiders thus came to know Pohnpei as a place of vice. Perceptions derived from the perimeter, however, did not begin to touch on the complexity of life on the island. There was more, much more, than the problems described by early European and American visitors. The meaning of *tiahk en sapw* 'the custom of the land' lay beyond the grasp of those seeking the satisfaction of immediate needs. Narrow concerns for wood, water, women, and the terms of trade limited, indeed distorted, outsiders' understanding of Pohnpei. In 1852 American Protestant missionaries brought Christianity to Pohnpei. In a concerted attack upon the social system, the missionaries, understanding no more than any other group of outsiders about life on the island, found themselves confronted by a complex culture that, as it had in the past, proved strongly resilient.

CHAPTER 4

God versus Gods

FOREIGN SHIPS brought not only men and material goods, they brought new religions as well. Over the latter half of the nineteenth century, Pohnpeians would come to find both value and use in the Christian religion brought to their shores by voyagers from lands beyond the horizon. Christianity, quickly understood by the people of the island to be the *sarawi* 'sacred ceremonies' of the white man, first reached Pohnpei from Hawaii. The hostility of the Hawaiian chiefs to the presence of Catholic missionaries there forced the French priests Alexis Bachelot and Désiré Louis Maigret of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, more commonly known as the Picpus Fathers, to leave Honolulu aboard the ship *Notre Dame du Paix* on 13 November 1837.¹ The missionaries, acting on behalf of their religious order, had purchased the ship from its owner, Jules Dudoit, the French trader who had been involved in the *Falcon* incident of 1836 on Pohnpei. Prior to their departure, the two priests had made an initial payment of \$1000 for the vessel, with the promise to pay the \$2000 balance soon after their arrival at Mangareva in the Gambier Islands, the site of the Picpus Fathers' mission headquarters in the Pacific. The agreement of sale allowed Michael Grombeck, the captain of the ship, to conclude a number of commercial transactions in Dudoit's behalf among the islands of Micronesia before proceeding to Mangareva. It was decided that, while Grombeck tended to business, the two priests would stop at Pohnpei. Having heard tales of the sordid life on the island from Dudoit, the Roman Catholic missionaries believed that any proselytizing effort on the island, no matter how short the duration, could not help but raise the moral temperament of the people.

The *Notre Dame du Paix* arrived at Madolenihmw Harbor on 13 December 1837. The first order of business was to locate a proper burial site for Father Bachelot who had died aboard ship eight days before.²

The former Wasai, now Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, gladly accommodated the needs of the mission party, which included two Hawaiians and two Mangarevans. As the friend and consequent beneficiary of foreign ships putting in at the island, the Nahnmwarki told the group they could bury the priest's remains near his royal residence at Na. The chief also invited Maigret to stay with him while waiting for the return of the ship. With Bachelot properly interred at Na on 14 December, Maigret turned to the task of introducing Catholicism to the island.

The French missionary quickly decided that the ways of the people did not match the majestic beauty of their island. The priest saw the poorly marked, overgrown trails as indicative of the low level of civilization on the island.³ The Pohnpeians' fondness for tobacco acutely frustrated the missionary. The people, said Maigret, avoided all work, preferring instead to spend the entire day lolling about smoking. On numerous occasions, the missionary returned to Na from visits to other areas to find that his belongings had been rummaged through by thieves in search of tobacco. The seemingly high incidence of violence on the island also disconcerted Maigret. Madolenihmw in 1838 still suffered from severe political convulsions caused by the *Falcon* incident. In his diary, Maigret recorded sporadic clashes, including an attempted assassination of the Nahnmwarki by sympathizers of the deposed ruler, Luhk en Kesik.⁴ Though favorably disposed toward the Frenchman, the Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kidu, had little time to spend listening to the missionary's teachings while unrest threatened his rule.

Though encouraged by the Pohnpeians' sense of spirituality, the priest nonetheless despaired over their concept of divine intercession. On one occasion, the senior or first wife of the Nahnmwarki, a woman who had been quite attentive to Maigret's work, visited the priest in a state of emotional distress.⁵ To Maigret's consoling inquiries, the woman expressed extreme displeasure over her husband's plans to take another woman as a secondary wife. Pohnpeian custom permitted chiefs to have numerous wives; however, it could not ensure peace and harmony within the royal harem. The chiefly lady asked for Maigret's assistance. When asked about the kind of help she desired, the woman pleaded with the priest to pray to his god for the death of her rival. Pohnpeian gods, when properly approached through appropriate intermediaries, honored such supplications; certainly, the one true god of the rich and powerful white men, reasoned the woman, could do the same. Stunned, Maigret could only shake his head in disbelief at what he was hearing.

With little prospect of religious conversion, Maigret contented himself with constructing a 16-foot-high cross to serve as a proper marker for Bachelot's grave. During his last month on the island, Maigret turned his energies to building a small chapel. He completed the simple structure

just as the *Notre Dame du Paix* anchored in Madolenihmw Harbor. The Frenchman closed the door of his chapel, locked it, and turned the key over to the Nahnmwarki, who politely but misleadingly promised to continue the work. On 27 July 1838, Maigret, the future first bishop of Honolulu, departed Pohnpei for Mangareva. The Pohnpeians had liked Maigret personally; one man had even cried at his departure. However, the people found nothing very interesting or appealing about the gospel he tried to teach them.⁶ To his entreaties, the Pohnpeians simply replied that their own gods served them well enough.

The island's second exposure to Christianity proved neither as fleeting nor as inconsequential as the first. Reports of the excesses of American seamen in the western Pacific reached the headquarters of the missionary arm of the Congregational Church, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts.⁷ Word was first brought by the ship *Montreal* bound for Boston in 1849 with a group of missionary families returning from the Hawaiian field. To fill the long hours of the voyage, missionaries Claudius Andrews and John Paris listened to the crew's tales of the violence and debauchery being wreaked upon the Caroline, Gilbert, and Marshall islands by American whalers. Paris, on arriving at Boston, wrote to the American Board about the areas west of Hawaii where island societies were melting "like snow before the noonday sun. . . . Can nothing be done for their souls?" he asked.⁸

As did other European and American visitors reaching Pohnpei's shores in the first half of the nineteenth century, the "Boston Men" knew Pohnpeians by their alleged vices. Primitive ignorance and idolatry were bad enough, but worse yet was the corrupting influence of a licentious commerce brought from lands that had already received Christ's light. Encouraged by its successes in the Hawaiian Islands, the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM now believed it to be the responsibility of the Congregational Church to carry forth God's word and, at the same time, to undo the wrong wrought by their less-principled countrymen in the islands west of Hawaii. In 1852 the first contingent of the Micronesian Mission sailed from Honolulu. On board the schooner *Caroline* were Albert and Susan Sturges, Luther and Louisa Gulick, Benjamin and Lydia Snow, Daniel and Doreka Oponui, and Berita and Deborah Kaaikaula⁹ (Figure 11). After surveying the assumedly dark but relatively tranquil situation in the Marshalls and the Gilbert Islands, the missionary party decided it was imperative to confront the devil in his dens. Pohnpei and Kosrae, the favorite stopping places of the American whaling fleet in the eastern Carolines, became the first two fields of missionary endeavor in Micronesia. Sturges, Gulick, Kaaikaula, and their wives disembarked at Pohnpei; the Snows and Oponuis sailed on to Kosrae.



Figure 11. The first members of the Micronesia Mission sent out in 1852 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Luther and Louisa Gulick are at left, Albert and Susan Sturges in the middle, and Benjamin and Lydia Snow at right. (Courtesy of Charles E. Tuttle Company, Publisher)

The American missionaries, individuals from rural, middle-class settings, knew what to expect—or thought they did. Forty years of American Protestant missionary activity in the world had solidified the image of the pagan world as depraved, ignorant, profligate, and superstitious.¹⁰ The people of the Pacific Islands, moreover, were not only heathens but savages, devoid of any moral code or civilized constraints. Gulick of Honolulu called Pohnpei a “moral Sodom.”¹¹ Sturges of Granville, Ohio, described Pohnpeians as a “slushy mass, melted down and run together with just enough to resist all separation of parts, but not enough to arouse a shape or independence.”¹² Commenting on the language of the people, Sturges declared that their vocabulary was as barren as their hearts.

Edward T. Doane, who followed the first party in 1855, had a special problem with Pohnpeians (Figure 12). To his superiors in Boston, Doane professed a love for these children of God that sustained him “though great and trying evils are about.”¹³ If Doane loved the Pohnpeians for the good Christians they could become, he nonetheless hated them for what he believed them to be—“a loathsome mass of depravity.”¹⁴ Everything

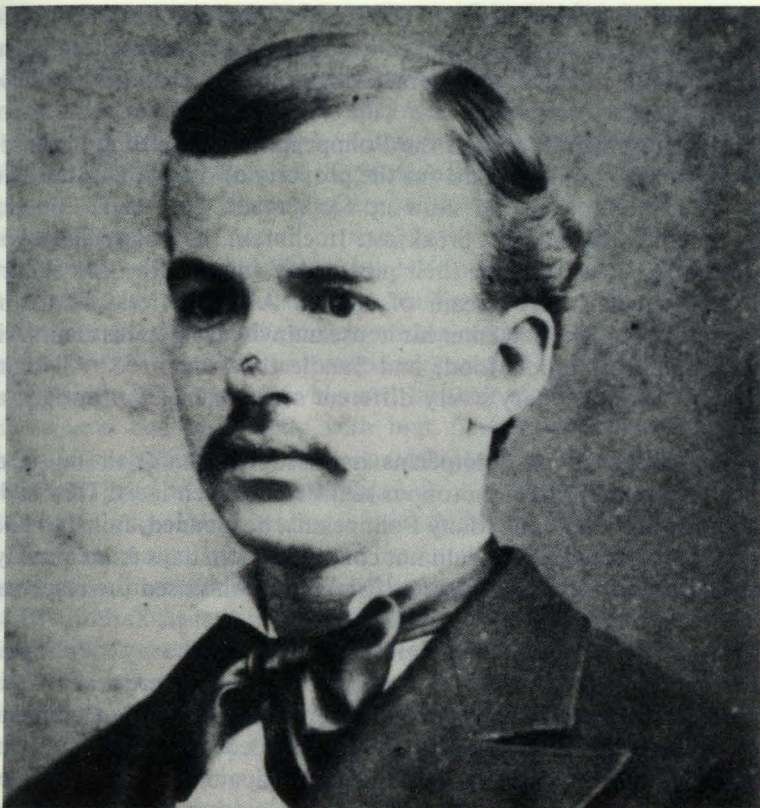


Figure 12. The young Reverend Edward T. Doane. (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)

about Pohnpeians was repulsive to this missionary from Tomkinsville, New York. He found them filthy; they lived in dark, smoke-filled, one-room, thatched structures to which pigs and dogs also had entry. They ate their food uncooked and their meat raw. Women suckled pigs and spent many idle hours picking out and eating lice from friends' hair. For personal ornament, both men and women covered themselves with putrid coconut oil and then smeared in yellow powder ground from the root of the turmeric plant. The combination of brown bodies, glistening oil, and yellow powder created, said Doane, "a disgusting effect."¹⁵

Doane believed feasting to be the greatest evil on Pohnpei; it amounted to nothing less than devil worship. On one of his first Sabbaths on Pohnpei, Doane attempted to hold a Christian service in the middle of a feast. Bothered by the smoke from the rock oven, animals lying casually about, and the host of dark, half-naked bodies, Doane felt

as if he had stumbled into hell. The scene before him bore witness to a land of moral darkness and wickedness. Satan, if not present in person, hovered about in spirit. Overcome, Doane had to abandon his service and sit down.¹⁶

The young minister saw in the Pohnpeians an unsettling absence of manners and a total disregard for the property of others. On those Sundays when Pohnpeians did show up for services, they came too early, thus upsetting the Doanes' breakfast. In church, the Pohnpeians would come and go at will, smoke their pipes, play games with their children, and maintain a steady stream of chatter. After services, complained Doane, the people would enter his house uninvited, sit on his chairs without permission, request food, and handle the furniture.¹⁷ All of this grated on the missionary's very different sense of order, propriety, and privacy.

Other things about Pohnpeians incensed Doane. Their music and dance were as dull and monotonous as the rest of their lives. They had no system for marking time. Many Pohnpeians, he moaned, failed to honor the Sabbath because they could not count the seven days from Sunday to Saturday. They were supremely selfish people who used the respectable presence of missionaries to lure trading vessels to their harbors.¹⁸ Lacking any sense of what Doane termed "Christian charity," Pohnpeians expected payment for any task they performed. They were deceitful, too. They lied, they stole freely, and they broke agreements. Pohnpeians' pride and independence, thought Doane, blended to form a peculiar heathen haughtiness.¹⁹ In the face of excruciating pain and impending death they laughed, unaware of the eternal damnation that awaited their souls. Looking to the future, Doane believed extinction to be the certain fate of a people who would not turn from their evil ways.²⁰

On their arrival, the missionaries immediately found themselves confronted by the prerogatives and powers of the chiefs. The members of the mission party noted the seemingly perpetual state of feasting that revolved around the chiefs. Luther Gulick described a yearly renewal feast at Nan Madol in Madolenihmw, culminating in the ceremony of the "Great Night" (*Pwohng Lapalap*), which lasted for seventeen days.²¹ Sturges, in Kiti, grudgingly acknowledged the immense amount of work that went into the preparation of a major feast.²² The missionaries despaired over the amount of feasting; these feasts, they said, strengthened the people's heathen tendencies, consumed all of their resources, left them exhausted, and kept them from the Word of the true God.

In attempting to remake the social order on Pohnpei, the missionaries, ironically, sought an alliance with the principal representatives and benefactors of that order. The *Caroline* had dropped anchor outside Mado-

lenihmw Harbor on 6 September 1852. The first decision facing the missionaries was where to locate.²³ The large rowdy group of beachcombers who flocked to the ship begging tobacco or passage off the island unnerved the missionaries. While they were pondering their options, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, exercising his chiefly authority, tried to lay claim to the missionary group during a visit to the ship on 7 September. Through George May, the Portuguese pilot who had been living on the island for seventeen years, the Nahnmwarki told the missionaries he would like to have them stay in Madolenihmw. The gift of a hatchet and a red blanket reaffirmed in the chief's mind the promise of material benefits that a mission station would bring. Impressive also was the fact that the missionaries seemed to have some sense of the propriety of things, as evidenced by their stopping first at Madolenihmw and dealing directly with him. The missionaries must have appeared as a potentially useful counterbalance to other groups of foreigners who lived on or visited Pohnpei.

Stories about political feuding within Madolenihmw and the nature of the foreign community there turned the missionaries' interest to Kiti. On 8 September, members of the mission group traveled to Kiti where they met first the Nahnmwarki and then the Nahnken. The missionaries found the Nahnmwarki to be old and feeble. Although encouraged by his invitation to open a mission station, they wondered how strong he would be in the defense of their interests. Doubts about the advisability of settling in Kiti disappeared after their meeting with the Nahnken. The missionaries were struck by his commanding presence; "his long aquiline nose, his piercing eye, his elevated, narrow forehead, and his politely condescending manners were different from those of any islanders we had seen," wrote Gulick.²⁴ At the age of thirty, Nahnken Nahnku had a reputation for both bravery and forceful leadership. Because of the Nahnmwarki's poor health, all governing power belonged to the Nahnken. The people of Kiti believed the Nahnken to be more than human. After his death, they would give him the title Isoeni 'Holy Spirit' to commemorate his sudden, unexpected, almost inexplicable appearances in different sections of Kiti. Doane, too, marveled at the Nahnken's ability to move back and forth across long distances easily and quickly.²⁵ But Doane attributed this exceptional mobility to the work of another Holy Spirit.

The Nahnken's popularity with ships' captains continued throughout the 1850s. Rohnkiti, the Nahnken's home, remained the most frequented of the island's harbors. Sea captains found a good harbor, ample provisions, and a reliable host; not surprisingly, the Nahnken benefited from his association with foreign vessels. Two years earlier the Nahnken's well-supplied war party had thrashed an opposing force from Madolenihmw

at the previously described battle of Nahlapenloh. While Madolenihmw retained its symbolic primacy over island affairs, the brief war established Kiti's physical superiority.²⁶ Worry in Kiti over the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw's reaction to the Nahnken's acquisition of the missionaries simply did not exist.

Without hesitation, the Nahnken of Kiti welcomed the missionaries, offered them a piece of land, and promised to protect their persons and their property. Impressed by the Nahnken, the harbor, and the relatively better character of the resident foreign community in the area, the missionaries accepted the invitation. Pressed to take the gifts the missionaries offered him, the Nahnken requested payment in tobacco instead and arranged to have the missionary schooner transport his tortoiseshell for sale in Honolulu. In the end he acquired as well the beads, clothes, hatchets, and other items originally intended for him.²⁷ It all amounted to a *tour de force* by the Nahnken; these initial negotiations provided a clear indication of who would be in charge.

When informed of the missionaries' decision to locate in Kiti, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw could only shake his head. He had lost something he believed to be rightfully his. The promise of the missionaries to open a second station in Madolenihmw did little to ease the affront. Only the still-fresh wounds of Madolenihmw's defeat by Kiti checked the violence that threatened the mission party on its final departure for Kiti. In allowing them to leave, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw acknowledged that the missionaries now "belonged" to the Nahnken of Kiti.

The Nahnken of Kiti made good on his promise to support the Protestant mission. At the first service held in Kiti, the Nahnken led a party of a hundred worshippers. The Nahnken had some reservations about the egalitarian sentiments expressed in the missionaries' choice of text, "Fear not; for behold I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be for all people." He had his translators stop the sermon a number of times to inquire about certain points. For the most part, however, he nodded his approval of the words explained to him.²⁸ The Nahnken also accompanied the missionaries on trips to different areas of Kiti; his presence insured the people's interest and participation. The missionaries were pleased with his intelligence, his curiosity, and his constant attendance. When they asked him to do something about the disruptive feasting taking place on the Sabbath, the Nahnken ordered his people to complete all work and food preparations on Saturday.²⁹ Sturges wrote of the Nahnken: "God seems to have raised him up as a special instrument of our work."³⁰

The Nahnken did a good deal for the missionaries, and they, in turn, did his subtle bidding. The missionaries taught him to read and write English, the language of commerce. Upon receiving a copy of an elemen-

tary language text, the Nahnken thanked the missionaries profusely. "I'm going to learn English," he said in Pohnpeian. "I'm going to make them [the white beachcombers] help me. If they don't, I'll pound them."³¹ The Nahnken also had the missionaries instruct him in basic arithmetic and in the reading and writing of his own language.³² In this way he used the missionaries to acquire skills that would facilitate his dealings with the outside world and that would in turn add to his domestic political advantage.

The missionaries' presence also permitted the Nahnken to strengthen control over the ultimately beneficial but sometimes unruly forces in his harbor. In one particular instance, the missionaries protected the Nahnken from the scheming of rapacious traders. Before finalizing an agreement with two ambitious Americans, the Nahnken consulted the missionaries. The document in question granted the two traders a monopoly of all trade at Rohnkiti Harbor and deeded to them a small island, Nahlap, at the mouth of the harbor that would be exempt from the Nahnken's authority. In return for signing the agreement, the Nahnken was to receive a few articles of trade and a monthly stipend. On learning the terms of the contract that he had already signed, the Nahnken tore up the document and ordered the traders away from Rohnkiti.³³

From the beginning, the missionaries believed the Nahnken's conversion to be imminent. To promote the anticipated event in late 1856 they took Nahnken Nahnku on a trip to Kosrae where the church work had been making better progress. This unprecedented occurrence alarmed the people of Kiti who followed the Nahnken's ship far out to sea with offerings of kava; resident foreigners living in Kiti worried that the trip would lead to unwanted change that would jeopardize their position.³⁴ All fears proved groundless. On his return, the Nahnken did nothing; he simply expressed his pleasure over the visit. The feasting that greeted his return dismayed the missionaries. Observing him drinking kava at one of the feasts, they wondered if the trip had done him any good. Nonetheless, they continued to see him as the man to establish the new order. A remarkable man with a marked skill for shrewd manipulation, the Nahnken, in those first years, gave the missionaries everything but what they wanted most—his soul.

Luther Gulick understood well the dynamics involved in the relationship between chiefs and missionaries. The missionaries, true to their word, opened a second station at Madolenihmw in 1853. After a year's residence there, Gulick stated, "It is the general feeling that a white man belongs to that chief upon whose territory he resides and that no one else has a right to make a profit of him but that chief."³⁵ Gulick was largely correct; everything in a sense did belong to the chiefs, including people. Possession by the chiefs, signified by the word *sapwellime* in Pohnpeian,

provided meaning, identity, place, and security. For outsiders, however, this concept of chiefly possession was often a problem. A number of beachcombers had managed to cross formidable cultural boundaries on Pohnpei by associating themselves with a particular chief or, more accurately, by allowing themselves to be possessed by that chief. So incorporated, the outsiders' presence on the island became intelligible to Pohnpeians.

Missionaries, however, were not beachcombers. Gulick had left the mission at Rohnkiti without telling the Nahnken; he did this, he said, because he wished to avoid the impression that the Nahnken of Kiti controlled him or any other missionary.³⁶ Gulick spent a good deal of his time in Madolenihmw trying to assert his independence. Soon after his arrival, he began receiving gifts of fish, breadfruit, coconuts, sugarcane, and turtle from *Isipau*, another title for the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.³⁷ The gifts, considered *kepin koanoat*, symbolized respect, goodwill, and obligation. Gulick recognized them as such. He appreciated the gifts of food as symbols of goodwill and respect; he balked, however, at the obligation they implied.

The island's climate and terrain added further difficulties to the missionaries' work. Gulick and the others found travel over water the most effective means of transportation on Pohnpei. For men accustomed to roads, the often wet, muddy, overgrown, and slippery footpaths of a rainy volcanic island were a sore trial. To facilitate access to the different areas of Madolenihmw, Gulick had a canoe built and later a canoe house. His efforts elicited a predictable Pohnpeian response; the missionary's strivings to be free and independent met with chiefly countermeasures designed to harness the presence and activities of foreigners. The Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw ordered a feast to consecrate the structure and informed Gulick that he wanted to store his own canoe there. Gulick responded with a "no"; he had calculated the value of his presents to the Nahnmwarki at \$13.69 and believed that to be quite enough: "I declined giving them the opportunity to feel the ownership in my property which would have been the immediate consequence. It was no doubt an effort to link me into the Bonabe system. I sent them a reply that I was not a Bonabe man."³⁸

Edward T. Doane, working in the Sokehs area after an initial period at Rohnkiti, also let it be known that he was not a "Bonabe man." Constant struggle with the Wasai Sokehs, the paramount chief, marked Doane's tenure there. Sokehs, then including the later independent chiefdom of Net, extended over much of the northern part of the island. Though possessing a relatively good harbor, Sokehs was ignored by foreign vessels that usually approached the island from the east or south. The harbors of Madolenihmw and Rohnkiti continued to receive most of the

ships' traffic. Aware of the political benefits that the chiefs of these two areas derived from the ships' visits, the Wasai Sokehs sought to claim his share. The presence of a missionary struck him as a good lure for attracting visiting ships. With his command of English, a smattering of Pohnpeian, and most important, an understanding of the ways of the outside world, the missionary also stood as a potentially valuable political asset.

In their initial tour of the island, the missionaries had been impressed by the Wasai's youth, energy, alert mind, and keen desire to have a preacher reside in his domain.³⁹ With stations at Rohnkiti and Mado-lenihmw, Sokehs seemed the logical next choice. Doane, himself a believer in the advantages of trade, titillated the Wasai's expectations. At their first meeting, the missionary offered the ruler a hatchet, a large butcher knife, a red flannel shirt, and six yards of calico in exchange for a promise to build a Pohnpeian-style residence.⁴⁰ The immediate response to the mission proved quite favorable. At the Wasai's command, a large number of his subjects attended Sunday service.⁴¹

Despite this initial cordiality, relations between the missionary and the chief soon deteriorated. The violence of the Wasai's justice appalled Doane. The burning of an offender's house and the severe beating of a lesser chief, actions quite consistent with the island's code of chiefly vengeance, confirmed in the missionary's mind the barbarity of the society about him.⁴² Doane himself suffered when the Wasai supported a subject who claimed the missionary owed him money for services performed. When Doane refused to augment his initial payment to the man, the Wasai ordered the mission grounds blockaded and all intercourse with it stopped.⁴³ Doane's return of some stolen property to a whaleship further infuriated the Wasai, who had planned to barter with the ship's captain for its restoration.⁴⁴

Frustration proved to be the sum total of Doane's year and a half at Sokehs. Unable to influence the Wasai, unwilling to be controlled by him, and crippled by his own feelings of intense dislike toward Pohnpeians, Doane decided to accept reassignment to Ebon in the Marshalls. Fearing the Wasai's reaction to his decision, the missionary kept his plans secret until the missionary ship *Morning Star* arrived at Pohnpei to take him away. Upon learning of Doane's intentions, the Wasai confronted him, demanding to know why Doane wanted to leave Pohnpei. Was it because Doane didn't like the people, the Wasai asked pointedly. Becoming more enraged, as he talked, the Wasai threatened to stone the missionary as he would any one of his recalcitrant subjects. Sensing the need to be conciliatory, Doane promised the chief he would return. The gesture was enough. The Wasai ceased his opposition and commanded his people to carry Doane's personal property to a waiting boat.⁴⁵ Later, writing in his journal en route to Ebon, Doane interpreted the Wasai's

reactions as genuine remorse over the loss of the word of God.⁴⁶ He was wrong. The Wasai had been shamed by a successful defiance of his chiefly authority; such was the risk involved for a Pohnpeian chief in dealing with strangers from other worlds who refused to be bound by Pohnpeian cultural values. Doane's sole triumph in Sokehs lay in his leaving.

The Wasai's fondness for liquor had created another issue of contention between the two men. When asked by Doane why he would not cease his drinking, the Wasai, as cunning as he was mercurial, blamed his intemperance on the examples of other white men.⁴⁷ The chief's answer struck at the heart of what the missionaries perceived to be their most pressing dilemma—the discrepancy between their teachings and the conduct of their fellow countrymen.

"What can we expect of this poor people when every word and act they hear and see except from the missionaries is in perfect keeping with all of their lusts?" asked Sturges.⁴⁸ The missionaries believed that the conduct and example of other foreigners, the majority of them Americans by this time, constituted the most serious threat to their work on Pohnpei. Thirty years of fairly extensive contact with the West, thought the missionaries, had left the Pohnpeians with nothing but disease and bad habits. The widespread use of tobacco among the Islanders immediately disheartened the missionaries on their arrival. To their dismay, little children would greet the missionaries with requests for a chew of tobacco.⁴⁹ Doane found himself propositioned by a girl ten years old who asked him for tobacco.⁵⁰ The missionaries complained that it was impossible to go anywhere or do anything on the island without tobacco. Despite their strong moral reservations, both Sturges and Gulick were forced to give tobacco as payment for the construction of their houses.⁵¹ The missionaries consoled themselves with a vow to move against the weed as soon as Christianity had gained a foothold on the island. Liquor was likewise perceived to be a severe problem. When not engaged in senseless drinking orgies of their own, Pohnpeians, charged the missionaries, would distill crude rum from molasses and sell it to ships for two or three dollars a bottle.⁵²

Nothing outraged the missionaries more, however, than the sexual trade on the island. Luther Gulick likened prostitution to murder: "The population of the island is being more slowly perhaps, but more certainly swept to temporal and eternal destruction by foreign licentiousness than though every ship's company aided in murdering the inhabitants."⁵³ To the dismay of the missionaries, Pohnpeian men would stop at the mission station at Rohnkiti to show off the goods they had received from the ships for the sale of their women. When asked why they did this, the men replied, "Captains say very good, white man also say very good."⁵⁴ The

missionaries were convinced that venereal disease spread by the sexual traffic with the ships' crews was largely responsible for the decline in the island's birthrate throughout the 1850s. Confronted with this assertion, the islanders, said the missionaries, would simply shrug and proclaim their liking for tobacco.

In 1854 the Nahnken of Kiti, at the urging of the missionaries, forbade the women of his chiefdom to go out to the ships.⁵⁵ The decision involved more than simply moral considerations. The position of the Nahnken and the other high chiefs depended on their control over the resources of production; indeed, the entire cultural complex centered around the dominance of the chiefs which, in turn, rested on their control of the land. The provisioning of the ships with wood, water, and food fit comfortably within the parameters of chiefly control; sexual traffic, however, introduced a potentially threatening, disruptive element into the relationship between the chiefs and the people. In supplying the common people with trade goods in return for sexual favors, the ships came to rival the chiefs as providers for the society. While tolerant of a certain level of this illicit trade, the chiefs recognized that the protection of their self-interests required the imposition of bans (*inapwih*). In 1854 the Nahnken of Kiti assessed the situation in his harbors and concluded that the limit of his tolerance had been reached. In placing an interdiction on female contact with the ships, the Nahnken of Kiti sought to preserve his privileged position as *mwohnsapw*, or the first and most important fruit of the land from which all other fruits derived.

The Nahnken's action did not put an end to sexual commerce in Kiti. Soon thereafter, a number of "sailors' houses" opened on shore. "Such places as these have few likes this side of the world below," wrote Sturges. Passing the door of one and peering in, the missionary saw "beings in human form with white skins; but all else how unlike the human species. No one bid adieu."⁵⁶ Edward "Nigger" Johnson, a black from Philadelphia who had lived for a time in New Hampshire before signing on board a New England whaler, ran the most notorious of these houses.⁵⁷ Known as the "Terror of the Pacific," Johnson had earned notoriety as a mutineer, murderer, and thief. A number of ships' captains charged that he had attempted to induce their crews to desert. Aware of these charges, one skipper neutralized Johnson by plying him with food and drink for the duration of his ship's stay at Pohnpei. The missionaries accused Johnson of murder and of forcing Pohnpeian women into his brothels.⁵⁸ The Pohnpeians knew him as more than a purveyor of sexual services. A refugee from a hostile, prejudiced, supposedly Christian world, Johnson found a home on Pohnpei. His participation in wars on behalf of Kiti earned him respect and a privileged place in Pohnpeian society. At feasts, Johnson sat with chiefs. His commercial transactions

for the Nahnken enhanced his value and status.⁵⁹ Despite the missionaries' persistent pleas, it was not until after Johnson's death in 1858 that the Nahnken ordered the houses closed.⁶⁰

The Nahnken's action against the sexual traffic in Kiti furthered an already developing trend on Pohnpei. The island's declining shipping traffic had begun to shift to Madolenihmw. Aware of the change, Gulick moved to prevent his field from becoming the new vice capital of the island. In an open letter to "The Christian Owners of Whaleships," dated August 1857 and distributed widely in New England whaling ports, Gulick explicitly named those ships and captains guilty of scandalous conduct on Pohnpei. The reverend doctor's actions earned him the disdain of the shipping community and a rebuke from his superiors in Boston, who worried about loss of support for the general mission effort from such a formidable source of wealth and influence.⁶¹ Despite the self-serving efforts of both missionaries and chiefs, the ships' crews and Pohnpeian commoners continued to find mutual benefit from the sexual trade.

On occasion the missionaries' embarrassment over the conduct of their fellow countrymen was especially acute. Captain Lafayette Rowley of the whaleship *Orozombo* of New Bedford had shown himself a friend of the missionaries. On his first visit to the island in 1853, Rowley had contributed generously to the construction of a seamen's chapel at Rohnkiti.⁶² During a later stop at the island in 1855, Rowley addressed the fledgling congregation at Rohnkiti.⁶³ In the sermon he gave following Rowley's talk, Sturges held the captain up to the Pohnpeians as a model of Christian deportment. Shortly after services, Sturges and Rowley were confronted by a Pohnpeian who inquired about Rowley's wife. When told that she had remained behind on Martha's Vineyard, the Pohnpeian replied that he meant the captain's Pohnpeian wife who came from a family in nearby Kipar. Rowley had taken a mistress from among the ranks of the tiny congregation. Stunned, Sturges kept the conversation secret from Rowley, who understood no Pohnpeian. The missionary later gave vent to his anger and humiliation in correspondence to his superiors. In these letters, Sturges termed Rowley a rakish hypocrite.⁶⁴

The behavior of the crew of the missionary schooner *Morning Star* also undermined the missionaries' insistence on a uniform code of Christian conduct. Purchased by the American Board in 1857 to facilitate the work of the Micronesian Mission, the *Morning Star* on its first tour of the islands caused the missionaries particular chagrin. While the missionaries tried to impress upon their listeners the importance of keeping holy the Sabbath, the crew of the *Morning Star* spent its Sundays on Pohnpei washing clothes, scrubbing decks, and taking boat rides around the island.⁶⁵ Gulick called the crew's conduct licentious and profane; he

characterized John W. Brown, the ship's captain, as a nervous, excitable man who exercised no control whatsoever over his men.⁶⁶ Brown, said missionary physician Gulick, possessed an unbalanced mind and an unhappy heart. "Will you allow such things to continue?" he asked of the corresponding secretary of the American Board in Boston.⁶⁷

The missionaries' treatment of their Hawaiian colleagues also created a credibility problem. The extra time needed to perform household chores in a strange land was frustrating. Seeking freedom to attend to their pastoral and educational duties, they solicited help from the people of the island. Pohnpeians assisted them in their chores, but refused the role of domestic servant. Louisa Gulick had to dismiss one Pohnpeian helper "for an independence inconsistent with the position of a servant."⁶⁸ Exasperated, the missionaries turned to the Hawaiian couples who had accompanied them to Pohnpei.

The response of the Hawaiian members of the mission was no more enthusiastic than that of the Pohnpeians. Seeing themselves as true missionaries, the Hawaiians rejected any subordination of their status. Pohnpeian cultural practices compounded the dilemma. While the missionaries asked the Hawaiians to act, in effect, as their servants, the Pohnpeians offered them land, titles, and a place of respect in Pohnpeian society.⁶⁹ Faced with intransigence, the white missionaries pleaded their case before their superiors in Boston. In 1853 Gulick had sided with Berita Kaaikaula, a member of the first mission party to Pohnpei, in his struggle with Sturges over a proper role. By 1855, however, Gulick was writing to the ABCFM's corresponding secretary about the necessity of some arrangement whereby the Hawaiians would do the missionaries' washing, ironing, and cutting of firewood.⁷⁰ Doane called attention to the serious problem the Hawaiians had in learning the Pohnpeian language. Without some proficiency in the language, insisted Doane, there was little active missionary work the Hawaiians could engage in. Disavowing any intention to make servants out of his colleagues, the missionary nonetheless suggested that the Hawaiians content themselves with paddling canoes, building houses, and serving as models of pious, humble, hard-working Christian families.⁷¹

With the Hawaiian Kamakahiki, who had accompanied Doane to Pohnpei in 1855, there was a total break. The missionaries accused him of being headstrong, uncooperative, and aloof; they described his wife as impudent and haughty. Judging the two unfit for missionary work, especially after a loud domestic quarrel one Sunday morning after services, the Pohnpei Mission, in 1857, voted to return the couple to Hawaii.⁷² Simeon Kanekaole arrived on Pohnpei that same year; unhappy at being separated from his wife and family, however, he returned to Hawaii, in 1858.⁷³ Kaaikaula reached a more effective compromise with the mis-

sionaries; replacing Kanekaole, he became the printer for the mission station at Rohnkiti. When he died in 1859, Gulick wrote a restrained eulogy of the first member of the Pohnpei Mission to die in the field: "He was a very encouraging example of what a savage with no unusual advantages may become."⁷⁴ With Kaaikaula's death, the "Hawaiian experiment," as Gulick termed it, ended. The missionaries decided that any future missionary assistance would have to come from Pohnpei itself.

Despite the domestic inconveniences and internal squabbling, the missionaries persisted. By the end of the decade, they had established two major mission churches, at Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw. Both these churches had a number of smaller out-stations that the missionaries attempted to visit on a regular basis. Doane's departure in 1857 forced the closing of the third station at Sokehs. Seven schools, run by the missionaries' wives, were opened; enrollment varied from eight to thirty-four pupils. The missionaries printed basic primers in the Pohnpeian language to use as texts in these schools. Portions of the Bible were also translated, printed, and distributed to the people; in 1858 Gulick calculated the total number of pages printed by the modest mission press at 9200.⁷⁵

Despite intensive efforts, the Protestant mission attracted no converts in this first decade. However, Pohnpeians did show themselves interested in certain aspects of the mission's presence. The missionaries' music elicited a highly enthusiastic response from the people of the island. Pohnpeians in Madolenihmw would walk miles to hear Gulick play his melodeon; they also enjoyed learning to sing foreign melodies. The missionaries translated into Pohnpeian such hymns as "There is a Happy Land," and "God Lives on High." For the school children, there were the "Alphabet Song" and "Baa Baa Black Sheep."⁷⁶ Among themselves, the missionaries sang songs that told of their feelings about life on Pohnpei: "Pilgrims and Wanderers," "Do They Miss Me at Home?" "America," and "Waft, Waft Ye Winds His Story."⁷⁷

The missionaries found life on Pohnpei extremely difficult. To reinforce the boundaries between themselves and the supposedly inferior people with whom they dealt, they insisted on maintaining life as they knew it. While making use of some local resources, they depended largely on ships, especially the *Morning Star*, to bring them their food, clothing, fuel, building materials, and household implements. Aside from the Sabbath, the most celebrated occasion was the day of a ship's arrival with mail and news from home. The temporal organization of their existence on Pohnpei mirrored, to a great extent, the daily routine of their lives in America. They ate three meals a day, slept at night, woke in the morning, and took naps in the afternoon. The daytime hours were

devoted to physical chores and travel, while more contemplative work such as writing sermons, reports, and letters filled the evening.

The missionaries also ordered the space about them along familiar patterns. Their houses had sitting rooms, dining rooms, studies, kitchens, and bedrooms. They planted gardens, made walkways, built work sheds, and constructed churches. True to the culture from which they came, the missionaries made separate places for all of the different activities into which they segmented their lives. Much of their frustration in these first years resulted from their insistence on an order and organization of life not shared by the people around them.

The missionaries found the wet, tropical climate of Pohnpei debilitating and the heat exhausting. The heavy rains that fell from April through December disrupted their work, slowed their travel, made the island's footpaths impassable, and brought sickness and depression. Sturges battled constantly with severe, recurrent headaches; his wife, Susan, had three miscarriages.⁷⁸ Illness forced Gulick to leave the island in 1859. Though vaccines allowed them to escape unscathed the ravages of the smallpox epidemic of 1854, the missionaries came to know death in their own ranks.⁷⁹ In addition to the passing of Kaaikaula, each of the three white missionary couples lost an infant child. At times, the threat of physical violence loomed near. On more than one occasion, Pohnpeians fired on missionaries who, in their journeys around the island, crossed the boundaries of warring chiefdoms. Against this backdrop of physical and mental suffering, the missionaries worked and waited for the Pohnpeians to accept the Christian religion. Despite the considerable efforts of the foreigners, the Pohnpeians as a whole remained seemingly indifferent. The island's own formidable religious system continued to hold sway.

Like the missionaries, the Pohnpeians possessed a highly developed sense of religion. "Theirs is a heathenism in one of its most spiritual forms," conceded Gulick.⁸⁰ Appalled as they were by it, the missionaries spent a good deal of time in those first years trying to understand it. Pohnpeians did not hesitate to help them. The Noahs of Madolenihmw, the holder of the fourth highest title in the nahnmwarki's line, paid a call on Gulick one day at the mission station in Madolenihmw. The Noahs was an extremely assertive, sometimes violent man who had spent five years in Truk, reaching there after surviving several weeks adrift on the open ocean. Ships' captains regarded the Noahs as an unscrupulous terror who would stop at nothing in his lust for goods.

For the occasion, the Pohnpeian noble wore a red flannel shirt over his *koahl* and carried an umbrella; he did without the high-crowned, narrow-brimmed hat with a red ribbon that he usually wore. Somewhat

intoxicated, the Noahs greeted Gulick in ships' English with a "Good morning, Jack!", walked past the missionary into his house, took a chair in the middle of the room, sat down, and threw his arms nonchalantly over the back. After this haughty display of bad manners, as Gulick called it, the Noahs proceeded to speak about religion. He made a comparison of the Pohnpeian and Christian religions and said that the Pohnpeians, too, worshipped a supreme being and a Christ-figure, held religious services, said prayers, had sacraments, and believed in an after-life.⁸¹

This encapsulated description, while deliberately couched in terms a Christian missionary could understand, hinted at the depth and sophistication of the island's religious beliefs. Pohnpeians called the highest of their gods *Daukatau* or *Nahn Sapwe*.⁸² His son, born of the union with a woman from *Katau*, was *Isohkelekel*, the legendary conqueror of *Nan Madol* who overthrew the rule of the *Saudeleurs*, the first overlords of the island. Under these two divine spirits existed the *enihwos* who governed the movement of the land, the sea, and the sky; among these gods were *Nahn Olosomw*, *Nahnsahwinsed*, *Nahn Ullap*, and *Nahn Sehleng*. Indeed, the various beliefs, rituals, and ceremonies of individual clans and groups in the different areas of the island added to the complexity of Pohnpei's cosmology. Powerful clan spirits such as *Inahs* of the *Sounkawad* and *Limwohdeleng* of the *Dipwilap* hovered about. The spirits of deceased chiefs also involved themselves in the world of the living, and there were *eni aramas*, the spirits of dead commoners, some of whom returned to interfere in the affairs of friends, family, and clanmates. The missionaries were curious about all of these spirits. In a conversation with the *Nahnmwarki* of *Kiti*, *Sturges*, revealing his missionary outlook, asked if these spirits were black or white. The *Nahnmwarki* smiled at the absurdity of the question, considered an answer, and then replied that no, he thought they were probably red.⁸³

Pei or stone altars, dedicated to various gods and for the performance of seasonal rituals, abounded. There was also the great religious center at *Nan Madol*, that complex of artificial islets off the southeastern coast of *Madolenihmw* that had once served as the *Saudeleurs*' center of power. Though abandoned by this time, *Nan Madol* still remained an important site for the performance of religious ceremonies. Pohnpeians called the home of the dead *Pahnse* 'Below the Sea'. To reach it, the souls of the recently departed had to cross a bridge at *Wasahn Sohpor* 'Place of No Return'. There, they would be required to sing before moving on. Those who possessed a good voice, a metaphor for a dutiful life, passed across the bridge; those who sang poorly fell from the bridge into a dark, dirty pit appropriately called *Pweliko*.

Pohnpeians believed in the active intervention of the gods in the world

of the living; the agency of these spirits could be of either a beneficial or a destructive nature. Through their priests, called *samworo*, the people prayed for health, good weather, bountiful crops, and success in all human endeavors ranging from birth to war. There was also sorcery in which men attempted to tap some of the supernatural powers of the gods. *Sounwinanih* or 'magicians', with divine assistance, could hold the sun, bring the tide, disperse the rain, calm the wind, paralyze enemies, cause illness or death, and conjure up the dead. In July 1855, through an unusually dense, smoky haze that surrounded the island, the sun and the moon took on a red glow. Gulick could not explain it, though he was sure some natural phenomenon elsewhere in the Pacific had caused it.⁸⁴ The Pohnpeians believed the occurrence to be the work of the god *Isohkelekel*, displeased over the people's failure to perform *karisimei*, the first fruits offering made at the start of the breadfruit season. To propitiate the angered god, feasts were immediately made to his principal priestess. Soon afterward, the haze disappeared. On another occasion, a four-month drought ended suddenly during a feast of atonement in *Madolenihmw*, again to placate *Isohkelekel*. Admitted Gulick, "It is hard to meet the force of this fact on superstitious, ignorant minds."⁸⁵

The missionaries saw Pohnpeians as enslaved by their belief in gods and spirits. Perhaps they were, but no more so than people who held that the purpose and work of life was constant penance for the basic sinfulness of human nature. In a sense, the missionaries offered the people of the island an exchange of one form of enslavement for another. During this early contact period, the Pohnpeians were not interested. Indeed, the "Boston Men" complained incessantly that the Pohnpeians exhibited no sense of guilt or awareness of their basic sinfulness.

In May 1856 Doane and Sturges had the opportunity to actually confront a Pohnpeian god.⁸⁶ The two missionaries learned of the presence of *Nahn Isopau* at *Palikir* in *Sokehs*. Urged on by the *Nahnken* of *Kiti* and others, the two missionaries decided to visit the place and expose the whole affair for the sham they thought it to be. According to reports, the god had assumed human form, taken a wife, and now lived among the people. Arriving at *Palikir*, the missionaries were told that *Nahn Isopau* was not present at the moment, but would return soon. The missionaries waited while a crowd gathered and a sizeable feast was prepared. After some time, a loud stamping and breaking of sticks heralded the god's arrival. As the spirit entered the *nahs*, the structure shook (Figures 13 and 14). All present immediately prostrated themselves while the god took his place in a corner at the front of the *nahs*. Shielded from public view by huge mats hung from the ceiling, *Nahn Isopau*, in a loud whisper, called for his pipe and red flannel shirt. The order then came for the missionaries to move forward to the sacred corner. Entering the dark-



Figure 13. A frontal view of a Pohnpeian *nahs* 'feast house'. (Hambruch 1936, 2:386, tafel 8)

ened space, the missionaries were invited by the god to sit. Finding Nahn Isopau to be quite affable and communicative, Sturges and Doane began to converse with him. The god spoke of his home, Pahnsted, the spirit world underneath the sea. He also expounded freely on issues of Pohnpeian theology.

After a while, the missionaries, tiring of the meeting, began to voice their doubts. They told Nahn Isopau that they believed he was a woman, not a god; the god responded with an emphatic assertion of his divinity. When the missionaries persisted in their denunciation, the god called for his gun. In loud voices, the missionaries proclaimed their charges publicly: "Don't we know your face to be that of a woman, don't we know your voice, your tattooing to be woman's? You are a woman and you will one day be punished for this attempting to deceive."⁸⁷ The missionaries then turned the mats aside to give all a chance to view the god/woman, but the people turned their eyes. Satisfied with their efforts, the missionaries left the sacred corner and returned to the main section of the *nahs*. While the missionaries sat with acquaintances, a huge basket of

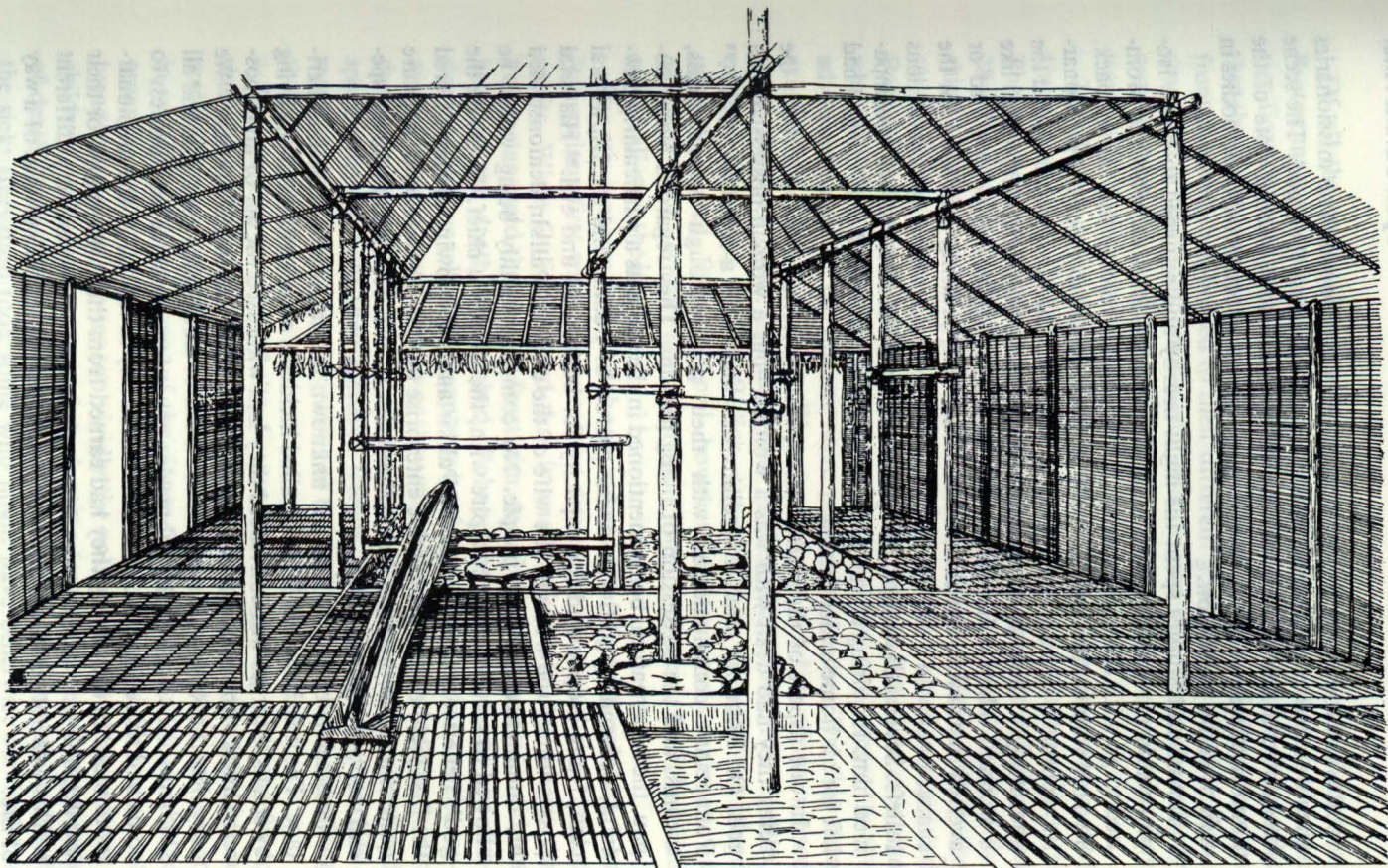


Figure 14. The internal design of a Pohnpeian *nahs* 'feast house'. (Hambruch 1936, 2:226)

food was brought to them by order of Nahn Isopau. The missionaries then watched as the Pohnpeians proceeded to feast their god. The scene resembled a revival meeting; the missionaries took special note of the number of women who cried, sang, prayed, and contorted their bodies in a fit of godly possession.

Doane and Sturges spent the night nearby and returned to Nahn Isopau's *nahs* early the next morning. The chief of the area, who had promised to go with the missionaries, faltered in his resolve and turned back. Two old women, attendants to the god, attempted to block the missionaries' approach to his quarters, but to no avail. The missionaries found the god sitting without his ornaments and looking, they said, very much like a woman. They pulled aside the mats, but again the people fled or averted their eyes. The missionaries then left, praising their God for the chance to expose a den of deception and to strike a blow at superstitious beliefs. Several days later, Sturges went back; this time, Gulick accompanied him. Inquiring about Nahn Isopau, they were told that the god had left for his home under the sea.

In one aspect of their assessment, the missionaries were correct; the being they had dealt with was a woman—but a woman possessed by a god. On Pohnpei, such a medium was known as a *tehnwar* 'vessel'.⁸⁸ Pohnpeians communicated with their gods through omens, signs, dreams, and the possession of living persons. They regarded Nahn Isopau, the supernatural being mentioned in the story, as a particularly powerful, demanding god. The divine patron of Palikir and the Dipwinwai clan, Nahn Isopau had the capacity for both good and evil.⁸⁹ His total possession of the woman, the wife of the chief of Palikir, demonstrated his dominance over the people. No common earthly being would be allowed to see, let alone conspire with, the wife of a chief. To insure the god's beneficence, the people of Palikir and the Dipwinwai clan offered the first yield of any productive enterprise to him. Possession of a nature quite similar to the missionaries' description was reported to be his special mode of communion.

Possession by spirits was not unknown in the Judaeo-Christian heritage. The missionaries' Bible detailed incidents of possession of the living by spirits. Sturges was convinced they had witnessed the act of an imposter; Gulick, however, was not so sure. He recorded in his journal: "We pray that the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords may send this and all kindred spirits back to the submarine caves from whence they profess to come and there forever chain them."⁹⁰ In any event, all of the missionaries rejoiced in the enmity they had earned from the Pohnpeians for their sacrilegious act. At stake in this confrontation between very different worlds was not just a system of religious beliefs but the survival of a way of life.

Of all the cross-cultural events between Pohnpeians and American Protestant missionaries in these first years of contact, none held more significance than the smallpox epidemic of 1854. During the six months that the disease raged over the island, Pohnpeians and missionaries confronted each other, prayed to their different gods, feared for their lives, despaired at times, and, in the end, tried to give meaning to the tragedy around them. In this high drama, both sides spoke clearly of who they were and how they viewed the world.

The disease arrived aboard the whaler *Delta*. The ship was out of Greensport, New York, and under the command of a Captain Weeks.⁹¹ The crew consisted entirely of Hawaiians. The *Delta* put in at Pohnpei on 28 February 1854, after smallpox had broken out on board. News of the ship's dilemma spread quickly. Refused a landing at Pohnahtik in the southeastern section of Madolenihmw, the vessel continued west around Pohnpei to the small island of Penieu near Wene in Kiti. One crewman who had died some days before was buried there; two others, in the advanced stages of the disease, were put ashore to die. The ship then sailed away. The people from Wene took in the two Hawaiians, nursed them, sheltered them, and took their clothes. For almost two months, nothing happened. Luther Gulick, the physician, thought the island might be spared. By early April, however, smallpox had broken out on Mwudok, that part of Pohnpei proper closest to Peneiu. By July it had spread all over the island.

The missionaries described the period as one of dismal desolation. The Pohnpeians first tried to control the disease by feasting their offended spirits. When Gulick insisted that it was his God who was angry, the Pohnpeians said they would feast him, too.⁹² Feasting, however, did not help. As the death toll climbed, Pohnpeians sought escape. The missionaries' letters tell of the people trying frantically to hide from the ravages of the smallpox—*kilitop* as they called it. Many crowded together in dark, poorly ventilated, thatched houses.⁹³ With them in these confined spaces they brought their diseased friends, family members, and clan-mates. Others fled to the mountains or to small reef islands, again taking their sick with them.

The physical horrors of the disease were staggering: first the fever, then the outbreak of sores, then the sickening odor as the sores broke and the oozing pus spread. Gulick wrote: "Our hearts even now sicken in remembering the scenes of the sinner. We hear but too distinctly the groaning and screeching that echoed through whole neighborhoods of breadfruit groves. We see too vividly the naked bodies of men, women, children, and infants covered from head to feet with the noisome mantle of death."⁹⁴ In some areas of the island, there was no one left to attend the sick: starvation took some who might have otherwise survived the

disease. There was also no time to worry about the proper rituals for funeral feasts. People were buried in shallow graves, some still living. Sturges recorded the heightened terror that resulted when those buried alive managed to extricate themselves from premature graves and return to their families dressed in their burial clothes.⁹⁵

Chiefs, priests, and commoners alike died; the deaths of chiefs, however, struck at the heart of the Pohnpeian social order. Under normal circumstances, a high chief would be secretly buried within hours of his death and a successor chosen to preserve the peace and stability of the society.⁹⁶ The next day, the priests would call together the people to feast the deceased chief and to greet his successor. Destruction characterized the death feast (*mwurilik*). To symbolize the collapse of the old order, the deceased chief's coconut trees were cut down, his yams dug up, his kava plants uprooted, his pigs and dogs slaughtered, and his personal property distributed among the gathering. As a sign of their despair, men would fire their guns, women would wail ceaselessly, and the chief's wives would cut their hair. This was destruction, but it was purposeful and organized destruction within the dictates of *tiahk en sapw*. The people obliterated the old to make way for the new. Renewal followed death; the life of the land and its people continued. The smallpox, however, brought social chaos. With important chiefs dying too fast to be replaced, there was no one to give proper and forceful direction to society. Those chiefs not dead secluded themselves in isolated retreats. The common people destroyed their own property, feasted themselves, and violated most of the taboos that gave order and rank to Pohnpeian society.⁹⁷ They did so because the structure and system of beliefs that gave meaning to their lives appeared to be crumbling. They believed that, as a race of people, they were perishing.

The Pohnpeians had little doubt about the ultimate source of their suffering. On a visit to Sokehs, Sturges was asked by the Wasai Sokehs why the Christian God was killing the people of Pohnpei.⁹⁸ In Madolenihmw, Gulick had a similar inquiry from the Wasai of that chiefdom. The Pohnpeian noble had first asked a resident beachcomber in his area who had sent the smallpox to Pohnpei. "No one," replied the foreigner. The Wasai countered that such could not be; everything had a cause; a plague of such proportions could not possibly be random. Meeting Gulick a few days later, the Wasai asked if it was not God who had sent the smallpox. "A better introduction," declared Gulick, "could not have been given for a religious conversation."⁹⁹

Though circumspect in their replies to such pointed questions, the missionaries themselves knew well the cause of the smallpox epidemic. In their private journals, they bared their convictions. Sturges saw the "Lord's Hand" in all that had passed.¹⁰⁰ Gulick noted that, though a

kindly father, God sometimes did terrible things for righteousness' sake. "God moves in a mysterious way," sighed Gulick, "and this is one of the most mysterious of his dispensations toward a people who for years had been verging toward destruction."¹⁰¹ In this matter, the missionaries and the Pohnpeians agreed; the Christian God was indeed responsible for the disease that brought death to over half of the island's population.

Resistance seeming futile, the Pohnpeians, for the time being, resigned themselves to the *manaman* 'power' of the missionaries. Pohnpeians became interested in Christian taboos; they asked about the correct procedure for offerings, the rituals of religious services, the proper forms of prayer, and the preparation of food for the Sabbath.¹⁰² One man demanded to know if he should pray to Adam and Eve, too.¹⁰³ Pohnpeians also turned to the vaccination offered by the missionaries against smallpox. The successful inoculations of the Nahnken of Kiti and the Wasai of Madolenihmw gave the missionaries' medicine widespread credibility. Many of the priests, however, refused to be vaccinated. Understanding that there was something more involved than simply life or death, the priests persisted in their Pohnpeian ways. Their deaths were greeted with righteous disdain by the missionaries, who refused last-minute pleas for vaccinations and other medicinal remedies by these keepers of different gods.¹⁰⁴

The missionaries now saw these events as the severest of trials leading to the greatest of opportunities. Events had proved the worth of their efforts; in a short period, they had acquired, they believed, tremendous influence that otherwise would have taken years to accumulate. Gulick wrote that, because they had accepted his inoculations, hundreds of Pohnpeians now pointed to him as their savior from death.

The missionaries' optimistic assessment of their present situation and future prospects proved a bit hasty. By October 1854, the epidemic had abated. Having survived what they felt to be the certain extinction of their society, Pohnpeians began to crawl back from the edge of death. Though weakened and reduced in number, they quickly resumed the ways of *tiahk en sapw*. They feasted throughout the remainder of the year, they returned to the worship of their gods, and they warred.¹⁰⁵ Madolenihmw opposed Kiti and later U, while Sokehs prepared for a major battle with Awak, an autonomous area in the north lying between Net and U. While deadly serious in their consequences, these wars, coming so soon after the epidemic, carried an air of jubilation about them; Pohnpeians and their way of life had survived the cataclysm.

Despite this victory of survival, the power and material wealth of the missionaries' God did not go unnoticed; developments during this first decade of exposure to the white man's religion had caused Pohnpeians to

wonder about the efficacy and beneficence of their own principal deities. By the end of the 1850s, they were beginning to grapple with Christianity. As evidenced by their questions and comments to the missionaries, they did so within the context of their own system of values and cultural presuppositions. What began in these first years of contact with American Protestant missionaries was but another step in an age-old process of incorporation whereby the Pohnpeian cultural order would sustain itself by accepting new and usable resources from beyond its shores. There was room, eventually a place of primacy, for the Christian God in the Pohnpeian pantheon. In the decades that followed, Pohnpeians would come to accept Christianity, but on their own terms. Though a difficult, disruptive, sometimes violent process, the acceptance of Christianity did not constitute a revolutionary departure; for Pohnpeians, it was a logical, consistent, almost predictable action within the patterns of their own past.

CHAPTER 5

Strategies of Salvation

SURVIVAL ON Pohnpei entailed a recognition of limits. The island's ruling chiefs could express their displeasure in violent ways, but the culture as a whole stressed accommodation. In control of the land and its resources, the island's paramount chiefs were expected to demonstrate a conciliatory attitude toward their subjects. A Pohnpeian proverb, *Menin kao aramas, menin kasohr soupeidi*, 'The people offend, the chiefs forgive', underscores the general beneficence with which the nobles were expected to overlook the faults of the common people.¹ Another phrase, *Keleun ieng soupeidi*, 'A chief is like a hibiscus tree in the wind', emphasizes the virtue of chiefly responsiveness to the needs of the people. When chiefs disregarded their paternal responsibilities, the people could resort to drastic measures to redress their grievances. In extreme cases of oppression, the people might rise up against the ruling chiefs as the people of Madolenihmw did against the Nahnmwarki Luhk en Weid in the eighteenth century.² At other times, commoners expressed their dissatisfaction by fleeing to other parts of the island where they offered their allegiance to a different set of chiefs. Though a perilous option, given the constant threat of violence that permeated sectional and clan rivalries, the people's flight (*kiam pwek*) served as an important check against chiefly abuse.³

Pohnpeian society promoted conciliation in order to minimize the inherent, potentially devastating tension between rulers and ruled. The arrival of foreign ships had tested the bonds between the chiefs and the people. Except in cases that severely threatened their dominance in dealings with the ships, the chiefs had generally ignored the illicit sexual traffic between commoner and crewman; this calculated oversight preserved the essential harmony of the society. But Christianity, the *lamalam kapw* 'new way of thinking' as the Pohnpeians of the time referred to it, placed more intense strains upon the always fragile relationship between the chiefs and their people.

The common people had sought to redress the imbalance in access to foreign goods through theft and the sale of sexual services. The average number of ship visits in the early 1860s dropped to twenty, following the peak years in the mid-1850s when nearly fifty vessels a year had stopped at Pohnpei.⁴ With the chiefs aggressively asserting control over the ship traffic that remained, the common people turned to other measures. Christianity, with its material trappings reinforced by the American missionaries' particular emphasis on the equality of all people before God, appealed to those Pohnpeians of limited social rank. Many of them began to view it as a potential vehicle for the advancement of their social and material welfare. The first evidence of this movement became apparent in 1860.

After eight years of struggle, the missionaries baptized their first 3 converts at Rohnkiti on 12 November 1860.⁵ On 6 March of the following year, Sturges baptized another 6 Pohnpeians at Salong in Mado-lenihmw.⁶ By 1862 membership in Pohnpei's two churches had reached 21; five years later, the figure had increased to 204.⁷ The many additional Pohnpeian commoners who attended weekly church services supplemented the ranks of the professed members. Edward Doane, who had returned to Pohnpei in 1865 following the death of his first wife, proclaimed two years later that half the island was now "on our side."⁸

In addition to an unqualified profession of belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ, the missionaries required potential converts to disassociate themselves completely from the traditional rituals of Pohnpeian culture. The missionaries saw *sakau* 'kava' as the ultimate symbol of the island's dark ways; its use separated heathen from Christian. Albert Sturges wrote: "To this people, kava is the only means of communication with their spirits; they hold a cup of drink, always in their hands, when addressing the object of prayer. . . . Kava is here what the cross is to the Christian; it fell from heaven and is the only means of obtaining a hearing here."⁹

The missionary was quite correct in one aspect of his assessment; *sakau* did indeed constitute the sacrament of the island. Pohnpeians employed *sakau*, a gift from the god Luhk en Leng, at all ceremonial functions.¹⁰ The people pounded the roots of the kava plant into a pulp which they then squeezed through a sieve of hibiscus bark fibers to collect a mild narcotic liquid. They used *sakau* to communicate with spirits, to bestow titles, to effect peace between warring parties, to seek pardon, and to demonstrate respect. It also possessed curative powers for certain physical as well as divinely caused illnesses. The *sakau* ceremony reaffirmed the order of Pohnpeian society. Elaborate ritual surrounded the preparation of *sakau* and its presentation to the chiefs. Originally intended in the days of the Saudeleurs for only those of the highest rank,

sakau still retained its chiefly focus in the middle decades of the nineteenth century and could be prepared and consumed only in the presence of the chiefs. Tradition prescribed both the order and the manner in which people drank. The chiefs, seated on a raised platform at the head of the feasting house, received the first cups from attendants in a highly stylized ritual. Common people were allowed to partake between later chiefly rounds. The missionaries deplored the debilitating effect *sakau* had on the island's chiefs. Sturges described the rulers as "so stupid after a feast . . . there is nothing else that can find any place in their minds. The night as well as the day is spent in dissipation."¹¹ The missionaries' ban on Christian participation in any ceremony that involved *sakau* struck at the heart of the chiefly system.

During the missionaries' first years on Pohnpei, the paramount chiefs had tried to manipulate the talents of the missionaries for private gain while treating their teachings as little more than harmless talk. Because of the strains caused in Pohnpeian society by the growing desire for material goods, the declining ship traffic, and the decimation of the population by the smallpox epidemic of 1854, the chiefs in the 1860s became less favorably disposed toward the missionaries' activities. When numbers of the common people began accepting Christianity at the expense of their traditional obligations, the paramount chiefs turned to suppression. In Madolenihmw, the Nahnmwarki destroyed the dwelling of the first converts there, confiscated their belongings, and banished them from the land they occupied.¹² Coming to understand the threat now posed to their leadership by the missionaries, the ruling chiefs sought to destroy the new religion. At Nansokele, in the mountainous interior of Net where a mission station had been started in 1859, the chiefs of the area broke up a worship service by stoning the tiny congregation.¹³ Two weeks later, a party of warriors under orders from a chief fired on another Sabbath gathering at Nansokele, wounding several people. The Wasai of Sokehs, the overlord of the area, ordered the people's animals killed, their property confiscated, and their persons removed immediately from the area.¹⁴

The strongest opposition to the new church occurred in Rohnkiti, the site of the first mission station.¹⁵ The earliest converts in Kiti also found their property destroyed or confiscated. A young chief claimed the house of Narcissus de los Santos.¹⁶ A deserter from an American whaleship who had fought for Kiti in the battle at Nahlapenlohd in 1850, Santos and his Pohnpeian wife Meri (Mary) were two of the mission's first three converts.¹⁷ Only after a series of appeals did the Nahnken order the structure restored to the Filipino and his family. A peaceful, seemingly promising lull followed this initial outburst of hostility. After more than a decade of frustration, the missionaries finally realized one of their

major objectives—the conversion of Nahnku, the Nahnken of Kiti. The Nahnken, in what was more a gesture than a commitment, accepted baptism on 24 January 1864.¹⁸ An extremely practical, manipulative man, Nahnku had decided that a nominal profession of the teachings of Christianity would enhance his relations with the outside world while detracting little, if at all, from his traditional Pohnpeian rank. The Nahnken's tacit approval of the violence against the mission station at Rohnkiti had distressed the missionaries; they were overjoyed, however, to have him now firmly in their camp. The missionaries believed they had a royal patron who, through the force of his rank and personality, could propel the rapid spread of Christianity over the entire island. Their hopes for glory proved short-lived, however; less than four months later, the Nahnken was dead.¹⁹

The successor to Nahnku was a man known by the title of Nahnawa en Mwudok (Figure 15). As the son of Nahnku's mother's younger sister, Nahnawa en Mwudok stood junior in rank to the seven brothers of the dead Nahnken.²⁰ A man of exceptional ferocity, Nahnawa en Mwudok, however, managed to commandeer the title of nahnken by threat of force. Calling together his brothers shortly before he died, Nahnku had informed them that Nahnawa en Mwudok would be the next nahnken; otherwise, reasoned the dying chief, there would be no peace in Kiti.²¹ Judging from patterns of previous behavior, Nahnawa en Mwudok, if denied the title, would embark on a personal rampage that would leave



Figure 15. The Nahnken of Kiti, Nahnawa en Mwudok, with his wife Meri-An and his step-son, Henry Nanpei. (Hambruch 1932, 376)

the entire chiefdom weak and divided. In a not uncommon expression of protest by members of the chiefly class who drew on the historical examples of Satokawai and Isohkelekel, Nahnku's third brother committed suicide because of his dissatisfaction with the arrangement; the decree held, however.²² As the new nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok quickly became the scourge of the mission station at Rohnkiti.

Pohnpeians still speak of stories about the incredible behavior of this diminutive but forceful man.²³ After drinking *sakau*, Nahnawa en Mwudok always had his attendants draw him by the legs over rock-strewn paths to enhance, he said, the intoxicating effects of the drug. To impress a visiting ship captain, the Nahnken held his forearm just above an open kerosene lamp until the flesh began to sizzle. Despite the entreaties of those around him, he refused to move it. In desperation, one of his people finally knocked his arm away. On another occasion, the Nahnken cut a piece of flesh from his thigh, cooked it over hot rocks, and ate it. When asked why he did this, Nahnawa en Mwudok replied that he wanted to be able to boast that he had tasted human meat. To the relief of those who attended him, the Nahnken described the taste of human flesh as salty; he didn't care to eat it again, he said. While missionaries expressed dismay over his conduct, Johann Stanislas Kubary, the Polish naturalist who spent a considerable amount of time in the 1870s and 1880s studying the flora and fauna of the island, considered Nahnawa en Mwudok a reasonable man when accorded proper respect. The Nahnken regularly stopped at Kubary's field station in Rohnkiti to extend his greetings and present the scientist with a headwreath of flowers.²⁴ More directly subject than Kubary to the will of the Nahnken, the people of Kiti treated their chief with a tremendous deference born of fear and awe.

After his coronation as nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok moved quickly against the foreign presence in his domain by burning down the mission grounds on 19 January 1865.²⁵ He further shocked everyone by murdering one of his wives and the man with whom she had tried to elope.²⁶ Attempts to restore the mission site met with continued harassment. Meetings were disrupted, property stolen, and individuals threatened. In one incident, the Nahnken forced a man with the baptismal name of Sakiej (Zacharias) to drink *sakau* by having his mouth opened and the liquid poured down his throat.²⁷ Sturges realized the impossibility of reaching any understanding with the Nahnken. In May 1868, the missionary found it necessary to abandon Rohnkiti in favor of a new mission station at Ohwa in Madolenihmw.²⁸

At this time, Edward Doane was working at Mesenieng, a new site located on the peninsula of land that jutted into the northern harbor between Sokehs and Net and renamed Canaan (*Kenan* in Pohnpeian) by the missionaries; he, also, found himself confronted with chiefly hostil-

ity. The now strident opposition of Pohnpei's paramount chiefs resulted not from the teachings of Christianity but from the egalitarian, quasi-democratic practices that the missionaries insisted on. The high chiefs railed at the presence of a foreign institution that allowed common men and women to speak while chiefs were forced to remain silent. One high chief, enraged over being forbidden to participate in a communion service, expressed his displeasure by attempting to commit suicide.²⁹ On a trip to Madolenihmw, Doane received the rebuke of the Nahnmwarki for his failure to consult the ruling chief on church matters that affected the general life of the chiefdom. Reflecting on the encounter, Doane understood the chief's dilemma. Still, reasoned the missionary, the Gospel's message was clear; all men stood as "miserable sinners" before God.³⁰ Expedient though it might be, any attempt to accommodate chiefly privilege would only undermine the democratic spirit of God's word.

Refused permission to speak at a church gathering, the Wasai Sokehs, the ranking chief of the north who also held the title Lepen Net at this time, retaliated; he seized Karolin (Caroline), the daughter of Narcissus and Meri de los Santos, Doane's assistants who had been driven from a similar position at Rohnkiti by the opposition of the Nahnken.³¹ Doane's attempts to win the release of the girl were frustrated by the people's acceptance of a traditional practice that permitted the paramount chief to choose his brides at will from among any of the women residing in his chiefdom. At a confrontation between the two men, the Wasai explained the reasons for his action.³² The missionary countered by pointing out that membership constituted a necessary prerequisite to any form of participation in church services. As Doane left, the Wasai signaled his contempt for the missionary's words by firing two muskets into the air. The following Sunday, this paramount chief of Net and Sokehs effectively disrupted services by appearing outside the church door with his principal wife. The sight of any of a ruling chief's wives, especially his primary wife, known in Pohnpeian as *ihnenmwohd*, was a privilege denied all people. Word that the couple had arrived quickly scattered the large number of people gathered for services. Some ran out the church door while others slid the large floor boards apart, slipped through the openings, and scurried away. For the next several months, wandering bands of armed retainers discouraged the people from entering the mission grounds.³³

A number of lesser chiefs, men of high social rank with ambitions frustrated by age or by the political machinations of others, viewed Christianity as a means to further their own advantage and circumvent the prerogatives of the paramount chiefs. Within Pohnpeian society, there was tension among chiefs as well as between chiefs and commoners. Each nahnmwarki relied heavily upon the local nahnken's title

line to assist him in governing his chiefdom; as sons of the ruling chiefs, these royal children or *serihso* were allowed physical proximity to the person of the *nahnmwarki*.³⁴ The *soupeidi*, the brothers and maternal cousins and nephews of the *nahnmwarki* who held the lesser or junior titles of the ruling line, were kept away from the *nahnmwarki*'s person by being assigned specific tasks connected with the administration of feasts and other rituals. In the lesser chiefs, the *nahnmwarki* saw his successors, his rivals, and ultimately his own death. These inherent tensions were further exacerbated when different subclans or lineages competed for control of the paramount title of *nahnmwarki*.

The *Falcon* incident of 1836, which had upset the precarious political balance in Madolenihmw by replacing one ruling lineage with another, continued to haunt the polity of the chiefdom. In 1855, with the death of the *Nahnmwarki* Luhk en Mwei U, who had reigned for less than a year, the title passed to another member of the Litehriete lineage of the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling subclan, the Isonenimwahn. The individual who succeeded to the position of Wasai, the second most senior title in the *soupeidi*'s line after that of *nahnmwarki*, was a member of the Upwutenmei lineage that had been deposed as a result of the events of 1836.³⁵ Though the Litehriete seemed strongly entrenched, the Wasai refused to acquiesce in the continued usurpation of a title that he believed to be rightfully his. In 1836 Luhk en Kidu had relied successfully on foreign ships to provide a crucial edge in his attempt to win the title of *nahnmwarki*. In 1864 the Wasai of Madolenihmw, attempting to return the paramount title to his lineage, looked for a similar advantage. The Wasai believed he had discovered in the missionaries and their teachings the vehicle with which to build a cross-island network of alliances. To achieve his objective, he was willing to sacrifice, at least temporarily, some of the privileges of his chiefly rank.

In addition to an abstinence from *sakau*, the missionaries also required Christian marriage of all prospective church members. Commoners already forced by their social circumstances into basically monogamous relationships had no difficulty with the stipulation. For chiefs, whose rank and consequent wealth permitted them to take a number of wives, the sacrifice of such a privilege came less easily. A clever, ambitious man, the Wasai of Madolenihmw settled on a middle course.³⁶ At his wedding, he had put aside his *koahl* and wore instead a pair of white trousers, a linen shirt, and a black satin vest with a silk cravat; his wife dressed herself in a turkey-red robe. The Wasai, when quizzed by Sturges about what he would do with his other wives, craftily insisted that he would continue to care for them as a guardian. To send them away, argued the wizened old chief, would cause serious disruption among his people. Like the Wasai, other chiefs later discovered that Christian marriage did

not necessarily limit their general access to the sexual favors of their chiefdom's women.

The missionaries first learned of the Wasai's decision to accept Christianity in March 1864. During one of his circuits around the island, Sturges stopped at Areu in northern Madolenihmw to visit the Wasai who had earlier expressed an interest in the *lamalam kapw*.³⁷ Having reached the landing at midnight, Sturges was surprised to find the Wasai coming down to the shore to hail him. Following a warm exchange of greetings, the Wasai promptly told the missionary of an incredible dream he had had several days earlier in which he had been visited by God. In the dream, the Lord told the Wasai that Pohnpei's gods were false, that he must join the missionaries, serve the cause of heaven, and destroy all of his *sakau* plants.³⁸ Awakening from his dream, the Wasai, though unable to walk from the trembling that shook his body, crawled to his *sakau* field and, despite the pleas of his people, began uprooting the plants. Moved by the story, Sturges called the Wasai a "changed man."

For Pohnpeiians, dreams (*ouremen*) constituted an important method of communication with gods, clan spirits, and dead ancestors. Through dreams, these beings often revealed to people new ways to exploit the resources of their physical environment. Knowledge about the future or about the causes and cures of illnesses could also be transmitted in dreams. The Wasai undoubtedly believed in the truth of his dream; he also possessed the political ambitions to respond effectively to the commands he received through it.

The next day, the Wasai, accompanied by several of his people, joined Sturges in his journey back to Rohnkiti. Nahnken Nahnku of Kiti, informed of the arrival of the Wasai, ordered preparations for a major feast. Encouraged by events, the Wasai returned to Kiti several weeks later to give a return feast to the dying Nahnken.³⁹ In an unprecedented move, the Wasai of Madolenihmw invited Lepen Palikir, the ranking chief over a large area of Sokehs, to join him at Rohnkiti in feasting the Nahnken. Using the feast as a pretext, the Madolenihmw chief sought to construct a political alliance that would encompass the principal chiefs of the western half of the island. Wary of an invitation from a Madolenihmw chief to feast in Kiti, Lepen Palikir responded with an invitation of his own for the Wasai to join him at Palikir. The Wasai remained at Rohnkiti for the next two weeks while a steady line of canoes passed between Madolenihmw and Kiti bearing produce and gifts to support the extended period of feasting that followed. Sturges mistakenly called the assembly the largest religious gathering ever held on Pohnpei.

Hearing what eventually proved to be unfounded rumors of a possible ambush, the Wasai put aside plans to stop at Palikir on his return north around the island to Madolenihmw. Sturges carried the chief's apologies

to the gathering at Palikir, where all preparations had just been completed for a grand feast in honor of the Wasai's visit. Sturges wrote naively that the people had no trouble excusing the Wasai. Invitations made by men of high rank, however, could not be disregarded without consequence; slighted chiefs often took violent exception to any flagrant insult to their honor. The decision not to accept the hospitality of Lepen Palikir constituted a major affront to the entire chiefdom of Sokehs; it also set back the Wasai's efforts to win island-wide support of his plans. In a gesture that manifested the general rage felt by the chiefdom, the Nahnken of Sokehs fired upon the Wasai's canoes as they passed in view of his residence on their return to Areu.

Attempting to make amends for the offense, the Wasai, with the promise of safe conduct, visited Palikir in June 1864 to make a formal apology.⁴⁰ Events in Kiti proved less malleable. The death of Nahnken Nahnku forced an extended halt in the Wasai's efforts to win backing from Kiti. Because of Nahnawa en Mwudok's overt hostility to the Protestant mission, the Wasai was not able to return to Kiti to resume negotiations until August 1866.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the Wasai's wanderings had not gone unnoticed by the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who sensed the intrigue beginning to build around him.

The Nahnmwarki understood well the act of defiance that the Wasai's acceptance of Christianity signaled. After a two-year period of threats, counterthreats and hostile exchanges, the Nahnmwarki, in July 1867, confiscated the lands and title of the Wasai.⁴² The Christian chief, baptized Ejikaia (Hezekiah), promptly responded that he had no intention of vacating his lands or his rank. As had the events of 1836, the dispute between the Wasai and the Nahnmwarki split the loyalties of Madolenihmw. The southern half of the chiefdom remained loyal to the Nahnmwarki, while the north, a historically semiautonomous area with a long tradition of resistance to any centralized authority, sided with the Wasai. The missionaries interpreted the struggle as a contest between light and darkness, between "Christian" and "heathen" parties.

Attempts to mediate the dispute failed. To requests that he officially return the Wasai's lands, the Nahnmwarki replied, through a note written in English, "Am I a coolie or a chief that I must be ordered about by everybody? I have made up my mind not to return the places."⁴³ With little hope of reconciliation, both sides prepared for war. The Wasai, calling upon alliances built over the last two years, sent requests for assistance to Sokehs and Palikir. To transmit the requests, he used the missionaries and mission stations in the north. A fleet of eighty-seven war canoes soon appeared off Areu in support of the Wasai. Far from backing the Christian cause, Lepen Palikir and the Wasai Sokehs fought to assert their chiefly dominance against forces seeking to overthrow the order of

the island. The chiefs of the north saw, in the thirty years of political tumult that had convulsed Madolenihmw following the *Falcon* incident of 1836, a threat to their own primacy; they thus fought to restore the title of nahnmwarki to the Upwutenmei, the dispossessed but still ranking lineage of the Dipwinpahnmehi's ruling subclan. Though troubling to these chiefs of the north, the missionaries' involvement in the events of 1867 concerned them less than the issue of legitimacy. The Nahnken of Kiti, more ardent in his opposition to the missionaries and more accepting of the Litehriete's rule because of Kiti's participation in the *Falcon* affair, offered the Wasai no support.

Unprepared to combat the considerable force arrayed against him, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw bought time by agreeing to return the lands and titles of the Wasai and his supporters. The concession, though causing a temporary loss of face, was but a part of a larger, very astute strategy. Using the metaphors of the American Civil War that now dominated their description of life on the island, the missionaries declared that "Richmond" had conceded defeat. Doane, serving as chaplain for the "Christian" army, led the victors in a series of cheers and a rendition of "John Brown's Body." While the Wasai made good on his promise to build a church at Areu, the Nahnmwarki set out to construct political alliances of his own. He quickly found a ready ally in the Nahnken of U.⁴⁴ Other events worked to the Nahnmwarki's advantage. With the death of Lepen Palikir and the intensely hostile attitude of his successor toward the missionaries, the Wasai's Christian alliance cracked. Chiefs from other areas of the island who had supported the Wasai a year earlier now switched their loyalties on learning that the missionaries sought to funnel all of the island's trade with the outside world through the mission stations. In January 1868 the combined forces of the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, the Nahnken of U, Lepen Palikir, and the Nahnken of Sokehs appeared off Areu to challenge Wasai Ejikaia. In less than six months, the balance of political power had shifted. With guns supplied by Captain Benjamin Pease from his trading station at Pohnahtik in southeastern Madolenihmw, the royal forces effectively blockaded Areu's access to the sea. A number of the Wasai's supporters wanted to provoke a confrontation. Sturges himself wondered if it would not be better to bring things to a head.⁴⁵ The Wasai, however, knew he had been outmaneuvered; continued resistance was futile. Under the essentially meaningless labels of the missionaries, another drama in the tumultuous political history of Madolenihmw had worked itself out.

The Wasai died in 1872 a frustrated man. Fits of rage, his chief fault according to the missionaries, sometimes overcame him in his last years. On one occasion, Sturges had to step in and effect a reconciliation between the Wasai and his immediate family who, shamed by an unwar-

ranted outburst of anger from the chief, prepared to abandon Areu.⁴⁶ Even after the Nahnmwarki lifted the blockade, the Wasai continued to find traveling about the island difficult. His passage through areas loyal to the Nahnmwarki usually drew rifle fire. On one extended visit to a mission station, the Wasai prepared to return home only to find his canoes broken apart and the sails burned.⁴⁷ The missionaries who in 1867 had claimed that the Christians outnumbered the heathen party on the island by a margin of ten to one were now forced to concede that the "forces of darkness" remained quite powerful.⁴⁸

Internecine Pohnpeian political conflict was not the only force that frustrated missionary endeavors. In 1865 repercussions from the American Civil War affected life on the island. In an attempt to disrupt the wartime economy of the North, the Confederacy sent ships to check the flow of whale oil from the Pacific. Steaming north from Melbourne in search of Yankee whalers, the Confederate raider *Shenandoah* came across the Hawaii-based trading schooner *Pfeil* on the open seas. After learning of the presence of whalers at Pohnpei from the skipper of the *Pfeil*, Captain James L. Waddell ordered the *Shenandoah's* course set for the Eastern Carolines. The *Shenandoah* reached Pohnpei on 11 April 1865 and found three Northern whalers at anchor in Madolenihmw Harbor—the *Edward Carey*, the *Hector*, and the *Pearl*. The captains and mates were taken prisoner, all valuable cargo was removed from the holds, and the crews landed ashore; the three ships were then set ablaze at different times over the course of the next two days. A fourth vessel, the *Harvest* of Honolulu, was found to contain a considerable quantity of muskets and ammunition. When the *Harvest's* master, John Eldridge, failed to show appropriate papers of ownership or to explain adequately the reason for the weapons, Waddell had the cargo seized and the ship razed to the waterline. Waddell then ordered the release of the captains and mates from irons and had them sent ashore with a limited supply of provisions. The *Shenandoah* sailed out of Madolenihmw Harbor on 13 April.⁴⁹

The Confederate raider left behind approximately 120 sailors; the group included New Englanders, Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders. The Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw immediately assigned groups of sailors to the care and supervision of different chiefs.⁵⁰ The Wasai of Madolenihmw, then in the process of creating his Christian alliance, was excluded from the division of men and spoils. Angered by the slight, he encouraged a group of disgruntled Hawaiian sailors to raid the supplies of the *Edward Carey*. The raid foreshadowed the larger clash to come. Acknowledging obligations to his island host, George Orlando Baker, the master of the *Edward Carey*, fought on the side of the Nahnmwarki: "Although I was a Democrat then, as I have been since, I fought for the

King against the common people.”⁵¹ Despite his hyperbole in crediting himself with a status equivalent to that of “General Grant,” Baker’s efforts did impress the Nahnmwarki who offered him a princely position as military adviser. Baker, however, declined.

A staunch supporter of the Union who prayed that Jefferson Davis and the devil might fall together, Sturges nonetheless appreciated the short-term effects brought by the burning of the whaleships. “Slut, slut, slut, from cabin to forecandle,” was the way the missionary described the activities aboard the whaleships prior to the coming of the *Shenandoah*.⁵² Characterizing the four-and-a-half-month period following the Confederate ship’s departure as one of chaos and drunken revelry, Sturges worried about the effect the entire incident would have on the people of the island. The burning of the ships, thought the missionary, confirmed the people’s belief in the efficacy of theft. Indeed, the missionaries described the entire decade of the 1860s on Pohnpei as one of total lawlessness.

An added problem was the return of Pohnpeians from tours aboard foreign vessels.⁵³ Doane found these men, with their tales of the way life actually was in the white man’s world, particularly disdainful of mission efforts. Citing correspondence from Sturges on Pohnpei, Luther Gulick, in an article for the missionary publication *The Friend*, stated that events in recent years had instilled in the people a lack of respect for order, property, and the power of the United States government.⁵⁴ What was needed on Pohnpei, wrote the former missionary and now corresponding secretary for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, was a visit from an American man-of-war.

Five years after the *Shenandoah* incident, an American man-of-war reached Pohnpei.⁵⁵ The ABCFM’s Boston headquarters had endorsed the missionaries’ request for naval support in correspondence with the United States Department of State. Acting on orders from Washington, Rear Admiral George Turner of the United States Pacific Squadron sent the USS *Jamestown*, under the command of Captain William T. Truxtun, on a tour of the Micronesian islands in early 1870. Reaching Pohnpei from the Marshalls on 16 June, the ship anchored at the northern harbor. While his crew conducted a hydrographical survey of the harbor, Truxtun went ashore to meet with Doane about the numerous complaints that had prompted the visit. On 19 June, Truxtun met with the Wasai Sokehs. At the meeting Truxtun placed a treaty before the chief. The document, which came to be known as the Jamestown Treaty, pledged the Wasai and other signers to maintain order on the island, to protect shipwrecked sailors of all nationalities forced by circumstance upon Pohnpei’s shores, and to respect the property, persons, and freedoms of both missionaries and traders (see Appendix 3). During his meeting with the Wasai, Trux-

tun requested the restoration of the young girl Karolin to her parents, the mission assistants. The Wasai, though intoxicated, recognized the gravity of the moment, threw himself back in his chair and said, "All right, good. She shall come home."⁵⁶ The next day being the Sabbath, Truxtun, on the invitation of Doane, spoke to the Kenan congregation about the Bible, brotherly love, the president of the United States, and America's feelings of concern for the people of Pohnpei.

On Monday, 21 June, Truxtun set out on a steam launch to conduct a diplomatic tour of the island; Edward Doane accompanied the party as an interpreter. Stopping at U, Truxtun presented the Nahnmwarki with the same treaty signed two days earlier by the Wasai Sokehs. Truxtun then moved to Metipw in Madolenihmw where followers of both the Wasai and the Nahnmwarki were gathered. The Nahnmwarki was anything but cowed by Truxtun's presence. Sitting on the only chair in the *nahs* at Metipw, the Nahnmwarki, when Truxtun entered, beckoned for a mat so that the American naval officer could sit at his feet. Truxtun declined. An awkward, potentially difficult situation was averted when both men agreed to address each other standing. The results of the negotiations that followed were mixed. To requests that he restore the lands and titles of the Christian people, the Nahnmwarki made no response. He did, however, sign the treaty.

After visiting at Pohnahtik to investigate claims against the trader Benjamin Pease and his operations there, Truxtun's party steered south around the island toward Kiti. They delayed at Wene only long enough to exchange formal greetings and to have the Nahnmwarki sign the treaty. Heading north to Rohnkiti, the steam launch called on the most troublesome of the missionaries' tormenters, Nahnken Nahnawa en Mwudok. The Nahnken refused initial invitations to visit the launch, but finally relented after being reassured that Truxtun sought only a simple consultation. A fleet of canoes accompanied the Nahnken on his visit to the American boat. At the meeting on board, Truxtun confronted the Nahnken with the destruction of mission property at Rohnkiti in 1865. Acknowledging his involvement, the Nahnken agreed to a fine of \$50 that he paid in tortoiseshell and coconut oil.⁵⁷ Actually, the Nahnken came out on the better end of the compromise considering that the damages to mission property were assessed at \$300. The Nahnken also signed a deed affirming the mission's ownership of Tukeniso, the knoll overlooking Rohnkiti on which the mission buildings stood (see Appendix 4). After forcing the missionaries out of Rohnkiti in 1867, the Nahnken had sold the land to Pease.

The *Jamestown* left Pohnpei for Honolulu on 3 July 1870; the ship's visit had done much to lift the spirits of the missionaries. Doane was convinced that the refinement, courtesy, and intelligence of Truxtun and his

entire crew had impressed the Pohnpeians favorably. The missionary, however, did express deep concern over rumors circulating about the island that the chiefs were disavowing any intention of honoring the terms of the treaty they had signed.⁵⁸ His concerns were justified. If the presence of the American warship had intimidated the island's rulers, the effect was only temporary. On Pohnpei, men practiced the virtue of *kanengamah* (studied reserve). Pohnpeians believed the effectiveness of force depended not only on bravery, resolve, and fighting skills, but on appropriate timing as well. The saying, *Nennenin sarau kummwood*, "Fierceness is like the quietness of the barracuda," underscored the considerable calculations and planning that prefaced seemingly sudden, unexpected violence.⁵⁹ The signing of the Jamestown Treaty by the chiefs amounted to little more than a judicious action at a difficult moment. Having signed the document, the chiefs then watched and waited to see what would happen next. The ship's departure ended any likelihood of confrontation and reinforced in Pohnpeian minds the meaninglessness of the whole affair. Power over the island's affairs remained in the hands of the chiefs.

The use of an American man-of-war was but one of the strategies the missionaries used to tame the island for the new religion. British missionaries, working in the southern Pacific in the early decades of the nineteenth century, had concluded that Christianity and the values of Western civilization were inseparably linked in the conversion process.⁶⁰ Like their British counterparts, the American Protestant missionaries on Pohnpei and elsewhere in Micronesia believed that the spread of the Gospel depended upon the adoption of Western ways; the "civilizing" of the people constituted a necessary companion effort to the work of salvation. With an encouraging number of Pohnpeians now professing belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ, the missionaries intensified and expanded their efforts to effect a fundamental reform of the existing social order. The initial focus of their involvement had been the island's political system. The missionaries had supported the Wasai of Madolenihmw's attempts to overthrow the Nahnmwarki. The disintegration of the "Christian" alliance, the resurgence of the Nahnmwarki's powers, and the isolation of the Wasai and his supporters in northern Madolenihmw combined to check the experiment temporarily. The impending death of the Wasai, however, brought renewed attempts to fashion what the missionaries hoped would be an independent, Christian government in at least one area of the island.

Gravely concerned about the chaos that might follow after the death of the mission's most important chiefly patron, Sturges endeavored to insure the continuity of the mission's efforts in northern Madolenihmw.⁶¹ Visiting the Wasai in his last days, Sturges urged the chief to

call together his supporters and impress upon them the need to carry on Christ's work. The chief assented. Following an emotional address to his people, the Wasai then turned the meeting over to Sturges who proceeded to supervise an election to choose a new wasai. Sturges reasoned that the predetermined selection of a new wasai, backed by the resolve of the people, would discourage the Nahnmwarki from attempting to appoint a candidate who would undo the work of the mission. The individual "elected" to succeed the Wasai was the surviving senior male member of the Upwutenmei lineage. The missionary's electoral engineering amounted to little more than a thin cover for more traditional determinants of chiefly succession on Pohnpei. To help defuse any confrontation over the matter, Sturges traveled to Temwen where he invited the Nahnmwarki to visit Areu and bid farewell to a dying brother chief. The Nahnmwarki surprised many people by accepting the invitation. An extremely reserved meeting of the two rival chiefs took place on 18 November 1872. Three days later, the Nahnmwarki returned to Areu, this time to bury the Wasai.

Despite fears of possible violence between the two contending factions, the service and burial took place peacefully. "A better behaved crowd I never saw at a funeral," wrote Sturges.⁶² Though a tradition of confrontation characterized the political order in Madolenihmw, there had developed by 1872 a strong recognition of the need for accommodation. Drained by eight years of intense political feuding, the people of Madolenihmw seized the death of the Wasai as an opportunity to reestablish peace. There was no disruption during the bestowal of the title that followed the *mwurilik* 'funeral feast'. The Nahnmwarki confirmed the people's choice of a new wasai. The ruler's action, however, resulted not from weakness but from the pragmatic recognition that, for purposes of peace, consideration was due a distinguished lineage that had once held the title of nahnmwarki. The degree of harmony that prevailed between Areu and Temwen after the death of Wasai Ejikaia surprised Sturges; however, it was, consistent with the way Pohnpeians settled their disputes.

Frustrated by their failure to effect a radical change in the political system, Sturges and the other missionaries played at less violent methods of restructuring the social order. Sturges had come to regard Pohnpeian "socialism" as the greatest evil on the island. The lack of a highly defined sense of individual ownership, said the missionary, hampered all attempts to fix the Pohnpeians in place: "Everybody owns and does everything in general but nothing in particular. Wives, children, land, property belong to everyone."⁶³ Sturges chafed at the new Wasai's failure to assert himself in situations that called for forceful decision-making. When both the new Wasai and a section chief, who happened to be a dea-

con in the church, refused to intervene in one flagrant incident of adultery, Sturges recommended that the congregation at Areu elect sheriffs. When the election of sheriffs failed to bring about more effective punishment of social crimes, Sturges realized that the problem lay in the lack of a body of laws. The missionary then supervised the election of a regional legislature that would develop a legal code to be used one day by all of Pohnpei. The group soon passed a measure that granted every man private title to a piece of land with the condition that he construct a dwelling on it. But the law failed to eradicate Pohnpeian "socialism"; not even the new Wasai of Madolenihmw, still very much a Pohnpeian chief who benefited from his rank, desired such a radical change in the order of things.

The new Wasai proved more comfortable in his role as "chief justice" of Sturges' newly formed court.⁶⁴ While alien in structure, the idea of a court presided over by a judge for the purpose of settling people's grievances coincided closely with Pohnpeian notions of the chiefly settlement of disputes. After a session of the court at Sapwalap in early 1874, Sturges and the Wasai smiled at each other over a table of food.⁶⁵ The missionary thought he saw the beginning of a major transformation of the social order; the Pohnpeian chief reassured himself that the missionaries' insistence on the adaptation of Western practices did not affect the powers of his position. Later, in a more reflective mood, Sturges admitted that the people were probably humoring him. The missionary conceded in his letters that much of what he did seemed like play; still, he hoped that some good might come of it.⁶⁶

Doane also played at change. Unlike Sturges, who initially resorted to foreign notions of courts, sheriffs, and chief justices, Doane attempted to adapt more traditional practices. In the Pohnpeian ceremony of atonement called *tohmw*, Doane thought he saw the makings of an effective instrument of civilized justice.⁶⁷ In the Pohnpeian cultural context, retribution could be sudden, violent, unpredictable in its timing, and imposed not necessarily upon the guilty party but upon relatives or clan-mates.⁶⁸ To stave off retaliation, representatives of the offending party made offerings of atonement, not directly to the victim but to the victim's lineage head, section chief, and ultimately to the *nahnmwarki* or paramount chief. In the *tohmw*, *sakau* played a pivotal role; no settlement could be achieved without it. Violations offended not only men but clan gods and other spirits. *Sakau*, in its ritual essence, served as the most effective means of communion between the world of men and the world of gods.

In late 1869 a dispute between two clans had resulted in the murder of a Net woman, the relative of a church member. Appalled by the threat of violence looming over the north, Doane, through the offices of influential church members, worked long and hard over the next several months

to arrange a *tohmw*. The missionary insisted, however, that *sakau* not be used in the ceremony. With Captain Truxtun of the *Jamestown* in attendance, Doane watched as the murderer of the woman appeared before the Wasai Sokehs at the head of a long line of people, all bearing various gifts that included mats, twine, pigs, and dogs. The Wasai's acceptance of the gifts led Doane to think a settlement had been reached. When violence flared again between the two parties in January 1871, the missionary expressed both shock and regret.⁶⁹ In banning the use of *sakau*, Doane, in effect, had voided the ceremony of its spiritual content; rather than a *tohmw*, the gathering promoted by the missionary added up to little more than a gross attempt by one group to buy off the grievances of another.

The missionaries' strategies to effect radical political and social change on the island had all failed. Pohnpei's paramount chiefs, however, had failed equally in their often violent efforts to suppress the new religion. Christianity, the *lamalam kapw*, began to take root on Pohnpei because of its appeal to lesser chiefs seeking political leverage and to common men and women who saw in this new system of beliefs an alternative to the oppression in their lives under the existing system of chiefly rule. By 1872 the number of baptized Pohnpeians had increased to 518.⁷⁰ The chiefs now found themselves faced with the necessity of devising new strategies to protect their privileged position in Pohnpeian society. More and more, the ruling chiefs began reconciling themselves to accepting the new god.

Though a seemingly revolutionary act, the demotion or dismissal of established gods was not without precedent in the island's past. There is the story of Luhk en Sed, one of the ocean gods.⁷¹ The chief of the Pehleng section of Kiti, Nahnmadau en Pehleng, acted as the god's chief priest. No longer seeing any advantages derived from his priestly service, Nahnmadau en Pehleng tired of his responsibilities to Luhk en Sed and decided that he would no longer feast the god. He ordered his people likewise to desist in their worship. Luhk en Sed, goes the story, became angry and left Pehleng for Pakin, a small cluster of atolls some twelve miles to the northwest, never to be seen on Pohnpei again. The story suggests that on Pohnpei, as elsewhere, people have a role in the making and breaking of their gods. Beginning in the 1870s, a number of Pohnpei's paramount chiefs moved from suppression to subscription. Like Nahnmadau en Pehleng, these ruling chiefs put aside the worship of their old gods and chose to accept Christianity. As church members, Pohnpei's rulers learned that they could harness, control, and benefit more directly from an alien presence that, otherwise left unchecked, presented a serious challenge to their authority.

In 1873 the Nahnmwarki of U, after witnessing the desecration of a

sacred shrine to the fishing god, Nahn Ullap, was baptized along with several other prominent chiefs of the area.⁷² In 1876 the newly installed Nahnmwarki of Kiti, taking the baptismal name of Ejikaia, accepted membership in the church.⁷³ Nahnmwarki Ejikaia had learned that the prescriptions of Christianity, if manipulated properly, posed no threat to his position. Visiting Wene, the home of the Nahnmwarki and the former "Jericho of Ponape," as the missionaries called it, Sturges arrived at the shore to the welcome of a uniformed guard of police who escorted him to the church. Following church services, the congregation gathered together to eat at an adapted arrangement called a *tehpil* from the English word "table." A group of small boys, dressed in uniforms and equipped with beaded flags, entertained the gathering with a display of precision marching. While distinguished in form from more traditional Pohnpeian feasts by the church service, by the pots of chicken, the baskets of pre-cooked food, the honor guard, and the company of marching boys, the event was essentially Pohnpeian. Feasts continued to be the ultimate expression of Pohnpeian culture. However, several decades of extensive contact with the outside world had taught Pohnpeians that food could be consumed in contexts beyond the highly defined rituals of feasting; there were occasions when the chiefs and their people could gather together without *sakau*. The *tehpil* lacked ritual but possessed order. Over the entire gathering presided the Nahnmwarki, whose presence remained dominant.

To further the distinction between civilized and savage, the missionaries, elated by these chiefly conversions, attempted to build Christian towns near the major mission stations. Sturges made just such an effort around the mission premises at Rohnkiti. Decrying the fact that the people, though Christians, still lived together in "herds," Sturges insisted upon a village of single family dwellings.⁷⁴ To insure a neat orderly town, Sturges himself laid out the streets and zoned areas according to residential or commercial use. The existence of an independent community of Pohnpeians living apart did not sit well with the Nahnmwarki of Kiti.⁷⁵ Incensed over the neglect of the townspeople's traditional responsibilities to him, the Nahnmwarki, a baptized Protestant, burned down the little colony in 1878, forcing the people back onto land more directly under his control. At Kenan, Doane expressed hope that a similar community would appear about the mission station there.⁷⁶ Intermittent strife with the paramount chief, the Wasai Sokehs who remained adamant in his opposition to many of the missionaries' practices, prevented the growth of anything resembling a Christian town in the north.

While chiefs grappled with the trade-offs between securing their power against a growing foreign influence and breaking time-honored conventions of chiefly privilege, common women, as a whole, harbored little

doubt about involvement in the new religion. The women, wrote Doane in 1869, constituted the overwhelming majority of church members.⁷⁷ The missionary had earlier asked one chief why Pohnpeian women persisted in going out to the ships; the chief replied that it was one of the few ways women had of getting their clothes.⁷⁸ With the decline in ship traffic, the common women, freer than other members of Pohnpeian society to experiment with new options, turned to the missions. In a sense, the acceptance of Christianity by the women became another way of "getting their clothes." Committed to improving the physical appearance of the people, the missionaries provided church members with a cheap, relatively available supply of cloth and secondhand clothes. In addition, the missionaries' wives taught highly valued sewing skills. Pohnpeian women also saw value in the basic literacy skills being taught at the mission schools. Indeed, all of the missionaries noted the enthusiasm for general education among the women. Wrote Doane: "The women of the island are, by far, the more impressionable. They are now our best scholars and semi-teachers. They purchase our books and are more eager to learn."⁷⁹

Encouraged by these developments, the missionaries hoped to reach the men of the island through their women. In a biblical reference, Doane expressed the hope that the "Hannahs" of Pohnpei would bring along the "Samuels."⁸⁰ Women's involvement in mission activities, however, did not match the missionaries' expectations. Indeed, the missionaries failed to understand that it was the common men who encouraged the participation of the women and girls in mission activities. As they had done with the ships, the men, their own lives dominated by the traditional obligations and strictures of Pohnpeian society, moved indirectly to exploit the resources of the missions through the talents of their wives and daughters. These females, still very much Pohnpeian, returned to their homes and their men with the skills learned from the missions. Commenting on the number of mission-trained women and girls who returned to the dark ways of a still essentially heathen country, Doane, in late 1885, mistook familial affection and commitment for depravity: "But in the word 'girls' lies the danger. . . . Here is the fatal flaw; here is the fatal break. The thing is ultimately impossible, on Ponape especially. Ponape girls are born into or with a depraved nature—something higher than mental culture will ever eradicate."⁸¹

Trade also figured prominently in the missionaries' strategies for saving souls. The missionaries held to the belief that commerce would facilitate the civilizing process on the island by engendering in the Pohnpeians a healthy respect for the proper forms of exchange and profit. Pohnpeians could use money earned from commercial dealings with the outside world to purchase the necessities of a civilized life and, even more important, to contribute to the maintenance of their fledgling churches.⁸²

The missionaries' initial high hopes for the trading operation established by Captain Benjamin Pease, however, quickly faded. In 1867 Pease, backed in his first years on Pohnpei by Honolulu merchant C. H. Williams, established a bêche-de-mer and general trading depot at Pohnahtik. Distrustful of Pohnpeians, Pease brought in workers from the Gilbert and Marshall islands to man his operations. Described by one associate as "the darkest character who ever came into the islands," Pease quickly showed that he was no friend of the missionaries.⁸³ He took advantage of the problems at Rohnkiti to arrange quickly for the purchase of the mission grounds from the Nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok. To cement his business association with the Pohnpeian chief, Pease made the Nahnken a partner in his trading firm.⁸⁴ The deal completed, Pease then ordered Sturges to remove all mission property from his land. Where church services were once held there now stood a grog shop.

Pease's enterprises also plagued mission operations at Ohwa.⁸⁵ In an agreement with a beachcomber named Robinson who claimed the small islet of Mentenieng just off Ohwa, Pease planned to build a dormitory for Chinese laborers who had been brought from Shanghai to cut wood for the newly formed Pacific Trading Company, of which Pease was a managing partner.⁸⁶ The Chinese laborers would be working at the new sawmill in nearby Sapwalap. When Sturges protested that the location of the dormitory would disrupt the mission school located at the shore just across the narrow channel that separated the islet from Ohwa proper, a Captain Coe, Pease's chief agent on Pohnpei, responded that he would arm the Chinese should anyone attempt to interfere with their activities. Coe further stunned the missionaries by announcing that he hoped to be named U.S. consul for Pohnpei. The son of a Unitarian minister from Worcester, Massachusetts, Coe spent most of his time on the island drinking grog and chasing women.⁸⁷ Exercising little supervision over operations at Sapwalap or Pohnahtik, Coe was caught totally unprepared when the first ship reached the island from Shanghai to take away a load of lumber. His sexual assault upon the wife of Gustav Brown, a resident of the Bonin Islands hired by Pease to supervise shipping operations at Pohnpei, destroyed what little morale remained in the company.

Pease's commercial enterprises on Pohnpei soon collapsed. On 13 March 1870, Coe died from a gunshot wound that was self-inflicted during one of his many drunken sprees; Pease was nowhere to be found. At Pohnahtik in June, Truxtun of the USS *Jamestown* discovered a group of sixteen Chinese laborers and a bankrupt business operation presided over by the honest but incompetent John Mahlman. Pease, apparently aware of the numerous complaints filed against him on Pohnpei and elsewhere, had fled the Caroline Islands area. Agreeing to transport the Chinese laborers back to Shanghai, Truxtun gave Mahlman a supply of pro-

visions to live on until the trader could arrange for his passage from the island. In February 1871, Mahlman finally left Pohnpei aboard an American whaleship captained by Benjamin Whitney.

Shaken by their experience with Pease, the missionaries considered other ways to promote trade on the island. Doane felt that the answer lay in a Christian trading company that used the different mission stations about the island as operation bases. The missionary envisioned a company capitalized at \$3000–\$5000 that would spread truth and light as well as trade.⁸⁸ He recommended that the company concentrate initially on tortoiseshell, coconut oil, and fresh pork; the would-be entrepreneur pointed to the abundant supply of breadfruit as a ready source of feed for the animals in island piggeries. In a plan reminiscent of that of Andrew Cheyne, Doane called for two trading vessels to move about the Micronesian islands in a trading circuit. Once on solid financial ground, the company could branch out into cotton and coffee plantations. Sturges supported the idea but the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, citing the risk and the time and energy that would be drained from the Micronesian Mission's primary objective, vetoed the proposal.⁸⁹

With a Christian trading company out of the question, the missionaries hoped that the German trading firms reaching the island in the mid-1870s might provide the necessary commercial link in the civilizing process. The missionaries believed that the pan-Micronesian operations of the German firms would one day facilitate the westward expansion of the evangelical effort beyond Truk.⁹⁰ The relationship between missionary and trader was seen to be a mutually beneficial one. A Captain Livingston, a representative of J. C. Godeffroy & Son, confided to Doane that Christianity meant better business for him.⁹¹ The trader found that islanders touched by the missions desired more and different kinds of trade goods, a fact that ultimately meant greater profits. The trader expressed the hope that missionaries would soon be placed on all of the Caroline islands. As a token of his support, Livingston showed Doane a hand-written note to be copied and distributed to his agents throughout the Carolines requesting their support of all mission endeavors.

The missionaries had few doubts that the German firms would be more representative of Christian values than was Captain Weeks of the trading bark *Kamehameha V* of Honolulu, which was wrecked at Pohnpei.⁹² Weeks remained on the island conducting business from the battered hull of his beached ship. The missionaries found his penchant for very young Pohnpeian girls scandalous. A sigh of relief echoed from the mission ranks when Weeks sold out to Captain Edward Milne of Capelle & Company. By 1880 Hershheim & Company had joined the firms of Capelle and Godeffroy in opening a trading station on the island; the New Zealand-based firm of Henderson & MacFarlane also had placed a

trading representative on Pohnpei by this time.⁹³ Despite their favorable disposition toward the role of commerce in the civilizing process, the missionaries, within a few short years, were to find themselves at odds with this latest wave of traders.

The growing number of trading stations eroded the remnants of the beachcomber presence on Pohnpei. The decline of the whaling industry, the active opposition of the missionaries, the appearance of European and American naval vessels, and the arrival of the first trading firm representatives had all undermined the special relationship between the beachcombers and the island's chiefs. No longer able to eke out a living on the edges of the island, most of the beachcombers had moved on. Albert Sturges wrote to Luther Gulick in Honolulu that of the sixty or so beachcombers living on the island at the time of the missionaries' arrival, only six remained in 1864.⁹⁴ Pohnpeians had no trouble filling the void left by their former agents. C. F. Wood, a yachtsman sailing through the Pacific in 1873, remarked that the people of the island had developed a shrewd understanding of the trading process.⁹⁵ Ten years later, Captain Cyprian Bridge of HMS *Espiegle* seconded Wood's assessment, saying that "the people of Ponape understand the value of English and American money and expect to be well-paid in it."⁹⁶

Pohnpeians also proved to be effective in carrying their newly adopted religion to other islands. Recalling his own less-than-positive experiences with the Hawaiian missionaries in the 1850s, Sturges, as early as 1861, had voiced the opinion that Pohnpeians would have to take a more active role in the nourishment and propagation of the faith. He contended that only by the active involvement of the people would Christianity truly take root in the soil of Pohnpei. Now working out of Ohwa in Madolenihmw, Sturges in 1868 set about establishing a training school to provide teachers for the local churches and the islands to the west. After several years of preparation and with the approval of the Board of Commissioners in Boston, the first Pohnpeian missionaries departed for the atolls of Mokil and Pingelap to the east. Aboard the *Morning Star* when it left Pohnpei on 25 September 1871 were Nikodemus and Sakiej (Zacharias) and their wives.⁹⁷

Placing Sakiej at Mokil was no problem; the people, said Sturges, appeared quite receptive. Attempts to land Nikodemus at Pingelap, however, were futile. Bully Hayes, the most famous pirate of the Pacific in the late nineteenth century, had reached the island first and convinced the local ruler that the missionaries would obstruct the trading operations he had just established there. Despite pleas, the chief of Pingelap refused to permit the mission party to land. Two years later, however, a second attempt was successful. With the ruler of the island now dead and Hayes' ventures in ruins, two Ohwa-trained Pingelapese teachers, Tepit (David)

and Tomaj (Thomas), established a mission on the atoll.⁹⁸ By the middle of 1873, the missionaries on Pohnpei were receiving word of mass conversions on both Mokil and Pingelap. Not only was the Christian mission making remarkable progress, but the work of civilizing was advancing rapidly as well. Their lives influenced by the great ocean that surrounded and sometimes threatened the tiny land masses on which they lived, the people of the two atolls had long since shown their eagerness for the goods and opportunities brought to their shores by the ships. Sturges called the Mokilese "the most civilized appearing islanders in all of the Pacific."⁹⁹ Pingelap, with its long rows of clean neat houses that flanked the new 1000-seat mission church, was equally impressive.

Encouraged by these initial successes, the missionaries now looked west. In January 1874, the *Morning Star* left Pohnpei with three Pohnpeian mission couples bound for the Mortlocks. The composition of this first contingent of Pohnpeian missionaries to the Mortlocks was representative of the two principal groups of Pohnpeians involved in the island church, the women and the lesser chiefs. The most effective missionary of the group was Opatinia (Obadinia), the daughter of Wasai Ejikaia (Figure 16). Sturges described Opatinia as an individual of royal blood with a stately figure and graceful manner that made her a natural leader.¹⁰⁰ Within three years of her arrival in the Mortlocks, Opatinia had translated the Ten Commandments, many hymns, several primers, and part of the Pohnpeian catechism into Mortlockese.¹⁰¹ Her husband was Opataia (Obadiah), a commoner. Pohnpeians referred to common men whose personal ambitions led them to marry high-ranking women as *tihlap* 'big bones'. A man of low birth and meager resources such as Opataia was often hard pressed to contribute to feasts and other functions in a manner that befitted the chiefly rank of his wife. Faced with such a dilemma, Opataia perhaps saw in overseas mission work access to wealth that would greatly enhance his social standing on Pohnpei. His preoccupation with trade while in the Mortlocks would eventually prove a severe embarrassment to the Pohnpei mission.

Parnapaj (Barnabas) and Loij (Lois), an adopted daughter of Wasai Ejikaia, worked with Opataia and Opatinia on the atolls of the Satawan lagoon. Tepit (David) and Sera (Sarah) of Kiti, the third couple, who had served previously as home mission assistants at Ohwa and Awak, opened a mission station at Lukunor (Figure 17). Other lesser chiefs who later served as missionaries in the Mortlocks included Solomon, the Noahs of Kiti, and Sulioj (Julios or Kulios) who held the second-ranking title in Awak. Sturges, the chief architect and promoter of this westward expansion, regarded these first Pohnpeian missionaries as people whose natural piety and innate goodness compensated for their deficiencies in theological training. The missionary placed his faith in the ability of



Figure 16. Opatinia, the daughter of Wasai Ejikaia, who served as an early Pohnpeian missionary to the Mortlock Islands. (Bingham 1907, 82)

transcendent truths to overcome the language barrier between the Pohnpeians and their Mortlockese hosts.

Because Mortlockese and Pohnpeian were two completely different languages, the Pohnpeian mission couples in the field had to rely on gifts, smiles, and a generally humble bearing to secure the goodwill of the



Figure 17. Tepit and Sera of Kiti, a Pohnpeian missionary couple who worked on Lukunor in the Mortlock Islands. (Hambruch 1932, 376)

people. The material goods they brought with them also served as an effective means of communication. The Pohnpeians, the men with their shoes, stockings, white pants, and dark overcoats and the women in their long calico dresses, advertised new forms of wealth. The annual visit of the *Morning Star* added to the Pohnpeian missionaries' stock of

goods.¹⁰² Carried from the ship to the shore were cloth, lamps, dishes, spoons, hatchets, soap, and even muskets, as well as more clothes. Drawing on donations from such groups in Hawaii as the Cousins' Society, the Ladies Benevolent Society, the Women's Board, and the Sabbath School of the Stone Church, the white missionaries back on Pohnpei sought to supply their charges in the Mortlocks with the rudiments of a New England-style life. In 1877 the *Morning Star* carried out to each of the nine mission couples now in the field two chairs, a table, a dresser, a chest, two looking glasses, an axe, and a grindstone; a year later, each couple received a bureau, several framed pictures, and additional supplies of clothing. Said Tepit to some of the Pohnpeian crew members of the *Morning Star* as he took possession of his annual allotment at Lukunor, "It is such a good thing to be a missionary, don't you think so?"¹⁰³ As the Pohnpeian missionaries passed along many of these goods, the Mortlockese also came quickly to appreciate the relative riches that accompanied Christianity's teachings of love and brotherhood.

By 1878 the missionaries on Pohnpei had placed a mission couple at Nama, the northernmost island in the Mortlock chain.¹⁰⁴ The missionaries hoped to use Nama as a springboard to the islands of the Truk Lagoon. The strategy worked. On a visit to Nama, a chief of Uman, one of the Truk islands, was impressed by what he saw at Nama and invited Mojej (Moses), the mission teacher there, to come to his island and work. A Gilbert Islander whose parents had been slain in a fight shortly after their arrival on Pohnpei in 1852, Mojej had grown up around the mission station at Rohnkiti.¹⁰⁵ He married Jipora (Zippora), a woman of chiefly rank. Stationed first at Etal in the lower Mortlocks, Mojej went on to become the most effective of all the Pohnpeian missionaries in the west. Writing of these events, Doane declared that Truk had been captured.¹⁰⁶ Sturges called it "the day of my dreams, the day to which my prayers for twenty years had been directed."¹⁰⁷ By 1882 mission statistics counted fourteen churches in the Mortlocks and the Truk Lagoon, 948 professed members, and a general congregation that included almost all of the island and atoll populations.¹⁰⁸

With a range of motives that included material gain as well as spiritual commitment, the Pohnpeian missionaries had left their homes and families for unknown lands, established themselves among alien cultures, grappled with foreign languages, and overcome serious adversity to disseminate their own newly acquired religious faith among other Pacific Islands people. The success of Christianity in Truk and the Mortlocks resulted, in good measure, from their considerable efforts.

The success of these Pohnpeians provided some cheering relief to the otherwise heavy personal toll extracted from the white missionaries by

the demands of their work in the 1860s and 1870s. Albert and Susan Sturges lost a young daughter, Ella, in early 1861.¹⁰⁹ Sturges continued to suffer from headaches, dizziness, and a creeping numbness on his left side. Illness forced his absence from Pohnpei for two extended periods, from 1869 to 1871 and from 1879 to 1881. His wife did not return to Pohnpei from the first trip until 1874; her second departure in 1879 marked the end of her work on the island. Ephraim P. Roberts of Bangor, Maine, lost his honor. During his wife's convalescence from childbirth, Roberts, who had first arrived on Pohnpei in 1859 to replace Luther Gulick at Salong in Madolenihmw, fell to the enticements of his young Pohnpeian housekeeper. To his superiors in Boston, Roberts wrote in 1860:

I have sinned against God and against men and have forfeited your confidence and that of the friends of virtue and religion. . . . They made me keep vineyards [but] mine own vineyard I have not kept. I have basely, vilely betrayed my trust. I am a criminal before God and before men, and make no plea, no excuse. Do to me what is right in the sight of God.¹¹⁰

Sturges, believing that the credibility of the entire mission was at stake, had Roberts make public confessions of his sin before the congregations at Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw. Soon after, Roberts left the island for Honolulu and later took up residence in Oregon.

Edward Doane lost his first wife and an infant son from the complications of childbirth in Honolulu in 1862.¹¹¹ Divorce ended his second marriage.¹¹² Returning to Pohnpei in 1865 with his second wife, Doane soon immersed himself completely in his missionary responsibilities. Clara Strong Doane, unable to cope with the climate, culture, isolation, and the constant loneliness caused by her husband's frequent trips around the island, left Pohnpei in 1872. After a period of rest in Honolulu, Mrs. Doane joined her brother, the Reverend J. D. Davis, as a missionary in Japan. Doane remained on Pohnpei for another two years before finally reaching Japan in 1874. There, he discovered that his wife had become cold, distant, and physically ill. Asked about her loss of affection, Clara Doane replied that her time on Pohnpei had taught her two things: that faith alone was sufficient for salvation, and that she no longer wished to be married to Edward Doane. The missionary interpreted his wife's response as a sign of insanity. The couple returned to the United States where he placed her in a sanitarium at Batavia, Illinois. Acutely embarrassed by these developments, Doane took a position at a small church in Bon Terre, Missouri, while he waited for his wife's recovery. But Clara Doane, having regained her health, persisted in her determination not to return to her husband. The desperate missionary languished another two

years at Bon Terre before the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, reassured that Doane bore no blame for his wife's condition, returned him to Pohnpei in 1879.¹¹³

The mid-1870s brought reinforcements to the missionary ranks. Robert Logan, from Oberlin, Ohio, reached Pohnpei in July 1874, with his wife, Mary, and their infant son.¹¹⁴ Frank E. Rand and his wife, Carrie, arrived two months later.¹¹⁵ Differences soon arose between the young recruits and the older veterans of the Pohnpeian mission. The Logans had expected to relieve Sturges of his heavy responsibilities at the main mission station at Ohwa. But Sturges refused to leave his post and recommended instead that the Logans replace Doane who was about to leave for Japan.¹¹⁶ The Rands, hoping to work in the schools at Ohwa, also found themselves greeted coolly by Sturges who suggested that they join the Logans at Kenan.¹¹⁷ With not enough work to occupy both couples, the Rands reluctantly agreed to man the mission substation at U. Unhappy there, Rand unsuccessfully pressed the American Board for reassignment to Yap.¹¹⁸

Over time, personalities and policies clashed. Describing Sturges as extremely strong headed, Logan came to a disagreement with him over the use of Pohnpeian missionaries in the Mortlocks. Logan called attention to the confusion and possible heresy that could result from the Pohnpeians' lack of theological training; he urged that a white missionary be sent west to supervise mission activities in the Mortlocks and Truk. His faith in Pohnpeian missionaries steeled by the successes in the west, Sturges opposed the use of "white generals":

We white folks, especially the "Regular Army" part, may yet learn that raw recruits, with brave hearts and good sense, with the instruction and discipline they get in the training schools, will do better fighting alone than with us. . . . Are not our converts just the best people for people of similar habits? There is need of a splendid generalship, but a generalship that can train raw recruits to go out and get victories alone.¹¹⁹

Logan also voiced concern about the influx of traders into the Truk and Mortlock areas and the possible deleterious effect they would have on the mission efforts there.¹²⁰ Despite the eloquence of Sturges' words, Logan's concerns for theological dogma won the support of the Board in Boston. With the prior approval of the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, a meeting of the Micronesian Mission, in 1878, endorsed Logan's request to spend a year in the Mortlocks studying the language and laying the groundwork for the establishment of a major mission center in the Truk Lagoon.¹²¹

Sturges and Logan also disagreed over Pohnpei's future role in mission

operations. The senior missionary argued that Pohnpei should serve as the capital for all western mission activity; Logan asserted that expansion west of Truk should be supervised not from distant Pohnpei but from Truk itself.¹²² While apologizing in a letter to his superiors in Boston for the increasingly strident level of disharmony among the members of the mission staff on Pohnpei, Sturges nonetheless urged that the Board not abandon its commitment to "native teachers, simple ways, and proven methods."¹²³ By 1878, however, the future direction of mission policy rested with Logan's plans. Realizing the strength of his position, Logan requested the ABCFM's corresponding secretary to cease all discussion of mission policy in his letters to the missionaries on Pohnpei. Old, sick, and tired, Sturges would soon be leaving Pohnpei; there was no reason, said Logan, to further upset the gentleman with issues that no longer concerned him.¹²⁴

The missionaries' assessments of their progress through 1880 alternated between ecstasy and despair. To reassure themselves in darker moments, they kept turning to their statistics, the "arithmetic of salvation" as Greg Dening has called it. With a total congregation more than double the number of professed members, the missionaries claimed in 1873 that over half of the island's population of roughly five thousand was Christian.¹²⁵ Translation of the Gospels and the Old Testament into Pohnpeian continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Facilitating the work was the publication of Luther H. Gulick's *Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect* in 1873. As early as 1868, a total of 550 pages of hymns, stories, and primers had been translated into the Pohnpeian language; copies of these works, totalling 264,600 pages, had been distributed.¹²⁶ Schools flourished at those stations under the immediate supervision of a missionary: Kenan, U, and especially Ohwa, the site of the training school for Pohnpeian teachers working in both the home and foreign missions. In 1879 the total enrollment for the training and regular schools at Ohwa reached 145.¹²⁷ Schools operated on a more irregular basis at the seven mission out-stations located in Sapwalap, Takaieu, Temwen, Lohd, Enipein, Rohnkiti, and Awak. The work in the Mortlocks was even more impressive. Yet doubts still plagued the missionaries. In 1880 Edward Doane described Pohnpei as a place of light and shade, advance and retreat. "Ponape," he wrote, "is not where we hoped it would be."¹²⁸

Most of the missionaries deplored the spiritual apathy that they said gripped the island throughout the 1870s. Particularly worrisome was the people's failure to provide material support for their churches. Doane accused the people of holding, as did his second wife, to the heretical belief that faith in Jesus Christ was in and of itself sufficient for salva-

tion. Doane complained bitterly that the Pohnpeians treated the missionaries like coolies and demanded money for all work performed.¹²⁹ In general he found the people impervious to the healing influences of the Bible. Logan too worried about the materialistic attitude of the Pohnpeians. The ambitious young missionary wrote: "Many seem to think their only duty is to take what we have to give and the more worldly goods the better, the idea of gratitude for the Gospel or services done seems not to trouble their minds."¹³⁰

Among all the missionaries on the island, Sturges alone had learned something valuable about himself and the people for whom he labored. Twenty-eight years of service on the island had taught him to accept limits and to look at the more positive aspects of the culture about him. In an essay for his colleagues entitled "The Missionary Problem," Sturges admitted that labels such as "heathen" and "savage" obscured much that was worthy and good in the island societies of Micronesia.¹³¹ Looking at the Pohnpeians in 1878, the old missionary said he now realized that they were as alert and as adept as the most civilized people. He also came to understand the relativity of certain cultural values. When asked by Sturges why he contorted so in fits of possession, a Pohnpeian priest paused for a moment, stared ahead, and then answered by asking the missionary how the physical presence of Jehovah affected him. Sturges acknowledged the validity of the priest's point.

The decades of the 1860s and 1870s had been tumultuous ones on Pohnpei. The spread of Christianity shook the foundations of island society. The missionaries had sought not only to convert the people but to civilize them as well; they believed the two objectives to be inseparably linked. Christianity could not take hold on Pohnpei unless the people of the island accepted simultaneously the wisdom of the American civilization in which it had become so deeply rooted. In the eyes of the missionaries, the success of Christianity therefore necessitated a major restructuring of the entire cultural order of the island society. To achieve this goal, the missionaries involved themselves in political wars, promoted commerce, designed Christian towns around mission stations, and advocated a system of government that included elected sheriffs, appointed judges, a popularly chosen legislature, and a written code of laws. In designing their strategies of salvation, they enlisted the support of American naval officers, German traders, and Christian sea captains. Yet, despite their considerable efforts, the missionaries confronted an island culture that could bend and accommodate without breaking.

While many Pohnpeians did indeed develop a deep faith in the teachings of the new religion, initial attraction to Christianity lay in more worldly, pragmatic concerns. The missionaries' attempts at social engineering ultimately failed because different segments of Pohnpeian soci-

ety had developed their own strategies for best making use of Christianity to further their own interests and welfare. Lesser chiefs, such as Wasai Ejikaia, used the *lamalam kapw* to promote their political advantage. Common people, especially women, attached themselves to the new faith for the alternatives it offered to the otherwise limited options of their lives. The names of women filled the first baptismal registers. The missionaries had hoped to use the women's enthusiasm to reach the men of the island. The machinations of the island's men, however, countered the designs of the missionaries. Indeed, the women were encouraged in their response to Christianity by the common men who, though preoccupied with the masculine concerns of Pohnpeian society, sought access to the mission's resources through the exploitation of their women. On Pohnpei, church congregations thus sheltered the manipulative as well as the timid, the tentative, and the true believers. The complex dimensions of the island's response to Christianity were evident in the composition of the ranks of Pohnpeian missionaries sent to work in Truk and the Mortlocks. The group consisted of lesser chiefs, their adult children, and common men and women whose religious commitment mixed, understandably enough, with individual, secular ambitions.

Understanding the gravity of the changes, the paramount chiefs had sought first to destroy the missions. When suppression proved futile, they opted to sacrifice some of their chiefly privileges in order to control a force that threatened to undermine the political order of the island. The decision, while a difficult one, was an eminently intelligible, pragmatic, and logical one that called upon historical precedent. The ultimate success of Christianity on the island lay in the people's recognition that their lives benefited from the goods, ideas, skills, and technologies that came with the new religion. Much of the missionaries' own frustration in this period resulted from their failure to realize that becoming Christian did not necessarily mean ceasing to be Pohnpeian. It was a lesson learned grudgingly by some, a lesson learned not at all by Pohnpei's first colonial overlords, the Spaniards.

CHAPTER 6

Mesenieng

FIFTY YEARS of contact with the island of Pohnpei had failed to impress the peoples of Europe and America. With the exception of certain interest groups such as whalers, traders, and missionaries, the outside world knew almost nothing and cared less about a small volcanic island in a remote, isolated area of the central western Pacific. In an analogy that also conveyed a strong statement about the area's perceived worth, one European observer likened Pohnpei and the other Caroline islands to "a handful of chick-peas flung over the sea."¹ At a meeting in 1884 of the major imperial powers in Berlin, however, this assessment changed; the entire Caroline group now became a factor in the balance of power on the European continent. Nations defined their honor and linked their well-being with the disposition of the islands. Pohnpeians would soon find their lives more directly affected by events taking place thousands of miles away in the distant capitals of Europe.

The Spanish warship *Manila* arrived at Pohnpei on 25 July 1886 to officially proclaim Spain's possession of the island. Heralded by drum rolls, muskét fire, the sound of cornets, and the raising of the Spanish flag, the commander of the *Manila*, Lieutenant Bayo y Hernandez Pinzon, announced Spain's intention to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the people of the island.² The ceremony took place at Mesenieng, a locality steeped in a ritual and tradition of its own. In less than a year's time, Spaniards and Pohnpeians would begin a struggle for Mesenieng that culminated, on 4 July 1887, in the assassination of the Spanish governor and the forced withdrawal of the entire Spanish colony from the island. News of this forceful expulsion of a colonial power by a Pacific Islands people, a feat never achieved before or since, reverberated across oceans and continents to the decision-making centers of Europe and America. Three months later, in November, Spain returned in what ultimately proved a futile attempt to establish its dominance over the island. The struggle for Mesenieng was the opening event in a twelve-

year period marked by persistent bloodshed and resistance. In this period, Pohnpeians showed themselves, in the words of one exasperated witness, "unwilling to be led . . . and very difficult to rule."³

The British actually cast the first visible shadows of late-nineteenth-century European imperialism over Pohnpei. Included with the rest of the Caroline group in the Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877, which extended British jurisdiction in the Pacific, the island received the visit of the man-of-war *Emerald* in 1881.⁴ On 1 July 1881, the day following the vessel's arrival, Captain William Maxwell issued a proclamation urging all foreign residents desirous of British protection to register themselves and their property with the Western Pacific High Commissioner in Fiji. Finding little enthusiasm among the representatives of German trading firms operating on the island, Maxwell departed Pohnpei the next day. Two years later, another British warship, HMS *Espiegle*, stopped at the island briefly on a tour of the western and central Pacific.⁵ British interest in Micronesia, however, focused not on the Carolines but on the Gilbert Islands to the southeast.

Germany followed Great Britain. With the fledgling German republic quickly rising to become the dominant power on the European continent, the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck abandoned his original anti-colonial policy. Committed to maintaining an effective balance of power, he now believed that his nation could no longer afford to simply sit back and watch while the rest of Europe carved up the wealth and resources of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. In the early 1880s, Bismarck turned a more sympathetic ear to proponents of German colonial expansion. With Great Britain about to annex Egypt and using the Western Pacific High Commission as an instrument of colonial expansion in the Pacific, Germany, argued the pro-expansionists, could not allow itself to fall far behind. Representatives of German trading firms operating in the Pacific urged the acquisition of Pacific territories for strategic and military considerations as well as commercial purposes. The acquisition of unclaimed islands would provide the German navy with coaling stations and bases needed to establish an effective military presence in the Pacific. Responding to the growing pressure in Germany and the subsequent tensions in the rest of Europe, the Berlin international congress of 1884 drew up guidelines for the orderly annexation of overseas territories. In determining procedures for annexation, the congress, endorsing Bismarck's own position, identified actual possession and administration of an area by a European power as the only legitimate basis for prior claims. By these criteria, the Caroline and Marshall islands were available.

On 13 October 1885, the warship *Albatross* sailed into Pohnpei's northern harbor and raised the German flag. The event roughly paral-

leled similar actions by the German navy elsewhere in the Caroline and Marshall islands. Despite his growing disillusionment with German traders, Edward Doane expressed relief that it was Protestant Germany and not Catholic Spain that seized the islands: "It was providential for we hear Spain had been looking this way; what a hindrance that, to have been put under her bane."⁶ Rumors of intended German policies pleased the missionaries. Prohibitions to be placed on polygamy, the possession of firearms, the sale of lands, prostitution, and the distillation and sale of alcoholic beverages led the group to hope that Christ's work would soon have the force of government backing. On 15 October 1885, Captain Max Plüddemann, commander of the *Albatross*, landed with a company of fifty marines to secure Pohnpeian acceptance of German annexation. Plüddemann ordered each of the island's five paramount chiefs to sign a treaty surrendering "so far as each one could, his rights to Ponape."⁷

Doane sensed the dilemma facing Pohnpei's ruling chiefs; the surrender of their power did not come easily to a group of proud men. Still, the idea of a tiny island with a population of roughly five thousand people struggling against the dictates of a major European nation seemed unthinkable, at least to the missionary. Pointing out the futility of resistance, Doane urged the five to sign the document of annexation placed before them by Plüddemann. As requested, each of the five paramount chiefs made his mark on the piece of paper. The formal occasion concluded, Doane expressed relief that the issue had been settled so easily and so quickly; such a statement, however, expressed a gross misunderstanding of Pohnpeian actions.

Authority (*manaman*) on Pohnpei was in large part inherited by birth and justified by right of custom. Physical force on the part of a foreign presence might represent a real challenge to chiefly power; marks on a piece of paper, however, carried no meaning in the Pohnpeian scheme of things. Signings were ceremonies performed by outsiders to signify approval among themselves. Pohnpeians expressed consensus and solidarity through demonstrable subscription to age-old practices and beliefs. Participation in feasts, wars, and the worship of island deities all reaffirmed what it was to be Pohnpeian. The notion that an *X* scrawled upon a document permanently fixed an individual's political position ran directly counter to Pohnpeians' understanding of human politics as a fluid, ever-changing set of relationships and alliances to be manipulated for maximum advantage. As they had with Truxtun, Pohnpei's chiefs, acutely aware of the instruments of war on the ship and in the hands of its crew, judiciously signed the German treaty and then withdrew to await the course of events. The claim to control over the island by a people from distant lands constituted a threat that could not be ignored.

The departure of the *Albatross* and its entire company on 16 October 1885 eased the immediate threat of violence; nonetheless, Pohnpeians gathered over the next few months to feast, to discuss the meaning of events, and to plan for war. Chiefs crossed political boundaries to consult with one another, discuss options, and devise strategies.⁸ Doane commented on the extreme state of agitation that affected the whole island. The threatened war, however, failed to materialize. Their histories taught the people that time was an ally, and so it was in this instance. When the *Albatross* did return the next year, it was only to collect the German flag and to remove the proclamation of annexation posted at the waterfront of the northern harbor. The whole affair confirmed in Pohnpeian minds the essential emptiness of the foreigners' ceremonies. Despite the posturing and pretensions of people who came in ships from far-off lands, Pohnpeians had no doubt that their island still belonged to them.

The heads of state in Europe, however, had determined otherwise. Germany's attempts at annexation met with strong resistance from a Spain that claimed Pohnpei and the rest of the Caroline chain by right of initial discovery.⁹ Indeed, most of the islands in the Caroline group had become known to Europe through the voyages of such sixteenth-century Spanish explorers as Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, Miguel de Legazpi, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, Alonso de Arellano, and Alvaro de Mendaña.¹⁰ As a result of these explorations, every European map of the Pacific produced from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries recognized the Carolines as Spanish territory. Nevertheless, with the exception of two attempts in the early eighteenth century to establish Catholic missions in the western Carolines, neither Madrid nor the viceroyalty of New Spain, which had early administrative jurisdiction over Spain's distant Pacific possessions, showed much interest in the area. Spain, in effect, acted as an absentee landlord. The Mariana Islands, the one area of Micronesia colonized by the Spaniards, served as little more than a sleepy colonial outpost used to supply the Manila galleons in their relentless treks back and forth across the Pacific between the South American coast and the Philippines. The presence of American whalers and missionaries in the Carolines in the middle decades of the nineteenth century did nothing to break Spain's lethargy. But the expansion of German trading firms into the Carolines that began in the 1860s was another matter altogether.

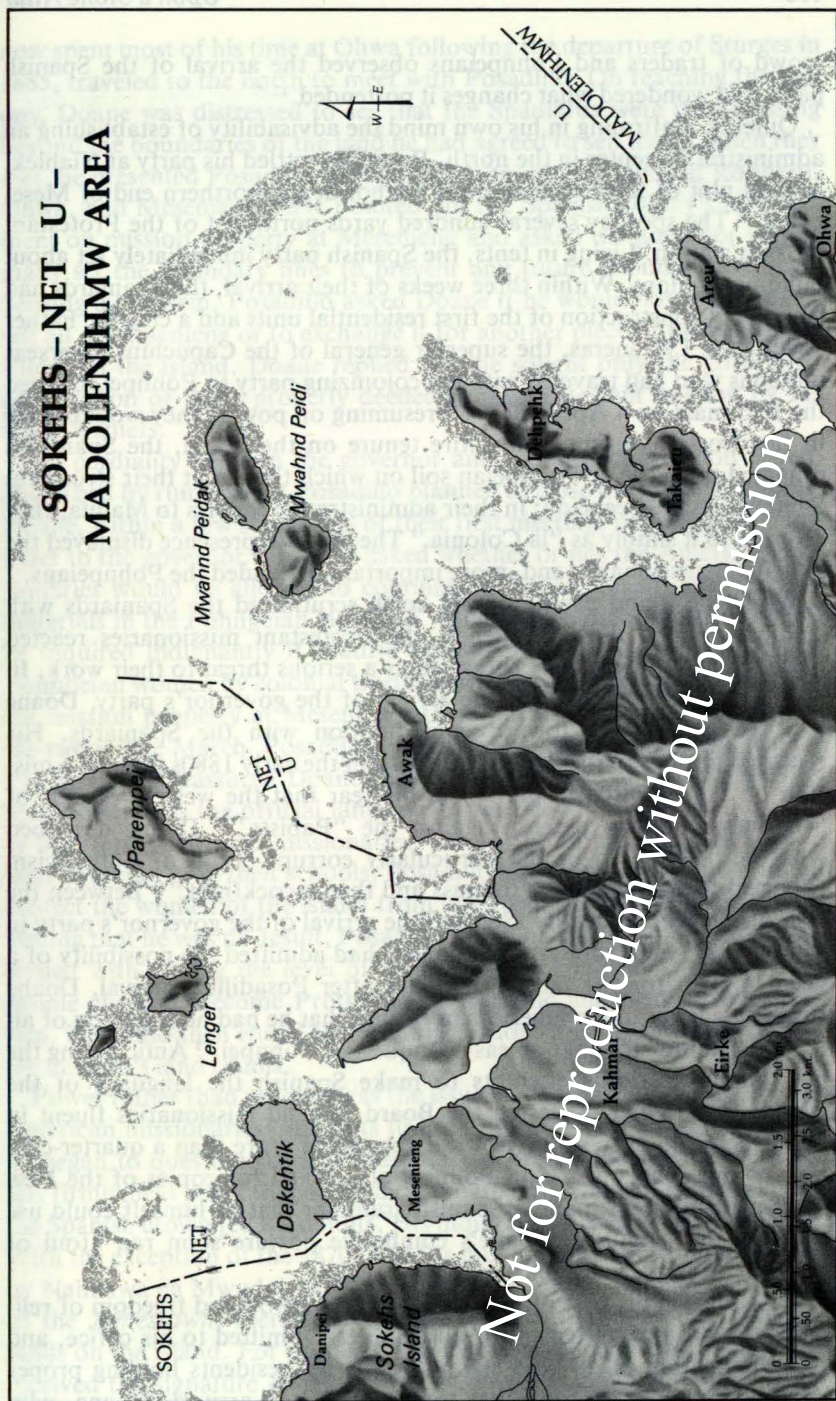
Rightfully fearful that German commercial interests served as a harbinger of more formal efforts to gain political control, Spain rose from its more than three centuries of neglect to reassert its claim over the area. After an extended period of diplomatic maneuverings marked by Germany's attempt at annexation in 1885, subsequent popular riots in Madrid, plans for war, and Bismarck's seemingly self-defeating but actually

well-calculated strategy of papal arbitration, Spain prevailed.¹¹ On 17 December 1885, Pope Leo XIII ruled as expected; he recognized Spanish claims to administer the Carolines and German rights to trade in the area. The Spanish government claimed victory. Its aging colonial empire already in the advanced stages of decline, Spain nonetheless interpreted the papal decision and German acquiescence to it as proof of the righteousness of its cause. What Spain had actually won, in the words of one American diplomat, was an "immense white elephant" that would cause the country no end of problems and anxieties over the next fifteen years.¹²

On 25 July 1886, as already recounted, the Spanish warship *Manila* appeared off Pohnpei's western shore. After sending a party ashore to nail a picture of the Spanish flag to a coconut tree at Rohnkiti, the site of the first European landing some three centuries before, the commander, Lieutenant Bayo, then took the vessel to the northern harbor where he formally announced Spain's annexation of the island.¹³ As had Plüddemann less than a year before, Bayo gathered together the five paramount chiefs of the island to participate in ceremonies perfunctorily acknowledging Spain's stewardship (see Appendix 7). Doane again counseled submission.¹⁴ The chiefs signed the document as requested and then retired to their respective chiefdoms to wait. In his report, Bayo wrote, in what would soon prove to be a gross misreading of the event, that the people of the island accepted Spain's rule without qualification.¹⁵

During the ship's brief visit, Bayo, as instructed, explored the island for an appropriate site to establish the future Spanish colony. All things considered, the north of the island with its protected, well-surveyed, and increasingly frequented harbor seemed the logical choice (Map 8). Making inquiries at the mission station there, Bayo learned from Doane that the entire peninsula known as Mesenieng belonged to the Protestant mission. After further discussion, Doane expressed willingness to deed a portion of the land to Spain for construction of its administrative center.¹⁶ The Spanish commander duly noted the missionary's offer in his report and then made preparations to leave the island. Pohnpeians, watching the departure of the Spanish ship on 4 August 1886, mistakenly believed that yet another idle threat had passed. Unlike the Germans, however, the Spaniards returned to rule.

On 13 March 1887, the Spanish governor, Don Isidro Posadillo, stepped ashore at Mesenieng with an initial colonizing party that consisted of two government secretaries, two military commanders, a contingent of fifty Filipino soldiers, and twenty-five convict laborers. Three priests and three lay brothers of the Roman Catholic Church's Capuchin order also accompanied the colonial delegation. Later arrivals would increase the Spanish company's numbers to approximately 125 by the end of June. On the knoll overlooking the harbor landing, a mixed



Map 8.

crowd of traders and Pohnpeians observed the arrival of the Spanish party and wondered what changes it portended.¹⁷

Quickly confirming in his own mind the advisability of establishing an administrative center in the north, Posadillo settled his party at Niahlek, a small plot of land bordering the harbor at the northern end of Mese-nieng.¹⁸ The spot lay several hundred yards northwest of the Protestant mission station. Living in tents, the Spanish party immediately set about building a colony. Within three weeks of their arrival, the Spaniards had completed construction of the first residential units and a church. Father Joaquín de Llevaneras, the superior general of the Capuchins' overseas missions who had traveled with the colonizing party to Pohnpei, offered the first mass on 4 April 1887.¹⁹ Presuming on powers they would never in fact possess during their entire tenure on the island, the Spaniards renamed the piece of Pohnpeian soil on which they built their structures Santiago de la Ascensión; in their administrative reports to Manila, they referred to it simply as "la Colonia." The Spanish presence dismayed the American missionaries and, more important, offended the Pohnpeians.

While the island people of the north scrutinized the Spaniards with studied, almost ominous silence, the Protestant missionaries reacted quite quickly to what they perceived as a serious threat to their work. In his correspondence prior to the arrival of the governor's party, Doane had seemed to lean toward confrontation with the Spaniards. His repeated urgings to the American Board in the early 1880s to open a mission on Yap resulted in part from his fear that the western islands of Micronesia had no defense against the "Papists."²⁰ Doane described what he believed to be the particularly corrupt brand of Catholicism exported from Manila as "to mass and then a cockfight."²¹ Between the visit of the *Manila* in July 1886 and the arrival of the governor's party in March 1887, the Protestant missionary had admitted the possibility of a need to fight for the faith.²² Six days after Posadillo's arrival, Doane stated in a letter to his superiors in Boston that he had no intention of allowing "Rome" to make an easy conquest of Pohnpei.²³ Anticipating the new administration's attempts to make Spanish the language of the island, Doane had requested the Board to send missionaries fluent in Spanish.²⁴ The sixty-seven-year-old veteran of more than a quarter-century of missionary work on Pohnpei also asked for copies of the New Testament in Spanish and a Spanish grammar that he himself could use to learn the language. Doane's combative posture soon ran afoul of Spanish priorities in establishing their colony.

Posadillo, in his first official proclamation, promised freedom of religion, the prompt settlement of all disputes submitted to his office, and the certification of all land claims by foreign residents holding proper documentation.²⁵ Hearing that the Spanish had arrived, Doane, who

now spent most of his time at Ohwa following the departure of Sturges in 1885, traveled to the north to meet with Posadillo. On reaching the colony, Doane was distressed to see that the Spaniards were transgressing beyond the boundaries of the land he had agreed to sell them. When they met, he presented Posadillo with the deeds to mission lands at Rohnkiti, Ohwa, and Mesenieng.²⁶ He pointed out the Spanish colony's infringement on mission property at Mesenieng and asked the governor to formally set the boundary lines to prevent any future misunderstandings. Sensing a problem, Posadillo asked Doane if he would not be willing to sell all of Mesenieng or to exchange it for another piece of property elsewhere on the island. Doane replied that he sought only the governor's certification of lands properly deeded to the Protestant mission by the island's chiefs.

All cordiality between the governor and the missionary soon ended. Disturbed by rumors that Posadillo planned to close the mission schools, Doane, within a few short days of their first meeting, penned a poignant letter to the governor.²⁷ In it he asked whether or not the American missionaries would be allowed to continue to preach, teach, and produce materials in the Pohnpeian language. Touching on more sensitive issues, he inquired indignantly if Madrid planned to stop the prostitution of Pohnpeian women by colonial troops and to honor the boundary lines of the mission property at Mesenieng. During a strained meeting between the two in late March, Posadillo sought to allay the missionary's fears.²⁸ The governor reassured Doane that, while desirous of one day having Spanish serve as the official language of the island, he had no intention of interfering with the missionaries' use of the Pohnpeian language in their churches or in their schools. Posadillo also affirmed his intention to protect the women of the island from any form of coerced prostitution. Stating that he was no Jesuit, Posadillo told Doane that he was most concerned with raising the level of civilization on the island; whether the people chose to become Protestant or Catholic made no difference to him. Posadillo then ended the meeting without making any reference to the mission's land claims.

Power rather than religion was the issue for Posadillo. Irritated by the American missionaries' attempts to limit Spanish land use in the north, he began to question the legitimacy of the Protestant mission's claims. His firmly held belief that all land on the island belonged, in actuality, to the Spanish crown fed his doubts. His inquiries touched a sensitive nerve. With the exception of the 1870 deed for mission lands at Rohnkiti signed by Nahnawa en Mwudok in the presence of Captain William T. Truxtun of the *Jamestown*, there were serious flaws in the mission's deeds for lands on the island. For property at Ohwa (see Appendix 6), Doane had received the signature of the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw and other

chiefs on a document dated 12 July 1886.²⁹ The date preceded Spain's formal possession of the island by only eleven days. This document was examined by Captain Thomas P. Jewell, commander of the USS *Essex* when, on orders from Washington, he paid an investigative visit to the island in October 1887 after the initial outbreak of hostilities between Pohnpeians and Spaniards. The captain feared—quite rightly as things turned out—that the short period of time between the date of the Ohwa deed and that of the Spanish arrival could only add to the already considerable mistrust between the American Protestant missionaries and the Spanish colonizers.³⁰

Mission claims to Mesenieng, the immediate area of contention, were based on two deeds.³¹ The first, drawn up by Doane and dated 1870, designated the 25 acres surrounding the mission buildings as the property of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to be held in trust by Doane and his successors. Doane had given the name Canaan, or in Pohnpeian Kenan, to this area. The second deed (see Appendix 5), signed on 26 July 1880, ceded the entire peninsula of Mesenieng to the Board. The deed, drawn up by Doane, was signed by Lepen Net, by the section chief (*soumas en kousapw*), and by two witnesses. To expedite matters, Doane, in an extremely questionable practice that would later undermine his credibility with Posadillo and others, had the four signers simply touch the pen that he then used to affix their names to the deed.³²

The piece of land over which the Spaniards and the Americans now presumed to contest held a special place in the lore of Pohnpei. A *kousapw* under the immediate jurisdiction of Souwen en Metipw, Mesenieng was in 1887 a part of the independent chiefdom of Net ruled over by Lepen Net.³³ Mesenieng, meaning 'Face of the Wind', receives prominent mention in a number of Pohnpeian accounts that tell of the island's early past. More important, however, Mesenieng possessed a strong spiritual significance for the people of the island. Pohnpeians viewed it as a place of resurrection and new life. According to their beliefs, there were two kinds of death, *mehla en kepirepir* and *mehla en Mesenieng*.³⁴ *Mehla en kepirepir* was death without hope; those who died this death fell spinning to a place of despair and sorrow from which they could never return. For those who had led a dutiful life, there was the death of Mesenieng. The opening lines of the "Song of Luhk," a narration of one man's journey after death and his return to life, are:

I just want to die
and go to Mesenieng
The place of magic power
So that I might come back
and sit as a [live] person.³⁵

Pohnpeians regarded Mesenieng as a place of supernatural power inhabited by gods, spirits, and the people who served them. Chief among these beings was the female goddess Limwohdeleng, the spiritual guardian of the Dipwilap. The Dipwilap had originally controlled the land but were eventually driven out by the Sounkawad clan, who had descended upon the area from their mountain home in the interior of Net. With the defeat of the Dipwilap, Inahs, the goddess of the Sounkawad, replaced Limwohdeleng as the principal deity of the area. To commemorate her assistance in their victory over the Dipwilap, the members of the Sounkawad clan built a shrine in her honor at Komwonlaid along Mesenieng's northern shore.³⁶ Pohnpeians also revered Mesenieng for the extremely melodious sounds that emanated from a particular shrine (*merai*) in an area called Nintu, said to be the gathering place for a chorus of spirits.³⁷ Mesenieng, then, was a distinctively Pohnpeian place associated with a rich traditional lore that emphasized the area's spiritual importance. The initial decision to allow the Christian God a place at Mesenieng was not a random decision; Mesenieng was a place where gods belonged.

Doane had first received permission in 1867 to open a mission station within Mesenieng's borders. Permission for mission use of the land was given by the Wasai Sokehs, known as Kaimw Sapwasapw, who had conferred the privilege in a document signed before Captain Truxtun of the USS *Jamestown* in 1870.³⁸ At that time, Kaimw Sapwasapw also held the title of Lepen Net.³⁹ Though unusual, such an arrangement was not impossible because of Sounkawad clan ties and the blood relationship between the first Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net; indeed, since the time of the Sounkawad conquest, Net had existed as a semiautonomous area under the ultimate suzerainty of the Wasai Sokehs. With the death of Lepen Net in 1867, the Wasai Sokehs moved to assert his titular dominance over the area by taking the title Lepen Net.⁴⁰ The action caused considerable displeasure in Net. Nahnsoused en Net, the second-ranking chief after Lepen Net, and in all likelihood his logical successor, bristled at the abject subjugation of Net by Sokehs and at the denial of a title he felt to be rightfully his. The whole arrangement generated continual tension in the area until 1874 when, on the death of Kaimw Sapwasapw, the two chiefdoms became independent of each other and the titles of Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net went to separate individuals.⁴¹

Traditional rights of chiefly control over the land added to the complications caused by the area's recent tumultuous political past. The Wasai Sokehs, the paramount chief of the area who first had granted the Protestant mission use of the land in 1867, was not the same individual who reaffirmed that right in the 1880 deed. The distinction, though holding little significance for the missionaries who believed their land rights protected by a signed and binding agreement, meant a great deal to Pohn-

peians. All land on Pohnpei still fell under the jurisdiction of the chiefs; decades of extensive contact with the outside world had not changed that fact. A grant of land could be given or taken away at the discretion of a paramount chief.

Deeds, contracts, and treaties were alien formalities that Pohnpeian chiefs submitted to in order to appease foreigners with whom they chose to deal. At other times, Pohnpei's rulers signed documents merely to satisfy the exigencies of a difficult moment. At no time did the island's rulers ever believe that signing a piece of paper meant the complete and final alienation of a section of land from their domain. The fact that Pohnpeian chiefs, from the beginnings of extensive contact with the Euro-American world, had managed to escape the consequences of signed agreements only reinforced their conviction that no foreign practice could compromise chiefly control over the land. When the mission's presence at Mesenieng began to be troublesome, the Wasai Sokehs moved against it. In 1869 the Wasai Kaimw Sapwasapw, displeased by the disruption the missionaries were causing in his domain, attempted to sell Mesenieng to one of Captain Benjamin Pease's representatives.⁴² In 1871, after Pease's operations on the island had failed, the Wasai, disregarding the 1870 deed he had signed, simply ordered the section chief of Mesenieng to reduce the boundaries of the mission station.⁴³

Following the death of Kaimw Sapwasapw in 1874, the new Lepen Net first moved to assert Net's newly won independence. Having accomplished this, he turned to more personally aggrandizing pursuits. In 1880 Lepen Net sold or, more accurately, allowed the use of Lenger Island in the northern harbor by representatives of the trading firm Capelle & Company.⁴⁴ The decision earned for the Pohnpeian chief a ready supply of grog and goods as well as a cash payment of \$250. In Lepen Net's mind, the compensation extended him did not constitute a purchase price but simply a form of *nohpwei* 'tribute' paid in foreign goods by foreigners residing within his domain. While the traders undoubtedly believed the island now belonged to them, Lepen Net continued to view Lenger, like all of the land in Net, as remaining under his ultimate jurisdiction.

In 1880 Lepen Net also reaffirmed the right of the Protestant mission to continued use of land within Mesenieng. By 1887, however, Lepen Net, despite being baptized a Protestant, grew disgruntled with a foreign presence that paid him neither respect nor material reward but only encroached on his traditional authority and chiefly prerogatives. Though disturbed by the armed presence within his domain, Lepen Net saw in the Spanish presence an immediate opportunity to rid himself of the Kenan mission station. One missionary, Frank Rand, noted the intense interest the chief exhibited toward the Spanish party.⁴⁵ The governor's solicitous

approach in their first meetings eased the chief's concerns over Spanish intentions and even led Lepen Net to believe that the new colony might provide a readily accessible source of wealth with which to enhance his own power and prestige. Lepen Net's strategy, then, was to manipulate rather than confront; events would ultimately show it to be untenable. Attempts to both reaffirm and enhance chiefly prerogatives through dealings with foreigners were fraught with danger. Agreeable relations between the governor and the chief were based on a single, immediate, mutually shared objective—the removal of the Protestant mission from Mesenieng. Beyond this, the objectives of the two clashed. With the mission station closed, there would exist no buffer between Spanish intrusion and Pohnpeian resistance.

Once a regular church attendant, Lepen Net now began spending much of his time in the Spanish colony visiting with Posadillo. To the Spanish governor's inquiries during one of their informal meetings, Lepen Net responded that he had never given the whole area of Mesenieng to the missionaries but only the land on which the mission buildings stood.⁴⁶ Furthermore, added the Pohnpeian, the missionaries did not own the land but simply held it in trust; control over all land, by right of Pohnpeian traditional custom, remained with him. When quizzed about the 1880 deed, Lepen Net insisted, appropriately, that the signature on the document was not his; he did acknowledge, however, having given verbal confirmation to the missionaries' request for continued use of the premises. With his views on the issue thus stated, the wily ruler proceeded to negotiate an agreement with the Spaniards that allowed them use of all of Mesenieng for a fee of \$30.⁴⁷

His initial suspicions over the Mesenieng deed now confirmed by Lepen Net's cunning words, Posadillo replied to Doane's requests for certification of the mission land. In early April, the governor informed the missionary in writing that he could find no evidence to substantiate the mission's claims to Mesenieng.⁴⁸ In a letter dated 12 April 1887, Doane protested vigorously to Posadillo; his use of the word "arbitrary" to characterize the governor's decision snapped the already strained patience of the Spanish official. After reading the letter, Posadillo promptly ordered Doane arrested and confined aboard the warship *Manila*, which was anchored in the harbor at the time.⁴⁹

Posadillo's inquiries concerning the authenticity of the Mesenieng deed had met also with a barrage of accusations against Doane from the foreign trading community on the island. The animosity between Doane and the traders had been building for several years. Disillusioned by the conduct of those who the missionaries had hoped would promote the civilizing process on the island, Doane wrote in 1885: "Trade and traders are pouring in not a little rapidly, begetting competition, demoralizing

the natives and too confusing them with this strife for trade.”⁵⁰ Doane saved his most bitter scorn for German traders whom he identified as the greatest enemy on the island to truly spiritual work. “Commerce by Germany,” he wrote, “is no friend to us.”⁵¹

The trading community on the island more than reciprocated these feelings. In a petition dated 24 April 1887 and signed by six foreign traders, Doane was accused of encouraging Pohnpeians to avoid commercial dealings with representatives of German trading firms, of promoting himself as the highest authority on the island, of using chains to discipline Pohnpeians guilty of adultery, and of preventing Pohnpeians from selling land to outside interests.⁵² Doane’s opponents further charged that the annual Fourth of July celebrations held at the Protestant mission stations were, in actuality, political demonstrations in support of the United States’ occupation of the island; rumors spread that Doane had at his command two fighting companies of well-armed Pohnpeians. Accusations also arose that Doane, prior to the arrival of the governor’s party in March, had actually encouraged active resistance to Spanish rule among the Pohnpeians. These trumped-up charges served their purpose. Posadillo, angered by what he heard, added an extra month to Doane’s original fifteen-day sentence while a series of hearings were held to examine the multiplicity of complaints raised against the old missionary. Following the completion of these hearings, at which Lepen Net and the traders all repeated their statements under oath, Posadillo became convinced that Doane was guilty of forging a public document and that his continued presence on the island posed a serious threat to the implementation of Spanish rule. The governor thus ordered the missionary taken to Manila for trial. The ship carrying Doane to the Philippines left Pohnpei on 16 June 1887.

Doane’s arrest and deportation resulted in a flurry of complaints to the U.S. Department of State from the Boston offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.⁵³ In a campaign directed by the Board, church groups in Hawaii and across the United States urged Washington to seek appropriate redress.⁵⁴ Julius G. Voight, the U.S. consul in Manila, offered Doane immediate support. Voight, a man of no little prejudice, who viewed the Spaniards as a brutal race of people whose Moorish blood disqualified them from being considered true Europeans, referred to Posadillo in his official correspondence to Washington as “yonder, crack-brained Governor.”⁵⁵ Though more diplomatic in their choice of language, officials in Washington pressed Madrid hard for a favorable resolution of Doane’s case.

The government of the Philippines that now held jurisdiction over Spain’s island possessions in the western Pacific was a cumbersome, incompetent, corrupt bureaucracy forced to operate on a shoestring bud-

get.⁵⁶ With power divided between the governor general, the Audencia or advisory council, ecclesiastical authorities, and representatives of the Crown's Inspectorate, confusion and disorder ruled. There were other problems as well. Authorities in Madrid worried about the increasingly burdensome expenses of administering distant Pacific holdings. Into the void created by the wavering of secular officials stepped church authorities who argued that the abandonment of Spain's Pacific holdings would mean the country's abdication of its most sacred duty, the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith. The church's aggressive role in the Philippine government irked many officials in both Manila and Madrid who resented clerical intrusions upon their domain. Racial tension between the Spanish ruling elite and the general populace further contributed to the demoralizing, debilitating climate that surrounded the colonial government in Manila. Crippled as it was, the government of the Philippines, seeing no value in pursuing the charges against the missionary, accorded the case only a perfunctory study.

At a hearing in Manila chaired by Governor General Emilio Terrero, the advisory council quickly decided that Posadillo had acted without regard to the rights of Doane. Avoiding any comment on the issue of guilt, the governor general authorized Doane's return to Pohnpei and his reinstatement as an active missionary. In a private meeting, Terrero reaffirmed the missionary's right to preach, teach, proselytize, baptize, and produce biblical literature in the vernacular.⁵⁷ The governor general, who had been quite solicitous of Doane's welfare throughout his six-week stay in Manila, reminded the old American missionary that he, in turn, must respect Spanish laws and not interfere with the work of the Spanish priests. On the more sensitive issue of property rights, the governor general offered nothing more than an oblique, often-repeated promise to recognize all land claims for which appropriate deeds could be furnished. Grateful for Terrero's seemingly generous decision, Doane, on Voight's advice, decided not to press the issue of Protestant land claims on Pohnpei.

While the Doane case was running its course on Pohnpei and in Manila, Posadillo moved quickly in other areas to solidify Spain's hold over the island. Shortly after arriving, Posadillo had called the rulers of the five chiefdoms to his office to present them with the title "gobernadorcillo" 'little governor'; he also gave them the emblems of their new Spanish office, the flag and the scepter.⁵⁸ By this gesture, Posadillo hoped to bring the island's traditional political structure quickly and easily under the authority of the colonial government. With the paramount chiefs of Pohnpei now designated as his official representatives, Posadillo proceeded to require their assistance in building the Spanish colony. Described as high-strung, absent-minded, and jealous of his dignity,

Posadillo preferred art to administration. The excessive zeal with which he made sketches of almost everyone and everything he came across in the colony caused considerable consternation among his assistants; the soldiers of the Spanish garrison believed him to be half insane.⁵⁹ Posadillo, preoccupied with his artistic interests, left supervision of the work in the colony to Manuel Torres, a Spaniard who had arrived on Pohnpei in 1883 after spending several years on Kosrae.⁶⁰ Assisting Torres were Christian Barbus, a Portuguese national from the Cape Verde Islands, and another individual named Macario.

Under a plan approved by Posadillo, each of the island's five chiefdoms was to contribute a weekly work party of thirty adult males.⁶¹ The work parties were expected to arrive in the colony on Sunday evening and remain until the following Sunday afternoon when they would be replaced by fresh groups of workers. The government required the parties to assume responsibility for providing their own food; an old shed located on the Kenan mission grounds was set aside as a night shelter for the Pohnpeian laborers.

Responsibility for organizing these crews fell to the paramount chiefs. With Spanish demands constituting a grievous insult to their rank and person, the chiefs, seeking a way out of the dilemma, passed the obligations along to lesser chiefs. In Madolenihmw serious complications arose for the Nahnmwarki when a number of the lesser chiefs balked at the idea of having to respond to the commands of foreigners.⁶² When no workers from Madolenihmw showed up, the Nahnmwarki was ordered to appear before the governor. In the presence of a sizeable group that included a number of the lesser Madolenihmw chiefs, Posadillo produced a knotted rope with which he promised to beat the Nahnmwarki if he failed to comply with any future orders. Posadillo warned that, in addition to the beating, he would remove the chief's title and lands. Noting the Nahnmwarki's recent chaining of four people on charges of adulterous conduct, Posadillo ordered that this and all other missionary-inspired concepts of justice must stop. To eliminate the possibility of armed resistance from Madolenihmw or the other areas of the island, the governor, on 1 May 1887, ordered all Pohnpeians to turn in their guns; four hundred were collected.

With Madolenihmw slow to comply, much of the burden of the work fell on the people of Net and Sokehs. The conduct of the three overseers further aggravated tensions in the north. Unknown to Posadillo, the three—Torres, Barbus, and Macario—pocketed funds set aside as wages for the island laborers, misrepresented Pohnpeian grievances, and added invectives and insults when translating Spanish orders into Pohnpeian. Furthermore, Barbus kidnapped Pohnpeian women to serve in the makeshift brothels set up for the benefit of the Filipino troops, further incens-

ing the Pohnpeians.⁶³ Worse still was the fate of one high chief who, accused of insubordination, was ordered by the three overseers to clean out the governor's latrine.⁶⁴

Faced with increasing restiveness among the people, Posadillo, in mid-June, ordered the mission schools closed and all traditional activities suspended until construction of the colony and its roads was completed.⁶⁵ The measures proved futile. On 30 June 1887, the Pohnpeians stopped all work. Attempting to reassert control over the rapidly deteriorating situation, Posadillo demanded that all of the island's paramount chiefs present themselves at his residence on the morning of the next day. Torres, who carried the message, added on his own that the chiefs would have their mouths sewn shut and their titles and privileges removed at the meeting.

Unable to tolerate any longer the humiliating insults caused by the Spanish presence within their chiefdoms, Lepen Net and the Wasai Sokehs decided to fight. That night Pohnpeians broke into several traders' stores to steal guns and ammunition. Aware that Net and Sokehs were now preparing for battle, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw and Kiti decided to leave the colony. The decision resulted not from a lack of courage but from a wariness of fighting in a hostile territory where foreign soldiers were not the only potential adversaries. Far from home and with a limited number of men and supplies, the two chiefs from the south judged the risk of staying too great. Sixty years of extensive contact with the outside world had not united Pohnpei. Tensions among the different chiefdoms ran as high as the bitterness toward the Spaniards. The political geography of a divided land defined the Spanish presence not as an island-wide issue but as an immediate local problem for Sokehs and Net. However, as a gesture of support and in commemoration of Net's backing of Onohnleng in the Kiti unification wars of a century or so before, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti did leave behind a small party of warriors headed by Sigismundo, a future nahnmwarki of Kiti.⁶⁶

When no chiefs appeared before him the next morning, and learning that the work parties from both Madolenihmw and Kiti had left the colony area the night before, Posadillo sent Torres and a sergeant to fetch Lepen Net and the Wasai Sokehs. With their people gathered together at Danepei on Sokehs Island, the two chiefs replied to Posadillo's order with the words, "Say to the governor that, if he is governor of the colony, we are paramount chiefs of the island. If he wants to cut off our heads, then he should fetch us here."⁶⁷

Exasperated, Posadillo, his understanding of the situation completely distorted, sent Torres and a detachment of twenty-seven Filipino soldiers under the command of Ensign Ricardo Martinez to bring in the two chiefs. Finding them at Danepei presiding over a war feast (*uhmw en*

edied), Torres ordered the two chiefs to the colony. Receiving no response except cold stares, Torres advised Martinez to have his soldiers fire above the heads of the gathering. The haughty Spanish overseer believed that the gunfire would cow the Pohnpeians into submission. Rather than surrender or run, however, the Pohnpeians, well-prepared for the encounter, returned the fire, killing Martinez and seventeen of the soldiers.⁶⁸ Torres, badly wounded, begged the Pohnpeians to spare his life, saying he was their friend. Replying that they would now repay his friendship, several Pohnpeians proceeded to hack him to death with their long knives.⁶⁹

When the survivors reached the colony with news of the incident, the Spanish priests, who had deplored Posadillo's peculiar brand of administration and his less-than-enthusiastic support of their missionary efforts, recommended that most of the colony be quickly evacuated to a pontoon anchored in the harbor while they negotiated a settlement with the people.⁷⁰ Attempts to land boats from the pontoon, the *Maria de Molina*, drew heavy fire from the Pohnpeians who had surrounded the colony on its land sides. During the second day, six soldiers were killed or badly wounded in evacuation attempts; nonetheless, the majority of the non-combatants managed to escape to the relative safety of the pontoon.

The negotiations took place at the priests' rectory while intermittent skirmishing continued. Though lying outside the immediate colony and behind Pohnpeian lines, the rectory was spared when the priests, hoping to buy time and goodwill, opened their cupboards to the Pohnpeians. While the negotiations dragged on, the warriors of Net and Sokehs, evincing a nonchalance that belied their determination, engaged at times in an almost cheerful exchange of banter with their Spanish and Filipino adversaries.⁷¹ The undermanned colony had the number of its defenders further reduced by desertions of Filipino soldiers who, enticed by the words of their Pohnpeian foes, decided they had more in common with their opponents than with their Spanish masters. Directing the Pohnpeian siege was a young Dipwinpahnmei warrior named Niue who, twenty years later as Soumadau en Sokehs, would again lead Sokehs in a rebellion against foreign domination.⁷² Despite the priests' efforts, Pohnpeians persisted in their determination to drive out the Spanish. Early on the morning of 3 July, the Spaniards abandoned all attempts to reach a peaceful settlement.

The governor, realizing the impossibility of the situation, now ordered the evacuation of the remaining forces. At a previously agreed upon signal, the *Molina* sent a longboat toward the shore to pick up the last group of defenders. As the government chests were being loaded onto the boat, the Pohnpeians, from positions around the Protestant mission grounds at Kenan, opened fire. The boatmen panicked and began to pull away from the shore; two priests, standing on the landing with their arms

full of personal possessions, dropped their belongings, jumped into the water, and swam safely to the boat. By evening, only the governor, his secretary, the colony physician, a second lieutenant, and a handful of Filipino soldiers remained behind. Now completely cut off and with no provisions, Posadillo led his small party in a desperate late-night attempt to swim to the pontoon. The Pohnpeians were waiting for them. Several of the soldiers did manage to reach the pontoon, but the governor and his three officials were cut down in the shallow waters just offshore. At dawn, the Pohnpeians sacked what remained of the colony.

The Spaniards had suffered a total of fifty fatalities in the fighting that took place during the first four days of July. Pohnpeian losses amounted to ten dead. Approximately seventy survivors of the Spanish colony were crowded together on the pontoon in the northern harbor. The Pohnpeians' first impulse was to take the pontoon as well as the colony. The Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net asked Frank Rand and a mission teacher named Ettekar (Edgar) from Mesihsou in Madolenihmw to have all of the women and children removed before they made a final attack on the barge. Despite the commander of the pontoon's refusal to have anything to do with the Protestant negotiators, the two did dissuade the Pohnpeians from seizing the boat. Several days later, the Wasai Sokehs had Rand draft a letter explaining the reasons for the Pohnpeians' actions. The reasons given were the callousness of the governor, the deceit of the three overseers, and the humiliating treatment accorded Pohnpei's rulers.⁷³ The people of Pohnpei, said the Wasai, desired peace most of all; they preferred, however, to die fighting rather than to live as slaves. The Wasai had the letter delivered to the pontoon and asked that its captain forward it to Manila. The Wasai further announced that there would be no more hostilities and that the occupants of the pontoon were free to return to shore. Suspicious of the high chief's motives, the captain of the pontoon opted to keep his party aboard ship. For the next two months, the occupants of the pontoon managed to survive by procuring food from Pohnpeian canoes that came periodically to trade.⁷⁴

At the outbreak of hostilities, most of the island's white trading community had fled in an open boat to Ngatik and Pingelap.⁷⁵ The warriors of Net and Sokehs helped themselves to the traders' stocks of goods. Well-provisioned and in no hurry, they encamped on the grounds of the former colony to await the Spanish response. During the stalemate, the Pohnpeians confiscated any articles of value remaining in the colony; buildings were dismantled and the wood and tin roofing carried off. On 1 September 1887, the Spanish man-of-war *San Quintin*, on a routine stop with provisions and mail for the colony, arrived at the island to learn of the violence that had occurred some two months before. Aboard the vessel was the Reverend Edward Doane returning from his hearing in

Manila. Stunned by the devastation, the captain of the *San Quintin* took aboard the survivors, leaving behind a small but well-armed party under the command of Don Juan de la Concha, the second officer of the ship and a future governor of Pohnpei.

De la Concha's orders were to hold the pontoon and await the arrival of reinforcements. A very ambitious man who saw an opportunity to distinguish himself, de la Concha, on his own initiative, bombarded the colony in an attempt to drive out the Pohnpeians encamped there. The use of heavy firepower had little effect, however. According to one account, the bombardment "only succeeded in killing a chicken that was looking on and had nothing to do with the affair."⁷⁶ To salvage some semblance of honor, the lieutenant sent ashore a party of soldiers to raise the Spanish flag once again over Pohnpei. Still unable to effect a full-scale landing, de la Concha tried to prevent desecration of the flag by having explosives rigged to its rope.⁷⁷

While de la Concha waited on the pontoon for reinforcements from Manila, different groups of Pohnpeians carefully formulated their responses to Spain's expected return. In these calculations, Pohnpeian notions of place and identity played a major role. Pohnpeians understood the vast differences between themselves and the Spaniards. The huge cultural chasm that separated the people of the island from their would-be masters made each appear a caricature in the eyes of the other. More important to Pohnpeians were the differences among themselves. The rivers, mountains, hills, and streams that divided the island were important social as well as physical boundaries. The people of the island identified themselves not as Pohnpeians but as members of a particular chiefdom or section within a chiefdom. The richness and complexity of life on the island resulted not from unity but from diversity and contention. Pohnpeians from different areas of the island competed with each other for honor, distinction, and prestige; competition among themselves gave much of the meaning to their lives. Unless directly affected, most people watched developments in other areas of the island from the borders of their immediate world.

The violence over Mesenieng was not an island-wide uprising but rather a struggle between the Spaniards and the people of Net and Sokehs. Directly threatened by the Spanish presence within their borders, the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net remained adamant in their opposition. Chiefs from other, less physically menaced areas of the island adopted different strategies. The Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw, U, and Kiti, seeking to protect themselves and their people from the threat of Spanish reprisals, visited de la Concha aboard the pontoon to express regret over the course of events.⁷⁸ Their gestures indicated not abject submission but pragmatism. With the Spanish presence limited to the north, these three

paramount chiefs affected a conciliatory posture that they hoped would prevent any Spanish intrusion into their areas. When confronted several years later with Spanish interference in their domains, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw and U directed a resistance every bit as violent and as successful as that at Mesenieng.

On 29 October, with de la Concha still holding the pontoon, three heavily armed Spanish warships carrying seven hundred troops arrived with the new governor, Don Luis Cadarso y Rey.⁷⁹ Two days later, Cadarso issued a proclamation demanding that the Pohnpeians surrender unconditionally, relinquish all weapons, return all property taken from the colony, and hand over those individuals directly responsible for Posadillo's murder. The paramount chiefs of the island were given eight days in which to signify acceptance of these terms by presenting themselves before the new governor. On 7 November, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw, U, and Kiti and the Wasai Sokehs, realizing the need for accommodation at this critical moment, appeared before the new governor to acknowledge their acceptance of the terms. Asked to reaffirm their loyalty to Spain, the four chiefs gave an evasive nod of the head. Only Lepen Net held out. Informed of the Net chief's intransigence, Cadarso said he would begin the systematic shelling of Net as soon as the eight-day grace period expired. With Doane acting as a go-between, Lepen Net, despite the protests of his people, finally consented to meet with Cadarso; the Pohnpeian chief showed up late in the afternoon of the eighth day.

The show of Spanish military might convinced Pohnpei's rulers that continued resistance, at least for the time being, was inadvisable. Turning to a more diplomatic approach, the Pohnpeians attempted to manipulate the terms of peace as best they could. The people of Sokehs and Net returned some of the property taken from the colony and gave up enough of their guns to appease the Spaniards. The surrender of those individuals directly responsible for the murder of Posadillo proved a more difficult problem. Pohnpeian accounts of the engagement differ over the identity of his killer. Some suggest Lepen Net actually delivered the fatal blow, an action quite consistent with patterns of chiefly behavior in times of war; other versions point to the Kiti warrior, Sigismundo, who, for his heroics during the fighting, received from Lepen Net the title of Sou Kiti.⁸⁰

Within the Pohnpeian cultural context, the ultimate responsibility for Posadillo's death lay with the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net in whose chiefdoms the violence of July had taken place. To surrender the persons of two such eminent chiefs, however, was unthinkable; their detention and likely execution would constitute an intolerable disgrace for both chiefdoms. To appease the Spanish and still preserve the dignity of the

two paramount chiefs, stand-ins were called for. Understanding that insistence on the surrender of the two chiefs would inevitably lead to renewed hostilities, Cadarso accepted the compromise being offered by the Pohnpeians. Two brothers, Nahnpei en Metipw and Kaniki en Metipw, stepped forward to take the place of the Wasai Sokehs.⁸¹ The action of the two men provided yet another example of *kauat*, the exceptional courage in the face of certain destruction so often displayed by Pohnpeian warriors throughout their past. A third man, identified as Mortlockese by birth, surrendered himself to the Spaniards in lieu of Lepen Net.⁸²

Initial reports of the 1887 uprising on Pohnpei carried back to Manila by the *San Quintin* suggested that the fault lay with Posadillo and the three overseers.⁸³ In his orders to the Spanish force sent to quell the disturbance, Terrero, governor general of the Philippines, advocated a conciliatory approach. Contributing to Spain's pacifistic approach toward the violence on Pohnpei was a heightened disillusionment in Madrid with both clerical interference in government policies and the financial burden of administration of the Caroline Islands.⁸⁴ Reflecting a strong anticlerical bias, *La Iberia*, a paper owned by the Spanish prime minister, claimed that the Spanish Capuchins, attempting to undo the thirty years of civilizing work performed by the American Protestant missionaries, had promoted the violence. Another government paper, *El Globo*, warned against any future priestly influence that might disrupt Spanish policy in the Carolines. The paper closed one of its editorials on the subject by stating that the formulators of "jesuitical policies" in Manila should honor American claims for an indemnity to cover damage to Protestant mission property on Pohnpei. A number of commentaries from members of the opposition Liberal Party brought into question the advisability of maintaining such tiny, useless, and expensive pieces of island realty.⁸⁵ William H. Gulick, a missionary for the ABCFM working in Spain, reported that Spanish newspapers were unanimous in their support of the conciliatory approach taken on Pohnpei, emphasized the importance of maintaining future good relations with the United States, and approved the principle of paying an indemnity.

From afar, things appeared quiet. On 17 December, Julius G. Voight wrote to the U.S. assistant secretary of state that the trouble on Pohnpei had been settled.⁸⁶ His evaluation proved extremely premature. Don Juan de la Concha, in his reports to Manila while in command of the pontoon, had advocated a stern approach to the uprising.⁸⁷ The lieutenant believed that a people given to violence would respond only to forceful punitive measures; appeasement would only guarantee future problems. Violent retribution was an approach that the Pohnpeians would have understood and, indeed, expected based on their own codes of mar-

tial conduct and retaliation. Surprised by the mildness of Spanish justice, Pohnpeians quickly came to interpret this leniency as a sign of weakness.⁸⁸ The events of 1887 ultimately taught the people of the island they could confront Spain with relative impunity. Within three years, the people of Madolenihmw, provoked by an unwanted Spanish presence within their borders, would rise up to drive out the intruders.

Subsequent violence on the island would cause officials in Manila and Madrid to look back at the events of 1887 and identify the American Protestant missionaries as the chief source of all opposition to Spanish policies. In 1892 another inquiry on Pohnpei into the deed for Mesenieng found Doane, two years dead by that time, guilty of forging a public document. On their part, sympathizers of the American Protestant missionaries viewed the violence of 1887 as an expression of Pohnpeian outrage over the mistreatment of their beloved missionary, Edward Doane.

While avoiding the simplicity and error of these evaluations, modern historians have persisted in pointing to the arrest and deportation of Doane as the spark that ignited the flames of violence. The conflict between Doane and Posadillo, however, amounted to little more than a thin veneer masking the deeper struggle between a colonial power and a people who refused to be dominated. Prior to the establishment of Spanish colonial rule, Pohnpeians had found it relatively easy to manipulate the outsiders who reached their island's shores. Beachcombers and traders were easily controlled. Though less malleable, missionaries too served unwittingly to maintain a cultural system they fought so hard to destroy. As they had with these other groups, Pohnpeians first attempted to manipulate the Spaniards. But Spain had come to rule, not to serve. With weapons, ceremonies, proclamations, commands, and threats of violence, Spain tried to intimidate the Pohnpeians into relinquishing control of their island. The first direct challenge occurred in the north with the construction of the Spanish colony. The struggle for Mesenieng was but the first in a series of violent encounters that allowed the people of the island to successfully resist Spanish domination.

CHAPTER 7

The Struggles over Ohwa

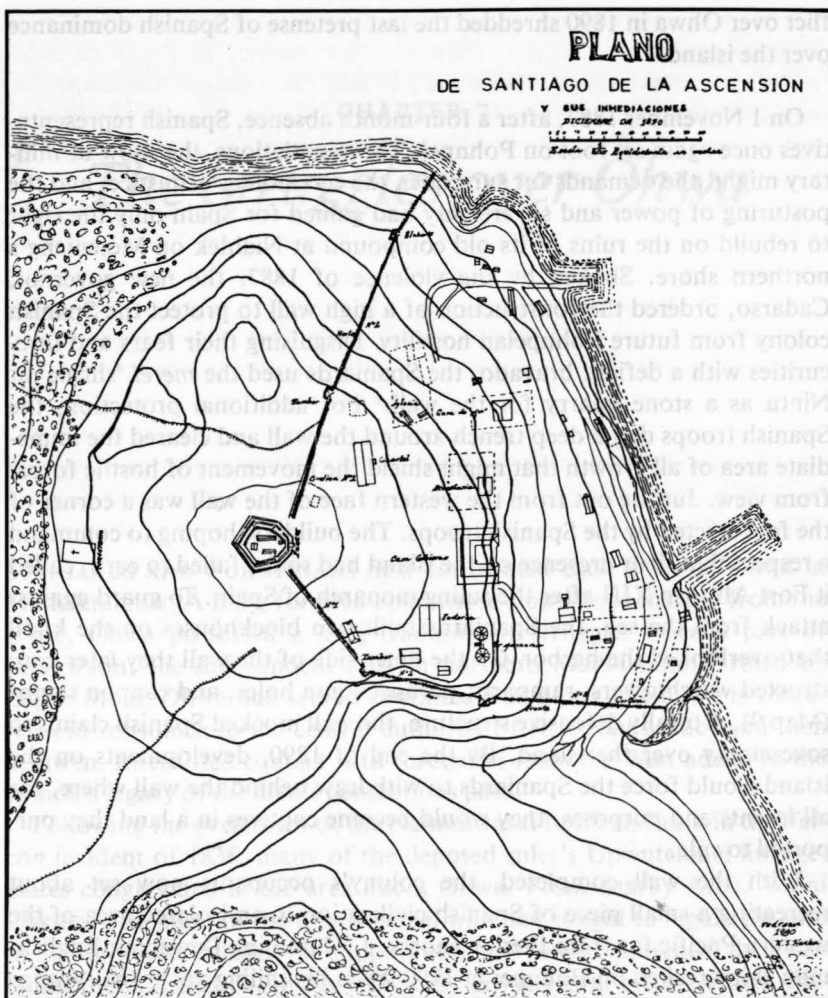
SPANIARDS AND POHNPEIANS next confronted each other at Ohwa in Madolenihmw. A hilly, forested area whose slopes rose sharply from the shore, Ohwa possessed a long tradition of struggle. Once a part of Enimwahn, the independent area in northern Madolenihmw ruled by Lepen Moar, Ohwa had served continually as a battlefield in the centuries-old resistance to the central authority of first Nan Madol and then Temwen. Intensified contact with foreigners from the West added to the complex legacy of the area's contentious past.

Following the overthrow of the Nahnmwarki Luhk en Kesik in the *Falcon* incident of 1836, many of the deposed ruler's Upwutenmei lineages congregated in the area about Ohwa. From nearby Areu, Wasai Ejikaia, a member of the Upwutenmei who had sought to regain the title of nahnmwarki, enlisted the support of a new foreign presence, the Protestant mission church, in his ultimately unsuccessful effort. It was Ejikaia who gave the missionaries the land on which they built their station at Ohwa. In the 1870s and 1880s, Ohwa provided the stage for a different kind of encounter—a contest for the hearts, minds, and souls of Pohnpeian youth. Though despairing of success in their efforts, the missionaries did train a generation of young people who would help shape the island's development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Next came Spain with plans to establish an outpost in the middle of the Pohnpeian community. Spanish actions constituted yet another chapter in the area's history of struggle, this time with international, cross-cultural dimensions. Pohnpeians contended among themselves, Catholics engaged Protestants, colonial officials opposed American missionaries, and, finally, island warriors battled Spanish troops. In the end, the con-

flict over Ohwa in 1890 shredded the last pretense of Spanish dominance over the island.

On 1 November 1887, after a four-month absence, Spanish representatives once again set foot on Pohnpei. The negotiations, the show of military might, the demands for surrender, the ceremonies of justice, and the posturing of power and sovereignty had gained for Spain only the right to rebuild on the ruins of its old compound at Niahlek on Mesenieng's northern shore. Shaken by the violence of 1887, the new governor, Cadarso, ordered the construction of a high wall to protect the Spanish colony from future Pohnpeian hostility. Disguising their fears and insecurities with a defiant bravado, the Spaniards used the *merei* 'shrine' at Nintu as a stone quarry for the wall.¹ For additional protection, the Spanish troops dug a deep trench around the wall and cleared the immediate area of all growth that might shield the movement of hostile forces from view. Jutting out from the western face of the wall was a corner of the fort erected by the Spanish troops. The builders, hoping to command a respect that their presence on the island had so far failed to earn, called it Fort Alfonso XIII after the ruling monarch of Spain. To guard against attack from the sea, the Spaniards built two blockhouses on the knoll that overlooked the harbor. On the inner side of the wall they later constructed watchtowers, ramparts, parapets, gun holes, and cannon ramps (Map 9). A totally defensive structure, the wall mocked Spanish claims to sovereignty over the island. By the end of 1890, developments on the island would force the Spaniards to withdraw behind the wall where, for all intents and purposes, they would become captives in a land they purported to rule.

With the wall completed, the colony's occupants now set about recreating a small piece of Spanish civilization in an isolated area of the western Pacific far from Iberian shores. J. Cumming Dewar, an Englishman shipwrecked on Pohnpei in 1890 when his sailing yacht the *Nyanza* ran aground near the two Mwahnd islands off U, described the rebuilt colony as consisting of the governor's house, a crudely built hospital, a dozen ugly shanties, and a set of military barracks on the northern waterfront. Dewar called the entire complex "a miserable place."² A desolate no-man's-land now separated the colony from the rest of the island. Seeing the Spaniards return, and with their own memories of the violence of 1887 still fresh, Pohnpeians withdrew to the other side of the Dauén Neu River, Mesenieng's southern boundary.³ From there, the warriors of Net and Sokehs watched and waited. Women, however, found ways of crossing the hostile gulf of land when ordinary men could not. As they had with the ships, the women of the island used the powers of their sex to tame and manipulate a foreign presence for material gain.



Map 9. The Spanish colony. (Cabeza Pereiro 1895; redrawn by K. S. Hanlon, 1980)

True to form, Edward Doane ranted against this sexual traffic. The missionary lamented that the mission station at Kenan, once envisioned as the “Boston” of Pohnpei, had now been irreparably harmed by the “Sodom” that was the Spanish colony.⁴ The gaiety and abandon with which the women of the north seemingly prostituted themselves before the Filipino troops shocked the old missionary.⁵ The Capuchin priests, who believed they held little else in common with their principal adversaries, expressed a similar concern. Writing to the Spanish governor several

years later about the persisting problem, Father Bernardus de Sarria complained of the destruction of God's work caused by the conduct of the soldiers. The padre deplored the fact that "one cannot take a walk in the colony in any direction without falling over soldiers and kanaka girls in the most indecent postures."⁶ Even Pohnpeians, said the priest, called the colony the wickedest place on the island.

Chiefs could also venture across boundaries that inhibited lesser men. The Nahnmwarki of U, his chiefdom's physical distance from the colony allowing him a political luxury not shared by the Wasai Sokehs or Lepen Net, visited the Spanish colony on a regular basis.⁷ Baptized Ejikaia (Hezekiah) by the missionaries, the Nahnmwarki enjoyed his weekly sojourns. One visitor to the island described the chief parading through the colony in his orange-colored kilt, black coat, and red flannel shirt. Under his arm, he carried a bottle of liquor that he offered to share with any European or American he encountered.⁸ Doane, exasperated by this flagrant violation of church prohibitions on the use of alcohol, had the Nahnmwarki dismissed from membership. Undaunted, the Nahnmwarki immediately requested that the governor send a priest to open a Catholic mission station in U. With the Spaniards exhibiting both respect and tolerance for chiefly behavior, the Nahnmwarki now sought to benefit from a seemingly less rigid, better armed, and wealthier foreign presence. However, his machinations proved no more successful than those of Lepen Net in 1887. An eventual convert to Catholicism, the Nahnmwarki of U would find himself deposed by the members of his predominantly Protestant chiefdom in the political struggles that wracked the north of the island in the late 1890s.

While the Spaniards concentrated on building a wall, the American Protestant missionaries watched helplessly as the barriers they had erected between themselves and the island began to crumble. The continuing debate over mission policy, begun in the 1870s, now served as little more than a thin veil of respectability for what amounted to petty bickering. After a two-year absence, Sturges returned to Pohnpei in 1882. The differences already existing between him and his fellow missionaries soon intensified. Both Logan and Rand complained of Sturges' obstinacy. In 1884 Rand accused Sturges of trying to subvert the work of the mission schools at Ohwa.⁹ Intoxicated by his power over the people, Sturges, said Logan, behaved more like a Pohnpeian chief than a missionary.¹⁰ Noting that Sturges had accomplished little of the translating that was now his primary responsibility, Logan stated quite emphatically that the mission work on Pohnpei would proceed more smoothly without Sturges' presence.

One thing Pohnpei's missionaries did agree on was the incompetence of Rand. In his letters to his superiors, Logan repeatedly expressed his lack of faith in Rand's abilities. Logan complained of Rand's failure to

learn Pohnpeian, his poor powers of expression in the English language, his general lack of intellectual skills, and his condescending manner toward Pohnpeians.¹¹ Logan believed Rand's quick temper and haughtiness alienated many Pohnpeians from mission influence. Doane offered a similar assessment.¹² More bluntly, Sturges wondered if Rand had the "brains and skills" to take care of the schools at Ohwa that now constituted his chief work.¹³ Commenting on Rand's frivolous nature, Mary E. Logan remembered the time on Pohnpei when the missionary dropped all mission work to build a catamaran.¹⁴ His mismanagement of school funds resulting in a debt of more than five hundred dollars to a trading company in Honolulu earned him a sharp rebuke from his superiors in Boston.¹⁵ Despite his shortcomings, attrition and death among the missionaries' ranks permitted Rand to outlast all of his critics.

The male missionaries, deprived of the companionship of their own wives during much of their stay, showed little patience for the hardships of the single women. Estella Fletcher, who first reached the island in 1882, complained bitterly over Doane's attempt to persuade a meeting of the missionaries on Pohnpei to send her home because of recurrent illness.¹⁶ Annette Palmer, arriving in 1885, experienced a similar lack of sympathy and patience on the part of her colleagues.¹⁷ Susan M. Sturges, reflecting on her own experiences and those of her successors, wrote as early as 1872 that Pohnpei was no place for a single woman.¹⁸

The turmoil within the mission ranks did not go unnoticed by visitors to the island. Captain Isaiah Bray of the *Morning Star* made special note of the sad state of affairs among the members of the Pohnpei mission community.¹⁹ In the report of his 1883 trip through Micronesia, the captain stated that it seemed to him sheer folly to spend money on such dissension. Looking about Pohnpei, Bray claimed that it was difficult to identify the fruits of more than thirty years of missionary labor (Figure 18). Mary Logan, writing from Stanton, Michigan, in December 1888 following the death of her husband seven months earlier, underscored the constant state of disharmony that had always characterized mission affairs on Pohnpei. "No two men in that field," she wrote, "have ever been able to work harmoniously except as they let each other alone."²⁰

Lucy M. Ingersoll, a medical doctor who arrived on Pohnpei in 1888, delivered the most damning assessment of the group of missionaries that now congregated exclusively at Ohwa as people beset by physical and emotional ills. She described Fletcher as suffering from a nervous disorder that required an extended period of convalescence, Doane as slipping in his mental capacities, and Palmer as living in a near-constant state of hysteria.²¹ She showed no more tolerance for the people of the island than she did for her fellow missionaries, deploring the appearance of the many Pohnpeians who lined up outside her door with a variety of ail-



Figure 18. The Protestant mission station at Ohwa in Madolenihmw. (Hambruch 1932, 190)

ments. Overcome by the climate, the physical discomfort, loneliness, isolation, and a sense of futility, Ingersoll decided that she could stay no longer than a year. Reflecting on the more than thirty-five years of missionary effort on the island, she wrote: "All seems to be for nothing; the people will never be anything more than what they are now. The best thing for them would be to be left entirely by themselves, and not depend upon foreigners for everything."²²

Not surprisingly, this heightened dissension caused the missionaries' normally bleak assessments of the situation on Pohnpei to become even bleaker. Despite the years of teaching and preaching, the Pohnpeians, said one observer, remained the most wicked, heathenish people in all of Micronesia.²³ Particularly alarming was the return to *sakau* drinking among members of the larger congregation. Doane bemoaned the fact that the Pohnpeians, after listening quite attentively to sermons that denounced the use of the plant, left the church to go pound its roots.²⁴ Despite the missionaries' requirement that church members refrain from its use, *sakau's* role in the ceremonies of Pohnpeian society proved a tie too strong to break. Doane sat uncomfortably through a feast given by the Protestant congregation at Enipein Pah during which the visiting Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw was accorded full ritual treatment by his Kiti hosts.²⁵ Lucy Ingersoll, in her brief stay on the island, called Pohnpeians a miserable race of people; she pronounced her medicines ineffective against the habits of a people who, aside from drinking the vile juices of a narcotic plant, lived in shabby dwellings, ate poorly, failed to isolate themselves from all social contact when sick, had not the slightest understanding of basic hygiene, and were unusually helpless.²⁶

Depressed by the dissension that riddled their ranks and by the resistance of the Pohnpeians to their efforts, the missionaries could take little solace in the work of the Pohnpeian missionaries in Truk and the Mortlocks. Though the achievements of the sturdy band of Pohnpeian missionaries were considerable, their supervisors on Pohnpei chose to focus more on their problems and deficiencies. With their chief patron, Sturges, now relegated to a minor role in the overall operations of the mission, the Pohnpeian missionaries had few defenders at general meetings of the local mission board. Doane, who had once been a strong advocate of the Pohnpeians, now complained of their limitations:

We see their comparative failure in the Mortlocks; rather, I should say, we see how inadequate they were to the work. They are poor scholars at home; they are none the better for going abroad. They go out with limited mental culture—fair readers, fair in arithmetic, fair in the possessing of Biblical knowledge. Fair, and only fair, is fine in any gift. But that soon runs dry—and then advance is impossible.²⁷

After spending a year at Uman in the Truk Lagoon, Logan conceded that he had developed a new respect for the work of the Pohnpeian missionaries. He added, however, "The steam cannot rise higher than its source."²⁸

The failure of the Caroline Islands Training School at Ohwa to provide additional workers for the foreign and domestic fields compounded the missionaries' disillusionment with their Pohnpeian counterparts in the west. Begun on an informal basis by Sturges in 1868, the school developed a more formal program of training in 1882.²⁹ The missionaries selected single males and young married couples who showed both intellectual and spiritual promise as mission workers. While the majority of pupils came from Pohnpei, the student body also included young people from Pingelap, Mokil, the Mortlocks, and Truk. The school itself was divided into three major sections. The Primary Division provided a two-year course of study for young men not yet baptized but who evidenced promising moral character. Subjects of study included arithmetic, geography, writing, and Bible study. For the missionary candidates, the Biblical Department presented a three-year program that required study in such subjects as biblical geography, history, sermon writing, the techniques of preaching, and more advanced work in academic subjects ranging from arithmetic, geography, and writing to basic psychology and anatomy. The wives of missionary candidates enrolled in the Normal School, where they took a three-year course of study that focused on basic literacy and such homemaking skills as cooking and sewing. Male graduates of the Primary Division joined the women in their academic studies.

Pohnpeian served as the language of instruction; the more advanced students were allowed to elect optional courses in the study of English. Between 1882 and 1889, the total annual enrollment for the three different divisions of the Training School averaged forty-eight, with a high of fifty-four students listed on the school's rolls for 1888.³⁰ Those Pohnpeian students coming from nearby areas lived at home and provided for their own support; students from the more distant areas of Pohnpei and from other islands lived as boarding students whose basic needs were covered by grants from the school's operating fund. The average expense of maintaining a couple at the Training School amounted to \$25 a year; a single student cost the mission \$15.³¹ In addition to the Training School, the complex at Ohwa also consisted of a Boys Boarding School and a Girls Boarding School. Again, enrollment was predominantly Pohnpeian with some students drawn from the other islands and supported financially by the mission on Pohnpei. Until a stroke forced his final departure from the island in 1885, Sturges concerned himself with the Biblical Department of the Training School, while Rand split his time between the Training School and the Boys Boarding School. Fletcher and Palmer ran

the Girls Boarding School and worked with the women of the Normal School.

All of the missionaries involved with the Training School expressed deep regret over the failure of the school to meet its objectives; between 1884 and 1889, the school produced only three foreign teachers and two domestic church workers. Sturges early on blamed Rand for the school's poor record.³² Lucy Ingersoll saw a deeper problem in the nature of educational methods employed at Ohwa; she criticized the emphasis on rote learning as not encouraging students' imaginations.³³ She believed that the students came away from their education with a confusing mass of facts and no idea about how to apply what they had learned practically. Noting the enthusiasm and interest for language learning among Pohnpeians, Ingersoll recommended that greater stress be placed on the teaching of English. In short, she held that education should be an essentially uplifting, enlightening experience.

Edward Doane, because of his growing disillusionment with the work of the Pohnpeian missionaries in the Mortlocks, saw Ohwa as little more than an overly structured elementary school. In his letters, he expressed the opinion that education should not leave young people dissatisfied with life on the islands. Education should be as simple as the lives of the people. In formulating educational objectives, Doane urged his associates to keep in mind that there was "no need for shoes on Pohnpei."³⁴ He recommended simple arithmetic, basic literacy skills, an understanding of appropriate agricultural and fishing techniques, and, most critically, a knowledge and appreciation of the Bible. Proper manners and good personal hygiene were also important.

While debating approaches, most of the missionaries agreed that the most serious barrier to Christian education on the island was the "lack of virtue" among Pohnpeian youth. The missionaries worried that Ohwa, rather than providing a sound Christian education, served more as a sexual playground for Pohnpeian adolescents and young adults. The eventual seduction of almost all female students brought to the school from other islands caused particular consternation among the missionaries. Admitting that most of their scholars fell into sin during their stay at the school or immediately after their return home, Sturges lamented that virtue could be found as easily in a barnyard as at Ohwa.³⁵ Doane felt the problem lay in the genetic tendencies toward promiscuity among the Pohnpeians: "It is one of the sad things pertaining to Ponapei youth, male and female, [that] they cannot reach manhood or womanhood pure."³⁶ Thinking over the experiences of his last years on the island, Sturges concluded from his home in Oakland, California, that the education received at Ohwa did little to remove the particular "malignity of youth" on Pohnpei.³⁷

Whatever its shortcomings in the missionaries' eyes, the Training School at Ohwa did educate a group of young Pohnpeian men and women whose effects on the course of life on the island would prove considerable. Foremost among this group was Henry Nanpei³⁸ (Figure 19). Born in 1860 to Nahnken Nahnku of Kiti and his wife, Meri-An, the child first received the Pohnpeian title, Nankirounpeinpok. The missionaries baptized him Henry while he was still a young boy. As an adult, Henry would later take the Pohnpeian title of Nanpei, given him by his father, and make it his last name. With Nahnku's death in 1864, Nanpei and his mother were taken into the household of Nahnku's successor, Nahnawa en Mwudok. Despite her new husband's strident opposition to the Protestant mission, Nanpei's mother insisted that Henry be educated by the missionaries at Ohwa. At the age of twenty-four, Nanpei, still a student at the Training School, began working as a teacher in the Primary Division. Greater responsibility and reward soon followed. By 1888

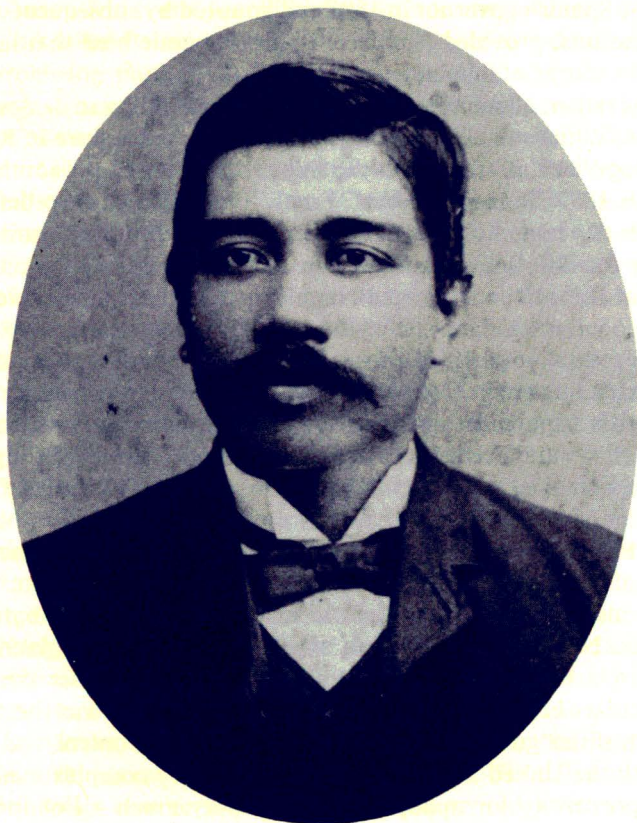


Figure 19. Henry Nanpei in 1891 at the age of thirty-one.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

Nanpei served as an assistant to Frank Rand in the administration of the entire school and drew a salary of \$100 per month.³⁹ Married to Karolin (Caroline), a daughter of Narcissus de los Santos, Nanpei rose quickly to become the leading figure in the Protestant church on Pohnpei. Rand termed Henry and Karolin "the best couple on the island in every way."⁴⁰

A member of one of the island's less prominent clans, the Dipwinluhk, Nanpei was considered neither a noble nor a royal child. While his Pohnpeian title was high, his clan membership excluded him from any further advancement in the traditional political system. What did benefit Nanpei greatly was a piece of paper signed by his father, Nahnku, at the insistence of his maternal grandfather, James Headley.⁴¹ The paper deeded to young Henry all of the Nahnken's lands as an inheritance. This was an unprecedented, revolutionary departure from the traditional Pohnpeian practice of returning to the nahnmwarki all land held in trust by the deceased. The inheritance of major tracts of land in Kiti, officially certified by the Spanish governor in 1896 and honored by subsequent colonial administrations, provided Nanpei with an economic base that he developed into a source of immense wealth.

Like his father, Nanpei demonstrated a marked ability to deal with foreign ships. While still a student at Ohwa, he opened a store in Rohnkiti that monopolized all trade with the ships still calling at the southeastern harbor. In 1887 Nanpei lent Mrs. Frank Rand \$225 to help defray the cost of her trip home for convalescence; it was an almost unheard of sum of money for a Pohnpeian at this time.⁴² The success of his commercial dealings at Rohnkiti encouraged Nanpei to exploit his landed wealth by planting coconut trees and selling the copra to representatives of German trading firms on the island. He later increased his considerable land holdings by extending credit freely to the chiefs of the island and then accepting land gifts as payment. When in 1907 the Germans took the land away from the chiefs and deeded it to actual occupants, Nanpei, through similar tactics, managed to quickly snatch up much of the Kiti people's newly awarded lands.

From 1890 until his death in 1927, Nanpei was known as the richest and one of the most powerful individuals on the island. Supported by a circle of mission-trained relatives and associates known as the *pwihn en loalokong*, Nanpei, through both subtle maneuvers and planned violence, sought to loosen the paramount chiefs' control over the island. Some scholars believe that Nanpei's ultimate objective was the creation of a centralized government under his immediate control and closely allied with the United States. He was an extremely complex man with a marked propensity for manipulation. Still very much a Pohnpeian, he used the Protestant mission to advance his own interests. A shared religion, along with his wealth, education, and traditional ties, helped pro-

vide Nanpei with influence over the Protestant rulers of Madolenihmw and U. The missionaries called him a prince. The Spaniards suspected him of promoting insurrection and of supplying hostile forces with guns and ammunition; nonetheless, they awarded him medals for the important, though well-calculated and self-serving, assistance he did render them at times. The Germans saw his cunning behind the Sokehs Rebellion that would shake the island in 1910.⁴³ His family, clanmates, and fellow church members regarded him as a heroic patriarch; other Pohnpeians simply called him wicked (*mworsuwed*).

Luelen Bernart was another prominent Pohnpeian to come out of the Training School at Ohwa. Bernart, unlike Nanpei, enjoyed considerable rank and prestige through his clan lineage. The son of a man who rose to the title of Dauk, the third-ranking title in the nahnmwarki or *soupeidi*'s line, Bernart belonged to the Lipitahn, the clan from which the nahnken of Kiti was chosen.⁴⁴ Though never becoming nahnken, he did attain the title Nahnsau Ririn, the fourth-highest title in the nahnken or *serihso*'s line. Rand called Bernart "much like Henry Nanpei and next to him the most promising pupil."⁴⁵ Before his twentieth birthday, in addition to serving as a teacher in the Primary Division, Bernart preached on a regular basis at such out-stations as Dehphek and Temwen.⁴⁶ Like Nanpei a resident of Kiti, he cemented his religious and geographical ties with the Nahnken's son by marrying Kilara (Clara), a sister of Nanpei's wife. In Pohnpeian kinship terms, their marriage to blood sisters made Bernart and Nanpei brothers. A constant ally and supporter of Nanpei throughout his life, Luelen Bernart would go on to produce the first history of a Micronesian island ever written by a Micronesian Islander.

Three other members of the Ohwa circle (the *pwihn en loalokong*) played major roles in events on the island in this period.⁴⁷ A member of the Dipwinmen clan and holder of the section chief's title for Mwudok Island, Tepit (David) Hadley was a first cousin of Nanpei's; he also married a daughter of Narcissus de los Santos. Ettekar (Edgar) of Mesihsou in Madolenihmw, a man whom the Spanish officials believed guilty of instigating the 1890 conflict at Ohwa, was a member of the Sounpwok, the same clan to which the wives of Henry Nanpei, Luelen Bernart, and Tepit Hadley all belonged. Clan affiliation, then, reinforced Ettekar's ties to Nanpei's circle; he soon broke with Nanpei, however, and went his own separate way.⁴⁸ A fifth member of the circle was William of Mwahnd. He belonged to the Dipwinpahnmei clan, but had no direct access to power, since the Dipwinpahnmei, while rulers of Madolenihmw, held no special rank or privilege in U. Though not related to Nanpei through clan or family ties, William proved a strong supporter and ally of the Kiti leader. Married to a woman of the Lasialap clan, the ruling clan of U, William attempted to use his wife's connection to incite

U against the Catholics of Awak in 1898, receiving the strong but clandestine support of Nanpei.

Denied access to traditional sources of power, these five extremely ambitious men sought to use the knowledge gained from their training at Ohwa to promote their own interests. Their education provided skills that helped them to deal with missionaries, traders, and colonial officials on a more equal and effective basis than had previously been possible for individual Pohnpeians. This ability, in turn, won for most of them varying degrees of wealth, prominence, and respect. While never threatening the dominance of the existing political order, the members of the *pwiñh en loalokong* did exert a considerable degree of influence over the affairs of the island that led to important changes. Learning from the examples set by these men, Pohnpeians came to place greater emphasis on a formal schooling that permitted more equitable access to the ideas, technologies, and skills of the outside world. In a twist of irony, Ohwa, despite the missionaries' despair, produced men who in many ways came very close to effecting the kinds of changes the missionaries desired for Pohnpei.

Of much more immediate concern to the missionaries than any wishful musings about the role their students might one day play in the affairs of the island were the activities of the Spanish priests. The priests reciprocated with equal passion the animosity displayed by Doane and the other Protestant missionaries on the island. To the Capuchins, the Protestants' corruption of the Gospel constituted a far more serious threat than the most heathenish practices of uncivilized savages. Llevaneras, the supervisor of all Capuchin missionary activity in the Pacific, described the Protestant missionaries as disseminators of evil who promoted hypocrisy, perversion, and deceit.⁴⁹ The priest accused the missionaries of using coercion to enforce church discipline, of falsifying records to give a misleading picture of Protestant successes, and even of taking positions that promoted disease and decline among the island's population. The Spanish Capuchins viewed the Protestant missionaries' pronounced advocacy of "mercantilism" as their most grievous fault. Reflecting on missionary efforts in the Carolines, one German Capuchin wrote,

One must lament and condemn the crude system of the Boston Methodist [sic] Mission, a profanation of Christianity possible only for an American business soul, whereby clothes were forced on the natives under the mask of Christian morality and decency, but in reality to make a lucrative business out of its highly profitable trade in the garments, which soon wear out because of the poor quality and must be replaced by new ones.⁵⁰

The ultimate arbiters of religious change on the island were, of course, the Pohnpeians. Despite the political and material attractions that differ-

ent segments of their society found in the religion of the American missionaries, Pohnpeians did express serious dissatisfaction with certain tenets and practices of Protestantism.⁵¹ Public confession, an extremely dangerous practice on Pohnpei, where individual transgressions often affected the honor of families, clans, and entire chiefdoms, never took hold. More problematical for the missionaries, however, was the Pohnpeians' fundamental understanding of the relationship between a god and his people. Pohnpeians believed that ritual supplication accompanied by appropriate offerings induced their gods to release the bounty of the land and the sea.

When Pohnpeians asked the missionaries, as they would their chiefs and their gods, for material assistance, the missionaries indignantly retorted that spiritual salvation required life-long penance and material sacrifice. The response disturbed the sense of harmony that Pohnpeians believed characterized the relationship between the world of gods and the world of people. In addition, the missionaries' insistence on the people's support of the churches through contributions of money, produce, or crafts placed the island's Protestant community in a serious dilemma. These people found themselves torn between obligations to their chiefs, who still very much controlled the resources necessary for subsistence, and the missionaries, who demanded equal tribute for heavenly salvation. So pressed, many Pohnpeians reduced their initial commitment to the new religion. Protestantism on Pohnpei was faced with a formidable cultural barrier beyond which it became increasingly difficult to progress. The missionaries' mention of the people's indifference, spiritual coldness, backsliding, and demands for compensation for all work performed in behalf of the church reflected this impasse. For some, a solution to the difficulty lay in transforming the mission church into a distinctly Pohnpeian entity; this process, already begun, would accelerate after the missionaries' forced withdrawal from the island in 1890. For others, Catholicism offered an acceptable alternative.⁵²

In scrutinizing the representatives of this second Christian religion, many Pohnpeians quickly noted the generosity of the priests. Presents of toys, trinkets, clothing, and money led the people to call the priests *kadek* 'kind'. Some saw a promise of more material gain through a religion that placed less rigorous demands on their already strained resources. Pohnpeians observed too that the dark robes, the long beards, and the abstinence from the company of women seemed appropriate to men who claimed to know the ways of gods. Unlike the more secular Protestant services, the Catholic masses, with their ritual, ceremony, and otherworldly aura, coincided more closely with what Pohnpeians expected of the nature of communications with gods. Debates over the role of the Virgin Mary and the meaning of the Immaculate Conception

posed no problem for Pohnpeians who believed godly beings capable of all manner of miraculous behavior.⁵³ Despite these positive impressions, Catholicism did not make immediate inroads on Pohnpei. The return of Narcissus de los Santos to the Catholic fold, a much heralded event in the first months of Capuchin missionary activity on the island, failed to inspire others, including the Filipino's own family members who remained committed Protestants.⁵⁴ Indeed, the first individuals baptized on the island by the priests were not Pohnpeians but the children of the Spanish colonists. By 1893, six years after the Spanish arrival, the number of Pohnpeian converts to Catholicism was less than one hundred.⁵⁵ Popular acceptance of a second foreign religion required more time; many Pohnpeians waited for the responses of their chiefs.

The Nahnmwarki of Kiti's immediate response to Catholicism demonstrated the political appeal the new religion had for some of Pohnpei's paramount chiefs. In Kiti, as elsewhere on the island, political unity suffered from centuries-old sectional and clan rivalries. A new generation of Pohnpeian ruling chiefs confronted hostile factions that expressed their opposition to the reigning powers through adherence to the Protestant faith. Less than a month after the arrival of the Spaniards, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, known as Mensila and baptized in 1897 as Miguel, visited the Capuchin priests to ask that a mission station be established in Kiti.⁵⁶ His predecessor, Nahnmwarki Ejikaia, had attempted to control the Protestant church by becoming a member. Mensila had resisted the restraints of membership and thus, upon succession to the title in the mid-1880s, faced a powerful source of resistance to his paramountcy. Young Henry Nanpei, through his education, his association with the Protestant mission, his trading interests, and his claims to large tracts of land in Kiti, loomed as a serious rival to the Nahnmwarki's power.⁵⁷ For Mensila, baptism as a Protestant meant submission. An alternate strategy was needed to counter opponents who drew on foreign wealth and ideas.

Mensila had succeeded in stopping the construction of a new Protestant church in Enipein Pah and in disrupting the work of the mission station at Wene; still the challenge to his authority persisted.⁵⁸ Deeply concerned, Mensila turned to the religion of the Spaniards to keep in check the hostile forces that gathered around the Protestant mission. Joyous over the Nahnmwarki's request for a mission station in Kiti, the Capuchins quickly set about building a church and rectory at Wene.⁵⁹ The hostilities of 1887, however, delayed their plans; it was not until 1889 that the station began operations. As a show of commitment, the Nahnmwarki allowed his infant son, Nintalue, to be baptized.⁶⁰ The gesture was particularly grandiose since the people of Kiti regarded the circumstances of the child's birth with great reverence. Pohnpeians believed that a child

born to a reigning Nahnmwarki, called an *ipwihn pohn warawar*, possessed an unusually godly aura because of the supernatural forces that surrounded the Nahnmwarki at the time of conception.⁶¹ Christened, appropriately enough, Serephenus, the child would one day assume the title of Nahnken.

Mensila also enlisted other Spanish resources in his cause. Convinced that the presence of a Spanish military garrison would have an intimidating effect on his opponents that would far outweigh any dangers, the Nahnmwarki permitted the construction of a small fort near the church. Construction of the military compound, carried out by a detachment of Spanish troops under the command of Lieutenant Don Marcelo Porras, was completed in late October 1889.⁶² The physical layout of the area conveyed a strong political statement; between the fort and the church some 100 yards to the south lay Alenieng, the residence of the Nahnmwarki. Only 60 feet separated the Catholic house of worship from the Protestant church. At the consecration of both the church and the fort, Spanish pageantry combined with Pohnpeian hospitality to create a memorable occasion.⁶³ The Nahnmwarki greeted the mission party, led by Father Saturnius de Aratonja, in his best European suit. Next followed a solemn mass in which Pohnpeians, as good hosts, attempted to imitate the solemnity and piety of the Spaniards. Doane, deploring the din of chants, hymns, and Latin prayers, conceded that the Protestant church in Wene would have to be moved.⁶⁴ Effectively countered for the time being, the forces opposed to the Nahnmwarki could do little. Protestant dissatisfaction did express itself through the murder of Pedro, a native of Guam and son-in-law of Mensila, who had been serving as a courier between the colony in the north and the Spanish complex at Wene.⁶⁵

Despite surface appearances, the fluidity and complexity of island politics defied simple groupings of people under Protestant and Catholic labels. In Madolenihmw, Nahnmwarki Pol (Paul) proved an aggressive enforcer of Protestant morality. His conversion, much like that of the apostle whose name he took at baptism, occurred after a period of virulent opposition to the spread of Christianity.⁶⁶ Pol now used his new religion to maximum political advantage. The missionaries applauded his vigorous enforcement of laws prohibiting prostitution and the use and distillation of alcoholic spirits. Some Pohnpeians, however, saw something very self-serving in his selective application of justice.⁶⁷

The focus of the Nahnmwarki's judicial efforts lay in the north of his chiefdom, the area of Madolenihmw that had been traditionally an almost autonomous area that often resisted the central authority of Temwen. In 1880 a near-war broke out over the possession of the former

wife of the Nahnmwarki of U, who had fled to northern Madolenihmw following the death of her husband.⁶⁸ One of the leading chiefs of the north claimed the woman as his bride. According to the dictates of Pohnpeian culture, the wife of a Nahnmwarki belonged only to him. Upon his death, she could either marry his successor or live as a royal widow (*rohng en soupeidi*). No individual other than the paramount chief could consort with her in any way.⁶⁹ To Pol, the claim upon the woman smacked of rebellion. He saw in the action yet another example of the north's rebelliousness. Though traditional practices would have sanctioned his claim to the wife of a deceased nahnmwarki, his own espousal of Christian principles excluded this option. Instead, backed by Doane and much of the Protestant community in Madolenihmw, Pol used Christian principles to deny the northern chief the woman.

Beginning with the support of its first chiefly patron, Wasai Ejikaia, the Protestant mission at Ohwa had quickly become a modern symbol for a long-standing, multifaceted tradition of resistance in the polity of Madolenihmw. Indeed, the people of the north first rallied to the Protestant banner in the mid-1860s to express their defiance of Temwen in the south. Pol's conversion to Christianity not only deprived the north of exclusive access to a valuable foreign resource but enhanced his own claims to paramountcy by appealing to a code of values and ethics that theoretically transcended the political divisions of the chiefdom. Outmaneuvered for the time being by Pol's adroit strategy, the northern chief had no choice but to back down.

The tensions in the north did not subside, however. In 1889 a dispute over land between Nahnmwarki Pol and two major chiefs of the north, Kroun en Lehda and Dauk Madolenihmw, almost resulted in a civil war.⁷⁰ The dissatisfaction of these two northern chiefs was a source of potent political opposition to Pol. Kroun en Lehda was an extremely important chief who ruled the large area of Lehda, with its tradition of autonomy predating the rise of Nan Madol. Kroun en Lehda, also called Takai Mwahu, was a member of the Inanpaileng, one of the Dipwinpahnmei's subclans; he enjoyed status and privilege in the north rivaling that of the Nahnmwarki.⁷¹ Behind Kroun en Lehda's challenge to Pol lay Lehda's resistance to the rule of Temwen. Dauk Madolenihmw's defiance showed the more recent but equally intense bitterness caused by the Upwutenmei's fall from power. Congregated in the north around its leading chief, the Dauk, the senior lineage of the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling subclan persisted in its attempts to regain power over all of Madolenihmw.

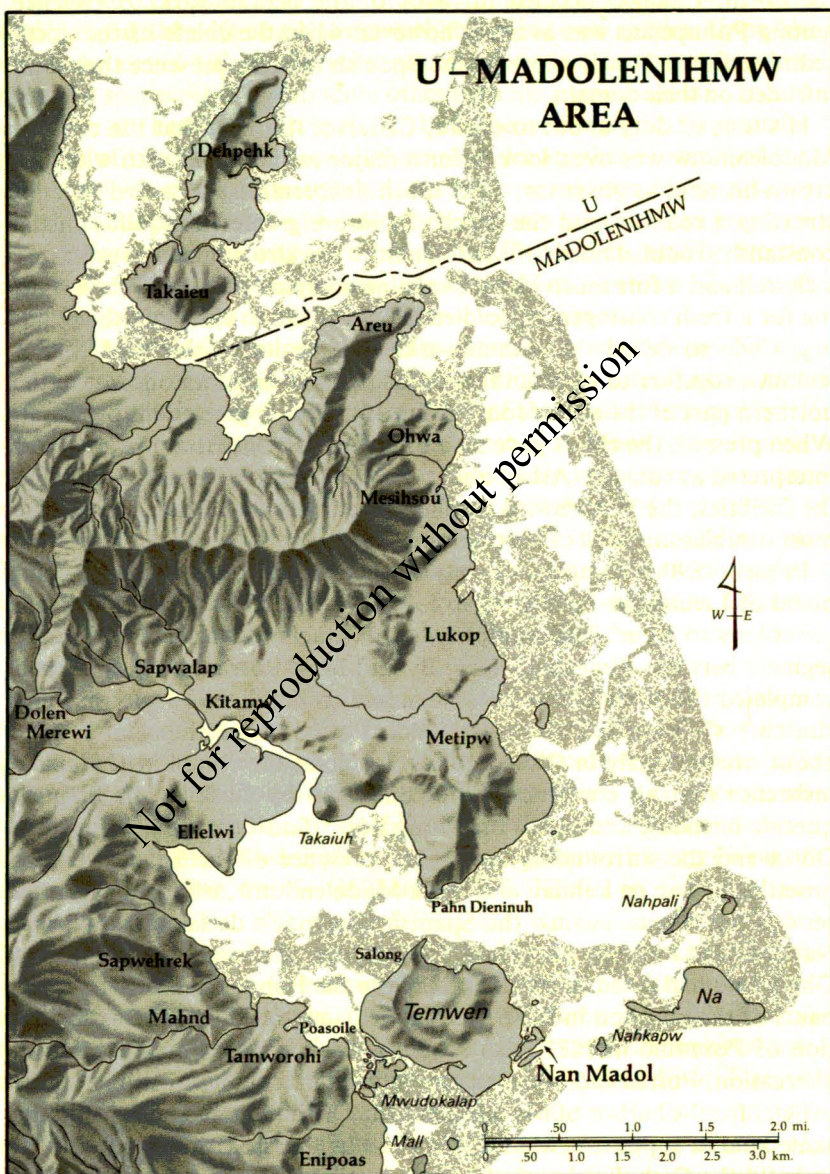
Faced with such formidable opposition, the Nahnmwarki again engaged the support of Doane. When missionary efforts proved inadequate, he turned to the Spanish governor. Responding to the request,

Cadarso sent the steamer *Manila* to Madolenihmw. At a meeting on board attended by Spanish officials, the Nahnmwarki, and the chiefs of the north, Cadarso decided in favor of the Nahnmwarki.⁷² Violence among Pohnpeians was averted, however, when the chiefs of the north redirected their hostility toward the Spanish military presence that soon intruded on their domain.

His tour of duty about to expire, Cadarso, thinking that the crisis in Madolenihmw was over, looked for a major achievement with which to crown his term as governor. After much deliberation, he settled on constructing a road around the island. To insure greater tranquility in the constantly troubled north of Madolenihmw, he also planned to construct a church and a fort much like the existing complex in Wene. While waiting for a fresh contingent of soldiers from Manila to carry out the building, Cadarso called the Nahnmwarki and the lesser chiefs of Madolenihmw together to inform them of his plans to build an outpost in the northern part of their chiefdom⁷³ (Map 10). Silence greeted his proposal. When pressed, the chiefs gave an ambiguous response that the governor interpreted as consent. Asked about the most appropriate place to build the facilities, the Nahnmwarki replied cryptically that Ohwa seemed the most troublesome area of his chiefdom.⁷⁴

In early 1890, a company of sixty newly arrived troops under the command of Lieutenant Porras began to build the section of the road from the colony to Wene. That completed, the detachment next turned to the segment between Wene and Ohwa. By mid-May, Porras and his men had completed the Wene-Ohwa leg and turned to building the garrison and church.⁷⁵ Consulting Nahnmwarki Pol, Porras found the chief evasive about where exactly in Ohwa actually to locate the complex. Cadarso's insistence that all construction be completed by 24 July, the Spanish queen's birthday, added to Porras' anxiety.⁷⁶ Tension soon developed in Ohwa and the surrounding areas. The presence of the Spanish troops unsettled Kroun en Lehdau and Dauk Madolenihmw, who still harbored serious resentment against the Spanish governor's decision in favor of Nahnmwarki Pol the year before. Ettekar, one of the mission teachers at Ohwa who had acted as mediator between the Pohnpeians and the occupants of the pontoon in the period immediately following the assassination of Posadillo in 1887, also bore a grudge against Porras. After an altercation, Porras had removed the Pohnpeian from his position as port official for the harbor of Mwudok in Kiti.⁷⁷ Thinking that he enjoyed the same kind of support in Madolenihmw as he had in Kiti, Porras decided to build the Catholic church near the existing Protestant complex. This tactless decision alienated the many faithful and already suspicious Pohnpeian Protestants in and around Ohwa.

The Capuchin missionaries, sensitive to the tensions that had been



Map 10.

south along the shoreline to Sapwehrek. Emerging from the water there, he fled inland over the mountains until he reached the Spanish fort in Wene where he informed the commander of the massacre. The news came too late to save a sergeant and four soldiers who had set out from Wene for the colony earlier in the day.⁸² Paddling north along the Madolenihmw coast, the small Spanish party was ambushed off Na. The Madolenihmw attackers spared only the life of a young boy from Wene who had accompanied the soldiers as a guide and translator. Aware that any harm to the boy, a member of the ruling Dipwinmen clan, would bring on a most inopportune war with Kiti, the warriors took the boy to shore and prepared an elaborate feast for him. This politically astute gesture appeased the war parties from Kiti sent to search for the boy. Spain thus remained the sole focus of Madolenihmw's ire.

In the encounter at Ohwa, the Spaniards had lost thirty-four soldiers. The Pohnpeians suffered no fatalities. Word of the tragedy first reached the colony in a letter from Ariñez entrusted to a trader making his way back to the colony by boat from southern Madolenihmw. Cadarso, throwing all caution to the wind, reacted immediately. Impatient over the time required to stoke the *Manila's* boilers, he ordered an advance party of fifty soldiers to proceed to Ohwa in two launches. The Spaniards were about to confront a formidable Pohnpeian resistance that relied on cunning, agility, speed, bravery, and divine assistance. Unlike the uprising at Mesenieng, which had a more spontaneous character, the conflict in Madolenihmw following the events of 25 June showed signs of being premeditated. As they usually did in planned wars, the Pohnpeians used sorcery and prayed for supernatural intervention in their battle against an enemy.

Arriving off Ohwa at noon on 26 June, the leader of the Spanish forces, Captain Don Saturnino Serrano, deployed the two boats for a landing. Two white flags flying from the Ohwa mission grounds encouraged the soldiers as they waded toward shore in waist-deep water. Approaching the beach, however, they encountered a withering barrage of rifle fire. In their reports of the encounter, the Spaniards claimed they had been deceived by the white flags into believing that the rebels wished to surrender. The protest made no sense to the Pohnpeians, who held deception to be a key strategy in any martial encounter. Pohnpeian accounts of the confrontation claim that ghosts shot from the tops of trees along the shore while men fired below from behind rocks, mounds, and logs.⁸³ Unable to reach the land under such intense fire, the troops returned to the boats. In the late afternoon, the *Manila*, its boilers finally heated, reached Ohwa. Moving through the treacherous harbor channel, the captain brought the ship about in order to bombard the land. The Spaniards blamed the ineffectiveness of the subsequent shelling on the age and small caliber of the *Manila's* guns. The Pohnpeians credited the

spirits of dead warriors from battles long past with preventing the shells from reaching the shore. Dashing out from behind their cover, the Pohnpeians waded out into the water and quickly gathered the metal fragments and unexploded shells to use as ammunition in later encounters.

In the process of this futile bombardment, the *Manila* ran up on the reef. It took the better part of three days to free the ship. During this time, Pohnpeians laughed derisively from the shore at the show of Spanish ineptitude. One small group of warriors sneaked to the ship in broad daylight and stole one of the longboats tied to the stern. Pohnpeians attributed the feat to the use of *rotensowas*, a magic that allows its users to go undetected in daylight hours as if they were invisible. Amazed that the Pohnpeians would even think of attempting such a thing, the Spaniards sheepishly insisted in their reports that their preoccupation with the *Manila's* plight had prevented them from more carefully guarding the approaches to the ship.⁸⁴ Successfully refloated, the *Manila*, with a leaky hull and severe damage to its boilers, limped ignominiously back to the colony.

Not prepared to wage an extensive campaign in Madolenihmw with the remaining forces at his command, Cadarso chartered the American trading schooner *John Fowler* to carry an urgent request for assistance to Manila. While awaiting reinforcements, Cadarso took steps to reassert some measure of control over the situation. A proclamation issued in early July demanded the immediate surrender of the Madolenihmw rebels.⁸⁵ The governor held the Nahnmwarki directly responsible for events. Pol, caught between the Spaniards and his rebellious subjects, tried to disassociate himself from the Ohwa violence. To Cadarso's insistent calls that he surrender the ringleaders and bring an immediate end to all hostilities, Pol could only plead ineffectiveness and his own personal innocence.⁸⁶ The governor's posturing failed to impress the people of northern Madolenihmw who reveled in their successes against the Spanish troops. Demands for surrender led only to the return of Porras' sabre and twelve muskets.⁸⁷ All communication between the colony and Madolenihmw soon ceased.

The island's other ruling chiefs moved quickly to insure the security of their domains. In the north, the chiefs of Sokehs and Net, this time benefiting from the distance that separated the north of the island from the immediate theater of violence, presented themselves at the Spanish colony to disavow any involvement in the uprising.⁸⁸ One chief, Lepen Sokehs, even volunteered his services as an intermediary.⁸⁹ The Nahnmwarki of Kiti tried a more subtle, manipulative approach in his efforts to keep the violence from spilling into his area. Upon learning of the problems at Ohwa, he quickly reassured the priests and soldiers at Wene of his good faith. Then, in a gesture the island's supposed colonial overlords must have found somewhat embarrassing, he ordered watches

around the Spanish compound to protect against any raids or attacks.⁹⁰ Covering all political bases, the Nahnmwarki cast a blind eye on the sizeable number of Kiti warriors going to the assistance of Madolenihmw.⁹¹

Having received word of the latest hostilities on Pohnpei, Manila hesitated. The governor general of the Philippines wrote the government in Madrid that the island simply did not warrant the expense involved in outfitting another expeditionary force.⁹² Madrid felt differently. Acutely aware of the damage to domestic and international reputation that would result from a failure to avenge the spilling of Spanish blood by island "savages," the Crown government demanded a reprisal. After a long delay caused by the initial differences between Manila and Madrid, the Spanish supply ship *Salvadora* arrived at Pohnpei on 27 August 1890. Four days later, the cruisers *Ulloa* and *Velasco* brought a party of five hundred soldiers under the command of Colonel Isidro Gutierrez de Soto. A military man convinced of the efficacy of force, Gutierrez expressed dismay over the laxity that prevailed in the colony. In a note to the governor general of the Philippines shortly after his arrival, Gutierrez wrote that the pacification of the island necessitated either the immediate removal of the American missionaries or the extermination of the entire island population; the latter alternative, wrote Gutierrez in a statement that revealed his preference, could be accomplished in a few short months.⁹³ Defying Cadarso, whom he believed to be grossly incompetent, Gutierrez planned a major assault on Madolenihmw. On 13 September, Gutierrez, totally unaware that the geography and climate of the island could be debilitating to outsiders, marched out of the colony at the head of a column of soldiers. His strategy called for the *Ulloa* and the *Velasco* to conduct a bombardment of central and northern Madolenihmw, after which the Spanish column, reaching the area by an overland march, would launch a direct attack on Ohwa itself.

The march from the colony was an unmitigated failure. With no visible path through the mountains, the Spanish column soon became lost in the rugged terrain amidst the thick vegetation.⁹⁴ Then came the rains. The Spaniards, themselves given to seeing the intervention of supernatural forces in human affairs, believed the heavy rains to be divinely inspired. One marcher wrote: "The clouds overhead hastened to defend the territory and hurled upon us a heavy shower which lasted for six consecutive hours, a downpour which seemed to be connected by a tie of kinship with the Universal Deluge."⁹⁵ The column, drenched and exhausted, was forced to turn back to the colony after less than a day of marching. The bombardment from the two ships proved equally futile. A small landing party sent ashore at Temwen to assess the damage found only abandoned dwellings.

In the colony, the troops rested for two days and then reorganized for

a second march. Again taking an overland route but under friendlier skies, the column, after a two-day march, reached the area just north of Ohwa. While the troops bedded down for the night, Gutierrez finalized plans for the following day's assault. The next morning, the men awakened to find Gutierrez in his tent dead from a gunshot wound through the roof of his mouth. Demoralized, the Spaniards could only conclude that their leader had committed suicide. Pohnpeians, however, knew differently. While the weary marchers had slept "like saints," as one chronicler of the expedition put it, two Pohnpeians had stolen into the camp and shot the colonel.⁹⁶ The man who actually killed the colonel, a member of the Dipwinwai clan named Repena, later received the title of Soulik en Sapwawas as a reward for his daring.⁹⁷

Operations against Ohwa were delayed while the *Manila* returned Gutierrez' body to the colony. Awaiting the return of the ship, the Spanish column came under heavy sniper fire and heavier rains. The *Manila* returned the next day with the new commander of the expedition, Captain Victor Diaz, who quickly decided on a single amphibious landing. With the assault column now aboard, the *Manila* sailed to join the *Ulloa* and the *Velasco* off Ohwa.⁹⁸ On 19 September, after an extended bombardment, the Spanish troops began a direct frontal landing. An unusually low tide forced them to leave the landing boats a considerable distance from land. Again, the Spaniards found the Pohnpeian defenses uncanny, almost eerie. Reaching the shore, the soldiers came upon a line of double trenches surrounded by a wider moat one meter deep. "God knows by what expert but occult hand they were guided. . . . Let us call the engineer the Ghost of Oua," wrote one member of the landing party.⁹⁹

Persisting in their advance despite heavy casualties, the Spanish troops forced the Pohnpeians to withdraw up the hill to the mission compound and later into the hills behind Ohwa. Reaching the mission grounds, the Spanish forces burned all of the buildings. Spanish losses amounted to 30 dead. Despite official claims that 150 of the enemy had fallen, the Spaniards located only 3 Pohnpeian bodies, one of which was that of Soulik en Ohwa, the *pali en dahl* or nahnken for *kousapw* Ohwa. Curious about the depravity that could lead savages to resist the paternal benevolence of their God-fearing nation, the Spaniards cut off the head of Soulik en Ohwa and sent it back to Madrid for study. Not learning much from the size or shape of the skull, the Spanish scientists eventually placed it in the museum at the University of Santiago as an anthropological artifact.¹⁰⁰ In a gross euphemism that bordered on the absurd, official Spanish accounts proclaimed the assault upon Ohwa "a genuine triumph and complete victory."¹⁰¹

In the weeks that followed, Cadarso came to believe that all resistance

to Spain had ceased. An expeditionary force sent from the colony in early October to investigate conditions in Kiti and southern Madolenihmw encountered no hostilities. A bombardment of northern Madolenihmw was carried out on 11 October; the lack of response or retaliation from the area added to the governor's illusion that the rebel forces had been destroyed. The generally low morale and the large number of soldiers suffering from intestinal ailments and other ills also figured prominently in Cadarso's calculations.¹⁰² Convinced that further military operations against Madolenihmw were unnecessary, he turned to punishing the real perpetrators of the rebellion.

Most guilty in the eyes of the Spanish governor were the American Protestant missionaries. In a meeting with Commander H. C. Taylor of the USS *Alliance* who had arrived at Pohnpei on 10 October to investigate the troubles, Cadarso outlined his case against the missionaries.¹⁰³ The governor asserted that the American Protestants had never accepted Spanish control over the island. Despite the conciliatory approach taken by the first two governors, the missionaries and their followers had continually defied Spanish authority. As evidence, Cadarso cited the assassination of Posadillo and the persistent unrest in northern Madolenihmw. He further charged that the two women missionaries resident at Ohwa in June, Estella Fletcher and the recently arrived Lucy M. Cole, had received advance word of the impending conflict but failed to notify Spanish authorities. Cadarso believed that Rand, who had returned to the island on 20 August after a year's leave of absence, had directed the September resistance against the Spanish expedition under Gutierrez and later Diaz. Cadarso also pointed to the involvement of Ettekar, now imprisoned in the Spanish colony, and of Henry Nanpei who, according to reliable sources, had supervised the construction of the defense works at Ohwa. Particularly incriminating was the use of the mission grounds by the rebels to resist the Spanish landing. Addressing a protest lodged by Taylor, Cadarso called the destruction of the mission grounds a justifiable act of war. He added that, though unfortunate, he now found it necessary to forbid indefinitely all mission activities on the island.

Taylor heard a very different story from the missionaries. Rand told the naval captain that Porras' arrogance and cruelty had led the people of Ohwa to violent action.¹⁰⁴ Responding to Taylor's questions about the mission's relationship with the rebel leaders, Rand admitted that Kroun en Lehda and Dauk Madolenihmw were baptized Christians but called them troublemakers and "among the least faithful of our people." The missionary also pointed to a sizeable "hoodlum" element in northern Madolenihmw that all too quickly flocked to the banner of anarchy and violence. Attempting to put a little more distance than actually existed between the mission and these people, Rand identified Sapwalap, the

home of Kroun en Lehdau, as a village seven or eight miles distant from Ohwa when, in fact, it was only two. Rand conceded that the extreme enthusiasm with which the people of Ohwa had greeted his return and his subsequent communications with the rebel leaders, though motivated by a desire to end the violence, must have aroused Spanish suspicion.¹⁰⁵ He added that the impossible nature of Cadarso's demands had worsened an already difficult situation. Threats of total annihilation had only hardened the will to resist and forced the Nahnmwarki, not a party to the original hostilities, to throw his support behind Kroun en Lehdau and Dauk Madolenihmw.

The Spaniards, frustrated by the violent resistance that had plagued their rule from the outset, now blamed the American missionaries for all of the difficulties, past and present, on the island. To Taylor's inquiries about when the missionaries could resume their work on the island, Cadarso responded with only vague references to some future date. When asked about an appropriate relocation site now that the mission's principal station at Ohwa had been destroyed, the governor replied sarcastically that it must be as far from the Spanish colony as possible.¹⁰⁶ Realizing the depth of Spanish hostility, Taylor recommended to the missionaries that they leave the island with him. In a final letter informing the Spanish governor of their departure, Taylor wrote that the missionaries' temporary withdrawal from the island in no way abrogated their rights to return or to make claims of redress against the Spanish government.¹⁰⁷ On 4 November 1890, the *Alliance* set sail from Rohnkiti, where the missionaries had sought refuge from the violence of Madolenihmw. In a sense, things had come full circle. The first four decades of American missionary activity on the island had ended where it began.

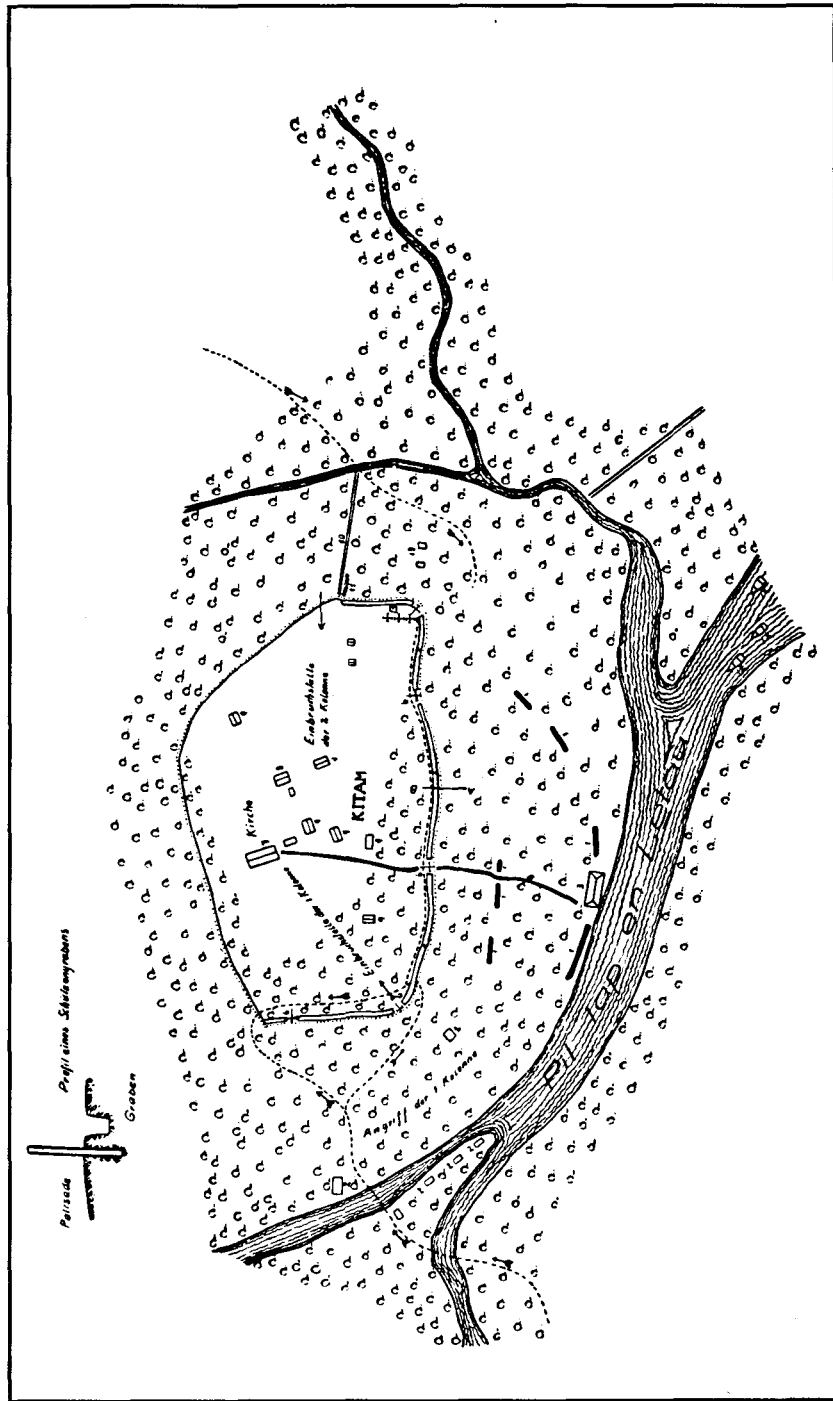
Ironically, Spain had achieved what no other force or circumstance on Pohnpei had been able to do since Isohkelekel had conquered Nan Madol. The Dipwinpahnmei, a clan split by long-standing rivalries among its various subclans and lineages, united to face a common enemy. Now committed to active resistance, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw threatened to shoot Lepen Sokehs, the intermediary employed by the governor, if he continued to serve as a Spanish lackey.¹⁰⁸ Pol, seeking to enlist the support of Taylor, sent a clandestine note through Rand to the American naval commander asking for guns and powder.¹⁰⁹ Leery of any involvement that would be construed by Spanish officials as taking sides in the conflict, Taylor refused to acknowledge Pol's communication. Forced to rely exclusively on its own resources, a temporarily united Madolenihmw proved more than equal to the task of blunting further Spanish offensives.

Manila did not share Cadarso's assessment of the situation on Pohnpei. News of the less-than-convincing results of the September actions,

along with Gutierrez' assumed suicide, led the government of the Philippines to order yet another punitive expedition, this time to eliminate once and for all the troublesome pocket of resistance in northern Madolenihmw.¹¹⁰ Though a strong opponent of Spain's continued possession of the Carolines, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, the Marques of Tenerife, now governor general of the Philippines and the future "Butcher of Havana," had no intention of allowing such overt defiance to go unpunished. More particularly, Weyler and other officials worried about the effects that news of such violent resistance would have on the increasingly restive, indigenous population of the Philippines.¹¹¹

On 14 November 1890, the steamship *Uranus* reached Pohnpei; accompanying the vessel were the transports *Cebu* and *Nervion* which carried a company of fresh Filipino troops under the command of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano y Ruiz. The Spanish plan of attack called for two columns to converge on the stone fortress at Kitamw, located half a mile up the Lehdau River, where the main body of Madolenihmw warriors had entrenched themselves. A second, smaller group of Pohnpeian fighters had gathered at Dolen Merewi, a mile and a half to the southwest, to protect the person of the Nahnmwarki who, in a predictably Pohnpeian manner befitting a godly chief, spent his days and nights praying for divine assistance against the Spanish assault.¹¹² The first column, composed of 250 men led by Captain Don Antonio Diaz de Rivera, was to proceed to Ohwa by transport where it would disembark and then sweep south to Kitamw. A second column of equal size under Serrano's personal command was to land at the mouth of the Lehdau River where it would await the arrival of the first column. Joining together, the two columns would then move up the banks of the Lehdau River to seize Kitamw.

At sunrise on 21 November, the expedition left the Spanish colony. While the *Manila* continued to move farther south, the *Cebu* landed the first column some five hundred yards from Ohwa's shore. Reaching land with no difficulty, the soldiers spent the day surveying the area around Ohwa. The next morning, guided by Christian Barbus and three of his wives, the expedition began its march toward the Lehdau River. At Mesihsou, the column found its way blocked by a small stone fort situated atop a hill. From the enclosure, a group of Pohnpeians kept the Spanish force pinned down with a steady stream of rifle fire. After several hours, Rivera ordered the column to divide and make a two-pronged attack on the hill fort. When they finally scaled its one-meter-high walls the troops found the structure abandoned. Examining the fort's dimensions, Rivera concluded that a party of fewer than thirty Pohnpeians had used a superior location to hold back a force almost ten times its size and at the same time to inflict serious losses (Map 11).



Map 11. A Spanish map of the Pohnpeian fortifications at Kitamw (Hambruch 1932, 274)

Rivera's column resumed the march and now came under intense sniper fire and hit-and-run attacks by small groups of Pohnpeians moving stealthily over the terrain. After becoming lost, the column accidentally stumbled on the fortress at Kitamw. Two hasty attacks on its south wall raised the column's total casualties for the day to twenty-one dead and fifty-three wounded. With almost a third of his force incapacitated, Rivera withdrew his troops to a small hill some sixty meters north of the fortress to await the arrival of the now overdue second column. Fearing an attack by Pohnpeian forces in the night, the troops refrained from lighting fires and returning sniper fire that would reveal their exact position. The cries of the wounded, however, betrayed them. Anacleto Cabeza Pereiro, the attending physician, wrote of that night:

The sad and desperate situation gave the moaning voices of our wounded, pleading for water, the harsh sound of a trumpet or bugle echoing mournfully in the silence of the night, announcing our positions and inviting our enemies. The troops were frightened, almost without ammunition, overcome by hunger and fatigue, and constantly on guard against attack. Thus, we passed the night of the 22nd, the most horrible night one could imagine and a night that will never be erased from our memories.¹¹³

Serrano's second column had also encountered difficulties. An inexplicable flooding of the Lehdau River under clear skies and bright sunshine forced the column farther south, where it finally stepped ashore at Temwen Island. The diverted landing cost them an entire day. With Etekarak serving as guide in exchange for clemency, the troops marched along the perimeter of Madolenihmw Harbor. Pressed for time, Serrano decided, on reaching the harbor's far western shore, to take the most direct route inland toward Kitamw rather than follow the coast to the Lehdau River. The march through dense tropical vegetation saved no time and only exhausted the soldiers. Reaching Elielwi near nightfall, Serrano had no choice but to make camp for the night. The next morning, 23 November, the column reached the Lehdau River. On the opposite bank stood the stone fortress of Kitamw. Fording the river, the soldiers overran a first line of defense that consisted of trenches and stone walls. At the same time, the remaining able-bodied soldiers of the battered first column, heartened by the sound of gunfire and bugles, joined the attack.

The Kitamw fortress, imposing as it looked, was only half completed. Not having had enough time to finish it, the Pohnpeians had to fight from an unfinished structure they referred to simply as *elep en kehl mwahu* 'half a good fort'; it lay vulnerable on its western and northern fronts.¹¹⁴ The advancing Spanish troops, discovering the weakness in the Pohnpeians' position, began pouring into the fort from these sides.

Hard-pressed by the attack and hurt by an earlier bombardment from the sea, the Pohnpeians soon abandoned their position. Victory, believed the Spanish forces, was theirs. All they had won, however, was a stone fortress that they destroyed two days later.

The Spaniards now draped their meaningless triumph with hollow ceremony. Searching for an appropriate gesture that would reassert Spain's tarnished claim to dominance over the island, Cadarso opted to partition Madolenihmw. In a meeting with the Nahnmwarkis of U and Kiti, Colonel Serrano, acting for Cadarso, informed them of Madolenihmw's ignominious defeat.¹¹⁵ To reward their loyalty during the most recent hostilities, Serrano announced that Madolenihmw would be divided between their two chiefdoms; all land north of the Lehdau River now belonged to U while jurisdiction over southern Madolenihmw fell to Kiti (see Appendix 8). Before ending their meeting, Serrano reminded the two that Spain retained ultimate authority over not only the ceded lands but the entire island. The two Nahnmwarkis said nothing before departing; several days later, they informed Serrano of their decision to accept the Spanish proposal. Neither written nor spoken words, however, could obscure the dimensions of Madolenihmw's successful defiance of Spanish rule. Spain's attempt to divide Madolenihmw did not change the island's political order in the least. Four years later, the people of Kiti feasted the visiting Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, not as a vassal who had come to pay tribute, but as the island's most senior chief, which indeed he still was.¹¹⁶

Other actions following the struggle for Kitamw belied more directly Spain's claims to renewed control over the island. Rather than rebuild at Ohwa, Cadarso ordered the troops to return to the colony where they immediately set about strengthening its defenses. The fort at Wene, now considered too vulnerable to attack despite the Nahnmwarki of Kiti's assurances, was closed. Following the hostilities at Ohwa and Kitamw, then, Spain withdrew from all but Niahlek, the piece of land in the north on which stood its tiny colony (Figure 20). After 1890, Pohnpeians engaged in occasional skirmishes with Spanish troops, openly ridiculed Spanish manhood, flagrantly defied colonial policies, and, most significantly, returned to warring among themselves. In an effort to reestablish some semblance of order on the island, the Spanish administration offered the paramount chiefs a salary of thirty pesos a month in return for insuring compliance with all laws and administrative directives in their individual chiefdoms; the rulers of the island took the money and did as they pleased.

In 1894 violent resistance, again in Madolenihmw, thwarted the colonial administration's renewed efforts to build a road around the island. Four years later, the Spaniards watched helplessly while the island approached a state of near civil war, as traditional rivalries intensified

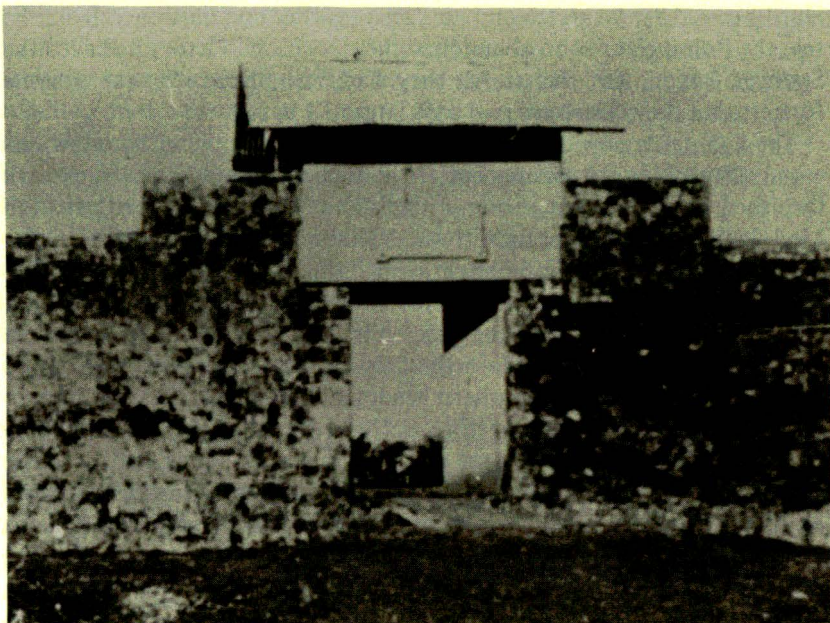


Figure 20. The guarded entrance to the Spanish colony located in the north of the island. (U.S. Trust Territory, Department of Education Library, Saipan, Mariana Islands)

under the guise of a religious struggle between Protestant and Catholic factions.¹¹⁷ The struggle centered around Awak, a semiautonomous, nominally Catholic area in the north that had long resisted attempts at incorporation by the neighboring chiefdom of U.¹¹⁸ In the 1898 conflict, Protestant groups from Madolenihmw and U united against Awak. Coming to the aid of Soulik en Awak, the chief of the besieged area, were the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net, the two paramount chiefs who had contested the Spanish presence at Mesenieng more than a decade earlier but who, because of the Protestantism espoused by rivals from other areas of the island, now called themselves Catholic. Kiti's loyalties were divided; the Nahmwarki led an armed party of warriors in support of Awak, while Henry Nanpei sided with the Protestants of Madolenihmw and U. Despite the different religious leanings of the contesting parties, the war had more to do with revenge, honor, clan loyalties, and control of Awak than with spiritual truths. The actual violence, in accordance with the character of traditional warfare on Pohnpei, was minimal. The contest ended in a stalemate.

The Spanish colonial administration's inability to control the events of 1898 was all too predictable. As a result of the Madolenihmw wars of

1890, Spain had ceased to be a major factor in the life of the island. From the confines of the colony's protective wall, Spanish officials timidly ventured forth in the day only to scurry back to its protective confines before dark. In a comment that anticipated the state of affairs that would prevail over the island for the duration of Spain's tenure, Governor Bienvenido Flandes, writing in 1892, noted the Pohnpeiians' contentment with allowing the Spaniards to live "enclosed in our polygon of 1025 meters without attacking our laws, governing themselves at their pleasure, and believing themselves already with the right to impose upon us their barbaric customs."¹¹⁹

CHAPTER 8

The Persistence of Tiahk en Sapw

THE PATTERNS IN Pohnpei's past up to 1890 emerge with considerable clarity. Beginning with the voyage of creation and settlement commanded by Sapikini, there develops a tradition of people reaching the island from the distant shores of other lands. With these different groups of people came various plants, animals, goods, ideas, and technologies. These people quickly came to regard their new home as sacred land (*sapw sarawi*) divinely chartered and protected by gods and powerful spirits. Over time, there evolved a culture, a way of being, called *tiahk en sapw* 'the custom of the land'. Indeed, the people's relationship with the land shaped the distinctive qualities of Pohnpeian society, determined in large part what it meant to be Pohnpeian, and gave a unity to various groups of voyagers who sought shelter from the oppressive circumstances of former lives.

Pohnpei, however, was not one. If the land bound men and women together, there nonetheless existed diversity based on traditional beliefs and practices brought from other lands by the island's settlers. Maintaining these differences as a part of their identity, men from different clans, subclans, or geographical areas of the island competed with each other for land, power, resources, and glory. Political order was imposed on this divided, contentious land from the outside. The Saudeleus, a line of stranger-kings from Katau Peidi in the west, won control of the land and imposed their will on the people. Reinforcing the differences that separated them from the people of the island, the Saudeleus lived apart on the artificial complex of islets at Nan Madol off Madolenihmw's southeastern coast. The Saudeleus' eventual attack on the religious order of the island bore witness to the abject submission demanded of the Pohnpeians. Deliverance from some five centuries of Saudeleur dominance also arrived from the outside. The son of a Pohnpeian god and a Katauan woman, Isohkelekel reached the island, made his peace with the

people, and overthrew the Saudeleurs. Borrowing from the structure and ritual of Nan Madol, Isohkelekel inaugurated a new, decentralized political system in which a nahnmwarki or an equivalently titled paramount chief presided over each of several independent chiefdoms. By the time of the death of this godly conqueror, there had developed a resilient, flexible, though internally divided cultural order accustomed to the selective incorporation of foreign goods and influences. Indeed, Pohnpeians today refer to this continuing tradition with the phrase, *Pohnpei, sapw en alemengi*, 'Pohnpei is a land of borrowings'.

Within this general context of change, the people responded to the first tall ships from Europe and America. Pohnpeians soon realized that the beings who inhabited the large sailing craft that now appeared with increasing frequency off their island were human. The people's efforts to harness these new foreign forces proved no easy matter. Attempting to domesticate and control the strangers, Pohnpeians acted in the light of cultural presuppositions learned from their past dealings with outside forces. Ceremonies of welcome, however, failed to bring the ships and their wealth under the political order of the island. Recourse to violence was at best only marginally more effective. Eventually understanding that the ships operated on a very different system of logic, Pohnpeians, more particularly the paramount chiefs, turned to the refugees of the ships' world, the beachcombers, to mediate between the vessels and the island.

Relations with the ships certainly affected but did not fundamentally alter the social order of the island. The paramount chiefs, realizing the political significance of the guns, ammunition, and other men's goods earned from barter with the ships, moved quickly to control the increasing trade that resulted from the arrival of the American whaling fleet in the western Pacific. Demands for wood, water, and the produce of the island fell neatly within the bounds of chiefly control over the land. The sexual trade, while exacerbating traditional tensions between chiefs and commoners, did not result in any major social realignment. More often than not, the paramount chiefs exercised a paternal restraint while common women paddled out to the ships "to get their clothes" and common men their tobacco. If at times the chiefs' efforts to reaffirm their power through trading relations with the ships placed them in awkward, less than regal circumstances, the divine sanctions surrounding the role of the leading chiefs in Pohnpeian society prohibited any serious erosion of their preeminence in this period. To this day, Pohnpeians react to chiefly transgressions as *sapwung iso* 'sacred mistakes'.¹ The phrase *Kilang soupwa soupeidi*, 'Look but do not speak about the faults of chiefs', also attests to the considerable reverence accorded the island's rulers, then and now² (Figure 21).



Figure 21. An 1895 photograph of Nahnawa en Kiti, a high-ranking chief of Kiti. (Christian 1899a, 126)

Of course, not all change originated from the outside. Internal dynamics were at work as well. Although the whole issue of indigenous cultural change remains an open, fertile area for research, there is evidence to suggest that several important areas of Pohnpeian culture were already experiencing redefinition at the time of intensified contact with the Euro-American world in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The fall of the Saudeleurs brought an end to the worship of their deity Nahnisohnsapw; nonetheless, Nan Madol continued as a site of religious ceremony through 1855. Pohnpeian accounts identify the end of all religious activities at Nan Madol, not with the arrival of foreign missionar-

ies, but with the desecration of a sacred sanctuary of eels located on the reef near the opening to Madolenihmw Harbor and associated with the *Pwohng Lapalap*, the seasonal ceremony of atonement, supplication and renewal.³ Nahnkei, a high-ranking *samworo* 'priest' with major responsibilities in the performance of the *Pwohng Lapalap*, became angered when, at the conclusion of the rituals, he failed to receive his due share of the sacrificed turtle. Seeking to avenge his honor, the priest proceeded to the eel sanctuary where he captured, carried to his home, and consumed a number of the sacred creatures. With this sacrilegious act, all worship at Nan Madol, say the Pohnpeian accounts, ceased.

Similarly, the sacred status of the paramount chiefs and the restricted popular access to their persons, two early features of the system of chiefly rule that followed the demise of the Saudeleurs, had eased somewhat by the time of intensified Western contact. The earliest ethnohistorical accounts note that the *nahnmwarkis* or paramount chiefs, while accorded extreme deference, moved about their domains, showed themselves at various feasts and functions, and even visited the foreign ships that anchored in their harbors.⁴ A comparison of these earliest sources with Pohnpeian accounts as well as later ethnographic and archaeological work also hints at changes in process at the time of contact that involved residence patterns, land tenure, and social organization.

In the selection of those foreign goods and practices incorporated into their cultural order, Pohnpeians showed themselves to be judicious. Rather than increase the level of bloodshed on the island, the introduction of Western firearms, for example, had a largely deterrent effect on Pohnpeian warfare. The displacement of traditional skills by Western goods and tools eased the rigors of life on the island and allowed for the development of new skills and capabilities. Aware of the gross cultural differences that separated them from the people of the ships, Pohnpeians drew a line between the ways of their island and the ways of the foreigners, between *tiahk en sapw* and *tiahk en wai*. Along the fringes of their island, Pohnpeians traded for the commodities they desired; over time, as attested by the comments of numerous ship captains, they developed a considerable facility for commercial dealings. Among themselves, however, they continued to exchange according to the prescriptions of tradition and social standing. The people consciously adopted various foreign goods, practices, and ideas—but to serve local objectives; in the process, they made these things Pohnpeian.

If Pohnpeians' past taught them to accept change from foreign sources, they also recognized its limits. There is a story from the whaling days still told today by the people of the island that typifies Pohnpeians' sense of change; the story is called *Mwengki Alasang Kepin* 'The Monkey Learns From the Captain'.⁵ Before leaving home port, an unidenti-

fied ship captain purchased a monkey to keep him company during his extended stay at sea. On the ship, the monkey never left the captain's side; infatuated by his master, the bright little creature imitated almost every move made by the captain. Over the course of a long voyage, the captain tired of the constant mimicry. Finally deciding to rid himself of the nuisance, he plotted the monkey's demise. Noting how intently the animal studied his every gesture while shaving one morning, the captain, in a quick sleight of hand that went unnoticed by the monkey, turned the straight edge of his razor over and, in an exaggerated manner, ran the blunt side across his throat. The captain then left the razor in an easily accessible place and left. The monkey quickly scurried over to the basin and mirror, picked up the razor, and began to shave just as he had seen the captain do. Concluding his shave, the monkey, perfect mimic that he was, then ran the sharp edge of the razor across his throat. End of monkey; end of story. The moral of the tale, now as then, remains a serious warning against the dangers of blind, thoughtless adaptation to foreign ways.

To be sure, some foreign influences proved less easily manageable than others. Christianity in particular was a potentially serious threat to the existing order of the island. Pohnpeians' initial acceptance of the new religion, though a violent disruptive process at times, also found precedent within the patterns of the island's past. The earliest voyagers to the island from different areas of the Pacific had brought with them their gods and clan spirits who, like the people, themselves became Pohnpeian. Though Nahn Sapwe, the thunder god, did assume a religious supremacy of sorts, the power of different gods and spirits depended in part on the strength of the people who worshipped them. Initially, the Christian God existed as just another god to reach the island from the outside. By the mid-1860s, however, certain segments of Pohnpeian society discovered considerable appeal in particular Christian teachings. The new religion's emphasis on the equality of all people before God held out the promise of an enhanced social status for the less privileged members of Pohnpeian society. Commoners, especially women, benefited materially from the commercial and educational aspects of the Protestant mission's civilizing strategy. Indeed, the island's women were the most immediate, most committed, and most numerous converts of the early church. Lesser chiefs, seeking to circumvent the powers of the island's paramount chiefs, saw Christianity as a useful political tool. Reacting to this political threat, the paramount chiefs first sought to suppress the new religion outright. When this tactic failed, Pohnpei's rulers sacrificed some of their chiefly prerogatives in order to better control and hence benefit from the *lamalam kapw*.

In the late 1880s, a second generation of ruling chiefs, including Men-

silá, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, and later the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net, found rival factions within or near their domains too strongly in control of the Protestant churches. Unable to accept the political submission which their baptism would entail, these chiefs turned to another form of Christianity, Catholicism. While there undoubtedly developed a goodly number of Pohnpeians with a firm commitment to its teachings, Christianity's immediate appeal sprang from its political and material aspects. A German colonial official some years later expressed it most succinctly: "The natives consider the missions as political institutions."⁶ The missionaries' ultimate frustration with the people resulted from their own failure to understand that, in the minds of island converts, becoming Christian did not mean ceasing to be Pohnpeian. In the twentieth century, Pohnpeians' own understanding of the relationship between gods and people would transform the Protestant and Catholic churches on the island into distinctly Pohnpeian institutions. The success of the Pohnpeian missionaries in the Mortlocks as well as the later prominence achieved by a number of young men and women educated at Ohwa foreshadowed the people's ability to domesticate and use to advantage yet another foreign idea. Albert Sturges, speaking for all of the American missionaries, was perhaps more correct than he knew when he stated that Christianity could prevail "even without us."

Despite national, religious, and professional divisions, most of the outsiders who brought change to Pohnpei were one in their desire to exploit the island. The specific resources to be exploited varied, as did the justifications offered by each of the different groups. The Russian commander Lütke and the scientists aboard his ship rationalized their actions in terms of scientific inquiry. British traders and American whalers desired commercial gain, the assumed objective of almost all enlightened human activity. The American Protestant missionaries appealed to a higher religious purpose to explain their presence, while the Spaniards sought subjugation of the island for their own national honor and security as well as for the conversion of the Pohnpeians to Catholicism.

These outsiders also shared an arrogance born of a belief in their innate superiority; they used such terms as "heathens," "savages," "scamps," "thieves," "barbarians," and "degenerates" to express their disdain for Pohnpeians. Across the wide cultural chasm that separated them from the people of the island, their actions took on the appearance of gross caricature. They held the wisdom of their ways to be readily apparent; still, to insure that the Pohnpeians acknowledged their truths, these outsiders staged elaborate plays full of exaggerated gestures. When Pohnpeians failed to respond as desired, the intruders sometimes turned to violence. The illusion of potency induced by shows of force only further obscured the real meaning that their actions had on the island. Cap-

tain C. H. Hart of the *Lambton* sailed away in late 1836 convinced that the retribution inflicted upon the people of Madolenihmw following the *Falcon* incident had redeemed British honor, avenged a heinous crime, intimidated the Pohnpeians from ever again using force against white men, and insured the safety of all future commercial operations on the island. He had no inkling that, ultimately, he had served more as a pawn in the larger context of local political rivalries.

Pohnpeians recognized much of the racism and exploitation that underlay the foreign presence on their island. For them, the phrase *mehn wai*, initially a general appellation for all those from large, distant lands, took on a more pejorative dimension. Playing on a second meaning of the word *wai*, the people now used *mehn wai* to refer to the perceived deceit and trickery shared by many of the foreign visitors to their island. However, the people usually contained their rage and indignation over the scandalous, sometimes sacrilegious conduct of the latest arrivals. For Pohnpeians, the manipulation of *mehn wai*'s goods and the search for ways to improve the quality of life on the island proved a more overriding purpose than sheer revenge.

Not all things brought to Pohnpei served a beneficial purpose. There certainly was no advantage in the diseases that reached the island beginning in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The smallpox epidemic of 1854 reduced the island's population from roughly 10,000 to fewer than 5000 people.⁸ Waves of influenza in 1856, 1874, and 1879, as well as serious outbreaks of measles in 1861 and 1894, prevented the numbers from returning to precontact levels throughout the remainder of the century.⁹ Nonetheless, the people of the island persevered and, though reduced in number, resisted all attempts at domination from the outside.

The Spaniards posed the most direct physical threat encountered in the nineteenth century. Despite Spain's intention to subdue the island, Pohnpei remained a divided land. In their wars against Spain, Pohnpeians acted not in concert but along clan and sectional lines. The resolve of these different groups, coupled with Spanish ineptitude, allowed Pohnpeians to prevail. Little more than three years after the establishment of formal political rule, Spain had ceased to be a major force on the island. With Spain thus neutralized, the people returned to warring among themselves. *Tiahk en sapw* still determined the nature, purpose, and direction of all human activity carried out upon the sacred altar that was, and still is, Pohnpei. The chiefs remained firmly in control; contact with the Western world had done little to diminish their status as the physical embodiment of the island's order. In this period, the island's rulers continued to serve as both the real and the symbolic presence that linked the people with the land, their past, and their gods.

A number of recent scholarly works as well as earlier historical writings have tended to overemphasize the extent of change that occurred on the island as a result of contact with Europeans and Americans. Many areas of life on Pohnpei changed very little during the nineteenth century. Frederick Moss, a member of New Zealand's parliament on a general tour of the Pacific Islands, reached Pohnpei in January 1887 and described Pohnpeians as yet untouched by the resident agents of civilization. While missionaries and traders struggled with each other, the people of the island persisted "in their natural state . . . low in ideas and as depraved in practice as they could be."¹⁰ Nine years later, in late January 1896, another voyager out of New Zealand, the inquisitive and scholarly F. W. Christian, stopped at Pohnpei. Reporting very much as had the beachcomber James O'Connell some sixty-five years earlier, Christian wrote of a people who lived in small isolated communities along the coast away from the densely forested interior, who secured their food, tools, weapons, medicines, and building materials from the bounty of the land, who continued to worship local deities, and who subscribed to a distinct set of cultural practices and beliefs¹¹ (Figure 22).



Figure 22. The entrance to the island's northern harbor lies to the left in this picture taken at the end of the nineteenth century. (Moss 1899, 188)

The twentieth century would prove less tolerant of Pohnpeian ways, especially the factionalism that characterized the island's polity. Through an agreement of purchase following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898, Germany became the second colonial power to establish formal rule over Pohnpei. In 1907 the Germans, blaming the island's political structure for the failure of their economic development plans, removed the land from the control of the chiefs and deeded individual parcels to the actual occupants. In October 1910, the people of Sokehs, reacting to this measure, to the accompanying restrictions on the established tribute system, to enforced labor on a colonially mandated road project, and to specific instances of cruelty and abuse, rose up against Germany in a rebellion that witnessed the assassination of the governor and several of his aides.¹² Initially successful, the rebellion soon collapsed. The Germans, more capable, more determined, and better organized than the Spaniards, were able to reassert themselves over the island. Six months after the outbreak of the rebellion, all violent resistance had ceased; the fifteen rebel leaders were executed, and the remaining population of Sokehs were exiled to Belau.

Contrary to widespread opinion, the Sokehs Rebellion did not mark the end of all Pohnpeian resistance to foreign domination, only the end of all armed resistance. The show of German might taught Pohnpeians they would have to find ways other than armed conflict to resist. Speaking just moments before his execution at Komwomlaid near the German colony, Soumadou en Sokehs, the leader of the rebellion, urged those Pohnpeians present not to do as he and his followers had done. Earlier, during the German naval bombardment of the rebel fortress on Sokehs Mountain in January 1911, a Sokehs warrior had expressed the futility of armed resistance more directly: "What am I that I should cut heavy artillery (with a knife)?"¹³ With the power of the chiefs, the principal promoters and beneficiaries of factionalism, now reduced, Pohnpeians were able to forge a greater sense of unity than had previously existed on the island. Resistance to foreign intrusion became part of their culture, with Pohnpeians continuing to incorporate useful foreign resources while refusing to become anything other than Pohnpeian.¹⁴

This strategy has permitted Pohnpeians to survive periods of intense Japanese and American colonialism. Before World War II, Japanese and other Asian nationals came to outnumber Pohnpeians on the island.¹⁵ The war itself brought martial law, land seizures, material shortages, forced labor, conscription, social dislocation, and American air and naval bombardment. After the war ended, Americans replaced the Japanese as colonial overlords of Pohnpei and Micronesia.¹⁶ Seeking to insure its strategic interests, the United States first adopted a deliberate policy of benign neglect referred to by some as the "zoo theory." In the

early 1960s, American policy reversed itself drastically, though intending to achieve the same ends. Money in the form of increased congressional appropriations and a host of transposed domestic welfare programs began to flood Pohnpei and the other islands. Despite the overwhelming, potentially crippling dimensions of the American largesse, there is considerable evidence that Pohnpeians have remained very much themselves.

On 21 June 1983, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) voted on the Draft Compact of Free Association with the United States, an arrangement intended to replace the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, under which America has been administering the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana island groups since 1947. Alone among the four Caroline Island states that make up the FSM, Pohnpei rejected the terms of the draft compact.¹⁷ In the election, which attracted an extremely high voter turn-out, the margin of defeat came from the rural areas of the island where ethnic Pohnpeians voted two-to-one against the draft compact. The residents of Kolonia Town, many of whom are non-Pohnpeians from neighboring atolls, voted for the compact by a slightly less pronounced margin. The Pohnpeian vote against the draft compact resulted from serious, culturally rooted doubts about the nature of power, authority, responsibility, and dominance. Reports of the FSM vote tended to ignore the Pohnpeian decision, focusing more on the strong majorities for approval won in each of the other three island states—Kosrae, Truk, and Yap. Those few accounts that did mention the Pohnpei vote tended to dismiss it as inconsequential; the *Honolulu Advertiser*, for example, termed the Pohnpeian response a “sour note” in an otherwise harmonious exchange of mutual goodwill and respect by all parties involved.¹⁸ American expatriates working for the Pohnpei-based FSM national government expressed disbelief over the Pohnpeian decision and attributed it to a combination of ignorance, arrogance, and selfishness.

The plebiscite showed another all-too-familiar pattern in Pohnpei’s past. The people of this seemingly small, unimportant volcanic island in the western Pacific had passed judgment on a political status that threatens the autonomy of their society. Outside observers, limited by professional interests and cultural biases, dismissed as essentially meaningless an important statement about the persistence and strength of the Pohnpeian cultural identity. Despite the eventual approval given to the Compact of Free Association, Pohnpei’s political relationship with both the FSM and the United States will remain problematical for a long time to come. What emerges from the 1983 vote is that Pohnpeians retain a focal role in events on the island—as they always have.

Many people concerned with the study of the Pacific Islands today

seem to be obsessed with the pathology of change.¹⁹ Known in the middle of the nineteenth century as the vice capital of the Pacific, Pohnpei now sees itself defined by outside observers in terms of a host of social ills ranging from acute economic dependency on the United States to a spiraling birth rate, alcoholism, suicide, juvenile delinquency, and environmental pollution. Against the norms and values of a culture that defines itself largely in terms of productive economic activity, Pohnpeians are called passive, indifferent, lazy, irresponsible, and unreliable. For modern-day outside observers who bear the titles of specialists, the transformation of Pohnpeians from "savage" to "underdeveloped" has proved a short journey, indeed. There are, to be sure, serious problems on the island; yet, these assessments of Pohnpeian abilities, like those of the past, result from little more than surface impressions. There is more, much more, to an essentially capable and vibrant culture such as Pohnpei's. All living cultures struggle to change and adapt; survival demands it. Pohnpeians have acted on that principle for a long, long time.

I once asked a Pohnpeian knowledgeable in the island's past, why a small island with a population of fewer than 5000 people would presume to war against Spain and later Germany. Without hesitation, he replied that Pohnpeians then had no sense of being a relatively few people inhabiting a small island in a remote part of the Pacific Ocean. Pointing to more recent developments, the 1983 plebiscite, and the nearly two decades of political negotiations with the United States to end the present trusteeship agreement, he added, "And we still don't."²⁰ Against an array of strong, imposing, sometimes hostile forces of change, Pohnpeians have survived and persevered. For any group of people in an increasingly complex and difficult world, that is no small achievement.

Appendixes

APPENDIX I

Pohnpeian Clans

Throughout the period under consideration in this work, clans served as the basic unit of social organization. Individual clans on Pohnpei are broken down into subclans that are further divided into matrilineages. These subclans and matrilineages controlled land, titles, and other resources. Anthropologists today describe Pohnpeian clans as named, totemic, exogamous, and conical, with individual matrilineages being localized in certain geographical areas about the island. In past times, the subclans also tended to congregate in specific locales or regions. The following list of clans is drawn from Riesenberg 1968a, 6-7. Clans 19-21 no longer exist. Clans 15-18 developed as offshoots of the Dipwinmen clan and are today considered to be distinct entities. Two other groups to evolve from the Dipwinmen, the Isonkiti and the Sounkiti, were once separate clans but apparently became reincorporated into the parent clan following wars that took place in the Kiti area in the eighteenth century. In his examination of the island's social structure, Hambruch (1936, 2:25-70) lists four clans not included in this appendix; namely, Sounwair, Sounimwiniak, Sor, and Sapwenipik. The first two of these clans may have existed previously on Pohnpei only to die out or become incorporated into larger clans; Sounwair and Sounimwiniak are not found on the island today, however. The latter two clans, Sor and Sapwenipik, according to Riesenberg, are either Trukese or Mortlockese clans.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1 Dipwilap | 8 Liarkatau | 15 Sounpeliempil |
| 2 Dipwinluhk | 9 Lipitahn | 16 Sounpwok |
| 3 Dipwinpahnmei | 10 Nahniek | 17 Sounrohi |
| 4 Dipwinpehpe | 11 Pwuton | 18 Sounsamaki |
| 5 Dipwinwai | 12 Sounkawad | 19 Dipwinpwehk |
| 6 Lasialap | 13 Sounmaraki | 20 Dipwinwehi |
| 7 Ledek | 14 Dipwinmen | 21 Souniap |

APPENDIX 2

Pohnpeian Chiefly Titles

The title series listed below are drawn from Hambruch 1936, 2:11-14. An extensive comparison of title rankings can be found in Riesenberger 1968a, 10-13. It should be noted that variations exist in the rankings of titles among the different chiefdoms and even within a single chiefdom over time. The listing provided here constitutes, then, a somewhat idealized representation of political rank on Pohnpei. Wars, alliances, political machinations, age, blood relations, and merit all figured in considerations of promotion and chiefly succession. Often, circumstances dictated that an individual of the appropriate subclan and matrilineage within a ruling clan jump from the lower or middle rungs of the chiefly ladder to the paramount title. Rarely did anyone make a neat and orderly progression up the title ladder to the position of senior chief. While Madolenihmw, U, and Kiti all subscribed to a relatively uniform ranking system during the period under study, Sokehs and Net did not. The ranking of titles for each of these two latter chiefdoms is thus given separately. Today, Sokehs and Net hold to a title system very similar to that of the island's three senior chiefdoms.

MADOLENIHMW, U, AND KITI

Soupeiidi Line

- 1 Nahnmwarki
- 2 Wasai
- 3 Dauk
- 4 Noahs
- 5 Nahnawa
- 6 Nahnpei
- 7 Nahn Kiroun Pohn Dake
- 8 Nahlik Lapalap
- 9 Nahnid Lapalap
- 10 Lempwei Lapalap

Serihso Line

- 1 Nahnken
- 2 Nahlaimw
- 3 Nahnapas
- 4 Nahnsau Ririn
- 5 Nahnmadaun Idehd
- 6 Lepen Ririn
- 7 Souwel Lapalap
- 8 Ou Ririn
- 9 Oun Pohnpei
- 10 Ou

SOKEHS

Soupeidi Line

- 1 Wasai
- 2 Dauk
- 3 Nahniau
- 4 Nahnmadau en Oare
- 5 Noahs
- 6 Lepen Madau
- 7 Nahnpei
- 8 Mwarekehtik
- 9 Nahlik Lapalap
- 10 Oaron Pwutak

Serihso Line

- 1 Nahnken
- 2 Soulik en Soledi
- 3 Nahlaimw
- 4 Nahnapas
- 5 Kiroulikiak
- 6 Nahnkei
- 7 Souwel Lapalap
- 8 Soulik
- 9 Kulap
- 10 Oaron Maka

NET

Soupeidi Line

- 1 Lepen Net
- 2 Nahnsoused en Net
- 3 Soukoahng en Net
- 4 Madau en Rohi
- 5 Luwehrei en Net
- 6 Nahnmadau en Kipar
- 7 Oun Net

Serihso Line

- 1 Kroun Rohi
- 2 Nahnmadau en Sokehs
- 3 Lepen Parempei
- 4 Lepen Lenger
- 5 Oun Pohnpei Net
- 6 Nahnawa en Net
- 7 Nahnapas Net

APPENDIX 3

Treaty with the United States and Inhabitants of Ponape, or Ascension (The Jamestown Treaty)

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 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 teaching and preaching.

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 payment of the sum mutually agreed upon, be furnished with a deed descriptive of the land so purchased, which deed shall acquire 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 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.

APPENDIX 4

*Reaffirmation of the 1852
Land Grant to the Protestant
Mission at Rohnkiti*

We, the undersigned, Nanakin [Nahnken] and chiefs of Roan Kiti [Rohnkiti], do hereby certify that a certain plot of land known as the "mission premises" at the mouth of the Roan Kiti River was, in the year 1852, donated by our predecessor, the former Nanakin, to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and that for sixteen years last past said board has held full and undisputed possession of said land, and that we do from this date confirm said mission board in its full and lawful possession of said lands, hereby promising to protect said board from the aggressions of any and all persons whatsoever trespassing on said mission lands.

Given this 24th day of June, A.D. 1870, on board the United States steam sloop Jamestown, at Roan Kiti Harbor, Island of Ponape.

Nanakin en Ten Kiti [Nahnken en Kiti] — his *X* mark
Uajai en Kiti [Wasai Kiti] — his *X* mark
Noj Kiti [Noahs Kiti] — his *X* mark
Lepen Teleur [Lepen Deleur] — his *X* mark
Nanaatan en Palon [Nahnmadau en Pehleng] — his *X* mark

Signed in my presence

W. T. Truxtun,
Commander, United States Navy

E. T. Doane.

A true copy.

W. T. Truxtun, Commanding U.S.S. Jamestown.

APPENDIX 5

*The 1880 Missionary Deed
to Mesenieng*

Be it known to all whom it may concern, I, Lepen Not [Lepen Net], and I, Jonon en Metep [Souwen en Metipw], we severally and conjointly do this of our own free will and consent make over to Edward T. Doane, or his successor, whomsoever it may be, that portion of the land known by the name of Mejinion [Mesenieng], beginning at the mouth of the stream named Tan en Uh [Dauen Neu], and following the middle of that stream till it strikes the boundary of Mr. J. Kubary's land, then passing rather westerly till it reaches the boundary of the land known as Iolinia [Dolोनier], then deflecting north on that boundary till it reaches salt water. This piece of land we make over as above stated to be held and known as the land of the Jonlan Kan [Souleng kan] or Christians.

We set our names or titles or make our marks to this paper in the presence of these witnesses.

Marau [Mwahr] or their titles.

Lepen Not
Joan Mettep

Witness:

Kron Ruc [Kroun Rohi]

Nano en Maitik [Nahno en Meitik].

Ponape, July 26, 1880

APPENDIX 6

The 1886 Deed to Protestant Mission Land at Ohwa

Be it known to all whom it may concern, I, Ijopan [Isipau], King of the Metalenim [Madolenihmw] tribe, and Uajai [Wasai], and Noj [Noahs], and Nanape [Nahnpei], and Lepen Oua [Lepen Ohwa], chiefs of the same tribe, and all of the island of Ponape, we all and severally do this day of our own free will and consent make over to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, located in the city of Boston, State of Massachusetts, United States of America, and having one of the stations of the mission known as the Micronesian mission on this island, all that section or parcel of land known as Oua [Ohwa] whose boundaries are as follows:

Beginning at the lowest tide point on the flat due nearly east of the mouth of a small stream inland, running between the said piece of land Oua and Aru [Aru], the name of which stream is Leinperij [?], that boundary line running west from the above said point on the flat till it strikes the mouth of the said stream, it shall thence follow the middle of this stream up to its source and pass on thence to the mountain back of it. This line shall be known as the northern and northwestern boundary line of said tract of land.

The other boundary lines are as follows: The eastern one shall start from the designated starting point of the first and above said line, running thence south along the low tide margin of the above said flat till it reaches a point opposite a small stream running between Mejijo [Mesih-sou] and Oua, on the south side, it shall follow the middle of that stream up to its source, the said line passing on till it reaches in the mountain the terminus of the line on the north and northwest side of the above said tract of land.

These shall be its boundaries. These lands shall include all the flats, island or islands within them, the island especially known as Robinson's Island.

This piece of land, I, the King of the Metalenim tribe and my chiefs, whose titles are above given, do make over to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to be held, owned, and possessed by the said society or its assignees for religious, educational, and farming purposes in perpetuity.

It is stipulated by the said society, the natives now residing on the said piece of land shall be allowed to reside on their lots of land they now severally possess, but they shall never sell or alienate any part of their land or lands, or trees, or wood in the Naniark [swamp], or water from the streams, or what may be called other natural productions of the said land, unless empowered by the above said society or its agent so to do.

No native, unless for proper cause assigned, shall ever be removed or ejected from that residence during his or her natural life; nor shall any native or natives be allowed to take up residence on the above section of land unless so authorized and permitted to do so by the said society or its agent.

We this day do severally set our titles or affix our marks to this deed for the conveyance of the above said tract of land.

Ijopan — his *X* mark
Uajai — his *X* mark
Noj — his *X* mark
Nanape — his *X* mark
Lepen Oua — his *X* mark

Witnesses:

F. E. Rand

E. T. Doane

Jontel [Saudel] — his *X* mark

Ponape, July 12, 1886.

APPENDIX 7

The Formal Proclamation of Possession of the Island by Spain with Accompanying Articles of Submission

PROCLAMATION OF POSSESSION

[On board] the warship *Manila*. Proclamation. Doña Maria Cristina de Hapsburgo Lorena, Reigning Queen of Spain [through] her representative, Navy Lieutenant first class Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzon.

Because today, 26 July 1886, the national flag of Spain has been raised over the town of Not [Net] of the island of Ascensión or Ponapi (Pohnpei) with the solemnity prescribed in the general principles of international law as a sign of the effective possession of the said island of Ascensión or Ponapi and its adjacent areas; therefore, the said islands of Ascensión or Ponapi and adjacent areas remain definitively incorporated under the sovereignty of the Spanish nation and their natives under her protection.

The harbor of Not, island of Ascensión or Ponapi, 26 July 1886.

As witness to this solemn act, the following officials sign these proceedings.

Luis Bayo
Antonio Garcia y Gutierrez

Source: AHNM, leg. 5857, c. 1, pp. 1-6.

Translation: Olivia Athens.

Note: Inconsistencies in the spelling, rendering and inclusion of proper names are from the Spanish records themselves. In addition, the name of the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw does not appear among the actual list of signers to the articles of submission; given Spanish claims, substantiated by the independent writings of American Protestant missionaries on the island at this time, that all of the paramount chiefs of the island did sign the documents in question, this is perhaps a stenographic error.

José de la Herran
Luis Suances
Eduardo Guerra
Miguel de Peña
Antonia Garcia Tudela

ACCOMPANYING ARTICLES OF SUBMISSION

[On board] the warship *Manila*. A record of the proceedings of the adhesion and submission of the natives of the islands of Ascención or Ponapi and adjacent areas to the Spanish nation and acknowledgment of its sovereignty.

Mr. Luis Bayo y Hernandez Pinzon, Navy Lieutenant first class and commander of the warship *Manila* as representative of her majesty, the Reigning Queen Doña Maria Cristina de Hapsburgo Lorena on one side and, on the other, the following chiefs: Nethan, Lepen Not [Net] of the province of Not; Ejekaia, Nanamaraki [Nahnmwarki] of the province of U including Parom [Parem]; Paul, Gopau [Isipau] of the province of Metalanin [Madolenihmw]; Nanamaraki of the province of Kiti including the island of And; Uajai [Wasai] of the province of Jekeois [Sokehs] and the islands of Pakin; Tok [Dauk] Pakin.

Representatives of their respective areas and before the witnesses present: Navy Lieutenant and second commander Antonio Garcia y Gutierrez, Naval Ensign Mr. José de la Herran y Puebla, Mr. Luis Suances y Caspegua, Mr. Eduardo Guerra y Goyena, Second Physician Miguel de la Peña y Galvez, the representative of the Tobacco Company Mr. Antonio Olona y Sanchez, and Navy Guard second class Luis Pasquin Reinoso.

The natives of these islands lacking any writing or symbol [system] have gathered together on board the said ship, convened and composed the following articles:

Article I: The sovereignty and protectorate of Spain over the territory of all of the Carolinian Archipelago and of the islands of Ascención or Ponapi and surrounding areas is hereby established and acknowledged by the natives of Ascención or Ponapi.

Article II: The natives in the most free way accept and revere the established protection and promise their adhesion to Spain.

The harbor of Not of the island of Ascención or Ponapi on 26 July 1886.

Luis Bayo
Lepen of Not
Nanamaraki of U
Uajai of Jekeois
Nanamaraki of Kiti
Tok of Pakin
Antonio Garcia y Gutierrez
José de la Herran
Luis Suarez
Miguel de Peña
Eduardo Guerra
A. Olona
Luis Pasquin

APPENDIX 8

Descriptions of the Two Spanish Proclamations Dividing Madolenihmw between the Chiefdoms of Kiti and U

ACT NUMBER ONE

Having come together this day at the invitation of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano y Ruiz, Commander of the Expeditionary Force to the Caroline Islands, in the presence of Commander Don Luis Cadarso, Governor of the Archipelago, Commander Don José de Paredes y Chacon and Commander Don José Ferrer Perez de Las Cuevas, captains respectively of the cruisers *Velasco* and *Ulloa*, Captain Don Antonio Diaz de Rivera, Commander of the Artillery and second in command of the Force: Nanamaraqui [Nahnmwarki] Rocha [Rosa] of Kiti and those individuals named Uachay [Wasai], Nanekan [Nahnken], Nancro-pontake [Nahn Kiroun Pohn Dake], Toch [Dauk], Noch [Noahs], Chauene [Sauwene], Nanchao Ririn [Nahnsau Ririn], and Namoto of Palang [Nahnmadau en Pehleng], who have duties and responsibilities therein. Colonel Serrano informed those present that the Metalanin [Madolenihmw] tribe had been vanquished as a result of the recent war, its villages burned and its people dispersed, and he proposed to cede to Kiti sovereignty over a part of the Metalanin tribe's territory in appreciation for its constant loyalty to the Spanish flag, a loyalty worthy of reward. He indicated also that the part of the former Metalanin territory to be ceded was made up of that land stretching from what had been its southern border to the left bank of the afore-mentioned Pallapletao [Pilen Lehda] River in the north, with the understanding that the left bank of this River extends to the left along the barrier reefs of the port to its mouth and, by that

includes as a part of the ceded territory all of the islands of the bay. Finally, Colonel Serrano indicated that it was understood that this sovereignty had the same limitations with respect to foreigners as did their own and that the Government maintained the same rights in the ceded lands as it did in the other lands of the islands and that it reserved to itself final authority. The Nanamaraki and the other dignitaries mentioned earlier unanimously accepted the cession of land that had been made and took the occasion to pledge their continued loyalty. Then, the one called Nanchao requested the grant of personal property on Nakap [Nahkapw] Island, which the Governor granted using the powers of his office. To record what had occurred the Colonel drew up this act, signed by those present at Santiago de la Ascensión on the ninth of December, eighteen hundred and ninety.

12 — the mark of Nalib [?]; 11 — Nojen Kiti; 10 — the mark of Nomoto; 9 — Nanhicrocham of Pontake; 8 — the mark of Chonkiti; 7 — Nanjao Kirin; 6 — the mark of Chauene; 5 — the mark of Naneken; 4 — the mark of Toch; 3 — the mark of Uajay; 2 — Nanpei of Kiti; 1 — the mark of the Nanamaraki; Antonio Diaz de Rivera, signature; José Ferrer, signature, Luis Cadarso, signature, José de Paredes y Chacon, signature; Manuel Serrano, signature.

ACT NUMBER TWO

Having assembled this day at the invitation of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano y Ruiz, Commander of the Expeditionary Force to the Caroline Islands, in the presence of Commander Don Luis Cadarso, Governor of the Archipelago, Commander Don José de Paredes y Chacon and Commander Don José Ferrer y Perez de Las Cuevas, captains respectively of the cruisers *Velasco* and *Ulloa*, Captain Don Antonio Diaz de Rivera, Commander of the Artillery and second in command of the Force: Nanamaraki [Nahnmwarki] of the Uh [U] tribe and individuals named Uachay Nancro of Uh [Wasai Nahn Kirou U ?], Naneken [Nahnken], Tok [Dauk], Nanlen Noch [? Noahs], Nanana [?], and Nanepey [Nahnpei], who have duties and responsibilities therein. Colonel Serrano informed those present that the Metalanin [Madolenihmw] tribe had been vanquished as a result of the recent war, its villages burned and its people dispersed, and he proposed to cede to Uh sovereignty over a part of the Metalanin tribe's territory in appreciation for its constant loyalty to the Spanish flag, a loyalty worthy of reward. He indicated also that the part of the former Metalanin territory thus ceded consisted of all land between its former northern boundary and the left bank of the Pallaple-tao [Pilen Lehda] River, understanding that this river bank extended to

the barrier reefs to the left including the mouth of the port and, by that, all of the islands of the bay fell within the part ceded to Kiti. Finally, Colonel Serrano indicated that it was understood that this sovereignty had the same limitations with respect to foreigners as did their own and that the Government maintained the same rights in the ceded lands as it did in the other lands of the island and that it reserved to itself final authority. The Nanamaraki and the other dignitaries mentioned earlier unanimously accepted the cession of land that had been made and with that took the occasion to pledge their continued loyalty. To record what had occurred the Colonel drew up this act signed by those present at Santiago de la Ascensión on the thirteenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety.

Nanamaraki, his mark; Uachay, his mark; Naneken, his mark; Nanero en U [?], his mark; Toch, his mark; Nanlen Noch, his mark; Nanana, his mark; Nanepey, his mark; Antonio Diaz de Rivera, signature; José Ferrer, signature; Luis Cadarso, signature; José de Paredes y Chacon, signature; Manuel Serrano, signature.

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston
AHNM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
FRUS	U.S. Department of State, <i>Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
HMCSL	Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, New Haven
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, Agaña, Guam
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Canberra
PNAM	Philippine National Archives, Manila

Notes

PREFACE

1. Riesenbergs 1968a, 3. The name Ascension first appears in 1832 on the nautical charts of Captain J. H. Eagleston who visited the island in his ship, the *Peru*, in January of that year. Who actually gave the name Ascension to the island and when remains unclear.

2. Lütke 1836, 2:22.

3. Hezel 1979, 39.

4. *Ibid.*, 37-38. Following the first recorded sighting of Pohnpei by the Spaniard Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1595, the island came to be known for a time as Quirosa. In 1787 Captain Thomas Read of the ship *Alliance* out of Philadelphia called Pohnpei Morris Island. Captain John Henry Rowe of the ship *John Bull* named the island after his ship in 1804. Alick Osborne, accompanying Fraser aboard the *Planter*, called Pohnpei Harper's Island after a Captain Harper of the ship *Ephemina* who had reached the island earlier in 1826. Osborne mistakenly believed that Harper had been the one to discover Pohnpei.

5. Hale 1968, 81. For the last 130 years or so, the English-speaking world, including its scholars, has used the word Ponape. Things have changed, however. The island's constitution, approved by the state legislature in September 1984, now designates Pohnpei as the official name of the land. With the exception of titled publications and historical quotes, I thus employ "Pohnpei" throughout the text.

6. Spencer 1972. In citing Spencer's work, I have distinguished between his theories on evolution and their use by others to help shape Social Darwinism, a political theory current in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

7. Morgan 1877.

8. The best exposition of Franz Boas' theories can be found in his *Race, Language, and Culture* (1940).

9. For an introduction to the theories of these two scholars, see Evans-Pritchard 1962, and Mauss 1954.

10. Durkheim 1915.

11. Lévy-Bruhl 1923. See also, Lévy-Bruhl 1926; 1928.

12. Lévi-Strauss 1963, 30.

13. Radin 1957.

14. For examples of studies in acculturation, see Hogbin 1939, Mead 1956, Beaglehole 1957, and Raymond W. Firth 1959.

15. Geertz 1983, 60. This essay first appeared in 1974 in the *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28:1.

16. Davidson's classic reference to indigenous cultures as "islands whose coastal regions outsiders might penetrate but whose heartlands they could never conquer" is contained in his "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe: A Traditionalist in Samoan Politics" (James W. Davidson 1970, 267). See also Davidson 1955 and 1966. Examples of the islander-oriented scholarship inspired by the Davidson approach include Shineberg 1967, Corris 1973, and Howe 1979.

17. Sahlins 1981.

18. The literature on the uses and abuses of oral traditions is quite extensive. The issues as they relate to the study of Pacific Islands history are summed up quite well in Mercer 1979.

19. Dening 1980, 42.

20. Spear 1981. Spear draws heavily for support of his thesis from the pioneering work of Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (1965). See also Vansina 1985.

21. Rehg 1981, 7.

22. Athens 1980, 53.

23. Dening 1978.

24. For an extensive discussion on the limitations of ethnohistoric accounts of island societies, see Dening 1966.

25. Geertz 1973, 20.

26. Geertz 1983, 16.

CHAPTER 1: THE OTHER SIDE OF YESTERDAY

1. Campbell 1836. Campbell's account was serialized with some revisions in the Honolulu newspaper *The Polynesian*, 11, 18, and 28 July 1840. *The Polynesian's* version was reprinted in R. Gerard Ward 1967, 6:126-139.

2. R. Gerard Ward 1967, 6:136.

3. Ibid.

4. Bernart 1977, 176. "*Uar apot pullipuil jakaran uai o keilanaio*," reads the Pohnpeian text. Using Bernart's original, I have adjusted the translation of Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting (1977).

5. Ibid., 7-10. There exist thirteen recorded versions of the discovery and construction of Pohnpei. Bernart's account is considered to be the most accurate, most complete, and the most prestigious. The single largest collection of these versions is contained in Hambruch 1932, 333, text 1; 1936, 2:162, text D 26; 1936, 2:163, text D 24; 1936, 2:163, text 262; 1936, 2:165; 1936, 3:218, text 211; and 1936, 3:313. An in-depth, extremely valuable examination of the various facets of Bernart's version can be found in Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting 1977, 1-5.

6. For a note on the translation of this word, see Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting 1977, 2.

7. In Pohnpeian oral traditions, the names of individuals often provide an indication of their skills, functions, or circumstances. Lioramanipwel, for example, translates as "Woman Who Dreams (Locates) the Soil." Orthographical problems resulting from changes in the language over centuries make the translation of every proper name a near-impossible task. Except in those cases where the meanings are clear, I will avoid attempting a translation of Pohnpeian proper names.

8. The word *pei* or *pehi* in Pohnpeian has been translated by various scholars as "altar," "stone structure," and "sacred masonry." Given the emphasis in the

creation accounts on a supernatural charter, the translation “upon a stone altar” for the word *pohnpei* seems the most appropriate. During my fieldwork on the island, Pohnpeians knowledgeable in traditional lore, when asked, all described a *pei* as a sacred ceremonial structure. For an explanation of the other possible translations of the word *pei*, see Riesenberger, Fischer, and Whiting 1977, 3.

9. The story of Sapikini’s voyage closely resembles the creation stories of other Caroline islands. For a discussion of this point, see Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 2.

10. Bernart 1977, 10.

11. *Imwinkatau* translates as “the Extremity of Katau.” Some scholars believe that Katau, in Pohnpeian cosmology, sometimes refers to the island of Kosrae; on other occasions, it is a general designation for larger islands lying beyond Pohnpei. For a detailed examination of the concept of Katau, see Goodenough 1986.

12. Bernart 1977, 10. Most but not all voyagers reaching Pohnpei’s shores chose to stay. Hambruch (1936, 3:57–61) documents a fairly extensive complex of petrographic writings at Kitamw in Madolenihmw. Hambruch refers to the site as “Takai en Intelon.” Informants for the German anthropologist credited the ancient drawings to two men, Mwahnlap and Mwahntik, who later left the island. Masao Hadley, in his interview with me on 21 June 1983, at Mesihsou in Madolenihmw, described the two as boys who reached the island from foreign shores, drew pictures of the people and things they had witnessed during their travels, and eventually departed Pohnpei to resume their journeys.

13. *Ibid.*, 13.

14. *Ibid.*, 14. Katau Peidi translates as “Downwind Katau”; in this instance, it refers to islands to the west of Pohnpei.

15. Hambruch 1936, 2:167–169, text 49; and 1936, 2:169–170, text 220. Another version of the origins of the coconut tree can be found in Bernart 1977, 156–157.

16. Bernart 1977, 31. See also Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 21.

17. Bernart 1977, 32.

18. *Ibid.*, 61–62. Five other versions of this event are contained in Hambruch 1936; ranked in order of detail, they are 3:334, text 16; 3:306, text 34; 2:231, text 265; 2:46, text D 8; and 2:69, text D 18. Consult Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 47–49, for a textual explanation of Bernart’s version.

19. The story of the god Luhk in Bernart 1977, 50–57, relates the origins of the pandanus tree; Luhk’s gift of kava is described in Bernart 1977, 63–65.

20. *Ibid.*, 70.

21. *Ibid.*, 67. The story of Mwas en Pahdol, in its totality, tells of the origins of the Lasialap clan, one of the island’s most senior groups. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 53–56, provide a detailed examination of this story. In his three-volume study, *Ponape*, Hambruch (1936) includes five versions: 2:124, text 33; 3:146, text 81; 2:47, text 134; 2:48, text 325; and 2:47, text D 81.

22. Bernart 1977, 18–24, offers an extensive listing of the various trees, plants, and grasses of Pohnpei. The editors have added the scientific names for Bernart’s list of Pohnpeian plants.

23. *Ibid.*, 11. The son of a ranking member of the Dipwinmen clan, Bernart was particularly well qualified to speak of the clan’s past. For two other accounts of the Dipwinmen’s past, see Hambruch 1936, 2:33–36, text 191; and 2:36–38, text 193.

24. Hambruch 1936, 2:28–33. There have been a total of roughly twenty-one clans on Pohnpei, of which eighteen still exist. Determining the exact dates of the

various clans' arrivals on Pohnpei is impossible. However, Pohnpeian traditions show a strong concern for sequence, and a careful examination of these accounts makes possible a gross ordering of the clans' landings. Bernart's account of the origins of the coconut tree (1977, 156-157) indicates strong ties and a common place of origin for the Dipwinmen and Dipwinwai clans in the land of Eir to the south; therefore a reasonable case can be made that the Dipwinwai, if not the second clan to reach Pohnpei, was certainly among the earliest. Histories of the Sounkawad make it clear that the Dipwinwai and Lasialap were already resident in the north. Similarly, the Pwuton held Pehleng at the time of the Dipwinpehpe's arrival. The Dipwilap, the clan of the Saudeleus, is associated with the rise of Nan Madol. Isohkelekel brought the Nahniek, Liarkatau, and a subclan of the Dipwinpahmei. A second subclan of the Lipitahn reached the island at the time of the Kiti unification wars. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 92) believe these wars occurred around the year 1800. It should be pointed out, however, that seniority does not necessarily insure rank. The Sounkawad and Lipitahn, relatively junior clans in terms of their period of residence on the island, have assumed high places at the expense of more senior clans.

25. For the origins of the Dipwinluhk clan, see Hambruch 1936, 2:66, text 326.

26. Ehrlich 1978, 243. See also Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 17.

27. Petersen 1982a, 20. Petersen presents the clearest and most convincing explanation of a very complex facet of clan organization on Pohnpei. He notes that a *keinek* can be either a matrilineal descent group within a subclan or simply a residence group that has occupied a particular piece of property for a considerable length of time. The second of Petersen's distinctions refers to more recent times in which the extended family has supplanted the clan as the basic unit of social organization. With regard to Pohnpei's early past, the notion of the *keinek* as a matrilineal descent group within a given subclan is the more germane.

28. Hambruch 1936, 2:38.

29. Ibid., 2:41-43, text 261; and 2:43-45, text 257.

30. Bernart 1977, 16.

31. Ehrlich 1978, 18. This period is also referred to as the Mwehin Aramas "Period of peopling" by Masao Hadley 1981, 3.

32. Dr. J. Stephen Athens, personal communication, Honolulu, Hawaii, 14 February 1986.

33. Bath and Athens 1987, 7-8.

34. Bernart 1977, 27. The arrival of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha and their construction of Nan Madol begins an extensive complex of narrative accounts that chart the rise and fall of the Saudeleus. Another version of the magicians' work may be seen in Hambruch 1936, 3:61, text 51; also see Hadley 1981a, 3-7.

35. Masao Hadley 1981a, 3. This translation is consistent with the notion of conflict between the people of the island and the party from Katau Peidi. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 19) translate Sokehs as "Not Hooked," which is a more general reference to the failed attempts of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha. The exact site of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha's work in Sokehs is given as Pahn Ipwal by Rufino Mauricio (1983, 212).

36. Jenks (1970, 9) identifies Dol en Net as the location of the first attempt after Sokehs. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 19) list Likinmweli off U and Nan Koapwoaremen at Alokaw in Madolenihmw as the sites of the second and third attempts.

37. The ruins of Nan Madol have held a special fascination for Western visitors to Pohnpei. For a comprehensive listing of the literature, consult Athens 1981.

38. Bernart (1977, 28) writes that “the people of all Pohnpei were happy and assembled to help them [Ohlosihpa and Ohlosohpa] with their work.” This seems highly unlikely given the divisiveness on the island referred to earlier by Bernart and the problems the people of Katau Peidi experienced in trying to establish themselves at other locations. For an extended discussion of the problems surrounding the study of Nan Madol’s earliest period, see Athens and Hanlon 1986.

39. Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting (1977, 27) present two possible geographical definitions of Deleur. The first consists of the islets of Nan Madol, the neighboring island of Temwen, and Na, Nahpali, and Nahkapw, the small islands at the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor. The second, more expansive definition includes all of the mainland areas bordering on Madolenihmw Harbor. Combining both of these definitions, Saxe, Allenson, and Loughridge (1980, 6) write of both a central core and a greater Nan Madol.

40. Masao Hadley 1981a, 8.

41. *Ibid.*, 9.

42. *Ibid.*, 10. There is a certain amount of confusion in Bernart’s listings of the territorial divisions of the island under the Saudeleurs; these lists can be found in Bernart 1977, 33–34, 35–36, and 84–85. The problems are discussed in Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting 1977, 24–29, and by Mauricio 1983, 225–229. Believing Na Island to have been a part of Deleur, I have removed it from Hadley’s list. Following Bernart, I have divided Hadley’s Wenik into Wenik Peidak and Wenik Peidi.

43. Masao Hadley 1981a, 10.

44. *Ibid.*, 12.

45. Masao Hadley (1981a, 14) identifies Nahnisohnsapw as the chief deity of the Saudeleurs; I believe he is quite correct in so doing. Hambruch (1936, 3:92, text 101) refers incorrectly to the turtle offered to Nahn Samwohl as Nanusun-sap. Mauricio (1983, 213) refers to Nahnisohnsapw as a place of sacrificial offering at Nan Madol; I could find no such place name among the various physical descriptions and islet listings of Nan Madol.

46. Hambruch 1936, 3:62, text 51; the German scholar gives the spelling as *pun en tsap*. Masao Hadley (1981a, 13) refers to this ceremony as the *Pwohng Lapalap*. Luther H. Gulick, an American missionary writing in 1854, described the *Pwohng Lapalap* at Nan Madol. It may be that the *Pwohng Lapalap* ‘Great Night’ was the concluding ceremony of the *Pwung en Sapw*. There is the possibility that the *Pwohng Lapalap* was a relatively more recent variation of the *Pwung en Sapw*. The two terms may also be synonymous. Mauricio (1983, 213) calls the ceremony the *Pwongin Sapw*.

47. Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting 1977, 39.

48. Bernart 1977, 82.

49. Masao Hadley 1981a, 14. Bernart (1977, 82) makes brief mention of the story of Liahnensokole; he includes a song about it on p. 134. Hambruch (1936, 3:345 and 2:163) offers two versions.

50. Masao Hadley 1981a, 13. The various Saudeleurs are known by their honorific death names, called *edenpwel*. These names usually define the most prominent feature of a deceased ruler’s reign. *Sakon Mwehi* means ‘Cruel Period’; the inference here is that the Saudeleur known as Sakon Mwehi was a particularly cruel ruler.

51. Bernart 1977, 39.

52. Masao Hadley 1981a, 80.

53. *Ibid.*, 20.

54. Bernart (1977, 38–41) provides the most complete version of this story.

55. *Ibid.*, 41–43. The Pohnpeian historian refers to the story of Lepen Moar

again on p. 171. Hambruch (1936) records three versions of Lepen Moar's trials and two song texts that contain references to the story; see 3:382, text 12; 3:348, text 22; 3:346, text 97; 2:219, song text 98; and 2:198, song text 330. Masao Hadley (1981a, 38–39) presents his understanding of the events surrounding Lepen Moar's troubles with the Saudeleur.

56. Masao Hadley 1981a, 32–37.

57. *Ibid.*, 27. In Hadley's version, Lepen Palikir is described as a large chicken that the Saudeleur wishes to own. Bernart (1977, 130–131) records a song that tells of the conflict. There are two versions of the story in Hambruch (1936, 3:169–173); both of them also describe Lepen Palikir as a large chicken.

58. Athens 1983b, 56. See also Streck 1983.

59. Bernart 1977, 30.

60. Nahn Sapwe is sometimes equated with another Pohnpeian god, Daukatau. For an examination of the relationship between Nahn Sapwe and Daukatau, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting 1977, 83.

61. Masao Hadley 1981a, 39.

62. There are many versions of the fall of the Saudeleurs at the hands of Isohkelekel. Bernart (1977, 73–76) and Hadley (1981a, 41–46) offer versions that coincide closely. Hambruch gives four accounts: 1932, 337, text 1; 1936, 3:65, text 3; 1936, 3:74, text 96; and 1936, 3:67, text 204. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting (1977, 59–70) have written an extremely detailed commentary on Bernart's version. I have relied largely on Bernart with clarifying points from other versions.

63. Masao Hadley 1981a, 41. Saudemwohi is apparently the last of the Saudeleurs according to Hadley. Bernart (1977, 8) provides a list of eight Saudeleurs; Jenks (1970, 9) names nine. Masao Hadley (1981a, 9–41) also mentions nine. Hambruch (1932, 336) quotes a Pohnpeian account that gives the total number of Saudeleurs as seventeen; this is not possible given the time span involved. All of these lists are incomplete. It is simply not known how many Saudeleurs ruled during Nan Madol's period of dominance over the island.

64. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting 1977, 62.

65. Athens (1983b, 55) arrives at this date by estimating the average reign of the thirteen nahnmwarkis between Isohkelekel and Luhk en Kesik, who died in 1836, to be sixteen years. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting (1977, 63–64) examine evidence that Isohkelekel's party reached Pohnpei from the Marshall or Gilbert islands via Losap, an atoll southeast of Truk in the eastern Carolines. There also exists the likelihood that the group stopped at Pingelap before finally appearing at And.

66. Hambruch 1936, 3:81. A recent archaeological description of the Pei en Pak is found in Ayres, Haun, and Severance 1979, 83–86.

67. Hambruch 1936, 3:65, text 204; also, Bernart 1977, 180.

68. Bernart 1977, 74.

69. *Ibid.*, 180; see also Mauricio 1983, 233.

70. Masao Hadley 1981a, 43.

71. Hambruch 1936, 3:73, text 204.

72. Bernart (1977, 74) attributes the initial outbreak of hostilities to water play between the Pohnpeian and Katauan children that quickly became violent and involved adults. Hadley (1981a, 44) states that the battle began at the water's edge between one of the Saudeleur's principal warriors, Pwekin Deleur, and Isohkelekel's man, Nahnparadak. Given the fact that Isohkelekel's quarrel lay with the Saudeleur and that by this time the Katauans had married local women and fathered children of mixed parentage, Hadley's version seems the more likely.

73. Bernart (1977, 74) erroneously credits this act of courage to Nahnparadak. Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting (1977, 67–69) examine the reasons for this mistake.

74. Bernart 1977, 80–81. Other versions of this occurrence can be found in Hadley 1981a, 45–47, and Hambruch 1936, 2:104 and 1936, 3:222.

75. Masao Hadley 1981a, 47.

76. Bernart 1977, 84. For clarification of these territorial divisions, see Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting 1977, 75–76.

77. Masao Hadley 1981a, 48.

78. Mauricio (1983, 220–226) speculates that titles beginning with the prefixes *sou* or *sau* originated outside of Pohnpei and were brought to the island by the Saudeleurs. The titles with the prefix *nahn* first appeared under Isohkelekel. The explanation is a plausible one. The prefix *sau* appears as part of chiefly titles in other areas of the Pacific. *Nahn* is a term of endearment; its incorporation into titles established by Isohkelekel and the rise of the *nahnmwarki* system reinforces the notion of a closer, more harmonious relationship between chiefs and people.

79. Bernart 1977, 85. A third wife mentioned by Bernart was of the Liarkatau, a clan that came to Pohnpei with Isohkelekel. Hambruch (1936, 2:63–64, text 328; and 2:64–65, text 327) gives a history of the Liarkatau clan.

80. Masao Hadley (1981a, 48) identifies two of these titles as Kroun en Lehda and Lap en Wapar.

81. Bernart 1977, 85.

82. Ibid., 85–88. Other versions of the Nahlepenien story include Hambruch (1936, 3:321, text 46; and 3:325, text 95) and Hadley (1981a, 51–54). Hadley claims that Nahlepenien's father was not Isohkelekel but Isohkelekel's nephew, the second *nahnmwarki* of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Mwehi Mour.

83. Masao Hadley 1981a, 51. Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting (1977, 149) transcribe Bernart's Pohnpeian text to read Sousedin Roahdi.

84. Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting (1977, 78) identify this woman as Lika-par 'Woman Who Propagates'. Mauricio (1983, 235) cites informants who contend that this woman was Isohkelekel's sister, the one with whom he enjoyed an incestuous relationship. If true, Nahlepenien's union with the woman becomes even more a shattering of societal conventions.

85. Masao Hadley (1981a, 55) claims the children of Nahnken Nahlepenien were the next three *nahnmwarkis* following Luhk en Mwehi Mour—Nah Luhk en Nah Sapwe, Nah Luhk en Sounpwong, and Nah Luhk en Nar.

86. Hambruch 1936, 3:83, text 334. Two shorter accounts can be found in Bernart 1977, 43, and Hadley 1981a, 49–50.

87. Masao Hadley 1981a, 49.

CHAPTER 2: GHOSTS FROM THE OPEN OCEAN

1. Masao Hadley, interview, 21 June 1983. One of the foremost authorities on Pohnpei's past, Masao Hadley is the grandson of Luellen Bernart and the son of the late Nahnmwarki Moses Hadley of Madolenihmw. The holder of the title Nahnapas en Madolenihmw, the fourth-ranking title in the nahnken's line (*pali en serihso*) Hadley is identified as "Kesner" in Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting 1977. Accounts very similar to Hadley's were recorded by the American Protestant missionary Luther H. Gulick (1857, 45–48).

2. Hezel 1983, 34. Hezel's identification of Quiros as the first Westerner to sight Pohnpei is seconded by Riesenber 1968a, 2. Riesenber notes two possible earlier sightings of the island by Garcia Jofre de Loaysa in 1526 and Alvaro de

Saavedra in 1528. He concludes, however, that the meager descriptions provided by the two Spanish explorers appear to apply to low coral atolls, not to Pohnpei.

3. J. C. Beaglehole 1966, 41.

4. My account of the second Mendaña expedition is drawn from J. C. Beaglehole 1966, 58-80.

5. Quiros 1904, 1:113.

6. *Ibid.*, 114.

7. Hambruch 1932, 2. Both Hambruch and Masao Hadley (interview 21 June 1983) assert that this landing occurred after the Quiros sighting. The German anthropologist believes the ship mentioned in this Pohnpeian oral account may have been the *Santa Catalina*, the frigate of Mendaña's second expedition that became separated from the other two ships, the *San Geronimo* and the *San Felipe*, on the return voyage and was never heard from again.

8. Bernart 1977, 87-88. Hambruch (1936, 3:321, text 46; and 3:325, text 95) provides two other versions of this event.

9. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 80) remark that one of Hambruch's informants in 1910, the Nahnmwarki of U, identified Nan Kapuei, the son of Nahlepenien's sister and the second nahnken of Madolenihmw, as the first nahnmwarki of U.

10. Serilo, interview, 28 May 1983. The holder of the title Souruko en Tiren-sapw Kiti and the head of a large family in the Wene area, Serilo notes the confusion that has arisen between the terms *Sangiro*, a title for the nahnmwarki of U, and *Songoro*, an important Pohnpeian god associated with the Dipwinwai clan.

11. Ehrlich 1978, 157. Riesenberger (1968a, 16) estimates the Sounkawad conquest of Net and Sokehs to have taken place two to three generations before Western contact. Histories of the Sounkawad clan can be found in Hambruch 1936, 2:41-43, text 261; and 2:43-45, text 257.

12. Riesenberger (1968a, 25-26) clarifies the confusion over the terms *Pasau* and *Lukoap* contained in Bernart 1977, 84. For an additional discussion of Lukoap's boundaries in time and space, see Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 75-76.

13. Riesenberger (1968a, 26) puts the date of the Kiti unification wars between 1740 and 1760. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 92) also examine the questions concerning the dating of this war.

14. Bernart 1977, 101-103. Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting (1977, 91-96) provide a detailed analysis and explanation of Bernart's text. Hambruch (1936, 2:38-40, 2:55-56, and 3:109-112) gives additional accounts.

15. Riesenberger (1968a, 19) explains Nahnsoused en Net's position within Net's system of titles. Riesenberger identifies Nahnsoused en Net as Lepen Net's nahnken; I side with Hambruch (1936, 2:13) and a number of Riesenberger's informants who identify Nahnsoused, not as the effective Nahnken of Net, but as the second-ranking chief behind Lepen Net in the *soupeidi*'s line of titles.

16. Bernart 1977, 147.

17. In their first years on the island, American Protestant missionaries recorded Pohnpeian accounts that spoke of the earliest contacts with foreign ships; from the descriptions given them, the missionaries surmised that these were largely Spanish vessels. The missionaries also concluded from information given them by Pohnpeians that at least one Chinese vessel had been wrecked on the island's reef. For more on these matters, see Luther H. Gulick 1944, 7-55. See also Albert A. Sturges, "A Few Facts Respecting the Island Bonabe or Ascension by one of the Micronesian Missionaries for the Puritan Recorder," in ABCFM, reel 4, document 268. Hambruch (1932, 6-7) makes mention of a can-

non left in Kiti by some Spanish ship and also of some silver coins and a cross that were found on the islet of Nan Dauwas at Nan Madol in Madolenihmw. The caption of an 1840 sketch of the ruins at Nan Dauwas by an anonymous artist, contained in R. Gerard Ward (1967, 6:135) also makes mention of a Spanish crucifix and a silver-handled dagger. Voyagers from other Pacific islands were continuing to make their way to Pohnpei in this period. James F. O'Connell (1972, 174) wrote of meeting one relatively recent arrival to the island, but did not state where the individual originally came from. D. Parker Wilson, in his log of the *Gypsy* (1839–1843, entry for 17 April 1841), noted four survivors from the Gilbert Islands who were found in a canoe off Pohnpei with sixteen dead companions. One of the four was hired as a crewman aboard the *Gypsy*.

18. Hezel 1979, 37.

19. Information on all three of these sightings is in Hezel 1979, 38.

20. Lütke 1836, 2:3–31.

21. *Ibid.*, 25.

22. *Ibid.*, 32.

23. *Ibid.*, 29.

24. Kittlitz 1858, 2:75. An English translation of this work can be found in the HRAF collection of translated manuscripts on Micronesia. The translations were done between 1942 and 1944 at Yale University. The University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library has a microfilm copy of this collection.

25. O'Connell 1972, 102–106. For an extended discourse on the actual circumstances of O'Connell's life and some of the problems with his book, see the editor's introduction, pp. 1–44.

26. *Ibid.*, 105. O'Connell lists the five as George Keenan of Dublin, John Johnson, identified only as an Englishman, Edward Bradford of Bristol, John Thompson of Liverpool, and John William of London.

27. *Ibid.*, 122.

28. For the clearest explanation of Pohnpei's chiefly system of government, see Rosenberg 1968a, 49–75.

29. For an extensive description of Pohnpeian feasts and feasting patterns, see Rosenberg 1968a, 76–109. A brief list of the different kinds of feasts is given in Rehg and Sohl 1979, 163–164. Helpful also is Bascom 1965.

30. Rosenberg 1968a, 21.

31. Hambruch (1932, 11f) identifies the chief with whom O'Connell resided as Kiroun en Net, but does not make clear his source for this statement. Rosenberg does not take issue with O'Connell on this point but simply points out that, far from being one of the highest chiefs as the Irishman claimed, Oundol en Net was the tenth-ranked title holder in Net's chiefly line.

32. O'Connell 1972, 112–116. See especially Rosenberg's footnote to O'Connell's text on p. 114. Hambruch (1936, 2:269–279) gives an extensive description of Pohnpeian tattooing.

33. O'Connell 1972, 109–110.

34. *Ibid.*, 134.

35. For a discussion of the nature of war on Pohnpei, see Rosenberg 1968a, 60–62, 88.

36. O'Connell 1972, 193. In his footnote 19 to O'Connell's text, Rosenberg refutes the notion of segregation by social rank during actual fighting. Several informants I talked with in Wene, Kiti, during the summer of 1983 insisted, however, that in battles, warriors did indeed seek out opponents of equal rank and stature.

37. O'Connell 1972, 190–194.

38. Riesenbergs (1968a, 88) confirms the existence of ceremonial cannibalism and cites other recorded examples.

39. O'Connell 1972, 196.

40. Knights 1925. In reconstructing the visit of the *Spy*, I have relied heavily on Knights' account, with appropriate additions from O'Connell (1972, 199-206), who gives a chronologically confused and somewhat different version of events.

41. O'Connell 1972, 200.

42. *Ibid.*, 201.

43. Hezel 1983, 71.

44. O'Connell 1972, 163.

45. *Ibid.*, 203.

46. Appleton 1834.

47. Hezel 1979, 40.

48. R. Gerard Ward 1967, 3:541-542, 555-557.

49. *Ibid.*, 541-542, 544-546, 550.

50. For a detailed examination of chiefly succession on Pohnpei, see Riesenbergs 1968a, 34-42.

51. Fischer, Riesenbergs, and Whiting 1977, 79.

52. Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983.

53. Bernart 1977, 161-164. There is some confusion over when the events described in the story of Nahnawa and Oun Sapwawas actually occurred. For an explanation of this confusion, see Fischer, Riesenbergs, and Whiting 1977:127. Bernart's account of the weapons used in the conflict makes no mention of guns; this, note Fischer, Riesenbergs, and Whiting, suggests the precontact period. During our interview on 21 June 1983, Masao Hadley stated quite emphatically that the events in this story took place long before European or American ships began arriving at Pohnpei.

54. The titles Wasai and Nahnawa are ranked second and fifth, respectively, in the nahnmwarki's line for Madolenihmw. Riesenbergs (1968a, 12-13) lists Oun Sapwawas as a middle-level title in the nahnken's line. If the women were actually sisters, all three men should have held titles in the nahnmwarki's line. One possible explanation for this seeming discrepancy is the not uncommon deviation from set procedures in the succession to Pohnpeian chiefly titles.

55. Bernart 1977, 164.

56. Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983.

57. Masao Hadley (1981a, 61) explains that, traditionally, the members of the second *keinek* 'matrilineage' of the Isonenimwahn, the Litehriete, could not succeed to a title higher than Dauk while the third line, the Litehsilite, could rise only as high as Nahnawa. The *Falcon* incident advanced both the Litehriete and the Litehsilite at the expense of the Upwutenmei, which now fell to third rank among the three matrilineages.

58. O'Connell 1972, 174.

59. Hambruch 1932, 98. See also R. Gerard Ward 1967, 6:135-136.

60. R. Gerard Ward 1967, 6:126.

61. Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983. Hambruch (1932, 101, text 23) also places the date of the *Falcon* incident in the Pohnpeian season of *rahk*.

62. Hambruch (1932, 101, text 23) and Masao Hadley (20 June 1983 and 1981a, 59) identify Pahn Dieinuh, the point at the northern lip of the Madolenihmw Harbor, as the place off which the *Falcon* dropped anchor.

63. Plumb 1924; another, more extended, account of the *Falcon* incident can be found in Blake 1924; also Dunbabin 1926, 1-5. Hambruch (1932, 104-108)

gives yet another description of the events that draws heavily from an account that appeared in *Nautical Magazine* (1847, 127–131). I have selected Plumb's short but incisive account as the basic guide for my narrative of the incident. Material drawn from other sources is noted.

64. Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983.

65. Plumb (1924, 25) mistakenly identifies the Wasai's forces as members of a neighboring tribe. No other account of the *Falcon* incident suggests that they came from anywhere but Madolenihmw. In addition, Pohnpeian historians such as Masao Hadley and Benno Serilo, when asked, could recall no involvement by Kiti warriors in the whole *Falcon* affair.

66. Ibid.

67. Hambruch 1932, 103, text 23.

68. Masao Hadley 1981a, 60.

69. Plumb 1924, 26.

70. Blake 1924, 659.

71. Ibid.

72. Plumb 1924, 26.

73. Great Britain Colonial Office 1838, 95.

74. Deposition of Fred Randall, *ibid.*, 96.

75. Plumb 1924, 27.

76. Blake 1924, 651.

77. Ibid., 672.

78. *Historical Records of Australia* 1924, 20:14—Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland to Mr. C. Wood, 17 August 1839.

CHAPTER 3: THE TERMS OF TRADE

1. Denning (1980, 129–156) supplies the inspiration for the opening paragraphs of this chapter. Other important studies on beachcombers include Maude (1968, 134–169) and Hezel (1978, 261–272).

2. Hezel and Berg (1982, 165–167) present the short account of beachcomber activities on Pohnpei written by Commander P. L. Blake of HMS *Larne*, based on his 1839 visit to the island, which originally appeared in *Nautical Magazine* in 1845. The same account is also reproduced in Hambruch 1932, 108–109. For a more extensive description of beachcomber activities on Pohnpei in the late 1830s, see Blake 1924, 655–672.

3. Captain de Rosamel's account is contained in Hambruch 1932, 114–118.

4. Hambruch 1932, 109.

5. Blake 1924, 669.

6. Great Britain Colonial Office 1838, 97, 102–104. Headley's career is also discussed in Fischer, Riesenberger, and Whiting 1977, 106–107.

7. Francisco Miguel, 24 June 1983. A member of the Dipwinpehpe clan, Miguel, also known by the title Karoahm en Semwei, is one of Pohnpei's most highly respected *soupoad* 'story tellers'.

8. Great Britain Colonial Office 1838, 92.

9. Hambruch 1932, 118.

10. Blake 1924, 666.

11. In addition to Blake (1924, 661–667) accounts of the Ngatik Massacre of 1837 can be found in Dunbabin (1926) and Riesenberger (1966). Also Hambruch 1932, 104–108.

12. Cheyne 1971, 208–210.

13. Ibid., 209. Cheyne identifies as among those present at the meeting John

Martin, Henry Sam, Richard Reid, Frederick Randall, William Holmes, Thomas Jeffreys, John Brown, James Thomson, Charles Thomson, George May, Andrew Booth, a man called Smith, and another identified as Shugru the Malay.

14. Ibid., 205–206.

15. This listing of the origins of Pacific Islanders living as beachcombers on Pohnpei in this period has been culled from Hezel 1979, 37–88.

16. Cheyne 1971, 286–287.

17. Hambruch (1932, 128) identifies the European traveler to whom this remark was made as F. Michelena y Rojas, a Venezuelan who claimed to have visited Pohnpei aboard the barkentine *Rosa* in 1841. While Rojas may well have visited Pohnpei, his account of life on the island was plagiarized from the 1836 writings of Dr. Campbell, the surgeon aboard the *Lambton*. On this point, see Riesenbergs 1959.

18. Hezel 1979, 37–69. See also R. Gerard Ward 1967, 3:542.

19. William H. Wilson, 5 March 1850.

20. R. Gerard Ward 1967, 6:141, 142–143, 147–152.

21. Bernart 1977, 43.

22. Hambruch 1932, 128.

23. Blake 1924, 667.

24. Cheyne 1971, 158.

25. Ibid., 157.

26. Ibid., 3.

27. Ibid., 193–194.

28. Ibid., 28.

29. The account of Cheyne's first stay on Pohnpei, from 12 December 1842 to 17 May 1843, is found in Cheyne 1971, 156–222.

30. Cheyne 1852, 107.

31. Nahnku, the man who succeeded the Nahnken mentioned by Cheyne, is known today by his death name of Luhk en Lengsir. Hambruch (1936, 2:27) lists Luhk en Lengsir's immediate predecessor as Luhk en Sakau; hence the identification of Cheyne's Nahnken as Luhk en Sakau.

32. According to Hambruch (1936, 2:17) Sousaped en And held the second-ranking title under the paramount chief of the island, Soulik en And.

33. Cheyne 1971, 222.

34. Ibid., 157.

35. For an in-depth examination of these concepts in the structuring of Pohnpeian economic activity, see Shimizu 1982, 153–216.

36. For a discussion of the distinction between *taulap* and *tautik*, and of the related concept of *kepin koanoat*, see Riesenbergs 1968a, 77. Many Pohnpeians point out that in Madolenihmw the definitions of *taulap* and *tautik* were reversed.

37. Cheyne 1971, 221.

38. Ibid., 190.

39. Andersson 1854, 289.

40. Cheyne 1971, 173.

41. Blake 1924, 656.

42. Cheyne 1971, 215–216.

43. Ibid., 320.

44. The details of Cheyne's second visit to the island from 23 October to 4 December 1843 are given in Cheyne 1971, 285–293.

45. Cheyne's third and final trip to Pohnpei is described in Cheyne 1971, 317–320.

46. Ibid., 322.
47. Hezel 1983, 195.
48. Ibid., 132–133. Additional background on the American whaling fleet in the western Pacific can be found in Hohman 1928, and Stackpole 1953. Also, Dodge 1965; Morison 1927; and Starbuck 1964.
49. Hezel 1983, 109.
50. Hezel 1979, 37–44.
51. Luther H. Gulick 1855, 84.
52. Hezel 1983, 132.
53. Hambruch 1932, 117.
54. Ibid., 119.
55. Cheyne 1852, 94–95.
56. D. Parker Wilson, 18 April 1841.
57. Hezel 1979, 46.
58. Ibid., 53.
59. Meader, 15 March 1856.
60. Cheyne (1971, 160–161) identifies this man as Thomas Boyd.
61. Hezel 1983, 136.
62. William H. Wilson, 21 February 1850.
63. Bernart 1977, 106.
64. Hezel 1983, 140.
65. Andersson 1854, 284.
66. Hezel 1983, 140.
67. D. Parker Wilson, 18 April 1841.
68. These prices were compiled by Louis Corgot, the pilot who worked at Rohnkiti and Pohnahtik harbors. Corgot gave them to the American Protestant missionaries who in turn sent them to Honolulu. They appeared in *The Friend* 3 (May 1854): 40.
69. Ibid.
70. Harold Williams 1964, 102. Also, Thomas W. Williams, 1858–1861.
71. Hezel 1979, 67.
72. Hezel 1983, 134.
73. William H. Wilson, 27 February 1850.
74. ABCFM, 2:196—Sturges to Anderson, 24 September 1858.
75. Hezel 1979, 51.
76. Hanlon and Eperiam 1979.
77. D. Parker Wilson, 19 April 1841.
78. Ibid., 17 April 1841.
79. Hezel 1979, 49. Also, Baker 1847–1851.
80. William H. Wilson, 2 March 1850.
81. Ibid., 19 February 1850.
82. Hezel 1983, 135.
83. Ibid.
84. ABCFM, 2:196—Sturges to Anderson, 24 September 1858.
85. For an in-depth examination of the complexities of the Pohnpeian kinship system, see Riesenberg 1948c, 233–253.
86. William H. Wilson, 25 February 1850.
87. McGarry 1972, 54.
88. Ibid. An analysis of Pohnpeian proverbs dealing with the relationships between men and women is found in Riesenberg and Fischer 1955.
89. Cheyne 1971, 184–185. A scholarly assessment of women's productive roles in Pohnpei's past is offered by Petersen 1982b.

90. O'Connell 1972, 109-110.
91. Bernart 1977, 116. An in-depth explanation of the conflict is provided by Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting 1977, 103-105. Hambruch (1932, 2:356-357) also gives an account of the war.
92. Serilo 30 May 1983.
93. Lino Miguel 24 June 1983.
94. In addition to accounts from Bernart (1977) and from Fischer, Riesenbergh, and Whiting (1977), I have drawn on information gathered from a series of interviews with Pohnpeians knowledgeable about the 1850 Kiti-Madolenihmw war (Serilo, 30 May 1983; Ioannis Paulino, 6 June 1983; with Sohn Hadley, 9 June 1983; Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983; Francisco Miguel, 24 June 1983; Andereias, 3 July 1983).
95. Riesenbergh 1968a, 61. It is not clear whether the division of land between the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken, particular to Kiti, was a development of this period or extended traditionally back in time. The *kousapw* 'sections' of Kiti involved in the 1850 war with Madolenihmw were Kepinne, Nanpahlap, Pahnais, Pwok, Kipar, Rohnkiti, Pwoaipwoai, Mahnd, and Oare.
96. Masao Hadley, 20 June 1983.
97. Petersen (1982b) believes the Western trade goods that replaced the bark-cloth, belts, baskets, mats, and headbands woven by Pohnpeian women adversely affected the role of women in Pohnpeian society. This may have been so over the long run, but there is no historical evidence to suggest that the relegation of women to the periphery of Pohnpeian society took place within the first decades of contact. Unequal access to and limited distribution of these trade goods necessitated the continued production of local materials into the first decades of the twentieth century.
98. See the list of Pohnpeian vocabulary in Cheyne (1971, 175-179) for an indication of the extent of English words borrowed by Pohnpeians in this period.
99. D. Parker Wilson, 19 April 1841.
100. Cheyne 1971, 192.
101. Andersson 1854, 286.
102. Hambruch 1932, 113.
103. Hezel 1979, 57.

CHAPTER 4: GOD VERSUS GODS

1. Kuykendall 1933, 88.
2. Maigret 1834-1840. Except where noted, my account of Maigret's stay on Pohnpei is based on this source.
3. Maigret 1839, 96.
4. Maigret 1834-1840, entry for 15 April 1838.
5. Ibid., entry for 9 April 1838.
6. Hambruch 1932, 111.
7. Loomis 1970, 54.
8. Ibid., 55.
9. Crawford and Crawford, 1967, 26. For general introductions to the story of the Micronesian Mission, see Bliss (1906) and Strong (1910). The single most important and authoritative source is the collection of letters and papers (ABCFM 1852-1909); unless otherwise noted, all correspondence cited in this chapter is from that source. Published excerpts from these letters and papers can be found in the periodicals *The Friend* and *The Missionary Herald*. Additional correspondence of the ABCFM's Mission to Micronesia is in the collection of HMCSL, Honolulu, Hawaii.

10. Phillips 1969, 270.
11. Luther H. Gulick 1857, 45-48.
12. ABCFM, 2:173—Sturges to Anderson, 3 April 1854. The Anderson to whom this letter was written was Rufus Anderson, corresponding secretary of the ABCFM in Boston.
13. ABCFM, 1:54—Doane to Anderson, 11 May 1855.
14. ABCFM, 1:61—Doane to Anderson, 20 May 1856.
15. ABCFM, 1:65—Doane to Anderson, 23 January 1857.
16. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 17 June 1855.
17. ABCFM, 1:65—Doane to Anderson, 23 January 1857.
18. *Ibid.*
19. ABCFM, 1:63—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 4 December 1856, entry for 15 June 1856.
20. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 28 June 1855.
21. ABCFM, 1:105—Gulick, Journal entry for 17 April 1854.
22. ABCFM, 2:176—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 17 October 1854, entry for 17 October 1854.
23. An account of the first days of the mission party on Pohnpei is given in Gulick's Journal, which follows the letter Gulick to Anderson, 12 October 1852. See especially ABCFM, 1:92—entries for 6 September through 25 September 1852. See also ABCFM, 1:1—Clark to Anderson, 4 November 1852.
24. ABCFM, 1:92—Gulick to Anderson, Journal entry for 8 September 1852.
25. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 12 August 1855.
26. Bernart 1977, 116.
27. ABCFM, 1:91—Gulick to Anderson, 12 October 1852.
28. ABCFM, 2:170—Sturges to Anderson, 11 October 1852.
29. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 5 August 1855.
30. ABCFM, 2:170—Sturges to Anderson, 11 October 1852.
31. *Ibid.*
32. ABCFM, 1:4—Gulick to Anderson, "Annual Report for 1855."
33. ABCFM, 1:95—Gulick to Anderson, 4 February 1853.
34. ABCFM, 2:184—Sturges, Journal of the Kiti Station, entry for 1 January 1857.
35. ABCFM, 1:103—Gulick to Anderson, 17 March 1854.
36. ABCFM, 1:100—Gulick to Anderson, journal letter of July 1853, entry for 6 June 1853.
37. *Ibid.*, entry for 8 August 1853.
38. *Ibid.*, entry for 5 December 1853.
39. ABCFM, 2:176—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 17 October 1854, entry for 6 January 1855.
40. ABCFM, 1:62—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 25 October 1856, entry for 26 February 1856.
41. *Ibid.*, entry for 20 March 1856.
42. *Ibid.*, entry for 30 June 1856.
43. ABCFM, 1:67—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 19 March 1857, entry for 8 January 1857. Also, ABCFM, 1:63—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 4 December 1856, entry for 10 August 1856.
44. ABCFM, 1:63—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 4 December 1856, entry for 21 April 1856.

45. Warren 1860, 165.
46. ABCFM, 1:72—Doane to Anderson, 6 December 1857.
47. ABCFM, 1:63—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 4 December 1856, entry for 8 August 1856.
48. ABCFM, 2:181—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 9 February 1856, entry for 11 February 1856.
49. Hezel 1983, 146.
50. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 28 August 1855.
51. ABCFM, 1:100—Gulick to Anderson, journal letter of July 1853, entry for 10 May 1853.
52. ABCFM, 2:196—Sturges to Anderson, 24 September 1858.
53. ABCFM, 1:151—Gulick to Anderson, 11 February 1858.
54. ABCFM, 2:192—Sturges to Gulick, 25 June 1858.
55. ABCFM, 2:172—Sturges to Anderson, 10 January 1854.
56. ABCFM, 2:181—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 9 February 1856, entry for 22 February 1856.
57. ABCFM, 2:187—Sturges to Anderson, 28 January 1857.
58. ABCFM, 2:192—Sturges to Gulick, 25 June 1858.
59. ABCFM, 2:112—Roberts to Anderson, 7 March 1859. See also ABCFM, 2:198—Sturges to Anderson, 4 January 1859, and ABCFM, 2:197—Sturges, "Extracts from the Kiti Journal," entry for 5 November 1858.
60. Luther H. Gulick 1859a, 23.
61. ABCFM, 1:151—Gulick to Anderson, 11 February 1858.
62. Hezel 1979, 56.
63. ABCFM, 2:181—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 9 February 1856, entry for 11 February 1856.
64. HMCSL—Sturges to Clark, 25 July 1856.
65. ABCFM, 1:153—Gulick to Anderson, journal letter of 15 September 1858, entry for 15 September 1858.
66. ABCFM, 1:155—Gulick to Anderson, 18 February 1859.
67. ABCFM, 1:153—Gulick to Anderson, journal letter of 15 September 1858, entry for 27 September 1858.
68. ABCFM, 1:124—Gulick to Anderson, 25 December 1854.
69. ABCFM, 1:55—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 3 September 1855, entry for 19 June 1855.
70. ABCFM, 1:113—Gulick to Clark, 10 October 1855.
71. ABCFM, 1:64—Doane to Anderson, 22 January 1857.
72. ABCFM, 1:11—"Minutes of the Second General Meeting," entry for 8 October 1857.
73. Alden 1944, 277.
74. ABCFM, 1:154—Gulick to Anderson, 21 January 1859.
75. ABCFM, 1:18—"Annual Report of the Micronesian Mission [for 1858]."
76. ABCFM, 1:100—Gulick to Anderson, journal letter of July 1853, entry for 8 December 1853.
77. ABCFM, 1:142—Gulick to Youthful Owners of the *Morning Star*, 20 October 1857.
78. ABCFM, 1:128—Gulick to Anderson, 16 May 1856.
79. ABCFM, 2:199—Sturges to Anderson, 14 October 1859.
80. ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entries for 7 and 8 June 1855.
81. *Ibid.*, entry for 29 July 1855.
82. For a thorough discussion of the Pohnpeian religion, see Hambruch 1936,

2:96-145; also Bernart 1977, 90-95, and Fischer, Riesenbergs, and Whiting 1977, 81-85. There is some debate over whether or not a single deity reigned over all of Pohnpei. Some indigenous sources refer to Daukatau and Nahn Sapwe as separate beings; however, Bernart (1977, 146) equates the two. Given Pohnpeians' strong regional and clan affiliations, it is very possible that different clans recognized the primacy of different gods. The Dipwinpahnmei of Madolenihmw and the Dipwinmen of Onohnleng worshipped Nahn Sapwe, while such gods as Luhk and Nahn Isopau held the allegiance of other clans in different areas of the island. While Daukatau 'Channel of Katau' may indeed be another name for Nahn Sapwe that commemorates the defeat of the Saudeleurs by his son Isohkelekel from Kosrae or Katau, different groups of Pohnpeians most likely persisted in worshipping primarily their own clan gods and spirits. For some Pohnpeians, then, Nahn Sapwe or Daukatau was the supreme deity of the island; others, however, clung to more ancient religious loyalties.

83. ABCFM, 2:177—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 17 March 1855, entry for 25 March 1855.

84. ABCFM, 1:100—Gulick, Journal entry for 11 September 1855.

85. ABCFM, 1:127—Gulick to Anderson, 7 March 1856.

86. ABCFM, 2:183—Sturges to Anderson, 10 May 1856. See also ABCFM, 1:128—Gulick to Anderson, 16 May 1856, and ABCFM, 1:63—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 4 December 1856, entry for 15 May 1856. An account of this incident is also included in Sturges 1856, 75.

87. ABCFM, 2:183—Sturges to Anderson, 10 May 1856.

88. Hambruch 1936, 2:109.

89. Ibid.

90. ABCFM, 1:128—Gulick to Anderson, 16 May 1856.

91. ABCFM, 1:103—Gulick to Anderson, 17 March 1854. Also Fischer and Fischer 1957, 29.

92. ABCFM, 1:105—Gulick, Journal entry for 22 May 1854.

93. ABCFM, 2:175—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 July 1854, entry for 12 July 1854. Also ABCFM, 1:107—Gulick to Anderson, 9 November 1854.

94. ABCFM, 1:107—Gulick to Anderson, 9 November 1854.

95. ABCFM, 2:175—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 July 1854, entry for 10 September 1854.

96. Riesenbergs 1968a, 41. ABCFM, 2:175—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 July 1854, entry for ? September 1854; and ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entry for 5 June 1855.

97. ABCFM, 1:105—Gulick, Journal entry for 22 May 1854.

98. ABCFM, 2:176—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 17 October 1854, entry for 6 January 1855.

99. ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entry for 24 May 1855.

100. ABCFM, 2:175—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 July 1854, entry for 12 July 1854.

101. ABCFM, 1:105—Gulick, Journal entry for 25 September 1854.

102. ABCFM, 1:119—Gulick, Journal entry for 20 May 1855.

103. ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entry for 24 June 1855.

104. ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entries for 29 July, 26 August, and 4 September 1855.

105. ABCFM, 1:120—Gulick, Journal entry for 11 September 1855. See also ABCFM, 1:124—Gulick to Anderson, 25 December 1854; ABCFM, 2:176—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 17 October 1854, entries for 25 and 27 December 1854; and ABCFM, 1:61—Doane to Anderson, 20 May 1856.

CHAPTER 5: STRATEGIES OF SALVATION

1. Riesenberg and Fischer 1955, 14-15.
2. Masao Hadley 1981a, 57. Riesenberg (1968a, 53) makes a more general reference to this *nahnmwarki*.
3. Riesenberg 1968a, 63.
4. Hezel 1979, 68-74.
5. ABCFM, 4:271—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 November 1860, entry for 12 November 1860.
6. Ibid., entry for 6 March 1861.
7. ABCFM, 3:10—"Statistics of the Marquesan and Micronesian Churches for 1867."
8. ABCFM, 3:158—Doane to Anderson, journal letter of 11 May 1866, entry for 11 May 1866.
9. Sturges' comment can be found in Riesenberg 1968a, 109.
10. For an extended description of the use and significance of kava (*sakau*), see Riesenberg 1968a, 102-109.
11. ABCFM, 4:268—Sturges, "Facts Respecting Ascension Island by One of the Missionaries, No. 2."
12. ABCFM, 4:271—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 November 1860, entry for 1 July 1861.
13. ABCFM, 4:282—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 25 August 1863, entry for 7 October 1863.
14. ABCFM, 4:275—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 20 January 1862, entry for 20 April 1862.
15. ABCFM, 4:280—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 1 June 1863, entry for 12 June 1863.
16. ABCFM, 4:282—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 25 August 1863, entry for 25 August 1863.
17. Sturges, "Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins' Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated 16 April 1878, HMCSL. To avoid confusion, I have used the spellings of the names of baptized Pohnpeians as they appear in mission records. At the first mention of each individual, I have also included the English equivalent in parentheses.
18. ABCFM, 4:284—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 22 January 1864, entry for 24 January 1864.
19. ABCFM, 4:288—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 8 February 1864, entry for 18 April 1864.
20. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting 1977, 106.
21. Serilo, 25 May 1983.
22. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting 1977, 106.
23. Serilo, 25 May 1983. These stories, accepted as common knowledge in Kiti, were repeated to me on numerous occasions by other informants. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting (1977, 106) provide similar accounts of the infamous exploits of Nahnawa en Mwudok.
24. Spoehr 1963, 93. One of the premier naturalists and ethnographers of the Pacific in the nineteenth century, Kubary lived on Pohnpei intermittently between 1873 and 1896. Over the course of these periods of residence, Kubary, from his earnings as an agent for the German trading firm of J. C. Godeffroy & Company, purchased a plantation at Mpwoampw near Mesenieng in the north of the island. In 1880 he married the daughter of a foreign trader and a Pohnpeian woman by the name of Anna Yelert or Yelliot. The 1880 collapse of Godeffroy &

Company eventually forced Kubary off Pohnpei; from 1882 to 1895, he wandered about Europe and the Pacific in search of work related to his scientific interests. He returned to Pohnpei in 1895, but, plagued by financial problems and by Spanish claims to his plantation land, he committed suicide on 9 October 1896. For more on Kubary and his writings, see Paszkowski 1971.

25. HMCSL—Sturges to Gulick, 26 February 1865.

26. ABCFM, 4:289—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 15 April 1865, entry for 24 August 1865. The woman mentioned in this account was actually one of Nahnken Nahnku's wives. By traditional right, Nahnawa en Mwudok, as both successor to the title of Nahnken and a classificatory brother of Nahnku, could claim the dead Nahnken's wives as his. The woman's rejection of Nahnawa en Mwudok's chiefly privilege led to tragic consequences.

27. ABCFM, 4:298—Sturges to Clark, 18 January 1869.

28. ABCFM, 4:296—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 6 May 1868, entry for 6 May 1868.

29. ABCFM, 4:300—Sturges to Clark, 8 February 1869.

30. ABCFM, 3:164—Doane, Journal entry for 11 December 1869.

31. Ibid., entry for 8 December 1869.

32. Ibid., entry for 11 December 1869.

33. ABCFM, 3:165—Doane to Clark, 25 February 1870.

34. Riesenbergs 1968a, 50.

35. ABCFM, 4:288—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of February 8, 1864, entry for 8 February 1864. Sturges identifies the Wasai, baptized Ejikaia, as the "rightful king." See also HMCSL—Sturges, "Names of Ponapeans Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated 16 April 1878. I have been unable to locate, either in the literature or among Pohnpeian historians, a more explicit identification of the Nahnmwarki who succeeded Luhk en Mwei U in 1855 and ruled until about 1880. It was this Nahnmwarki who effectively countered the challenge of Wasai Ejikaia.

36. Sturges 1865.

37. ABCFM, 4:285—Sturges to Gulick, 14 March 1864.

38. ABCFM, 288—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 8 February 1864, entry for 8 February 1864.

39. Ibid., entry for 31 March 1864.

40. Ibid., entry for 30 June 1864.

41. ABCFM, 4:290—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 10 August 1866, entry for 20 August 1866.

42. A detailed narration of the events of 1867 can be found in HMCSL—Sturges to Gulick, 31 May 1867.

43. Ibid.

44. ABCFM, 3:170—Doane to Gulick, 27 January 1868.

45. HMCSL—Sturges to Gulick, 27 October 1868.

46. ABCFM, 4:300—Sturges to Clark, 8 February 1869.

47. ABCFM, 6:8—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 13 October 1872, entry for 22 November 1872.

48. ABCFM, 5:4—J. E. Chamberlain, "Synopsis of the Voyage of the *Morning Star* for the Year 1875."

49. For an extensive account of the *Shenandoah's* visit to Pohnpei, see Browning 1976. Also, Hunt 1867, 122–140.

50. ABCFM, 4:289—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 5 April 1865, entry for 19 April 1865.

51. Browning 1976, 29.

52. ABCFM, 4:289—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 5 April 1865, entry for 19 April 1865.

53. HMCSL—Doane to Gulick, 2 March 1869.

54. Luther H. Gulick 1869. Doane and Sturges first began requesting the visit of an American man-of-war in 1865. Copies of their letters to U.S. Minister in Honolulu J. McBride, can be found in United States Navy Department 1841-1886—letters of 11 January 1870 to 9 December 1870.

55. My account of the U.S.S. *Jamestown's* visit to Pohnpei is drawn largely from ABCFM, 3:170—Doane to Gulick, journal letter of 8 June 1870. See also Truxtun 1870.

56. ABCFM, 3:170—Doane to Gulick, journal letter of 8 June 1870, entry for 20 June 1870.

57. ABCFM, 3:169—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 25 May 1870, entry for 27 June 1870.

58. ABCFM, 3:180—Doane to Gulick, journal letter of 8 June 1870, entry for 29 June 1870.

59. Riesenberg and Fischer 1955, 11.

60. Gunson 1978, 267.

61. ABCFM, 6:244—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 28 October 1872, entry for 15 November 1872.

62. *Ibid.*, entry for 21 November 1872.

63. ABCFM, 6:245—Sturges to Clark, 30 September 1875.

64. ABCFM, 6:247—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 5 February 1874, entry for 25 February 1874.

65. ABCFM, 6:248—Sturges, "Journal of A. A. Sturges on S. E. Ponape," entry for 25 February 1874.

66. ABCFM, 6:245—Sturges to Clark, 30 September 1873.

67. ABCFM, 3:172—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 8 July 1870, entry for 8 July 1870.

68. Riesenberg 1968a, 55-58.

69. ABCFM, 3:176—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 29 January 1871, entry for 27 January 1871.

70. ABCFM 1874, *Annual Report* [for 1873], p. 77.

71. Hambruch 1936, 2:113.

72. ABCFM, 6:12—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 12 June 1873, entry for 13 June 1873. An account of the desecration of the shrine that occurred two years earlier can be found in ABCFM, 3:176—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 13 November 1870, entry for 16 January 1871.

73. ABCFM, 6:255—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 18 November 1876, entry for 18 November 1876.

74. ABCFM, 6:243—Sturges to Clark, 7 October 1872.

75. HMCSL—Sturges to Bingham, 9 March 1878.

76. ABCFM, 3:176—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 13 November 1870, entry for 20 November 1870.

77. ABCFM, 3:163—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 25 January 1869, entry for 23 November 1869.

78. ABCFM, 3:161—Doane to Snow, 20 February 1868.

79. ABCFM, 3:171—Doane to Gulick, 30 June 1870.

80. ABCFM, 3:163—Doane to Gulick, journal letter of 25 January 1869, entry for 23 November 1869.

81. HMCSL—Doane to Forbes, 12 February 1886.

82. ABCFM, 3:162—Doane to Clark, 10 August 1868.

83. Cholmondeley 1915, 122. Another, extremely good, account of Pease's doings on Pohnpei is contained in Mahlman 1918, 46–82. See also Bridges 1868–1870.

84. HMCSL—Sturges to Galen, 7 November 1867.

85. ABCFM, 3:169—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 25 May 1870, entry for 27 June 1870.

86. ABCFM, 4:301—Sturges to Gulick, 25 February 1869. Glover and Dow Company of Shanghai furnished most of the backing for the Pacific Trading Company. On this point, see Hezel 1983, 231.

87. ABCFM, 3:166—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 6 March 1870, entry for 28 March 1870.

88. ABCFM, 3:167—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 13 April 1870, entry for 28 April 1870.

89. HMCSL—Doane to Pogue, 14 February 1873.

90. ABCFM, 3:179—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 3 July 1871, entry 24 July 1871.

91. ABCFM, 6:10—Doane to Clark, 19 February 1873.

92. HMCSL—Doane to Pogue, 24 February 1874.

93. Hezel 1983, 254.

94. HMCSL—Sturges to Gulick, 26 August 1864.

95. C. F. Wood 1875, 146.

96. Hezel 1983, 258.

97. ABCFM, 3:181—Doane to Clark, journal letter of 25 September 1871, entry for 25 September 1871.

98. ABCFM, 5:21—“Fifth Annual Report of the Ponape Board of Missions—Grandchild to the American Board, [1878].”

99. ABCFM, 6:245—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 20 September 1873, entry for 30 September 1873.

100. HMCSL—Sturges, “Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands,” dated 16 April 1868. This very useful piece carries biographical summaries of all the Pohnpeian missionaries who worked in Truk and the Mortlocks through 1878.

101. ABCFM, 6:245—J. E. Chamberlain, “Synopsis of the Voyage of the *Morning Star* for the Year 1875.”

102. ABCFM, 5:21—“Fifth Annual Report of the Ponape Board of Missions: Grandchild to the American Board, [1878].”

103. ABCFM, 12:43—Sturges to Means, 7 December 1881.

104. Hezel 1983, 259.

105. HMCSL—Sturges, “Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands,” dated 16 April 1878. Mojei is identified elsewhere in the literature on the Micronesian Mission as Moses Teikoroi.

106. Hezel 1983, 259.

107. ABCFM, 6:264—Sturges, “To the Hawaiian and American Boards of Missions,” entry for 8 December 1879.

108. ABCFM, 10:214—“Statistics of the Micronesian Mission [for the Year 1882].”

109. ABCFM, 4:271—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 12 November 1860, entry for 24 January 1861.

110. ABCFM, 3:204—Roberts to Anderson, journal letter of 6 September 1860, entry for 6 September 1860.

111. ABCFM, 3:118—Doane to Anderson, 19 April 1862. This letter summarizes the circumstances that surrounded the death of Doane's first wife.

112. ABCFM, 3:33—Doane to Clark, 23 June 1877. Doane's problems with his second wife are discussed in the series of letters written from 6 June 1877 to 27 January 1879 (ABCFM, 6:31-48). See also the medical evaluation of Clara Strong Doane's condition in the letters of Patterson to Humphrey (ABCFM, 6:81—5 September 1877; and ABCFM, 6:82—2 June 1877). Without explicit statements, these letters suggest that Clara Doane suffered a nervous breakdown while in Japan. Mention is made in this correspondence of both her "nervous problem" and the tendency toward suicide in her family.

113. ABCFM, 6:64—Doane to Brother ?, 16 December 1879.

114. ABCFM, 6:112—Logan to Clark, 22 October 1874.

115. ABCFM, 6:163—Rand to Clark, 7 October 1874.

116. ABCFM, 6:122—Logan to Clark, 9 November 1876.

117. ABCFM, 6:163—Rand to Clark, 7 October 1874.

118. ABCFM, 6:169—Rand to Clark, journal letter of 27 June 1877, entry for 22 December 1877.

119. ABCFM, 6:252—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 18 November 1875, entry for 18 February 1876.

120. ABCFM, 6:130—Logan to Clark, 7 June 1879.

121. ABCFM, 6:131—Logan to Clark, 28 November 1879.

122. ABCFM, 6:270—Sturges to Clark, 31 May 1880.

123. ABCFM, 6:265—Sturges to Clark, journal letter of 12 February 1880, entry for 16 February 1880.

124. ABCFM, 6:132—Logan to Clark, 18 December 1878.

125. ABCFM 1874, *Annual Report* [for 1873], p. 77.

126. ABCFM 1869, *Annual Report* [for 1868], p. 101.

127. ABCFM, 6:28—Rand, "Report of the Oua School, 1879."

128. ABCFM, 6:68—Doane to Clark, 27 February 1880.

129. This is a constant theme that appears in the letters of Doane, Logan, and Rand throughout their correspondence of the 1870s. Logan expresses it most forcefully in his letter to Clark (ABCFM, 6:131—28 November 1879).

130. ABCFM, 6:120—Logan to Clark, 30 June 1876.

131. ABCFM, 6:257—Sturges, "The Missionary Problem." There is no date on this document. Given its position in the general collection, it seems to have been written about 1878.

CHAPTER 6: MESENIENG

1. Hezel 1983, xi.

2. Bayo y Hernandez Pinzon 1886. AHNM volume and page numbers cited in this chapter are based on Sister Felicia E. Plaza's organization and cataloging of the AHNM material. A useful guide to the collection is Plaza 1974. Another valuable source of material on the Spanish colonial period is the collection of the Philippine National Archives at Manila (PNAM).

3. ABCFM, 10:230—Doane to Smith, 1 August 1885.

4. Maxwell 1881.

5. Hezel 1979, 87.

6. ABCFM, 10:232—Doane to Smith, 13 October 1885.

7. ABCFM, 10:233—Doane to Forbes, 16 October 1885. The separation of Net from Sokehs, discussed later in this chapter, added a fifth chiefdom to the preexisting four on the island.

8. ABCFM, 10:235—Doane to Smith, 15 December 1885.

9. The clearest statement of Spain's claims to the area, issued during the

height of the Carolines controversy in 1885, is Gracia y Parejo's *Considerations on the Rights of Spain Over the Caroline Islands* (1973).

10. An excellent account of Spain's first three centuries of involvement in the Caroline Islands can be found in Hezel 1983, 1–60.

11. My abbreviated account of the diplomatic negotiations over possession of the Carolines is drawn from Hezel 1983, 306–313. See also Brown 1976. The story is a complex and intriguing one. Taken aback by the furor caused in Spain and the rest of Europe by Germany's annexation of the Caroline Islands, Bismarck reassessed his position. "We have made a bothersome mess with the coral islands in the Pacific," he said to his subordinates in September 1885. Realizing that the possession of distant Pacific islands did not warrant a rupture in the precarious balance of power on the European continent, Bismarck declared: "They are not worth it. The islands would not repay one week of preparation for war." Informing the Spanish government that Germany had no intention of violating Spanish rights, Bismarck ordered the withdrawal of German forces from the area. In seeking an appropriate diplomatic solution to the problem, Bismarck hit upon the idea of papal arbitration. The Iron Chancellor, far from admitting defeat, sought to use the Pope's participation to manipulate a difficult situation for both domestic and international gain. In secret negotiations, it was made perfectly clear to the Vatican what ruling Germany expected from the Pope. In seemingly deferring to the Pope's judgment, Bismarck sought to preserve Germany's existing influence in the area while sparing the young national government the financial drain of administering distant lands of negligible value. The appearance of submission to Rome also impressed the leaders of Europe's Catholic capitals and helped shroud the anti-Catholic character of Bismarck's domestic policies. While the Carolines were thus returned to Spain, an 1886 Anglo-German convention dividing up the western Pacific north of Australia, coupled with general Spanish indifference toward the group, allowed Germany to establish formal colonial rule over the Marshall Islands.

12. ABCFM, 9:32—Voight to Porter, 4 October 1887. Though official diplomatic correspondence, a copy of this and other government documents concerning events on Pohnpei between 1887 and 1890 can be found in the ABCFM files.

13. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 166. Russell Surber, as part of the requirements for an MA degree in Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawaii, has provided an extremely useful translation of Cabeza Pereiro's section on the history of the island (Surber 1983).

14. ABCFM, 10:245—Doane to Smith, journal letter of 22 July 1886, entry for 27 July 1886.

15. Bayo 1886.

16. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887. George F. Garland, captain of the missionary steamer *Morning Star*, provides one of the most detailed accounts of events leading up to the violence of July 1887. Doane's letters do not make mention of his 1886 offer of land to the Spanish until 29 June 1887; see ABCFM, 10:263—Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887.

17. Hezel 1971, 2:37. Hezel's article is divided into two parts, the second of which deals with the latter half of Spain's formal colonial control of the islands.

18. Hanlon 1981, 39.

19. Hezel 1971, 38.

20. ABCFM, 20:239—Doane to Smith, 10 February 1886. See also ABCFM, 10:241—Doane to Smith, 19 March 1886.

21. ABCFM, 10:245—Doane to Smith, journal letter of 22 July 1886, entry for 27 July 1886.

22. ABCFM, 10:247—Doane to Smith, 22 August 1886.
23. ABCFM, 10:258—Doane to Smith, 22 March 1887.
24. ABCFM, 10:257—Doane to Smith, 19 March 1887.
25. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.
26. ABCFM, 10:263—Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887.
27. ABCFM, 10:259—Doane to Smith, 5 April 1887. Other detailed accounts of the events leading up to the violence of July 1887 can be found in ABCFM, 11:312—Rand to Smith, journal letter 15 April 1887, entries to 4 September 1887; ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887; ABCFM, 10:263—Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887; and ABCFM, 10:261—"The Most Important Parts of Rev. E. T. Doane's letter to Rev. L. H. Gulick," 5 June 1887. Excerpts from these and other letters dealing with the mission's problems with the Spanish colonial administration on Pohnpei were published in *The Missionary Herald* and *The Friend*. In addition to the ABCFM correspondence, another extremely valuable source is Kapuziner Missionsarchiv 1974, an extensive history of the Capuchin mission on Pohnpei, which contains yearly summaries of events on Pohnpei beginning with the arrival of the Capuchin mission party in 1887. A Spaniard's view of 1887 is given in Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 165-180. Diplomatic correspondence concerning the problems between the Spanish administration and the American Protestant missionaries for the period up to November 1890 may be found in two major sources: U.S. Department of State 1817-1899; and U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1893), cited hereafter as FRUS. Yet another source is the highly biased but extensive account in Hambruch 1932, 192-207; Hambruch draws on many of the sources cited above as well as local accounts to present his own interpretation.
28. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.
29. ABCFM, 10:255—Doane to Smith, 25 January 1887.
30. FRUS, 514-516—Jewell to Chandler, 25 November 1887.
31. The deeds to Mesenieng are explained in ABCFM, 10:260—Doane to Smith, 23 August 1889.
32. Doane's admission that he had Lepen Net and the three other Pohnpeians simply touch the pen that he used to sign their names is in ABCFM, 10:210—Doane to Forbes, 11 April 1887. Mention is also made of this peculiar signing in ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887. The missionary's action became public knowledge at the hearings on the matter held by Posadillo.
33. Siliwer, 18 March 1980. At our meeting, Siliwer stated that Kaniki en Mesenieng was the original *soumas en kousapw* for Mesenieng. Kaniki en Mesenieng had incurred Lepen Net's displeasure and was forced to flee to Kiti where the title remains to this day. With Kaniki's flight, immediate responsibility for the governance of Mesenieng fell to Souwen en Metipw. It is not clear how long before 1880 these events occurred. Riesenbergs (1968a, 28) lists Nahlaimw en Metipw as the section chief of Mesenieng; it is not clear why he does this.
34. Hanlon 1981, 14.
35. Bernart 1977, 108.
36. Hambruch 1936, 2:95.
37. Siliwer, 18 March 1980. Hambruch (1936, 2:118) discusses the nature of these shrines (*merei*).
38. Riesenbergs (1968a, 71) identifies this Wasai Sokehs as Kaimw Sapwasapw. According to Riesenbergs (p. 49) Kaimw Sapwasapw's honorific death name was Isoeni.
39. ABCFM, 4:291—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 28 October 1866, entry for 4 November 1866.

40. Hambruch (1936, 2:2–6) provides a history of Net and Sokehs from the conquest of the Sounkawad through the brief period of total unification when Kaimw Sapwasapw held the ruling titles of both areas.

41. HMCSL—Mary E. Logan to Brother and Sister, 21 November 1874. See also ABCFM, 6:16—Doane to Clark, 22 December 1874.

42. ABCFM, 3:164—Doane, Journal entry for 12 January 1870.

43. HMCSL—Doane to Pogue, 17 March 1871.

44. Young 1880–1881, entry for 6 July 1880.

45. HMCSL—Rand to Friends, 18 April 1887.

46. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.

47. Hambruch 1932, 231. The passage does not make clear whether the money paid Lepen Net was considered a rental fee or a purchase price. A letter from Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887 (ABCFM, 10:263) makes mention of Spanish intentions to purchase the land. I came across no mention of the fee in Spanish records.

48. ABCFM, 10:263—Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887.

49. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.

50. HMCSL—Doane to Gulick, 6 August 1885.

51. HMCSL—Doane to Gulick, 28 December 1885.

52. ABCFM, 10:261—“The Most Important Parts of Rev. E. T. Doane’s letter to Rev. Luther H. Gulick,” 5 June 1887. This is an edited version of a longer letter dealing with Doane’s problems with the Spanish governor. A copy of this letter is available in FRUS, 401–402. Doane provides a detailed and convincing refutation of the charges against him in a letter written en route to Manila; see ABCFM, 10:263—Doane to Smith, 29 June 1887.

53. Copies of the extensive diplomatic correspondence concerning Doane’s problems and the violence of 1887 on Pohnpei can be found in FRUS 394–434.

54. FRUS 407–408—Smith to Bayard, 15 October 1887.

55. ABCFM, 9:20—Voight to Gulick, 26 July 1887.

56. Hempenstall 1984, 103. For a detailed study of the situation in the Philippines during the last decades of the nineteenth century, see Cushner, 1971.

57. ABCFM, 9:23—Voight to Doane, 6 August 1887. This letter reconfirms the understanding reached with the governor general at their meeting earlier that day.

58. Hezel 1971, 29.

59. Hempenstall 1984, 108.

60. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.

61. ABCFM, 11:312—Rand to Smith, journal letter of 15 April 1887, entry for 24 May 1887.

62. ABCFM, 10:286—“A Statement of Facts Pertaining to the Occupying of the Island of Ponape, N. Lat. 7°, E. Longitude 158°20’, of the Spanish ‘emote’ of July 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 1887.”

63. AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 811A—Terrero to Ministerio de Ultramar. For a colorful account of the exploits and ultimate demise of Christian Barbus see F. W. Christian 1899a, 98–99.

64. Hempenstall 1984, 108.

65. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.

66. Ehrlich 1978, 71.

67. Hambruch 1932, 200.

68. A particularly gruesome account of this opening skirmish is given in Westwood 1905, 143–154.

69. My account of the events of 1 July to 4 July 1887 is drawn largely from ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.

70. Hempenstall 1984, 109.
71. Hambruch 1932, 200.
72. Ehrlich 1978, 71.
73. ABCFM, 11:312—Rand to Smith, journal letter of 15 April 1887, entry for 31 July 1887.
74. ABCFM, 9:108—Garland, "To the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM Regarding the 1887-1888 Trip of the *Morning Star*," 19 April 1888.
75. Westwood 1905, 149.
76. ABCFM, 9:220—Garland to Smith, 29 August 1887.
77. AHNM, leg. 5353.6, c. 1, p. 1355—De la Concha to Ministerio de Ultramar, 31 October 1887.
78. *Ibid.*, 1349-1350.
79. An account of the circumstances surrounding the settlement reached on Pohnpei is given in AHNM, leg. 5353.4, pp. 814B-818B—Terrero to Ministerio de Ultramar, 22 December 1887.
80. Ehrlich 1978, 72.
81. Masao Hadley (21 June 1983) identifies the two brothers by their personal names of Soamenleng and Serieleng. They were members of the Dipwilap clan.
82. *Ibid.* Hempenstall (1984, 110 n. 60) cites a report from the Spanish governor, Cadarso, that identifies the third individual, the man from the Mortlocks, as "Lumpey [Lempwei] en Kisu." There is some confusion over the fate of these three men. In a letter dated 17 December 1887 (ABCFM 9:44) Julius G. Voight writes to the assistant secretary of state that one of the three stand-ins escaped. Westwood (1905, 134) speaks of meeting the Mortlockese man, whom he calls Homer, in Manila where he was undergoing interrogation by Spanish authorities for his role in the violence of Pohnpei. Westwood writes that this individual was later executed by the Spaniards in Manila. Masao Hadley, in our interview, described the torture undergone by the Mortlockese man at the hands of his Spanish captors, and stated that the individual in question was executed outside Pohnpei. This evidence from Westwood and Hadley conflicts somewhat with Hempenstall (1984, 110) and Ehrlich (1978, 72), both of whom state that the two people executed at Manila were the Pohnpeian brothers.
83. AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 810A—Terrero to Ministerio de Ultramar, 16 October 1887.
84. A summary of Spanish newspaper accounts was reported from Madrid by William H. Gulick in HMC SL—"Events on Ponape," 17 October 1887.
85. Sentiment for the abandonment of the Caroline Islands for economic reasons was also expressed in Manila. See U.S. Department of State 1817-1899, vol. 10, no. 60, Webb to Rives, 24 December 1888; in this letter, Webb, U.S. Consul for Manila, reports on articles appearing in the Manila newspapers *El Diario de Manila* and *La Opinion*. General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marques de Tenerife, in his introduction to Cabeza Pereiro's *La Isla de Ponapé* (1895), also advocated the abandonment of the Caroline Islands on economic grounds. In the opinions of both Weyler and Cabeza Pereiro, writing in the wake of the 1890 violence at Ohwa and Kitamw in Madolenihmw, Spain's retention of the Caroline Islands was a hopelessly futile policy.
86. ABCFM, 9:44—Voight to Assistant Secretary of State, 17 December 1887.
87. AHNM, leg. 5353.6, c. 1, pp. 1351-1352—De la Concha to Gobierno General de Filipinas, 17 October 1887.
88. Hambruch (1932, 204) is correct in identifying Pohnpeians' interpretation of the terms of the peace settlement as a sign of weakness on the part of Spain.

CHAPTER 7: THE STRUGGLES OVER OHWA

1. For a history and description of this most interesting wall, see Hanlon 1981, 37-60.
2. Dewar 1892, 426.
3. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 209.
4. ABCFM, 10:301—Doane to Smith, 9 October 1889.
5. ABCFM, 10:292—Doane to Smith, 29 July 1889.
6. De Sarria's letter to Governor Jose Pidal is quoted in Hambruch 1932, 225f.
7. ABCFM, 10:294—Doane to Smith, 9 April 1889.
8. This description of the Nahnmwarki of U is provided by F. W. Christian 1899a, 57. Christian visited Pohnpei in 1895.
9. ABCFM, 11:298—Rand to Means, 15 April 1884.
10. ABCFM, 11:109—Logan to Smith, 13 October 1884.
11. ABCFM, 6:132—Logan to Clark, 18 December 1878.
12. ABCFM, 10:202—Doane to Clark, 10 May 1881.
13. ABCFM, 12:54—Sturges to Means, 19 November 1883.
14. ABCFM, 11:173—M. Logan to Smith, 21 May 1889.
15. ABCFM, 11:308—Rand to Smith, 31 January 1887.
16. ABCFM, 10:330—Fletcher to Smith, 30 January 1888.
17. ABCFM, 11:203—Palmer to Smith, 31 January 1888.
18. ABCFM, 4:283—S. Sturges to Mrs. Pogue, 16 December 1872.
19. ABCFM, 8:97—"Report of the 11th Voyage of the Missionary Packet *Morning Star*, no. 3 to the Micronesian Islands, 1881-1882."
20. ABCFM, 11:154—M. Logan to Smith, 20 December 1888.
21. ABCFM, 10:16—Ingersoll to Smith, 18 December 1888.
22. ABCFM, 10:14—Ingersoll to Smith, 14 September 1888.
23. ABCFM, 8:96—"Report of the 10th Voyage of the Missionary Packet *Morning Star*, 1880-1881."
24. ABCFM, 10:230—Doane to Smith, 1 August 1885.
25. ABCFM, 10:240—Doane to Smith, 4 March 1886.
26. ABCFM, 10:12—Ingersoll to Smith, 23 January 1888.
27. ABCFM, 10:226—Doane to Strong, 21 October 1884.
28. ABCFM, 10:38—Logan to Clark, 24 September 1880.
29. A concise description and early history of the Caroline Islands Training School at Ohwa can be found in ABCFM, 9:67—"Catalogue of the Caroline Islands Training School, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85."
30. ABCFM, 9:85—"Pupils of the Caroline Islands Training School, 1888-6th Year."
31. ABCFM, 9:59—"Report of the Caroline Islands Training School in 1884."
32. ABCFM, 12:54—Sturges to Means, 19 November 1883.
33. ABCFM, 10:15—Ingersoll to Smith, 29 September 1888.
34. ABCFM, 10:228—Doane to Smith, 18 July 1885.
35. ABCFM, 12:54—Sturges to Means, 19 November 1883.
36. ABCFM, 10:230—Doane to Smith, 1 August 1885.
37. ABCFM, 12:56—Sturges to Smith, 27 October 1885.
38. A detailed examination of the life of this most complex man can be found in Ehrlich 1979, 131-154. The Pohnpeian spelling of Henry's last name is actually Nahnpei. To avoid confusion, I have used the spelling Nanpei that appears in both historical records and more recent scholarship.
39. ABCFM, 9:83—"Minutes of the Meeting of the Ponape Mission, December 6, 1888."

40. ABCFM, 9:67—"Catalogue of the Caroline Islands Training School, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85."

41. A brief examination of this important deed and its effects on the island's land tenure system is given in Ehrlich 1979, 135 and 139. See also, Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting 1977, 107.

42. ABCFM, 9:74—"Minutes of the Ponape Meeting, June 11, 1887."

43. Nanpei has been portrayed as a cool, in-control, and totally amoral manipulator of people and events on Pohnpei. An account of the high personal costs that he paid for his machinations can be found in the extremely interesting document by Leta Gray entitled, "Uriel of Ponape" (Gray 1947). Gray and her husband, Thomas, were missionaries on Pohnpei from 1900 to 1906. The manuscript depicts Nanpei's family troubles, his severe bouts of depression, his threats against the life of Thomas Gray, and his two failed suicide attempts.

44. A brief biographical sketch of Luelen Bernart can be found in the editors' introduction to Bernart's *The Book of Luelen* (1977, 1-6). See also Imanishi 1944.

45. ABCFM, 9:67—"Catalogue of the Caroline Islands Training School, 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85."

46. ABCFM, 9:70—"Pupils of the Caroline Islands Training School, 5th Year, 1886-87." Also ABCFM, 11:310—Rand to Smith, journal letter of 15 April 1887, entry for 26 June 1887.

47. Ehrlich (1979, 138-139) gives a brief account of the *pwihn en loalokong*. Hambruch (1932, 206-207) also makes mention of the group. Note that Pohnpeians have changed the spelling of Headley to Hadley; hence, Tepit Hadley rather than Tepit Headley. Like Nanpei, Tepit Hadley was a grandson of the English whaler, James Headley.

48. Masao Hadley, 21 June 1983.

49. Hezel 1971, 37. For an excellent survey of archival materials relating to the activities of Catholic missions in the area, see Hezel 1970, 213-227. A history of the beginnings of the Capuchin missions in the Carolines is given in de Valencia 1898. A brief overview of the Capuchin missions in the Carolines has been provided by Lopinot 1966. For a very negative assessment of Capuchin activities on Pohnpei, see Fritz 1912. The two primary and most important accounts of Capuchin activities on Pohnpei are Kapuziner Missionsarchiv (1974) and *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Cappuchinorum* (1886-1898, vols. 2-14).

50. Hezel 1971, 38. This quotation is taken from Salesius 1907.

51. An expression of Pohnpeian dissatisfaction with certain aspects and practices of the Protestant church can be found in Hambruch 1932, 174-180.

52. Ibid., 253-259, details the attractions that some Pohnpeians found in Catholicism.

53. Ibid., 112.

54. The Protestant missionaries, in their letters, claim that Santos was forced under threat of deportation and imprisonment to recant his Protestant faith; see ABCFM, 12:346—C. Rand, "Narrative of Mr. Doane's Arrest." The Spanish priests describe the Filipino's return to the Church as spontaneous and free. Whatever the reasons behind his return to Catholicism, Santos died less than a year later on or about 30 January 1888. The announcement of his death is in ABCFM, 10:277—Doane to Smith, journal letter of 28 December 1887, entry for 30 January 1888.

55. Baptismal records of the Roman Catholic Church on Pohnpei, Kolonia and Wene parishes, 1888-1947.

56. Hezel 1971, 39.

57. Hambruch 1932, 206.
58. ABCFM, 11:312—Rand to Smith, journal letter of 15 April 1887, entries for 15 April and 17 May 1887.
59. A Pohnpeian account of the political dynamics surrounding the construction of the Catholic church at Alenieng in Wene is given in Hambruch 1932, 235–239.
60. Serilo, 8 June 1983. According to the records of the Catholic mission in Wene the child was baptized on 3 March 1889 by Father Augustin de Ariñez. The child's godfather was the ill-fated Lt. Marcelo Porras.
61. Riesenbergs 1968a, 18–19.
62. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 181.
63. Hezel 1971, 39. For a firsthand account of the ceremonies, see PNAM, reel 3, sect. F-2, no. 26—Luis Cadarso to Secretaria del Gobierno General de Filipinas, “Expediente exponiendo la necesidad de abrir en Ponape un camino militar que une la colonia con el puerto Mudok, residencia del reyezuelo de Kiti,” 25 July 1889, *Carolinas*.
64. ABCFM, 10:302—Doane to Smith, 6 November 1889.
65. Hambruch 1932, 207.
66. An account of Nahnmwarki Pol's conversion can be found in Masao Hadley 1981a, 62–63.
67. ABCFM, 10:210—Doane to Means, 12 April 1882. In this letter, Doane acknowledges the criticism being made against Pol's selective justice but quickly dismisses it as simply untrue.
68. ABCFM, 10:208—Doane to Clark, 28 December 1881. Doane does not identify the chief involved; the major chief of Enimwahn, the ancient name for the northernmost area of Madolenihmw of which Ohwa was a part, was Lepen Moar. It could have been this chief with whom Pol engaged in a battle of wits. It may also have been Kroun en Lehdau, the major chief of the area just south of Enimwahn known as Lehdau. Riesenbergs (1968a, 62) mentions a struggle between different subclans of the Dipwinpahnmei over a woman; one of the subclans involved was the Inanpaileng to which Kroun en Lehdau belonged. Lesser chiefs of the nahnmwarki or *soupeidi*'s line, especially those from the Upwutenmei lineage who persisted in their attempts to regain lost rank and prestige, may also have been involved in this ultimately political act. An attempt by any chief junior to those considered here to take a nahnmwarki's widow as wife would have been most unlikely.
69. Riesenbergs 1968a, 74.
70. ABCFM, 10:296—Doane to Smith, 14 August 1889.
71. Kroun en Lehdau's privileged position within Madolenihmw is explained in Riesenbergs 1968a, 23. In our interview of 21 June 1983, Masao Hadley identified Kroun en Lehdau as Takai Mwahu.
72. U. S. Department of State 1817–1899, vol. 10, no. 184—Webb to Wharton, 17 August 1890. In his letter to the assistant secretary of state, Alec R. Webb quotes from an account of events leading up to the violence of 25 June 1890 carried in the 17 August 1890 edition of the Manila newspaper *El Resumen*.
73. Hempenstall 1984, 111.
74. AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 649A—Cadarso, “Permitiendo copiar el expediente sobre los sucesos en Carolinas,” dated 10 July 1890.
75. Spanish attempts to construct the church and fort at Ohwa begin the chain of events that led to the 1890 outbreak of violence in Madolenihmw. For an account of events leading up to and including the violence of June, I have relied heavily on materials from AHNM. Particularly helpful is Governor Luis Cadar-

so's "Permitiendo . . ." (see n 74). Other important sources include FRUS 1892, 435-517, which contains a wealth of diplomatic correspondence and missionary statements concerning the events of 1890. Also U.S. Department of State 1817-1899, vol. 10; Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 181-243; Hambruch 1932, 208-223 and 239-248; Dewar 1892, 426-430; and Hempenstall 1984.

76. Hempenstall 1984, 111.

77. AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1484B—Gutierrez, "Partes sobre las operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890.

78. Hempenstall 1978, 76.

79. AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1485A—Gutierrez, "Partes sobre las operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890.

80. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 183.

81. Hambruch 1932, 241.

82. Serilo, 8 June 1983. See also Hambruch 1932, 209 and 242.

83. Pohnpeian accounts of the war between Madolenihmw and Spain are drawn from the interviews with Serilo on 8 June 1983 and with Masao Hadley on 21 June 1983. See also Hambruch 1932, 239-244 for another Pohnpeian account.

84. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 190.

85. A copy of this proclamation is given in AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 655B-657A—Cadarsó, "Permitiendo copiar el expediente sobre los sucesos en Carolinas," 10 July 1890.

86. AHNM, leg. 5353.5, C1, pp. 986A and 1000-1000A—Cadarsó to Gobierno General de Filipinas. Missionary correspondence quite emphatically states that Pol was not involved in the planning that led to the 25 June attack on the Spanish troops at Ohwa; see ABCFM, 13:105—Rand to Taylor, 19 October 1890; and ABCFM, 14:144—Cole to Friends, 9 July 1890.

87. U. S. Department of State 1817-1899, vol. 10, no. 197—Webb to Wharton, 27 October 1890. In his report to Wharton, Webb includes the translation of a letter from the Carolines dated 25 September 1890 that appeared in the Manila newspaper *El Diario de Manila*. It is from this letter that information on the surrender of Porras' sabre and the muskets is derived.

88. AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1483B—Gutierrez, "Partes sobre las operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890.

89. AHNM, leg. 5353.1, p. 1002A—Cadarsó to Gobierno General de Filipinas.

90. Hambruch 1932, 260.

91. Cabeza Pereiro (1895, 224) writes that most of Madolenihmw's fighting force in the September encounter came from Kiti. This appears to be an exaggeration. However, in my interview with him on 8 June 1983, Serilo did acknowledge the participation of a number of Kiti warriors in the Spanish-Madolenihmw war of 1890.

92. Hempenstall 1984, 113.

93. AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1493A—Gutierrez, "Partes sobre las operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890.

94. For an account of the failure of Gutierrez's first march from the colony, see Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 196-198.

95. U. S. Department of State 1817-1899, vol. 10, no. 197—Webb to Wharton, 27 October 1890. The source of information is the translation of the letter dated 25 September 1890 from the Carolines that appeared in *El Diario de Manila*.

96. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 199.

97. Masao Hadley, 21 June 1983.

98. For an account of the September assault on Ohwa, see Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 200–206.
99. U. S. Department of State 1817–1899, vol. 10, no. 197—Webb to Whar-ton, 27 October 1890. Again, the quotation is taken from the translation of the letter dated 25 September 1890 that appeared in the Manila newspaper *El Diario de Manila*.
100. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 207.
101. *Ibid.*
102. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 225. The generally low state of morale among the officers and men of the Spanish garrison in the colony is noted in ABCFM, 17:160—Taylor to Smith, 3 December 1890.
103. FRUS 459–462—Cadarsó to Taylor, 25 October 1890.
104. *Ibid.*, 462–464—Rand to Taylor, 19 October 1890.
105. In a letter to the Women's Board begun earlier and dated 19 August 1890 (ABCFM, 19:67), Mrs. Carrie Rand provides an account of the reception that she and her husband received from the people of Madolenihmw on their return to Ohwa. She writes that the rebel leaders were the first to shake their hands.
106. FRUS 459–462—Cadarsó to Taylor, 25 October 1890.
107. *Ibid.*, 446–467—Taylor to Cadarsó, 30 October 1890.
108. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 218.
109. A copy of Nahnmwarki Pol's letter to Taylor can be found in FRUS 476.
110. For an account of the third and final Spanish engagement against Mado-lenihmw in 1890, see Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 229–240. A good summary of the press reaction in Madrid to the 1890 violence on Pohnpei can be found in FRUS 486–488—William H. Gulick, "Spain in the Carolines." The moderate approach taken by Spain in 1887 disappeared with news of the 1890 violence. Reflecting the government's position, editorials in Madrid newspapers demanded appropriate punitive measures against the Pohnpeians. Most of these editorials also evidenced a reinterpretation of 1887: the "Methodist Yankees" were now held to blame for all of the violence, both past and present, on the island.
111. U. S. Department of State 1817–1899, vol. 11, no. 197—Webb to Whar-ton, 27 October 1890. For an expression of Weyler's personal opposition to Spain's continued control over the Carolines, see his introduction to Cabeza Pereiro (1895, ix–xiii).
112. Masao Hadley, 21 June 1983. Also, Hambruch 1932, 222 and 248.
113. Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 236.
114. Masao Hadley, 21 June 1983.
115. AHNM, leg. 5353.6, pp. 1164A–1167A—Serrano to Gobierno General de Filipinas, 25 December 1890. Descriptions of the two documents dividing Mado-lenihmw between Kiti and U can be found in Cabeza Pereiro 1895, 240–243.
116. Hempenstall 1984, 115.
117. I have provided only the briefest of summaries for the Awak conflict of 1898. For a more detailed account, see Hambruch 1932, 227–230 and 267–274. See also Hempenstall 1984, 115–116.
118. Petersen (1982a, 27–33) provides additional information on Awak's past and on the Soulik en Awak ruling in 1898, a man also known by his baptismal name of Kapiriel.
119. Hempenstall 1984, 115.

CHAPTER 8: THE PERSISTENCE OF *TIAHK EN SAPW*

1. McGarry 1972, 53.
2. Riesenbergh and Fischer 1955, 15.

3. Hambruch 1936, 3:94–95.
4. Riesenberger (1968a, 66–72) discusses this and related points.
5. This is a very common story told all over the island. I heard it from Serilo in our interview on 3 June 1983. Glenn Petersen (1985, 20) offers a slightly different version.
6. Hambruch 1932, 206f.
7. ABCFM, 4:297—Sturges to (unknown), journal letter of 2 December 1868, entry for 6 January 1869.
8. For various estimates on the population of Pohnpei from precontact times through 1914, see Riesenberger 1968a, 6.
9. The outbreaks of influenza in 1856, 1874, and 1879 are reported, respectively, in ABCFM, 2:181—Sturges to Anderson, journal letter of 9 February 1856, entry for 9 February 1856; HMCSL—Doane to Pogue, 13 March 1874; and ABCFM, 6:129—Logan to Clark, 11 February 1879. The epidemics of measles in 1861 and 1894 are described in ABCFM, 4:275—Sturges to Anderson, 20 January 1862; HMCSL—Nanpei to Emerson, 19 February 1894; and Hezel 1971, 40.
10. Moss 1889, 189.
11. F. W. Christian 1899a, 50–121, 175–228.
12. For extensive scholarly accounts of the rebellion and the entire period of German colonial rule over the island, see Hempenstall 1978, 73–118, and Ehrlich 1978.
13. Ehrlich 1978, 177.
14. This notion of cultural resistance is explained more fully in Petersen 1984, 347–366.
15. For a detailed account of the Japanese colonial administration of Pohnpei and all of Micronesia, see Peattie 1988.
16. There are a number of published summaries of the American colonial administration of Micronesia. For what I believe to be the most effective survey, consult Gale 1979.
17. For an in-depth examination of this important vote, see Petersen 1985, 13–52.
18. *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 June 1983. The *New York Times* carried no report of the vote; the *Washington Post* of 22 June 1983 reported the results of the FSM-wide vote but with no mention of voting patterns in the individual states.
19. I have attempted to explore the historical continuity of misconceptions about Pohnpei and other Micronesian societies in my article “Myths, Strategies, and Guilt in Micronesia,” (1982).
20. Serilo, 19 June 1983.

Glossary

Alenieng the piece of land in the Wene section of Kiti that served as the residence of Mensila, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti in the late nineteenth century; the site on which the Spaniards constructed a mission church and military garrison in 1889.

And an atoll 8 miles beyond Pohnpei's western reef; the site of Isohkelekel's first contact with Pohnpeians.

aramas mwal the common people.

Areu a section of land along the northern coast of Madolenihmw; home of Wasai Ejikaia.

Awak a formerly sovereign territory in the north of Pohnpei that became a part of U in the early nineteenth century.

Danepei a piece of land on Sokehs Island where the hostilities of July 1887 between Spaniards and Pohnpeians first broke out.

Dauen Neu a river forming the southern boundary of Mesenieng in Net.

Dauk the third-ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line of titles.

Daukatau the principal Pohnpeian deity; also identified by some as another name for Nahn Sapwe, the thunder god.

Daukir the Sounkawad warrior who injured the conqueror of Nan Madol, Isohkelekel, in battle.

Dehpehk the name for the northern area of a small island off the coast of U.

Dekehtik a small island in the northern harbor off Net.

Deleur the area of Madolenihmw immediately surrounding Nan Madol and under the direct supervision of the Saudeleurs.

Derepeiso the legendary bird from whom the Lepen Moar was ordered by the Saudeleur to secure a feather, an almost impossible task that served as punishment for a transgression of ritual procedure.

Dipwilap "The Great Clan"; the clan of the Saudeleurs.

Dipwinluhk "The Clan of Luhk"; a Pohnpeian clan descended from the god Luhk.

Dipwinmen "The Creature Clan"; the ruling clan in Kiti.

Dipwinpahnmei "The Under the Breadfruit Tree Clan"; the ruling clan of Madolenihmw.

Dipwinpehpe "The Clan of the *Pehpe* Tree."

Dipwinpwehk "The Bat Clan"; an extinct Pohnpeian clan.

Dipwinwai "The Foreign Clan."

Dipwinwehi "The Turtle Clan"; one of Pohnpei's three extinct clans.

doadoahk work.

Dolen Merewi the mountain in Madolenihmw where Nahnmwarki Pol took refuge during the 1890 war with Spain.

Dolotomw a mountain in southern Kiti mistakenly believed by Lütke to be the tallest peak on the island.

edenpwel the honorific title given to deceased nahnmwarkis and nahnkens.

Eir an ancient term for lands to the south of Pohnpei.

Eirke the section of land in Net that provided the tree from which the legendary canoe of the god Luhk was hewn.

elep en kehl mwahu "half a good fort"; the phrase refers to the unfinished stone fortress at Kitamw in Madolenihmw where Pohnpeians and Spaniards fought in November 1890.

Elielwi a section of land in central Madolenihmw.

eni ghost or spirit.

eni aramas the ghosts of dead commoners who haunted the lives of surviving relatives.

eni en pohnmadau "ghosts from the open ocean"; a phrase that refers to the occupants of the first ships to reach Pohnpei from Europe and America.

enihwos the spirits of the land, sea, and sky.

Enimwahn an ancient name for a large area of land in the north of Madolenihmw.

Enipein a section of land in southern Kiti.

Enipein Pah Lower Enipein; a *kousapw* within the larger Enipein area.

Ewenkep a break in the eastern reef of Pohnpei through which Isohkelekel and his people approached Nan Madol.

Idehd the islet within Nan Madol on which offerings to Nahn Samwohl, the sacred eel, were made.

ihnenmwohd the senior or first wife of the nahnmwarki.

Ilake the Pohnpeian eel goddess.

Imwinkatau "The Extremity of Katau"; the place from which the third of Pohnpei's seven settlement voyages originated.

Inahs the ancestral goddess of the Sounkawad clan.

Inanpaileng a subclan of the Dipwinpahnmei to which Kroun en Lehda, the ruler of Lehda, belonged.

inapwih a ban or taboo imposed by chiefs upon some area, activity or resource.

ipwihn pohn warawar "born upon the ditch"; a phrase that refers to the special sanctity of children born to a nahnmwarki during his reign.

Isipau another title for the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

Isoeni an honorific title for Nahnku, the Nahnken of Kiti; also, an honorific title for Kaimw Sapwasapw, the Wasai of Sokehs.

Isohkelekel the son of Nahn Sapwe who conquered Nan Madol; the first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

isol the season of scarcity in the Pohnpeian year.

Isonenimwahn the ruling subclan of the Dipwinpahnmei in Madolenihmw.

Isonkiti one of the clans that developed as an offshoot of the Dipwinmen.

Isosauri a fabled warrior of Kiti.

kadek kind or generous.

Kahmar a section of land in Net.

Kaimw Sapwasapw the holder of the paramount title of Wasai Sokehs who simultaneously ruled as Lepen Net from 1867 to 1874.

Kalewen Mein Mesihsou a subclan of the Lipitahn.

Kamau Pwoungapwoung a lake at Sapwalap, Madolenihmw, where the last Saudeleur met final defeat at the hands of Isohkelekel.

Kampa the yearly religious ceremony held by the people of Onohnleng.

kanengamah the highly valued virtue among Pohnpeian men that combines patience and restraint.

Kaniki en Mesenieng the original section chief of Mesenieng who fled to Kiti because of the displeasure of Lepen Net.

Kaniki en Metipw one of the two brothers who accepted Spanish justice in place of the Wasai Sokehs following the hostilities of July 1887.

kapakap prayer.

karisimei the first fruits offering made to the nahnmwarki and individual section chiefs at the start of the breadfruit season.

Katau a general term for foreign lands.

Katau Peidak "Upwind Katau"; a general term for lands to the east of Pohnpei.

Katau Peidi "Downwind Katau"; a general term for lands to the west of Pohnpei.

katepeik canoe feast.

kauat a demonstration of exceptional courage in the face of impossible odds.

Kehpara a reef island off Kiti through whose channel Isohkelekel first entered Pohnpeian waters.

keilahn aio "the other side of yesterday"; a term referring to the settlement period in Pohnpeian history.

keimw subclan.

keinek a matrilineage within a subclan.

Kelepwel the islet in Nan Madol where the Saudeleur kept Isohkelekel and his people.

Keleun ieng soupeidi "A chief is like a hibiscus tree in the wind"; a phrase used to refer to the paramount chief's responsiveness to the needs of his people.

Kenan Pohnpeian for Canaan; the name of the Protestant mission established at Mesenieng in 1865.

Kepihleng an ancient name for the once independent area of central Kiti that had its capital or principal settlement at a place called Sapwtakai.

kepin koanoat gifts from the nahnmwarki to his people that convey respect, goodwill, and obligation.

Kepinne a section of land in the Wene area of Kiti.

kepwenek a four-day feast held prior to war.

kesik dol a magic spell causing instant death to one's enemy.

kiam pwek "lifted basket"; a practice whereby common people would flee oppressive rulers and search out new chiefly protectors in other parts of the island.

Kilang soupwa soupeidi "Look but do not speak of the faults of the chiefs"; a phrase referring to the unquestioning reverence usually accorded the chiefs by their people.

kilitop smallpox.

Kipar a section of land in south central Kiti just below Rohnkiti.

kisakis a gift given between two people of equal rank.

Kitamw the section of land in central Madolenihmw where Pohnpeians and Spaniards fought in November 1890.

Kiti the third-ranked of the island's five chiefdoms.

Kitoaroileng Dapwaiso "The Eaves of Heaven"; the place beyond the horizon sought by Sapikini on his voyage that led to the creation of Pohnpei.

koahl grass skirt.

Kohpwaleng the name given the western area of the island by the Saudeleurs.

Komwonlaid a piece of land within Mesenieng where a shrine to the goddess Inahs was constructed by members of the Sounkawad clan.

Konopwel a member of the second of seven voyages of settlement who brought soil to the island.

koul song.

Koupahleng the first feast house built in the Period of the Nahnmwarkis by Isohkelekel; its different design symbolized a closer relationship between the chiefs and the people.

kousapw a political division or section of land within a chiefdom.

Kroun en Lehdau the ruler of a large area of land in central Madolenihmw known as Lehdau; one of the leaders in Madolenihmw's 1890 war with Spain.

lamalam kapw "new thought"; a term used by Pohnpeians in the nineteenth century to refer to Christianity.

Lapoange an ancient magician whose contest with the brothers Mwohnmur and Sarapwau created many of the physical features of Madolenihmw.

Lasialap "The Great Eel Clan"; the ruling clan of U.

Ledek a Pohnpeian clan.

leh coconut oil; used by Pohnpeians for bodily decoration and for anointing purposes in ceremonies.

Lehdau a large section of land in central Madolenihmw that existed as an independent political entity prior to the rise of Nan Madol.

Lehnpwel an ancient name for the Pehleng section of Kiti.

leht "lead," usually referring to lead bullets; one of the first English words borrowed by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

lekilek a scar inflicted on the body to demonstrate one's manhood; the word can also refer to the excision of the left testicle, another deliberate act intended to demonstrate manly courage.

Lempwei Sapel the master stone-cutter of Sokehs who, after being banished from Nan Madol, built the stone city of Sapwtakai in Kepihleng; also known by the titles Kiteumanien and Lempwei Sok.

Lenger an island off Net; the location of Capelle & Company's principal trading station on the island in the 1880s.

Lepen Moar the ruler of Senipehn, a large area in central Madolenihmw that, as a political entity, predated the rule of the Saudeleurs. Because of this tradition and the exploits of its various holders over time, the title holds special importance in the chiefdom of Madolenihmw.

Lepen Net the paramount chief of Net.

Lepen Palikir the high chief of the Palikir section of Sokehs.

Lepen Parem the section chief of the island of Parem or Parempei off Net.

Lepen Sokehs a relatively low-ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line for Sokehs; in 1890 the holder of this title tried unsuccessfully to mediate the dispute between the Spanish colonial administration and the people of Madolenihmw.

Lepinsed an ancient name for the southernmost section of Madolenihmw known today as Lohd.

li or **lih** woman.

Liahnensokole the turtle mother whose sacrifice by her sons symbolized the dominance of the Saudeleurs over the island.

Liahtensapw the wife of James Headley.

lienseisop women who willingly took part in the sexual commerce with the ships.

liet cannibals.

Likamadau "Woman Who Gives Thought"; the woman with whom Isohkelel slept at And.

Likarepwel the wife of Konopwel who helped bring soil to the island on the second of the island's seven settlement voyages.

Likinlamalam "Outside of Proper Ways"; the name given to Palikir by the Saudeleurs.

Limwetu the ancestral goddess of the Dipwinmen clan.

Limwohdeleng the ancestral goddess of the Dipwilap clan.

Lioramanipwel one of the nine women who traveled with Sapikini on the voyage of exploration that led to the creation of Pohnpei.

Liouni the wife of James O'Connell.

Lipahdak Dau “Woman Who Teaches the Channels”; the woman whom Isohkelekel enlisted as a consort and adviser shortly after his arrival on Pohnpei.

Lipahnmei the Katauan consort of Nahn Sapwe; the mother of Isohkelekel.

Lipitahn a clan that reached Pohnpei from the Marshall Islands.

Lisaramanipwel one of the nine women who traveled with Sapikini on the voyage that led to the creation of Pohnpei.

Lisermwudok a subclan of the Dipwinmen clan.

Lisoumokeleleng one of the two sisters who brought varieties of banana plants and yam seedlings to Pohnpei on the sixth settlement voyage.

Lisoumokiap the woman, who, with her sister Lisoumokeleleng, reached Pohnpei from Katau Peidi on the sixth voyage of settlement.

Litakika the octopus that pointed out to Sapikini the reef on which the voyager and his party later built Pohnpei.

Litehriete the second-ranking matrilineage within the Dipwinpahnmei’s ruling subclan that wrested the title of Nahnmwarki from a senior matrilineage in 1836.

Litesilite the third-ranking lineage within the Isonenimwahn, the Dipwinpahnmei’s ruling subclan.

Lohd the name for a large area of land in southern Madolenihmw.

Lohd Pah Lower Lohd.

Loangtakai a place in Madolenihmw where Kiti warriors led by Isosauri defeated a force from Madolenihmw in the eighteenth century.

Luhk an important Pohnpeian god who helped establish the nahnmwarki system of rule following the fall of the Saudeleurs; also an honorific title often bestowed posthumously.

Luhk en Kesik the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw deposed in 1836.

Luhk en Kidu the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who, as Wasai, deposed the then reigning Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kesik, in 1836. Luhk en Kidu ruled until 1854.

Luhk en Leng the deity who gave *sakau* ‘kava’ to Pohnpei.

Luhk en Lengsir an honorific death title for Nahnku, the Nahnken of Kiti, who ruled from 1843 to 1864.

Luhk en Mwei U the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who ruled from 1854 to 1855.

Luhk en Sakau the Nahnken of Kiti who immediately preceded Nahnku.

Luhk en Sed an ocean god.

Luhk en Weid an eighteenth-century Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw killed by the people for a series of atrocities that culminated in the murder of his son, the Nahnken.

Lukoap an autonomous area in southern Kiti prior to the unification of the chiefdom by Soukise en Leng.

Madol Pah “Lower Madol”; the area of Nan Madol where the administrative functions involving the Saudeleurs’ domains were carried out; also identified by some as Madol Peidi.

Madol Powe “Upper Madol”; the area of Nan Madol that served as the center for religious ceremony and also housed the residences of the priests; also called Madol Peidak.

- Madolenihmw** the island's most senior chiefdom in terms of ceremonial rank.
- Malenkopwale** the name given by the Saudeleurs to what is now Madolenihmw.
- Malipwur** a mythical sea creature hunted by Satokawai on orders from the Saudeleur.
- Mall** a reef island off the southern coast of Madolenihmw; the home of the brothers Semen Pwei Tikitik and Semen Pwei Lapalap.
- manaman** power rooted in spiritual or magical sources.
- mehla en kepirepir** "spinning death"; the consequences of a poorly lived life. Those who died this death went to the Pohnpeian hell.
- mehla en Mesenieng** "death of Mesenieng"; a good death that resulted in resurrection and new life for Pohnpeian souls.
- Mehn Pohnpei** Pohnpeians.
- mehn wai** foreigners.
- Menin kao aramas; menin kasohr soupeidi** "The people offend, the chiefs forgive"; this proverb underscores the general beneficence which the island's rulers were expected to display toward their people.
- Mensila** the Nahmwarki of Kiti who was ruling at the time Spain established formal colonial control over Pohnpei.
- Mentieng** a small island off Ohwa in Madolenihmw.
- merei** a shrine or gathering place for spirits.
- meseni en keinek** the senior member of a matrilineage group who, in the early periods of Pohnpeian history, governed the area or section of land occupied by members of the matrilineage.
- Mesenieng** the peninsula of land jutting into the northern harbor from the Net mainland; Spanish officials, Protestant missionaries, and Pohnpeian chiefs all struggled for control of this land in 1887.
- Mesia** the individual who brought fire to the island on the fifth voyage of settlement.
- Mesihsou** a section of land in northern Madolenihmw.
- Meteriap** the individual who is credited with bringing the ivory nut palm to the island on the fourth of seven settlement voyages.
- Metipw** a section of land in northern Madolenihmw.
- mwahr** title.
- Mwahnd** a complex of two small islands, Mwahnd Peidak and Mwahnd Peidi, off U.
- Mwas en Leng** the sacred eel whose corpse gave rise to a particular variety of the banana plant.
- Mwas en Pahdol** the ancestral goddess of the Lasialap clan who provided the island with varieties of plant and animal life.
- mwehi** period or era.
- Mwehin Aramas** "The Period of Peopling"; another name for the first period in Pohnpeian history.
- Mwehin Kawa** "The Period of Building"; the first of Pohnpei's four major historical periods.

Mwehin Nahnmwarki "The Period of the Nahnmwarkis"; the third of Pohnpei's four historical periods that begins with the fall of the Saudeleurs.

Mwehin Saudeleur "The Period of the Saudeleurs"; the second of the island's four major historical periods that begins with the construction of Nan Madol and concludes with the victory of Isohkelekel over the Saudeleurs.

Mwengki Alasang Kepin "The Monkey Learns from the Captain"; a story about change on Pohnpei dating from the whaling days of the mid-nineteenth century.

Mwohnmur one of two brothers whose magical antics helped shape the physical features of the island.

mwohnsapw "the first of the land"; a phrase usually referring to the paramount chiefs, which reveals their primacy over the land and its people.

mworsuwed malicious or wicked.

Mwudok an island off Wene in southern Kiti.

Mwudokalap a small island just off the coast of southern Madolenihmw where Isohkelekel first encountered his son, Nahlepenien.

mwurilik funeral feast.

Na a reef island located near the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor; home of the Wasai who became the Nahnmwarki Luhk en Kidu.

Nahkapw a small reef island at the opening of Madolenihmw Harbor.

Nahlap an island off the coast of Kiti at the entrance to Rohnkiti Harbor.

Nahlapenloh a reef island off the southeastern coast of Madolenihmw where forces from Kiti and Madolenihmw engaged in a major battle in 1850.

Nahlepenien the son of Isohkelekel; also, the first Nahnken of Madolenihmw and later first Nahnmwarki of U.

Nahn Isopau the ancestral god of the Dipwinwai clan.

Nahn Olosomw a major Pohnpeian deity with special jurisdiction over the construction of all dwellings and feast houses.

Nahn Samwohl the great eel who acted as a mediator between the god Nahni-sohnsapw and the people of Pohnpei during the rule of the Saudeleurs.

Nahn Sapwe the thunder god, Pohnpei's paramount deity and the father of Isohkelekel.

Nahn Sehleng a major Pohnpeian deity with special domain over canoe building.

Nahn Ullap a major Pohnpeian deity who governed the sea.

Nahnaikoto a resident of Enipein Pah in Kiti who was involved in a number of humorous incidents with whaleships visiting the island in the nineteenth century.

Nahnawa the fifth-ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line; a number of the holders of this title have been particularly prominent in the history of Madolenihmw.

Nahnawa en Mwudok the Nahnken of Kiti who succeeded Nahnku.

Nahndolenpahna a hill in the Kepinne section of Kiti where warriors from Onohnleng and Madolenihmw fought a major battle in the eighteenth century.

Nahnesen Isohkelekel's chief lieutenant; also responsible for bringing the Nahnien clan to Pohnpei.

Nahnisohnsapw the principal god of the Saudeleurs.

Nahnkei a priestly title.

Nahnken the ranking chief in the second ruling line of a chiefdom; in effect, the nahnken served as the prime minister or "talking chief" who took care of the day-to-day affairs of government for his chiefdom and who also served as a go-between for the people in their dealings with the nahnmwarki.

Nahnku a fierce warrior and shrewd manipulator, this Nahnken of Kiti welcomed ships' captains and Protestant missionaries to the harbor at Rohnkiti in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Nahnmadau en Pehleng the section chief of Pehleng in Kiti who, prior to the Kiti unification wars, ruled the area as a sovereign territory.

Nahnmwarki the paramount chief of a chiefdom.

Nahnpei the fifth-ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line; Henry, the son of Nahnken Nahnku of Kiti, took this title and made it his family's last name.

Nahnpei en Metipw one of the two brothers who, as stand-ins for the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net, accepted responsibility for the assassination of the Spanish governor in 1887.

Nahnsahwinsed an evil spirit who dwelled in the mangrove swamp.

Nahnsau Ririn the fourth-ranking title in the nahnken's line.

Nahnsoused en Net the second-ranking chief of Net behind the Lepen Net; during the Kiti unification wars, Soukise en Leng received considerable military assistance from the holder of this title.

Nahnsoused en Rohdi a member of the Lasialap clan who served as Nahlepenien's foster father during the boy's formative years.

Nahpali a reef island located just north of Na near the entrance to Mado-lenihmw Harbor.

Nahrihnnahnsapwe a small reef island near Nan Dauwas in Nan Madol where Nahn Sapwe began his exile from Pohnpei and where, later, the forces of Isohkelekel held a religious ceremony before proceeding on to meet the Saudeleur.

nahs feast house.

Nan Dauwas the most prominent of Nan Madol's many islets; used for purposes of defense and for royal burials.

Nan Madol an extensive complex of megalithic stone ruins, on 92 artificial islets lying just off the southeastern coast of Madolenihmw, built and inhabited by the Saudeleurs.

Nan Mair an ancient name for the mountainous interior of Net.

Nankawad the home of the Sounkawad clan in the mountainous interior of Net.

Nankirounpeinpok Henry Nanpei's Pohnpeian name.

Nanpahlap a section of land in Wene, Kiti, where the Nahnmwarki of Mado-lenihmw, Luhk en Kesik, was shot.

Nanpil the largest river in Net.

Nansokele the section of Net, once a sovereign territory, located along the Nanpil River.

Neitik en Madolenihmw “Born of Madolenihmw”; a phrase referring to a number of incestuous acts on which the polity of the chiefdom of Madolenihmw was founded.

Nennenin sarau kommwod “Fierceness is like the quietness of the barracuda”; a phrase expressing the quiet courage and resolve expected of all Pohnpeian warriors.

Net the fifth-ranking chiefdom of Pohnpei; a part of Sokehs until 1874 when it became independent.

ngihs a chant concerned with persons or events from the island’s past.

Niahlek the piece of land within Mesenieng where the Spaniards built their colony.

Nintalue the name of the son born to Mensila, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, in 1886.

Nintu the area of Mesenieng in which was located a sacred shrine used by the Spaniards as a rock quarry to build a defensive wall around the colony after the violence of 1887.

Niue the leader of the Sokehs forces in the 1887 war against the Spaniards; as Soumadau en Sokehs, Niue, in 1910, would again lead Sokehs in battle, this time against Germany.

Noahs the fourth-ranking title in the nahnmwarki’s line.

nohpwei tribute to the paramount chief, usually in the form of agricultural produce

Ohlosihpa one of the two founders of Nan Madol from Katau Peidi in the west.

Ohlosohpa one of the two founders of Nan Madol, and the first Saudeleur.

Ohwa a section in northern Madolenihmw; the site of a major Protestant mission station and of a battle between the Spaniards and the people of Madolenihmw in 1890.

Onohnleng an independent region under the rule of Soukise en Leng in what is now southern Kiti; called Wene after the Kiti unification wars of the late eighteenth century.

Oundol en Net a low-ranking title in the nahnmwarki’s line for Net; James F. O’Connell’s father-in-law.

Oun Sapwawas a middle-ranking title in the Nahnken’s line; Oun Sapwawas’ murder of his first cousin, Nahnawa, caused intense civil strife within Madolenihmw sometime before the beginning of extensive contact with foreign ships from Europe and America.

Ounmatakai “Watchman of the Land”; the title of the Saudeleurs’ near-mythical dog who reported all violations on the island to Nan Madol.

ouremen dream; a source of revelation and knowledge for Pohnpeians.

Pahn Akuwalap the place on Temwen Island in Madolenihmw where a new political charter for Pohnpei was worked out between gods and men following the fall of the Saudeleurs.

Pahn Dieinuh the piece of land at the northern lip of Madolenihmw Harbor where the *Falcon* anchored in 1836.

Pahn Kadira the Saudeleurs’ residence at Nan Madol.

Pahnسد the underwater home for the souls of the dead.

paip "pipe"; one of the first English words borrowed by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pakin an atoll located 12 miles northwest of Pohnpei.

pali en dahl the second line of ruling titles within a *kousapw*; this line of titles parallels that of the nahnken at the chiefdom level.

pali en serihso the nahnken's line of titles.

pali en soupeidi the nahnmwarki's line of titles.

Palikir the large, once independent area of land in Sokehs under the rule of Lepen Palikir.

Parentu the husband of Limwetu.

Pasau the formerly independent region bordering Onohnleng and under the rule of Saupasau; Pasau became a part of Kiti following Soukise's war of unification.

paute "powder"; one of the first English words borrowed by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pehleng the formerly autonomous area of northern Kiti under the rule of Nahnmadau en Pehleng.

pei or pehi stone altar.

Pei Ai the place in Madolenihmw where the tide of battle temporarily changed in favor of the Saudeleur during his struggle with Isohkelekel.

Pei en Namweiiias "Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle"; located in Nan Madol, this altar is the burial site for both Liahnensokole and Isohkelekel.

Pei en Pak the altar built to commemorate the bond of trust between Isohkelekel and the people of And.

Peikapw an islet within Nan Madol where the Saudeleurs' magical pool of water was located.

Peirot the magical pool of water used by the Saudeleurs to observe all events taking place on the island and to foresee the future.

pel taboo; the word usually refers to the restrictions placed on social contact between women and certain male relatives.

Pelakapw the islet in Nan Madol where Isohkelekel constructed a new style of feasting house following his installation as the first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

peliansapw a farmstead or small piece of land.

pelipel body tattoo; a required rite of passage for all young adults on Pohnpei.

Penieu a reef island off Wene in Kiti.

Pilik the individual charged with the preparation of the Saudeleur's food at Nan Madol.

poadoapoad sacred stories dealing with the creation and foundation period in the island's past.

Poasoile the piece of land on Temwen Island in Madolenihmw where the nahnmwarki system of government was inaugurated.

Pohnahtik a harbor in southeastern Madolenihmw; site of Benjamin Pease's trading operations.

Pohnpei "Upon a Stone Altar"; the name of the island.

Pohnpei sohte eh "Pohnpei is not one"; a phrase referring to the diversity and division on the island.

pwain "buy"; one of the first English words borrowed by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pwapwalik the name given by the Saudeleurs to Sokehs.

Pweliko the Pohnpeian hell.

pwihk "pig"; one of the words borrowed from English by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

pwihn en loalokong "enlightened council"; the small group of Pohnpeians educated in the mission school at Ohwa who sought to effect changes in the political order of the island; the group was led by Henry Nanpei.

Pwoaipwoai a section of land in central Kiti.

Pwohng Lapalap the yearly religious rites conducted at Nan Madol by the Saudeleurs to honor the god Nahnisohnsapw; the ceremonies concluded on the islet of Idehd with the offering of the intestines of a turtle to Nahn Samwohl, the great eel.

Pwung en Sapw the annual religious ritual of supplication and thanksgiving carried out by Pohnpeians in different parts of the island.

Pwuton a Pohnpeian clan that once controlled the area of Pehleng before being driven out by the Dipwinpehpe.

Raipwinloko a Saudeleur remembered for his cannibalism.

rak the season of plenty in the Pohnpeian calendar.

Ratak a name for the eastern chain of the Marshall Islands.

Repena the Madolenihmw warrior, a member of the Dipwinwai' clan, who received the title of Soulik en Sapwawas as a reward for assassinating the Spanish commander, Colorfel Isidro Gutierrez y Soto, near Ohwa in 1890.

rihpe a magic spell designed to incapacitate one's enemy.

rohng en soupeidi the widow of a nahnmwarki.

Rohnkiti a section of land in central Kiti; the residence of a number of nahnkens during the nineteenth century.

rotensowas a form of magic that allows its practitioner to move about invisibly.

sakau kava.

Sakon Mwehi a Saudeleur known for his exceptional cruelty.

Salapwuk a mountainous section of central Kiti under the control of Saum en Leng.

Salong the name of a piece of land on Temwen Island; the site of the first Protestant mission station in Madolenihmw.

samworo priest.

Sangiro another title for the Nahnmwarki of U; initially created to mark Nahlepenien's flight from Madolenihmw to U.

Sapikini the discoverer and initial builder of Pohnpei.

sapw en alemengi "a land of borrowings"; a phrase used by Pohnpeians to describe their tradition of selective borrowing from other lands and other peoples.

sapw sarawi "sacred land"; a phrase often used by Pohnpeians to describe their divinely chartered island.

Sapwalap a large section of land in central Madolenihmw.

Sapwehrek a section of land along the western border of Madolenihmw Harbor.

sapwellime a word denoting ownership or possession of an object by the paramount chief.

Sapwtakai the stone city built by Lempwei Sapel after his flight from Nan Madol; Sapwtakai became the capital for the independent area of Kepihleng in what is now central Kiti.

sapwung iso "sacred mistake"; the phrase refers to the intentional oversight Pohnpeians give to chiefly transgressions.

Sarapwau the young man who, through magic play with his brother Mwohnmur, helped fashion the physical features of the island.

Satokawai the young man who, after securing a scale from the *malipwur* fish, chose death for himself and all of his clanmates rather than continue to live under the Saudeleurs.

Saudeleurs the dynasty of rulers that, from the complex of artificial islets at Nan Madol, controlled Pohnpei from approximately the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries.

Saudemwohi the last of the Saudeleurs.

Saum en Leng a chief priest of the god Nahn Sapwe and the ruler of the Salapwuk section of Kiti.

Saumwin Kepinpil the legendary warrior of Net who killed Warikitam, the emissary of the foreign magician Souiap.

Saupasau the ruler of Pasau, the area that bordered Onohnleng in what is now southern Kiti.

sawi a sea bass that is the totem for several of Pohnpei's clans; the fish that carried Nahn Sapwe from Pohnpei.

Seinwar a section of land in central Kiti.

Sekeren Iap a small piece of land at the shore of Rohnkiti Harbor; the site of Westerners' first landing on the island.

Semen Pwei Lapalap the brother of Semen Pwei Tikitik.

Semen Pwei Tikitik the young man who fled Pohnpei because of the greed and oppression of the Saudeleur; returning to the island, Semen Pwei Tikitik killed the reigning Saudeleur.

Senekia one of the two sons of Liahnensokole, the turtle mother.

Senekie brother of Senekia and son of Liahnensokole.

Senipehn the ancient, formerly autonomous area of Madolenihmw governed by Lepen Moar.

serihso “honored children”; the sons and daughters of the *soupeidi* or nobles.

Sigismundo a Kiti warrior and future Nahnmwarki who fought with Sokehs and Net against Spain in 1887.

soai narrative accounts of more recent events in the island’s past.

soaipoad a legendary tale referring to some person or event in the island’s distant past.

Sokehs the island’s fourth-ranking chiefdom that includes the island of Sokehs as well as the large area of land in the northwest quadrant of Pohnpei.

Songoro a Pohnpeian deity and ancestral guardian of the Dipwinwai clan; often equated with Nahn Isopau.

sou clan

Sou Kiti the ruler of central Kiti in the period before the unification of the chiefdom in the late eighteenth century.

Sou Koampwul the Saudeleur’s chief adviser.

Sou Pohn Dauwas the guardian of the Saudeleur’s residence at Pahn Kadira in Nan Madol.

Souiap the master magician of Yap who sent Warikitam to retrieve his pet bird from Pohnpei.

Soukise en Leng the ruler-priest of Onohnleng; Soukise played a major role in the construction of a new political order for the island following the collapse of the Saudeleurs.

Soulik en And the ruler of the island of And.

Soulik en Mwudok the section chief of the island of Mwudok.

Soulik en Ohwa the *pali en dahl* or nahnken for *kousapw* Ohwa in Madolenihmw.

Soulik en Sapawas a lesser title in the nahnken’s line of titles.

Soumadau en Sokehs the Sokehs warrior known as Niue who fought against the Spaniards and led the Sokehs Rebellion against Germany; the title itself is of middle-level rank in the nahnmwarki’s line.

soumas en kousapw the head or section chief for a *kousapw*, the smaller political divisions of land within a chiefdom.

Sounahleng a section of reef near Temwen Island in Madolenihmw upon which Nan Madol was built.

Souniap an extinct Pohnpeian clan.

Soumkawad a Pohnpeian clan; the ruling clan for the chiefdoms of Net and Sokehs.

Sounkiti the ruling clan of central Kiti before the unification wars of the late eighteenth century.

Sounmaraki a Pohnpeian clan.

Sounmwerekirek a subclan of the Dipwinwai.

Sounpelienpil a clan that developed as an offshoot of the Dipwinmen.

Sounpwok a clan that developed as an offshoot of the Dipwinmen.

Sounrohi one of the clans that sprang from the Dipwinmen.

Sounsamaki a clan that developed as an offshoot of the Dipwinmen.

sounwinanih magician or sorcerer.

Soupaip the ancient name for Sokehs Island.

soupeidi the chiefs or nobles of the nahnmwarki's line.

soupoad story teller.

Sousaped en And the second-ranking chief for the island of And.

Souwen en Dehpehk the section chief for Dehpehk Island off U.

Souwen en Metipw the section chief for Mesenieng in Net.

Takai Mwahu the individual who held the title of Kroun en Lehdau and led Madolenihmw's resistance against Spanish intrusion in 1890.

Takaieu the name for the southern section of a small island off U.

Takaiah the tall rock precipice standing on the northern shore of Madolenihmw Harbor.

tapaker "tobacco"; one of the English words borrowed by Pohnpeians during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

taulap "great work"; the life-long service required of all Pohnpeian males by the paramount chiefs.

tautik "little work"; name for participation in wars fought in behalf of the nahnmwarki or paramount chief.

tehnwar a spirit medium.

tehpil "table"; modern variation on Pohnpeian feasting patterns that originated in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a result of extensive exposure to foreign ways.

Temwen the island that has served as the principal residence for the nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw.

tiahk en sapw "the custom of the land"; a phrase referring to Pohnpeian culture.

tiahk en wai foreign customs or ways.

tihlap "big bones"; the word refers to common men who marry high-ranking women.

Tipwen Dongalap the name for a formerly independent section of Net that predated Saudeleur rule over the island.

tohmw a ceremony of atonement.

Tukeniso the knoll overlooking Rohnkiti Harbor on which the island's first Protestant mission station was built.

U the second-ranked of the five major chiefdoms on Pohnpei.

uhmw rock oven.

uhmw en edied a feast held immediately prior to departure for war; at this gathering, warriors were often expected to eat the only partly cooked flesh of rats, dogs, and, in more modern times, pigs, as a sign of their resolve and courage.

uhs uhs a chase call used by Pohnpeians when hunting.

ullap maternal uncle.

Upwutenmei the deposed, senior matrilineage of the Isonenimwahn, the Dipwinpahnmehi's ruling subclan.

Upwutenpahini the once senior subclan of the Dipwinmen.

wahu respect or honor.

wai a word that refers to the large lands beyond the horizon of Pohnpei.

Warikitam the emissary sent by Souiap to retrieve his pet bird; Warikitam was killed by Saumwin Kepinpil and his body formed the mountains of Kahmar in Net.

Wasahn Sohpor "The Place of No Return"; at this mythical place is located a bridge where the souls of the dead had to sing in melodious tones before being allowed to pass on to Pahnsed, the Pohnpeian heaven under the sea.

Wasai the second-ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line.

Wasai Sokehs the paramount chief of Sokehs.

wawaila to go secretly or stealthily.

wei or **wehi** a chiefdom or state; also the word for turtle, the physical symbol of the chiefdom or state.

wehi keredi kereda "a state of stepping down and stepping up"; this phrase refers to Madolenihmw's tumultuous political history and, more specifically, to the unsettling replacement of a reigning nahnken by the eldest son of a newly installed nahnmwarki.

Wene a large section of land in the south of Kiti formerly known as Onohnleng.

Wenik the ancient name for U.

Wenik Peidak the ancient name for the eastern half of U.

Wenik Peidi the ancient name for the western half of U.

winanih magic.

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The glossary carries the explanation and definitions for Pohnpeian terms, titles, and place names listed in this index. The dates that follow entries for specific holders of Pohnpeian titles do not represent necessarily the entire period during which the individual held that particular title, but rather that part of his or her tenure covered by written documentation. Page numbers for illustrations are in boldface type.

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