

difference with Northwest California. The contrasting Northwest Californian attitude is one of cupidity, sharp bargaining, and definite prescribed prices and fines. Also comparatively minor attention was paid to industriousness as such. The only occasions when the Atsugewi demanded a fine on the Yurok pattern were for murder, adultery, and rape.<sup>32</sup> Both cultures stressed individual property rights, which formed the basis of a paternalistic order of which the rich man, the controller of property, was the head, dispensing assistance and food to his followers. Central Californian influences have, however, given the Atsugewi a true hereditary chief with some political authority, though his constituents did not provide him with food as was usual in Central California.

The intimate and functional relationship of the work-drive to the economy, political organization, marriage, and religion, and the fact that it is the basis for the cultural configuration has been demonstrated. It is evident that the basis for a strong cultural pattern of personality need not be dramatic.

#### BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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<sup>32</sup> For adultery and rape one or one-and-a-half strings of clamshell beads were demanded.

## THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF A MICRONESIAN SOCIETY

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ONE of the most significant social phenomena of the past century has been the impact of the larger society on local cultures. The urbanization of rural life, the secularization of sacred structures, the acculturation of minority groups, the modernizing of primitive peoples are but different manifestations of the same social process. This process is modifying not only surface relationships but also the entire organization of community life; native ways of living, traditional patterns of social inter-action, and preexisting systems of values are reoriented. While we now know the characteristic features of this transition, and can even forecast its successive stages, we are exceedingly limited in our skill in directing it as a social program.

Nevertheless, American war activities make it imperative that this direction be exercised over the islands of the Pacific. The writer, as a Naval Military Government officer, recently spent six months in the Palau group of Caroline Islands in charge of the population of Angaur. In order to develop effective techniques for the administration of Angaur, a systematic study was made of its past and more recent social order. During the course of a hundred years, Spanish, Germans, and Japanese in sequence endeavored to reshape the social contours of Palau. Now the United States is continuing that historic process.

#### INDIGENOUS SOCIAL ORDER

The Palaus lie north of New Guinea, east of the Philippines, south of the Marianas, and west of the Marshalls. The Palau group comprises a number of small islands which collectively total 185 square miles. One hundred years ago, Palau had between 40,000 and 50,000 inhabitants and now has approximately 6,500 Micronesians. The continuing sharp decline in numbers which marked the first part of the modern period no longer prevails; the birth rate again exceeds the death rate. Angaur is the southernmost of the Palaus and, like other coral islands of the Pacific, is small, consisting of about three square miles. Once the Angaurese numbered around 2,500, today it contains some 350 natives. Most of the island's population belong to a single social order and share a common set of traditions. While some have visited neighboring areas, few have traveled beyond the confines of the Carolines. Migration within the Palaus has been continuous since ancient times and the patterns of living are much alike for the entire region. In addition to its regular inhabitants, Angaur has had in recent years several Chamorro, Chinese, and Japanese families,

<sup>1</sup> The opinions contained in this paper are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or as reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the Naval Service at large.

I wish to thank Lt. (jg) Francis B. Mahoney, USNR, for his excellent help in the field work and for his stimulating discussion of the ideas herein presented.

indentured laborers from Okinawa, Yap, Woleai and Truk, Korean war labor gangs, Japanese businessmen, officials and military personnel. In the past, Spanish missionaries and German administrators, and even one Englishman, who married into a native family, temporarily lived on the island.

Palau was politically autonomous prior to the nineteenth century. No outside group had ever attempted to conquer it, and it had no aspirations to conquer any outside group. A loose confederation existed in which each island was ranked according to its prestige. Melekeiok in the north and Korror in the south rated highest and hence dominated the cluster of islands with lower status in their respective areas.<sup>2</sup> The two clusters engaged in friendly rivalry and intermittent warfare. Wars were relatively bloodless and the longest ones lasted two days. Native political organization consisted of a hierarchy of chiefs. Within each island, chiefs were theoretically the final authority, but no action could be taken without previous approval of the island council. The island council (*klobak*) was made up of the ten oldest men in the ten leading clans, but only the three top members of the council were authorized to advise the chiefs. The usual procedure was for the chief to consult with the second ranking man, and if they agreed they would clear in succession with the third and fourth senior men. Upon obtaining their approval, the rest of the members of the council were informed in order of their social position and, by custom, they were expected to endorse the proposal. Should the initial consensus not prevail, however, the chief was unable to act. Only the man in the second highest position could argue with the chief; the others either formally approved or opposed a decision. If the chief violated this code or otherwise proved incompetent, the next highest ranked man acted as leader. The council as a whole served as the local bureaucracy, directing public improvements, fishing, and the like. These officials were called *rubak*.

The framework of island life consisted of three social systems: the *belu* (village), the *kebliil* (clan) and the *talungalak* (family). Angaur had six *belu* and each of these ordinarily had ten *kebliil*; while ten *talungalak* per *kebliil* was regarded as the normal ratio; their number varied.

Each system contained its own social hierarchy which determined an individual's roles in public relationships.<sup>3</sup> Thus the chief of Angaur and the second most distinguished man of the island belonged to the highest ranking village and were also members of the two leading clans. The island council, referred to above, was made up of the senior members of the ten most distinguished clans on Angaur. Intra-village affairs were directed by the head of the

<sup>2</sup> The headship of the Melekeiok federation was known as *araklai* and of the Korror as *aibedul*.

<sup>3</sup> All newcomers to the island were expected to become a member of a *belu* and a *kebliil*; they were not permitted to form their own. The children of outsiders who married local women belonged to her *kebliil* and *talungalak*.

uppermost *kebliil* aided by highest ranked members of the other clans, and their oldest sisters (or the oldest women of the clan). The former decided community policy and programs and the latter were in charge of the allocation of women's work, food distribution, beautification projects, dancing, and other comparable village activities. So too, within each clan and family the person of highest rank directed its group activities. Male members of the social bureaucracy also were called *rubak*<sup>4</sup> and female members *rubak-l-dil*.

While one could join or marry into a clan, membership in a family was gained solely through birth.<sup>5</sup> All offspring of a woman were permanently affiliated with the same *talungalak*. A bride lives in the home of her husband's family, but she continues as a member of her original *talungalak*. The oldest brother of a woman with children serves as the family *rubak* (also referred to as the *merreder-a-talungalak* or *oktomaod*). If the *oktomaod* died or became ill, then the next oldest brother assumed the position of authority. Should all brothers be eliminated, then the sisters would shift for themselves until their oldest male child reached adulthood. A wife consulted her oldest brother on her social activities, the raising and disciplining of her children and any difficult personal problems. Still, only if her husband were unable to support her, she might expect full economic aid from her *oktomaod*. A man's personal property and tabus are inherited by his sister's children. In general, the *talungalak* was a matrilineal, patrilocal, consanguineal family system.

Two other social groupings arranged the roles of the members of each community: the moiety (*bitang*) and the club (*abai*). The village was subdivided into halves. The two leading persons of the elite clans without other public responsibilities served as heads of the divisions. In such community activities as fishing, general work, dancing, games, club-house construction, the members of the village functioned as a part of their subdivision. Around the clubs centered much of the organized social life of the community. The typical village had two clubs (*abai-ra-el-debeel*) for each moiety, one served for men between the ages of seventeen to thirty and the other for men past thirty. The youth clubs were centers for training in warfare, but members were not expected to engage in war until they entered the higher age bracket. In the interim they built defenses, repaired boats and undertook other assigned tasks. During wartime all members lived continuously at the club, while in peace they met formally once a month and informally every day. If the population proved unusually large an extra club would be formed. Visitors

<sup>4</sup> The honorary title of *rubak* likewise was given to old men famed for their knowledge of ancient times, and the equivalent title of *mhas* to aged women. *Rubak* were also called *merreder*, their position being shown by the suffix, e.g., *merreder-a-belu*, *merreder-a-kebliil*, *merreder-a-talungalak*. In all community affairs they were invariably the acknowledged leaders.

<sup>5</sup> Adopted children, however, were viewed as having the same rights as those born into a *talungalak*.

stayed in the *abai* and those who became permanent residents were attached to one of the established clubs. Each *abai* had a club house; those of the younger age group were located near the fishing piers while the others were near the center of the village. A male and female head of the club were chosen by the village chief and were given the title of *merreder-a-el-debeel*.<sup>6</sup>

While the *abai* were predominantly men's clubs, women of the village were permitted to use them for meetings. In addition, unmarried girls from other Palau Islands lived in the clubs as companions for its members. They could not participate in village activities such as community dances and could leave the *abai* only when escorted by a member of the club. A wife who became jealous of her husband and quarreled with the girls in the club was fined. Every household was required to contribute to the support of the residents of the clubs. An elite club (termed the *abai-ra-rubak*) occupied the center of the village; its membership was confined to the leading ten *rubak* of the *belu*. Only village women with the rating of *rubak-l-dil* used this club, lesser ranking women meeting in other clubs. Female companions for the *rubak* were drawn from the upper classes of the neighboring islands. All public meetings, celebrations, and dances were held in the courtyard in front of the *abai-ra-rubak*.

Like most oceanic peasantry, the Angaurese had a subsistence-handicraft type of economy. A livelihood was easily extracted from the abundant local reserves of fish, coconut, and taro. Every clan had its artisans who were experts in weaving, thatching and wood carving. They erected the long, one-room, palm-thatch hut (*blai*) occupied by each family, built the canoes needed by each club and designed the utensils required by everyone. Their greatest creative efforts, however, were concentrated on the elaborate interior decorations of the *abai* which consisted of inlaid carvings portraying the community's pornographic stories, moral lessons, sagas and folk tales. Both productive and consumptive activities were collective enterprises funneled through the clan, family, clubs, and moiety groupings, and were subject to the supervision of the *rubak*. Land was owned by the clan and other properties were the possession of the family. All wealth was under the ultimate control of women and was inherited through the female line. Economic enterprise rated low in the scale of values, the accumulation of physical goods had no effect on a person's status, sense of security, or standard of living. Hence only sufficient effort went into production to obtain subsistence and enough excess to provide the token gifts which were invariably presented on ceremonial occasions. Each major happening in the life history of a person entailed the offering of such gifts to certain members of various social groups, and these in turn were reciprocated according to a fixed scheme.

Group expression reached its highest development in the dance. Though

<sup>6</sup> Informally they were known as *bielul*—which loosely translated stands for "head".

competitive sports, feasts, and gambling were popular amusements, the greatest creative efforts were channelized into the nightly dances. No social occasion or rite was complete without a dance. The over-all form was fixed, but within the framework, improvisation was endless. Inventors of new routines were highly respected. Newcomers to the island were first honored by the presentation of a round of dances and then invited to display their own. Those which were liked were immediately learned; by this process, the popular Truk precision dances early were adopted as a permanent part of Angaur's dances. The entire population danced in organized groups which were sponsored by the *abai* and directed by the *rubak-l-dil*.

While the extreme deviate was summarily dealt with by a court made up of *rubak*, the culture allowed free play to a wide variety of personality types. The ideal man was one who was soft-spoken, reserved in his judgments, deferent to his superiors, kindly to his inferiors, unaggressive in social relationships, and above all mild, stable, and poised. Though parents make concerted efforts to inculcate these norms in their children there is no attempt to repress their normal emotional reactions, thus no building up of deep inner tensions. While mental disorders were rare, as in other areas of the south Pacific, occasionally persons ran *amok* and when confronted by an exceedingly stimulating situation the reaction was one of incessant yawning and a great desire for sleep. Crime, too, was uncommon; the entire family of a premeditated murderer was killed and their personal holdings destroyed. For lesser infractions of the mores persons were usually fined.

An individual's ordinary costume consisted of a breech cloth for men and a grass skirt for women. Tattooing was a universal adornment, the pictorial decorations designating a person's stage in the life cycle and social position.

The Angaurese, physically, are primarily a product of Polynesian, Melanesian, and Malayan admixtures. The influence of Japanese, Chinese and European stocks is also evident. Hence the population is heterogeneous in appearance, varying from the short, stout pyknic to the tall, slender asthenic types. Skin color ranges from light yellow to dark brown, and hair from brown to black. No premium is placed on the possession of any particular combination of features. There is a great sensitivity about being linked with a negroid stock, resentment of the inferior racial position ascribed to the Palau by the Chamorro, Filipino and Japanese, and a feeling of superiority over such groups as the Yap, Sonsorol, and Woleai. The commonly used designation of the Palau as *kanakas* is strongly objected to as reflecting adversely on their quality as a people.

The legendary origin of Angaur itself was traced to the time when the island was believed to have emerged from the water. From the outset a god-like family occupied the island. The offspring of this family, a son named Wap, was exceedingly large at birth and continued to grow higher and ever higher.

Soon he was taller than the trees and it was no longer possible to feed him, to see his face or his children whom he held in his arms. In desperation his family put faggots at his feet, set them aflame and so Wap finally fell on his side. His dead body and those of his children formed the remainder of the Palaus. Then the family dispersed, settling the rest of the Palaus. But there was no social hierarchy at first, for everyone stemmed from the same *talungalak*. To overcome this problem a great conference was called and the population was subdivided into social ranks which have continued unbroken through time. Families and clans explain their position in the social structure in terms of this beginning. Each of these groups had guardian spirits who were subject to some control through worship and the observation of the family tabus and clan totemic proscriptions. The priesthood passed through Angaur's leading clan and was both the trustee of the island's customs and the only group authorized to engage in sorcery.

There was little interest in the outside world, although the Angaurese were vaguely aware of Yap, Sonsoral, the Philippines, Celebes, New Guinea, China, and the Marianas because of occasional visitors from these places. The European traders who intermittently came to Palau since the sixteenth century were given a friendly reception but stayed only briefly and had no great influence on native life. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the outside world began to assume a major importance to Palau's society.

#### THE IMPACT OF SPANISH, GERMAN, AND JAPANESE CONTROL ON THE NATIVE SOCIAL ORDER

During the past century, the Spanish, Germans, and Japanese in sequence dominated the Palaus. In characteristic fashion each colonial power, during its period of control, sought to reform native ways to conform to its preconceptions of the proper modes of behavior. Though they differed in the means employed in bringing about the change and in the aspects of the local culture they concentrated on, their ends were essentially alike.

While it is customary to think of the Japanese as an Oriental influence, their objectives, in reality, differed little from those of their predecessors. For example, the Japanese stressed the capitalistic mores surrounding labor and individual advancement, the concept of progress and change as values *per se*, and sought to disseminate numerous mechanical devices which are usually thought of as uniquely Western. Hence, the supplanting of one colonial power by another did not entail a major break in the controlling group's attitude towards Palau's way of living.

The Spanish formally exercised control over Palau for fourteen years, from 1885 to 1899, the Germans for fifteen years between 1899 and 1914, and the Japanese in the thirty-year span 1914-1944. The brevity of the Spanish and German eras, in contrast to the Japanese, limited their influence on native life.

Spanish administration was almost entirely in the hands of the Capuchin order of monks. The principal efforts of this governing body were directed at evangelization, "uplifting" of native morals, and the preservation of order. While the first missionaries were received with indifference, continuous efforts eventually resulted in the conversion of the bulk of the population to Catholicism. To achieve these ends, tabus, totemism, sorcery, the worship of ancestral spirits, and inter-island warfare were discouraged by all possible methods. Native styles of dancing were declared to be sinful. The fourteen years of Spanish control were of primary significance in their impact on the religious life of Angaur. The loss of supernatural sanctions of the social hierarchy indirectly weakened the social order and thereby made possible other changes in the subsequent period.

The Germans, in keeping with their national mind-set, sought to systematize native life. While the Germans did not intervene in the details of the social life of Angaur, they established a series of regulations concerning native institutions. These were not deliberately designed to modify the total culture but rather to alter those items in conflict with German conceptions of the good life. Missionary activities were encouraged, the native religious practices were outlawed, mission schools were made compulsory, women companions for the club prohibited. Palau style dances were permitted but not encouraged. Chiefs were retained in control but subjected to detailed supervision from above and their authority curtailed. Heavy emphasis was placed on health measures. The first hospitals were established, toilets were introduced and their use made compulsory, the homes of dysentery cases were destroyed to prevent contagion, and a program to combat yaws was begun. The one-room long-houses were viewed with disfavor and so newlyweds were required to build small palm-thatch huts. A network of roads linking all the communities of the island was constructed. The greatest effort of all was directed toward the development of a capitalistic economy. Scientists quickly located phosphate deposits, and the German South Seas Phosphate Company immediately entered into production. Everything possible was done to replace the cooperative-subsistence economy by an individualistic commercial economy. Native money which had more social than fiduciary significance was exchanged for German money. Extension of credit was stopped so that people would work regularly to acquire purchasing power. Club-controlled labor and trade, and the family-clan inheritance of property were declared inoperative. Every man between twenty and sixty was required to plant eight coconut trees a year, and to accept wage work. Men were not allowed to loaf in the club during the work day. Collective land holdings were liquidated, on the theory that each person would then have to work to gain a livelihood, and none would be free of labor. Within a short time much of the island lands were owned by the phosphate company. The German era was of lasting effect in that it

inaugurated many of the social and economic policies subsequently pursued by the Japanese. But the inner life of the community was hardly troubled by the German superimposed values. The shift from German to Japanese control took place with no local conflict between the two powers. During the transition the former officials aided the incoming ones in setting up their administration.

Japanese administration of Angaur passed through three phases: the Navy period of control (1914-1918), a mixed Navy and civil service organization (1918-1922), and finally the South Seas Bureau (1922-1944). The Navy retained the pre-existing legislation but relaxed its enforcement. Navy personnel were friendly to the natives and in general allowed the people to run their own society. The same outlook prevailed in the mixed period. The Navy held the key positions while the Japanese civil servants carried out the routine governmental programs. No major effort was made to alter local institutions but a great number of minor regulations were introduced by the bureaucracy. The South Seas Bureau adopted all of the socio-economic programs typical of an enlightened colonial imperialism—namely, the controlled exploitation of local resources, the improvement of the population's well-being, and the maintenance of a responsible government.

A wide variety of measures was undertaken to facilitate the modernization of native life.<sup>7</sup> To inculcate further the incentives necessary to workers in a capitalistic system, stress was placed on the prestige which surrounds persons of wealth and the moral values of industry and continuous labor. Similarly, time-consuming ceremonies and dances which disrupted the daily work schedule were frowned upon. To encourage a desire for wage work and higher levels of living, quantities of manufactured articles ranging from canned fish to electric light bulbs were imported for sale to natives. In order to offset native indifference to modern health procedures, a hospital was opened, medical care was given free, and an extensive sanitary program was undertaken. Public schools were designed to give the usual elementary courses in language (Japanese), mathematics, natural sciences, geography, agriculture and craftsmanship, and also to acquaint the younger generation with a new code of ethics and mode of behavior. School teachers constantly emphasized the need for "modernization". While a series of lectures was given on native history, the lesson pointed out was the importance of progress.

The Japanese administrators had trouble comprehending the more intricate aspects of the native social structures. Claiming to see no practical value in the complex social organization, particularly in view of the decline of the size of the native population, they proceeded to simplify the island's communities and clan system. Angaur's ancient six *belu* were reduced to three and placed on a district basis. The number of clans was cut down to four in the larger

and two in the smaller villages. While the moiety system was used in the labor gangs, as in other groupings, its cooperative features were abolished to enhance individualism. Earnings were thus given to each person rather than to the group as a unit.

The Japanese admired the architectural features of the clubhouse, and even encouraged the natives to save one as a museum, but they eliminated all of the clubs' governing and social functions, so that they ceased to have much significance to the Angaurese. The most drastic alteration was in the system of governing. Native officials had fled to their homes during the shift from German to Japanese control; while soon recalled to duty, they were never restored to their original positions. For a brief time the Japanese tried the German scheme of indirect rule, using native chiefs and council as their intermediary, but then abandoned it. Direct intervention in the internal affairs of Angaur society became the standard operating procedure. In the German period native chiefs retained most of their traditional prerogatives including the issuance of all orders to the members of their group. Councils also wielded much influence, for they continued to exercise their right to pass on the chiefs' edicts. But with Japanese direct rule, the chiefs and the councils were stripped of much of their authority. Laws were promulgated by the Bureau and the chiefs merely carried out the enactments. Hence the weakened chieftainship became the only recognized native office. When the people objected to an ordinance they no longer appealed to their chiefs or council but assembled as a body and went directly to the Japanese official. Such an appeal, however, was not an easy enterprise, for it entailed traveling to Korror, the headquarters of the South Sea Bureau, and often the official responsible was in Truk or Tokio.

The focal point of local enterprise, the phosphate works, were enlarged and their ownership transferred to the quasi-governmental South Seas Colonial Company (Nanyo Takuchoku Kabushiki Kaisha). This enterprise continued the German practice of implementing the local labor supply by the importation of workers from Truk, Woleai, Yap, and Saipan. Such contract laborers were housed apart from the rest of the local population, and as a transient group were given more limited aids than those accorded the people of Angaur. The company in cooperation with the South Seas Bureau provided social security benefits for aged and injured workers, honored the terms of its labor contracts,<sup>8</sup> paid its workers a fairly high wage and, according to its former employees, treated them with fairness and humanity. Natives were not encouraged to set up their own small enterprises and while many local industries declined, such as seamanship and seafaring trades, a few natives did open stores and artisans made handicrafts for the souvenir market. Commercial relations displaced

<sup>7</sup> See Yanaihara, 1940, for a presentation of the rationale advanced for this point of view. (See Bibliography at end of article.)

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Decker, 1940, pp. 136-146, for a summary of labor legislation in effect on Angaur.



bartering, and Japanese money became the only legal tender. No ceiling was placed on the wealth accumulated by the Angaurese and some succeeded in saving considerable sums of money. Taxes were low, the South Seas Bureau meeting most of the costs of its own personnel and public utilities. Skilled Japanese carpenters were brought to the island to build Japanese-style wooden homes which the population viewed as a distinct gain in health conditions.

The Bureau maintained that Christianity was an alien culture. The attempt was made to convince the islanders that the God of Europe was Christ, and that of the Far East, Buddha. The established Christian Churches were tolerated as a temporary expedient, pending the time natives would become accustomed to the new order. It thus became increasingly difficult for ministers to conduct regular services, and with the start of the war Christian services were outlawed. On Shinto holidays the entire population was required to present itself at the shrines and to pay homage. Despite these pressures, the natives continued loyal to their faith and furtively held services at night in their homes.

Through informal but constant pressure, other innovations took place. The wearing of clothing became universal and tattooing no longer was done by the younger generations. The use of the Japanese language, the practice of bowing, the covering up of the mouth while laughing, preoccupation with cleanliness in the home and in appearance, the gearing of the day's routine to the clock, the use of rice as the staple food, refraining from outward show of romantic love in courtship were but a few indications of the range of innovations. Young men in line for leadership were selected from each village to visit Japan. Upon return these persons were encouraged to win adherents to the new manners and morals. One of the most far-reaching influences was the daily social interaction between the Japanese residents and the Angaurese. This was especially true among the children who played together and shared a common daily routine. The emulation of the group with high prestige was inevitable, and so unconsciously and in many subtle ways the Angaurese took on Japanese mores and folkways.

The South Seas Bureau policy of gradualism and of piecemeal alterations, however, evoked unforeseen results. The withdrawal of one traditional practice dislocated a series of others, some of which were deemed desirable. In order to reduce some of the more serious maladjustments and restore an equilibrium a Palau youth conference was called in 1936 at Korror. A number of decisions were reached and these were declared to be binding on the entire population. Thereafter the fixed sum (*bus*) that might be paid for a wife was set at 100 yen. Prior to that, common men usually had paid that sum for a wife, and chiefs from two to four times that amount. As persons sought to outbid each other, the commoners with regular jobs could outbid men of high rank, thereby provoking much controversy, and with the growth of a money

economy, inflation occurred. Previous attempts to regulate the elaborate gift-exchange system had also produced social confusion. To overcome this situation, the entire system was declared to be no longer in effect. For example the *orrau* pattern was one in which the bride received from each male member of her clan about 30 yen worth of food. This gift eventually was repaid from her husband's wealth (drawn from his clan) to each of her relatives with a gift of 100 yen. The difference was viewed as compensation to her clan for the loss of her earning power. This pattern intermeshed with the practice of unmarried women spending ten months as companions in the club of a neighboring island for which their clan was rewarded. The suppression of this practice disorganized the entire exchange system. No longer was a clan profiting from the girls, and yet husbands were expected to compensate for the theoretical loss to the clan. Moreover, in the past the husband acquired gift money through the earnings of his sisters, but inasmuch as they no longer were staying at a club, the husband found it difficult to obtain the required amounts. Hard feelings also were engendered by outgroup marriages, for the Japanese, Chinese, Chamorros and other foreign groups would not participate in this custom.

Uncapitalistic behavior was never stamped out, and social voids remained where no adequate substitutes were forthcoming. The ceremonial feasts which accompanied the passage rites were contravening the recently introduced capitalistic modes of behavior. For instance, after death an expensive feast lasting several days was held in the home of the deceased. In former times the clan assumed the burden of promoting such feasts, but the conversion of some of the population to individual savings rather than group-sharing precipitated sharp conflicts. The Japanese housing program evoked a new type of parasitism. Families would call upon their clan to meet the cost of the new home in accordance with traditional practices. But while in the old days once a home was built the families remained in it permanently, now, enterprising families would soon sell their new household, keep the profit, and then call on the clan to meet the cost of building another. While waiting the construction of the second place, the ambitious family would move into the dwelling of any member of its clan. These practices were declared illegal. A series of similar rules was worked out for other difficulties but at no time was a complete adjustment reached. The reciprocal rights and duties of the two sexes were obscured by the reforms which had been made in the clan-family system. The role of women which originally had been clearly defined was now ambiguous. Marital ties also were confused. A native would be deemed married to two women under Angaur custom; the Japanese regarded the additional mate as a "friend"; and the missionaries denied that the second marital relationship legally existed. Similarly, the ages and names of persons were confused. The native year was six months long and in the sixth month everyone advanced one year in age. The Germans successfully introduced the western system of

computing age, but the Japanese used their calendric system and assumed the new-born to be a year old. Palau's definition of adulthood depended on an individual's physical maturity; the Spanish and Germans set the standard at sixteen and the Japanese used twenty. Likewise the Angaurese gave their new-born one name in their life history; the Spanish padres added Christian names and the Japanese recognized another. As a result there is no uniformity in these cultural common denominators.

A dual social order took form under the direction of the Bureau. Several hundred Japanese settled in Angaur and, unlike their predecessors, brought their families to the island. While in some areas of life they freely mixed with the natives, in others they remained aloof. This quasi-caste system was most apparent in the schools; Angaurese and Japanese went to different schools and the former were not permitted to enter the higher schools, despite their constantly expressed desire to do so. Nor were they accepted into the South Sea Bureau as high officials, or in the armed forces (a few were recruited for labor battalions). Moreover, in local court cases, Japanese were favored over natives. The latter were inferentially informed that the Japanese were of a superior stock, and that the Angaurese should aspire to be like their superiors but should have no illusions of achieving that end. The islanders were told that historically the people of Palau were an aboriginal type emanating from the same race as the Japanese. It was said that the Japanese stemmed from Malay-Indian peoples who passed through the South Seas on their way to Japan. Native reaction was one of unspoken scepticism, for it was obvious to them that there was no racial linkage and that the two groups had little in common in the way of customs and language. Yet there was no overpowering dislike of the Japanese. Native children were told by their parents to respect the Japanese, because they were bringing to them a new civilization. The gradual rise in scale of living gave the people a feeling that they were better off than before. Furthermore, Japanese administrators were highly congenial in their personal face-to-face relations, and expressed deep interest in the islanders' welfare. Though Japanese and Angaurese lived in separate villages, many enduring friendships developed between the members of the two groups, and in a few instances marriages occurred between Japanese men and Angaurese women.

The last year of Japanese dominance was marked by a renaissance of the indigenous social order. The Japanese were too preoccupied to combat this revival and so relinquished control over the daily lives of the natives. Conflicting orders between officials of the South Seas Bureau and the army officers created a situation in which the natives could choose their own course of action from a series of alternatives. Informed that they would be hideously treated should the Americans come, the Angaurese decided they would be better off if their own ingroup was made strong to meet the difficult period

ahead. *Rubak* and chiefs resumed their former duties and parents retold to their children their own version of history and native customs. The clan and family resumed many of their ancient activities; such ceremonies as *orrau* again came into play. Church services were held regularly in secret. People began to wear a necklace of their ancient money, the colors of which denoted their status in the old social hierarchy. The same spirit permeated other social relationships. Abandoned ceremonies were once more held. The response to the Japanese edict suppressing modern style dances was a restoration of old dances. The number of marriages to members of the outgroup fell off sharply and the amount of social interaction confined solely to the ingroup steadily expanded. These activities did not reflect overt opposition to Japan but merely a growing sense that in their own social order they found comfort. The Angaurese felt that death was imminent, and so, like any social group in upheaval, they felt more secure in relying on their traditional modes of behavior than in trusting their fate to the newer ways of action. The American invasion of Angaur quickened this process. When the islanders were ordered to the hills for safety the chiefs directed the evacuation. Individualistic activities were completely replaced by cooperative programs organized along traditional lines. During the American siege of the hills, the *merreder-atlungalak* gave orders to their sisters' families. The *rubak* organized parties of the men's *abai* to search for food and water. The acting chief and senior members of the several *kebliil* assumed active leadership over the entire group and made the final decision to surrender to the Americans, and thereafter represented their people in all dealings with the newcomers.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN NAVAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The assumption of American control of Angaur was accompanied by the total destruction which surrounds war. Unlike the previous transitions, there was no continuity in the economic or community life of the island. Native homes and villages were uninhabitable, the principal source of livelihood—the phosphate mine—ceased operations, and even the topography of the island was greatly modified by hyperactive engineers.

The Angaurese slipped through the Japanese lines into the American lines. They arrived in rags, many were ill, and everyone was filled with anxiety. They looked with concern upon a large hole being dug for a latrine, fearing it might be their grave. They were exceedingly meek and extremely anxious to please the Americans. When asked to perform a job, it was soon necessary to tell them to slow down for they worked as fast and as hard as humanly possible. Thus, when unloading sand from a truck they would try to make the floor immaculate, brushing off all the loose particles with their hands. Intensely human was the reaction to photographers; even though frightened, disheveled and dirty, they tried desperately to look presentable for the

pictures, simulating a smile, arranging their torn and tattered garments. Their sole possessions consisted of a few packs carried in their arms; these contained religious tracts, makeup for the girls, handicraft implements for the artisans, native stone money and Japanese currency, tortoise-shell work (the most valued possession of the clans), some miscellaneous household utensils, prized clothing, and a few cigarettes. For days, when not called upon for any activity, they slept, rested and talked. There was practically no movement, no running about by the children, no social activity.

The liberation of a primitive society proved to be a far more complex affair than anticipated. Liberation from Japanese control created a political vacuum. There being no fixed, long-range foreign policy for guidance of military government, it was necessary to confine all programs to the immediate, short-range objectives. Liberation connotes freedom, which was not practicable in an area of military operations. To offset the enemy's indoctrination regarding America, the civil-affairs staff relied on personal social relations rather than formal lectures. Enlisted men from small midwestern towns proved to be especially effective in communicating a sense of sympathetic understanding. While occasionally, in their brash informal American way, they ran counter to local mores, their genuine naïveté, utter lack of arrogance, and regard for natives as equals quickly elicited an exceedingly friendly response. The preconceived American notion of "primitiveness" also was quickly found to be a meaningless construct. A half century of acculturation and capitalistic industrial development had brought to the people of Angaur most of the attributes of modern civilization. It was quite a shock for military personnel to be asked if they knew about moving pictures, ice cream, and table tennis. The civil-affairs planners had been misled by the anthropological literature perused prior to invasion; it presented an antiquated picture of native life at the level of the German era, and was permeated with propagandistic stereotypes of Japanese actions.<sup>9</sup> As a result, supplies were taken for an aboriginal people, whereas in reality what was needed were items of the same type as would be brought to a South Dakota rural community. The issuance of emergency relief precipitated some unforeseen cultural complications. An attempt to ascertain who needed shoes evoked a community-wide controversy. Shoes were not merely an article of wear but also a mark of status. Those who previously were without shoes insisted that everyone urgently needed them, and persons who once possessed them maintained with great feeling that only the elite were entitled to shoes. American democratic concepts of social

<sup>9</sup> The only reports of quality were A. Kramer's *Palau, 1912-1929*, 5 vols., and Yanai-hara, *op. cit.* Such popular writings as Willard Price's *Japan's Islands of Mystery*, 1944, and Yamasaki's *Micronesia and Micronesians*, 1927, I.P.R. were highly fanciful. Keesing's *The South Seas in the Modern World*, 1941, represented a sound orientation but contained little directly bearing on Palau.

equality clashed with native concepts of social stratification. The issue was finally resolved by the compromise provision of shoes to all workers, thereby setting up a new social category. These were thereafter worn regardless of personal comfort and correctness of fit. Communication, as it had amongst previous incoming governments, turned out to be a vexing problem. Nothing is more frustrating than the urgent need to convey or comprehend some idea and be confronted by the blockage of language differences. Having a single interpreter who spoke Japanese and no Palau, the more ingenious soon resorted to a special brand of elementary English accompanied by gestures; such phrases as *O.K.*, *very good*, *got*, *all-a-same* were rapidly assimilated by the natives who were more adept (and perhaps more motivated as well as experienced) at acquiring a new speech. But the more subtle social relationships involving abstract concepts were either untangled by the interpreter or passed over by default. To overcome this barrier, classes in English were soon established for the Angaurese and a study of native institutions undertaken.

The writer had established as the goal of all civil-affairs actions the restoration of the indigenous ways of living, but it was soon found that reconstruction of a culture brings forth at least as many societal problems as the process of destruction. It was not possible or even entirely desirable to eliminate all of the cultural modifications which had occurred in the past fifty years.<sup>10</sup> Some new traits had become deeply ingrained habit patterns, and even conscious efforts by the group to change them were not very successful—such was the case of bowing, which had become a motor response. Native school teachers, habituated to Japanese martial practices, found it hard to avoid ordering-forbidding methods and resorting to military procedure in the classroom and in organizing sports. Numerous Japanese idioms of speech as well as some Spanish and German had infiltrated into Palau, and no adequate substitutes were readily available. A proposal to build thatched houses elicited the reaction that they were not as healthy or as comfortable as the modern wooden type. There was no interest in returning to the earlier type of dress or sanitary practices, and rice plus canned goods was regarded as the only completely satisfying food. Children were more interested in learning American than in hearing about the former customs. The attempts of the older women to teach the ancient dances were soon abandoned for lack of interest; youth wanted to do Western dances. Moving pictures were far more popular than native festivals.

Changing subordinate-superordinate relationships brought forth serious psychological problems. Angaur people have so long played the role of the subordinate that they have developed fixed habit patterns for this social status. For example, they never would object outwardly to any proposal,

<sup>10</sup> The same problem is evident in the case of the American Indian. See Useem, Macgregor, and Useem, 1943.



regardless of its intrinsic demerits, and even when patently absurd orders were issued they invariably would carry them out. Despite much prompting they would not express their wishes unless specifically asked to do so, and then the response was that they would do whatever the governors wished them to do. The latter would state they would like to do what the people desired. After some hesitation a definite preference would be given but with many apologies. Whenever native leaders were asked to recommend policies, elicited answers were in terms of a projected role of a superordinate, rather than in terms of the subordinate's interests. The suggested course was highly demanding on themselves. Thus in a case of a person violating the sanitary orders, the chief's proposal of discipline was far harsher than warranted by the act, by native penalties or American norms. In the theoretical framework of Mead,<sup>11</sup> their experience with prior authorities had built up a "generalized other" of superordinates whose social acts would be satisfactory for the elite and inconvenient for themselves. Hence, when called upon to assume the role of policy-making, heretofore denied them, they made decisions which would call forth in themselves previously established emotional responses of subordinates. Intellectually they could assume coordinate status in the new "democratic" era but habitual anticipatory behavior led them to act as superordinates to themselves. Following the practice of emulating the dominant group in outward behavior, in part a by-product of the high prestige of the American and in part to please him, miscellaneous American traits were indiscriminately copied; young men modeled themselves after the G.I., and girls tried to imitate the women shown in moving pictures and magazines. The jitterbug dances were tried out with great interest, and samples of other types of American dances were constantly requested. This outlook persisted even when social interaction had continued for some time and they had gained completely a sense of security. The Angaurese invariably consulted the writer prior to undertaking any community activity. Domestic quarrels were brought to him for adjudication, not because the proper course of action was uncertain, but rather to gain an expected formal sanction, despite reiteration that none was required. When a husband, disturbed by gossip that his wife was engaged in flirtations, made inquiries and learned there was no truth to the rumor, he still asked the writer formally to declare her innocent.

Attempts to restore Palau life brought disagreements over the exact nature of old institutions. Individuals live a social pattern rather than intellectually comprehend it in all its ramifications. Hence, knowledge of former ways was uncertain and the correct procedures became the topic of debate. The restoration of different cultural complexes led to internal contradictions requiring further modifications. For example, succession to leadership positions, as

<sup>11</sup> Mead, 1934.

earlier indicated, was determined by status in the three hierarchal systems. Death and the evacuation of some of these native officials by the Japanese necessitated the choice of a new island chief and several *rubak*. Two rivals for the headship appeared, each with legitimate claims based on two different cultural traditions. Some families and clans lacked anyone eligible for the position of *rubak*. In such situations improvisations were made which entailed the compromising of ancient institutions.

The appraisal of former customs in order to decide whether or not they should be reinstated is an exceedingly difficult task. It brings into the foreground the whole question of values. Past practices must be judged in the perspective of future goals, hedonistic folkways balanced with practicalities, etc. It also entails consideration of the intrinsic merits of the modifications made during the Spanish, German and Japanese regimes. The enterprise would be impossible if Angaur lacked a basic cultural orientation that is shared by the entire group. It would be inconceivable to procure a consensus in a heterogeneous, disorganized, large population with conflicting interests and rival factions. Angaur's tightly knit society has been integrated rather than disintegrated by fifty years of external pressures. Hence, while means of achieving the group's aspirations are evoking much thought, there is no debate over the ends themselves. Canny native insight, shared by peasant peoples, that comprehends events as shaping the course of life as much as any purposive action, frees current discussions from any tenseness or sense of crisis. The mental hygiene value of discussions to the group even if they turn out to be of no consequence, cannot be dismissed. They give the people renewed confidence and a feeling of dignity.

With the alleviation of the emergency and the commencement of the restoration of a semi-autonomous society the focus of attention has begun to turn toward the restoration of a sound economy. Concern is common over the economic outlook. The major task of economic rehabilitation remains undone. There has been no opportunity to replace the personal and household effects lost through the actions of the armed forces. Fiscal policies have precluded natives advancing beyond the relief level to economic self-dependency. The prewar earnings of Japanese currency were exchanged at the current low rates, thus resulting in a considerable loss of wealth. Only a small proportion of the money held by the people was released to them after the exchange, the rest being held in trust until the end of the war. Savings accounts were not honored despite the fact that the bank funds were found intact and receipts were available. Clan and village funds have been frozen. Wages are low and such household goods as are placed on sale are scaled at a high price. To take an extreme case, a formerly wealthy native owned \$2,450.00 in postal savings and \$750.00 in cash. After the exchange he had \$10.00. In former times he earned the equivalent of \$1.10 a day and now his wage is 25 cents a day. He

a legend being related about a famous inter-island war to ask the reason for the war itself; they show no interest in maintaining the tabus of their *ta-lungalak* and freely discuss their *kebliil's* secret totemic history with outsiders.

The behavior of the older generation often evokes embarrassment among the younger group. Parents have no compunction in displaying their emotions in public and are not interested in looking nice. Sometimes they even forget to put on a full set of clothing,<sup>13</sup> chew betel nut, and neglect properly to arrange their homes. The aged have no conception of time; they judge the hour by the sun rather than by the clock. Older folks seem content with merely a subsistence; the men appear satisfied just to "fish and build canoes" and the women to "weave and talk". They are more concerned with the acquirement of personal virtues than with social progress, according greater respect to a person with poise and an even disposition than to one with much property. To the complaint that the children do not properly understand the Palau language and mix Japanese in when talking it, the young say that Palau expressions are often "too slow", and Japanese idioms are more descriptive of their thought processes.

These inter-generation controversies reached their highest point during the South Seas Bureau era. The war crises and defeat of the Japanese undercut the position of the young people. Their standards shattered, they became more submissive to leadership of the older generation, turned back to traditional ways. But now that the Americans are present as a new model, the same type of differentiation is taking place. Young people have already discovered that much of the value system of the prior era is esteemed by the Americans. At present, parents are not overly concerned with the indiscriminate way in which their children are copying Americanisms. The experience of recent months has given them renewed confidence that the Palau culture can overcome any catastrophe and that they were essentially right in resisting too rapid social change. Moreover, reflecting on their history, it seems clear to them that their way of life has survived. While the people today live a far different routine than that of past generations they have no doubt that the essentials of Palau society will persist both in the war and in the peace to come.

It is apparent that Angaur has not experienced cultural collapse. The weakening of the native social system did not produce a void in the island's social organization. The Angaurese never have so identified themselves with the outgroup as to lose their sense of ingroup unity. Without any formal agreement, factions refrain from allying themselves with the government officials in order to overcome their opposition. Though there is no conscious

<sup>13</sup> A native way of presenting the contrast in attitude is reflected in the story of one person—When I was a child I cried when mother forced me to put on a pair of shoes, now my children cry when they have no shoes to put on.

plot to maintain a private sphere, some group-arrived-at decisions are not communicated to non-members, and some social actions are not performed in the presence of outsiders. Within the confines of native society, emotions are freer and the old mores (intermingled with new ones) guide behavior, whereas in dealing with persons of the outgroup, emotions are circumscribed and the prevailing conduct norms are carefully observed. The control group each time sought to introduce an alternative pattern to replace the one curtailed. Though the substitutions were not always successful, they did provide meaningful goals. Thus the replacement of the local faith by Christianity, the introduction of a new style of dancing in place of the older forms, the establishment of a responsible colonial government in lieu of the pre-existing native political organization, the offering of tangible rewards as compensation for the loss of leisure time, the provision of manufactured goods as a substitute for handicrafts, etc., meant a shift but not lack of a pattern of social action. The Angaurese, as previously noted, were not hostile to change *per se* but were never confronted by a sequence of contradictory programs. New modes of behavior were welcomed as additions to the island's culture rather than viewed as threats to it. The consistency of attitudes among the various successive control groups, and their willingness to continue what had been started by their predecessor precluded any confusion on the ultimate ends being sought. The reformations, while affecting nearly every aspect of group life, modified but did not destroy the traditional ways of living. The absence of any coercion, the tolerance of native views, the avoidance of ruthless suppression of ancestral institutions eased the process of adjustment and prevented the building up of a deep sense of inner tension and overt rebellion. The changes that came were usually accompanied by a rise in scale of living rather than a decline of the population to poverty and insecurity. They engendered a sense of progress and hope of an even better future rather than one of frustration and total defeat. While the controlling powers made mistakes in their efforts to manipulate the social structure, their genuine desire to improve the welfare of the population created no serious hostility to the agents of change, and found tangible expression in considerable material aid to the natives in their times of need. Within the native society itself the persistence of its indigenous value system, the adaptability of the people, and their maintenance of integrated personalities despite numerous upsets in their lives, made possible reorganization without demoralization.

This case and others like it cast doubts on the popular sociological generalization that the secularization of primitive-rural life can only result in social demoralization. But it also gives further support to the conclusion that the successful alteration of a going social system is an exceedingly difficult task. Primary social groups can be readily altered by the actions of an outside

group, but the reconstruction of a balanced social order that is capable of operating on its own within the framework of the larger society remains an unknown social technique.

# U. S. NAVY MILITARY GOVERNMENT

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# GEORGE CLAPP VAILLANT: 1901-1945

By A. V. KIDDEI

GEORGE CLAPP VAILLANT, only son of George Wightman and Alic Clapp Vaillant, was born in Boston, April 5, 1901. He died at his home in Devon, Pennsylvania, on May 13, 1945, at the peak of a brilliant career as an archaeologist, museum administrator, teacher, and pan-American.

Most of Vaillant's forebears were of old New England stock, but his great grandparents in the name line were French, supporters of the royalist cause who came to this country after the revolution of 1848. To that strain may perhaps be ascribed Vaillant's quickness and clarity of mind and his characteristically Gallic aversion to all forms of hypocrisy. He attended the Noble and Greenough School in Boston, completed his secondary education at Phillips Academy, Andover, and entered college in 1918. His record at Harvard is interesting. At the end of his Freshman year he was solidly on probation, his only creditable mark a B in English. English, in which he elected two courses as a Sophomore, restored him to regular standing, but his other grades were far from impressive. From then on his rise was meteoric. He had practically nothing but A's and B's and graduated *cum laude*. He had found, in anthropology, something into which he could set his teeth.

As in the case of so many anthropologists, Vaillant's introduction to the field was accidental. Being in want of a pleasant way to put in a summer he had joined his classmate Singleton Moorehead on a trip to Maine, where the latter's father was excavating a Red Paint cemetery near Waterville. No one could be long with Warren Moorehead, most ardent of diggers and kindest of men without sharing his enthusiasm, but the real spark was struck by Vaillant's finding a set of beautiful long slate points. Singleton Moorehead writes: "It's an interesting conjecture whether George would ever have become an archaeologist if he hadn't made that find. Up to that moment shovelling and trowelling day after day in the gravel knolls had been pretty much of a chore, but when those spears came out he was sold. He became an archaeologist overnight."

From then on his course was clear. The summer after his Junior year he went to the cliff-house country in northeastern Arizona with S. J. Guernsey of the Harvard Peabody Museum, another man whose love for the work was contagious. The next year he was with me at Phillips Academy's excavation at Pecos, New Mexico. That season laid the foundation for a friendship that grew steadily through the years. No one ever had a more loyal and capable assistant, or a more dependable, cheery companion. Even then he evinced the qualities that were to make him so effective in later life: keenness in observation, accuracy in recording, ability to grasp the wider implications of what he saw. To these attributes were added a readiness, exceptional in so young a