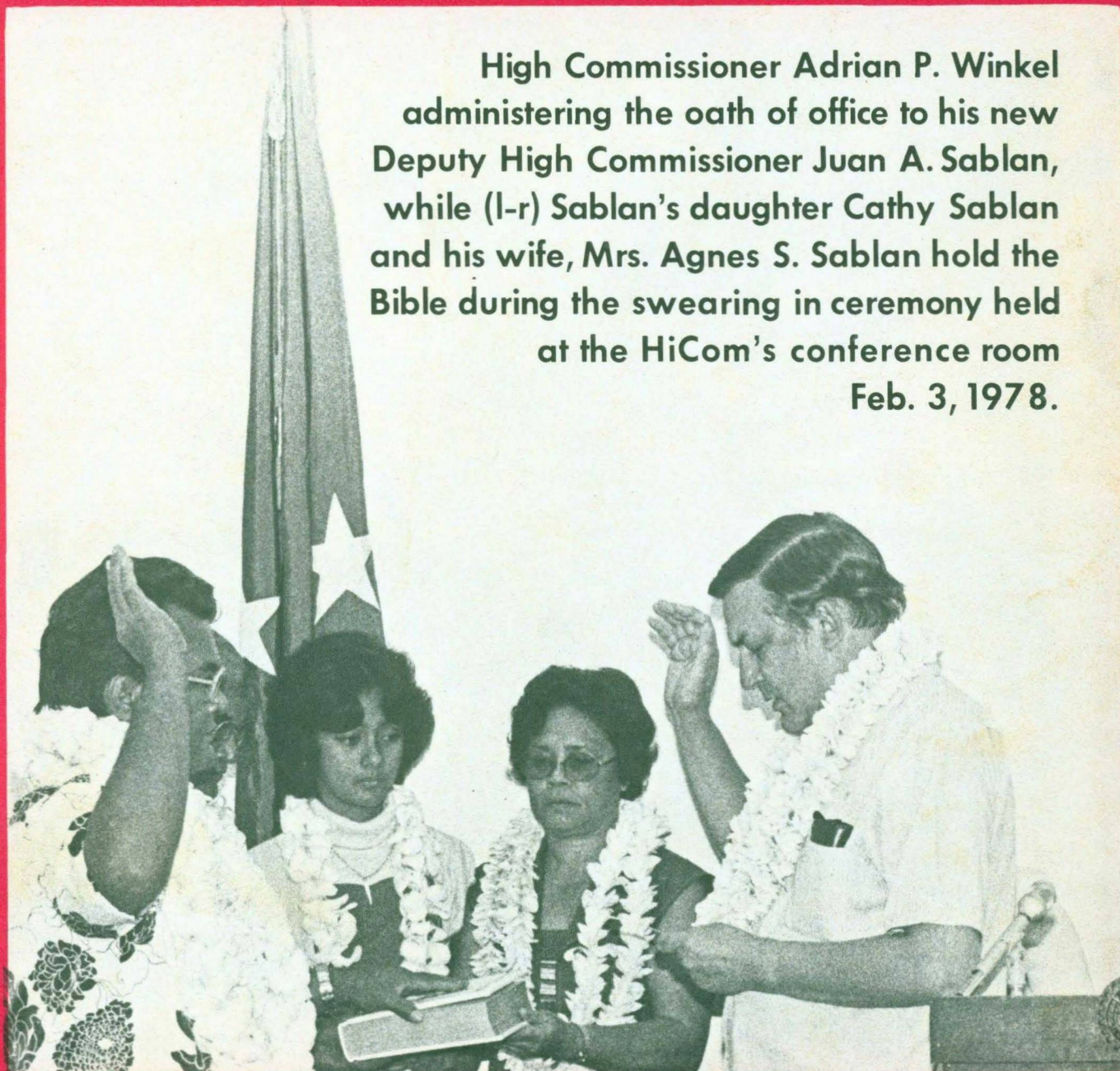


# MicronesianReporter

FOURTH QUARTER 1977

High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel  
administering the oath of office to his new  
Deputy High Commissioner Juan A. Sablan,  
while (l-r) Sablan's daughter Cathy Sablan  
and his wife, Mrs. Agnes S. Sablan hold the  
Bible during the swearing in ceremony held  
at the HiCom's conference room  
Feb. 3, 1978.





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# This Quarter's Worth

In this issue the Micronesian Reporter presents High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel's "State of the Territory Message" delivered before a Joint Session of the Congress of Micronesia on January 25 instead of its regular Interview section. It is a significant message for it sets the stage for certain changes in the future composition of the executive branch of the T.T. government and sheds light on

specific objectives and goals for future operations. Winkel said, "Periodic evaluations and review of the administrative organization will be a continuing task of the Administration from now on..." and he added, "I believe very strongly that one of the most serious obligations we have to those who will succeed us in the post-termination period (after 1981) is that we leave to them a structure and system of government which can serve the people effectively and efficiently."

It has been acknowledged that the DeBrum's Mansion in Likiep, Marshalls District, holds many secrets from the turn of the century. This has been proven to be true. Doug Trail's article, "The DeBrum Mansion... 80 years after", proves beyond doubt that the mansion does hold a wealth of information and rare antiques from the past.

For those who are interested in Micronesian cultures, this issue of the Reporter brings them good news: Dwight Heine writes about "Cultural Preservation and Development in Micronesia", Richard Marksbury describes "The Many Faces of Rull Municipality, Yap", and Alfred Capelle offers the "Marshallese Narrative: The Effects of Change".

For years there was a negative attitude on certain professions, like farming for instance. Teachers may have been reinforced this "negativism" by sending students to cut grass as a form of punishment. This situation has been changed as pointed out by Loren Peterson in his article, "A Teacher Tribute - Mr. Ribo Jarom".

In the poetry section, the magazine is privileged to share with you a beautiful poem by William Peck. Val offers his share.

---

## Who's Who

...in this issue of the Reporter

**Doug Trail** is manager of the Trust Territory Microfilm Retrieval System. Late last year, Trail joined a team from the Headquarters Historic Preservation Office on a trip to Likiep in the Marshalls District to do documentation work on records being kept in the DeBrum residence. The DeBrum Plantation house was built some 80 years ago, and holds a treasure of rare documents and antiques dating from the turn of century. In this issue of the Reporter Trail describes the restoration project.

**Dwight Heine** is a special consultant to the High Commissioner at T.T. Headquarters on Saipan. A jovial Micronesian patriarch, Heine has represented his government at countless conferences in the South Pacific. He recently wrote a paper, at the request of UNESCO, on Cultural Preservation and Development in Micronesia which was

presented in a conference held at Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. The Micronesian Reporter obtained permission from UNESCO to reprint that article.

**Alfred Capelle** is a graduate of the University of Hawaii, and is attached to the Marshalls District Department of Education as an Education Specialist. Being a conscientious educator, Alfred is attempting to capture and document those elements of his culture and tradition that are fast fading away. His article, in this issue, bears witness to that.

**Richard A. Marksbury** is a Peace Corps Volunteer stationed in Yap District. He is a candidate for a Ph. D. in Cultural Anthropology from Tulane University, Louisiana. For the last 15 months or so, Marksbury has been conducting research on Yap, specifically in Rull municipality. His findings are included in this issue of the Reporter.

**Loren Peterson** has been Coordinator of Vocational Education at the Trust Territory Department of Education since February 1976. Prior to

his present assignment, Peterson spent almost six years in Ponape where he was attached with vocational education programs. Originally a Minnesotan, Peterson received his B.A. from Luther College in Iowa in 1959. He taught and coached in high school for several years while doing graduate work in education at the University of Minnesota. He served a stint as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Liberia, and later came to Micronesia as a District Director of Peace Corps in Ponape District.

**Doctor William M. Peck**, formerly Director of the Trust Territory Department of Health Services, has lived outside the U.S. since 1959: in Guam, in Africa, and in several districts of Micronesia. Currently he is on the staff of the School of Medicine, University of Hawaii, and lives on Saipan. He has contributed poetry to *Harpers Magazine*, and is now compiling a book of his poems which he wrote based on Micronesian chants, songs and poems. One of his poems is printed in this issue.

**Val Sengebau** is an assistant editor of *Micronesian Reporter*.





High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel delivering his first "State of Territory Message" before the Congress of Micronesia meeting in Joint Session at PICS High School in Ponape District.

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## STATE OF THE TERRITORY MESSAGE

*Traditionally, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands delivers his "State of the Territory Message" before the joint session of Congress during each regular session. The first such message was delivered in 1965. Most regular sessions of the Congress of Micronesia were held on Saipan. However, in January 1972, the first regular session to be held outside of Saipan was held in Palau District. Several special sessions have been held in Truk and Ponape.*

*The Congress of Micronesia has established its new and permanent seat in Ponape District. On January 25, 1978, High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel addressed the joint session of Congress. He said that "... my appearance before you is a tradition which I acknowledge with a real sense of purpose and appreciation ... because it gives me a direct opportunity to participate in the legislative process, a task which has been close to my heart for many years; it offers me another effective avenue of communication with the people of Micronesia; it is a way of insuring that my views are not misunderstood by the Congress; and it demonstrates that in a government based on the principal of separation of powers, close working relationships are possible between and among the separate arms of government."*

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It has been the tradition, I believe, that the State of the Territory narrates a comprehensive treatise of accomplishments during the immediate preceding six to twelve months in the government. Gentlemen, in addition, I wish to deal with some of the problems, needs and developments of the present and future which require the concerted

actions of both the executive and legislative branches.

Let me first highlight a few items of the past, I am grateful that in my short time as Chief Executive of the Trust Territory, I have been able to visit all districts, with the exception of Kosrae, as well as a number of the outer islands in the districts of Yap, Palau, Truk and

the Marshalls, to learn as much as is possible in one visit about their specific conditions and problems. I assure you I do not profess a "know it all" attitude. That is not my inclination or temperament. Rather, I think I have gained an insight into some of their problems. This will definitely assist my administration of the region. (Let me



add a footnote for the benefit of the Congressman and Senators from Kosrae, that I intend to visit that district as well as the outer islands soon. Also, I assure Congressman Setik I have not forgotten my pledge to visit the Mortlocks.)

Another matter which I think is significant is that we have established definitive guidelines for the ESG program between and among representatives of the Congress, the District Legislatures, the parties to the status negotiations and my office.

Similarly, on the matter of charter district governments, which I am sure merits high priority on your legislative calendar this session, it is my pleasure to acknowledge that substantial understanding has been reached between your leadership and those of the four concerned districts, and myself. The understanding to which I am making reference is the consensus of the parties concerned that there are changes in the four submitted charters which will be necessarily made by the Congress and or the High Commissioner pursuant to the requirements of higher laws, agreements and orders.

At this point I want to emphasize that these two matters, namely, the ESG guidelines and the district charters, represent the manner in which I trust we can continue to deal with those subjects for which we are mutually responsible. When I spoke to you at your Special Session in August I expressed my strong desire that we could work together in open discussion and with mutual trust, and thus resolve those differences to which our views of our respective responsibilities might lead us. I am convinced that this approach will resolve most of such differences, and, in those few cases in which agreement is not possible, we will at least have a mutual understanding of and respect for the position of the other party. It has been my experience that this kind of relationship leads to continuing trust between the parties which provides the foundation upon

which future problems are resolved or differences are respected.

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*There is the need to prepare the government for the possible termination of the Trusteeship. Because of this, positive plans involving the administration, congress, and the private sector must be developed.*

---

In the community services area, I wish to note the following milestones: In Health Services:

- 1) A 116 bed medical facility in the District of Ponape will be equipped with medical specialists and a training center to upgrade the skills of our medical and paramedical personnel throughout the Trust Territory. It is hoped that specialized care and intensive services will be within our capability which should minimize the overriding costs of medical referrals to external centers in Hawaii and Guam. We are fortunate to have solicited assistance from the National Health Service Corps to place medical doctors and other specialists in this facility at minimal cost to us.
- 2) A similar facility, lesser in size, is 74% complete in Yap District.
- 3) Renewed efforts are in order now to expedite the completion of phase I of the Hill-Burton dispensary project. Additional full-time manpower and supervision have been added for better coordination so the construction program can be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible.

As for education, in October 1977, an ad hoc committee, including representatives of the Congress, was constituted to plan for the first meeting of the board of regents of the College of Micronesia which was held in Ponape (recently.) I have every hope that the regents will provide the Trust Territory with first rate higher education leadership. The excellent composition of the board leads me to believe that

advancement in higher education is within sight. Again, I believe that excellence reflects the desire of the district, congressional, and administration leaders who nominated the members of the board to jointly serve the common needs of the Trust Territory.

In Public Works and CIP, we were fortunate to be able to take advantage of the \$6.80 million provided under the local Public Works Capital Development Program, phase II. Between the six districts, twenty-five projects have been made possible which are at different stages of development at this time. All of the districts and headquarters personnel deserve credit for successfully meeting the very restrictive time limits for qualifying for this program.

Under the administration of OICC Marianas, infra-structure projects in tens of millions of dollars are progressing at varying degrees. In Ponape, an airport lighting program equipped with a DME system has been completed; a major bridge construction is underway; and an estimated CIP packet of \$8.0 million is now out for bid advertisement. In Majuro and Yap, bids have been received for dock construction which amounts to \$7.77 million. Thirty per cent design review of Kosrae and Palau airports was held in Honolulu and are scheduled for bid advertisement in fiscal year '78 and fiscal year '79, respectively. Advertisement of Truk's \$19.3 million airport project was done last December and pending affirmative outcome of local political decisions, it hopefully will get underway. I feel that it is necessary to inject a strong statement that maximum cooperation is necessary on our part to safeguard against delays of projects, some of which we have experienced, which can to loss of project, transfer of funds, and possible litigation problems with the contractors.

At this point, I also want to make reference to the funding of the OICC CIP program. As you know, our request for a \$70 million level of CIP funding in





fiscal year 1979 was first reduced to approximately \$41 million by the Office of Management and Budget and then partially restored to \$52 million at the request of the Department of Interior. The final outcome of the budget process remains to be established, but the present maximum and minimum funding levels insure that a very substantial program will be funded in fiscal year 1979.

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*"I believe very strongly that one of the most serious obligations we have to those who will succeed us in the post termination period is that we leave them a structure and system of government which can serve the people effectively and efficiently."*

---

In our field-trip ship replacement program, two of the seven vessels under construction by Namura Shipyard in Japan have been launched and certificated for delivery. The next five will soon follow. In spite of a delay caused by design and construction problems, we are making good progress.

Barring unforeseen events, the first ship should be available next month.

Here, also, in speaking of the future, we must acknowledge that our transportation service must be significantly improved in preparation for the post-termination period. I fully consider it to be one of the most important matters to be dealt with during whatever period of time may be covered by my service as High Commissioner. I will be communicating with your leadership and you in future months about this subject.

Concerning the Enewetak Rehabilitation Program, the defense nuclear agencies' portion is underway, and the contract for the DOI-TTPI's responsibilities is presently under review and will very soon be awarded. Because of the importance and complexity of this multi-agency program, I have assigned a special representative to be on site to monitor and report on the day-to-day status of the project.

For the reason I have indicated earlier, I have not presented a detailed report of the activities of the past several months. Therefore, some of you may desire information about specific matters not included in this presentation. In this case, an invitation is extended to you to contact me or

appropriate members of my staff for information. I want to emphasize that at all times we are open to your requests for information about the matters which are of concern to you in the exercise of your official responsibilities.

Having briefly dealt with some history, I wish now to direct your attention to the present and future. There is the need to prepare the government for the possible termination of the Trusteeship. Because of this, positive plans involving the Administration, Congress, and the private sector must be developed.

---

*A government structure reasonable in size, effective and efficient, responsible, and within the means of available resources must be devised.*

---

A governmental structure reasonable in size, effective and efficient, responsible, and within the means of available resources must be devised. Therefore, I have initiated for your consideration a proposal to reorganize the existing organization of the Executive Branch.

You will recall that I made a strong commitment to you last summer that I would be presenting to you a proposal to this effect this session. Gentlemen, that proposal has been submitted to you in part. It is not a total plan in that we have not completed our structural study and review of the district governments. This will be done as soon as the necessary evaluation and review of the district organizations is completed, and it is my intention that my proposals in this regard will be presented to you for consideration and action in this session of the Congress.

With specific reference to the headquarters proposal, we are streamlining the bureaucracy into three departments, namely; Community Services, Administrative Services, and Developmental Services. The positions



of Executive Officer, Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs, and Special Project Officer, including their respective staffs, are proposed to be abolished. A consolidation and realignment of bureaus, divisions, and specialized activities in the present set-up is also outlined.

Finally, a reduction of a little more than 100 positions throughout the headquarters government is also a part of the reorganization. In order to prevent undue alarm, I must assure you that our plan of action was consummated after a thorough analysis had been made of the human factors involved and after a position audit review, undertaken by the headquarters Personnel Department had confirmed the desirability of the proposed position reductions. It is important to note that the slated position reductions is a first step in the direction of increased fiscal and organizational efficiency, economy and accountability, and is in conformance with the positions taken by many of you in recent years about what you judged to be the over-staffing of the Trust Territory Government.

---

*A reduction of a little more than 100 positions throughout the Headquarters government is also a part of the reorganization.*

---

We intend to do more in the days ahead. The staff is now undertaking a similar task of position audit review in the districts. As I stated earlier, the reorganization proposal of the districts will be submitted to the Congress soon.

Periodic evaluations and review of the administrative organization will be a continuing task of the Administration from now on and it will be done on a periodic basis, with such subsequent reports and proposals being submitted to you as our findings will warrant.

To summarize, I want to briefly emphasize the importance of this proposal. I believe very strongly that

one of the most serious obligations we have to those who will succeed us in the post-termination period is that we leave to them a structure and system of government which can serve the people effectively and efficiently. To leave a government which deprives the people of that to which they are entitled because it is wasteful, inefficient, and without concern for those it is obligated to serve, will be a disservice to our children and to their children of which I am sure none of us desires to be guilty.

Another area of preparation is program and budget planning. You are familiar with the operational budget of the Trust Territory for this fiscal year 1978 and the proposed budget for fiscal year 1979. Our \$52.5 million appropriation ceiling for this fiscal year may be diminished in fiscal year 1979 by \$3 million which would be in addition to the 7% rate of inflation and other normal increases in the cost of government service. Further decline in our budget capability may occur in the years following fiscal year 1979. Given this possibility, belt tightening measures must be instituted in government spending policies. All of this is in conformance with the Five-Year Indicative Plan and other similar positions taken by the Congress and the Trust Territory Administration in past years.

Responsible investment of fiscal resources available to us now is a necessary prerequisite for increased self-reliance. I have urged my staff to spend prudently and wisely and I invite the Congress to do likewise. I am sure that the resources which are now available to us through direct appropriation from the United States Congress, the categorical grants from the Federal Government, the funds available from the Congress of Micronesia and the several District Legislatures, can be wisely managed so as to maximize benefits. In addition, we are exploring ways and means of consolidating the categorical Federal Grant programs, as provided for by the

Omnibus Territories Bill recently approved by the United States Congress and the President, so that administrative costs are minimized with increased benefits.

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*Justice demands that we increase the compensation of our employees at the lower salary levels.*

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I cannot over-emphasize the importance of our managing our financial resources in the most efficient and productive manner possible. Not only for the present, but also for the future, the elimination of waste and extravagance in our management of government offers the best source of providing those additional revenues we need for achieving our goals and objectives.

Another major item of legislation I am proposing for your favorable consideration this session is the salary plan for the administration. In the preparation of this plan, two major facts underlie our work; they are the decreased funding of our operational budget, and the continuing rise of the cost of living. Premised upon these factors the Trust Territory Salary Plan is revised with the following features:

- 1) increased minimum wage from \$.80 to \$1.05;
- 2) salary increased in the lower 25% of the schedule while the upper 75% remain unchanged;
- 3) reduction of pay levels from 30 to 24;
- 4) separation of the base salary schedule and contractual salary schedule of micronesians and expatriates, which includes third country employees.

Other outstanding features of the plan include revision of differentials and regulating within-grade salary increases on the basis of merit and performance of employees. This revision of the performance evaluation system which is based on performance standards to be



jointly developed by the supervisor and the employee is an approach conducive to the philosophy of higher performance with reduced staff. This is an essential feature of the entire plan.

This proposed schedule change is modest and attainable. Justice demands that we increase the compensation of our employees at the lower salary levels. At the same time, the savings resulting from our total reorganization and performance incentive program should offset the cost of the increases.

It is my hope that the Congress will act favorably on this measure. As you know, the present salary schedule is due to expire in the fall of this year.

At this time, I want to speak briefly about a subject which is not legislative in nature, but which is of extreme importance in our continuing relationship, and that is the fact that the executive and legislative branches are physically separated by over 1000 miles. I want you to know that I fully believe, with you, that the seat of government must be located in the geographical area which it governs. Also, I have every reason, as do you, for being fully aware of the necessity of a common operational location for all branches of the government. Consequently, you may be absolutely certain that I will be working wholeheartedly with you and all of the other public entities which have a responsibility, together with us, for decisions which will ultimately have a decisive effect on the scope and extent of the future government, its capital and its funding.

I have not at this time elaborated on other administration proposed legislation, which we have submitted and others which we will submit. However, I assure you that all transmittals bearing my signature have come to you with my strong endorsement and I hope that you will consider them seriously.

In the hope of helping expedite your work, and ours, I have designated Mr. Neiman Craley, assisted by Mr. Strik Yoma, and Mr. Bermin Weilbacher to

work closely with you to coordinate the schedule of our joint work on the legislation before you. I have referred to this matter because I wish to assure the Congress that we in the executive branch stand ready to cooperate with you in the legislative branch.

Finally, I want to extend to you my appreciation for this opportunity to speak before you and to thank you for the many gestures of friendship which you have individually and collectively extended to Mrs. Winkel and myself during our visits to your beautiful islands. Also the members of my staff send wishes to success to you your staff.

We in the administration look forward to a productive working relationship with you now and in the future.

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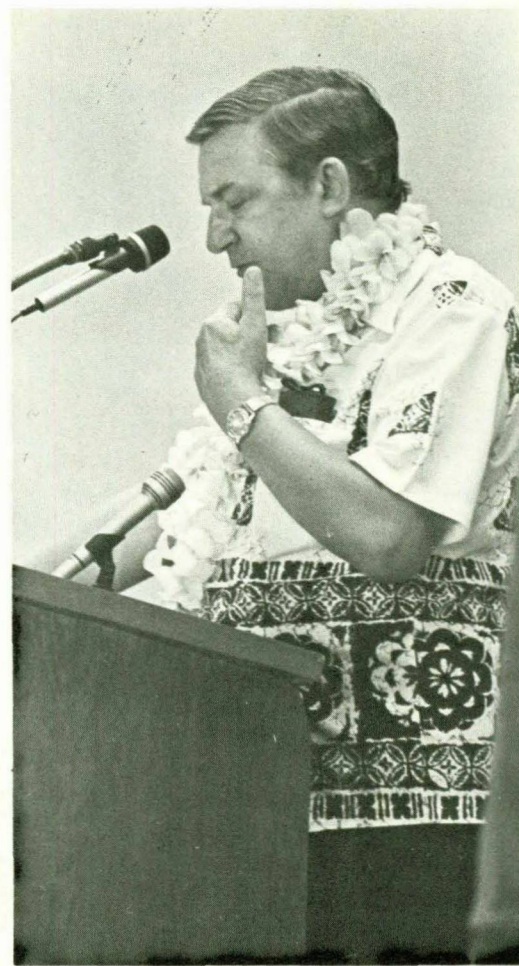
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*We in the administration look forward to a productive working relationship with you now and in the future.*

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I want to add a personal note which I trust you will not find inappropriate. I have been deeply moved in recent days by the death of a man I have been privileged to know for 30 years as a "friend and associate" to use his words, namely, Senator and former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey. His public career is living testimony of what the words "servant of the people" can really mean and be. Many people disagreed with Hubert Humphrey. He knew defeat, ridicule and sarcasm at various times in his career. But no one ever questioned his total dedication and commitment to the service of the poor, the underprivileged, the sick, the elderly, the young — in other words — those who were described at one time in past history as "the least of our brethren." In recent days and weeks Hubert Humphrey has been honored by his country and its government as only a very few people have been honored.



And this was not because of the positions he had held or the power he had exercised, but because as few other persons did, he had served the people. There certainly is a lesson in this for all of us, you and me, who have a unique opportunity to serve the people of the Trust Territory in a way which will be felt for generations to come. If our goal is temporary victory, the fulfillment of our own selfish interest or of others, history will so record our efforts. If, on the other hand, we serve the interest of each person and of all persons which is theirs by right of that fact which we all share in common, namely, our humanity, history will also so record your efforts, as it did of that good and faithful servant, Hubert Humphrey. I can think of no higher goal any of us can seek to achieve.



# "The de BRUM mansion - 80 years after..."



*View of the mansion after most of the supports have been replaced but before the installation of the new roof. Although the mansion has been "stabilized, there is still much left to be done.*

---

*by Doug Trail*

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The writer wishes to personally thank all of the members of the DeBrum family for the aid given him in preparing the following article. Although much has been included there is still much to tell. Particular credit is given to Mr. Leonard DeBrum, Mr. Gister DeBrum, and Mr. Bryan DeBrum, all of Majuro, along with Mr. Lui DeBrum of Likiep. Without their valuable aid this article could not have been written.

The following article gives an overview of activities carried out during the DeBrum House Stabilization and Documentation Project. The DeBrum Plantation House is a National Registry Property located on Likiep Island in Likiep Atoll in the Northern Marshall Islands District of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

## THE PROJECT

The project included four basic components. The physical stabilization of the mansion itself, which included the making of temporary and permanent repairs intended to arrest any further deterioration of the main building; (b) the copying of documents and photographs stored in the mansion; (c) documentation of the building and its furnishings and (d) preparation of a plan and budget for further work. At this writing, only the highlights of the project will be discussed since data is still being compiled.



## THE TEAM

A seven person team arrived on Likiep Island at about noon on the twenty-ninth day of November 1977. The members of the party included: Mr. Gister DeBrum, Marshall Islands District Historic Preservation Officer; the Project Supervisor, Dr. Edward Jelks of the Department of Anthropology, Illinois State University, assisted by his wife Mrs. Judith Jelks; Mr. Jesus Pangelinan, Senior Staff Member from the TTPI Historic Preservation Office; Doug Trail, Manager of the TT Microfilm Retrieval Services; Luciano Ragamar, Microfilm Production Supervisor; Mr. Leanard DeBrum, heir to the DeBrum mansion and youngest son of its founder; and Bryan DeBrum, construction Foreman for the project.

## THE ATOLL AND THE ISLAND

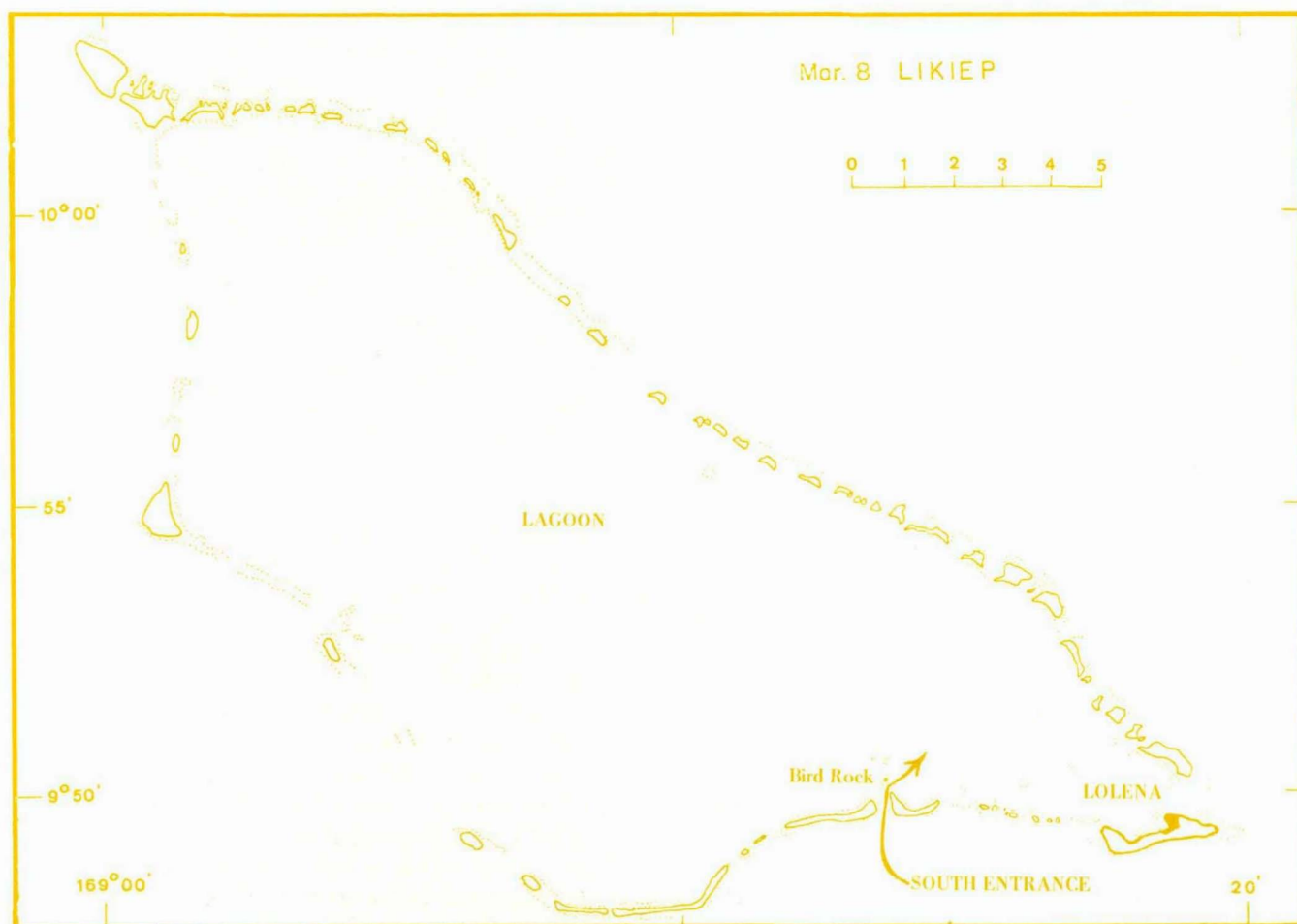
Likiep Atoll, or Rikieppu To, as it was once called by the Japanese, lies about one hundred nautical miles North by East from Kwajalein and about two

hundred miles Northeast of Majuro in the Marshall Islands.

Viewed from the air, the atoll looks very much like a gleaming necklace haphazardly thrown down on the table of the vast, blue ocean. Likiep Island, for which the atoll is named, lies at the Southeastern end at a point where the necklace of islands bends suddenly back toward the East. The waters surrounding these islands are typically beautiful with bands of deep blue, blue-green, and gold progressing from the deepest water right up to long, white sandy beaches.

The atoll runs roughly from Northwest to Southeast for a distance of about 20 miles. The total area of the atoll, including the lagoon, is about 180 square miles, but the total land area is much less. At this writing no data could be found that gives the total land area, however, Likiep Island is about 3.63 square miles in area. The other atolls are mostly smaller.

The limited land area is divided up into 112 islands of which some 65 are named.





## THE ARRIVAL

There is no landing strip anywhere in the atoll so the team was flown from Kwajalein to Likiep Island by sea-plane. Two trips were made since the twin-engined "goose" could not carry the whole team on the first flight, mostly due to the weight of our equipment.

As we approached this part of the lagoon we passed over a series of coconut covered islands linked together by strips of partially submerged reef. The pilot made a smooth landing on the water as we taxied up to the beach, we were greeted by about thirty local residents. About half were children. (I found out later that the sound of any airplane over this remote island is a signal for the children to run rapidly down to the beach docking area.)

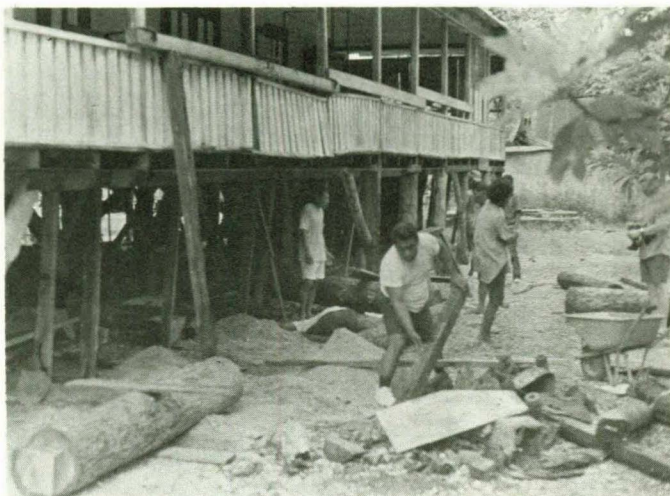
I was impressed by the quiet dignity of these people, especially the children. No running, no shouting, more a quiet inspection of us newcomers. Most were dressed much as the people living on the more populated inner islands. The men wore jeans or shorts and Hawaiian style shirts or no shirts at all, the women and children wore colorful dresses, either knee-length or full-length, muumuu style.

## THE VILLAGE

Some of us stayed in the house of Mr. Kramer DeBrum, who is the only "doctor" on the atoll. Kramer is a trained medical technician and runs the small hospital. He is able to take care of most of the day to day medical problems encountered among the population. The rest of us slept on the front porch of the mansion where it was cool and breezy. Kramer's house, like most in the village, is a small frame cottage with three rooms and a small kitchen equipped with a kerosene stove and refrigerator. Most of the meals are served on an outdoor table under a huge spreading breadfruit tree in the yard just in front of the house.

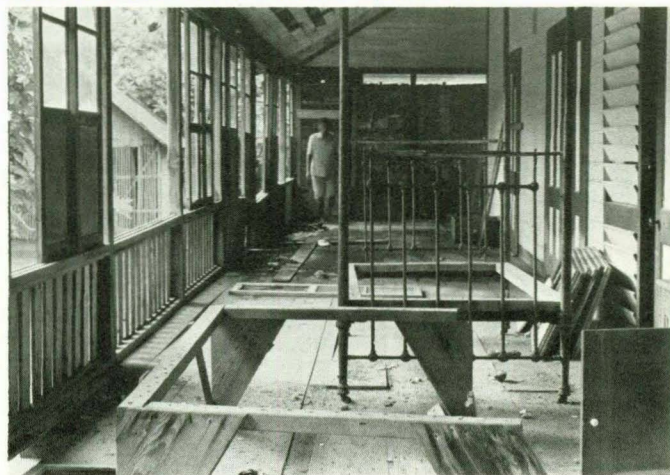
The main village of Likiep Island and indeed, of the atoll, is called "Lolena" after the small bailing dip used to dip water from an outrigger canoe. The name is fitting since the bay and shoreline at the village curves very much like the crescent shape of the dipper, or Lolena.

Lolena is an unusual village. One of its main attractions is its neatness. There are no cans or other refuse to be seen anywhere about the village. There are none on the beach either. The broad walkways, almost streets, have been inherited from times past when copra carts, bicycles, and pedestrian traffic was much heavier. There are many large trees over-arching the walkways throughout the village and, during the day, it is cool and shady in most places. The streets are fully



*Repair and reconstruction of the main supports to the mansion took precedent over other activities. All of the replacement supports were sunk in holes at least three feet deep and were set in a base of concrete lined with large beach stones.*

*Photograph taken from one end of the East porch, before any repairs were made. The need for such repairs is evident.*

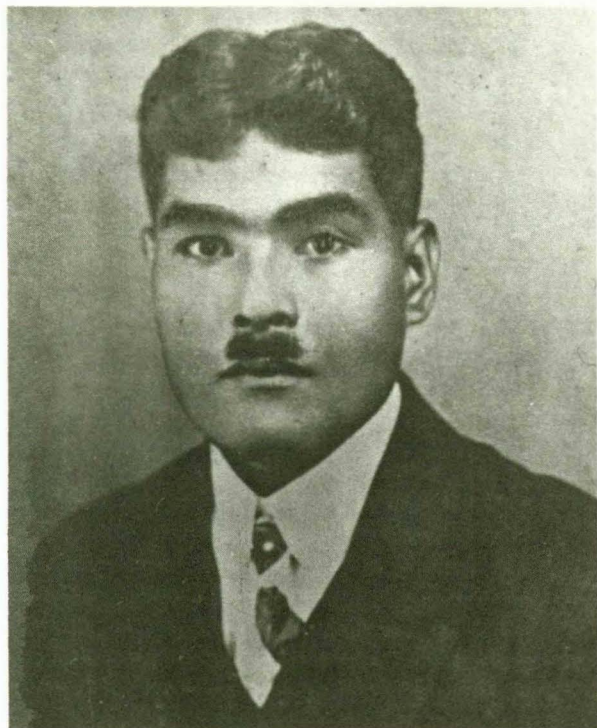


16 feet wide and, in places, the clay surface is packed so hard we at first thought it was pavement. There are ancient curbs or borders running along both sides of these walkways made of flat rocks set on edge. One of these roads runs the full length of the island for a distance of about two miles.

There are few grassy spots throughout the village. Nearly every outside area, including the walkways and yards, even the spaces between the houses, are covered with a deep layer of rounded gravel. The men go out on the reefs and beaches and bring back this gravel that has been slightly rounded by wave action. It is a light grey in color and provides a pleasing contrast to the greenery and flowers growing all about . . . and all of



this further contrasting with the gaily colored clotheslines strung at nearly every house. We soon learned that the cleanliness of the village is primarily the responsibility of the younger children. Every morning, just after dawn, small girls can be seen walking about with their baskets, "iep", picking up every leaf that has fallen from the breadfruit trees during the previous night.



*Portrait of Joachim DeBrum taken around the turn of the century. For over forty years he built a copra empire in the Pacific and constructed the DeBrum Mansion to serve as headquarters for his vast holdings.*

## THE MANSION

The DeBrum mansion itself is a large one-storied frame building of rectangular shape. It is exactly 40 feet wide by 60 feet long including the ten foot wide porch that runs around all four sides. The long dimension of the house points directly North and South and the front faces toward the lagoon. It has a tall, peaked roof which rises up a full fifty feet above the ground. There are two sets of large double doors that open out from the central living room, both at the front and back of the house. The ceilings all throughout, including the porches, are fully fifteen feet high and the rooms are cool and airy.

Inside, the mansion is divided into three rooms. A central living room, a large parlor and den adjoining it on the South end and an equally large master bedroom

at the opposite or Northern end. The furniture in the living room is elaborately hand-carved, most of it in teak. There is a large circular table, also carved, with a beautiful solid marble top. There is also a large roll-topped desk that has been badly damaged by termites over the years. On the East wall there is a carved China cabinet with glass doors still intact. In the center of the living room ceiling there is a large wooden compass rose from which hangs an ornate bronze and glass chandelier. At several locations throughout the house some pipes and fittings of a once necessary gas light system can be seen.

## THE STABILIZATION

By the end of the first week, we were well into the project. Dr. Jelks and his wife worked on the physical restoration of the building itself, while the TT Microfilm team was well into the sorting of a multitude of documents and books. The dates entered on the correspondence indicate that most of the plantation "boom" period occurred between the late 1880's until about the early nineteen forties, a span of over sixty years.

Joachim DeBrum was born on February 25, 1869. He was the son of Jose DeBrum, a former citizen and seaman from the Azores Islands, and Likmeto, a close relative of the "iroij (chief) "Jurrtaka" of Maloelap Island in the Marshall Islands.

Jose and Likmeto DeBrum were given Likiep Atoll by the chief, and it was here that their son Joachim built a copra and shipping empire that was to last for over 60 years, and employed hundreds of people.

Joachim DeBrum was evidently a thoroughly methodical man who left little to chance. He seems to have filed everything. Most of the files referred to consisted of old, musty, trunks and sea chests jammed full of documents and books.

Joachim not only kept most of the correspondence sent to him but he also had a habit of keeping carbon copies of most of the letters he sent out. Unfortunately, time had taken its toll, and many papers left are beyond preservation.

Evidently, paper clips were scarcely known of in those days. Most of the letters and other papers belonging to a given group or period of time had been ingeniously pinned together in the upper left hand corner with a small nail. Paper, like paper clips, was also difficult to come by, we believe, since the documents are typed or handwritten on a wide variety of different kinds of paper. There is considerable diversity in the languages used as well. German, Japanese, English, and the local Marshallese dialect were all to be found.



Many of the letters are beautifully written, especially those written around the turn of the century. Joachim wrote many with a hand-dipped steel pen in "Spencerian" script with great efficiency, the level of lower case and capital letters being quite exact even though unlined paper was mostly used. Spacing between words is nearly perfect. We found a number of pen staffs and points in the roll top desk.

Several documents discovered early on indicated that Joachim had once had a great interest in photography. It was not long before we unearthed over four hundred glass negatives along with the ancient Kodak camera he used. Although many of the negatives were badly damaged most were still in good shape and the quality of the work present is a testimony to the skill that Joachim eventually developed. In many ways, these photos show us more about the way things were out here than could ever be discovered from the writings alone.

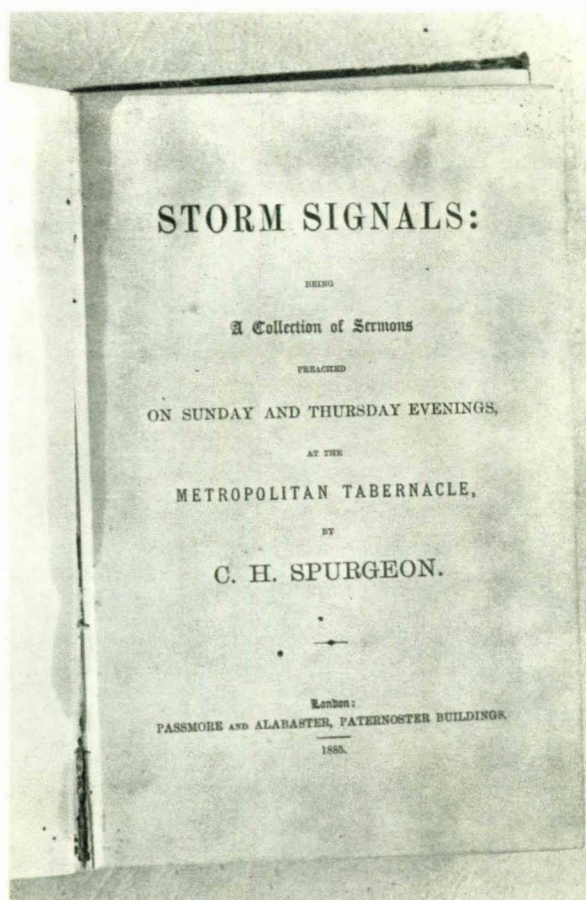
Also discovered during the program were a number of antiques. There is not space here to include all of those things found, but a few are listed as follows:

- Miscellaneous Photographic supplies from the Honjo Company, Yokohama, 1918.
- A Kodak pocket C "Premo", 3½ x 5½ camera from Kodak of Australia, Ltd., 1916.
- Three bicycles from Julius Busse in Berlin, Germany, 1910.
- One "Uni-Lectric" Generator from Waterman Motor Company, of Detroit, 1917.
- A barometer from the Hoda Optical Company, Tokyo, 1926.

We could find no record of the purchase of a record player we found. It is a "Gramophone" and bears a seal indicating that it won first prize at the World's Fair in Paris.

In addition to these items there are more than two hundred pieces of good quality china, mostly imported from England, a selection of elegant ceramic vases, and about a dozen tall brass kerosene lamps. The latter are much in need of restoration. Some of them are quite large, being a full three feet in height.

All the while work had been going on with the recording of documents, repair work on the mansion itself had been progressing as well. A team of sixteen men had been hired, most have considerable skill in carpentry. Since the purpose of this first federal grant was to "stabilize" the structure so that further weather damage to it will not occur, repair of the leaking roof and reconstruction and repair of the supports are of the first priority. Dr. Jelks is in charge of this phase of the project.



*Title page of one of the many books included in the DeBrum mansion collection. C.H. Spurgeon was a famous religionist of his day. This particular volume was printed in eighteen-eighty-five.*

Originally, the mansion was only a foot or so about ground level, as several of Joachim DeBrum's old photographs show. Around 1905, however, the whole structure was raised to its present floor height of about six feet above the ground. Although the roof has been repaired several times during this century, the underpinnings or ground supports have not been replaced since the mansion was raised. These supports were originally made from the logs of the "luieg" tree which grows here on Likiep as well as many other islands in the Marshall District. Many of these original supports are still in good condition, showing little damage from the weather, even after all these years. Others needed replacing. Many good support logs are strewn about at different places on the island. Some of these logs are as much as two feet in diameter, about eight feet long, and probably weigh several hundred pounds. since luieg wood is quite dense and extremely heavy.



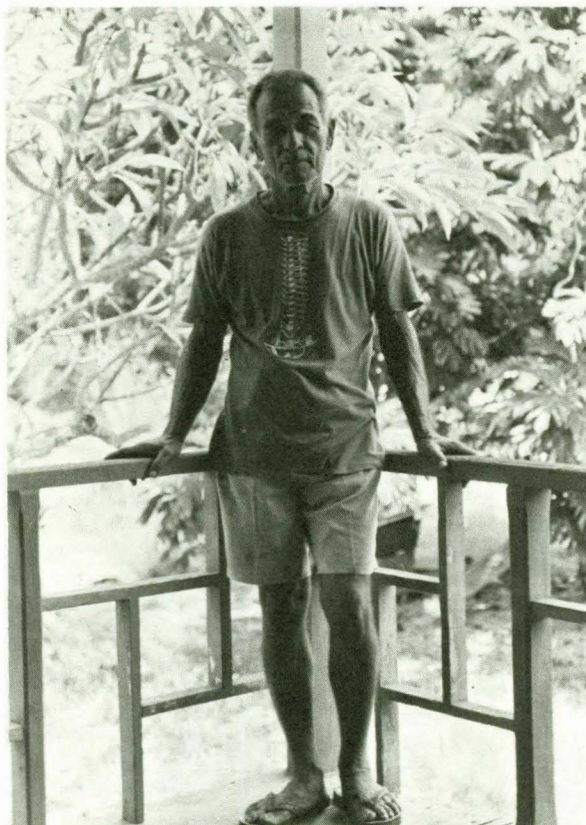
There are no pickup trucks or hoists here. Still, by fashioning a sling at both ends, four of the local men have been able to carry these logs from various places to the mansion sight. Every log needs to be notched to fit the spot where the old one was removed. The younger members of the work crew butt them out with a handsaw, since there are no power tools here either. All work is done with hand tools, cooperation and brute strength.

Toward the end of November most major repair work had been made. Defective supports had been replaced and a shiny new roof nailed on. All of the outside of the structure had been newly painted. The work crew, under the supervision of Bryan DeBrum will finish up the remainder of the repairs after our team departs.

### THE DEPARTURE

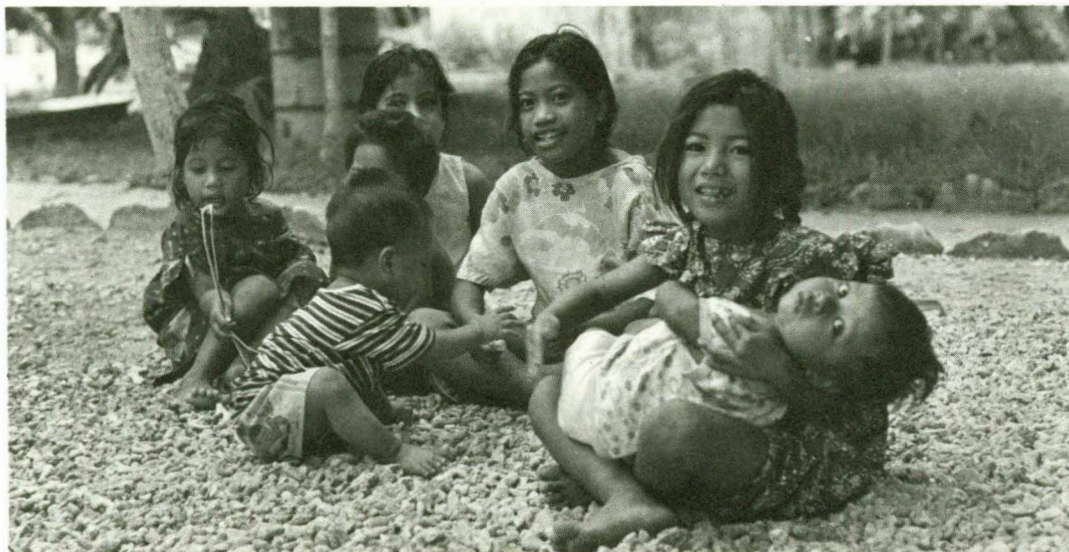
As we departed, I looked back at the old mansion. It now had an entirely different appearance. Defective supports had been replaced and a shiny, new roof installed. All of the outside of the structure had been newly painted and the work crew could now finish up the remaining details after our party was gone.

Joachim DeBrum and the copra empire he once built and ruled over, still has the same potential it once had. The present mansion headquarters at Likiep is still now much as it was then, somewhat the worse for wear. The writer has traveled widely, yet he has never met a more serene and kindly people than those who live on this delightful island. In the vastly over-complicated world, or so it seems at times, it is good to know that there is at least one place left where a measure of peace really does exist. We have been invited to return, and return we surely shall . . . one day soon.



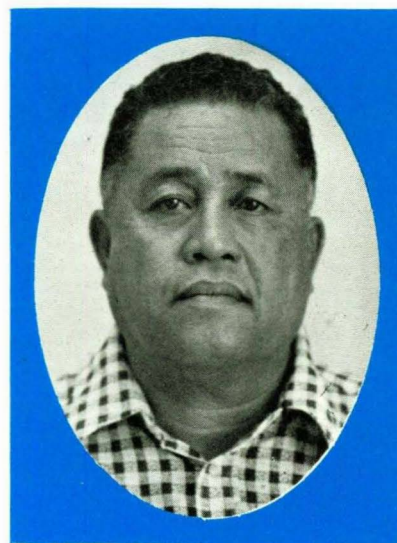
*Mr. Lui DeBrum is the owner and operator of the only boat building company on Likiep. He is also the owner and skipper of the "Louisa", a sixty footer that is sometimes the only link that Likiepians have with the outside world. He also acts as a "judge" and general councilor and advisor when needed.\**

*In the afternoons, members of the morning "clean-up" squad would frequently gather around to observe the on-going efforts of their fathers working on the mansion. These young girls are largely responsible for the neatness of the village.*





# CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MICRONESIA



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*by Dwight Heine*

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(Permission to reprint the following article was granted to the *Micronesian Reporter* on January 6, 1978, by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This paper was presented by Mr. Heine at the Second Session of the Advisory Committee for the Study of Oceanic Cultures held in Papua, New Guinea, June 27–July 1, 1977. It was first published by UNESCO last year. The views expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view of UNESCO.)

If *preservation* means to keep from injury, harm or destruction, or to keep alive, intact, or free from decay . . . and if *development* implies the process of natural growth, differentiation, etc., then with these definitions in mind let us examine the myriads of problems that gave and are still giving distinctive characteristic to the cultures of Micronesia today. Micronesians are not always aware of, nor did they always understand those problems that faced them; hence the Micronesian's inability to avoid or find solutions to many problems (the plural form is used here, since there are nine different ethnic groups, whose languages are not mutually intelligible, and a student of one of the cultures does not necessarily make him an expert in the others).

To people who have never had contact with anyone outside their own social group, nor travelled beyond their own immediate environment, the only

modifiers that can influence their way of life are those of their own discovery or invention. That was the state of affairs in Micronesia before their exposure to the outside world.

After the first contact, there followed numerous subsequent visits, especially from Europe, the Americas and the Orient. The changes to the Micronesian way of life became very accelerated, and some of these changes were almost beyond their ability to adapt to meet existing situations. These changes came about through:

1. Acquisition of new instruments and tools, as well as utensils for domestic use.
2. "Borrowing" of new ideas.
3. Habituation through living with non-Micronesians, either in their home islands or abroad.
4. Imposition of new laws, institutions and the introduction of new religions.
5. Learning, at least, to understand or to communicate in four different languages in a span of less than two hundred years; a new language for each generation.

Hundreds of years ago the ancestors of the Micronesian people ventured forth in their canoes to look for new lands to settle in the vast stretches of the unknown waters of the Pacific Ocean, a feat



comparable to today's man voyaging among the stars. Over time, the unknown waters of the Pacific revealed their secrets; patterns of waves and the heavenly bodies were recognized as navigational aids. The knowledge acquired by these early discoverers and the experience gained through continuous sailing — which modern Micronesians still retain — is of little assistance to the descendants of these early sailors, as they search for answers to the many perplexing problems of today's world. Their journeys in the world as it exists today, are entirely different from the one their ancestors traversed. Their way of life is constantly being challenged and modified not only by what is happening at home, but also by what is taking place far away from their shores.

The acquisition of material things that give prestige such as through exchanging of natives' stone tools, etc., for steel and other implements that help remove drudgery out of labour; the tasting of new foods that tease the palates and that may inspire joviality and/or hilarity; winning trips to see the outside world; and the multitudes of other things that are now available for their choosing are constantly in competition with the old ways.

The subjects of a chief are relatively limited in number, from a few hundred to a few thousand and the tribes are ceaselessly contesting each others rights to land, power and wealth. Petty fights did not stop until relatively recent times when the German administrators put an end to them. "Conquering" Micronesians was no problem at all, as a "united front" was never present. The native chiefs gave land and other goods as rewards to subjects who served them well. The new "ruler" did the same thing and as a consequence, the power and prestige of the traditional chiefs' position eroded away.

The only elements of the old cultures that survived are those that were not seriously challenged, those that retained their utility values, and those that the people so strongly believed in that they did not want to abandon. Micronesian cultures involved secrecy to such an extent, with regard to certain skills and knowledge, that in teaching other Micronesians outside of the clan, one must first obtain the chiefs' permission. The answer was inevitably, "No".

Man's curiosity and his desire to find answers to the riddles of the universe is insatiable. If their own cultures cannot provide the answers, they will then turn to wherever they can find them. That is what happened in Micronesia, when the Christian missionaries arrived and started western-type education.

Missionaries entered the area during the nineteenth century. (In the Marianas, it was much earlier than that, but there the emphasis was not on secular matters). The missionaries were preceded by the traders by only a few years. A symbiotic relationship seems to have developed between the missionaries and the traders without awareness on the part of either parties. With the introduction of Christianity and its precepts, old ideas and values weakened or changed completely. Micronesian languages were reduced to writing, the Bible translated into several Micronesian languages, and books on other subjects were printed, i.e. arithmetic, geography, etc. The word for preachers and teachers is the same in the Marshallese language, "Ri Kaki". Encouraging young Micronesians to go to school was not necessary as everyone wanted to go. Arithmetic was a valuable subject; the students were able to figure how much to pay for so many pounds of nails by knowing the price of one pound. They knew how much money they will receive from the traders for so many gallons of coconut oil, by knowing the price of one gallon. Later, they knew how many tons of copra were required to pay for the chief's schooners which were built in San Francisco. These possessors of new knowledge became a highly respected class in their own right. The traders did not like them but they respected them. They also became good customers, like all Micronesians who pursue higher learning today. They became the most useful servants of the chiefs. The entrenched elite classes accepted them and they were in certain cases, able to learn things about their own cultures; knowledge which was not permitted them before.

The traders introduced commerce and a new way of earning a living, by working for others for wages. Money became the medium of exchange and a measure of value. Missionaries introduced new religion, taught them many useful things which were needed at that point in history, and helped Micronesians to attain competence in their dealings in a new sphere of influence, which was not of their making or choosing, but one which they could neither avoid nor ignore.

When people of diverse cultures meet, more often than not, they will open a dialogue by asking questions. Tourists ask questions about native dances and about the handicrafts they would want to buy as souvenirs. Government officials ask questions about community leaders and the sources of their influences, and missionaries ask questions about native beliefs and practices so that they would know which ones to cull as worthless heathens' superstitions. Not only were the missionaries and the foreign governments' suppression of much of the Micronesian former way of life



responsible for the eventual change in the Micronesian cultures, but much of the substitutes which replaced what was discarded were strictly the Micronesian's choosing. For instance, traditional Micronesian medical practices require that the patient and the healer refrain from any overt or covert acts of physical contact with the opposite sex. Any prurient thoughts, including even dreaming of such lascivious contacts, were forbidden and certain magical objects were tied around the arms of the patient to prevent him or her from getting aroused through dreaming. Although some very conservative Micronesians still believe and observe these taboos, many young people of both sexes go to foreign doctors for treatment. Their medicines are good and they do not demand of their patients what the patients feel as unnecessary sacrifices.

The first foreign doctors in Micronesia were missionaries; later on German doctors swelled the number. It is said that the German doctors were popular with a great number of the people, as their advice to them was strictly on a scientific level. They never told them to, "Go and sin no more". Medicine in Micronesia was a "religion" and missionaries reinforced that belief. The German doctors were the first ones to introduce a secular approach to it. In so doing they liberated the people from some of the many fears that enslaved their minds.

Tourists and other visitors to Micronesia are always disappointed when they discover that only Yap has authentic native dances today (one or two authentic native dances may exist on the more isolated islands in the area). In the Marshalls, where the missionaries were very active, only two dances survived. Missionaries objected to some dances because they were "too suggestive" while others stirred the martial spirit and were anathematized. Today, the ban has been relaxed, but it appears to be too late. Most of the dances that the people are performing today are imports from external sources, including modified forms of American folk dances. Still others are mixtures of German or Spanish close order marching drills. Some efforts are now being made in the schools to revive what was lost. It seems hopeful, because the people have not lost their bodily rhythms nor the desire to express themselves in this art form.

Authentic Micronesians' sports and games that have been very popular only a few years ago are not much in evidence today. Sports such as canoe racing, wrestling, and a few others are almost totally gone. Baseball, tennis, volleyball, basketball, etc., most of which was introduced by the Japanese, are still carried on to some degree in different parts of Micronesia. Up until recently, reciting old legends was a very popular

form of entertainment, especially for small children. But today with the introduction of movies, radio and television, the evening hours of relaxation for both children and adults are dominated by these imported gadgets. Some people hope that in time the novelty will wear off, but many take a contrary view. They believe that something ought to be done immediately, because the effects of many of the programmes are not healthy for their children. They say there is too much "Kung Fu", "Karate", shooting and violence. It is believed by many that the increase in juvenile delinquency is a direct result of these programmes.

With the advent of a money economy, many of the things the Micronesian people considered as valuable property have gone down in importance. Without the tourist industry, many works of art would have disappeared altogether. But there is still one thing that the people greatly value and that is their land, especially in the Marshalls. Early land acquisition by outsiders were those given away by chiefs to traders and missionaries. It was at a time in the people's history when the chiefs owned everything, including land and human lives. Subsequent to that, it was the German administrators who negotiated for land to build hospitals, offices and other satellite buildings needed for their administration.

The Japanese as the new "rulers" of the area (starting in 1914), in addition to what they had "inherited" from the Germans, condemned more land for business purposes, and the expanding requirements of their government. During the latter part of their administration much land was taken for military use. The Americans in their role as the administering authority, seized all the above as "custodian of alien properties", as well as whole atolls for the testing of nuclear weapons. Land, as it relates to the Micronesian people, is something that is very difficult for a non-Micronesian to understand. Its "value" and its meaning to its owners, are "concepts" that are little understood, except perhaps by other Pacific Islanders.

There are several categories of land in the Marshalls. For instance, place names tell the history of how it was acquired. In a paper entitled "How Cultures Collide", the following appears: "It is important to stress that when you scatter such a community, you're doing more than tear down buildings; you're destroying most of what gives life meaning, particularly for people who are deeply involved with each other. The displaced people grieve for their houses as if they had lost children and parents". Micronesians (especially the Marshallese) could not agree more with this statement. Take away their ancestral lands and their souls are also taken. The author, in this case, has



written about people who have lost their houses, but the people in the Marshalls lost not only houses, but whole atolls; reefs, sand, soil, the lagoon, the fauna and flora, and everything that was on the islands created by God and man. The administering authority did not only hurt the people involved, but they hurt themselves as well.

Prior to the colonization of Micronesia, law and order were enforced by the people's mores and by their traditions. Beside the two controllers, strong leaders kept their followers in line which were according to their whims. The first codified laws in Micronesia were those in the Marianas introduced from the mother country by Spain, while those in the Marshalls, the eastern part of Micronesia, were written by American missionaries, but the responsibility for their authorship was attributed to one of the Marshallese chiefs. The laws were entitled, "King Kaibuke's Laws". The opening commenced with the following: "It is unliable for any person on this island to be drunk; rum, gin, whisky and so on to creme de menthe and creme de cacao". These laws were really aimed at the whalers and the traders who gave "fire water" to the chiefs and other Micronesians of influence. The Germans were the first to introduce laws as they were known and understood in the so-called "civilized countries". In order to enforce their laws, they recruited and trained a native police force, built prisons, and put in operation a government boat to go around the atolls and islands to check on problems engendered by the law. The Japanese modified many of the German laws, and added their own versions. The Americans seized the islands during World War II and did the same thing for the laws that were in force. Something very new was then added, the "Human Bill of Rights" was included in the "Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Code". This Code was published immediately after a civilian government took over from the military. Today, the Micronesian people themselves make their own laws, but only to a limited extent. The High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, who holds the power of veto, approves or disapproves bills sent to him by the legislatures. Whatever bills he vetoes the Congress can override by passing them again with a two-thirds majority. Such bills go on to the Secretary of the Interior of the United States Government, whose decision is final.

The preceding is a brief resume of the recent history of Micronesia, a period that covers a span of approximately 200 years, except where the Mariana Islands are mentioned. (In the Marianas, dealings with the European powers began much earlier than the rest of Micronesia.) This is also the era when contact with

Western cultures started the acculturation process, which caused Micronesians to become "borrowers" of the material things these newcomers brought, as well as reluctant "acceptors" of those activities based on foreign concepts and ideas which were imposed on them from without. For brevity's sake only a few examples are chosen and these are in areas which to the writer's mind, have had the most impact on the Micronesian cultures.

When the writer hears the phrase "cultural preservation", the first thing that comes to mind is a museum. It is in this sort of place that one can see that his antecedents were discoverers and innovators. They were artists, builders, and creators of many useful things. Their environment supplied everything they needed. Often times when modern Micronesians look at collections of artifacts in museum display cases, it dawns on them that the clothes they wear, the meal they just ate, the songs they hum, the papers and pens with which they keep records of their observations, the language with which they communicate with the museum curators, are not of their own culture. It is in a foreign country, in an alien institution called a museum, where they discover their past.

It seems that there are two types of people who go to a museum; those who seek enlightenment and those who want to marvel at the weirdness and the strangeness of other cultures. "You know, Jim, I can sell that mask over there for a substantial amount of money in the States (United States). You know, those crazy wealthy old ladies. You can sell them almost anything for a song". This was heard by a Micronesian during a tour of a museum.

*Cultural development* seems to imply to survey what has survived from the past and improve upon it if it is possible. It also seems to say, revive those aspects of cultures that are about to be completely forgotten because of suppression from different sources in the past, but which modern man considers important to preserve and to perpetuate. Learn about them but set aside from use those that are neither wholesome, nor useful.

It is not very easy for a Micronesian to decide which part of his culture needs preservation or development. For instance, is Christianity today a part of the Micronesian culture? All Micronesians are practicing Christians; so were their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents. There are neither agnostics nor atheists in Micronesia. But it is interesting to note that there are remnants of the old pre-Christianity beliefs that linger and are still practised by the Micronesian people.



There was a time when some members of the United States administering authority and a few influential indigenous leaders advocated the idea that it was not good to educate the people away from their culture. Today, some still hold to this view but with the modification that it is dangerous to "over-educate" Micronesians when their chance for employment is very slight. The optimists counter by saying "Give the people light and they will find their own way". They say that they do not want to see Micronesia turn into a huge museum teeming with thousands of living human specimens. Furthermore, educating Micronesians is an obligation under the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement.

Micronesians are today very wary about anthropologists coming to do research in Micronesia. They have discovered that many anthropologists' main interest was to write papers toward their doctoral degrees. Some Micronesians suspect that the reason the anthropologists are among those who are against "over-education" is because they do not want to see the area exhausted of "primitive" peoples to be studied. And cynics add, "missionaries, too, don't want to see the area run out of heathens to be converted".

There have been many studies made about Micronesian cultural development, preservation and restoration. The emphasis has been on "what was" and hardly anything on "what is", that is, the cultures as we see them today. Culture is not static; it keeps changing with time. Enough examples have been pointed out in this paper about their effects on the Micronesian cultures. Micronesian cultures can be summed up as follows:

- (a) Micronesia
- (b) Micro. + Spain
- (c) Micro. + Spain + Germany
- (d) Micro. + Spain + Germany + Japan
- (e) Micro. + Spain + Germany + Japan + U.S.A.

With enthusiasm, Micronesians went to the polls in 1965 to elect their Congressman and Senators to the Congress of Micronesia, the first legislative body ever to embrace the entire geographical area of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The dream of a unified Micronesia seems to have been shattered, if what has taken place recently is a foretaste of what is going to happen in the near future. The Mariana Islands split away from the rest and are going to be a Commonwealth of the United States; only a step or two before they are recognized as fullfledged members of the United States political family. The Marshalls and the Palaus are now negotiating with the United States

Government to allow them to follow a similar path. Many reasons are given for the above-mentioned three districts of the TTPI wishing to dissociate themselves from the rest of the Territory. The writer feels that the major reason is because of the lack of appreciation for what had taken place in the past. Although the formula above shows Micronesia plus others, it would have been more accurate if it had shown, Marshalls, Ponape, Truk, Yap, Marianas and Palau plus others. Better yet, a more precise one would have been Marshalls, Ponape, Kusaie, Mokil, Ngatik, and so on and so forth. Each island with inhabitants who are autochthonous to just that one island have developed independently of all the rest of Micronesia. The six so-called districts of Micronesia are geographical divisions which were created by the Germans for administrative purposes. The Japanese and the Americans found that that was a logical and a very efficient way of administering the islands so they continued with it. With the two former governments, uniting Micronesia was not their long-range goal. On the contrary, "divide and rule" was, as it guaranteed against possible insurrection.

Micronesians as a whole never worked co-operatively with each other until 12 July 1965. In other words, political development for the whole area started on that date. But encouraging people to perpetuate skills in making various kinds of native handicrafts has been going on since the Spanish time, except certain items which were considered repugnant by the missionaries. With all the dozens of cultures of Micronesia which developed independently of each other, coupled by stunted growth caused by the changes in rulers every quarter century, and the differences in languages that hinder communication; the relative scarcity of transportation to bring people together from those hundreds of atolls and islands as well as to visit them in those scattered places which is approximately the same size as that of continental United States; and being mostly water these isolated settlements can be reached only by boat; the road to unity in Micronesia is not as close as was formerly thought, taking the present route. But those in power are impatient.

The use of airplanes has just started in some parts, but the number of aircraft available is far from meeting the existing needs. Because of their isolation, the voters and taxpayers do not know many of their law makers, even some of those who are from their own district. But they know their paramount chiefs since the chiefs can never be victims of popular elections every two years if they are Congressmen, and every four years if they are senators. These leaders are referred to in government circles as "traditional leaders" and



members of Congress as "elected leaders". The most well known persons to the greatest number of Micronesians are not their own leaders but the following: The President of the United States, the Party Leader in Russia, the Prime Minister of Japan, the Queen of England, the President of France, in roughly that order. (Result of a random sampling by the writer.) The effect of the decisions made by these foreign leaders has a greater impact, for better or for worse, on their lives than decisions by their own.

The language used in the debates and in writing up bills presented in the Congress of Micronesia is English. Many people argue that it is not hard to build a nation of Micronesians because all the members speak English. But no Micronesian can say today or in the foreseeable future, "we should have but one language

and that is the language of the Declaration of Independence". The greatest number of people are realistic enough to see that. Was not Latin the *lingua franca* of Europe many years ago, as it is the language of the civilized Romans who were conquered by barbarians. Micronesia, too, must have but one language and that should be the language of the last "conqueror". Let us hope that English would be the last language learned out of necessity. Out of pride in one's own culture, no one group of Micronesians would ever permit another language than their own to be the *lingua franca* of Micronesia. This is one of the reasons why writing a paper on "Cultural Preservation and Development in Micronesia" is not a very easy assignment. After reading this paper the writer would like to ask, "What is Cultural Preservation and Development?"

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The Micronesian Reporter and its predecessor, the Micronesian Monthly (first published in 1951), are available on Microfiche for all issues from 1951 through First Quarter 1977 issue. Separate issues are available at \$1.00 per fiche copy. The entire set of 136 fiche is available for only \$100.00. Order from the Publications Division, Trust Territory Government, Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950. All orders pre-paid. Checks or money order should be made payable to Trust Territory Treasurer.



# MARSHALLESE NARRATIVE:

## The Effects of Change

*by Alfred Capelle*



*A Marshallese lead chanter beating his drum while his fellow chanters follow his lead.*

Marshallese tradition is, principally, an oral one preserved and handed down from generation to generation through chants, legends, and other forms of storytelling. As early as 1815, when Captain Otto von Kotzebue passed through the Marshall Islands, Europeans attempted to establish a written form of the language. It wasn't, however, until the arrival of Bostonian missionaries, around 1865, that a concerted effort was launched to translate the Bible into Marshallese. Although the missionaries introduced the Roman alphabet to represent the sounds of the language, it was only in 1970 that efforts to systematize Marshallese orthography got underway. At this very time, the first comprehensive Marshallese dictionary

has been published and is in use. The people of the Marshall Islands are seriously concerned about the preservation of their tradition and culture and are taking advantage of all possible resources, such as print, tape-recordings, etc., to ensure such preservation.

A navigational chant entitled "The First Marshallese to Know Navigation and How He Used it" was told to the author by an old Marshallese, one of the very few men remaining, who can produce the chant on the origin of Marshallese navigation in its entirety. We are very fortunate to have been able to capture the chant for all posterity. In talking with the chanter, we observed that the old man is sad at the prospect

of Marshallese culture inevitably being lost under too strong a foreign influence. On the other hand, however, it is heartening to know that no foreign influence has yet infiltrated Marshallese life to the extent where the more precious and important chants, legends, and so on have been affected by the interjection of foreign, or alien words into them. Moreover, there are influential Marshallese who are keenly aware of acculturation and who are, thus, actively engaged in the preservation of the tradition and culture.

The old Marshallese is recognized, not by the entire community, but by a very special segment of it, as a chanter. Due respect as a chanter is afforded him by members of his own generation, particularly those who have some knowledge of Marshallese navigation themselves. The status of chanter, and the corresponding respect, is established by the fact of his possession of navigational knowledge—a knowledge that not only involves considerable time and effort to acquire, but a knowledge that is reserved for royalty and, consequently, for individuals very closely associated with the royal family. The old Marshallese lives on Ebeye, a community inhabited by Marshallese in the employ of the military on neighboring Kwajalein. Since life here is in considerable contrast to Marshallese way of life in general, we suspect that this is a factor contributing towards the concealment of the old man's special status as a chanter.



The chant was produced for the author upon special request. The purpose in recording the chant was explained and the chanter himself understood and acknowledged the fact that efforts to maintain the chant as secret knowledge for a privileged few must be surrendered in the interest of a greater and worthier cause—Marshallese culture.

Chants that are designed for pedagogical purposes, like the navigational chant, are normally told on special occasions; that is, at the request of the chief, or for the benefit of an individual who has been ordained to learn the trade involved. The apprentice, of course, is usually of royal status, and it would, indeed, be the rare and exceptional case were a commoner to learn the chant which is indisputably a workable and thus proven mnemonic device for the navigational system. This particular chant tells of all navigational signs, mapped mentally through experience, and invaluable as a directional guide to all subsequent sea voyagers. It is not difficult to see that the development of such dependable navigational skills required an intellectual ingenuity, worthy of royal claim and sanction.

The chant is told in no particularly formalized setting, or arrangement. Being a serious occasion, however, the atmosphere is solemn. It may be told on land or at sea, indoors or outdoors, during the day or in the evening. Usually, the audience situates itself within the chanter's line of vision, about ten to fifteen feet in front of him. The navigational chant recorded was told in a rather small house, so this arrangement was somehow violated.

Interruptions by the audience are neither required nor customary. In fact, any impromptu utterances by the audience during the chant would be regarded as highly improper behavior. Having placed their trust in their teacher, the learners ask no questions. All chants are memorized so that when

the learner is required to use the knowledge of a particular chant, he will be able to recall and follow it accurately. It was noted that during the recording of the navigational chant there were no interruptions, and calls attention to the complete preoccupation of the old Marshallese with chanting, and a likewise spellbound audience. Learners abstain from asking questions in order to avoid creating the wrong impression—the impression that they are questioning either the validity of the content of the chant, or the veracity of the chanter. The message of the chant is accepted as absolute truth and, at least in the case of the navigational chant, why not? It works.

One purpose of the chant, then, is to teach. Once the message has been conveyed, and the student has learned the chant, it is not uncustomary to have it repeated either by the former student or his teacher. The chant, however, may be repeated for encouragement, or psychological motivation and is equivalent, perhaps, to a "pep talk".

It is traditional to begin a formal discourse, such as a public speech, sermon, prayer, etc., with some introduction. Although the chant is begun with an introduction, it is made but once; that is, the chanter will introduce the subject of the chant when he meets for the first time with a new audience; however, on subsequent meetings with the same group for the purpose of continuing their instruction in the chant, the chanter will skip the introduction. The chanter, then, will introduce all new chants once, and then proceed until they are learned by his students. The end of a chant is identified by the chanter simply stating, "It's ended". The introduction is told in an ordinary spoken manner, and is not itself chanted. There are no problems encountered in understanding the introduction. The chant, however, is a different story—no pun intended. The rhythm, for example, that is not commonly heard everyday, and the frequent stretching and fusing of words

cause instant confusion in the new learner. We admit that this had been our experience upon hearing the chant. We further admit that although the chant became increasingly more meaningful each time it was played back, much of the excitement and profundity of listening to and seeing the old Marshallese chant it was diminished or lost completely. As we intend to point out shortly, considerably far more is lost in the actual change of channel from chanted to written or, even, spoken.

Although there is no vocal activity other than the chant, in the olden days there used to be drum accompaniment to enhance the rhythm of the chant. Ordinarily, the chanter assumed the lead; however, when the navigational chant was being recorded, the chanter looked to us for directions as to when to begin. Once this had been taken care of, the chant proceeded in the ordinary manner. We should, however, consider these points:

(1) Although the old Marshallese acquiesced in publicizing the heretofore secret chant, it cannot be stated without question that some aspect of the chant might not have been kept secret.

(2) With regard to the conditions under which the chant was produced, again we cannot know for sure what gestures, if any, were omitted because the chanter realized that they could not be picked up by the tape recorder anyway.

(3) The ability to chant is the ultimate in speech finesse in Marshallese culture. Hence, the chanter is a very linguistically talented person, and, we believe that extra polish was neither necessary, nor added to the navigational chant that we recorded. Furthermore, we believe a video taping, rather than a mere tape recording, would have affected the chant performance. We suspect that the chant would have been accompanied by more body gestures than we had observed when recording the chant.

Unlike a story, in traditional settings, the chant is never adapted or



modified in any way for any reason. In other words, the chant would not be performed say, for the chief in one way, and then performed differently for some other individual. Neither does the chant assume change to keep up with changing times. Furthermore, word substitution, additions, deletions, and paraphrasing, for example, do not occur. The pattern is strictly adhered to, for the words, the tune, and the rhythm are so intertwined that any modification of it would render the chant meaningless. Since the purpose of the chant is not merely to convey knowledge, but to communicate "secret" knowledge, the chant is, seemingly, more important than mere ritual. Whereas the chanted word or phrase carries one meaning, in context of the chant, the same word or phrase would not carry the same meaning in a spoken or written context. Thus, the sung, or chanted channel conveys one meaning while the same meaning is not communicated if the channel is changed to written or spoken.

The chant is meant to be chanted—not spoken, not written. While in the attempt to recite a chant in ordinary speech its meaning is lost, the attempt to put the chant into writing renders the chant practically incoherent.

Trying to translate Marshallese oral language into writing poses some problems, to say the least. For example, there are some Marshallese sounds that are not translatable into the Roman alphabet system, and we constantly have to compromise the orthography in order to get the words into written form. Although there is a sequence in the recorded chant, the difficulty in following it is partly ascribed to the archaic words that are used.

The sung, or chanted channel is crucial, semantically, to the effectiveness of the chant. Just as intonation is important in some languages, such as Chinese and Thai, in order to differentiate the various meanings of the same word in the language, changed Marshallese words

carry meaning that is different from the same, but spoken or written word. Thus, the information that is to be communicated by the chant is "reserved" through this particular channel for those who have a right to it. Although the tape recorded version leaves much to be desired, it is far better than the written version.

Semantic problems seem to diminish with several replays of the tape, suggesting that perhaps some meaning is eventually read into the chant in response to some subjective psychological need, and is not really what the chant actually intended.

Although the words that we describe as archaic are noticeable as they are chanted, in writing they are still more prominent. The little "snags" that are encountered in a change of channel, such as non-translatable words, adapting the spelling system, unknown words, archaic words, incoherency through loss of tune, rhythm, gesture, etc., affect the impact of the chant, rendering it boring to some individuals, and utterly meaningless to others. The chant is most effective in the oral-aural channel, and least effective in the written-visual channel.

We hope that the tape recordings will become merely a preservative instrument, and that the teaching and learning of the chants in the Marshallese schools and homes will be implemented through a live, rather than a solely technological channel so that the appropriate and meaningful gestures, for example, might also be preserved.

The next narrative to be discussed is considered a myth, or legend. It was told to us by a Marshallese who is about the same age as the old chanter. The legend, entitled "How the World is Managed" was also tape recorded.

The narrator of the legend is not recognized as a storyteller by the entire community, but only by a few members of the community—even fewer than those for the chanter. This is probably because this type of story is more widely shared among the people, thus

reducing the uniqueness of a special storyteller. Age, however, is the factor determining the credibility of a storyteller. In Marshallese culture, elders are respected and their credibility is unquestionable. Each community has its own storyteller(s). When a storyteller travels from island to island he is not readily recognized as such for, just as it was with the chanter, there are no distinguishing markings to reveal his identity as a storyteller.

Legends are not regarded as secret knowledge. Compared to the chant, which conveys knowledge of a trade or profession such as navigation, witchcraft, medicine, etc., the legend may be a construct to explain creation, or some physical phenomenon, and is told casually, in leisure, as a passtime activity. Usually individuals who are experienced in storytelling are requested to narrate a legend. The effect is more enjoyable. During speeches, passages from various legends or proverbs may be cited. Individuals who can quote proverbial or legendary passages are regarded as good speakers.

There are no special occasions for narrating legends. The situation for storytelling, however, is usually different from that in which one carries on an ordinary conversation, embedding it with stories about what happened on a fishing trip, or how one plants taro, etc. No special arrangement is followed. The audience, of course, is close enough to the storyteller to be able to hear him. The story may be told or listened to in a sitting or reclining position.

In direct contrast to the chant, where interruptions and questions are not allowed, during the narration of the legend, any member of the audience may, but is not particularly encouraged to interrupt to ask questions. However, expressions of amazement are expected at various highlights in the story. Afterwards, the audience as well as the storyteller may engage in discussion about various aspects of the legend. Such discussions are never serious in essence; they are usually a part of the



"lighter" side of life, and are for enjoyment, or entertainment.

Legends or stories are sometimes pedagogical. Generally, legends are considered to be true. Usually there is no musical accompaniment. As with the chant, legends have their own peculiar markings to indicate their beginnings and endings.

Concerned about his culture, the storyteller was happy to cooperate when we arranged with him to tape record the legend. We note that the storyteller made a special effort to articulate more clearly in this particular situation than he would have in a similar situation not being taped, however. The storyteller must have realized that his narration would be listened to over and over by many different individuals, and he apparently attempted to do the best he could. The old man very carefully pronounced each word. He enunciated slower than usual.

Certain features that are common in speech, such as backtracking, paraphrasing, etc., are evident in the narration. Structure, however, does not seem to be affected in a change from the spoken to the written form of communication. But the orthographic translation of Marshallese phonology created problems similar to those encountered in translating the chant. The translation was accomplished at the expense of meaning.

Although the essence of a story is not changed from telling to telling, or from generation to generation, its narration is flexible, and it may be adapted to suit the audience. For example, vocabulary substitution, elaboration, paraphrasing, and so on may be used so that children might grasp the meaning of the story. The syntax of the story, however, does not change as it does in the chant and its introduction, where phrases in the introduction begin with explicit subjects but do not in the corpus of the chant. The moral, or point of the legend is understood throughout the islands, for the culture is homogeneous.

The translation of the oral legend into writing has implications with regard to social interaction, for apart from its message, narrative performance and audience participation are representative of definitive social roles in Marshallese culture. The storyteller, for example, has one function and role in relation to the audience, while the audience have their corresponding behavioral duties towards the storyteller as well as towards each other. Once the legend is committed to the written form and becomes the dominant channel for transmitting legends, an individual's role as a storyteller may diminish considerably, and forthcoming generations may have to learn their social rights and obligations in some social event which is for purposes other than that of storytelling. The legend, like the chant, is meant to be orally produced, not read. Focus is lost in the written form.

All of the words in the legend that was tape recorded are translatable into English. But there are other legends that have words which have no English equivalents. This is also true to ordinary Marshallese conversational speech. One example is the various words that are used to describe the varieties of coconut trees. In English, there is one "coconut", while the Marshallese have a dozen or so words for coconut. Conversely, while English has more than one word to refer to the automobile, Marshallese has but one word to designate "vehicle". Words for which there are no Marshallese equivalents may require several words or phrases to describe the idea to be conveyed by the foreign word. As an alternative to the long strings that are sometimes necessarily generated in order to communicate a specific concept or idea, then, word economy may be sought and maintained by using, or embedding, the foreign word into the otherwise "Marshallese" conversation. Of course, this is only possible where the meaning of the foreign word is understood, as would be the case with bilinguals.

To sum up, the attempt to represent speech in writing is an interesting study, particularly when the representation is compared with actual speech. Speech has one great resource denied to writing; that is, the use of stress and intonation to convey meaning. On the other hand, writing has at its disposal, a great many items which normally cannot find their way into speech. Structures are more at home in the written than in the spoken mode. Distance between the spoken and written forms has, as in the case of the chant for example, become so wide as to hinder understanding. In other words, the knowledge that is to be communicated by the chant is concealed by the very nature of its particular channel. Inherent in the vocal and behavioral features peculiar to the chant which augments the spoken channel, and which cannot be represented in writing, is the very meaning that renders the chant coherent.

A summary comparison of the two narrations show that the purpose of the chant is to teach secret knowledge that is reserved for an elite segment of Marshallese society. The legend, on the other hand, though pedagogical in nature in that it may teach some moral, or has some such point to it, is for the benefit of all members of Marshallese society, and also may be told for entertainment.

Either the chief or the chanter may request a chant session, whereas anyone in Marshallese society may tell or request a story or legend, although particular individuals known as storytellers are preferred because of their special narrative abilities and talents.

Neither the chanter, who is respected as a wise and masterful teacher, nor the content of the chant is ever questioned, during or after a performance, with regard to the truthfulness of either. The chant may be performed repeatedly until its precise oral and behavioral manipulations are



memorized and its meaning understood by the learners. Although the legend, on the other hand, is also told repeatedly, its narration and performance is not as fixed as it is with the chant. Its essence, or point, remains the same, but the narrative performance is left to the discretion, talents and embellishments of the storyteller. Moreover, the audience may interrupt to ask questions or to comment. Unlike the chanter, the storyteller would be gratified and encouraged by audience outbursts of laughter, for example, or some such expression of astonishment or surprise, etc., appropriate to the tale. While both the chant and the legend can be retold, the narrative performance of the latter has the greater potential for spontaneous variation.

The structure of the chant differs from that of the legend. For instance, the syntactic structure of the introduction to the chant, and the corpus of the chant, differ. Whereas the syntactic structure of the introduction does not differ from that of ordinary Marshallese speech, the meaning of the introduction is explicit, or overt, and is readily understood by the learners, while the body of the chant may be described as covert, or deliberately obscured by its special treatment of the language with respect to rhythm, intonation, stress, word-stretching, etc., that is not ordinarily found in Marshallese spoken language. The introduction to the chant is also quite lengthy in contrast to the short introductory phrase of the legend. Unlike the chant, neither the introductory phrase, nor the corpus of the legend differ structurally.

Neither the performance of the chant nor its content, then in traditional settings, ever varies. Since the rhythm, or "song" of the chant together with the actual performance of the chanter are features that are important to its meaning, the same words when written or spoken, plus the absence of the body gestures, will not communicate the message intended by the chant in its sung channel. Variations in performance, and word substitution in narrating a legend, however, will not change the point of the legend.

What we hope to have shown in this paper is how a change in narrative meaning is affected by a change in channel. The written transcriptions of the legend and the chant are not even close to the tape recordings, and even more remotely resemble the live narrations. Some of the hesitations, repetitions, half-formed sentences and other features which are a normal part of most speech, but which are usually excluded from the written representations of speech have been noted. The conventional graphic markings such as punctuation devices, can only very crudely suggest the stress and intonation patterns in the voice. There was no way to adequately represent the expressions and gestures of the narrators. In writing we are rarely left in doubt about much, if anything, since the context usually gives us adequate information. There are, however, features in speech that compensate for say, broken structure, such as human expression, and intonation and gestures mentioned before.

Perhaps the most striking realization that this investigation has led to is that there is so much *more* to sociolinguistic functions than most individuals are consciously aware of at any time.

The question of how to represent spoken language exactly is, indeed, a problem. It is a very special problem for Marshallese since the written form of this language is so relatively new, or recent. The obvious fact of well-organized societies without a written language is still evident in some parts of the world, where a highly developed language has, even to date, not been committed to a written system, and yet where varying degrees of civilization are quite adequately maintained without any form of writing. Yet, the very survival of these cultures is, seemingly, becoming more and more dependent upon mass education, and a written form of language. On the whole, the two major independent forms of the same language, that is, the written and the spoken, do have mutually influential characteristics, and while the intention is to record, for preservation, the exact representation of any genre of spoken language, precisely what can be communicated in speech, will not be represented graphemically.

Unfortunately, Marshallese children will not be learning the same chants or the same legends from books that they might have learned by listening to them narrated by some talented and experienced storyteller. But, perhaps, at least a part must be sacrificed for the sake of the whole.



Following is an excerpt of the navigational chant that was recorded:

1. Kwa loi mōrmōr ko (ouwouōn kakōten) jimmarro le bwe  
You saw the forams (unknown) our grandfather lady for
2. ie jimmarro le. Eñ en i Kilbōt ej  
where is our grandfather lady. There his is in the Gilberts, he
3. (tūbtūbtok) ie. (Kajjike) wa in jān likiejān  
(unknown) at. (Unknown) this canoe from the windward side of
4. Nādik. Edjeñjeñ (jebueo) eruj mōmaan in tak  
Nādik. It's getting strong (unknown) men are awaken from
5. rālik ne epelaak aelōn in. Kwo to tok  
the west this island is teeming with them. You came ashore
6. im (kolkoj) im kōlōlōnōn ri an eo. Enaaj to jineet eo  
and (unknown) and scared the inhabitants. He will disembark
7. (ānōr) eañin iial kā rakin iial kā  
the informed (unknown) north of the paths, south of the paths
8. eteeñlok kijdik eo kwōjkwōje Lañperan.  
the mouse shrieked snap Lañperan.

Following, is the general meaning of the chant excerpt:

Lady you saw the foam at the prow of our grandfather's canoe. But where is our grandfather? Why, there I see him in the Gilbert Islands. Let's sail our canoe from here at the windward side of Nādik. The wind is blowing harder awakening and sending men from the western islands to invade this island. They come ashore harassing and scaring the inhabitants of this island. Then Lanperan disembarked from his canoe and pushed the invaders into the sea on the north and south points of the island.



Following is an excerpt of the legend that was recorded:

1. Ilo kar Majel etto                      ekar or ruatimjuon armej raar  
In the Marshalls ages ago there were nine persons who
2. ejake Majel in.      Innem emān emmaan raar pād im uurōke  
made these islands. Then four men stayed and shored up
3. lal in.      Juon in turōkin lal in, juon i turilikin lal in,  
the earth. One on the south,      one on the west of the world
4. juon i tueōñin lal in, juon i turearin lal in.      Etan  
one on the north,      one on the east of the world. The names of
5. lomarein,      leo i eōñ      Lajbuneamen, leo i rilik  
these men, the man on the north Lajbuneamen, the man on the west
6. ej Iroojrilik, im leo      i      rōk      ej Lōrōk. Leo      il  
is Iroojrilik, and the man on the south is Lorok. The man on the
7. reeaar ej Lōkōmraan. Melele ko an āt kein      — eor  
east      is Lokomraan. The meaning of these names — they have
8. melele mūlal ie.  
profound meanings.

Following, is the general meaning of the legend excerpt:

In the Marshall Islands long, long ago there were nine persons who made these islands. After they made them all left but four of them who stayed back to hold up the roof of the earth, the sky. One of these men was stationed on the south, one on the north, one on the east, and the last on the west. There is profound meaning inherent in these names.





*One of the few remaining thatched men's houses in Rull. A great deal of time and hard work goes into constructing one of these.*

# THE MANY FACES OF RULL *by Richard A. Marksbury* MUNICIPALITY, YAP

Micronesia, a region of many different and distinct lifestyles and cultures, is epitomized by Rull Municipality, Yap Island. Of the ten municipalities in Yap, Rull is the largest and most populous. In terms of lifestyles, it is also the most diverse within Yap. The geography of Rull is also quite diverse. Rull is located in the south central section of Yap island, situated along the eastern shore. It is approximately six miles in length and about one and one-half miles at its widest point. The southern section of Rull is an area consisting of sandy beaches and thousands of coconut trees. In ways, it is similar to many of the outer islands of Yap District. Going northward, the sandy beaches give way to the mangroves. The lowland areas near the



coast are covered with dense vegetation. This area yields to the rolling hills which are covered with high grasses and pandanus. The people and their lifeways who reside in Rull are just as diverse as the geography.

Most visitors journeying to Yap encounter Rull Municipality first, since the airport is located in Rull. As they travel from the airport to Colonia, the only town in Yap, they never leave Rull until they cross Chamorro Bay. Visitors are not new to Rull. Almost a century ago, the famous O'Keefe swam ashore from his wrecked ship to a village which is now in Rull. The northern section of Rull, which borders along the entrance to the Tomil Harbor, was easily accessible for penetration by the Spanish, Germans, Japanese and Americans. Remnants from these earlier foreign administrations can still be seen in Yap today. They remain among more modern structures and lifestyles which have been introduced by the Americans. In the face of these foreign influences, certain aspects of 'traditional' Yapese culture have managed to survive and flourish in Rull as well as in other regions of Yap. Such an accomplishment was more difficult in Rull, as will be pointed out.

Yap is generally labeled as being the most 'conservative' (whatever that means) and the least developed of the six districts. On plotted scales of development, the Northern Mariana Islands were usually at the top while Yap generally close to or at the bottom. It is possible to utilize these same types of scales for comparisons within Yap itself. They would show, without a doubt, that Rull Municipality is the most developed of Yap's ten municipalities. In light of this, one might jump to the conclusion that the Yapese inhabitants of Rull would not follow very 'traditional' ways. However, this is not true. Certain areas within Rull are some of the most 'traditional' within Yap. Of course, if one defines traditional along the lines of numbers of grass skirts and thatched houses, Rull would probably not be considered very 'traditional'. Yapese culture goes much deeper than this. Without reverting to the use of too many cliches, the meeting of the old and the new in Rull makes it an interesting place to live and visit.

Rull is the only chartered municipality in Yap. High Commissioner Edward Johnston signed Rull's charter into law in November of 1973. As a chartered municipality, it has an elected mayor and council. Most of the members of the council along with the mayor are traditional leaders. A tax system has been established along with biannual cleanup days during which people are fined if their houses do not meet the set standards. The reader should not believe that everyday decisions affecting one or more villages in



*A modern Yapese men's house situated in the middle of a village. These are becoming more common in Rull and Yap.*

*A Yapese man walking along a shaded stone path. No need to worry about passing cars.*







*The 'modern' side of Rull, with hotel, store, restaurant, church and so on. Such thoroughfares are beginning to take the place of the stone paths.*

Rull are made by this council. Even though such a politically sophisticated system is at work here, most everyday decisions are made by the traditional village leaders, just as they have been for generations. In many respects, certain aspects of Yapese traditional politics have transcended many of the western concepts of politics which have been introduced; at least this is true in Rull.

Most of the major infrastructure that exists in Yap is located in Rull. For example, the following are all located within the boundaries of Rull: airport, communications and weather stations, district reservoir and water plant, Yap High and Junior High schools, public works, agriculture station, Mobile plant, two construction companies, Protestant Church, most government housing, one of two hotels, cement blocking plant as well as three restaurants and approximately five of the top ten retailing stores in Yap. In addition to all of this, the main road of Yap runs directly through the entirety of Rull from north to south. Needless to say, it is quite an impressive list.

During previous foreign administrations, Rull was utilized in a similar manner. Near the present airport, where Air Micronesia's jet lands three times a week lie the remnants of a Japanese airstrip. Only a few yards from the modern communications station, are three large concrete obelisks. These are all that remain of the German cable system, made famous by President Wilson following the First World War.

More visible than concrete structures and roads are the 1500-plus people who make Rull their home. Of this total, not all are Yapese. Most of the non-Yapese in Yap reside within Rull Municipality. This group consists mostly of Palauans, Americans and Outer Islanders of Yap District. However, one should not assume that since so many ethnic groups live in Rull, it is a kind of 'melting pot'. It is not. Generally speaking, the members of these various groups adhere fairly closely to their own district ways of life.

The Outer Islanders of Yap District generally reside in a compound named Madrich when they come to Yap. Madrich which is in Rull, is only about



one-third of a mile from the center of Colonia. It is somewhat autonomous from the rest of Rull, however, since the land is controlled by the Catholic Church. Few Outer Islanders dress in western style. The men continue to wear *thus* while the women wear *lava lavas*.

The two major Palauan "communities" in Yap are also in Rull. In fact, one of them is situated very close to Madrich. Trying to discover why most all of the Palauans live in Rull is a difficult task. It appears to be something that is just done. However, I was told that years ago, a Yapese and Palauan chief agreed to allow immigrants from the other's island to settle in their respective community. In contrast to the Outer Islanders, the Palauans all dress in western fashions. Some of the businesses in Rull are owned and run by Palauans who are a moving force in Rull.

The other two large groups of non-Yapese living in Rull are the Americans and the Koreans. The American contract workers live in a complex of modern apartments and houses which are located just outside of Colonia on top of a hill. The Koreans who work for their respective construction companies live in quarters that they built themselves. In the vicinity of all of these above mentioned areas, Yapese families can also be found.

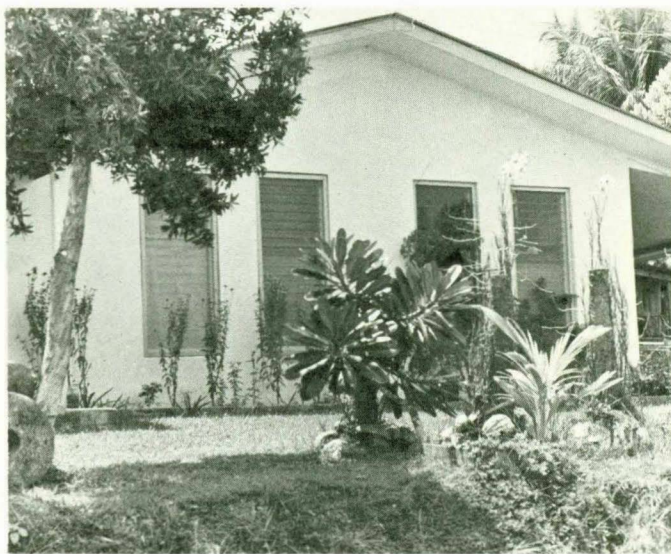
Of course, the vast majority of residents in Rull are Yapese. Even though Rull consists of twenty four villages, only seventeen are currently inhabited and two of these consist of only one family each. Each one of these villages has a designated rank which all of its inhabitants inherit. Some villages are high caste and some are low caste. Members of high caste villages own their own land while low caste members do not. In addition to this, there are five ranked classes among high caste villages and three among low caste villages. The caste-class system, therefore, adds to the diversity of lifestyles in Rull among the Yapese since it dictates a person's behavior. People should act in a manner prescribed by their rank and class.

Most of the Yapese in Rull reside in the northernmost section. This is the area closest to Colonia. By some accounts, this section is actually a part of Colonia. Few people live in the central region of Rull, while the southern portion is more heavily populated. It is in the northern section one finds the two highest ranked villages in Rull and two of the highest in all of Yap. It is also here that one of the three paramount chiefs of Yap reside. Even though this area is the closest to Colonia, it has perhaps the most 'traditional' politics, and other lifeways.

In viewing Yapese lifestyles in Rull, it is easy to compare "modern to traditional". Perhaps it may be more interesting to compare modern to modern and

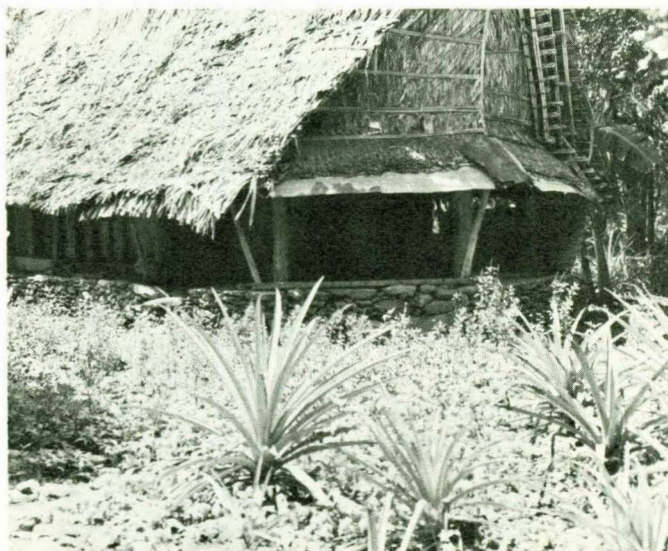
traditional to traditional. By this, I mean that certain variables affect the way Yapese live, who do so by modern or traditional standards. For example, the lifestyles of a 'modern' Yapese family close to Colonia may differ greatly from another 'modern' family living several miles from Colonia. The same can be said for 'traditional' families. There is just no such thing as a "typical" Yapese household. Each one is different from the other, yet they still are Yapese.

Even though the above types of contrasts are perhaps the more interesting, the more visible contrasts are between the 'old and the new', 'modern and



*A well built Yapese house with all of the modern conveniences in addition to some 'stone money' in the yard.*

*There are very few houses such as this one still remaining in Rull. Most have given way to tin, yet this type is much cooler.*





traditional' and the 'developed and underdeveloped'. Perhaps it is because they are more discernible to the eye. The examples of such contrasts, which can be observed everyday in Rull would produce an endless list. However, I will mention just a few, for it is these contrasts, that make Rull a land of many faces.

I have already mentioned that the agriculture station is located in Rull. It is here that employees explore new and better ways for growing and harvesting local and new crops. While these men are experimenting with new techniques, women in the surrounding villages continue to garden as Yapese women have been doing for generations, in their grass skirts and using digging sticks. Within one village in Rull, there are two men's houses. One is situated on the seashore and is constructed of thatch and bamboo... the traditional way. The other is constructed of tin and cement... the modern way. Both are functional and beautiful in their own way. Houses are constructed of either tin, cement blocks, thatch, or a combination of these materials. There are thatched houses just off of the main road near Colonia and cement houses located well into the jungle, miles from Colonia. Some Yapese families in Rull have electricity and running water while others have to rely on kerosene lights and water catchments. At the high school and junior high school, where students take courses their parents never even heard of, many of the boys attend classes in their *thus*. Most all of the Yapese who live in Rull, but work in Colonia, go to Colonia in western dress, and then change to their more comfortable Yapese dress when they return home and during weekends.

The main road running through Rull is well traversed. It is not uncommon to see a man in a *thu* or an Outer Islander woman in a *lava-lava* driving a car. As cars, buses, motorcycles and trucks travel along the either dusty or muddy road, chances are that a Yapese man or woman will be walking along a meticulous and beautiful stone path, situated only a few yards away. Such paths are found throughout Rull. They provided the only means for getting from one end of Rull to the

other before the introduction of cars. The serene locations of these paths contrast greatly to some of the road intersections in Rull. When it comes to the food the people in Rull eat, there is also much diversity. Most all meals have either taro or breadfruit as their staple. With the exception of meats, few consumed food items are from a can. Of course this varies according to the distance a family is from a store. At the high school, students are fed U.S.D.A. food along with local products. There is no end to such daily contrasts, in Rull Municipality.

Rull Municipality is *not* just like any other region in Micronesia. It is true that all of the things I have described and mentioned in this article can be seen throughout Micronesia. However, I sincerely doubt if one could find so many contrasts and variables within a single municipality in the Trust Territory as there are in Rull. There are few municipalities, if any, within Micronesia where most of the infrastructure is located as well as the only secondary schools, and the majority of immigrants reside. Add these facts to the one that Rull has more Yapese living in it than any other municipality and you come up with an area where many different types of lifestyles are possible. Rull has more teenagers and adults over sixty than any other area in Yap. Each of these groups live the way they have been taught. In Rull, not only does 'old and new' exist side by side without disastrous affects, quite often they have merged to form what is "1977 Yapese culture" in Rull.

Rull Municipality exemplifies a statement about Yap that is often broadcast over the local radio station (which, by the way, is also located in Rull). The statement goes: "though much has changed, much still remains the same". The people of Rull, have generally had to cope with more introduced changes than the rest of the Yapese. They have met this problem with pride and success over and over again. The particular 'face' one views while in Rull depends on what he is looking at and when and where he is doing it. The observer should always keep in mind that there is another 'face' just around the corner.



# A TEACHING TRIBUTE-RIBO JAROM

by Loren Peterson

If there is any question about the emergence of vocational education as one of the top priorities for the Trust Territory Department of Education, it should be dispelled with the selection of Micronesian Teacher of the Year for 1977-'78. Mr. Ribo Jarom, 42-year-old vocational agriculture instructor for the past seventeen years has been chosen as the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands' participant in the U.S. National Teacher of the Year competition.

I believe that the best way for me to present this unforgettable personality in our vocational education structure is to offer a few pertinent excerpts from information submitted with his data sheet to the National Teacher of the Year Award Program:

"It was in April 21, 1935, that Ribo Jarom was born on a small island in Jaluit Atoll, the former location of the Marshall Islands District Center during the Japanese Administration. He came from a family of ten children five boys and five girls. He began his formal schooling under strict Japanese instructors at the age of ten. Ironically, Ribo was thrown a few times by his Japanese instructors into a newly dug benjo pit as a retribution for learning the Japanese language at a slow pace. According to Ribo, he has never learned the language, but somehow the 'pit' had instilled in him a growing interest to work with soil.

"Amidst miseries and painful memories of World War II, young Ribo Jarom was determined to seek the little education opportunity which was available in the immediate years preceeding World War II. Having had just enough time to shake his ears of air raids and sound of machine guns, Ribo enrolled in the first grade at Jaluit Elementary School in 1948. At the conclusion of his elementary years, Ribo enrolled at the Marshall Islands Intermediate School which was then the highest formal educational institution in the Marshalls. The interest to pursue more education prompted him to cross the more than 663 miles of vast westward ocean between the Marshalls and Ponape by ship to attend the Pacific Islands Central School, and in 1960, he graduated with a high school diploma.

"His increasing interest in the search for more education grew. However, with the understanding that he must have several thousands of dollars (which he did



*Ribo Jarom, 42 year-old vocational agriculture instructor of Marshall Islands High School and 1977-78 Micronesian Teacher of the Year, proudly shows off his egg plants while his students look on. — photo by Howard Selnick*

not have) in order to continue his education outside of Micronesia, he bravely and yet gracefully returned home to the Marshalls.

"Beginning in the fall of 1960, Ribo had his first taste of sitting behind the desk as a teacher when he started teaching at Rita Elementary School. It wasn't too long before Ribo found himself back on Ponape, when in December of the same year he was back again at his old Alma Mater, not as a student, but an Assistant Agriculture teacher at the Pacific Central School. He came home to teach agriculture for one year at the Marshall Islands High School in 1973. Determined to learn more about agriculture, he left his teaching at the Marshall Islands High School to become Agriculture Extension Agent for the Marshalls District from 1964 to 1970, after which time, he returned to the Marshall Islands High School, a competent Vocational Agriculture Instructor in 1970. Since then, he has been performing his duties in the highest standards both in and outside the classroom.



"Ribo is not just an excellent agriculture teacher, he is a great helper to the community as a whole. Besides his teaching responsibilities, he visits many private farms and gives advice to the people on good farming practices. He is also often asked to give talks on farming and home gardening to various community groups." (From Bio-Data Sketch)

### MY PHILOSOPHY OF TEACHING

"Teaching exposes others to knowledge and skills. For a student to acquire any given knowledge and skill, he must be guided with warmth, understanding and firmness. Appropriate teaching strategies and knowledge of the materials will only be useful, if and when the above three guidelines are satisfactorily met — such is my philosophy of teaching.

"Being a teacher I believe that an equal amount of time should be spent explaining the subject matters both inside the classroom as well as out in the field. A teacher must demonstrate any given class project thoroughly before leaving it for the student to work it on his own. As a teacher, I also believe that a student should do as much as he possibly can before he is rendered assistance.

"In this way, the student is given the utmost opportunity in learning how to help himself.

"I think agriculture is one example of the kind of vocational education we need. Students learn that getting their hands dirty is not that bad after all. I want my students to be self-reliant. They will be more self-reliant if they can feed themselves and others. A self-reliant community, I believe, is built by self-reliant citizens. However, before one can be a self-reliant citizen, he must first learn to do it himself." (By Ribo Jarom)

But perhaps the following comments from former students tell it best:

"Ribo treats me like I'm another person like himself. I think Ribo is a good teacher and a good man because he makes me feel like I'm somebody, not just nobody." (Kejon Anuntak, Student)

"He always helps me when I do not understand something, and I'm not scared to ask him any questions." (Atoman Balos, Student)

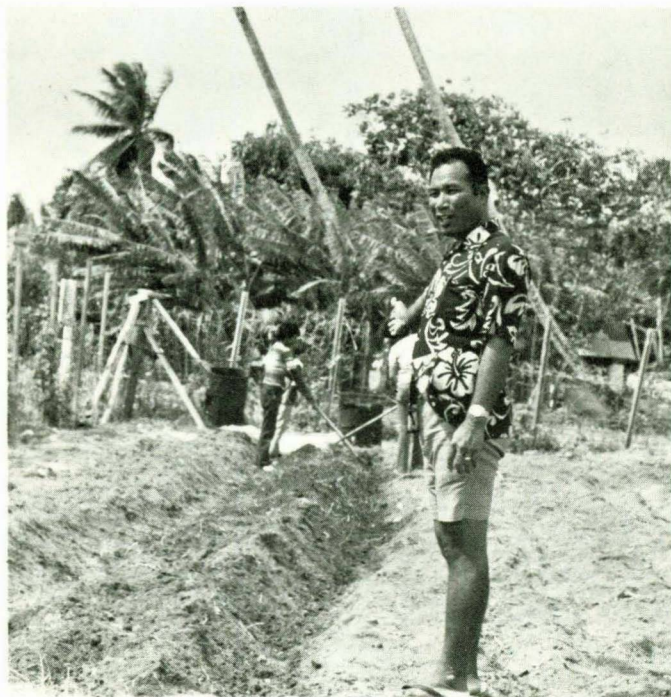
"Ribo enjoys teaching his classes and that makes us enjoy his classes more. I think he is the *best* teacher of all." (Bloon Ricklong, Student)

And finally, "In looking back to my early days in school I can always say that I was fortunate to have had Mr. Ribo Jarom as my teacher during my

primary schooling. As a very frightened kid as I was then, Mr. Jarom was always warm and comforting. Being in Mr. Jarom's classes somehow gives one the feeling of being at home. The least I can say is that I will be always thankful to him. Now that I am no longer his student, as his administrator, I could still see those qualities which I was impressed with during my youth. Mr. Jarom did not have the opportunity for higher education as some of us have; however, with whatever he has, he has been demonstrating it most excellently and reinforcing it by his warmth and gentle personality." (Anthony N. Jetnil, Principal, Marshall Islands High School)

Given this knowledge that there are people like Ribo working daily with the youngsters in Micronesia, I think all concerned (students, teachers, administrators, and all other members of the island communities) can gain some revived enthusiasm for doing our utmost to foster relevant educational opportunities for the future of Micronesia — its young people.

*Jarom instructs his students the art of tilling the soil before planting. — photo by H. Selnick*



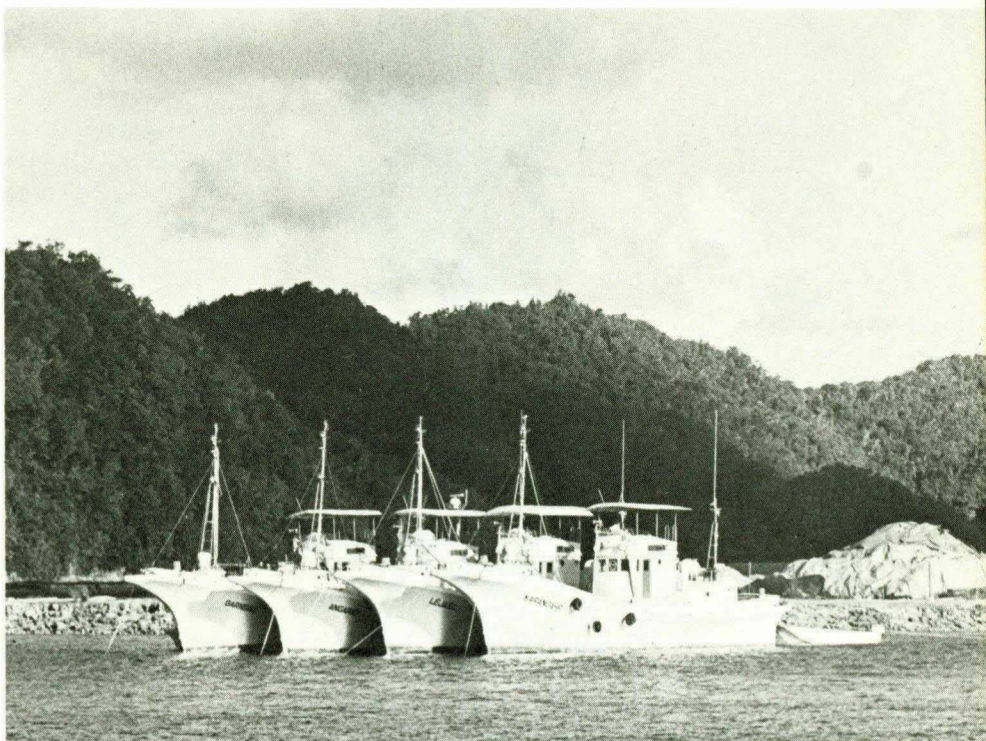


# TRUK TO BUILD LARGE TUNA COMPLEX

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*by Vincent W. McGurl*

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*A fleet of fishing vessels like these is needed for the successful operation of the future Dublon fishing industry. Photo on pages 34, 35 offer a glimpse into the future of the Truk Tuna Complex.*

Truk District plans to build a large tuna fishing complex on the lagoon island of Dublon, located 8 miles from Moen, the district center. According to Vincent McGurl, the District Planner, it will consist of a deep water fishing port, cold storage facilities and a cannery. The marine resources of the districts, still largely underdeveloped, are being emphasized as the major economic development that will ultimately lead to an export industry.

The complex will provide nearly 300 new jobs on the needed fishing vessels and in the facility. In addition, several hundred jobs will be created in the infrastructure and the business community.

Phase I, to begin in 1978, provides for a dock and facility site improvement. An excellent deep water site and a dock already are available on the south shore of Dublon, where the Japanese government facilities were heavily concentrated over 30 years ago. The existing dock is in fair condition and has a water depth of approximately 35 feet at the outer end. This depth can accommodate deep sea vessels which would be required to supply materials to the complex, to off-load tuna from large vessels and to export frozen or canned products. The shore end of the dock has sufficient public land to accommodate the processing facility.



Water storage tanks with connecting feeder lines have been constructed adjacent to the dock site.

Dock upgrading and site preparation are estimated to cost \$1.5 million and will be built as part of the Capital Improvement Projects under the jurisdiction of the Navy based in Guam. Final plans are now being prepared and construction is expected to begin soon.

Phase II or the cold storage facility is to be built in 1979 and includes the construction of a 50 ton per day freezing unit and a 500 ton cold storage unit, along with the necessary support machinery and equipment. Phase II, based on 1979-1980 projections, is estimated to cost \$2.6 million.

Lack of cold storage facilities in the past has limited the local demand for tuna and has discouraged local fishermen from increasing their efforts. The planned freezer and storage facility will provide a market for the surplus catch and stimulate interest in tuna fishing.

Various methods of fishing will be used in order to provide a good supply of tuna. The Truk area has excellent potential for the establishment of trolling operations. This type of fishing requires inexpensive craft that can be operated and maintained by local fishermen. The local trolling fleet will be encouraged to upgrade itself. Bait fishing vessels will also be used. Contracts may be required to encourage foreign vessels to base their operations in Truk because the local supply of bait for fishing boats is not sufficient.

Purse-seining in the Southwestern Pacific is becoming economically viable for the 200-400 ton fishing vessel and Truk is within easy reach of the fishing grounds. A base on Dublon will attract ships of this size. Because these vessels freeze their catch they would not need to utilize the Truk freezing facilities.

Instead, the frozen tuna will be unloaded directly for transshipment or stored temporarily at the Dublon facility.

Foreign based vessels of all types will be encouraged to use the tuna fisheries complex. Revenues will be generated via the sale of fuel, supplies and other services to the visiting craft. Whether or not these tuna fishing vessels will be required to purchase permits to fish for tuna within a 200 miles zone of Truk district depends upon the future status of the district and the Trust Territory with respect to the United States. Some developments have already taken place.

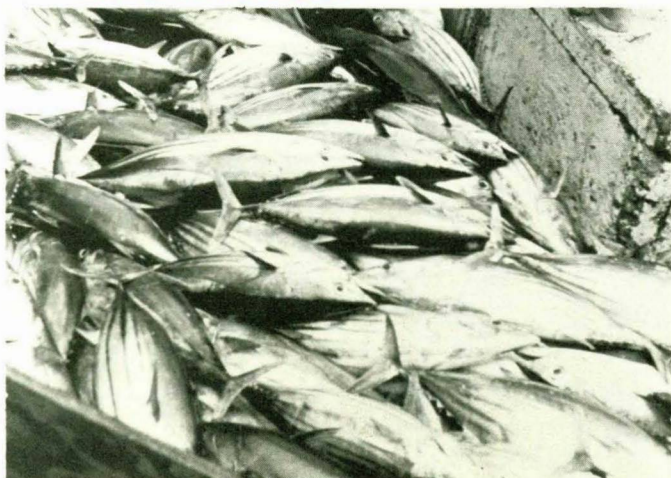
In October 1977, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory signed into law a bill establishing the 200 mile zone for fisheries management. Under the law each of the six districts may establish its own 200 mile zone and establish regulations governing fishing within it. The law, however, side-stepped the controversial issue of tuna fishing rights.

Phase III or the cannery facility is scheduled to be built in 1980-81 or as soon as the complex can supply the necessary tonnage of tuna. The facility will cost approximately \$3 million.

The cannery is designed to process 50 tons of tuna per day or about 10,000 tons per year. The canned product will be packed in either oil, broth or brine, put in cases and be palletized for storage.

A fish meal reduction unit capable of processing 25 tons every 24 hours will be installed. The tuna scrap from the cannery will be approximately 15 tons per day and will be used to produce fish meal, fish oil and solubles. Later the oil will be packaged in drums for export sales.

*A good catch like this one is mutually beneficial to the fishermen and the company.*



*Early at dawn, the fishing expedition starts, and the boat captain and crew eagerly scan the horizon for flocks of birds.*





The warehouse building will have storage space for 180,000 cases of tuna on pallet boards and will also house the fish meal reduction unit.

A freezing and storage facility along with a cannery will use a considerable amount of water but the Dublon supply seems adequate; the water system recently has been improved and the average daily amount now available is about 130,000 gallons. The water is obtained from springs and from rain run-off from the peaks of two nearby mountains, draining toward the village of Roto. Two reservoirs, one cement tank of one million gallons and another of three million gallons, comprise the storage capability. The larger tank is directly behind and within 1000 feet of the site of the fishing complex. With an average daily supply of 130,000 gallons and a storage capability of 4,000,000 gallons there should be sufficient water for some time to come.

Light and power on Dublon at present are available from two operable generators located near the high school. The Capital Improvement Projects include plans for extending an undersea cable from Moen, the district center. Moen has budgeted additional power units and when the undersea line is complete the two generating units will be used as a standby source of power for the tuna fisheries complex.

The island of Dublon was chosen as the site for the tuna complex for several reasons. Industrial development there will ease the population increase on Moen by providing jobs and encouraging families to re-locate to Dublon. Because Moen is the administrative and trade center its limited amount of land should be reserved, if possible, for non-industrial activities. Also, the water supply on Dublon is much better than it is on other islands, especially Moen.

The master plan for the complex is currently being prepared by Daniel, Mann, Johnson & Mendenhall, an internationally known architectural-engineering firm with offices in Asia, Europe and elsewhere. The local office in Guam will be responsible for the plan. The financing for the project is coming mainly from government sources but private capital is being sought also.

In early 1977 a feasibility study costing \$96,000 was completed by a marine research firm, Living Marine Resources, Inc. San Diego, California. The study indicated that the tuna resources of the Western Pacific, specifically skipjack, did not appear to be fully exploited at present and that tuna fishing by long line, bait boat and purse seine vessels was feasible. The study also included a detailed plan for developing the complex including the dock, the refrigerated facility and the cannery.

Commercial fishing for surface tuna in Micronesia waters was pioneered by the Japanese prior to World War II. In 1937 the skipjack caught at Saipan, Yap, Palau, Truk, Ponape and Jaluit reached 37,000 tons. Truk's share of the catch was 13,000 tons.

Prior to World War II the Truk district was the base for approximately 40 Japanese pole and line baitboats. Bait supplies in the Truk lagoon area were sufficient to support a substantial pole and line fleet. Shoreline facilities destroyed during the war years have never been replaced.

For the past 35 years the locally based tuna fleet has consisted of small outboard tuna trollers and one baitboat.

The major benefits of the tuna fisheries complex development will be an upgrading of social and economic conditions in the Truk district. In addition to providing nearly 300 jobs directly and several hundred others indirectly, the project will increase consumption of local fresh and canned tuna, provide a deep water port for the industrialization of Dublon, encourage settlement of Dublon, increase shipping and general business activity, provide a tax base for generating revenue and provide an opportunity for many to learn technical and business skills.

The draft of the Truk Five Year Indicative Plan for 1977-1982 emphasized the allocation of all resources for productive investment to agriculture, to marine resources, to tourism and to manufacturing. But the major effort is placed on the exploitation of skipjack tuna. Small scale fishing operations are to be encouraged with guided assistance from government agencies, but marine resources development for export is to have top priority. According to Vincent McGurl, District Planner, it is a sound means for implementing Truk's development on a major scale.

*Fishing for tuna with poles can also be an exciting experience.*





# INCANTATION CONCERNING DEMONS

*by Doctor William M. Peck*

I heard this chant in 1968 on the MV James Cook while it was entering the Bikini Lagoon so that its ship-load of engineers and technicians and their Geiger counters could determine the feasibility and safety of resettling this bombed-out atoll . . . and nine former Bikini Islanders, far forward in the prow of the ship, seeing their atoll for the first time in 22 years and performing this purification rite by invoking the spirits of light to overcome the spirits of darkness, and calling a formerly friendly, but greedy shark to eat the demons. Wild and savage and primordial, it rose into a great crescendo that ended in a shout that I thought, since I was close to being hypnotized at the moment, shattered the closest clouds.

Dr. John Iaman, of Majuro, recovered the chant for me and rendered it from ancient Marshallese to contemporary Marshallese to literal English. I took it from there and have tried to show why it nearly hypnotized me.

I will start where?	I will start in the ocean
God of demons	O god of demons
Look around look around	eat those demons on that island
	on that reef in that tree
God of demons	O god of demons
Look around look around	eat those demons circling the sky
God of demons	O god of demons
Look around look around	eat those demons in the ocean
	before they destroy us

Sandpiper of the pandanus leaf  
 Sandpiper of the dry palm leaf  
 Sandpiper one and two  
 Fly from distant ocean roadways  
 Fly fly hastily fly  
 And diminish the influence  
 Of these demons  
 O little creatures who can't sing  
 Sons of She-who-sings  
 Chirp warnings  
 Chirp effective incantations  
 And make benign magic that will save us

Sandpiper of the pandanus leaf  
 Sandpiper of the dry palm leaf  
 Sandpiper one and two  
 Chirp warnings  
 Chirp incantations

Make magic  
 O incessantly  
 Make magic  
 Don't sleep  
 Shark eat them  
 Quickly, shark, quickly  
 Shark eat those terrible demons  
 Those demons in the ocean  
 For they are delicious  
 Shark is chasing them now  
 The demons in the ocean

How sweetly they groan	like caught boxfish
The demons in the ocean	
They die slowly	screaming and repenting
On rocks in the ocean	
We are pleased	We are saved
From demons in the ocean	





# RAIRECHARMORACHERCHAR

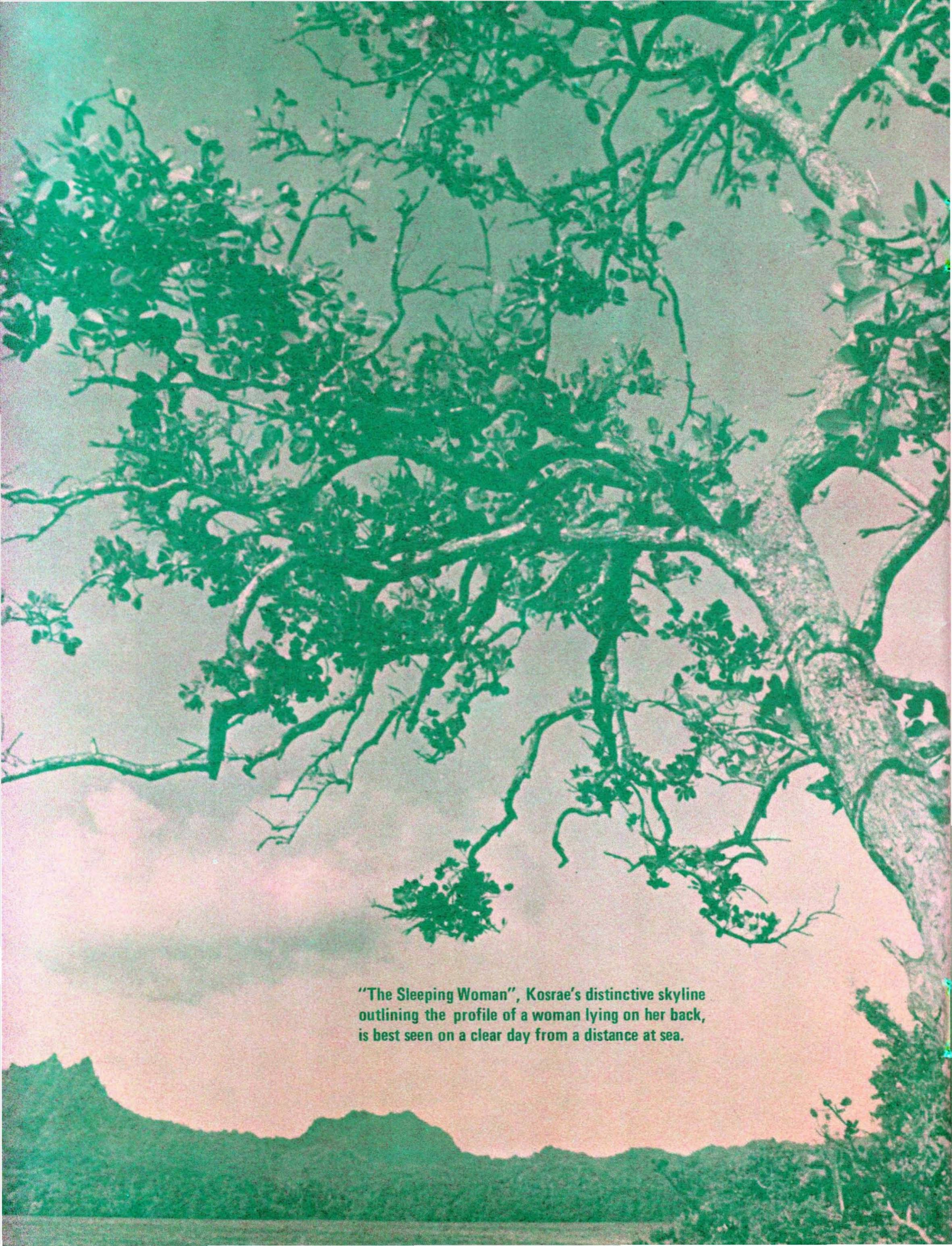
*by Val Sengebau*

*I'm going to relate this epic legend  
About the original tribes  
Of courageous men, women, & children  
Who in the darkness of time  
Dared to dream lofty dreams  
Of adventures and discoveries  
And so following the current  
of the mighty seas  
And direction of the trade wind  
Of the sky  
And guided by the moon, sunsets & fixed stars  
Set sail from their distant land  
Braving gales and thunder storms  
Amidst the towering & malevolent swells  
And mercilessly tossed about in the foam  
Suffering the scourge of heavenly torches  
And the chilling & freezing night winds  
Accompanied by the mounting pangs  
Of hunger and thirst  
Survived the herculean ordeal  
Safely arrived on these thousand isles  
In the golden sun where no man abided.  
They were decreed to inherit these lands  
Not by hostile act of force and violence  
But by the guiding lights  
Of good fortune, skill and endurance  
And the blessing of their god and ancestors.  
They became the first Man  
To inhabit these lands of a thousand isles.  
They tamed and tilled the soils.  
Built dwelling houses, canoe huts & Bai's  
Enacted laws for peace and harmony  
And shared the bounties of the land & sea.  
A new society was born  
And the inhabitants called it  
"BELUMAM", Our homeland.  
And so thru the eons of time  
While peace and comfort prospered,  
Commuting and migration ceased.  
However, an occasional expedition was made  
and some drifters from afar rescued.  
When the isolation became acute*

*Variance among the brethren  
Dwelling in the sun emerged  
And thus evolved the differences  
In cultures, customs & languages  
With time blunting and eroding  
The oneness in the beginning of time.  
Then the epoch of intruders came.  
On their monstrous & gigantic canoes  
With many huge sails, they appeared  
Where the sun went to sleep  
At the end of the western sky.*

*They plundered and raped  
The inhabitants, land and sea  
And further claimed the thousand isles  
In the name of their god and kings.  
There were inquisitors to save the heathens  
And Kaiser's boys lusting for minerals & copra  
And children of the rising sun to colonize  
And stars and stripes for the international peace.  
They all left deep & permanent scars  
And each scar was deeper than the last  
Until the entire populace  
Of the thousand isles in the sun  
Became the nation of sheep  
Without the shepherds of old.  
Then a pack of wolves descends  
Among the herd & devours a good meal.  
Slowly and silently the prey & predator  
Become one through digestion.  
There was no other sound  
Except the lapping & swishing  
Of the waves hugging the shore  
And the rising of the new moon tide  
Bringing broken zories, plastic bags  
And aluminum coke and beer cans  
To the immaculate beach.  
There are also a few tracks on the sand  
And scattered skeletal remains  
Bleached in the golden sun  
Awaiting resurrection or reincarnation  
Of new genesis to build a new nation.*





"The Sleeping Woman", Kosrae's distinctive skyline outlining the profile of a woman lying on her back, is best seen on a clear day from a distance at sea.