

"The Clothes of Men":
Ponape Island and German Colonial Rule
1899-1914

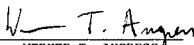
A Dissertation presented
by
Paul Mark Ehrlich
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PAUL EHRLICH

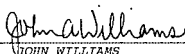
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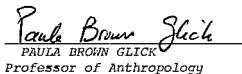
WERNER T. ANGRESS
Professor of History



JOEL T. ROSENTHAL
Professor of History

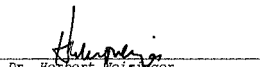


JOHN WILLIAMS
Associate Professor of History



PAULA BROWN GLICK
Professor of Anthropology

The dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School.


Dr. Herbert Weisinger
Dean of the Graduate School

May, 1978

For my parents.

Abstract of the Dissertation

"The Clothes of Men":
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This study focuses on the significance of the German colonial administration, 1899-1914, in the history of Ponape Island. It is both a case study of colonialism and of the dynamics of change on a small Pacific island. Because a rebellion erupted in one of five traditional kingdoms in 1910, it offers an example of resistance on a small enough scale to comprehend the motives of the people who were involved.

In order to gain a clearer perspective of the historical context, the study includes a brief description of the development of the Ponapean culture prior to the arrival of the West. It also examines the changes wrought by Western contact and Spanish colonial rule, and shows that Ponapeans actively sought goods and ideas from the West and adapted them to the existing Ponapean

circumstances. This adaptation generated cultural changes which were to profoundly influence the course of German colonial rule.

In 1899, the Germans took over a Ponape which had not yet been pacified and was seething with internal conflicts between Protestant and Catholic factions which divided the five kingdoms on the island. This study shows how the religious rivalry fit into the traditional rivalries of clans and kingdoms. It also shows how certain Ponapeans sought to use German colonial rule to achieve their own personal ambitions with respect to chiefly titles, land, respect, and a host of other particularly Ponapean concerns.

Though the German administration of Ponape spanned only fifteen years, it had a profound impact on the island. Though cautious at first, the Germans sought to implement a land reform which kindled existing tensions in 1908-1909 and ultimately erupted in rebellion in 1910. The rebellion had two principal results: Ponape was pacified and the Germans implemented a second, more stringent land reform. The primary object here is to present a perspective which reflects a Ponapean assessment of the impact of these events on the culture.

This is achieved through the presentation of data which was acquired through personal interviews with Ponapean eyewitnesses during sixteen months of research on Ponape. The testimony of the Ponapeans was checked against the German accounts

which were examined prior to the field work. The study makes use of archival sources such as missionary correspondence, German ethnography, missionary reports, colonial reports, and newspaper stories in order to present as complete a picture as possible of the events which were occurring on Ponape. These coupled with Ponapean eyewitness accounts have made it possible to examine the motives of the important Ponapean leaders of the period.

The study argues that relations between the Ponapeans themselves contributed as much to the rebellion as relations between the Ponapeans and Germans. It tries to understand why only one of the five kingdoms on the island fought against the Germans, despite the fact that everyone sympathized with their cause. The focus here is not on resistance and collaboration but rather on the range of choices which were open to each of the Ponapeans.

Once the rebellion ended, Ponape adjusted quickly and efficiently to a second German land reform in 1912. The Ponapeans assisted the Germans by carrying out the registration of land which formalized freehold tenure on the island. It is argued that the rapid adjustment was partly due to the fact that Ponape was essentially ready for the reform despite the fact that the earlier reform generated so much tension. Though the Germans initiated the reforms, it was the Ponapeans who ultimately carried them into practice. The way in which the Ponapeans carried out

the reforms reflected the changes in the political, social, and cultural framework of Ponape which occurred during the German period.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	vii
List of Maps	xi
List of Abbreviations	xii
Acknowledgements	xiii
Introduction	1
Chapter I	
Historical and Cultural Background of Ponape	18
Settlement and Sau Deleurs: The First Two Periods	19
The Nanmwarki System: The Third Period	24
a. Clan Identity and the Nanmwarki System	26
b. Feasting: The Principal Arena of Prestige Competition	32
c. Social Relationships	38
d. The Importance of War on Ponape	42
Footnotes to Chapter I	47
Chapter II	
Guns, Gold, and God: The Beginning of the Fourth Period	50
Guns and Goods	53
The Power of the Christian God	57
The Rise of Henry Nanpei	63
The Beginning of the Spanish Period	68
Nanpei and the Spanish	74

	Ponape in 1899	83
	Footnotes to Chapter II	87
Chapter III	Germany Replaces Spain: 1899-1907, The Era of Good Feelings	92
	Background: German Interests in the Carolines	92
	The Beginning of German Rule on Ponape (Tapin Mwehi en Sehman)	97
	Dr. Hahl: The First German Governor Meets the Ponapeans	100
	Trade Under the Germans: The Culture Inhibits Productivity	102
	Hahl and the Religious and Political Rivalries on Ponape	105
	Nanpei the Mediator	107
	A Change in Governors: Berg Replaces Hahl	109
	Disarmament	111
	Religious Tension	114
	Ponapean Relations with the Germans in 1907	116
	Footnotes to Chapter III	119
Chapter IV	1907-1909: The First Land Reform	125
	Hahl and Berg and the Ponapean System	125
	Hahl Initiates a Land Reform	128
	Fritz Meets the Ponapeans	130
	Fritz Tries to Build a Road	132
	Henry Nanpei versus Sou Kiti: The Ant Dispute	134

	Fritz Tries to Mediate	140
	Fritz Calls for Help	142
	The Situation Settles: Fritz Eases the Pressure for Reform	145
	Kiti and Sokehs on the Verge of War	146
	The effect of the Land Reforms on Ponape	148
	Footnotes to Chapter IV	151
Chapter V	1910-1911, Rebellion in Sokehs: "These are the Clothes of Men"	155
	Sokehs	155
	Boeder Pushes the Road Work in Sokehs	158
	Catalyst for Rebellion: The Beating of Lahdeleng	164
	The Rebellion Begins: October 18, 1910	167
	Reinforcements	174
	Retribution: Execution and Exile	180
	The Causes and Effects of the Rebellion in Sokehs	184
	Footnotes to Chapter V	192
Chapter VI	Denouement: The Second Land Reform	197
	Dr. Kersting and the Ponapeans	197
	Land Registration	199
	The Land Law of 1912	201
	Amendments to the Law in 1913	207
	Kersting's Application of the Laws	210

The End of German Rule on Ponape	215
Footnotes to Chapter VI	217
Conclusions	219
Footnotes to Conclusions	227
Bibliography	228
Glossary	233
Appendix I: The Clans of Ponape	243
Appendix II: Chiefly Titles	244
Appendix III: Some Examples of Ponapean Kinship	246
Appendix IV: Names, Clans, Titles, and Religions of Those Whom the Germans Executed After the Rebellion	247
Appendix V: Translation of Pages 2 and 3 of the 1912 Land Law	248
Appendix VI: Translation of Amend- ments to the Land Law in 1913	251

LIST OF MAPS

Map No. 1	Ponape*	Page 22
Map No. 2	Ponape*	Page 25
Map No. 3	Kiti*	Page 44
Map No. 4	Micronesian Islands	Page 69
Map No. 5	Micronesian Islands	Page 98
Map No. 6	Ant**	Page 135
Map No. 7	Ponape*	Page 181

* Reduced and copied from Saul H. Riesenbergl, The Native Polity of Ponape, Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1968, pp. 9, 24. Used by permission.

** Reduced and copied from E. H. Bryan, Jr., Guide to Place Names in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Honolulu: Pacific Science Information Center, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1971, Car. 5. Used by permission.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
DKB	<u>Deutsches Kolonialblatt</u>
DKZ	<u>Deutsche Kolonialzeitung</u>
HEA/MM/Nanpei	Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Micronesia Mission, Letters from Henry Nanpei. From the archives of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.
MI	<u>Missionary Herald</u>
RKA	Reichskolonialamt
SB Reichstag	<u>Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages</u>

N.B. Ponapean words used in the text are underlined the first time they appear. There is a Glossary on pages 233-242.

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John Bowen of the Wilbar Photoengraving Co., Inc. made superb copies of photographs of the Sokehs rebellion which proved invaluable when I returned to Ponape. Those photographs stimulated memories and served as excellent gifts for my informants.

Peter Hempenstall of the University of Newcastle (Australia), provided not only a copy of his fine dissertation ("Indigenous Resistance to German Rule in the Pacific Colonies of Samoa, Ponape, and New Guinea, 1884-1914." Diss., Magdalen College, Oxford, 1973) but also copies of his notes from his research in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, DDR. These served to highlight further the areas of Ponape which were both familiar and unknown to the Germans.

Edwin H. Bryan gave me a copy of the Guide to Place Names in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands plus permission to use any maps I desired. He was a generous guide through the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

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John L. Fischer shared transcripts of versions of songs, and has generously shared his knowledge of Ponape in general. Saul Riesenbergs has granted permission to use copies of his maps of Ponape and Kiti, and in 1973 sent copies of a few sections of the manuscript translation and annotations of the Book of Luelen which has been published only recently (1977). Father Francis Hezel, S. J., forwarded his copies of the Jahresberichte of the German Capuchin Mission in the Carolines. Ken Rehgs and Damian Sohl provided a computer printout of their Ponapean-English Dictionary in 1974.

To the people of Ponape, I owe a special debt of gratitude for their hospitality and generosity as well as the wealth of information which they provided. The originality of this study derives directly from their contributions. Only a few are cited in the footnotes because many preferred to remain anonymous. I wish to cite the following Ponapeans for their efforts which vastly exceeded the scope of this study. Akira Suzuki and Gregorio Kili-mete assisted more than they can ever imagine. I also wish to thank Takeshi Yu Hadley, Masao Hadley, Pensile Lawrence, Largo Edwin, and the late Hersin Santos.

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Carmel Valley, April 1978

INTRODUCTION

Ponape Island is a speck on the map of the Pacific Ocean. Its land area is only 129 square miles, and its natural resources are almost too difficult to extract to make it a profitable colonial outpost. Yet Ponape is one of the largest islands in the Caroline Islands; and its people have witnessed a succession of Spanish, German, Japanese, and American colonial administrations since 1887. These administrations have sought to fit Ponape into the aspirations of their mother countries with varying degrees of success. So, too, the Ponapeans have tried (with varying degrees of success) to utilize the different colonial circumstances to their own advantage.

Among the islands of Micronesia, Ponape was the only one on which major armed insurrections were mounted against the Spanish and German administrations. Spain controlled the Caroline and Mariana islands from 1887 to 1899 and had to fight the Ponapeans four times; they never defeated the Ponapeans. The Germans ultimately pacified Ponape, but only after a disastrous rebellion by one of the five kingdoms on the island. That rebellion is at the core of this study, because it shows how colonial interaction generated enough tension in island affairs to cause one kingdom to rebel. To a large extent, the rebellion was the result of conflicts between the Ponapeans themselves, as well as problems

between Ponapeans and Germans. Ponapean affairs and German-Ponapean affairs affected each other constantly, and it is that dynamic relationship which is the main focus in this study.

At the outset of my research into the Ponapean response to German colonial rule from 1899 to 1914, I had to recognize that only one of the five traditional kingdoms (wehi) on Ponape decided to fight the Germans in 1910. This was the most significant event of the German period on Ponape and it requires significant background in order to understand it fully. That background includes the Ponapean culture which had been adapting to the white man for over 100 years when the Germans took control of the island. In essence, the Germans were carrying new changes into the Ponapean context which included complex variables of clan, family, and personal relationships. Ponape's chiefly system was still strong and received constant recognition in tribute feasts. In order to make Ponape more productive, the German administration tried in 1908 to eliminate the feasts by restricting the authority of the high chiefs.

The German effort to eliminate the feasts ultimately kindled existing tensions which exploded in the Sokehs rebellion in 1910. While ostensibly the result of the beating of a young Ponapean worker on Sokehs, the rebellion also resulted from the political isolation of Sokehs in relation to the other four kingdoms. While most Ponapeans sympathized with Sokehs, only a few individuals from the other four kingdoms actually joined the rebellion.

At first the story appeared to be a case of "resistance and collaboration," but archival research quickly indicated that the first German reforms were "resisted" by all the Ponapean high chiefs. Not only did the reforms seek to eliminate the feasts, but they included a head tax which required fifteen days of public labor for men between the ages of 15 and 45. Despite general antagonism toward the reforms, the Germans managed to get them approved by all the Ponapean high chiefs. Despite that approval, an insensitive German governor, Gustav Boeder, antagonized the kingdom of Sokehs with his consistently disrespectful behavior. This not only caused Sokehs to engage in a suicidal conflict against the Germans, but it worked to the advantage of the Ponapeans who assisted the Germans.

From 1971 to 1973 I examined these issues in the archives, where I examined missionary letters, German periodicals, books by Germans who had lived, worked, or visited on Ponape, and the relevant anthropology. I was fortunate to have the assistance of Martin G. Silverman, then Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Princeton University, who assisted me with reading lists and personal discussions on anthropological questions and fieldwork techniques.

A number of German sources proved invaluable in their descriptions of Ponape during the German period. Two of these are eyewitness accounts of the Sokehs rebellion: P. Ignatius, "Tagebuchblätter von P. Ignatius, Ponape". Aus den Missionen der rheinisch-westfälischen Kapuziner Ordensprovinz auf den Karolinen, Marianen, und Palau-Inseln in der deutschen Südsee, Jahresbericht

1911; and Edgar Freiherr Spiegel von und zu Peckelsheim, Kriegsbilder aus Ponape, (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1912). These accounts included photographs and details of the outbreak of the rebellion and the events which followed. One of my Ponapean informants remembered Spiegel and recognized his photograph.

The most important German source was Paul Hambruch's Ponape, Hrsg. G. Thilenius, Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition 1908-1910, II. Ethnographie, B. Mikronesien, Bd. vii (Hamburg, 1932-1936) 3 Vols. This includes a fine history of the island with legends, contact history, and a general description of the events which led to the rebellion. It is especially interesting because Hambruch collected data on Ponape from March to September 1910, the six months which immediately preceded the outbreak of the rebellion on October 18, 1910. Despite the existing tensions on the island, Hambruch collected an amazing amount of information with respect to ethnography, material and spiritual culture, legends, and other details. His informants were the finest of that period and some, such as Luelen and Ettekar, were active participants in the events which I describe here.

In the Introduction to his first volume, Hambruch wrote that he felt his field work had been hampered by the increasing tensions on the island. He had heard of an organized plot to do away with all the whites on the island, but never found any hard evidence.¹ He was familiar with many of the complexities of Ponapean politics, but he did not integrate these fully into

his account of the period of German rule on Ponape. Though Hambruch was aware of the religious and political rivalries on the island, he never fully integrated the traditional rivalries and alliances with the modern developments which were producing tensions on the island.

Peter Hempenstall, an Australian historian, discusses some of these issues in his dissertation "Indigenous Resistance to German Rule in the Pacific Colonies of Samoa, Ponape, and New Guinea, 1884-1914," (Magdalen College, Oxford, Nov. 1973). Mr. Hempenstall was fortunate to be able to examine the German colonial documents in the Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, DDR. These provided a detailed account of the German relations with the Ponapeans and some of the island politics which led to the rebellion. I am grateful to Mr. Hempenstall for providing me with copies of his notes about some of the pivotal events.

There were many issues on Ponape which were not really necessary to the Reichskolonialamt, yet these had important influence on relations between Ponapeans and Germans. Aside from Ponapean perceptions of the Germans, these included a great deal of minutiae about Ponapean affairs. Here was an important area to which the only access was field work on Ponape. I was fortunate to be able to travel to Ponape and live there for 16 months (July 1973 to November 1974) for the purpose of collecting information from the Ponapeans about the events of the German administration.

Because I already knew Ponapean language as a result of Peace Corps service in 1967 and 1968, it required only a short

time to relearn the language. As a result, all of my interviews with Ponapeans were conducted in Ponapean with no translator. In general my research consisted of more or less formal interviews, over forty of which I taped. However, the most important part of the research had to do with living with the Ponapeans and understanding how their history informs their actions every day. Adult Ponapeans are very conscious of their history, for it still lives in the culture. I continually found that in order to understand one facet of Ponape under the Germans, I had to be aware of clan affiliations, traditional allies and enemies, and the general historical background of the island.

My primary informants about the German period were all over 70 years of age, because those who were younger simply had not been old enough to remember the significant events. However, some of the younger informants were extremely reliable, because their parents had taken the trouble to acquaint them with the events of that period. The events of the German period were fairly close to each of my primary informants who provided extraordinary details in their accounts. Fortunately, there is a fairly consistent story which is consistent with the German versions with respect to the major details. As long as an informant indicated a solid consistency with those details, I felt that his or her information was reasonably valid. Naturally, I compared versions and analyses before accepting the reasonable truth about certain incidents.

One of the important aspects of the Ponapean oral history was that it exhibited an emphasis on the traditional aspects of Ponapean life, namely clan affiliation, location and identity of families, and chiefly titles. In this sense the history which I obtained was intensely personal, since in some cases it could reflect upon the status of the individual to whom I spoke. Therefore, certain aspects of the respective narratives received attention in proportion to their importance to the individual. Because of this I had to be equally aware of the problems of the informants themselves in order to understand their perspective.

The story of the German period is fading from the status of koasoi, or story, to that of poadapoad, or legend. This is because the principals have nearly all died and soon there will be no more eyewitnesses. It will be left to the children and grandchildren to carry it as part of the general oral history of the island.

There are still a few reliable informants who had worked with the Germans. One such was Etwet of Madolenihmw who was 93 in 1973. He remembered the end of the Spanish period and had been one of the young leaders on the island as Secretary of Madolenihmw (one of the five Ponapean kingdoms) during the German administration. His account of the final German land reform is the basis for much of the sixth chapter of this study. He also witnessed much of what occurred in the course of the Sokehs rebellion.

All informants sympathized with the people of Sokehs, but those from the four kingdoms of Madolenihmw, Uh, Kiti, and Net,

saw the rebellion as a foolish attempt to fight the Germans. Many felt that the Germans responded too harshly by executing fifteen and sending the rest of Sokehs into exile. However, they still tended to view the German administration positively, given the fact that the reforms ultimately benefited them. They also felt that the German administrators were generally decent individuals, with a few notable exceptions.

Sixty-four years of subsequent history under Japanese mandate (1914-1945) and American Trusteeship (1945-present) have probably altered the Ponapean view of the German period. However, there were constant comparisons to the Japanese and American administrations (which I do not include here), and these served to distinguish the German methods of administration from the others.

The Ponapean Context:

In the course of my research I found that Ponape, while being rather small (129 square miles), is a very large entity to those who were born and raised there. Every location has some historical significance. Small parcels of land have names which have changed constantly since the founding of Ponape. Ponapean affairs are extremely complex and are more important in Ponapean consciousness than the world outside. Since social organization revolves around clan identity and family relationships, discussions tend to follow suit.

Because of this I found it necessary to examine the backgrounds of the important Ponapeans of the German period through their clan identity, chiefly titles, and their influence on the politics of the period. In the process I had to delve into the legendary history of the island in order to reconstruct the development of the Ponapean culture up to the German period. Since all traditional rights and rituals are based on those legends, most adult Ponapeans (those over the age of 30) have at least a general knowledge of the oral traditions. The older the individual, the greater is his or her participation in the important rituals which both celebrate the past and commemorate the present. Those rituals are the multitude of competitive feasts which are a part of all important occasions on Ponape.

Despite the importance of history in Ponapean life, Ponapeans share their historical knowledge reluctantly. One of the well-known proverbs on Ponape states that if one tells everything he knows he will die. This may be partly a result of the fact that one is rarely alone on Ponape where everyone watches and few talk. Knowledge is valuable, especially the esoteric knowledge of magic, medicines, traditional practices, and legends. When Ponapeans tell stories, they frequently admonish that they will not reveal everything they know. Many prefer to give a summary (oralap) instead of a detailed account (oratik). Fortunately for me, some summaries contained exquisite detail.

Of course the significance of any story depends on the subject matter. For example, political legends like the Isokelekel

legend (see below, Chapter I), relate to the chiefly system and the disposition of land or the origin of certain practices. I have used a number of such legends in the first chapter as a means of illustrating the development of the Ponapean culture. This is because many of those legends have a quasi-legal status: they serve to legitimize the status quo.

The Isokelekel legend (which I briefly summarize in Chapter I) serves today, as it did under the Germans, as one of the founding principles for the Ponapean feasting ritual. The Ponapean feasts frustrated the Germans whose attempts to eliminate feasting contributed to the tensions which produced the Sokehs rebellion.

In some instances, I had to accept the fact that in the Ponapean context, some events had causes which the Ponapeans consider spiritual in origin. Although Christianity is established on Ponape, most Ponapeans are aware of the legends of the ancient spirits, and traditional magic and medicine are still practiced. The Ponapeans say that the magic is weaker today than it used to be and that the spirits are less prevalent, but few dare to violate the traditional tabus or to openly declare that the spirits do not exist.

One of my informants was the victim of spiritual retribution (riahla), the same spiritual retribution as the German Governor Viktor Berg. In Chapter III, I describe how Berg went to the ruins of Nan Madol and dug on the sacred islet of Pan Kedara; he died the following day. My informant dug in the same place:

I have been very ill. I went to a sacred place and touched forbidden objects in the same place where the German Governor Berg dug. He went there to search for the bones of the Sau Deleurs, and that night the people of Tamworoi heard the blowing of the triton shell [which is like a trumpet], but they found nothing when they searched. He died the next day.

I went to that place knowing the danger of sacred places and objects, but I tried. Later an infection developed on my side. It swelled until it was huge and I nearly died, but I am lucky because N. has been caring for me and I will recover.

(Conversation; March 14, 1974)

I had heard the Ponapean story of Governor Berg many times and this particular version was absolutely consistent with the general version. What made it so unusual was the fact that this man had sought medical assistance from the hospital, and no modern antibiotics could cure him. In desperation, he turned to a Ponapean practitioner of spirit medicine (winani), and this had proven effective against the ugly infection in his side. He recognized that he had broken a Ponapean tabu against digging in the sacred ruin of Pan Kedara, the most sacred of the structures in Nan Madol. In his own view, he had suffered spiritual retribution (riahla) and there was no evidence to refute him.

Spiritual events are not the main subject of this study, but I have included a few which are integral to the Ponapean narrative of the German period. The spirit sickness which I have described above illustrates the sanctity of the ruins of Nan Madol and the fact that the ancient spirits are still a part of the

Ponapean world view. Many ancient events on Ponape were accompanied by powerful spirits which spawned the clans, helped the conquerors, punished the losers, and were always available to remind Ponapeans of their mortal insignificance. People rarely discuss the spirits, but they do their best not to offend them.

This was not an intended subject of my research on Ponape, but I found it to be quite relevant, nonetheless. The longer I lived on Ponape, the more I heard which filled in the empty spaces in the German narrative and my own comprehension of the Ponapean culture. I am certain that had I stayed longer, I would have learned even more.

Structure of the Study:

This study is designed to show how the German period generated significant changes on the Ponapean culture. These changes contributed to major changes which had already occurred on the island as a result of white contact and the period of Spanish colonial rule. Chapter I gives a general description of the development of the Ponapean culture prior to 1800. It includes a brief description of the first three periods (mwehi) of the history of Ponape: Settlement and founding (ca. 1 A.D. to 1000), Sau Deleur Rule (ca. 1000-1500), and the Isokelekel Revolution and the establishment of the Nanmwarki system (ca. 1500-1800).

This chapter draws on the anthropology of Paul Hambruch, Saul H. Riesenbergs, John L. Fischer, and Daniel Hughes; but it

relies heavily on the testimony of Ponapean informants during 1973 and 1974. Hopefully, it reflects a modern Ponapean analysis of the history and culture of Ponape until the nineteenth century. The principal focus is on the Nanmwarki system, the system of chiefly titles which touched every aspect of Ponape: clans, family relationships, feasts, social relationships, and politics. It was the Nanmwarki system and the tribute feasts which the Germans tried to change, and it is essential to understand their importance on Ponape.

Chapter II gives a brief contact history plus a history of the island under Spanish administration. Most important is the Ponapean adaptation to changes wrought by Western technology, religion, education, medicine, and commerce. It is designed to show how the Ponapeans tried to use Western contact to their advantage within the Ponapean context. Most notable of these Ponapeans was Henry Nanpei who, by 1886, had parlayed a missionary education, Protestantism, noble birth, and trade with the West into significant wealth and power. He both aided and confounded the Spanish, suffered for his Protestant faith, and emerged at the beginning of the German period as the most powerful Ponapean on the island.²

The second chapter also describes a religious and political struggle which developed under the Spanish between the Catholic kingdoms of Net and Sokehs (and the subkingdom of Awak), and the Protestant kingdoms of Madolenihmw, U, and Kiti. This struggle

led to a brief battle between Protestants and Catholics in 1898, and it threatened to erupt again throughout the short period of German administration which began in 1899.

Chapter III begins with a brief background of German interests in Micronesia and the German acquisition of the Carolines and Marianas from Spain in 1899. My primary interest here is to describe how the Germans established their administration on Ponape and how the Ponapeans reacted initially. It is important to realize that relations between Ponapeans and Germans were quite good at the beginning. The primary challenge to the first two German Governors, Dr. Albert Hahl (1899-1901) and Viktor Berg (1901-1907), was to maintain peace between the Ponapean Catholic and Protestant factions. Both Hahl and Berg hoped to make Ponape productive economically, but they had little effect because of the traditional system and its emphasis on tribute feasts.

Chapter IV describes the tensions which the first German land reform produced on Ponape. After Berg died in 1907, Hahl decreed (as Governor of the entire New Guinea Protectorate) an end to Nanmwarki (high chief) authority over the land. The new German Governor on Ponape, George Fritz, encountered the complexities of the Ponapean culture in the religious and political conflicts which were compounded by personal disputes over land. Here again, Henry Nanpei demonstrated extraordinary influence despite the fact that he had no specific authority in any area. He fended off challenges to his land claims and used his influence

to assist the Germans in implementing their reforms in 1908 and 1909. By the end of 1909 all five kingdoms had accepted the reforms, but there remained smoldering resentments which erupted in rebellion in 1910.

Chapter V is the story of the tragic rebellion in Sokehs which began with the murder of four Germans (including the Governor, Gustav Boeder) and five Mortlock islanders. The narrative of the rebellion and its aftermath is both a composite and summary of the many stories which I heard during my research. It shows that relations between the various Ponapean factions had isolated Sokehs in its resistance to the German reforms. That isolation coupled with Governor Boeder's heavy-handed approach to Sokehs led to the events which essentially "destroyed" the traditional kingdom of Sokehs, and pacified Ponape for the Germans.

The rebellion had consequences for the rest of Ponape as well, since the four remaining kingdoms had to accept another, more stringent land reform. Chapter VI is the story of how the Ponapeans assisted the Germans in the establishment of freehold tenure by working in registration teams which established boundary markers and certified deeds to individual parcels of land. Once completed, the reform included a system of indirect rule by which the Nannwarkis became a part of the German administration. Though they no longer had the authority to remove people from their land, the Nannwarkis were responsible for administering justice in their respective kingdoms and for carrying out the details of the coconut planting program and public works obligations which accompanied the reform.

Documentation:

Of course, I have footnoted the relevant archival and secondary materials which provided considerable information to this account of the German administration on Ponape. While I have footnoted some oral testimony by the Ponapeans, most of that information remains uncited since it is general knowledge among the Ponapeans. I have generally refrained from using the names of my informants, since most would prefer to remain anonymous. In this respect, I am following a practice which is generally accepted in anthropological research.

Footnotes - Introduction

¹ Paul Hambruch, Ponape, Hrsg. von G. Thilenius, II. Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition 1908-1910. Ethnographie, B. Mikronesien, Bd. vii, Vol. I (Hamburg: Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co., 1932), p. 300.

² I have written an article on Henry Nanpei which is forthcoming in Deryck Scarr, ed., Pacific Islands Portraits, Vol. II (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978).

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PONAPE

Ponape¹ is a lush island which has always appeared to outsiders as a paradise. Dense rain forests with constantly decaying vegetation provide soil adequate to plant breadfruit, taro, sugar cane, papaya, yams, coconuts, and hosts of other foods. Abundant rainfall feeds large rivers which flow into a lagoon teeming with fresh fish, and the barrier reef protects the land areas from the awesome power of the ocean. These are only a few of the gifts of an island where one can cut a branch from a tree, stick it in the ground, and see it grow. The island rises as rugged terrain which twists and turns up to eleven peaks over 2000 feet above sea level. These cloud-covered mountains present a mysterious vista seeming to hide the inner secrets of the island.

The secrets are the product of a culture which emerged in the relative isolation of island living. Ponapeans see their history in four major periods which are demarcated by events so important that they wrought profound changes in the fabric of Ponapean life. The first three of these periods comprise the "aboriginal" history, or that which precedes the arrival of Western man. It was during this aboriginal period that the Ponapean culture developed. The first period was that of

Footnotes may be found on pages 47-49.

settlement and founding. The second was that of Sau Deleur rule, a rule of tyranny. The third was the Isokelekel "revolution" which overturned the Sau Deleures and instituted the system of Nanmwarki rule. The Nanmwarki was the highest of many chiefs who ranked along two lines of chiefly title. Since it was the Nanmwarki system which was in use at the time of white contact, it is important that this receive considerable attention. (See below, p. 28.)

It is important to remember, however, that many of the foundations of the Nanmwarki system grew out of traditions which preceded the system itself. The "system" was one of constant cultural change within certain physical and cultural limits. Though limited by the size of the island and the numbers of people which it could support, the Ponapean culture emerged as a complex of narrowly defined cultural units and rules. In sheer number alone these presented a universe of knowledge too large for any individual to comprehend totally.

Settlement and Sau Deleures: The First Two Periods²

The history of Ponape Island began with a canoe which sailed from the South and came upon a reef. The weary travelers were searching for a place of their own, a place which would be fruitful, where they would never worry about the lack of food. They erected an altar upon that reef and prayed to their spirits; then they departed to find soil and plants. Legends recount

several voyages in which different clans arrived from the Marshall and Gilbert Islands and other islands in the Pacific with materials such as rocks, soil, trees, yams, banana trees, etc. with which they formed the island. Gradually, perhaps over several centuries, the dreams, prayers, and toil developed an island of lush rain forest burgeoning with food.

This period remains extremely murky in Ponapean consciousness as there is no concept of how long this lasted. It could have been as long ago as 2000 years. Most Ponapeans see it as a kind of pre-history, a period in which Ponape was populated by people who were really uncivilized with no customs. The significance of this period is in the formation of the island and its settlement by different clans.

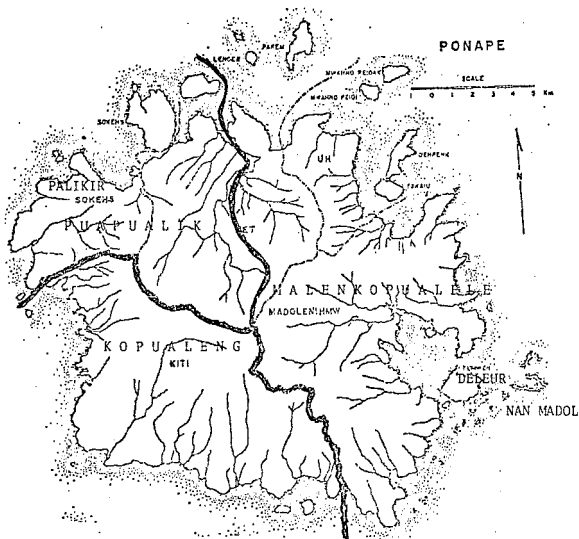
As various clans³ arrived, they settled in different locations and attended to their own affairs. Occasionally men fought when arguments developed over land and food. Such affairs were resolved by clan leaders who had exhibited bravery and magical powers. Various legends indicate that a slow pace of life was complicated by clan rivalries, probably over land, which generated a seething social atmosphere in which ambition and competition were constant. The competition forced people to become secretive, to hide themselves while seeking weaknesses in others. Certain allegorical legends indicate that any revelation of personal weakness could produce failure. These legends and many others

came to serve as guides for social behavior. The first period was therefore the era of establishing a unified language and culture.

The second period began when two men, Olosipa and Olosohpa, arrived to erect a sacred altar to their god Nahnisohnsapw.⁴ No one tells the reason for such an altar but the words sohng sapw mean "to survey," and it is possible that land disputes were becoming too numerous as the result of a population which was growing too large for the food supply. The people may have been ready to subscribe to a commonly recognized authority.

Olosipa and Olosohpa tried three times to build the sacred structure but failed. They succeeded on the fourth attempt and the place became known as Nan Madol. Nan Madol was a series of more than one hundred man-made islets, and the most sacred was called Pan Kedara. Like the other islets, Pan Kedara consisted of a large room with four walls constructed of basalt crystal. Within that room was another structure which enclosed a courtyard, the four corners of which were named Malenkopualele, Kopualeng, Puapualik, and Katau. The first three are known today as Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Sokehs, which are still names of three large kingdoms on Ponape. At that time, these three kingdoms divided the island into more or less equal segments (see Map No. 1). The fourth corner of Katau represented Kusaie Island which is approximately 300 miles east of Ponape. Part of the importance of these corners is the legend which predicted the destruction of any kingdom if the corner which represented it should crumble. It was almost as if these corners were symbolic foundations for the respective kingdoms.

Map No. 1



This is only an approximate rendering of the division of land which was supposed to have occurred with the erection of Nan Madol by Olosipa and Olosopha.

Nan Madol thus assumed a role which unified the Ponapean consciousness with respect to the division of land and also the division of authority. Authority resided in the person and spirit of Sau Deleur, the highest ranking person in the sub-kingdom (kahnsapw) of Deleur, where Nan Madol was located.

The Sau Deleur was the all-powerful high chief of all of Ponape with incredible powers of magic. He had overarching knowledge of everything that occurred on Ponape. Everyone was supposed to be under his control, although there were a few exceptions. No one could harvest crops or eat fish without paying prior tribute to the Sau Deleur. One could not even kill head lice without first taking them to the Sau Deleur.

In the days of the Sau Deleur, the largest political units were divided into smaller units known as kahnsapw, or sub-kingdom. Each kahnsapw was controlled by a particular clan whose senior or most respected member was chief.⁵ The primary responsibility of these chiefs was to organize the regular payment of tribute to the Sau Deleur. They accomplished this through the preparation of feasts for every important occasion.

Despite the overarching knowledge of the Sau Deleur, his power had weaknesses. At least one chief, the Lepen Palikir, was beyond the absolute control of the Sau Deleur. Though Lepen Palikir paid tribute like the others, legend held he was capable of killing the Sau Deleur in a direct confrontation. As Sau Deleur rule became more and more tyrannical, various chiefs looked forward to his overthrow.

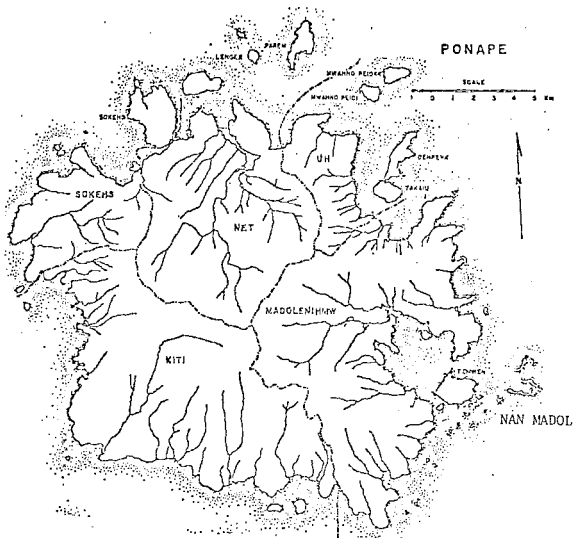
The end came when a young warrior named Isokelekel sailed from Katau (perhaps around 1500 A.D.) in the East with 333 men. He landed first at Ant atoll, where the high chief there told him about Ponapean customs. From there, Isokelekel sailed around the island to Nan Madol, the seat of Sau Deleur rule. War erupted, and with the aid of certain high chiefs on Ponape, Isokelekel slew the Sau Deleur and ended the tyranny which had existed for at least nine generations.

The Nanmwarki System: The Third Period

Isokelekel's victory inaugurated the third period. Isokelekel became the highest-ranking chief with the title Nanmwarki in the kingdom (wohi) of Madolenihmw; the other two kingdoms of Kiti and Sokehs acquired their own Nanmwarkis.⁶ Though each kingdom was autonomous, Madolenihmw ranked highest in terms of cultural protocol as well as some social and political affairs. Later events spawned two more kingdoms, Uh and Net (see Map No. 2), and the system which Isokelekel established became the general rule with minor differences in every kingdom. Each kingdom in turn contained sections (kousapw), each of which had a section chief. It was a form of feudalism in which the Nanmwarkis would divide the spoils with their primary assistants or anyone else who had contributed to their prestige.

When Isokelekel overthrew the Sau Deleur, he could not have become the ruler of all of Ponape because he had received

Map No. 2



assistance from a number of high chiefs. Instead he became Nanmwarki and, like the Sau Deleur, the Nanmwarki was entitled to the first fruits of the land, but the first fruits were limited to the most desirable crops or fish. Though his will was absolute, he had to be flexible to demonstrate responsibility to his people.⁷ This meant that he shared the fruits with other honored people and the commoners at feasts. These feasts served as focal points for the gathering and distribution of food. The feasts became so important that the land and its fruits were part of the prestige competition which pervaded the political economy of Ponape.

a. Clan Identity and the Nanmwarki System:

Throughout the first three periods of Ponapean history, specific clans (dipw or Sou) controlled particular areas of the island. Some had always lived in those areas such as the Dipwenpehpe in Pehleng in the kingdom of Kiti, or the Dipwenwai in Palikir. Others came to a place later on and took it by conquest as did the Soun Kawad clan in Net and Sokehs. Each clan claimed legendary rights to its land and affixed symbolic names to every identifiable spot to demonstrate its claim. The result was a rich legacy of legends which served to carry forward the concepts and precepts of clan identity.

Clan identity (see Appendix I) was so important that it was the foundation of family relationships, plus the codes of social behavior, access to land, and political advancement.

Clan identity was matrilineal, derived from a common maternal ancestress who was symbolically represented in certain animals, totems. The Lasiahlap clan, the clan of the great eel, is typical.⁸ According to legend, a giant fresh-water eel gave birth to twelve offspring in different locations, both on and off Ponape. Each of these eels gave birth to human females who assumed the sub-clan identity of their respective Lasiahlap mothers. Because of this, the fresh-water eel was the living spirit of the Lasiahlap clan. Members of the Lasiahlap clan were forbidden to kill or eat the fresh-water eel.

Aside from matrilineality, clans were exogamous. Incest was an offense against the clan spirits, and the proverb "eat a rotten spirit" aptly describes the nature of the crime. This tabu forbade both casual sexual relations and marriage between members of the same clan. A violation of the incest tabu was a serious offense which could be punished by forced exile from Ponape, execution, or simple expulsion from the original clan. Expulsion from the original clan was the rule in the case of the Dipwenmen which had two basic subdivisions, "white" and "black" -- the latter being the incest offenders.⁹ The black Dipwenmen had further subdivisions which were the result of later instances of incest within its own ranks.¹⁰

Since the rule of exogamy forced clan members outside their own clan and introduced influence from other clans, Ponapeans had to marry carefully. With respect to this, the Nanmwarki was

expected to marry a member of his father's clan (see Appendix IIIA). This produced a double line of chiefly titles headed by the Nanmwarki and Naniken (see Appendix II). The chiefly titles in these two lines reflected family relationships as well as chiefly prerogative. The highest titles generally belonged to those individuals who were most closely related to the Nanmwarki and Naniken.

The Naniken title had supposedly begun with the son of Isokelekel, Nanlepenien, who had been unusually disrespectful to his father.¹¹ Isokelekel had not wanted to discipline him, so he gave him the title of Naniken, thereby giving him chiefly responsibility. The Naniken title was the highest in the second line of chiefly titles, which was parallel to the line of titles which led to the Nanmwarki title. Ideally, the Naniken was son of the Nanmwarki, and the Naniken side titleholders became known as seriiso, or "honored children." The title holders on the Nanmwarki's side were known as soupeidi, or "those who face downward" (see Appendix II).

The Nanmwarki and Naniken led two lines of chiefs, which Saul H. Riesenbergs has called conveniently "royalty" and "nobility" respectively.¹² Ideally, the royal and noble clans intermarried consistently to maintain control of the land in the kingdom. Such intermarriage had to be carried out carefully to avoid incest. The ideal practice was cross-cousin marriage in which a father's son could marry the father's sister's daughter (see Appendix IIIA; or the father's daughter could marry his sister's son). As long

as the children were of different clans, the marriage was legitimate, except for the children of two brothers and two sisters. The Nanmwarki-Naniken arrangement was either a model for or a reflection of common practice which served to maintain a family in control of a particular piece of land.¹³

Originally, inheritance (of land in particular) seems to have been matrilineal, but exogamy and the practice of cross-cousin marriage altered the picture. The father's clan, while not part of clan identity as such, conferred additional identity upon the child. A man's son would not obtain the same rights as his father's clansmen, but he would receive some recognition as a clan relative. This recognition took the form of chiefly titles, which were awarded by the Nanmwarki. These titles carried perquisites of land and authority subject to the discretion of the Nanmwarki who could revoke anyone's title and land at will.

The father's closest clan relatives, his brothers and sisters, and sister's children had rights which preceded those of his own son. (This was to change after foreign contact and colonial rule.) Again, the example of the Nanmwarki is useful. Ideally, the Nanmwarki's younger brothers would succeed to the title, and if none survived, then the Nanmwarki's eldest sister's eldest son would succeed.¹⁴ The Nanmwarki's son(s) would ideally marry back into their father's clan in order to maintain family control of the kingdom.

The Ponapean concept of clan included social, economic, political, and spiritual concerns which were historically interconnected. The result was that clan identity was reinforced by historical ties with other particular clans. In an effort to sustain those ties, cross-cousin marriage became an important rule of social behavior even though there were exceptions. Exceptions by historical precedent were, as a matter of fact, included as part of the rules which governed the behavior of specific clans.

The regular practice of cross-cousin marriage did not exist on Ponape from the beginning. It became common after the Isokelekel revolution which formalized it in the Nanmwarki-Naniken relationship. A similar relationship existed in the chiefly titles in the many sections in each kingdom. There were usually two lines of section titles and though not as rigid as the Nanmwarki-Naniken arrangement, it was a reasonable facsimile. With respect to individual farmsteads, the cross-cousin marriage served to continue a bilateral clan tenure over a specific piece of property. Though cross-cousin marriage was the ideal, it was not an absolute. It was flexible enough to permit virtually all exceptions; hence, bilateral control was probably difficult to sustain.

In order to sustain the bilateral ties in any marriage, there existed a multitude of rules with respect to clan relatives and relatives by marriage. One of the most important was the brother-in-law (mwa) relationship (see Appendix IIIB). A man was obligated to defend his wife's brother before his own clan. So,

too, the wife's brother would defend her husband. In some cultures the brother-in-law relationship was schismatic, but Ponape's limited land area left little room for schism. The families had to cooperate in order to maintain their tenure.

Another important relationship was that between the maternal uncle (uh lapw) and sororal nephew (wahwah) (see Appendix IIIC). The maternal uncle was a clan elder to his sororal nephew and, as such, the one who taught him the essentials of his clan identity. The nephew would follow this uncle with respect to matters concerning clan. By the same token, the maternal uncle had to respect his sister's son, because he represented the continuity of the clan. Naturally, the sororal niece was highly respected because she would bear the new clan constituents. To a certain extent, the rules surrounding the maternal uncle - brother-in-law complex were logically intertwined for they reinforced each other.¹⁵ A man could not alienate his brother-in-law without alienating his nephews and vice-versa.

Other family relationships were important but not as strong as the brother-in-law - maternal uncle one. For example, brothers-in-law by marriage to two sisters were classificatory brothers. The sons of ego's brother were ego's children (Appendix IIID). The hierarchy of relationships generally placed clan relatives at the top, but every rule had a powerful rule as its opposite, thus allowing for a wide range of responses to any situation. The proverb, "We take the outrigger from our clan and give it to our

brother-in-law," is such an example. Since clan affiliation was of paramount concern, the brother-in-law exception is critical since it amends clan allegiances to permit loyalty to clan relatives by marriage.

Family relationships were fluid enough to allow flexibility of allegiances. However, the requirements of land tenure tended to restrain individual options. Those clans which had access to the best lands sought to retain them through consistent cross-cousin marriage with another clan. This could be altered by a clan which sought to marry into the advantageous situation. Infant betrothal (kisin nin) was a common practice which strengthened bilateral ties. Such betrothals were extremely difficult to dissolve although it happened occasionally. Marriage in general created important ties which could be severed by divorce, but generally marriages were stable unless an advantage could be gained otherwise.

b. Feasting: The Principal Arena of Prestige Competition

Advantage existed in land, for land provided the fruits through which an individual could maintain and add to his own prestige. The obligations of tribute to the Nanmwarki required the individual to provide generously with no regard for himself. This was the stated goal, but everyone knew that exceptional tribute had rewards. The man who provided consistently good yams and sakau (kava) was likely to be rewarded with a higher chiefly

title, and chieftaincy entitled the highest ranking members to the largest and best share of the food at feasts.

Chieftaincy and titles at nearly all levels also carried rights to land. Since the production of good tribute required land, the system seemed closed except to those who were industrious enough to provide well. The system demanded constant attention in the multitude of feasts which existed for nearly every occasion. The willingness to pay tribute was a demonstration of support for what existed. Invariably, the highest chiefs (see Appendix II) provided tribute which was appropriate for their rank and privileges, including the land which they controlled. This meant that they took larger quantities of food than lower ranking chiefs and commoners. This was also true for the section chiefs who demonstrated their ability by organizing tribute payments from their respective sections. Since royal and noble titleholders often carried a section chief title as well, they had ample opportunity to demonstrate their qualities of leadership. So, too, the common farmer, who had a lower ranking title, could demonstrate his abilities by providing good or exceptional tribute. This was a means to upward mobility.

There were feasts for new houses, new canoes, new fishing nets, funerals, apology rituals, marriages, births, breadfruit season, yam season, payment for chiefly titles, and virtually anything else. Usually the size of a feast depended upon its importance to the Nanmwarki and to the people. Riesenbergs says

there were six major feasts, three of which were for certain yam harvests; the other three were for counting cookhouses, making sennit for the Nanmwarki, and preparing pit breadfruit.¹⁶

Feasting became so important that most Western visitors who were to encounter Ponape after 1800 believed it was a sign of Ponapean laziness. Protestant missionaries, German colonialists, and later the Japanese tried to discourage the practice as a waste of time and energy. For the Ponapeans, however, feasting was not merely a revel; it was rather a means of displaying agricultural prowess and their ability to provide for their high chiefs. In fact, feasts required a large collective effort in the gathering of large quantities of food and drink, and preparing it for all of those in attendance.

The ritual was complex; and a brief description is useful, since the correct execution of each element was essential. Proper feasting practice was a reflection on the community, the leadership, and the clan. Each group or complex of groups had to carry out their responsibilities with effortless superiority. The size of the feast corresponded to the importance of the event in the minds of the participants. Generally, the tribal feasts brought together large numbers of people who provided incredible amounts of food.

All feasts required the pounding of sakau (kava), a narcotic beverage to which the Ponapeans attributed spiritual qualities. Sakau was considered more powerful than any man, capable of bringing retribution upon anyone who would dare to

humiliate it. No man could refuse an offer of sakau, not even the Nanmwarki, who could refuse three times but never on the fourth offer. It was the pounding of sakau on loudly ringing basalt slabs which signaled the gathering of people to an important social event: sakau was the nexus for formal social interaction of any kind.

Feasts also required the preparation of a stone oven (uhmw) which usually contained dog, yams, breadfruit, taro, or other foods. The most important feasts relating to titles took place during the yam season (during the trade-wind season from November through February, when the rains were less intense). The more frequent minor feasts occurred throughout the year for marriages, funerals, and so on.

Feasts began with the arrival of people and their respective tribute offerings. Generally, the pounding of sakau began as soon as the heated stones of the stone oven had been spread and the food and taro leaves placed on top. Once the food was cooking, rhythmic pounding began. When the sakau was pounded into a mulch, the squeezers placed it inside the inner bark of hibiscus and wrung it into coconut cups. The first four cups went to the Nanmwarki, Naniken, Likend (Nanmwarki's wife), and back to the Nanmwarki. This was the order in Madolenihmw, but each kingdom had its own rules. Whatever the order, it was consistent for the distribution of all foods. After the first four servings, the order varied depending on who was present, but it generally followed the succession of the highest chiefly titles in the

kingdom, including section chiefs. It might also have depended upon the location of the feast and the particular occasion. In any case, the food was not eaten at the feast, but rather it was carried home to be shared by all members of each family.

Not only were the feasts a method of gathering large quantities of food for the purpose of redistribution, they were also a constant reminder of the state of affairs on Ponape. While the Nanmwarki could keep it all for himself, he rarely did. The Nanmwarki was, among other things, a symbolic father who commanded his people and took care of them.¹⁷ If the feast was a test of loyalty among the people, it was also a test of Nanmwarki responsibility. The Sau Deleur had had no such responsibility; the people had given with no expectation of receiving anything in return. Isokelekel could have become a Sau Deleur, but he had to reject that option in gratitude for the help he had received. The Nanmwarki, who had inherited Isokelekel's position and title, had to reflect his sense of responsibility to the people.¹⁸ To those who had provided generously, he gave ample quantities of food and recognition for their service. To those who had not the means to provide generously, he was also beneficent in taking care that they, too, should be comfortable.

Under the Nanmwarki system, the people gave as they had given to the Sau Deleur and they grumbled about it. Their options were limited by birth and the social and political hierarchy, but still they provided tribute and received limited recognition. One

fundamental contradiction of the system was that the common people knew the Nanmwarki would care for them, even though they could expect nothing.¹⁹ The Nanmwarki accomplished this by distributing food among the participants in the feast. Of course, there were people who did not wish to pay tribute and did as they pleased. They ran the risk of offending the Nanmwarki or the spirits which surrounded them.

However the people felt about tribute, they always recognized that they were subject to Nanmwarki authority. That authority emanated from the spirits which the Nanmwarki carried with him. In order to account for those spirits, the people always addressed him in the third person plural. The respect which the people had for the Nanmwarki was expressed in a separate language of respect (meing) for both the Nanmwarki and Naniken. Additional respect forms existed for lower ranking chiefs as well.

The Nanmwarki system emphasized tribute, rank, privilege, and respect, all combined in recognition of seasonal changes and major events. The Nanmwarki and Naniken received the highest respect since they were caretakers of this intricate and contradictory social order. The Naniken received deference similar to the Nanamwarki's, since he was symbolically the Nanmwarki's eldest son. In fact, the Nanmwarki never spoke directly to the people, but did so through the Naniken, making the latter the equivalent of a talking chief.

In many cases, the Naniken had as much and frequently more power than the Nanmwarki since he could address the people directly. The Naniken could be the father of the Nanmwarki or considerably older, hence commanding respect despite the apparent distinctions of rank and privilege. Given the near equality of rank and the necessary mutual respect, the Nanmwarki and Naniken virtually shared the reins of power and served to moderate each other.

This did not necessarily deter either from enforcing their will. A displeased Nanmwarki could have disloyal subjects removed from the land, or their houses burned if they failed to demonstrate appropriate respect. Naturally, this extended to chiefly titles which individuals held at the pleasure of the Nanmwarki. Failure to pay appropriate tribute or to carry out his will could result in removal of the title. However, the removal of a title or people from their land rarely occurred. Here again the limits to individual action were quite flexible, for too much rigidity would simply have driven people against the system.

c. Social Relationships

The close personal contact, intensified by the limited space on an island which received occasional contact from across a wide ocean, generated a code of personal conduct which defined what it meant to be a Ponapean. This is not to say that allegiance to Ponape came before the clan. Not at all. Allegiance to clan was paramount, but there were concepts of appropriate and

inappropriate behavior such that the Ponapeans understood that if they desired honor (wahu) they had to earn it by observing the rules of respect.

A Ponapean man had to be able to fight, to prepare a feast, and to build a house. Ponapean women were the bearers of clan identity and derived prestige from that, from the accomplishments of their men, their brothers, and children. They participated actively but rarely openly. It was the men who did the important work which brought higher status. A true man never shirked but joined in all the work and demonstrated his competence. Feasting, farming, and fighting then were part of maintaining personal identity as well as competing for higher status.

One interesting aspect of this is the fact that men and women were never too proud to accept assistance. A person who built a house would hail a passer-by and welcome him to join in the humble work. The passer-by would rarely refuse to help and would usually hand up a length of thatch or perform a simple function before he moved on. For both parties, the code served to bring them together and to test their cognizance of proper behavior. While the rules were flexible, outright hostility was not warranted except in cases where one or the other party had been wronged with no apology.

Though the necessary cooperation would seem to ensure tranquility and stability, competition was intense for personal prestige, higher titles, and the rights which accrued. The

result was a sophisticated political economy which was sustained by personal ambition. The drive to attain higher status through chiefly title forced men to assist each other in work or war, but never to reveal their methods. Good farmers kept secret the location of their finest yams and sakau. They never revealed the secrets of their success. When they took a yam to a feast, they always held a better one in reserve in the event that someone would wish to challenge with a larger one. If asked how many yams he had, the Ponapean would reply that he had none, that he was poor and stupid.

Skills in farming, fishing, and magic and medicine were so highly prized that men passed them on to those children who demonstrated the ability to retain them for their own use. Knowledge was too important to share it with everyone, for it was the basis for an individual's personal advantage. In addition to private knowledge, there existed general practices which governed everyday existence. In farming for example, there were rituals for maintaining a population level consistent with the food supply. Fertility in one area required abstinence in another, so men often slept apart from their wives for 30 to 180 days before planting yams.²⁰ In fact, Ponapeans never undertook important work without separating the sexes. A violation of this structure could lead to an inadequate crop or perhaps a fatality in the conduct of war or on fishing expeditions.

Successful individuals were regarded as having spiritual power, and those who were successful without using magic simply had qualities which pleased the spirits. Spiritual authority was commonly invested by chiefly title in individuals who had demonstrated personal power through healing, divination, and protection. Evil sorcery existed, but priestly titles (Samworou) generally went to those who had performed important spiritual service to the kingdom or to the Nanmwarki and Naniken. There was an established group of priestly titles which included the oldest titles which had preceded the Nanmwarki-Naniken system, and others which were created afterwards.²¹

In the competitive atmosphere of the Ponapean political economy, both men and women used every means at their disposal to retain what they had and to advance. Since status was relative, men especially had to demonstrate their superiority to one another. Magic and sorcery (winani) could serve these ends to weaken an opponent or to make him humiliate himself. Some sorcerers sent fire to their adversaries; a fire which was symbolic, though visible.²² If the fire landed undetected, and the person against whom it was sent failed to counteract it, he would die. This, of course, was extreme and rather esoteric. Most people knew less lethal practices, such as casting spells and saying prayers for self-protection. If something went wrong despite the use of magic, the answer lay in the individual's weakness or in someone else's strength.

In the face of the ever-present possibilities of retribution through sickness or other misfortune, Ponapeans guarded themselves carefully by observing the formal rituals which surrounded important activities. The awareness that others might be seeking to undermine them made them sensitive to insults, though they rarely showed it. If the insult was humiliating enough, it could force the insulted party to retaliate by fighting. One attack usually brought revenge and often minor squabbles could ignite larger conflicts.

d. The Importance of War on Ponape

The Ponapean man was supposed to live by a warrior ethic, prepared to farm, fish, feast, and fight as needed. His kingdom, clan, brother-in-law, or other allies were there for mutual defense but, ultimately, he was alone. Only he could do his work and mobilize his relatives to help him. He used his knowledge carefully and quietly. Obviously, the successful Ponapeans were those who could meet the ideal through a neat balance of self-interest and cooperative spirit. The inner tension of the individual was the motive force in Ponapean society for men could never simply rest on past achievements; they had to struggle merely to maintain what they had. Since control of land and food were the primary measures of individual prestige, land wars were frequent. Wars also erupted over wife-stealing, murder, or insults; but the most notable were wars which involved land and titles.

The first three periods of Ponapean history are indeed demarcated by major wars of conquest. The Isokelekel victory over the Sau Deleur was succeeded by other wars in which certain clans became dominant in places such as Kiti, Sokehs, and Net. One of the most famous wars was in Kiti where the original ruling clan, the Dipwenmen Soun Kiti, was ousted by the Dipwenpehpe clan. Two major battles took place within a few months at a fortress shown as Sapwtakai in the hills of Central Kiti, and its results serve to clarify the changes generated by war on Ponape (see Map No. 3).

The Dipwenpehpe were from Pehleng in the northern part of the kingdom of Kiti. However, another sub-clan of the Dipwenmen, known as Inenwaies, avenged their clansmen in an attack on Sapwtakai. The results of the war at Sapwtakai (which could have occurred around 1700 A.D.) established the Dipwenmen Inenwaies as the clan of the Nanmwarki of Kiti. The new Dipwenmen Inenwaies Nanmwarki, who was previously the Soukisa en Wone, retained both the Soukise title and the Nanmwarki title, Rohsa.²³ In addition, the new Nanmwarki gave to the Lipitahn clan the Naniken title and the other noble titles in gratitude for their assistance in the fight. A Lipitahn hero, Mesor, was awarded the title Nahlik Lapalap for having slain the Dipwenpehpe leader who had taken this title after defeating the Dipwenmen Soun Kiti. The title, usually number eight in the royal line, has consistently remained in the noble line in Kiti ever since (see Appendix II).

The spoils of war carried options with respect to land. The Lipitahn Naniken received a large fiefdom in Central Kiti which included the section of Rohn Kiti, and parts of Nan Mahnd, Puaipuai, and Pwohk (see Map No. 3).²⁴ The Lipitahn were joined in the rewards by a high-ranking chief in Net, Nansaused en Net, who received the title Sou Kiti plus land in the section of Tomwarohlong. This was a reward for assistance which Nansaused en Net provided at the very end of the war.

The Dipwenmen Inenwaies conquest at Sapwtakai not only established new ruling clans, but it served to unify Kiti which had previously been fragmented. The new Nanmwarki stripped control of Pehleng from the Dipwenpehpe clan and gave it to the Dipwenwai clan which had spiritual links to his own clan. The list of changes is long and complex, but it serves to illustrate the importance of war on Ponape. It was the ultimate weapon to achieve objectives. Normally wars consisted of short skirmishes in which a few people were killed or wounded. Even one fatality was a major loss on an island whose population probably never exceeded thirty thousand. Life was important but, like everything else, it had to be measured against personal ambition.

The ever-present competition forced men to test each other constantly. Those who could restrain themselves and not react were worthy of the highest respect. The word kaningama was critical because it means patience, poker-facedness, never revealing of emotions or opinions. Men who demonstrated

kaningama even in the face of serious offenses were considered unusual. There was no forgiveness for offenses, but rather no mention of them: this was known as mahk.²⁵ One might say nothing, but he remembered everything for use at a later time. Mahk permitted Ponapeans to let the petty issues slide with restrained hostility. Gossip with very indirect references served to let out resentments.

The Ponapeans understood their relative positions and the limits to which they could go without kindling an open fight. Each was prepared to fight at any time, and fights were frequent. The day-to-day responsibilities kept these within acceptable bounds, but the ever-present competition produced constant changes. The rules existed; but a knowledgeable, careful man watched and waited and seized his opportunities. In so doing, he could alter the balance and even create new rules.

Footnotes - Chapter I

¹ Ponape Island is located at 6°54' North Latitude and 158°14' East Longitude in the Eastern Caroline Islands of the north Pacific Ocean. It is 2685 miles east from Manila and 2363 miles west-southwest from Honolulu. It is a high island with a rugged landscape; its highest peak is nearly 2600 feet. The interior of the island consists mostly of volcanic rock which extrudes noticeably in certain areas. Dense rain forests exist owing to extensive rainfall which averages about 178 inches per year. Many rivers and streams flow into the lagoon producing mangrove swamps. especially on the southern (lee) side of the island. A barrier reef surrounds most of the island and small sand islets exist where the reef rises above sea level. The land area of Ponape is approximately 129 square miles. The mean temperature is between 78° and 82°F, and the humidity ranges between 79 and 91 percent.

² I use the word "period" by translating from the Ponapean "mwehi" which might also be translated as "era".

³ See Appendix I.

⁴ This is recounted in Paul Hambruch, Ponape, Hrsg. G. Thilenius, Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908-1910, II, B., ix, Vol. III (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1936), pp. 61-65.

⁵ The information about the Kahnsapw(s) is contained in Luellen Bernart, The Book of Luellen (hereafter cited as Luellen), Trans. and ed. John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenber, and Marjorie Whiting, Pacific History Series: No. 8 (Canberra: Australian National University Press; and Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977), 26, pp. 33-35. I was fortunate to obtain a Xerox copy of a manuscript copy of the original Luellen manuscript during my field work on Ponape.

⁶ See Appendix II. Cf. Saul H. Riesenber, The Native Polity of Ponape (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1968), pp. 10-13.

⁷ Ibid., p. 57. See also Daniel Hughes, "Changes in the Value System Associated with Traditional Ponapean Leadership Positions," paper presented to Association of Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 13-17, 1974.

⁸ John L. Fischer, "Totemism on Truk and Ponape," American Anthropologist, 59 (1957), pp. 250-265.

⁹ This is a commonly known reason for the white and black divisions which are also represented by white and black bird totems.

¹⁰ See Appendix I under Black Dipwenmen sub-clans.

¹¹ Hughes, pp. 1-2.

¹² Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 8.

¹³ Fischer, "Contemporary Ponape Island Land Tenure," in: Land Tenure Patterns, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Vol. I (Guam: Office of the Staff Anthropologist, 1958), part 2, p. 84.

¹⁴ Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 34 says it was the senior member of the Nanmwarki's clan. Of course, this was always open to speculation. See also Hambruch, v. II, pp. 24-25.

¹⁵ John L. and Ann Fischer, The Eastern Carolines (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1957), pp. 133-134.

¹⁶ Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 85.

¹⁷ Hughes, p. 5.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁹ Takeshi Yu Hadley (Noahs Madolenihmw), Conversation April 6, 1974.

²⁰ This is what is presently stated. Generally, the period of abstinence depended upon a man's ambition.

²¹ The chiefly titles pertaining to the ancient kahnsapw seem to have become priestly titles. The highest priestly title was originally that of Nalaimw, but this became the second-ranking title in the Naniken's side. Luelen provided a list of some of the priestly titles on p. 111 of my copy. The recent translation has no corresponding list, but many Ponapeans confirmed this information.

²² Riesenbergs, "Magic and Medicine on Ponape," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 4(1948), pp. 410-411. Fischer, Eastern Carolines, pp. 219-220. This fire was described to me by many Ponapeans who state that the fire was lit to a dry coconut frond and then sent flying towards the adversary's house. It was to land on the roof and extinguish immediately. If the victim failed to detect and counteract the spell, he was supposed to die. If he could return the fire, the original sender could die instead.

²³ This was still the case during the German administration. See Hambruch, v. II, p. 11. The Inenwaies were going to die out. See Below, Chapter IV.

²⁴ See map of Kiti (Map No. 3). The minimal holdings of the Naniken of Kiti probably included the sections of Rohn Kiti, Mahnd, Pweipwei, Pwohk, and Kipar. Henry Nanpei ultimately became the owner of these and other lands. See below, Chapter II.

²⁵ Father William McGarry, "West from Katau," T.S., ed. David Hanlon, n.p., n.d., p. 24.

CHAPTER II

GUNS, GOLD, AND GOD: THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

The fourth period of Ponapean history includes everything that has happened on the island since the white man (mehn wai) started visiting in the nineteenth century. Until approximately 1800 Ponape developed in nearly total isolation. Visitors to the island were infrequent and most were generally absorbed into the culture. Unlike the Pacific islanders who migrated to Ponape or washed ashore, most whites who arrived in the nineteenth century had no interest in staying. Rather, they traveled to Ponape or stopped off merely to acquire provisions, trade goods, religious converts, or some other reason. More importantly, most white men had no interest in becoming a part of the Ponapean culture.

Previously, the Ponapean culture had assimilated not only the isolated visitors, but the conquerors as well. The Sau Deleur period had begun with the arrival of Olosipa and Olosohpa, the men who erected Nan Madol. The Ponapeans endured the Sau Deleur dynasty until Isokelekel sailed from Kusaie. Not only did he conquer the Sau Deleur, but he inaugurated the Nanmwarki system. Both the Sau Deleurs and the Nanmwarkis had acquired the right to collect tribute because they controlled the land.

The white man inaugurated a different series of changes on Ponape through the arrival of traders, whalers, missionaries, beach-combers, and colonial administrators. These white men brought western technology, religion, diseases, and values to a culture which had developed an intensely competitive social, economic, and political system. The competition which existed on the island had produced the kingdoms of Madolenihmw, Uh, Kiti, Sokehs, and Net; all of which existed at the time of white contact. That competition persists to this day through the survival of clan identities, the kingdoms, and the traditional rituals which are a part of the lives of the Ponapeans.

If much of the tradition survived, however, it did so because it could adapt to changing conditions which means that it changed substantially itself. That is, the white man introduced new variables which adaptable Ponapeans could use to gain leverage which was previously unavailable. Although each individual Ponapean could succeed under the Nanmwarki system, he did face certain limitations of clan identity and limited access to land. He could change his fortunes by excelling in war or providing exceptional tribute, but he was competing against others who had the same resources at their disposal.

Here was where the white man proved extremely valuable, for he carried implements and concepts which an enterprising Ponapean could turn to his advantage. One of the most important stories in Ponapean history is the emergence of a few Ponapeans

who did precisely that. Most notable of these was a man named Henry Nanpei who became the most powerful Ponapean on the island, despite his relatively low clan status. He never became Nanmwarki in any kingdom, but he was able to influence the high chiefs to such an extent that his power was virtually equal to theirs. This was because he used trade, missionary education, and traditional Ponapean customs with consummate skill. Nanpei not only adapted to the white man, but he dealt with the white man as an equal in the white man's language and customs.

This was to set Nanpei apart from other Ponapeans, because the others chose to operate on traditional grounds. Nanpei sought to change his own circumstances and used every means which was available to gain politically and economically. In order to achieve both of these, he worked with traditional leaders, missionaries, traders, and colonial administrators. Other Ponapeans had the same opportunities, but Nanpei seemed to have a knack for getting things to go his way, and he always played by both sets of rules: white and Ponapean.

Nanpei was lucky, for he was born in 1862; well after Ponape first encountered the white man. Because of this, he was born into a Ponape which had become quite accustomed to beach-combers, whalers, traders, and missionaries. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, flu, and others wiped out perhaps half the population between 1800 and 1855.¹ Because of this, it is

Footnotes may be found on pages 87-91.

important to examine the principal changes which Ponape experienced in the period of early white contact. This contact period established certain modes of interaction between Ponapeans and whites. This interaction was responsible for profound changes in the Ponapean culture.

Guns and Goods

Although the Spaniard de Quiros was the first Westerner to sight Ponape in 1595,² extensive Western contact did not begin until after 1800. This means that the Ponapean system developed in relative isolation for nearly three hundred years (assuming the Isokelekel revolution occurred around 1500). Although the system had absorbed minor changes through various wars, the arrival of traders, whalers, missionaries, beachcombers, and colonial soldiers and administrators in the nineteenth century presented a constant stream of cultural challenges.

At first, white visitors to Ponape were infrequent, but by the 1820's there were already a number of beachcombers haphazardly consisting of shipwrecked sailors, deserting whalers, and sometimes traders. These lived on Ponape only at the pleasure of a particular Nanmwarki or some other ranking chief in whose service they worked.³ When foreign vessels stopped at the island, these whites served as pilots or intermediaries to procure cloth, iron pots, knives, guns, and other goods for their chief. In

return for these, they assisted the ships' crews in the acquisition of fresh water, fruits, prostitutes, coconuts, liquor, and occasionally, slaves. From the chiefs, the beachcombers received food, women, and a relatively comfortable life.

One of the most notable beachcombers was James F. O'Connell, who was shipwrecked and washed ashore just before 1828.⁴ O'Connell described his experiences on Ponape in A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands. This book, first published in 1836, contained both accurate and inaccurate information and has been described as exaggerated in many places.⁵ Nevertheless, O'Connell managed to convey the impression of a society where feasting and competition were constant. He witnessed many fights and he, himself, nearly caused a war when he moved to a different kingdom.⁶ This was because Ponapean chiefs regarded their white servants as assets who could acquire for them advantages which other chiefs did not possess. As a result, the beachcomber was a virtual prisoner for without the protection of a chief, he could not survive.

Though Ponapeans and resident whites generally got along fairly well, fights frequently erupted between sailors and Ponapeans. These were usually drunken brawls but, occasionally, they turned into raids by one side or the other. In the early 1830's a British ship, the Falcon, was wrecked off of Madolenihmw. A raiding party led by Nanaua Madolenihmw (number five in the royal line in that kingdom) killed the captain and five crewmen.⁷

Following this, in 1836, three warships, the Avon, Lambton, and Unity, arrived and were joined by Wasai Madolenihmw (number two in the royal line) and his followers in a punitive attack on Nanaua. In league with the whites, Wasai captured Nanaua, whom the whites hanged. Because the Nanmwarki (Luhk en Kasik) of Madolenihmw had supported Nanaua, he and others were executed before a firing squad.⁸

The Falcon incident is remembered in Ponapean tradition because it carried profound implications for political circumstances in Madolenihmw. The ruling sub-clan (that of Isokelekel) was replaced by what had formerly been a lower-ranking sub-clan of the Dipwenpahnmeci. The man who had held the Wasai title now became Nanmwarki partly because he had helped the whites gain their revenge. It was one of the first attempts by Ponapeans to manipulate white contact to their own political advantage. In the process, they used firearms against each other; and the Nanmwarki who died was given the honorific, Luhk en Kasik, or Luhk of the gun.

Here was a circumstance in which the power of the white man's culture had overcome the Ponapeans in one kingdom. Despite this, the Ponapeans still welcomed Western ships in order to acquire the goods which were not available on the island. Aside from the fact that many items were useful, these goods were a sign of wealth which fit into the prestige competition of the culture. Where warriors had previously cherished their homemade

weapons, these were nothing compared to the durability and accuracy of manufactured firearms. So, too, iron pots for cooking, fabric for clothing, and tobacco served both functional and competitive needs.

Ponape's beachcomber community increased as the island became a popular stopping point for whalers and other ships which sought provisions and trade goods. Andrew Cheyne traded for sandalwood from the kingdom of Net and mentioned that tobacco and calico were particularly popular trade items. Ponapeans could trade one hundred small yams for ten sticks of tobacco, and the same was true for breadfruit and coconuts.⁹ But the most sought-after goods included tools and weapons such as "muskets, gunpowder, lead flints, cartouche boxes, cutlasses, broad axes, tomahawks, fish hooks, butcher knives, and adzes, chisels, planes, knives, saws, gouges, gimblets, and bullet molds."¹⁰ Each of these was useful to a culture in which all tools were previously made of local materials.

Cheyne's most interesting observation concerned the effects of modern firearms on the culture. He guessed that virtually every male possessed a musket, but that this had forced the Ponapeans to "live more harmoniously": in 1843, Awak and Madolenihmw were at war but their mutual fear of guns kept them apart.¹¹ If Ponapeans refrained from attacking each other, they also showed more hospitality to the constant arrival of ships and goods in the Rohn-Kiti and Madolenihmw harbors.

The Ponapeans were becoming accustomed to the variety of whites who stopped at the island. Most whites were transient and stayed only until their ship left. Those who stayed longer, however, had to deal with the culture; and they did so carefully. Some were long-time residents such as James Headley who had come to Ponape aboard the Falcon (see above, p. 54) in the 1830's. Headley married a daughter of the Nanmwarki of Kiti and lived for at least twenty years on Ponape.¹² Aside from the fact that he married wisely, various stories about Headley indicate that he was something of an informal advisor to his father-in-law and other high chiefs. It is important to note that Headley's daughter, Meri-An, married the Naniken of Kiti. This marriage was to have profound results, as we shall soon see.

The Power of the Christian God

Guns and gold (or goods) having entered Ponape, God in Christian form was not far behind. A Catholic missionary, Father L. Malignet, attempted to establish a mission on the island as early as December 1837, but he left only seven months later.¹³ In 1852 Protestantism arrived when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a New England Congregationalist organization, sent missionaries to Ponape.

Dr. Luther H. Gulick and Alfred A. Sturges, their wives, and Hawaiian missionaries, Kanakahiki and Kaaikula, comprised

the first contingent. With the assistance of a long-time beach-comber named George May, they entered the Madolenihmw harbor and spoke to the Nanmwarki of that kingdom.¹⁴ Though he granted them permission to stay, they decided to move as a result of the violent reputation of the people of Madolenihmw. They quickly transferred to Kiti, where they received permission of the Naniken to establish a mission at Rohn Kiti.

The Naniken of Kiti at that time was known as Nanku or Isoani. He was a warrior who had established a powerful reputation, and he commanded even more respect than the Nanmwarki of Kiti. Isoani was curious about the West and had good relations with many foreigners, among them James Headley.¹⁵ He married Headley's daughter, Meri-An, and fathered Henry Nanpei, to whom he willed all the lands in his fiefdom. This Isoani did at the advice of Headley who persuaded him to sign a testament for Henry.¹⁶

Before he did that, however, Isoani allowed the missionaries to establish their mission at Tukenisau, a portion of land in the section of Rohn Kiti.¹⁷ He promised his protection and proved as good as his word. The missionaries built their church and established a school. In Rohn Kiti they had a secure base from which they spread their faith; they soon returned to Madolenihmw where they established another church and school at Oa.

Though the high chiefs had permitted them to stay, the missionaries found it more difficult to win converts. In the

first place, the Ponapean religion was a reflection of the culture in which the land and the sea were most important for survival. The spirits which inhabited the land and the sea required constant recognition in the feasts and other important labor. Separate spirits Nanullap, Nanulasom, and Nansehleng served for net weaving, house building, and canoe making, respectively. Added to these were the spirits of the respective clans and these, too, required propitiation on certain occasions or in instances of spirit sickness or violation of a tabu. Natural phenomena such as thunder and rainbows were regarded as having spiritual qualities. The missionaries not only denied the existence of the Ponapean spirits, they frowned upon the traditional feasting practices which celebrated the various spirits according to the seasons.

The missionaries also faced competition from the Ponapean priests or Samworou who served as intermediaries between the people and the spirits. Their priestly titles were a reflection of their traditional authority by which they oversaw important preparations for feasts, war, or other important work. If someone committed an error in the rituals for weaving a large fishing net, for example, the entire project would have to be abandoned, for to continue would surely result in a death.

It is important to remember that Ponape was a culture in which clan ancestors, spirits, and legendary powers were matters of fact. The fact that spirits inhabited certain areas and were always available for aid and retribution gave the the Samworou an

extensive range of activities. The missionaries sought to convince the Ponapeans to change their heathen ways, but the Samworou was still too important in the functions which he performed.

When people got sick, they generally located a Samworou or someone else capable of divining the spiritual as well as the physical cause. The Samworou was only as good as his performance: if his advice worked, his credibility rose; if not, he lost his credibility and the people ceased to look to him as an interpreter of the spirits.

The missionaries disliked the religion, which they considered superstition, and the power of the priests and high chiefs; but they were especially revolted by sakau.¹⁸ Sakau was the center of the feasting ritual and added to that, it was a narcotic. It was an integral part of the tribute and title system in which feasting was paramount. Sturges wrote that the religion and political system were quite civilized, but he objected to the fact that everything was devoted to the "chief's belly."¹⁹

The early missionary years on Ponape were frustrating and, at times, frightening to those of the American Board. A long-standing feud between Kiti and Madolenihmw erupted into open warfare at Nalap Island in Lot harbor (in Madolenihmw) in 1852.²⁰ Many beachcombers scoffed at the Church and continued to provide alcohol to the Ponapeans who seemed to lose all control under the influence.²¹ The most devastating event was a smallpox epidemic which ravaged the island in 1854.

A whaling ship, the Delta, moored outside the reef in Madolenihmw and placed a stricken smallpox victim on one of the sand islands. The crew members intended to burn the man's clothing the next day, but some Ponapeans stole the clothing during the night. Naturally the thieves contracted smallpox and other Ponapeans, assuming it was chickenpox, tried to get the illness. Soon the entire island was covered with victims. The missionaries had some vaccine, but many Ponapeans refused it fearing that the missionaries were responsible in the first place for bringing the disease.²²

The decimation of the population was frightening as whole families were wiped out. This benefited the missionaries who not only survived, but proved their power with their own medicine. This led more importantly to the conclusion that the missionaries did, indeed, carry some spiritual power which was more efficacious against disease. Some have related the story of a man who prayed to the Christian God while in the death throes of smallpox. It was his last effort to survive and he did, without vaccine. The story attests to the central importance of disease and healing in the Ponapean willingness to consider religious change.

The West had introduced gold, guns, and God, and the missionaries were the bearers of the holy words and the appropriate power. They openly challenged Ponapean beliefs, as in 1856 when Sturges described the heralded return of Isohpahu, who was the god of the Dipwenwai clan, and the spirit who had saved Luhk en

Nansapwe (the legendary father of Isokelekel).²³ Sturges and Edward P. Doane went to a ceremonial house at the request of the Naniken of Kiti. They also wanted to see the spirit for themselves. The long-awaited moment began with stomping and rustling, and the Ponapeans prostrated themselves on the ground. The missionaries said that the spirit was only a woman dressed in men's clothing, and they threw down a screen behind which she had hidden. The missionaries told her to stop deceiving, but the Ponapeans had already fled in terror.

Even if Doane and Sturges had no witnesses, the Ponapeans had to be impressed with such brazen challenges to the traditional spirits. Gradually, the congregations swelled, and the missionaries gathered converts and pupils for their schools. Gulick developed a dictionary, and they translated the Bible into Ponapean.²⁴ They also began grooming Ponapeans to be preachers and teachers. Interestingly, it was during this early period of missionary activity that some of the old priestly titles (the Samworou titles) were shifted into the chiefly titles on the Naniken's side in each kingdom. Exactly when or how this was accomplished seems to be unknown.

It is clear that by 1860 the missionaries had not only survived, but had proven both the power and utility of Christianity. After all, Christianity had provided smallpox vaccine and successfully challenged some Ponapean deities. Yet it transcended supernatural power, for the education which the missionaries

provided in the schools at Rohn Kiti and Oa produced students who ultimately used that education to exceptional advantage. The missionaries themselves were models of Christian behavior; and they spoke Ponapean fluently.

Despite the steady growth of the American Board, there remained a large number of high chiefs who opposed the missionaries. Naniken Isoani was an outstanding exception among those high chiefs. His support had given the missionaries their foothold on the island; however, he died in 1864. The new Naniken, Nanaua en Mwudok, permitted the missionaries to stay in Rohn Kiti, but he was a striking contrast to his predecessor. He disliked the missionaries and once, in a drunken rage, he set fire to the mission church and school.

The Rise of Henry Nanpei

Nanaua en Mwudok not only assumed the Naniken title, but he also took responsibility for Isoani's widow, Meri-An Hadley, and Isoani's only son, Nankirounpeinpok. Isoani's son became the most persuasive personification of missionary teaching and Protestantism under Sturges' tutelage. Like Isoani, Meri-An admired the missionaries and sent her son, whose Christian name was Henry, to the Boys' School in Oa, Madolenihmw.

Henry's missionary education became a valuable means of expanding his personal influence on the island in all spheres.

Later known as Henry Nanpei, he ultimately became the most powerful Ponapean of his time. He demonstrated the value of his missionary education by using his reading and writing skills plus the English language as tools of business and other interaction with foreigners. His grandfather, James Headley, had helped when he drew up a testament for Naniken Isoani, who named Henry as the sole heir to the Naniken's traditional lands in Rohn Kiti, Ant Atoll, and other lands in Central Kiti.²⁵ Though an apparent departure from the custom of inheritance by clan or chiefly title, Nanaua en Mwudok seemed not to know or care about the existence of the testament. In any case, Meri-An and Henry continued to live and use the Naniken's traditional lands after she became wife to the new Naniken.

These lands ultimately became the focus of an intense power struggle in Kiti during the period of German administration. The lands at Rohn Kiti and Ant in particular were the foundation for the sizable wealth which Nanpei was to acquire through the systematic planting and harvesting of coconuts and the sale of copra to Western traders. Here again his missionary education proved useful, for it gave Nanpei the means to learn to operate a business.

Nanpei was the ideal Christian convert for the missionaries who tried to encourage the Ponapeans to plant and harvest copra rather than engage in the "pagan" feasts. However, most Ponapeans saw no point in that since most crops on the island required

relatively little labor in comparison to what was required to develop a copra plantation. In any case, all property belonged to the Nanmwarki who could exercise the right to collect tribute at any time. Failure to provide tribute at the feasts could have disastrous consequences for any Ponapean (see above, Chapter I).

The missionaries hated this aspect of chiefly prerogative. In 1873, Sturges wrote to the American Board that he had proposed to Wasai Madolenihmw (number two in the royal line and section chief of Oa) that a council be popularly elected to pass laws for the community. Wasai accepted despite serious opposition from other high chiefs. Sturges was especially pleased when the council was elected and when it passed a homesteading law. The law gave permission for a man to obtain a piece of land and to farm it as his own as long as he built a house on it. Sturges exulted, "This is the most radical of any they need, as it strikes at the root of the greatest evil here -- a sort of socialism, quite destroying all our efforts to fix them in place and property." (Emphasis Sturges)²⁶

Sturges referred to the fact that Ponapeans tended to move in search of better land. He was probably frustrated by the apparent instability of family relationships, but it was the strength of family relationships that made such moves possible. Clan relationships and extended families permitted people to move to more favorable circumstances where relatives had to provide assistance. Often they would join close clan relatives who had attained high rank in order to share in their reflected glory

and their share of the tribute at feasts. Of course, some had to move if they displeased a section chief or the Nanmwarki of their kingdom. It is doubtful that Sturges' idea or the homesteading plan endured for long, but there were Ponapeans who found the notion of private property attractive. Henry Nanpei and some of his fellow students at the Boys' School ultimately assisted the Germans in implementing a land reform in 1907.

By the time Henry was a young man, he had acquired chiefly rank with the title Nanpei en Kiti (number six in the royal line) primarily because of his late father's position as Naniken. Henry's clan was Dipwenluhk and his sub-clan was Soun Ant, not a high-ranking clan. However, his maternal grandmother (James Headley's wife) had been the daughter of a Nanmwarki, and his noble and royal ancestry stood him in good stead. That he received the Nanpei title as a young man was out of respect for his ancestry, his proven abilities as a student, and his role as a teacher at Oa. By age twenty five, he had established coconut plantations at Rohn Kiti and on Ant Atoll (which is located approximately eight miles off the reef in Kiti). He had also started to trade with foreign vessels which stopped in the Rohn Kiti harbor, and he opened a store.

While at Oa, Henry met Caroline Santos, the daughter of Narcissus de los Santos, a Filipino deserter from a whaling vessel. Narcissus had jumped ship on Ponape and converted to Protestantism after the American Board arrived in 1852. He then became a pastor and a school teacher on Pingelap atoll, about 150 miles from Ponape.²⁷

Both Henry and Caroline became teachers at Oa and later married. Both were devout Protestant converts, the pride of the American Board of missionaries. One missionary report in 1885 described them:

Henry and Caroline. Ponapeans. Henry is 25. His grandfather on his mothers [sic] side was an english [sic] man. His wife Caroline is 26. The daughter of Narcissus pastor of the Kiti church. They have spent most of their time in the last 5 or six years where they could attend and help in the school of some of the missionaries. He is every whit aman [sic]. The peer of Ponapeans in everything that is manly.

Caroline makes him a good help meet in everything. They are the best couple in every way on the Is. He has been Miss Fletcher's main help and is still as Miss Palmer has been off duty most of the time. He gives all his time to the G.B.S. [Girls' Boarding School] till May 1886. After that we hope he will help all or part of the time in the T.S. [Training School].²⁸

Nanpei was fortunate to have been the Naniken's son, but he sought more than traditional rank. He became the model of Christian conversion, for his devotion as well as his teaching. He applied his missionary education to deal profitably with the constant stream of foreign vessels which visited the island. He traded copra for Western products which he sold in his store at Rohn Kiti.

His high title (Nanpei) entitled him to enter the highest councils of the Kiti kingdom. This, combined with his schooling, made him a valuable intermediary between Ponapeans and whites. Other Ponapeans dealt with the white man, but Nanpei was unusual

because he was beginning to acquire wealth in terms of money. He alone was "enlightened" (marain) in the ways of the white man, and this gave him special influence among the traditional leaders in Kiti and Madolenihmw. By 1885 Nanpei was an effective leader in three spheres: traditional Ponape, increasingly influential Protestantism, and the acquisition of Western goods and money. His ability to operate effectively in these areas and to interrelate them made it possible for him to exert extraordinary control in virtually any circumstance. This he was to demonstrate repeatedly in the face of Spanish colonialism on Ponape.

The Beginning of the Spanish Period (tapin mwehi en Spain)

In 1885, the "contact period" came to an abrupt end when Germany attempted to annex the Caroline and Mariana Islands. German interests, which are discussed in Chapter III, encouraged sending a cruiser from the Philippines to raise the German flag on Saipan, Yap, Palau, Ponape, and Kusaie (see Map No. 4). However, Spain claimed the Carolines and the Marianas by virtue of discovery in 1686. Not wanting to strain relations with Spain, German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck submitted the issue to Pope Leo XIII for arbitration.²⁹ The Pope awarded the islands to Spain but granted free-trading rights to German trading companies which had established stations in the islands.³⁰ This included the Jaluit Gesellschaft which was located in the Marshall Islands but also had stations in Truk, Yap, Palau, Saipan, and Kusaie.

Ponape, having adjusted to beachcombers, missionaries, disease, and so on, now had to cope with colonialism which arrived with Spanish administrators, soldiers, and priests in 1886. The Spanish simply walked in without really assessing the situation on the island, for if they had, they might have moved more cautiously. First of all, Protestantism had become established in all five kingdoms on the island.³¹ Secondly, they took no cognizance of the fact that the Ponapeans were still warriors and would fight if provoked.

The Spanish chose as their administrative site a place known to the Ponapeans as Mesenieng, where Edward P. Doane had established a church. Doane had lived on Ponape for over thirty years as an American Board missionary. His church served both Net and Sokehs, kingdoms which were closely connected historically by the same ruling clan, the Soun Kawad. Doane even possessed a document signed by the Lepen Net (the equivalent of Nanmwarki in his kingdom) to prove his rights to the land at Mesenieng.³²

The Spanish disregarded Doane's claims and arrested him when he protested and sent him to Manila for trial.³³ He was probably lucky for right after he left, the Spanish Governor, Posadillo, embarked on the construction of a fortress. The fortress was to encircle the Spanish colony of Mesenieng, which they called Santiago or Colonia.

Many Ponapeans from Net and Sokehs were hired to work hauling rock and building the walls, but trouble developed when

the workers claimed they had not been paid. The Spanish had given money for their wages to Manuel Torres, Christian Barbossa, and a man named Macarieu. These three beachcombers were supposed to divide it among the workers. The workers did not believe the Spanish, and they refused to return to work.³⁴

Undaunted, the Spanish sent a contingent of soldiers to Sokehs, and these demanded that the men return to work. When none followed the order, the soldiers fired guns into the air. Instead of being intimidated, the men of Sokehs chased the Spanish contingent and cut them down. The few survivors returned to Santiago, and the warriors from Sokehs followed.

The man who led the Sokehs warriors was a young chief named Niue, with the title Soumadau en Sokehs. His forces were joined by a group from Net and one from Kiti. The leader of the Kiti group was Sigismundo from the section of Enipein. Both of these men were to become important leaders as a result of their exploits in battles against the Spanish. It is important to remember that war was still an important element of Ponapean identity. The men who fought against the Spanish were to play important roles in the events which shaped the German period.

These groups from Sokehs and Kiti attacked Santiago in retaliation for the disrespect shown by the Spanish. They overwhelmed the Spanish soldiers, drove them from the fortress, and killed the Governor and forty soldiers. Today Ponapeans can tell stories about relatives who fought in that battle and the

other battles which were to occur against the Spanish. Those wars were important because the Ponapeans were fighting with fire-arms against the Spanish who were no match for the Ponapean warriors.

The Spanish tried again by sending a new governor, Don Luis Cadarso, to Ponape in 1887. Cadarso came with two hundred soldiers and promised no reprisals if the kingdoms of Net and Sokehs would convert to Catholicism.³⁵ With Henry Nanpei serving as a translator and mediator, the governor managed to effect a settlement. He wanted the murderers of the Governor to stand trial in Manila. Because Lepen Net (the high chief of Net) was widely believed to have been the actual killer, two young men (Nanpei en Metipw and Kaniki en Metipw) offered themselves in his stead. They went, were tried, convicted, and hanged.³⁶

As in other wars, strong reputations were established by those who had exhibited particular prowess. War was the ultimate test of manhood. Soumadau en Sokehs had charged directly into Spanish guns and had personally killed several soldiers. Sigismundo of Enipein had not only come all the way from Kiti, but he, too, had killed some soldiers. By his own decision, he had gone to fight; and **he unilaterally took the title Sou Kiti back to his kingdom.** Kiti had given that title to Net after the war which unified Kiti (see above, Chapter I). He later received the Sou Kiti title from the Nanmwarki of Kiti.

As a result of this war, the Ponapeans had little regard for the Spanish administration. Unable to gain a victory, the Spanish had to negotiate and left themselves with little authority over the Ponapeans. The Ponapeans knew they could defeat the Spanish anywhere outside of the fortress which they now called Colonia, and they were content to let the Spanish live within the walls.

Doane had returned to Ponape before peace had resumed and had even helped the Spanish in the negotiations.³⁷ He was weaker, however, but lucky to be alive; intervention by the United States Consul General in Manila had saved him.³⁸

Following the 1887 rebellion, an uneasy peace existed until 1890. The Spanish managed to secure permission from the Nanmwarki of Kiti, Hezekiah, to build a church at Aleniang in Wone. Possibly lulled by the peaceful situation, the Spanish tried to extend their influence still further, into Madolenihmw. As they had taken Mesenieng from the American Board to establish Colonia, the Spanish chose for the site of a church and barracks at Oa, the location of the Protestant school and church in Madolenihmw. Though they seemed willing to allow the American missionaries to carry on as usual, the Spanish soldiers began to build a church just sixty feet in front of the existing Protestant church. The Spanish replied to the missionary protests that it was the only suitable site.³⁹

On June 25, 1890, the Spanish soldiers went off to cut wood, and a group of Ponapeans attacked an unguarded garrison.

A number of soldiers including one officer were killed when they returned. Those who survived fled to Colonia but returned later in a steam launch which the Ponapeans repulsed. Henry Nanpei was in Oa at the time and saved the lives of two Spanish priests in the Girls' School and the workers in his own house.⁴⁰

A few days later, the fighting spread to the section of Sapwalapw where the Madolenihmw warriors build large breastworks in the hills. Though the Spanish sent naval vessels to Madolenihmw, they were largely ineffective due to the inadequate range of their guns.⁴¹ Ponapean accounts describe how the guns barely reached the shore, and when they did, the shells landed among Spanish troops who attempted to attack the breastworks. Ultimately, the Spanish retreated to Colonia, but they set fire to all the mission buildings in Oa.

Following the Madolenihmw conflict, the Spanish decided that the American Board missionaries were responsible for the conflict. The missionaries denied any responsibility and ascribed the fighting to Ponapeans who were not among the good Protestants.⁴²

Nanpei and the Spanish

Naturally, Henry Nanpei was proof of missionary assertions. He had saved Spanish lives by taking care of those who had been trapped by the Madolenihmw fighters, and he ultimately received a medal from the Spanish government for his efforts.⁴³ Despite this,

the Spanish on Ponape believed he was responsible for the initial outbreak of fighting in Oa. They had no proof, but they also believed the missionaries had incited the Ponapeans. As a result, they sent the American Board missionaries off of Ponape and refused to allow them to return.

Without the American Board, whose missionaries left for other assignments, the Ponapean Protestants no longer had the benefit of schools and missionary guidance. In late 1890, Nanpei took his oldest son, Oliver, to Oahu and placed him in the Kamehameha school to give him the advantages of a missionary education. Nanpei also traveled to Hong Kong and San Francisco, and visited other places on the way. When he returned to Ponape, he became the de facto leader of the Protestants and sought to maintain the Protestant religion in the face of Spanish efforts to destroy it.

Nanpei was at a disadvantage because the Spanish priests quickly learned Ponapean language and were less stringent than the Protestants about the consumption of sakau, tobacco, and liquor. The Spanish also forbade public meetings and regular church services for the Protestants.⁴⁴ Nanpei could take comfort in the fact that Madolenihmw was solidly Protestant and that the Nanmwarki (Paul) refused permission to the Spanish to enter his kingdom.⁴⁵

Nanpei and other Protestants managed to hold secret meetings on week nights and Sundays, but the lack of missionary

direction had caused a number of former Protestants to leave the faith. Despite the problems, Nanpei wrote to O. P. Emerson of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in 1893, "I frequently take a turn around the island to cheer them up, and to keep them in remembrance of our faith, our love, and our duty towards God: I experience great happiness in so doing."⁴⁶

Nanpei gave more than moral support to Protestantism as he continued to teach, and he used his own money to pay for lumber, galvanized roofing, and a bell for a new church in Rohn Kiti. The reasons for such devotion are complex and extend beyond Protestantism into the secular realm.

Nanpei achieved influence along an alternative route to the traditional paths to leadership. This was partly necessitated by his low clan status (Dipwenluhk Soun Ant) which necessarily limited his fortunes along chiefly lines. The fact that his father had been a Naniken, and his mother the granddaughter of a Nanmwarki gave him certain advantages. He had received the Nanpei title at a relatively young age, but most Ponapeans believe he had risen as far as he could, given his clan status. However, a man could be influential without having a particularly high title.

As the leader of the Protestant church in the absence of the American Board, Nanpei held a valuable position as intermediary between the Ponapean Protestants and the faith to which they subscribed. He was the leader of a group of educated

Protestants which included himself and four others: Luelen, David, William, and Ettekar. Luelen and David were from Kiti and had married the sisters of Nanpei's wife Caroline. This made them classificatory brothers of Nanpei.

Luelen was a member of the Lipitahn clan, the clan of the Naniken of Kiti, but he had little hope of becoming a Naniken because a number of young men preceded him in the noble line. David was a member of the white Dipwenmen clan which had no particular standing in either the royal or noble line in Kiti. David held the title Soulik en Mwudok after the place where he was born, but this gave him no particular entry into the traditional lines of power.

William and Ettekar were from the kingdoms of Uh and Madolenihmw. William was a Dipwenpahnmci and had no clear right to traditional rank in Uh, but his wife was a Lasiahlap, the clan of the Nanmwarki of Uh. Though men could gain high title through marriage, there was no certainty that this would occur in William's case. Ettekar was of the Ledek clan, another which had no claim to chiefly rank.

In each case, the traditional paths to power offered limited or belated opportunity at best. On the other hand, Protestantism and a facility with Western ways offered a significant alternative. These men could influence traditional leaders who had had little or no schooling. In some respects, these educated Ponapeans rendered obsolete the beachcombers who had

earlier attached themselves to high chiefs who wanted to deal with outsiders. Nanpei's position at the head of this circle gave him strong influence, not only in Kiti, but in Madolenihmw and Uh. Each of these kingdoms was nearly one hundred percent Protestant.

Nanpei's influence also derived from his trading activities. He had copra plantations at Rohn Kiti and on Ant Atoll. In 1890 he hired a Japanese named Sekine to work in the store in Rohn Kiti.⁴⁷ In 1891 an American named Henry Beaumont began to work as a secretary and bookkeeper. Nanpei was also reputed to have traded copra for guns with the traders and whalers who stopped in Rohn Kiti harbor. Because guns were so highly valued by all Ponapeans, this served merely to add to his growing stature. Most accounts of the 1890 war against the Spanish claim that Nanpei supplied guns to the Madolenihmw fighters. Since modern guns (Winchester rifles, in particular) were generally forty dollars per weapon, most have reasoned that Nanpei was the only Ponapean with enough money to purchase them.

Nanpei himself claimed to be worried about the increasing flow of arms and alcohol onto the island. In a letter to Emerson in 1894, he described Spanish efforts to patrol Ponapean waters during the whaling season to intercept guns and ammunition. He described this as "just and right" and was particularly pleased when the governor prohibited sales of liquor to natives and foreigners in sufficient quantity as to make them intoxicated.⁴⁸

In 1896, the Spanish governor Pidal recognized Nanpei's land claims in Kiti which were based on the testament signed by his father Nanku (or Isoani) on May 27, 1863.⁴⁹ Such recognition was critical for Nanpei, because the only true owner of the land was the Nanmwarki. A clan or extended family had customary use rights, but inheritance rights rested with the Nanmwarki. Normally there were no problems; but if a dispute arose, the Nanmwarki would settle it. Moreover, a displeased Nanmwarki could remove a person from his land at will, though this rarely occurred except in instances of serious breach of respect.

Nanpei had not broken any rules, but others sought lands which he claimed by virtue of his father's will. In Ponapean reality, the will meant nothing since the lands were part of the Naniken's traditional fiefdom. Nanaua en Mwudok had succeeded both as Naniken and husband of Meri-An, and had permitted Henry to remain on the land. The possibility always existed that a succeeding Naniken could claim the land. While recognition by a colonial government was no guarantee against claims by others, Nanpei understood the respect Western governments had for written agreements and declarations.

It is noteworthy, but not surprising, that Nanpei accepted the authority of the Spanish governor to certify his ownership, while he opposed Spanish efforts to increase their influence and authority in other areas, namely religion. He steadfastly refused to convert to Catholicism, though the Priests tried their best to

convert him. Nanpei's convictions were undoubtedly strong, but there were other reasons for remaining a Protestant. It was very important for Ponapeans to declare themselves once and never to go back on their word. Given the pressure which the Spanish tried to exert, the temptation must have been great. Yet Nanpei could not convert if he wished to retain his own personal credibility.

Though the priests could not convert Nanpei, they made significant progress elsewhere. In 1897, Nanpei reported that four of the five Nanmwarkis had been baptized Catholics.⁵⁰ He also noted that the priests had sufficient influence to have a governor removed if he was not supporting their efforts strongly enough.⁵¹

Still, there were bright spots. In Mwand, for example, William had a big church with a steady congregation. There were four Protestant schools which continued to operate despite Spanish opposition.⁵² Nanmwarki Paul was firm in Madolenihmw, where the priests were reluctant to intrude because he would not stand for it. However, the lack of missionary direction was taking its toll. Part of the reason logically rests with the fact that the Spanish had been on Ponape for ten years. The Catholic Church was also much less strict than the Protestants about smoking and drinking (either sakau or liquor).

In 1898, the relatively peaceful relations between Ponapeans and the Spanish administration came to an end. It began when the chief of the Catholic sub-kingdom of Awak was acquitted of the

murder of a man from the Protestant island of Mwand. The chief of Awak was Soulik en Awak, who had long been autonomous from the kingdom of Uh. Awak had converted to Catholicism relatively early in the Spanish administration, probably as part of its own assertions of autonomy.

The murder set off the desire for revenge among the victim's relatives from Mwand; and William, the Protestant leader, declared it was time to stop the Catholics.⁵³ Many believe that Nanpei was operating behind the scenes to promote a religious confrontation. And this is precisely what happened. Protestants and Catholics fought at Metipw en Awak, with members of both faiths coming from every kingdom. Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Uh were allied against the Catholic areas of Net, Sokehs, and Awak. The Spanish tried to intervene on the side of the Catholics, but all the Ponapeans turned against them.

The Spanish believed that Nanpei had known of their own involvement in the Spanish-American War and that he was acting as a spy for the Americans. They jailed him, his wife, and his children and tried repeatedly to convert him. But Nanpei refused. Then he surprised everyone by giving orders from prison that his workers should feed and protect the Spanish who were cut off from supplies as a result of the war with America.⁵⁴ Without supplies and under siege following their withdrawal from Awak, the Spanish had to release the man whom they believed responsible for their troubles.

The Spanish had failed for the fourth time to gain a victory in battle against the Ponapeans. When Spain lost the Spanish-American War, she decided to give up her claim to the Marianas and the Caroline Islands. Ultimately, she sold the islands to Germany for 25 million pesetas. Nanpei's assistant, Henry Beaumont, wrote that Nanpei would have preferred an American takeover because the German traders were the principal source of liquor for the Ponapeans.⁵⁵ However, he was present for the German arrival on October 11, 1899, and he welcomed them to the island. The next day, he bid the Spanish governor a cordial farewell and received a resentful reply with "some rather abusive language about our Kings and Chiefs paying their respects to our newly arrived Governor, a thing which had never been manifested towards the Spanish governors."⁵⁶ He summed up the Spanish administration bitterly:

...For thirteen years our people have been menaced and harassed to death by those cruel unrelenting blood-thirsty Spaniards. No language can adequately describe the awful and heinous crimes that those wicked Spaniards have been guilty of here on the island. Governors, priests, officers, and men were all of the same calibre. Not one good example have they shown our people. But they have succeeded in making many good young Christian men and women drunkards and common harlots. Many children of tender age have died an ignominious death at the hands of those lecherous, wanton brutes. May God forgive them, but Ponapeans never can.⁵⁷

Ponape in 1899

The Spanish departure brought to an end the periods of initial foreign contact and colonial administration by the Spanish. Both of these had encompassed the nineteenth century during which Ponape had survived the introduction of gold, guns, and God. Each of these had challenged various elements of Ponapean culture.

Gold itself was not important initially, since most trade occurred through barter. However, increasing trade made money more important. By the end of the century, the Jaluit Gesellschaft was the principal buyer of copra, and Henry Nanpei was the principal grower on Ponape. While others planted their lands, none had access to as much land as Nanpei. He had parlayed his land, education, and position into sizable wealth and influence.

Most Ponapeans admired Nanpei for his ability to deal with the foreigners. He was able to acquire popular trade items such as clothing, guns, and other goods. Guns were particularly popular, because they fit well with the warrior ethic. The price for Remington and Winchester rifles was forty dollars per weapon, and Ponapeans would gladly trade more than that amount in copra or other goods to have a good firearm. The Spanish had tried to stop the sale of guns, but the Ponapeans managed to arm themselves so well as to keep their "rulers" within the walls of Colonia.

Christianity had had a profound impact on the Ponapeans, but the Spanish administration had inaugurated a tense rivalry

between Protestants and Catholics. Here religion was used by both sides as another means of attaining power. The Spanish never realized that the conversion of Net and Sokehs after the 1887 battle did not make their converts into allies. While religious differences served to set traditional factions against each other, the lines had been drawn even before the beginning of Western contact. So, too, common ancestry cut across religions lines such that Protestants and Catholics could work together against a common enemy.

One of the heroes of the 1887 battle, Soumadau en Sokehs, fought against the Spanish in three of the four battles during their administration. He was nominally a Catholic, but he fought the Spanish in Sapwalap in 1890 and Awak in 1898.

The religious rivalry was very important, but it existed within a strong traditional framework. Clan allegiances, family affiliation, section and kingdom remained the centers of attention. In fact, guns, gold, and God were new variables which the Ponapeans simply adapted to their needs within that framework. This is not to minimize their influence, for the three G's profoundly altered circumstances on the island.

When the Spanish left Ponape in 1899, new leaders had emerged. Henry Nanpei was the most well known to the outside world, but others had built impressive reputations on Ponape. Soumadau en Sokehs was a warrior who fought the Spanish at every turn. Sigismundo of Enipein, Kiti was emerging as a power in

Kiti after returning the Sou Kiti title to his kingdom in 1887. The men who followed Nanpei, Luelen, David, William, and Ettekar, were important figures who influenced their kingdoms during the period of German colonial rule.

None of these men had the highest chiefly titles, but their personal assets and their actions caused others to follow. These were the men who had adapted to the new circumstances of foreign contact. They were able to utilize the ideas and implements of the West to their own advantage more effectively than other Ponapeans.

Another interesting point is that the population of the island had stopped declining by the end of the century. Ponape had seen its population plunge from at least ten to fifteen thousand in 1852 to just over three thousand.⁵⁸ One result of this was that the surviving families had at their disposal far more land than had previously been available on the island. Though virtually everyone continued to live on individual farmsteads, the population tended to reside within reasonable distance from the shoreline. This was partly because of the need to be close to the resources in the sea, but it also provided more convenient access to the commerce which had continued unabated during the Spanish administration.

The "modern" world had gained a firm foothold on the island. The center of Spanish administration became known as Kolonia (the Ponapean spelling) and the Ponapeans felt fairly comfortable

trading with foreigners. The German Jaluit Gesellschaft traded for copra from its station on Langar Island in the Kolonia Harbor. Essentially, Ponape possessed a marketplace in Kolonia, where Nanpei and a few white traders had stores. Though the market was small, the German interests in the Pacific islands saw fine productive potential on Ponape and other Micronesian islands.

Footnotes - Chapter II

- ¹ Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 6.
- ² Hambruch, v. I, pp. 1-280 gives an extensive contact history replete with long quotations from early travelers to Ponape.
- ³ Riesenbergs, Native Polity, pp. 4-5. Cf. Letter from Gulick to Anderson, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter cited as ABC), 19.4, v. 1, nr. 90, Sept. 1852.
- ⁴ Ibid., Riesenbergs, p. 3. Riesenbergs knows that O'Connell was there in 1828, but his exact date of arrival is unknown.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ James F. O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, ed. Saul H. Riesenbergs (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973), see Passim. Cf. Riesenbergs, "A Pacific Voyager's Hoax," Ethnohistory, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 238-264.
- ⁷ Hambruch, v. I, pp. 100-108. Fischer, Eastern Carolines, pp. 25-26.
- ⁸ Ibid., Fischer, p. 26.
- ⁹ Andrew Cheyne, A Description of the Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, North and South of the Equator (London: J. D. Potter, 1852), p. 103.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 104.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p. 120.
- ¹² This was related by Sehni Nanpei in an interview Sept. 8, 1974. She was a daughter of Henry Nanpei.
- ¹³ Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 5.

¹⁴ E. W. Clark to Rufus Anderson, Nov. 4, 1852, ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 1.

¹⁵ Sehni Nanpei, Sept. 8, 1974.

¹⁶ Luelen, 65.8, p. 116. Luelen calls Headley, "Jem Hadly," hence the difference in the names of Jim Headley and his daughter Meri-An Hadley. There are today many members of the Hadley family.

¹⁷ Sehni Nanpei, Sept. 8, 1974.

¹⁸ See report "Bonabe or Ponape," ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 110. At one point the report calls Ponape a "moral Sodom," p. 2.

¹⁹ Sturges to Clark, Sept. 30, 1873, ABC 19.4, v. 5, nr. 245. See also ABC 19.4, v. 3, nr. 268, "Facts concerning the Island of Bonabe [sic] or Ascension by one of the Micronesian Missionaries for the Puritan Recorder," pp. 69-70.

²⁰ Journal of Luther H. Gulick, sent to Anderson. ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 92, p. 25. See also Gulick to Anderson, Feb. 4, 1853, ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 95, p. 3.

²¹ "Bonabe or Ponape," ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 110.

²² Gulick, Journal, July 24, 1854, sent to Anderson, ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 105, p. 30.

²³ Sturges, May 22, 1856, ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 30.

²⁴ Gulick to Anderson, Dec. 1855, "Annual Report of the Ascension I. Mission for 1855, ABC 19.4, v. 1, nr. 2. Actually Sturges developed an orthography which was later used for Gulick's dictionary. See L. H. Gulick, "A Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect. Ponape-English and English-Ponape, with a grammatical sketch," Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 10, pp. 1-109.

²⁵ Sehni Nanpei, Sept. 8, 1974. This was also confirmed in William R. Bascom, "Ponape, A Pacific Economy in Transition," Anthropological Records, v. 22 (Berkeley: University of California, 1965), p. 34. Bascom probably got his information from Sehni's older brothers, Oliver and Thomas Nanpei.

- 26 Sturges to Clark, Sept. 30, 1873, ABC 19.4, v. 5, nr. 245.
- 27 Conversation with Hersin Santos (Sain Kiti), Aug. 16, 1973.
- 28 "Catalogue Caroline Islands Training School 1882-83, 1883-84, 1884-85. Pupils in T.S. End of 3rd Year," ABC 19.4, v. 6, nr. 67.
- 29 Hildegard Baaken, Die Karolinenfrage 1885, Diss. Universität Köln, 1963, see Passim. This doctoral thesis gives a complete discussion of the abortive German takeover.
- 30 The various German interests in the South Seas are represented in the "Weissbuch" on the problem. See Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages, v. 83, 1884-5, Aktenstück Nr. 63 "Deutsche Interessen in der Südsee," pp. 196-231. See also Nr. 167 "Deutsche Interessen in der Südsee II," pp. 687-728.
- 31 David and Leona Crawford, Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1967), p. 242. Cf. Doane to Smith, Dec. 15, 1885, ABC 19.4, v. 6, nr. 235.
- 32 ABC 19.4, v. 6, nr. 269.
- 33 "The Spanish and Our Mission in Micronesia, Providence, R.I., June 1891," ABC 19.4, v. 10, nr. 146, pp. 10-12. See also ABC 19.4, v. 6, nrs. 257-285. These give a detailed description of Doane's experiences with the Spanish both on and off of Ponape.
- 34 Doane to Voigt, Sept. 5, 1887, ABC 19.4, v. 6, nr. 33. Crawford, Missionary Adventures, p. 243. Hambruch, v. I, pp. 198-204.
- 35 This is known to most Ponapeans.
- 36 There exists a song about these two men. I recorded it on Sept. 26, 1974. Sung by Ihper Dihson (Nankiroun Pohn Dake Sokehs).
- 37 Crawford, Missionary Adventures, p. 243. Cf. Luelen, 66.15.
- 38 Ibid.

³⁹ Letter from F. E. Rand to Commandant H. C. Taylor, Oct. 19, 1890, ABC 19.4, v. 10, nr. 144, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴¹ Ibid., Ponapeans repeat this fact time and again in mockery of Spanish attempts to defeat their ancestors.

⁴² Ibid., p. 5.

⁴³ Luelen, 66.15, p. 121.

⁴⁴ Henry Nanpei, Papers of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Micronesia Mission, Courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Letters by Henry Nanpei (hereafter cited as HEA/MM/Nanpei), Nanpei to O. P. Emerson, June 6, 1892.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ HEA/MM/Nanpei, Letter from Nanpei, July 30, 1893.

⁴⁷ Luelen, 67.8, p. 125.

⁴⁸ HEA/MM/Nanpei, Nanpei to Emerson, Feb. 1894.

⁴⁹ Hambruch, v. I, pp. 287-288.

⁵⁰ HEA/MM/Nanpei, Nanpei to Emerson, June 18, 1897.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hambruch, v. I, p. 227. Most Ponapeans agree with this interpretation of William as the instigator of the battle with Nanpei pulling the strings. Hambruch frankly calls William a "Werkzeug" of Nanpei's.

⁵⁴ HEA/MM/Nanpei, Henry Beaumont to Emerson, Nov. 28, 1898. Beaumont wrote this letter on instructions from Nanpei, his boss. Incidentally, the writing in Beaumont's letter very much resembles

Nanpei's writing, and it has led some to believe that Beaumont may have written all the Nanpei letters which are cited here. In any case, Nanpei's letters accurately represent his own views concerning conditions under the Spanish.

55 Ibid.

56 Nanpei to Charles Lamson, DD, Nov. 1, 1899. Missionary Herald (hereafter cited as MH), April 1900, p. 147. Nanpei says the German flag raising took place on Oct. 13, 1899, but the German Governor of the New Guinea Protectorate, Rudolf von Bennigsen, reported it was Oct. 12, 1899. See Deutsches Kolonialblatt (hereafter cited as DKB) XII:3, 1 Feb 1900, p. 102.

57 Ibid., MH, pp. 147-148.

58 Riesenbergs, Native Polity, p. 6.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY REPLACES SPAIN: 1899-1907, THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

Background: German Interests in the Carolines

The German purchase of the Caroline and Mariana Islands in 1899 completed the attempt to acquire the same islands fourteen years earlier. German interests in the area had begun when the J. C. Godeffroy Company of Hamburg sent its agent, August Unshelm, to Samoa in 1855. The Godeffroys had traded in South America since the 1830's, and they did extremely well in San Francisco during the Gold Rush in 1849.¹

Unshelm went to Samoa in search of coconut oil, and later he sent other agents to the Marshall and Caroline Islands to establish other stations. He was successful; but after his death in 1864, Theodore Weber discovered the value of desiccated coconut meat, copra. By cutting and drying coconut meat, Weber found it was easier to ship larger quantities, and the dried coconut did not spoil as easily as whole coconuts. Weber not only took over Unshelm's small empire but made it more profitable.² Weber expanded operations

Footnotes may be found on pages 119-124.

to Matupi in New Guinea in 1874. Around the same time, the firm of Robertson and Herrnsheim started operating in the same area. They established stations in the Marshall Islands, and Franz Herrnsheim competed aggressively to wrest control of the market from the Godeffroys.³

Both the Godeffroys and Herrnsheim established stations on the major islands in the Carolines. In 1866, Johann Stanislaus Kubary arrived on Ponape as a Godeffroy agent, although he was more competent as an anthropologist.⁴ In 1879, the Godeffroys went bankrupt, and Herrnsheim took over many of their operations.⁵ By 1885, Herrnsheim had formed the Jaluit Gesellschaft which had plantations and stations on the large atolls of the Marshall Islands. On Ponape, the Jaluit Gesellschaft had a station on Langar Island in the northern harbor. They established themselves as the principal marketeer of copra, and were an important source of guns and liquor for the Ponapeans.

It was Franz Herrnsheim who had asked for German protection from potential Spanish administration of the Caroline and Mariana Islands in 1885.⁶ This had precipitated the sending of the German cruiser, Iltis, from Manila to plant the German flag in the islands. When Spain protested, Bismarck chose to submit the issue to Pope Leo XIII, partly because the Spanish claim to the island was stronger by virtue of discovery in 1686. The German claim was weak, and Bismarck saw an opportunity to relieve himself of his own Kulturkampf against the Catholic Church in

Germany by accepting a Papal decision in the matter.⁷ Even if Spain owned the islands, Germany had at least gained free trading rights, which they had sought to guarantee in the first place.

In 1898, Spain lost the Spanish-American War; and at the end relinquished the Philippines, Guam, Cuba, and Puerto Rico to the United States. In the course of that war, Germany was sympathetic to Spain, despite her (Germany's) own neutrality. The German monarchy was especially concerned about the Spanish monarchy which was under increasing criticism from the Cortes.⁸ Though Germany provided no military support to Spain during the Spanish-American War, her moral support won favorable consideration for her interests in the Pacific. So that when the United States chose to acquire Guam and rejected the other islands in the Carolines and Marianas as part of the settlement, Spain sold the rest to Germany for 17.5 million marks.⁹

When the Germans announced the conclusion of the treaty on February 12, 1899, newspapers and magazines immediately published articles on the new colonial acquisitions. The German Colonial Society (Deutsches Kolonialverein) hailed the treaty the treaty which completed the acquisition of the Caroline and Mariana Islands.¹⁰ This ambition had survived among colonial interests since 1886.

Although the treaty had considerable support in the Reichstag, it encountered some opposition from the Progressives and Social Democrats. Even before the treaty was announced,

Eugen Richter, leader of the Progressive Party, scoffed at German colonial efforts in New Guinea and Samoa and noted that the Reich was paying more in colonial administration and services than it was getting in resources and profits.¹¹ He cited the consistently bad performance of companies in the Pacific (not a wholly justified position), and doubted that the Caroline and Mariana Islands would ever be productive enough to warrant their purchase.¹²

Richter's opposition received support from August Bebel, leader of the German Social Democratic Party. Bebel charged that the islands were not valuable economically, but that they served as a pretext for increasing the size of the German fleet.¹³

National Liberal, Center, and Conservative proponents of the treaty repeatedly stressed that Germany had to protect its interests throughout the world.¹⁴ These interests included German firms in the Pacific, but those firms were not as important to the argument as were the needs of a growing fleet (as Bebel had charged). In 1898, Germany had embarked on building a modern navy to be able to compete with British naval power.¹⁵ The fleet had to be able to coal and provision, and the islands would serve precisely that purpose for the German squadrons of the Pacific. The Carolines and Marianas were part of a network of German acquisitions which included the final settlement of the Samoa question. In 1899, after nearly twenty years of conflict, Germany and the United States signed a treaty which gave Germany

control of the Western half, and the United States the Eastern half, of the islands of Samoa.¹⁶ The Port of Kiaochow, which Germany acquired in 1898, was to serve as the headquarters of the German East Asian Squadron. The German navy would protect and benefit from German possessions in New Guinea, the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands, and Samoa.

German Chancellor von Bülow repeatedly used these arguments to counter the opposition, and the treaty passed by a large margin when the Reichstag voted. Interestingly, the argument became reversed when the Reichstag considered legislation to double the size of the naval budget and the fleet as well. In 1899, proponents of the purchase of the Carolines and Marianas had stressed the role of the islands in supporting the fleet; in 1900 they emphasized the role of the fleet in protecting the islands.¹⁷ The Caroline and Mariana Islands were not the most important factors in the debates over the naval budget, but Admiral von Tirpitz mentioned them as part of his attempt to persuade the Reichstag.¹⁸

It is important to remember that the Carolines and Marianas were merely specks on the map in comparison to Germany's larger colonies in Africa. A one-way journey from Germany required at least three months, and regular shipping did not exist in 1899. It is likely that few in Germany expected the islands to be very much more than convenient coaling stations. However, the German colonial administrators who worked on the islands were to try to

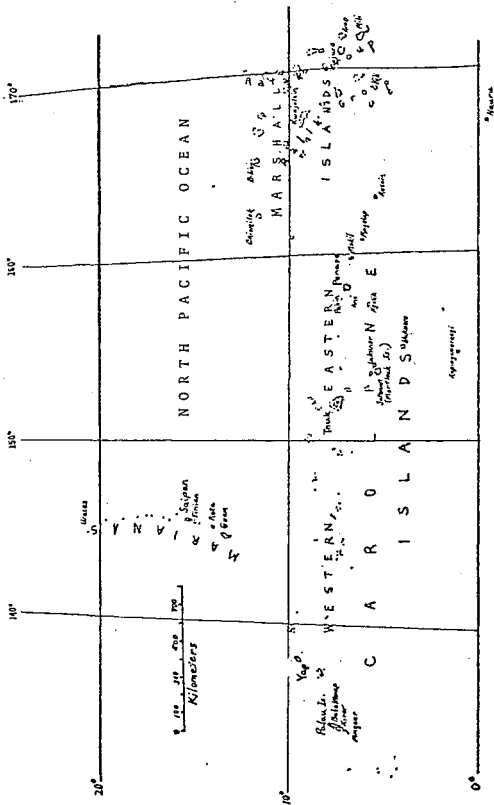
turn the islands into economically productive colonies. This is where it is important to examine the cultural confrontation which was involved when German colonialism arrived on Ponape.

The Beginning of German Rule on Ponape (Tapin Mwehi en Sehman)

Once the German Reichstag accepted the treaty with Spain, it remained for the Germans to administer the islands. The Caroline and Mariana Islands were incorporated into the New Guinea Protectorate. New Guinea and the Marshall Islands had originally begun as chartered colonies under the German New Guinea Company and the Jaluit Gesellschaft in 1884. Later the New Guinea charter was removed in favor of a protectorate in 1899, but the Jaluit Gesellschaft continued to administer the Marshall Islands.

The Governor of the New Guinea Protectorate was Rudolf von Bennigsen, the son of the leader of the German National Liberal Party. Von Bennigsen governed from Herbertshöhe, about 800 miles from the Island Protectorate. Because of the distance, von Bennigsen had District Administrators on the islands of Ponape, Yap, and Saipan. These islands served as administrative centers for their respective island groups: Ponape for the Eastern Carolines (extending westward from Kusaie to Truk), Yap for the Western Carolines (including the Ulithi chain westward to Palau), and Saipan for the Marianas (from Rota northward to Uracas) (see Map No. 5). No District Administrator existed for the Marshall Islands which the Jaluit Gesellschaft still governed by its charter of 1884.

Map No. 5



On September 27, 1899, von Bennigsen and the new Administrators departed from Herbertshöhe aboard the SMS Kudat, accompanied by the SMS Jaguar (a cruiser).¹⁹ After brief stops in the Marshalls and on Kusaie Island, the expedition entered Santiago harbor (the northern harbor) at Ponape on October 11.

In an article which appeared in the Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Bennigsen wrote that the northern harbor was the most difficult on the island, but he observed that this might make it more defensible.²⁰ Hence it was immediately established that the German administration would assume control in Kolonia, where the Spanish fortress was located. The Spanish had called it Santiago, then Colonia, but the Germans called it "Die Kolonie."

Bennigsen was optimistic about Ponape. He mentioned that he received a cordial reception by the high chiefs, and he noted the economic potential of the island. The numerous rivers, abundant rainfall, and flatlands offered good prospects for plantations.²¹ Because there had been no instances of bovine illnesses, he also saw the possibility of cattle raising.²²

On October 13, 1900, the formal transfer occurred as the Spanish flag came down and the German's raised their own. Bennigsen read the decree of July 18, 1899, in which the Germans assumed control of the Island Protectorate. The departing Spanish Governor stressed the peaceful change of administration and the good relations between Spain and Germany.

The Ponapeans were pleased to see the change. Henry Nanpei spoke for the chiefs when he described the unsympathetic administration which was leaving.²³ One of his first requests of the Germans was for the return of American Board missionaries.²⁴

Dr. Hahl: The First German Governor Meets the Ponapeans

The newly arrived administration benefited from the Ponapean hatred of the Spanish. While many Ponapeans had adopted Catholicism, there were few, if any, who liked the Spanish. The Spanish had sought little else but Catholic converts, and had repeatedly antagonized the Ponapeans by their insensitivity to the culture.

The German administration was modest, consisting of a District Administrator, a Secretary, a Police Chief, and a Physician, plus 150 Malay police soldiers. The District Administrator for the Eastern Caroline Islands was Dr. Albert Hahl. Hahl was a Bavarian civil servant who joined the colonial service in 1896 as an Imperial Magistrate in New Guinea.²⁵

As Hahl assumed his new post, he was aware that the Ponapeans had fought the Spanish in response to undue pressure, and that he had to move cautiously. He was determined to demonstrate to the Ponapeans that the German administration would be friendly, and so ordered that the Spanish fortifications around the Kolonia (the colony) be torn down.²⁶ One of his first acts

was to order a ban on the sale and distribution of alcohol, fire-arms, and ammunition to the Ponapeans. He also walked unarmed across the mountains with only one guide to demonstrate that he had no fear of being attacked (which he was not).²⁷

The Ponapeans regarded Hahl with respect as they believed he was a very important person in the German government, and they admired his adventurous spirit. No Spanish Governor would have dared to leave Kolonia without an armed escort. The Ponapeans liked Hahl's participation in their feasts where he donned a grass skirt, drank sakau, and allowed women to anoint his body with coconut oil. They were especially pleased when he took a Ponapean mistress named Eriel (from the kingdom of Net).

Older Ponapeans who remember the Germans say that the best known and liked of the Germans was the physician Dr. Max Girschner. Though the Ponapeans hesitated to accept his treatment at first, his warm personality and his ability to speak Ponapean gained him the trust of many. As a healer, Girschner had special respect since healing was a valuable art on Ponape. Every success, no matter how small, could only increase his credibility. No Ponapean has any memory of a major blunder on his part, and any such occurrence would have made him nearly ineffective. This was extremely important, for the reserve of trust which he was to develop was to save him, his family, and the rest of the white population in 1910 when the kingdom of Sokehs rebelled.

Though others in the first contingent are only vaguely remembered, many Ponapeans understood that most of the Germans were not as open to the culture as were Hahl and Girschner. Nevertheless, the Ponapeans seemed to have liked and respected them, except in instances when the Germans acted disgusted by Ponapean customs or were openly antagonistic to the Ponapeans themselves. It is important to remember that each of the wars against the Spanish was precipitated by Spanish insensitivity to the Ponapean culture. The Germans were aware of this and moved very carefully.

Ponapeans say that the Germans were cold but fair and seldom arbitrary. The Ponapeans respected these attributes, although they had little interest in cooperating with the Germans with respect to changes in the system. As long as the Germans did not tamper with the status quo, the Ponapeans did not mind; many were even pleased to have the Germans administering the islands.

Trade Under the Germans: The Culture Inhibits Productivity

With Ponape as a District Center for the administration of the Eastern Carolines, trade became more regular thus giving the Ponapeans more opportunity to buy Western goods. They looked forward to the arrival of the steamer which the Jaluit Gesellschaft operated with a government subsidy for its use as an official vessel. Every ship brought rice, flour, tinned goods, kerosene,

knives, cloth, and other products. As soon as the vessel was unloaded by lighter, the Ponapeans went to Langan Island, where the Jaluit Gesellschaft had a store and warehouse. There the Ponapeans sold their copra, and bought supplies. Some, such as Henry Nanpei and Soumadau en Sokehs, had their own stores and used the Jaluit Gesellschaft as their wholesaler.

The Ponapeans knew little of the extent of Jaluit Gesellschaft operations in Nauru, the Marshalls, and the Carolines. It was the official copra marketeer and possessed a valuable monopoly on Nauru, where they leased phosphate mining rights to the Pacific Phosphate Co., Ltd.²⁸ In the Marshall Islands, the Jaluit Gesellschaft held an Imperial Charter, granted in 1884 to Franz Herrnsheim, its principal shareholder. Not only did the company administer the Marshalls, but it received a subsidy to operate the official field trip vessel Oceana, the principal means of communication between the islands and the governor in New Guinea. Later the Germans established a telegraph station in Yap, but there was none on Ponape.

Ponape was relatively unimportant in the Jaluit Gesellschaft operations. Though one of the largest islands in the archipelago, its difficult terrain and political economy of high chiefs and constant feasting made it relatively unproductive of copra. The average Ponapean farmed for himself and for the high chiefs to whom he paid tribute at the feasts. This system allowed little time and incentive to plant and harvest coconuts systematically.

Few were as ambitious as Henry Nanpei who not only provided large amounts of traditional tribute at the feasts, but also had developed coconut plantations at Rohn Kiti and Ant Atoll.

Most Ponapeans felt more comfortable in the traditional framework of feasts and titles. They wanted Western goods, but preferred to work sporadically; they could do so because Ponape is an incredibly fruitful island. If they needed knives, cloth, or any other goods, they could easily harvest a bag or two of copra. The pressures of the feasts made the planting of yams and sakau, and the preparation of pit breadfruit more urgent than cutting copra. They admired and respected Nanpei, but he was not acting altogether like a Ponapean, and many did not like his embrace of Western-style clothing and other outward effects of the West.

As a result of this, Ponape produced less copra than did the much smaller atolls of the Marshalls, where Franz Hernalshausen started the Jaluit Gesellschaft in 1884.²⁹ The only large-scale producers on Ponape were Henry Nanpei and Dominique Etscheit. Etscheit was from the German Rhineland and worked in the Marshalls until he had enough money to start a plantation on Ulul, an atoll near Truk. In 1886 the Spanish issued a certification of ownership to Etscheit for his claim to Ulul.³⁰ By 1900, Etscheit had a profitable coconut plantation on Ulul, and he purchased Kubary's land in Net (Ponape) at auction in the Philippines.³¹ When he took over his new plantation on Ponape, it was in disrepair; and it required a few years to make it productive again.³²

The Nanpei and Etscheit operations provided regular supplies of copra to the Jaluit Gesellschaft, but these were small compared to the copra production in the Marshalls. Hahl had recognized this when he took over and felt that the greatest impediment to development was the nature of Ponapean society with its emphasis on feasting.³³ Yet, during his brief stay on Ponape, Hahl could do nothing to eradicate the feasts.

Hahl and the Religious and Political Rivalries on Ponape

Given the Ponapean adherence to their traditional way of life and the history of Spanish troubles on the island (see above, Chapter II), Hahl had little choice but to move cautiously. The religious and political rivalry between the Protestant kingdoms of the south (Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Uh) and the Catholic kingdoms of the north (Net, Sokehs, and Awak) was intense when he took over. In 1898, these groups had fought each other at Awak in the final battle of the Spanish administration. The Protestants still resented the fact that the Spanish had both restricted their religious practices and tried to force Protestants to convert. In addition, the Catholics were less stringent than the Protestants with respect to traditional customs. The Protestants forbade the consumption of sakau, alcohol, and tobacco.

Despite Hahl's determination to be evenhanded towards Protestantism and Catholicism, the two factions maintained a tense rivalry. Both sides wished to expand their influence.

The Catholics had the guidance of the remaining Spanish priests, but they no longer had the official support of the government as they had when the Spanish were in control. By 1903, German Capuchin priests from the Rheinisch-Westfalischen Kapuziner Ordensprovinz had begun to replace their Spanish counterparts.³⁴

The Protestants had lost some converts to the Catholics during the Spanish period but had maintained considerable strength despite the absence of foreign missionaries (after the Spanish expelled the American Board in 1890). However, as soon as the Germans arrived, Nanpei asked Hahl to permit the return of the American Board, and the Germans granted a petition by the Board itself.³⁵ Nanpei knew that he and his immediate followers could not sustain Protestantism by themselves. In a letter on April 12, 1900, he had written, "We feel that we stand in need of some higher influence, to guide and instruct us in the word of God."³⁶

Nanpei had not long to wait, for the American Board sent four missionaries: the Reverend and Mrs. Thomas Gray, and Misses Annette Palmer and Ida C. Foss. Palmer had served on Ponape earlier until she was expelled in 1890, but the Grays and Foss were new to the island. When they arrived on Ponape on September 27, 1900, they decided to accept an invitation to stay with Nanpei until the old station at Oa could be rebuilt.³⁷

Palmer found a much different situation than she had left ten years before. Many of her former congregations had either converted to Catholicism or had at least abandoned the strictures

against tobacco, sakau, and alcohol. Nonetheless, all the missionaries were impressed by the efforts of Nanpei, Luelen, and William. They noted that Nanpei had paid for lumber, galvanized roofing, and a bell for the Kiti church, and that Luelen was the teacher in the Protestant school there.³⁸ Given the circumstances and a very positive welcome by Dr. Hahl, the missionaries were encouraged.³⁹

Now that both Protestants and Catholics had missionary guidance and equal opportunity to practice their religions, the religious split was essentially a stalemate. Neither side could encroach on the other's territory without producing a serious situation. Adherents of one or the other side were not even permitted to enter the churches of the opposition. The religious split combined with traditional political alliances and rivalries to produce a potentially explosive atmosphere on the island. The Germans had to move cautiously to maintain a very unstable peace.

Nanpei the Mediator

The arrival of the American Board enabled Nanpei to get closer to the Germans. He had earlier been a teacher at Rohn Kiti, but he was now free to attend to his business interests. He regularly entertained German administrators and businessmen at his home in Rohn Kiti, and used his own diesel-powered boat to take them to Ant where the swimming and fishing were excellent.

Nanpei also served as an informal advisor to the Germans with respect to Ponapean customs and other matters. On December 18, 1899, a little more than two months after the Germans raised the flag of Ponape, Hahl certified Nanpei's land claims in Kiti and on Ant Atoll.⁴⁰

In 1901, Nanpei accompanied Hahl on an expedition to Truk aboard the SMS Cormoran and helped to mediate a dispute among the Trukese.⁴¹ When the Germans arrested three murderers, Nanpei assumed personal responsibility for the men whom he took to Rohn Kiti. In so doing, he earned the gratitude of the Germans who would have had to house and feed the prisoners. For Nanpei, it meant the acquisition of grateful workers who preferred to work for him rather than to cut grass under the watchful and punitive gaze of the Malay soldiers. Nanpei had to provide for their housing and food, but with his extensive lands he could simply tell them where to build their houses and let them harvest their own food. Given these conditions, it was unlikely that they would run away.

Yet it was not merely the services which Nanpei performed that impressed the Germans, but rather his accomplishments. He had acquired sizable wealth and lived in virtual splendor in a Western-style house with as many "conveniences" as he could acquire. He was a Ponapean who lived and acted like an educated gentleman, and he naturally impressed everyone who visited the island. This gave him an unusual position among other Ponapeans and, naturally, aroused some envy and resentment. These attitudes persist even today.

A Change of Governors: Berg Replaces Hahl

Hahl's tenure on Ponape was peaceful, but he was pleased when he was called to New Guinea to replace Bennigsen as Governor of all of German New Guinea in 1901.⁴² He had accomplished little with respect to economic development, but he had earned the respect of the Ponapeans. This was a marked change from the Spanish who had consistently antagonized the Ponapeans.

Hahl's replacement on Ponape was Viktor Berg who entered the colonial service in September 1891 in the Cameroons. In 1894 he transferred to German East Africa where he became Secretary and, later, a District Administrator. In 1899 he had to leave for health reasons, but after two years he re-entered the service as acting Vice-Governor of the New Guinea Protectorate and District Administrator on Ponape on August 31, 1901.⁴³

Berg faced the same religious and political problems which had confronted Hahl on Ponape, but he hoped to inaugurate significant changes in the Ponapean system.⁴⁴ According to Peter Hempenstall, Berg had to abandon plans to do away with the feasts on Ponape when his superiors in Berlin insisted that he avoid taking any action which might upset peaceful relations with the Ponapeans.⁴⁵ Instead, he settled into Hahl's routine of maintaining the peace and traveling on field trips. In 1902, he initiated some change by forbidding the missionaries to teach any foreign language but German.⁴⁶ Prior to this, English was

the language most commonly spoken by foreigners and Ponapeans, primarily as a result of the constant visits by American vessels plus American missionary influence since 1852.

The language edict had a profound impact on the missionaries of the American Board. They had hoped that the inclusion of one or two German missionaries into their ranks would satisfy the German administration.⁴⁷ But by 1903, the German Capuchin priests had arrived, and the Germans were putting even greater pressure on the mission. First, three students in an American Board Seminary for Native Preachers and Teachers in Truk were arrested for preaching "anti-German" sermons.⁴⁸ Second, Nanpei refused to recognize American Board authority in the Kiti church after Gray reprimanded him for some unknown offense.⁴⁹

The result was that by 1904 the American Board had begun to consider withdrawing their missionaries from Ponape. Although Foss and Palmer tried to learn German, they could not use English in the classroom and had to teach in Ponapean.⁵⁰ They spoke Ponapean beautifully, but their effectiveness suffered in comparison to the newly arrived German Capuchins. In 1906, the American Board began to transfer the operation of the missions in Ponape and Truk to the Liebenzeller Mission of Bad Liebenzell (a small town not far from Basel).⁵¹

Disarmament

Aside from attempting to Germanize the islanders through the schools, Berg realized that effective administration of Ponape was impossible while the Ponapeans were well armed. Hahl had issued a decree which banned the sale of firearms and ammunition, and had instituted regular naval patrols to intercept smugglers during the whaling season. Nevertheless, most Ponapeans possessed guns, which they generally used for hunting birds. However, guns were extremely important to the Ponapeans, especially given the tense religious and political situation. Though the island was peaceful, violence could erupt at any time. Hence, Berg hoped to disarm the Ponapeans.

Berg did not approach the Ponapeans immediately but, instead, went to Truk in 1904 in an effort to achieve voluntary disarmament among the Trukese. From November 30 to December 5, 1904, he remained in the Truk lagoon aboard the SMS Condor while the Trukese brought in their weapons in return for an average of 25 marks per weapon. When he returned to Ponape, he announced the disarmament of the Trukese at the Kaiser's birthday celebration in January 1905.⁵²

Berg met no immediate success on Ponape and probably would not have obtained many weapons without the intervention of nature. On April 20, 1905, a massive typhoon ripped through the Marshall and Eastern Caroline Islands. Miraculously, few people were

killed and injured on Ponape where people either hid in caves or cut down the posts of their houses and took shelter under the thatched roofing. Older Ponapeans have described the passage of the eye of the typhoon across the island when they told of how the trees were knocked down in one direction and then flipped over after a short period of calm. Virtually every tree was down.

The most profound effect of the typhoon was the disruption of the food supply. While most families had reserves of pit breadfruit for such occasions, typhoons rarely struck the island; only once before in the legendary past had a typhoon produced destruction of such magnitude. Houses could be rebuilt, but it would be a couple of years before the Ponapeans could have the considerable resources of yams, dry and wet land taro, and breadfruit, the principal staples of their diet. Yams had to be dug up quickly so as not to rot in the ground after their vines had been severed. With all the trees down, it was difficult to locate yams and pit breadfruit, and the Germans began to fear raids on their own supplies if they did not assist the Ponapeans.⁵³ The Ponapeans were worried about starvation, since legends of the ancient typhoon indicated that perhaps half the population on the island had starved.

Berg acted quickly and effectively after assessing the damage of the typhoon. The Jaluit Gesellschaft buildings on Langar Island were destroyed, and supplies of rice and flour had gotten wet in the torrential rains which accompanied the high

winds. Berg appropriated these supplies as well as hundreds of cases of tinned food which the Jaluit Gesellschaft was unable to store. He then announced that he would trade food or money for weapons and ammunition, and many Ponapeans responded eagerly. A good Winchester or Snyder rifle (the Ponapeans called all modern guns "Winses" for Winchester) would bring a hundred pounds of rice and two cases of tinned beef. Most preferred food rather than money; and by mid-July 1905, the Ponapeans had given up 254 firearms and 1532 cartridges.⁵⁴ The disarmament campaign continued for another year; and by July 1906, the total number of confiscated weapons had reached 545 guns and 3998 cartridges (an average of more than one gun for every six Ponapeans).⁵⁵

Though Berg considered the Ponapeans effectively disarmed, he had underestimated the number of guns which the Ponapeans possessed.⁵⁶ When the Ponapeans exchanged guns for food, they generally took in the guns which were no longer working properly or those which were so old as to be useless. A number of Ponapean chiefs counseled against giving up the weapons. Soumadau en Sokehs, who had fought the Spanish consistently, told the people of Sokehs to take in the bad guns and to hide the good ones. Though not the highest chief in Sokehs, Soumadau commanded enormous respect as a warrior, and the people of Sokehs regarded him as their real leader. In other kingdoms, many dismantled their firearms and wrapped them in oiled rags, burying them in the ground for possible use in the future.⁵⁷

There was little which Berg could accomplish beyond the disarmament. Though the Ponapeans were less likely to engage in hostilities against the administration, colonial policies in New Guinea and Berlin prevented Berg from undertaking any major reforms of the political economy on the island.

Religious Tension

Aside from the traditional aspects of feasting and tribute, Berg faced the same religious tension which Hahl had encountered. In 1906 Berg was drawn into the Protestant-Catholic rivalry when the Capuchin missionaries tried to extend their influence into Uh and Madolenihmw, both nearly exclusive preserves of Protestant activity. First, they sought to establish a Catholic school on the island of Takaiu in Uh.⁵⁸ Next, they managed to convert a high-ranking chief with the title Lepen Dolomar in Madolenihmw.⁵⁹ These moves threatened the existing balance of Protestant and Catholic influence on the island. According to Peter Hempenstall, the Capuchin missionary, P. Fidelis, was prepared to go to any lengths to secure new converts, even at the risk of open warfare.⁶⁰

Berg refused to grant the Capuchin request for a school in Takaiu, principally because of the threat to the religious balance. The Nanmwarki of Madolenihmw punished the Lepen Dolomar for his conversion by stripping the man of his chiefly title and removing him from his land, both on grounds of not providing adequate tribute. This was something that Berg could not control,

since the Nanmwarki theoretically controlled or "owned" all the land in his kingdom. If he chose to remove someone's land and title, there was no court of appeal. The tribute obligation was vague, for individuals were supposed to provide tribute commensurate with their rank and position. The Nanmwarki rarely punished people for inadequate tribute payment, unless he was displeased for some other reason. In the case of Lepen Dolomar, it is likely that the man's conversion to Catholicism had caused the removal of his title and land. After all, the kingdom of Madolenihmw was the only kingdom on Ponape to have resisted Catholic influence during the Spanish period.⁶¹

Whatever the reason for the punishment, it served to emphasize both the intensity of the religious split and the strength of the Nanmwarki system. The religious split had produced a volatile situation, and the Nanmwarki system presented the Germans with a static economy. Even if the Ponapeans wanted to reform the tribute system, too much was at stake in internal politics to simply abandon the feasts. The Ponapeans were not about to grasp at new concepts only to risk their own and their families' positions in the traditional system. Despite a century of foreign contact and two regimes of colonial rule, the title system, tribute, feasts, and so on, remained strong.

Ponapean Relations with the Germans in 1907

Following the typhoon of 1905, the Catholic attempts to expand into Uh and Madolenihmw appear to have been the only major source of tension on Ponape. Berg successfully weathered those incidents, and his administration proceeded smoothly. Like Hahl, Berg continued the policy of a relatively open administration and the Ponapeans generally liked him. Many remember that on the Kaiser's birthday, Berg would dress in an impressive blue uniform with a helmet and sword. He was a large man who cut an impressive figure with his uniform and medals. The celebrations themselves were an important source of good will since the Germans purchased pigs, cows, and locally grown foods and hosted an enormous feast in Kolonia. The nominal force of Malay police would march, and occasionally, a warship would appear on that day to fire several salvos.

Though it seems small to an outsider, the Ponapeans were extremely impressed by the pomp, and especially pleased that they could share in such an important occasion. The Spanish had certainly never done anything like it, and it made the Ponapeans feel as if they were an important part of the German Empire. This is not to say that the Ponapeans wished to serve the Empire, but rather that they derived some measure of pride as a result of being included in the celebration. Despite this, the Ponapeans were hardly ready for the kind of reforms, such as the abolition of the feasts, which would improve the economic potential of the island.

In other areas, the Ponapeans proved quite helpful to the Germans. For example, Berg requested of the Ponapean Nanmwarkis some land for the use of outer islanders whose atolls had been devastated in 1907. The Nanmwarki of Madolenihmw provided land in the section of Mand for the resettlement of islanders from Pingelap atoll which was still suffering from the 1905 typhoon.⁶² Because the typhoon had damaged certain atolls so severely, their food supplies were inadequate to feed their entire population. Rather than sending ships with food to those atolls, the Germans requested land on Ponape. Henry Nanpei took responsibility for many Mortlockese who had to leave their atolls (which are to the south of Truk) in 1907. It is interesting that the chiefs assented to the immigration of outer islanders to Ponape because it is an indication that a cooperative spirit had developed between Berg and the Ponapeans.

Unhappily for both Germans and Ponapeans, the good relations did not last. On April 29, 1907, Berg visited Nan Madol, the ancient ruins in Madolenihmw, in order to search for the bones of the Sau Deleurs (see Chapter I), the ancient rulers of Ponape. His mistress, Kedinsairirin, was from Madolenihmw and was a member of the ruling clan of that kingdom. She and her family protested that the place where he planned to dig was sacred and that he would suffer spiritual retribution. Berg did not heed the warnings. He went to Pan Kedara, the ancient center of Sau Deleur rule, and dug up unusually large human bones.

That night, people heard the sound of the Triton shell trumpeting from Pan Kedara. The people of Tamworoi, which is near to the ruins, went to investigate. The sound seemed to come from the spot where Berg dug; but those who went, found no one blowing the trumpet shell. The sound continued through the night, and Berg died the following day, April 30, 1907. The Deutsches Kolonialblatt reported that Berg died of heat stroke while out surveying land.⁶³ The Ponapeans believed, and still believe, that Berg died of spiritual retribution (riahla). They were saddened by his death, and many attended his funeral. Few realized it at the time, but the good relations which had been developing between Germans and Ponapeans were about to end.

Footnotes - Chapter II

¹ Kurt Schmack, J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn, Kaufleute zu Hamburg, Leistung und Schicksal eines Welthandelhauses (Hamburg: Broschek & Co., 1938), pp. 27.85 and 101. Godeffroy's interest in the Pacific region started as early as 1845. See Schmack, p. 61.

² Ibid., pp. 141-147.

³ A perfect example of Herrnsheim's competitive spirit emerged in a series of letters from missionaries on Kusaie to the American Board in 1879. See E. M. Pease and J. F. Whitney to N. G. Clark, ABC 19.4, v. 4, nr. 36. See also nrs. 37 and 160. These communications describe how Herrnsheim tried to preempt another German trader (a Godeffroy agent) on Kusaie. When this failed, he forced the king and other Kusaiean chiefs to sign a "mortgage" which obligated the chiefs to provide 150,000 pounds of dry copra. If the Kusaieans failed to meet that obligation, Herrnsheim would get two thirds of the land on Kusaie. Kusaie has 42 square miles of land area (third largest in the Caroline Islands).

⁴ J. D. E. Schmeltz, "Johann Stanislaus Kubary," Internationale Archiv für Ethnologie, 10 (1897), p. 133. See also p. 136. Cf. Schmack, pp. 242-244.

⁵ Erika Suchan-Galow, Die deutsche Wirtschaftstätigkeit in der Südsee vor der ersten Besitzergreifung 1884 (Hamburg: Hans Christian Drückerei und Verlag Hamburg, 1940), pp. 92-99.

⁶ See "Weissbuch," Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages (hereafter cited as SB Reichstag), Bd. 83, 1884-1885, Aktenstück nr. 63, "Deutsche Interessen in der Südsee," pp. 196-231, and Aktenstück nr. 167, "Deutsche Interessen in der Südsee" II, pp. 687-728.

⁷ Baaken, Die Karolinenfrage, pp. 123-124.

⁸ Bulow to Eulenburg, Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 29 Sept. 1899, v. 15, Nr. 4118, p. 4.

⁹ Schulthess, Europäischer Geschichtskalender, 1899, June 6, 1899, pp. 99-100. See also SB Reichstag, Bd. 167, 6 June 1899, pp. 2338-2339.

¹⁰ Dr. M. Krieger, "Die Erweiterung unseres Kolonialbesitzes," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 16:23, 8 Juni 1899, pp. 194-196.

¹¹ SB Reichstag, Bd. 165, 12 Dec. 1898, p. 32. This critique took place even before the conclusion of the treaty with Spain. Richter was questioning Bülow about rumors of a possible purchase and launched into a criticism of colonialism in the Pacific. See also SB Reichstag, Bd. 165, p. 1490 D.

¹² *Ibid.* In fact, the Jaluit Gesellschaft was a well-run and profitable business. For more discussion of the Jaluit Gesellschaft, see below, p. 103.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91 and pp. 3315-3316. Cf. Hans Spellmeyer, Deutsche Kolonialpolitik im Reichstag (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1931, pp. 84-85.

¹⁴ A good account of the Reichstag debate exists in the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 16:23, 8 Juni 1899, p. 196, and 16:26, 29 Juni 1899, p. 224.

¹⁵ Eckhart Kehr, "Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik, 1894-1901," Historische Studien, Heft 197 (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1965), see Passim.

¹⁶ SB Reichstag, Bd. 165, 1898, p. 3289.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Bd. 176, Aktenstück nr. 548, 25 Jan 1900, p. 3405.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* It was number eight on Tirpitz's list.

¹⁹ Rudolf von Bennigsen, "Bericht des Kaiserlichen Gouverneurs v. Bennigsen über seine Reise zum Zwecke der Uebernahme des Inselgebiets der Karolinen, Palau und Marianen in deutschen Besitz," DKB, XI:3, 1 Feb. 1899, pp. 100-112.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

22 Ibid.

23 See above, Chapter II. Nanpei to C. M. Lamson D. D., Nov. 1, 1899, in MH, XCVI: 4 April 1900, p. 147.

24 Ibid.

25 Fr. Theil, "Unsere Bezirks- und Landeshauptleute auf den Karolinen," Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 16:29, 20 Juli 1899, pp. 258-259.

26 Dr. Albert Hahl, "Allgemeiner Bericht über Ponape," DKB, XII:14, 15 Juli 1900, p. 544. In fact, the Germans had a few major segments of the wall torn down. They used the rocks to build foundations for the administrative offices and houses for the staff.

27 Nanpei to Lamson, MH, XCVI:4, April 1900, pp. 147-149.

28 Wolfgang Treue, "Die Jaluit Gesellschaft," Zeitschrift für Firmengeschichte und Unternehmerbiographie, Nr. 2/3, 1962, pp. 108-123.

29 There were competitors, but the Jaluit Gesellschaft's administration of the Marshall Islands gave it a clear advantage until 1906. At that time, the German government incorporated the Marshalls into the Inselgebiet, which included the Carolines and Marianas. DKB, XVII, Beilage zu Nr. 12 vom 16 Juni 1906, p. 17.

30 Conversation with Carlos Etschreit, Aug. 11, 1973.

31 Conversation with Leo Etschreit, July 18, 1973.

32 Carlos Etschreit, Aug. 11, 1973.

33 Hahl, "Mittheilungen über Sitten und rechtliche Verhältnisse auf Ponape," Ethnologische Notizblatt, Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 8-11.

34 DKB, XIV:8, 15 April 1903, p. 184. Cf. DKB, XIV:17, 1 Sept. 1903, p. 474.

35 Hahl to E. E. Strong, ABC 19.4, v. 10, nr. 170 (trans. of nr. 171). Hahl wrote this letter while he was still in Germany.

It shows that Strong had communicated with Hahl regarding the return of the American Board to Ponape and that the matter was under consideration. Nanpei mentioned that he had made a similar request to Hahl in his letter to Lamson. See MH XCVI:4, April 1900, pp. 147-149.

36 Ibid., Nanpei.

37 MH, XVII:2, Feb. 1901, p. 62.

38 "Missionary Journey," ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 107. This was a report about their arrival on Ponape.

39 MH, XVII:2, Feb. 1901, p. 62.

40 Hambruch, v. I, p. 287.

41 "Bericht der Vizegouverneurs Dr. Hahl über eine Expedition nach den Rukinseln (Ostkarolinen)," DKB, XII:9, 1 Mai 1901, pp. 318, 321, 322. For Nanpei's role, see p. 321.

42 DKB, XII:17, 1 Sept. 1901, p. 631.

43 DKB, XVIII:15, 1 Aug 1907, p. 724. This was Berg's obituary.

44 Peter Hemenstall, "Indigenous Resistance to German Rule in the Pacific Colonies of Samoa, Ponape, and New Guinea, 1884-1914," Diss., Magdalen College, Oxford, 1973, pp. 100-101. I am especially grateful to Mr. Hemenstall as he provided me with both a copy of his dissertation and relevant notes from the Reichskolonialamt records from the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, DDR.

45 Ibid., p. 101.

46 Ida C. Foss to Judson Smith, Aug. 4, 1902, ABC 19.4, v. 15, nr. 185. Foss is clearly agitated in this letter about pressure from the German administration to teach German in the school. On p. 3 she talks about the "law" and feels obliged to discontinue teaching English. Cf. ABC 19.4, v. 16, nr. 105, Palmer to Smith, Aug. 5, 1902.

47 ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 121. See especially p. 2 of this report concerning the continuation of the ABC in Micronesia in the face of German pressures in Truk and Ponape. Cf. ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 122.

48 ABC 19.4, v. 14, nrs. 123 and 124.

49 ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 85. Cf. nr. 86.

50 Foss to Smith, Aug. 4, 1902, ABC 19.4, v. 15, nr. 185.
Cf. Palmer to Smith, June 12, 1902, ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 7.

51 Gray, "Report of the Ponape Station, Micronesia Mission, July 31, 1907," ABC 19.4, v. 14, nr. 87.

52 Berg, "Neueste Vorgänge im Bezirk der Ostkarolinen (insbesondere Entwaffnung der Truk Insulaner)," DKB, XVI:7, 1 April 1905, p. 213.

53 This was mentioned to me by a number of Ponapeans who worked with the Germans. German accounts of the typhoon can be found in the following: "Bericht des Geschäftsführenden Vizegouverners in Ponape über den Orkan vom 20 April 1905," DKB, XVI:13, 1 Juli 1905, pp. 407-409. Cf. DKB, XVI:14, 15 Juli 1905, p. 457; DKB, XVI:21, 1 Nov. 1905, pp. 645-647.

54 "Entwaffnung der Ponape Insulaner," DKB, XVI:21, 1 Nov. 1905, p. 647.

55 DKB, XVII:17, 1 Sept. 1906, p. 572.

56 See Chapter V.

57 Conversation with Margarita, Enipein, Kiti, Dec. 12, 1973.

58 P. Kilian Müller, Ponape, "im Sonnenlicht der Öffentlichkeit" (Köln: J. P. Bachem, 1912), pp. 7, 32.

59 Ibid., p. 32.

60 Hemenstall, p. 105.

⁶¹ HEA/MM/Nanpei, Nanpei to Emerson, June 18, 1897. See above, Chapter II.

⁶² The Nanmwarki of Madolenihmw gave permission for a small group of Pingelap Islanders to settle in the area known as Mand in Madolenihmw.

⁶³ DKB, XVIII, 1 Aug. 1907, p. 724.

CHAPTER IV

1907-1909: THE FIRST LAND REFORM

Hahl and Berg and the Ponapean System

In the first eight years of German administration on Ponape, Germans and Ponapeans got along quite well. The Germans lived in Kolonia and, except for occasional visits around the island, stayed there. Governors Hahl and Berg showed genuine respect for the Ponapeans and their customs in their frequent attendance at feasts. They had friendships among the Ponapeans and got along well with Henry Nanpei whose mediating influence helped them in Truk and Ponape. Though both Hahl and Berg hoped to limit feasting, neither pressed the issue, because the high chiefs were unalterably opposed.

The fact that Hahl and Berg did not push the issue was due to the Ponapean political situation which the Germans inherited from the Spanish. Protestant and Catholic, northern and southern rivalries wove around other intricacies of Ponapean customs, and produced a highly volatile situation. The Germans did their utmost to maintain the religious balance, as in 1906 when they refused to allow the Capuchins to expand into Uh. In that case, it was the German administration (Berg) restraining German missionaries in order to prevent another religious conflict (such as that in Awak in 1898).

It is important to remember that Berg decreed that German was to be the only "foreign" language to be taught in the schools (all of which were either Protestant or Catholic). This effectively forced the American Board out of the Carolines, because its missionaries could not speak German and were not permitted to speak English in their schools. Despite this, the Catholics in Net and Sokehs believed that Nanpei's influence on the Administration was too strong. According to many informants in those two kingdoms, Sokehs and Net believed that most German proposals were the work of Nanpei. Both sides were trying to manipulate German control of the island to their own advantage, and both sought to prevent each other from attaining that objective.

That Nanpei was trying to influence the Germans was certainly true. Aside from his role as mediator, Nanpei was the leading Protestant among the Ponapeans, and he had his business concerns and land claims at stake. During Hahl and Berg's administrations, no one had contested these claims to sizable tracts of land in Kiti (see Map No. 3, p. 44). He had his father's testament and certification from the first of the Spanish and German Governors for his claims, but a change in the traditional power structure could upset that. Already one high chief, Sou Kiti, was laying claim to lands which traditionally belonged to the Sou Kiti title since Kiti's war of unification (see Chapter I). This dispute was to become intertwined with the already intense

aplit between the Protestant kingdoms of Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti, and the Catholic kingdoms of Net and Sokehs.

Aside from religion, traditional clan and kingdom rivalries divided the island. Before white contact, certain clans in Kiti and Uh had suffered defeat by the Soun Kawad which thereby took over in Net and Sokehs. The Kiti-Uh rivalry with the Soun Kawad had merged with the religious conflict which had explosive potential anyway. Part of the religious conflict had to do with the fact that the Catholics could smoke, drink alcohol and sakau, feast, and wear traditional clothes. The Protestants, however, had adopted Western-style clothing and were absolutely forbidden to consume alcohol, sakau, and tobacco. Ponape was entering a new era in which a number of young Protestant adults, namely Nanpei and his followers, were extraordinarily influential. The more-traditional Catholic kingdoms of Net and Sokehs were facing Protestants who had been taught a different lifestyle by American missionaries. The number of educated Protestant adults was few, but they were strong because they possessed the ability to deal with Westerners.

One of the most important aspects of this entire story deals with the fact that the Germans generally respected the position of each side in the conflict. As long as both sides were satisfied that they were receiving proper treatment and respect, the Germans faced a peaceful, albeit tense, Ponape. Although the Ponapeans had given up their rifles (most of them,

anyway), many still had them and were ready to fight if necessary. Western contact and colonial rule had not yet broken the warrior spirit on Ponape, and both factions were prepared to fight each other and even the Germans, if their respective positions were threatened. This was the situation at the time of Berg's death on Ponape.

Hahl Initiates a Land Reform

That the Germans did not force any issue on the Ponapeans was evidence of their sensitivity to the situation on the island. However, both Hahl's and Berg's sensitivity was not increasing the economic productivity of Ponape. To do that required the elimination of the all-important feasts and tribute payments. This changed in 1907 when the German Colonial Office under its new State Secretary, Bernhard Dernburg, embarked on a new program. Dernburg took office with a statement of policy reforms which aimed at "self-sufficiency" and "economic and social development" for the German colonies.¹ Whether or not Hahl received any specific orders from Berlin with respect to Ponape is not clear.

However, Hahl traveled to Ponape in September 1907 to inform the Nanmwarkis that henceforth they could no longer remove individuals from the land they farmed.² In the Ponapean

Footnotes may be found on pages 151-154.

culture the Nanmwarki received the "first fruits" of the land as tribute from the people who lived on a piece of land at his discretion. Hahl had objected to the tribute system when he served on Ponape as District Administrator and Vice-Governor of the New Guinea Protectorate but had been unable to act because of caution in Berlin.³ Though they went to feasts and drank sakau, both Hahl and Berg had seen the feasts as impediments to economic development.

The decision to go ahead with reforms on Ponape probably resulted from a number of considerations. First Ponape was one of the largest islands in the Carolines, and its land area and abundant rainfall made it attractive for the production of copra. Second, it possessed no pests as did Palau, where the coconut beetle ravaged coconut trees.⁴ Third, its traditional rivalries were not unusual; in Yap and Truk the traditional relationships were as intense as those on Ponape, so there was really no choice among the larger islands of Micronesia.⁵ The small atolls of the Marshalls produced the most copra, but Ponape had fantastic potential when compared with them in size alone.⁶

In any case, Hahl initiated his land reform in Ponape when he removed Nanmwarki control of the land by his edict. This set off quiet moves among the Ponapeans to prove that they had farmed specific portions of land which they each claimed. Hahl's edict had rocked the entire system of land tenure on Ponape.

Since Isokelekel, all Ponapeans farmed, lived, and were buried on land at the Nanmwarki's pleasure. As long as everyone

recognized his authority and paid tribute, they could live on the land they occupied. Birth and rank gave the most desirable lands to the ruling clans or to those who had performed unusual services. Traditional fiefdoms were generally secure, barring any major disagreements, insults, or war; but they were also fluid. Major shifts in ruling clans could alter political circumstances.

Hahl's decree now froze everyone in place by guaranteeing to everyone freehold tenure over the land which they farmed. It was a democratizing element which jarred the system, because the Nanmwarki no longer had the effective authority to receive or demand tribute. This was what Hahl had in mind when he issued his decree: to put an end to the tribute system and with it the unproductive feasts.⁷ He was probably assuming that the new individual freedom would lead to increased productivity, since the secure land tenure would encourage individual incentive to produce copra for cash instead of yams and sakau for feasts. It is doubtful that Hahl believed that his simple decree would overturn centuries of tradition immediately. In fact, little occurred between Hahl's announcement on September 23, 1907, and the arrival of the new District Administrator, George Fritz, in April 1908.

Fritz Meets the Ponapeans

George Fritz, who was replacing the unfortunate Berg, had served as District Administrator for the Mariana Islands in Saipan

since 1899. There he had the good fortune to govern a people whom the Spanish had brutally colonized in the sixteenth century. The Chamorros were a malleable group who readily assented to Fritz's establishment of a head tax, a regulated coconut planting program, and compulsory labor for public works.⁸

When Fritz arrived on Ponape, he was aware of Hahl's earlier decree which had removed Nanmwarki authority over the land. While he felt that such action was appropriate, he believed it to have been "premature and unjust."⁹ Hahl had simply decreed an end to the removal of people from their land but had established no other program to go along with it. Fritz, therefore, amended Hahl's decree in order to make it more acceptable to the high chiefs.

In February 1908, Fritz proposed some amendments to Hahl, who approved them. All land would henceforth be private property, and the tribute payments would cease. Thus freed from feudal servitude, every able-bodied man between the ages of 16 and 45 years of age would work fifteen days each year for the District Office in return for their emancipation. Each day of public labor was valued at one mark per man, and the high-ranking royalty and nobility (Nanmwarki, Naniken, et. al.) would receive half the proceeds as payment for their renunciation of their authority over the land. The public works obligation would be used for the construction of roads, bridges, and canals to further the economic development of the island and the improvement of all natives.¹⁰

Fritz had tried to soften the blow by guaranteeing to the high chiefs seven and one half marks per year per able-bodied man who worked in the public works program. Yet the decree still removed their traditional authority and the tribute payments, and the initial response was negative. The kingdoms of the North, Net and Sokehs, suspected the reforms as the work of Nanpei and the Protestants who sought to gain an advantage over the Catholics.

Their suspicions were well founded since, upon Fritz's arrival, Henry Nanpei and his followers had gathered before him as a "Volkspartei" with the suggestion that the District Administrator create an advisory council on native affairs.¹¹ The councils would consist of three chiefly representatives from each kingdom, with Nanpei as chairman. According to Peter Hempenstall, Net and Sokehs opposed the Nanpei plan, and the Capuchin priests regarded it as an effort by Nanpei to set up an alternative political system.¹² Modern Ponapean informants have no specific information about such a council, but many believe that Nanpei was trying to destroy the Nanmwarki system.¹³

Fritz Tries to Build a Road

Despite the fact that the high chiefs reacted negatively to his proposals, Fritz was determined to begin work on a 20-km road from Kolonia to Kiti. Travel around the island was difficult as there were no roads; only narrow, muddy paths through the jungle,

Boat travel was dependent upon winds and tides, and could take as long as twelve hours to the farthest parts of Kiti and Madolenihmw.

Fritz had been on Ponape for three months when he secured the approval of the Nanmwarki of Kiti for a road through his kingdom. But on July 17, 1908, after a crew of Mortlockese workers had completed only 1000 meters, they received an anonymous warning that they would be attacked if the work continued.¹⁴ At the same time, Fritz received a warning from Nanpei and the Nanmwarki of Kiti that the kingdoms of Net and Sokehs had threatened to kill all the whites on the island. Nanpei reportedly feared for his own life, because he had supported Fritz's introduction of the head tax, compulsory labor, and the land reform. Though Fritz found Nanpei's warning plausible, his own fears were allayed at a meeting on July 19, 1908, when the leaders of Net and Sokehs professed their loyalty.¹⁵

Fritz was in the midst of the religious and political struggle which had seethed since the Spanish period. Despite efforts by the German governors to be evenhanded, the Protestant-Catholic hostility coupled with the traditional rivalry between the northern and southern kingdoms had not waned. The Liebenzeller Mission and the German Capuchin priests forbade their parishioners to enter the opposition churches and stepped up the missionary rivalry. The Capuchins had also initiated a more aggressive policy under their new Prefect, P. Venantius, in 1906.¹⁶

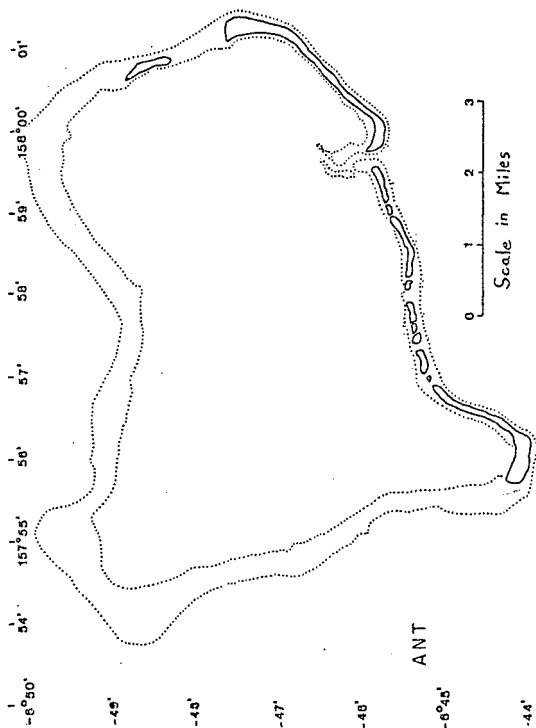
Given all the maneuvering behind the scenes, Fritz possessed a remarkable understanding of the situation. He was caught between Protestants and Catholics and the traditional rivalries, and he was relatively powerless. With a small police force, he had to try to sustain the balance of relationships, but his influence was only "moral."¹⁷

The issue became even more complicated when a group of men from the Puaipuai section of Kiti had attacked the land of Sigismundo, the high chief with the title of Sou Kiti. That incident took place five days before the warning to the Mortlockese workers. On the surface, the attack on Sou Kiti's lands and the warning to the Mortlockese were unrelated, but they were: through Henry Nanpei.

Henry Nanpei versus Sou Kiti: The Ant Dispute

The reason that these incidents (the warning to the Mortlockese workers and the attack on Sou Kiti's lands) were related to Nanpei was because Sou Kiti was in the process of challenging Nanpei's claim to all of Ant (see Map No. 6). The Puaipuai group which had attacked Sou Kiti's land at Tomwarohlong and Ant were allies of Nanpei: Puaipuai was a section which was part of Nanpei's lands in Central Kiti. According to older informants who were close to both Nanpei and Sou Kiti, Nanpei had been responsible for the warnings to the Mortlockese and Fritz, partly to divert

Map No. 6



attention from the attacks on Sou Kiti. However, it is important to recognize that Nanpei could have received word that Sokehs and Net were really planning to attack Kolonia, because both kingdoms opposed the land reform and Fritz's newer amendments. Though many believe Nanpei was involved in both incidents, no solid proof exists. Despite this, Sou Kiti assumed that both the attacks and the warnings were related to his claim to Ant.

Here it is necessary to examine both Nanpei's and Sou Kiti's claims to fully understand the importance of the Ant dispute. What was at stake under the new rules of private ownership of land was whether or not traditional fiefdoms and clan affiliation were to be considered as valid claims. If they were, then Sou Kiti had an interesting claim, because he held still another title, Kirou Likiak, section chief of Enipein (another section in Kiti). In a legendary battle, an Enipein warrior named Isosouri had conquered Ant Atoll and had driven out the previous rulers, the clan known as Dipwenluhk Soun Ant, Nanpei's clan and sub-clan. Isosouri was Kirou Likiak in his time and Sou Kiti (who was Kirou Likiak in German times) claimed Ant by right of clan and title.

Nanpei's claim to Ant was based on a testament which his father, Naniken Isoani (see above, Chapter II), signed on the advice of Nanpei's maternal grandfather, James Headley.¹⁸ The Spanish Governor Pidal recognized that claim in 1896, and Dr. Hahl certified it in 1899. Despite all of this, Nanpei's claim to Ant

was in jeopardy. Unless the land reform became an enforceable law, a future Nanmwarki of Kiti might take the atoll or all his land at will. Because Sou Kiti's clan status and warrior reputation gave him a good chance to succeed to the Nanmwarki title in the future, Nanpei certainly had cause to worry.

Sou Kiti was the only man to openly challenge Nanpei in Kiti, but he had relatives and enemies of Nanpei on his side. Sou Kiti was very much a traditionalist who had achieved power along traditional lines. His clan was that of the Nanmwarki, Dipwenmen Tontol, and his high rank and stature as a warrior made him a likely successor to the ruling sub-clan which had no more male heirs. The Nanmwarki (Paul) and Wasai (David) were the last survivors of the Dipwenmen Inenwaies sub-clan; once they were gone, Sou Kiti could succeed.

However, Nanpei had his own power base which he had developed during the Spanish period. Nanpei and his followers, Luelen, David, William, and Ettekar, were seeking alternative routes to power. They already had extraordinary influence over the Protestant Nanmwarkis in Kiti, Uh, and Madolenihmw as a result of their education and ability to deal with foreigners. None of them could succeed to the Nanmwarki title because their respective clans were the wrong ones. Nanpei's case was particularly obvious, since his clan was Dipwenluhk Soun Ant, and the clan of the Nanmwarki of Kiti was Dipwenmen. Though Nanpei's father had been Naniken of Kiti, that gave him no right to the Nanmwarki title.

Despite Sou Kiti's advantage vis-à-vis clan status and traditional rank, Nanpei possessed another: he was closer to Nanmwarki Paul (the Nanmwarki of Kiti) than was Sou Kiti. Nanpei had always taken care not to openly challenge Nanmwarki authority; he always provided exceptional tribute, and he consistently provided assistance in matters which required a facility with Western ways. Nanpei had also assumed a humble stance by refusing higher chiefly titles.¹⁹

Though Sou Kiti was equally respectful of Nanmwarki authority in terms of service and tribute, he was capable of asserting his independence. When he returned the title of Sou Kiti to Kiti after the 1887 war against the Spanish, he did so on his own initiative. The Sou Kiti title had gone to Net after the war at Sapwtakai which unified Kiti, perhaps a century earlier, but Net did not award the title to Kiti for its help in 1887.²⁰ However, Sou Kiti took the title, gave it to the high chiefs of Kiti, and they eventually awarded it to him again. Sou Kiti earned enormous respect by this, but he was considered brash and arrogant by the older chiefs.

As a result of Sou Kiti's attitudes, plus other traditional relationships, the high chiefs tended to side with Nanpei. One reason was that the Nanmwarki and Wasai were from Wone and Doletik, an island just off of Rohn Kiti (Nanpei's land). Their clan affiliations in Central Kiti and Wone did not get along with the Enipein branches of the Dipwenmen. So despite the fact that

Sou Kiti was a member of the royal clan, this did not help him in the attempt to win support from the other high chiefs whose prerogatives he was defending. This is one of the amazing ironies of the situation; the high chiefs in Kiti were backing Nanpei whose efforts on behalf of the reform would ultimately weaken their power.

Sou Kiti tried to assert his rights to Ant after Fritz outlined the details of his land reform. Since individuals would have freehold tenure over the land they farmed, Sou Kiti had planted coconuts on the island of Pahn Mwehk (one of the islands on the reef at Ant). When the Puaipuai group destroyed his crops at Tomwarohlong, either they or someone else destroyed Sou Kiti's crops on Ant. Because of Nanpei's influence with the Nanmwarki of Kiti, Sou Kiti turned to Fritz. It is ironic that Sou Kiti was trying to defend his traditional rights to the governor, while Nanpei had the support of the Nanmwarki.

Fritz knew that Sou Kiti was a member of the black Dipwenmen, the Nanmwarki's sub-clan, and that Sou Kiti might succeed to the Nanmwarki title.²¹ If Sou Kiti succeeded as Nanmwarki, he might challenge Nanpei's land claims which were part of the Naniken's fiefdom as a result of the war at Sapwtakai. Theoretically, in Ponapean custom those lands belonged to the reigning Naniken, though Nanpei's father's testament contradicted that tradition. Fritz understood this much of the situation, but could not resolve it without antagonizing either party. This,

combined with the hostility to the reforms from the Catholic kingdoms (namely Net and Sokehs) in the north, produced a tense atmosphere with suspicion on all sides.

Nanpei skillfully manipulated the situation to make it appear that Sou Kiti was in alliance with the northern kingdoms. He received unexpected help when the ambitious Capuchin priests, P. Crescenzius and P. Fidelis, intervened on Sou Kiti's behalf. The missionaries were using the land reform and Sou Kiti's claim to try to expand their influence. This complicated an already tense situation, for it threatened to upset the fragile religious balance on the island.

Residents of the section of Enipein (of which Sou Kiti was section chief) say that the priests offered to help Sou Kiti if he would convert to Catholicism.²² Though only one Enipein family was Catholic at the time, Sou Kiti had Catholic relatives in the northern kingdoms. Although the priests did intervene on his behalf, and although he became a Catholic, he ultimately failed in his challenge to Nanpei.

Fritz Tries to Mediate

After Nanpei's warning that the northern kingdoms were planning an attack on Kolonia, Fritz had gone to Rohn Kiti for his own safety.²³ He also requested that the Capuchin missionaries pacify the people of Net and Sokehs. On July 19, 1908, the leaders of Net and Sokehs met with Fritz and assured him of their loyalty.²⁴

On August 4, Fritz called an assembly of the high chiefs at which he explained his policies and accepted Nanpei's idea for an advisory council. This would be composed of the five high chiefs, section chiefs, and "one or two other representatives from the kingdoms to assist in the tasks of native administration."²⁵

Naturally, the chiefs of Net, Sokehs, and Awak greeted this suspiciously. The council proposals, the warnings about Net and Sokehs murdering the whites, and the attack on Sou Kiti's land made it fairly obvious that Nanpei was manipulating.²⁶ Yet, because Nanpei stayed carefully out of view in most of these matters, there was no way to link him directly, though many rumors existed. Fritz understood this but was powerless to do anything about it.

There followed a confusing series of events which began when Sou Kiti went to Fritz seeking redress for the attack on his lands. However, Sou Kiti's meeting with Fritz had to be secret, because the Nanmwarki had just prohibited Kiti residents from going to Kolonia. Sou Kiti sent Fritz a note and met him secretly at Awak, where he asked the Governor for compensation and assurances that future destruction would be met by force from the government.²⁶ Fritz offered compensation and assurances and Sou Kiti declared himself satisfied.²⁷

After his meeting with Sou Kiti, Fritz was confident that the issue was resolved, but the Capuchin priests, P. Crescenzius and P. Fidells, insisted that Sou Kiti was not yet satisfied.

They claimed that Sou Kiti wanted written assurance but had not requested it. They were also pushing for Sou Kiti's claim to Ant.

However, Fritz sensed that the priests were aiming to expand their influence, and relations between himself and the Capuchins became so strained that they nearly broke off all communications.²⁸ At the same time, Fritz received letters from a man named Lini (a member of the Puaipuai Soun Kawad who allegedly attacked Sou Kiti's lands) and the high chiefs of Kiti requesting that the Catholics be prevented from further expanding into Kiti.²⁹ Those letters are further evidence of Nanpei's influence, because Lini was regarded as a Nanpei ally and the high chiefs feared the spread of Catholic influence as potentially dangerous to their own position. It was an attempt on Nanpei's part to isolate Sou Kiti from the high chiefs and to prevent the spread of Catholicism in Kiti.

Fritz Calls for Help

As tension mounted, Fritz realized he needed outside support. He warned the Ponapeans of an "impending visit" of a warship.³⁰ The arrival of the cruiser SMS Condor and one hundred Melanesian police soldiers from New Guinea on September 2, 1908, calmed the situation. This was followed by a visit from Dr. Hahl in mid-September and one in early October, and Hahl

telegraphed from New Guinea for a second cruiser and one hundred additional police soldiers. The SMS Jaguar arrived a few weeks later as an additional show of strength, and the Condor returned in March 1909.

Ponapeans over the age of 70 remember the arrival of several warships and also that one in particular sailed to Kiti. German sources indicate that the SMS Condor made a 20-km cruise to Kiti in March 1909, and that the Germans invited a number of people aboard to witness a display of naval artillery.³¹ Impressive though this was, it nearly sparked an attack on the ship by the people of Enipein. The reason was that Sou Kiti went aboard and his Enipein supporters thought the Germans were going to execute him. As they were about to launch canoes with warriors aboard, the ship turned around and Sou Kiti disembarked.³²

This incident sparked rumors that Sou Kiti had gone aboard the ship for a meeting with the German governor. Those at the meeting supposedly included Nanpei, a Ponapean translator named Joseph, Sou Kiti, and possibly the Nanmwarki of Kiti. Some claim that Sou Kiti emerged as the owner of all of Ant, while others insist that Nanpei's claim was upheld. Unfortunately, Fritz never mentioned such a meeting in his writings, and no record seems to exist in the Colonial Office records in Potsdam.³³

Despite the lack of German documentation, Ponapeans generally agree that a meeting concerning Ant took place aboard a boat or ship in the Rohn Kiti harbor. The interpretation which

supports the Nanpei claim insists that at the meeting a deal was struck that Sou Kiti would relinquish his own claim to Ant in return for entering the royal line of titles and eventually succeeding as Nanmwarki. Presumably, this meant that Sou Kiti would wait until Nanmwarki Paul and Wasai David, the last of the Dipwenmen Inenwaies, had passed on.

Such an agreement is logical since Sou Kiti wanted to become Nanmwarki, and his claim to the title would be stronger if he had a title in the royal line. The Sou Kiti title was an old priestly title which carried no rights of succession to the title of Nanmwarki. (As it turned out later, Sou Kiti received the title of Dauk, number three on the Nanmwarki side, and ultimately received the Nanmwarki title after Nanmwarki Paul died during the Japanese Administration.) Despite the logic of such an agreement, the Germans demonstrated no knowledge of it, and it is possible that the dispute was resolved by the high chiefs themselves.

This perspective indicates that the story of the land reform which Fritz had tried to implement has given way to the Ant conflict in the minds of those who were old enough to remember. Very few remember Fritz as the initiator of a comprehensive land reform, but they do remember the fact that he wanted roads. This aspect may have been emphasized by the high chiefs, who were most directly threatened by the reforms. Not only were they to lose their traditional authority over the land and, with

it, the absolute right to regular payments of tribute, but they were also responsible for mobilizing the able-bodied men for road building, for which there was to be no payment. Under the circumstances, the high chiefs had no reason to want to push road building projects on their people.

The Situation Settles: Fritz Eases the Pressure for Reform

After the appearances by the warships and the arrival of additional Melanesian police soldiers, Fritz managed to gain acceptance of the reforms by the high chiefs of Kiti, Madolenihmw, Uh, and Net. In order to make the reforms more acceptable, each of the Nanmwarkis was to receive 1000 marks and certain lower-ranking chiefs, such as Sou Kiti, were to receive 650 marks.³⁴ The only kingdom which did not accede to Fritz's new plan was Sokehs. In that case, Fritz agreed to let the Sokehs chiefs continue to collect tribute and to defer the public works obligation for the balance of 1909; the reform would take effect in Sokehs in 1910.³⁵

With the new agreement and more soldiers to protect the workers, Fritz immediately began work on the 20-km road from Kolonia to Kiti. Hempenstall has emphasized that Ponapean cooperation was lacking. Though the initial road was cut and the registration of land holdings begun, the Ponapeans came and went as they pleased and the projects were not well coordinated.³⁶ Despite gaining Nanmwarki acceptance of the reforms, Fritz still found it difficult to implement them.

Hempenstall states that Fritz and Hahl sought more money and assistance to press on with the reforms, but that the Colonial Office in Berlin refused and even considered removing the administration from Ponape altogether.³⁷ However, Hahl convinced them that this would only encourage dissidence in other areas of the Carolines.³⁸ The apparent result was a return to the relatively benign approach which had existed until 1907.

Kiti and Sokehs on the Verge of War

That Fritz returned to a more passive approach is evident in the fact that he never mentioned an incident which nearly sparked fighting between Kiti and Sokehs. All Ponapeans know that a Sokehs canoe which had sailed to Pakin (an atoll 12 miles beyond the reef off of Sokehs) never returned. Rumors quickly spread that the canoe had met rough conditions on the return trip and had tried to put in at Ant, which is closer to Pakin than Ponape. Because of traditional rivalry between Kiti and Sokehs and the tension on the island, it was believed that Oliver Nanpei and the workers on Ant were responsible for the disappearance of the canoe. This is and was a rumor, but it set off preparations for war in Sokehs.

The result of the rumor was a blockade by Sokehs warriors of the Dau Mwokote, a channel which separates the island of Sokehs and the main island of Ponape. The people of Sokehs apparently used such a blockade to force the people of Kiti to sail around

Sokehs if they wished to go to Kolonia for any reason. Sokehs informants have spoken of one incident in which Nanpei's diesel-powered copra boat tried to pass through the channel. Those who guarded the channel stopped the boat and searched it hoping to find Henry or Oliver Nanpei aboard. When neither was found, the boat was permitted to continue.

The Germans display no knowledge of this incident, but the Ponapeans insist that war nearly developed as a result. One informant told of a meeting which he and his older brother attended at Fritz's office where Fritz met with Soumadau en Sokehs (the leading warrior of that kingdom), and Nanmwarki Paul of Kiti, Henry Nanpei, and several other people from each side.³⁹ This hearing (kopwung) prevented the outbreak of war.

Another reason that war did not erupt was that a warrior named Samuel, from the Tomwara section of Sokehs, refused to fight against Kiti. Samuel had adopted a nephew of Henry Nanpei's and did not wish to fight against Nanpei. He also reportedly performed a divination (kosetipw) in which the prospects for Sokehs appeared poor. Inasmuch as the people of Sokehs respected both his powers as a sorcerer and a warrior, they decided not to attack Kiti.

Although the Ant dispute and the Pakin canoe incident may seem to digress from the primary narrative and the land reform, they were both important factors which contributed substantially to the tension created by the reforms. Many

of the stories, rumors, and theories which circulated on the island proved to be the basis for future actions by the Ponapeans both in relations with the Germans and among themselves.

One important fact which the stories illustrate is that the rival factions and individuals distrusted each other as much as they distrusted the Germans. Both were hoping to expand their influence, but the Protestants had the upper hand, since they strongly endorsed Fritz's land reforms. When Net agreed to the reforms, it left Sokehs standing alone in defense of traditional chiefly prerogatives with respect to land and tribute. This was ultimately to prove disastrous for both the Ponapeans and the Germans.

The Effect of the Land Reforms on Ponape

The most consistent Ponapean interpretation of the beginning of the land reforms is that Nanpei understood the white man much better than other Ponapeans, because he alone was "enlightened" (marain). Many see Nanpei as the prime mover of the reforms for his own benefit, namely the security of his own land holdings. Yet they admit that the reforms effectively freed them from the absolute subservience to Nanmwarki authority which had existed earlier. Nanpei's strength was evident in the fact that Sou Kiti tried to oppose him in the Ant question and had to relent. So, too, Sokehs was the strongest opponent of

the land reforms, and they (like Sou Kiti) found themselves isolated when their traditional ally, Net, fell into line with Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti.

In this regard, the Pakin canoe incident could have been an effort by Nanpei to draw Sokehs into open battle against himself and his allies, and so discredit that kingdom in the eyes of the Germans. In fact, Fritz appears to have quickly and quietly mediated that incident and probably frustrated any plan to force Sokehs into open confrontation with the Germans.

All this indicates that Fritz was a remarkably sensitive colonial administrator during his brief tenure on Ponape. He had begun by amending Hahl's decree to remove Nanmwarki authority over land and tribute payments by tying it to a comprehensive reform. He was willing to try to appease the chiefs by offering payment as compensation for the lost tribute. He met Ponapean leaders, such as Sou Kiti, in secret and even appeased the recalcitrant leaders of Sokehs by allowing them to defer the reforms for one year. Even after the acceptance of the reforms by the other kingdoms, Fritz was content to allow the public works obligation to proceed with a minimum of pressure.

Fritz seems to have understood that the reforms could not be accepted immediately and was obviously playing for time. Unfortunately, he was suddenly transferred to Yap in October 1909 and was replaced on Ponape by Gustav Boeder, who proved to be a less patient District Administrator. Boeder came to Ponape from

German East Africa where he had served during the bloody Majimaji rebellion in the years 1905-1907.⁴⁰ Little is known about him except that he was an impatient man who had little regard for the Ponapeans. Peter Hempenstall has written that Boeder was probably "ill suited" to the isolation of the small German community, and that he tended to be authoritarian and demanding in his approach towards natives.⁴¹ Ponapean assessments concur and indicate that Boeder was simply the wrong man for the job.

Hempenstall found that Boeder was "contemptuous" of "Fritz's lack of firmness" in the question of compulsory road work.⁴² Throughout February and March 1910, he put pressure on Wasai Sokehs. Wasai was the high chief in Sokehs owing to tradition, but this particular Wasai was not as highly respected as Soumadau en Sokehs. Both Soumadau and the Wasai had accepted the reforms under Fritz and did so again under Boeder on March 16, 1910, and the road work began in April. All five kingdoms had apparently accepted the reforms, but all of the conflicts and tensions beneath the surface were about to explode into rebellion.

Footnotes - Chapter IV

¹ "Vortrag Dernburgs," DKB, XVIII:4, 15 Feb. 1907, pp. 151-159. See especially pp. 151-152.

² George Fritz, Ad Majoram dei Gloriam. Die Vorgeschichte des Aufstandes von 1910-1911 in Ponape (Leipzig: Dieterische Verlagsbuchhandlung R. Weider, 1912), p. 40.

³ See Hempenstall, p. 107. Hempenstall cites communications from Hahl to RKA (Reichskolonialamt) with proposals for reforms.

⁴ Arno Senfft, "Bericht des Bezirksamtmanns Senfft über eine Reise nach den Pelau-Inseln vom 18 Juni bis 22 Aug. 1904," DKB, XVI:2, 15 Jan. 1905, pp. 49-52.

⁵ The information about Yap was conveyed in personal interviews with a number of Yapese in Yap from November 7 to November 24, 1973. I am especially grateful to Raphael Uag for his assistance as both an informant and translator. The islands of Truk had erupted in warfare in 1901. See Chapter III.

⁶ See for example, RKA, "Denkschrift über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, 1 April 1903-31 März 1904," SB Reichstag, Bd. 209, 1905, Aktenstück nr. 540, pp. 2994-2999. The total copra production of the Eastern Carolines was 918 tons versus 3,036,000 kg for the Marshalls. These figures represent production before the 1905 typhoon. Afterwards figures dropped dramatically for both island groups.

⁷ Fritz, p. 40.

⁸ Hempenstall, p. 108.

⁹ Fritz, p. 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹¹ Hambruch, v. I, p. 286. See also Hempenstall, pp. 112-113. Hempenstall's notes provide the information referred to here. See Fritz to Hahl, 26 Aug. 1908, RKA 3005: 100-102; and Hahl to RKA, 30 Sept. 1908, RKA 3005: 162-164.

¹² Müller, p. 40.

¹³ None of the Ponapeans I interviewed mentioned Nanpei's proposal for the council. Most stated that the traditional system threatened Nanpei's land claims and that he wanted to eliminate Nanmwarki authority over the land. The most commonly used phrase was "kawehla manaman en Nanmwarki" or "destroy the power of the Nanmwarki."

¹⁴ Hambruch, v. I, p. 294.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 295.

¹⁶ See above, Chapter II. See also Hempenstall, p. 105.

¹⁷ Hempenstall notes, Fritz to Hahl, 21 Juli 1908, RKA 3005:93.

¹⁸ Conversation with Sehni Nanpei, Sept. 8, 1974. See also Hambruch, v. I, p. 287.

¹⁹ This was told to me by a number of informants who could not remember the exact titles which had been offered to Nanpei.

²⁰ Net did not give up the Sou Kiti title. Sigismundo merely claimed it for having gone to battle in support of Net. His decision to return the title to Kiti was entirely his own idea.

²¹ Fritz, p. 72.

²² Conversation with Margarita in Enipein, Kiti, Dec. 13, 1973. She reported that her family was the first to become Catholic in that section. She also claimed that P. Crescenzius made the offer to Sou Kiti.

²³ Fritz, p. 43.

²⁴ See above, p. 133, fn. 15. Hambruch, v. I, p. 295.

²⁵ Hempenstall, pp. 114-115.

26 Fritz, p. 83. This meeting took place Aug. 10, 1908, at the house of Joachim Gilimete in Awak. This family had strong ties to Enipein and was related to Sou Kiti.

27 Ibid., pp. 45, 83-84.

28 Ibid., pp. 54-55. Here Fritz demonstrates his obvious frustration with the German Capuchins. Cf. Hambruch, v. I, p. 297.

29 Hambruch has the entire text of both letters. Hambruch, v. I, pp. 289-293. Lini and his brothers, Kasini and Jeremiah, were well-known fighters. Their branch of the Soun Kawad was very close to the Soun Kawad of Sokehs. These three were among the few outsiders who went to Sokehs to join the rebellion in 1910 to help fight against the Germans.

30 Hempenstall, p. 117.

31 Ibid. Many Ponapeans witnessed those displays.

32 This information is contained in a song known as "Kadapwadapwen Sigismundo." A "kadapwadapw" is a song in memory of a person or an event. The song outlines the fact that Sou Kiti was aboard the German ship because of Tomwarolong and Ant and that the people expected the Germans to hang him. It expresses the joy of the Enipein people when he got off the ship.

33 I first heard the story which gave Ant to Nanpei in return for Sou Kiti's entrance into the royal line of titles from a man named Prens (Soumakaka) in Diadi, Kiti, Feb. 8, 1974.

34 "Denkschrift über die Entwicklung des deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, 1 April 1908-31 März 1909," SB Reichstag, Bd. 271, 1910; Aktenstück, nr. 179, p. 926.

35 Fritz, p. 55.

36 Hempenstall, p. 120.

37 Ibid., p. 119.

38 Ibid.

³⁹ Conversation with Timothy Jonathan, Nov. 3, 1973.

⁴⁰ The Ponapeans who knew of Boeder or knew him personally say that he often referred to his service in Africa and that he had little regard for Ponape or the Ponapeans.

⁴¹ Hempenstall, p. 122.

⁴² Ibid., p. 123.

CHAPTER V

1910-1911 REBELLION IN SOKEHS:

"THESE ARE THE CLOTHES OF MEN"

Sokehs

At the beginning of 1910, relations between the Ponapeans and the Germans were tense as a result of the land reform. Although Fritz had taken off the pressure for road building, and the chiefs had accepted the land reform, the rivalries among the Ponapeans had not abated. In fact, certain rivalries had become more intense as a result of the reforms. Because Sokehs had resisted the land reform so strongly, that kingdom found itself increasingly isolated politically. Even its traditional ally, Net, had chosen to accept the reforms.

That Sokehs had become a kingdom apart from the others was partly due to certain unique aspects of traditional practices on Sokehs. For one thing, its title system was very different from the titles and order of rank in Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Uh. For example, the Nanmwarki title did not exist owing to Sokehs tradition which supposedly predated the Soun Kawad conquest of that kingdom. As a result, Wasai was the highest title in the royal line (see Appendix II).

Sokehs, the kingdom, was ruled from the island of Sokehs which was separated from the main island of Ponape by a channel known as the Dau Mwokote. Because the men of Sokehs occasionally guarded the Dau Mwokote and prevented canoes from other kingdoms, especially Kiti, from passing through, Sokehs had acquired the reputation of being "hostile" (lemei). Its leading warriors were proud of their exploits against the Spanish, and they were ready and eager to fight again. The land reform was an affront to the high chiefs there who saw it as the work of Nanpei. Nanpei was aware of their distrust of him, and it is possible that his warning to Fritz (that Sokehs and Net were planning to murder the whites on the island) was based on good information. If so, he had every reason to be concerned because many in Sokehs disliked him intensely.

Added to the suspicion of Nanpei as the instigator of the land reform was the lingering rumor that Oliver Nanpei (Henry's eldest son) was responsible for the disappearance of a Sokehs canoe which had failed to return from Pakin in 1908 (or 1909). The case had never been resolved and many in Sokehs wished to avenge the rumored murders. This, coupled with the religious rivalry, the land reform, and Nanpei's proposed "advisory council," made Nanpei a prime target for the suspicions of the Sokehs leaders.

By the same token, Nanpei and his supporters who hoped to change Ponape had found Sokehs to be an obstacle to their

ambitions. By 1910, they had managed to isolate Sokehs, but Sokehs had promised Fritz they would accept the reform and begin the public works obligation starting in 1910. Nevertheless, Sokehs was unique in that it was the only kingdom which had been able to avoid the public works program for 1909. Even Net, Sokehs' sister kingdom, had completed its public works obligation for 1909. This had strained relations between the traditional allies whose Soun Kawad ancestors had jointly conquered Sokehs and Net.

The rulers of Sokehs and Net were the Soun Kawad who had originally inhabited the mountains in the center of the island. Perhaps a century before white contact (ca. 1700), they had used the flood waters of the Nanepil River to sweep down from the mountains and conquer Net and Sokehs. The sons of two Soun Kawad sisters took the highest ranking titles: the son of the older sister became Wasai Sokehs, whereas the son of the younger sister became Lepen Net. At the time of conquest, Net was nominally part of Sokehs but slowly drifted away and was, by the time of German administration, effectively a separate kingdom. Although there still existed strong bonds of filial loyalty through the Soun Kawad clan, these had been growing weaker for at least a century.

Despite their increasingly separate political status, the traditional alliance between Net and Sokehs had asserted itself against the Spanish in 1887. After that war, both Net and Sokehs had converted to Catholicism (along with Awak). They had also stood together against Fritz's reforms; but Net had

apparently left Sokehs alone when it joined Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Uh in accepting the reforms in 1909.

Ponapean informants from Net and Sokehs have stated that at some point between February and October 1910, Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net met at Pali Powe Net. At that meeting, they agreed that their respective kingdoms would help each other if war broke out between the Germans and either of those kingdoms.¹ The fact that the Soun Kawad dominated both kingdoms made such mutual support likely in any case, but the meeting essentially reaffirmed the legendary ties. This was important because Sokehs was expecting help in any confrontation with the Germans.

Boeder Pushes Road Work in Sokehs

One of the important characteristics of the German Governors on Ponape, namely Hahl, Berg, and Fritz, was their sensitivity to the Ponapean culture. They all understood that they could not force the Ponapeans into anything without igniting armed conflict. Fritz was the first German Governor who attempted to implement a reform which would eliminate the feasts, and he faced serious threats of violence. Yet he was able to maintain peace because he understood the cultural upheaval which the reforms were producing. Because of this, he did not push the public works aspect of the reforms, in which able-bodied men were

Footnotes may be found on pages 192-196.

supposed to work without pay for fifteen days per year. Though Fritz had managed to gain the consent of the Nanmwarkis of Madolenihmw, Kiti, and Uh, and the Lepen Net for the reforms, he demanded very little discipline on the work crews. As a result, the planned roads were not completed. Perhaps his problems in implementing the reform, plus the tensions which required more police soldiers to protect the Germans, were responsible for his transfer to Yap in October 1909.

Fritz's transfer was an error, because he had already begun to resolve his differences with Sokehs through an agreement which deferred the reform in Sokehs until 1910. However, the kingdom of Sokehs intended to fulfill their side of the agreement, namely to grant freehold tenure and an end to the tribute obligation along with an acceptance of the public works obligation.

Despite this, the new Governor, Gustav Boeder, was impatient with Ponapean recalcitrance to the reforms. As a result of this, he put increasing pressure on Sokehs to conform to the road works obligation. With the object of building a road around Sokehs Island, road work began on April 6, 1910, below Paipalap cliff on Sokehs. Shortly after the road work began on Sokehs, rumors began circulating that some in Sokehs and Net planned to kill all the whites on the island. Incidentally, Paul Hambruch, a German anthropologist, heard similar rumors later on (see below, p. 161).

One of the reasons for these rumors was that Boeder had appointed a German overseer to direct the Ponapean work crew.

This particular overseer was Otto Hollborn who had worked for the Jaluit Gesellschaft on Ponape for a number of years. He was one of the few Germans whom the Ponapeans did not particularly like, mainly because he was disrespectful. Hollborn also had a Ponapean mistress who was living with him at a house in Sokehs.² Though the Ponapeans usually had no opinion about foreigners living with Ponapean women, Hollborn was different because he was not particularly well liked anyway. Also, the general idea of having a white man ordering them around was not attractive. They preferred to supervise themselves.

Boeder insisted on keeping Hollborn as an overseer, but he appointed Soumadau en Sokehs as a second overseer with a wage of two marks per day. However, there were numerous work stoppages which eventually produced increases in Soumadau's wage to three and later four marks per day.³

If Boeder thought that he would defuse the tension in Sokehs merely by appointing Soumadau as overseer, he was wrong. Soumadau was the foremost warrior in Sokehs and was generally regarded as the real leader of that kingdom despite the fact that his title carried no rights in that direction. He was not even a member of the ruling Soun Kawad but was a member of the Dipwenspahnmei clan. His father had been a high-ranking Soun Kawad and Soumadau was the section chief in Mwaluk where the Sokehs ceremonial house was located.

Soumadau owned a store at Mwaluk, he spoke English (the most commonly used language) well, and there are reports that he

was actually friendly with Boeder.⁴ However, he distrusted the whites (as he distrusted Nanpei), and he had resisted Berg's disarmament efforts in 1905 (see above, Chapter III). At one point, he threatened to kill a visiting District Administrator named Stuckhardt who confiscated some guns from Sokehs in 1908.⁵

Although the Ponapeans worked reluctantly and intermittently, the Sokehs road works obligation for 1910 was proceeding: The road which Fritz had begun was recut, and Boeder aimed to cut a new road along the shore to encircle the island. Peter Hempenstall has found a fact which is critical to the narrative: At the end of April 1910, Boeder informed the Sokehs chiefs that they had agreed in the February negotiations to work a "second period of fifteen days in 1910 to make up for the one which they had refused to perform under Fritz in 1909."⁶ Naturally, Soumadau and the Wasai protested that they "had not understood" that element of the negotiations and they refused to go along.⁷

By the end of May, the young people were significantly aroused and were beginning to talk about ridding the island of the whites. According to Paul Hambruch, a German anthropologist who was on Ponape at the time, the second of June was established as the date when Sokehs people would take Kolonia.⁸ The reason for that date was that Boeder was going to leave on a trip through the Carolines aboard the Delphin, a government vessel. This plan was foiled by the Father Superior on Sokehs who heard of the plan and informed Carl Kammerich, the German police chief.

A Jaluit Gesellschaft schooner Triton arrived on Ponape unexpectedly and carried the news to Yap. Consequently, Boeder returned immediately aboard the Delphin.

In July, two ships of the East Asian Squadron, the SMS Scharnhorst and the Nürnberg conducted landing maneuvers and a parade, but most Ponapeans laughed and concealed themselves.⁹ If Boeder had hoped to impress the Ponapeans with German fire-power, they betrayed no fear.¹⁰ Despite this, Boeder believed he could display more authority. He did so by introducing beatings upon Ponapeans who lied or acted disrespectfully toward whites.¹¹ Prisoners were forced to wear brown-colored sailcloth and a hat, and their heads were shaved.

In September 1910, the first sentence of corporal punishment was inflicted on a Kiti man named Eliu Santos, a nephew of Henry Nanpei.¹² Eliu had tried to change some paper money which Thomas Nanpei (Henry Nanpei's second son) had given him. Eliu and Thomas had agreed on an alibi, but Thomas cracked under questioning and admitted that he had taken it from his father. Eliu maintained his alibi and was beaten for lying, his head was shaved, and he had to remain in prison. He himself threatened to kill Boeder and many believed his relatives would seek revenge. Hambruch was aware of this, and he also claimed to have heard of a secret society of Ponapeans who were planning to do away with their white rulers: Soumadau was the leader, and Lini of Puaipuai was supposed to have been second in command.¹³

In 1973-74, no Ponapean seemed to have been aware of such a movement. However, Lini and his family were related to the Soun Kawad of Sokehs, and despite his close relations with Nanpei, Lini could be expected to help Sokehs.

Despite the fact that Hambruch conveyed his information to Boeder, the Governor seemed to be even more contemptuous of the Ponapeans. At one point Wasai and Soumadau went to Boeder to ask for an increase in wages for the road workers (who were now being paid as a result of an earlier work stoppage). Hempenstall reports that Boeder not only refused, but threw Wasai out of his office "bodily" and threatened him with deportation.¹⁵ Such disrespect to the high chief of Sokehs could only inflame tempers in Sokehs.

By September 1910, tension on the island had spawned more rumors of rebellion. Sometime during that month, a portent of doom to Sokehs occurred at Pan Kedara in the ruins of Nan Madol. Pan Kedara is the most sacred of the islets which comprise Nan Madol, and it has upon it a courtyard surrounded by a wall with four corners (see Chapter I). These corners are known as the corners of Sokehs, Kiti, Madolenihmw, and Katau, and they were believed to be foundations or constitutions for those kingdoms. That is, if any of those corners should crumble, that kingdom would be destroyed, and this is now what happened to the corner of Sokehs.¹⁶

The people of Sokehs knew about the corner (keimw) of Sokehs and of the legendary prophecy of doom if the corner

crumbled. The timing of this symbolic event could not have been worse given the deteriorating relations with Boeder and the general state of tension on the island. The end of Sokehs had been predicted and it merely remained to fulfill the prophecy. Soumadau had placed his own reputation in jeopardy by both agreeing to the reforms and by taking responsibility as an overseer for the Sokehs workers. The fact that he was paid was both an advantage and a problem, for Soumadau appeared to be gaining from his people's labor. As discontent increased in Sokehs, so did pressure for him to intercede with the Germans.

Catalyst for Rebellion: The Beating of Lahdeleng

Finally, the German overseer Hollborn sent a Ponapean worker named Lahdeleng (Hambruch identified him as Nan Pohnpei Mwaluk) to the Governor to be punished.¹⁷ While the German sources claim that Lahdeleng was lazy and disrespectful, the Ponapean story is that Lahdeleng was seeing a young Ponapean girl who was working as a servant at Hollborn's house on Sokehs. They claim that Hollborn was furious when he learned about it, and that this is why he sent Lahdeleng to Boeder. The woman, who was alive in 1974, claims she visited Sokehs only once at the invitation of Hollborn's Ponapean mistress.¹⁸ She stated that as she, Hollborn, and his mistress were about to return to Kolonia by canoe, Lahdeleng raced along the shore and jumped into

the water. Hollborn laughed at the time, but he sent Lahdeleng to the Governor the next day, October 17, 1910.

The present (1974) Lepen Palikir and others say that two men accompanied Lahdeleng who carried a note from Hollborn to Boeder. Boeder read the note, then ordered two New Guinea soldiers to stretch Lahdeleng across a table upon which they whipped him with a wire-lined rubber hose (some say it was a huge stick, others say it was the tail of a sting ray) until the flesh lifted from his back. Barely able to walk, Lahdeleng was helped to a canoe, and his friends took him back to Sokehs. After this, Boeder requested a meeting with Wasai Sokehs in Kolonia. Wasai went with Lepen Madau Sokehs and Boeder told him that Lahdeleng was beaten because he had been seeing Hollborn's servant.¹⁹

That same evening (October 17, 1910), a meeting was called in the Sokehs ceremonial house at Mwaluk. That night at a huge feast, an enormous castrated pig was baked. Before the pig was fully cooked, Soumadau en Sokehs ordered the stone oven opened, and the pig was carved into many small pieces. Soumadau held up a piece of the uncooked pork and said, "Those who are men and who are with us must eat some of this pig." (Many say it was a custom before war to eat something disgusting to prove one's strong stomach.) All the men who were present ate some of the pig. However, a few men from other kingdoms left later that night, not wanting to become involved in the conflict between Sokehs and the Germans.

After Soumadau was finished, Wasai Sokehs stood and said, "You women who are pregnant and those of you who have borne children must find good places to hide, because Sokehs is going to be destroyed!"²⁰ At this, many women began to weep; and a number of men and women protested that such extreme action as war or murder was not warranted. They were repeatedly overruled by Soumadau and the family of Samuel, a Dipwenpahnmei from the Tomwara section. Both Soumadau and Samuel were members of a non-ranking clan in Sokehs, but both were fierce warriors and Samuel was well known for divination. They insisted on killing the Governor despite the fact that Naniken Sokehs and others sought a more conciliatory solution. Incidentally, Samuel had performed a divination and had spoken to Soumadau before the feast. He suggested that the time was not right to fight the Germans but, if they waited three years, they might win after a long struggle. He told Soumadau, "If you choose to fight now, we will join you; but we will weep."²¹

Soumadau instructed the men of Sokehs that they would not work the next day and laid plans to kill Boeder. He told them that he would kill the Governor; Lahdeleng was in pain and very weak, but he insisted that Hollborn was to be his victim.

The beating of Lahdeleng alone was sufficient cause for anger in Sokehs, but it probably would not have triggered a rebellion had relations not been so tense. Boeder had not only pushed the reforms on Sokehs, but had effectively abrogated

Fritz's agreement with Sokehs when he forced the men of Sokehs to work an additional fifteen days to make up for the lost work period in 1909. This, combined with his disrespectful behavior towards Wasai Sokehs and the beating of Lahdeleng, had forced Sokehs to fight. There are stories that Nanpei and others wanted Sokehs to fight the Germans, and that they had encouraged Soumadau to avenge the beating of Lahdeleng. However, Soumadau was not likely to be influenced by people outside of Sokehs.

Given the dire portent displayed at Pan Kedara, it no longer mattered what Soumadau did. Sokehs was going to die. On Ponape, it was important for a man to die bravely, with a clean heart. The people of Sokehs followed, knowing the outcome: Sokehs would fight and lose.

The Rebellion Begins: October 18, 1910

The next day, October 18, 1910, Hollborn and the German road engineer, Haeffner, arrived on Sokehs; but no workers appeared. According to Bruno (a man from Kiti who was 13 in 1910 and who lived and worked at the Catholic mission at Denipei on Sokehs), the Sokehs warriors were dressed in new grass skirts, were freshly covered with coconut oil, and carried new or sharpened knives, and some had guns.²² When Hollborn blew his whistle for the workers to report, a few warriors appeared. Frightened, Hollborn and Haeffner ran to the mission at Denipei.

Soumadau strode up to the mission and yelled, "Today we are going to kill you. Today we are going to kill you." He then left, and four warriors with guns guarded the mission to prevent any attempt to warn Boeder.

Inside Hollborn, Haeffner, and P. Gebhardt (the father at the Capuchin Mission on Sokehs) wrote notes to the Governor. These they gave to Bruno and a Yapese worker at the mission and told them to take a canoe to Kolonia. Before they left, P. Gebhardt told them to put the notes in their underwear rather than the pockets in their short pants. Then they took Gebhardt's supply box and placed it aboard a canoe.

Bruno says that he and the Yapese had started from Denipei when they saw Soumadau and Lepereren (Soumadau's younger brother) board separate canoes with two other men. They all met on the lagoon where Lepereren paddled to the outrigger side and grabbed the outrigger of Bruno's canoe. Soumadau moved in on the other side and climbed into the canoe. He went to each of the boys and pulled out their pockets but found no notes. He searched the Capuchin father's box and found nothing. Soumadau asked the boys if they carried notes, but they said they didn't. When he ordered them back to Sokehs, Bruno refused; but ultimately returned after Soumadau threatened to kill him.

When Bruno returned to the mission and told what had happened, the German hostages lost almost all hope. It seems, however, that someone else had warned the Governor, for later

when Gebhardt asked Bruno to look for the Governor's boat, Bruno saw the Mortlockese oarsmen slowly rowing toward the dock near the church.

As the Governor's boat neared Denipei, a woman shouted at some children who were swimming nearby. "What are you playing there for? Don't you know they are going to kill the Governor?"²³ The children quickly swam ashore and hid in their houses.

Boeder had gone to Sokehs against the wishes of the German doctor, Max Girschner. As Girschner protested on the government dock at Kolonia, Boeder remarked that he had served in Africa and he displayed contempt for the Ponapeans. When Girschner warned that the people of Sokehs would kill him, Boeder stated, "They can't." and stamped his foot.²⁴ Ponapeans consistently reported that Boeder repeatedly indicated that Ponape was nothing compared to Africa. Trivial as it may seem, this was quite offensive to the Ponapeans who were extremely proud of their own culture. It was this kind of disrespect which led to the events which are described below.

There exists a well-known song about the rebellion which begins with the Governor's arrival at Denipei.

- 1 The Governor came downwind
inquiring
Where is the Nanmwarki
staying?
- 2 Soulik then replied
"Do you want to get killed?
Is that why you ask
About the Nanmwarki?"²⁵

Bruno recalls that Boeder also asked Gebhardt where he could find the Nanmwarki (actually it was the Wasai, but the Wasai was Nanmwarki in Sokehs). Gebhardt (like the Soulik in the song) warned the Governor that he would be shot if he tried to see the high chief. Boeder ignored him and started down the road to Mwaluk despite the fact that he saw Ponapeans with guns at the mission. The German Secretary Brauckmann followed, and they disappeared around the bend.

Other informants say that Lepereren met the Governor on the road and began to walk with him. Suddenly Lepereren pulled a gun and shot him.²⁶ As the Governor staggered, Soumadau appeared and Boeder said desperately, "Soumadau, Ponape is good. Ponape is good" (in Ponapean). Soumadau replied, "Yes, Ponape is good," and shot Boeder in the head.

After the first couple of shots, Brauckmann turned and started to run for the mission, but he was cut down in a hail of gunfire from the Ponapeans who were hiding along the road. Haeffner and Hollborn disregarded Gebhardt's pleas to stay in the mission. They ran outside and leapt into Boeder's boat, ordering the Mortlockese to row away. The men whom Soumadau had stationed at the mission opened fire and killed Haeffner. Lahdeleng, despite his painful back, grabbed a canoe and chased Hollborn. The frightened Mortlockese dove overboard, and Lahdeleng climbed aboard. Hollborn bent away from Lahdeleng but tried to fire at him. Lahdeleng came on, swung his long knife, and cut Hollborn's neck, nearly severing the head.

As the Mortlockese tried to escape by swimming, they were pursued by Ponapeans in canoes who stabbed them with knives. One Mortlockese, Amina, swam to safety at Dekehtik, later to be joined by Alipin, one of Boeder's translators. Another translator, Dinga, was caught by the Ponapeans who threatened to kill him. He was spared when he produced a key which he claimed fit the German armory in Kolonia. Later that evening, he escaped when he fooled a band of warriors who took him to Kolonia to get the guns. (The warriors were nearly captured by some New Guinea soldiers, but they escaped back to Sokehs.)

After the initial murders, the people of Sokehs gathered to see the body of the Governor, and some of the men hacked at it with machetes.²⁷ Lepen Madau Sokehs hacked off the hand that possessed a ring, and said, "This is the hand which avenges my eyes for what I saw yesterday." Lepen Madau had witnessed the meeting between Wasai Sokehs and Boeder the day before. That was when the Governor explained Lahdeleng's beating to the Wasai. The Governor had stated that he would no longer tolerate similar acts of disobedience. To the people of Sokehs it seemed that the Governor was treating their high chief as a subject rather than a ruler.

- 3 Lepen Madau was the only one
Who failed to bid farewell
For he had left in annoyance.

They were not only angry about Lahdeleng, but also about the disrespect which Boeder had consistently shown them.

The land reform program which Fritz had introduced had carried with it the road-building program which Boeder had pushed on Sokehs. Although the road building had led to the beating of Lahdeleng, that beating was the catalyst which ignited the smoldering anger on Sokehs. Without question, it was an act of revenge not merely by the Soun Kawad clan (of which Lahdeleng was a member) but most of the people of Sokehs.

It is extremely important to remember the isolation of the Sokehs kingdom on the island. The land reform had pushed the leaders of that kingdom into a corner as the only high chiefs who would not abandon the tribute system. They were certainly on the side of retaining old practices and traditionalists as such. But the real issue was the power struggle among the Ponapeans which the land reform had produced. Sokehs was isolated and had had to suffer the indignity of an overseer (Hollborn) whom they had always disliked. More importantly, Boeder had put more pressure on Sokehs, threatened the high chiefs, belittled Ponapeans and their customs, and had broken Fritz's earlier agreement with Sokehs. In the eyes of the people of Sokehs, the Germans were treating them like pigs.²⁸ Many informants from Sokehs indicated that the Germans had treated Sokehs more disrespectfully than the other kingdoms. This was probably so, since Sokehs had demonstrated the least willingness to abide by the reforms and road work.

In any case, Sokehs had reacted in brutal retaliation in killing four Germans and five Mortlockese. As the Germans in Kolonia heard about the killings, Dr. Girschner sent notes to each of the other kingdoms: the Nanmwarkis of Madolenihmw, Uh, Kiti, and Lepen Net.²⁹ He requested their assistance in guarding Kolonia knowing that 150 Melanesian soldiers were not enough. Net, Uh, and Madolenihmw responded immediately with 100 men each, while Kiti waited three days before sending 100 men.

Although these Ponapeans guarded the Germans, many, if not at all, were sympathetic to Sokehs. Supplied with guns and ammunition by the Germans, many refused to shoot at fellow Ponapeans, and when they did, they purposely missed. Others took their allotment of ammunition to Sokehs to help their friends and relatives.

Sokehs had expected help from the other kingdoms, especially Net. Lepen Net and Wasai Sokehs had agreed months before in Pali Powe Net that one would help the other if war broke out between the Germans and either of those kingdoms.³⁰ In addition, the ruling Soun Kawad of Sokehs could properly expect other Soun Kawad to join them. Members of other clans might have joined as well. In fact, however, the only men who fought for Sokehs were a few Soun Kawad from Kiti and one from Madolenihmw. Finally, there had been promises of support from Kiti even before the murder of the Governor. Many say that Henry and Oliver Nanpei tried to goad and persuade Sokehs to

murder the Governor. This stemmed partly from the fact that Boeder had ordered the beating of Eliu Santos, son of Nanpei's brother-in-law (mwa), Luis Santos, about two weeks before Lahdeleng's beating.³¹

After the Lahdeleng incident, the Nanpeis sent messages of support to the high chiefs of Sokehs. It should be recognized that this was a common practice at feasts on Ponape. If a high chief from another kingdom could not attend an important feast, he often sent greetings or some appropriate message. In this particular instance, the Nanpeis were trying to maintain good relations with the chiefs of Sokehs despite the earlier tensions of the religious balance, the land reforms, and the Pakin canoe incident. Although it is possible that the Nanpeis wanted Sokehs to fight the Germans, it is doubtful that they actually influenced the decision to murder the Governor.

Given the fact that the other four kingdoms sent men to help guard Kolonia, Sokehs knew that the fight was theirs alone. Although they had good cause to react against the Germans, the story of the slaughter of four Germans and five Mortlockese surprised many Ponapeans. Also, Dr. Girschner assured the other kingdoms that German reinforcements would arrive to punish the guilty ones, and this had caused many to let Sokehs go it alone.

Reinforcements

- 4 One of our children born on the
Great Mountain (Dollap)
is Limwei Dollap.

She is joined by one named
 Bad Time of Cruelty (Sakon Mwehi Suwed)

Initially following the murders of the Governor, et. al., Sokehs was alive with daily feasting and occasional forays over to Kolonia to shoot at the Germans and Ponapean supporters who were hiding within the old Spanish fortress. Not wishing to fight other Ponapeans, they tried no major attacks. They even permitted three Ponapeans to retrieve the bodies of Boeder, Brauckmann, Hollborn, and Haeffner. One Sokehs family had buried Boeder's severed hand and removed the ring which they returned to the Germans. (That particular family was later rewarded by the Germans for their compassion.)

The feasting continued for two months, and many Ponapeans went to Sokehs to pay their respects.³² Two children were born on Dollap (The Great Mountain), and received names which commemorated the event (see above, verse 4). Everyone on Ponape was waiting for the SMS Germania to return from its regular run from Hong Kong.³³ The remaining Germans continuously feared that the Ponapeans who protected them would join Sokehs and rid the island of all whites, a threat which had been heard by virtually everyone before the murders. However, the four remaining kingdoms continued to guard Kolonia until German reinforcements arrived.

5 We were on the Great Mountain
 gazing forth below
 In the Colony, for they are
 on parade.

The people in Sokehs were aware that some of their own supporters had not yet appeared as expected. Here the song about the rebellion reveals the intense obligations which clan identity carried. This entire way of life was quite threatened by the German reforms, and this was certainly a part of the reason for the rebellion. Many of the verses which are interspersed in this narrative discuss individuals and their words or exploits. These were the significant factors for the Sokehs warriors. One could assess each act in the rebellion according to its portrayal in the song.

6 Kanikihn Tomwara paddles about
So the Soun Kawad has arrived.

7 This is the only royal man
Kanikihn Tomwara
Who represented the Soun Kawad.

In late November, the Germania returned, and Girschner met them before they could enter the harbor. They immediately sailed to New Guinea (Girschner remained on Ponape). From there, the Germans dispatched the first reinforcements and cabled through Yap to Kiaochow for help from the East Asian Squadron.³⁴

As soon as reinforcements arrived, the Ponapeans who were guarding Kolonia returned to their homes. Certain Ponapeans remained to assist the Germans who were planning their assault on Sokehs. One of these was Soulik en Sapwehrak of Madolenihmw, who showed the Germans the route to the top of Dollap (The Great Mountain).

Actually, the people of Sokehs had built a major fortification at Nan Mweid which was below the highest point on the mountain, known as Apal. They had also fortified Apal, but four German warships, the Emden, Nürnberg, Cormoran, and Planet, bombarded their positions with naval artillery. Soumadau's older brother, who held the title Noahs Sokehs, climbed a tree to get a better view of the Germans. But someone noticed him through a telescope, and the naval guns shot at him. One shell hit the tree and exploded; as the tree toppled, Noahs fell dead.

The power and accuracy of the German guns began to demoralize some of the fighters; some began to leave the fortress.

8 Samuel stood up and spoke to
the gathering;
"Why do you flee from the
Great Mountain?"

9 Oluwen then replied crying,
"What am I that I should cut
Heavy artillery [with a knife]?"

Sokehs had many rifles, but there were some who had no rifle and who carried knives in anticipation of hand-to-hand combat. But as it became clear to the people of Sokehs that they could not hold the mountaintop, they fled into the jungle below. The Germans eventually took the top of Sokehs with no resistance and found only women and children.

Despite a blockade which the Germans established in the Mwokote channel, the warriors slipped through at night. Here they were assisted by Ponapeans who were supposed to be helping

the Germans. Sokehs may not have received overt support, but there were few Ponapeans who wished to see them suffer at the hands of the Germans. They made their way ashore and went first to Palikir, which was a section of Sokehs and where the Lepen Palikir assisted them with arms and food. Soumadau and one group went to the mountains in Net, and Samuel took a group to Tomwara.

The Germans followed Samuel and captured a number of people before they could all leave Tomwara. Samuel went to Kiti. At Tomwara, the Germans and New Guinea soldiers burned all the houses, dug up yams and pit breadfruit, and spread dung on top to destroy possible food supplies.³⁵

The Sokehs fighters gradually made their way to the Nanepil River where Soun Kawad from that area joined them. The Soun Kawad of Nan Sokele led them up to Nan Kiop, a place where the Soun Kawad had originated. Three columns of German and New Guinea soldiers began to converge on Nan Kiop, but their guides were Ponapeans. Once again these "collaborating" Ponapeans helped the people of Sokehs by informing messengers of when the assault would be. As a result, torches were lit at Pahnmwinsapw on the Net Peninsula and also at Kahmar the night before the attack. The next day, the guides led the Germans over difficult and roundabout routes, occasionally getting them lost in order to give the Sokehs men time to flee.

When the Germans neared the fortress of Nan Kiop, the Ponapeans became silent. They had fired a few shots whenever

the Germans came into view on the trails below. Many sneaked away from the fortress into the dense jungle and moved upward onto a small outcropping of rock, simply known as Pohn Paip (on the rock). Finally Lt. Otto Erhard walked ahead alone to Pohn Paip. As he neared the rock, Pohnpwad, a Soun Kawad from Madolenihmw shot him in the head.³⁶ Everyone opened fire at this point, and the Sokehs warriors again ran off.

As they easily ran across the slippery rocks and disappeared through the jungle, the Germans fired, but hit no one. One German officer turned to a Ponapean and said it was as if they were fighting ghosts. With Erhard mortally wounded but still alive, the Germans retreated to Kolonia.

The Sokehs warriors were beginning to lose heart for more fighting. Wasai Sokehs and Samuel led a group over the mountains to Central Kiti (Souiso, Tomwarolong, Rohn Kiti, etc.) where their relatives and Henry Nanpei persuaded them to surrender. Soumadau and Lepereren had fled to Madolenihmw, to Leiak on Temwen Island, to see Dauk Madolenihmw. He was number three in the royal line in Madolenihmw and was a member of the same sub-clan of Dipwenpahnmei as Soumadau en Sokehs. He feasted Soumadau and his small band of followers, but finally requested that they leave. He was sorry but explained that the fight belonged to Sokehs and, if he helped them, the Germans would punish him and his people.

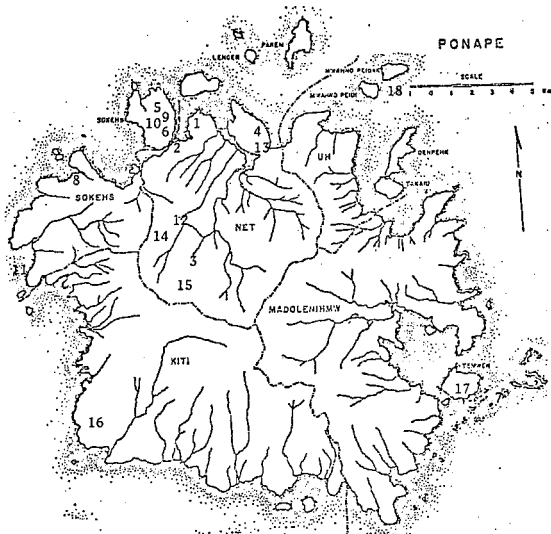
Soumadau understood and agreed to leave. Dauk supplied canoes which took them to Mwand in Uh. Here Soumadau sought the assistance of William, one of the leading Protestants and a close friend of Henry Nanpei. William was also a member of Soumadau's sub-clan, and he advised Soumadau to give himself up. At his feast in honor of Soumadau, he told the warrior that the Germans had ordered all Ponapeans to turn in all fugitives from Sokehs. He, therefore, suggested that Soumadau's only option was to go to Kolonia and ask for forgiveness.

Realizing that no support existed, that food and ammunition were exhausted, Soumadau reluctantly agreed. The next day he, Lepereren, and the others boarded canoes with William and returned to Kolonia. As they neared Net, Lepereren suggested that they should enter Kolonia firing since they were going to die anyway. William protested, and Soumadau agreed that the war was over; more killing would do nothing. When they reached the government dock, Soumadau and Lepereren and the remaining fugitives were arrested, handcuffed, and imprisoned.

Retribution: Execution and Exile

The Germans held a summary trial and condemned fifteen men to die before a firing squad.³⁷ The Germans decided to execute those who had taken part in the murder and mutilation of Boeder and the others. On February 24, the condemned were permitted to attend mass at the Mission in Kolonia.

Map No. 7



- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Kolonia | 10 Dollap (The Great Mountain) |
| 2 Dau Mwokote (Channel) | 11 Tomwara |
| 3 Nan Kawad (General location of origin of Soun-Kawad) | 12 Nanepil (river) |
| 4 Pali Powe (Net) | 13 Pahnmwinsapw |
| 5 Paipalap (Sokehs Rock) | 14 Nan Sokele |
| 6 Mwaluk | 15 Nan Kiop |
| 7 Nan Madol | 16 Central Kiti (Where Wasai Sokehs went) |
| 8 Palikir | 17 Leiak |
| 9 Denipei | 18 Mwand |

- 10 They have attended church
in the holy place
And they are transported to
be executed.
- 11 The Governor came down
notified Soumadau
Prepare for this is the day
of your execution.
- 12 Soumadau then replied
"Give us permission
to put on good clothes
and then we will die."
- 13 Lepereren then replied,
"What clothes would you have?
These are the clothes of men
that we wear."
- 14 Someone go tell her
"Limwei, don't cry
For here is my replacement
(our son) Sehsehleng."
- 15 The lame one stood up
and made a speech:
"It is this one leg of mine
which has ruined me."
- 16 "But no, I will try to limp
forth
Rather than be carried tied up
like yams."
- 17 Komonlaid was the place
of punishment.
Think about Jesus crucified.

After Mass, they were marched down to Komonlaid, a small peninsula below Kolonia. One man, Langinsor (the "lame one"), had been wounded in the fighting and could not walk. He was carried on the back of Erikied, a fellow Soun Kawad who was not among the condemned.

When they reached Komonlaid, they saw mangrove poles nailed between coconut trees. A huge hole was dug. Manindokalang, the youngest and smallest, looked into the hole and said, "So that's where they are going to put us. There's water inside." Demonstrating no fear, he was tied to the improvised fence. Because he was so short, the New Guinea soldiers placed a box under his feet so he would be at a similar height to the others.

Soumadau requested that he be permitted to speak to those Ponapeans who had assembled to watch, but the commander of the firing squad refused. Soumadau started to speak anyway, "You young men, don't follow our example." He wanted to say more, but the soldiers opened fire. Soumadau was hit in the heart and the blood spurted from his chest like a fountain. Samuel was hit repeatedly but was still alive. Finally another burst blew his face off.

These details of the execution are regularly described by eyewitnesses who say that all the Ponapeans present were shocked. One boy fell out of a tree but was unhurt. People were so numb they had to be told to leave. No one had believed that the execution would be so quick, so final, so brutal. The shock, sadness, and fear which it produced were indescribable. Many say that they can tell what happened, but it was all overwhelming and there is no way to describe it accurately.

The Germans completed their retribution by sending 426 men, women, and children into exile; first to Yap for nine months,

and then to Palau. In Yap the men worked on roads and a difficult pace was enforced by Yapese policemen, who had orders to beat anyone who rested. One policeman, named Faimau, remembers hitting Ponapeans with his gun butt.³⁸ He did not want to beat them, but he faced stiff punishment if he did not.

Aside from the work, there was not enough to eat. At two meals a day, a family of four was given one coconut cup filled with rice. They split it four ways. Though villagers from Rull provided food, the Ponapeans saw little of it. Finally conditions were eased when Dr. Hahl visited and became furious with the German Governor in Yap who had decreed such harsh treatment.

After nine months the prisoners were transferred to Palau where former fighters worked in the phosphate mines on Angaur. The women and children, and the men who had not fought to the end, lived at Aimeliik on Babelthuap. Though the Germans were strict, the Ponapeans at Aimeliik could plant crops and after a year, they had adjusted fairly well to life in exile. For those who worked the phosphate, the hours were long and the German overseers were harsh.

The Causes and Effects of the Rebellion in Sokehs

One of the ironies of the rebellion was the fact that the people of Sokehs knew that theirs was a lost cause from the very beginning. Despite that, they fought their best against the Germans so that future generations of Ponapeans would recognize

their heroism. Despite the futility of the confrontation, most Ponapeans still believe that Sokehs had good reason to retaliate against the Germans for the beating of Lahdeleng. At the same time, however, many considered the initial murders of Germans and Mortlockese to be more than appropriate under the circumstances. Yet what would have been an appropriate response under the circumstances? What were the people of Sokehs fighting for?

William Bascom once described the rebellion as Soun Kawad revenge for the beating of Lahdeleng, and he largely discounted the possibility of resistance to the land reforms.³⁹ There is no question that revenge certainly dominated the content of the initial murders, especially the murders of the Governor and Hollborn. Yet more was at stake than the beating of a young man. As stated earlier, Ponape was divided by religious and political rivalries which had emerged during the Spanish administration. The Germans had managed to maintain peace only by being scrupulously evenhanded with each of the factions and by avoiding reforms which might upset the balance.

However, Hahl and Fritz introduced a land reform in 1908 in hopes that the ultimate effect would be to make the island more productive. It was this land reform which ultimately set the stage for the rebellion, even if it was not the direct cause. The land reform not only threatened the traditional chiefly prerogative of collecting tribute at regular feasts, but it also signaled a victory for Nanpei and his Protestant followers.

Between 1908 and 1910, Sokehs found itself increasingly isolated; first when the Nanmwarkis and Nanikens in Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti accepted the reforms, and next when Net, the closest ally of Sokehs, agreed to the reforms and the public works obligations.

Fritz had worked hard to get the kingdoms to accept the reforms, and he ultimately persuaded the high chiefs of Sokehs to go along. Sensitive to the political rivalries, Fritz was willing to compromise, so he allowed Sokehs to continue to collect tribute through 1909; the reforms were to take effect there in 1910. This was a reasonable compromise, for it allowed time for the chiefs and the people to adjust to the new circumstances. However, Fritz was transferred to Yap, perhaps because he was not forceful enough. This would seem to be the case since he was replaced by a man who used his administrative authority as a club.

Boeder failed to realize that authority alone would not suffice. Although he was able to pressure Sokehs into beginning to fulfill its public works obligations, he exerted too much pressure when he forced Sokehs to work for a second time to make up for the work period which had been missed in 1909. Here Boeder committed a grievous error, for he broke the agreement which Fritz had made with Sokehs. On Ponape, a man's word was his bond. Boeder had shown he could not be trusted. In addition, he insulted the chiefs and commoners of Sokehs repeatedly: by physically and verbally abusing Wasai Sokehs, by installing Hollborn as an overseer for the road work in Sokehs, by threatening the leaders, and by forcing the work pace.

In all of this, he was treating the kingdom of Sokehs differently than the other kingdoms because Sokehs had resisted the reforms. Fritz never singled out any kingdom for retribution during his tenure as Governor. The fact that Boeder was exerting more pressure on Sokehs put the high chiefs of that kingdom in an awkward position. On the one hand, they were supposed to mobilize their able-bodied men for the work crew, but by doing so they were forcing their people to labor under difficult and humiliating conditions. The beating of Lahdeleng was the final humiliation because he was treated as an animal rather than a man.

A Ponapean man had to be able to build a house, to make a canoe, a fishing net, to fight and to have children. He had to farm and make feasts for his high chiefs. Although he was a subject to his high chief, he always received the respect which was due to any man. He deserved that respect because in all of his actions, he was careful to reciprocate that respect. It is interesting that all the German Governors are still referred to in the high language, which is the exclusive preserve of the high chiefs on Ponape. This means that even Boeder, who consistently abused Ponapeans, receives that respect in the stories which still exist about the rebellion.

Many Ponapeans have repeatedly stated that Lahdeleng had been treated as an animal rather than a man. Many say that the Germans felt disgust (sautiki) towards Ponapeans, and that they often displayed disrespect. While it is and was Ponapean custom

to let the petty issues slide by betraying no emotion through kaningama (a kind of poker-faced patience), Boeder simply pushed too hard in Sokehs. The beating of Lahdeleng was the final straw in the series of indignities which accompanied the land reforms in Sokehs. Ponapeans can understand that some situations would have warranted a severe beating. But Lahdeleng had attacked no one physically; at worst, he had insulted Hollborn (or possibly had relations with Hollborn's servant).

It is important to remember that none of the high chiefs were enthusiastic supporters of the reforms since the reforms threatened their traditional authority. Despite this, Fritz, with the help of Nanpei et. al., had managed to gain approval in the Protestant kingdoms. Here is where the traditional rivalry between North and South, Catholic and Protestant, was at stake. Many in Sokehs believed that the other kingdoms accepted the reforms in order to curry favor with the German administration.⁴⁰ Whatever the case, this ultimately contributed to the isolation of Sokehs and its ultimate act of rebellion.

Bascom's analysis of Soun Kawad revenge is only partly true in light of certain facts. According to Luelen, a Nanpei brother-in-law, the rebels were not all members of the Soun Kawad. Of the fifteen men who were executed for the murders and mutilations, only six were Soun Kawad. The others included four Dipwenpahnmei, one Ledek, one Nahniek, two Dipwenmen, and one Soun Samaki (a major sub-clan of Dipwenmen).⁴¹ Soumadau,

Lepereren, and Samuel were three of the Dipwenpahnmei and they were particularly influential in the decision to proceed with the murders. Wasai Sokehs, a Soun Kawad, had not wanted to fight the Germans; but he bowed to pressure from Soumadau. If Soun Kawad revenge had been the only reason for the rebellion, Wasai surely would have been the leader since, as high chief in Sokehs, he was the leader of his clan.

It is true that Lahdeleng was a Soun Kawad, but the evidence strongly indicates that the beating of anyone from Sokehs would have produced the same result. Soumadau was the "real" leader of his people and as such, had to be willing to die for them. His warrior reputation made it imperative that he take up any challenge, never to flinch in the face of an insult. The Germans had tried to buy him off but in the process, they had backed him into a corner.

Bascom was certainly correct when he described a "tradition" of retaliation on Ponape.⁴² The "war" in Sokehs was most definitely a war of revenge, but it was not only a response to the Lahdeleng beating. It was also an assertion of pride which could no longer tolerate the disrespect which Boeder demonstrated towards Sokehs.

From this perspective, the land reform appears to be of only secondary importance to the outbreak of the rebellion. Yet it was the land reform which triggered the tension in the first place. Aside from asserting their own self-respect to the Germans, the people of Sokehs were trying to eliminate Boeder,

because he appeared to be taking sides in the Ponapean political rivalry. Because Boeder pressured Sokehs more than the others, the people of Sokehs saw that Nanpei and his followers in the Southern kingdoms were gaining a clear advantage. The entire land reform would benefit Nanpei at the expense of the traditional leaders who had effectively lost the basis for their authority when Hahl and Fritz removed their authority over the land. The tribute payments had been the evidence of that authority.

Here is where Nanpei's influence around the island had effectively isolated Sokehs. Net and Sokehs had both opposed the reforms because they were suspicious of Nanpei's role and they feared the reforms would increase his power. They were right, but Net had chosen to accept the reforms anyway. Although Sokehs eventually agreed to those reforms, Boeder had chosen to punish them for their earlier resistance. It is probable that a more sensitive Governor could have avoided the rebellion by simply demonstrating more patience and respect.

By the same token, Sokehs could have avoided the disaster of the rebellion had they not decided to kill Boeder. Despite the problematic communications with Ponape, Germany was able to crush the rebellion with a minimal loss of life on both sides. The modern technology of warfare, especially the powerful and accurate naval artillery, were too much for the Ponapean warriors. Where the Spanish had shown little but ineptitude, the Germans were powerful and efficient. The Ponapeans no longer had the

threat of war to use against the German administration. Aside from the executions and exile, this was the most important effect of the rebellion.

The executions and exile of the Sokehs warriors and their families seemed unduly harsh sentences to the Ponapeans in Madolenihmw, Uh, Kiti, and Net. While they had not overtly supported Sokehs, most Ponapeans sympathized with Sokehs' grievances against the Germans. The other four kingdoms had remained neutral to avoid retribution from the Germans. Here Dr. Girschner's good reputation had served the entire German community on Ponape. The Nanmwarkis of the four peaceful kingdoms had responded quickly to his request for men to guard Kolonia. Many informants have pointed out that Girschner was the only German who could have mobilized such support.

To the people of Sokehs, the cooperation of the other kingdoms with the Germans was a stab in the back. Many informants from Sokehs were born in Palau, and their stories and attitudes about the rebellion were those which their parents (the rebels) had related to them. Although they and their families eventually returned to Ponape between 1917 and 1927, their bitterness is evident but restrained by kaningama, the patience which they could no longer show to Boeder.

Footnotes - Chapter V

- ¹ This was confirmed by informants from both Net and Sokehs.
- ² Fischer, *The Eastern Carolines*, p. 52. Fischer wrote about the mistress without including her name. The Ponapeans regularly include her name as a part of the story.
- ³ Hambruch, v. I, p. 299.
- ⁴ Andreas Weilbacher (son of a German sea captain and Ngatikese mother) reported that Boeder trusted Soumadau to the extent that they had beer together. Andreas' mother took care of Boeder's children and lived with the Boeder family before the rebellion.
- ⁵ Hambruch, v. I, p. 292. This information was contained in the letter which Lini, the Puaipuai warrior, sent to Fritz on Oct. 18, 1908.
- ⁶ Hempenstall, p. 124.
- ⁷ Hambruch, p. 298.
- ⁸ Ibid., p. 299.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 300. In an interesting footnote on p. 300, Hambruch states, "Soumadau erklärte aus den Erfahrungen von 1908 heraus vor dem Aufstande (was Boeder nicht glaubte): 'Die Spanier waren tapfer und zuletzt ein wenig bange, denn wir Ponapeleute haben si immer geschlagen. Ihr deutschen aber sind feige, ihr redet nur, ihr erzählt von euren Soldaten, euren Schiffen, eurem Kaiser, aber ihr tut nichts!'"
- ¹⁰ The Ponapean technique was "kaningama": patience, never revealing emotion. See above, Chapter I.
- ¹¹ Hambruch, v. I., p. 300.

¹² Ibid. Hambruch has the basic story that Nanpei's second son was involved in stealing money. The details here were given by two of Eliu's brothers, Ersin and Lingken Santos, in separate interviews. Ersin Santos (Sain Kiti), Jan. 7, 1974; Lingken Santos (Noahs Kiti), Feb. 21, 1974.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 301. Hempenstall, p. 128. The fact about Boeder throwing Wasai Sokehs out of his office was vaguely mentioned by Pedro Kiriemo (Lepen Palikir), Sept. 18, 1974.

¹⁶ This was first mentioned to me by a nephew of Samuel in February 1974. I had been on Ponape eight months before I heard this. Subsequently, I returned to many informants and asked obliquely about events which might have predicted the rebellion. All mentioned the Sokehs corner in Pan Kedara along with the legend. Hambruch was probably on Ponape when the corner crumbled. He knew about the fact that it crumbled and mentioned it. See Hambruch, v. III, p. 27. It is interesting that he did not include it in his description of events leading to the rebellion in v. I.

¹⁷ Hambruch, v. I, p. 301.

¹⁸ Conversation in Enipein, Kiti, Dec. 10, 1973. This woman has asked that she not be identified by name. She was very nervous when I interviewed her and is very embarrassed that she has been identified as a contributor, however indirect, to the Sokehs rebellion.

¹⁹ This was emphasized by Sokehs informants in particular.

²⁰ Pedro Kiriemo (Lepen Palikir), Sept. 18, 1974. This man confirmed this story which was originally told to be by an anonymous informant from Net. Much of this account of the rebellion has been drawn from the interview with Lepen Palikir, because he gave the most complete account of the rebellion.

²¹ Ibid.

22 Conversations with Bruno (Soulik en Lohd) in Tomwarolong, Kiti, Feb. 6 and 7, 1974. Few Ponapeans know of Bruno's brief confrontation with Soumadau. There exists a reference to the incident in P. Ignatius, "Tagebuchblätter von P. Ignatius, Ponape," Aus den Missionen der rheinisch-westfälischen Kapuziner Ordensprovinz auf den Karolinen, Marianen, und Palau-Inseln in der deutschen Südsee, Jahresbericht 1911, p. 18. This "Tagebuchblätter" is an interesting eyewitness account of the rebellion. It confirmed much of what the Ponapeans told me. I am grateful to Father Francis Hezel, S. J., for loaning to me his copies of the reports of the Jahresberichte of the German Capuchins.

23 Conversation with Iakop Iko, Sept. 6, 1973.

24 This act of Boeder's was witnessed by a number of Ponapeans. Some heard the story from Dr. Girschner and passed it on.

25 I recorded this song on August 1, 1973. My original version was sung by Migel Saimon who learned it from a recording he heard on the local radio station. Verses 3, 10, 14, 15, and 16 were added by Kieren (Sanoton Sanoton), Oct. 9, 1973.

26 See Hambruch, v. I, p. 302. See also P. Ignatius, "Tagebuchblätter...", p. 17. For a longer account of the German suppression of the rebellion see Edgar Freiherr Spiegel von und zu Peckelsheim, Kriegsbilder aus Ponape (Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1912), see passim.

27 Pedro Kiriemo (Lepen Palikir) reported this. In Ponapean tradition, fighters took the head of a high-titled enemy whom they had killed. If they only captured an enemy, that would be sufficient to obtain the title. Here there were no titles to be taken. No heads were taken as prizes.

28 According to P. Ignatius, Aus den Missionen, 1911, p. 24, Girschner sent notes not only to the Nanmwarkis of the other kingdoms, but one to Wasai Sokehs as well. In the note to Wasai, he asked that those involved in the murders surrender to the Germans. Wasai's answer was, "We thank you for your goodness, but we cannot come; we are afraid that we have committed too great a sin." Hempenstall quotes this; see Hempenstall, p. 132. Hempenstall notes further evidence from Girschner that the people of Sokehs were willing to tolerate prison or exile, but would not be treated as "pigs."

- 29 P. Ignatius, Aus den Missionen, p. 24.
- 30 See above, p. 158.
- 31 See above, p. 162.
- 32 Bruno told me that his parents stopped by Sokehs to pay their respects. When Soumadau recognized Bruno, he told Bruno's father about their confrontation. When Bruno's father heard that Soumadau had nearly killed his son, he left in anger.
- 33 The "Germania" made regular runs between Sydney and Hong Kong stopping at various islands to drop off goods and pick up copra. It had stopped at Ponape on Sept. 2, 1910, and returned on Nov. 26, 1910, nearly six weeks after the murders of Boeder, et. al.
- 34 Hempenstall, p. 133. See also Kapitanleutnant Gartzke, "Der Aufstand in Ponape und seine Niederwerfung durch S. M. Schiffe 'Emden,' 'Nurnberg,' 'Cormoran,' und 'Planet,'" Marine Rundschau, Heft 6 (1911), pp. 703-738, see passim. See also H. Seidel, "Die Insel Ponape vor und nach dem Aufstande," Deutsch Kolonialzeitung, 28 (1911), pp. 590-592. And Hambruch, v. I, pp. 303-304.
- 35 Iakop Iko, Sept. 6, 1974. This man had fled to Tomwara with his family. Others who were there described it exactly as he did.
- 36 Most Ponapeans say Pohnpwad shot Erhard, but others say it was Pasi, a Soun Kawad from Sokehs.
- 37 Luelen, 73:3, pp. 144-145, gives the names, titles, and clans of those who were executed.
- 38 Conversation with Faimau Niga, Yap, Nov. 24, 1973. I am grateful for translation by Jayfaimau and Fithingmew, Faimau's grandson and son, respectively.
- 39 William Bascom, "Ponape, A Pacific Economy in Transition," Anthropological Records (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1965), v. 22, p. 13.

⁴⁰ This was a consistent analysis in Sokehs. It was echoed by informants from the other kingdoms as well.

⁴¹ Luelen, 73:3, pp. 144-145.

⁴² Bascom, Anthropological Records, p. 13. See also Bascom, "Ponape: The Tradition of Retaliation," The Far Eastern Quarterly, X (1950), pp. 56-62.

CHAPTER VI

DENOUEMENT: THE SECOND LAND REFORM

Dr. Kersting and the Ponapeans

The rebellion in Sokehs and the severe repression which followed produced a frightening atmosphere in Ponape. German naval power, especially firepower, had driven the Sokehs warriors from their strongholds. They had known that they would probably lose but never so decisively. Ponapeans had always been a good match against foreigners; e.g., the Spanish, but they had never before faced the military technology which emerged in late nineteenth century Europe. Ponapeans had come forcibly to the realization that they were no longer their own masters. They would have to cooperate with the new German administrators who were replacing those slain on October 18, 1910.

The new District Administrator was Dr. Kersting who had held that position in Yap before his assignment to Ponape. Kersting arrived on Ponape in the midst of the rebellion and had taken over the direction of the military action and the court proceedings which followed surrender.¹ As a result, he had become known to the Ponapeans as one who was in firm control

Footnotes may be found on pages 217-218.

of the situation. The executions had shocked the entire population, but most Ponapeans accepted that as a natural consequence of defeat. Perhaps more shocking was the mass exile of nearly the entire population of Sokehs plus those individuals from other kingdoms who had given support.

Given the circumstances, the Ponapeans were relatively malleable, and Kersting wasted no time in carrying out a comprehensive land reform. In order to facilitate this, each kingdom was to become a municipality with the Nanmwarki acting as a chief magistrate to be assisted by a secretary and whatever officers were needed.² In order to make the reform equally applicable to all municipalities, Net adopted the Nanmwarki and Naniken titles in addition to their traditional title series and became a kingdom in their own right.

Kersting's first concern was to implement the reform as quickly as possible by registering individual land holdings. According to Etwet, a former secretary of Madolenihmw at the time of the reform, Kersting first proposed that the land be divided into plots which would be fifty meters wide, extending from the shoreline into the mountains.³ According to this idea, each farmstead (paliensapw) would have direct access to the road and the shore. He assumed that the farmers would cultivate the lowlands first and move upwards as needed.

Though many Ponapeans seem to have regarded this favorably, Kersting did not implement the idea. Many claim that Nanpei and

his followers persuaded Kersting that Ponapeans were not accustomed to such techniques of defining land boundaries. Instead they suggested that large rocks, certain trees, rivers, and other landmarks were more appropriate. To a certain extent this was true, since every piece of land had a name which had specific historical significance. On the other hand, individuals with large holdings might have felt threatened by Kersting's proposal.

When Kersting protested that it would take too long to survey and map those holdings, the Ponapeans offered to do the work themselves. Kersting accepted this plan in order to implement the land reform, which included the registration of individual holdings plus a new public works program as quickly as possible.

Land Registration

What emerged was a complex arrangement of land registration teams and a commission in each kingdom. The land registration teams consisted of seven men who were generally high-ranking royalty, nobility, or higher ranking men of the sections concerned. Each registration team covered an area which included one to four sections.⁴ Its responsibility was to establish boundaries and to erect markers along the boundary lines: each marker (pehs) consisted of basalt rock which was carefully piled into a cairn of about one cubic meter. Once the markers were completed, they signed their names to the deed in order to attest that they had inspected and verified the boundaries and the number of markers along each line.

Next a commission of three high-ranking royalty or nobility, usually chiefs of rank above number eight in either important line of titles, examined the deeds. When they were satisfied that the parcel of land was indeed the one described in the deed, and that the number of markers was correct, they too signed the deed.

After this, the Nanmwarki signed the deed, and thereby effectively renounced control over that parcel of land. Each deed represented a renunciation, but not all the land was deeded. For the remainder of the land in each kingdom, known as luhwen wehi, the deed stipulated that both the Nanmwarki and the German Governor were to have joint control (see Appendix V). Once an individual had completely planted his land, he would be able to request more land from the Nanmwarki. The Nanmwarki and Governor would then jointly issue a deed to the new parcel, once the registration team and the commission had completed their procedures.

Of course, the Governor had to sign the deed and affix the stamp of the Imperial District Office. No deed was valid unless both the Governor's signature and stamp were there. While the Nanmwarki's signature was necessary in Madolenihmw, Uh, Kiti, and Net, there was no Nanmwarki in Sokehs where the Germans had transplanted outer islanders from Pingelap, Mokil, Ngatik, Lukunor, Dee, and Satowan. The deeds for Sokehs contained only the signature of the Governor and the stamp of the district office.

The Land Law of 1912

The deed itself had the new land reform law printed in both German and Ponapean on the second and third pages (see Appendix V). The law had eleven provisions, each of which carefully delineated a new state of affairs on Ponape.⁵

The first provision assured continuous ownership to the persons named in the deed, the only exception being in cases of condemnation to death or exile. This meant that the Nanmwarki was no longer in absolute control of the land. Ponapeans today say that before the 1912 land law, all land belonged to the Nanmwarki. This was true in the sense that people lived on certain plots of land at the Nanmwarki's pleasure. The Nanmwarki generally recognized traditional claims as long as residents of his kingdom did not act against him. There were few instances in which the Nanmwarki removed people from their land because to do so would have produced intense bad feelings. Despite the fact that the Nanmwarki rarely exercised that power, the 1912 law removed the option.

The second provision which set forth patrilineal inheritance was a significant change from a rather loose tradition of inheritance on Ponape. John L. Fischer believes that land had passed matrilineally originally, but that this was changing even before Western contact.⁶ The example of Henry Nanpei whose Naniken father left a testament to his son is a case in point.⁷

The Naniken's lands had been established as a result of the war which unified the kingdom of Kiti and theoretically belonged to all succeeding Nanikens, but Nanpei's father had chosen to break with tradition (see above, Chapter II).

There was no established rule for inheritance before the land law. Most Ponapeans understand that marriages were usually arranged to the best advantage of both families. The ideal cross-cousin marriage (see Appendix III) which was frequently accomplished through infant betrothal generally assured continuous control of specific parcels of land by two clans.

This was modified by the second provision which specified patrilineal inheritance to the eldest living son, and subsequently to the oldest living grandson, brother, or oldest living brother's son (see Appendix V). Adopted children could inherit if the first four did not exist, but this required approval of the Nanmwarki and the Governor, who would decide what to do if no heirs existed. There was to be no decision by testament. Although this was supposed to remove any question about inheritance, it disregarded female members of the family and left the door open to very serious dispute.

The third provision guaranteed access to the land for all members of the family, especially those who could not inherit land. This seems to have tried to maintain the Ponapean system of fairly tight family units which generally worked the land and shared its fruits. By the same token, the fourth provision prohibited the

"sale, giving away, or rental" of property without the consent of the Nanmwarki and Governor. This, too, seems to have been directed at the maintenance of family control over the land despite the fact that ownership was vested in an individual male. It made it nearly impossible for a man to sell the land without regard for the rest of his family.

The fifth provision is open to serious question as the German and Ponapean wording is different. The German translation gave the Germans the right to eminent domain, to confiscate "land" for public use without compensation. The Ponapean version stated that "work" (doadoahk) for the municipality would not be compensated. The reason for this discrepancy is unknown, but John L. Fischer has surmised that "work" was used in the Ponapean translation in order to avoid angering the Nanmwarkis, who probably would have opposed the confiscation of land without remuneration.⁸ It is also conceivable that the Nanmwarkis understood the difference, but that they assumed that the only land confiscated would be for roads. At least they understood that they were obligated to perform work without pay on public projects. In any event, there exist no stories of German confiscation of land other than the land required for the road which the Ponapeans built around the island.

The remaining provisions of the 1912 land law had more to do with the position of the Ponapeans in relation to the Nanmwarki than with their land as such. It was a redefinition of Nanmwarki

authority and his rights. The Nanmwarki shared power over undeeded land with the Governor (provision number six), and he exercised judicial authority (provision number eleven) over individuals who violated his "just" orders. Presumably, "just orders" were those which conformed to the land reform.

Provision number seven specifically authorized the Nanmwarki to collect tribute payment at one respect feast (kamadipwen wahu) per year. The Nanmwarki could require respect feasts from each of the sections, but each farmer had to provide yams, sakau, and an animal (pig or dog) individually. High titled chiefs had to contribute a pig to the respect feast. All other feasts, such as succession feasts, title payments, apologies, marriages, and so on, were purely optional.

The tribute provision was obviously an effort to ease the transition to private ownership as the Germans had originally conceived it. They had long believed that the tribute system was inimical to any organized economic development on the island.⁹ By making one feast mandatory, the Germans assumed that people would now be free to plant coconuts and other crops. In order to encourage this, they required every landowner to plant ten coconuts per month on each of his farmsteads. Though this seems a rather light burden, the farmer had to clear the area to be planted of every scrap of vegetation down to the bare soil. The Germans selected the seedlings which the farmer was to plant eight meters apart. Along the boundary lines, the coconuts were to be planted four meters from the line.

The farmer also had to dig a hole (one cubic meter in size) and fill it with equal portions of sand, leaves, and dirt before planting the coconuts. Once he filled his monthly quota, he had to plant other foods such as banana trees, pumpkins, potatoes, papaya, plus others which the Germans deemed appropriate.

Clearly, the "emancipation" from tribute payments was not going to produce an idle population. When the Ponapeans were not fulfilling the agricultural requirements, they could also be requested by the Nanmwarki to perform various services for the municipality.¹⁰ The Nanmwarki could mobilize his people twice a year for a day of labor in his service. He could also order public works (after obtaining the Governor's approval) for work which would benefit the entire municipality. Small services to the Nanmwarki were not to be remunerated.

While the Ponapeans liked the land reform for its introduction of private property, they hated the planting requirements which accompanied it. They quite willingly performed services for the Nanmwarki as that was entirely consistent with tradition, but they found the planting requirements unduly demanding. One well-known story has it that the German secretary Gentner once berated a man in Kiti for not preparing his soil properly. The man threatened to kill Gentner if he ever returned, and Gentner never did. Another story tells of a farmer who had planted the required ten coconuts but had not yet planted other crops. On the day that Gentner was supposed to inspect, the farmer quickly cut

down a banana tree, cut it into three sections, and stuck them into the ground. When Gentner arrived and saw the newly planted nuts plus the three banana stalks (which he had assumed were young shoots), he praised the man and moved on. Naturally, the three little stalks died within a week, but it gave the man time to plant real banana trees without pressure from the German administration.

The land reform and the attendant work consumed the attention of nearly everyone, but there were two important changes which had a profound cultural effect. The first was in Sokehs where virtually no Ponapeans lived as a result of the exile of the rebels. One Sokehs family had been allowed to stay on Sokehs because they had found Governor Boeder's hand which had been severed during the murders at the beginning of the rebellion. This family had removed Boeder's ring and returned it to the Germans. Aside from that family, two other Ponapeans were rewarded for having helped the Germans. One was Etwet, the secretary of Madolenihmw, who had gone to Sokehs at great personal peril to retrieve the bodies of the murdered Germans. The other was Soulik en Sapwehrak, also from Madolenihmw, who had showed the Germans the safest route to the top of Sokehs. All of these people received deeds to plots of land on Sokehs.

The rest of Sokehs was divided among outer islanders from Mokil, Pingelap, Ngatik, and the Mortlock islands of Dee, Sadowan, and Lukunor. All of these atolls had been devastated by typhoons

in 1905 and 1907, and their food supplies had been totally disrupted. In order to avoid having to ship quantities of rice and tinned foods to these atolls, the Germans immigrated large numbers of people from these atolls to Ponape in order to give them land.¹¹ With no traditional Ponapean community on Sokehs, the outer islanders were totally beholden to the German governor for their lands.¹²

The prophecy of the Sokehs corner in Pan Kedara had come true. Sokehs was no longer a kingdom. Net was a municipality with a Nanmwarki and Naniken whose links with Sokehs no longer existed. Sokehs was virtually no longer a part of Ponape, especially so because Ponapeans were generally prohibited from even setting foot on Sokehs Island.¹³

Amendments to the Law in 1913

In April 1913, Kersting distributed to the high chiefs a detailed explanation of the 1912 land law.¹⁴ In fact, this superceded the authority of that law. Dated April 7, 1913, there were two separate documents translated into Ponapean. The first explained the sections of the land law in detail, and the second described the duties of the Nanmwarki as a magistrate.

The explanation of the land law forbade any tampering with the boundary markers without permission from the Nanmwarki and the Governor. The markers were generally large cairns of

basalt rock. Even if a single rock slipped to the ground, the land owner had to go first to the Nanmwarki and Governor who would inform one of the group of three and the group of seven. The inspection teams would replace the stone.

This amplification of the statute was necessary as the change in land tenure was entirely new to the island. Land markers were not necessarily new, but their legal status certainly was. Many older Ponapeans claim that anyone caught tampering with a marker was subject to immediate exile. One of the important aspects of Kersting's new document was the continued responsibility of the three-man commission and the seven-man inspection teams with respect to the markers, their annual inspection, and any pertinent changes of location.

The document changed nothing with regard to inheritance, but it did allow for other possibilities besides the four set forth in the deed. A man could also notify the Nanmwarki of his own specific wishes with respect to the disposition of certain immovable property such as houses or plantations after his death.

Aside from emphasizing a landowner's exclusive right to do with his land as he pleased (excepting, of course, the German planting requirements), the new amendments specifically granted universal rights of way in the use of paths to and from the shore. It designated remaining land (luhwen wehi) as belonging to the municipality and as being at the disposal of the residents or land-owners of that municipality. It also set the requirements for homesteading on the remainder.

Finally, the first document stipulated that the Nanmwarki had no obligation to pay anyone who worked for him. He could give grants of land if he pleased, but these were entirely at his discretion. The stone oven which he was to provide was only for the workers who carried out his instructions in accordance with the ninth provision of the land law. That provision had allowed the Nanmwarki to call his people together for one day of labor twice a year.

The second document amounted to a civil code in which basic misdemeanors and the specific penalties were explained. Generally, the sentences involved a work period which doubled in length upon the second offense. Additionally, the Nanmwarki was responsible for levying work periods on his people for the purposes of keeping the roads clean, planting coconuts, and burning off grassy areas. He was to act as a mediator between aggrieved parties and give rewards for returning lost property. His decisions in trials or mediation could be taken to the Governor for further examination.

In cases of serious offense, the Governor assumed jurisdiction. The movement of boundary markers, formation of "evil societies," possession of guns without permission, murder, severe injuries due to fights, rape, adultery, or other illicit intercourse, destruction of land: all these were considered major offenses which involved long periods of labor, exile, or execution. The Governor also intervened in inter-kingdom disputes, disputes involving the Nanmwarki, or offenses for the same misdemeanor for the third time.

The interesting thing about these documents is not so much that they were promulgated, but that the Ponapeans understood them nearly word for word. Many who were children at the time could still remember the offenses and the penalties nearly fifty years later. It was really the first civil code which the island had ever had that did not carry some sort of contradiction owing to clan identity or rank.

Kersting's Application of the Laws

The major crimes with which Kersting had to deal were few. In 1911 (before the new law and its explication had been promulgated), three secret societies emerged in Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti. These were associations of young people who engaged in scarification, eating raw lizards, and occasionally promiscuous sex. They were known as the Ponape Gesellschaft Company, the Typhoon Society, and the United States Company. The Germans heard that these groups were glorifying the memory of Soumadau en Sokehs and the other Sokehs warriors, and consequently jailed them and sent them into exile; first to New Guinea, and then to Palau.¹⁵ The most prominent member of the Typhoon Society was Thomas Nanpei, second son of Henry Nanpei; and he, too, was sent into exile.

There was only one case of murder, in which a Ponapean named Maika killed a New Guinea policeman. It was largely a case of jealousy since Maika had been watching his own sweetheart dance

with a Saipanese named Ioakim. When Maika left and returned with a knife, a woman notified the police who began searching for him. Maika hid but was about to be discovered when he leapt from the bushes and slew a policeman. He fled to Net but was persuaded to return to Kolonia where he was tried and then publicly executed by firing squad.

This time the execution was no surprise to the Ponapeans who had come to expect the "price of blood" (pwain en inta) from the Germans. However, the Germans also showed some compassion. Kersting, unlike Boeder, did not scorn the Ponapeans as people. He scrupulously avoided any inclination to either the Protestant or Catholic factions, and he never used the suppression of the rebellion as a threatening example.

In late 1913 or early 1914, a Ponapean who had fought with Sokehs against the Germans appeared in Kiti. His name was Gustine (Augustine), and he had hidden in the jungle when he realized Sokehs could not win. For more than two years he hid in caves and trees and stole breadfruit, coconuts, and other foods to supplement a diet of regular jungle foods. His clothes had long since disintegrated, and he wore only a grass skirt.

He was found in Enipein, Kiti, and was taken to a Catholic priest who cut his long hair, shaved him, and dressed him in a shirt and trousers. When the priest took him to Kersting, the Governor took him as his own ward and required very little labor of him. This small act of compassion earned Kersting wide respect.

Such respect facilitated Kersting's reforms and stimulated the hated road building which had produced the rebellion in 1910.

In order to encourage a steady work pace on the roads, large crews from each municipality worked outside their respective areas. This kept them away from their families for the entire fifteen-day work period and made it more difficult for them to slough off. Their new overseer was a man named Kulio, a holdover from the Spanish period who, by all accounts, was strict but fair. By 1913, roads had been cut to Kiti, Madolenihmw, around Sokehs, and there were even a few to the interior of the island.

Despite the completion of the roads, land travel remained slow and canoe travel was still the speediest. Because of this and always variable tidal conditions, the Germans strung a telephone line from Kolonia to the Protestant mission station at Rohn Kiti. Another reason for the phone line was that a number of Filipino messengers had been attacked by Ponapeans at various times. Some say that Henry Nanpei used his influence with the administration to get the phone line installed.

The land reforms, public works projects, and the changes in the culture certainly affected the daily lives of the Ponapeans. Yet these changes did little to improve the economic development of the island, at least immediately. Undoubtedly, the results of the strict coconut planting program would bear fruit in future years, but copra production and exports continued at a relatively low level. The greatest amount of copra still

came from the Marshall Islands and would continue for many years until Ponape could be systematically planted.

For their part, the Ponapeans appreciated the reforms for giving them security of land tenure. Nevertheless, they continued to pay tribute as frequently as in the past. The reforms may have removed the former tribute obligations which related to land tenure, but the tribute payment was more than an obligation. The ability and desire to pay tribute was part of what it meant to be a Ponapean.

If anything, the reforms seemed to work in the reverse of German intent. The Ponapeans would carry out the demands of the coconut planting program and the public works and carry out the old customs in spite of these. It became a new challenge which the Ponapeans bore with stoicism: it was part of the tradition of kaningama, that poker-faced forbearance which made it all possible.

Doing the minimum never was worthy of respect on Ponape. They carried out the minimum with regard to the German planting program, but one respect feast per year could never satisfy the traditional competition which existed. Inasmuch as the chiefly system remained with its ranks and traditional privileges at feasts, the fact that all but one were optional made participation all the more important. The elimination of the option of fighting simply allowed more energy for other activities in the political-economic competition.¹⁶

It appears that as long as the Ponapeans played by the new rules, the Germans had no objections to the continued feasting. Obviously the feasts shifted from work days to quieter periods. After the rebellion, the Germans had marveled at the bravery of the warriors,¹⁷ but no comment seems to exist with regard to the feasts. Perhaps they took no notice since the Ponapeans carried out their obligations under the law. Had they observed, they would have remarked at the solidity of a culture which had been wracked by nearly four years of tension and a rebellion which destroyed one kingdom. It is as if the Ponapeans wanted to prove to themselves (at least) that they could continue despite their private grief over Sokehs.

This is not to say that the old factional rivalries disappeared. Protestants and Catholics still regarded each other with tense suspicion, and the Liebenzeller Mission and the Capuchin priests forbade their respective parishioners from entering opposing churches, with the threat of expulsion. Open confrontation gave way to smoldering hostility which would continue for decades.¹⁸

The religious schools on both sides continued their work, and more and more Ponapean children began to attend. The missionaries sought to civilize their young charges by forbidding the wearing of grass skirts in school. One consequence of this was that Western clothing (shirt and trousers) came into greater use.

Another area which began to change was that of medicine. The German physician Dr. Max Girschner was the German best known to the Ponapeans. His knowledge of the language and his concern for their well being slowly earned him the trust which he had lacked when he first arrived on the island in 1899. That he had been able to muster assistance in guarding Kolonia during the rebellion is testimony enough for the respect which he commanded among the Ponapeans.

The End of German Rule on Ponape

In 1914, Kersting departed for Yap where he became District Administrator. The new District Administrator was Carl Köhler who continued Kersting's policies, especially the land registration which was not yet complete among the outer islanders on Sokehs.

Köhler had been on Ponape only a few months when the First World War erupted. The warships "Gneisenau" and "Scharnhorst" were at Ponape at the time, and they cleared for action immediately, leaving caches of personal possessions at the Catholic Mission in Kolonia. They then sailed West to join the East Asian Squadron with a small number of Ponapeans who joined the German Navy to aid in the fight.

On October 7, 1914, Köhler was in Palikir with a number of New Guinea soldiers when he spotted Japanese ships. As he rushed back to Kolonia, a runner brought a message from an

employee of the Jaluit Gesellschaft named Peterson that the Japanese had taken the island.¹⁹ When he arrived in Kolonia, the Japanese flag was already flying and Köhler was furious. He walked to the flagpole and started to lower the Japanese flag, but the Japanese commander pulled him away and slapped his face while other Japanese drew their weapons.²⁰ The German regime on Ponape was finished.

Footnotes - Chapter VI

¹ Hempenstall, pp. 136-139 indicates that Kersting directed virtually every aspect of the suppression of the rebellion. From his description, it would appear that Kersting's experience in Togo's bush wars was very valuable.

² Conversation with Etwet (Nanpei en Madolenihmw) in Leiak, Madolenihmw, Oct. 4, 1973. Etwet was 93 years old at the time of the interview. Though very old, his memory of the Germans was extraordinary and most valuable since he was secretary of Madolenihmw at the time and was directly involved in everything described here. Nearly all of the detail in this chapter was originally supplied by Etwet and verified by other Ponapeans.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. I am grateful to the Land Office on Ponape for allowing me to examine the copies of the German deeds which they have on file. William Norman was especially helpful.

⁵ John L. Fischer, "Contemporary Ponape Island Land Tenure," in: Land Tenure Patterns, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Guam: Office of the Staff Anthropologist, 1958), Vol. I, part 2, pp. 87-92. Fischer's translation of the land law in the German deeds is in Appendix V.

⁶ Ibid., p. 84.

⁷ Hambruch, v. I, p. 287. See above, Chapter II, p. 64.

⁸ Fischer, "Contemporary Ponapean Land Tenure," p. 93.

⁹ Hempenstall, p. 107.

¹⁰ These services included the building of docks or community feast houses.

¹¹ Etwet, Oct. 4, 1973.

¹² In the Sokehs deeds, the provisions which relate to the Nanmwarki were not relevant. The German Governor was the sole authority over all aspects of the law in that kingdom.

¹³ Etwet, Oct. 4, 1973.

¹⁴ Ersin Santos (Sain Kiti) took copies of these documents to John L. Fischer who translated them in 1951. I have appended copies of these to this manuscript. See Appendix VI.

¹⁵ The only surviving members of these groups was a man named Prens in Diadi, Kiti. He said that they learned Morse code but said nothing about the other activities which were described by other Ponapeans. Conversation with Prens, Diadi, Kiti, Feb. 8, 1976.

¹⁶ Some Ponapeans say this. Glenn Peterson who performed anthropological research on Ponape articulated this in a conversation on Sept. 30, 1976.

¹⁷ Many Ponapeans say the Germans on the island were very impressed at the seeming fearlessness of the Sokehs warriors. See also Spiegel-Peckelsheim, Kriegsbilder, p. 220.

¹⁸ Both Protestants and Catholics told me that the missionaries tended to foster the hostility. It is only since 1945 that the competition has eased.

¹⁹ DKB, XXVI:6, 15 Mar 1915, p. 150.

²⁰ Conversation with Poster Norman, 26 Sept. 1973. This man was working as a servant to Köhler and was with the Governor when he returned to Kolonia.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of Ponape during the period of German administration must vary in importance depending upon the perspective of the viewer. In German history, Ponape was merely a small outpost in a much larger empire. Despite the economic potential which it had for the Germans, Ponape did not become a productive part of the Island Protectorate, and it was probably more trouble than it was worth. Nevertheless, the German administration of the island managed to implement a far-reaching land reform which would have made Ponape quite productive for the Germans had they managed to retain it.

In Ponapean history, the German period is much more important. Until the Sokehs rebellion, Ponape was relatively free of outside control over their affairs. For over a century the island interacted with the white man on fairly equal terms despite the ravages of the early contact period. The Spanish had been notably ineffective in asserting colonial control, and so were the Germans until the rebellion.

The Sokehs rebellion demonstrated to the Ponapeans that they could not engage in armed conflict against a modern colonial power. The fate of Sokehs convinced the four remaining kingdoms to cooperate with the Germans, and it forced the traditional

rivalries into the background. While these persisted, the Ponapeans had to recognize that they could not battle each other for supremacy. It did not produce a unified Ponape, but merely placed all Ponapeans under the rule of the German administration.

In this respect, the German period can be compared to the era of Sau Deleur rule, when all of the Ponapeans were under the rule of a commonly recognized authority. Prior to Sau Deleur rule, Ponape had consisted of separate small kahnsapw which were controlled by individual clans. The legends indicate that the Sau Deleurs unified Ponape under their tyrannical rule. Following the Isokelekel revolution that unity vanished as five distinct kingdoms emerged. Though relations between them were generally peaceful, new wars of conquest and local rivalries were evidence of the fragmentation of power. This remained until the German period when the Sokens rebellion forced the remaining kingdoms to accept the general authority of the German administration in island affairs. Though the Nanmwarkis continued to rule in their respective kingdoms, the German Governor was the final authority in all areas of law and land.

This pacified Ponape not only for the Germans, but for the Ponapeans as well. The Germans contributed law and order to a society which had previously maintained control rather loosely. There were thefts and murders, and justice was actually a personal matter. If it led to murder or a blood feud, then the high chiefs became involved.

Under the Germans that changed radically, as there were stiff penalties for petty as well as serious crimes. As a matter of fact, the Ponapeans especially liked that aspect of the new reforms for there was a recognized authority which commanded absolute obedience to the law. That, coupled with the emancipating land reform gave Ponapeans a degree of personal security they had not known before. The older people who spoke to me were extremely impressed by the firm German adherence to the law. The American system of justice appears too loose for them today.¹

Politically then, Ponape became a group of municipalities with Nanmwarkis as chief magistrates, controlled by the central authority of the German administration. The seat of power was now Kolonia, the administrative and commercial center of the island. Kolonia had already become that center, but its importance was clearer. The public works projects and the planting requirements of the land law were monitored by the Germans who remained in Kolonia as long as the Ponapeans obeyed the rules.

The German system of indirect rule essentially left the Ponapeans alone and the result was that the Ponapean culture remained pretty much as it had been. They had to work hard to fulfill the planting regulations, but they were still participants in their own society. Though there was to be no obligatory feasting, there were more feasts than the one

Footnotes may be found on page 227.

respect feast which the land law had permitted. The Nanmwarki was less powerful without the authority to remove people from their land, but he was still the high chief and responsible for the enforcement of the law in his kingdom. Though he was answerable to the Germans and his sanctity possibly diminished by his administrative duties, he was still the leader of the traditional ruling clan. In essence, the Germans had changed the rules of land tenure and had begun a program of scientific planting, but they simply could not change the culture overnight.

Many informants have stated that Ponape became more peaceful in the process. Was it the new rules which fostered the peaceful situation? They certainly had a profound impact, but the political circumstances on the island changed radically with the exile of Sokehs. Without Sokehs and the threat of rebellion, the Ponapean conflicts of religion and politics became less important. For one thing, the exile of Sokehs had reduced the Catholic population of the island by over 400. The remaining Catholics in Net and Awak, and the few in Kiti, were simply not strong enough to threaten the Protestants. The rivalry persisted, but little change was possible since violence was no longer a practical alternative.

The new laws reinforced the process which Ponape had begun over a century earlier when it began to admit the white man into the culture. Though the white man was still an outsider, colonial authority in law and administration added to the changes already

wrought by Western technology, religion, money, clothes, and so on. Henry Nanpei was symbolic of those changes, because he not only adapted to them, but he also adapted them to his own needs.

Nanpei was the strongest advocate of change on the island as demonstrated by his strong support of the land reforms. Without his influence, it is doubtful that Fritiz could have even attempted a land reform. However, if there had been no Nanpei, Ponape would have changed because the process had already begun. Nanpei was the Ponapean who was in the vanguard of a younger generation which sought changes in the traditional structure. Though Nanpei had personal interests in the land reform, he would not have been successful without the support of other Ponapeans.

Though Nanpei sought changes in the traditional system, he did not abandon it entirely. He was both a part of the chiefly system and apart from it, with his chiefly titles and his unusual wealth. His home at Rohn Kiti was the site of many feasts, where he honored the high chiefs and regaled his friends and neighbors. On the other hand, his wealth afforded him the freedom to do as he wished, and he had his own allies on whom he could rely for protection if necessary. In his efforts to secure the land which was the source of his wealth, he simultaneously carried forward the institutions of private property and patrilineal inheritance for the rest of the island.

In this respect, Nanpei was a reformer in contrast to the traditionalism which Sokehs had tried to retain. However, the

terms "reformer" and "traditionalist" are not really adequate in this circumstance because of the complexity of the situation. Though Nanpei pushed the reforms, he never forgot his obligations to the high chiefs. This was one of the reasons for his extraordinary influence.

Although many Ponapeans resented Nanpei's success, they respected his ability and his achievements, and they continued to honor him. It is one of the strengths of the Ponapean chiefly system that it has the flexibility to add exceptions to the multiple rules which surround it. As noted in Chapter I, there has always been room at the top for talented individuals who could gain chiefly titles despite the limitations of clan identity. Nanpei was proof of the system adapting to modern changes as it drew him in and employed his talents. In the process the Nanmwarki system had to adjust to new circumstances in which educated Ponapeans and Ponapean businessmen became more influential.

The Nanmwarki was still the highest chief in his respective kingdom, and he still had considerable authority over traditional matters. However, the major result of the German period on Ponape was the shift of power to the colonial administration. The interaction between colonial regimes and the Ponapeans has produced further changes on Ponape, but these have occurred over the most significant changes generated during the German administration: the pacification of the island and the 1912 land law.

It is important to remember that Ponape changed significantly as a result of the German presence, but that the feasts continued in spite of the limitations of the land law. It did not matter that freehold tenure had liberated the farmer from all tribute obligations excepting one respect feast per year. By removing the tribute obligation which they saw as the primary obstacle to economic development, the Germans assumed that the unproductive feasting would die. The Ponapeans accepted the new conditions of freehold tenure and the German planting program and continued to feast, because that ritual was too deeply embedded in the culture. Clan identity; chiefly titles, and the complex of social and political relationships on the island made feasts a marketplace for prestige in the traditional sphere. The feasts were, and still are, a means of maintaining cultural continuity despite the fact that the Germans removed Nanmwarki authority over the land.

The changes which the Germans introduced were actually part of the changes which were already taking place since the beginning of the contact period. It is true that the Germans changed the rules of land tenure, but John L. Fischer has written that patrilineal inheritance had already become incorporated into Ponape.² Although the Germans regularized trade and encouraged many to do better farming, this had already begun early in the nineteenth century. Of course, the German missionaries educated more Ponapeans, but this was because the Ponapeans themselves

recognized the need to acquire new skills. Nanpei was proof enough of the advantages of education.

The significance of the German administration on Ponape lies in the particular conditions which surrounded it. The German administration had to adjust to the turbulent affairs which limited its options on Ponape. Considering the tensions which the German administrators confronted, they did remarkably well in terms of maintaining peace until 1910. The rebellion itself could have been much more difficult had all five kingdoms decided to fight. The caution and sensitivity of most of the German administrators made this possible. It is interesting that most of the Ponapeans preferred peaceful adjustment to the reforms which Fritz introduced. It is evidence that Ponape was essentially "ready" for the changes which the Germans were trying to implement.

Footnotes - Conclusions

¹ Today Ponape has an American type system of courts. Many Ponapeans consider the courts ineffective, because a defendant with a smart lawyer can escape punishment.

² John L. Fischer, "Contemporary Ponape Island Land Tenure," in: Land Tenure Patterns, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Vol. I, part 2 (Guam: Office of the Staff Anthropologist, 1958), pp. 83-84.

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GLOSSARY
of Ponapean words in the text

Aimeliik	Place where Ponapean exiles lived in Palau (Palauan place name)
Alipin	Ponapean translator for the Germans
Amina	Mortlock islander who worked for the Germans
Angaur	Location of phosphate mines in Palau
Ant	Atoll, eight miles from the reef in Kiti
Awak	Predominantly Catholic community in Uh
Dau	Channel
Dau Mwokote	Mwokote Channel between Sokehs and main island of Ponape
Dauk	Third ranking title in the royal line (see Appendix II)
Deleur	Old name for Temwen Island
Denipei	Location of Catholic Mission on Sokehs
dipw	Clan
Dipwenluhk	Clan of Luhk
Dipwenmen	Creature Clan
Dipwenpahnmei	Under the breadfruit clan
Dipwenpehpe	Clan of Pehpe
Dipwenwai	Foreign clan

Dipwilap	Great clan
doadoahk	work
Doletik	"small hill" - island off of Rohn Kiti
en	of
Enipein	"female spirit" - the name of a section in Kiti
Inenwaies	Sub-clan of Dipwenmen. Extinct
iso	honored
Isواني	"honored spirit" - formerly the title of the Nanmwarki of Sokehs; honorific in death for Henry Nanpei's father, Nanku (also known as Luhk en Langsir)
Isophahu	Spirit of the Dipwenwai clan
Isopau	Title of the Nanmwarki of Madolenihmw
Isokelekel	Legendary hero, conquered the Sau Deleur
Ispouri	Legendary hero, from Enipein, Kiti
kahnsapw	sub-kingdom or sub-tribe
kamadipw	"beat the grass" - feast
kamadipwen wahu	feast of honor, respect feast
Kaniki	chiefly title, as in Kaniki en Tomwara
kaningama (kanengamah)	patient
keimw (kaimw)	corner
Kirou Likiaak	chiefly title, section chief of Enipein
kisin nin	infant betrothal

Kiti	a kingdom
koasoi	story, discussion
Kolonia	administrative and commercial center
kopwung	hearing, trial
kosetipw	to foretell the future, to locate lost objects through the use of magic
kousapw	kingdom sections
Kusaie (Kosrae)	Island 300 miles ESE of Ponape. Known in legends as Katau Peidak.
Lahdeleng	Young man whose beating was catalyst for rebellion
Langer	Island in Kolonia Harbor
Langinsor	One of the rebels from Sokehs
Lasiahlap	Great Bel (Clan)
Ledek	Clan name (no translation)
Leiak	Section on Temwen Island
lemei	hostile, cruel, belligerent, tough
Lepen Dolomar	chiefly title
Lepen Madau	chiefly title
Lepen Net	Formerly the highest ranking chief in Net. In 1912 Net adopted the Nanmwarki-Naniken titles.
Lepen Palikir	High chief of Palikir
Lepen Ririn (Lepereren)	Chiefly title, generally in the noble line, although it was in the royal line in Sokehs. (See Appendix II.)
Lepereren Sokehs	One of the leaders of the Sokehs rebellion

Likend (or Nahnalek)	Wife of the high chief
Limwei Dollap	name of a female child born on the Great Mountain of Sokehs
Lini	Warrior from Puaipuai, Kiti
Lipitahn	Clan name (no translation)
Luhk	A Ponapean spirit. Also an honorific frequently bestowed posthumously
Luhk en Kasik	Luhk of the gun, name of the Nanmwarki of Madolenihmw who was executed in revenge for the Falcon incident
Luhk en Nansapwe	Legendary father of Isokelekel
luhwen wehi	"remainder of the kingdom": refers to land which was not deeded to anyone in 1912
Madolenihmw	"between the buildings": name of a kingdom. N.B. This is an obvious reference to Nan Madol.
mahk	reserved, containing one's feelings for fear of self-embarrassment or embarrassing others, constrained in actions by a social situation
Malenkopualele	Ancient name of Madolenihmw
Manindokalang	Youngest of the Sokehs rebels to be executed after the rebellion
marain	enlightened
mehn wai	white man
meing	high language, respect forms of speech
Mesor	Lipitahn hero of the war at Sapwtakai
Mokil	Atoll 90 miles east of Ponape
Mortlocks	Atolls 100 miles south of Truk

mwa	brother-in-law or sister-in-law; refers only to relations between husband and his wife's brother or between wife and husband's sister. (See Appendix III.)
Mwaluk (Mwoalok)	Formerly a section of Sokehs, location of Sokehs ceremonial house
Mwand (Mwahnd)	Islands in the lagoon in Uh
Peidi and Peidak	Downwind and upwind Mwand
mwehi	period, era
Nan Kiop	Location in the mountains of Net
Nanlepenien	Son of Isokelekel, first to receive the Naniken title
Nan Madol	Ancient walled "city" with canals off of Temwen Island in Madolenihmw
Nan Mahnd	Section in Central Kiti
Nan Pohnpei Mwaluk	Chiefly title belonging to Lahdeleng
Nan Sokele	Location along the Nanepil River in Net
Nahlik Lapalap	Chiefly title. (See Appendix II.)
Nahnalek (Likend)	Wife of Nanmwarki
Nahniek	Clan name (no translation)
Nahnisohtsapw	The spirit for whom Nan Madol was erected
Nanaua	Chiefly title (See Appendix II.)
Nanaua en Mwudok	The name of the Naniken of Kiti who married Meri-An Hadley and took care of Henry Nanpei after Nanku died
Nanaua en Tomwara	A title from the section of Tomwara - belonged to Samuel, one of the leaders of the rebellion

Nanepil	The largest river in Net
Naniken	Leading title in the noble line of traditional chiefs
Nankirounpeinpok	Henry Nanpei's Ponapean name
Nanku	Name of Henry Nanpei's father (also known as Isoani); also a chiefly title
Nanmwarki	The highest ranking chief. Number one in the royal line
Nanpei	Chiefly title. Number six in the royal line. Henry Nanpei adopted it as his last name
Nansaused en Net	The man who received the Sou Kiti title after the war at Sapwtakai
Nansehlang	Spirit which governs canoe building
Nanulasom	Spirit which governs house building
Nanullap	Spirit which governs net weaving
Net	A kingdom
Ngatik	Atoll approximately 120 miles south of Ponape
Noahs	Chiefly title (See Appendix II.)
Oa	Site of American Board mission in Madolenihmw
Olosipa	Legendary builder of Nan Madol
Olosopha	Legendary builder of Nan Madol and probably the first Sau Deleur
oralap	summary
oratik	detailed account

Pahnmwinsapw	A farmstead in Net
Paipalap	"the great rock," Sokehs rock
Pakin	Atoll 12 miles beyond the reef on the western side of Ponape
paliensapw	Farmstead
Pali Powe Net	"the upwind side of Net": refers to the upwind side of the Net peninsula
Palikir	One of the older sub-kingdoms; traditionally a part of or closely allied with Sokehs
Pan Kedara	The most sacred of the island structures in Nan Madol
Pehleng	One of the largest sections in Kiti
pehs	boundary marker
peidak	upwind
peidi	downwind, downward
Pingelap	Atoll approximately 220 miles east of Ponape
poadapoad	legend
Pohn Paip	"upon the rock"
Pohnpei (Ponape)	"upon the altar"
Pohnpwad	one of the rebels; he was from Madolenihmy
Ponape	see "Pohnpei"
Puaiquai	Section in Central Kiti
Puapualik	an ancient name for Sokehs
pwain en inta	"price of blood" - retribution for murder or wounding in a fight
Pwohk	Section in Central Kiti

riahla	spiritual retribution
Rohn Kiti	Section in Central Kiti; the center of Henry Nanpei's activities
Rull	Village in Yap where the exiles of Sokehs spent nine months
Sakau	<u>piper methysticum</u> , kava; a variety of pepper: a sacred, narcotic beverage which is essential to feasts
Sakon Mwehi Suwed	"bad time of cruelty" - the name of a male child born during the rebellion
Samuel (Nanaua en Tomwara)	One of the important leaders of the rebellion
Samworou	Class of chiefly titles which relate to spiritual authority
Sapwalap	Section in Madolenihmw; site of fighting between Ponapeans and Spanish in 1890
Sapwehrak	Section in Madolenihmw
Sapwtakai	Section in Kiti; also the name of an ancient fortress which houses the "land rock" which is Sapwtakai
Sau Deleur	The lord of Deleur
sautiki	to feel disgust
seriiso	"honored children;" general term for members of the noble line of chiefs (See Appendix II.)
sohng	to try, or survey
sohng sapw	to survey land
Sokehs	A kingdom
Sou	"master" or "lord"

Souiso	Section in Central Kiti
Soukise	"master of part": Title of section chief of Wone or Ononlang; one of the titles which belongs to the Nanmwarki of Kiti
Sou Kiti	Chiefly title in Kiti (also Net), literally "master of Kiti," formerly a title of the Nanmwarki of Kiti
Soulik en Sapwehrak	A Ponapean chief who assisted the Germans
Soumadau en Sokehs	Leader of the Sokehs rebellion
Soun Ant	Sub-clan of Dipwenluhk
Soun Kawad	"clan of Kawad"
Soun Kiti	Sub-clan of Dipwenmen (See Appendix I)
Soun Samaki	Sub-clan of Dipwenmen (See Appendix I)
Soupeidi	"those who face downward"; general term for members of the royal line of chiefs (See Appendix II)
tapi	"beginning"
Temwen	Island in Madolenihmw
Tomwara	Section of Sokehs
Tomwarohlong	Section in Kiti
Truk	Large lagoon and complex of islands approximately 400 miles west of Ponape
Tukenisau	Farmstead where American Board erected its first mission at Rohn Kiti
Uh	A kingdom
uh lapw	"to stand great"; maternal uncle
uhmw	stone oven

wahu	honor or respect
wahwah	sororal nephew or niece
Wasai	Chiefly title, number two in royal line (See Appendix II)
Wasai Sokehs	Highest chief in Sokehs prior to the rebellion (See Appendix II)
wehi	kingdom. This term is generally translated as district or municipality. I chose to translate it as "kingdom" because the five <u>wehi</u> of Ponape were essentially sovereign kingdoms until the Sokehs rebellion
Wone (Wene)	A section in Kiti; formerly known as Ononlang
winani	"spirit medicine," magic, sorcery

APPENDIX I

THE CLANS OF PONAPE

1. Dipwilap
2. Dipwenluhk
3. Dipwenpahamei
4. Sounmaraki
5. Dipwenmen
6. Soun Rohi
7. Soun Pelienpil
8. Soun Samaki
9. Soun Pwok
10. Lasiahlap
11. Ledek
12. Pwuton
13. Soun Kawad
14. Dipwenwai
15. Liarkatau
16. Lipitahn
17. Nahniek
18. Dipwenpehpe
19. Soun Imuniak
20. Soun Yap
21. Dipwenwehi
22. Soun Wair
23. Sapwenipik
24. Sor

Sub-Clans of the Dipwenmen:

1. Dipwenmen Pwetepwet
2. Dipwenmen Tontol
 - a. Inenwaia
 - b. Upwetenpahini
 - c. Lipohnroahlong
 - d. Lisierenmwudok
 - e. Liesenpallap
 - f. Soun Kiti
 - g. Iso en Kiti
 - h. Soun Rohi
 - i. Soun Pelienpil
 - j. Soun Samaki
 - k. Soun Pwok

N.B. Clans 19-24 no longer exist on Ponape. According to Hambruch (v. II, p. 26), clans 19 and 20 had only a few survivors in 1910. Clans 21-24 died out either before or during the small-pox epidemic of 1854 (see Chapter II).

Clans 6, 7, 8, and 9 were said to have been originally part of clan number 5 but have been considered separate clans for a long time. Luellen suggests that 6 and 7 were originally derived from a clan known as Soun Rakim which seems to have no relation to the Dipwenmen. Nevertheless, I have included them in the list of the Dipwenmen sub-clans.

APPENDIX II

CHIEFLY TITLES

This list of the chiefly titles on Ponape is based on Hambruch (v. II, p. 11) and Riesenberg (*Native Polity*, pp. 10-13). It is important to remember that Net and Sokehs presently use the Nanmwarki-Naniken series, although they did not during the German period.

The series in Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti:

<u>Soupeidi</u> (royalty) ("those who face downward")	<u>Seriiso</u> (nobility) ("honored children")
1. Nanmwarki	1. Naniken
2. Wasai	2. Nalaimw
3. Dauk	3. Nansauririn
4. Noahs	4. Nanapas
5. Nanaua	5. Nan Madau en Idehd
6. Nanpei	6. Souwel Lapalap
7. Nan Kiroun Pohn Dake	7. Lepen Ririn
8. Nahlik Lapalap	8. Ou Ririn
9. Nanihd Lapalap	
10. Lempwwei Lapalap	
11. Soudel	
12. Oundol	
13. Mwarekietik	

There are many other titles in each line, but their order changes depending on the kingdom. There are also variations which are historically based, such as number 8 in the royal line of the kingdom of Kiti. The title Nahlik Lapalap has remained as number 4 in the noble line in Kiti since the war at Sapwtakai (see above, Chapter I).

Sokehs:

<u>Soupeidi</u>	<u>Seriiso</u>
Wasai	Naniken
Dauk	Soulik en Soledi
Naniau	Nalaimw
Nanmadau en Oare	Nanapas
Noahs	Kirou Likiaik

[List is concluded on following page.]

[Conclusion of list from previous page.]

Sokehs:

Soupeidi

Lepen Madau
Nanpei en Sokehs
Mwarekietik
Nahlik Lapalap
Arun Pwutak
Kaniki Ririn
Lepen Ririn

Seriiso

Nanikiei
Souwel Lapalap
Soulik en Sokehs
Kulap
Oaron Maka
Kirou en Doletik
Soumaka

Net:

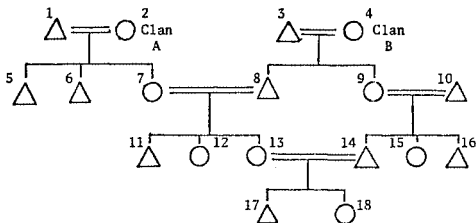
Soupeidi

Lepen Net
Nansau en Net
Soukong en Net
Madau en Rohi
Nan Madau en Kipar
Luererei en Net
Oun Net
Nan Kirou en Net
Sou Madau en Net
Nanpei en Net
Kirou en Net
Sou Net
Souwen en Net

Seriiso

Kirou Rohi
Nan Madau en Sokehs
Lepen Param pei
Lepen Langer
Oun Pohnpei en Net
Nanaua en Net
Nanapas en Net

APPENDIX III



This chart is an abbreviated example of Ponapean ties of kinship. It shows at once the various relationships described in the text.

A. If Clan A was the Nanmwarki's clan and Clan B that of the Naniken, number 11 could reasonably marry number 15. This is an example of a cross-cousin marriage, as is shown between 13 and 14.

B. 5 and 6 are mwa (brothers-in-law) with 8, as is 11 with 14 and 16. Women, too, are mwa to each other; e.g., 7 with 9, and 13 with 15.

C. 5 and 6 are Uh lapw to 11; 12, and 13, their wahwah. N.B. This is only relevant to matrilineal clansmen.

D. 17 and 18 are classificatory children of 16 and 15. This relationship is not as important as that between uh lapw and wahwah.

APPENDIX IV

Names, Clans, Titles, and Religions of Those Whom the Germans Executed After the Rebellion:

NAME	CLAN	TITLE	RELIGION
Niue	Dipwepahnmei	Soumadau en Sokehs	Catholic
Toleniap	"	Lepen Ririn (Leperirin)	"
Jamuel [Samuel]	"	Nanaua en Tomwara	Protestant
Aronlanenjarak	"		Catholic
Lejkemi	Soun Kawad	Nanmadauenpaniep	"
Pailang	"	Oundol en paniep	"
Lapanjakara	"	Kaniki en japoon	"
Langinlor	"	Nanit	"
Jeilang	"	Lepen Madau en Sokehs	"
Parakap	"	Kaniki en Tomwara	"
Apaiu	Ledek	Soumaka en Pikiniap	"
Maninkatau	Soun Samaki	Lempwei en Ijipau	"
Kaunop	Dipwenmen		"
Manindokalang	"		"
Jaronlang	Nahnick	Nanaua en Lukapoj	"

This list is derived from Luelen Ch. 73:3. Cf. Luelen
Bernart, The Book of Luelen, Trans, and ed. John L. Fischer, Saul
H. Riesenberg, and Marjorie G. Whiting, Pacific History Series,
No. 8 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1977), pp. 144-145.

Luelen also cited the names of three who were condemned
to death on Ponape, and were supposed to be executed in Yap.
They did not die, however, but joined the others in exile.

Jakontalang	Nahnick		Catholic
Jemei	Nahnick	Nanlik en Tomwara	"
Uerik	Mwarekietik	Dipwenmen	"

N.B. The letter "j" represents the "s" sound. This is from the
old missionary orthography.

APPENDIX V

(Translation of pages 2 and 3 of the 1912 land law.
John L. Fischer, "Contemporary Ponape Island Land
Tenure." in: Land Tenure Patterns, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Vol. I, part 2 (Guam:
Office of the Staff Anthropologist, 1958), pp. 87-92.)

German Text

1. This document confirms continuous ownership. Ownership can be lost only if the owner is condemned to exile or death.

2. Upon the death of the owner, the property passes undivided on to a male relative entitled to inheritance. Decision by testament is not allowed. The hereditary succession is as follows:

- 1) Oldest living son
- 2) Oldest living grandson
- 3) Oldest living brother
- 4) Oldest living brother's son.

Lacking these relatives, the owner may adopt a man who he likes ["wishes" PME] to be his heir. Legal confirmation depends on the Nanmwarki and Governor. If the owner dies without leaving either a legal or adopted heir, the Nanmwarki and the Governor decide about the property.

Ponapean Text

1. This document confirms to people that he shall own this as his own true land without interruption. The only reason for which he may lose ownership of the land is if (he) shall be sentenced to be exiled or killed.

2. If the man who owns a piece of land dies, the piece of land shall remain whole; his eldest son shall succeed him. An illegitimate child shall obtain his father's land just as a true child, if his father and mother are married later. If the eldest son dies, his son shall succeed. If his [the owners' - JLF] son has no child, it shall return to the owner's brother. If the man has no brother's children [sic: what is probably meant is, "If the man has no brothers..." - JLF], his brothers shall succeed him. If there is not a single one of these, the man may adopt a boy to succeed him but he shall notify and obtain permission from the Nanmwarki and the Governor. If there are none of these, the Nanmwarki and Governor shall select people for the place.

No one may change the orders of the Governor about these things when he is about to die.

3. All male relatives who have no property of their own and all unmarried female relatives have the right to live on and use the property along with the owner.

4. Sale, giving away, and rental of property or parts thereof is allowed only with the consent of the Nanmwarki and Governor.

5. For official purposes the necessary land is to be given without remuneration.

6. All land for which no title document is issued belongs to the "tribe," also called "state" in Ponape [i.e., "District" - JLF, "kingdom" - PME] within whose boundaries it lies. It may be given away only by the Nanmwarki jointly with the Governor.

7. Once a year, in the Nanmwarki's honor feast, each section has to contribute a load of yams. The farmsteads which form the sections do not put their contributions together but pay separately in order.

Food and drink required for the feast is likewise contributed by the participants. The Nanmwarki may divide up the feasts by inviting the sections in several groups.

The listed honor men contribute once a year a pig each to the honor feast out of their own stock.

3. The man who is in charge of the land and all his male clan-mates shall simply remain in their home, as well as his female clan-mates, if they have not married. They shall all work at exploiting the land so that it will be of profit to them.

4. No one may sell land or give away land or give it to another to hold as tenant except with the permission of the Governor and the Nanmwarki. (If it is not permitted by them, he may not do these things.)

5. All work which is genuinely for the benefit of the district [kingdom - PME] shall not be paid for.

6. All places which are genuinely uncultivated and for which there is no document belong to the district. If a man wants to prepare some as his own land he may, but he shall first obtain permission from the Governor and the Nanmwarki.

7. Once a year all the sections shall give for the honor feast of the Nanmwarki a clump of yams [two-man load - JLF] - the farmsteads in a section shall not act together for this [i.e., each farmstead shall send a clump - JLF].

Everyone shall prepare food in a stone oven and bring it along with enough drink [i.e., kava - JLF] for themselves. It shall be at the pleasure of the Nanmwarki whether all the sections shall join together on one day or whether he shall divide the district. Once each

Participation in and contribution to other feasts are at the discretion of the individual.

year every holder of titles of honor shall offer an animal [pig or dog - JLF] which is genuinely his own.

If someone wants to attend some other feast or bring something or not, he may do so at his pleasure.

8. Small services are to be rendered to the Nanmwarki without remuneration.

8. Small errands for the district shall not be paid for.

9. The Nanmwarki calls his people twice a year for a day's work. They receive a stone ovenful of food in return.

9. The Nanmwarki shall give the people work twice a year, that is two days, and the Nanmwarki himself shall feed them.

10. The Nanmwarki may, after agreement with the Governor, order public works for the good of all, such as the building of community feast houses, paths and roads, channels, docks, etc.

10. The Nanmwarki may have the people work on sorts of projects which are of value to the district, such as feast houses, roads, canoe channels, piers, etc., but he must first obtain approval from the Governor.

11. Disobedience against his just orders is punished by the Nanmwarki: the first time by five days of forced labor, the second time by ten days of forced labor, and the third time the Nanmwarki may suggest to the Governor that the man be exiled. Disobedient persons who are unable to do forced labor shall be sent by the Nanmwarki to the Governor to be punished.

11. The Nanmwarki may himself sentence people who have violated his orders; for the first time, five days labor, for the second time, ten days labor; but for the third time, the Nanmwarki shall notify the Governor that he may exile him. If the man who has committed the crime is old and unable to work, the Nanmwarki shall take him to the Governor that he may personally sentence him.

APPENDIX VI

Translation of documents provided by Hersin Santos
of Kiti. Formerly owned by a Dauk, Kiti who had
the role of judge in Kiti during the German period.
Translation by John L. Fischer 3 November 1951.
Used by permission.

Ponape, 7 April 1913

CONCERNING THE NANMWARKI'S HOLDING TRIAL

Section I

The Governor gives the Nanmwarki the right to sentence
the people to labor:

1. Not obeying the just orders of the Nanmwarki...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.
2. Not respecting the High ones...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.
3. Witnesses lying in trials...
1st sentence, 1 week; 2nd, 2 weeks.
4. Disregarding or changing what the rulers have set
forth and disseminating erroneous laws...
1st sentence, 2 weeks; 2nd, 1 month.
5. False accusation and wounding another's feelings...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.
6. Public argument between people and religious groups...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.
7. a. Bodily injury from another person in a fight,
blood not involved...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.
b. If blood flows...
1st sentence, 2 weeks and pays 5 marks;
2nd, 1 month and pays 20 marks to the
person who is injured.

8. If a man castrates himself or lets another castrate him, both shall be punished...
1st sentence, 2 months; 2nd, 4 months.
9. a. Wounding the feelings of a married couple (i.e., adultery - JLF)...
1st sentence, 2 months; 2nd, 3 months.
- b. Wounding the feelings of a married couple, involving those who are taboo to each other...
1st sentence, 3 months; 2nd, 6 months.
10. Stealing...
1st sentence, 1 month, and restoring the equivalent of what was stolen; 2nd, 2 months, and restoring the equivalent of what was stolen.

Section II

The Nanmwarkis shall sentence those who are disobedient and cause them to work:

1. Disregarding the law for cleaning the roads...
1st sentence, 1 day; 2nd, 5 days. Note:
The Road Superintendent shall kill pigs which destroy the road and bring them to the Nanmwarki to be roasted.
2. Disregarding the law for planting coconuts...
All who are discovered to have neglected this for several months shall have a sentence of 3 days.
3. Burning off the prairies (grasslands - PME)...
1st sentence, 5 days; 2nd, 10 days.

Section III

The Nanmwarkis shall set straight and give proper assistance concerning the following practices:

1. He shall set aright debts and destruction of property and such things and set the fine.
2. a. He shall assist all those who have lost property or animals. If someone finds some property, such as a canoe or a knife, or other property, he shall bring it to the Nanmwarki.

- b. Whoever has lost property should go to the Nanmwarki and ask; and the one who found it shall receive 1/10 of the value of the property as payment.
- c. The true owner should go quickly within two weeks and ask the Nanmwarki. If not, the Nanmwarki will acquire ownership of it himself and will personally reward the finder with 1/10 of the value of the property as payment.
- d. Whoever finds a foreign animal, such as pigs, dogs, or chickens, should not kill it; but he should go and catch it and tie it up, and he shall then quickly notify the Nanmwarki. The true owner has one week in which to appear before the Nanmwarki and request him to return it, and he shall pay the finder 1/3 of the value of the animal. After one week, the Nanmwarki will acquire ownership of the animal and will himself pay the finder 1/3 of the value of the animal.
- e. If the finder kills it, he shall bring the meat to the Nanmwarki for him to own. The finder shall not receive payment.

Section IV

- 1. The Nanmwarkis shall not sentence anyone until they have all talked together truthfully and also ask the witnesses in a trial, and also called together some of the High People to be present; and the secretary shall write it down briefly.
- 2. Anyone who believes that the Nanmwarki has made mistakes in his trials should come and request the Governor for a retrial. If in the second trial, it is found that the Nanmwarki's original trial was correct, he shall give the Nanmwarki 20 marks in apology.

Section V

The several Nanmwarkis shall not try great offenses but shall notify the Governor. For instance:

- 1. Moving boundary markers.

2. Forming evil bands.
3. Carrying guns without permission.
4. Killing.
5. Severe bodily injuries from another in fighting.
6. Only four kinds of illicit intercourses shall be cause for heavy sentences, as follows:
 - a. Intercourse with those not yet old.
 - b. Intercourse with clan members who are taboo to each other.
 - c. Intercourse with others transmitting disease.
 - d. Intercourse by force.
7. Destroying things and stealing, making raids on land and destroying it.
8. Burning another's property.

Section VI

1. The Governor shall give permission concerning divorce of married people and quarrels about land boundaries.
2. All things which wash ashore belong to the Governor. The several Nanmwarkis should watch for things of this sort and notify the Governor.

Section VII

The Governor shall also try certain matters in addition to these, as follows: and the Nanmwarkis should endeavor to notify the Governor about them.

1. If a person is sentenced by the Nanmwarki to be punished but does not fulfill it.
2. If a person is sentenced twice by the Nanmwarki and returns again a third time as before.

3. If a person of one district (kingdom - PME) accuses a person of another district and they do not have the same Nanmwarki.
4. If the Nanmwarki accuses someone, or someone accuses the Nanmwarki.
5. If the sentence exceeds the authority of the Nanmwarki.
6. If it is a person from another island or a European.
7. (Fischer is unclear about the translation of this section. I agree with his. PME) If the parties stay with Europeans (if they live with Europeans; e.g., servants - PME).

The old law made on 26 June no longer has effect.

H. Kersting.

Appendix VI - Part II

Ponape, 7 April 1913

EXPLANATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAND DOCUMENTS

On Article I

1. No one shall move or do anything to the boundary markers unless he gets permission from the Nanmwarki and Governor. And if anything is to be done to them, the Governor and Nanmwarki will notify one of the group of three as well as some from the group of seven.

2. In the event of erroneous changes in the boundary markers or the land deeds if people do these themselves in full knowledge of what is right, they and whomever the land belongs to and the group of (? - JLF) residents they will be severely punished by the Governor.

3. (The Ponapean text is not clear. Fischer suggests it establishes a yearly official inspection of boundary markers. My translation: The Governor will agree to at least one annual inspection of the markers.)

4. The boundary - making groups of three and seven men shall continue in authority indefinitely. If one of them dies or is convicted before the Governor, this shall be cause for the High Ones to look for a replacement for him and record a note (? - remainder of this sentence is unclear; apparently as follows: - JLF) his place in the boundary-making group.

On Article II

1. If a man has many lands it will be as follows: His son(s) will succeed to the inheritance; his sons' children shall take precedence first (but) another can also inherit certain lands.

2. If a man's brother or sister's child also (receives land) along with his son(s) or his sons' children this is up to the person whose the inheritance is (note: it is unclear whether this means it is up to the original owner or the legal heir - JLF). The order of inheritance can be arranged in this fashion if the Nanmwarki and Governor give permission for it, if (the man whose) inheritance it really is wants to give away one (parcel of land - JLF).

3. Immovable property such as houses and plantations of trees, etc., are also his true property. It is taken care of when the inheritance is taken care of... (if he) has promised before he dies... (if he) shall notify the Nanmwarki; and it may be done if he permits it.

On Article III

1. All people who belong to a parcel of land have it as their true place and the sanction for their acts is in the document in which they are recorded. This right shall continue in existence if they marry and go away - their rights in the old property and in that to which they have moved.

2. Concerning what is to be done on a parcel of land the families themselves shall discuss the matter and settle it.

3. The Nanmwarki shall take care that what is written in the land documents shall not be departed from.

4. Those whose true lands are on the shore shall let those who live above them use paths and be free to cross to the shore and build boat and canoe houses, etc.

On Article VI (N.B. No comments exist about Articles IV, V, or VII in this document.)

1. Concerning land which has not been distributed (to individuals) all people of the district may do with it as they please. For land which adjoins the back of another's property a person should get permission from the owner of the adjoining property. If a dispute arises the Nanmwarki and the Governor shall settle it. All mangrove that has not yet been distributed is a part of the remainder of the district.

2. Distribution of the remainder of the District as genuine individual property will be performed only in the case where (a man's) original parcel of land has been well planted and if the food of him and his companions is no longer sufficient.

On Article VII

1. Concerning the customs of feasts of former times, they will not be performed by force.

On Article IX

1. The Nanmwarki shall not pay for people whom he gives work to in money or anything else.

- a. If his (apparently "anyone's" - JLF) land is full and completed, at this time he (apparently the Nanmwarki - JLF) may give some of his worthy people land for them to develop as their own. (The above Ponapean sentence is almost certainly a mistranslation of the German, as it does not follow logically the preceding sentence - JLF.)

2. This does not mean feeding everyone. The Nanmwarki will give a little food, as much as he deigns to be inclined to, to the workers.

H. Kersting.

Appendix VI - Part III

The following is an additional document which accompanied the first two. It followed the others by approximately three months.

Ponape, 30 January 1914

Concerning 3, 7, 8, 9, 10

I. The people shall have only a single Nanmwarki and shall serve him from their homes.

When they live in another district where they also have a parcel of land, they shall also be subject to small errands which the Nanmwarki gives them and these shall not be paid for; and if they commit a crime, that Nanmwarki shall try and sentence them.

II. People who do not know which district is really theirs, or who want another district, shall inform the Nanmwarki and Governor that they may arrange it.

Children shall have as their true district the one where their father is.

People who do not have land of their own in their district may become citizens of another district where they have land of their own.

gez. Kersting.