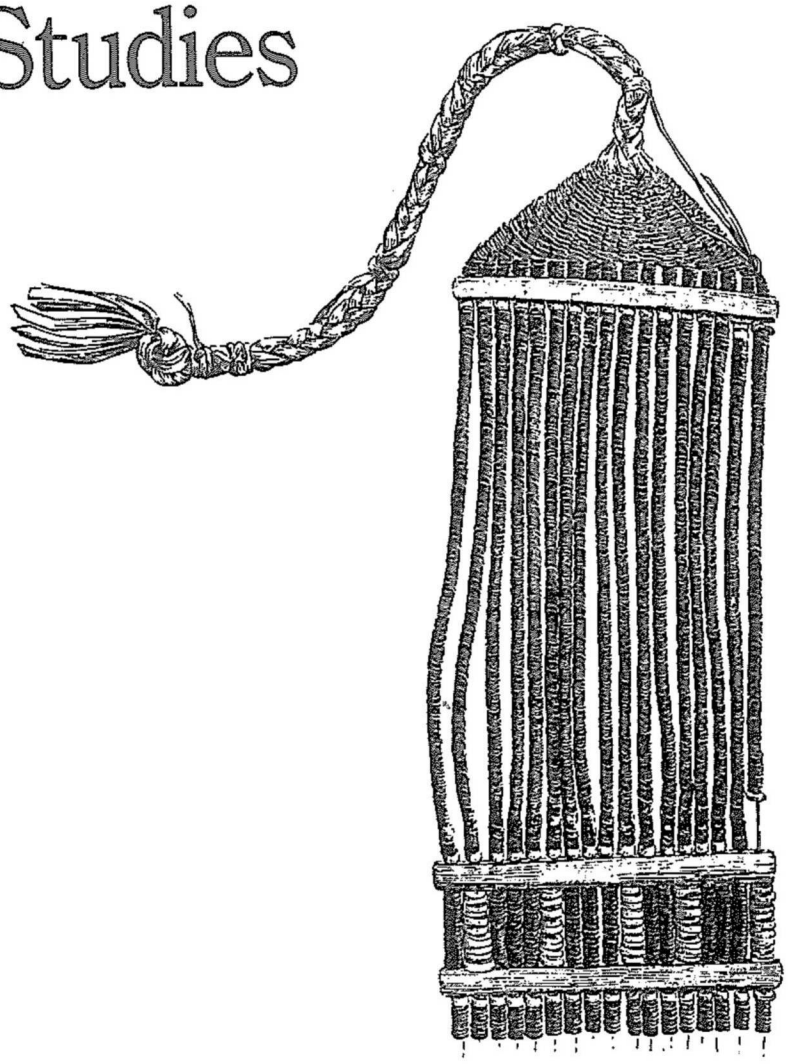
ISLA

A Journal of Micronesian Studies

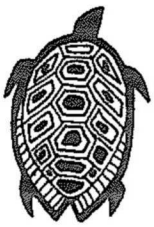


Volume 1, Number 1 / Rainy Season 1992

Published twice a year, (Rainy Season and Dry Season), ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies is a publication of the University of Guam Press, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923

ISLA

A Journal of Micronesian Studies



Volume 1, Number 1 / Rainy Season 1992

University of Guam Press

Cover: Detail of an end section of a belt (*pëk*) worn by men of Truk. According to the makers' preferences (and perhaps availability of materials), the belts incorporated red mussel shells, mother-of-pearl, tortoise shell, wood, and fiber or bark from coconut fronds, banana plants, and red mangrove (Fig. 76a, p. 108, A. Krämer, 1932. Truk. In G. Thilenius, Ed., *Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908–1910.* II B.5. Hamburg: Freiderichsen, De Gruyter.)

Logo Design: Maria Yatar
In various parts of Micronesia, sea turtles have long been an integral part of Islanders' ways of life. Turtles have a place in many local legends and may serve as clan totems. They are on some islands recognized as the property of chiefs and on others as the property of all. The carapace has been shaped into fishhooks, combs, and bracelets and other artifacts closely identified with social status. The antiquity of their symbolic and practical values to Micronesian peoples stems from human observation: Sea turtles were seen to "come and go with a regularity that engenders a faith in their perpetual return" (p. 220, M. McCoy, 1974. Man and turtle in the Central Carolines. *Micronesica, 10,* 207–221.)

Journal Design: Kathi Slater Minden

Cartography: Harley I. Manner
University of Guam

ISSN: 1054-9390

Contents

Introduction

DONALD H. RUBINSTEIN
Micronesian Area Research Center
University of Guam

The papers comprising most of the Articles section of this inaugural issue (with the exception of the papers by Haglelgam and Bauer et al.) originated as presentations at the 8th Pacific History Association (PHA) conference, "Micronesia: Intellectual Images and Historical Discourses," held on Guam in December 1990. The lead piece by the Honorable John R. Haglelgam was presented on Guam in April 1991 and inaugurated the Distinguished Annual Lecture in Micronesian Studies, sponsored by the Micronesian Area Research Center of the University of Guam. President Haglelgam had been invited to be one of several keynote speakers at the PHA Conference, but he was unable to attend. It is appropriate that his published presentation now joins others given at the Conference.

Nearly half of the 65 presentations given at the conference dealt with Micronesia. As Convener of the PHA Conference, I had the gratifying responsibility of working with the session organizers to pursue as wide a representation as possible from among the diverse disciplines, individuals, and organizations concerned with Pacific history. As Guest Editor of this issue, however, I have had the more onerous assignment of choosing—with the help of this journal's editorial board—the four or five papers best suited for publication from among those focused on Micronesia. Although our selection was not without difficulty, the papers appearing here all convey the

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 1–3

intellectual experience and exhilaration of the conference: a sense of the new challenges and continuing enchantment of Pacific history.

The challenges raised by new scholarship and new voices in Pacific history were pervasive among the PHA conference presentations, as they are among these papers. Several broad themes link these papers together and connect them to a field of contemporary intellectual discourse that is changing conventional historiography in the Pacific. Prominent among these themes is the problem of oral as opposed to written history. In this volume Hanlon explores the historiographic and political issues that mark the path from Pohnpeian oral history to a written and published account—*The Book of Luelen.* In doing so he reminds us that Pohnpeian knowledge of the past is personalized, localized, and continually contested among multiple versions.

This variety in vernacular history bears upon another theme running through this volume, the problem of insider versus outsider roles in reconstructing history, a question that Nero focuses upon in her paper about a Palauan historical hoax played on British colonial visitors. The potential for multiple histories and multiple interpretations inherent in this problem is bounded not simply by the insider-outsider dichotomy, but permits an expanding and multilayered series of local versions. Different versions—like performances, as Nero points out—cast events in a particular light, depending upon both who the audience is and what is the intent of the actors.

Diaz in his paper deals with an allied theme: the paradoxical and often troubled interplay of indigenous and exogenous ideas and practices. As part of a historical inquiry into contemporary church efforts to canonize the Jesuit priest Luis Diego de San Vitores, martyred on Guam in 1672, Diaz comments on two recent events on Guam: the suicide of a former governor and the passage of a restrictive anti-abortion act. His focus is on the "local sites" by which the politics of history and cultural identity are fashioned in ways that resolve some of the paradoxes of indigenous and exogenous categories.

Implicit in the insider-outsider dichotomy are two questions raised by Poyer: "Whose history?" and "History for what?" In seeking answers in the course of a large-scale historic preservation project, Poyer found that the underlying premises about the meaning of history itself differ between the indigenous Marshallese and outsiders. Poyer is part of a growing league of anthropologists who have recently begun studying Pacific Islanders' histories of World War II. That cultural anthropologists have successfully invaded this territory of historical research is a fact that has not been lost on Pacific historians (Laracy, 1991). Indeed, the papers in this issue challenge reigning academic assumptions through the ways in which these papers—and many

of the other PHA conference presentations—effectively assail disciplinary boundaries.

Although presented under the aegis of a history conference, all of these papers deal also with issues of power, politics, and cultural identity—in particular with cultural notions of what is sacred, inviolate, and therefore to be protected. In this way the different perspectives brought here to the question of history reflect a cultural schema oriented more to the Pacific than to the West where history is based on rigid separations of history and politics and religion. As Marshall Sahlins pointed out, in a radio interview with Michael Davis for the Australian Broadcasting Company during the PHA conference, Pacific Islanders' histories are enchanted—religious at the same time they are political. The enchantment—in its multiple senses—is manifest in the papers included in this inaugural issue.

Reference

Laracy, H. (1991). [Review of The Pacific theatre: Island representations of World War II, 1989, G. White and L. Lindstrom, (Eds.). Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 8. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press]. *The Contemporary Pacific, 3,* 465–467.

Problems of National Unity and Economic Development in the Federated States of Micronesia

THE HONORABLE JOHN R. HAGLELGAM

It is a great honor to be asked to inaugurate this annual distinguished lecture in Micronesian Studies sponsored by the Micronesian Area Research Center here at the University of Guam. The University of Guam is, in a larger sense, the University of Micronesia, and the Micronesian Area Research Center is a great contribution to an understanding of our region and its potential.

In this respect the Research Center takes its place with the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii and with the programs of the University of the South Pacific in making a positive contribution to the whole Pacific Island region. An understanding of the Pacific Islands and their unique attributes can make an important contribution toward securing a bright and stable social, political, and economic future for the Pacific Island countries.

The Director of the Center has asked me to come and speak to you tonight concerning the heartland of Micronesia, the four states embracing the Caroline Islands chain, known as Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae, that have joined together politically to form the Federated States of Micronesia. It is an area about which I have some knowledge, for I was born and raised in Yap State and began my political career in the Congress of Micronesia about 17 years ago. In fact, during the last 4 years I have had the honor to serve as the second President of the Federated States of Micronesia. Per-

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 5–12

haps this is why I have been asked to come and speak to you tonight on the topic of "Problems of National Unity and Economic Development in the Federated States of Micronesia."

The first thing that should be said about national unity in the FSM is that the real national unity is not the result simply of politics or of government structure. These are important, of course, maybe indispensable, but real national unity goes far beyond that and cannot be simply the result of some clever legal or policy invention.

All of us are aware of the cultural links among all the islands of Micronesia. The very existence of this Micronesian Area Research Center is a testament to it. The islands of Micronesia have a common and ancient heritage, born from the spirit of exploration, from the skills of the navigator and the builders of the outrigger canoes. Despite the differences in language and specific traditional practices from island to island, we have long been aware of each other, occupy similar circumstances, and have been subjected to similar influences, both natural and political.

For these reasons, and others, there were many who envisioned a Micronesian country founded upon the entirety of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This greater Micronesian Federation would have embraced the Marshalls, the Caroline Islands chain, and the Northern Mariana Islands. That it never developed is an interesting commentary on the topic that I have chosen to discuss tonight.

There were both cultural and political reasons that the Federated States of Micronesia did not finally embrace all of the Trust Territory. As just noted, despite the differences within the general groupings in Micronesia, the very fact that one can identify regions by referring to specific ethnic groups is a commentary on the difficulties that would be faced in embracing in one country the vast, diverse, and widely dispersed islands and cultures of Micronesia. Yet the four states in the Caroline Islands chain, possibly the most diverse collection of cultures in the entire region, did form a nation: the Federated States of Micronesia.

I think this is where politics and governmental structure come in, and where economics and economic development also begin to play an important role. Each region of Micronesia had a different experience and a different perception of its relationship with the administering authority of the Trust Territory. The military history and role of the United States in the Marshall Islands, for example, was perhaps influential in the Marshalls' decision not to join the Federated States of Micronesia.

Of course, there are also cultural, geographic, and practical reasons for the political choices that were made. The Marianas and the Marshalls, for example, had both cultural and geographic elements that distinguished them as separate "states" if you will, while the more dispersed, and more diverse states of Pohnpei, Yap, Chuuk, and Kosrae needed greater resources, both human and economic, than were immediately available. Each state realized the difficulty of trying to go it alone in the rapidly changing and highly interdependent world today. And so for these four states a Federation was formed and it has worked.

The Federation is now 12 years old and it was founded on the three principles of unity, liberty, and peace, as attested to in the great seal. The political unity in the Federated States of Micronesia is a commitment to a concept of unity in diversity. Although the FSM seal does not use Latin, as does the seal of the United States, the same concept was embodied in Latin in the phrase "E Pluribus Unum" in the great seal of the United States.

This comparison brings up another question that one hears from many quarters when considering national unity in the Federated States of Micronesia, and that is the question of the influence of the United States. Was the Federation "forced" on the FSM? Was "Free Association" truly "Free?" These questions arise again and again, and mostly from outsiders, when the commentators begin speculating on the future of the Federated States of Micronesia.

The short answers, of course, are "No" and "Yes." The Federation was not forced upon us and Free Association was truly free. This is not to say that there have not been and will not always be differences with the United States, but it is to say that our form of government is adapted to our own circumstances, adopting the best elements from the American model and mixing a little of the Westminster system in with island traditions and customs for good measure.

The Government of the FSM is an invention designed to foster a sense of political unity among the states of the FSM. It is not simply a product of American cultural imperialism or political domination. Indeed, it is important to remember, and particularly appropriate to note here in the American Territory of Guam, that the men who penned the phrase "E Pluribus Unum" and crafted the American federation were not the products of a dominant world power, but rather were the geniuses of small, intimate, and widely dispersed colonies planted in a remote land by sailing vessels.

In this sense, then, and only in this sense, the concept of the Micronesian federation is an American transplant. Yet the concept is not fully an American

transplant even in this sense. The idea of federation actually springs from as long ago as the ancient Greek writers. It was these ancient writers, as well as the theorists of the European Enlightenment, who are really responsible for influencing the politics of the early American statesmen.

So it was in the same way that the early statesmen of Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae were influenced to choose federation, loose federation, almost *confederation* in some respects, as the vehicle for their common intercourse with the new interdependent world.

Each state in this federation retains most of its sovereign prerogatives, with the powers of the national government strictly limited—much more so than in the Federal Government of the United States. And therein lies the opportunity for national unity and economic development as well as the pitfalls for economic development in the Federated States of Micronesia.

The idea of federation, used in one way or another in countries as diverse as Australia, Canada, and the Soviet Union, and serving as a model for the European Community and even organizations like the United Nations, is ideally suited to the unique characteristics and attributes of the Micronesian islands. Moreover, the widely dispersed and diverse characters of the states in the FSM have led to a peculiarly Micronesian form of federation.

In the FSM the states retain control of land law, and even of the territorial sea within 12 miles. The states retain a great deal of control over labor and work requirements. A deference to cultural tradition in the FSM Constitution also guarantees that the states and the traditional leaders within each state will continue to play a primary and unique role in the daily lives of the majority of average Micronesians. This is a strength of our federation, one that makes each state comfortable with its sister states. In this way a federation is made possible for discourse with the world, and a political unity in diversity is created to facilitate economic development and mutual aid and assistance in attaining the universal aspirations of the people.

International life has become so complex in the world today that it becomes very difficult for a small island state to find the necessary resources, not just natural but also human, to staff the necessary instruments of interaction with that world. Moreover, life among the islands is so integrated and related that forming four mini-countries in the Caroline Islands chain would be as much of an impediment to development and the needs of the people as federation would prove helpful. So these are the ties that bind us together in the FSM and these ties are historical, cultural, economic, and political.

Yet the Federated States of Micronesia has its difficulties, and these are mostly in the realm of economic development. Economic development is the area where the complexities of the modern world are most keenly felt. A great degree of sophistication is needed to relate to the financial, legal, technical, political, and other complexities that are so much a part of international trade and investment today.

While the Federation promotes the ability of the islands to field sophisticated agencies to deal with these complexities, the allocation of governmental power among the branches of the national government, and between the national government and the state governments in a federation, often frustrates one of the most crucial attributes of a successful sophisticated organization, that of efficiency and swift, decisive action. Since the structure is federal, the two political branches, as well as the state and the national governments, must work together to achieve the proper conditions for healthy economic growth.

The Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia, along with the several states, needs to enact legislation to create a more conducive climate for investment. There are too many barriers, too much red tape, in the laws and regulations currently in place. While we want to preserve the best and most genuine elements of our culture, customs, and traditions, we do not want the world to pass us by. We do not want to fail to be participants in our new, fast-moving, interdependent world.

If we do fail to participate, and even to compete, we may find that the rich potentials of our people and our islands lie dormant, and that the complexity of the twenty-first century world will impoverish us. Like it or not, the global village is here. We cannot withdraw from and ignore the rest of the world, even if we should want to. And we do not want to. We want to assure the best possible life and future for our children.

A good illustration of the problem that our previously isolated island communities now face is provided by Alvin Toffler, the writer who authored the best-selling book, *Future Shock.* He has now authored a new book entitled *Powershift,* in which he suggests that developing areas of the world that cannot match the pace of modern technology and organization will literally be passed by in the quest for meaningful and sustainable economic development for their people. Speed, as well as complexity and efficiency, will become a fundamental requirement of sophisticated modern organizations.

This is a cause for great concern, and one that will remain a great challenge for the necessarily decentralized and highly localized or state-

centered Federated States of Micronesia. Also, I am sure everyone in this audience is familiar with the term "island time." As a graduate of the University of Hawaii, I can testify that they have the same term and the same problems there, as well as some of the same pleasantness that the term implies!

Nevertheless, the pace of the world should not be a cause for despair. We need not lose the more relaxed pace or the more gentle life. But we must develop better working habits and greatly strengthen our educational and technical programs. And there are many encouraging signs in the fifth year of the FSM's independence.

A good example is the FSM telecommunication corporation. It is within 2 years of wiring virtually every major island in the FSM. Sophisticated packet switching and data lines will be included and rates, which were just reduced by 20 percent, will continue to fall as the FSM is able to join the international telecommunication satellite organization. Neighbors will be connected to neighbors and businesses will be connected to the world. This alone will be a great step forward for our business climate.

Another bright spot for the FSM is fisheries. Significant public and private partnerships have been chartered in the FSM to exploit this vital resource. Our maritime authority and maritime surveillance programs have produced great benefits in the profitable management of our exclusive economic zones, one of the largest and richest in the Pacific. The FSM is an active participant in regional and international management regimes for the fisheries resource.

Another area that is growing, but that needs much more emphasis, is the area of agriculture. For example, the state of Kosrae is widely known for its excellent citrus, but there are virtually no exports. Pohnpei has started a pepper industry, as well as livestock development. Copra remains an area of interest.

However, beyond export agriculture lies domestic agriculture—vegetables, fruits, and meats for local consumption. This would decrease our need for imports. We very much need to work on the balance of our imports and exports. Not even large and rich countries like the United States are entirely self-sufficient or economically independent. Even the United States has a balance of payments problem. So we should not expect to achieve total economic independence in the FSM. Rather, we are seeking a better balance between what is brought in from outside and what we produce locally.

Before the first colonial contact, and to a great extent even up to the present day, our islands have been largely self-sufficient in terms of being

able to feed and clothe and house their populations—hence the absence of some of the terrible scourges of famine and abject poverty that have wracked other developing areas of the world. We do not want this to change by the impoverishment of becoming only a consuming, but not a producing, country.

Also important to remember is that not every aspect of economic development is good in the long run. In our rush to develop, we do not want to adopt inappropriate technologies, economic approaches that truly would be "imposed" in a sense, and that would deny the wisdom of our history or destroy the uniqueness of our fragile island environments and cultures.

This is our great challenge, in the FSM and in Micronesia and the Pacific at large, to be able to adapt to the modern world and to be able to achieve a better life for our people while still preserving those attributes of our island heritage that make us who we are and promise us true unity and common purpose for the future—not a unity based upon a clever legal or political invention, but a unity that is organic and indivisible in nature.

Not only do we want our people to have a measure of prosperity, but also we want our people to be happy in their prosperity, a condition that prosperity in other parts of the world has not always produced. What we seek in the FSM is a balance, a balance between the states and the national government and a balance between economic development and a healthy culture and environment.

This brings me back, of course, to where I started. Even after 4 years as President of the Federated States of Micronesia, I have no magic answers, no grand solutions. We are still learning in the FSM. We need more collaboration, better coordination, and better understanding of the role of the national government, and probably an increased role for the national government in promoting investment and economic development. We need to diversify our options among the islands. If the national government cannot promote this, then it will have failed one of its major purposes.

For example, each of our states has expressed, to one degree or another, an interest in a tuna cannery, a brewery, a furniture factory, a textile plant, a copra project, and so forth. Yet some of the best consultants available to us indicate that the four states are capable of supporting only one cannery among them, one brewery, and one furniture factory. There is competition and duplication of effort among the states that the national government is still not equipped to handle. The challenges facing our political and business leaders in the months and years ahead are truly profound.

Yet the prospects are good. At this very moment the FSM is exploring the prospect of joining the United Nations and several of its regional and

specialized agencies. Such initiatives, as well as the studies and education being conducted at research centers, give us great hopes for the future and a feeling that our national unity will mature and flourish in a proper balance.

Your distinguished Director, Dr. Rubinstein, asked that I conclude by looking forward to the end of our Compact of Free Association with the United States in the year 2001. He asked that I speculate on how I see the Federated States of Micronesia in the first year of the twenty-first century.

First, of course, the Compact of Free Association is a bond of friendship with the United States, one by which the former trustee assists a new country born of the old Trust Territory to achieve its independence, maturity, and sovereignty. As such, the compact has provisions for extension, renewal, or renegotiation. There are also provisions for termination. It is impossible to foresee the future in this respect.

Whatever is the ultimate choice of the FSM regarding its relationship with the former trustee, I still see the FSM moving forward under the Compact as we approach the end of its original terms at the end of the century. I see the FSM developing as a strong, viable, independent country. I see it as a nation citizens can look at and be proud of—proud to say "This is my country."

In this regard, I see the Federates States of Micronesia becoming the center for international diplomatic activities in the Micronesian region, just as Guam is now the center for economic activities in the region. Just as Suva, Noumea, and Honiara have become diplomatic centers in the South Pacific, Pohnpei, the capital of the FSM, is becoming a diplomatic center in the northwest Pacific. We already have four embassies headed by resident ambassadors in Pohnpei, and just this year we will host, among other regional and international conferences, the Twenty-second South Pacific Forum meeting. It will be the first meeting of the Forum in our part of the Pacific.

And so I clearly have high hopes for the Federated States of Micronesia. Maybe I am biased, but I am a citizen. I believe the FSM will play a major role in the Micronesian region.

At this time I would like to thank the Micronesian Area Research Center for the opportunity to speak to you tonight, and I hope that each of us will make our own unique contribution to making our region a pleasant and progressive part of the world in the decades ahead.

Thank you very much.

The Path Back to Pohnsakar: Luelen Bernart, His Book, and the Practice of History on Pohnpei

DAVID HANLON
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

The search for and promotion of indigenous histories by local writers persist within the field of Pacific Studies. The celebration that surrounds the publication of texts can obscure a more critical assessment of their standing as sources for the study of Pacific pasts. A case in point is *The Book of Luelen,* a work drawn from oral sources, written over a 12-year period from 1934 to 1946, and later translated, edited, annotated, and published by three American scholars. The myriad of issues involved in this transformation holds serious implications for what is known or thought to be known about the island's past. Upon its English publication in 1977, Luelen Bernart's book was heralded as the most comprehensive of all locally produced island histories. It continues today for many as an example of "authentic" island history. A closer scrutiny of the man, his book, and the times in which it was first written and later produced suggests that *The Book of Luelen* is not a history of the island of Pohnpei. In an effort to offer a more accurate rendering of what *The Book of Luelen* really is, this paper addresses the practice of history on Pohnpei, its politics, and its possible relevance to other inquiries into other Pacific pasts.

BEGINNINGS AT A GRAVE SITE

This essay focuses on the published English-language translation of a book written by the Pohnpeian elder, Luelen Bernart. I want to

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 13–35

begin with a visit to a small knoll in the Rehntu section of the chiefdom of Kiti, one of the southernmost areas of the turtle shell-shaped island called Pohnpei. This knoll, named Pohnsakar, overlooks the island's recently completed circumferential road; at its center stands a large mango tree. Under this tree rest five well tended graves; they are the graves of Luelen Bernart, his wife, their son, their son's wife, and a grandchild. Each grave is bordered by large rocks that enclose, in rectangular form, a raised mound of dirt. Luelen's final resting place is distinguished by a second inner rectangle formed by bottles buried upside down and shadowing the grave's external border of rocks. The large mango tree is situated some 3 to 4½ meters behind the graves. Five large, separate, and surface-breaking taproots reach out from the tree to the head of each of the five graves where they then disappear into the ground. There is, I think, something quite poetic and instructive, not macabre, in the way that large mango tree seems to have sustained and nourished itself on the remains of Luelen Bernart and his family, something that bears on Luelen's written history, on its relevance to the study of Pohnpei's past, and on changes in the practice of history on Pohnpei.

There is an intellectual journey of sorts to be made first, though. The path back to the knoll at Pohnsakar leads through a brief consideration of Luelen Bernart's life and times, the nature of his writing, and the writings of James Davidson, Harry Maude, Jack Goody, and Walter Ong among others. The path back to Pohnsakar also winds through Suriname, and Luzon, and a series of somewhat unsettling questions concerning the reasons for Luelen's writing, his intended audience, the appropriation and use of his work by outside researchers, and the reaction of the Western academic world to the publication of the English-language version of his writing, a publication known as *The Book of Luelen* (1977).

As did David Malo, John Papa I'i, Samuel Kamakau, and Ta'unga o te Tini, Luelen Bernart had his editorial mediators. John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg, and Marjorie G. Whiting secured, translated, and edited Luelen's manuscript, after which the University of Hawai'i Press and the Australian National University Press jointly published it in 1977. The three coeditors also created a volume of annotations (1977) to *The Book of Luelen* for

> those seeking information on the many allusions to Ponapean customs or mythology, the names of people, places, flora, fauna, and objects, alternative textual renderings in other manuscripts, doubtful transla-

> tions, problems of phonemics or etymology, and other points of linguistic and literary exegesis. (Bernart, 1977, p. xiii)

There is much in this quote that begs for critical comment, not the least of which is the issue of translation, though I should state that I regard the translation of Luelen's words into English by his academic mediators to be a very creditable effort indeed. The focus of my efforts here, however, will be some of the larger political and historiographical considerations surrounding *The Book of Luelen.*

THE CONTEXTS OF PUBLICATION AND REVIEW

At first glance the book appears, in its published English-language edition, to mimic the Judeo-Christian notion of time as linear and progressive. In his introduction Luelen explicitly avows his belief in an ever-increasing reign of enlightenment, or general improvement, a condition accelerated by Pohnpei's contact with the larger Euro-American world and its religious and material forms. Like the Bible, *The Book of Luelen* is organized into chapters and verse. Further, it begins with the creation and first settlement of the island and proceeds, in a rather rough, sometimes erratic sequential manner, through the arrival of different clans; the establishment of early, localized polities; the building, rise to power, and later decline of Nan Madol; the inauguration of more locally informed political orders; the coming of Europeans and Americans; the introduction of Christianity; and the establishment of colonial rule, first under Spain and then under Germany. Much of the colonial past is recounted in the context of the career of Henry Nanpei, Luelen's brother-in-law and one of the most prominent Pohnpeians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Amidst all this are scattered lists of trees, plants, titles, and old political boundaries as well as chants, dance songs, prayers, and magical incantations. There is even a chapter toward the end of the book that enumerates the titles of Jesus Christ and describes the fates of his apostles.

Luelen wrote on loose-leaf pieces of paper and in various scholastic notebooks between the years 1934 and 1946 at his residence in Rehntu.[1] In the last years of his life, Luelen, too weak and frail to write himself, dictated the final chapters to his daughter Sahrihna who, after her father's death, gathered all of his writings together and copied them down into a single, bound version that came to be translated and published as *The Book*

of Luelen. Several partial copies of this collected, handwritten edition were made for other members of Luelen's extended family.

The convergence of mutually reinforcing political and academic trends in the larger postwar world promoted the publication of this book and shaped the response to it. In an inaugural essay heralding the establishment of Pacific history as a formal, institutionally recognized discipline of academic inquiry, James Davidson (1966) wrote of the ending of the European Age and of an emerging order in which the peoples of all colonized countries would reassert their claims to their pasts as well as to their presents and their futures. Davidson saw the role of the Pacific historian as identifying the multicultural, historical currents involved in the interaction between Europeans and Islanders that had contributed significantly to the shaping of the contemporary Pacific. Harry Maude, writing several years later, envisioned an even more decolonized history in which the primal focus fell on indigenous sources for the study of locally informed, determined change: It was to be a history from "the other side" (1971, p. 21), a history drawn from accessible indigenous material, be it written or oral.

A pronounced enthusiasm for intellectual as well as political decolonization in the Pacific Islands characterized, then, the period in which *The Book of Luelen* was published. The editors of the Pacific History Series under which the book was published proclaimed it to be a "classic piece of Oceanic literature" (Bernart, 1977, p. xiii), a work of decolonized history eminently compatible with and reflective of the larger political process taking place among the Pacific Islands in the 1960s and 1970s. Harry Maude (Bernart, 1977), who wrote the introduction to the English-language version, called it by far the most comprehensive of island histories drawn from oral traditions. Maude characterized Luelen's writing as a history that revealed what an Islander rather than a European deemed to be of historical significance. Emphasizing a sequential rather than a chronological ordering of past events, the book, wrote Maude, avoided the bias of Eurocentric sources and located the ultimately informing events and influences of the Pohnpeian past solidly on the island. The publication of *The Book of Luelen,* then, provided visible testament to a decolonizing process that touched the representations of the past as well as of the present.

Reviewers of the book were no less effusive than Maude in their praise of what they read and interpreted as an "authentic" island history. Martha Ward (1979), in *American Anthropologist,* called the book an absolutely delightful, vibrant, native history comparable to the famous mythic histories from the early literate period of the European past. She hoped the book

would be avidly read and imitated by other Micronesians and Pacific Islanders; in addition, she even expected that Pohnpeians themselves would hold weekly kava-pounding sessions with their copies of the book at hand for ready reference in their far-reaching conversations about the Pohnpeian past. Paul Ehrlich, writing for *The Journal of Pacific History,* stressed the totality of the book's view by terming it "a history of the island" (1979b, p. 118); he wrote of *The Book of Luelen* as offering a rare opportunity to trace Pohnpei's past from settlement through the German colonial period of the early twentieth century.

The replacement of colonial powers with local island governments, and the attempted decolonization of the Pacific past by liberal minded, empirically oriented, technically rigorous, and professionally credentialed European and American historians both facilitated and trumpeted the publication of Luelen Bernart's writing. But there were both disturbance and transformation in this liberal process. The enthusiasm for an indigenous account of a Pacific Island past also made *The Book of Luelen* something other than what it is and gave the book an audience and a purpose other than that for which it was intended. I shall argue that a reading of *The Book of Luelen* as an example of decolonized history needs itself to be decolonized a little further. A more critical, contextually informed reading of the manuscript shows *The Book of Luelen* to be not a history of the island, but rather a compilation of relevant and related accounts that reveals something of the ways in which the Pohnpeian past can be understood and the changes that have taken place in that process of understanding.

ANOTHER BEGINNING

The Book of Luelen is a very different kind of history. Let me initiate a reconsideration of *The Book of Luelen* with the author's own introduction:

> I am Luelen Bernart. I began this book in the year 1934, Feb. 24.
>
> 1. I have made this book to serve as a reminder of the beginnings of all the great accounts of olden times; not many accounts, but only certain ones, and they are not so very correct, for there is no person whose accounts are in good sequence, and their accounts of origins are poorly expressed: but this is a reminder of olden times.
>
> 2. Now these matters do not lie well because the way they set down their accounts does not fit together well; moreover, there are no names which they recorded in these accounts.

> 3. However, I want us to try to set things straight and piece them together a little at this time: let those who know hear and correct this later. So this book is for reminding us about certain kinds of things that they did in the past, and about certain names that they gave to certain lands, some of the trees large and small, and also some of the words used to nobles and to commoners. It also informs us about how the reigns and times have improved, for the reign of enlightenment has been always increasing.
>
> I, Luelen Bernart, was born Nov. 28 in the year 1866. (p. 7)

Even the most casual reading of Luelen's introduction should raise a series of questions about the nature of this work, its relationship to the Pohnpeian past, and the practice of history on that past. We are confronted with statements that make explicit mention of the sources upon which Luelen draws as being incomplete and, at times, in error; indeed, he closes one of his accounts on the building of Nan Madol with the words, "What I am saying is twisted. Let those who know set it straight later" (p. 141). Luelen characterizes his book as a "reminder" rather than a history, an issue to be considered later in this paper. And there is the perhaps very haunting, disturbing implication drawn from Luelen's own words that an essentially chronologically arranged, topically organized account or history is not the way in which Pohnpeians prior to Luelen's writing chose to present their past. Because of its use of the printed medium, its biblical form of organization, its periodization of the Pohnpeian past, and its endorsement of a linear, moral and progressive process of Christian enlightenment, there might be some who would dismiss the book as little more than base mimicry of an alien form of historical expression.

The book's reliance upon oral traditions, and the problems inherent in their transcription, translation, and interpretation also cause serious uneasiness among those who would view such sources as flawed by their very nature or fatally disturbed by the intrusive, contaminating, and ultimately disruptive contact with the Euro-American world. In particular, the translation of Luelen's text from Pohnpeian to English would strike many as a highly problematic exercise compounded by a variety of contextual concerns. The act of translation, then, might be regarded as both diminishing and diluting Luelen's own voice while rendering the oral traditions on which he draws lifeless, stagnant, and irrevocably altered. The words of Luelen's principle translator, the late Dr. John L. Fischer, seem to offer little assurance against these concerns; Fischer, in private correspondence (letter to D. A. Ballendorf, May 8, 1978), described his translation as an artificial style of English affected by Pohnpeian. Questions abound, then, in light of the

considerations raised. Does *The Book of Luelen* represent an "authentic" Pohnpeian history of Pohnpei? Is it more accurately viewed as an essentially gross, distorting imitation of the Western genre of history? Or might it be seen as a radical though locally informed departure in the way knowledge about the island's past is held and recounted?

Peter Munz (1971) would have had little enthusiasm for regarding *The Book of Luelen* or any locally authored Pacific work as history. In an article for the *New Zealand Journal of History* entitled "The Purity of the Historical Method: Some Skeptical Reflections on the Current Enthusiasm for the History of Non-European Societies," Munz cautioned against the enthusiasm of allowing political decolonization to obscure serious methodological and theoretical issues involved in the study of the past. In that article, Munz defined history as Europe's culturally informed way of dealing with the past in terms of location in time and space, determinable fact, and object or category of inquiry. Munz, in effect, defined history as the West's way of viewing its past, a practice based on a certain set of distinctive and determining thoughts drawn from the Judeo-Roman tradition. "In other societies with other thoughts," wrote Munz, "the view of the past must necessarily be different. In societies where there are no recorded facts or where the facts recorded are the precipitate of a different form of thought, history in our sense of the term is not possible" (p. 17). Munz went on to characterize the imposition of the practice of history on other people's pasts as grossly arrogant and impudent.

It would be trite and simplistic, but also true, to say that there are serious problems with Munz's concept and definition of history. Developments within the discipline of history since 1971 have shown there to be more to European history "than the changing forms of empire and government, of power struggles and authority transformations, of class struggles and political organizations" (Munz, 1971, p. 16). Particularly disconcerting is the ultimate denial of a cross-cultural history of encounters between natives and strangers, between Islanders and Euro-Americans. But the essential caution regarding the West's own distinctive approach to dealing with its past as something different from what other societies may do with and to their past is a critical and important one that should, if not temper, at least inform an enthusiasm for the study of others. With regard to the Pohnpeian past, especially that substantial part of it that precedes Euro-American intrusion, there is a need to grapple with the notions of time, place, space, category, purpose, and, to borrow from Munz, "thought" that informed Pohnpeians' understanding of it. Nonetheless, the word *history,* which I take to mean all of the variety

of ways we have of knowing and relating to the past is, I would argue, an applicable concept (Dening, 1989). Despite Munz's reservations, there is history in the Pacific and on Pohnpei. What Luelen Bernart did in his book is history, but it is a distinctive kind of history that sought to order and express certain parts and aspects of the Pohnpeian past differently. Why he chose to do this is a matter of informed speculation to be addressed later in this essay. What can be said here is that this effort at historical translation does provide precious glimpses of a deeper, more distant past and the events that were marked as important in it.

A LIFE OF LUELEN

Having suggested a deconstruction of Luelen's text, I would like to craft an alternative reading of it. A reconsideration of what Luelen's text actually reveals about the Pohnpeian past, and the changing practices of history upon it, begins with an examination of the forces in his life and times that informed his writing.[2] The influences of Christianity and Christian missionaries on Luelen Bernart and his history are undeniably prominent and traceable. Luelen attended the major Protestant mission school at Ohwa in the eastern chiefdom of Madolenihmw. There he was trained in such subjects as English, mathematics, and biblical geography and history. He met and married his wife, Kilara, at the mission station while under the active supervision and promotion of the resident American missionaries there who believed that Christian domesticity needed to be actively promoted through a program of social engineering that brought together promising young converts in arranged Christian marriages. Upon completing his course of studies, Luelen took a position teaching at the Temwen mission station school in Madolenihmw and remained active in mission affairs and activities throughout his life.

Luelen's mission training bore directly on his politics and, later, on the politics of his history. Bernart was part of an association of mission-trained young men who used their education and training to form the *pwihn en loalokoang* (enlightened council) described by later historians as a group bound by clan and marriage ties as well as by having in common a mission education and a desire to effect major change in the island's chiefly polity (see Ehrlich, 1978). As a member of this group, Luelen actively participated in the promotion of Protestant interests on the island, including violent

encounters between Protestant and Catholic factions that also involved the island's first two colonial overlords, Spain and Germany. How Christianity informed Luelen's sense of himself, his island, and its past is perhaps the most crucial question involved in understanding his mission background; however, it is one I am not able to answer more fully at this time. I suspect, though, that his learning to be Christian did not necessarily entail his forgetting of what it meant to be Pohnpeian; he continued to believe in powers and ways other than the "reign of enlightenment." There are those in southern Kiti who attribute to his sorcery the collapse of the northwestern chiefdom of Sokehs in 1910, an event described by more conventional historians and anthropologists as the Sokehs Rebellion against German colonial rule (M. Serilo, personal communication, May 30, 1983).

Luelen's personal history also reflects his close relationship with Henry Nanpei, the leading figure in the Protestant mission community on the island. The son of a man who had held the title of *Nahnken,* one of the two senior ruling titles in the chiefdom of Kiti, Nanpei combined a distinguished paternal lineage, mission schooling, and an extensive islandwide network of commercial interests and inherited landholdings to become one of the most powerful men of his day (Ehrlich, 1979a; Hanlon, 1988a; Hempenstall, 1978). As a boy, Luelen, upon special invitation, spent considerable periods of time with young Nanpei at the Nahnken's residence in Rohnkiti; the two later attended the mission school at Ohwa together. Marriage also enhanced the already formidable family and personal ties that bound Luelen and Nanpei; they were married to blood sisters and were thus considered to be themselves like blood brothers, according to Pohnpeian social conventions. There was also friction and rivalry between Luelen and Nanpei; this side of their relationship was described to me by Mihla Serilo (personal communication, May 30, 1983).

Religious training and mission-informed politics were then two very prominent sources informing and privileging Luelen Bernart's history of Pohnpei. There were other sources as well—namely, his own paternal lineage and clan ranking. Bernart, born in the Wone section of the chiefdom of Kiti, was a member of the Lipitahn, the clan that held the title of Nahnken. As a member of Kiti's ruling clan, the Dipwenman, Luelen's father had held the title of Dauk, the third ranking title in the Nahnmwarki, or paramount chief's line. In Kiti an arrangement between the Dipwenman and Lipitahn clans had developed whereby Dipwenman chiefs took Lipitahn women as their primary public wives (Bernart, 1977; Fischer et al., 1977). The practice

was of long-standing, mutually reinforcing benefit to the two clans. Luelen, then, stood as the physical embodiment of an important historical relationship between Kiti's two most prominent clans. As a member of the Lipitahn clan, and more particularly its ranking Reluseinnamo subclan, Bernart eventually rose to hold the title of *Nahnsau Ririn,* the fourth-ranking title in the Nahnken's line. The circumstances of Luelen's lineage and personal life thus gave him access both to historical knowledge far beyond that available to the average Pohnpeian and to a written vehicle of expression. His ability to write of Pohnpei's past was both supported by and reflective of a local hierarchy of power and privilege.

Through the latter half of the nineteenth century, Pohnpei remained an island world made up of separate, largely closed regions in which physical, political, and social boundaries inhibited free travel and open communication. Luelen's education, training in English, prominence in the Protestant church, and patronage from the rich and powerful Nanpei permitted him to travel about the island gaining access to areas and their histories that would otherwise have remained beyond his reach. His growing reputation as one knowledgeable of the island's past allowed him to establish contact with the German ethnographer Paul Hambruch who, with a team of researchers, worked on Pohnpei between March and August of 1910. Luelen served as one of Hambruch's key informants on traditional lore and knowledge. Luelen also arranged to have other possessors of traditional lore and knowledge such as the Kehoe brothers, Warren and Louis, and the sorcerer Wasekeleng meet with Hambruch at his place in Rehntu (B. Serilo, personal communication, June 2, 1983). As attending host, Luelen gained from the knowledge shared with Hambruch by these men and, because of the range of his own activities and travels on Pohnpei, he was probably in a comparatively better position to judge the nature and content of this information against other sources and variations which he had encountered elsewhere.

ORALITY, LITERACY, AND THE BOOK OF LUELEN

The confluence of personal circumstance and larger influences and events certainly contributed significantly to the actual writing and choice of content of what came to be published as *The Book of Luelen.* A related concern in the evaluation of Luelen Bernart's book involves the sources, largely oral, on which it is based. Objections to the use of oral traditions in the construc-

tion of island histories are many and well documented. The use of such traditions generates concerns centering around their very loose sense of chronology; their mention of supernatural beings and happenings; their reference to fundamentally different cultural values and categories not immediately intelligible to outside recorders; their generally assumed unreliability due to the problems of accuracy and preservation over extended periods of time; their reliance on the ultimately limited capacity of human memory; and their susceptibility to the sometimes deliberate, self-serving distortions of oral poets and their own interests. Changes in language, inherent problems in the transcription, translation and interpretation of oral sources, and the disturbance and distortion caused by the intrusion of alien systems of knowledge, power, and control have discouraged most professionally trained Western academicians from using oral sources as expressions of historical understanding and knowledge.

Jack Goody has been one of the more prominent skeptics of the use of oral traditions in the reconstruction of indigenous, nonliterate people's past (Goody, 1986, 1987; Goody & Watt, 1968). Goody notes that there is usually no standard of accuracy against which individual oral renditions can be checked; hence, changes in composition or narration can go undetected, which involves the possibility of serious social or political consequences. Moreover, Goody argues that oral traditions exist at any given time as mere products of what he calls a dynamic homeostasis, a situation in which any change or alteration in a society's organization immediately results in an alteration of that society's understanding of its past. In Goody's scheme of things there is no possibility for variations or for competing versions of traditions that reflect change or divergence. One of the positive consequences of literacy, according to Goody, is the development of history as a documented analytic account of the past that provides at once a more coherent and a more reliable account that is free of the fiction, error, and superstition that permeate the oral accounts of nonliterate sources.

For Pohnpei at least, Goody overestimates the power of collective representations in oral societies while underestimating the potential for idiosyncratic differences and variations. Luelen Bernart was neither the first nor the only Pohnpeian to give written expression to parts of the Pohnpeian past. *The Book of Luelen* is by no means the only written or even the earliest account by a Pohnpeian on the Pohnpeian past. There is a written history of the island composed in the 1920s by a man named Silten (described in

Petersen, 1990). John L. Fischer, the chief editor and translator of Luelen, procured the manuscript and produced an unpublished English translation. More recently, Masao Hadley (1981a, 1981b), a grandson of Luelen Bernart, has written, in both Pohnpeian- and English-language versions, a history of Nan Madol, the megalithic complex of artificial, man-made islets located just off the southeastern coast of the island. There are also numerous private, family histories being kept and written by individuals on Pohnpei today. In addition to these sources, there are the hundreds of oral accounts transcribed into Pohnpeian by Paul Hambruch (1932, 1936) and included in his three-volume ethnographic and archaeological study of the island. Many of these accounts concern histories of separate clans, areas, practices, and events on the island. The transcribed narratives found in Hambruch and the orally informed written accounts of Bernart, Hadley, Silten, and modern-day Pohnpeians all evidence the variation and idiosyncratic differences that Goody contends are lacking in oral societies. This plurality of sources and their contending versions on varying aspects of Pohnpei's past belie Goody's contention that only with the written word of literate societies does there result the possibility for selectivity of emphasis and variety of interpretation.

In writing, Luelen Bernart straddled the permeable living border between orality and literacy. Walter Ong (1982) reminds us that the transition from oral to written modes of expression is neither immediate nor total, and never complete; a similar conclusion emerges from examining the long history of rhetoric in Europe and the audiovisual orientation of contemporary popular culture. The distinguishing features of oral expression do not vanish as soon as pen touches paper. Writing may indeed heighten and structure consciousness, making possible the comparison and contemplation of many different kinds of texts and the thoughts that inform them. But there is a tenacity to orality that affects the development and spread of consciousness. Songs, prayers, poems, conversations, speeches, and rap all communicate knowledge and beliefs orally. There is, then, a relationship between orality and literacy that is interactive, mutually informing, and, on Pohnpei and elsewhere, ongoing.

There certainly remains much orality in Luelen's text. His writing evidences the proclivity of oral historians to add or include rather than edit information, to be triumphal and redundant rather than agnostic or analytic, to be situational rather than abstract, to acknowledge the sacred, and to reaffirm the communal (Ong, 1982). Luelen's writing, more particularly the elements of orality within it, also speaks of a deep, intense, and immediate

relationship with the past. Walter Ong writes that persons whose world view has been formed by high literacy need to remind themselves that in functionally oral cultures (and Pohnpei is still predominantly an oral culture), the past is not felt as a distant, itemized terrain peppered with verifiable, uncontested facts. Rather, the past is the domain of those who have gone before, a resonant source for renewing awareness of the dimensions of existence in the present, which itself is not an itemized terrain.

THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE AND HISTORY ON POHNPEI

To assess what Luelen Bernart actually did to the practice of history on Pohnpei, it is necessary to examine the ways in which knowledge of the past is held and controlled. (For a more detailed consideration of the ways in which Pohnpeians address their past and the sources they have for doing it, see Hanlon, 1988b; Mauricio, 1987; and Petersen, 1990.) Most people on Pohnpei are their own historians in some respects: They have historical knowledge of their personal pasts, their families and clans, their times, and the physical locales where they have lived and traveled. They also possess their own understandings of the larger past, opinions that they express and share with the appropriate audience in the proper and acceptable contexts. The knowledge of the deeper past, however, is the domain of a few who by lineage, personal circumstance, talent, commitment, and energy have established themselves as possessors of knowledge about that past. Luelen Bernart, as we have established, was a man of noble lineage whose birth and consequent privilege gave him access, knowledge, and credibility as a historian of the south of the island and of the Dipwenman and Lipitahn clans.

Luelen's access to historical knowledge was not necessarily determined or even privileged by his sex. History is not a gender-specific prerogative on Pohnpei. Women as well as men reflect and speak out on the past, though men seem to have a more publicly prominent profile as historians. Women certainly made possible Luelen Bernart's written history: The clan, family, and regional affiliations of his mother, wife, and eldest daughter provided him access and legitimacy to the topics and areas of his history. As noted earlier, Luelen's youngest daughter, Sahrihna, actually took dictation from him during the very last years of his life and later recopied all of his writings

into the single, bound manuscript that came to be secured, translated, and published in English as *The Book of Luelen.*[3] In short, *The Book of Luelen* is a man's writing made possible by his relationships to certain women.

A major point to be made is that all knowledge of the past on Pohnpei is contested. Pohnpeian history does not consist of a stagnant body of information, but rather involves sometimes hotly contested versions. There is a multiplicity of versions that are presented and debated. Pohnpeian history and the reflections upon it constitute an essentially interpretive exercise. There may be agreement about the general contours and sequence of a story, the *oralap* as it is called on Pohnpei, but it is the critical and distinguishing detail, the *oratik,* that is often more important. It has become commonplace among Pohnpeians and those who study them to acknowledge the loss of crucial detail, or oratik. Mindful of the deep dimensions of the Pohnpeian past and of the major, disruptive, sometimes violent effects of contact, colonial rule, and conversion to Christianity, I nonetheless contend that the loss of crucial detail has become a formal cultural disclaimer of sorts, to be used appropriately in situations where the past and its particulars are being considered.

How much oratik has been lost is another matter altogether. The late Dr. John L. Fischer wrote, "I believe an astonishingly large proportion of Ponapean mythology, chants, and other lore still persists in the heads of middle-aged and older people, and obscure manuscripts" (letter to D. A. Ballendorf, May 8, 1978). In situations of contest, a surviving body of fine detail continues to be given public and meaningful expression. It is the oratik, or specific detail, and the way in which it is delivered that allow an individual historian to carry his or her point in debate, or at least allow for its consideration by those who are listening.

In addition to being open to contest, Pohnpeian history is also localized. Prior to the intervention of the Euro-American world, Pohnpeians spoke not of the history of the island as a whole but of histories that focus on sections or regions or specific parcels of land. Moreover, the Pohnpeian past is concerned not only with the efforts and activities of human beings; trees, rivers, streams, boulders, hills, and mountains all have histories that bear importantly and sometimes prominently upon the histories of people. Another fact regarding the practice of history on Pohnpei concerns its personal dimension. There is usually an intimate, direct, personal relationship between a historian and the body of knowledge he or she possesses and at times presents. Clan histories are more often than not the province of clan members or of in-

dividuals with strong ties through marriage or adoption to a given clan. Similarly, the histories of particular areas belong to those who live in or are immediately from that area. For example, a historian of the northerly section of Awak who has no immediate clan, family, or political ties in the south or southeast would be most reluctant, I suspect, to speak publicly on matters relating to the peoples and politics of the south or southeast. At the same time, this does not necessarily preclude the individual from possessing important knowledge about the south and southeast or about the ways in which these areas are perceived and understood in Awak. On Pohnpei, then, one speaks of one's own. And one never tells all of what one knows. To do so would be to lose both distinction and the advantages that distinction brings. The knowledge of the past one possesses is protected, promoted, and contested as well as localized.

Pohnpeians do make distinctions about different kinds of historical knowledge (Mauricio, 1983; see also Falgout, 1984). Distinctions are made among *pwoadapwoad, koasoai, koasoai pwod,* and *soai.* The pwoadapwoad are histories that concern the foundation and peopling of the island and are regarded as containing sacred and powerful knowledge that establishes the charter of different clans, practices, beliefs, and systems of government. An important point to make here is that although we may speak of charters and precedent and the informing features of the present on historical understanding, Pohnpeians, I believe, regard the histories they choose to accept with a strong literal sense. There certainly are both metaphor and allegory in Pohnpeian understandings of their world, past and present, but these are not used to explain away the seemingly improbable course of events or the intervention of divine beings in the shaping of those events. The skepticism of outside inquirers toward these accounts is, to quote one Pohnpeian's response to my query on the general issue of believability, "your problem."

Koasoai pwod are stories of a similar character—powerful, political, and informing—but from a more recent past. Koasoai are stories from the time of contact with the Western world; the information here is less privileged and thus more accessible for exposition and comment by Pohnpeians in general. Finally, there are stories, or soai, that have no grounding in any historical event or occurrence, but rather are situated in the general past and told to entertain and to instruct.

The distinctions made regarding different kinds of historical knowledge rest upon temporal divisions of the Pohnpeian past (see Ehrlich, 1978).

Pohnpeians speak of the settlement period in their island's past as *mweihn kawa* (the period of building). The time of Nan Madol's rise to power and prominence is referred to as *mweihn saudeleur,* after the title of those who ruled over the megalithic, offshore complex of artificial islets. The emergence of a more locally informed, decentralized polity under the rule of regional paramount chiefs is referred to as *mweihn nahnmwarki.* The arrival of Euro-Americans in the early nineteenth century marks the beginning of *mweihn mehn wai,* which some Pohnpeians further divide into the Spanish, German, Japanese, and American colonial periods. Although these temporal divisions of the Pohnpeian past may seem artificial or heavily influenced by alien notions of time, they are more accurately understood, I believe, as attempts by contemporary Pohnpeians to order and understand their past in terms of events. Indeed, the practice of history on Pohnpei is largely focused around events.

Paul Veyne (1971/1984), the French historian, writes that all history is about events. Although there would be many who would argue—and rightfully so—that there is more to the study of the past than Veyne describes, event for oral cultures certainly provides the stuff and substance of memory. Marshall Sahlins (1981, 1985) has elucidated the process whereby the assigning of meaning and significance transforms an action or occurrence into an event. What helps to give Pohnpeians assurance about the general veracity of the meaningful and significant events in their past are not necessarily words written down or even words spoken, but physical markers or artifacts from the past. Structural historians would call these artifacts signs "in" and signs "of" history. Signs mark an action or occurrence in the past as memorable, significant, and hence, historical; the interpretation of these events can be invoked, modified, manipulated, and contested over time in varying contexts and for a variety of interests or purposes (Parmentier, 1987). Renato Rosaldo (1980), in his investigations into the past of the Ilongot of northern Luzon in the Philippines, writes of the importance of personal experience and relationships as the bedrock of historical knowledge. To Rosaldo's query about heaven, one Ilongot replied, "They say it exists, but they have not seen it" (p. 38). The discovery of an old bottle, and the subsequent questions from Rosaldo regarding its origins, elicited this response from one Ilongot adult male: "How should I know anything about that bottle? Do you think I lived in this place long ago? Did I stand here and watch the man drink that liquor?" (p. 38). The anthropologist's inquiries into the names and activities of ancestors beyond the grandparental gen-

eration were answered with the following words: "I did not see that person. How could I know his name?" (p. 225).

On Pohnpei, however, the past is perceived as deeper and more accessible; physical signs allow Pohnpeians to extend the temporal, personal, and verifiable dimensions of their histories. While anthropologists and archaeologists may debate the exact nature of Nan Madol, its builders, and the significance of events there, the megalithic ruins do stand there and remind Pohnpeians of Nan Madol as event. Similarly, the stone enclosures and pathways associated with the high priest, Soukise en Leng, in the Wone section of Kiti, attest to the essential veracity of the Soukise stories. Placenames can also be signs in and of the Pohnpeian past. There is, off the municipality of U in the north, a point of land known as Likin Pein Awak, a name that commemorates the resistance of the people of Awak to the attempted landing of *Isohkelekel,* the cultural hero whose name is associated with the demise of Nan Madol and the establishment of a different polity emerging out of Madolenihmw. There is a variety of versions regarding these events and their significance, variations which are not the contradiction of the event having happened but the essence of history, for they concern the meaning and significance of these events for different people on the island. The aim in any examination of these variations should not be a search for a true, consistent, or comprehensive version, but rather an awareness of their ultimate relatedness and their affirmation of an important event with multiple meanings for different groups of people on the island.

Similarly, to see histories of the island's more distant past as charters or guidelines for the resolution of societal tensions or only as indicators of modern-day political consciousness is to miss their possibilities as texts on the past.[4] Historians from Benedetto Croce to E. H. Carr have, in their own ways, written that history can never escape the revisions and rewritings of the present in which it is produced. But if there is a good deal of the present in every account of the past, there is also something of the past in that present. And it is in the remembering through events that the past has meaning and relevance to the present. What is it that sustains land use or residence patterns or the legitimacy and power of certain titles or the prerogatives of certain regions or clans if not a chartering event that is believed to have happened? Anthropological invention could not sustain such continuity and would be susceptible to and inviting of further invention. Here I am making reference to the "invention of tradition" argument articulated first in Ranger and Hobsbawm (1983) and then developed further by Borofsky (1987) and Keesing (1989). The theory of tradition as invention indeed

reveals the persisting ahistorical bias within Western academic discourse toward local versions and visions of a non-Western people's past.

HISTORY AS REMEMBERING

The most haunting issue in any consideration of *The Book of Luelen* concerns the reasons behind the writing of the book. Travel, both locally and abroad, education from Pohnpeians and mission educators, and the privileges of birth and patronage go far in explaining Luelen's access to the body of knowledge he committed to paper. But what motivated him to write? Did his education, experiences, and travel lead him to see Pohnpei as a world now reduced to a mere island in a larger, increasingly intruding world system? Perhaps he knew that the larger world would not easily tolerate or entertain multiple versions of a complex and deep past transmitted orally. Luelen may have understood that if his island were to find a place for itself it would have to speak through written texts or at least give expression to its past in ways that legitimated it to the outside world. Perhaps Luelen sought to reconcile for himself and for others two very different forms of historical consciousness and expression. Or perhaps he desired to insure the privilege of his historical understanding through the appropriation of a powerful, less changing form of written textual expression. Walter Ong (1982) has noted that writing enhances the possibilities of remembering and of reconstructing something of an earlier human consciousness that was not literate at all. Perhaps to write meant to remember. Luelen himself described his book simply as a "reminder of the beginnings of all the great accounts of olden times"; his purpose, he wrote, was "to set things straight and piece them together a little at this time" (1977, p. 7).

There may well exist a political consciousness in Luelen's words, but an enthusiasm for it should be tempered somewhat by the nature of his intended audience. Prof. John L. Fischer, in both published comments and private correspondence, expressed the belief that Luelen wrote for a private audience of family members and clanmates (introduction to Bernart, 1977; letter to D. A. Ballendorf, May 8, 1978). Access to the information and knowledge contained in his writings was never meant for public consumption. Luelen, then, wrote for clan and family members who, like himself, had a direct, personal relationship and interest in the knowledge and lore being imparted. The matter of whether or not Luelen's writing was ever intended for publication more than tempers an enthusiasm for his book as an "au-

thentic" history of Pohnpei. There is no evidence that Luelen ever charged his heirs with seeking a publisher for his writing. Those family members to whom Luelen's original manuscript ultimately fell expressed displeasure upon learning that an English-language translation of the work would be forthcoming (Koropin David, the younger, personal communication, July 28, 1978). A Jesuit missionary in the Wone section of Kiti who had facilitated the negotiations on the book between Luelen's family and the academic researchers believes that Luelen's heirs never gave permission for the publication of the book in either Pohnpeian or English.[5]

The disturbing twist to this history of Luelen's book, then, is that a major piece of indigenous literature that has come to be a standard reference for academic researchers and others was never intended as such. Foreign researchers with a well-meaning, liberal agenda of scholarly research and political and intellectual decolonization intruded not only upon the island, but also upon a sensitive, private resource for the study of the island's past. This disturbance of the recorded past continues as an ongoing process affected by the research that has followed from and upon it.

Richard Price faced a similar predicament in the writing of his book *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (1983), a collection of and commentary upon the oral histories of the Saramaka, the descendants of Maroons who escaped from slavery and settled in the tropical rain forests of what is now the Republic of Suriname in the northeastern part of South America. In the introduction to his text, Price writes of the dilemmas he faced in gathering, translating, editing, and publishing historical knowledge not meant to be shared, and of the dangers of creating a canonical or official version of the Saramakan past. Price found himself torn between established and honored restrictions on the one hand, which limited dissemination of historical knowledge, and on the other, his own perceived need to preserve and make known knowledge of a proud, distinguished past to a younger generation of Saramakas living in a modern, materialistic, increasingly ambivalent and homogenized world. Price's ultimate decision to publish the material he had gathered drew upon a belief in the ultimate good that could come from a preservation of "First-Time" truths, a desire to celebrate Saramakan dignity in the face of oppression, and a need to recognize Saramakas' continuing rejection of outsiders' attempts to define them as objects.

Perhaps there is some consolation in viewing the publication of the English-language version of *The Book of Luelen* in like manner, of recognizing and celebrating the positive aspects of its unintended publication. Perhaps not. From my own reading of Price's text, his decision seems privileged by

the same system of dominance that he seeks to counter and it also seems to have been made against the expressed wishes of at least some "First-Time" historians of the Saramakas. Price writes:

> People were torn between awareness, on the one hand, of traditional sanctions against telling things to whitefolks and talking about First-Time to anyone not in their clan, and, on the other hand, pride in their own knowledge and that of their clan, and the wish to be remembered by their juniors as men of wisdom. . . . The solution I adopt here grows out of my own discussions with Saramakas, but is clearly my own responsibility. (1983, p. 22)

In any event, what *The Book of Luelen* does in its published English-language version is to teach us something of the practice of history on Pohnpei and of the changes that have taken place in the expression of historical knowledge on the island. *The Book of Luelen* presents a form of Pohnpeian history that is now written but still remains personal, localized, contested, literal, reflective of power relationships, sequentially ordered, incomplete, and event-concerned. Luelen himself acknowledges his history as a version that needs attention from others possessed of their own versions and visions of the Pohnpeian past. The issue then becomes not the discrediting of Luelen's book and other oral or orally informed sources of history because of their variations, inconsistencies, ambiguities, contradictions, or general lack of agreement; rather, these are the very sources to value for the important reason that they give us a sense of event and of the multiple meanings and significance of those events to different and self-defining groups of people on the island.

It has been noted by academic observers that two of the more prominent patterns in the deeper Pohnpeian past involve: (a) a proclivity to borrow selectively and successfully from the plethora of foreign ideas, technologies, beliefs, and practices that have been coming across the island's shores since first settlement; and (b) a pronounced resistance to foreign domination and control. These patterns are also reflected in the island's histories, some of which have found expression in a formerly alien written form, and all of which are too varied to be easily reduced to a simple narrative form and too complex to be controlled by a single interest group, be it local or foreign. To play on James Clifford's (1988) ideas a bit, the "pure products" have always been a little worldly and a little crazy on Pohnpei. The voices that speak of the island's past remain multiple and polyphonic. The strength of Pohnpei's histories, then, is that they are many and variant, and they do not lend themselves to a simple, single, uncontested narration.

THE PATH BACK TO POHNSAKAR

Greg Dening has written that "history in the Pacific needs to be vernacular and vernacularly tolerant of great variety because it is in the variety of vernacular histories—legends, ballads, anecdotes, plays, dances—that we develop skills in the poetics of history—its reading—and its production" (1989, p. 137). In that list of the variety of vernacular histories, I wonder if there is a place for trees, particularly for that large mango tree at Pohnsakar under which Luelen and members of his immediate family lie. Trees were a part of Luelen Bernart's life and writing, as they are a part of his past after death. Luelen Bernart included in his book a list of trees found on Pohnpei and the particular uses to which each species was put. As line entry number 34 of chapter 9 notes, mango trees were used as sources for food, medicine, and wood for the making of drums. We might liken Luelen's book to a drum made from mango wood to be read and heard as a reminder of events in need of remembering. A part of Luelen Bernart lives on in that large Rehntu tree just as his book lives on as one of many possible, local, credible, particular, and existing sources for the study of Pohnpei's past. If we can say nothing more about the book and its relation to the island's past, we can at least say this.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Mr. Rufino Mauricio of the University of Oregon's Department of Anthropology and the late Mr. Diego Soswa of Rehntu for their assistance with the identification and explanation of place-names in the Rehntu area of southern Kiti. I am also indebted to Klaus Neumann for his critical reading of this paper and to members of the audience for their comments on a verbal presentation of this paper given at the 8th Pacific History Association conference on Guam in December 1990. My description of Luelen's grave site is taken from a visit I made there on June 17, 1983. I was in the company of Luelen's great-great-grandson, Ioanis Luelen, and made my visit with the permission of Mihla Serilo, Luelen's grand-daughter. Mihla Serilo passed away on April 9, 1991, at the age of 77.

Notes

1. For a history of the writing of *The Book of Luelen* and the myriad issues that surround the copying and distribution of the Pohnpeian language version as well the acquisition, translation, and publication of the English-language version, see D. L. Hanlon and D. A. Ballendorf, (1983), "Luelen Bernart: His Times and His Book," unpublished

manuscript in the possession of the authors. A physical description of Luelen Bernart and the room in which he apparently did a good deal of his writing at his residence in Rehntu can be found in Imanishi (1944). A translated excerpt from Imanishi's description can be found in the editors' introduction to *The Book of Luelen.*

2. For a brief overview of Luelen Bernart's life, see Hanlon (1988b, p. 177); Hanlon and Ballendorf, (1983); and the editors' introduction to *The Book of Luelen,* pp. 1–6.

3. At least five partial copies of the single, bound version of Luelen's writing were made for various members of his extended family. It is this version, called the "Sahrihna" manuscript by Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting (1977), from which the published English-language version of *The Book of Luelen* comes. For a consideration of these partial copies, their content, their location, and informed speculation as to the identity of those involved in their distribution, see the editors' introduction to Bernart (1977, p. 1) and Hanlon and Ballendorf (1983).

4. I take issue here, respectfully, with Glenn Petersen's contention that variations in Pohnpeian oral accounts are so great that they cannot be used to reconstruct the island's pre-colonial past with any degree of certainty or accuracy. Petersen chooses instead to regard these sources only as expressive of modern-day Pohnpeian political consciousness that views the past in terms of persisting patterns and themes involving political and social organization (see Petersen, 1990).

5. Fr. W. McGarry, personal communication, April 19, 1978. There is a difference of opinion over whether or not Koropin David, the elder, husband of Sahrihna and guardian of the Luelen manuscript after her death, actually gave permission for the publication of an English-language version. Dr. Saul H. Riesenberg of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, negotiated with Koropin David, the elder, for permission to make a copy of the book. The Pohnpeian ultimately gave permission for a photographic reproduction of the pages. In his negotiations, Riesenberg used Fr. William McGarry, the resident Jesuit missionary in Wone, as a mediator with Luelen's family. In a letter to Dirk Ballendorf dated February 23, 1978, Riesenberg wrote that he promised Koropin and Sahrihna not to publish the book in Pohnpeian, but in English only.

References

Bernart, L. (1977). *The book of Luelen* (J. L. Fischer, S. H. Riesenberg, & M. G. Whiting, Trans.). Pacific History Series, No. 8. Canberra: Australian National University Press; and Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Borofsky, R. (1987). *Making history: Pukapukan and anthropological constructions of knowledge.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Davidson, J. W. (1966). Problems of Pacific history. *Journal of Pacific History, 1,* 5–21.

Dening, G. (1989). History 'in' the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific, 1,* 134–139.

Ehrlich, P. M. (1978). *'The clothes of men': Ponape Island and German colonial rule, 1899–1914.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Ehrlich, P. M. (1979a). Henry Nanpei: Preeminently a Ponapean. In D. Scarr (Ed.), *More Pacific Islands portraits* (pp. 131–154). Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Ehrlich, P. M. (1979b). [Review of The book of Luelen, 1977, by Luelen Bernart]. *Journal of Pacific History, 14,* 117–118.

Falgout, S. (1984). *Persons and knowledge in Ponape.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon.

Fischer, J. L., Riesenberg, S. H., & Whiting, M. G. (1977). *Annotations to The book of Luelen.* Pacific History Series, No. 9. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Goody, J. (1986). *The logic of writing and the organization of society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, J. (1987). *The interface between the written and the oral.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, J., & Watt, I. (1968). The consequences of literacy. *Comparative Studies in History and Society, 5,* 304–345.

Hadley, M. (1981a). *A history of Nan Madol.* Manuscript translated and edited by P. Ehrlich, copy in author's possession.

Hadley, M. (1981b). *Koasoi en Kanihmw en Nan Madol.* Manuscript edited by P. Ehrlich, copy in author's possession.

Hambruch, P. (1932). Ponape. (Vol. 1). In G. Thilenius (Ed.), *Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908–1910.* II, B, 7. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter.

Hambruch, P. (1936). Ponape. (Vols. 2, 3). In G. Thilenius (Ed.), *Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition, 1908–1910.* II, B, 7. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter.

Hanlon, D., & Ballendorf, D. (1983). *Luelen Bernart: His times and his book.* Typescript in author's possession.

Hanlon, D. (1988a). Another side of Henry Nanpei. *Journal of Pacific History, 23,* 36–51.

Hanlon, D. (1988b). *Upon a stone altar: A history of the island of Pohnpei to 1890.* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 5. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hempenstall, P. J. (1978). *Pacific Islanders under German rule: A study in the meaning of colonial resistance.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Imanishi, K. (1944). *Ponape-to, seitaigaku-teki kenkyu* [The island of Ponape: An ecological research]. Tokyo: Kodansha Press.

Keesing, R. M. (1989). Creating the past: Custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific. *The Contempoary Pacific, 1,* 19–42.

Maude, H. E. (1971). Pacific history—past, present, and future. *Journal of Pacific History, 6,* 3–24.

Mauricio, R. (1983). Nan Madol oral traditions. In W. Ayres, A. E. Haun, & R. Mauricio. *Nan Madol archaeology: 1981 survey and excavations* (pp. 205–238). Available from the Historic Preservation Committee, Ponape State, Federated States of Micronesia.

Mauricio, R. (1987). Peopling of Pohnpei Island: Migration, dispersal, and settlement themes in clan narratives. *Man and Culture in Oceania, 3,* 47–72.

Munz, P. (1971). The purity of historical method: Some skeptical reflections on the current enthusiasm of non-European societies. *New Zealand Journal of History, 5(1),* 1–17.

Ong, W. J. (1982). *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word.* New York: Methuen Press.

Parmentier, R. J. (1987). *The sacred remains: Myth, history and polity in Belau.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Petersen, G. (1990). *Lost in the weeds: Theme and variation in Pohnpei political mythology.* Occasional Paper 35. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i.

Price, R. (1983). *First-Time: The historical vision of an Afro-American*

people. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ranger. T., & Hobsbawm, E. (Eds.). (1983). *The invention of tradition.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rosaldo, R. (1980). *Ilongot headhunting, 1883–1974: A study in history and society.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Sahlins, M. (1981). *Historical metaphors and mythical realities: Structure in the early history of the Sandwich Islands kingdom.* Association for Social Anthroplogy in Oceania Special Publication. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Sahlins, M. (1985). *Islands of history.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Veyne, P. (1984). *Writing history: Essay on epistemology* (M. Moore-Rinvolucri, Trans.). Middletown: Wesleyan University Press. (Original work published 1971)

Ward, M. (1979). [Review of The book of Luelen, 1977, by Luelen Bernart]. *American Anthropologist, 81,* 950–951.

Cross-Cultural Performances: A Palauan Hoax?

KAREN L. NERO
University of California, Irvine

Islanders and their European visitors soon created working models of each other and directed their interactions according to these images and their self-interests. The analysis of oral and written histories, especially in areas of conflict, provides insights into these processes. This essay considers a hoax the Koror elite may have perpetrated against the British in the 1860s to protect their paramount chief. The British version of the event remained the official version in all scholarly writings and public histories of Palau until 1977 when a local history published a previously private chiefly version. A re-view of the incident suggests that historical studies must consider alternate versions not simply in light of current political interests in reconstructing history, but must anticipate that alternate versions might have been created and maintained at the time of the event for similar hegemonic reasons. The incident also provides insights into Palauan and British senses of justice.

Public and theoretical debates rage over insider and outsider roles in reconstructing history and the ways Pacific history is used to preserve or achieve political hegemony (Anthropology seen, 1990; Hanson, 1989; Hanson & Hanson, 1983, 1988; Keesing, 1989, 1991; Linnekin, 1983, 1985, 1991; Trask, 1986, 1991; Webster, 1987). These debates are primarily concerned with various *re*constructions of history, attempts to account for a "true" history to support a particular goal. Following postmodernist critiques of anthropological theory (Clifford, 1988; Clifford & Marcus,

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 37–72

1986; Marcus & Fischer, 1986), and Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept, "The Invention of Tradition" (1983), contemporary anthropologists have analyzed and deconstructed island histories, searching less for authentic histories than "to understand the process by which they [invented portions of culture] acquire authenticity" (Hanson, 1989, p. 898). Such academic exercises may be poorly received by indigenous scholars. For researchers to assert that "false" pasts are real, because they are widely believed, attacks the core of indigenous power and is perceived as a patronizing and neo-colonial stance, another assertion of the ethnographic authority the postmodernists supposedly eschew. At issue are questions of authority and the types of data to be accepted as valid (Trask, 1991). Academic and indigenous discourses, once separate or at least separable, today interpenetrate and speak to each other (see Smith, 1991). Even when insiders and outsiders are in epistemological agreement, however, the words and tones appropriate to one discourse may be offensive to the other.

More fundamental, however, is the issue that in hierarchical Pacific island societies, knowledge is power (see Fardon, 1985; Foucault, 1980; Kesolei, 1978; Lindstrom, 1991; and Sahlins, 1985, 1991). Cultural and historical knowledge is *not* evenly shared by members of a society, but is *"distributed and controlled"* (Keesing, 1987, p. 161) in the Pacific, residing in and expressed through the chiefly hierarchies. "The time of society is calculated in dynastic genealogies, as collective history resides in royal traditions" (Sahlins, 1985, p. 49). Strict rules apply for public discourse and the dissemination of history. As in all societies, only a select few have access to certain facts. Even when knowledge of events and interrelationships among peoples and polities is widespread, culturally specific rules identify who may speak on certain topics and under what circumstances.

Such reconstructions of history, however, whether indigenous or academic, focus on the present, on the political relationships inherent in contemporary attempts to make sense of past events and to use such structures to support modern political and economic power (Hanson, 1989; Lindstrom, 1982). These critiques of the presentation of history tend to see the multiplicity of histories of an event through present interpretations, assuming "a" history, rather than through a multiplicity of interpretations current at the time of the event. In this essay I suggest an alternate approach to interpreting history, focusing on the multiple actors who assign meaning to an event at its moment of occurrence and on the often hidden meanings created and manipulated at the time of the event. Constructing alternate

interpretations during the brief florescence of the event, the processes of entering such events into history, and their later interpretations are related but separable phenomena, even though these creative processes are fraught with the same political and economic hegemonic pressures inherent in historical reconstructions. Dening (1990), focusing on the present encounter, suggests a theatrical metaphor: "The 'ethnographic moment' in which two parties of an encounter interpret one another's otherness is theatre in the round. The stages face outward and inward. They perform to the other and to themselves and change one another and themselves in doing so." Making history, according to Dening, consists of transforming "the memory of this encounter into texts of varied genres and these texts are performed—in ritual, in play, in pantomime, in mimicry, in mockery."

To demonstrate this alternate approach to the study of history, let us explore a set of pivotal events in Koror, Palau, in 1866 and 1867: the execution of a Scottish trader, Andrew Cheyne, at the orders of Koror's paramount chief, who holds the title *Ibedul,* and the execution in turn of the Ibedul at the order of the captain sent by the British Admiralty to investigate Cheyne's death. In this case exogenous events (actions of the trader Cheyne and of the British naval Captain Stevens) interacted with local structures (relations within and between Palauan polities), regional systems (relationships between Carolinian polities), and the world system (British and German hegemonic interests). (See Biersack, 1989, and Sahlins, 1991, pp. 39–48), for recent theoretical models of the dialectic between structure and event.) The main actors include Palauan chiefs and commoners of several polities, chiefs and commoners from the neighboring Carolinian island of Yap, British and German traders, the British Admiralty Board and naval captain, and Europeans living in Palau. The events were evoked by and in turn affected local structures as well as the complex interrelationships between Palauans of competing polities with the British and Germans, and relationships between the British and Germans vying for power in the Western Pacific. The sources I draw upon include oral histories of Palau and Yap and a wide range of written histories: Palauan history texts; Captain Cheyne's private journals; the official records of the British Admiralty Court; the edited (and later translated) account of a German trader, Tetens, working in the Western Pacific during the 1860s; and accounts of previous researchers and ethnographers. In the Tetens account in particular we see a local example of Dening's theatrical metaphor: Palauans and Europeans drawing upon past histories and interpretations of each other to model their interactions, cre-

ating inward and outward facing stages to negotiate their interests and settle their conflict. While details of the actors, intentions, and meanings vary, the consensus in the many sources consulted is that the Ibedul was indeed executed.

However, consensus among sources is not the way to evaluate history in Palau; one must evaluate the communication according to: (a) the source's position in society, personal reputation, and right to speak about this history (relationship to village, clan, and title); (b) the way the interpretation fits Palauan models of history and political structures; and (c) confirming sources. Multiple stories must be examined for the completeness of the stories presented and degree of overlap, and for the relationship of the current presentation to contemporary issues under consideration (see especially Petersen, 1991, p. 46, for a similar process in Pohnpeian practices of purposeful omissions). Multiple interpretations may result from a number of causes, and different versions draw upon a base rarely explicated in full, which may contain hidden aspects unless there is an appropriate need for the deepest history to be put out (*melidiich,* literally to "shine brightly on or into; glare into; light up, insult"; Josephs, 1990, p. 163). Multiple interpretations may result not just from later interpretations, but also from hidden agreements at the time of the event—an event that may be carefully orchestrated to deceive.

The examination of another Palauan history—that the Ibedul was not in fact executed in 1867—adds a new dimension. According to this version, published by the Palau Community Action Agency (PCAA) as part of an extensive public history project under Palauan anthropologist Katharine Kesolei's direction, the Ibedul's brother, chief *Rechucher,* was substituted for the Ibedul during Stevens' visit and was executed in his place (PCAA, 1977, p. 163). The substitution of Rechucher (the third-ranking title in Koror, traditionally held by the younger brother and heir apparent to the Ibedul title) of course would have been hidden from the visiting British, to protect the paramount chief, as well as from later colonial powers and anthropologists. The substitution, if it occurred, is an example of the creation of multiple and hidden meanings at the time of the event to protect local political structures. And in a sense, then, both the histories of the execution of the Ibedul and of the substitution are "authentic" within both Palauan and academic discourse. In Palau both the public and *kelulau* (chiefly whispers, or secret negotiations) versions of an event structure future interactions. (The political

ideology, *rolel a kelulau*—way of politics—[PCAA, 1976, pp. 50–51] is discussed in detail below.) In academic parlance, because the public interpretation of the event was widely believed and served to structure further understandings among Palauans and between Palauan and European powers, it is equally "authentic"—a perhaps spurious tradition created to be genuine (Handler & Linnekin, 1984).

While the versions turn upon one key historical "fact" (whether the man then holding the Ibedul title was indeed killed), and only one version can therefore be fundamentally "true," the historical "fact" is of less interest than the examination of the multiple versions and their creation. What types of data will be admitted for consideration? Whose voice should take precedence? The "Rashomon Effect" (Heider, 1988) is due not simply to different observers. The authority of written history also plays its role: The official British Admiralty Court records have for the past century been privileged over the less widely known oral histories. Yet written European sources are also problematic: The competition between British and German interests in the Pacific colors these accounts. Also at stake is the privilege of observation, for the court record includes eyewitness accounts of the execution. Palauans also privilege "what I saw with my own eyes" and, secondarily, histories appropriately passed down by their elders. Should local oral histories be privileged over outsider written histories and official Admiralty Court records of the trial, and if so, which oral history? Alternate oral histories both support and reject the written record, and the conflicting oral versions all conform to Palauan standards of veracity. Indeed, there is a microcosm of conflicting interests. German sources that have just recently come to light appear to support the history that someone was substituted for the Ibedul and executed in his place. But access to this source was fortuitous—had it not been found would the oral history be any less "true?" The "truth" of the kelulau is an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms, for its purpose in 1867 was to mask the truth and establish an alternate history for British consumption. From that standpoint the kelulau is the ultimate example of local "resistance" to outsider hegemony, the sleight of hand by which "reality" is altered to protect the local chiefly institution while appearing to give in to the weight of British sea power, and the proofs of its efficacy are that it was successfully maintained for a century and the British and powerful Europeans did not learn they had been misled. Or, in academic discourse, the case demonstrates from local perspectives the interactions of indigenous power elites on the "extreme periphery" of the world system with colonial

oppressors, showing the indigenes as manipulators of colonial oppressors, as actors rather than simply respondents to European colonial domination (Biersack, 1989; Comaroff, 1982).

POLITICAL STRATEGIES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY

Kelulau ("confidential or important [community] matter; whisper"; Josephs, 1990, p. 110) denotes both the confidential nature of the information and its community nature. In the past, kelulau was associated with the chiefs, who maintained the confidential histories of their clan, its titles, and of the village and its relationships with other villages; hence the common gloss of "chiefly whispers." The term remains integral to Palauan concepts of government: The national congress is named *Olbiil era Kelulau,* literally the House of Whispers.

Kelulau also connotes the broad category of political interactions and may be used synonymously with government. Thus, rolel a kelulau (the way of politics) is:

> a series of strategies and personal disciplines for a person as prescribed by the village elders. In traditional society these were secret. The techniques varied, but the idea was to sublimate one's true emotions and achieve a favorable result by assuming an appropriate attitude. Subtlety and cunning often helped. (PCAA, 1976, pp. 50–51)

This first volume of the PCAA *History of Palau* lists seven major kelulau techniques that include giving pleasure to others, personal determination, surprising or confusing, acting sympathetically, threatening, appeasing and compromising, and sincerity as means to achieve personal and community goals.

One important aspect of kelulau is subterfuge, or to keep something hidden. At times this might include an outright deception (*mengeblad*), similar in tone to the English word "hoax" that I have chosen to describe the substitution of Ibedul. Both hoax and mengeblad emphasize deception. The English term connotes a playfulness that may also be present in the Palauan mengeblad: Compare hoax ("Deceive, take in, [person] by way of a joke" or "humorous or mischievous deception"; Fowler and Fowler, 1974, p. 579) with mengeblad ("deceive; cheat; bluff; use [something] deceptively";

Josephs, 1990, p. 173). Given the Palauan predilection for cunning political strategies, as evidenced by the highly developed art of kelulau, it is possible that despite the potentially deadly serious business of protecting the Ibedul there was a puckish quality to this attempt to "put one over" on the British.

In the Caroline Islands, historical interpretations are complicated by the fact that there is no central all-encompassing hierarchy, but rather a series of interrelated polities forming (and re-forming) loose confederations. Histories are primarily rooted in places, specific geographical locations and lands, and in the chiefly titles and titleholders who represent them. Thus in Palau there is no one history of a contemporary polity, but a series of local histories that together *may* sometimes give a coherent whole. However, chiefly historical discourse is rarely directed toward compiling a definitive history of an event or period. Rather, contemporary issues are mediated and negotiated through multileveled statements that evoke public and private histories of persons, places, and events. The inferences and oblique statements require decoding by the listeners; skill in speaking and decoding multiple levels is a highly refined chiefly game. Knowledge is not something to be publicly and proudly displayed, but to be held privately and dispersed parsimoniously: To give away all your knowledge would be to give away your power (see especially Kesolei, 1978, and Petersen, 1990, 1991).

Enter American educational models based upon assumptions of history as an area of public domain that should be taught to all individuals. A curriculum for children and adults was established that included social studies courses on Micronesian societies as well as courses on American and World History, supported by developing local sources. In the 1960s the district anthropologists worked with local historians (McKnight, 1964). In the 1970s Department of Education and PCAA projects highlighted Palauan genres of keeping history—the oral histories and chants—and published previously oral histories (Kesolei, 1971, 1974, 1975; PCAA, 1976, 1977, 1978; Umetaro, 1974). The process of making, recording, and interpreting history within both Palauan and Western genres is actively pursued in Palau, retaining all the rich contestation of interpretation. (See Smith, 1991, for a detailed analysis of the changes in the nature and uses of traditional knowledge.) Local governments are increasingly turning to outside anthropologists to work with local anthropologists and elders to record their histories (Nero, 1987; Parmentier, 1981, 1987; Smith, in process); yet even here multiple versions abound, each with its own political ramifications for contemporary issues.

THE MISE EN SCÈNE

According to contemporary historians Palau has passed through a number of worlds. The contemporary world, that of *Milad* (She Who was Dead), is named for the founding goddess who was killed in the last flood but brought back to life by the messengers of the Gods. Milad gave birth to four stone children—the four villages that form the four supports of Palau (metaphorically the *eoua el saus,* or four cornerposts, used in constructing the chiefly meeting house, or *bai*). The villages are perceived as four siblings, which in their birth order are the eldest son *Imeungs* (Ngeremlengui), second son *Melekeok,* daughter *Ngerebungs* (Aimeliik), and youngest son *Oreor* (Koror). The son of Ngerebungs, *Ngebuked* (Ngaraard), also figures prominently in the structure, at times sitting with the other males in deliberation. Relationships among these villages are structured in terms of the relationships appropriate among siblings according to age and gender, and the characteristics of each are personalized and derive from their birth order and relationship to their mother and each other (see Nero, 1987; Parmentier, 1981, 1987; Smith, 1983; and Umetaro, 1974, for versions of the Milad story). Two of these villages, Melekeok and Koror, headed confederations of villages, *Ngetelngal* (Melekeok) and *Erenguul* (Koror), which were often at war.

Palauans' first sustained interaction with Europeans was in 1783 when the British East India packet *Antelope* went aground on one of Koror's reefs. Through fortunate coincidence a Malay had been shipwrecked on Palau 2 years earlier, and the *Antelope*'s Captain Henry Wilson had engaged a Malay-speaking linguist for the voyage. The British captain and Koror's chief Ibedul were thus able to converse through interpreters. They established a relationship of mutual respect and balanced reciprocity and exchange. The initial British-Palauan relationship was very cordial and remains so to this day. Captain Wilson, vulnerable without his ship, put himself under the protection of the Ibedul, whose men assisted the British in rebuilding their ship so that they could return to England. In return the British helped the Ibedul by providing a few armed soldiers and guns to fight for Koror in its battles with its enemy, the neighboring confederation of Ngetelngal (Melekeok) (Keate, 1803). The new outsiders thus conformed to existing practices whereby incoming persons and goods come under the control of the chief to serve Palauan ends. The Koror-British relationship was mutually beneficial, and after a 3-month period the British finished construction on the *Oroolong* and

set sail for Macao. They took the Ibedul's son, Lebuu, with them to England and left one sailor, Madan Blanchard, behind. Unfortunately Lebuu died of smallpox in London, but several years later the British East India Company sent ships heavily laden with livestock and plants as gifts to Palau to inform the Ibedul of his son's death (Hockin,1803). Favored by circumstance and its deep natural harbor, and by its control of the outsiders' firearms, Koror came to enjoy a special relationship with outsiders that has continued from the 1780s to the present.

Despite well-established protocols for treating overseas visitors, the arrival of Europeans on the Pacific scene created special challenges. The new foreigners controlled highly useful new technology, steel tools, compasses, and firearms far superior to their indigenous counterparts. How could the Palauan chiefs best deal with the newcomers and control the new technology? Were the foreigners all alike, and if not, did they differ in important ways? Islanders and their European visitors soon created working models of each other and directed their interactions accordingly.

The visiting ship captains, beginning with Captain Wilson in 1783, presented no great problem because they relied upon the assistance of the chiefs either to make their way homeward, if shipwrecked, or to collect their items for trade, if itinerant traders. Early European residents could be controlled by the Palauans despite some attempts to manipulate situations for their personal advantage. Faced with behavior inappropriate to the island society, Palauans treated resident Europeans according to Palauan standards, but then had the difficulty of explaining their actions to the next European visitors.

By the 1850s the foreign captains who came to stay and establish their own stations (i.e., Woodin, Cheyne), and visiting scientists such as the zoologist Semper and the ethnographer Kubary, presented major problems to the chiefs. They refused to recognize local customs and the sovereignty of the chiefs, coming instead as equals who would sit with the chiefs in council. At times they resorted to force to ensure the chiefs' compliance with European concepts (e.g., contracts) while failing to understand or follow Palauan concepts (e.g., proper behavior toward chiefs, allies, and enemies of allies). Worse, they appeared able to command at will the visits of European naval ships to support them.

The case of Captain Andrew Cheyne in Koror graphically illustrates the problems and the extreme measures required to protect Koror by controlling this man. A key figure of this tale, the young Scotsman Cheyne

made his first visit to Palau in 1843. During the period from 1860 until 1866, Cheyne's attempts to establish a monopoly over Palauan trade and to secure this trade through the cession of Palau to Great Britain were to involve the British navy, British and German traders in the area, the chiefs of the various Palauan districts, the chiefs of Yap, and even the first European scientist to establish himself in Palau, the German Karl Semper.

In June of 1843 Cheyne visited Palau for the first time, met with the Koror chiefs, and received their permission to establish a curing station for drying bêche-de-mer (sea slugs, or sea cucumbers, highly prized in Chinese cuisine, which could be traded for Chinese porcelains and silks). Within a day the Palauans had constructed a 90 ft by 20 ft (27.4 m by 6 m) thatched house for this purpose. Cheyne met again with the Ibedul and his chiefly council to secure a trade agreement with them, to which the chief responded that they had always been friends of the English since the time of the *Antelope* and would continue to be friends (Shineberg, 1971).

Although Cheyne was probably unaware of it, it was under Ibedul's protection that he set out for Yap, accompanied by a lesser Koror chief and interpreters. Koror made a formal presentation of Yapese stone money (quarried in Koror) to the Tomil chiefs, vouching for the friendly and honorable relations that had always existed between the people of Koror and the British. Cheyne thereby established relations with Tomil's powerful chiefs.

Even with the assistance of the Palauans, Cheyne's first interactions with the Yapese were difficult. Cheyne put ashore an ill crew member, breaking the 30-day quarantine required by the Yapese chiefs, and a severe epidemic of influenza broke out on Yap—the first the Yapese had ever encountered. The chiefs accused Cheyne of having brought the illness, but Cheyne took such allegations lightly and continued to collect the sea slugs, apparently unaware either of his true responsibility for bringing the illness or of the import of the sorcery charges levied against him. When an attempt was made on his life, Cheyne finally realized the gravity of the situation, but could not leave because he had men ashore on various parts of the island. After several days he succeeded in retrieving only one and had to leave five workers behind when he set sail. To ensure their good treatment, he retained one of Rull's chiefs as hostage, although he reported that this man voluntarily agreed to remain aboard until the vessel reached Palau (Shineberg, 1971).

When Cheyne arrived in Koror in 1844, he discovered that his employee Stanford had collected only a small amount of bêche-de-mer in his absence (because he received monthly wages rather than a percentage of his work).

Angry at finding the Spanish Captain Somes successfully collecting the sea slug, Cheyne tried to forestall him by purchasing the small island of Malakal (next to Koror) from the Koror chiefs. The chiefs' understanding of what rights such purchase granted remains questionable, as does the transaction itself. In Koror the five men who had been left behind on Yap were waiting for the ship, having been sent over by the Yapese chiefs who hoped thereby to retrieve the Yapese chief still on Cheyne's ship. In August of 1844 Cheyne collected his men and released the Yapese chief. Nearly a month later he departed, not to return until 1860.

By all accounts a fair man, Cheyne was not adept at personal and business relationships. This was the case not only with Pacific Islanders but also even with his fellow Europeans and employees. He tried to govern these relationships by written contracts and had no comprehension of why this approach failed. Many of the men who chose to live in the Pacific were rowdy and undependable and, even when honest, would rather receive a secure salary than bother their repose by working. In the example given from Cheyne's first voyage, he was mystified that Stanford had not collected more bêche-de-mer, whereas Cheyne's fellow Europeans were mystified that Cheyne paid him a salary rather than a percentage of the trade. Yet Cheyne did not change, and upon every return to Koror would be surprised to find his establishment gone to ruin. Cheyne had little understanding of the ways his own actions were perceived by others. He continued to consider the Yapese chiefs of Tomil as treacherous and lying, refusing to recognize that the chiefs had any basis for their distrust (he considered that the Yapese chief had stayed as his guest, not "hostage," and had no understanding of his symbolic or direct responsibility for the earlier influenza epidemic). Later, when he broke with the Koror chiefs in both European and Palauan terms, he rationalized his own actions and considered the Ibedul treacherous. Despite his long residence in Palau he did not understand the gravity of his actions from Koror's perspective.

Whereas Koror in 1783 had been able to command 150 war canoes, by the 1860s it had no more than half as many. Koror's population (and that of all Palauan districts) had seriously declined by 1862 to perhaps as little as one fifth of its previous level, primarily because of deaths from Western diseases. By the 1860s the visiting Europeans were no longer as easily controlled as they once had been. Perhaps their firepower might be harnessed by the Koror chief to be used against his enemies, but such power was tenuous at best. Europeans controlled the island of Malakal, and the Koror chiefs needed translators and interpreters to deal with European

visitors. Koror also depended on Europeans both for a continued supply of guns and ammunition and for the highly desired trade goods.

Cheyne's main opponent in the Palauan trade in the 1860s was the English Captain Woodin. At first the two worked together, and Cheyne at one point managed to persuade Woodin to divide the trade, giving Cheyne the lucrative bêche-de-mer while Woodin would control Palau's other products. Finally Cheyne's demands grew to the point of Woodin's ruin, and Woodin withdrew to Babeldaob and established a curing station and trade station in Ngebuked (Ngaraard), which he armed and fortified. The Koror chiefs were upset both at the loss of control of foreign trade and at the arming of Ngebuked, Koror's former ally.

In early 1861 Cheyne tried to cement his relationship and monopoly over all Palauan trade, not just trade with Koror, with a series of contracts and petitions. In March he concluded a "Treaty of Commerce" with the chiefs of Koror and wrote Palau's first constitution, "Constitution of Pellow," and accompanying "Regulations" (the documents are quoted in Nero, 1987; Semper, 1873/1982; Stevens, 1867). Although Cheyne knew very well that Koror was only one village state and did not control all of the islands of Palau, it was in his interest to assert otherwise, that the Ibedul was "sovereign of the whole Pelew Islands" (Cheyne Constitution, Article 1). In the treaty, Cheyne was granted exclusive trading rights throughout the Palau Islands for "five hundred moons," including the rights to purchase any necessary lands, to control and if necessary expel any other foreigners, and even the right to arbitrate disputes among the local Palauan districts. In return the Koror chiefs were bound to protect Cheyne and his trade and once again to bring the island of Peleliu, south of Koror, under control. The only possible benefits to the Koror chiefs were a 10 percent duty on all Cheyne paid for products within Koror (for which they had to give up their right to tax their subjects), a 5 percent duty on products elsewhere in Palau, and Cheyne's agreement not to arm their enemies. It is unlikely the chiefs either were told the entire agreement or understood it, as they later held, for it is unlikely they would have granted Cheyne the right to arbitrate interdistrict Palauan disputes. The only part of the written agreement truly to their benefit, one which conformed to appropriate behavior in Palauan terms, was that Cheyne would not arm Koror's enemies.

In April, Cheyne, in the name of Koror's male chiefly councils, the *Ngarameketii* and *Ngaracheritem,* wrote a "Petition" supposedly from the chiefs to Great Britain ceding the Palau Islands to Great Britain and requesting that they become a British Protectorate. In the petition the chiefs

also requested British assistance in subduing their "rebellious subjects." Later, the Ibedul bitterly represented to Tetens that they did not know its true content until Woodin and Semper translated the document to them. They had signed it because they believed in Cheyne at the time and because he had given them a fine gun (Tetens, 1888/1958). Shineberg, Cheyne's biographer, saw these documents as "fairly commonplace in pre-administration times in the Pacific, as Europeans sought the kind of guarantees with which they were familiar for their property and for a reasonable measure of order in government" (Shineberg, 1971, p. 22).

Cheyne sent copies of the Treaty of Commerce, the Constitution of Palau, and the Petition by the Koror Chiefs Requesting the Protection of Great Britain to the British Consul in Manila on June 1, 1861. At that time Cheyne suggested that the British send a man-of-war to claim the islands for Britain. The British ignored both the Koror chiefs' cession petition and Cheyne's request for a man-of-war. Coincidently, however, the British man-of-war, HMS *Sphinx,* commanded by Captain Brown, arrived in Koror in early 1862 and then proceeded to Ngebuked where it destroyed the village, its war canoes, and Woodin's establishment. By chance, Woodin was not in Palau at the time. Because of the timing and the ship's actions, nothing could convince the Palauans that Cheyne had not called in the warship to support his interests. In fact, the warship had been sent on a voyage to search for survivors of the British barque, *Norna,* which had been shipwrecked in 1861. Commander Brown walked right into a Palauan intrigue. Cheyne told him that Ibedul was the rightful ruler of the entire island group, but that because of the arming of other districts by passing ships Koror was no longer in control of all of its districts. Brown was easily persuaded to look for the missing sailors in Ngebuked and once there apparently needed little instigation to fight. What was to the English Captain Brown and his man Edward Seymour a pleasant expedition or slight encounter was to the Palauans a major defeat because they measured not in terms of casualties but by the destruction of the village, its meeting houses, and especially its war canoes. In Woodin's terms as well, his defeat by Cheyne was complete. Whereas the British ship went to Palau only to search for missing seamen, their actions convinced the Palauans that they had come in response to Cheyne's threats. It appeared to the Koror chiefs that Cheyne had the power to command the considerable might of the British navy.

Woodin returned to Palau in 1862 just after the *Sphinx*'s departure, bringing the German scientist Karl Semper. Semper was a zoologist, but his description of the Palauans and their customs (published in 1873, English

translation published in 1982) was the first comprehensive report by a scientist. Although Semper's general descriptions are excellent, his political observations were tempered by his extreme dislike of Cheyne and strong feelings against Koror. Semper had first been offered passage to Palau by Cheyne,who later refused him; Semper then took passage with Woodin, who was based in Ngebuked.

Semper was at the Ibedul's house reading the Keate book on Palau, in which Cheyne's Constitution of Palau and the Treaty of Commerce had been slipped, when he met his countryman Tetens, who first arrived in Koror in 1862 as Cheyne's first mate and trade partner. (Tetens himself later split with Cheyne and began independent trade with Koror.) Semper misread Keate's description of Ibedul as "King of Pelew" to mean "King of Palau" (Semper, 1873/1982, p. 108), and, thus misled, overlooked Keate's description of the independent districts of Palau and their various alliances (Keate, 1803). Semper felt that Koror's power was due solely to the assistance Captain Wilson had provided Ibedul, and that since that time Koror was attempting to establish its sovereignty over all of Palau. The man holding the Ibedul title in 1862 claimed that he was " 'king' of all Palau" (Semper, 1873/1982, p. 186) and maintained that Ngebuked was under Koror. During Wilson's time Ngebuked had been one of Koror's allies, but with the assistance and arms provided by Woodin was trying to establish itself as Ngetelngal's successor as head of the northern Babeldaob confederation in opposition to Koror (Semper, 1873/1982). Semper reported that after the previous Ibedul's destruction of Ngebuked's neighboring district of Ngardmau, Ngebuked had shifted its alliance (and that of the villages which together comprised the district of Ngaraard) to Ngetelngal. Because of Ngetelngal's defeat and peacemaking with Koror, Ngebuked was then, according to Semper, the counteropposition to Koror. (Palauan political structures operate through balanced oppositions; see McKnight, 1960). While Semper was negative about what he considered Ibedul's pretensions to power and control over all of Palau, he was generally sympathetic in his portrayal of Ibedul. Semper's and the Ngaraard chiefs' main antipathy was to Cheyne, who, they realized, was manipulating Ibedul.

Captain Cheyne was an enigmatic character who has been treated by European writers both favorably and as the consummate scoundrel. Woodin (1852, 1854, 1863), an earlier trade partner against whom Cheyne used extreme measures in an attempt to monopolize Palauan trade, was understandably negative in his depictions of the man. Semper (1873/1982), who relied on Woodin, first disliked Cheyne based on Cheyne's involvement of

the HMS *Sphinx* in his trade war with Woodin. Semper felt so strongly that he sent a full exposé of Cheyne to his (Semper's) brother-in-law for publication in the *Diario de Manila.* He found further grounds for his dislike when he discovered Cheyne's exclusive Treaty of Commerce with Koror and the Constitution of Palau Cheyne had written. The Treaty of Commerce between Cheyne and the Koror chiefs is a remarkable document, so completely one-sided and unenforceable that one wonders today that Semper or anyone else took it seriously. Yet it was similar to treaties and agreements used elsewhere in the Pacific in the 1880s. The Germans Semper and Tetens, and the Koror chiefs, once Woodin and Semper translated the documents to them, saw the treaty and constitution in extremely negative terms. It appears that Semper's (1873/1982) main objections to the documents were Koror's false assertion of hegemony over all of the Palau Islands and Cheyne's monopoly control of all foreign trade. However, the struggle for control of the Pacific by the various European traders, soon to be echoed in national assertions of control and conflict among Britain, Germany, and Spain in the 1870s, was just beginning in earnest. One cannot totally discount the national content of the opposition between the Germans Semper and Tetens and the Briton Cheyne. Despite numerous allegations over the years that Cheyne had mistreated or defrauded natives, none were ever substantiated or acted upon by European judges using European standards of reference (see especially Stevens, 1867). However, European contemporaries who knew both Cheyne and the Palauans generally agreed with the Palauan dislike of the man. (A more balanced modern depiction of the man can be found in Hezel, 1983, pp. 178–196.)

The Koror chiefs no longer trusted Cheyne after Woodin and Semper translated Cheyne's documents. They were held back from harming him mainly by fear of Cheyne's "demonstrated" ability to call in a British warship—the Palauans believed the warship that came to find the *Norna* had come at Cheyne's command, as he had expediently claimed. They tried to get rid of Cheyne in many ways—by making his life in Koror impossible and by sending word to their Yapese allies to kill him. This would have taken little persuasion due to the Yapese hatred of Cheyne.

In Palauan terms, Cheyne's behavior was utterly reprehensible. Semper recorded some of the Ibedul's wife's complaints:

> "He's a bad, cruel man. He acts as if he were King of Coroore. And he often snubs Ebadul. He lives in our country, but he refuses to respect our customs. . . ." Complaints of his failure to pay debts and his illegal encroachment upon the local customs continued. One time he

> promised to give muskets to the inhabitants of Aracalong [Ngarchelong], which was against the trade agreement. Another time, he refused to give Ebadul payment in the form of powder for the fine ox they had shot for him. He was also a coward because he would not fight beside them, although he was their ally. And everything about his life with the young women was shocking.
>
> "We no longer know what to do," my hostess continued. "Cabel Schils [Captain Cheyne] is a powerful, rich chief, and all our complaints don't help us. If the council says something and it displeases him, he pays no attention to our customs. Recently, he scoffed at Ebadul in the middle of the council. Anyone else who had done that would've lost his life. And Cabel Schils still hasn't sent any presents to restore friendship. He makes a mockery of our customs." (1873/1982, pp. 219–220)

In addition, Cheyne had assaulted the person of the Ibedul, tearing his ear as he tore out an earring. Cheyne had violated the most sacred part of the body of a Palauan chief—the head. In vain the Koror chiefs hoped Semper had the power to call in a warship to rid them of Cheyne.

Cheyne persisted in his dream of establishing a Pacific stronghold, despite the diminishing trade as the Koror chiefs tried to force him to leave. In 1862 he sent his then first mate Alfred Tetens to Yap for an extended stay. When Tetens returned to Koror he found Cheyne fearful for his life and eager to depart for Manila. Cheyne left Tetens in charge of his station and hurriedly departed. At first the chiefs and people of Koror were very hospitable to Tetens, although the Ibedul complained bitterly about Cheyne:

> "All that you wish will be granted you, Clow Rupak [Great Chief]. My people will sell you everything, if only you will prevent that bad man from returning; we do not believe his false words any longer. For years we have delivered quantities of trepang, tortoise shell, and coconut oil to him; we have done all his work because he promised to make us the strongest tribe on the island. For that we gave him Malakal as his own; but do you know how he kept his promise? He made the same promise to our enemies, gave them weapons to destroy us. Cabel Mul [Captain Woodin] and specially Era Tabatteldil [Dr. Karl Semper] told me long ago of the intentions of this false man. Era Tabatteldil has also read the contract which delivered our country to England; we signed it without knowing what it said because we believed him and because he gave me a fine gun. As soon as we lived at peace with our neighbors, he got his friends to spread false stories about us and so brought about an unnecessary war. He lured not only my wives but those of the leading chiefs into his house, and mistreated them if they would not give in to his desires. Now tell me, Clow Rupak, is he coming back?"

> Although the king had given a true picture of his enemy . . . yet the king dreaded nothing so much as the coming of an English warship, with which Cheyne had successfully threatened him. (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. 28–29)

To protect his own life, Tetens promised that Cheyne would return, but without a warship. Based on this promise, the Ibedul and his chiefs accepted Tetens and for months all went well until unexpectedly all relationships ceased. The Koror chiefs had apparently decided Cheyne would no longer return and, consequently, they no longer feared his wrath. Cheyne did return briefly in 1863, picked up Tetens and left, and the two dissolved their partnership. Tetens would not return until 1866, but Cheyne soon returned to pursue his dream of a Pacific trading empire.

Cheyne's personal journals from 1863 to 1866 tell the story of a man beset on all sides. Many of his European employees and seamen were apparent scoundrels. The Koror natives always found excuses not to fulfill their promises to fish and collect bêche-de-mer for him, and he was constantly bothered by petty thievery. Whenever he left Koror his plantation was neglected. He felt that the chiefs had attempted to kill him on several occasions on Malakal. He received reports in Koror that the Tomil chiefs on Yap wished to kill him and that he should be on his guard during visits there. The Tomil chiefs in turn advised that it was the other districts of Yap that wished him killed. Cheyne finally concluded that all was at the instigation of the Koror chiefs, through the men they sent with him to Yap. Yet Cheyne continued his trading voyages through Yap and Palau and on to the Hermit Islands (west of the Melanesian island of Manus), despite continuous reports of threats to his life. At one point while trading in Ngarchelong against the Koror chiefs' desires, Cheyne heard that Ngarchelong's chief had refused the Palauan money payment the Ibedul sent him with a request that he allow Cheyne to be killed there.

By late September of 1865 Cheyne had concluded that he had for years been deceived by the chiefs of Koror and the only way he could trade freely throughout Palau and achieve his aims was by arming the other districts so that they could become independent (Cheyne Journal entry of September 27, 1865). In October Cheyne started purchasing pieces of land throughout Palau, paying the chiefs in guns and ammunition and generally arming the districts. This action was in specific contradiction to his contract (the Exclusive Treaty of Commerce) with the Koror chiefs. He felt justified by the poor quantity of bêche-de-mer provided by Koror, but now he had broken

faith not only in Palauan terms but in European terms as well, according to his signed agreements.

Version 1: The British, and "Official" Public Histories of the Executions of Cheyne and the Ibedul

On approximately February 7, 1866, under Ibedul's orders, a group of men including men of Ngetelngal approached Cheyne at his house on Malakal late one night and killed him. By one account Cheyne was killed by the son of Ibedul, the irate former husband of Cheyne's wife (who had been given to him by the Koror chiefs). According to other accounts it was a Yapese who actually killed Cheyne. Both were in the attack party according to the court records (Stevens, 1867). Cheyne's body was then thrown into the sea, although according to some accounts he was later buried in the stone platform at the Koror chiefs' meeting house, the *Ngermidelbai* of the highest male council, the Ngarameketii.

When word of Cheyne's murder reached Manila, no immediate action was taken due to the illness of the British consul there, but in March of 1867 the vice admiral of the China Station sent a warship, the HMS *Perseus,* to Palau to investigate. According to British Vice-Consul N. Loney in his letter to Lord Stanley, March 22, 1867:

> Admiral King's instructions to the *Perseus* were to avoid all violence in dealings with the natives of Palau. European runaways who have taken up residence in the Pacific are to a great extent the cause of the sanguinary deeds occasionally done. (Stevens, 1867, Dispatch 22, ADM 1/6006)

Unfortunately, Captain Stevens of the *Perseus* did not follow these orders. He did conduct a thorough investigation of Cheyne's activities in Koror and Yap, including various allegations of mistreatment of natives that had been put forth over the years. Stevens concluded that such allegations were not grounded. Because the interpreter Stevens had brought with him, Joseph Bacon, a former Cheyne employee, could barely communicate with the chiefs, he used James Gibbons, a West Indian resident in Koror. Stevens summoned the European residents, Koror chiefs, and chief *Ngirturong* of the northern village of Ngeremlengui (perhaps he was recommended by the Europeans as independent of Koror) to provide testimony. He also visited Cheyne's grave, which he reported was covered with coral stones (the Palauan sign

that the person was not born on the island). After hearing testimony Stevens concluded that Cheyne's death had been ordered by Ibedul and carried out by the men of one of Koror's clubs (*cheldebechel*). He further reported that the reason for the assassination was Cheyne's dealings with Koror's enemy Ngetelngal—his past and continuing acts of supplying them with arms and ammunition. Stevens told Koror's chiefs they were responsible to see that the murderers were punished. Thus he technically would have no direct part in any violence, according to his orders, despite the overwhelming presence of his warship backing up the investigation and "resolution" of the problem. When the chiefs advised him that Ibedul and Ngirturong were responsible and would be killed by them according to their custom, Stevens refused to agree to Ngirturong's death because he had promised him immunity in return for his testimony. Stevens agreed to Ibedul's death. Knowing that Rechucher was the Ibedul's successor, Stevens witnessed the shooting of Ibedul by Rechucher at noon on April 12, 1867 (Stevens, 1867).

All Western accounts have maintained the official British and Koror historical version of the Cheyne incident: that Cheyne was assassinated on approximately February 7, 1866 (Stevens, 1867), by order of the Ibedul, and in turn Ibedul was executed at noon on April 12, 1867. The Stevens and public Palauan accounts agree that it was Rechucher who shot and killed Ibedul; Stevens recounts that he and the Koror chiefs witnessed the execution of Ibedul by Rechucher, who then succeeded to the title of Ibedul as Stevens had known he would. Krämer, for some unknown reason, in recounting the history of the execution (quoting for the most part European written sources), identified the "prime minister (No. II)" (Krämer, 1917, p. 142), who then took the title, as the executor of the Ibedul. This statement of Krämer's appears to be in error according to both the eyewitness account by Stevens (to which Krämer had no access) and Palauan political structures (only someone of the *Idid* clan could execute the Ibedul; if someone from the competing second clan of *Ikelau* had carried out the execution, intravillage relationships would have been severely strained; if that chief then took over the governance of Koror, the hierarchy of titles would have been overturned, which did not occur; if that chief from Ikelau had taken over the Ibedul title, as Idid had earlier taken the *Ngirmengiau* title from Ikelau and renamed it *Ngirioulidid,* this title transfer would still be evident in the appointment to office).

There are a number of oral histories maintained by Koror and the other states of Palau concerning the execution of Ibedul. I examine two conflicting histories.

Version 2: The Palauan Public History of the Execution of Ibedul

One oral history generally agrees with the Stevens account that the Ibedul was executed by his successor, Rechucher. This public history was maintained by the chiefs for at least one century and was the version told to early German ethnographers. In keeping with the generally friendly feelings of Palauans toward the British, some versions of this history maintain that the British captain did not mean that Ibedul should actually be executed. Knowing that Rechucher was the Ibedul's brother, the captain did not believe he would in fact shoot the Ibedul as ordered. By simply ordering the execution, whether or not it was carried out, the captain would have fulfilled his duty. This version contends that the captain was not aware of the Palauan practice of succession by assassination whereby the successor to one of the highest titles could, if the other chiefs agreed and accepted his monetary payment, kill the titleholder and succeed to office. But, contrary to the wishes of the British (as this version contends), the younger brother did shoot and kill the Ibedul and succeed to his office. The successor was an unpopular ruler and died shortly thereafter of leprosy—a punishment by the Gods perfectly in keeping with Palauan concepts of fate and retribution.

Version 3: An Alternate Version of the Execution of Ibedul

According to another version (PCAA, 1977), the Ibedul was not killed, for Rechucher had been substituted for Ibedul during the entire stay of the British ship. After all, the people of Koror would not kill their own high chief or allow him to be killed! This version was held as kelulau (chiefly whispers), and the history that the Ibedul had been executed was maintained both in public and to later German ethnographers and administrators.

Version 4: The Record of Trader Tetens

The secret, however, could not be held in the case of the German trader Tetens who wrote an account of his various trading visits to Palau. A close analysis of Tetens' account and the documents available in German archives supports the chiefly kelulau and provides some of the details of the planning of the performance. The Tetens account (1888) is a popular account edited

by S. Steinberg during Tetens' lifetime and later ably translated into English by Florence Spoehr (1958). Because it is a popular account, not the official ship logs (which were apparently among the Godeffroy and Son records destroyed in Hamburg during World War II), it therefore must be used carefully. The chronology is misleading, especially that which Spoehr added (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. xxxv–xxxvi); however, Spoehr's translation, which I verified for key passages, is accurate in tone and content. Tetens mistakenly called Rechucher the prime minister and *Ngiraikelau* the war minister, contrary to all other European glosses of these offices. It is unclear whether Tetens knew that Ibedul was a title, not a name. He often called him King Abba Thulle (Ibedul) or just Ibedul; Spoehr was clearly confused and did not know Ibedul was not a name.

In 1865, in his native Hamburg, Tetens had been approached by the firm J. C. Godeffroy & Son, which was expanding its Pacific trade network. Tetens was appointed master of the trade vessel *Vesta* and Godeffroy's agent for Palau. Tetens departed from Hamburg in August of 1865 and arrived in Koror after an exceptionally long sea voyage, apparently early in February, 1866, because he arrived after Cheyne's death. This is one instance where the chronology is unclear. In chapter 3 it appears as if Tetens departed within hours of a letter dated July 24, 1865; in chapter 4 there is no date of departure given, only that Tetens arrived in Malakal, Koror, 172 days later, and 2 days after that in the capital Koror (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. 58–59). This would put his arrival in January, yet Cheyne was not killed until at least February 7, when his diary ended (Stevens, 1867). However, errors in chronology among the chapters are to be expected because, as Spoehr advises, she revised chapter order for clarity (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. xi).

In Koror Tetens renewed his friendship with Ibedul and his chiefs, who gave him a royal welcome. They were very impressed with Tetens' ship and especially its small steamer, which they had never seen before. The only hesitation and evasion he encountered was when he asked Ibedul the whereabouts of Captain Cheyne. The following day in Koror the chief was maneuvered into admitting that Cheyne was dead, and he reluctantly told Tetens the story:

> "After your departure Captain Cheyne visited our island again, and, with the excuse of desiring only trepang and tortoise shell, did us much harm. By his urging, our old enemies started war with us once more, and when that did not succeed, he persuaded us into an agreement whereby England was empowered to take possession of our is-

> land. The people of Palau took revenge on the bad man. He was lured out of his house on the pretense that a canoe loaded with taro and pigs had landed and that these things were to be delivered to him. The captain had hardly left his safe house when the men fell on him, struck him down with a hatchet, and as he was still alive, he was hacked in pieces with a big flagstone and cast into the ocean. Kann [God] has freed us from the evil Fonoie-yann' [spirit]." (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. 61–62)

Tetens, knowing how much the Palauans had hated Cheyne, felt such an outbreak had been inevitable.

Tetens then departed on a trading voyage to Yap and other islands. Upon his return Tetens was as usual besieged by local canoes. All the men expressed fear that a British warship would come to investigate Cheyne's death and they conveyed the king's request that he visit him in Koror at once, whereupon:

> With feverish suspense the agitated king begged me repeatedly for advice on his behavior in case an English ship actually came.
>
> "Tell me at least, Clow Rupak," the guilty king asked, "will the Englishmen be satisfied *if only the murderers of the captain are punished?*"
>
> "Perhaps so," I answered, "that is, if you can prove that no one else planned the attack." The king became quieter and invited me to attend the coming feast. (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. 74–75, emphasis added)

Tetens departed again, this time for the Hermit Islands, Woleai, Yap, and Hong Kong, where he reported Cheyne's murder. When Tetens returned to Koror he was met by its prime minister who persuaded him to join one of Koror's battles against Ngetelngal. Then Tetens again departed for Hong Kong, not to return until 1867.

A careful investigation of Tetens' translated memoirs supports the oral history that the man holding the Ibedul title was not himself killed, for Tetens knew the Ibedul personally and had traded through him and the chiefs for a number of years. Tetens' journeys brought him to Palau immediately after Cheyne's assassination, and, it appears, after Ibedul's supposed execution. Although the book is vague about dates of arrival and departure, a careful reading supports the interpretation that the Ibedul was not executed. Recent information also indicates that the German archives in Hamburg contain additional Tetens documents I have not yet analyzed, including a photograph of Tetens on Yap dated November of 1867 (Heinz Schütte, personal communication, January, 1991). If confirmed, this would clearly establish that

Tetens' return to Palau was after the Ibedul's supposed execution and could help confirm that a substitution had indeed been made.

Tetens returned to Palau in 1867. Unfortunately his memoirs do not give the date of his departure for Palau from Hong Kong, although he advised that the passage to Palau took an abnormally long 2 months. Tetens arrived in Koror and hurried to see Ibedul, eager to persuade him to his plan to establish cotton plantations that would be run by Chinese laborers whom he had brought along.

> Next day I visited the king of Koror in order to discuss with him and his chiefs the planting of larger fields of cotton. The king seemed pleased at my visit, asked how my wound [from the battle with Ngetelngal] had healed, and agreed amicably to all my requests. But he would under no circumstances allow me the legal ownership of the strips of land for my plantations. He was too fearful of the plans of the murdered Captain Cheyne for annexing the islands, *and of the earlier attack by the English warship.* (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 88, emphasis added)

Tetens left his Chinese laborers at work and then set off again on an extended trading voyage throughout Micronesia. Tetens visited in the Carolines, touched on Chuuk, then turned to Ulithi, went on to the Mortlocks, and finally "after a month's voyage" (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 97) returned to Yap. There they discovered the Yapese in a state of war, and in the confusion Tetens was again wounded when one of his guns, carelessly placed in the small boat, discharged and hit Tetens in the thigh. Seriously injured, Tetens was landed at the closest village where he was at times abandoned as the war raged and opposing sides fought over the village.

> For four months I endured this misery. . . .
>
> The conflict at last ended. Continued nursing renewed my shattered hopes. . . . Gradually my strength came back. Soon, too, the *Vesta* returned from her expeditions, but my wound was still too dangerous for me to be taken on board. My mate was then advised to sail meanwhile to the Hermit and L'Echequier Islands to trade for the usual products and to pick up the agents and subagents left there. . . .
>
> On the mate's return voyage the *Vesta* landed on a reef, was freed with the greatest difficulty, and unable to sail farther, now lay leaking at her anchorage. . . . After days of labor the brig was caulked. . . .
>
> I left the [Yap] island hurriedly in order to reach Hong Kong as soon as possible. . . . I did not wish to leave the Caroline group without touching at Palau once more and assuring myself of the state of my cotton plantations. (Tetens, 1888/1958, pp. 99–100)

When Tetens reached Palau he was unable to disembark, so Ibedul came to see him on board ship.

> King Abba Thule came on board with his followers, repeated the justified complaints [about the Chinese laborers], and begged me to free the island of the Chinese. . . .
>
> Under these circumstances there was nothing for me to do but to take all the Chinese on board and return them to Hong Kong. The king and all the inhabitants expressed themselves very happy and relieved at this solution; and the Chinese were pleased to be returning to their homeland. (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 101)

I believe one can interpret that Ibedul's stated fear of the English warship in the passage quoted earlier (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 88) referred not to the 1862 attack on Ngebuked (which after all acted in Koror's interests) but to the recently departed *Perseus* under Captain Stevens. During Tetens' second visit to Palau in 1866, the chiefly council had been frantically searching for a way to deal with the anticipated warship. At that time Ibedul wanted Tetens' opinion about whether or not the English would be satisfied to punish "just the murderer." Once Tetens concurred (1888/1958, pp. 74–75) it is not difficult to surmise the chiefs' various options. The Tetens account states only that Tetens left Hong Kong in 1867. Even if Tetens left in January of 1867 and his first stop in Koror 2 months later preceded the *Perseus* visit in April, Tetens then traveled throughout Micronesia and was laid up for months with his injury on Yap. Counting only the time periods he specified and allowing no additional time for his ship to travel or be repaired before finally picking him up at Yap, he was gone from Palau at the very least for 5 months. Even if Tetens preceded the *Perseus* on his first visit in 1867, when Tetens departed Koror for the last time, it had to be at least July or August of 1867, and it was more likely some time in 1868, well after the departure of the *Perseus.* Yet Ibedul came to the ship to see him depart.

Tetens gives a complete version of the murder of Cheyne, which he reported to the authorities in Hong Kong, and it is reasonable to assume he would have continued the account by providing the story of Ibedul's execution at the orders of the British in retribution for Cheyne's death, had he known it. Yet Tetens gives no such account, and his description of his meeting with Ibedul and their negotiations to repatriate the Chinese laborers he had left in Koror on his previous visit reads as if it were a continuation of ongoing negotiations. There is no mention that another individual had taken the Ibedul title, if indeed Tetens was even aware it was a title, not a

name (which is questionable). Given that the chiefs, especially Ibedul, had consulted Tetens on how to deal with the British, one could expect them to report the outcome to him, giving him an account of the visit of the British warship. Had Ibedul been executed, there would be no reason to withhold the story from Tetens; it was told to all other outsiders during the following years. But if a substitution had been made, the story of the British warship's visit could not be told to Tetens, who would easily see that Ibedul had not been killed and undoubtedly would report this fact to the British, just as he had earlier reported Cheyne's murder. The Ibedul could have stayed ashore and not met with Tetens, but it was apparently of great importance to Koror that the Chinese be removed from the island. Perhaps Ibedul felt this was of sufficient import to meet with Tetens directly; after all, it was easy not to mention the visit of the warship.

Because the date of Tetens' departure for Hong Kong from Palau was not specified but must be inferred from the various elapsed times given in his account, the reader is easily lulled into the translator's conclusion: "Captain Tetens' memoirs do not relate the dramatic end of his friend, King Abba Thule. What the king had dreaded since Captain Cheyne's murder came to pass even before Tetens left the islands" (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 103). Spoehr then directly quoted from Krämer's report of the visit of the *Perseus* in the spring of 1867 and Ibedul's execution, but added a note: "The year 1867 seems to be an error for 1869" (Spoehr Epilogue to Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 103). This is reasonable, for the Krämer account contained the error discussed above—that the "prime minister (No. II)" (or Ngiraikelau), not Rechucher, had executed the Ibedul. Spoehr apparently did not notice Krämer's statement (1917, p. 148) that Tetens visited Palau again in 1867 and 1868, which concurs with the chronology Spoehr gave in her 1958 translation of Tetens. Krämer had access to the original Tetens, from which he quoted.

Hezel also caught the discrepancy of dates and person but, because of the vagueness of the memoirs, took the Western written error in the other direction:

> His [Tetens'] cotton project showed as little financial promise as bêche-de-mer, and in *1867* he left the Pacific altogether to return to his native Hamburg.
>
> The inevitable British warship finally steamed into Palau in April 1867 to investigate Cheyne's murder. . . . The ibedul . . . admitted that he had ordered the murder because Cheyne had betrayed Koror by selling arms to hostile villages in Babeldaob. Sentence was passed

sponsible for peacemaking and smoothing over problems of his younger siblings. A further anomaly in the Stevens account also supports an interpretation highlighting chiefly intrigue. Stevens lists "Iramunyoa" (Ngirmengiau) as the second chief, or "prime minister" of Koror, even though the title Ngiraikelau was already in use by the time of Cheyne, as evidenced by the Cheyne treaty and constitution (see Nero, 1987, for a discussion of the titles of the second house of Koror). I can only surmise this might have been because the Ngirturong of Ngeremlengui was also Ngiraikelau of Koror at that time. The two houses are closely related, and only a few years later, in 1871, one individual, whose death was recorded by Kubary (1873, p. 188), held both the Ngirturong of Ngeremlengui and the Ngiraikelau of Koror titles. Because the British had knowledge of the structure of the Koror government, to maintain the semblance of Ngirturong's independence, another man would have been needed to represent the second title if the same individual held both titles. Ngirmengiau, by then a clan but not a council title, would have been the appropriate representative.

If indeed Rechucher was substituted for Ibedul, this kelulau was maintained throughout the colonial administrations of Palau. This version, even once it was released, has generally been discounted by Westerners on the grounds that it would have been impossible for someone to masquerade successfully as Ibedul throughout the investigation. However, by selecting Rechucher, to whom all commoners would naturally show respect, the chiefs would have required only the agreement of their own council and perhaps the resident foreigners called upon to testify and translate—John Davy, the longtime Koror resident, and James Gibbons. The main translator was James Gibbons, a West Indian who had settled in Koror in about 1860 and who would spend the rest of his life there. Davy and Gibbons also had reasons to maintain their silence.

In this incident we catch glimpses of the response of the Koror chiefly institutions to extreme encroachments on their power. Unable to control the foreigners any longer by their isolation or by incorporating the foreigners' power, the chiefs dealt with them through diplomacy and kelulau.

The assassination of Captain Cheyne can be considered an exercise of the due political and legal responsibility of the Ibedul and his chiefly council to protect the polity of Koror: Cheyne was stopped both from arming the other major districts of Palau and from attempting to cede the islands to Great Britain. Cheyne's earlier actions of physical assault against the person of the Ibedul, which would have resulted in the death of any of his Palauan subjects, were overlooked because Cheyne was a foreigner. His political

actions, contrary to both Palauan practices and his own "contractual" agreements with the Koror chiefs, were considered high treason and were acted upon as such.

However, Great Britain and all of the European powers of the time refused to acknowledge that indigenous legal institutions existed anywhere beyond their own shores, and most certainly this was the case with respect to the rights of European subjects throughout the islands of Oceania. During this period of British control of the high seas, Great Britain in particular wielded its considerable naval power to protect the rights of its citizens abroad.

In the past Palau had benefitted from its interactions with Great Britain and the Honourable East India Company; however, with the visits of the HMS *Sphinx* and *Perseus* they were faced with a far superior military power that they might or might not be able to harness. And, as demonstrated by the *Sphinx*'s burning of Ngebuked, from a very early time Palauans generally had to deal not with high level foreign officials who could treat on the level of the principles involved, but with military underlings who "followed orders" and were often overzealous in their interpretation of these orders so that they could wield their military might and power. The British Admiralty Board later reviewed the *Perseus* incident and Stevens' conduct in carrying out his orders. Only one of the seven examiners supported Stevens' actions; the comments of the others ranged from "questionable" to "improper" in their conclusion on December 31, 1867, that Stevens "has shown a total disregard of those orders. . . . I look upon this as one of those acts which are unjustifiable" (Stevens, 1867, unpaginated document). While they regretted and condemned Stevens' action in "executing" the Ibedul, to their knowledge the act was completed. Despite their condemnation of the execution, however, I doubt they would have applauded the knowledge that the Palauan chiefs had managed to subvert their exercise of Britain's power and control over the law of the seas.

From these incidents we can see the beginnings of the deployment of the considerable Palauan chiefly skills in political maneuvering and intrigue against foreigners. In this case the chiefs could protect the Koror paramount titleholder only through subterfuge. Even though the British thought the chief responsible had been executed, he quickly returned to power after the departure of the warship. In the next century a succession of foreigners would enter into direct colonial administration of the islands. Whereas Palauans, particularly the chiefs of Koror, had always managed to use foreigners and their technology for their own benefit, they now would have to use all

their political skills if they were to keep control of their people and lands and at the same time keep the foreigners satisfied.

From a perspective that focuses on the performance aspect of cross-cultural encounters, we can begin to read the perceptions of others and the personal and national interests of the actors as they crafted their encounters to fulfill their objectives. But the Palauan case exceeds the metaphor of cultural performance. The substitution, over a period of at least a week, was the actual performance of another individual in the part of Ibedul.

This brief incident sheds light on three senses of justice: British, the British sea captain's, and Palauan. The British admirals, sitting in London, recognized that many of the ills their subjects encountered in the islands were directly the result of improper behavior and ordered an investigation. The British sea captain, on the spot and concerned with maintaining British power in the Pacific and protecting British subjects, ordered the execution of the chief who had ordered Cheyne's execution. The Palauans, recognizing that the Koror paramount chief was endangered, protected him through substitution. There was no attempt to lie about Cheyne's execution or who had been involved. The British and Palauans of course differed on whether this was a proper exercise of Palauan governmental powers—was Cheyne's death an execution or a murder? Neither the British nor the Palauans, however, sought the actual killer, but instead punished the person who had ordered the execution—an indication of the congruence of British and Palauan senses of justice.

On the level of Palauan political intrigue, this is primarily a history of Koror—more specifically of the continual struggles by the chiefs of Koror to maintain and increase power over their primary rival, Ngetelngal. In 1783 Captain Wilson had provided the Ibedul with soldiers and firearms in Koror's battles against Ngetelngal. Nearly a century later, Captain Cheyne's decision to arm Ngetelngal, thereby breaking his verbal and written contract with Koror's chiefs, led to the Ibedul's decision to order Cheyne's assassination.

Within Palau, interpretations of relationships are multilayered. I have based the above discussion on written records and interviews I conducted with Koror elders and the Palau Society of Historians. Even within Koror the versions disagree about whether or not the Ibedul was executed. But this is to be expected, for if this extreme attempt to protect the chiefly institution were to succeed, the public history to be maintained and passed down would have to be that the Ibedul had been killed. The Palauan chiefly institutions came under increasingly stronger attacks during the next century by resident German, Japanese, and American colonial administrators.

Under the Japanese, Koror went to the extreme of developing a "dual" Ibedul, continuing to honor the Ibedul "deposed" by the Japanese but allowing his Japanese-appointed successor to handle relations with the Japanese (Nero, 1987, p. 337).

As discussed above, Palau's ranking villages are ordered by their relationship to the founding goddess Milad. Ngermelengui, the eldest son, remains set aside near the birthplace of the stone village children, mediating between his rivalrous younger brothers Melekeok and Koror and caring for his sister Aimeliik. In political battles, however, Ngeremlengui and Koror were often allies. One construction of the Stevens investigation is that Palauans closed ranks against the British outsiders who presumed to meddle in Palauan chiefly matters. The role of Ngirturong in aiding the British, thereby gaining his own immunity and being able to direct the outcome of the investigation, is consonant with Palauan models of dealing with outsiders. I have no information on the role, if any, played by the Melekeok high chief *Reklai*—he is absent from the Stevens account. It is possible that he was not involved, although men from Ngetelngal were among those who lured Cheyne to his death, according to the Stevens inquiry. It is equally possible that he acceded to the hoax of Ibedul's substitution, for Palauan high chiefs frequently colluded for their mutual benefit, such as by sending secret messengers to request an "enemy" chief to vanquish an affiliated village that was growing too strong to be controlled.

Of course it is also possible that the Ngirturong did conspire with the British against the Ibedul to protect himself, but this is not in accord with (a) the normal relations between Koror and Ngeremlengui; (b) Ngeremlengui's symbolic importance as elder mediator who gets his troublesome younger brother out of difficulties; (c) the responsibilities of the Ngirturong and Ngiraikelau titles, if held by the same individual; and (d) Tetens' description of the chiefs planning how to deal with the British.

There are also many layers to the relationships between Palauan and British actors in the affair. If the hoax did occur it had to be with the collusion of resident British subjects Davy and Gibbons who translated for Stevens and who certainly knew which individual held the Ibedul title; however, Davy's and Gibbons' long-term interests were allied with the Palauans, and they could only remain in Palau at the sufferance of the chiefs. In fact Gibbons' son William would later marry the woman who carried the ranking Idid title of *Bilung,* which is the counterpart to the Ibedul title, and William would be given the seventh-ranking title in Koror, *Rubasch.* It is a common practice to this day for outsiders to be accepted into Palauan families, either

by marriage or adoption, for it is only through such familial relationships that one may actively participate in Palauan affairs. In the nineteenth century such relationships would have been critical to being allowed to trade and reside in Palau. Although Stevens offered Davy and Gibbons passage out of Palau, they chose to remain.

Important Palauan histories are marked in stone, through oral histories passed from generation to generation in chants and stories, and through the personal histories of money pieces exchanged at important events. I have already discussed several of the oral histories associated with Cheyne's and Ibedul's executions, and I have alluded to the coral stone markers that purportedly marked Captain Cheyne's grave at the platform of the Koror chiefly meeting house, Ngermidelbai. If there are Palauan chants or money histories that pertain to these executions, I have not yet learned them; however, testimony recorded in the Stevens account indicates that no Palauan moneys were paid (Stevens, 1867). There is a Yapese stone money piece that marks the involvement of the Yapese man in Cheyne's execution. It was common during this period of Palauan history to request Yapese men resident in Palau to carry out political assassinations, both because Palauans considered the Yapese *bekeu* (brave), and as outsiders the Yapese found it difficult to deny the request of a Palauan chief on whom they depended for protection. In this history the money piece marker is a Yapese *rai* stone money (quarried in Palau) that is held by the descendant of the Yapese man who killed Cheyne. This recalls the rai stone money the Ibedul sent with the two Koror chiefs to Tomil in 1843 to establish Cheyne's relationship with the Yapese chiefs. Two levels of the nineteenth century structural linkages between Palau and Yap (Nero, 1990) are displayed in the Cheyne incident: the first one a hidden history, the second one of relationships between ranking chiefs. Both are marked by presentations of stone money.

The British actions bear scrutiny. Cheyne was by all accounts poor at interpersonal relationships and, before the 1867 investigation, he had already been tried once by the British Admiralty for purported crimes against natives. Although Stevens absolved Cheyne of the charges, the Admiralty had specifically instructed Captain Stevens *not* to take any retributive action on the grounds that the problems of resident traders were usually of their own making. Yet even the interests of the distant British Admiralty Board and the British investigating captain diverged. The captain's continued safety depended upon prompt retaliation for any harm befalling a British subject in the islands, and while he followed his orders through the technicality of

inducing the chiefs to execute the Ibedul, he nevertheless assured that the murder would be punished by an execution that he witnessed.

Nor can we overlook the competitive interests of the British, long in control of the high seas, and the newly successful German trading empire in the Pacific. It was Semper who originally took exception to Cheyne's "Constitution of Palau." Yet such foreign-inspired constitutions were common in the Pacific at the time and were often the bases upon which colonial control was asserted. It was the German trader Tetens, a former employee of Cheyne, who reported Cheyne's death to the British in Hong Kong. Although there are no indications in Tetens' accounts that there was any national content to his action, still the Stevens affair damaged the positive image Britain had maintained in the islands for a century. The British retaliatory action eroded Palauan support for the British and helped relations with Germany. Bismarck at that time was attempting to translate economic control into political control. In 1875 Germany and Spain nearly went to war over the neighboring island of Yap, creating a furor that required papal intervention, which confirmed Spain's colonial control but allowed Germany trading rights. In 1899 Germany took over the colonial administration of both Palau and Yap from Spain, which had held titular power even though the British were more influential.

The story of Ibedul's execution is, upon closer examination, analogous to a Shakespearean play of hidden identities. The fun of the play is to unravel the hidden identities and to ponder the effects of the deceptions. I posit that this is how the Ibedul execution play was designed from its inception. The point of the performance was *never* to elucidate the brief ethnographic moment. That moment was carefully staged in order to create layered meanings, alternate explanations, and public and private accounts, insider and outsider. The ethnographic moment speaks of political relationships among Palauans; between Palauans and Yapese; between Palauans and both resident and briefly visiting British citizens; between Palauans and German and British traders, and, later, ethnographers and administrators; and even between rivalrous British and German interests in this remote island. History only rarely speaks of "facts." It is always a present attempt to understand relationships among key actors and to assert political hegemony. Yet I submit that such present-day constructions do not just reflect contemporary issues; they are at times a direct result of alternate constructions created at the time of the event.

Present constructions of Palauan histories continue to assert political hegemony, although the loci of external power are no longer the same. The

political formula of 1867 is now inverted. To maintain chiefly power at that time, the chiefs had to hide the substitution of Rechucher for Ibedul and make it appear that the all-powerful British captain had succeeded in imposing his will. Only then would he sail away and leave the Palauans to govern themselves as they always had. Today the British no longer pose a threat. In 1977, when Kesolei released the story, Palau was preparing for independence and constitutional government. Finally, a history of hoodwinking the British could be told, for it demonstrates that the Palauans were always in control.

Acknowledgements

Research for this paper was conducted primarily between 1982 and 1984 under the auspices of the Koror State Government. I would especially like to thank *Ibedul* Gibbons, *Rechucher* Merep, my counterpart researcher, and all the male and female chiefs and elders of Koror and Palau for sharing some of their histories for my project (Nero, 1987). Most important, because of the contested nature of Palauan and Koror history, is the fact that no restrictions were placed on my work and its publication by Koror State, the Ibedul, and the current state administrator John Gibbons, other than the standard precautions that all evidence be carefully and appropriately collected and reviewed. As the elders taught me, no history is ever complete or definitive; I offer this paper in that spirit and in the spirit of the joy with which historical puzzles are considered and expounded by the chiefs. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers and Karen Leonard of the University of California, Irvine, for providing insider and outsider critiques and suggestions. Errors in interpretation are of course mine.

I would like to thank Katharine Kesolei and the staff of the Palau Community Action Agency for all they taught me during the 2 years (1979–1981) I worked as their researcher; they provided the basis from which I could attempt such a study. Katharine Kesolei, who was responsible for first releasing the alternate version of the substitution, was kind enough to join me in a long discussion of the incident and its interpretations as I struggled over whether to include the (PCAA) version in the Koror history.

Research since 1984 has been made possible from a number of personal sources, and since 1988 it has been under the auspices of the Robert Gumbiner Fund of the University of California, Irvine.

References

Anthropology seen as father of Maori lore. (1990, February 20). *The New York Times.*

Biersack, A. (1989). Local knowledge, local history: Geertz and beyond. In L. Hunt (Ed.), *The new cultural history* (pp. 72–96). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cheyne, A. (1866). *Journal aboard the brigantine Acis, November 1863–*

February 1866. Unpublished private journal in the possession of Sir Joseph Cheyne, Rome; held in the Micronesian Seminar Library, Weno, Chuuk, for research but not quotation.

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Comaroff, J. L. (1982). Dialectical systems, history, and anthropology: Units of study and questions of theory. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 8,* 143–172.

Dening, G. (1990, December). *Towards an anthropology of performance in encounters in place.* Paper presented at the meeting of the Pacific History Association, Guam.

Fardon, R. (1985). *Power and knowledge: Anthropological and sociological approaches.* Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge—Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977.* Brighton: Harvester Press.

Fowler, H. W., & Fowler, F. G. (Eds.). (1974). *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Handler, R., & Linnekin, J. (1984). Tradition, genuine or spurious. *Journal of American Folklore, 97,* 273–290.

Hanson, F. A. (1989). The making of the Maori: Culture invention and its logic. *American Anthropologist, 91,* 890–902.

Hanson, F. A., & Hanson, L. (1983). *Counterpoint in Maori culture.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Hanson, F. A., & Hanson, L. (1988). Structure in objective history: A reply to Webster. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 97,* 325–329.

Heider, K. (1988). The Rashomon effect: When ethnographers disagree. *American Anthropologist, 90,* 73–81.

Hezel, F. X. (1983). *The first taint of civilization: A history of the Caroline and Marshall islands in pre-colonial days, 1521–1885.* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 1. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i.

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.). (1983). *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hockin, J. P. (1803). *A supplement to the account of the Pelew Islands, compiled from the journals of the Panther and Endeavor, two vessels sent by the Honourable East India Company to those islands in 1790.* London: G. & W. Nicol. (Published as a supplement to the 5th edition of G. Keate, 1803; see below.)

Josephs, L. S. (1990). *New Palauan–English dictionary.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Keate, G. (1803). *An account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, composed from the journals and communications of Captain Henry Wilson, and some of his officers, who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked, in the Antelope, a packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company* (5th ed.). London: G. & W. Nicol. (Original work published 1788). *To which is added, a supplement....* (See above: J. P. Hockin, 1803.)

Keesing, R. (1987). Anthropology as interpretive quest. *Current Anthropology, 28,* 161–169.

Keesing, R. (1989). Creating the past: Custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific, 1,* 19–42.

Keesing, R. (1991). Reply to Trask. *The Contemporary Pacific, 3,* 168–171.

Kesolei, K. (1971). *Palauan legends, No. 1.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Kesolei, K. (1974). *A Rubekul Belau.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Kesolei, K. (1975). *Palauan legends, No. 2.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Kesolei, K. (1978). *Knowledge is power.* Paper presented at the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Symposium, Monterey, California.

Krämer, A. (1917). Palau. In G. Thilenius (Ed.), *Ergebnisse der Südsee Expedition 1908–1910.* Ethnographie; B. Mikronesien. Band 3, Teilband 1. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter.

Kubary, J. S. (1873). Die Palau-Inseln in der Südsee. *Journal des Museum Godeffroy 1, 4,* 177–238. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co.

Lindstrom, L. (1982). Leftamap kastom: The political history of tradition on Tanna, Vanuatu. *Mankind, 13,* 316–329.

Lindstrom, L. (1991). *Knowledge and power in a South Pacific society.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Linnekin, J. (1983). Defining Tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian identity. *American Ethnologist, 10,* 241–252.

Linnekin, J. (1985). *Children of the land: Exchange and status in a Hawaiian community.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Linnekin, J. (1991). Text bites and the R-word: The politics of representing scholarship. *Contemporary Pacific, 3,* 172–177.

Marcus, G. E., & Fischer, M. M. J. (1986). *Anthropology as cultural critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McKnight, R. K. (1960). *Competition in Palau.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

McKnight, R. (1964). *Orachl's drawings.* Micronesian Research Working Papers No. 1, Saipan, Mariana Islands: Printing and Publication Division.

Nero, K. L. (1987). *A cherechar a lokelii: Beads of history of Koror, Palau 1783–1983.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Nero, K. L. (1990, December). Linkages between Yap and Palau: Towards regional histories. Paper presented at the meeting of the Pacific History Association, Guam.

Palau Community Action Agency (PCAA). (1976). *A history of Palau, vol. I: Traditional Palau, the first Europeans.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Palau Community Action Agency (PCAA). (1977). *A history of Palau, vol. II: Traders and whalers, Spanish administration, German administration.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Palau Community Action Agency (PCAA). (1978). *A history of Palau, vol. III: Japanese administration, U.S. Naval Military Government.* Koror: Palau Community Action Agency.

Parmentier, R. J. (1981). *The sacred remains: An historical ethnography of Ngeremlengui, Palau.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago.

Parmentier, R. J. (1987). *The sacred remains: Myths, history, and polity in Belau.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Petersen, G. (1990). *Lost in the weeds: Theme and variation in Pohnpei political mythology.* Occasional Paper 35. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Island Studies, University of Hawai'i.

Petersen, G. (1991). *In the absence of truth, limits on power: Lanengamah and Pohnpei's politics of concealment.* Unpublished manuscript in author's possession.

Sahlins, M. (1985). *Islands of history.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, M. (1991). The return of the event, again: With reflections on the beginnings of the Great Fijian War of 1843 to 1855 between the Kingdoms of Bau and Rewa. In A. Biersack (Ed.), *Clio in Oceania* (pp. 37–99).

Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Semper, K. (1982). *The Palau Islands in the Pacific Ocean.* (M. L. Berg, Trans.; R. D. Craig, Ed.). Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. (Original work published 1873)

Shineberg, D. (Ed.). (1971). *The trading voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841–1844.* Pacific History Series, No. 3. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Smith, D. R. (1983). *Palauan social structure.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Smith, D. R. (1991). [Review of The sacred remains: Myths, history and polity in Belau, 1987, by R. J. Parmentier]. *Pacific Studies, 14,* 154–169.

Stevens, C. E. (1867). *Report of proceedings at Pelew Islands, in the matter of the murder of Andrew Cheyne, master of the schooner Acis, 16 April 1867.* ADM 1/6006. London: Public Record Office.

Tetens, A. (1888). *Vom schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout, Erinnerungen aus dem leben des Capitäns Alfred Tetens.* [From cabinboy to Wasserschout; memories from the life of Captain Alfred Tetens]. Written by S. Steinberg based on his [Tetens'] notes. Hamburg: G. W. Niemeyer.

Tetens, A. (1958). *Among the savages of the South Seas.* (F. Spoehr, Trans.). Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. (Original work published in 1888 as *Vom schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout)*

Trask, H. (1986). [Review of Children of the land: Exchange and status in a Hawaiian Community, 1985, by J. Linnekin]. *Hawaiian Journal of History, 20,* 232–235.

Trask, H. (1991). Natives and anthropologists: The colonial struggle. *The Contemporary Pacific, 3,* 159–167.

Umetaro, S. (1974). *Belau: Uchelel Belau er a Uab el me er a Miladeldil* [The beginning of Palau from Uab to Miladeldil]. Koror: Department of Education.

Webster, S. (1987). Structuralist historicism and the history of structuralism: Sahlins, the Hansons' counterpoint in Maori culture, and postmodernist ethnographic forum. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 96,* 27–65.

Woodin, E. (1852). *Log of the English barque Eleanor, 1852–1852.* C2399. Hobart: State Library of Tasmania.

Woodin, E. (1854). *Log of the English brig Betah, 1853–1854.* C2405. Hobart: State Library of Tasmania.

Woodin, E. (1863). *Log of the schooner Lady Leigh, 1861–1863.* C2409. Hobart: State Library of Tasmania.

Defining History Across Cultures: Islander and Outsider Contrasts

LIN POYER
University of Cincinnati

Historians, anthropologists, and historic preservation experts involved in Micronesian history define historical significance in light of their own cultural backgrounds and professional interests. Local people, including cultural experts, work from different assumptions about the meaning of the past. Comparing local and non-local experts' listings of historically significant sites on Tōrwa (Maloelap Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands) highlights these different views as outside experts emphasize Tōrwa's extensive World War II remains while local people focus on sites of traditional importance. Different definitions of historical significance hold implications for the study of history across cultures and for the practical organization of research and preservation activities.

The surge of interest in historic preservation beginning in the United States during the 1960s led to the introduction of programs to identify and conserve historic sites and stimulated wide public recognition of the importance of protecting them from deliberate destruction or simple deterioration. It is not surprising that this interest in preserving the past was also introduced to the then-U.S. Trust Territory, particularly because the timing coincided with a renewed interest on the part of the U.S. government in program initiatives in Micronesia. As a result, the last three decades have seen the establishment of Historic Preservation Offices (HPO) on the U.S. model throughout the islands and a series of research projects and policy initiatives concerning Micronesia's historical resources.

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 73–89

For this paper, I will use information from Tōrwa (Taroa) Islet, Maloelap Atoll, a community in the Republic of the Marshall Islands visited under the auspices of the most recent of these research projects, the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation's Micronesian Resources Study (MRS). Among the goals of the MRS were those of identifying cultural and historical resources in specific Micronesian locales and helping local governments develop programs to protect them.

This and other recent efforts to investigate and preserve Micronesia's cultural and historical resources come at a time when historians and anthropologists have begun to engage theoretical questions that affect the very basis of historic preservation work. That is, we have begun to ask in earnest two questions that have always been with us implicitly: "Whose history?" and "History for what?" Projects like the MRS juxtapose foreign and Micronesian answers to these questions.

I will begin by considering two answers to the apparently much simpler question, "What are the historical resources on Tōrwa Islet?" (I limit my considerations here to physical remains of past events or circumstances; wider definitions of historical and cultural resources were used in the original research.) In general, outside experts are impressed by Tōrwa's well preserved remains of a World War II Japanese garrison and airbase. Tōrwa people themselves are more concerned with sites of traditional meaning; only one site identified as important by local people derives its significance from the war. After describing both sorts of historical resources, I will suggest that the difference in the two lists derives not only from the greater interest that foreigners have in global (World War II) rather than local (traditional) history, but also from differing premises about the meaning of history itself.

HISTORICAL RESOURCES ON TŌRWA ISLET, MALOELAP

Tōrwa is the easternmost islet of Maloelap Atoll in the eastern (Ratak) chain of the Marshall Islands. Maloelap is a large, fertile atoll, with four major inhabited islets and more than 60 other islets. Tōrwa is a broad, triangular island with a land area of approximately 1.8 square kilometers (Laird, 1981). In 1989, the Micronesian Resources Study, undertaken by the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, funded an ethnographic project in the Republic of the Marshall Islands that included a field project documenting Tōrwa's cultural attributes. I was assisted in this work by staff members of

the Historic Preservation Office and the Alele Museum on Majuro and by field assistants on Tōrwa (Poyer, 1990). (MRS also funded a concurrent archaeological survey of Tōrwa; see Adams and Ross, 1990.)

Tōrwa's unique historical and demographic characteristics significantly shaped the research project. Before World War II, Tōrwa was the administrative center for Maloelap Atoll and had a sizable population. It was the residence of the *irooj laplap* (paramount chief) for most of Maloelap; he also ruled other atolls in the Ratak chain.

Japan chose Tōrwa as the site of one of its fortified bases in the Marshall Islands, then the eastern edge of the Japanese Empire. When military buildup began transforming Tōrwa into an airbase, residents were removed from the island. Marshallese men, Korean workers, and Japanese soldiers labored to build and staff the base, which included two runways, defensive fortifications, and reinforced concrete buildings for military work, housing, and services for thousands of soldiers and laborers. With the 1944 Allied forces invasion of the Marshall Islands, Tōrwa was cut off from supplies and subjected to regular bombing by the United States. During this time, the remaining Marshallese laborers escaped. The dwindling number of Japanese and others, under constant Allied attack and suffering from disease and starvation, manned Tōrwa until its surrender in 1945.

Resettlement began soon after the surrender but proceeded slowly. The majority of people with prewar land rights on Tōrwa, and their descendants, have never returned. The population of Tōrwa at the time of research (August–September 1989) was 120; 69 of these were under 16 years of age. Tōrwa today has a small, young population with shallow historical roots on the island. Elders who are knowledgeable about Tōrwa's prewar life and traditional history live elsewhere on Maloelap or on Majuro. During the project some of these elders were interviewed, but an exhaustive collection of knowledge from among former Tōrwa residents was not undertaken.

Tōrwa has been once again designated as Maloelap Atoll's capital, with changes planned that will affect its future. An increased population will alter the landscape as a larger work force is able to clear and work more of the island's overgrown interior. Island-level political organization will be needed to respond to the consequences of a larger settlement. Dormant land tenure issues will begin to surface. Inevitably, Tōrwa's cultural resources, now protected by the low impact of the small population, will come under increasing pressure.

SITES OF TRADITIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

As I said above, Tōrwa's tangible resources can be divided readily into those locally recognized as important and those recognized by outside experts as historically significant. To the outsider, the most obvious cultural resources on Tōrwa are the remains of the World War II Japanese airbase that dominate the island's landscape. Yet, though the war and its tangible and intangible memories are of interest to the Marshallese people, the major players of that historical drama were Americans and Japanese. In fact, areas valuable for their war-era significance may be least valuable for Marshallese cultural records because the war and the postwar cleanup destroyed many sites of traditional importance.

In interviews on Maloelap and with elderly Tōrwa people on Majuro, we elicited local perspectives on places, concepts, historical or legendary figures, and other natural and cultural attributes of Tōrwa. Interviews produced a consistent list of four to six named, marked places locally valued as significant. Younger Tōrwa residents were less informed than their nonresident elders about the history and meaning of these, but they were equally clear in identifying them as significant. A list of important sites independently compiled by the Reverend Kanki Amlej, Historian at the Alele Museum on Majuro, with assistance from other Marshallese historians, matched our list. At this point, brief descriptions of these sites are in order.

Likeañ wāto (land parcel)

Sites associated with the lives and deaths of irooj laplap (paramount chiefs) are valued and marked by Marshallese throughout the islands. Burial sites of chiefs, *wuliej lap* (literally, big or great cemetery), are usually *mo* (tabu), places where shouting and casual walking are prohibited; they are readily identified in any community. Two irooj laplap, Lobadeo and Jajua, are known to have been buried on Tōrwa in the cemetery that used to exist at the west shore of Likeañ wāto at the north end of Tōrwa. Japanese wartime construction bulldozed the area, and the shore has been deeply eroded at this spot (see Spennemann, 1989); neither grave nor cemetery boundaries can be now be seen. The site remains marked in the community's memory, though not on the landscape.

Likeañ wāto was also the residence of a prewar irooj laplap, who lived in a two-story wooden house south of and adjacent to the cemetery. The house that the Japanese-era irooj occupied was destroyed by wartime construction, save for a set of concrete steps visible today. Other than these steps, nothing is visible to mark this irooj area as historically or culturally significant, and it is not now regarded as tabu or treated with respect.

A third locale of interest on Likeañ wāto, also destroyed by wartime construction, is the former site of a fort (*me*) that figured in the well-known war between Jiteam and Murjel. This fort, made of piled coral rocks, was located in the interior of Likeañ, though its exact location can no longer be determined. Elderly residents recall having seen it as children. The site was never regarded as tabu, though it was recognized as historically significant.

Lenwa and Lenwa Islet

The legend of Lenwa, known throughout the Marshall Islands, identifies her as one of three beautiful royal women who vied for the heart of the most handsome irooj, Lōñar of Aur Atoll. Lenwa lost the competition and returned to Tōrwa where she is associated with a World War II event. When the Japanese excavated a small islet near Tōrwa for construction materials, they came upon an enormous coconut crab, which they killed and ate. (The remains of the islet, visible as an elongated gravel flat at low tide, can be seen just off the north end of Tōrwa.) The soldiers who shared the crab died; local people attribute their deaths to the spirit of Lenwa. According to Marshallese accounts, the Japanese appeased Lenwa by offering prayers at the site associated with her in Lenwa wāto, and erected a stone monument nearby. Although the Japanese shrine is the most visible element of the site, it is a secondary, historical appendage to the Lenwa site.

Since ancient times Lenwa wāto has had significance as an *ekjab,* a place or object associated with spirit power. The locus of power is a small hole that used to be filled with water, usually described as a well, which contains a tree stump. The stump is said to have never decayed, but to be as fresh as a newly cut tree, giving out a red liquid when it is cut. The exact nature of the hole, the water, and the stump are hard to determine. Informants gave varying descriptions while agreeing on these basic features. The hole itself can be seen only as a depression in a vine-covered area just inland from the Japanese marker. Part of the hole, including the stump, was covered over by bulldozing during the 1978 cleanup of war debris. Informants pro-

vided several different accounts of the precise meaning of the spot identified as the ekjab at Lenwa wāto. Some say that the tree stump is the mast of Lenwa's canoe; another story is that the spot is associated with her child. All agree that the site is the most powerful one on the island.

Lenwa is described in a list of ekjab given for Maloelap Atoll by Knappe (1888): "*lenoa,* a small gorge on Tōrwa. Nothing could be planted in it. Anyone who digs there will die immediately" (p. 72). No longer protected by so potent a tabu, it remains a place of power. For example, a current resident planted root crops near the site but found that nothing grew there. It is said that the American man who bulldozed Lenwa during the cleanup became ill, despite his father's pilgrimage to offer apologies at the site. Tōrwa residents visit the area, and the family with land rights there uses the wāto (though not the ekjab itself) as a coconut plantation. Yet all agree that it is a sacred place and must be treated with respect and caution.

The "beheading place"

Near the southern end of an islet connected to Tōrwa by a land bridge is a small overgrown mound topped by an upright concrete slab that resembles a memorial marker without a metal plate of text. Next to it is an open hole ringed with rusted iron, very like an open manhole. Looking down, one sees a dark cavernous interior with rocks scattered on the bottom of the empty pit. Tōrwa people say that as recently as the 1960s this hole was filled with human bones. A group (usually described as "the Japanese") removed the bones some years ago; "maybe" they burned them and scattered the ashes—no one is sure.

The pit may be the war-era oil storage tank indicated in approximately this place on the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey map (1947). The existence of the bones was confirmed by several individuals who described seeing skulls (making it likely that these were indeed human bones). And, whether because of postwar viewing of this bone vault alone or wartime rumors in addition, the place has become famous or notorious as a historic site. When we inquired of people "What are important places on Tōrwa?" the "beheading place" was always on the list. Because no Marshallese were on Tōrwa when the bones were put into the pit, in whatever way, oral accounts can only provide speculation.

Whose bones were they? Some say they were the bones of Japanese war dead, which explains why "the Japanese" dealt with them on postwar

trips to recover soldiers' remains. But the place is usually referred to, by those who know English, as "the beheading place." In this version, the concrete block was a beheading block, or the lower part of a guillotine. Accounts following this assumption say that a member of a widely known Marshallese-American missionary family, accused by the Japanese of spying, was beheaded here. (Note that rumors of mass decapitation precipitated Marshallese escapes from Maloelap during World War II.) In other versions of the story many people were beheaded—Japanese soldiers, or Korean laborers, or Marshallese and Americans brought from Majuro and executed as spies. In this case, the bones would seem not to have been Japanese bones, which makes it hard to see why "the Japanese" would have recovered them. It may be plausible to speculate that the tank became a mass grave for non-Japanese workers killed near the end of the war, but that raises the question of who came to Tōrwa in the 1970s and removed them for respectful treatment. As we shall see, there has been an assumption on Tōrwa that any human remains found on the island are those of Japanese war dead.

Kilōñe

This term means "reef channel"; on Tōrwa it also refers to a particular reef channel off the islet's southeastern shore. This kilōñe is a dangerous one where a spirit has been responsible for at least one prewar death and two recent cases of insanity. The most recent victim has yet to be cured. In the first postwar case, an adolescent male who was fishing near the channel began to attack people with a machete late at night. He was later cured through traditional medical treatment. Within the last year or two, another young man was out with others looking for lobster. His companions left him at the channel to watch for the tide change. After they all returned home that night, he began to act peculiarly: wandering, speaking incoherently, and not changing his clothes. He later said that two people he did not know had tried to push him into the reef channel. Family problems have interfered with his receiving traditional medical treatment, and he has remained uncured for at least a year. Tōrwa residents know approximately where this dangerous reef channel is, but not precisely. It is a place they try to avoid, though, and fishermen give the area a wide berth. This is the only place on Tōrwa that is actively considered dangerous to local residents. Although Lenwa is spoken of with respect, there are no stories of harm coming to local people through Lenwa.

Other sites

The lagoon and reef contain a few other marked places in addition to the dangerous reef channel and the gravel flat that remains of Lenwa Islet. These include named areas of the reef identified as excellent fishing spots that are said "probably" to have traditional tales associated with them (tales not known by Tōrwa residents), named reef passes, and a natural hole known as the bathing place of the late nineteenth–early twentieth century irooj laplap Murjel. Chiefs' bathing areas are traditionally tabu and noted places in the Marshall Islands.

Also, in traditional Marshallese navigation, each island is associated with supernatural appearances of natural beings that are signs that the voyagers are nearing it. Navigational signs are a valued part of Marshallese traditional knowledge. Two signs for Tōrwa are the supernatural appearance of a school of parrotfish (a reef fish) at a particular spot in the ocean, and of three ruddy turnstones, birds flying together at high tide east of Tōrwa or feeding on the reef at the south end of Tōrwa at low tide.

Compared with islands having a less disturbed demographic history, Tōrwa has few ekjab, sites of cultural significance associated with spirits or the supernatural. Knappe (1888, pp. 72–73) lists seven other ekjab on Tōrwa that are no longer remembered or identified as significant (off-island Tōrwa elders whom we did not interview may know some of these). Knappe's list includes a thicket of trees, six stones, and "a place with small earth mounds"; the thicket was associated with fishing success, and Knappe explains the earth mounds by a legend of an irooj's mistreatment of his son.

Most of Tōrwa's ekjab, including these stones and earth mounds, were undoubtedly destroyed by wartime construction. Of the ekjab on land, only Lenwa was spared, probably because of the Japanese decision to respect its power after the fatal encounter with the coconut crab. Tōrwa's culturally significant sites on reef and lagoon were not destroyed by the war, but their exact location has been lost along with the stories that explained and validated their power. Tōrwa's modern residents know about these places and identify them as important, but cannot locate them precisely or support their sense of their cultural value with legends and historical details.

TŌRWA'S WORLD WAR II REMAINS

Tōrwa's extensive war-related remains are, to outside experts, a preeminently valuable historical resource—perhaps the most intact example of a

large World War II base in the world (see Adams & Ross, 1990; Tōrwa's war ruins are also described and pictured in Bartsch, 1986). On Tōrwa, however, the war remains are seen as playgrounds by children and as obstacles to using the land rather than as historical resources. Young men on Tōrwa know the location of virtually every war structure. Children explore and play on them as they grow up and become familiar with their locations and characteristics. Adults have little to do with the remains, except those they use for residences or for resources (e.g., metal for tools, brick for earth ovens) or those they consider an obstacle to a preferred use of their land. The Japanese-built pier and boat ramp in the lagoon contribute to marine resources and are used for fishing.

To understand Tōrwa residents' attitudes toward the physical remains of the war, we need to inquire into local perceptions of the war itself. Interviews with those who lived through it produced lengthy reminiscences of personal experiences and observations. In talking with younger people, we found that stories they had heard and remembered are accounts of amusing or impressive incidents and general information about the materials of war. One man described several sorts of bombs he had heard of; others told of the rescue of downed American pilots and the visit of American spies to a Maloelap islet. A story that has become folklore is the humorous tale of an enterprising Tōrwa man who tricked the Japanese by wrapping papayas to mimic labor-intensive preserved pandanus rolls (*mokan*) and selling them for cigarettes and other luxuries.

Tōrwa's current residents do not have a sense of the island's role in the strategy of the Pacific war or of the place of World War II in the making of modern geopolitics. Their knowledge of the war consists of stories about its effects on their own lives and the lives of older relatives. These personal recollections are seldom perceived in relation to the wider historical event, nor is the war itself usually regarded as a part of the Marshallese past in the sense in which legendary figures and traditional history are regarded. (See Carucci, 1989, on Enewetak recollections of the war.) Aside from personalized memories, World War II is foreign history to the Marshallese people.

Why remember the war? To commemorate World War II is so patently of interest to Americans that this may seem an unnecessary, even obtuse, question. This is not the case for Marshall Islanders for two reasons. One is the relative role of the war in regional history; the other is the cultural perception of historical significance.

Concluding an interview about her wartime experiences, I asked Ms. Nelle Leskop about her strongest memories of that time. To paraphrase, she answered that after the war people didn't feel good, they were not comfortable. When she thinks of the war, she said, she feels sorry for the people at that time—they had nothing: no soap, no kerosene. "They lacked everything." With considerable emotion, she expressed her strong recollection of the deprivation of those years. Memories of the war's effects on Marshallese on Maloelap have little to do with the physical structures on Tōrwa. The war displaced people and created conditions of hard labor and food shortages; it occasionally brought harsh Japanese discipline and pervasive fear of bodily harm from bombing. The war years were a passage of hardship between one time of plenty—the first decades of Japanese administration—and another—American largess to the suffering civilians after the successful U.S. invasion. What Micronesian elders want their grandchildren to know and feel about the war, if anything, is to recognize that it was a time of hardship and to be grateful for current prosperity.

Most Marshallese communities commemorate the war every year; Tōrwa celebrates January 13 as Liberation Day. (The date does not commemorate an actual historical event, but was chosen by the irooj.) Liberation Day begins with a flag raising and people sitting around the flag for prayers; the rest of the day is devoted to field games and general celebration. The program does not include retelling war memories or speeches about the war. Although it commemorates the end of the war, the day does not actively re-create it as a part of national or local history as do U.S. Memorial Day and Veterans' Day celebrations.

The war remains will be evaluated differently, then, by insiders (Tōrwa residents) and outsiders, including American and Japanese tourists, technical advisers, and Historic Preservation Office staff. To Tōrwa residents, the remains of the war now present only problems: they pose a danger to the children who persist in playing on them, and the quantity and expanse of the wartime construction makes much of the island unusable for agriculture.

Also, unexploded ordnance continues to be a threat to safety. The Marshall Islands National Development Program plan described clearance of World War II ordnance as one of the goals of the Marshall Islands 15-year plan. To indicate the extent of work required for adequate cleanup, the report states that 234.7 hectares (580 acres) of Wotje (another of the Marshall Islands fortified by the Japanese) "have been dug up yard by yard, and 32 tons of mines and 4,200 lbs. of other ordnance removed. As a result, the entire island is now habitable for the first time in 35 years" (Office of

Planning and Statistics, n.d., p. 6). Tōrwa has not yet been cleared equally intensively; given the costs involved, perhaps it will never be, though the Program report calls the disposal of unexploded, deteriorated ordnance "a prerequisite for habitation and development" of affected areas (p. 10).

Despite this warning, Tōrwa is and will continue to be inhabited. The war remains will continue to be a threat and an obstacle to ordinary life. Tōrwa residents are not actively seeking to have the remains destroyed, and national action on another cleanup of ordnance and debris is very unlikely, given the cost and the current government focus on development efforts on the urban islands. But lack of concern with preserving them guarantees continual slow destruction of the ruins. Several structures are used as residences; children and adolescents actively damage the remains in play; metal and bricks are removed for household use; and debris is cleared off to the extent possible without heavy equipment when people want to use an area. Shoreline erosion and the effects of climate and vegetation also continue to wear away at the remains.

Human skeletal remains constitute a problem of another sort. Finding human bones is not uncommon on Tōrwa. Japanese delegations devoted to recovering the remains of Japanese war dead have visited Tōrwa at least twice. The bones they removed included both skeletal material that was eroding from shorelines and bones dug up by the Marshallese in response to Japanese offers of cash rewards. Perhaps responding to the assumptions of these delegations, local citizens have assumed that all human skeletal material found on the island must be Japanese and date to the war. Yet Marshallese tradition since the Christian era (beginning in the 1870s and 1880s) has been to bury relatives in an area of the family's wāto, which means that Marshallese burials may occur throughout Tōrwa. This burial tradition continues; modern graves, however, are marked by concrete caps and elaborate headstones and are surrounded by a covering of white coral pebbles. Markers for prewar Marshallese graves were destroyed by wartime construction. Furthermore, elderly Marshallese stated repeatedly that the Japanese customarily cremated their dead. The local explanation for the presence of Japanese bones on the island is that under the stress of the bombing and the war, the Japanese gave up on cremation and took to burials. On reflection, however, Tōrwa residents also admitted that it was not possible to guarantee that all bones removed by the Japanese delegations were Japanese.

The matter of handling human skeletal material indicates the tendency to view war-related remains as not Marshallese and not of local value or

interest. Just as there is little concern about the removal of what are assumed to be foreign bones, so there has been little concern about the loss of foreign artifacts and the dissolution of airbase structures. The question then is to what extent and in what way the Marshall Islands national and wider international communities will seek to preserve the war remains—remains which are interesting, but not of compelling cultural or historical significance for local Marshallese themselves.

IDENTIFYING MEANINGFUL HISTORY

There is, then, no wide Marshallese commitment to preserving memories of the war, and there is no general agreement that the nation's recent history—that is, its European, Japanese, and American colonial history—is valuable enough to call for special preservation effort. (I say this despite the fact that Tōrwa's war remains are officially recognized as a historical resource in the Marshall Islands. The HPO/Alele Museum requested and received HPO funding for a 1987 survey of Tōrwa for the purpose of nominating it to the U.S. National Register as a National Historic District. Plans for that survey were not successful; however, the MRS Tōrwa archaeology project was expected to include the needed work.)

The Marshallese have a strong commitment to cultural and historic preservation, but like every people it is they who define the culture and history they wish to preserve and how they think they will preserve it. For Marshallese, it is legendary and traditional history, including the history of irooj families into the early European era, that are valuable. We can see from the list of significant sites on Tōrwa that there is little overlap between what local people consider to be important historical resources and the outsiders' view. (The partial exception is the "beheading place," the only war-era item on the Tōrwa list—but, for an outside expert, this empty oil tank would be very low on a ranking of important war artifacts.)

In part this is due to different answers to the question, "History for what?" It is reasonable to expect Japanese and U.S. experts to be interested in their own national history, as reflected in its remains on a Micronesian island. Both outsiders and the Marshall Islands government recognize potential tourist value; the example of the sunken fleet in Chuuk Lagoon has not gone unremarked.

Still, there is more to the difference, and this lies in different answers to the question, "Whose history?" When historians, archaeologists, and cul-

tural anthropologists ask this question in a preservation context, they usually mean to signify that they stand ready to lend expert assistance to local people in identifying and protecting sites of importance to their past. They are not, however, fully prepared for the ramifications of the question. When historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, or other historic preservation workers ask people, "What are your historic sites?" we are generally unprepared for an answer that entails an alternative definition of both *site* and *history.* We have seen that Marshallese identify as sites what are not sites for outsiders: appearances of navigational signs, for example.

Now let me discuss some approaches to understanding a distinctive Marshallese view of history as a whole through two aspects of how Marshallese people evaluate tangible traces of the past. One issue is whether the site or other valued element under discussion is sacred or secular. I use these terms loosely; by *sacred,* I mean a resource associated with traditionally known spirits, with tabus, or with irooj (chiefs). Examples include mo (tabu areas restricted to chiefs), burial places of irooj, and ekjab (sites associated with spirits). Other resources are those associated with a historical event or a valued but non-supernatural activity (for example, a place where a battle was fought). The distinction is artificial in that Marshallese culture does not strictly contrast sacred and secular, a contrast made too easily in English, but the essential point is that some places and things hold power for Marshallese today. It can be dangerous, harmful, or unlucky to affect these places. Other places or activities are interesting and even important, but not powerful in this sense. The distinction is essential for planning. Some resources can be changed or lost with regret, but without danger. Others can be touched only at a risk.

If a site that local people consider powerful is disturbed, no immediate harm may result, but later misfortune may be attributed to the action. An apposite example from Tōrwa Island is the story of Lenwa, summarized above. To local people, it seemed clear what had happened. The spirit of Lenwa (manifested as a coconut crab) had been disturbed or harmed; Lenwa's response was the death of many Japanese. In fact, the Japanese erected a shrine not on the small island where the crab was found, but at the traditional site associated with Lenwa on Tōrwa's mainland.

Every island contains places known to hold power deriving from chiefs, spirits, or demons. The fact that the sites are not explicitly tabu, or not well known, will not prevent later misfortune from being attributed to their disturbance. We might say that the entire landscape has potential for power.

A second issue is that the Marshallese hold different evaluations for traditional versus recent historical and cultural resources. Customs of managing traditional knowledge in the Marshall Islands constitute an effective method in most places for identifying sites of traditional cultural importance. Lineage heads and chiefs are charged with knowing the traditional history of wāto (land parcels) in their care and can identify traditionally significant attributes of these wāto.

Historical and cultural resources that are not locally defined as *traditional,* however, may not be identified as resources at all. In particular, local people will probably not spontaneously identify remains from the colonial eras (early contact, German, Japanese, World War II, and American eras) as cultural resources. Remains or sites associated with non-Marshallese people are not likely to be identified as significant except where they have a particularly compelling local element, such as the folklore of World War II "beheadings" at the oil tank on Tōrwa. This is in part because colonial and post-colonial elements are seen as the property of the foreigners who built them rather than of the Marshallese who inherit their remains. Tōrwa residents think of their island's war debris as an obstacle to using the land rather than as a window into the past.

This suggests that Marshall Islanders share understandings of what history is about that differ from the American (and presumably Japanese or other foreigner) experts who advise them on how to preserve it. For contrast, we can identify an American interest in the past's "remains": that is, physical evidence of former activity that helps a populace learn about that activity and lets them emotionally share a recognition of "what it was like." Recalling the Tōrwa local list of culturally significant sites, we see that sites are not selected out of a desire to know what the past was like, but according to some other criterion. I suggest that the criterion is power: that Marshallese find sites significant because they possess power, which can come from several sources—for example, directly from spirit-presence (ekjab); from the former presence of irooj, whose power outlasts their physical lives; and from the power released by death (at the "beheading place").

When we examine the situations that bring these different ideas about historical relevance into juxtaposition, we find that practical questions are raised: Should the U.S. National Register apply to Micronesian nations? Should U.S. models of historic preservation be established? What are the interests of foreigners in Micronesia's history? Although these may appear as practical contexts in which disagreements about historical resources can

be worked out or negotiated, deeper cultural understandings of history and cultural identity are involved.

As Americans and Japanese act on their interests in their own national pasts, played out on Pacific islands, they identify places and artifacts as historically important. They also provide a context in which the Marshallese can state their visions of historical relevance; as we see for Tōrwa, these may not involve the same places and things at all. Foreign interests in Micronesian history actually create an environment in which Islanders *must* voice their own perceptions, or else they accept a state of affairs in which outsider views of historical relevance come to define the domain of history.

We see on Tōrwa that the failure to mark explicitly the locally valued sites as resources has resulted in their destruction (e.g., in the bulldozing of the Lenwa site). Foreigners hold a world view in which things not marked as historically important are assumed to be historically unimportant. *History* is a marked domain, and its artifacts are identifiable and literally marked, set aside. Often, in fact, historical objects and places can be identified by the fact that they are no longer actively used.

In contrast, in the Marshallese world view, significant places need not be marked because historical relevance inheres in the landscape, and those who share the land assume a shared knowledge of and respect for its important places. Yet because historical sites and artifacts do not constitute a marked domain, no social or political mechanism protects them from destruction or disturbance. The Mayor of Maloelap confidently assured me that no additional legislation was needed to preserve cultural resources because, he said, the national constitution requires protection of Marshallese custom. (Although the Constitution expresses respect for Marshallese custom, there is no legally binding protection for it.) The Mayor's assumption reflects the belief that, as one would say in English, "of course" no one would destroy a significant place. Yet it is evident to outside experts, and to an increasing number of Marshall Islanders, that significant resources are being destroyed. But to recognize that historical sites need protection, Islanders must recognize *historical sites* as a separable aspect of culture. That entails other changes, implied in Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) phrase, "the invention of tradition." To be protected, tradition must be shifted from the category of unremarkable common sense, beliefs and attitudes that "go without saying," and instead must be "invented" (that is, made into a new category, valued in a different way) as a distinct part of cultural identity.

For Americans, and in most nation-states, historical sites are important because they represent the past; they are themselves not part of the present except insofar as they play an ideological role in constructing modern identity. In the Marshall Islands, important places retain importance precisely because they continue to be active focuses of power. Once something ceases to be powerful in the present, we might say that for the Marshallese it becomes irrelevant: Tabus are forgotten and the place fades from knowledge; it is not "preserved" to commemorate the power it used to have. Here, *history* takes on a different meaning; *historical sites* hold a different ontological status. Things that remind Marshallese of what happened in former times, or to people other than themselves, are relatively unimportant; things and places that are important to them are not important because of their past, but because of their present power. These competing attributions of significance suggest that differences in the essential construction of the historical world view are not simply of abstract theoretical interest; they are of vital immediate importance as Micronesians and outside experts continue to collaborate to define and protect historical resources in Micronesia. We need ways to protect different views of what history is, as well as different listings of what is historic.

Acknowledgements

My part in the Micronesian Resources Study in the Republic of the Marshall Islands (funded by the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation) benefited from the help of many colleagues, including Mr. Alfred Capelle, Mr. Teddy John, Dr. Michael Evans, the Reverend Kanki Amlej, Mr. Gerald Knight, Dr. Dirk Spennemann, Ms. Carol Curtis, Dr. William Adams, Dr. Richard Ross, Ms. Elizabeth Krause, Ms. Carmen Bigler, Mr. Billy Sawej, and Dr. Robert Kelly, as well as field assistants on Tōrwa and Majuro and the staff of the Alele Museum. I thank the traditional and elected leaders of Tōrwa for supporting our work and the people of Tōrwa for their warm hospitality. A shorter version of this article was presented at the Pacific History Association meetings in Guam in 1990; I thank individuals who commented on it then, and *Isla* reviewers who commented later.

References

Adams, W. H., & Ross, R. E. (1990). *Archaeological survey of Tōrwa Island, Maloelap Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands.* Report submitted to the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation.

Bartsch, W. H. (1986). Unknown Maloelap. *After the Battle 54,* 28–41.

Carucci, L. (1989). The source of the force in Marshallese cosmology. In

L. Lindstrom & G. White, (Eds.), *The Pacific theatre: Island representations of World War II*, pp. 73–96. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.). (1983). *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knappe, C. (1888). Religious views of the Marshall Islanders. *Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebeiten 1*, 63–81. (HRAF translation)

Laird, W. E. (1981). *Soil survey of Airik, Arno, Mili and Tōrwa, Marshall Islands.* Honolulu: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service.

Poyer, L. (1990). *Micronesian Resources Study, Republic of the Marshall Islands, ethnography component.* Final report submitted to Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation.

Office of Planning and Statistics, Republic of the Marshall Islands. (n.d.). *First five year development plan 1985–1989, rephased for 1986/87–1990/91.* Majuro: Office of Planning and Statistics.

Spennemann, D. H. R. (1989). *Geomorphological survey of Tōrwa Island, Maloelap Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands.* Majuro: Alele Museum.

U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. (1947). *The American campaign against Wotje, Maloelap, Mille and Jaluit.* Washington, DC: Naval Analysis Division.

Pious Sites: Chamorro Cultural History at the Crossroads of Church and State

VICENTE M. DIAZ
University of California, Santa Cruz

This paper features two recent events on Guam that have received national and international attention, a suicide by a former governor and the passage of an anti-abortion law. The events reveal a complex indigenous cultural history as the Chamorro people negotiate their survival and development among a host of alien (Spanish Catholic, liberal American, and, increasingly, Japanese) ideas and institutions.

INVOCATION

Chamorro cultural history is etched in the topography and architecture of the land.[1]

Go to Agaña, the capital of the island of Guam, and stand directly in front of the basilica. As the seat of the Archdiocese of Agaña, the basilica edifies the Spanish Catholic legacy in the Mariana Islands archipelago. Directly before you towers a statue of a praying Santa Marian Kamalen, the physical manifestation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to the Chamorro people of Guam.

To your left stands a life-size statue of Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores, the Spanish Jesuit who was martyred in the process of establishing the Catholic mission in the Marianas in the middle of the seventeenth century. In a move that certified the authenticity (and the heroism) of his martyrdom,

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 91–112

the Vatican beatified Diego in 1985 and in so doing put him well on the road to becoming a patron saint of the Marianas.

To your right there is a revolving statue of a waving Santo Papa, a commemoration of Pope John Paul II's historic visit to Guam in 1981. It is under John Paul II that the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints—the Vatican assembly before which appear formal causes for beatification and canonization—has been nicknamed the "saint factory" (Riding, 1989).

You stand before the Virgin Mother: a Blessed Father of the Marianas mission to your left, a spiritual (and mobile) descendent of St. Peter to your right, and you turn around. You turn and face the Guam Legislature building—home, if you will, of the island's civic Sons and Daughters.

CREED

The politics of Chamorro cultural history are also etched in transactions on the topography and architecture of the land.

In her pioneering study, *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam,* Chamorro scholar and organizer Laura Souder-Jaffery argues that the key agents in this political terrain are Chamorro women organizers who, as primary caretakers of *custumbren Chamorro,* must also be seen as the "makers and shapers of Guam's history" (1987, p. 3). Friendly with Souder's thesis,[2] I will explore in this article some of the peculiar and troubling ways in which other folks and other ideas, both indigenous and exogenous, also participate in the making and shaping of cultural histories that comprise custumbren Chamorro, or traditional Chamorro culture. Catholics—men and women, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters—also participate in this political history through what I call the local "construction sites" of piety; however, I contend that these local structures of Chamorro faith and moral behavior neither stay rooted in their apparent localities nor neatly contain their congregations.

This essay focuses on two events of 1990: a suicide by a former governor of Guam and a now infamous anti-abortion law passed by the Guam Legislature. For me these two events embody the cultural and historical transactions that appear in the effort to canonize Blessed Diego and that more generally constitute the complexity of the Marianas mission history. The suicide, the anti-abortion legislation, and the bid to canonize Blessed Diego all concern a historic construction and reconstruction of Chamorro identities as they negotiate with foreign ideas and practices. Here, they build

on certain sacred Catholic and secular American ideas of life, death, and the vitality of good identities and communities.

Just as missionaries like Blessed Diego felt compelled to go to faraway places to convert or to relocate what they thought were lost souls back to their presumed proper place under God, people from faraway places—such as the Chamorros from the Marianas—have sought to localize or relocate novel and powerful ideas and practices—such as Christianity—into indigenous ways of life. These processes built local homes. The effect of these cultural and historical transactions, or what Vicente Rafael (1988) has called "contracts", was (is) to blur the distinctions among the various identities involved even as the identities themselves were being reinforced (Diaz, 1989).

Elsewhere (Diaz, 1990) I have surveyed the official and popular stakes in the effort to make Blessed Diego a patron saint for the Marianas. With attention to the pious practices found within a displaced, relocated Catholic church, I ask whether these practices can be viewed as sites, as topographies and architectures, of historical transactions and political contention. Rafael (1988) shows us how the Tagalog people's conversion to Catholicism concerned Spanish Catholic and native desires to convert the foreign and dangerous into the familiar, the pleasurable, and the valuable. On Guam, I ask: What kinds of identities get built from the cultural and historical confrontations of traditional and novel ideas and practices—whether indigenous Chamorro, Spanish Catholic, or American liberal? And: What are the political implications of attempts to secure any one of these identities?

As in the effort to canonize Blessed Diego, the suicide and the anti-abortion bill involve a historical and political task of shuttling between indigenous and exogenous realities, between the inside and the outside of various cultures, and between local and global terrains, all of which have powerful but troubling consequences for those involved. For instance, the act of beatifying San Vitores—declaring him a Blessed and thus worthy of local veneration—rested on successfully demonstrating his *fama martyrii,* or true fame of martyrdom (Ledesma, 1981). I have suggested that what it took to "position" this missionary as martyr—as agent of God in life and death—was a "repositioning" of his Chamorro adversary (one Chief Matapang) as agent of the Devil (Diaz, 1990, p. 25). A negative identity continues to be foisted upon indigenous sensibilities, especially when those oppose Catholic doctrine. Yet, while the effort to canonize Blessed Diego can be shown to "work" the native to produce a saint, it is equally true that natives can be shown to "work" the saint to produce what might be called stronger "canons" of the self (Diaz, 1990, p. 61). Catholicism, with tools such as

patron saints, has become one powerful form of Chamorro identity and tradition. Chamorro cultural continuity makes a home within intrusive, foreign systems (e.g., the fledgling Catholic regimes such as the seventeenth century Castilian order) that sought to reconsolidate themselves in imperial and evangelical imperatives among people (such as indigenous Chamorros). But while Roman Catholic desires and Chamorro interests can be shown to work each other mutually, they never do so equally. Nevertheless, on Guam pious processes of *mutual but unequal* appropriation also occur within a late twentieth century political context that features a hybrid self-determination movement, a movement that increasingly calls into question American political and social patronage in the region even as it invokes its ideals. How can such a politicized history of mutual but unequal appropriations help us rethink reigning notions of culture, history, and politics when they are located in tiny, remote places like Guam?

THE FIRST TESTIMONY

On January 31, 1990, hours before he was to depart from the island to serve time in a federal correctional facility, former Governor of Guam Ricardo ("Ricky") J. Bordallo parked his Suzuki Samurai jeep at the grassy edge of Chief Kepuha Park in Agaña. The ex-governor approached a larger-than-life statue of *magalahe as Kepuha*—the seventeenth century Chamorro chief who welcomed the Spanish Jesuit missionaries to the island.[3] Behind and beneath Kepuha, Bordallo placed several placards and a Guam flag; then the ex-governor put a .38 caliber pistol to his head and shot himself. Bordallo was pronounced dead hours later at the nearby U.S. Naval Hospital.

On one of his placards were words familiar to students of American history: "My only regret is that I have but one life to give to my people." On another: "Adios, Todos taotao Guam. Goodbye everyone. May we all meet again some day. May God bless you all . . . Ricky Bordallo."

THE SECOND TESTIMONY

On March 20, only a few weeks after Bordallo's state funeral and Christian burial, the Guam Attorney General's office charged Ms. Janet Benshoof, Director of the Reproductive Freedom Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), with soliciting abortions. The criminal charges were

filed only hours after a speech Benshoof made on the day after Governor Joseph Ada signed the "stiffest" abortion law ever passed in any U.S. jurisdiction or possession (Gross, 1990, p. A1). Insisted Ada, "I am not taking this action . . . to affect anyone's life in the 50 states. I believe that this is a community issue and a community concern, first and foremost" (Yoshihara, 1990, p. A4).

Unanimously approved by the Guam Legislature—20 of 21 senators are Catholic (almost half are women)—the law prohibits all abortions except when the mother's life is endangered. In that event, a legal abortion requires the approval of two physicians and a final review by a committee appointed by the Medical Licensure Board. In a televised interview during the legislative hearings prior to the vote, Archbishop Anthony Apuron activated the Roman Catholic church's pro-life position with a threat to excommunicate any senator who voted against the bill.

Benshoof came to Guam to lobby against the bill, which she had labeled "a Pearl Harbor for Women" (Gross, 1990, p. A1). In her speech to the (predominantly white) Guam Press Club, and for which she was charged with solicitation, Benshoof told women they could get legal abortions in Hawaii and provided the Honolulu address and telephone number of Planned Parenthood (Lewin, 1990). In what is now a test case, Benshoof and the ACLU challenged the constitutionality of the law on the bases that it violated rights to privacy, free speech, due process, and abortion as upheld by the 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). The Guam judge before whom Benshoof was to be arraigned disqualified himself for religious reasons. On March 23, Federal Judge Alex Munson issued a temporary restraining order which was made permanent on August 23. The fight is far from over. (At the time of this writing, Governor Ada had appealed the ruling and the case is now before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, California.)

Benshoof had been alerted to the passage of the anti-abortion bill by local attorney Anita Arriola, one of only a few Islanders who testified against the bill. Attorney Arriola is the daughter of Senator Elizabeth Arriola, who authored the bill. Of her daughter's position, the Senator remarked that "it hurts me personally, although I respect it" (Gross, 1990, p. 10). The younger Arriola contended that "the silence out here is so oppressive" (p. 10).

OFFERINGS

Regarded as a "charismatic champion of Chamorro rights by his supporters, and as a volatile, romantic dreamer by his opponents" (Rogers, 1988, p.

60), Bordallo, the one-time prisoner of a World War II Japanese concentration camp, literally concretized many of his dreams during his two terms (1974–78 and 1982–86) as governor. In addition to attempting to institute an agricultural green revolution to combat 70 years of dependence on imported U.S. products, the late governor also embarked upon numerous island beautification programs specifically contrived to instill in Chamorros pride in themselves and in their island. Among the numerous edifices initiated by the "Builder," as one reporter called Bordallo, was the Chief Kepuha Memorial Park in Agaña.

Upon his second inauguration in 1982, Bordallo resumed public service and took an especially active role in the political status and autonomy debates that had begun openly to challenge American patronage (Alvarez-Cristobal, 1990; Souder-Jaffery & Underwood, 1987). As Chair of the Commission on Self-Determination and creator of the draft Commonwealth Act (to replace Guam's unincorporated territory status), Bordallo prepared to navigate through a relatively hostile U.S. Congress a controversial measure that included provisions for Chamorro self-determination and local control of immigration—provisions that appear to violate the Constitution of the United States (Rogers, 1988). In 1986, while campaigning for a third term, Bordallo was indicted on 11 counts of corruption. Calling the indictment a "political persecution through federal prosecution," Bordallo believed "with my whole heart and soul that this entire investigation reek[ed] of colonialism and even racism" (Ige, 1990, p. 3).

While the governor's suicide shocked and angered many, his supporters and opponents alike eulogized him as one of the island's greatest political leaders. Delivering the eulogy, Superior Court Judge B. J. Cruz situated Bordallo "in the tradition of [Kepuha] and other brave soldiers" whose "ultimate sacrifice of [their] own live[s] would be necessary in defense of liberty, freedom, dignity and self-respect." He continued: "With his sacrifice, and one shot which he hoped would be heard around the country, he reached the American people. But, more important, he would have wanted his supreme sacrifice to rekindle the consciousness of his people" (Perry, 1990a, p. 4).

Whether or not his one shot reached the American people, Bordallo's life and death, according to Joe T. San Agustin, Speaker of the Legislature, were likened to the planting of a "fervent political seed in his people. The people are now asserting their rights," warned San Agustin, and the United States had better "reevaluate its policies toward the territory" (Perry, 1990b, p. 10). In the ensuing days, amidst death threats to various federal

and military personnel stationed on the island, Guam's six-foot tall replica of the famed Statue of Liberty was found decapitated.

During preparations for Bordallo's state funeral, the propriety of a Christian burial was questioned. There were also confusion and ambivalence surrounding the former governor's suicide. Had he lost hope? Did he "chicken out"? Was this a supreme form of self-aggrandizement? Was he trying to punish his federal and local political opponents through guilt? Given the Church's view of death as the possibility for everlasting life, the ambivalence meant even more: Did Bordallo lose faith? In approving of the Christian burial, Archbishop Apuron explained that since Vatican II, people who commit suicide are nevertheless "given the benefit of the doubt as long as they remain Catholics to the very end" (Evan, 1990, p. 5). To the best of the Archbishop's knowledge, Ricky had never recanted his faith.

In a pastoral message read 10 days later at every mass in every village parish, the Archbishop clarified the Church's stance on suicide in general, and on Bordallo's in particular, "in light of the best that theology, philosophy, and psychology has to offer" (Apuron, 1990, p. 5). The pastoral message also indicated that, to the Catholic church, suicide is an "abhorrent" and "unnecessary wastage of what belongs to God, for life is a gift bestowed on us by a gracious Creator" (p. 5). And although suicide "may carry some personal or political meaning, it fails to carry the ultimate meaning of life for a Christian" (p. 5). Amidst the flurry of interpretations, Archbishop Apuron provided the narrative's closure: "Suicide is never to be equated with martyrdom, never to be glorified or honored or judged as an acceptable solution; it should not even be dignified with the word 'sacrifice' " (p. 5). The primary meaning of a Christian life, then, as the observant community knows, is to acknowledge its status as a gift from God. Following Apuron's interpretation, to commit suicide is to commit a "grievous offense against God, the Creator and Lord of Life," and to commit "a sin of despair in not allowing the Holy Spirit to open up new possibilities for the human future" (p. 5).

Let us consider other Chamorro Catholic possibilities for the human future—and other spirits.

At the 1986 dedication of another controversial edifice—the new Governor's Office at Adelup Point—Bordallo defended his latest addition to "public landmarks that house the spirit of the Chamorro people" thus:

> [Adelup] is a monument which allows us to cross over that cultural gap which has been widening to a point where our heritage was being threatened with extinction. It allows the people to cross over the past

> so that we may cross back over into a better future. Adelup links us with one another. (Ige, 1990, p. 3)

Chief Kepuha Park ranks among the landmarks that house the spirit of the Chamorro people, and I believe that Bordallo could not have chosen a more appropriate site from which to cross, in a heroic and salvific drama, the widening gap that threatens the Chamorro cultural past in order to rekindle a Chamorro spirit of revolution. For I contend that Kepuha, the chief who welcomed Blessed Diego in 1668, is a subject of another widely complex Chamorro Catholic ambivalence. Understood as the protector of the mission by modern Chamorro Catholics (indeed by Catholic and secular historians of the Marianas alike), Kepuha is also quietly and privately scorned for having sold out to foreign agents. (Kepuha is contrasted with other contemporaries such as Matapang, Chief of Tumon, who assassinated Blessed Diego; or Hurao, another defender of Chamorro rights.) It is as if Bordallo, a Chamorro rights champion and a dreamer, saw in the Kepuha memorial a way to fuse the power of Christian and nationalist martyrdom with the iconic representation of a proud ancient Chamorro society. His suicide at this particular spot had less to do with simply wanting to mobilize an anti-American sentiment (Bordallo would never have condoned the vandalism of the Liberty statue) than it had to do with imagining (in a hybridization of traditional Chamorro, Spanish Catholic, and liberal American ideas), a way to link spatially and temporally the enduring spirits of Chamorro people with one another for a better future.

One way to understand this political profusion (or confusion) of spirits is to turn to a seventeenth century French Jesuit whose *History of the Mariana Islands* endures as a canonical text in post-contact Chamorro historiography and cultural studies. Writing in 1700, Père Charles Le Gobien (1700/1949) reveals a (noble?) savage discourse and, in general, depicts the Chamorros as nature-, nation-, and liberty-loving creatures whom the Spanish Fathers were duty bound to save. For instance, Le Gobien asserts: "Before the Spaniards appeared in these islands, the inhabitants lived in complete *freedom.* They had no laws except those that each individual imposed upon himself" (emphasis added, p. 8), and "the free and simple life they lead without worry, without dependence, without chagrin, and without inquietude gives the health that is unknown in Europe" (p. 10).

Le Gobien (1700/1949) is the most generous among the historians of the region in that he provides the Chamorros with scripts—that is, with things to say. For example, Kepuha says to Blessed Diego in 1668: "You please us, Father, and you bring us good news which will cause joy to our

entire nation, for we have wanted you here for a long time" (p. 22). The enthusiasm and pleasure expressed in Kepuha's reception of Blessed Diego is interpreted by Le Gobien as a sign of Kepuha's (Catholic) spirituality rather than his anticipation of temporal and political rewards from the establishment of a mission station in his own locality. More importantly, however, to Le Gobien, Kepuha and other recent converts on the island were not only good Christians, they were exemplary. Kepuha and other "new Christians" exemplified virtue "of which the first centuries of the Church would be proud" (p. 22). Kepuha "preserved with care the grace received in Baptism," and "lived thereafter for many years in the exact practice of Christian virtues" (p. 22). But beyond these heroic, saintly traits, what most distinguished Kepuha, according to Le Gobien, was the fact that his death "edified the new Church and was [therefore] of great consolation to Blessed Diego" (p. 22):

> [Kepuha's] death helped to destroy an ancient superstition. It was the custom of the Chamorros to bury their dead in caves designated for this purpose and their obstinacy in this matter was very strong. They did not want to be separated from their ancestors, they said it was their duty to be united to them after death. Father San Vitores resolved to abolish this custom so contrary to the laws of Christianity. Thus he decided to bury [Kepuha] in the Church with all the honor due to persons of distinguished merit. The relatives of the deceased were opposed to this plan, claiming that he must be buried in the tomb of his ancestors. Father San Vitores won out and held a funeral that pleased the Chamorros. (pp. 27–28)

Blessed Diego's victory over the manner of Kepuha's burial is seen here to necessitate the destruction of native *supersticiones* surrounding the fate of spirits of the dead. This was the materiality, the stuff, that according to Le Gobien and Blessed Diego was used in the "edification" of the new Church. Yet Le Gobien himself relates a curious observation: the Chamorros themselves are said to be pleased with the Christian funeral. Does this apparent pleasure signify Church desire? Guilt? Or might the Chamorros of this particular hamlet have actually espied in that ritual something valuable? What else, other than the demise of local customs, might Kephua's death and Christian burial have signaled for the Chamorros of this particular locality?

Vicente Rafael (1989) reminds us that spirits have miasmic tendencies; highly ephemeral, they seem always to evade attempts to contain them. Did Bordallo seek such spirits in his desire to rekindle a Chamorro political

consciousness? Is Chamorro political consciousness akin to restless spirits? Might Kepuha's Christian burial have multiplied the possibilities of Chamorro mortal and spiritual relations? Is that what Bordallo alluded to when he bade a temporary farewell in anticipation of a reunion with his cultural kin? Could the edification of the Catholic church on Guam have been premised less on the destruction of native spirits (as Le Gobien and Blessed Diego understood them) than on a strategic fusion *and* separation of local and foreign spirits and their material (political) value for mortals? Where do such spirits dwell today?

Bordallo chose the Kepuha memorial as his self-sacrificial altar for its visible political value. As an icon of a historical intimacy between the Chamorro people and the Spanish Catholic church, the Kepuha memorial would simultaneously draw upon and implicate both of these traditions and their shared histories in a co-implicated struggle against another equally enduring regime, the American colonial order in the Pacific. His mimicry of Nathan Hale, whose inflammatory cry of regret fired a fabled American revolution, attests to this co-implication. A builder to the end, Bordallo sought to edify and direct a durable and fiery Chamorro consciousness against foreign tyranny and local opponents in a live enactment of the religious and secular narratives of martyrdom and self-sacrifice for God and Country/Island. This he sought in the presence of the Chamorro "edification" of the Catholic church as memorialized in Chief Kepuha's ennobled statue. But did it work? The day after Bordallo's death, island resident Andrea Manglona joined other supporters in decorating the site with wreaths and votive candles. She said: "Ricky needs the light to find his way. He is lost in the dark. It is essential the candles be lighted so he can find his way to God. Bordallo is in darkness because he took his life before it was God's time for him to die" (Kohler, 1990, p. 3).

The abhorrent practice of taking away a gift of life from God is not restricted to practices of suicide or martyrdom. The ideas of life as a gift from God and that the gift comes into being at the moment of biological conception underlie both the anti-abortion legislation on Guam and a persistent Chamorro view of the family as the sanctuary of traditional culture. This particular historical convergence is troubling at best.

In an editorial entitled "Guam's Grotesque Muddle" (1990), the *Los Angeles Times* recognized the serious consequences of Guam's new abortion law for an American democracy. Initially tempted to dismiss the "constitutional drama . . . as a theater of the absurd," the editorial warned that "when the first legal action taken under the island's restrictive new anti-

abortion statute seeks not to halt termination of a pregnancy but to prohibit speech, it becomes clear that what's in progress is comedy too dark for laughs" (p. B6). What the editorial realizes to be dark and not funny is that Ms. Benshoof of the ACLU was charged with solicitation for having advised pregnant women to leave the island and obtain abortions in Honolulu. The editorial's final paragraph in full:

> Cooler heads will sort out the grotesque muddle created on Guam, but not before the right to privacy established in *Roe vs. Wade* and delicate questions of free speech are put to a burdensome and dangerous test. If there is any value to this distasteful exercise, it is that it reminds us again that a woman's right to decide her fate in the private sanctuary of her own conscience and the right of any person to speak his or her mind are threads inextricably interwoven in the fabric of individual liberty. Pull one such thread away and the entire fabric frays to rags, leaving *us all* to shiver in the cold wind of tyranny. (emphasis added, p. B6)

Enraged at so distasteful a law and at the forms of its political opposition on Guam and in the U.S. mainland, I find myself at a loss as to which particular thread to pull and which group of "us" I want to make shiver. I should begin with my own firm conviction that a fetus is a living human being (Gardner, 1989). Sometime in the early 1970s the *Pacific Voice*—the weekly newspaper published by the Archdiocese of Agaña—featured an interview with a "Mrs. Fulana" (a localized version of Jane Doe) that had a deep effect on me. Mrs. Fulana, the mother of 10 children, appeared to be a typical local housewife who was active in local parish activities. In her interview, Mrs. Fulana recounts a moment of anguish that took place years earlier in the examination room of a local medical clinic. Against her religious convictions and her own conscience, and in light of the financial difficulties posed by the number of children she and her husband had already been blessed with, Mrs. Fulana had gone ahead and scheduled an abortion. Her terror peaked as the doctor approached. At the last second she dashed out of the room and clinic in tears. My faded, undated clipping says that at the end of the interview Mrs. Fulana smiled and said that the child who was born had brought many tears of joy to her family.

While I am moved by this story, I remain deeply disturbed by the passage of so restrictive a law on Guam and by the anti-abortion movement in the U.S. mainland in general. One aspect of the anti-abortion rhetoric views women's bodies as hostile environments on which the state can then justifiably intervene on behalf of a presumedly innocent fetus (Terry, 1989;

Petchesky, 1987). Such a "politics of surrogacy" serves to criminalize women who are seen to jeopardize an unborn's life (Terry, 1989, p. 39). Moreover, the pro-"life" rhetoric implies that those who wish to terminate pregnancies themselves embrace some kind of pro-death stance. In spite of myself, I am frightened by a politics of surrogacy that not only treats women who abort their pregnancies as murderers, but also assumes that women are unable to judge and act morally on the question of their pregnancies. It is as if the ways we have come to define ourselves and our identities (ethnic, gendered/sexual, national, and religious) have spawned peculiar conceptions of women's bodies. Or have particular conceptions of women's bodies spawned our very moral identities?

Jennifer Terry (1989) argues that the reproductive rights issue in the United States—the pitting of women's rights to their bodies against fetus' rights through a politics of surrogacy—reveals the limits of liberal individualism in U.S. politics. She describes the situation as a "collision course of a [liberal rights] pluralism that grants rights to the fetus over and against the rights of pregnant women" (p. 39). If this is so, then what is the status of liberty as it becomes displaced and is pitted against other political claims on the island of Guam? How are these confrontations congealed in the Guam anti-abortion law whose jurisdiction was clearly local? Janet Benshoof's remarkable depiction of the legislation as a Pearl Harbor for women, and her own heroic and salvific presumption to liberate local women (and protect U.S. mainland women), articulate an ignorance of and insensitivity to the history of a people who suffered unspoken losses during the Japanese occupation during World War II for no reason other than the United States' prior claim to sovereignty over that Pacific region since the turn of the century.

Beyond the insult and the racism (for its lumping together of perceived Asiatic peoples), there is a certain hypocrisy in the ACLU's failure to address other civil liberties on the island. Duty bound to defend individual liberty (in a way reminiscent of the earlier Jesuits' heartfelt responsibility to save the ignorant Chamorros *from* liberty), the ACLU and Benshoof are mute on the vexed question of Chamorro self-determination. Is Benshoof not aware that the indigenous movement draws, in part, from a global history of postwar Third-World decolonization efforts that were themselves modeled, in part, on the very claims to the universality of liberal rights that structured their colonial masters' regimes and groups such as the ACLU? The ACLU's apparent inability to address the question of self-determination while defending individual liberties is further complicated by Governor Ada's view that the

legislation is not meant to affect anyone's life in the 50 states. The legislation, to recall the Governor's insistence, is primarily a local concern.

The racism, the hypocrisy, and the testimony to the limits of liberal individualism—despite the last's persistence as the only "available political language" in the U.S. marketplace (Terry, 1989, p. 39)—are also to be found in the *Los Angeles Times* editorial titled "Guam's Grotesque Muddle" (1990). Recall the passage's final warning of the danger this (Guamanian) "comedy too dark for laughs" poses for "the fabric of individual liberty." Chilled, the editors write, "pull one such thread [freedom of speech] away and the entire fabric frays to rags, leaving us all to shiver in the cold wind of tyranny" (p. B6).

If I may continue to muddle an already grotesque muddle, to brave the winds of tyranny, I will pull what Edward Said (1979) calls an "Orientalist" thread in that editorial, a thread that resonates with Ms. Benshoof's identification of the local anti-abortion bill with the infamous Japanese surprise attack on American(ized) Hawaiian soil. Since I am coded dark, male, and therefore potentially scary in white America, I begin to pale when I recognize the editorial's coloration of this event in the Far East also as shaded (and as a theatre of surveillance and object of a gaze) and as monstrous. Beyond trafficking in negative stereotypes (and why should being dark be negative?), Orientalist discourse presumes the inability of certain (typically non-Western) peoples to represent their historical and political realities (Mani & Frankenberg, 1985). Like the politics of surrogacy that anchors the pro-life movement (that is, where the state is legitimized as the legal guardian for fetuses through the marginalization and negation of women's historical agency), the Orientalist opening line defers to a Euro-American political center for the conflict's proper resolution. The *Los Angeles Times* passage begins cautiously but confidently: the ugly muddle "created on Guam" *will* be sorted out by cooler heads who must first "put to a burdensome and dangerous test" the "delicate questions of free speech" and the "right to privacy established in *Roe vs. Wade*" (1990, p. B6). The confidence takes comfort in the view that calm, white lawyers will figure this one out in the U.S. mainland.

But to characterize the muddle as a distant creation, to locate it comfortably far away, is to fail amazingly to historicize the imperial conditions on which the American Constitution has come to preside in the region. The same characterization also fails to recognize the inability of a constitutionally insured American democracy to address the tyranny of its colonial reaches in the Pacific Ocean region. Why does the American flag fly over Guam?

Does the Constitution follow the flag? And how did the turn-of-the-century Supreme Court "insular cases," which classified Guam as an unincorporated territory, justify and legalize the holding of foreign (now domestic) territories (Coudert, 1926)? Is this why local Guam legislation could now directly threaten American people thousands of miles from Guam's shores?[4]

The specific threads in jeopardy are named in the "grotesque muddle" editorial as "a woman's right to decide her fate in the private sanctuary of her own conscience and the right of any person to speak his or her own mind" (1990, p. B6). But why these and not other rights? Do Chamorros have the right to decide their fates in the private sanctuary of their own consciences and the right to speak their own minds? And why stop here? In both the editorial and my own appropriation, yet other threads persist, for instance, in the invocation of sacred notions of *conscience* and a *sanctuary* that sanctify the secular space of the privacy of one's *own mind.* Just as in Christian theology where conscience has been understood to be the sanctuary of the soul, for which the Church would serve as protector, so has the mind served as the private space for whose protection a state would legitimize its presence in civil society. The political limits of this analogy recall another recurring thread in my commentary: Under what and whose conditions is something perceived in need of protection also to be given a woman's body? And under what and whose conditions is a woman's body figured as something in need of protection? Yet, if the Constitution of the United States be inapplicable to Guam, then what recourse or protection would Chamorro women have who do want to terminate unwanted pregnancies?

If these engendered histories of the sacred and the secular, of the private and the public, of the near and the distant, spill out of the boundaries of the editorial's concern for individual liberty and freedom, then such multiple meanings are only compounded in the vehicle of an anti-abortion measure on the island of Guam. But to reduce the event to the political opposition of life versus choice or to (dark) religious fanaticism versus (white) rational civility, as structured in the ACLU's and the editorial's narratives, is to ignore the many local and foreign threads that bind this and other singular, historic events on Guam and the specific and complex ways by which past and present Chamorros have sought to use such threads.

I shall end this commentary with a glance at a particular set of relations surrounding the abortion debate on Guam. It is the context within which a law-making Chamorro Mother Elizabeth is pitted against lawyer-daughter

Anita Arriola that illustrates to me the propensity for the anti-abortion debate on Guam to disturb the reigning categories of description.

In her analysis of the makers and shapers of Guam history, Laura Souder contends that Chamorro women manifest "the dialectic between the colonizers and the colonized, between tradition and modernity" (1987, p. 38). It is precisely through their powerful traditions of formal and informal organizing—especially around issues that threaten the family—that local women have been active in the making of custumbren Chamorro through 400 years of Spanish, Japanese, and American (and then Japanese again?) rule. For Souder, custumbren Chamorro is a "pool of syncretic cultural traits," an amalgamation of Chamorro, Spanish, and American ways (p. 8). Although Souder describes custumbren Chamorro in terms of a hybridity, she does not preclude the existence of a specifically distinct Chamorro heritage. The view that "we have no real history outside of our relations with western powers" is, for Souder, "erroneous" (p. 227). Grappling with the question "How American is Guam?" Souder notes that "Being Chamorro is first and foremost being of Chamorro blood [or *haga'*]. For some this is a birthright" (p. 40). Souder asserts that while "Chamorros do not deny that our racial mixture precludes a purist argument . . . the historical record does document [the persistence] of a racial strain that has survived to the present day" (p. 40).

Haga' pronounced slightly differently also means daughter. For Souder, *hagan haga'* (blood daughter) becomes the privileged site of the transmission and preservation of custumbren Chamorro. The regulation of blood and language constitutes the dialectic between the colonizer and the colonized that Souder earlier saw manifest in Chamorro women organizers. That dialectic consisted in the "transmission and the [maintenance] of Chamorro traditions in conjunction with this adaptive form of racial continuity despite the implementation of genocidal policies since contact" (1987, p. 40).

To Souder, Senator Arriola is a "prototypical Chamorro women organizer" on an island where women have traditionally held "positions of authority in proportionately greater numbers" than women "from most contemporary societies in the Third World" (1987, p. 3). Senator Arriola fits Souder's (computer-tabulated) "composite portrait" of typical Chamorro women organizers:

> She is likely to be a middle-age married woman with more than the average number of children. . . . A fluent speaker of both English and Chamorro, she nevertheless prefers Chamorro as it is the language of her childhood and the one most used by family members and friends.

> While she practices Chamorro traditions actively, she is quite concerned that her children's generation is losing touch with cultural values embodied in the extended family and the Chamorro language.
>
> The prototypical Chamorro woman organizer is a well-educated professional who has remained active in the labor force throughout her adult life. She is an active community volunteer who spent nascent years as an organizer working with church related groups. (1987, p. 16)

Most important, the prototypical Chamorro woman organizer embodies what Souder calls "the contradictory images that characterize Chamorro women":

> [T]hey are women in transition. They were born and reared at a time when Guam's population was culturally homogeneous, yet they have lived a substantial portion of their adult lives in the last two decades [1970s–80s]. They have witnessed unprecedented change in values, customs, and family life. Having experienced firsthand the lifestyle and traditions characteristic of Guam prior to modernization [for Souder, the 1960s], their cultural perspectives differ considerably from those of their children. These women have their feet planted in two worlds, so to speak. They have attempted to bridge the gap between the domestic and public spheres [institutionalized during the "American era" since 1898] in their efforts to serve their community. (1987, pp. 16–17)

With her feet planted in (at least) two worlds, Senator Arriola epitomizes that already familiar desire to "bridge the gap between domestic and public spheres" (Souder, 1987, p. 173) of the family and political life, of custumbren Chamorro, and the "homogenizing effects of modernization on the traditional cultures" (p. 215). For it is precisely the debilitating effect of modern America on the Chamorro Catholic family—here in the specific form of the threat of organized crime in an attempt to legalize gambling on Guam—that prompted Arriola's entry into islandwide politics in the late 1970s. In her interview with Souder, Arriola confesses:

> I remembered vividly when the Bishop [the late Archbishop Felixberto Flores] called and asked if I would be willing to co-chair the campaign. And of course at the time I said, oh my gosh this is a big thing. It's too much, too big. But then, I think knowing in my own heart that I felt very strongly against [gambling], I just was very glad. . . . I knew then and there that it was going to be the Christian Mothers that was going to be the core of the organization. (p. 172)

Fearing the arrival of organized crime following the legalization of gambling, Arriola helped organize a "battalion of crusading mothers to urge

their own families, relatives, neighbors and friends to vote against [the measure] at the public referendum in April 1977" (Souder, 1987, p. 172). It was this "groundswell of support" (to "resolve a problem which [the women] defined as threatening to their families and to the community") that defeated the bill (p. 173). The supporters of the bill were businessmen and politicians who wielded "a substantial budget and a consulting firm whose track record included legislation that legalized gambling in Atlantic City, New Jersey" (p. 173). From parish hall politics through the organizing of islandwide Christian Mothers, Senator Arriola had already distinguished herself in the Guam Legislature as a guardian of the family. Her authorship of the anti-abortion bill follows that political trajectory.

In "Chamorro Women: Myth and Realities," a chapter in which she surveys the representation of Chamorro women in the historical record, Souder (1987) reveals the paradox of how these women not only have evaded but also appropriated foreign (and local) male regimes. In a section entitled "Motherhood," Souder argues that through deep matrifocal and matrilineal traditions, Chamorro mothers "have been figures of power and authority throughout history" (p. 51). Though Chamorro matrilineality has been lost, matrifocality—Chamorro Motherhood (*Si Nana*)—preceded and continues to exceed local male, Spanish Catholic, and American civil attempts to domesticate Chamorro women through sacred and secular institutions of matrimony. Si Nana was also at stake when many Chamorro women resisted both Blessed Diego's attempts to institutionalize the Sacrament of Matrimony in 1668 and the Chamorro men's "fondness" for the introduced practice when they realized how "obedient, diligent and 'circumspect' the wives of the first converts were in relation to their husbands" (p. 50). Si Nana was at stake again in the seventeenth century when some Chamorro women "practiced abortion as an act of defiance against Spanish (Catholic) domination" (p. 71). Souder continues: "Notwithstanding the drastic reduction in their numbers, some women apparently chose to terminate pregnancies rather than give birth to children whose 'freedom' would be denied" (p. 71). Larry Lawcock reminds us that even a half century after the Spanish Chamorro wars, that is, by the mid-eighteenth century, women who had abortions were still "whipped and sentenced to forced labor" (1977, p. 10). Motherhood was also at stake in a Spanish Catholic order that historically sought to articulate a Spanish Madre Patria through the offices of Padres (Rafael, 1989). Motherhood, in terms of fathers' rights, was at stake when civil marriage was instituted by the American naval establishment in 1899. Patriarchy was further consolidated under the guise of local autonomy when,

in 1950, the U.S. Congress passed the Guam Organic Act, which established the Government of Guam. Part III, Title I of the new Civil Code of the Territory of Guam was enacted in 1953:

1. The marriage of a female has the legal effect of changing her last or family name to that of her husband.

2. The husband may choose any reasonable place or mode of living, and if the wife does not conform thereto, it is desertion.

3. The husband is the head of the family.

All three provisions have since been amended. Women may take whatever names they choose at marriage. Female members of the legislature have also been active in proposing other amendments to "make Guam's marital laws more equitable for both spouses" (Souder, 1987, p. 51). Senator—and Chamorro Mother—Arriola, committed equally to protect other family members, was compelled to sponsor the now infamous anti-abortion legislation. With the banning of abortion as "the main goal of her political career," Senator Arriola explains, "I look out my window and the trees are alive. How much more a human being! We have to take care of the unborn" (Gross, 1990, p. 10).

If the rights of the unborn and the rights of women are on a collision course in the United States, I suggest that the abortion muddle on Guam in the postwar years describes a kind of super collider. But the collision course on Guam involves less the bombardment of a universally bounded nuclear family than the deeply entrenched histories of how families and identities within families have been engendered in colonial and counter-colonial histories. For also at stake in the anti-abortion debate on Guam is the sanctity of the Chamorro family as it has been constructed and reconstructed by island women in the historical intercourses among indigenous, Spanish Catholic, and liberal American ideals. The political opposition embodied in what can be called Arriola versus Arriola was predicted by Souder: "It is highly probable that the daughters of these organizers will have different views. When Chamorro women begin to define their sense of worth in terms of personal autonomy, another major turning point in the Chamorro female experience will have occurred" (1987, p. 215).

As if to signal such a turning point, Anita Arriola spoke out against her mother's legislation when she proclaimed that "the silence out here is so oppressive" (Gross, 1990, p. 10). This Hagan Haga' and others in her generation have big stakes in a constitutionally backed set of civil liberties. As attorney for Ms. Benshoof, Anita Arriola also represents the Guam Society

of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, the Guam Nurses Association, an Episcopal priest, three doctors, and one Maria Doe in the suit against the Government (DeGuzman, 1990). But the political opposition between mother and daughter—not a light matter on the island of Guam—is itself contained by a deeper bonding between the two. If she is pained by her own daughter's apparent public rebellion, the elder Arriola also respects the public value of her and her daughter's own personal opinions. In the context of Spanish, American, and local male stakes, the two Chamorro women have learned to respect, in different ways, the public articulation of private opinions. The respect defers, in both cases, to the sanctity of the Chamorro family, to peace in the home. Meeting with her mother and siblings before speaking publicly, Anita Arriola noted: "Everybody agreed that if my mother and I don't attack each other personally, we could express our views politically" (Gross, 1990, p. 10).

MEDITATION

Bordallo's suicide and the local abortion muddle embody Chamorro cultural continuity as it constructs its survival among a host of intrusive ideas and institutions. Yet these stories and events, as sites of history and politics, intersect in a complex and confusing grid of indigenous and exogenous ideas and practices (of men, women, children, God, and spirits) that serve as much to break down as to secure extant social and political structures on the island. Bordallo's suicide and the anti-abortion legislation, as we have seen, seem to pit indigenous Chamorro, Spanish Catholic, and American liberal individualist beliefs and practices against each other in ways that act to blur their own distinctions and identities. The terms Chamorro, Spanish Catholic, and American are thrown into question. On Guam they are troubled, and the more they are invoked in efforts toward reconsolidation, the more troubled they become. But beyond providing a feel for the complex and the paradoxical, the two stories bring into focus a larger problem, perhaps precisely for their refusal to remain in any neat categories of description and analysis. For in raising the question of the status of displaced (Chamorro, Spanish Catholic, and American) institutions and practices—the local topographies and architectures of piety—Bordallo's suicide, the anti-abortion legislation, and the effort to canonize Blessed Diego also summon the need

to rethink critically reigning notions of history, politics, and culture as "located" on Guam and elsewhere.

BENEDICTION

Chamorro cultural history—and more—is etched in the topography and architecture of the land. Return to the Agaña basilica. Santa Marian Kamalen is before and above you, Santo Papa is to the right, Blessed Diego is to the left, and the Guam Legislature is to the rear.

Recently, a National Public Radio reporter traveled to Guam to cover the anti-abortion controversy that has frightened many Americans in the U.S. mainland (see Goodman, 1990). In Agaña, the reporter suddenly realized that the line between Church and State on the island is traversed with as much ease as it takes to cross the narrow street that separates the basilica from the Guam Legislature building. But for an *entangled* history of Spanish, American, and indigenous desires on Guam, the short passage between the basilica and the legislature itself traverses historical, geopolitical, and national boundaries.

POSTSCRIPT: OTHER BEGINNINGS

During a recent return to Guam for the conference in which a draft of this paper was presented, I had the pleasure of taking a few visitors on a sightseeing jaunt around the island. Along Cross-Island Road we passed graffiti on a wall. It read: "Legalize Spiritual Development."

*L*egalize . . . *S*piritual . . . *D*evelopment.

Today the island is experiencing the most rapid economic growth in its history. It is a boomtown. More and more landowning local families are wining and dining Japanese investors. The converted yen is now seen as an antidote to decades of reliance and dependence on the American dollar even while the Chamorro people continue to celebrate the American Liberation of the island from Japanese occupation during World War II. Indeed, the particular (re)entry of yet another set of stories, identities, communities, and buildings from beyond Guam's topography is sprayed, quite glaringly, on island walls.

Acknowledgments

I thank Lee Perez, Marita Sturken, Martha Dueñas, Judi Martinez, Haunani-Kay Trask, Terry Teaiwa, and James Clifford for their critical readings of this essay.

Notes

1. I limit my discussion to the island of Guam and to the Roman Catholic legacy of the Chamorro people there. The specific relations on Guam and the Guamanian Chamorro encounters with Spanish Catholicism and American liberalism do not exhaust the complexity of Chamorro cultural history.

2. Although her book was originally published under the Souder-Jaffery name, she now uses Souder alone. Hereafter I will cite this publication as Souder, 1987.

3. I prefer to use the name "Kepuha" rather than the more conventional "Quipuha" for an added irony found in the Chamorro orthography. In the vernacular, the name Kepuha—the seventeenth century Hagåtña Chief who is said to have welcomed the Catholic mission to Guam—is translated as "dare to overturn," as in dare to overturn a canoe (Msgr. O. L. Calvo, personal communication, January 14, 1991). In favoring the use of "Kepuha" over the hispanicized (anglicized?) "Quipuha," I myself dare to overturn histories and practices which themselves dare to obscure indigenous meaning systems.

4. In another (syndicated) editorial for the Gannett News Service, Wickham (1990, p. 24) writes, "Once an outpost of American democracy, Guam is now leading the assault on the civil liberties of U.S. citizens." Wickham also observes that the abortion law and the Archbishop's participation in the process in particuar "ensure[s] for Guam a central role in a period of American history that threatens to be more divisive than the Civil War."

References

Alvarez-Cristobal, H. (1990). The Organization of Peoples for Indigenous Rights: A commitment towards self-determination. *Pacific Ties 13,* (4), pp. 10–21.

Apuron, Archbishop A. S. (1990, February 13). Pastoral message on suicide. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 5.

The Civil Code of the Territory of Guam. Agaña, Guam: Government of Guam. Title I, §§ 64, 103, and 156.

Coudert, F. (1926). The evolution of the doctrine of territorial incorporation. *Columbia Law Review, 26,* 823–850.

DeGuzman, F. (1990, March 27). Abortion law put on hold. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 1.

Diaz, V. M. (1989). Restless na(rra)tives. Traveling Theories/Traveling Theorists. *Inscriptions 5,* 65–75. Santa Cruz, CA: Group for the Critical Study of Colonial Discourse.

Diaz, V. M. (1990). *Repositioning the missionary: Blessed Diego and the making of a saint in las Islas de las Ladrones. A Qualifying Essay.* History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Evan, H. (1990, February 2). Christian burial not prohibited. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 5.

Gardner, C. A. (1989, December 3). Are embryos people? *San Jose Mercury News,* p. 1P.

Goodman, A. (1990). Guam: Territory in turmoil. *On the Issues.* Winter.

Gross, J. (1990, March 16). Stiffest restrictions on abortion in U.S. are

voted in Guam. *The New York Times,* pp. A1, 10.

Guam's grotesque muddle: An editorial. (1990, March 21). *Los Angeles Times,* p. B6

Ige, R. (1990, February 1). Bordallo known as dreamer, builder: Lived life of triumph and loss. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 3.

Kohler, C. (1990, February 2). Supporters lighting candles. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 3.

Lawcock, L. (1977). Guam women: A hasty history. In C. Bamba, L. Souder J. Tompkins (Eds.), Women of Guam. *Proceedings from the Guam Women's Conference.* Agana, Guam.

Ledesma, J. (1981). *The cause of the beatification of Ven. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Apostle of the Marianas. Deposition on the life and martyrdom.* Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Historical Section 94. Rome.

Le Gobien, Père C. (1949). *History of the Mariana Islands* (P.V. Daly, Trans.). Unpublished typescript available at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. (Original work published 1700)

Lewin, T. (1990, March 21). First test of abortion law in Guam. *The New York Times,* p. 1.

Mani, L., & Frankenberg, R. (1985). The challenge of Orientalism. *Economy and Society, 14,* 174–192.

Perry, B. (1990a, February 9). Eulogy addresses Bordallo's suicide. *Pacific Daily News,* pp. 1,4.

Perry, B. (1990b, February 10). Bordallo's life, death contemplated. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 10.

Petchesky, R. P. (1987). Fetal images: The power of visual culture in the politics of reproduction. *Feminist Studies, 13,* 263–293.

Rafael, V. (1988). *Contracting colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rafael, V. (1989). Imagination and imagery: Philippine nationalism in the 19th century. Traveling Theories/ Traveling Theorists. *Inscriptions 5.* Santa Cruz, CA: Group for the Critical Study of Colonial Discourse. pp. 25–48.

Riding, A. (1989, April 15). Vatican 'saint factory': Is it working too hard? *The New York Times,* p. 5.

Rogers, R. F. (1988). Guam's quest for political identity. *Pacific Studies, 12,* 49–70.

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Souder-Jaffery, L. (1987). *Daughters of the island: Contemporary Chamorro women organizers on Guam.* Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Souder-Jaffery, L., & Underwood, R. (Eds.). (1987). *Chamorro self-determination/ I direchon y taotao.* Agaña, Guam: The Chamorro Studies Association and Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Terry, J. (1989). The body invaded: Medical surveillance of women as reproducers. *Socialist Review 19,* 13–43.

Wickham, D. (1990, March 27). Going down in history for assault on citizen's rights. *Pacific Daily News,* p. 24.

Yoshihara, N. (1990, March 21). First charges filed to test strict Guam abortion law. *Los Angeles Times,* p. A4.

Children's Attitudes Toward Adoption in the Marshall Islands

GORDON B. BAUER, RICHARD A. DUBANOSKI,
LOIS A. YAMAUCHI
University of Hawai'i at Manoa
RAYNARD GIDEON AND JERRY BENNET
Majuro, Marshall Islands

Various risk factors associated with negative psychological adjustment of adoptees have been suggested. Attributions concerning adopted children have been identified as one of the potential risk factors. Adopted children in the mainland United States are reported to start with positive attitudes concerning adoption, but become progressively more negative as they grow older. Although nonadopted children become more positive with age in their attributions toward adoption, these attributions remain negative. Attempting to clarify factors that contribute to negative attributions toward adopted children, we replicated the methods reported in a U.S. study with children in the Marshall Islands where adoption is relatively common, occurs among kin, and is often considered an act of generosity. Results from the Marshall Islands sample indicate no significant differences in attributions between adopted and nonadopted children: Both perceive overall adjustment and the intellectual, emotional, and social characteristics of adopted and nonadopted children to be equivalent.

The distinct differences in adoption practices between Micronesia (and other Pacific islands) and North America have been well documented (e.g., Carroll, 1970; Howard, Heighton, Jordan, & Gallimore, 1970; Rynkiewich, 1976). Nevertheless, it is not known how these differences

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 113–23

affect attributions concerning adoption or how they affect the mental health of adoptees. Studies of North Americans suggest that there are serious psychological problems associated with Western-style adoptions (Brodzinsky, 1987). As an initial step in understanding the relationship between cultural differences in adoption traditions and mental health, we studied children's attitudes toward adoption in the Marshall Islands and compared these with reported attitudes among children of the U.S. mainland.

Studies of North Americans have generally reported the existence of higher percentages of adopted individuals in clinical populations than would be expected from population statistics (Brinich & Brinich, 1982; Goodman, Silberstein, & Mandell, 1963; Schechter, 1960; Simon & Senturia, 1966; Work & Anderson, 1971). For example, one review of the literature indicated that 4–5 percent of the children in child guidance clinics and mental health facilities are adopted, compared with the 1–2 percent of adopted children in the general population (Mech, 1973).

The literature on nonclinical subjects is split: About half report significant psychological differences between adopted and nonadopted children whereas the other half do not (Lindholm & Touliatos, 1980). These differences frequently reflect the age group that is sampled. Research on infants and toddlers has consistently found no differences in adopted and nonadopted children (Carey, Lipton, & Myers, 1974; Plomin & DeFries, 1985; Singer, Brodzinsky, Ramsay, Steir, & Waters, 1985). However, comparisons of school-aged children are mixed: Several studies have found no difference between adopted and nonadopted school-aged children in personality adjustment, social adjustment, and academic performance (Elonen & Schwartz, 1969; Mikawa & Boston, 1968; Norvell & Guy, 1977). Other studies, however, have found school-aged adopted children, relative to their nonadopted peers, to be more hostile, dependent, tense and fearful, lower in social competence and school achievement, and prone to conduct disorders and personality problems (Brodzinsky, Schechter, Braff, & Singer, 1984; Brodzinsky, Radice, Huffman, & Merkler, 1986; Lindholm & Touliatos, 1980; Nemovicher, 1960). Some nonclinical studies have found emotional problems to be common among adopted boys, but not among adopted girls (Lindholm & Touliatos, 1980; Seglow, Pringle, & Wedge, 1972).

Although adoption need not necessarily lead to psychological problems, there are various risk factors associated with adoption that have been identified or suggested. The most common among these factors is the notion that the older the child is at the time of the adoption, the greater the number of problems he or she will encounter (Barth, Berry, Carson, Goodfield, &

Feinberg, 1986; Brodzinsky, 1987; Cordell, Nathan, & Krymow, 1985; Murray, 1984). The effect of transracial adoption has also been studied. Most investigations have looked at the psychosocial adjustment of black children adopted by white families and have not found significant differences between their adjustment and the adjustment of white children by white families (Barth, Berry, Yoshikami, Goodfield, & Carson, 1988; Cordell et al., 1985; McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson, 1982; Shireman & Johnson, 1986).

Brodzinsky (1987) contends that adopted children may be more "prone" to psychological problems because of the social stigma that is associated with adoption in North America:

> In our society, adoption is still seen as a 'second best route to parenthood.' Because of this view, parents are less likely to receive wholehearted support from extended family, friends and neighbors when they announce their decision to adopt a child. (p. 32)

Miall (1987) interviewed infertile women who had adopted children, or were planning to do so in the future. In general, the women felt that society viewed adoptive parenthood as qualitatively different from biological parenthood, with the latter being preferable and representing a stronger bond. Adoption is said to involve social losses: the adopted children's loss of their biological parents and history, the adoptive parents' loss of fertility, and the biological parents' loss of children (Brodzinsky, 1987). According to Brodzinsky (1987) the adopted child's confusion is a natural part of this grieving process: grieving the loss of self.

Singer, Brodzinsky, and Braff (1982) suggested that important risk factors related to the social stigma of adoption are the attributions that children make about adoptees. These researchers investigated attributions children make concerning intellectual, emotional, and social characteristics and found that overall, nonadopted children, compared with adopted children, were likely to view the adoptive child as having more adjustment problems. Additionally 6- to 7-year-old adoptees possessed positive attitudes concerning adopted children, but the older adoptees became progressively more negative in their attributions. Attributions by younger nonadopted children were negative with respect to adopted children. Although nonadopted children became more positive in their attributions with age, their attributions at all ages remained negative toward adopted children.

One way of teasing out the factors that contribute to negative attributions is to investigate attitudes toward adoption in cultures that vary in

systematic ways from the North American cultural standard. As an initial step in this process, we report the investigation of attributions concerning adoption in the Marshall Islands. Similarities between Marshallese and U.S. adoptions include: (a) Adoption is usually done in infancy, and (b) the roles assumed by adopter and adoptee are appropriate parent-child roles (Carroll, 1970; Rynkiewich, 1976). Major differences lie in several areas, including the prevalence of adoption (approximately 25 percent of the general population in the Marshall Islands is adopted, compared with 1–2 percent in the United States.) and the various practices related to the adoption process (Carroll, 1970; Rynkiewich, 1976).

By using a carefully translated form of the Adoption Belief Scale, developed by Singer et al. (1982), we were able to compare directly the attributions of children in substantially different cultures—the United States and the Marshall Islands.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 59 children from the Marshall Islands (Majuro and the Outer Islands). The children ranged in age from 6 to 13, with a mean age of 9.8 years. Subject characteristics are described in Table 1.

Materials

The Adoption Belief Scale, developed by Singer et al. (1982), consists of 32 items measuring attitudes about adopted and nonadopted children's emotional adjustment and intellectual and social competence. The subjects were asked to consider whether adopted or nonadopted children are more likely to possess certain traits and behaviors, or whether both groups are equally likely to do so. For example, subjects were asked "Who do you think are happier—adopted children, nonadopted children, or do you think they are the same?"; "Who do you think have a harder time remembering things—adopted children, nonadopted children, or do you think they are the same?"; and "Who do you think makes friends easier—adopted children, nonadopted children, or do you think they are the same?" Half of the items were ex-

Table 1
Characteristics of Subjects

	Age	Male	Female
Adopted	6–9	9	4
	10–13	8	10
Nonadopted	6–9	4	7
	10–13	7	10

pressed positively and the other half negatively. Singer et al. (1982) reported that test-retest reliability of the scale was r = .95.

For use in the Marshall Islands, an equivalent form of the scale was developed by back-translation (see Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). A skilled bilingual speaker (Marshallese-English) initially translated the scale into Marshallese. Other bilinguals then back-translated it into English. Errors were identified in the back-translation and corrected. The process was repeated until an adequate back-translation to English was attained. *Ki-kajriri* (adoption of children) was used as the translation for adoption—literally, "the act of making children by gathering them." Rynkiewich (1976) reports that this is the most common form of child adoption among the Marshallese.

Procedure

The study was conducted on the island of Majuro, in the Marshall Islands. Children were interviewed by native speakers of Marshallese in a school classroom. The subjects were first asked if they knew the difference between adopted and nonadopted children. If the children knew the difference, they went on to the Adoption Belief Scale; if not, the difference was explained to them. After the explanation, they were asked again to explain the difference between adopted and nonadopted children. If the children were able to respond correctly at this point, they were given the Adoption Belief Scale. If they were unable to answer correctly, they were excused from the study.

The children receiving the questionnaire were given the following instructions:

> Now I am going to ask you some questions about adopted and nonadopted children. You tell me what you think about adopted and nonadopted children. There is no right or wrong answer; so, whatever you think is okay. It is what you think that is important. Answer the questions any way that you want. You can give different answers to different questions or the same answer to all the questions. It is up to you.
>
> Let's practice, first. Here is an example. Who do you think are taller—adopted children, nonadopted children, or do you think that they are the same? If you think adopted children are taller than nonadopted children, you would answer, "adopted children." If you think nonadopted children are taller than adopted children, you would answer, "nonadopted children." If you think adopted and nonadopted children are the same, you would answer, "They are the same." Okay, who do you think are taller—adopted children, nonadopted children, or do you think that they are the same?

If the child was able to answer the question, he/she went on to the Adoption Belief Scale. If not, he/she was given another practice trial using weight as the criterion measure. If the child was able to respond correctly, he/she proceeded to the scale; otherwise, the child was dropped from the study.

Results

Scoring and analysis methods were the same as reported in Singer et al. (1982). Items favoring adopted over nonadopted children received a score of 1. When subjects reported "they are the same," indicating no difference between adopted and nonadopted children, the item was scored 0. Items reflecting a more positive attitude toward nonadopted children were scored as −1. Analyses of variance were conducted on each subject's mean belief score—an average of the 32 scores—and separately on the subscales of emotional adjustment and intellectual and social competence. Predictor variables included subject age, adoption status, and gender. These analyses indicated no significant differences in attributions between adopted and nonadopted children for either sex, at any age. Both groups perceived overall adjustment and the intellectual, emotional, and social characteristics of adopted and nonadopted children as equivalent.

In reporting a study that fails to reject the null hypothesis, it is important to consider the power of the test, that is, the probability of rejecting the null. Using a .05 significance criterion and a one-tailed test, the power to detect true differences in the present study was .93. This assumes a strong

effect in the population (gamma = .80). If we assume that the effect size is more moderate (gamma = .50), the power was .60. Cohen (1977) suggests as a general rule that a power of .80 be used as a standard, in which case our sample size was adequate for detecting a strong effect, but somewhat inadequate for detecting a moderate effect.

DISCUSSION

The clear developmental trends reported by Singer et al. (1982) for the U.S. mainland children were not found with our sample of children in the Marshall Islands. Throughout the childhood years studied, no differences were found between the attributions made about adopted children compared with nonadopted children. Both adopted and nonadopted children did not view adoptive status as a differential factor influencing intellectual, emotional, or social characteristics.

Why are the trends found in the U.S. mainland not found in the Marshall Islands? One uninteresting possibility is that the sample size was not large enough to detect weak effects. More likely causes lie in basic differences between U.S. mainland and Marshall Island cultures. We can point to a number of differences between groups that could be important. Most apparent is the lack of a negative social stigma associated with adoption in the Marshall Islands versus the stigma that exists for adoption in the United States (a stigma for the adopters when the reason for adoption is infertility, a stigma for the adopted child for being unwanted, and a stigma for the biological parents for giving the child away). Although childlessness is one reason Pacific Islanders adopt children, they often will do so even if they already have their own biological children. Children are rarely "put up" for adoption; instead, they are requested by a relative or friend of the biological parents. Biological parents who allow their children to be adopted are considered generous and are held in high esteem (Carroll, 1970; Rynkiewich, 1976).

Other differences between adoption in the Marshall Islands and the U.S. mainland include: (a) the prevalence of adoption in the Marshalls versus its relative infrequency in the United States; (b) adoption of children by kin versus by strangers; (c) the nonlegal nature of the adoption process and consequent resolution of problems within families versus a legalistic system where problems are resolved by strangers; (d) the maintenance of ties to the biological mother and father versus the severing of these ties; (e) the

flexibility of adoption in the Marshall Islands (biological parents can negate the adoption at any time) versus the relative permanence in the United States; (f) adoption by the same ethnic group versus adoption between ethnic groups (which occurs frequently in the United States); and (g) an accepting environment concerning adoption in the Marshalls versus the negative ambience frequently reported in the U.S. mainland (e.g., negative feedback from peers, the possibility of being viewed as "second best," or having "bad blood") (Carroll, 1970; Rynkiewich, 1976).

Evaluation of the relative contributions of these factors is difficult, although hypotheses can be offered based on previous studies. Research on the psychosocial adjustment in mixed versus same ethnic group adoption has not found differences in adjustment between the two groups of adopted children (Barth et al., 1988; Cordell et al., 1985; McRoy et al., 1982; Shireman & Johnson, 1986). This suggests that transracial adoption probably does not contribute significantly to the cross-cultural differences in attributions.

Interestingly, a remedy proposed for the sense of loss associated with North American adoptions (see Brodzinsky, 1987) is the practice of open adoptions. Open adoption refers to the practice of increased communication among the participants of adoption and may include: sending pictures and information about the relinquished child to birth parents; a meeting of the two sets of parents to share information on the child; and continuous contact between both sets of parents (Demick & Wapner, 1988). Although this falls short of the openness of Micronesian adoptions, it certainly is a step in the same direction.

Singer et al. (1982) suggested that the U.S. results might be attributable, in part, to differences in the amount of information available about adoption. Nonadopted children have little reason to be exposed to the issue of adoption, and are likely to respond negatively to it as a type of neophobic reaction. Their attitudes become more positive about adoption as they develop the increased empathic abilities characteristic of older children. On the other hand, adopted children are likely to be exposed to information about adoption, and it is likely to be given a particularly positive, perhaps unrealistic, view. This positive view is eventually diminished by increased knowledge of problems associated with adoption and negative feedback from peers. Because of the relative ubiquity of adoption in the Marshall Islands, it is probable that there is no differential amount of information available to adopted and nonadopted children. Also, because of the lack of stigma as-

sociated with adoption, there is little opportunity for adopted children to be exposed to negative feedback.

An opportunity to investigate the relative importance of negative information on children's beliefs about adoption is available in areas where Western legal systems and practices have been imposed on traditional Pacific Island cultures, for example, in Hawaii.[1] The *hanai* system of adoption in Hawaii, which is similar in custom to many of the Marshallese practices, exists in conjunction with a legalistic adoption practice and Western ideas of stigma associated with adoption. As in the Marshall Islands, Hawaiian hanai children are not given up for adoption by their biological parents, but rather are requested by the adoptive parents, who are usually related to the biological parents and of a higher status (older siblings and parents) (Goto, 1983; Howard et al., 1970). As in the Marshall Islands, Hawaiian children are considered valuable to the extent that a feeling exists that those with many should "share the wealth": "A family with many children which refused to give one to a close relative without any would be accused of being stingy" (Howard et al., 1970, p. 45). Hanai adoptions are also traditionally nonlegal and open in the sense that adopted children are aware of who their biological parents are and they are often encouraged to become acquainted with their biological parents and siblings (Goto, 1983). Hanai adoption continues to be widely practiced in Hawaii; however, it is also becoming more common for Hawaiians to legalize these new bonds (Howard et. al., 1970). Because the latter trend may indicate a rising influence of Westernized standards of adoption in Hawaii, it would be beneficial to study the attitudes toward adoption that exist in this culture and to compare them with those of the U.S. mainland and the Marshall Islands.

Additional areas that need to be investigated in order to further understand the cultural differences noted in this study include: (a) the attributions of children in the U.S. mainland who are adopted by relatives; (b) the effects of open adoption on children in the U.S. mainland; and (c) the psychological consequences of adoption in the Marshall Islands. Despite the absence of negative attributions concerning adoption in the Marshall Islands, it is still possible that adoption may confer some psychological risk: It will be important to determine if there is any evidence that adopted children experience risks or problems that differ in nature or degree from nonadopted children.

It is apparent that adoption per se does not put a child at risk. What needs to be investigated are the specific factors associated with adoption

that may lead to problems in psychological adjustment of adoptees. In addressing this issue, cross-cultural research will be useful.

Note

1. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the study of *Pineksai* among the Chamorro people of Guam and its transition during the past decade would also serve as a valuable source for studying cross-cultural influences on adoption.

References

Barth, R. P., Berry, M., Carson, M. L., Goodfield, R., & Feinberg, G. (1986). Contributors to disruption and dissolution of older-child adoptions. *Child Welfare, 65,* 359–371.

Barth, R. P., Berry, M., Yoshikami, R., Goodfield, R. K., & Carson, M. L. (1988). Predicting adoption disruption. *Social Work, 33,* 227–233.

Brinich, P. M., & Brinich, E. B. (1982). Adoption and adaptation. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 170,* 489–493.

Brislin, R. W., Lonner, W. J., & Thorndike, R. M. (1973). *Cross-cultural research methods.* New York: Wiley & Sons.

Brodzinsky, D. M. (1987). Adjustment to adoption: A psychosocial perspective. *Clinical Psychology Review, 7,* 25–47.

Brodzinsky, D. M., Radice, C., Huffman, L., & Merkler, K. (1986). Incidence of clinically significant symptomatology in a nonclinical sample of adopted and nonadopted children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 16,* 350–356.

Brodzinsky, D. M., Schechter, D. E., Braff, A. M., & Singer, L. M. (1984). Psychological and academic adjustment in adopted children. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 52,* 582–590.

Carey, W. P., Lipton, W. L., & Myers, R. A. (1974). Temperament in adopted and foster babies. *Child Welfare, 53,* 352–359.

Carroll, V. (1970). What does "adoption" mean? In V. Carroll (Ed.), *Adoption in Eastern Oceania* (pp. 1–17). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Cohen, J. (1977). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences.* New York: Academic Press.

Cordell, A. S., Nathan, C., & Krymow, V. P. (1985). Group counseling for children adopted at older ages. *Child Welfare, 64,* 113–124.

Demick, J., & Wapner, S. (1988). Open and closed adoption: A developmental conceptualization. *Family Process, 27,* 229–249.

Elonen, A. S., & Schwartz, E. M. (1969). A longitudinal study of emotional, social, and academic functioning of adopted children. *Child Welfare, 48,* 72–78.

Goodman, J., Silberstein, R., & Mandell, W. (1963). Adopted children brought to child psychiatric clinics. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 9,* 451–456.

Goto, J. R. (1983). *Ka ho'omalama 'ana i ka mana'o 'O hanai ma Hawaii nei: The preservation of the hanai system in contemporary Hawaii.* Unpublished manuscript available in the Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Howard, A., Heighton, R. H., Jr., Jordan, C. E., & Gallimore, R. G. (1970). Traditional and modern adoption patterns in Hawaii. In V. Carroll (Ed.), *Adoption in Eastern Oceania* (pp. 21–51). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Lindhold, B. W., & Touliatos, J. (1980). Psychological adjustment of adopted and nonadopted children. *Psychological Reports, 46,* 307–310.

McRoy, R. G., Zurcher, L. A., Lauderdale, M. L., & Anderson, R. E. (1982). Self esteem and racial identity in transracial and inracial adoptees. *Social Work, 27,* 522–526.

Mech, E. V. (1973). Adoption: A policy perspective. In B. Caldwell & H. Ricciuti (Eds.), *Review of child development research* (Vol. 3, pp. 467–507). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miall, C. E. (1987). The stigma of adoptive parent status: Perceptions of community attitudes toward adoption and the experience of informal social sanctioning. *Family Relations, 36,* 34–39.

Mikawa, J. K., & Boston, J. A. (1968). Psychological characteristics of adopted children. *Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement, 42,* 274–281.

Murray, L. (1984). A review of selected foster care-adoption research from 1978 to mid-1982. *Child Welfare, 63,* 113–124.

Nemovicher, J. A. (1960). A comparative study of adopted boys and nonadopted boys in respect to specific personality characteristics. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 20,* 4722.

Norvell, M., & Guy, R. F. (1977). A comparison of self-concept in adopted and nonadopted adolescents. *Adolescence, 12,* 443–448.

Plomin, R., & DeFries, J. C. (1985). *The origins of individual differences in infancy: The Colorado adoption project.* New York: Academic Press.

Rynkiewich, M. A. (1976). Adoption and land tenure among Arno Marshallese. In I. Brady (Ed.), *Transactions in kinship: Adoption and fosterage in Oceania* (pp. 93–119). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Schechter, M. (1960). Observations on adopted children. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 3,* 21–32.

Seglow, J., Pringle, M. K., & Wedge, P. (1972). *Growing up adopted.* Windsor, England: Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

Shireman, J. F., & Johnson, P. R. (1986). A longitudinal study of black adoptions: Single parent, transracial, and traditional. *Social Work, 31,* 172–176.

Simon, N. M., & Senturia, A. G. (1966). Adoption and psychiatric illness. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 122,* 858–867.

Singer, L. M., Brodzinsky, D. M., & Braff, A. M. (1982). Children's beliefs about adoption: A developmental study. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 3,* 285–294.

Singer, L. M., Brodzinsky, D. M., Ramsay, D., Steir, M., & Waters, E. (1985). Mother-infant attachment in adoptive families. *Child Development, 56,* 1543–1551.

Work, H. H., & Anderson, H. (1971). Studies in adoption: Requests for psychiatric treatment. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 127,* 948–950.

Book Reviews

The Edge of Paradise: America in Micronesia, by P. F. Kluge. New York: Random House, 1991. 256 pp. Cloth, U.S. $21.95

This is a deeply pessimistic account of contemporary Micronesia. I find myself wondering why it was written, whom it is meant for, and even in which genre to place it. *The Edge of Paradise* offers no easy answers to any of these questions.

Most immediately, the book resembles the venerable "white man in the tropics" genre, the sort of writing made classic by Joseph Conrad, Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, and James Michener. The scene more often than not is one of the hotel bars in Majuro, Kolonia, Moen, Saipan, Colonia, or Koror, and it is reminiscent of the film *The Year of Living Dangerously,* where the foreign correspondents cluster together, relying upon one another as their chief sources of information. At other levels, this bears aspects of the *picaresque* (travel stories full of bawdy adventures) and the kiss-and-tell memoirs of political insiders who have moved beyond the Beltway.

More deeply, it resembles a *Bildungsroman,* the sort of novel that chronicles a young man's development. P. F. Kluge first came to Micronesia as a Peace Corps Volunteer, and this account tells us of his long acquaintance with the islands. The subtitle, "America in Micronesia," belies the real theme, which would be much better rendered as "An American in Micronesia." We follow him through a range of emotions, highlighted by passion, anger, and disillusionment, all directed at Micronesians.

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 125–48

In some sense, this is where the book's greatest problem lies. Despite the claim that its subject matter is *America* in Micronesia, the motif that emerges again and again is Kluge's unhappiness with *Micronesians.* In the end, a reader unfamiliar with the islands might logically conclude that despite all good intentions and valiant efforts, the United States was ultimately unsuccessful in its efforts to develop Micronesia because the people there are simply lacking in moral fiber of the American kind.

The book is ostensibly organized as the chronicle of a journey across Micronesia, toward Palau, where Kluge hopes to learn about—and come to terms with—the death of his old friend Lazarus Salii. Along the way he traces paths first trod during earlier visits and talks with a variety of old friends and acquaintances.

Kluge's recollections of his Peace Corps days set the tone for what is to come. He edited the old *Micronesian Reporter,* which provided him with a comfortable billet on Saipan's Capitol Hill. It is clear that the view from the top (he recalls that Mount Tagpochau was known to locals as Mount Olympus) shaped all his later experiences. He was, he says, a "high caste" (p. 20) volunteer who behaved himself at the High Commissioner's table. He characterizes the rest of the Volunteers as innocents who failed to understand that "*Voluntary poverty did not impress.* 'Living on the level of the people' came off as naive, as downright wacky, when it was from that level people were trying to escape" (p. 19). When he speaks of erstwhile comrades who taught English out on the atolls, he observes, candidly, "I, thank God, escaped all that" (p. 19).

Were he to acknowledge that he has little interest in ordinary Micronesians, or even that he simply knows little about them, this attitude might be comprehensible, if not necessarily forgivable. But he brags about how in his younger days he "collected islands, when it was important for me to see as many as I could. It was like . . . having women. Each island was another score" (pp. 109–110). (The sexual theme is a recurrent one.) While writing of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) President John Haglelgam, originally from Eauripik Atoll, Kluge brags that, on the basis of a brief fieldtrip stop on Eauripik, "I know his island" (p. 71). His whole attitude is that of the insider; he is convinced that he *knows* Micronesia, and that he therefore knows what is best for it. Yet he manages to convince us of just how little he knows about the people and the place.

What he is truly familiar with is the face the Islanders turn to the outer world, the masks they have cultivated carefully through centuries of interference and domination. With few exceptions, the people he spends time

with are either members of the bureaucratic elite or expatriates (or both). His attitude toward the exceptions is telling. In Chuuk he runs into Conrata, an older women he recalls from his earliest Peace Corps training days. He talks with her about her trip to Honolulu, because she could hardly expect him to be interested in daily life on Udot. On Saipan, he does give Escolastica Cabrera a surname and a chance to talk about the prewar era, her experiences during the war, and the recent return of the Japanese. He notes in passing, however, that back in his high-caste Peace Corps days he did not talk with her much, even though he saw her every day in the small store she ran on Capitol Hill.

That is it basically. These are the two Micronesians without money or power or important connections who appear in Kluge's book. For the rest, it reads like a roster of the old Congress of Micronesia and adjacent offices.

As he recounts a political education tour that occurred in the seventies he describes Lazarus Salii responding at length to a question asked by a man on Tol. Salii paused occasionally while his answer was translated into Chuukese, and Kluge asked himself, "Why hadn't he given a simpler answer?" (p. 26). He then decides Salii "wasn't speaking to the crowd . . . . He was talking to himself, thinking out loud" (p. 26). On what does Kluge base this conclusion?: "I doubt that more than a handful of his listeners grasped the balances and compromises he set out for them. I was his best audience, I guess" (p. 26).

This is a classic example of expatriate arrogance breeding expatriate ignorance. Anyone who has listened to Micronesian communities deliberate over the decisions they faced in the 1975 Referendum on Political Status and subsequent plebiscites knows the great sophistication with which they examined their options. It was, after all, their future they were deciding.

The antinomy of Kluge's remarks is heightened by the sentence that follows his claim to be Salii's best audience, in which he describes the setting of the village meeting house. It was surrounded by a sunken Japanese fleet and "rusted artillery pieces still pointing out of hillside caves" (p. 26). For several generations of Micronesians, the destruction that foreign powers can and do visit upon their homes is no abstraction. They agonize over status decisions precisely because they understand the alternatives so well, dealing not in the abstract language of international relations but in the nightmarish scenes of their own lives.

It is perhaps his ignorance of the immediacy of these experiences that leads him to speak so dismissively about island fears concerning the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. "I suspect the Micronesians loved to think that

someone was spying on them" (p. 29) and "Everyone was titillated by the prospect of the rooms being bugged, secrets stolen" (p. 51) are representative examples of his scoffing tone. Either he has forgotten, or else never knew, that the U.S. Senate formally acknowledged in 1977 that the CIA had indeed been spying on Micronesians, and that the State Department sought actively to influence—among other things—the outcome of the Micronesian Constitutional Convention. It is easy to accuse Micronesians of paranoia; it is considerably more difficult to come to terms with the realities they faced.

This is especially so if you labor under the impression that the United States had the Micronesians' best interests at heart, which Kluge certainly seems to do. (I do not mean to imply that successive U.S. administrations necessarily had Micronesia's worst interests at heart; I am merely pointing out that the United States has always been in Micronesia because of *American* interests, hardly an arguable point.) He thinks of his early days as a time when hopes were high, when "it seemed America would leave a clean smell" (p. 186). He speaks of a hope that "America's accidental presence in the Pacific" (p. 234) (one wonders where are Pearl Harbor, Wake, Midway, Guam, Samoa, and the Philippines, etc.) "would result in something splendid" (p. 234). He finally concludes, "I guess we failed. What I thought of as a gallant enterprise, bringing out the best in America and Micronesia, has turned tedious and corrupting" (p. 242).

Kluge's disappointment with contemporary Micronesia derives from his earlier naiveté or willful blindness, not from any failure on the part of its people. (This is not to deny corruption and foolishness and confusion, which are there aplenty; but we must remember that Micronesia seems to have no more of a corner on these vices than other spots on the globe.) Kluge likes to think of himself as Salii's speechwriter. One of that profession's occupational hazards is a tendency to give too much weight to words and ideas. All those Capitol Hill receptions and all those evenings spent barhopping were filled with brave words and lucid images, but these hardly substitute for a clear view of the Islanders' daily lives. And, as John Ngiraked explains, "In Palau, we don't settle things with talk, with arguments and counterarguments. It's not who has the last word. It's the feelings *after* the last word" (p. 223).

At one point Kluge sums up modern Micronesia with this penetrating observation: "Let it be said, up front: people drink an awful lot out here" (p. 73). His tour of Kolonia's bars prompts him to conclude that the country

music he hears on their jukeboxes feels "oddly right" in Pohnpei, with its "sense of small places stayed in too long" (p. 65). Elsewhere he tells us that "beer, conspiracy, and cha-cha music" constitute "the essence of Palau" (p. 208). This is, of course, an inescapable conclusion if the only people you talk to are in bars.

In a similar vein are his references to people trying to escape. One of his insightful summaries of life on Pohnpei is "Escape is the point" (p. 76), a theme he reiterates and then shapes into a question: "I wonder how many FSM's [i.e., FSM citizens] would take a one-way ticket to California, if they had the chance" (p. 78). Pohnpeians have been traveling away from home since they first settled their island some 2 thousand years ago, a pastime enhanced by the arrival of whalers in the 1830s and by opportunities to work for the various colonial administrations that have patronized them since. Nevertheless, they return home in extraordinarily high numbers.

Everywhere, he sees people trying to escape either by fleeing or by drinking themselves into oblivion. Why? Here are his sociology, psychology, and metaphysics, all rolled into one more sweeping generalization: "Islands are tangled and intricate places, not in spite of their smallness but because of it. If hell is other people . . . islands are hell" (p. 69). And all the worse, because he says of these islands in particular that "to describe them is to list their faults" (p. 234).

Because Kluge has rarely encountered Micronesians in their own homes and communities, all he seems to know of them is the political rhetoric he helped draft. Now that the Trust Territory is (mostly) gone and the island governments are (mostly) called sovereign, much of this rhetoric is dissipating, and the old, underlying problems are no longer easily masked by flights of fantasy. Kluge has finally glimpsed the old reality, found it wanting, and condemned it. Others, who never held especially high hopes for what the United States might accomplish in the islands, remain impressed with the fortitude of the vast majority of Micronesians who still seek to live island lives.

I began with questions of genre and audience. For whom is this book intended? It is a meditation on contemporary Micronesia, not a travel book. There is little in it that will inform anyone not already acquainted with "the edge of paradise." It can do nothing for the lurking corps of bureaucrats but confirm their already well formed misconceptions. In the end, this is a book about Americans and their failure—perhaps, more kindly, inability—to grasp the very simple fact that most Micronesian efforts toward self-deter-

mination have not been attempts to become American (which is, after all, what many Americans think the rest of the world longs to be), but instead have been simple assertions of their right to be treated as distinct peoples fully equal to Americans.

Out of all the misapprehensions and misrepresentations that fill this volume comes one that may properly serve as its epitaph. It is a story Kluge heard from Toshiwo Nakayama, former FSM President and one of the few Micronesians he continues to respect, even if he does characterize Nakayama's persistent views about Micronesian rights to autonomy as "forlorn" (p. 107). The President told Kluge (during a car ride through the rain, not in a barroom) of his long search for his father, a Japanese settler who was repatriated after the war. In 1972, he was at last able to bring his father back to Chuuk and help him set up a small store. The islands, Nakayama says, tend to shrug off outsiders:

> "The same tide that brings them in, carries them out." But Nakayama went against the tide; he searched, he persisted, he waited but he never forgot and, in the end, the poor boy from the South Seas brought his father home. This has nothing to do with political status, with independence or commonwealth, and there's no money in it, but it pleases me anyway, this story, which is about memory and integrity and faith. (p. 114)

This is why Mr. Kluge does not understand what is happening in contemporary Micronesia. President Nakayama's story is about family and homeland and honor, which have *everything* to do with political status and independence and commonwealth—as do memory and integrity and faith. Keeping the faith is what most Micronesians have been trying to do ever since the Spaniards and Germans and Japanese and Americans began telling them they were incapable of managing their own affairs. Money is nice, but integrity and memory thrive in its absence and can even survive its presence.

This book's failure lies not so much in its lack of direction as in its author's inability to hear words that are not spoken above the roar of the jukebox and the background rumble of barroom talk. When he finally *is* told a story of what Micronesia is really about, he mistakes it for a country-and-western tearjerker.

Fred Kluge wrote the Preamble to what has since become the FSM Constitution. It is a piece of power and grace. I have always enjoyed reading it to students, explaining that Micronesia's leaders had the savvy to hire a professional speechwriter to draft it for them. I do not think I can tell them

that anymore, aware that I shall henceforth remember him for this bitter attack on a people he hardly knows.

Glenn Petersen
Baruch College and Graduate Center
The City University of New York

➢ ➢ ➢

Editor's note: The following two book reviews of William Morgan's Prehistoric Architecture of Micronesia *are written from the points of view, first, of an archaeologist and, second, of an architect.*

Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia, by William N. Morgan. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. xvi+166 pp, figures, plates, tables, references, index. Cloth, U.S. $49.50.

In this volume William Morgan, the architect who previously published a study on prehistoric architecture in eastern North America, turns his attention to Micronesia. The author's principal focus is on the building traditions that existed in late prehistoric times or persisted into the ethnographic present, that is, the period of European contact or later. The archaeological content, therefore, deals for the most part with late prehistoric times and not with the early phase of Micronesian prehistory. The study includes Palau, Yap, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Marianas, but omits Chuuk and the atolls of the Marshalls and the Carolines. Morgan notes that impressive architectural features exist on those islands as well but that practical considerations dictated some limitations in the scope of the work. In effect he focuses on the architecture and other features associated with the so-called megalithic or monumental building traditions on the high islands of Micronesia.

The book, done in "coffee table format," is lavishly illustrated and includes numerous color plates. The illustrations are of high quality; indeed, some of the photographs and line drawings are spectacular. Despite the

format, the volume is not a lightweight product in terms of its informational content. It contains a lengthy, well-written text devoted to the archaeological, historical, and cultural backgrounds of the individual island groups and their building traditions.

To his considerable credit, Morgan sought out both indigenous authorities and researchers who were knowledgeable about the individual islands. Thus, the text is reasonably current and authoritative. The volume publishes, for the first time in a readily accessible book, several key site maps and diagrams that have languished for years in limited distribution reports or in other obscure sources.

The chapter on Palau focuses on three principal subjects: the extensive terrace systems, the puzzling stone colonnades at Badrulchau, and the late prehistoric men's houses (*bai*). There is also a brief excursion to the carved stone sculptures at Melekeok. Palau is unique in Micronesia for its extensive agricultural terrace systems, presumably used for taro cultivation. The age of the terraces is difficult to determine; current evidence suggests that terrace construction was concentrated between A.D. 700 and 1400. Palauans had stopped building such terraces several centuries prior to the arrival of the first Europeans.

The terraces are especially impressive in southwestern Babeldaob in the area between the villages of Ngchemiangel and Elechui, an area that I surveyed in detail in 1983. Morgan juxtaposes a detailed aerial photograph of that area with a reconstructed site plan based on a photogrammetric survey. The reconstruction is an admirable illustrative device, but it is misleading in some respects because it shows all terraces with equal weight and clarity (some are much better defined than others), and it also misinterprets some features as terraces that are not real terraces. In a few cases, Japanese-era features are also interpreted as parts of the terrace system. Still, the combination of photograph and line drawing clearly indicates the imposing extent of landscape modification. The reader should remember, as Morgan notes, that the terraces were not built rapidly on some sort of a master plan, but slowly over a long period of time. Some terrace systems do, however, exhibit some degree of overall planning and spatial organization.

The stone colonnades at Badrulchau in northern Babeldaob have intrigued archaeologists for years, but the site has resisted unambiguous interpretation. Badrulchau is earlier than the late prehistoric traditional villages. Palauan oral traditions relate the site to the origin of the bai, which is a prominent feature of later village organization and which is significant both archaeologically and socially. Observers have usually interpreted the

megaliths as supports for some type of structure(s), but whether it/they were the forerunners of the ethnographically documented bai is unknown. What is troublesome about the site is that it is unique; with the possible exception of one still undocumented site, nothing else like it survives in all of Palau. Morgan's architectural reconstruction for the stone colonnades is in some respects problematic, especially the superstructure, but given the present state of knowledge, any reconstruction would be so.

The Palau chapter ends with a discussion of Irrai village and its extant bai, the only surviving men's house in Palau that is not a modern construction. Irrai is a good example of the Palauan traditional village, the type of village that Palauans were living in when the English first encountered the island group in 1783. This type of village organization seems to be relatively recent; archaeologists have not been able to date them to earlier than a few hundred years prior to European contact. Morgan documents the *Bai-ra-Irrai* and its village setting in considerable detail. He suggests that some of the sophisticated craftsmanship seen in the bai may be the result of the introduction of Western tools and construction techniques after 1783. I am not sufficiently knowledgeable about the construction techniques involved to evaluate the argument, but I am suspicious of it because Westerners have often underestimated the technological capabilities of preindustrial peoples.

The archaeology of Yap is very poorly known, although it has been the subject of intense anthropological study. Thanks to the strong conservatism of Yapese culture, however, most of the major architectural forms survive, and Morgan describes them by focusing on Bechiyal village at the north end of Maap island. Popular descriptions of Yap are too often preoccupied with the unique Yapese stone money and fail to deal with the important aspects of architecture and village organization. Morgan commendably avoids that problem and also illustrates a range of functional buildings, not just the meeting houses and chiefly residences. The line drawings of the *pebaey* (elders' meeting house) at Bechiyal are especially impressive. The reader will note some similarities in architectural forms between Yap and Palau, and there is also some artifactual and linguistic evidence for prehistoric contact between them. Given their relative closeness, that fact is not surprising, but as Morgan points out, Palau and Yap are fundamentally different societies.

Without a doubt the most impressive monumental architecture in Micronesia is on the islands of Pohnpei and Kosrae, specifically the sites of Nan Madol and Lelu. The massive stone walls and platforms of these two sites have drawn the attention of archaeologists for decades. Nan Madol,

where construction started around A.D. 1200–1300, is the larger and older of the two, but Lelu (on Kosrae) is clearly a related manifestation. The construction of Nan Madol required the quarrying and transport of multi-ton columns of basalt over substantial distances at great expense of labor. The size and layout of Nan Madol, whose core area comprises some 81 hectares (200 acres), is truly impressive. While certainly remarkable in their architectural dimensions, the two sites are doubly attractive to archaeologists because of their implications for political hierarchy and social control. They represent the only two clear cases in Micronesia where a large island was for a period of time unified under a single political hierarchy. Thus, the remains are of considerable interest in regard to the question of the emergence of complex social and political structures. Morgan gives these two sites extended treatment in addition to providing detailed site maps.

Morgan does achieve some balance in the presentation by examining subsidiary sites on Pohnpei, particularly the stone platforms in the Kiti municipality and at the site of Sapwtakai, thought to be a local administrative center that began at about the time of the major expansion at Nan Madol. Unfortunately, the ethnographic record of the wooden architecture associated with these monumental constructions is not as comprehensive as that for other places in Micronesia. Morgan is thus limited to some buildings for which there are colonial period illustrations or photographs.

The Mariana Islands have a distinctively different style of stone construction, a style that did not employ stone platforms or walls like the other islands but, instead, used vertical stone columns to support structures. The *latte* of the Marianas consist of paired stone shafts, or columns, topped with hemispherical capstones. These features are made principally from the local marine limestones. The number of pairs of supports ranges from two to seven. Much of traditional Chamorro culture was destroyed before Spaniards (or other Europeans) described it; therefore, the architectural forms of the sixteenth century Chamorros have been the subject of some scholarly speculation and argument. There is now general agreement that the structures supported by latte were in most cases residences. Morgan presents some of the alternative configurations of the wooden superstructure, but he favors the form that most archaeologists would probably also prefer, namely, a building that is similar to the Palauan house form.

Morgan presents a variety of site plans and latte sets from Guam, Rota, and Tinian, and the selection gives the reader a good sense of the range in size and organization of late prehistoric settlements in the Marianas. The detailed maps of the Mochong village on Rota and the Taga site on Tinian

are helpful to archaeologists because the original sources of these are not readily accessible. Of special interest is the reconstruction of the superstructure associated with the House of Taga on Tinian, the largest completed latte known in the Marianas. The floor of the structure sitting on this massive construction would have been nearly 5 meters (about 16 feet) above the ground. Morgan's reconstruction admittedly draws heavily on the analogy with the Palauan bai, and even though one might not accept all aspects of this reconstruction, it still gives a good general idea of what such a structure may have looked like.

The only serious criticism of the Marianas chapter is that it is misleading as to how most latte constructions looked. The book illustrates only a few very large and very well made examples of latte sets. If one has not seen typical habitation remains, one might think that most latte were equally large, smooth, and well sculpted. In fact, most latte stand no more than about one meter above the surface and are made of irregular pinnacles of porous limestone that has undergone crumbling under the assault of the elements. Typical capstones are only slightly better shaped. The chapter could have benefited from one or two photographs of more typical latte remains; they are far less aesthetic but no less important to the archaeological record.

The book is written for a popular audience and not for the archaeologist, but Morgan has made good use of the available professional literature and blended it into a generally accurate narrative. There are some details in regard to each island group that the specialist might quibble about, but in the main, it is a solid presentation. In a few instances the chronological information has been superseded by more recent work, but Morgan can hardly be faulted for that. My criticisms of the book are decidedly minor. The book is also a good general introduction to the archaeology of the late prehistoric period of Micronesia's high islands, and it is somewhat embarrassing that it was done not by an archaeologist but by an architect. Morgan's own interpretations emerge most clearly in regard to the details of architectural analysis and reconstruction, subjects in which most archaeologists are not well versed. Indeed, the perspective of the knowledgeable architect is one of the book's strongest points.

Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia is a fine work. William Morgan has done a service to the peoples of Micronesia by bringing the impressive character of their archaeological and architectural traditions to a wide audience. For archaeologists, the volume is a useful teaching aid because of its excellent maps and illustrations. I recommend the book highly to anyone

with an interest in this part of the world or who is planning to travel to Micronesia.

Brian M. Butler
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

There are some extremely valuable unpolished jewels of architecture in Micronesia, and this book presents them for the world to see. Addressed to a broad range of readers, the material is masterfully presented. The graphics are excellent, the photographs are beautiful, and the maps are highly descriptive. The author, who is both an experienced architect and a knowledgeable architectural historian, has succeeded in displaying an enthusiastic appreciation for the architecture of Micronesia.

One of the book's many strengths is its graphic arrangement. The old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words is especially true for architects. Architects survive, thrive, and contribute according to their ability to comprehend, communicate, and create in graphic form. Morgan's outstanding drawings and photographs make the book visually appealing while serving the practical function of making the text comprehensible.

Morgan's background as both a practicing architect and a published architectural historian brings additional depth of experience to this volume and allows him to provide comparative insights about prehistoric architecture in other parts of the world. His credentials are further enhanced by having studied under one of the major modern architectural historians, Sigried Gideon.

The comparative evaluations with other areas are valuable, but in this study the limited amount of time spent on detailed architectural study in the field is sometimes apparent. The subject matter throughout the book is photographed the way an architect would photograph, is drawn the way an architect would draw, but it seems to have been written by an archaeologist. A visiting architect who reviews sites in detail, but for a limited amount of time, can photograph the sites and structures and can draw them; however, for other aspects of a study such as this, the architect must rely on others' research, which in this case is archaeological research, not architectural

research per se. Much of the material reads as if it were gleaned from archaeological survey reports; further simplification would have been desirable. (From an architect's point of view, some archaeological field reports could replace sleeping pills.)

I have some reservations about the implied accuracy of the dates and theories listed. There has been significant debate for decades concerning, for example, the initial dates of human settlement in Micronesia, the beginning of the Latte Period in the Marianas, and the sizes of pre–European contact populations. Current archaeological reports from different archaeologists confirm that the debate continues. However, Morgan tends to give very specific dates and represent as fact some matters still in dispute by archaeologists, which may cast some doubt on the appropriateness of the architectural interpretations. Some of the dates do have ranges, but perhaps more should have been offered.

The book is divided into five major sections that present the prehistoric architecture of Palau, Yap, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Mariana Islands. Because of the decision to undertake a broad overview, only a few of the most significant and most well known sites in each of the locations are included. Morgan apologizes in the preface for the lack of space to include other Micronesian regions such as Chuuk and additional sites from other areas.

The first major section, on Palau, has an excellent description of the sculpted hills of Babeldaob. Although hills are not in the mainstream of objects viewed as architecture, their inclusion here is most appropriate. The scale of these constructed works is surprising to many, but they should be seen as sites that represent early efforts at islandwide planning.

Palau's most prominent *Bai-ra-Irrai* (men's house in Irrai) is presented in detail, and inclusion of the two-story bai in Ngarageluk is an added bonus. The foundation and sectional drawings display the character well. These buildings are quite intricate, and an entire book could be done on these two structures alone. There is a multitude of intriguing detail that architects are very interested in, but which are only hinted at or discussed all too briefly. The architectural designs are extremely complex and contain thousands of details that are thought to have evolved gradually, but few examples are given of the evolution of these various structures.

One of the fascinating stories about each of the regions Morgan discusses would be how these details evolved. The author hints at a possible developmental event in the discussion of a shipwreck, relating it to the significant amount of the shiplike detail that emerged later. The detail of the steep bai roof, unpinned and lowered to the ground for both sidewall protection and major reduction in vulnerability to typhoons, is both intricate

and ingenious. Those roofs may well represent the region's first and largest "typhoon shutters."

How many more such details remain to be studied by the architectural history scholar? To study any old structure is like dealing with a priceless puzzle and it raises a myriad of questions. Why are the openings this way? Why is the foundation that size and shape? Why are the columns so long or so big in diameter?

In the section on Yap, four different types of major structures are discussed and illustrated: the *pebaey,* or traditional center of political activities in the community; the *tabinaw,* or traditional Yapese residence; the *sipal,* or traditional canoe shed; and the *faluw,* or young men's clubhouse. The illustrations in this portion of the book rival those in David Macaulay's fine books, *Pyramid* and *Cathedral.* Two partial views of the pebaey interiors and structure, called the longitudinal and transverse sections, are excellent. The amount of detail shown in each sketch invites long contemplation, for all the drawings truly depict the character of the buildings. (To sketch structures constructed solely from natural, irregular materials, and to draw them accurately takes extensive photography, as well as accurate field sketches and backup notes.) The freehand ink line drawings are superb. Line weight and other graphic techniques essentially make these world class renderings.

The third section of the book concerns Pohnpei, and in particular that special place, Nan Madol, perhaps the most intriguing of all of Micronesia's architecture. The structures are so grand and their origins apparently so elusive that inclusion in such over-imaginative books as *Chariots of the Gods* is not surprising. Morgan has demonstrated his appreciation of the relative importance of the Nan Madol complex by placing on the cover jacket Nandawas, perhaps the complex's most prominent island, and by locating in the exact middle of the book the overall site plan of all 34 islets.

The book brings forth one characteristic of Nan Madol that is perhaps the most irresistible. Almost every child grows up stacking pieces of wood or stones or drawing lines in the sand to lay out the sides and walls of a house or other building. Nan Madol is an enormous assembly of just such techniques taken to grand proportions. The huge basalt prisms that are stacked to provide the walls of the structures are well photographed and illustrated, and the subtleties of massing that add significant drama to the structures are well described. To round out the Pohnpei chapter, other sites, particularly the mountain site of Sapwtakai, are also presented.

The fourth section of the book presents the architecture of Kosrae. While there are many major differences between Lelu and Nan Madol, the

reader is struck by the similarities. Indeed, as the author describes, these are two civilizations that took their architecture to its zenith. The Kosrae section treats the historic ruins of Lelu; here, the details of the traditional wood structures are illustrated in a fashion comparable to those in the chapter on Yap.

The last section pertains to the Mariana Islands. Here, more so than in the other chapters, the author was somewhat handicapped because whereas the other islands have a significant number of remaining structures, the Marianas have only fragments of structures that have survived. The examples are not only limited, but also the remaining building elements, *latte* stones, are unique features in the world's architecture. Because of the lack of similar structures that would help fill in some missing pieces of the architectural puzzle, what was fact in other chapters becomes more a matter of conjecture in this chapter.

Morgan covers latte sites at Nomna Bay, Gogna Cove, and the Talofofo River on Guam; the Taga and quarry sites on Tinian; and the Mochung site on Rota. The plan and sectional drawings of some of the structures are the best graphic comparisons I have ever seen. Several stone columns and capstones are illustrated, including the various foundations. The Taga site in Tinian is reviewed in detail, and some historical etchings are included. The reconstructions could be very helpful for readers to visualize what the structures may have looked like; however, because of the amount of detail, the drawings may also be misleading. The large reconstruction renderings may carry unwarranted credence because of the fine method of illustration and their inclusion in a document that otherwise includes definitely documented structures, such as the Yapese buildings.

Morgan's book is a significant, serious recording of part of the Pacific region's architecture. Moreover, it is a publication that is long overdue. Because I believe Pacific architecture truly merits further attention, I hope this publication will stimulate similar efforts and encourage those who may be even more familiar with certain aspects of the architecture to step forward with their own presentations. The book should be read by every architect who appreciates vernacular architecture, by every practicing architect in the region, and by all who are interested in the cultures of Micronesia. But what is most important is that it should be in every school throughout Micronesia.

Jack Jones, F.A.I.A.
Tamuning, Guam

Atlas of Micronesia, by Bruce G. Karolle. Agaña, Guam: Guam Publications, Inc., in cooperation with the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1988. vi+83 pp, maps, tables, figures, photographs, appendixes, bibliography, index. Paper, U.S. $15.00

The advent of computer-based geographical information systems (GIS) has dramatically transformed the art and labor of cartography. A wave of new atlases using the latest techniques and quickly incorporating recent data has flooded the market. This atlas, unfortunately, is not one of them. It is of the old school, a labor of love perhaps, typed rather than printed, in black and white, and it has no standardization. It will vastly disappoint those who have enjoyed the magnificent French atlases of the two principal French territories and of the Pacific Islands. Yet all is not lost. Its author claims it to be "a basic reference . . . . [and] a first edition" (p. vi). The second edition is expected to include "topical and large-scale island coverage" (p. vi) which, if combined with GIS and slavish adoration of the French school (especially Antheaume & Bonnemaison, 1988), will be worth waiting to see.

In many respects this is not really an atlas at all. Less than half of the book consists of maps and text, and rather than explaining and discussing the maps, the text often takes up other themes. Nor is it about Micronesia as a cultural entity. Nauru and Kiribati are almost entirely ignored, and the focus is firmly on the American flag areas. This is a pity because very interesting comparative themes could have been considered. Although the Atlas is accurate—the number of consultants and contributing authors is prodigious—there are too few pages devoted to analyzing and mapping many interesting and important issues.

The Atlas begins appropriately with physical geography, and although profiles of atolls are presented, there are none for high islands. Elsewhere the atolls get very short shrift. Curiously, the section on climate and weather, which is well illustrated with numerous diagrams and maps, appears five sections after the physical geography section. The rest of part 1, on settlement and colonialism, has only two maps: One depicts prehistoric settlement movements (without a key) and the other shows U.S. expansionism in the entire Pacific. The Japanese era is allocated a mere four paragraphs and no maps, yet, as Mark Peattie's excellent book *Nan'yō* (1988) has dem-

onstrated, the potential for cartographic depiction of various facets of Japanese colonialism is considerable. And what of the German and Spanish eras, and the Second World War?

Sections in part 2 follow on economic development; on navigation, the most interesting in the book; and on population, with a dismal undated map and no hint of rates of population growth, mortality, fertility, and other demographic data. The economic section is perhaps the weakest: a single map (undated, but apparently somewhere between 1979 and 1984) of exports by value, but not by content. The argument that Micronesia has no productive economy is well borne out by this section, but it need not have been. There is no information on such matters as subsistence production (crop varieties), fisheries, copra production, or even on the contemporary aid situation.

These general sections are followed in part 3 by accounts of individual islands. Guam fares best in terms of detail, but there, as for the other islands, the description is dreary and monotonous. The map of farms and regions (Figure 29) is outdated, and there is no explanation of the mystifying symbols. Saipan also fares reasonably well, but there is neither a mention of Rota and Tinian nor a map.

Palau, the four high islands of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Marshall Islands are considered next. Although there are four unexplained maps of atolls, there is no indication in the text that Palau and the FSM actually encompass outer islands, and, therefore, that cultural, linguistic, and economic distinctions might obtain. There are no language maps and no mention of the Polynesian outliers. These sections could have gone beyond banal description toward genuine insights and even hints about contemporary development practice and policy. Finally, a long and unhelpful index wastes considerable space.

There are some 31 maps in the book, though maps 2 and 12 are almost identical and could have been combined. The best are no more than competent, and several are merely photocopies of U.S. Department of the Interior maps, which reproduce poorly and are inconsistent with the others. The Atlas also suffers from a lack of consistency in cartographic style. The five black and white photos could have been better integrated with the text, which is poorly organized, and the first photograph should have been identified.

The *Atlas of Micronesia* is emphatically merely a starting point. Other than the careful summaries of important themes, such as of history and the colonial era, there is nothing here that cannot be easily found elsewhere.

Fifty years ago the British naval handbooks set the pace for data compilation and accuracy; it is time to move beyond these. Although data on Micronesia are not always easily accessible, there is much more information than is hinted at here. For example, there might have been maps of transport links, voyages of discovery, tourism, and languages.

In summary, this is not the indispensable planning and scholarly tool that some other atlases have now become, and although it has filled an obvious need in Micronesian schools, it is far from definitive. The second edition may be.

References

Antheaume, B., & Bonnemaison, J. (1988). *Atlas des îles et états du Pacifique sud.* Montpelier and Paris: GIP Reclus-Publisud, Montpelier.

Peattie, M. R. (1988). *Nan'yō: The rise and fall of the Japanese in Micronesia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

John Connell
University of Sydney

Vernacular Language Symposium on New and Developing Orthographies in Micronesia, edited by Mary L. Spencer, with Viviana Aguilar and Ginlin Woo. Mangilao: University of Guam Press, 1990. vi+104 pp, maps, tables, appendixes, references, bibliographies. Paper, U.S. $15.00.

The publication under review is a collection of the presentations made at the Vernacular Language Symposium on New and Developing Orthographies in Micronesia that was held by the University of Guam in 1989 under the sponsorship of the University's Project BEAM (Bilingual Education Assistance for Micronesia). As the editor states in the introduction, "The presenters were a distinguished group of indigenous linguists, educators, and policy makers, representing almost all of the languages of the Micronesian region, as well as the Hawaiian language and language education programs of the South Pacific" (p. 3). (The term Micronesia is used here to

designate the islands that were part of the former U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, plus the Territory of Guam.)

The book is divided into four parts. Part I consists of the presentations made at the symposium by Micronesian language experts, most of whom took their linguistic training at the University of Hawai'i during the 1970s. Part II contains four invited presentations by speakers from Guam, the University of the South Pacific, and the Hawaiian Studies Institute of the Kamehameha Schools of Hawaii. Part III is a list of symposium resolutions, and part IV contains the symposium program and copies of legislation relating to the status and use of the languages of Guam and Hawaii.

The presentations in part I report on 18 different languages of Micronesia, including all of the major ones and 11 of the "minor" ones. Although the reports vary somewhat in detail, they provide an excellent resource for current information on the status of language policies, practices, and problems throughout Micronesia.

Almost without exception the presentations focus more on current problems than on accomplishments, which are considerable; for example, there are more than a few linguists, bilingual dictionaries, reference grammars, and bilingual education programs in Micronesia. Not surprisingly, the most commonly cited problem is the conflict between the *old* and the *new* orthographies. Old orthography refers to the spelling conventions established mainly through church-associated literacy; new orthography refers to the spelling systems introduced by University of Hawai'i linguists and adopted by ad hoc Micronesian orthography committees and subsequently used in the bilingual dictionaries, reference grammars, and pedagogical materials. In general, the old spelling conventions are favored and still used by the older generation; the new system is the one used in the schools and bilingual dictionaries. In some of the communities the conflict is serious and often charged with the emotions that are typically aroused over deliberately introduced language change. I will return to the orthography problem later in this review.

Dialect variation, which is common to many Micronesian communities, has introduced the problem of which dialect to choose as the standard one in many of the communities reported on in this symposium. Thus far the approach has been the usual one of selecting the dialect of the seat of commerce and government as the standard, which is certain to arouse protest from speakers of other dialects, particularly where the standard dialect is used in community schools and another dialect is spoken in the home.

Only Kosrae, Palau, and the Marshall Islands are spared the multiple dialect problem in Micronesia.

The symposium presenters see both of the above problem areas as tied directly to the bilingual dictionaries, all but two of which were developed at the University of Hawai'i through the collaborative efforts of students from Micronesia and linguists from the University of Hawai'i. (The *Trukese-English Dictionary* was authored and published by Professor Ward Goodenough of the University of Pennsylvania, with input from the Hawaii group; the *Palauan-English Dictionary* was authored by Father Edwin McManus and was subsequently edited, expanded, and published at Hawaii.) Additional problems associated with the bilingual dictionaries are the conflict between linguistic and practical concerns and the need for new editions. In some of the dictionaries, forms are listed that do not normally occur in everyday speech without affixation. This practice, although linguistically sound, sometimes renders it difficult for the beginning user to locate a particular word. For example, the Chamorro root form *udai* is listed even though it rarely occurs without the prefix *ma-*, as in *ma'udai* (to ride). Although this particular form is cross listed, not all of the derived words are. The linguistic argument would be that root forms should be listed, but the practical user may find such forms uninteresting, useless, and confusing.

The symposium presenters are in unanimous agreement on the need for new editions of the bilingual dictionaries. Their most frequently cited reasons are the needs for expansion through additional entries, for corrections to the existing entries, and for revisions in the spelling systems. Several of the various dictionary coauthors have been systematically collecting new entries for expanded editions. As the published dictionaries have been used and studied, erroneous and incomplete definitions have been discovered. One presenter reported that the dictionary for Mwoakiloa (Mokilese) is "75% wrong" (p. 41), which I hope is an exaggeration. Errors and omissions seem to become much more obvious after rather than before they are seen in print.

The need for respelling is felt more keenly by some groups than by others. In Chuuk, for example, the orthography of the dictionary has been deemed completely unacceptable and the dictionary is not used in the literacy programs in the schools. But the problem in Palau was reported as a minor one that can be overcome through education. The Chamorro Language Commission of Guam has embarked on a project to revise the spelling system for a new version of the *Chamorro-English Dictionary*. Clearly the doctrine of "correct" spelling has taken root throughout Micronesia, and apparently

it has emerged as a major language problem. According to the reports given, only Palau is thinking about and planning for a monolingual dictionary.

Other problems described by the presenters include the current bilingual education programs, the lack of language commissions and policies, and language change. Without exception, their recommended solution for all of these problems was more money.

The degree of success of the bilingual education programs appears to vary considerably from one part of Micronesia to another. Where there are problems of implementation, they stem from a lack of both materials and properly trained teachers, as well as disagreements over the orthographic rules.

Running throughout the reports is a plea for more control over language issues. The most frequently cited needs are for legislation regarding proper spelling and language use and for an authoritative body (i.e., a Language Commission) to serve as the regulatory agency. Clearly there is the belief throughout Micronesia that language can and should be ruled by law.

There is growing concern, particularly in the Marshall and Mariana islands, about the problems of language change, erosion, and possible loss. Reportedly, the young people speak differently from the elders and are not observing the linguistic forms of respect. English words are displacing more and more of the indigenous Micronesian vocabularies. And Micronesian parents are beginning to speak English to their children, particularly in the Mariana Islands. These are all correctly perceived as threats to the integrity and perpetuation of the Micronesian languages.

As indicated earlier, the bilingual dictionaries came under heavy criticism in most of the presentations. Incorrect definitions, incompleteness, and problematic spellings were the most frequently cited problems. Surprisingly little was said about the seven reference grammars that were developed in tandem with the dictionaries during the PALI (Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute) Project at the University of Hawai'i. This lack of concern is perhaps a reflection of the relative importance of the grammars for the needs of the Micronesian people.

Part II of this volume includes four lengthier presentations by invited speakers from Guam, Hawaii, and the University of the South Pacific. Rosa Palomo, Chair of the Guam's *Kumision I Fino' Chamorro,* examines policy issues in language planning and offers a very useful summary of the current status of language policy, planning, and use for the majority languages of Micronesia.

Dr. Robert Underwood, Academic Vice-President of the University of Guam and former Chair of the *Kumision I Fino' Chamorro,* gives a very insightful and comprehensive presentation on the proper role of language commissions. With emphases on the issues of language survival and language rights, Dr. Underwood drew upon the works of Einar Haugen, a pioneer in the field of language planning, as well as his own extensive personal experience with the problems of Guam's Chamorro Language Commission. In Underwood's view, the political aspects of language policy and planning are critical and need to be reckoned with early in the formation of any policy-making body.

The presentation by Barbara Moore, of the University of the South Pacific's Institute of Education, gives an excellent overview of Pacific language education in the schools of the South Pacific nations. According to her report, schools in the South Pacific have many of the same problems cited by the Micronesians, foremost of which is a dearth of literacy materials and trained teachers; however, Ms. Moore does not bemoan the lack of money, as did most of the participants from Micronesia. On the contrary, she proposes economical methods of producing literacy materials, methods which are being practiced in parts of the South Pacific where she works. Further, she expresses what this reviewer considers an enlightened point of view about the orthographic controversies raging in parts of Micronesia: "I'm always puzzled when the 'correct' orthography becomes such an emotional issue" (p. 89).

The final invited presentation was given by Gordon Pi'ianai'a, Director of the Hawaiian Studies Institute of Kamehameha Schools, who was the only presenter at the symposium to speak in a Pacific Island language. Representing the language that has come dangerously close to extinction, Mr. Pi'ianai'a describes the remarkable work being carried out in Hawaii, with particular focus on the language immersion programs now being conducted in several schools in Hawaii. Although the problems of language and cultural preservation are formidable in cosmopolitan Hawaii, Mr. Pi'ianai'a expresses the optimism of the many Hawaiian people who are committed to a successful outcome.

Part III of the volume contains the inevitable conference resolutions passed by acclamation. Not surprisingly, they call for more support, more money, and more conferences, all in the interest of strengthening the position of the minority languages of Micronesia in an environment that is increasingly threatened by influences from the English-speaking world. Part IV contains appendixes, including the symposium program and copies of

some of the legal instruments that affect the indigenous languages of Guam and Hawaii.

This is a very useful volume for anyone interested in questions relating to the current policies and practices of language status and use in Micronesia. The information is authentic in that it was presented, to use the editor's words, by "those who cared most—the indigenous language experts of Micronesia" (p. 3). The editor is to be commended for having maintained the tone of orality of the conference while producing a very readable account of the proceedings. (Only one printing glitch was noticed, at the top of page 5, where one or more lines appear to be missing.)

As director of the project at the University of Hawai'i, where the orthographies, dictionaries, and reference grammars were produced, and where the Micronesian linguists were educated, I feel compelled to offer responses to some of the statements made in the published proceedings of the symposium. The first relates to the purpose of the PALI Project (also known as the Micronesian Linguistics Project). On page 53, Ms. Palomo, who was never involved with the project, states: "The project was started because other people were doing their academic degree work in our language." On the contrary, the idea for the project grew out of a conversation in an airport limousine between me and Harold Crouch, the former Trust Territory Federal Programs Officer, who saw the need to strengthen and elevate the status of the Micronesian languages in the face of "English-only" language policies in education throughout Micronesia. Granted, some of the linguists who were recruited to work on the project, including the Micronesians, gained academic degrees. But that was not the motivation for the project.

Another erroneous claim voiced by Lt. Governor Tawerilmang and Dr. Camacho-Dungca concerns authorship. The fact is that all of the dictionaries produced under the auspices of the PALI Project do bear the names of all authors on the cover and title page (except, because of publisher's error, the *Kusaiean-English Dictionary)*. The senior author (the one who provides the organization) is listed first, which is in accordance with publishing conventions.

I find the attack on the term *vernacular* in Joint Resolution A (p. 102) quite puzzling. I am unaware of any pejorative connotations of the word which, in my lexicon, refers to one's native language as opposed to a literary or foreign language. If memory serves me right, the King James Version of the Holy Bible is in the vernacular of its era.

There is much I could add about the agonizing process of trying to develop standard orthographies in Micronesia in the 1970s. Given the admitted inadequacies of the missionary orthographies and a new generation of children who were not learning them, we all did what we thought was best at the time, which was to adopt practical, consistent, and linguistically sound spelling systems. Although our intentions were noble, the result has created more controversy than any of us ever could have imagined and has probably served to embed even deeper in Micronesian minds the unfortunate Western concept of "correctness" of language.

It is probably safe to assume that the orthography problems of Micronesia will be around for another generation or two, *if* people are still writing in the indigenous languages. And, in the opinion of this reviewer, that is a big if. It is my belief, expressed many times before in Micronesia, that unless the Micronesian languages are used more often than they are now in their written form in meaningful exchanges, they are very likely to become overwhelmed by English. When a language is used in meaningful written communication, it acquires a status and, therefore, a strength that purely oral languages cannot maintain in a literate environment.

I hope the growth of literacy in Micronesian languages will not be hampered by something as trivial as the so-called correct way to spell. Let the schools aim for a standard orthography that someday may be adopted and used by all. But at the same time, educators must avoid blind obedience to the doctrine of correctness. Given time and continued support of meaningful literacy, the spelling problems will take care of themselves.

Perhaps the next symposium on the languages of Micronesia can address the doctrine of correctness in language and consider whether this might be another legacy of colonialism that needs to be dealt with in the Pacific Way.

Donald M. Topping
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Notes and Comments

ELECTRONIC INFORMATION SOURCES AVAILABLE IN MICRONESIA

Chih Wang
University of Guam

This article summarizes the contents of the major electronic information sources available in the Micronesian region for the purpose of providing educators, researchers, scholars, scientists, students, government officials, and businessmen in the region with useful information for their teaching, research, and studying. Three online information systems and several CD–ROM products are covered in the article and, except where otherwise indicated, all of the sources are available at the University of Guam's Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Library. The subjects and types of information to be searched will determine the choice of a system for the search; contact library and information professionals in each institution for assistance if needed. Note that telecommunications costs normally are charged for searching on online systems.

Online Information Systems

DIALOG is the world's largest information databank, providing access to over 350 databases on different subjects. Some databases contain references and abstracts for published literature. Others include complete texts of articles, news reports, statistical tables, directories, business and financial data, and

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 149–53

up-to-the-minute news releases. The databank has the capability to answer such questions as what the latest research results are in a specific field; where one can find out about the corporate history, ownership, affiliation, and financial statements of a company; what the U.S. consumer price index has been over the last 20 years, and so forth. In addition, by using the DIALOG's sorting feature, one also can manipulate data when needed.

MEDLINE is one of the databases produced by the U.S. National Library of Medicine. It currently holds over 6 million records relevant to the biomedical literature published in over 70 countries. The database is the electronic version of the three printed indexes: *Index Medicus, Index to Dental Literature,* and *International Nursing Index.* Updated weekly, the database covers 4 thousand journals and indexes about 60 thousand articles each year. The Paperchase software enables users to search MEDLINE with "plain English." MEDLINE is available at the U.S. Naval Hospital Library on Guam; it also can be searched on DIALOG in File 155 and on CD-ROM at the University of Guam's Robert F. Kennedy Library.

WESTLAW provides online access to the full texts of federal regulations, administrative law decisions, and federal and state court decisions. It includes federal cases from courts of appeals, district courts, bankruptcy courts, claims courts, and the U.S. Supreme Court, as well as case law from all 50 states and from the District of Columbia. To support specialized research requirements in such areas as antitrust, taxation, securities, labor, bankruptcy, and environmental law, the system provides a topical arrangement of databases. It also provides access to the full text of selected law reviews and other legal journals. WESTLAW is available at the Guam Territorial Law Library.

CD-ROM REFERENCE PRODUCTS

Academic Index, one of the CD-ROMs produced by the Information Access Company, is designed to meet the needs of college and university students. Updated monthly, it indexes over 390 scholarly and general-interest publications of the most current 4 years and the latest 6 months of *The New York Times.* It provides bibliographical information in the subject areas of the social sciences, humanities, and general science. Academic Index is useful for finding information on the most recent theories in organizational psychology, current attitudes in ethnic and minority studies, opinions about the future of education, theater and movie reviews, and so forth.

CINAHL–CD, a database equivalent to the print version of the *Cumulative Index to Nursing & Allied Health Literature,* is designed to meet the information needs of nurses and allied health professionals. It covers the years beginning with 1983 and contains over 85 thousand records from more than 300 English-language journals and books published by the American Nurses Association, the National League for Nursing, and 14 allied health fields.

Climatological Data, Hydrodata, and SWRA Data: Climatological Data provides information on daily precipitation, temperature, and evaporation. Hydrodata contains information on well levels, tide levels, stream flow, stream stage, sediment levels, and the total settleable solids. SWRA Data is the parallel version of the printed *Selected Water Resources Abstracts.* It holds the data of important publications in the area of water resources, covers the period from 1968 through 1987, and is updated on a periodic basis. These CD–ROMs include data for Guam and selected Pacific islands and are available at the University of Guam's Water and Energy Research Institute.

DIALOG ONDISC ERIC (one of four versions of the computerized databases) provides access to educational materials indexed by the Educational Resources Information Center. The DIALOG system has an online version file offering access to ERIC. The other two versions are the OCLC CD450 for Education produced by the Online Computer Library Center and the SilverPlatter ERIC produced by SilverPlatter Information, Inc. All of these versions contain materials corresponding to two print indexes: (a) *Resources in Education* (RIE), which is concerned with identifying the most significant and timely education research reports, in-house curriculum guides, practical classroom activities plans, bibliographies, and so forth; and (b) the *Current Index to Journals in Education* (CIJE), an index of more than 700 periodicals of interest to every segment of the education profession.

ESIC (Earth Science Information Centers) distributes digital cartographic/geographic data files produced by the U.S. Geological Survey as part of the National Mapping Program. The files contain four types of data: (a) The Digital Line Graph provides line map information, including data on planimetric base categories such as transportation, hydrography, and boundaries; (b) the Digital Elevation Model consists of a sampled array of elevations for a number of ground positions that are usually at regularly spaced intervals; (c) the Land Use and Land Cover Digital Data provides information on nine major classes of land use such as urban, agricultural, and forest as well as associated map data; and (d) the Geographic Names Information

System provides information primarily for all known places, features, and areas identified by a proper name in the United States.

Facts on File News Digest CD-ROM is the parallel version of the printed weekly digest that indexes all basic facts of U.S. and world news for the years 1980 through 1989. The cumulative volumes contain nearly 600 thousand entries covering information on science, sports, celebrities, obituaries, current best sellers, and film and theater openings. One CD-ROM holds 10 years of weekly news stories, 10 years of the cumulative indexes, and more than 500 maps of the United States and the rest of the world. It has Boolean search capabilities for specific information. It is available at Simon Sanchez High School on Guam.

MAS CD-ROM, the parallel version of the printed *Magazine Article Summaries,* indexes 299 magazines. It is updated and cumulated every month and adds more than 80 thousand new abstracts annually. It is available at Guam Community College Library.

NCHS CD-ROM contains records collected by the 1987 National Health Interview Survey of the National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and is dated December 1990. All direct identifiers and any characteristics that might lead to identification of specific individuals are omitted from the data set. The NCHS data can be used only for statistical reporting and analysis.

The New Grolier Electronic Encyclopedia on CD-ROM contains the text of *Grolier's Academic American Encyclopedia.* It has more than 9 million words listed in over 30 thousand entries. Articles arranged alphabetically represent the full spectrum of knowledge, including information on science and technology, the arts, geography, medicine, health, social sciences, religion, philosophy, contemporary life, sports, government, politics, and so forth. It is available at the University of Guam's College of Education and at Guam Community College Library.

NTDB (the National Trade Data Bank) is operated by the U.S. Department of Commerce's Interagency Trade Data Advisory Committee, which consists of the representatives of 13 federal agencies. The NTDB includes the best of the trade promotion and international economic data from the 13 agencies. It is updated monthly with additional information such as *The World Factbook,* trade data, and the *CIA Handbook of Economics and Statistics.*

Toolworks World Atlas contains over 240 maps and hundreds of pages of text on 54 different topics. It has disk and CD-ROM versions, and is available at Guam Community College Library.

STUDENT NARRATIVES ON ETHNOCENTRISM

Gary Heathcote
University of Guam

A revealing collection of narrative accounts of encounters with ethnocentrism is being compiled at the University of Guam. Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own way of living is superior to that practiced by members of other cultures or subcultures.

During the past two terms, my students in Introduction to Anthropology courses have submitted short accounts of their personal encounters with ethnocentrism. They are asked to report on encounters of two types. In one, they relate how they have been personally hurt or offended by the ethnocentric behavior of another person toward them. In the second, they relate how have they have hurt or offended someone through their own ethnocentric behavior.

During the Spring 1991 term, the assignment was expanded into a group project, where—to the extent possible—each working group was comprised of members of different ethnic/racial groups. In addition to each member submitting narratives on their own "giving and receiving" encounters with ethnocentrism, each team was responsible for collecting additional accounts from people not enrolled in the class.

Because the project has been judged by the students as being very eye-opening and "humanizing," it will be continued as a core component of the course. The collection of narratives exists in two forms: I edited and compiled a selection of 26 of the Fall 1990 submissions, which is entitled "Short Stories on Ethnocentrism." Copies are available by writing to me, c/o Anthropology Program, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Guam, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923.

The Spring 1991 project reports on ethnocentrism were submitted by 18 different working groups. These student-produced reports contain up to 20 narrative accounts each. Although the reports are of variable quality, many are very well executed. The entire collection of these reports is available at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. For further information on the collection or requests for gaining access, write to Librarian, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923.

In Memoriam

JOYCE E. BATH
(1929–1991)

Joyce E. Bath, Archaeologist, died at her son's home in Windsor, California, on December 2, 1991, after a protracted battle with metastasized breast cancer. Joyce will be sorely missed by all her family and *ohana* (Hawaiian extended "family") and by the community of Hawaiian and Micronesian archaeologists who benefitted from her scholarship and professionalism.

Before coming to the Pacific, Joyce, as did many women of our era, returned to college in mid-life, while retaining responsibility for her three children, and earned a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology at the University of Nevada in Reno. She was an integral member of the famed Desert Research Institute and carried out several archaeological research projects throughout the desert Southwest and Great Basin of the United States and in Mesoamerica.

In the mid-1970s Joyce enrolled in the PhD program in Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i, Manoa. While working in Mesoamerica she had become intrigued with the problems inherent in the prehistoric development of stratified societies, and it was the emerging data on stratification developments in Hawaii and Micronesia that captured her imagination and interest. As a result, her focus during graduate studies was on sociopolitical development in the Eastern Caroline Islands, specifically on the development of the megalithic centers at Nan Madol, on Pohnpei, and at Lelu, on Kosrae.

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 1:1. Rainy Season, 1992, 155–57

Joyce carried out her dissertation research at the megalithic prehistoric complex at Sapwtakai, Kiti, Pohnpei, during 1980 and 1981. Her dissertation and the subsequent publication about the complex focused on the idea of natural resource availability and control as forming a basis for sociopolitical centralization. These were among the first scholarly works to contrast the probable development of the prehistoric polities on Pohnpei and Kosrae.

Following completion of her dissertation, Joyce participated in a number of significant historic preservation compliance studies throughout Hawaii and on the islands of Kosrae, Pohnpei, and Guam. Among these were: the study of a major controlled excavation site at San Vitores, Tumon, Guam; an extensive excavation and mapping project at the prehistoric centers of Lelu, Nefalil, and Likihnhlohlwem, Kosrae; an extensive research project at Nan Madol, Pohnpei; and pioneering studies of Kawela/Turtle Bay and Kahawainui on Oahu, Hawaii. Among the results of these projects were indications for much longer time spans than previously thought for human habitation, based upon radiocarbon dating methods and characteristics of associated cultural deposits.

One of Joyce's most important contributions, particularly in Micronesia, was the introduction of a level of quality and professionalism to archaeological research that was not uniformly to be found during the 1970s and the early 1980s. She pioneered in applying the most recent archaeological techniques and theoretical orientations within the region, and the many reports and publications she produced have enriched our understanding of the prehistory of the Micronesian region.

Following a brief stay in California in the mid-1980s, Joyce returned to the Pacific to assume the position of State Archaeologist for the County of Oahu, Hawaii. It was in this role that she "blossomed" as a professional. Throughout her career, Joyce exhibited strong interest not only in the archaeological remains of the indigenous peoples of Hawaii and Micronesia but also for the living peoples of these regions as well. Her honesty and sincerity—and her affability—enabled her to establish and sustain fruitful relationships with the people whose remains she studied; at the same time, she maintained strict professional archaeological standards in the performance of her work. Although Joyce was based in Hawaii, she was able to stay in contact with her first Pacific "love," the people of Micronesia. Her efforts have benefitted both the professional community and the people who have been the recipient of her efforts, and her professional achievements will not be lost on a new generation of researchers.

Joyce is survived by her mother, Joyce; sister, Jean; son, Ronald; daughters, Vicki and Deborah; their spouses; seven grandchildren; and a host of friends and associates. In accordance with Joyce's wishes, her cremated remains were brought to Hawaii on January 18, 1992, and scattered in the ocean south of Honolulu—so that she could return home to the Pacific.

Charles Streck
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
Fort Shafter, Hawaii

CONTRIBUTORS

Pauline McKenzie Aucoin

Laurence Marshall Carucci

Dorothy Ayers Counts

Jill E. Korbin

Shireen Lateef

David E. Lewis, Jr.

Nancy McDowell

William E. Mitchell

Jill Nash

Karen L. Nero

Richard Scaglion

Laura J. Zimmer

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN OCEANIA

EDITED BY DOROTHY AYERS COUNTS

Up-to-date and noteworthy

Ideal for classroom use

The forms, incidence, and background of domestic violence in 12 contemporary South Pacific societies are examined in this collection that covers the culture areas of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and Papua New Guinea. The contributors delve into child, spouse, and elderly abuse, and consider the effects of alcohol, modernization and urbanization pressures, socialization, gender relations, and traditional attitudes toward violence. Two essays discuss societies with low incidences of domestic violence. Research was conducted using an anthropological approach to observation. Chapters include case studies, relevant historical and ethnographic background, and analysis from theoretical and cross-cultural perspectives. An introduction and conclusion review the literature in the field. *Domestic Violence in Oceania* is of value to anthropologists and sociologists and also to those involved in social work, public health, police work, law, and government.

1990, ISSN 0275–3596, 312 pages, $10.00.
(A special issue of the journal *Pacific Studies*, Vol.13, No. 3)
Distributed for The Institute for Polynesian Studies by
University of Hawaii Press
2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Revue française d'anthropologie

octobre décembre 1991 120

L'HOMME

Rédaction : Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, Collège de France
52, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, 75005 Paris Tél. (1) 44 27 17 30

Abonnements : CDR-Centrale des revues, 11, rue Gossin, 92543 Montrouge Cedex.
Tél. (1) 46 56 52 66. Règlement par chèque bancaire, chèque postal
ou virement postal/*Cheques are payable to :*
CDR-Gauthier-Villars CCP La Source 33 368 61.

Les abonnements partent du premier fascicule de l'année en cours. /
Subscriptions begin with the first issue of the year.

Vente au numéro : Navarin Éditeur
31, rue de Navarin, 75009 Paris Tél. (1) 48 78 05 65

Prix de l'abonnement pour 1991 : Institutions : 390 F (France) et 446 F (Étranger)
Particuliers : 300 F (France) et 300 F (Étranger)

Prix du numéro : 90 F

Manuscript Preparation and Style

Manuscripts must follow the prescribed guidelines; it may be necessary to return manuscripts that do not conform to requirements. A manuscript must be typed on 8½″ × 11″ or A4 nonerasable white bond paper, with *ample non-justified margins* on all sides (4 cm), and should not exceed 30 typed pages in length. *The entire manuscript—including abstract, block quotations, endnotes, acknowledgements, references, figure captions, and tables—must be double-spaced.* Please submit three complete sets. NOTE: Authors from countries where access to copying facilities and style guides is limited may submit one copy; in such cases the services of *ISLA*'s editors are available for preparing manuscripts for publication. Authors should prepare manuscripts according to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (3rd ed.), supplemented by *The Chicago Manual of Style* (13th ed.). The spelling guide is *Webster's Third International Dictionary.* For spelling of place-names, refer to *Pacific Island Names* (L. S. Motteler, 1986, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press); however, place-name spellings currently in use in the islands are preferred when they differ from the Motteler reference.

Title (page 1)
Include the title (no more than 9 words), the running head (not more than 45 characters, including spaces), name and affiliation of all authors, and mailing address and telephone/FAX numbers of the corresponding author.

Abstract (page 2)
Abstracts should be double-spaced in a single block format paragraph of 75 to 150 words.

Text (page 3)
Use a 5-character paragraph indent. *Do not justify right margins* or use other desktop publishing features such as bold/italic typefaces.

Acknowledgments
Following text, briefly acknowledge any grant support or substantial assistance in the article preparation.

Notes
Footnotes are not permitted in the text. (NB: This is a departure from the APA manual.) If necessary, endnotes may be used; use superscript numbers consecutively in text and list Notes on a separate page before References.

References
All references cited in text should be listed, in alphabetical order and double-spaced on sheets separate from text and other matter. Names should be inverted, giving surname and initials. Give publication date (in parenthesis). Give article, journal title and volume number (both underlined), and inclusive page numbers; or for a book, give book title and publication information. Use a 3-space indent for the second and succeeding lines of each reference. Use only 1 space after all colons in references; however, use 2 spaces in text.

Figures
Submit one set of unmounted black and white glossy prints 20 × 25 cm (8 × 10 in.).

Figure captions
Type, double-spaced, on sheet(s) separate from the figure itself.

Maps, charts, diagrams, and line drawings
Submit one set, camera ready, professionally rendered in black india ink on good quality white paper, and mounted on stiff cardboard.

Tables
Type each, double-spaced and on a separate sheet, using arabic numerals. Do not use vertical rules. Physical measurements should be expressed in metric units.

Manuscripts on disk
When possible, please submit manuscripts on disk, accompanied by hard copy that is exactly the same as the disk content. The disk should contain only the final draft of the manuscript; delete all previous drafts and any backup copy. An IBM-compatible system using WordPerfect 5.1 or ASCII format are preferred for preparing and submitting manuscripts on disk.

Information for Contributors

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, a refereed publication of the University of Guam, is a multidisciplinary journal devoted to the publication of articles about the Micronesian region of the Pacific Ocean. *ISLA* welcomes significant original material that will expand our understanding of Micronesia from prehistory to the present and from a diversity of fields, including archaeology, commerce and economics, education, health, history, political science, sociocultural anthropology, and sociology. The purposes of *ISLA* are to serve the interests and concerns of both the specialist and the general reader, to encourage scholarship in the region, to provide a publication forum for the many disciplines now represented in Micronesian research, and to present material that relates directly to the interests of the people who live and work in Micronesia.

ISLA invites authors to submit manuscripts in the form of analytical essays, original research, policy analyses, annotated bibliographies, notes and comments, and other papers in keeping with the purposes of *ISLA.* Standard blind review procedures are used in manuscript review. Articles are accepted with the understanding that they are not being considered, in whole or in part, for publication elsewhere and have not been published previously. Published manuscripts become the property of *ISLA,* and no part of a manuscript may be published elsewhere without the permission of both the author and the Editor. Opinions expressed in *ISLA* are the responsibility of the authors.

Subscription Information

Subscriptions are available on a volume basis only (Rainy Season and Dry Season issues). The rates for a one-year subscription are U.S. $15.00 for individuals and U.S. $25.00 for libraries and institutions. Method of payment: U.S. currency check, bank draft, or postal money order, payable to *ISLA* Editorial Office. Checks must be drawn on a U.S. bank and have the bank number printed in the upper right corner. Claims for nonreceipt of issues should be made within 3 months of publication of the issue to be honored without charge.

Address subscription orders, manuscript submissions, requests for the Information for Authors style guide, and editorial correspondence to:

ISLA Editorial Office
Graduate School & Research
UOG Station
Mangilao, Guam 96923

Volume 1 Number 1 / Rainy Season 1992

ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies

ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS / NOTES AND COMMENTS / OBITUARY

ISSN 1054-9390