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East Meets West: Desperately Seeking David Dean O'Keefe from Savannah to Yap

Janet B. Butler
Georgia Southern University

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A Dissertation

Presented to

the College of Graduate Studies of

Georgia Southern University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

In

Curriculum Studies

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by

Janet B. Butler

December 2001

September 28, 2001

To the Graduate School:

This dissertation entitled East Meets West: Desperately Seeking David Dean O'Keefe from Savannah to Yap and written by Janet B. Butler is presented to the College of Graduate Studies of Georgia Southern University. I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Curriculum Studies.

Delores D. Liston, Supervising Committee Chair

We have reviewed this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Sandra Peacock, Committee Member

Edmund C. Short, Committee Member

John A. Weaver, Committee Member

Jane A. Page, Department Chair

Accepted for the College of Graduate Studies

G. Lane Van Tassell, Dean,
College of Graduate Studies

DEDICATION

I would like to thank my family and friends for their unending encouragement and support. I have given all of you gray hair and many, many days of worrying. Thank y

You were all correct, things happen for a reason!

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I would like to thank the Butler family in Savannah for allowing me to delve into their past. I would also like to thank the many people on Yap and in the South Pacific who made this research possible including: Governor Vincent Figir, Chief Andrew Rupong, Historical Preservation Officer, John Tharngan, Don Evans, Father Fran Hezel, Mary Jane Fox and the many who shared with me their knowledge of O'Keefe and Yap. My unending thanks is also given to Dr. Bryan Deever. It was his encouragement that convinced me to enroll in the Doctoral Program. My appreciation is also extended to the University of Hawaii for permitting me to use the maps of the Caroline Islands and Yap in this paper.

VITA

Janet B. Butler
P.O. Box 1461
Pembroke, Georgia 31321
(912) 653-2733

EDUCATION:

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia
ABD, Doctorate in Curriculum Studies

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia
Administrative Certification, P-12, August 1998

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia
Education Specialist, Early Childhood Education, August 1995

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia
Gifted Certification, K-12, August 1994

Armstrong State College, Savannah, Georgia
Master of Education, Early Childhood Education, August 1991

Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, Georgia
Bachelor of Science in Education, Early Childhood Education, December 1988

EXPERIENCE:

Bryan County Elementary School; Pembroke, Georgia
Technology Specialist (August 1998 – Present)
Employed to supervise the technology within the school and assist teachers with the integration of technology into the curriculum. I wrote and implemented school grants such as Pay for Performance, School Improvement, Reading First and Learn and Serve. Assisted in Southern Association of Colleges and Schools accrediting process, textbook selection, staff development, and yearbook advisor. School Teacher of the Year - 1999.

Bryan County Elementary School; Pembroke, Georgia
Third grade teacher (August 1995 – June 1998)
Employed to teach a third grade self-contained class. School and county involvement includes PTO vice-president for two years, yearbook advisor, Pay for Performance, School Improvement,

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools accrediting process, textbook selection and technology.

Lanier Elementary School; Lanier, Georgia
Second grade teacher (December 1988 – June 1995)
Employed to teach a self-contained second grade class. I was also involved with the technology committee, school yearbook, and PTO teacher president for three years. School level Teacher of the Year for 1994.

REASEARCH EMPHASIS: Curriculum Development, multi-cultural awareness and education

ACTIVITIES: Kappa Delta Pi; Phi Kappa Phi; Phi Lambda Theta; ASCD; American Educational Research Association

ABSTRACT

EAST MEETS WEST: DESPERATELY SEEKING DAVID DEAN O'KEEFE FROM SAVANNAH TO YAP

December 2001

Janet B. Butler

B.S. Ed., GEORGIA SOUTHERN COLLEGE

M. Ed., ARMSTRONG STATE COLLEGE

Ed. S., GEORGIA SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

Ed. D., GEORGIA SOUTHERN UNIVERISTY

Directed by: Professor Delores D. Liston

The legend of copra trader David Dean O'Keefe was told in a novel, a motion picture, and through the oral history of his descendants in Savannah, Georgia, and the indigenous peoples of Yap. There was no complete written account of his life and his affect on the Yapese culture. Through examination of written documents about O'Keefe, interviews, and personal correspondence, this study yielded a missing piece of history. Although almost 100 years has passed since O'Keefe lived, his legacy is still thriving on Yap, a small island in Micronesia. O'Keefe's story is still being retold by family and historians who sought to vicariously experience the romance and drama of sailing the world in search of wealth and adventure.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

David Dean O'Keefe fled the great potato famine of Ireland, was a blockade runner for the Confederacy, left Savannah under suspicion of murder, and ended up "His Majesty O'Keefe"--the King of Yap. History books have been riddled with stories of men who sought their fortunes in faraway lands. By accident or design, O'Keefe was one such adventurer. He lived over a century ago but his legacy has been felt for generations both in Georgia and on the tiny Micronesian island of Yap.

Purpose

This study was undertaken as a means of documenting a missing piece of history. Although Gillilland (1975), Hezel (1995), Stanley (1992), Trumbull (1959), and many others mentioned O'Keefe as a huge influence on Yapese culture and recounted his adventures in the South Pacific, little concrete data existed about O'Keefe. Since Yapese culture was primarily oral, minimal written information documented O'Keefe's life. This research was designed to document the many unanswered questions about O'Keefe's legacy and his influence on Yapese history. The research was designed around four questions:

- What was known about O'Keefe?
- What new information could be uncovered about him?
- How was this information passed down over time?
- How did O'Keefe affect those whose lives he touched on Yap and in Savannah?

The Curriculum Studies Program was designed to explore the materials, processes, and voices long hidden in the educational programs of today's society, so much of what has been taught in schools, universities and through oral tradition was only examined superficially. One component of the Curriculum Studies Program sought to examine the silent voices and myths in educational texts.

One component of the Curriculum Studies Program was multi-cultural studies. In this area, ideas and texts were examined in the attempt to understand the culture from which the materials were written. A goal was to examine what was missing in the written records of other peoples and learn from these peoples rather then judge them by western standards. This was where the study of David Dean O'Keefe came into play. O'Keefe played a major role in the history of the Yapese people and helped bring the western world to this small South Pacific island. His presence on Yap forever changed how the islanders viewed Europeans and the western culture.

Methodology

Through the use of qualitative research methods, the history of O'Keefe was brought to light with rich descriptions of the people, places, and events that shaped his life and those around him. "Qualitative research seeks depth rather than breadth" (Ambert, Adler, Adler & Detzner, 1995, p. 880). Through naturalistic inquiry, O'Keefe's intricate and complex life was examined (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Mellon, 1990). As with all types of naturalistic inquiry, the realities brought forth from this study were value-bound and lacked complete objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The naturalistic paradigm was centered on five axioms.

1) Nature of Reality—Realities are multiple, constructed and holistic.
2) Relationship of the Knower to the Known—The knower and known are interactive and inseparable.
3) Possibility of Generalizations—Statements are time and context bound. (Ideographic statements are possible.)
4) Possibility of Causal Linkages—All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to distinguish cause from effects.
5) Role of Values—Inquiry is value-bound (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.37).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), naturalistic studies also contained operational characteristics that included: natural settings, human interactions, utilization of tacit knowledge, qualitative methods, purposeful sampling, inductive data analysis, theory and design that emerge from the data as it was collected, negotiated outcomes, tentative applications, ideographic interpretations and a case study method of reporting data.

The researcher followed the methodology of cultural anthropologists who attempted to know people through their own feelings and reactions, and to view the people that were studied as human beings and not as subjects (Brettell, 1995). The recollections from those interviewed during this project had changed over time. Because human memory is selective and always faulty, it was important that the researcher evaluated the consistency of the interview data (reliability) and its accuracy (validity) in relating factual information. Although "no naturalistic study ever describes or explains a context fully, a well done naturalistic study can come closer to such an explanation than prevailing research strategies" (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993, p. 17).

Through naturalistic inquiry, the researcher was able to accumulate a large compilation of data that examined a large portion of O'Keefe's life.

Conclusions about O'Keefe's life and Yapese culture were derived based upon the triangulation of multiple interviews and supported by the examination of documents written by and about O'Keefe. Inferences were derived based on evidence (what is perceived) and premises (what is assumed) (Spradley, 1980). The researcher sought to "distinguish between actual observations and the cultural baggage which the traveler brings with him and through which he sees the world" (Brettell, 1986, p. 127). As with all forms of naturalistic inquiry, the results from this study were not generalizable yet it was only through this type of research that the relationship between O'Keefe and the Yapese culture was able to be identified and described (Cresswell, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1984).

This study was undertaken through the use of ethnographic field methods such as participant observations and interviews with the researcher being the primary instrument for gathering data (Ellis & Bochner, 1996; Ely, et. al., 1991; Lareau & Schultz, 1996; Pelto & Gerald, 1978). Fieldwork had three underlying and implicit principles. It was the best tool for studying an alien culture and coming to understand the intellect, sensitivity, and emotions of other human beings. Culture had to be seen through the eyes of those who lived it in addition to eyes of the researcher. Culture had to be examined as a whole and not in bits and pieces (Edgerton & Langness, 1974). Harding (1987) made a distinction between methodology and method. "A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed . . ." and, "A research method is a

technique for gathering evidence" (p. 12-13). Hammersley (1992) wrote about theories and ethnographic research.

> While ethnography places great description, it claims to offer a distinctive kind of description: theoretical description. But the nature of this is not very clear. On one hand, descriptions cannot be theories. Descriptions are about particulars (objects and events in specific time-place locations), whereas theories are about universals (relations between categories of phenomena that apply wherever these phenomena occur) (p. 12-13).

Ethnographic research and its relationship to theory was not a key issue in this project.

> What's your hypothesis? How do you measure that? How large is your sample? Did you protect the instrument? Did you use discriminant analysis? For some social research styles, especially those that emphasize the scientific testing role, these questions make more sense. But for other styles-when the social researcher assumes a learning role –the questions don't work (Agar, 1986, pp. 11-12).

"Terms such as validity, reliability, generalizability and objectivity did not apply. They belonged to quantitative research and positivistic thinkers" (Kenny & Grotelueschen, 1984, p. 38).[1]

Although educational research has changed and a broader view of research has prevailed, the positivistic paradigm still held tightly to the need for a hypothesis and the generalizability of research findings. Schwandt (1989) searched for a way to bridge the gap between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. According to Schwandt (1989),

the most plausible was "pointing out that a choice of methods does not implicate a choice between paradigms" (p. 393). The researcher needed to be more concerned with how to collect the desired information than with the title of paradigm. In this study, the researcher chose those ethnographic methods that would best provide information on O'Keefe.

The researcher did not intend to make generalizable statements but rather used the ethnographic research methods described by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), Fetterman (1989), Ellis and Bochner (1996), and Wolcott (1994) as a means of understanding a culture. By following the interview and participant observation methods advocated by Werner and Schoepfle (1987), Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), Fontana and Frey (1994), McCracken (1988), and Adler and Adler (1994), the researcher gained information about O'Keefe that lent a more complete picture of his presence on Yap.

Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) identified several features of ethnography that included an emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomena, a tendency to work primarily with unstructured data, the investigation of a small number of cases, and the analysis of data that involved an explicit interpretation of meaning. Young (1996) reported that many researchers see a culture only in terms of how unique and different it is from one's own. He continued to explain that one's initial reaction was to look at the obvious and "sensationalize" aspects of a culture without ever looking beyond the surface. The tendency toward romanticism and sensationalizing was also true of this researcher on the first visit to Yap. It was easy to be overwhelmed by the obvious cultural differences. For example, women were topless but yet unable to wear shorts because their

thighs must be covered. This preoccupation with the superficial was what Young (1996) described as tourism. Although the researcher's first visit to Yap was one of "plain tourism or romantic adventurism," the second visit led to a truer understanding of Yap and O'Keefe (Young, 1996, p. 139). What began as an interest in David Dean O'Keefe and family genealogy led to the exploration of another culture.

During the length of this study, the researcher was unable to learn the Yapese language but the recognition of body language and some indigenous customs were understood. As Spradley (1980) and Spindler and Spindler (1988) emphasized, the researcher had to participate in the daily lives of those being studied in order to understand a culture. Anthropological studies were only effective if the researcher was involved in the lives of the people and not just an observer. The researcher was able to participate in daily Yapese activities such as washing clothes in a stream, eating taro, bananas, and coconuts as dietary staples and learning to sleep with both termites and head lice.

According to Scheffler (1977), "It has been said, in a sense, all anthropologists 'invent' the culture they describe; our ethnographic accounts are not so much descriptions as they are interpretations" (p. 385). This was true of the researcher's experiences and data collected during the study. When contemplating this research, the reader should remember that although the researcher attempted to confirm facts and notes through multiple sources, the experiences and information were still filtered through her perceptions.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) and Lingenfelter (1977) supported the need for qualitative research that entailed immersion into the daily lives of those being studied. This type of research sought to understand the emic perspective (a view of the world that the participants accepted as real, true, or meaningful) and saw research as an interactive process between the participants and the researcher (Gladwin, 1989; Harris, 1997). This study followed Spradley's (1980) axiom of learning from people rather than studying people. Although ethnographic research usually involved an extended length of time in a culture, the researcher was only on Yap for six weeks. According to Bernard (1995), "Most basic anthropological research is done over a period of about a year, but a lot of participant observation studies are done in a matter of weeks" (p. 139). Bernard (1995) advocated the rapid assessment model which meant going in and getting data collected without spending months developing rapport. Fortunately, this model was not needed by the researcher. Much of the time typically required for an ethnographic study was allotted for the acquisition of gatekeepers and the establishment of trust that allowed the researcher access to the culture. This was not an issue in this study and thus less time was needed. Because of the researcher's previous visit to Yap in 1995 and the close contacts that had since been maintained, access to the culture was easily established (Herskovits, 1954). Extending the length of time on Yap would have added a deeper understanding of the Yapese culture but would not have yielded extensive new information about O'Keefe.

While the search for concrete data was important to this study, the researcher also sought to keep in mind some cautions involved in ethnographic research. Denzin (1997) warned against the "preoccupation with recording details and statistics; the constant

search for rational explanations of problematic conduct" (Denzin, 1997, p. 285). When observing a culture so unlike the researcher's own life, it became necessary to listen to people and acknowledge and celebrate cultural differences without requiring a single correct answer or conclusion. This research required a much more open mind.

Interviews in Savannah, Georgia.

Gathering oral history information from O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah was an easy task because of the researcher's ties with the family. Informal interviews with O'Keefe's descendants were conducted over a thirteen-year period. Bernard (1995) identified this form of unstructured interview as the most widely used method of data collection. Informal interviews during this project took the form of friendly conversations. Spradley (1979) described the friendly conversation as consisting of several major parts including: greeting, a lack of explicit purpose, lack of repetition, a process of asking questions, an expression of interest and ignorance and a process by which those involved take turns sharing information. This interview methodology used with family members was contrasted with Spradley's (1979) ethnographic interview format used with the Yapese. The ethnographic interview had an explicit purpose, an ethnographic explanation, project explanations, a detailed recording of explanations, native language explanations, interview explanations, question explanations, ethnographic questions and descriptive questions.

Tales of O'Keefe's life in Savannah and subsequent departure were recounted by his descendants with interest but with little concern for accuracy. However, it was only through these people that information about O'Keefe could be gathered (Zaharlick,

1992). Interviews in Savannah were not tape recorded except when dealing with those with whom the researcher was not familiar. Transcripts from these interviews corroborated family information and yielded data that made public documents such as marriage records and newspaper articles understandable. (See appendix A for interview questions for those in Savannah.)

The interviews conducted with O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah posed unique problems. Because I am married to O'Keefe and Catherine's great-great grandson, Charles Elton Butler, III, recording data without biases was particularly difficult. In some instances, the researcher's efforts to be fair resulted in data that appeared to support the opposite of what the researcher believed to be true. Hearing a grandmother or an uncle reminisce about how their lives were changed through O'Keefe's decision to remain on Yap was both eerie and exciting. Comments such as "the king always said he'd come back" or "you know Grandma Katie always waited on the king" left the researcher with a feeling of unease and sadness for those he left behind (E. Butler, personal communication, December 22, 1995).

Interviews on Yap.

Many indigenous cultures, including the Yapese, have held a deep distrust and suspicion of traditional western research. "Micronesia is one of the areas most intensively studied by anthropologists" (Jackson, 1987, p. 63).

> People are always coming to Yap and putting us under a microscope. Many leave with little more knowledge than when they came and no idea how we think. For

> instance, we don't like to disagree with strangers. If they ask us a question, we often answer in the way they seem to want. Simple (Kiener, 1978, p. 1).

The researcher was aware of the Yapese desire not to hurt someone's feelings and was particularly concerned about this due to the researcher's connection to O'Keefe's descendants. Interviews sought to gain indigenous knowledge that the Yapese acquired through the accumulation of experiences and the passing down of information from one generation to the next (Mundy & Compton, 1995). The researcher utilized the experiences of Americans who had lived on Yap for over twenty years to help identify whether the data from the interviews was accurate and not an attempt to spare the feelings of the researcher. The governor of Yap, Jesse Raglamar-Sublamar, was also of assistance in this situation. Governor Raglamar-Sublamar was educated at the University of Hawaii and had experience functioning within the parameters of western democratic governments. He was able to assist the researcher in bridging the gap between acquiring valid data while keeping in mind the Yapese tendency to spare the feelings of a stranger.

Although experience taught the Yapese to be wary of non-indigenous research, this project was easily accepted because it was not an intrusive study of Yapese culture but rather revolved around the life of one man. Another factor that contributed to Yapese acceptance and assistance with this research was a grant recently received by the Yap Historical Preservation Office from the University of Australia at Canberra to document the island's oral history. This study complemented their efforts. Interviews were taped and transcripts were edited by the Yap Historical Preservation Office to insure accuracy. Copies of the interview tapes and transcripts were then given to the Historical

Preservation Office to add to their collection. Because this study was mutually beneficial to the researcher and the Yapese, all fees were waved for this project and support was given for this research.[2]

Smith (1992) posited four models by which culturally appropriate research can occur--mentoring model, adoption model, power sharing model and empowering outcomes model. The power-sharing model was utilized in this research project. The researcher assumed a "helping" role during this project and relied totally upon the assistance of the Yapese for the success of data collection. Don Evans, an entrepreneur on Yap, and Jessie Raglamar-Sublamar, the Governor of Yap, assisted the researcher with contacts necessary for conducting the research. Upon the researcher's arrival on Yap, Chief Andrew Rupong paved the way for interviews to take place. Chief Rupong arranged for the researcher to appear before the Council of Pilung. The Council consisted of the chiefs of all of the villages on Yap and its outer islands. The Council was responsible for all cultural activity on the island. Although the Yapese government was designed to follow western democratic principles, the Council of Pilung played a role equal to and sometimes greater than the other three branches of government. Although only one other female in Yapese history had ever been allowed to appear at a council meeting, the researcher was given permission to attend and gained the support of the island chiefs for this project (Council of Pilung, June 20, 1999).[3] Chief Rupong instructed the Yap Historical Preservation Officer, John Tharngan, to act as an interpreter for the interviews that were conducted on Yap. With the assistance of Tharngan, the researcher

was able to meet with elders from all of the villages who could provide insight into O'Keefe's life and his presence on Yap.

The Yapese typically operated on their own schedule. A prime concern of the researcher was being able to conduct interviews while on "Yapese time." To a researcher with only six weeks on the island, it was important to interview as many people as possible. With the support of Chief Rupong and Tharngan, one to two interviews were scheduled daily. Although weekends and emergencies often caused the cancellation of some interviews, most were conducted without hesitation and "on time."

Although the interviews on Yap often lasted two or three hours, much of that time was spent in silence. When talking to someone from outside of their culture, the Yapese were a very private people and feared being misquoted or saying something incorrect. They weighed their words very carefully. Unlike many western cultures that feel the need to fill time with small talk, the Yapese considered chewing betelnut in silence as a constructive means of passing time.[4] Thus, the transcripts from the interviews did not consist of the detailed dialogue representative of formal interviews as described by McCracken (1988). Transcripts from interviews were rarely over two pages long and interviews seldom followed the organized list of questions that were originally designed.

The collection of ethnographic data was not a linear process and involved learning from people as opposed to studying them (Searle, 1993). Yow (1994) determined that the most comprehensive data would only be collected when both the interviewer and the interviewee had knowledge of the situation. While on Yap, the researcher was given background information on those being interviewed prior to the meeting. The

interviewees were also told what types of questions would be asked prior to the interview. The researcher probed the knowledge of each individual and focused on his or her area of expertise (Yow, 1994). Had the researcher continued to write, tape or probe in areas where the person being interviewed felt uncomfortable, the researcher would have lost the trust of the Yapese and the research process would have been hindered. Without the oral history of the Yapese, this study could not have begun. Clandenin and Connelly (1994) supported the idea that stories were the closest that we can come to an experience and only through stories was the researcher able to understand what life was like in another time and in another culture.

The only man on Yap who was old enough to remember O'Keefe, died the week before the researcher arrived on the island. Although those contacted for this study were the oldest on Yap, they did not have first-hand knowledge of O'Keefe. Those interviewed were, however, able to remember information about O'Keefe and could recall personal interactions with his family. Because those being interviewed had limited contact with the western world, they were unable to speak, understand, read or write English. Therefore, no interview consent forms were signed and all interviews were conducted through an interpreter. Consent to use the information documented during the interviews was gained by virtue of participation in the interview process. The participants were given a description of the research project and understood that any information that they shared would go on file at the Yap Historical Preservation Office as well as be used in a final paper on O'Keefe. (See Appendix B for interview questions for those on Yap.)

Interviews on Yap were strictly voluntary. Those being interviewed were not paid but the researcher gave tokens of appreciation for their time and cooperation. Giving money or expensive, western gifts would have embarrassed the Yapese. Because of the encroachment of western culture through video and television, the Yapese had a distorted perspective of American wealth. They saw television programs and assumed that all Americans lived in large houses and wore expensive jewelry. Although the Yapese chose to maintain their traditional culture, they had recently begun to compare their lifestyle with those seen on television and found themselves lacking. Because the fine line between showing gratitude and being ostentatious was easy to cross, the researcher took only canned sodas and store-baked bread to the interviews. These items were not typical in the Yapese diet and thus considered a treat without embarrassing or intimidating those being interviewed. Gifts at times grew to include a case of soda and three or four packages of bread. These refreshments were not given as rewards to be eaten later but were seen by the Yapese as a picnic lunch that everyone shared. With much embarrassment, the researcher learned that although an interview may be with one person, family and friends present during the interview could easily number twelve or more. Tourists were not typically taken to the villages so the researcher's presence was something of a novelty to most of the Yapese. This avid interest in the researcher might have resembled the intense scrutiny that O'Keefe must have felt upon his arrival on the island.

Observing Yapese customs when living in the villages and conducting the interviews was of prime importance. The researcher had to find a medium between going

native and being a fly on the wall (Roman, 1993). All interviews were conducted sitting on the ground and the researcher had to maintain an "Indian style" sitting position taking care not to raise the legs when shifting. This was seen as provocative and inappropriate. Jewelry and red clothing were not to be worn in the villages and the researcher was instructed to always defer to men. Normal protocol was to walk behind the men, never look someone in the eye and to never speak unless spoken to first. When visiting a village, a person was to carry a leaf or something woven by the Yapese as a token of peace. A handbag was made for the researcher to carry. The researcher was under constant scrutiny but by keeping in mind signs of hospitality and relaxation as defined by Collier & Collier (1986), an understanding of proxemics within the Yapese culture, and with the guidance of the interpreter, socially inappropriate actions or comments by the researcher were overlooked and excused (Crane & Angrosino, 1992).

At the request of the Yap Historical Preservation Office, names were used throughout the interviews and permission was gained for those being interviewed to be identified in the writing process. In keeping with Ingersoll and Ingersoll (1987), the researcher was both a borrower and a lender. The need to share information had to be balanced with the interviewee's right to privacy. If the person being interviewed did not want something recorded on tape or associated with his or her name, then he or she requested that the tape recorder be turned off during that portion of the interview. Since most of these instances resulted in a conversation between the interpreter and interviewee in Yapese, the researcher was unaware of what was being said. The interpreter often paraphrased conversations for the researcher if it pertained to O'Keefe. These unrecorded

conversations usually centered on hearsay. The Yapese were very concerned that what they said was accurate. Any information that the interviewee was unaware of on a first-hand basis was usually reported off tape or prefaced with "I am not sure." This inhibition to speak of an incident with which they were unsure, reassured the researcher that the information collected was as accurate as possible given the frailty of human memory. As Langness and Frank (1981) pointed out, no interpretations were final and the information that one received was only the contrived view of the people being interviewed. No matter how sure the interviewee was as to the accuracy of the information, the researcher had to keep in mind that data needed to be viewed not as facts, but as interpretations of the people and events.

Participant observation.

Participant observation involved gathering data "by subjecting yourself, your own body, your own personality and your own social situation to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals" (Goffman, 1989, p. 123). Participant observation "is learning from people rather than studying them and it is important that they do not feel threatened by your research or uneasy about being observed" (Searle, 1993, p. 7). Participant observation usually involved "living for extended periods among a people and participating as much and closely as possible in their daily round of activities-talking, listening, and just plain looking" (Harris, 1997, p. 96). The researcher lived in a Yapese village for six weeks. Field notes were gathered usually after an event took place or during periods of quiet time. Taking notes during interviews or during direct interaction with the Yapese people was strongly discouraged. The distrust of westerners showed

through when those being interviewed were overly concerned with what was being written down. During interviews and participant observations, notes were limited to dates and names. Those being interviewed were aware that the researcher was documenting O'Keefe's life and would incorporate their information into a written paper but taking notes still caused a tension that had to be avoided during the interview process. The fact the researcher chose not to take notes was somewhat of an inconvenience but was seen as a sign of respect for the feelings of the Yapese.

Documenting daily observations was not an attempt to conceal information as implied by Russell (1995) who saw participant observation as involving a certain amount of deception and impression management. The researcher was careful to take into account that what was observed might not have been what was really going on (Mazzeo, 1978). Participant observation notes taken during this project were a means of recording information for later reference. Observation notes did not produce new information about O'Keefe's life separate from what was gained from interviews; however, participant observation did lend insight into Yapese life and their perceptions of O'Keefe.

Goldstein (1995) and Russell (1995) emphasized that only through the use of participant observation was the researcher able to collect valid data about a culture. Through daily interaction in the lives of the Yapese, the researcher limited the problem of reactivity--people changing their behavior when they knew that they were being observed (Russell, 1995). Participant observations allowed the researcher to formulate questions about O'Keefe and Yapese history based upon observations of the culture. Observation notes enabled the researcher to analyze data more confidently due to an increased

understanding of the culture arrived at through daily interactions with the Yapese people (Goldstein, 1995; Russell, 1995).

Content analysis/archival research.

"Content analysis is a catch-all term covering a variety of techniques for making inferences from texts" (Russell, 1995, p. 339). Hodder (1994) and Thomas (1994) advocated the use of content analysis in examining documents for accuracy while taking into account the context and setting in which the documents were written. Content analysis of archival data was non-reactive and provided a blend of qualitative and quantitative, and positivistic and interpretative methods (Russell, 1995). Some of the archival information used in this study included three personal letters written by O'Keefe to Catherine, newspaper articles, court cases and O'Keefe's *Will*. In keeping with the axioms of the study of material culture as documented by Hodder (1994) and Tuchman (1994), the researcher kept in mind who wrote and saved the documents. These materials were examined for word usage, meaning, expression and repetition and thus provided insight into O'Keefe's life and his effect on the Yapese culture. These are the only known documents in which you hear O'Keefe's voice. (See Appendix C for a complete transcript of letters written by O'Keefe to Catherine.)

The researcher used the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) at the University of Hawaii for archival data relating to Yap and Micronesia. The HRAF was a 900,000-page database collected on more than 7,000 books and articles on 350 cultural groups around the world. The files were coded by topic using the *Outline of Cultural Materials* (OCM) (Russell, 1995). These primary documents were transcribed, compiled and cross-

referenced which resulted in over 4.5 million pages of documents. These files were easy to reference but took over a week to exhaust all notations relating to Yap.

The use of His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950), provided the framework for the collection of data on O'Keefe. Since this novel was the only written account of O'Keefe, it was used as a baseline for analyzing the accuracy (and inaccuracies) of what was known about his life. Klingman and Green (1950) created a wonderful story full of adventure and romance, some of which needed to be examined for historical accuracy.

The movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) starring Burt Lancaster was also analyzed. Through the study, the researcher became aware that the movie was filmed on Fiji due to the primitive conditions and lack of facilities on Yap. Because of this, the researcher asked a person who lived on Fiji for over twenty years to examine the film for points that were reminiscent of the Fijian culture. This information was then combined with other data about Fiji and the researcher's knowledge of Yapese culture in order to analyze the movie for its historical and cultural accuracy.

Ethics of research.

According to the *Statement of Ethics and Principles of Professional Responsibility* produced by the Council of the American Anthropological Association (1971), "an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he studies. When there is a conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social and psychological welfare

and to honor their dignity and privacy" (p. 44). With this in mind, the researcher was very concerned about honoring the wishes of those being interviewed. When probing for more information seemed to create unease, the subject was dropped. When those being interviewed and the interpreter lapsed into their native language, the researcher did not interrupt. Questions concerning misunderstandings and accuracy were saved until the translator was in a position to speak more openly. Photographs were taken only with permission and never of a person's home or personal possessions. Compliments and praise were kept to a minimum due to the researcher's understanding of the culture. Profuse enthusiasm was seen as false and would have been taken as sarcasm.

Although the researcher wanted to question and understand every comment or action, much of this study was based on acceptance of the Yapese culture and the limitations that this entailed. Asking the typical question of "why" did not always produce a complete answer. To protect the feelings of the Yapese, some things had to be accepted without question because the Yapese themselves could not explain in such a way that someone from a western culture could understand. A primary example of this was the caste system and the privileges and responsibilities that it entailed. Equality did not exist in the Yapese culture. Everyone and everything had a hierarchy of power. This was very difficult for the researcher to understand and acceptance had to be enough. To continue probing would have caused frustration for the Yapese and limited the researcher's ability to gather data about O'Keefe. By using unstructured interviews, "informants [have] tremendous freedom of expression in attempting to explain their culture" (Scupin & DeCorse, 1998, p. 286). This freedom allowed a person being

interviewed to expand on a concept as well as allowed them to limit explanations that they had difficulty explaining to someone from a western culture.

Writing in ethnographic research.

Van Maanen (1998) commented that the ethnographic research process "carries serious intellectual and moral responsibilities, for the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not neutral. . . . An ethnography is a written representation of a culture (or a selected aspect of a culture)"(p.1). The researcher took Van Maanen's statement with the seriousness that it was intended and was careful about how actions and events were interpreted in the writing process. The researcher's obligation to collecting data and presenting it without exaggeration and with accurate details shaped the entire study and writing process.

At the beginning of the study, "deciding what to examine seems to require that an investigator possess a deep understanding of an environment before beginning to study it" and "data overload seems almost inevitable" (Boostrom, 1994, p. 51). Boostrom (1994) advocated focusing on certain points and avoiding collecting information on everything. His emphasis on collecting data was in learning to pay attention and seek out only the data necessary to the researcher's focus. It was easy to get side tracked and overwhelmed in this study because everything seemed interesting and important. As the research continued, Boostrom's (1994) advice about paying attention to what was going on in the research environment allowed the data to focus more clearly on O'Keefe and not on all aspects of the Yapese culture.

So many years were spent collecting data that the researcher's understanding of the Yapese culture was as extensive as possible without living on the island. With this massive amount of information, data overload slowed the writing process. There was so much information that needed to be presented that organization proved a problem. Once the writing process began, irrelevant data was slowly eliminated. "Writing is thinking," (Wolcott, 1990, p. 21). "Finding focus is intimately linked to who an individual is as well as to how he or she thinks and what there is to think about. A focus may 'emerge' from the context, but it actually takes shape as a result of how an individual looks at a given text, what is perceived and what that individual determines to do with all that 'stuff'" (Meloy, 1994, p. 53). As the study progressed, O'Keefe was transformed from a personal ancestor to a significant historical figure. Yet, as the effects of O'Keefe's presence on Yap continued to multiply over the last century, the immediate recollection of his influence on the island had diminished. He became a footnote in history that needed to be examined.

". . . Every ethnographic description is partial, incomplete, and will stand in need of revision" (Spradley, 1979, p. 204). With this in mind, the researcher acknowledged from the onset of this project that no study about O'Keefe would ever be complete. The information gathered was recognized as only a partial history. To help understand ethnographic research and how studies were written, the researcher read examples of ethnographies that were written in such a way that brought culture to life.[5]

"Cultural interpretation is seen as a necessary part of ethnography. . ." (Carbaugh, 1991, p. 336). In the translation of the data, the researcher attempted to understand the

thinking of the informants and then to communicate that knowledge and its meaning to the reader. The written work of an ethnographer "is based against the background of a reader's experience and competence" (Atkinson, 1992, p. 3). How a reader viewed the research was based as much on the audience's knowledge of the topic as well as the researcher's ability to provide data. Universal statements were kept to a minimum. Six weeks on Yap did not provide enough time for the researcher to understand the entire Yapese culture and was therefore, not qualified to make statements that encompassed all aspects of the culture (Spradley, 1979). Therefore, information presented by the researcher focused on level four statements (general statements about a specific cultural scene) as described by Spradley (1979). The information gathered throughout this project attempted to describe the many perspectives on O'Keefe's life from Savannah to Yap and how he affected those around him.

CHAPTER II

Overview of People, Places and Objects

The life of David Dean O'Keefe was not particularly unusual considering the number and kind of people that he came in contact with on a daily basis. What made O'Keefe's life seem complex was that he touched lives that were so different from what the western culture considered "typical." How this influence was documented on Yap was unique. Yap was an oral culture and written documentation was minimal. The history of Yap was passed down orally from generation to generation with amazing accuracy. The Yapese were able to recount in detail stories that were then verified by the researcher through other interviews. Although there was a high level of consistency in data collected from interviews, names were not always consistent from one person to another. The variations in names were attributed to several factors. Yapese names were not easy to recognize and a person's English name often had little bearing on how that person was addressed by the Yapese.

The Yapese system of naming added to the difficulty in identifying individuals. Seldom did a Yapese tell non-indigenous persons their name. It was explained to the researcher that telling someone their Yapese name was akin to an American opening their checkbook for all to see. When introduced, the Yapese would tell a stranger their English name or possibly their first name, but very rarely their surname. When the researcher interviewed Josephine Patrick, a Yapese woman living in Savannah, she explained how the naming system on Yap worked. Yapese names reflected a person's village and caste. The Yapese were able to identify a person's entire family history and therefore, his or her

place in the hierarchy of power, simply by knowing their last name. This information was kept private (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997). Lingenfelter (1969) reiterated that a Yapese name reflected the land from which a person hails and thus his or her social status in the caste system. Tracking previous generations of Yapese was also difficult because traditional Yapese customs did not allow a person to mention the name of one who had died. A person was referred to as my mother or father, but not by their Yapese name.

Although the American tradition of using nicknames also added to the difficulty in identifying O'Keefe's lineage, the primary obstacle to tracing the exact names, date of birth and death of a person was the lack of written documents. Yapese culture has always been oral and very few documents existed tracking this type of information. Although the Catholic Church on Yap kept records, very few were efficiently maintained until well into the 1900s (Catholic Church on Yap, 1800s-present). The lack of records in Savannah, Georgia and the destruction of records in a church fire in Ireland contributed to an ineffective paper trail identifying people and places in O'Keefe's life.

People

Based upon the collection of data, listed below are the principal people, places and objects related to the story of O'Keefe's life.

David Dean O'Keefe.

The exact date of O'Keefe's birth was unknown. Birth, marriage and death records in Ireland in the 1800s were kept at each parish church. The records from O'Keefe's parish were destroyed in a fire in the early 1900s. Through the accumulation

of research, it was discovered that O'Keefe was born circa 1823 in Middletown, 14 miles east of Cork, in southern Ireland (Dodson, 1986; May, 1969).[6] The date of O'Keefe's birth was arrived at through interviews and supported by the ship manifest for the *Sir Robert Peel* (Customs House, 1848). A sworn statement given by O'Keefe to the acting British Consul in Savannah did not corroborate this date but needed to be considered. The manifest of the *Sir Robert Peel* dated March 30, 1848, listed O'Keefe as a 24-year-old laborer. According to a statement given to W. C. Cosins, the acting British Consul in Savannah on July 1, 1867, O'Keefe reported the following information.

> I, David D. O'Keefe, age twenty-four, do solemnly swear that I am a subject of Her British Majesty, that I was born in Middletown, Ireland; that I came to America in the year 1856; . . . that I have never, at any period of my life, become a Subject or Citizen of any Foreign Country or State, whatever, or signified my intention to do so. And I further swear that it is my intention to return to my native country when circumstances will permit (O'Keefe, 1867).

Although the statement to the British Consul was considered an official document, there remained some doubt as to the validity of its information. O'Keefe's arrival date in this statement was not correct so it was possible that his age was inaccurate as well. In the mid-1800s, Ireland was in the grip of a potato famine. Immigrants were fleeing Ireland and heading to America in search of a better life. At that time in history when people were fleeing their homelands for fear of starvation and abject poverty, it was not unusual for men to lie about their age in order to acquire a job or to gain passage to another country. Birth certificates and proof of age were never required. Even if O'Keefe did

fabricate his age when he left Ireland, he was cited as 24 years old on the *Sir Robert Peel* manifest (Customs House, 1848).

Although O'Keefe arrived in New York from Ireland, he soon headed south in search of wealth and adventure. No documentation existed as to O'Keefe's whereabouts until he arrived in Savannah in 1854 aboard a British schooner (Dodson, 1986). He was married to Catherine Masters on April 5, 1869, by Reverend Tanquerey at the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist in Savannah, Georgia (Marriage License, 1869). O'Keefe was described by his family as a burly man, over six feet tall, and weighing well over 200lbs. (E. Abernathy, personal communication, July 9, 1994). Family stories told of his flaming red hair and matching temper. O'Keefe remained in Savannah until the spring of 1870 when he left the United States and arrived on Yap in December 1871 (Hezel, 1995; Hezel & Berg, 1979/1985; Marksbury, 1979; Toomin & Toomin, 1963; Yap Intermediate School, 1971). O'Keefe disappeared in a typhoon on a return trip to Yap from Hong Kong in 1901. Neither he nor those on board were ever seen again.

David Dean O'Keefe

O'Keefe's Family

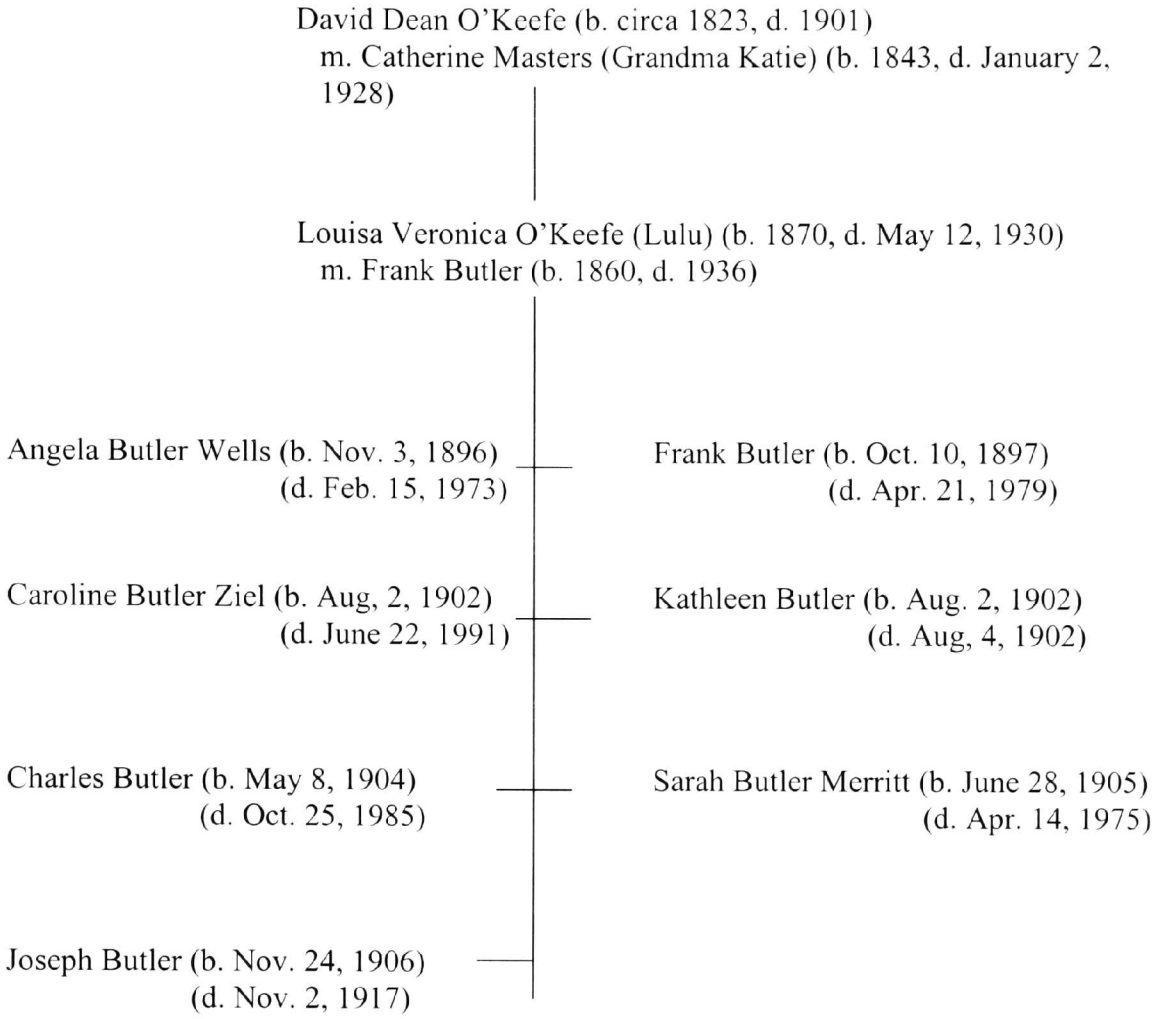


Figure 1. David Dean O'Keefe's lineage in Savannah, Georgia

O'Keefe's Family (continued)

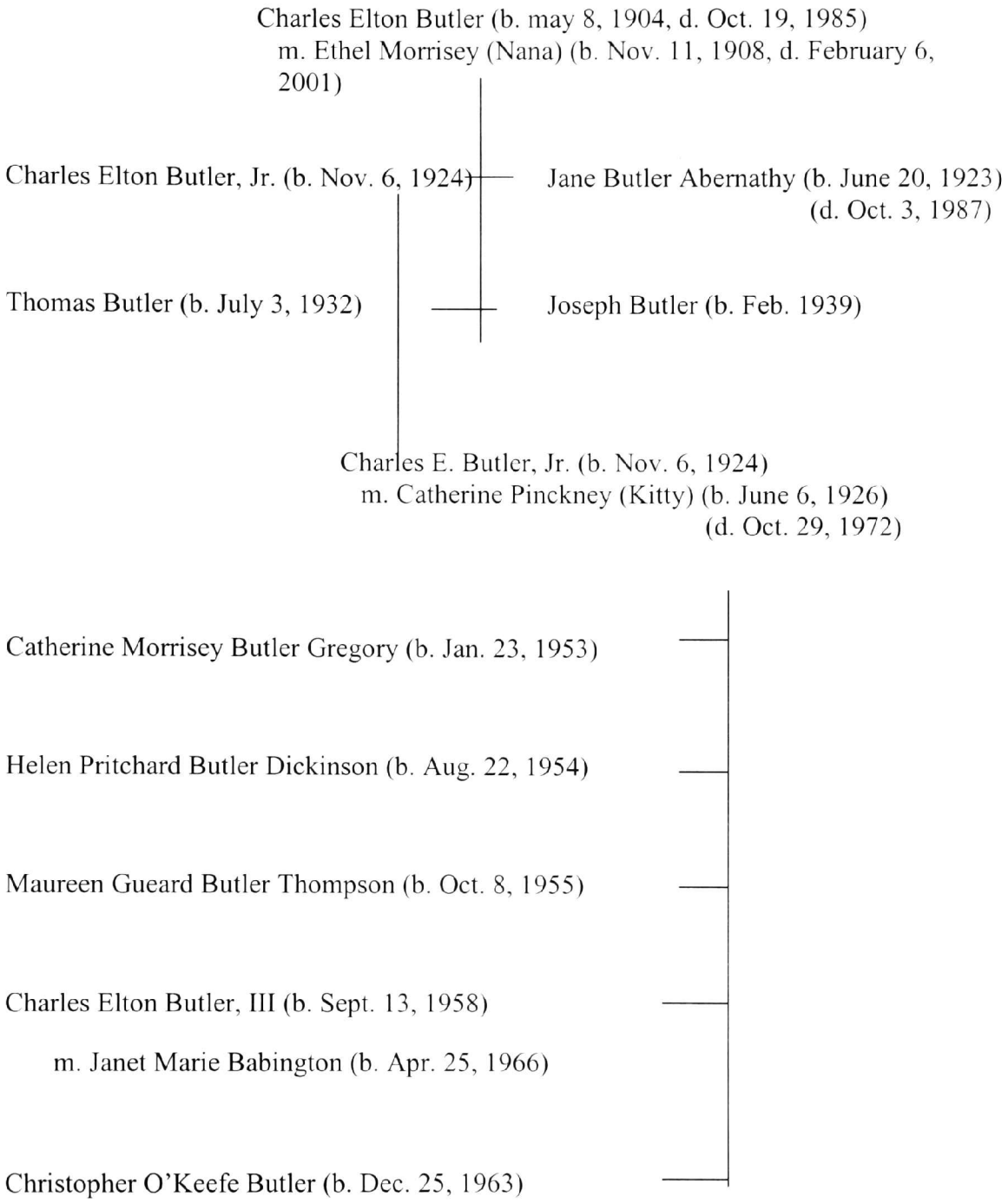


Figure 2. David Dean O'Keefe's lineage in Savannah, Georgia

O'Keefe's Family in the South Pacific

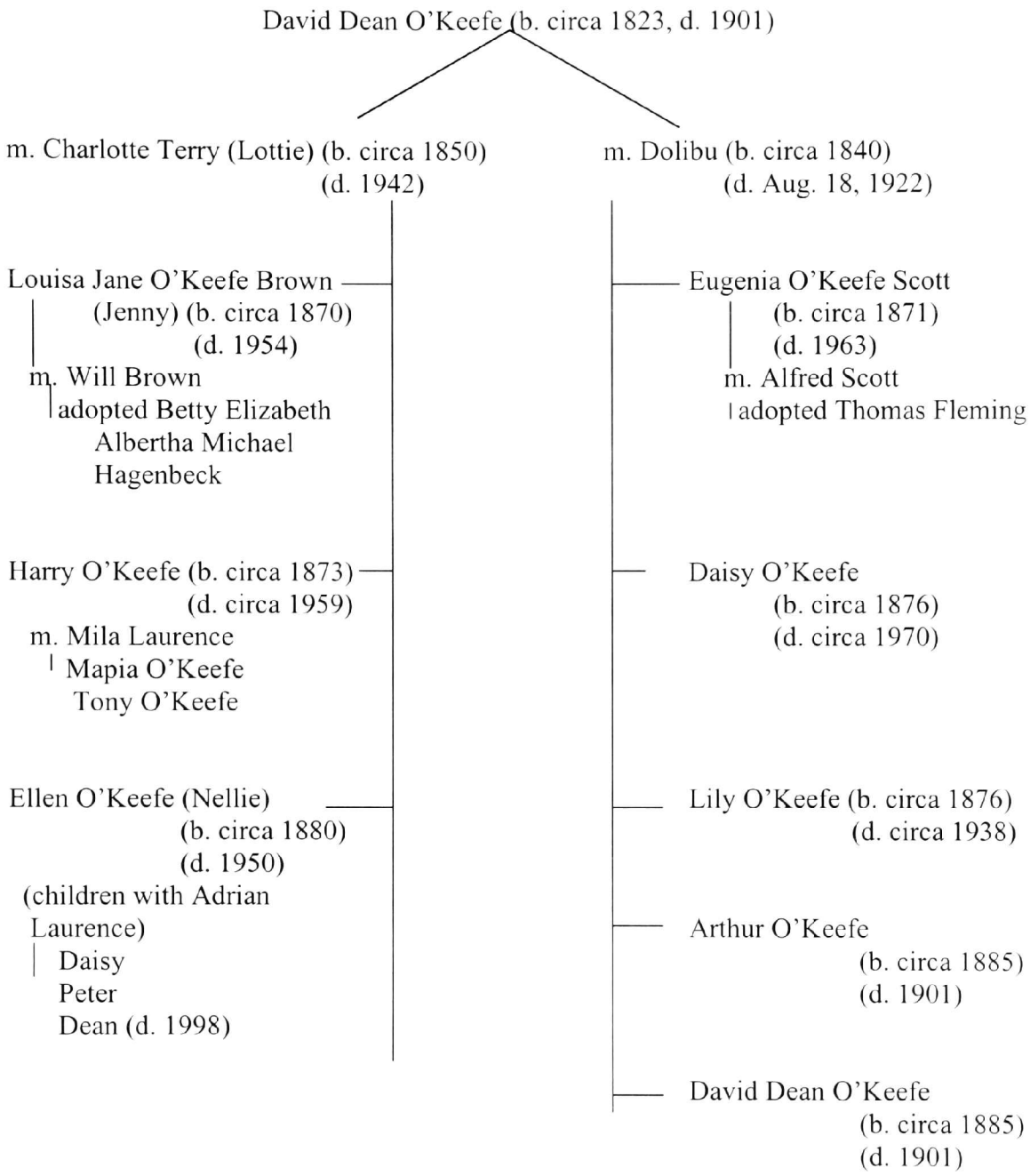


Figure 3. David Dean O'Keefe's lineage in the South Pacific

Catherine Masters O'Keefe.

Catherine was born in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1843 to Minorcan cigar maker Gabriel Masters (b. 1820) of St. Augustine, Florida, and Theodosia Andrews (b. 1818) of Columbus, Georgia (Ambrose, 1997; Savannah Census Information, 1995). She moved with her family to Savannah in February 1863, following the occupation of St. Augustine by Federal Troops (Dodson, 1986; "Fortune Left," 1903). Following her marriage to David Dean O'Keefe in 1869, she and O'Keefe established a home on the corner of Jones and Price Streets. They later moved to 208 Habersham Street and finally settled at 60 Taylor Street (Savannah Census Information, 1975).[7]

O'Keefe and Catherine had a daughter, Louisa Veronica O'Keefe, in 1870. Following O'Keefe's departure from Savannah in 1870, Catherine depended on her family for financial support. Catherine, known as Grandma Katie to her family, lived with her daughter Louisa and her grandson, Frank Butler, Jr., until she died at the age of 87 on January 2, 1928. Catherine was interred in the Merritt family plot in the Catholic Cemetery in Savannah (Catholic Diocese of Savannah, 1928; "Funeral Today," 1928; "Mrs. O'Keefe," 1928).[8]

Catherine Master's Family

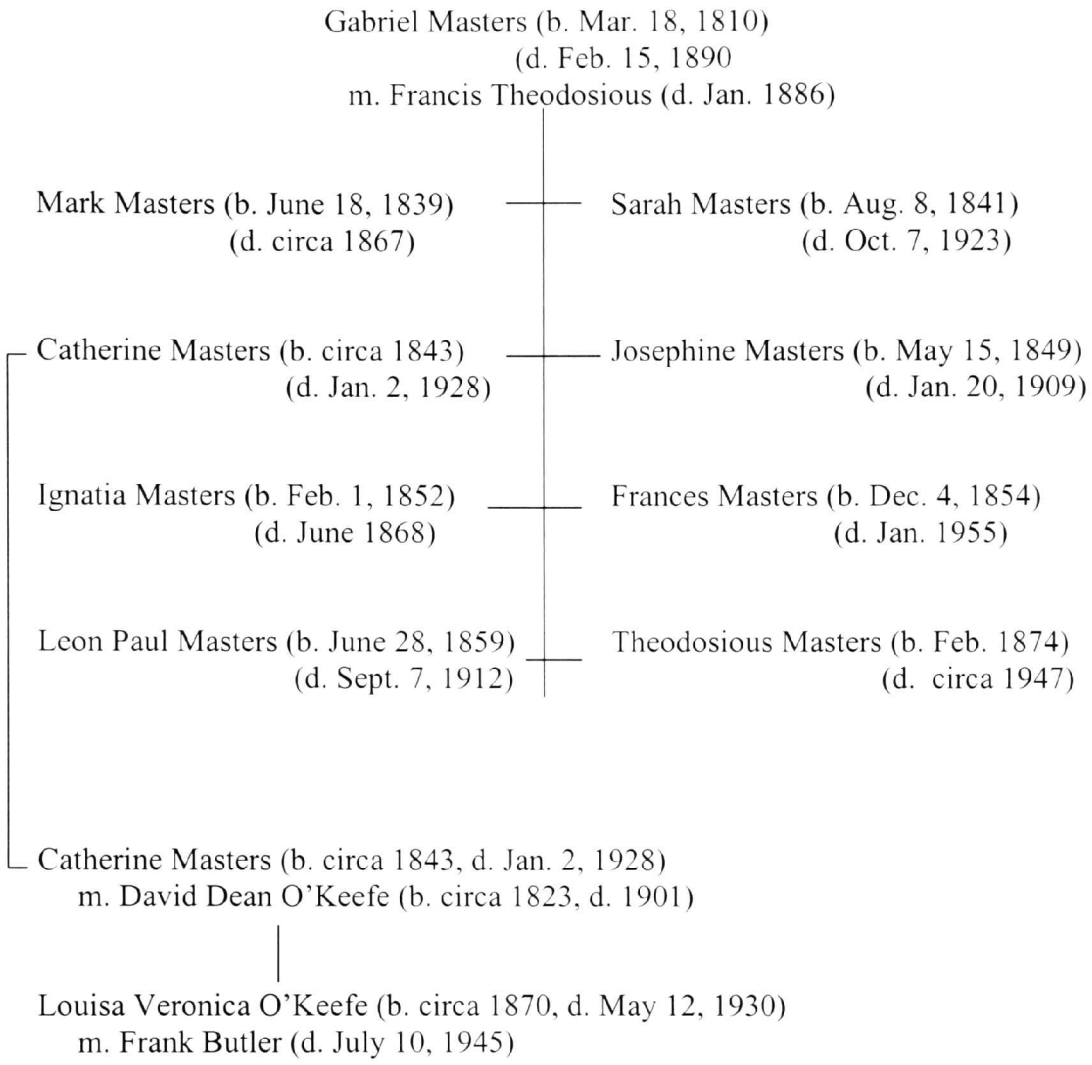


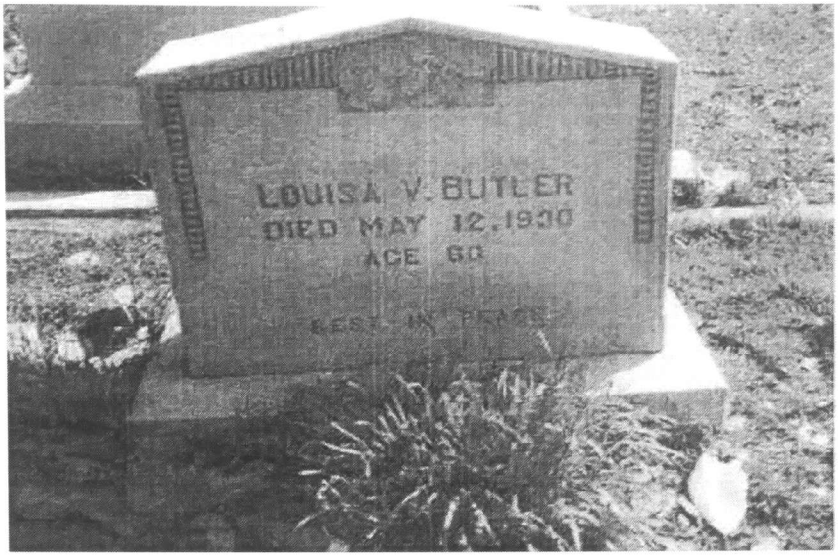
Figure 4. Catherine Master's lineage

Louisa Veronica O'Keefe Butler.

Louisa Veronica (Lulu), born in 1870, was the only child of Catherine Masters and David Dean O'Keefe. She grew up among the Irish immigrant population in the Old Fort District of Savannah. She married minor league baseball player Frank Butler on June 30, 1895 ("Marriage License," 1895). She and Frank had eight children: Frank, Leon (Yap), Charles, Joseph, Angela, twins Kathleen (died at birth) and Sarah, and Caroline. Frank left Louisa and their children, married Marie E. Clements and moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where he died on July 10, 1945 (Scott vs. Butler, et. al., 1960).

Louisa lived with her oldest son, Frank Butler, Jr., in his home at 549 East Broughton Street until her death at the age of 60 on May 13, 1930 ("Mrs. Lulu V. Butler," 1930). Louisa was buried in the Butler family plot in the Catholic Cemetery in Savannah.[9]

Louisa Veronica O'Keefe and two of her children, Angela and Frank



Burial site of Louisa Veronica O'Keefe Butler
Catholic Cemetery Savannah, Georgia

Walter C. Hartridge.

Walter Hartridge was a lawyer with the law firm of O'Byrne, Hartridge, Wright and Brennan. He was hired in 1901 by Catherine O'Keefe following her husband's death to seek compensation from O'Keefe's estate for her family. Hartridge went to Germany, Hong Kong and Yap in order to acquire part of O'Keefe's estate for Catherine ("King of Yap Left Estate," 1903).

Ethel Morrisey Butler.

Ethel Morrisey married Louisa and Frank Butler's son, Charles Elton. Upon her husband's death, she became the only person alive who remembered Catherine Masters O'Keefe. O'Keefe left Savannah before Ethel married into the Butler family and thus she had no first-hand knowledge of him. Ethel Morrisey Butler died on February 6, 2001.

Charles and Ethel's grandson, Charles Elton Butler, III, was married to the researcher, Janet Marie Babington on June 23, 1990.

Charles Elton Butler, Sr., grandson of David and Catherine O'Keefe and his wife, Ethel Morrisey Butler

The great-great grandchildren of David Dean and Catherine Masters O'Keefe:
Charles Elton Butler, III, Helen Pritchard Butler Dickinson, Christopher O'Keefe Butler,
Catherine Morrisey Butler Gregory, Maureen Gueard Butler Thompson

Fanoway.

Fanoway was a Yapese man from the estate of *Wowol* in the Gilman Municipality on Yap Proper. He was reported to have found O'Keefe washed ashore at Lubuw Nimgil Island on Yap and nursed him back to health.

Charlotte Terry O'Keefe.

Charlotte (Lottie) was O'Keefe's first island wife. Charlotte (b. circa 1850) was the daughter of English convict Harry Terry who created a copra trading business on Mapia (T. Wettstein, personal communication, March 3, 1992). Charlotte and O'Keefe created a home on Mapia and had three children: Louisa Jane (Jenny), Harry and Ellen (Nellie). After O'Keefe's disappearance in 1901, Charlotte became known to those around her as Madame Terry (T. Oei, personal communication, July 28, 1999). Lottie died in 1942 and was buried on Mapia.

Louisa Jane O'Keefe Brown.

Louisa Jane (Jenny), was Charlotte and David O'Keefe's oldest daughter. Jenny was born circa 1872 on the Indonesian island of Mapia and educated in a French convent in Hong Kong. She married Will Brown and had no children of her own. She and Will adopted the one year old daughter of a Mapian chief. Their daughter, Betty Elizabeth Albertha Michael Hagenbeck, lived in Las Vegas. Jenny died in 1954 and was buried on Biak, an Indonesian Island near Mapia (B. Hagenbeck, personal communication, June, 1994).

Jenny and Eugenia O'Keefe

Harry O'Keefe.

Harry (b. circa 1878) was the only son born to Charlotte and David O'Keefe. Harry married Mila Laurence and had two sons, Mapi and Tony O'Keefe. Harry died in 1959 and was buried on Mapia. Mapi and Tony were believed to live somewhere in

Indonesia but the researcher was unable to locate documentation to that effect (B. Hagenbeck, personal communication, June, 1994).

Ellen O'Keefe.

Ellen (Nellie) (b. Circa 1880) was the youngest daughter of Charlotte and David O'Keefe. She had children by Adrian Laurence but because he was already married, she and the children kept the name O'Keefe. Their children were Daisy O'Keefe Henvelman, Peter O'Keefe (died young) and Dean O'Keefe. The family was unable to identify the name of the person whom Adrian Laurence was married to when he had children with Ellen (B. Hagenbeck, personal communication, June 1994). Ellen O'Keefe died in 1950 in Ternate. The researcher was able to track Dean O'Keefe to Holland but received no response from him or his family. Dean O'Keefe died in 1988 (M. Carlos, personal communication, August 3, 1996).

Dolibu O'Keefe.

Dolibu was O'Keefe's second island wife. She was born circa 1840 on the island of Nauru but met O'Keefe on Mapia where she was employed as Charlotte (Lottie) Terry's tutor. Although still married to Charlotte, O'Keefe married Dolibu and set up a second family on Yap. The Yapese reported that Dolibu possessed magical powers that she used to convince O'Keefe to marry her (Chieng, personal communication, June 29, 1999). Dolibu and O'Keefe made their home on Tarang, a small island in Tomil Harbor on Yap. Dolibu and O'Keefe had five children: Eugenia, Daisy, Lily, Arthur and David Dean.[10] F. Q. Christian (1967) credited Dolibu as being highly educated and very proficient in several Pacific dialects.

Dolibu died on Tarang on August 18, 1922, at the age of 65. Her dying wish was to be baptized in the Catholic Church. According to the Yap Mission Baptismal Records, two days before her death Dolibu was baptized Dorotea Marcia Favain by the Catholic priest on Yap (Catholic Church on Yap, 1800s-present). Dolibu was remembered by the Yapese to have been buried on the north side of Tarang wearing the gold ring that O'Keefe had given her and with a small chest containing her valuables (Chieng, personal communication, June 29, 1999).

Eugenia O'Keefe.

Eugenia was the oldest daughter of Dolibu and David O'Keefe. She was born circa 1872 on Tarang and educated with her half-sister, Jenny, in a French convent in Hong Kong. Eugenia married Alfred Scott, the British Consulate to Yap. She and her husband ran O'Keefe's shipping business following his disappearance in 1901.

Eugenia and Alfred Scott adopted a young son, Thomas Flores Fleming. Eugenia left Scott and moved to Japan. Following Scott's death, Eugenia returned to live on Yap. When the Japanese occupied Tarang in 1937, Eugenia moved to Mapia to live with her sister Jenny. Eugenia left Mapia in 1954 and died in 1963 in Holland (B. Hagenbeck, personal communication, June, 1994).

Alfred Scott.

Alfred Scott arrived in Yap in 1897 to represent Great Britain and strengthen its commercial interests in the Caroline Islands (Olsen, 1960). He married Eugenia, Dolibu and O'Keefe's oldest daughter. Three years after Scott's arrival on Yap he established an office in Colonia, Yap, as the British Consulate. After Eugenia's departure from Yap for

Japan, Alfred became very ill and went to Guam for medical treatment where he later died (L. Black, personal communication, July 26, 1999).

Thomas Flores Fleming.

Eugenia and Alfred Scott adopted Thomas Fleming when he was three years old. Thomas was the third son of Henry (Fritz) Fleming, Eugenia and Alfred's Chamorro bookkeeper (Ray, 1993). It was Thomas' biological father, Henry Fleming, who was given Scott's British Consulate sign for safekeeping when the Japanese arrived on Yap. Thomas was sent to school in Yokohama, Japan, at the age of nine. He returned to Yap three years later and was then sent to Palau to complete his education (L. Black, personal communication, January 2, 1997).

No legal documentation formalized Thomas' adoption by Eugenia and Alfred Scott. This led to a legal battle by Thomas and his descendants to claim Tarang as their property. Thomas died in 1987 and was buried on Guam (L. Black, personal communication, July 26, 1999).

Daisy O'Keefe.

Daisy was born circa 1876 on Tarang and educated in Hong Kong. She taught ballet in Makassar in Indonesia. In 1922, Daisy sought to claim ownership of Tarang in her father's name. She died in the 1970s in Indonesia before the estate could be settled (M. Carlos, personal communication, August 3, 1996).

Lily O'Keefe.

Lilly, Dolibu and O'Keefe's youngest daughter, was born circa 1877 on Tarang. She married a Yapese man and had no children. Several Yapese remembered Lily. When

her mother-in-law died, Lily asked the chief of the village to be able to speak at her funeral. She was given permission to do. She sang a song about her mother-in-law and when she was done, the chiefs said, "Thank you" (Gaayan, personal communication, July 5, 1999).[11] Upon her husband's death, Lily moved to New Guinea where it was said that she died when a chicken bone became lodged in her throat (E. Tinag, personal communication, August 11, 1996). She was reportedly buried in Hong Kong.

Arthur and David Dean O'Keefe.

Arthur and David Dean were both born circa 1885 and were Dolibu and David O'Keefe's youngest children. They were born on Tarang and disappeared with their father in 1901. Their bodies were never recovered.

Places

Savannah, Georgia.

Founded in 1733 by General James Oglethorpe, Savannah, Georgia was one of the oldest cities in the country (Aylesworth & Aylesworth, 1988). Oglethorpe and 120 settlers landed on Yamacraw Bluff overlooking the Savannah River and proceeded to design a city around 20 public squares. Savannah was called the "Mother City of Georgia" and harbored a thriving shipping business (Fradin, 1992, p. 44). The transportation of lumber and other resources to England kept Savannah at the forefront of the shipping industry (http://savannahgeorgia.com/scene/contents.html).

Savannah, Georgia, was a bustling port city in the mid-1800s. O'Keefe arrived in Savannah in 1854 at which time he held several jobs including working for the Central of Georgia Railroad and blockade runner for the Confederacy (Bragg 1960; Dodson, 1986;

May, 1969). O'Keefe eventually captained boats out of the port of Savannah (Hezel, 1995; May, 1969; Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994). While living in Savannah, O'Keefe resided primarily in the Old Fort District. This area of Savannah was situated on a bluff near the Savannah River and was the home of a large Irish immigrant population. In the 1990s, The Old Fort District was the home to local specialty shops and the Pirate's House -- an old seaman's inn built in 1796 (http://savannah.com). With one hundred year old buildings still standing along River Street and throughout the Historic District, it was easy to visualize the rough and tumble lifestyle that O'Keefe must have encountered in Savannah in the 1860s. O'Keefe left Savannah in the spring of 1870.

Yap.

Yap State in the Western Caroline Islands was a part of the Federated States of Micronesia (Mansperger, 1992).

> Micronesia, a wondrous world of more than 2,000 islands and atolls scattered between Hawaii and the Philippines, . . . is located in the western Pacific just north of the equator. Micronesia has four distinct regions -- Republic of Palau, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Federated Sates of Micronesia, and Guam (Office of the Governor, 1996, p. 47).

Micronesia, a Greek word meaning "little islands," was coined by explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville in 1828. The small islands of Micronesia were "scattered over an ocean area larger than the United States but contain all together only 1,260 square miles of land area" (Oliver, 1962, p. 76). It was d'Urville who spread the word of Micronesians being a "treacherous, wicked people" (Office of the Governor, 1996, p. 14).

Yap State, lying at approximately 9° 25' latitude and 137 ° 58' longitude, was a compact, elongated, triangular group of islands consisting of four large islands (Yap Proper, Ulithie, Woleai and Satawal), seven small islands, and 134 atolls (Müller, 1917; Office of the Governor, 1996). Yap was located about 500 miles southwest of Guam, 800 miles east of the Philippines and 750 miles north of New Guinea (Johnson, Alvis, & Hetzles, 1960). The Yap Islands were divided by narrow channels and bays and surrounded by a coral reef (Wolbrink, 1968).

Yap Proper consisted of four small islands: Yap, Maap, Gagil-Tomil and Rumung (Trumbull, 1959).[12] The islands of Yap State were volcanic with Yap Proper being at the farthermost tip of Asia.[13] Yap's greatest elevation was 585 feet. It was fifteen miles long from north to south and covered approximately 36 square miles (Daniel, 1943; Turke, 1985; Yap Intermediate School, 1971). Yap had a temperate, uniformly hot (68°–90° year round), and humid climate with an average yearly rainfall of 2,500 millimeters (2,000 of which fell between June and November) (Lingenfelter, 1981). Northeast winds blew almost uninterruptedly from November to May (Müller, 1917). Yap was also blessed with the perfect soil salinity for the growth of coconut trees (Karolle, 1976; Volkens, 1901). It was the coconut tree that not only supported the people of the island but also allowed for the growth of the copra industry.

Yap's strong ties to tradition made it the most conservative island in the Trust Territory of the Pacific, which consisted of over 2,100 islands in the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana chains (Dodson, 1967; Trifonovitch, 1966). There were four indigenous languages in the Yap islands and most of its inhabitants did not speak English

(Grossman, Drier, & Starr, 1990). Although technology and western influences certainly played a role in Yap's culture, it was essentially the same in 1999 as it was when O'Keefe first landed on the island over one hundred years ago (Wolbrink, 1968). As in O'Keefe's time, the Yapese of the 20th century still wore traditional clothing. A caste system existed in which one had specific roles and obligations in life. Most of the daily diet of the Yapese in 1999 still consisted of coconut, taro and fish. Even into the 1990s women still worked in taro patches leaving at dawn and not returning until late afternoon. Traditional medicines, such as the use of seaweed as a method of abortion, were still widely used throughout the islands (Burrows & Spiro, 1957).

"The Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan was the first European to voyage across the Pacific, but as far as we know, he passed through Micronesia without sighting land until he reached Guam's shores on March 6, 1521" (Office of the Governor, 1996, p. 12). Three years later on October 1, 1525 Portuguese sailor, Diego de Rocha was credited with the discovery of Yap (Müller, 1917; Office of the Governor, 1996; Peabody Museum Expedition, 1948; Wolbrink, 1968; Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994).

The Yapese named their island Wa'ab (D. Evans, personal communication, August 1, 1996). The Yapese said that when a group of European sailors visited the island, the Europeans pointed their boat oar toward land and asked the name of the island. The Yapese misunderstood them and thought that they were asking the name of the boat oar and they responded "Wa'ab" (D. Evans, personal communication, June 14, 1994). Peter Cantova was credited with giving the island its present name of Yap--a word that he had heard spoken by Central Carolinians (Peabody Museum Expedition, 1948). Fifty

years after its initial discovery, Spain annexed the island and became the first of several foreign administrations on Yap (Furness, 1910: Salesius, 1906).

It was believed that Yap was first populated around 1,000 BC with inhabitants from Asia (Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994). The Yapese were expert canoe builders and navigators and traveling long distances by canoe was not uncommon. Islands such as Gaferut provided food and water on these journeys (Reisenberg, 1975). "Stories are told of men from Yap coming in their canoes as far as the Marshall Islands more than 2,000 miles away" (Wood, 1921). "Yapese tales tell of people arriving in Yap from as far away as Polynesia and Indonesia. People from all over Oceania are likely represented in the Yapese gene pool" (Lingenfelter, 1975, p.15).

Yapese legend had a somewhat different story of how their islands were populated. According to Josephine Patrick (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997), the story of the "Three Stone Typhoon" told how Yap was created.

> There was a family with three sons. When they grew up and it was time for them to leave home, their father gave each of them a stone. The father told them to go as far as they could go and wherever you drop your rock then that is where you will live. The first son goes as far as he can go, throws his rock and that becomes Rumung. It is time for the second son to leave. He goes as far as he can go, a little farther than his older brother and drops his rock. That becomes Tomil. The time came for the youngest son to go but he was scared. He went as far as he could go, farther than either of his older brothers, and made the wisest decision. When he dropped his rock, that became Gagil. So when he comes and goes to visit his

family, the sun is always shining on his back. Gagil is the most powerful village. Gagil has the most powerful chief and the most powerful army.

Another legend told of the discovery of Yap by a Spirit named Gusney. According to legend, he was the first to send humans to the island of Wa'ab.

> Long before time was recorded, the story goes, Gusney and four other supernatural Spirits sprang into being from a fresh water well located in the area now known as Tho'long, Colonia. One day, Gusney left his netherworldly companions on the island of Wa'ab (now known as Yap) and headed for unexplored lands. He sailed in a simple log canoe, propelled only by his hands, the wind and the endless flow of the Pacific's waves.
>
> Many moons passed and Gusney came upon a human family from the ancient place called Malaya. He liked them and sent them on to Wa'ab to let the other Spirits know of his whereabouts. Later he met another couple from India and sent them to Wa'ab as well. This couple, named Wan and Rayina, and a daughter of the first family, Ruliya, made Wa'ab their permanent home and, according to legend, are the ancient forebears of the Yapese people (Flood, 1996, pp. 11-13).[14]

"The people of Uap are of the Malayan type, -a light coffee-coloured skin; hair black and inclined to wave or curl, not crinkly like the Melanesian and African; eyes very dark brown, almost black; cheek bones rather high and nose inclined to be hooked, but not prominent" (Furness, 1910, pp. 17-18). The Yapese "are shy at first, whether through mistrust or awe, but, let acquaintance and confidence be once established, and

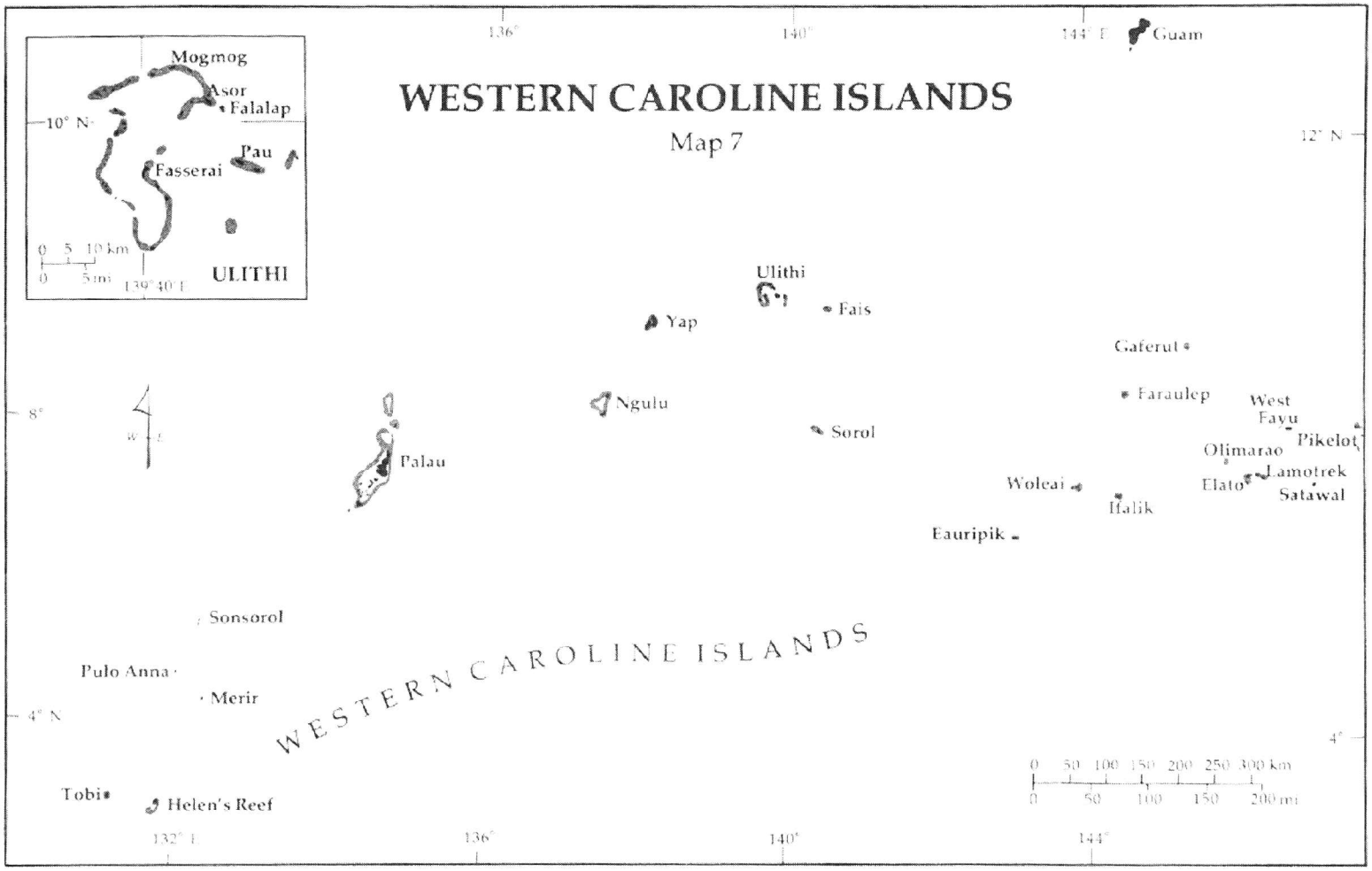
they are good company and benignly ready to tolerate even to foster condescendingly, the incomprehensible peculiarities and demented foibles of the white-faced visitor" (Furness, 1910, p. 12).

The total population of Yap in 1999 was 11, 178 with a population density of 243 per square mile (http://fsmgov.org/info/people.html). In 1999 there were a total of 1,930 households with an emigration rate of eight people per one thousand per year. These eight were also designated as residents abroad and many were participating in educational programs in other places such as Guam, Palau, Pohnpei and Hawaii (http://fsmgov.org/info/people.html). In 1999 the Gross Domestic Product for Yap per-capita was $2,107. This was the highest Gross Domestic Product in the Federated States of Micronesia (http://fsmgov.org/info/econ.html).

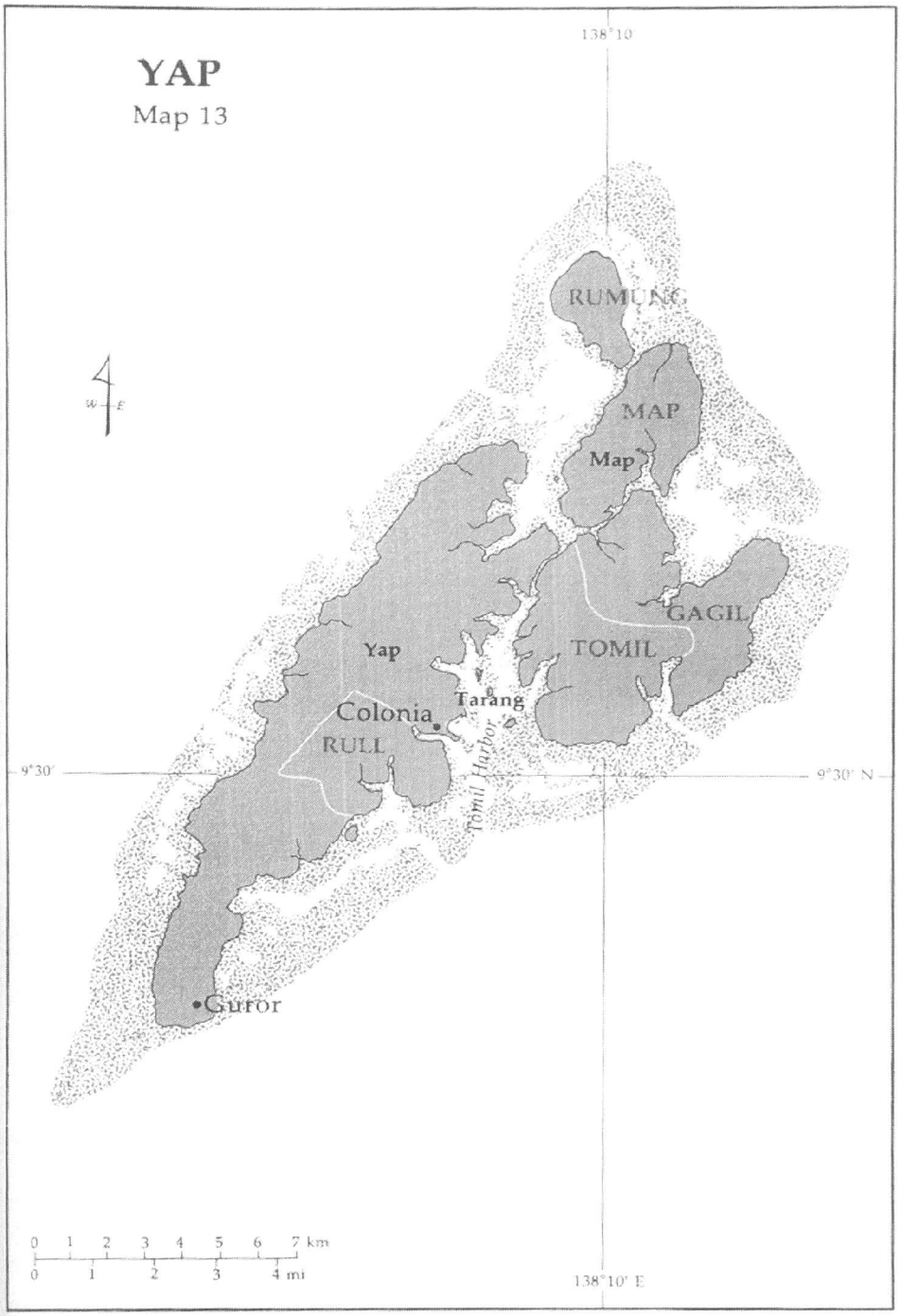
The United Nations created the Trust Territory of the Pacific Island (TTPI) in 1947. The TTPI consisted of Ponape (now Pohnpei), Truk (now Chuuk), Yap, Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Marianna Islands (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html). The development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was not easy. Initially, political tensions existed between Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Marianas. They sought their own independence as opposed to joining the TTPI. The United States accepted the role of Trustee of the islands. As Trustee, the United States was to "promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants" (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html).[15]

On May 10, 1979, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) Constitution was implemented. At this time, nationwide democratic elections were held to elect officials

for the national and four state governments. The first President of the Federated States of Micronesia was former President of the Congress of Micronesia, the Honorable Tosiwo Nakayama (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html). In September of 1991 the FSM was admitted to the United Nations.



Map of the Western Caroline Islands
Reprinted with permission from the University of Hawaii
Hezel, F. X. (1983). The first taint of civilization: A history of the Caroline and Marshall islands in pre-colonial days, 1521-1885. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 56.



Map of the island of Yap in the Federated States of Micronesia
Reprinted with permission form the University of Hawaii
Hezel, F. X. (1983). The first taint of civilization: A history of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in pre-colonial days, 1521-1885. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 183.

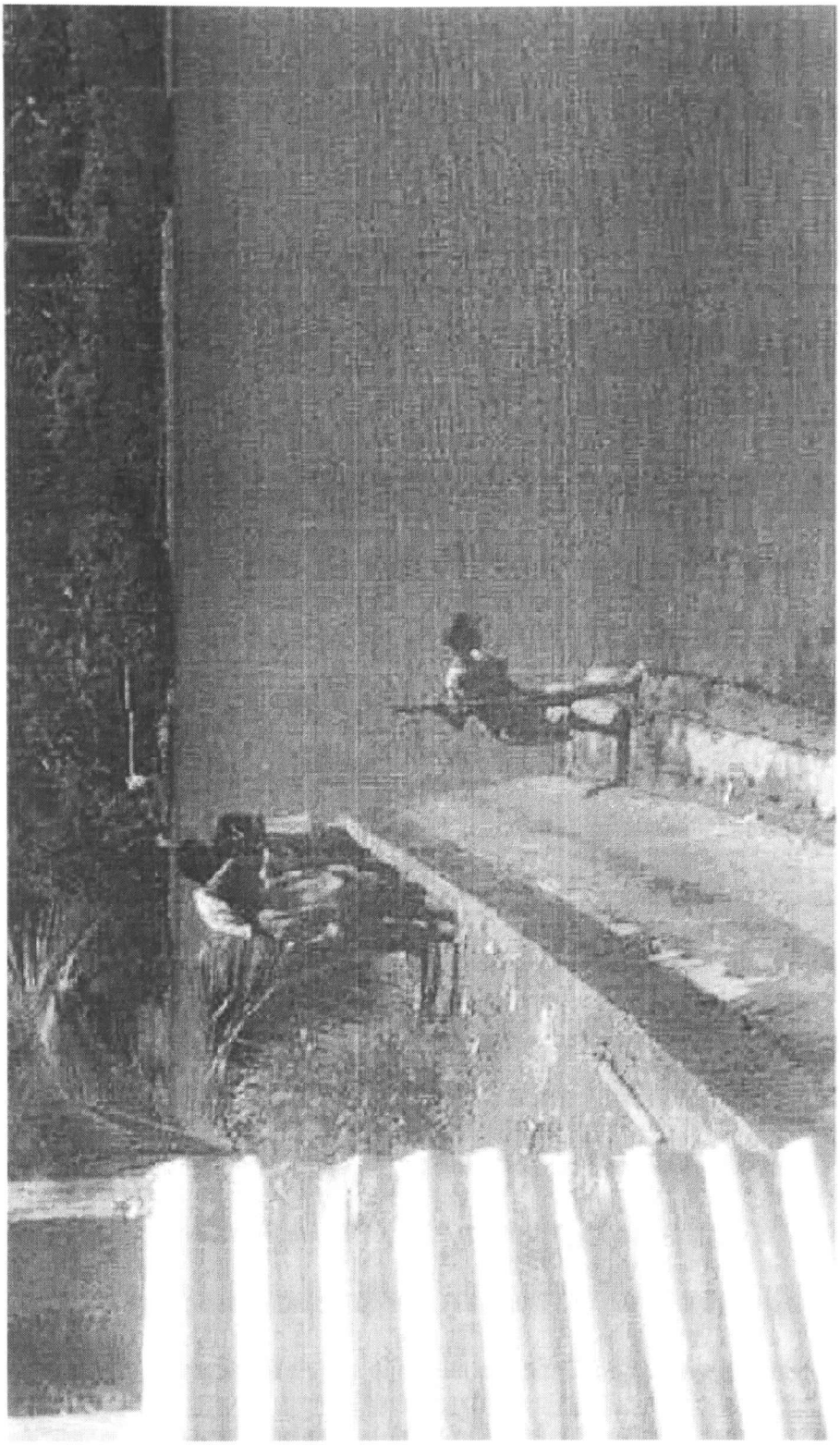
Aerial view of Yap, Federated States of Micronesia

Aerial view of the coral reef surrounding Yap, Federated States of Micronesia

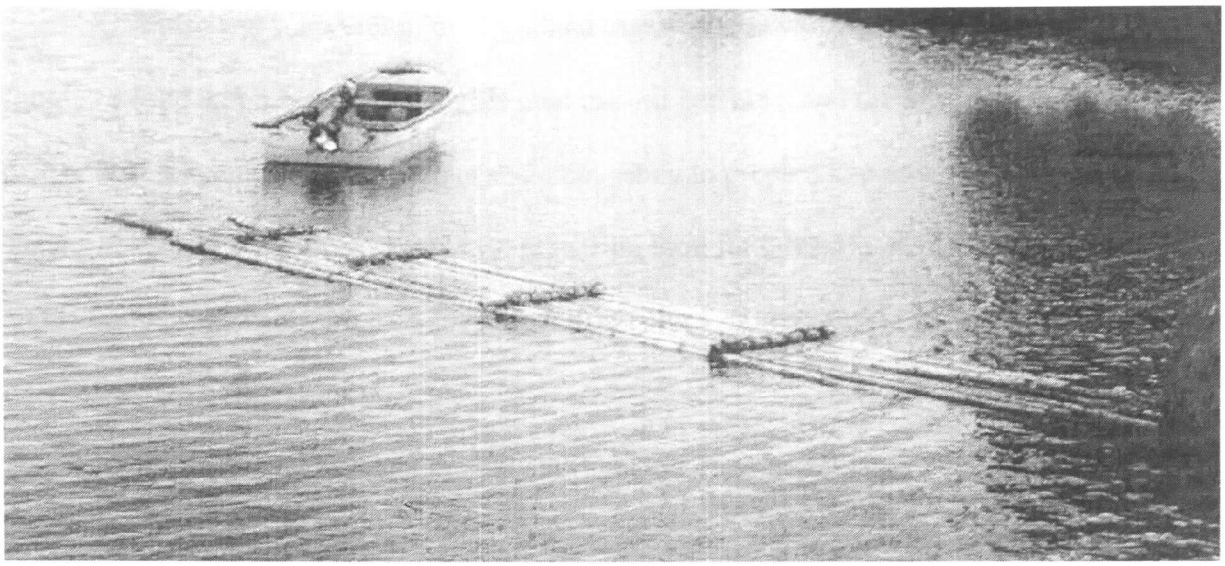
Aerial view of Colonia, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia

Colonia, Yap Federated States of Micronesia

Sunset on Yap, Federated States of Micronesia



Children spear fishing in Colonia, Yap



Both modern boats and traditional rafts were used for fishing on Yap.

Tarang.

Tarang was one of three small islands in Tomil Harbor on Yap. The island was known as "O'Keefe's Island." Ruins remained of the "mansion" and "O'Keefe's Island" was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on September 30, 1976 (Kufus, 1976).[16] By Yapese standards, the house was truly a mansion. Houses on Yap were primarily made of bamboo and thatch. O'Keefe's house was made from red brick and timber imported from Hong Kong (Rabé, 1890). "It had two floors and long verandah" (Giltaman, personal communication, June 29, 1999). The bottom floor consisted of a kitchen, living room or den and dining hall. Although the home did not contain the most valuable of antiques, it was furnished with pieces from Hong Kong including silver utensils, a library of books, a large dining table and a piano (Rabé, 1890).

O'Keefe had a storeroom on the island that was always "filled with an immense supply of food and other articles for his own use--tinned meat and the like" (Rabé, 1890, p. 30). O'Keefe employed two cooks and a houseboy to prepare two meals a day on Tarang. The cooks were responsible for preparing food for O'Keefe, his family, guests and loading crew who were paid fifty cents a day plus "some grub and some drink" (Rabé, 1890, p. 30).

O'Keefe's home was not the only building on Tarang. Alkun Fathle´ (personal communication, July 7, 1999) recalled "a number of houses there, not just one or two. One used to house the locals." There were four long warehouses, a dormitory for employees and a manager's bungalow, all of which were connected by stone walkways. The center attraction on Tarang was O'Keefe's wharf and four iron moorings to which his ships anchored (Hezel, 1995). The Yapese told of a small cemetery located on the highest point of the island. It was said to be the location of Dolibu's grave as well as the graves of several of O'Keefe's children who died in infancy (D. Evans, personal communication, March 15, 1996).

While exploring the island, the existence of a cemetery was suggested by the presence of a ring of flowers planted in a circle around the crest of the tallest hill on Tarang. It was described to the researcher that planting flowers around a burial plot was typical of Yapese burials (A. Fathlé, personal communication, July 7, 1999). While traversing Tarang, the researcher and two Yapese guides located three piles of bricks that appeared to mark graves. Yapese burial sites were often covered with rock or coral to keep the monitor lizards from disturbing the body. "Slabs of stone and coral were piled

up all about the grave for a distance of two feet, and earth tightly packed in the crevices, so that the big lizards, - 'monitors,' the only large reptile on the island, - should not disturb the body" (Furness, 1910, p.175).[17] One grave was an open hole. It appeared that the grave had either collapsed or was dug up. The Yapese guides believed that the open grave was not an old one but rather a new one that the Fleming family had envisioned using to bury Thomas Fleming. Thomas had recently died and the family had hoped that by burying him on Tarang, they would extend their family's claim to the island (Rinung, personal communication, July 5, 1999).

While exploring Tarang, several small burned spots were uncovered that indicated the presence of cooking fires. According to the Yapese, the remains of the fires were not new since no one lived on Tarang before or after O'Keefe. These foundations and cooking fires might have been the homes of some of O'Keefe's workers but were more likely the remains of cooking houses for trepang or copra dryers. Although overgrown, the foundation of O'Keefe's house was visible. Also remaining on Tarang was vegetation that O'Keefe introduced to the island from other places such as Hong Kong and the Philippines. The reef surrounding the island was a lobster breeding area and was heavily populated by various marine life. (Office of the Governor, 1996).

One of O'Keefe's warehouses on Yap

Iron moorings on Tarang

Pakel.

Pakel was the northern most of the three small islands located in Tomil Harbor on Yap (Johnson, Alvis, & Hetzles, 1960). O'Keefe used Pakel as his "garden island." During the Japanese occupation of Yap, Pakel was used as a leprosy colony.[18]

Palau.

Palau was a rocky island approximately 250 miles southwest of Yap. The island's economic stability was based primarily on fishing and the cultivation of taro (Miyamoto, 1987). It was in the rocky limestone quarry on Palau where the stone money was coined. The quarry was named Fanoway after the man who nursed O'Keefe back to health when he first arrived on Yap. During the latter part of the 19th century, Palau was ruled by tribal chiefs who established a profitable trading relationship with O'Keefe.

Mapia.

Yap was not the only South Pacific island that O'Keefe "controlled" as a part of his shipping empire. O'Keefe also "owned" the St. David's Group near the Dutch New Guinea Coast (Rabé, 1890). Of this group of islands, Mapia played a vital role in O'Keefe's business. Mapia was a small, nine-mile island located northwest of the Schouten Islands at the mouth of the Geelvink Bay. Mapia and its surrounding islands were known by many names including: The St. David's Islands, Freewill Islands, Bunai and Burat (Lessa, no date). Research showed that in 1537 Hernando de Grijalva's ship, *Santiago*, was the first to reach Mapia (Lessa, no date). William Funnell first documented the island in texts in 1705. In 1761 Captain James Dewar of the East India Company

landed on Mapia en route to China. During O'Keefe's life he had four bungalows on Mapia one of which had 14 rooms and was estimated to be worth 30,000 English pounds.

Nauru.

Nauru was a small island (about nine square miles) located thirty miles south of the equator and four hundred miles from the Gilbert Islands (Kreifels, 1985: Petit-Skinner, 1981). It was considered part of the South Pacific and also part of the Central Pacific because of its closeness to the equator. "Nauru is unquestionably the smallest completely independent nation in the world, in both area and population" (Skinner, 1977, p. 105). Nauru's economy was based on the mining of phosphate (Trumbull, 1977).

Objects

Stone Money.

Although shell money was also a medium of exchange on Yap, it was stone money that was the most valuable (Moriarity & Reed, 1982). Before the use of O'Keefe's vessels, stone money was carried aboard outrigger canoes. This was extremely dangerous and many people lost their lives. With the use of O'Keefe's ships, acquiring stone money became much safer and easier (D. Evans, personal communication, March 31, 1996). Although the Yapese were receptive to O'Keefe's assistance in acquiring stone money, the "pre-O'Keefe" discs were still more valuable because of the risk of human life in acquiring them. "Labour is the true medium of exchange and the true standard of value" (Furness, 1910, p. 93). The larger the piece meant the more dangerous the journey and, thus the more valuable the coin. The most valuable coins were those named after people (Beauclair, 1963). The largest coin brought to Yap was twelve feet in diameter and

weighed several tons. It was located on Rumung and was named *Germania* after the vessel that transported the coin to the island (Beauclair, 1963; Fathvyad, personal communication, June 25, 1999; Gorongfel, 1979).[19]

Initial trips to Palau to coin stone money were made only with the permission of the village chief. Upon the men's return, the chief kept the largest coin and two-fifths of the smaller pieces for himself. The remainder was distributed to the families of the men who coined the discs. This was no longer the practice once O'Keefe became involved in the stone money trade. From that time on, individuals coined their own money (Müller, 1917).

Owning stone money did not mean that the actual coin had to be in the physical possession of its owner.

> After concluding a bargain which involves the price of *fei* too large to be conveniently moved, its new owner is quite content to accept the bare acknowledgment of ownership and without so much as a mark to indicate the exchange, the coin remains undisturbed on the former owner's premises. Everyone knows who each piece belongs to and thievery is virtually unknown. (Furness, 1910, p. 96).

Geologists described the rocks used to coin stone money, sometimes called *rai* or *fei*, as crystalline calcite, a compound that was as hard as marble (Gorongfel, 1979). It was believed that small stone discs, sometimes called "toy money," preceded the larger ones by 1,500 to 2,000 years (Beauclair, 1963, p. 152; Gifford, 1960). Radiocarbon dating of a four millimeter disc showed its age to be 175 AD (Beauclair, 1963). Local

legend said that Anugmang, a navigator from Tomil Municipality, was the first ancient navigator to sail the open sea to Palau over 250 miles southwest of Yap in an outrigger canoe. He landed at an islet called Kokial on Palau where he discovered the glistening limestone caves (Christian, 1967; Gorongel, 1979; Rennie, 1986). According to legend, Anugmang first ordered his men to cut a piece of stone in the shape of a fish. This was difficult to carry so he had the rock cut into the shape of a full moon. Initially two holes were cut in the center of the stone in order to carry it. These double holes proved too dangerous to transport. The bamboo poles used to carry the stones rested on the men's shoulders and sometimes choked them (Beauclair, 1963; Trumbull, 1959).[20] As a result, a single hole was cut in the middle of the stone for easy transportation to Yap (Gorongfel, 1979).

Typical stone money ranged in size from nine inches to more than nine feet in diameter. A piece of stone money six feet in diameter might have taken five years to coin (Bragg, 1960; Christian, 1899). For the large coins, "it might take thirty years to go to Palau, carve out stone money and get back. So, they would always take young boys with them so that someone would be alive to bring the money back" (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997). The initial block of stone was hewn and then heated so that it could be shaped (Müller, 1917). A well-made piece of stone money gradually decreased in thickness toward the edge with an elevated surface left around the middle hole (Müller, 1917).

> The limestone, of which *fei* is composed, to be of the highest value, must be fine and white and of close grain. After having been stored in houses, out of sun, wind

> and rain, the *fei* presents a white, opaque appearance, somewhat like quartz, but not so translucent nor of so fine a grain; when by luck it happens that a man's wealth outgrows the capacity of his house, his money is then stored outside, and, thus exposed to tropical weather, its colour changes to a dirty gray, somewhat like sandstone, and the surface becomes rough and covered with moss and lichen. As far as purchasing power goes, this does not, however, detract from its value; this "unearned increment" can be readily scraped off and the quality of the stone and its diameter, on which depends its value, not diminished" (Furness, 1910, pp. 94-95).

A coin three feet in diameter would have enabled the owner to purchase a young pig (Wood, 1921). A coin five feet in diameter "could buy a wife" (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997). "Stone money could be used to pay off a debt such as if one of your family caused destruction in another village. You can't use American money to pay back a debt like that. You must use stone money. It might be the only way to save a son's life or a family's name" (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997).

> A three span *fei* of good whiteness and shape ought to purchase fifty 'baskets' of food – a basket is about eighteen inches long and ten inches deep, and the food is taro roots, husked coconuts, yams and bananas . . . or a thousand coconuts, or a pearl shell measuring the length of the hand plus the width of three fingers up the wrist. I exchanged a small, short handled axe for a good white *fei*, fifty centimeters in diameter. For another *fei*, a little larger, I gave a fifty-pound bag of

> rice . . . . I was told that a well-finished *fei*, about four feet in diameter, is the price usually paid whether to the parents or the headman of the village as a compensation for the theft of a *mispil* (Furness, 1910, pp. 101-102).

When the coining of stone money ended, some pieces remained at the quarry in Palau. These pieces still belonged to the Yapese (Beauclair, 1963).

One story recounted by Furness (1910) told of an ancestor of Fatumak who coined a very large piece of stone money. As the stone was being towed home to Yap aboard a raft, a violent storm arose and the raft had to be cut loose in order to avoid sinking the canoe.

> When the men reached home they all testified as that the *fei* was of magnificent proportions and of extraordinary quality, and it was lost through no fault of the owner. Thereupon it was universally conceded in their simple faith that the mere accident of its loss overboard was too trifling to mention, and that a few hundred feet of water off shore ought not to affect its marketable value, since it was all chipped out in proper form. The purchasing power of that stone remains, therefore, as valid as if it were visibly leaning against the side of the owner's house, and represents wealth as potentially as the hoarded inactive gold of a miser of the middle ages . . . (Furness, 1910, p.97-98).

Stone money was usually displayed against village walls or along stone walks. It represented the wealth of individuals, families and villages (Wolbrink, 1968). "Stone money was the reward of the expert canoe builder, and this was the only case in which public money, otherwise inalienable, could be received by an individual" (Beauclair,

1963). Stone money was rarely transferred. When stone money was presented to another, it was given from the woman's side of the family and in honor of a person, an event such as a marriage, or in today's society, for the opening of a business (Beauclair, 1963).

To the Palauns, "the rock" (*Railmig*) where stone money was coined was an empty hill (Müller, 1917). O'Keefe provided modern tools that speeded up the process and increased the production of the discs. Although O'Keefe paid King Ibedul of Palau $50 worth of trade for every ship that was loaded with stone at Palau, mostly in beads and baubles, he had very little expense and almost one hundred percent profit (Rabé, 1890). At one point, Charles Blanchard of the schooner *Dona Bartola*, arrived on Palau to contest O'Keefe's monopoly of mining stone discs on the island. The King of Palau admitted that he had signed a twenty-year lease with O'Keefe for exclusive mining rights on Palau. Blanchard was disgruntled and objected to O'Keefe's agreement but their arguments produced no changes in the production of stone money.[21]

O'Keefe had a close relationship with the Palauan king and often assisted the Palauans with political matters. In 1896 when Spanish authorities in Yap wanted to bring to justice a Palauan leader who had killed some crew members aboard a schooner from Manila, they deputized O'Keefe and sent him to arrest and bring the man back to Yap (Hezel, 1995). "Six years earlier, O'Keefe had also been summoned by Palauan chiefs to put an end to raids on Angaur that had resulted in several deaths. O'Keefe, with his 20 years of experience in the islands, was evidently more effective in enforcing the law than the nation that imposed it" (Hezel, 1995, p. 71).

Many pieces of stone money were destroyed during German and Japanese occupations. The Germans used the threat of destroying the stone money as a means of encouraging the Yapese to dig the German Canal, a water passage connecting one side of Yap to the other. Prior to the excavation of this passage, one had to canoe around the entire island to get to the other side. This proved to be an inconvenience for the Germans so they "persuaded" the Yapese to dig the canal.

In 1929 the Japanese counted approximately 13,281 pieces of stone money on Yap. This was estimated to be only half of the number of pieces that once existed (Beauclair, 1963). The Japanese also used the stone money as a means of forcing the Yapese to work for them. The Japanese naval vessels used many of the discs as anchors and sinkers in their defense line around the island (Beauclair, 1963). Stone money was also destroyed when the Americans bombed Yap during the Japanese occupation of the island in 1944.

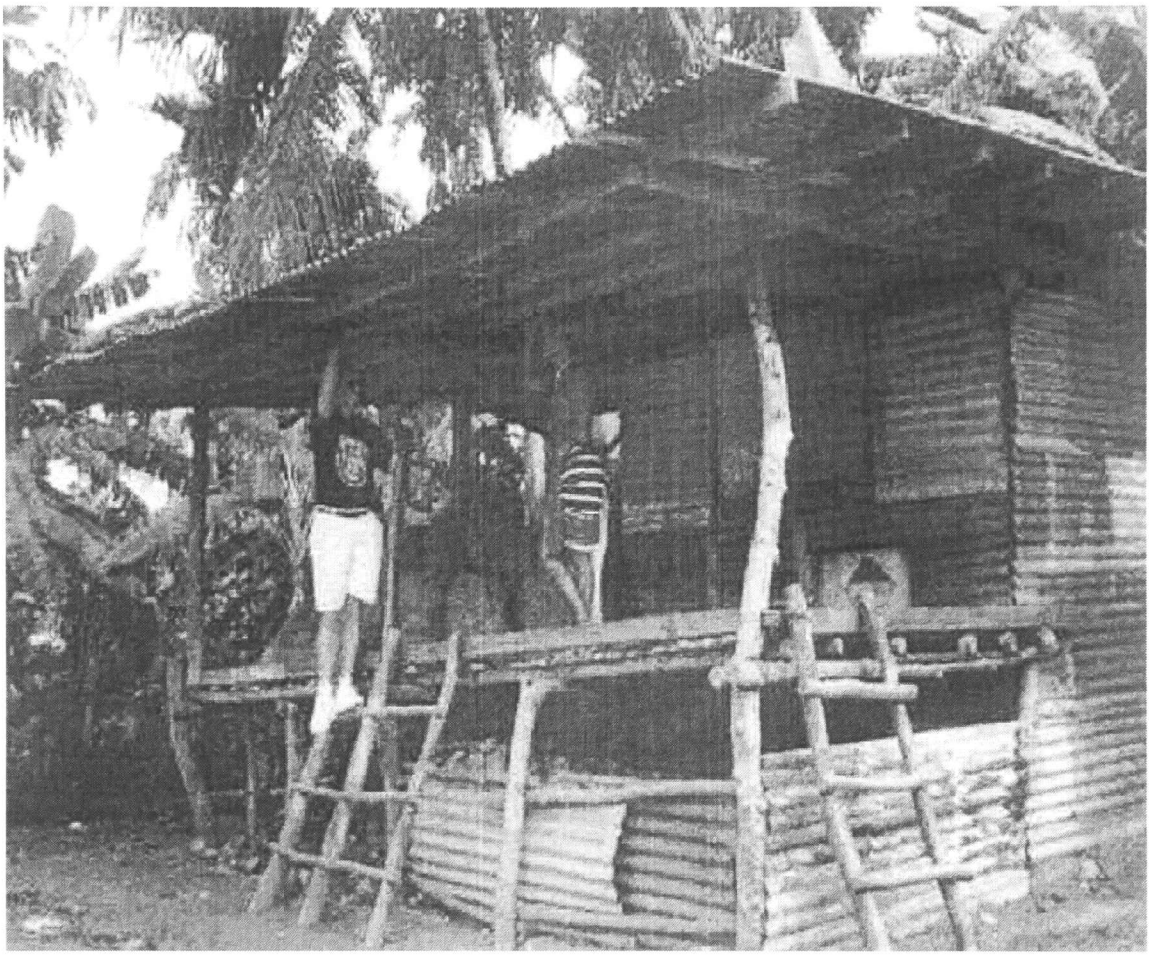
Following WWII, stone money was no longer allowed to leave Yap.[22] However, several pieces were removed prior to this time. Correspondences with the wife of Rear Admiral O. H. Dodson identified two pieces in the family's possession (Dodson, 1996). Rear Admiral Dodson had removed the coins from Yap during his military stay on the island during WWII. Since his death, one piece was given to the National Bank of Detroit and one to the Federal Reserve Bank in Richmond, Virginia. The Smithsonian Institution was also in possession of a piece of stone money. It was approximately twelve inches in diameter and was displayed as an example of the largest currency in the world.

Stone money on Yap

Copra.

Copra was the dried meat of the coconut. As coconuts dropped from the palms, they were husked, cut in half, and placed in dryers. The meat of the coconut then came loose from its shell, was bagged and carried to one of O'Keefe's trading stations (Hinz, 1986). Drying the coconuts involved weeks of lying in the sun until O'Keefe changed

this by building dryers. Copra dryers were small thatch and bamboo huts built off the ground with a fire underneath. Unfortunately, these buildings were wooden and caught fire easily. O'Keefe later used tin to make these dryers much less flammable.[23]



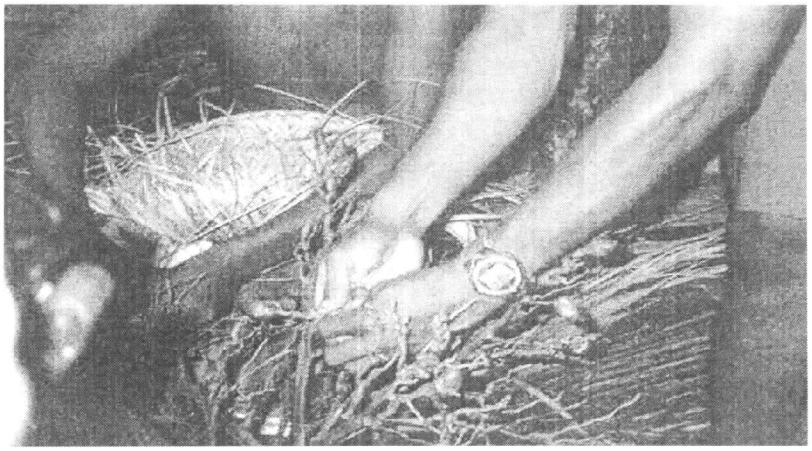
Copra dryer on Yap

Trepang (sea slugs or *bêche-de-mer*).

Copra was not the only crop that the Yapese traded for stone money. Trepang was very common in the lagoons of Yap and was considered a delicacy in China where it was used to "make a very strengthening and invigorating soup in the same line as oysters or

raw fish" (Rabé, 1890, p.12).[24] Trepang was sold in China as an aphrodisiac for between $500 to $1,000 per ton (Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994). The Yapese caught the large sea slugs (12 –15 inches long), cut them open on the underside and pulled out the insides. The slugs were cooked until the dirt rose to the top of the water. They were then dried in a smokehouse. "Although the natives consume almost every sort of sea animal with a good appetite except those they hold sacred, they will not touch the Holothurians (trepang) in either their raw or cooked state" (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 21). Because the Yapese did not eat trepang, the harvest of the slugs proved to be a profitable business for the Yapese and O'Keefe.

The trepang business increased toward the end of the 19th century when the copra trade came to a complete standstill as a result of a prolonged drought and the presence of an aphid disease among the coconut palms (Salesius, 1906). The government was wise enough to take precautions to prevent the complete destruction of the sea slug by a temporary prohibition of the number of trepang that could be harvested (Salesius, 1906).



Betelnut

CHAPTER III

O'Keefe in Savannah

Southern Ireland in the mid-1800s was a desolate place to be. The potato famine had caused hundreds of thousands to search for a new homeland. Hunger sent young men from their homes in the tranquil Irish countryside to faraway lands searching for a better life. David Dean O'Keefe (b. circa 1823), a young man from County Cork, was no different (Dodson, 1986; May, 1969). Like many before him, O'Keefe saw America as the land of the free--full of hope and prosperity. According to family stories, O'Keefe came to America in search of a job and a new start in life (E. Butler, personal communication, November 8, 1997). For O'Keefe, America provided much excitement but little profit. Adventure and wealth came later in his life.

Arriving in Savannah

In the mid-1800s, the waterfront in New York was home to Irish immigrants flocking to the United States. Although many stayed in New York and built the foundation for the large Irish Catholic community that thrives today, O'Keefe was among a group of immigrants that headed south. He arrived in Savannah in 1854 aboard a British vessel (Dodson, 1986).

O'Keefe fit in well with the large Irish population who occupied The Old Fort District of Savannah. Located on a bluff overlooking the Savannah River, the Old Fort District flourished with Irish Catholic immigrants whose future generations formed a stronghold in the social and political scene in Savannah (E. Butler, personal communication, November 8, 1997). With flaming red hair and the physical strength to

match his Irish temper, O'Keefe was no stranger to the riverfront and its rowdy way of life. O'Keefe worked on windjammers along the eastern seaboard, was a blockade-runner for the Confederacy during the American Civil War and earned a reputation as an excellent sailor.[25] He received posts as first mate and, eventually, captain aboard vessels whose homeport was the city of Savannah (Bradlee, 1974; Cochran, 1973; Dodson, 1986; May, 1969; Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994).

Although not considered a true "lady's man," O'Keefe was well known and considered a good prospect for a husband. Mary Herrick wrote a letter to O'Keefe on behalf of her sister, Ellen. O'Keefe responded, ". . . if I ever marry in Savannah it will be your sister. At present my heart is set on that object and I can assure you that there will be no change in the future" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, July 5, 1867). The future, however, did change. O'Keefe married Catherine Masters, a young girl of Minorcan descent (A. Masters, personal communication, June 9, 1997).

O'Keefe and Catherine

Catherine was born in 1843 in St. Augustine, Florida, and moved with her family to Savannah in February of 1863 following the occupation of St. Augustine by Federal Troops (Dodson, 1986; "Fortune Left,"1903). With her raven hair and Italian background, Catherine was a strong match for O'Keefe. Married in Savannah, Georgia, on April 5, 1869, O'Keefe and Catherine lived in several homes until they finally settled at 60 Taylor Street (Dodson, 1986; Marriage License, 1869; Savannah Census Information, City Listings 1858-1930, June 12, 1995).

O'Keefe and Catherine were soon blessed with the birth of their only child, Louisa Veronica (Lulu) in 1870. Although social responsibilities and conventions of the day required certain behavior of women, Catherine had a mind of her own and would flout social dictates by visiting areas such as Yamacraw -- an area deemed "not appropriate" for a lady (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871). In the late 1800s, Yamacraw bordered the Old Fort District and was the home of large groups of Protestants. Catholic and Protestant gangs developed in that area and altercations often arose from differences in religious principles. This was a rough area in Savannah and not a place frequented by "nice ladies."

O'Keefe worked hard to support his new family and was always alert for a profitable business venture. On June 30, 1867, as master of the schooner *William Gregory*, O'Keefe embarked on an unprofitable trading venture between Matanzas and Savannah (Wood, 1966). He later started a small business selling wood and fruit ("King in the Pacific," 1891). This too was unsuccessful. Finally, he invested in a dry-dock building that cost him his savings ("Irishman Who Became King," 1903). O'Keefe's only career success came aboard shipping vessels. O'Keefe established himself as a respectable and competent captain by obtaining his Masters license (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871). The following announcement appeared in the July16, 1869, edition of the *Savannah Daily Herald*: "The steamer *Islander*, Captain D. D. O'Keefe, will make an excursion to Ebenezer Church, . . . leaving Charleston Wharf Sunday morning, next, 18th instant, at 6:00 am, and return to the city same day. Fare for the round-trip $1.00" (Shipping intelligence, July 16, 1869).

Although O'Keefe made a respectable living as a seaman, his Irish temper often got the best of him and landed him in precarious positions. Several accounts arose about a murder that O'Keefe was accused of committing. The incident took place aboard the *Anna Sims* while it was docked at the wharf at Millen's Mill ("Darien Murder, GA," 1866; "Murder at Darien, GA," 1866). Research discovered that O'Keefe had engaged in an argument with Dennis Sullivan, a seaman aboard the vessel. Sullivan struck at O'Keefe with a heavy metal bar. In retaliation, O'Keefe shot and killed Sullivan (Dodson, 1986). The *Savannah Daily Herald* published the story as recounted by Captain W. Ross Postell who was present when the event happened ("Killing of a Seaman," 1866).

> The captain of the schooner *Anna Sims* had an altercation with one of the crew for not obeying orders. Blows were resorted to, and the captain being defeated went to his cabin. My advice to the seaman was to remain foreword but he went aft, and was shot near the main mast, where the cook house stood, the ball entering his forehead ("Killing of a Seaman," 1866).[26]

A letter from Isabel Thorpe Mealing told of O'Keefe leaving Savannah after the incident aboard the *Anna Sims* and fleeing to Lebanon Plantation in McIntosh County where he stayed with Mrs. Mealing's grandfather, Charles Courtney Thorpe, "until he could get away to the South Pacific"(I. Mealing, personal communication, September 4, 1996). A *Savannah Daily Herald* article reported that

> the steamer *H.M.S. Cool* from Darien arrived at this port having on board Captain O'Keefe charged with the murder of William Geary . . . [O'Keefe] was delivered

> to Colonel Kimball, commander of his district who yesterday turned him over to the civil authorities. He was accordingly brought before Justice Levi S. Hart, who after a preliminary examination, committed him to jail to await the order of the authorities of McIntosh County, within whose jurisdiction the crime, was committed ("Darien Murder," 1866).

Hiring the law firm of O'Connor, O'Byrne and Hartridge, O'Keefe was acquitted on a self-defense plea after spending eight months in the Chatham County Jail awaiting his trial (May, 1969). Although O'Keefe's stay in prison affected his life, it did not curb his temper.

Leaving Savannah

As chief officer of the ship *Consul*, O'Keefe was again not able to control his temper. It was reported that O'Keefe became engaged in a second fight with a crewman. O'Keefe was said to have knocked the man over the head and sent him sprawling into the Savannah River. Believing that he had killed the man, O'Keefe panicked and jumped aboard the *Belvidere* as it was leaving the dock on River Street in Savannah (C. Butler, Jr., personal communication, November 10, 1997). Although newspaper articles existed about the incident aboard the *Anna Sims*, there was no record of O'Keefe being involved in any other altercation that ended in a man's death. The lack of a newspaper account of a sailor's brawl would not have been unusual if the man did not die. Fights were too commonplace along Savannah's riverfront to make the news. Information gathered regarding the fight that led to O'Keefe's departure from Savannah was based strictly on family legends and stories from the Irish community.

Although legend and lore generated the tale of O'Keefe leaving Savannah under suspicion of murder, it was also possible that O'Keefe simply signed on as first mate to Captain Congreve aboard the *Belvidere*, sailed to Liverpool and eventually headed to the South Pacific in search of pearls and wealth ("Irishman Who Became King," 1903). An article in the *Savannah Morning News* confirmed that the *Belvidere* was scheduled to leave Savannah for Liverpool and then sail to the East Indies and Hong Kong ("King in the Pacific," 1891).

The two variations on O'Keefe's departure from Savannah both seemed plausible. However, a letter dated June 20, 1872, from O'Keefe to Catherine, lent credence to the idea that he left Savannah under somewhat "criminal" circumstances. "You will upon receipt of this send me my Masters Certificate. You need not send it by the envelope as that would make it too heavy. . . . you must not let anyone know I left the ship outside the family" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 20, 1872). O'Keefe's desire for secrecy added support to the position that his departure from Savannah did not begin as an attempt to gain wealth but rather as a means of avoiding another stay in the Chatham County Jail.

Arriving in the Pacific

In 1871 Catherine began corresponding with O'Keefe. Contrary to Klingman and Green (1950), O'Keefe's letters to his wife document that he did not leave Savannah and then turn up shipwrecked on the island of Yap in Micronesia. In a letter to Catherine from Hong Kong dated September 20, 1871, O'Keefe referred to his stay in Liverpool, " . . . I have not heard a word from you since I left Liverpool. I left the *Belvidere* at Manila on

the 2nd of this month as the captain and me did not agree very well after leaving Augor Point . . . " (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871). In a letter O'Keefe wrote to Catherine in 1871 from Hong Kong he described his arrival in the South Pacific.

> I arrived back today after being away 11 days during which time I experienced several hairs breath escapes of losing the ship and all on board . . . my captain dying last Friday while in a fearful storm and not knowing the moment that would seal our fate as we were in a crippled condition and had been at the mercy of the seas for several days . . . our lives and the *Tepolo* was saved. I succeeded in bringing in the remains of the captain . . . (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871).

In a letter dated September 20, 1871, O'Keefe described a later stay at the Ashton House Hotel in Hong Kong.

> I am shopping at fancy toy shops with very large verandahs. Three of them gave way and fell down killing several people and wounding a great many more. I saw the pile when it fell and I was struck speechless for some time but rushed out to assist the sufferers in a few moments there were thousands of people there and the only ones that worked was the white men. The Chinese would not lift a hand to save the relatives only to strip the jewelry off of them as they were brought out from the ruins. The last one an old woman was dug out today crushed up in a frightful condition in this I recognized that the hand of a good god. It was almost

> a miracle that I had not been there for if I had none of you would have known my end . . . (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871).

O'Keefe's letters to Catherine were filled with tales of his adventures, advice on how she was to raise their daughter and promises to return home.

O'Keefe gave Catherine every indication that he intended to return to Savannah once he had increased his wealth but he never again saw his wife or daughter. "I am terribly homesick but it is a pity to leave here for home and give up the level chance that luck is in my way. I will leave for home as soon as I have a little money saved" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871). O'Keefe continued, "Heaven only knows when I will get home again. I will either go to San Francisco or Europe from here and from either of the above places home with the help of god" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871).

Those he left behind

For Catherine, O'Keefe's disappearance meant mental anguish, financial instability and social embarrassment. Fortunately, the Masters family was large and Catherine's home soon became a residence for several members of her family. Raising a child alone was not easy and Catherine depended upon her family for financial support. Catherine was not a docile woman and her temper and pride probably served her well in surviving the social stigma attached to being abandoned by her husband. A devout Catholic, Catherine spent much of her time creating linens for the church while trying to balance the role of wife and mother with her rebellious streak and Italian temper (J.

Mock, personal communication, July 14, 1992). Catherine was only a teenager when she married O'Keefe and barely twenty years old when he left Georgia.

Time passed slowly in Savannah. Its southern charm was both a blessing and a curse. Shrouded in a doctrine of social responsibility and the well-defined roles of women in the 1800s, Catherine had difficulty adjusting to her husband's decision to leave the city. In a letter dated June 11,1872, O'Keefe responded to a comment in Catherine's previous letter about her friends.

> You say your lady friend has forsaken you. I hope you do not give them cause to do so. You had ought to be aware that people are judged by the company they keep. If . . . has ever heard that you have visited at Yamacraw I am not at all surprised that they avoid your person. At my departure. I gave you all the advice I thought required. Now if you will desire and risk the gossip of your neighbors you have no one to blame but yourself (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 11, 1872).

Although O'Keefe never returned to Savannah, in his letters he continued to regard Catherine and Louisa as his family and thus the recipients of his advice and financial gains.

Letters and money arrived in Savannah approximately every six months. With his letters, O'Keefe sent checks averaging $1,000 (Dodson, 1986).[27] O'Keefe's September 20, 1871, letter stated, "Enclosed I send you a gold draft for one hundred and sixty-seven dollars and some cents and you will send it on and have it turned into greenbacks hoping it will reach you before you need it" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September

20, 1871). Another letter dated June 11, 1872, arrived with more money. "Enclosed I send you a draft on the Bank of England for 6,312 pounds equal to 339 dollars American money. You had better be careful of this as the Lord knows when I will have any more to send" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 11, 1872). Although O'Keefe was said to have written many letters to Catherine, only three were available for the researcher to examine. Some of O'Keefe's family in Savannah believed that other documents still existed from O'Keefe but were being hidden. Others believed that all but these three letters were lost when the family moved in the early 1990s (C. Butler, personal communication, November 10, 1997). Of the three remaining letters, his last letter to Catherine dated June 11, 1872 contained a check for $2,000 and promised that he was finally on his way home (Wood, 1944).

O'Keefe's financial support and adamant assertions that he was coming home once he had made enough money to establish his own business kept Catherine and her family financially solvent and enabled her to retain some semblance of pride and social status. Although love and desire to improve his quality of life may have been at the forefront of O'Keefe's dedication to his family shortly after his departure from Savannah, a sense of guilt and obligation was probably what kept checks arriving for over thirty years. The three existing letters from O'Keefe to Catherine showed that his homesickness and attachment to his wife was fading. Of the three letters that remained from O'Keefe to Catherine, the first in 1871 was signed "Your loving husband" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871). The next letter was signed, "Good bye, Yours truly" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 11, 1872). The third letter, June 20,

1872, was signed, "Yours as you deserve" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 20, 1872). O'Keefe continued in that same letter with comments such as, "All I suffer on your account is bringing me to a speedy grave. Now I remain away so as to make some money in the hope of enjoying it after a while but now what could I enjoy every time I think of that poor child I am to be mad I suppose it will be the end of me" (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, June 20, 1872). Although the researcher only had three of O'Keefe's letters to Catherine to examine, comments such as the one above were probably O'Keefe's response to complaints that Catherine made about her life in Savannah and his disappearance. Based upon the tone of the three remaining letters written by O'Keefe, he appeared to feel the need to give Catherine advice on how she should raise their child and live her life although he chose not to take an active role in the family. O'Keefe seemed to be plying Catherine with guilt. He insinuated that his absence and all that he did was for her and Louisa. O'Keefe's role as the loving and industrious husband seemed to be giving way to a sense of a self-sacrificing martyr.

Family remembrances described Catherine as always loving O'Keefe, a devout Catholic and thus having never considered a divorce.[28] Whether Catherine loved O'Keefe fifty years after he left Savannah was debatable but maintaining the role of the pining wife whose husband was seeking a better life for his family was probably what kept her going throughout the years.

Louisa was growing and had inherited her parents' streak of independence. That independence was somewhat hampered when she was three years old. While outside playing, she was hit with a stone in her right eye and permanently blinded. Upon hearing

of Louisa's accident, O'Keefe wrote to Catherine admonishing her for not seeking proper medical attention for their daughter. Whether medical attention was not available or could not be afforded, O'Keefe blamed Catherine's lack of supervision and inadequate response to the incident as the reason for Louisa's disability:

> Oh my god it will drive me mad to think the poor child is maimed for life, too bad. Oh why didn't you guard against it. You say this happened in Christmas week then how is it you did not let me know of it in the letters you wrote me in December and the 4th of the following. In both of those you said that Lulu was quite well only her teeth. Now you write and contradict yourself. This is very suspicious and it mystifies me in thinking all is not quite right. If your story is true it cannot be helped – gods will be done but if it and others are to blame for that poor child's misfortune better they were never born regardless of who they are. As soon as I will have a chance to find out the truth doubtlessly you will think I don't credit your version of the affair. I dare you haven't deceived me in this matter and those who deceive in one thing are fully competent of doing it in this I only speak on principle. If the misfortune had only happened in December you should have informed me of it in the letter you wrote me in that month or the next. Had you done so I would now be on my way home, then I was free. Now I am not. My friend Mr. Fields has bought me a vessel and now I can't give this up for some time. I cannot bring myself to believe that my poor child's not properly taken care of had she been I am sure this would not have happened. If there is any chance of securing a good eye doctor who can improve the poor child's eyes don't

fail to get him. If it should take every dollar you have but don't let her suffer any unnecessary pain (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871).

Louisa was never again photographed from the front. From that time on, all pictures showed her from the left profile.

Although O'Keefe did not return to Savannah, one letter to Catherine was said to have asked that she and Louisa join him. Catherine's family convinced her to wait until her husband was settled before moving herself and her daughter to a strange place. Catherine followed her family's advice and did not go to her husband. O'Keefe never repeated the request to join him (Bragg, 1960).

Catherine never remarried. Until her death on January 2, 1928, she lived with her daughter's family at 424 East Liberty Street (Bragg, 1960). The family remembered Catherine as a quiet woman who liked to cook. Time must have soothed her temper because the family remarked on her quiet demeanor and her dedication to her home. Although she once walked the streets of Yamacraw visiting friends, her later years were much quieter (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September 20, 1871; J. Mock, personal communication, July 14, 1992). Catherine never worked outside of the home and relied on money from O'Keefe to support herself, their daughter and many members of the Master's family.

Remembering O'Keefe

Although O'Keefe was virtually unknown in Savannah, he was not totally forgotten. With the publication of His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950), and the subsequent movie produced in 1953, the topic of O'Keefe once again gained

public attention in Savannah. On January 14, 1954, O'Keefe was recognized with a magnolia tree planted in his honor at the Sailor's Burial Ground in Laurel Grove Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia. A plaque on the tree read, "This magnolia tree planted January 13, 1954, in memory of David D. O'Keefe, master mariner, trader, and adventurer out of the port of Savannah 1867 and thereafter. One-time ruler of Yap Island, Fiji Islands. Planting sponsored by Propeller Club, Port of Savannah." In the April 30, 1963, issue of the *Savannah Morning News* an article by Frank Rossiter told of O'Keefe's great-grandson, Charles E. Butler, Jr., receiving

> a copy of "The Yapper", a mimeographed newspaper published on the island, now a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific under U.S. control. Butler received the paper from Father Jack Walsh, a Jesuit priest stationed in the Caroline Islands. The Yap community club, named O'Keefe's Oasis, built a month's program around the famed Savannah trader. Mr. Yorror, an elderly Yapese man, gave a personal account of O'Keefe, whom he knew and worked with on Yap. Yorror wore a coat given him by Capt. O'Keefe (Rossiter, 1963, p. B8).

The publication of *The Yapper* was discontinued but the magnolia tree planted in O'Keefe's honor continued to thrive.

Sailor's Burial Lot
Magnolia tree planted in O'Keefe's honor
Laurel Grove Cemetery Savannah,
Georgia

Most of the tales surrounding O'Keefe were built on the sensationalism created from the publication of the book, His Majesty O'Keefe, by Lawrence Klingman and Gerald Green (1950) and from the movie (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953) of the same title starring Burt Lancaster. Ethel Butler, widow of Louisa and Frank Butler's son, Charles Elton Butler, was the only person alive who remembered Catherine. Her memory had faded and she rarely recognized people. Ethel remembered little about O'Keefe beyond the "King" sending money and promising to return to Savannah. Time seemed to have mixed family remembrances with excerpts from the book and movie. Memories have shifted and the lines between fact and fiction were blurred by the passing of years.

One point that Ethel remembered vividly was not being allowed to talk about O'Keefe or to discuss him with Klingman and Green or the movie producers. O'Keefe's departure from Savannah was considered a betrayal and embarrassment to the family (E. Butler, personal communication, November 8, 1997). Frank Butler, Jr., Louisa and Frank's oldest child, refused to cooperate with the authors or allow O'Keefe's name to be mentioned either publicly or in private. Even though the family refused to share their knowledge about O'Keefe, they considered a lawsuit against the authors of the book because many of the passages "are not based on fact" ("King of Yap Saga," 1953). Ethel and some of her friends sneaked out of their homes and went to the Lucas Theater in Savannah, sat in the balcony and saw the movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953) for the first time (E. Butler, personal communication, December 23, 1995). The production of the movie only added to the stigma of O'Keefe's abandonment of his family.

Once *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953) was shown, it became public knowledge that O'Keefe had not only left his wife and daughter but had married two other women and started other families. If Catherine and her family knew about O'Keefe's island wives they denied it and kept it secret. The publication of His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) and the movie (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953) made this information public and more embarrassing

Because O'Keefe's departure from Savannah and the subsequent reading of his *Will* embarrassed his family, his descendants refused to talk about him. Not only did O'Keefe desert his wife and child but he also neglected to mention Catherine in his *Will*

(McAlpins, 1903). The ultimate embarrassment came when O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah discovered that he had married and had children with a woman from a South Pacific island. Research found that O'Keefe actually had two non-European, island wives. In a highly racist and segregated south, marrying a person of color was one of the worst acts that one could commit. In family remembrances, the fact that O'Keefe killed a man was not recalled as readily as the "disgrace" associated with marrying a "black island woman" (E. Butler, personal communication, December 22, 1995). As time passed, fewer family members remembered "facts" about O'Keefe. Many referred to passages in the book His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) as if this were the true story of O'Keefe.

The hesitancy to share information with Klingman and Green (1950) was not unusual in Catherine's family. There was only one known picture of O'Keefe that hung in Catherine's and then Louisa's homes. After their deaths, it was not seen again for over 50 years. A box that contained every correspondence, check receipt and gift that O'Keefe ever sent also disappeared following Louisa's death. It was believed that at least one member of O'Keefe's family in Savannah knew of the location of the box but was unwilling to share the documents. After almost one hundred years it seemed that the stigma associated with O'Keefe's disappearance was still strong. Even five years ago when Don Evans, an entrepreneur who had lived on Yap for over twenty years, visited Savannah, O'Keefe was such a sensitive subject that his descendants in Savannah refused to be interviewed by the press. O'Keefe's family liked hearing stories about "King

O'Keefe" but had little interest in learning the truth about his life. The drama of Hollywood was enough.

CHAPTER IV

O'Keefe on Yap

By 1871 O'Keefe had left Savannah (Bragg, 1960; F. Hezel, personal communication, August 2, 1996). Did he fear a second jail term or did he simply leave in order to seek wealth? Whatever the reason, O'Keefe headed toward a future in the South Pacific (Craig & King, 1994; F. Hezel, personal communication, August 3, 1996). The trade route from Savannah in the late 1800s typically extended up the East Coast toward New York, across the Atlantic Ocean to Europe and around South America to the Pacific. Most of the Pacific was unexplored and the draw of foreign trade in pearls, copra and tropical oils called to adventurous sailors of the time. O'Keefe heeded that call.

Arriving in the South Pacific

O'Keefe probably landed in many ports of call before arriving Liverpool, England and then in Manila in the Philippine Islands, in 1871. Letters from O'Keefe to his wife Catherine described a storm at sea where his vessel was tossed about and many, including the captain of the vessel, died (D. O'Keefe, personal communication, September, 20, 1871). Manila and Hong Kong became the ports from which O'Keefe conducted much of his business. Captain Keane of the American brig *I.W. Parker* saw O'Keefe in Hong Kong.

> He was boarding at the finest hotel in the city and was living in the height of elegance, having a fine driving turnout and every luxury which money could obtain. He spends a great portion of his time in Hong Kong, where he deposits his

money, and is favorably known to all residents of that city ("King in the Pacific," September 7, 1891).

At the time of O'Keefe's arrival in Manila, European interest in the Pacific was growing (Daniel, 1943; Hezel, 1983). Men with ambition and a sense of adventure found themselves in situations where daring risks produced lucrative results. O'Keefe saw the potential and took advantage of the situation. Although he insisted in his letters to Catherine that he would return to Savannah after making enough money to provide a comfortable living for his family, he saw the opportunity to create a shipping empire in the Pacific and took full advantage of the situations presented to him.

By all accounts, O'Keefe reached the island of Yap in December, 1871, when the vessel on which he was sailing, the *Beatrice,* was wrecked in a typhoon (Hezel, 1995; Hezel & Berg, 1979/1985; Mariana District Department of Education, 1971; Marksbury, 1979; Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944; Toomin & Toomin, 1963).[29] Yapese in Gilman Municipality said that O'Keefe washed ashore at Lubuw Nimgil Island after his vessel was destroyed in a storm while searching for pearls. He was said to have been nursed back to health by Fanoway and left Yap for Hong Kong aboard a German vessel *Oceania* (Hezel, 1983; Mariana District Department of Education, 1971; Müller, 1917; G. Taley, personal communication, July 6, 1999).[30]

The Yapese from Tomil Municipality said that O'Keefe was never shipwrecked on the island but was instead welcomed into their harbor (Giltaman, personal communication, June 29, 1999). O'Keefe left Yap and returned to the island in command of a Chinese junk, *Catherine*, named after his wife in Savannah. Whether O'Keefe's

initial presence on Yap was by accident or by design, by 1872 he had set up a trading station on Yap and had become a strong European influence on the island (Bragg, 1960; F. Hezel, personal communication, August 6, 1996; Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944).

Although O'Keefe was certainly not the first European to set foot on Yap, his physical appearance intrigued and provided a shocking contrast to the islanders. Where the Yapese were typically small in stature with bronze skin similar to native islanders of Hawaii, O'Keefe was a large, redheaded Irishman. Family accounts described O'Keefe as approximately 6'2" and over 200 lbs (E. Butler, personal communication, November 8, 1997). The Yapese gave O'Keefe the nickname *Rau Pumawn*, meaning "the red man" (Mariana District Department of Education, 1971). Salesius (1906) remarked that "the gift of observation is very pronounced among the people of Yap" (p. 57). This insight into human character led the Yapese to see something in O'Keefe that they recognized and understood. The fascination with O'Keefe's appearance captured Yapese attention, however, that would not have been enough to garner their admiration and acceptance. The researcher's personal experience found the Yapese gift of observation into human nature to be very astute.[31] O'Keefe embraced the Yapese culture and they in turn welcomed him.

The first European trader on Yap: Alfred Tetens

O'Keefe was not the first European to trade on Yap nor was he the first to bring stone money to the island. Those honors belonged to Captain Alfred Tetens. Tetens was born on July 1, 1835, in Wilster, Denmark. He spent his life from the age of thirteen until

his forced retirement in 1870 captaining vessels and trading throughout the South Pacific (Tetens, 1873). In 1863 Tetens met Captain Andrew Cheyenne and set up a trepang trading station on Palau (Tetens, 1873). By the time that O'Keefe had reached Yap in 1871, the Yapese had become much more accepting of Europeans and village wars had become almost nonexistent. However, when Tetens first arrived on Yap, it was a different story.

As depicted in the movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953), village warfare was common. Although the movie inaccurately placed this violence thirty years later than it actually occurred, the warfare was no less real. When Tetens arrived on Yap to ask permission to set up a trading station, only an interpreter who reassured the Yapese that Tetens was a friend of the Palauans, saved him from being killed.

> Only my assurance to the effect that you are no Englishmen, and are known by the natives of Palau as *Era Alleman* (Big German), has persuaded the king to be friendly to you. "King Karakok," began my interpreter, "is ready to allow you to remain on Yap to obtain trepang, provided you have no other purpose on the island. If in any way you lose the king's confidence, you will be killed at once." No white man has ever been allowed to remain on Yap. It is true that foreign traders have attempted to establish themselves here, but their crews have never left the island alive (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 12).

This reassurance saved Tetens from death, the fate of other European

traders who had previously entered their harbor. In his journals, Tetens vividly described the battles that often raged throughout the island.

> Often I heard the wild battle cries of the aborigines. Victory swayed back and forth between the fighter. The natives of my village always came back from their battles bearing the bodies of their slain foes. Winding the long hair of the corpses around their hands, they dragged them before my eyes. More than one vengeance seeking enemy returned to the village, put its defenders to flight, killed every living thing they could find and set fire to the huts (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 99).

With the financial support of the J. C. Godeffroy & Sons shipping company in Hamburg, Tetens had established a profitable trading business (Intoh & Leach, 1985). He was the first European trader to transport stone money from Palau to Yap. He used the stone coins to remain in good standing with the island chiefs and those who worked for him. Tetens' trading business on Yap continued until he accidentally wounded himself. His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) depicted Tetens as being shot and killed by natives.

> From the midst of the savages, a single spear hurtled through the air. Its aim was true. Like a spike driven by some huge invisible mallet, it ripped through Teten's stomach, passing through his entrails and nailing him to the great, carved door. Tetens was buried the next day by Liu and the Palau servants, whose single volley of shots had driven off the invaders (p. 232).

Tetens was not killed by the Yapese. He injured himself while standing watch on his ship. Tetens noticed that the muzzle of his gun pointed at a precarious angle.

> As a precaution I started to alter its dangerous direction and put the gun back in its original position, when it suddenly exploded with a loud report. Probably the trigger was caught among the green coconuts lying in the boat, and so discharged. The shot grazed my hand and then buried itself in my thigh. Although I felt a great explosion, an inexplicable agitation, still I could not believe that I had been wounded. I bent over, curious to see the place in the boat where the bullet, after hitting me, should have emerged. This movement caused me such intense pain that I was certain I was wounded and that the bullet was in my leg. The shot had not only shattered the bone but cut the main tendons and nerves; my leg hung lifeless from my body. . . . While six natives held me in position, the Englishman, using a not-very-sharp pocketknife, cut into my thigh on the opposite side of the gunshot wound, where I could feel the shot was embedded. Beside myself with pain, I pressed my lips together, but the agony was unbearable when the knife pressed sideways, slipped off the bullet. Three times the knife went up to the hilt in the ever-increasing wound. The last piece of lead was so embedded in the wound that no ordinary penknife could succeed. The wounded leg was stretched out as well as possible, bound up in splints of bamboo. Like a skeleton, unable to move my limb, I lay on my miserable bed. I could not even keep the insects off my burning wound (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 97).

Tetens continued writing in his journal about the trials of healing. Although he survived his wound, he was never again able to sail the seas as he had done for most of his life. Tetens left Yap before O'Keefe arrived.

> In June 1870, at the age of thirty-five, sworn in before the entire Senate of Hamburg, Tetens entered on the career that lasted until his retirement, that of supervising the extensive maritime affair of the old Hansa City. Tetens died at the age of seventy-four in Altona, Germany on March 22, 1909 (Tetens, 1888/1958, p. 103).

The trials of operating a trading business on Yap that fell on Tetens were not as intense when O'Keefe arrived on the island 30 years later.

European influence on Yap

According to Salesius (1906), copra traders were the first pioneers who carried European culture to the South Seas.

> Their cultural influence on the natives, however, was barely perceptible in proportion to their length of residence. This was probably due to the small number of traders. The occupying governments did not feel directly called upon to exert any refining, elevating influence on the customs of the natives by showing them an example of "a higher moral way of life" (Salesius, 1906 p.177).

Although Salesius' opinion can most certainly be traced back to his desire to create a "higher moral way of life," he was somewhat shortsighted in recognizing the far-reaching influence of European traders. O'Keefe was a primary example of how one person could affect a culture. The Yapese held strongly to their culture and allowed change only under their terms. The changes that O'Keefe brought to the island were accepted and encouraged by the Yapese.

European contact with the Yapese was not always positive. As in other situations where foreign contact changed indigenous cultures, the population of Yap experienced a steady decline due mostly to diseases brought by European traders (Lingenfelter, 1972). From 1900 to 1906, the population of Yap declined from 7,464 to 6, 641 due to influenza and leprosy brought by Europeans (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html).

Population Chart
Yap Island

Year	Population
1896	*12,000
1899	7,808
1915	5,700
1930	3,861
1946	4,760
1948	2,625
1950	4,784
1957	5,355
1960	5,685
1969	7,018
1973	7,870
1980	8,172
1999	*12,000

Figure 5. Population Chart: Yap Island
*denotes approximations
(Christian, 1967; LeHunte, et al., 1949; Matsumuro, 1918; Schneider, 1958; Trumbull, 1959; Turke, 1985; Volkens, 1901; Wolbrink, 1968)

O'Keefe created a trading empire

Although O'Keefe arrived on Yap with only the *Catherine* to start his trading business, he quickly expanded his holdings and acquired other vessels. Whereas the Yapese resisted the influence of previous European traders to their island, they were

ready for the changes that O'Keefe brought to their culture. Soon after his arrival on Yap, he purchased a British schooner named *Seaboard* that he used to collect copra on Ulithi and Woleai in 1876 (Hezel, 1979). Another of O'Keefe's vessels, the schooner *Lilla*, transported copra to Hong Kong and was later wrecked near Palau on July 28, 1880 (Hezel, 1979).[32] Not only did O'Keefe's business flourish so that he was able to own and operate several vessels at one time, he transported so much copra that he was required to charter other vessels including the German vessel *Hermann* (Hezel, 1979).

O'Keefe's business was so profitable that he "boasted that he had kept the Spanish Colony from starving more than once from provisions he advanced them from his own stores during the first couple of years when supply ships from Manila ran but twice a year and were often late" (Hezel, 1995, p.83). O'Keefe performed other favors for the Spanish government including allowing them to graze ponies, cattle and goats on his property (Hezel, 1995). O'Keefe's "help," however, was not always positive. The Yapese credited O'Keefe with bringing alcohol and guns to the island (Price, 1975).

The key to O'Keefe's success in establishing a trading business on Yap was that he "...adopted the general strategy of exploiting traditional needs rather than creating new ones" (Hezel, 1995, p. 265). In the past, European traders had tried to bribe the Yapese with western commodities and trinkets such as lanterns and jewelry. The Yapese were a subsistence culture whose economy was based upon the barter system (Senfft, 1907). The Yapese had no interest in working for these trinkets. It was not that they were lazy, which many Europeans believed, but that they saw no reason to collect copra when they had nothing to gain. O'Keefe recognized that the Yapese were not motivated to

work for European objects or money. He was clever enough to recognize their desire for traditional stone money. The promise of acquiring stone money significantly changed the productive habits of the Yapese and strengthened the relationship between O'Keefe and the indigenous people of Yap (Chieng, personal communication, June 29, 1999).

O'Keefe had arranged a profitable trading business. For a few beads, he convinced the Palauan chiefs to allow only his men to work in the quarry coining stone money (Beauclair, 1963).[33] In return for transporting these coins from Palau, the Yapese collected copra for O'Keefe. He then sold the copra in England for fourteen to eighteen pounds sterling per ton. A piece of stone money four feet in diameter was traded for 100 bags of copra averaging 90 pounds each at $41.35 per bag. From this transaction, O'Keefe received approximately $135 (Rabé, 1890). It was very early on when the Yapese people were exposed to the idea of buying and selling.

> You bring your trepang, your dried sea cucumber or you bring it and they dry it there and you bring your copra or coconut and then whoever was running the store would assess the value and give you the worth like a new saw or ax or whatever tools you needed or other western commodities (Bfel, personal communication, July 7, 1999).

Although O'Keefe's trading business was very profitable, he often complained that his workers were drunkards and lazy. O'Keefe paid his workers twelve cents per day and he expected his employees to work (Rabé, 1890).[34] Although O'Keefe was frustrated with the production habits of his men, he maintained a paternal role in protecting those who worked for him. On a voyage from Palau to Hong Kong in 1890, Rabé recalled that

the Yapese on board were complaining of the cold weather. In response, "O'Keefe cut out some five pairs of pajamas for them. He set Tomen to sewing them" (Rabé, 1890, p. 39).

O'Keefe had also built a store on Yap where the Yapese were able to spend their money on western commodities. Upon their arrival, business was brisk at the Canteen; "a small iron building that housed a retail store located near the fort--the seat of government, where goods were traded and alcohol was distributed" (Rabé, 1890, p. 11).[35] The store was run by a man named Johnny who was "a thief and a drunkard but is a mechanical genius and makes many model houses and curios and can make a clock or watch and even repair an engine" (Rabé, 1890, p. 11). Johnny's skill in carving led to wooden curios that eventually became associated with O'Keefe. He commissioned Johnny to carve small wooden statues or "curios" to give to his guests as they departed Yap.[36]

O'Keefe imported many western products for trade on Yap. They included clothing, canned goods, hardtack, tobacco, matches, beer, wine, mosquito nets and sweet molasses (Salesius, 1906). Although stone money was still what kept the Yapese bagging copra, they had become enticed by western goods especially rum, brandy and tobacco. When O'Keefe first arrived on Yap, he was adamant about not selling alcohol to the Yapese. Instead, he made alcohol a present that he distributed only to the island chiefs in order to gain their favor. He soon realized that other traders, including the Spanish and German governments, were selling alcohol to the natives. "Now he says, he will hold his own and sell liquor to the natives, as the Spanish government does not stop the Germans at it." (Rabé, 1890, p.5). O'Keefe sold alcohol at the Canteen for five cents a shot in order

to compete with fellow traders who used alcohol as a bartering tool. By selling alcohol, O'Keefe also reduced the number of times the Yapese broke into the store in search of the beverage (Rabé, 1890). Alcohol and tobacco became the most highly traded western commodities on the island.

At the time of Dr. Rabé's stay on Tarang, O'Keefe's shipping and trading business was at its height. A typical load of copra sold for $4,000 (Rabé, 1890). Rabé documented that O'Keefe's business was so extensive that he had 22 or 23 boats stationed on Tarang and six or eight at his other stations (Rabé, 1890). Although O'Keefe was comfortable and financially well off, his business acumen never allowed him to be complacent. During Rabé's stay on Tarang, O'Keefe was examining the possibility of purchasing a steamer that would be large enough to allow him to collect the copra himself instead of relying on others to captain his schooners (Rabé, 1890).

Competition: Captain Crayton Holcombe

Although O'Keefe's largest competitors were the powerful trading companies like J.C. Godeffroy & Son Trading Company, other colorful characters also opened trading stations on Yap and attempted to make a profit from the copra trade (Schutz-Naumann & Firth, 1984).[37] One of these was Captain Crayton Holcombe (1838-1885) and his wife Bartola Garrido (Hezel, 1995; Scarr, 1978). Holcombe tried repeatedly to establish a trading stronghold on Yap but was never successful. Holcombe abandoned his trading business on Yap in 1880 but returned two years later with the hope of rebuilding. However, that was not to be. Natives on the island of Tench in Melanesia killed him in May of 1885 (Hezel, 1975; Statement of Captain O'Keefe, 1887). Many of the Yapese

remembered hearing about Holcombe and recalled that he often went to other islands offering the natives bright cloth in exchange for pearls and other precious commodities. During one of these trading expeditions, Holcombe and several of his men took a small dingy to shore where they were met by some native islanders. Holcombe attempted to hold some red cloth out to them as a means of gaining their favor. They took the cloth, tore it into little pieces, and passed it out to all around them. When Holcombe held out more cloth, the islanders grabbed him instead of the cloth. He was stabbed to death with spears and his body carried overhead to shore. Some of the crew aboard the vessel were Yapese and the story had been passed down through the years (J. Tharngan, personal communication, July, 7, 1999).

Although O'Keefe competed against Holcombe in the trading business, he knew that Holcombe was a competent businessman. On June 2, 1880, O'Keefe created a document turning control of his affairs over to Holcombe in the event of his death (May, 1969). However, Holcombe would meet his death long before O'Keefe. Following Holcombe's death, his wife, Bartola, remained on Yap.[38]

Spanish occupation of Yap

During the late 1800s, both Spain and Germany claimed Yap as a part of their respective empires. The bitter rivalry between the two countries climaxed in August of 1885 when both German and Spanish vessels arrived in Yap and raised their flags. The matter was submitted to Pope Leo XIII. "In December of 1885 the Pope confirmed Spanish claim to sovereignty on the condition that the Germans be allowed to trade freely and establish enterprises such as fishing, plantations, coaling stations, and so forth"

(Müller, 1917, p. 6-7). Although Yap had experienced the ramifications of European traders on its shores for years, it wasn't until 1885 that Spain officially gained control of Yap (Lingenfelter, 1972).[39]

The Spanish influence on Yap was largely religious. They established a basis for Catholicism to replace traditional Yapese religion (Bird, 1994; Lingenfelter, 1972). It was said "that the Spanish ruled the island, but O'Keefe was the true ruler" (Mariana District Department of Education, 1971). In actuality, no country "ruled" Yap. Because of Yapese resistance to foreign domination, their traditional culture remained intact into the 21st century. The Yapese tolerated the presence of foreign governments but continued to rule themselves in the ways of their ancestors.

Missionaries on Yap

O'Keefe and other traders were not the only Europeans on Yap. On June 29, 1886, the steamship *Manila* arrived with Capuchin missionaries (Hezel, 1995). They built the first mission, *Santa Cristina*, with the hope of bringing Christianity to the island. "From the start, Yap was 'the child of sorrow' of the Caroline missions. The people were slow to accept the new faith and even slower to practice it" (Kulesh, 1986, p. 13). With the development of a mission came the first formal schooling on Yap. The schools emphasized reading, writing, mathematics, Spanish, music, handicrafts and Catholic doctrine (Ramarui, 1976). As with any group of missionaries, many arrived on Yap hoping to banish native religious traditions. In an effort to gain the good will and acceptance of the people, the missionaries used bribes to encourage the Yapese to come to church. To anyone who came to the mission residence, the Capuchins gave small

presents such as mirrors, cheap flutes, whistles and particularly clothes. So frequently did the missionaries give away articles of clothing that, for a time, the Yapese hesitated to visit the mission unless they were wearing western clothing (Boutilier, Hughes & Tiffany, 1978; Hezel, 1991).

The indigenous people of Yap did not take to Catholicism easily, although with O'Keefe's support, the Catholic religion eventually found a place in the culture. O'Keefe's support of the Catholic missionaries extended to material possessions as well as acting as a liaison and interpreter between the priests and the Yapese. O'Keefe provided the priests with a small boat and once bought 200 lottery tickets at twenty cents each in order to raise funds to finish the Catholic Church at South Point (Hezel, 1995; Rabé, 1890). Rabe´ documented in his journals that O'Keefe and his family always went to Mass across the bay.[40] O'Keefe was so supportive of the Catholic Church and its schools that he sent his son, Arthur, to school with the padres. Students at the mission school boarded at the church and came home on Wednesday nights and weekends (Rabé, 1890). The Spanish Capuchins stayed on Yap and continued to advocate Catholicism until the German Capuchins took over on December 18, 1905 (Beacker, 1971).

Exerting influence

One reason for O'Keefe's strong influence on Yap was the islander's lack of trust of Europeans. O'Keefe encouraged this "wishing to keep the lion's share of the Yapese trade . . . perhaps he convinced the natives to distrust all foreigners" (Coulter, 1957, p. 97). O'Keefe's influence was such that, although he was never the "king" of Yap, "every day some of the chiefs call on O'Keefe" (Rabé, 1890, p. 7). O'Keefe's power on Yap

extended itself so that he was said to have forced any native that he considered undesirable, off the island (LeHunte, et al., 1949; Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944). O'Keefe's sense of power was such that he required a cannon fired whenever one of his vessels entered Tomil Harbor and docked at Tarang. O'Keefe continued wielding his power when he refused to fly any flag on Tarang except his own- - "a white one with the letters OK in large black size. This is the only flag that O'Keefe allows to fly on Yap" (Rabé, 1890, p. 12).

Although Yap was very traditional and "non-European," O'Keefe was not completely cut off from western culture and was always looking for a profitable means of increasing his material success. According to the journals of Rabé, he and O'Keefe "wrote a letter of inquiry to the management of the New World's Fair of 1892 asking what inducements they would give him to bring a crowd of fifty or sixty natives to the fair" (Rabé, 1890, p. 3). O'Keefe was close to the Yapese and understood their way of life as no other European. However, he was not beyond profiting from their public exposure. The General Secretary of the World's Fair informed O'Keefe that his letter was forwarded to the proper committee (Rabé, 1890). Nothing became of O'Keefe's letter to the World's Fair and no record, beyond Rabé's journals, existed documenting the correspondence (V. Loscertales, personal communication, June 28, 1995). The Yapese themselves did not remember a group leaving the island for Chicago, the site of the 1892 World's Fair (A. Rupong, personal communication, June 24, 1999). Although the event happened over one hundred years ago, the Yapese culture was oral and such an event would have been remembered by those on the island.

The Irish temper that landed O'Keefe in trouble in Savannah did not diminish in Micronesia. Rabé described an instance when O'Keefe's temper showed itself.

> A group of Manila soldiers and Yapese were talking and one of the Yapese took the side of one of O'Keefe's workers saying that O'Keefe did not give the man enough in trade. O'Keefe, in passing, heard this and immediately turned on the native and struck him over the head with his silk umbrella (Rabé, 1890, p. 22).

O'Keefe was also said to have placed the cook of the *Santa Cruz* in handcuffs and "gave him a licking" for stealing (Rabé, 1890, p. 20). O'Keefe was once brought up on charges due to his temper. Holt, one of his workers, charged O'Keefe with defrauding him of one half cent per pound of copra. An article in the *Hong Kong Telegraph* ("Amos Holsen Holt vs. D. D. O'Keefe," April 17, 1885) reported further charges made by Holt against O'Keefe. Holt charged that O'Keefe once drove him from his home for speaking ill of O'Keefe's wife and then beat him with sharpened sticks. The *Hong Kong Telegraph* ("Continuation of trial," April 18, 1885) related that O'Keefe refuted Holt's charges and claimed that Holt had shot his trading partner, Winter, and then went to work for Holcombe, another trader on Yap. After all of the evidence was examined, the case was decided in favor of O'Keefe and charges against him were dismissed ("Continuation of trial," April 25, 1885).

Trading on Mapia

O'Keefe not only developed a successful trading business on Yap, but also on Mapia. When he first visited the atoll in 1878, O'Keefe found only fifteen inhabitants and an immense number of graves. The majority of the population had been killed in the

periodic raids made by warriors from Ternate and New Guinea (Wettstein, 1977). The copra station that Capelle & Co. had previously established on Mapia some time before and manned with Nauruans from Kosrae was languishing from neglect (Hezel, 1995).

There were German traders on Mapia before O'Keefe. However, after O'Keefe arrived and established a relationship with the island's inhabitants, German trading decreased and O'Keefe took over the copra trade on the island (Thorton, 1953). In 1880, O'Keefe met with the Sultan of Ternate, King Marawithi, and established a lease agreement for $50 a year. With this agreement, O'Keefe became the only trader allowed to harvest copra on Mapia. Upon the establishment of his trading station on Mapia, O'Keefe asked that the American flag be flown over the island whenever he docked. Thorton (1953) described an incident on Mapia where

> ...one day during O'Keefe's absence, Mapia was visited by the President of the Moluccus, Mr. Van de Hort. Seeing the Stars and Stripes flying above the palms, the President asked Radja Marwedi what was the meaning of hoisting an American flag in Dutch territory. Upon which the old Radja answered, "My boss, Captain O'Keefe, ordered me. This island his island, no?" (Thorton, 1953, p. 69).

This type of response was common when many referred to O'Keefe. No he was not a king, but the people on Mapia and Yap saw no reason not to follow his wishes. To them, he was in charge of his business and "his islands." It was on Mapia that O'Keefe met his first island wife, fourteen year old Charlotte Terry. Charlotte (Lottie) was the daughter of Harry Terry, an English convict who was involved in the capture of the ship *Inga* at Nauru in 1852 (Thorton, 1953). O'Keefe and Charlotte were married and created a home

on Mapia where they raised their three children: Louisa Jane (Jenny), Harry and Ellen (Nellie).

O'Keefe and Nauru

Yap and Mapia were not the only islands whose cultures were changed because of O'Keefe's presence. Following a skirmish with natives on the Solomon Islands, O'Keefe received a severe shoulder wound and sought help on Nauru, an island then known as Pleasant Island (Hinz, 1994). O'Keefe arrived on Nauru where he was greeted by the "king," an ex-seaman named Brown (Hinz, 1994). Brown described O'Keefe as being "tall, tough, and rough with two wives, two sons--John and Robert, and five daughters two of whom were named Eugenia and Lily" ("Saga of a Seaman," 1956).

It was believed that O'Keefe married Dolibu (b. 1854), the king's daughter, in Hong Kong and returned with her to Yap (Klingman & Green, 1950). The Yapese believed that Dolibu had magical powers and placed a spell on O'Keefe that made him fall in love with her (Buthung, personal communication, July 4, 1999). Although still married to Catherine in Savannah and Charlotte on Mapia, O'Keefe married Dolibu and began yet another family (F. Hezel, personal communication, August 27, 1995). According to parish records on Yap, O'Keefe and Dolibu had three children--Arthur, Joseph and Eugenia. These were only a few of O'Keefe and Dolibu's children.

Stories of Dolibu described her as being a possessive and vindictive woman who resented O'Keefe's wife Charlotte and refused to allow her name to be spoken. Rabé, recounted in his journals an incident when a Sonsoral boy working for O'Keefe died. "O'Keefe's wife refused to give a shovel to one of the men who had asked to borrow it to

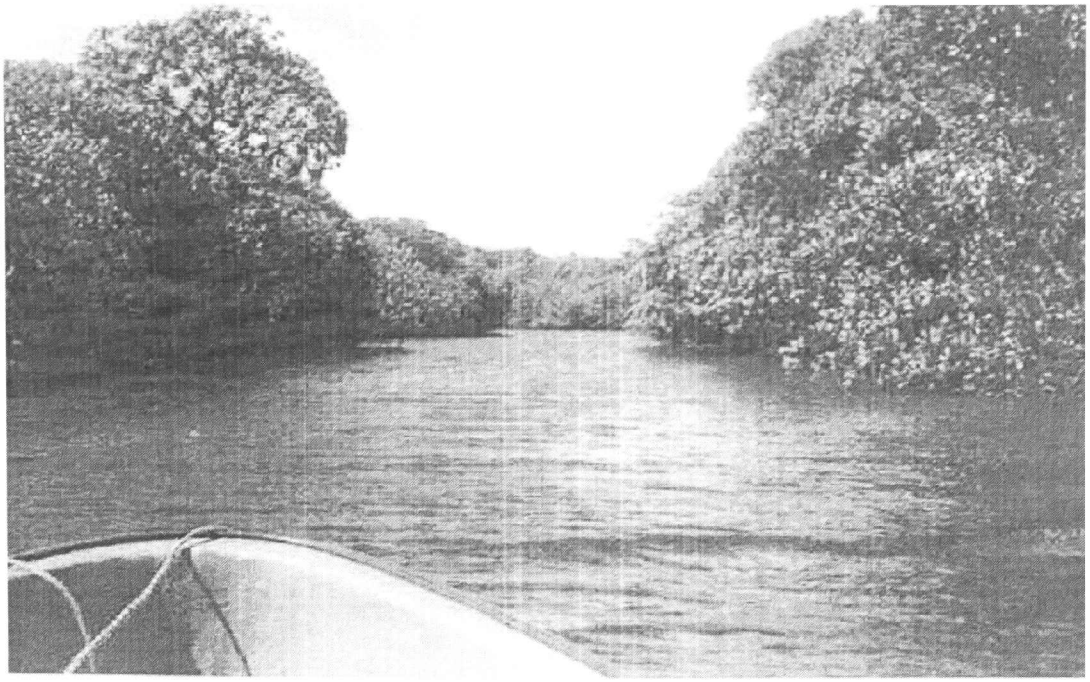
bury the boy" (Rabé, 1890, p. 6). Other stories said that Dolibu was a woman who embraced the Yapese culture and was eventually allowed to represent a Yapese family on a village council.[41] A later visit to Tarang by Christian (1967) told of Dolibu helping him learn key words in the dialects of Sonsoral, St. David and Nauru. Gaining a clear picture of Dolibu's personality proved difficult. She sometimes appeared benevolent and caring and at other times, cruel and mean.

German occupation of Yap

In 1899, following the close of the Spanish-American War, the Germans purchased the Caroline Islands from Spain for $3,300,000 and maintained control until 1914 (Furness, 1910; Lingenfelter, 1972). The change from a Spanish to a German government greatly affected O'Keefe. During the Spanish administration, O'Keefe was allowed to continue his copra trading as he saw fit due to his friendship with Spanish Governor, Don Mariane (Rabé, 1890). With the German occupation of Yap came the government's desire to control trading in Micronesia. In order to do so, the German government instituted a law mandating that the Yapese could no longer travel to Palau for any reason (Mariana District Department of Education, 1971). With this law, the government hoped to control the coining of stone money. O'Keefe circumvented this law by taking the Yapese to Guam to coin the stones. In response, the Germans mandated that, "No Yapese can go more than 200 miles from Yap. So the Yapese quarried no more stone money" (Mariana District Department of Education, 1971). With this law, the production of stone money ceased permanently.

In another attempt to gain control over trading on the island, the German government also passed a law that prohibited anyone involved in the copra trade from capturing and trading trepang and vice versa (Salesius, 1906). When these new laws were not effective in placing trading in the hands of the German government, their resentment of O'Keefe and his prosperity grew. In 1901 the German government arrested O'Keefe for disobeying their trading laws. The Yapese convinced the government to release O'Keefe but it was at this point that O'Keefe realized that his days of unlimited trading on Yap were numbered.

The German government's legacy on Yap was largely economic development and trade but they also trained the Yapese to act as soldiers in the event that the government should ever need assistance fighting (Lingenfelter, 1972). By 1903, the German government had established a small, but strong, colony. Several ex-patriots held positions such as "the resident doctor, then acting as Governor, the postmaster; the manager-an American of the Jaluit Trading Company; and four Spanish and German copra traders" (Furness, 1910, pp. 18-19).[42] The German government imposed taxes and increased the trading potential of all the islands under their jurisdiction (Lingenfelter, 1972). Adjusting to the new changes and laws came at a high price for the Yapese. When the Yapese broke a rule imposed by the German government, they were fined in stone money. Because the coins were too large to move, the German government marked the stones with the letter *X* to designate which stones belonged to the government (Lingenfelter, 1972). Some of these symbols were still visible in 1999.



German Canal on Yap, Federated States of Micronesia

Living on Tarang

Life on Tarang was busy. O'Keefe's docks were bustling with the daily operations of his shipping business. Workers on Tarang dried copra and trepang as well as loaded and unloaded O'Keefe's vessels as they docked at the island. Josephine Patrick's great-grandfather was one of O'Keefe's workers on Tarang. "He worked for six months to earn $60 so that he could buy a necklace for his mother" (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997).[43]

O'Keefe's home was always open to visitors who stayed on the island. He was known for hosting huge picnics where his visitors would "play cards and drink beer" (Rabé, 1890, p. 30). O'Keefe was not only credited with creating a huge copra trading

business on Yap and its surrounding islands, but "King O'Keefe [also] taught the natives to till and farm and they raised spices besides copra" (U. Falhu, personal communication, February 1957). With this activity, O'Keefe not only increased his wealth but he also permanently changed the lives of the Yapese. O'Keefe's farming endeavors never took hold and prospered but he did sow the seed for developing future businesses from indigenous crops.

O'Keefe and the law

Because O'Keefe was such a dominant force in Micronesia, he made many enemies among European traders who were jealous of his success. On August 7, 1883, the British warship *H. M. S. Espiegle*, captained by A.G. Bridge, arrived on Palau to settle damages for O'Keefe's shipwrecked vessel *Lilla* (Hezel, 1979). The *Espiegle* was also sent to investigate charges against traders in Micronesia. O'Keefe was the defendant in four of the five cases that the *Espiegle* was sent to study (Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994).

> While there, many of O'Keefe's competitors in the copra trade filed charges against O'Keefe for a variety of reasons with the intent of putting him out of business. Charges filed against O'Keefe by John McGuinness for which the *HMS Espeigle* was to investigate included:
>
> 1) O'Keefe had forced a native at Sonsoral to jump overboard and swim for shore while the ship was a long way out to sea.
> 2) O'Keefe had defrauded a trader for Capelle and Co. on Mapia of his copra.
> 3) O'Keefe had misrepresented the loss of the *Lilla* to British authorities in Hong Kong resulting in the dispatch of the warship to Palau.

4) O'Keefe had forced laborers from other islands to live and work on Mapia far beyond the contracted time. [While drunk, Harry Terry murdered several of the natives on Mapia.]
5) O'Keefe had kept McGuinness a virtual prisoner on Brasse for ten months, and that when he did get off on one of O'Keefe's ships, the ship was ill provisioned and the passengers almost died of thirst.
6) O'Keefe mistreated native laborers on Yap and once fired upon natives who were coming out to his ship.
7) A native was once tied up by his thumbs and beaten at O'Keefe's orders, and that many have been beaten in the past.
8) O'Keefe and other traders in the area frequently forcibly seize women and compel young girls to become their mistresses.
9) O'Keefe withheld the sums of money that were due to the heirs of Abbott upon his death ("Alleged cruelties of Holcombe," May 14, 1885).

Following an investigation, O'Keefe was cleared of all charges made against him. A statement given by A. G. Bridge aboard the *H. M. S. Espiegle* concluded,

> The decision we arrived at was that there was no proof of O'Keefe having been guilty of ill conduct towards the natives, or of his being dangerous to the peace and good order of the Western Pacific. O'Keefe's industry and energy are doing good to the natives and their island as well as to himself (LeHunte, 1843, p. 30).

The charge of O'Keefe keeping his workers beyond the contract date was found to be total fabrication. O'Keefe hired mostly Sonsoralese workers since he found them to

be more industrious workers than the Yapese. Under O'Keefe's contract with the Sonsoralese, the men worked for one or two years and in return, received travel from Sonsoral to Yap and back, and moderate wages. The native islet of Sonsoral was overpopulated and poor in foodstuff. The Sonsoralese men eagerly sought the opportunity to work for O'Keefe on Yap where they could spend their small savings on exotic valuables such as axes, scissors, hard biscuits and garments (Salesius, 1906).

Expanding the business

Around the turn of the century, O'Keefe became interested in owning his own coconut palm farm (Murphy 1993). O'Keefe contacted a Chamorro man named Ramon Borja Aguon in Guam.[44] Together, they organized a business where O'Keefe agreed to pay Ramon to clear a plot of land on Palau and plant coconut palms. In 1895, Ramon's family joined him in Palau aboard the *Santa Cruz*. The family cleared the land and awaited O'Keefe's return from Hong Kong for their pay. "O'Keefe never returned from Hong Kong. They later heard rumors that O'Keefe had died during his voyage by a bad storm at sea. That was the end of the Chamorro's dealings with O'Keefe" (Murphy, 1993, p. 53).

O'Keefe's disappearance

He survived competition with other European traders, Spanish rule and British aid only to be defeated by German occupation. O'Keefe realized that the arrival of the German government meant the end of this trading business. Conflicts arose over all aspects of O'Keefe's business from the coining of stone money to flying the German flag. O'Keefe made the error of objecting to the German district administrator's directive

to fly the German flag instead of his own black and white insignia and was threatened with arrest.

O'Keefe left Yap on May 10, 1901 (Hezel, 1995). Two days later a typhoon hit that area of the South Pacific. At the time of O'Keefe's disappearance, it was reported that he was "on his way to Japan but never got there and never got back" ("Saga of a Seaman," 1956). Copies of an itinerary from O'Keefe's secretary in Hong Kong showed that O'Keefe did not disappear when he left Yap. He and his crew arrived safely in Hong Kong. O'Keefe disappeared on his return trip to Yap (G. Hoff, personal communication, January 27, 1981).

> But even today some people on Yap say that King O'Keefe did not die in the great typhoon of 1901. The story is told that he went to a place in the Pacific to a secret island. There he made a new kingdom, and his children and grandchildren are sailing the sea to this day (Marian District Department of Education, 1971).

The only written documentation of O'Keefe's death was reported by Captain W. M. McKelvery, a surgeon in the U.S. Marine Corps, in a letter from Reverend Mitchell to Walter C. Hartridge.

> Between October, 1901 and March 1902 while he was stationed on Guam, a schooner on its way from Yap to Hong Kong docked and asked permission to bury the body of a man who they said was Captain O'Keefe of Yap. Although McKelvery was not positive about the exact date, he was "certain that he was told that the body was that of King O'Keefe of Yap. At the time of the burial of the man who was supposed to be O'Keefe, Captain McKelvery was sent aboard to

> investigate the case. Following the investigation McKelvery stated that the victim's name was Captain O'Keefe and that those aboard the vessel probably heard the victim's name from the man himself before he died." Capt. McKelvey's statement continued, "As near as I could get it, the schooner had picked up the man from a wreck, where he had nearly perished from starvation. Soon after being rescued his condition grew worse and soon passed away. The body was buried on Guam ("King of Yap Buried," June 1, 1904, p. A4).

When O'Keefe disappeared, Yap was forever changed. O'Keefe's arrival on the island opened the door for western ideas and culture. With his disappearance, came the end of an era of trading and prosperity on Yap.

CHAPTER V

Changes on Yap

Eugenia and Alfred Scott

Following O'Keefe's disappearance in 1901, his daughter, Eugenia, and her husband, Alfred Scott, oversaw his trading business. In 1907, Eugenia and Scott made a request to the United States Navy asking that a bonding warehouse be built in Piti, Guam, to facilitate their business. Although O'Keefe's business may have been large and influential on Yap, this was not so on Guam. The Navy refused their request (United States Department of the Navy, 1908). Much of O'Keefe's success in the copra trade was his personal connection with the Yapese. Without O'Keefe's presence to ensure that the Yapese collected copra and trepang, his business failed.

Alfred Scott had arrived on Yap in 1897 from Singapore to represent Great Britain and strengthen its commercial interests in the Caroline Islands (Olsen, 1960). Soon after he arrived, he married O'Keefe's oldest island daughter, Eugenia (L. Black, personal communication, December 10, 1996). Three years after Scott arrived on Yap he set up a British Consulate in Colonia and established a trading company. The consulate was not open long but the sign that once hung on the building was a highly prized possession of the Yapese family who retained it. When the Japanese took control of Yap in 1914 and began occupying the island, Eugenia gave the metal British consulate sign to Mr. Henry "Fritz" Fleming, O'Keefe's bookkeeper. During the Japanese occupation of the islands, a Japanese soldier took the sign and Fleming left for Tinian in the Mariana Islands. Fleming was never again seen on Yap. It was believed that the sign was

destroyed. Yorror, a Yapese man from Rumuu Village in Fanif Municipality, found the sign on Tarang in 1956 and took it to his home. "You see - - I have found it and it is not in pieces" (Olsen, 1960). Few individuals except the Yapese who lived in Fanif have seen the Vice-Consulate sign tucked away in the tiny Marror settlement along the banks of a stream in Rumuu village (Olsen, 1960).[47] According to Yorror, Eugenia was to reclaim the sign upon her return to Yap (Olsen, 1960). However, she never returned and the sign was still in the possession of Yorror's family in 1999. Yorror's promise to Eugenia to protect the sign was still held very strongly by the family.

Lydia Fleming Black believed that Eugenia left the island and her husband, Alfred, with a ship's captain who took her to Okinawa, Japan. Lydia was told as a child that

> Mr. Scott was heartbroken. After work he came home to his wife but found only the "Dear John Letter." While in Japan, Eugenia read about her husband Alfred's imminent death. When seeing a picture of an emaciated Alfred in the paper, she cried and "cut off her hair very short." Eugenia rushed to his bedside where she begged him to let her stay. When Alfred died, Eugenia returned to Yap where she became an alcoholic (L. Black, personal communication, December 10, 1996).

The Yapese told stories of Eugenia's excessive drinking which caused her to walk around singing and yelling at the top of her lungs "I got tuba."[48] It was during this time that Eugenia met Lubuag, a Yapese man from Guor. Lubuag was "staying at Tarang like they were married" (C. Fass, personal communication, July 6, 1999).

The last that Lydia saw of any of O'Keefe's children was what she called "the last good-bye."

> I'll never forget it. They [Daisy, Lilly and Mrs. Scott] were all at the back of the old house [on Tarang] all standing, talking and hiding from the Japanese. The house was old and there was a hole in the floor. I remember putting my head in the hole and seeing their feet at the back of the house as they talked. The mosquito coils that would sit on the floor made the hole. They would make burn spots on the floor (L. Black, personal communication, January 2, 1998).

The O'Keefe/Fleming connection

Eugenia and Alfred were said to have adopted a child, Thomas Flores Fleming. Thomas was the third son of Henry Fleming, a Chamorro man with whom Eugenia and Alfred conducted business (L. Alonso, personal communication, July 19, 1999; Ray, 1993). Two of Henry's other children, Alfred and Teresa, were Eugenia and Alfred's godchildren (Bfel, personal communication, July 7, 1999). Adoption, or the exchange of children, was very common on Yap. "To the mind of the Uap parents children are not like toothbrushes whereof everyone prefers his own; they are more or less public property as soon as they are able to run from house to house" (Furness, 1910, pp. 33-34). It was the feeling of the Yapese that they loved their children so much that they saw their own child in all children. For that reason, children were "adopted" or exchanged on a routine basis (D. Evans, personal communication, June 26, 1996; Furness, 1910). The "exchanging" of children was not a problem in Yapese culture. It only became a problem when attempting to identify the legal rights of these children under western law. This was the basis for the

ongoing legal battle to acknowledge Thomas Fleming's adoption and the attempt of his descendants to lay claim to O'Keefe's estate and the island of Tarang.[49] "Adoptions" during this period on Yap were informal and no official adoption papers existed. A child was considered "adopted" by a family when he or she went to live in another's home.

At three years old, Thomas moved to Tarang with the Scotts. Many on Yap remembered going to Tarang and "wrestling with Tommy as a young boy" (Giltaman, personal communication, June 29, 1999). When Thomas was nine years old, he was sent to school in Yokohama, Japan. He came home to Tarang at twelve years old and returned to Palau in the early 1940s to finish school (L. Alonso, personal communication, August 11, 1994). The 1940s brought the threat of war to Yap. Eugenia and Alfred visited Thomas in Palau to inform him that they were going to Mapia to visit Eugenia' sister, Lily, until the threat of Japanese domination was eliminated. According to interviews with the Fleming family, no one heard from Eugenia or her husband once they left for Mapia (Murphy, 1993).

According to an interview with Lois Charles Ellis, the descendant of one of O'Keefe's mates, Fred Ellis,

> They were all on Mapia when the Japs landed here – Mrs. Brown O'Keefe [Jenny], her two sisters Mrs. Eugenia Scott and Miss Daisy O'Keefe and Lewis and Violet Ellis, elder brother and younger sister of Fred Ellis. All were taken aboard a [Japanese] ship bound in convoy for the Netherlands Indies. The convoy first went to Manokwari and some days later departed again for Kendari and Makassar on South Celebes. In Makassar, Mrs. Brown, Eugenie and Daisy

> O'Keefe were sent to a woman's camp together with Violet Ellis. Lewis was sent to a men's camp and there they stayed until Australian Forces liberated them in 1945. An Australian plane flew all except Mrs. Brown and Daisy O'Keefe, who remained in Makassar, to Morotal in January 1946 (Thorton, 1953, p. 68).

According to the Fleming family, Thomas Fleming was the legal heir to O'Keefe's property (L. Alonso, personal communication, July 19, 1999; Murphy, 1993). It was this belief that embarked the Flemings on a quest to claim Tarang and O'Keefe's estate. The Flemings hired lawyers to claim ownership of Tarang but with no success. Although the Flemings were not successful in claiming Tarang, their pursuit of the land raised two important questions. "Was Thomas Fleming adopted by Eugenia? Did O'Keefe actually own Tarang or was he merely allowed to live there?" When assessing whether or not O'Keefe owned Tarang, one village said that the people of Dugor gave O'Keefe Tarang and Pakeal (Chieng, personal communication, June 29, 1999). Others said that no one but the Yapese were allowed to own land and that O'Keefe and his descendants were only permitted to live there (V. Figir, personal communication, June 24, 1999). Once O'Keefe's family left Tarang, ownership of Tarang reverted back to the original village.

Outright sale of land scarcely ever occurred. Instead, Yapese sometimes granted indefinite use rights to a plot of land. Title remained with the original owner (Marksbury, 1979; Wolbrink, 1968). According to an article in the *Micronesian Reporter* in 1960, "O'Keefe had proven himself a friend and leader, and his wishes were akin to law; when he chose this island for his home and business operations, the 'Pilung' or Chief of Tomil

Island had only to request the people of Dugor Village, to whom Tarang 'belonged' to give it to Captain O'Keefe" (Olsen, 1960). According to Yapese oral history, Tarang was not sold to O'Keefe, he "borrowed it" (Yap Intermediate School, 1971).

Japanese occupation of Yap

The Japanese had set up a strong government and trading business on Palau before coming to Yap (Higuchi, 1986; Peattie, 1988). Japanese officials first arrived on Yap in 1914 to investigate the murder of some Japanese sailors (Nakajima, 1984). With their arrival came even further changes for the island. The arrival of the Japanese government sought to increase colonial expansion and the number of military bases (Heine, 1974; Lingenfelter, 1972). They built a leprosarium on Pakel and set up a five-year language school that stressed Japanese language, culture and arithmetic (Bird, 1994; Schuster, 1979; Takeuchi, 1983). The Japanese also arranged "culture tours" for traditional Yapese leaders. The Yapese would go to Japan and see the cultural "advantages" of Japanese society and therefore accept the changes imposed by the government.[50]

The Japanese administration attempted to involve the island chiefs in the running of the government. Their positions, however, were never in true leadership roles. The Yapese were assigned positions such as policemen--not government leaders. In an attempt to rid the islanders of "primitive pagan ways," the Japanese banned the practice of traditional religious rites and suppressed most native customs (Bird, 1994). The Japanese destroyed traditional government structures, council meeting places and political alliances (Bird, 1994). The Japanese retained control of Yap until 1945 when it

became part of the United States administered Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (Lingenfelter, 1972). Although the Japanese government attempted many changes while on Yap, their programs were relatively ineffective in changing Yapese culture (Lingenfelter, 1972).

Japanese Zero on Yap in 1999

Japanese gun placement on Yap in 1999

American occupation of Yap

The year 1944 was when ". . . the Yapese lived like crabs. We lived in caves without fresh air, food, and water, because the planes bombed this island all the time. Today when you walk on the shore you will see many holes created by the American bombs" (Yap Intermediate School, 1971, p.4).[51] Because of Yap's ideal location in regard to Japan, the island became strategically valuable to the United States military. In February of 1944, the Allies began a series of bombing raids known as Operation Hailstone (Office of the Governor, 1996; "Uncle Sam wants isle of Yap," 1939). With Yap as a component of this and other military offensives on the Japanese Navy, the island became a valuable component in the Allied strategy to win the war in the Pacific (Ogan & Kiste, 1987).

> Acquisition of Micronesia by the United States does not represent an attempt at colonization or exploitation. Instead, it is merely the acquisition by the United States of the necessary bases for the defense of the security of the Pacific for the future world. To serve such a purpose they must give the United States absolute power to rule and fortify them. They are not colonies; they are outposts (Knudsen, 1985, p. 7)

Although the above quote by Knudsen (1985) supported the belief of the Yapese that the American government came to Yap as a benevolent entity with only the most positive goals in mind, the researcher had to question the "benevolence" of the American presence on the island. Although the Americans were more subtle than the Germans and Japanese in their domination of the Yapese, it appeared to the researcher that Americans

were on the island for their benefit and not for that of the islanders. Although the Yapese were quick to correct the researcher when this topic was brought up, it still appeared that the American occupation of Yap was engineered in order to gain strategic power over the Japanese Navy. The American government gained Yapese cooperation by convincing the islanders that they were there for the benefit and protection of those on the island. Just because Knudsen (1985) called the American presence on Yap as one of benevolence did not necessarily make it so. Comments such as those made above by Knudsen (1985) were as much a propaganda tool for convincing others of the "good" being done on Yap as it was a means of validating in writing the American occupation of the island.

On September 23, 1944, the U.S. Reserve Force of the III Amphibious Corps (Seabees) landed on Ulithi, a former Japanese stronghold, and began construction of an airstrip (Bird, 1994). With their arrival, the United States took control of Yap and the Caroline Islands from September, 1945, until June, 1951.

In 1947 the United Nations awarded the United States trusteeship over the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana Islands. This territory became officially known as The United States Trust Territory of the Pacific and was administered by the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C. With this arrangement, the United States retained the right to install military facilities on the islands in exchange for financial backing and military protection (Hezel, 1978).

The Yapese were accustomed to a foreign presence on their island and had grown used to adapting to foreign regimes. The Yapese had learned how to function around new rules and still maintain their traditional way of life. Although the Yapese eventually

accepted American presence on the island, they were not fond of foreign governments attempting to rule their lives. This was demonstrated quite clearly in a letter dated January 24, 1948, from the American Deputy High Commissioner in which he pointed out that the Yapese "would probably consider that foregoing medical treatment was not too high a price to pay to get rid of this latest, though less objectionable, group of foreign overlords" (Bird, 1994, p. 31). The American government was more successful than previous governing bodies in gaining acceptance by the Yapese because they utilized a technique for gaining favor similar to what O'Keefe had used eighty years before. The American government did not try to destroy traditional customs and forms of Yapese government (Bird, 1994). Unlike the Japanese who sought to eliminate indigenous cultural practices, the United States military relied heavily on the traditional political leadership of Yap. No military courts were ever established on the occupied islands and any infractions of the law, whether committed by the natives or military government, were handled by the traditional laws and courts which were presided over by the Yapese (Bird, 1994).

Unlike the forced labor under the Japanese administration, the United States Navy requested volunteers to assist with road construction, repairs and the building of water catchments (Lingenfelter, 1972). The Navy's request for assistance was met with cooperation rather than with belligerence. One of the few things the Yapese asked of the United States military was to rebuild the roads and some 18 buildings that were destroyed by American bombing. With the financial assistance of the United States government, the island was returned to its pre-war condition.

As had all previous occupying governments, the Americans saw the need to make some changes in the Yapese culture in order to help "modernize" the island. As with changes initiated by other government administrations, most American initiatives also met with little success. One area of attempted social change was to stop the custom of separate eating.[52] The Naval administration hoped that this custom would change if the chiefs were given enough mess kits for everyone in their family. This exercise proved fruitless. The Navy was also unsuccessful in establishing small farms and mining (Lingenfelter, 1972). Making changes in the economy, although maybe not the best idea in terms of far-reaching affects, was understandable. However, the attempt to change traditional customs such as men and women eating separately failed because of the strong caste system on the island. Even in the 1990s, rules existed that governed the behavior of each caste and gender. Those rules were ingrained and not going to change regardless of the presence of new ideas.

One of the major changes that the American government brought to the island was the transportation of over 400 Chamorros from Yap to Tinian by the United States Navy in 1947 (Hezel, 1989). The Germans and Japanese administrations had brought Chamorro workers to Yap to fill key government positions when the Yapese refused to do so (Trumbull, 1959). The Yapese saw many of the Chamorros as "footlicking stooges of the Japanese . . . thieves and crooks . . . gang bosses" (Bird, 1994, p. 32). A hostile relationship existed between the Yapese and the Chamorros (Barratt, 1988).[53] The Chamorros considered themselves above the native Yapese and the Yapese considered the Chamorros a lower class of citizen. This animosity was evident when all of the

records concerning Chamorro property and businesses on Yap were destroyed following the Navy's removal of the Chamorros. "It is a belief that these records were destroyed by the Yapese" (Trumbull, 1959, p. 189).

Whereas German and Japanese occupations were not readily received by the Yapese, they did (although somewhat reluctantly) accept American occupation (Gibson, 1959). The American administration and the Yapese worked together on mutual problems. "There is no domination" (Trumbull, 1959, p. 193). This did not mean that the Yapese absorbed all of the rules, customs and beliefs of the American government, but they did work together so as to allow Yap to move into the 20th century while still maintaining their traditional culture. Trumbull (1959) recounted a conversation with a public works director in the United States government in which it was pointed out that the villagers made no objection when the government wanted to put down a water line through Yapese property. "The Yapese had no objection to the use of their property for the pipeline nor did they ask payment for the trees that were destroyed. All the Yapese asked was that their burial grounds be left alone" (Trumbull, 1959, p. 177). During a water shortage immediately following American occupation of the island, the Yapese allowed the United States government to bulldoze a road through private property to a fresh water source in a swamp (Trumbull, 1959). This type of cooperation was indicative of future interactions between the Yapese and the United States.

The Yapese were not a violent people although their history was peppered with village warfare. War on Yap was designed to validate the caste system and strengthen one village's power over another. For this reason, the Yapese did not rebel against

foreign occupation of their island even when the Japanese and Germans threatened the destruction of stone money. Although many people considered the Yapese lazy, they worked willingly for something they believed to be important. An American military representative remarked to Trumbull (1959) that the Yapese were ready and willing to do things for themselves rather than have things done for them by the government. They simply insisted that change be sensible. "They won't just let us cram change down their throats" (Trumbull, 1959, p. 178). In order to create a government that was self-sufficient, the need to bring about changes on Yap was important to the United States government. Handled correctly, the need for progress and change also became important to the Yapese. Cooperation between the United States and the island chiefs guided the island into the new millennium.

O'Keefe's legacy on Yap

Although O'Keefe disappeared in 1901, his presence on Yap was felt well into the 20th century. With German occupation of the island came the resentment of a foreign government. Not only had the German government prohibited the coining of stone money; it attacked the one European that the islanders trusted -- O'Keefe. The relationship between the Yapese and German government remained one of animosity.

With the arrival of the Japanese and WWII, the Yapese found a new concern – their safety. They suddenly had to deal with another occupying government and the constant threat from bombing. As a coping mechanism, the Yapese reverted back to their traditional customs, avoided the Japanese as much as possible, and tolerated yet another threat to their way of life. Both the German and the Japanese governments had

confronted the Yapese with changes that the islanders did not want including forced labor and the destruction of stone money. However, it was during the Japanese occupation of the island that O'Keefe most faded from the minds of the Yapese. Time had passed since his disappearance, his family had left the island, and it was during this time that the Yapese began to worry about their own survival.

With the American occupation of Yap came a renewed sense of trust with westerners. Although questionable by the researcher's standards, the Yapese people believed that the Americans did not arrive on the island with the intent to dominate and rule. The American government approached the Yapese much as O'Keefe had done and respected traditional Yapese customs. Because O'Keefe had paved the way for a respectful and trusting relationship with westerners, the Yapese accepted the American government's offer to help rebuild parts of the island that had been destroyed by United States bombs and to help create a democracy that allowed the Yapese to govern themselves. With this arrangement, the American government was in a strong military position in the Pacific and the Yapese were given the assistance and support needed to establish their own government instead of being ruled by others. This give-and-take relationship mirrored the arrangement that O'Keefe had with the Yapese over 50 years earlier.

Was O'Keefe's arrival on Yap a good thing? The answer to that question varies. The older Yapese saw O'Keefe as a benevolent man who made their lives easier by transporting stone money from Palau to Yap aboard his ships. The researcher developed a different perspective on O'Keefe's presence on the island. It was determined that the

Yapese considered O'Keefe the primary means through which alcohol, guns and other western ideas arrived on the island. As these new goods and materials were brought to Yap, traditional customs and beliefs changed. Alcohol was seen as a good thing without any consideration given to the consequences of introducing such a beverage to a culture. This type of change was never good.

When the researcher examined the Yapese culture in the 1990s, O'Keefe's presence was felt only by the older people or the people who worked at the businesses that used O'Keefe's name as a draw for tourism, i.e., O'Keefe's Kanteen, Trader's Landing and Trader's Ridge Resort. The young people on Yap had no idea that the beer and candy that they took for granted was first accepted in their culture because of O'Keefe. Although the affects of his presence on Yap were readily apparent to the researcher, O'Keefe had become a historical figure that few young people remembered except as a footnote in school.

CHAPTER VI

Changes in Savannah

O'Keefe's disappearance changed not only life on Yap but also in Savannah, at least for his immediate family and descendants. Without O'Keefe's presence, the social stigma involved in his desertion plus the lack of regular financial support created hard times for Catherine and her daughter. Then in the winter of 1901, Catherine received a letter from O'Keefe's secretary, Joseph Michaels, informing her of O'Keefe's disappearance (Karolle, 1976: "King O'Keefe Dead," 1901; "King O'Keefe Thought to be Lost," 1901). Catherine and her family hired lawyer Walter Hartridge from the firm of O'Byrne, Hartridge, Wright and Brennan to seek compensation for the family from O'Keefe's estate ("After the King of Yap's Estate, 1903; "Fortune Left to St. Augustine Woman," 1903; "O'Byrne, Hartridge, & Wright" 1908; "Queen Kate of St. Augustine," 1903; "To Secure Half of King's Estate," 1904). It was estimated that O'Keefe's estate was worth a million dollars at the time of his death in 1901 (Wood, 1944). In 1903, O'Keefe's estate was "worth fully $1,000,000. There is a trading business valued at $800,000 and holding of other kinds make up the other $200,000" ("Fortune of King of Yap," 1903). O'Keefe's *Will* was a complex document with several codicils (Deacon, 1903). According to Wood (1944), O'Keefe listed as his heirs "Louisa, Queen Dolabo, and seven half-caste princes and princesses. To Dolabo he left Tarang and an annuity for herself and offspring" (Wood, 1944). He directed that ". . . my said island of Tarang shall not be sold during the life time of my said wife" (Wood, 1944, p. 52).

After O'Keefe's death, there was confusion as to who were the heirs to his fortune. According to his *Will* dated February 20, 1890, O'Keefe left his estate to his second wife Charlotte, whom he had married without benefit of prior divorce, and his children Louisa Veronica O'Keefe, Henry O'Keefe, Arthur O'Keefe, Ellen O'Keefe, Eugenia O'Keefe and David Dean O'Keefe (Gillilland, 1975; Deacon, 1903; "Will of the King of Yap," 1903). A codicil dated July 27, 1895, corrected this error and said that he really meant Dolibu and not Lottie (Deacon, 1903). May (1969) believed that this codicil was Dolibu's idea. According to Walter Hartridge, "You will notice that in the *Will*, provision is for his wife Charlotte O'Keefe. In the codicil this is said to mean Dolibu. Personally I don't believe it meant anything of the kind. In my opinion, it was intended for Lottie and Dolibu made O'Keefe put in the codicil" ("Hartridge Landed Safely on Yap," June 9, 1903). O'Keefe's July 27, 1895, codicil stated, "...my wife Dollybo is therein erroneously called Charlotte O'Keefe..." (Deacon, 1903). By following the mandates of O'Keefe's *Will*, Dolibu and his children were the only beneficiaries to O'Keefe's trading business and estate. Catherine, O'Keefe's wife in Savannah, was never mentioned. However, it was decided that the laws of the country occupying Yap at the time of O'Keefe's disappearance would be followed. Thus, German law mandated that in order to disinherit a widow, the husband must state the cause in his *Will*. O'Keefe neglected to mention Catherine so German law overrode the dictates of the *Will* and gave Catherine a claim to O'Keefe's estate.

Hartridge and O'Keefe's estate

In 1903, Walter Hartridge made the first of two trips to Yap on behalf of Catherine and her family ("Goes for the Kingdom," 1903; Karolle, 1976; "Mr. Hartridge Will Reach Germany Soon," 1904; "On Foreign Soil," 1903; "Walter C. Hartridge has Cabled from Paris," 1904). With the help of Senator Bacon, the Secretary of the Navy and Admiral "Fighting Bob" Evans, Commander U.S. Asiatic Squadron, Hartridge arrived on Yap on April 15, 1903, aboard the Navy collier *Justin* and appeared before the German courts in Hamburg ("Claim King O'Keefe Estate," 1903; "Fortune of King," 1903; "His Observations in the East," 1903; Karolle, 1976). Hartridge took with him two oil paintings to help prove the relationship between Catherine and O'Keefe. One painting was of O'Keefe and the other a landscape by a Chinese artist both inscribed "to Catherine from David." Catherine was told that the paintings were destroyed on the return trip from Yap.[54]

Hartridge's second trip in 1904 was another attempt to seek compensation on behalf of Catherine (Dodson, 1986). "Mr. Hartridge says that at least $500,000 will come to Savannah, and maybe a good deal more" ("King's Gold There," 1903). As time passed, Hartridge assessed the estate at a much lower value. Although O'Keefe's estate had been appraised, no final settlement was made until May,1904, when the "king" had been legally dead for three years.[55]

> Mr. Hartridge found everything on Tarang almost as it had been reported to him by letter. A United States warship took him from Hong Kong, but when he got to Yap he found the subjects mourning a dead monarch. O'Keefe ruled with a firm

hand and had a standing army of ten naked savages, commanded by a man fully clothed with a uniform and authority to see that his bidding was done. He never had any trouble. There was never a revolt among his people. They idolized their "king" and he treated those who lived upon his island with much kindness. Mr. Hartridge failed to see the queen of Yap.

O'Keefe after he had been on the island for a time, took unto himself a wife. He did not forget his wife in Savannah, but he was so far away from his old home that he appeared not to think it was any great wrong to take unto himself another spouse, by whom he had four daughters and three sons. Two of his sons went down with their father on the trip from Hong Kong, in May, two years ago. The remaining son is on the island of St. David's but is not regarded as of much account. The "queen" is known as "Dollyboy." She was not at home when Mr. Hartridge was on the island, for she had some trouble with the German Government, which exercises a protectorate over the groups in which her own little island was situated, and she had been compelled to withdraw temporarily from public view

Affairs had not advanced well in O'Keefe's island family after he disappeared. One of his daughters took to the woods with a lover whom she chose from among the common people, and went back to the primitive methods of her ancestors. There is another daughter who secured an education in a convent at Hong Kong. She appeared to know more about her father's affairs than any of the other children and to care more for his memory. There are, besides, two girls not

yet grown who are on the island of Tarang. The "king" did not forget his civilized ways, living as he did in the faraway island where he had isolated himself from civilization. He had a well-stocked library, which is still in his fine home. When he wanted to think of home, and it seems he always called America home, he would seclude himself in his den and read or write. He used to write to his American wife twice a year. His remittances for her support were prompt and generous.

Mr. Hartridge was not able fully to verify the story about O'Keefe having been thrown up on the island with some wreckage from a vessel in which he had shipped. It is more probable that he went to the little group of islands with the express purpose of winning his way. He knew the nature of the natives and felt that he could secure a foothold on some of the smaller islands and make his fortune. With Yap Mr. Hartridge seems to have been favorably impressed. He says there are but about a dozen white people on the island. When he reached the island, he spent some time with a Spanish family. He secured pictures of the O'Keefe family, but did not send any of them to Savannah ("Isle of Yap a Place of Interest," 1903).

Although Hartridge described O'Keefe as "generous," it was somewhat debatable if that was true considering that O'Keefe supposedly operated a business worth billions. However, according to O'Keefe's family in Savannah, his checks were considered generous and allowed his wife, child, and their extended family to live quite comfortably compared to those around them. With Hartridge's assistance, Catherine received the title

to some of her husband's properties on Yap. The land was then leased to the Hamburg Trading Company for $10,000 a year. Catherine received payments from O'Keefe's estate regularly until 1915 and then periodically until the last check for $3,000 was received in 1936 ("Isle of Yap a Place of Interest," 1903). Depending heavily on Hartridge and the Hibernian Bank, Catherine lived off the checks from O'Keefe's estate until the war put an end to the payments.[56]

O'Keefe's legacy in Savannah

O'Keefe was but one man among many whom made his career in the shipping industry. He left no mark on Savannah when he disappeared in 1870. Catherine grieved over his departure but no one else noticed that he had gone. While O'Keefe was sending money and promises to come home, he was considered by his family as a man trying to improve his status in life. When it became apparent that O'Keefe was not returning to Savannah, he became almost non-existent in the lives of those he left behind. Although he supported Catherine financially, he never had any contact with his daughter or other members of the family. Louisa was an infant when O'Keefe left Savannah and thus had no memories of him to pass on to her children. After the reading of O'Keefe's *Will*, it became known that O'Keefe had at least one wife and several children on Yap. This was the ultimate embarrassment for O'Keefe's family in Savannah. Now O'Keefe was not only fading from memory because of his absence but because the mention of his name became taboo. As time passed, the older generation who knew O'Keefe and recalled interactions with him gave way to a younger generation that was not allowed to discuss him and that had no recollection of the man himself. Memories faded and suddenly all

that anyone knew about O'Keefe was what was written in "the book" -- His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950).

Decades passed and all that O'Keefe's family in Savannah remembered, or chose to remember, was that O'Keefe sent money to Catherine and that he was the "King of Yap." Stories were passed down from generation to generation about the romance and adventure of O'Keefe's life as a wealthy "king" who wore a crown. Accidentally or intentionally, the rest of what was known about O'Keefe's life was left out. No one talked about the fact that he left his wife and child and chose not to return. His descendants in Savannah preferred to hold on to the myth that he was earning money for his family and couldn't wait to come home. O'Keefe could have returned to Savannah had he wished to.

After months of active pleading, the researcher was able to persuade some family members to talk about O'Keefe. Still, the story first told was about O'Keefe's wealth and royal title. The only known photograph of O'Keefe was hidden for years until the researcher was allowed to see it. Once it became obvious that the researcher's quest for information about O'Keefe was not the normal passing fancy, no longer was the infamous box of letters from O'Keefe to be found. They were either destroyed or kept hidden from the researcher. Through this project, the researcher arrived at the conclusion that O'Keefe's family in Savannah was much more interested in the myth of O'Keefe than the reality.

Did this research project change O'Keefe's image in the eyes of his descendants in Savannah? Did family members become more open to discussing O'Keefe? The

answer to both questions was, no. O'Keefe's descendants were excited to think that they "owned" Tarang and could live on the island if they chose. The family enjoyed looking at the photographs of Yap. However, all of the interest was superficial. They seemed to only want exciting stories that they could tell at parties and not face the fact that O'Keefe deserted his family. Even after they were informed about some of the data uncovered during this project that presented a more realistic picture of O'Keefe, they still told the same stories over and over again about being related to a "king." O'Keefe's family in Savannah chose to hold on to only a selective piece of history. They wanted to keep the myth that O'Keefe was a larger than life adventurer who conquered an island, became a king, and created a shipping empire. O'Keefe's family in Savannah did what James Loewen (1995) called heroification, "a degenerative process (much like calcification) that makes people into heroes" (p. 9). Along with Hollywood, they have taken a man and made him larger than life. O'Keefe was a primary example of one of the goals of the Curriculum Studies Program, to weed through the myth in order to arrive at reality.

CHAPTER VII

Yap in the 21st Century

Yap moved into the new century but it did so on its own terms. In 1999, Yap was still a very traditional culture. "The visible or material culture is largely unaltered, as manifested by the costumes of both sexes, the stone money, the stone platforms, pavements, quays and fish traps, and the dwellings and men's club houses and the taboo places" (Gifford & Gifford, 1959, p. 149). The caste system was so strong on Yap that marriage outside of a caste was discouraged (Henning, 1961; Senfft, 1962). Women wore grass skirts and went topless while men wore the traditional *thu* (Coulter, 1957; Trumbull, 1977). Men and women alike carried hand woven baskets for their betelnut and lime (Nevin, 1977). Dancing provided a means of expressing stories and emotions (Walleser, 1971). The wearing of western clothing or ornamentation was strictly forbidden by outer islanders and disregarding this rule led to ostracism and punishment.[57] In 1999, stone money was still the most valuable possession of the Yapese.

Young children were as comfortable climbing a palm and cutting open a coconut as any adult. Children were allowed to roam free without constraints (Rody, 1978).

> They cannot without extraordinary exertion fall off the island, and, like guinea-pigs, they can find food almost anywhere; their clothing grows by every roadside, and any shelter, or no shelter, is good enough for the night. They cannot starve, there are no wild beasts or snakes to harm them, and should they tear their clothes, nature mends them, leaving only a scar to show the patch (Furness, 1910, pp. 34-35).

Although the Catholic Church dominated the religious practices of the island,

> ...many Yapese believe that the spirits of their dead ancestors live in their houses. When one of the Yapese needs something, such as rain, he will pray to the spirit of his dead ancestors to help him get it. He asks the spirit of his dead ancestors to ask the rain god to bring rain. The eel stands for the rain god. Then he will also go and pray to the eel. He gives the eel an offering, such as reng or betel leaves to make the eel happy so that he will grant the prayer (Yap Intermediate School, 1971, p. 103). Spirits existed in almost every object on the island, i.e., breadfruit trees and mountains (Haynes & Wuerch, 1998).

The Yapese culture as a whole remained a subsistence culture in 1999. The majority of the people lived off the land. However, the encroachment of the western culture brought changes to the island. The United States maintained a Coast Guard station on Yap (Brower, 1983). The most recent census indicated that 482 out of 901 males between the ages of 20 and 65 held regular wage jobs. Of the remaining 419 men, 122 worked part-time as storekeepers, handicraft workers, stevedores or grew products for the farmer's market. Only 297 men followed traditional subsistence patterns of life (Lingenfelter, 1972).

"The Yapese consider themselves the elite of Micronesia, partly because they have been slower than others to adopt western ways" (Trumbull, 1959, p. 178). Western culture was encroaching on Yapese culture even with their dedication to preserving traditional customs. In 1956, an island-wide referendum approved the importing of beer. A quota of 500 cases a month was set, then raised to 1,000 cases. In 1968, $138,000 was

spent to import alcoholic beverages (Lingenfelter, 1972). Little did anyone foresee that the introduction of liquor to the island by O'Keefe would lead to such a high level of alcohol consumption one hundred years later. In 1962, there were only three private motorbikes and no private automobiles on Yap. In 1968 when there were only 26 miles of unpaved road on the entire island, 160 Yapese owned motorbikes and 73 owned automobiles or trucks (Lingenfelter, 1972). In 1999, many roads were paved and at least half of the Yapese owned or had a family member who owned a vehicle (D. Evans, personal communication, August 7, 1999).

Prior to the arrival of the Peace Corps in 1966, the general policy of the military and civilian governments from 1946 to 1956 was to act in an advisory position and leave the Yapese alone to maintain their traditional culture. The Peace Corps assisted in education, public health and economic development (Lingenfelter, 1972). The initial Peace Corps volunteers numbered between 65 and 70. As the Yapese became more self-sufficient, that number was reduced. In 1999, there were less than 30 Peace Corps volunteers on the islands (D. Evans, personal communication, August 7, 1999). The Yapese were successful in creating the foundation for their own government and for adjusting to the intrusion of western goods and ideas.

Federated States of Micronesia

"Yap was not forced through coercion to change. Change has been brought about by the massive input of cash from the United States" (Price, 1975, p.6). Where Yap was once a Trust Territory of the United States, at the turn of the millennium it entered an age

of independence. In May 1979, Yap, Kosrae, Pohnpei and Chuuk created their own constitution and became the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).

> During U. S. President Ronald Reagan's administration in the 1980s, the Trust Territory was dissolved and a new political force took center stage. The Compact of Free Association-a perpetual political and 15-year economic relationship between the newly created Federated States of Micronesia (as well as the Republic of Palau of the Marshall Islands) and the United States-created a seat at the United Nations (Office of the Governor, 1996, p. 17).

The FSM approved the Compact of Free Association with the United States. This agreement gave the Federated States of Micronesia internal sovereignty over their own affairs but allowed the United States to retain some defense rights. Under this compact, Yap received $14 million a year until 2001 to develop the necessary infrastructure and economy that would provide the basis for independence from the United States (Federated States of Micronesia Office of Planning and Statistics: United Nations Development Program, 1992). The government attempted to supplement its current production of copra, fishing, betelnut and handicrafts with timber, phosphate, citrus fruit, spices, tobacco, sugar, cut flowers, coconut candy and coconut oil (Yacoe, 1983). Although these endeavors proved successful, they were still in the infancy stage in 1999.

On October 1, 1982, the Compact of Free Association with the United States was signed and entered into force on November 3, 1986 (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html). Under this compact, the United States agreed to defend the FSM and provide financial assistance to the islands (http://fsmgov.org/info/econ.html). This compact provided

approximately 4.5 billion dollars in foreign aid to Yap. Most of this aid came from the United States and was designed to strengthen and diversify Yap's economic base, provide for the basic human needs of all people, develop economic self-sufficiency in food production, provide socio-cultural values for people according to the tradition of Yapese society and to create a government of a size and structure that could be locally sustained (Yacoe, 1983).

To coincide with the Compact of Free Association, the Yapese also entered into a Deny Rights Treaty with the United States. This treaty was designed to prevent other countries from constructing military bases in Micronesia. Whereas the Compact of Free Association was designed to last for only 15 years, the Deny Rights Treaty was created for an indefinite period of time (Hezel, 1994).

The Free Compact period was organized into three phases that allowed the Yapese to create a self-sufficient culture while maintaining the financial support of the United States. During the first five years of the compact (1986-1991), the Yapese worked to establish an infrastructure that would support their economy. They were somewhat successful. A thriving democratic government was established. Phase two (1991-1996) was dedicated to economic development. Phase two was only partially successful. Phase three (1996-2001) was designed to develop economic sustainability so that the Yapese would be able to reap the rewards of their investments. Phase three was believed to be unobtainable due to the given timeline. Since it was believed that the Yapese could not reach economic independence by the year 2001, Yap and the United States were given the option to renegotiate the contract (Hezel, 1994).

Although the Yapese constructed roads, created a thriving democracy, and installed running water and electricity in most places, the island was unable to establish a self-sufficient economy. Without the continued support of the United States, the traditional Yapese society of 100 years ago would reemerge and the people would once again become solely dependent upon the land and sea for survival. In order to facilitate economic self-sufficiency, the Yapese government worked to increase tourism and island fisheries. With some hesitancy, the Yapese government also looked for other sources of money including grants from Australia, China and Japan. A concern of the Yapese was not to trade one type of dependence for another (Kernbeger, March 1992). The Micronesian Maritime and Fisheries Academy was developed to provide training in maritime and fisheries technology for both high school and college level students (http://fsmgov.org/info/culture.html). Yap was also a major shareholder in the Yap Fishing Corporation and planned to invest over $20 million in a fishing fleet in an attempt to become more economically stable (http://www.fsmgov.org/info/natres.html).

With the assistance of the Pacific Business Center, the Yapese were also investigating the export of noni, a plant grown on the island and used as a multi-purpose healing herb. The herb was said to be "effective in lowering blood pressure, increasing body energy, and alleviating pain. One estimate claims there are a million noni users in the U.S. alone, and this figure is expected to increase rapidly over the next few years" ("Noni Market," Fall, 2000, pp. 2, 6). The Yapese were working to reduce production costs so that exportation of noni would be more profitable.

In an effort to increase exports, the Yapese were also working with the Agro-Industrial Cooperative to lower the cost of pig feed and therefore increase the profitability of island piggeries. They were examining ways to utilize locally grown plants such as copra to augment imported pig food ("Growing Local Plants," 2000, p. 3). Other projects underway included the development of a betelnut plantation and the selling of a stand of 50 year old Honduran mahogany planted soon after World War II ("Developing Betelnut," 1999; "Finding a Buyer for Yap Mahogany," 1999). The Small Business Center was opened in Colonia, Yap, to help with the development of local businesses ("Business Incubator," 1977; "Festivities Mark Opening," 1997). With all of these projects underway, the Yapese were on the path to economic self-sufficiency. However, many Yapese believed that they would never reach the point where financial backing from the United States was not needed (Manguon, personal communication, June 30, 1999).

Tourism became a growing business on Yap in the 1990s. Surrounded by a coral reef, the island was used as a cleaning ground by manta rays and was one of the few places where manta rays were seen daily (http://www.fm/yap.htm, April 18, 2001; "Welcome to Yap District: Island of Stone Money, 1974). With this underwater display came the island's reputation as a spectacular diving site. New tourist activities were developed such as village tours, bicycling, kayaking and deep-sea fishing ("Eco-tourism," 1996-1997; "Pathways Hotel," 1998). In 1985 there were 1,132 tourists and in 1990, 3,060 people visited the island (Mansperger, 1992). Americans were the most common tourists

with the Japanese second and the Germans and Australians tied for third (Mansperger, 1992).

O'Keefe, Yap and the future

On Yap, was O'Keefe remembered as a myth or as a real man? That depended upon whose perspective was examined. According to the Yapese, collecting copra was a fair trade for transporting stone money from Palau to Yap. The Yapese saw O'Keefe as a man who made their lives easier and who brought goods to them that they grew to appreciate. The Yapese did not see anything wrong with the way that O'Keefe conducted his business. The researcher, however, saw his interactions with the Yapese as exploitation. To O'Keefe, he had the best of both worlds. He had cheap labor and almost no expenses except for maintaining his vessels. The Yapese collected the copra and trepang, they prepared it for shipment, they carved the stone money, and O'Keefe transported the coins to the island. The Yapese appeared to be doing all of the work and O'Keefe reaping the rewards.

The difference in the researcher's view of O'Keefe and that of the Yapese was a difference in perspectives. Every person had a different view of O'Keefe based upon his or her knowledge and perceptions of him. No perspective was true or false. All were simply unique. The issue of reality and myth was more one of perspective and how time can change and blur reality. In some instances, time can change myth into reality. The Yapese appeared to have not realized that O'Keefe's presence on the island was still affecting them one hundred years later. They only saw one side of O'Keefe -- a good guy who brought them stone money.

Would Yap have become westernized had O'Keefe not landed on the island? The Yapese probably would have been inundated with the western culture with or without O'Keefe but his presence certainly made the American occupation of the island during WWII, the development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific and the advancement of western goods and ideas much more readily acceptable to the Yapese.

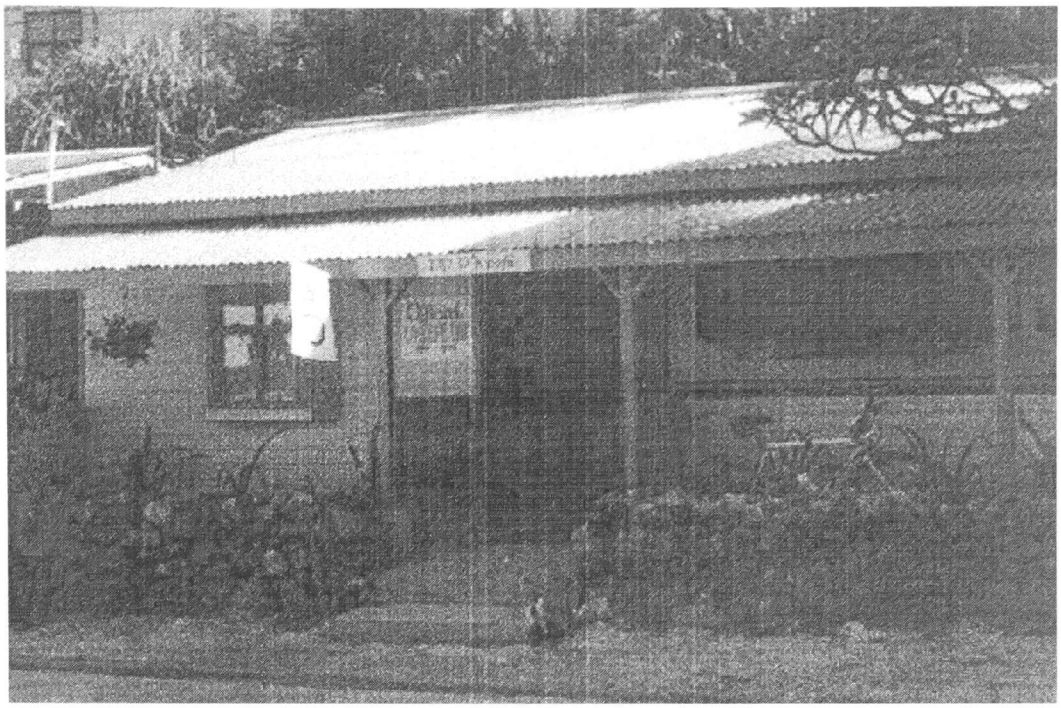
As time passed since O'Keefe's death, his name came up fewer and fewer times in discussions. Since the Yapese culture was primarily oral, the only time that the younger generations heard about O'Keefe was when stories were told in the villages. Although O'Keefe's presence on the island was felt more and more through the adoption of western ideas and goods, his name became a footnote in Yapese history. With the development of the Yap Historical Preservation Office and the construction of several new businesses on the island, O'Keefe and other aspects of traditional Yapese culture were not forgotten.

Thanks to the hard work of men like local entrepreneurs Don Evans, Vitt Foneg and the Gumbiner Foundation, O'Keefe's memory lived on in the development of several businesses on the island. The first business to use O'Keefe's legend as a foundation for its development was O'Keefe's Kanteen, a turn of the century pub that opened in 1996. Trader's Landing, an 18th century English lounge at the Yap Airport opened in 1998 and Trader's Ridge; a resort geared to wealthy vacationers, opened in December, 1999 (http://www.tradersridge.com/general/navigator_loader_e.htm, April 18, 2001; "O'Keefe's Kanteen," 1996; "Setting Mood," 1998). All three businesses relied on O'Keefe's name for their success.

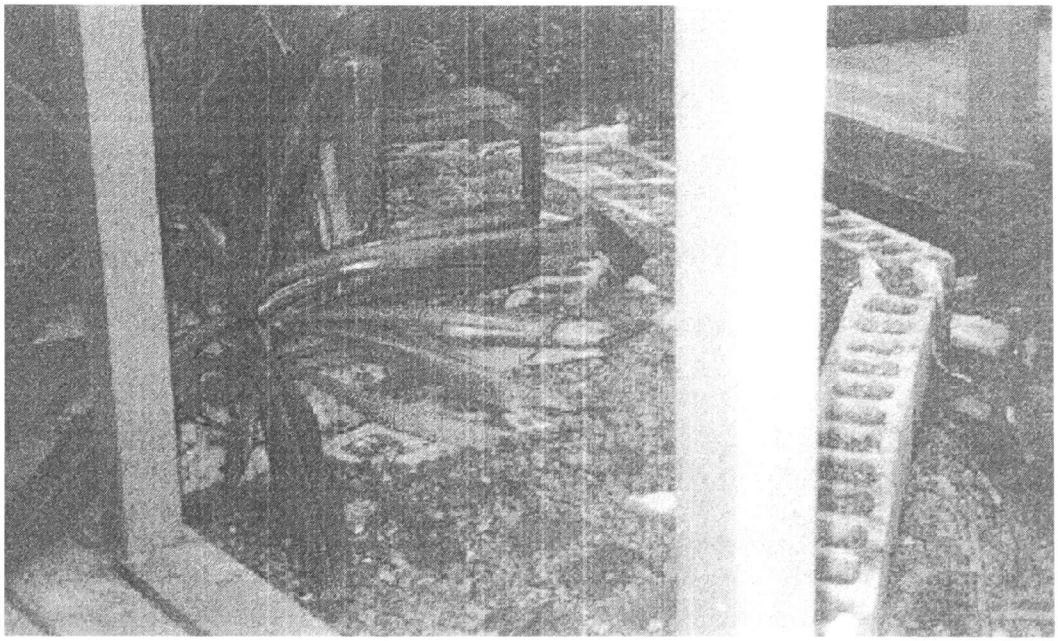
"Yapese life goes on in much the same as it has for centuries. They show no sign of wanting to leap headlong into the 20th century with its man-made problems" (Hinz, 1984, p. 39). Whereas most countries entered the new millennium with a culture immersed in poverty and crime, this was not true of Yap. Because villages worked together and lived off the land, no one went hungry or without shelter. Crime was as non-existent in 1999 as it was on Yap over one hundred years ago. "Every article of household use or of luxury is almost as well known to everybody as to the actual owner; stolen goods are not marketable and thefts are quite rare" (Furness, 1910, p. 24). There was no need for stealing and everyone knew their place and role in the caste system. The Yapese survived by following traditional rules, living off of the land and sea and by joining together as a village. One of the major problems in Yapese society in the 20th century was that the "traditional institutions that once provided clearly defined social roles, a set of realistic rewards and expectations, and an effective authority system have been considerably weakened in the course of intense contact with the American culture over the past years" (Hezel, 1977, p. 32). On Yap, "time has stood still. Perhaps it has even gone backward a little" (Price, 1921, p. 491).

Trader's Ridge Resort
Colonia, Yap

Charles Butler at O'Keefe's Kanteen
Colonia, Yap



O'Keefe's Kanteen Colonia, Yap



During the excavation of the current site of O'Keefe's Kanteen, these bricks were found and thought to be remnants of O'Keefe's original store built in 1874.

CHAPTER VIII

Written Works about O'Keefe

Although Hezel (1995), Gillilland (1975), Dodson (1986) and others mentioned David O'Keefe as having a significant influence on the Yapese, very little was known about him beyond his shipwreck on Yap and his creation of a trading empire in Micronesia. Written works such as Hezel and Berg (1979/1985) and Wuerch and Ballendorf (1994) mentioned O'Keefe and his relationship to the stone money of Yap. The Smithsonian Institution displayed a piece of stone money as an example of the largest coin in the world. However, none of these sources delved into O'Keefe's life and his impact on the culture of Yap. Because very little had been written about O'Keefe, there was little information to support or refute. The most definitive text concerning O'Keefe's life was the book His Majesty O'Keefe by Lawrence Klingman and Gerald Green (1950) and the subsequent movie by the same title (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953). These were the two sources that the researcher used as a foundation for this study.

Throughout this study, the researcher exhausted every written document on O'Keefe that could be found. Material at the Georgia Historical Society, Smithsonian Institution, National Archives, University of Hawaii, University of Guam, Yap Historical Society and all immigration, census and military documents were examined. Most materials were referenced in earlier portions of this paper and thus need not be re-examined. Therefore, the researcher utilized this chapter to examine the two most popular and comprehensive sources of information on O'Keefe. His Majesty O'Keefe by

Klingman and Green (1950) and the movie by the same title (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953).

Although the researcher attempted to contact the relatives of Klingman and Green in order to review the authors' research data, this attempt was unsuccessful. Gerald Green died and his obituary did not yield the names of contact persons. Lawrence Klingman's obituary proved helpful and the researcher contacted Klingman's brother, Alfred ("Lawrence," 1986). Although Alfred Klingman did not know about his brother's research, he did contact Lawrence Klingman's children. This contact was not successful in providing documentation to verify information in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950). Via Alfred Klingman, the children reported to the researcher that no papers existed about their father's research for his novels (A. Klingman, personal communication, July 10, 1994).

An initial reading of His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950) left the reader with a sense of excitement and romance for a culture so unlike that of United States citizens. Although many of the details of the book were fictitious, the core of the novel was accurate and very exciting. Klingman and Green did an admirable job of presenting the story of O'Keefe, Savannah and Yap ("Colorful Story," 1950). Many inaccuracies in the novel stemmed from the fact that O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah refused to cooperate with the authors and thus the majority of the information about O'Keefe prior to his arrival on Yap was second hand. However, the major problem with His Majesty O'Keefe (1950) was that Klingman and Green never visited Yap (A. Klingman, personal communication, July 10, 1994). Had the authors taken the time to

visit the island and interview the many people who remembered O'Keefe, the novel would have been a much more definitive text.

Visiting Yap in 1950 would not have been an easy task. There were no planes going to the island. There was no running water, electricity or paved roads. Because of these conditions, most Americans were unwilling to travel to such a place for research when the final product was not intended as a history text but rather as a story to entrance and entertain the adventurous soul. Keeping in mind the problems which might have arisen from undertaking a trip to Yap, Klingman and Green utilized what resources were available for information on the island. Much of their information seemed to have come from the work of Furness (1910) and various local newspapers. From this type of information came an exciting novel about "The King of Yap."

His Majesty O'Keefe by Lawrence Klingman and Gerald Green (1950)

His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) was a wonderful book that kept the reader enthralled. The novel expounded on the romantic myth of the downtrodden man who left his wife at great personal expense so as to create a better life for himself and his family. Klingman and Green (1950) created a hero who "saved" a native culture by bringing it into the western world. They developed a character who earned great wealth, married a beautiful woman and who then lived out his life on a tropical island. It had all of the components of a successful novel -- thrilling battles, foreign islands, romance, adventure and success. The book appealed to the arm chair traveler who often dreamed of leaving their troubles behind and creating a new life in a foreign land. His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) was what dreams and myths were made of.

As with most adventure novels, the authors ignored some aspects of O'Keefe's life and instead focused on the action and romance. In the end, a picture of O'Keefe developed that did not always match reality.

O'Keefe's life in the South Pacific was certainly not uneventful. He did not retire to a tropical island and live his life in a hammock. Tales were often told about O'Keefe's adventures. Stories of O'Keefe's ". . . exaggerated exploits were recounted by sailors and traders from the coast of England to the seaports of Australia and from Hong Kong's harbor to Havana's shore" (Olsen, 1960). Some of the stories about O'Keefe were true while other were works of fiction and products of highly active imaginations that grew over time.

Bully Hayes.

One tale favored by Hollywood and Klingman and Green (1950) told of the American pirate Bully Hayes who arrived on Yap in 1884 (Michener, 1957).[58] It was said that in May of 1884, Hayes arrived on Yap and burned villages in his attempt to capture natives to sell in the slave trade (Klingman & Green, 1950; Olsen, 1960; Perry, 1982). O'Keefe was said to have gone after Hayes when he had returned to Yap and saw the destruction that Hayes had caused. Klingman and Green (1950) reported that O'Keefe went to Hayes' ship, tied up all of his men and took away their guns. A fight was said to have ensued between Hayes and O'Keefe. According to the Mariana District Department of Education (1971), O'Keefe knocked Hayes unconscious and left him sleeping on the deck of his boat. According to Klingman and Green (1950), O'Keefe killed Hayes. In reality, neither account was true. Although Bully Hayes lived in the South Pacific at the

same time as O'Keefe, Hayes was based in Somoa and the Yapese did not remember Hayes ever visiting Yap (Fass, personal communication, July 6, 1999; Figir, personal communication, June 24, 1999). O'Keefe and Hayes' only contact would have been through trading agents in Hong Kong. O'Keefe did not kill Bully Hayes. Hayes was killed by Nielson, one of his crew members, near Jaluit in the Marshall Islands in 1877 (Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994). Nielson and another crewmember, Peter Rietdyk, reportedly threw Hayes overboard after hitting him over the head (Young, 1926).

Information on Savannah.

Klingman and Green were correct in their belief that papers existed in Savannah that belonged to O'Keefe. Until the early 1990s, the Butler family was in possession of a box that contained every letter, bank statement and personal possession that belonged to O'Keefe. Upon the death of O'Keefe's grandson, Charles Elton Butler, the family moved and the box disappeared (E. Abernathy, personal communication, April 4, 1992). Many of O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah believed that the papers were not lost but rather in the possession of a family member who refused to share the material. Acquisition of these documents would have provided valuable data to the O'Keefe legacy.

Although O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah refused to assist Klingman and Green in acquiring information about him, the authors were able to interview people in the Savannah area who remembered O'Keefe and were given detailed descriptions (L. Klingman, personal communication, January 22, 1949). O'Keefe was approximately six feet tall with red hair. Although O'Keefe may have had "thick curls" as described by Klingman and Green, family interviews only mentioned red hair (Klingman & Green,

1950, p.2). The only known picture of O'Keefe was taken when he was probably 60 years old. It showed O'Keefe with straight gray hair.

Although O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah refused to cooperate with Klingman and Green (1950), other members of the southern community were eager to share tales of O'Keefe.

> There were, Hartridge found, recriminations from Catherine O'Keefe and her brother Lee Masters. Both somehow appeared to blame him for the native wife and illegitimate children, for the fact that they had been disinherited, and for the fact that what they had believed an inheritance of millions had dwindled to $500,000. Mrs. Butler, who had not hitherto figured in his relationship with the family, seemed for a time disinclined to honor the bill for expenses that he submitted. He made her realize quickly, however, that she could not obtain any part of her inheritance without his help. After protesting bitterly that part of his bill related to his expenses in Paris, where it was well known he had relatives, she finally agreed to pay it and to engage the firm to represent her (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 351).

Klingman and Green (1950) were correct in their assessment that Catherine and her family blamed the minimal inheritance that they received on Hartridge's bills and lack of motivation to fully research O'Keefe's holdings in Micronesia. Discussions with O'Keefe's descendants revealed comments such as, "Catherine could not read and she depended solely on Hartridge. She did not know if what he told her about the money was right or not. I know for a fact that a painting hanging in Hartridge's foyer was to

Catherine from O'Keefe. Hartridge said that it was destroyed but I've seen it" (E. Abernathy, personal communication, October 10, 1997). In 1999, the descendants of O'Keefe and Hartridge's families still lived in the same area as their ancestors did at the turn of the century. The hard feelings associated with O'Keefe's estate flourished even though almost one hundred years had passed. Comments from O'Keefe's descendants to Hartridge's family involved such statements as, "He got rich off of the family and then took the crown away" (C. Butler, Jr., personal communication, November 10, 1997). Although such comments were often said in a joking manner, the feelings behind the words were real. In 1999, O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah still felt that the Hartridge's kept most of the money from O'Keefe's estate and robbed the family of their rightful inheritance.

The information in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) about the murder of Dennis Sullivan was accurate and O'Keefe was imprisoned in the Chatham County Jail for the crime and later acquitted at trial. Klingman and Green (1950) also described O'Keefe as a blockade-runner for the Confederacy. This information was also supported through personal communication with O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah (E. Butler, personal communication, November 8, 1997). However, the researcher was unable to substantiate that information through government or maritime records. Information about Confederate blockade-runners might have been documented at the National Archives, but the book that contained the Confederate maritime records for the 1860s was destroyed.

In the 1860s, the Old Fort District was an impoverished area of Savannah where O'Keefe and other Irish immigrants lived. As Klingman and Green (1950) reported, "The Irish, he thought bitterly, poured their sweat into the building of the town and then found themselves herded into a grimy corner near the Old Fort" (p. 7). Although the later part of the 20th century brought a resurgence to the Old Fort District and it became the home of famous restaurants and specialty shops, during O'Keefe's time it was a poverty-stricken area riddled with Protestant and Catholic gangs. Once O'Keefe married Catherine, he moved his family to the outskirts of the Old Fort District and into a "better" section of town. The lot where O'Keefe's family once lived became the parking lot of a police station in the later part of the 20th century.

Although the researcher examined census records for the entire waterfront district of New York, no documentation verified that O'Keefe had a sister named Molly or a nephew named Thomas as discussed in the novel (Klingman & Green, 1950). Due to a church fire, birth records from County Cork were unable to document information about O'Keefe or his family. Discussions with O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah did not bring forth information about O'Keefe's life or family before coming to Savannah. Discussions with Yapese did not yield information about Thomas Newman, O'Keefe's nephew who supposedly visited him on Yap (Lubuw, personal communication, July 7, 1999; J. Tharngan, personal communication, June 25, 1999).

Whether Klingman and Green (1950) garnered information from those in Savannah about O'Keefe's intention to return to his wife and daughter in Georgia or whether this was added to enhance the drama of the story, the authors were correct when

they wrote the statement. "In the back of his mind was the idea, never clearly stated, that he still had to earn a fortune before he could rejoin Kathy and his daughter, possibly in some northern city" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p.55). Letters from O'Keefe to his wife attested to his intention to return to his family in Savannah and until her death, Catherine always believed that her husband would return to her (E. Abernathy, personal communication, April 4, 1992).

Information on Yap.

Klingman and Green's (1950) description of Yap was somewhat inaccurate. The authors identified the four islands of Yap Proper as " . . . Rul, Tomil, Map and Rumung . . ." (p. 20). The four islands that made up Yap Proper were Yap, Maap, Rumung, and Gagil-Tomil. In their description of the Yapese, Klingman and Green (1950) described them as "from head to foot they were tattooed in intricate patterns . . ." (p.37). Although tattooing was a part of the Yapese culture, they were never tattooed from head to toe. Any tattooing would have been on the thigh and covered by either a *thu* or grass skirt. Minimal tattooing on the chest and arms was a new practice brought about in the late 20th century when western culture began to influence the younger people on the island.

Yapese people.

Some of the characters in Klingman and Green's (1950) novel were real people but discussions with the Yapese did not support the authors' theory that these people played significant roles in O'Keefe's life. Fatumak, the Yapese medicine man who supposedly took care of O'Keefe when he arrived on the island, did exist. However, the Yapese did not believe that O'Keefe knew Fatumak (Bfel, personal communication, July

7, 1999; J. Tharngan, personal communication, June 28, 1999). Furness (1910) described Fatamuk in 1903 as "The old man, I called him, but I doubt that he was over fifty, yet seemed older because of his deformed body, and his quiet, sedate, and thoughtful bearing . . ." (p. 129). Had Fatamuk been fifty years old when he met Furness in 1903, then he would not have been the "old man" who befriended O'Keefe following his shipwreck on Yap in the early 1870s as described by Klingman and Green (1950).

Because the Yapese were not allowed to mention the names of other Yapese who had died, it was very difficult for the researcher to gather information on some of the names mentioned in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) such as Infifel, Lian and Bugulroo. To compound the problem of not being allowed to speak the names of those who had died, the researcher also faced another problem with Yapese names. Many Yapese were named after the village or land where they were born. This created several generations with similar names. With the language barrier and the taboos associated with mentioning the names of the dead, identifying specific people and their relationship with O'Keefe was very difficult. The researcher was able to ascertain that although many of the names mentioned in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) were real people, they were either not around when O'Keefe was on Yap or their relationship with him was such that they did not play a major role in O'Keefe's presence on the island.

Arriving on Yap.

O'Keefe's arrival on Yap was not a result of the shipwreck of the *Belvidere* as described by Klingman and Green (1950). "He felt himself again aboard the storm-lashed

Belvidere, as it was swept by the giant fury of the waves, the prow cracking like boxwood against the reef, lurching crazily before the relentless typhoon" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 24). In his letters to Catherine, O'Keefe described arriving in Manila aboard the *Belvidere*. It was only later that he arrived on Yap.

Whether a Chinese dentist initially funded O'Keefe's first ship was a subject open to speculation. No papers existed to validate this claim but research pointed to the fact that O'Keefe would not have been able to purchase his first vessel on his own. Since O'Keefe's first vessel was a Chinese junk, it was conceivable that O'Keefe's sponsor could have been a Chinese dentist as described by Klingman and Green (1950) in a conversation between O'Keefe and Sein Tang, the dentist.

> Sein Tang rose, paced the narrow balcony, his hands clasped behind him, a lean awkward figure, full of inner tension.
>
> "You and I," he said, a rapt expression lighting the long equine face, "are the Yang and the Yin, the two opposites which together dovetail to form the whole. You are the man of action; I, the man of dreams. Alone, which of us is as nothing. Joined we could be powerful."
>
> O'Keefe was taken aback by the dentist's sudden declamation. He said, "Are you making me an offer?"
>
> "Precisely." The dentist sat down beside him and fixed him with his eyes. "In the Sulphur Channel a Cochin-China junk of some seventy tons rides at anchor. It belongs to me. Three years ago, the famous river pirate Kao Chung

came to me with a mouth full of rotting dentures. These I replaced with thirty-two golden teeth. The junk was my payment."

"I tell you now I can't buy it from you. I haven't a penny."

Sein Tang smiled. "I would not dream of selling it. For three years, I have had visions of leaving all this behind and sailing away aboard my vessel." His face clouded. "Unfortunately, my ignorance of seamanship is surpassed only by the weakness of my stomach." He hesitated, and in a burst of confidence, added, "Every time I go on board I am seized by a violent nausea."

O'Keefe said, "What is your offer, Dr. Sein?"

The dentist regained his composure. "I will supply you with boat, supplies, and a crew for six months. You will be in complete charge of the vessel, its trade, and its voyage. I will take two-thirds of all profits, and you will take one-third. If the voyage is a complete failure, I will sustain the loss."

The Chinese man said, "I shall incorporate our firm as the Sein Tang and Far Eastern Shipping Company, Limited" (Klingman & Green 1950, pp. 80-81).

Although this dialogue was the creation of Klingman and Green's (1950) expert writing, O'Keefe's first vessel was a Chinese junk named the *Catherine*. "As a final luxury, he used the last of his copra money to buy large gold letters in the ship's chandlery of Lane, Crawford & Co., and mounted them on the bow. They spelled out '*Katherine*'" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 84). Shipping records were not uncovered to document O'Keefe's first vessel. However, the researcher was told that a photograph of

O'Keefe standing in front of a vessel named *Catherine* was in the possession of Reverend Kalau of Pohnpei (T. Wettstein, personal communication, August 20,1994).

Kakofel.

When Klingman and Green (1950) described O'Keefe's relationship with Kakofel, they were creating a situation that would have never existed. Yapese women were rarely allowed to leave the villages and O'Keefe would have seldom seen them. O'Keefe was well aware of the taboo of a Yapese woman being involved with a foreigner. Having an affair with a Yapese woman would probably not have happened and marrying a Yapese was impossible. Thus, the women that O'Keefe married were from Mapia and Nauru, not Yap.

Kakofel was introduced in His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950) as O'Keefe's mistress. Although a girl named Kakofel lived on Yap, she was not born until near the time of O'Keefe's death in 1901 and could not have been his mistress when he first arrived on the island (J. Tharngan, personal communication, June 28, 1999). In 1903, Furness (1910) wrote, "My first lesson came from the hands of Kakofel, the young daughter of Lian, chief of Dulukan. The little maid was about twelve years old . . ." (pp. 108-109). If Kakofel was twelve years old in 1903, then she was not the girl who had an affair with O'Keefe when he arrived on Yap in the 1870s. Furness (1910) described Kakofel as a tomboy and not the siren depicted in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman and Green, 1950).

By western standards, "promiscuity was the moral code of Yap's adolescents" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p.55). Sex was not condemned as it was in parts of the

western world. Although men and women were not allowed to eat together or have contact in public, courting was a normal part of adolescent growth.

> Traditional courtship in Yap was characterized by secret meetings of a male and female in which they exchanged with one another gifts and conversation. In any courting relationship, the mutual exchanges between boy and girl were extremely important in the developing of a continuing relationship. If the exchanges were unsatisfactory, they quickly terminate the relationship. The key element of the transaction in traditional courtship include betelnut, flower leis and shell necklaces, conversation, and sexual intercourse. A young man who wishes to court a girl will attempt to arrange a meeting with her in some peripheral area of the village usually after dark. Both boy and girl will wash and oil their bodies and adorn themselves with necklaces of sweet smelling flowers and leaves. It falls to the young man to acquire a large quantity of betelnut for their mutual enjoyment (Lingenfelter, 1987, p. 3).

One custom for seeking the affections of a female was taken from the neighboring island of Chuuk. A man carved a stick approximately twelve inches long with symbols and words that would let the female know whom it was from. At night, the man pushed the stick through the thatch wall of the woman's home. If the woman kept the stick, then it was a sign that she accepted his affections. If the girl was not interested, she would push the stick back through the wall and the man would leave knowing that the female's affections were already engaged. Although this method of courtship was still used in

1999, it was more a game than a true means of attracting the attention of a suitor (Brower, 1983; D. Evans, personal communication, July 30, 1996; Perry, 1982).

The Yapese tradition of capturing a young girl to act as the *mispil* for the men's house was not a practice on Yap in 1999. However, Klingman and Green (1950) accurately represented the practice when they described the Yapese perception of a *mispil*. They " . . . look upon being a *mispil* as such an honor that I'm sure that even Kakofel will not object . . ." (p.62). The process of kidnapping a young girl was symbolic and by no means against her will. Klingman and Green (1950) wrote "Kakofel acted her role well, kicking and pounding her fists on Tamag's strong back until her resistance began slowing him down" (p.69). The authors accurately described the symbolic ritual that was undertaken when a girl was chosen as a *mispil*.[59]

Caste system.

Klingman and Green (1950) accurately described some mannerisms of the Yapese and Paluauns. "The cringing posture is the Palau custom for homage to superior castes" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 32). The Yapese also held the custom of not looking higher caste members in the eye and always holding their head lower than that of the high caste. One example of this as told by Don Evans (personal communication, August 5, 1999) described how stringently the rules of the caste system were observed.

> Thomas was over doing the yard work one day. It was hot and he was dripping sweat. I offered him some water but he wouldn't drink until Vitt did. Vitt is a higher caste. He is in line to be the chief of the most powerful village on Yap.

Another time, the boys were over watching television. Thomas sat on the floor while Vitt sat on the bed. Had Vitt sat on the floor, Thomas would have laid on the floor. Had Vitt laid on the floor, Thomas would have gone outside. They are very aware of the role of each caste. Thomas had to keep his head lower than Vitt's head. It is a sign of respect for a higher caste and he could have been punished had he not observed the rules. But you have to remember that they are not unkind. Vitt is very much aware of the rules and expects them to be followed but he tries not to make Thomas uncomfortable. When Vitt saw that Thomas would not drink even though he was hot from working and Vitt was siting inside, Vitt got himself a glass of water to drink so that Thomas could drink.

Klingman and Green (1950) accurately described the ruling powers on Yap when they wrote, "I must win over Bugulroo because he's one of the three paramount chiefs of Yap. You see, there's no real king of this island. The three main chiefs and seven lesser ones rule in only their own district" (p.39). This was true of Yap in the 1990s. There was a governor and a democratic government, but there was also the Council of Pilung. The Council consisted of the ten village chiefs and they had the power to make decisions on any "cultural" issue related to Yap. This meant that they would have been able to stop this research project had they so desired.

Stone money.

One of the most recognizable mistakes in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) was the use of the word *fei* to mean stone money. "*Fei* is used by the outer islanders. On Yap it means a sexual act. *Rei* is stone money" (J. Tharngan, personal

communication, June 29, 1999). The use of the word *fei* for stone money denoted the social caste of the person and was seen as embarrassing for anyone but outer islanders to use. O'Keefe would have used the word *rei* to describe stone money.

The reverence for stone money and the enthusiasm of the Yapese over the arrival of the coins was not an exaggeration in His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950).

> O'Keefe saw beyond the *Oceania* the tattered sails of four frail outriggers, all riding low in the water. "Those are the fortune hunters, returning form Palau," Tetens explained. "They bring with them several tons of money, newly-hewn from the rock quarries. If you care to watch, you will soon observe the Yaps in one of their rare demonstrations of enthusiasm" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 71).

The Yapese reverence for stone money was still observed during the researcher's visits to the island in 1996 and 1999. A piece of stone money was given to the researcher in an elaborate ceremony complete with dancing and an oral recitation of the coin's lineage. Stone money was considered the most valuable item for trade and the difficulty in acquiring the coin increased its value. The large coins were worth more due to the danger involved in transporting the pieces. Klingman and Green (1950) were correct when they described the difficulty in acquiring stone money.

> "But how do they bring the large pieces to their island?"
>
> "In outrigger canoes, or on rafts. It's a long voyage. Almost three hundred miles over choppy seas. A lot of them never make it. Their flimsy craft are overturned or sunk under the weight, and they drown with their precious money."
>
> "It must mean so much to them. But what can they do with it?"

> "They leave it in the forests or leaning against their houses. Sometimes the stones stay put for years and years, and grow heavy coats of moss that almost hide them. Sometimes they use them to buy things, canoes, houses or even wives".
>
> "I believe," said Tetens as the boats passed, "that this flotilla is half the number that set out originally. The treacherous Pacific, storms, and unfriendly tribes must have taken their toll. Naturally, the money that is brought back is all the more valuable" (Klingman & Green, 1950, pp. 71-72).

Slave trading.

Blackbirding (pirating) was a common practice in the Pacific in the late 1800s. Although O'Keefe's use of Yapese labor to collect copra in return for stone money was sometimes seen as exploitation, the researcher gathered no evidence from the Yapese, O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah or written records that O'Keefe participated in slave trading or piracy. Klingman and Green (1950) were accurate when they described O'Keefe as an honorable businessman.

> "I know more about you than you think, Captain David O'Keefe," said the dentist, using his name for the first time. "My office is a clearinghouse for all sorts of gossip. I know that you have rejected offers to enter the opium trade, and that only yesterday you refused to sign on with Captain George Baum as the first mate of the blackbirding ship Kaspar. I know that you have visited every bank in Hong Kong." He concluded softly, "A man who does these things is not a pirate" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 81).

O'Keefe's families.

It was not until the researcher began an investigation into O'Keefe's life in the early 1990s that the inaccuracies in Klingman and Green's (1950) description of Dolibu and her relationship with O'Keefe came to light. It was uncovered that O'Keefe had three wives. The first wife, Catherine, lived in Savannah. Her relationship with O'Keefe was never in question. O'Keefe's second wife was Charlotte Terry and his third wife was a Nauruan woman named Dolibu. The presence of a third wife was not known in the western culture. Research showed that Klingman and Green (1950) used Dolibu's name and Charlotte's characteristics when describing O'Keefe's wife in their novel.

It was Charlotte whose features were a blend of "Polynesian and Anglo-Saxon" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 106). It was Charlotte's father , Harry Terry (Harris), with whom O'Keefe started a trading business. Klingman and Green (1950) were also incorrect when they identified O'Keefe as landing on Nauru when he met Harris (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 108). O'Keefe met Charlotte and her family on Mapia. Dolibu, was a large, very dark skinned woman from Nauru whom O'Keefe took as his third wife. It was believed by the Yapese that Dolibu possessed magical powers and tricked O'Keefe into marrying her (J. Tharngan, personal communication, June 28, 1999).

Klingman and Green's description of O'Keefe and Dolibu's first child, Eugenia, was also inaccurate. The author described her as ". . . a girl, fair skinned, blue-eyed, and with silky black hair" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 212). Eugenia may have been fair skinned compared to the Yapese, but she was not a fair skinned, blue-eyed child.

Photographs of Eugenia showed that she had an olive complexion and dark brown eyes much like the indigenous people of Hawaii.

O'Keefe's businesses.

According to Yapese oral history, Klingman and Green (1950) were also incorrect about the flag that O'Keefe flew. The novel described O'Keefe's flag as ". . . a red field crossed with diagonal blue bars and thirteen white stars, the battle flag of the Confederate States of America" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 243). Another part of the novel described O'Keefe's flag as, " . . . his gaudy shamrock banner" (p. 332). Neither were true. O'Keefe's flag was a black "OK" on a field of white. O'Keefe would not have flown the Confederate flag. Most of his time on Yap was spent in fear of the United States and a prison term for the murder that he believed himself to have committed. Advertising that he was a citizen of the United States would not have been a wise move on his part. Klingman and Green (1950) were more accurate when they described the many flags that O'Keefe's ships flew. "My ships," said O'Keefe, emphasizing the plural, "fly the flag of the port they enter" (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 262). O'Keefe possessed a will to survive. He would have been conscious of not offending the government of the ports in which his vessels docked and thus flew the flag of the occupying government. A confrontation with local governments would have hurt his trading business.

"King" of Yap.

The largest misconception associated with Klingman and Green's (1950) novel, His Majesty O'Keefe, was in the title itself. Throughout the novel and in the abundance

of newspaper articles about O'Keefe, the western culture constantly referred to him as a "King" or "His Majesty." Klingman and Green (1950) went so far as to create a dialog between O'Keefe and Sein Tang. "I drink a toast to His Majesty, King O'Keefe, and Her Majesty, Queen Dalabo . . " (Klingman & Green, 1950, p. 279). The Yapese never considered O'Keefe a king. The island itself was never ruled by an indigenous king and a European would never have been given such a title. It was only through the willingness of the Yapese to allow O'Keefe power on the island that he was able to live on Tarang and run his trading business. Although O'Keefe was someone who was respected by the Yapese and valued as a friend, they would have never placed him in a ruling position. The western culture sought to romanticize O'Keefe legend and attached to him the label of king.

His Majesty O'Keefe (Producer, Harold Hecht; Director, Byron Haskin, 1953)

Most of the scenes from the movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) were based on the novel of the same name by Lawrence Klingman and Gerald Green (1950). Because of this, the movie often depicted the same fallacies as the book. Some of these inconsistencies are mentioned above, i.e., a *mispil* named Kakofel, O'Keefe as a king, Dolibu as a part European girl who was O'Keefe's only island wife and Tetens as present on Yap during O'Keefe's stay on the island. All of these were incorrect in the novel as well as in the movie (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953). Because of the Savannah family's embarrassment of the "O'Keefe situation," they tried to halt the production of the movie through the threat of a lawsuit against the producers of the movie ("King of Yap Saga May End in Suit," 1953).

Yapese villages.

Because of the primitive conditions on Yap in the early 1950s, *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) was filmed on Fiji. Because of the location of the movie set, much of the setting of the movie was Fijian. The villages in *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) were not representative of the Yapese culture. In the movie, homes were created in a circular pattern with a clearing in the middle. In Fiji, the indigenous people lived in small villages on cleared grasslands at the base of ridges or mountains. Fijian homes were built on the ground and had a thatch roof and sides much as those in the movie (Hereniko & Hereniko, 1987; http://www.fiji-online.com/fj/aboutfiji/history.shtml). This was not true on Yap. Large pieces of land were not cleared for homes or for central meeting places. Homes were scattered among the trees and "surrounded by a neatly swept clearing, and this little lawn, if that can be called a lawn which is devoid of grass, is brightened here and there by variegated crotons" (Furness, 1910, p. 22). Rampant vegetation concealed most homes and the density of the population (Ward, 1989). The villages on Yap were not accurately depicted in the movie (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953). Furness (1910) gave an accurate description of Yapese homes.

> The houses are always built on an open platform, about two and a half to three feet high, of masses of coral like rock, which look like huge pieces of pumice stone; when first taken from the water this soft lime-like rock lends itself admirably to being smoothed and fashioned with the primitive implements of the natives. The platform is made level on top by filling in with rubble and earth or

> with a covering of large flat stones. This loosely built foundation is, I supposed, to serve the same purpose as the high piles whereon tropical houses are usually built, namely, to keep the floor, which is also the domestic bed, as high and dry as possible above the level of the ground, which at times is deluged with rain in the usual tropical abundance. Well constructed houses have a broad and long foundation platform, whereon is built a second stage just large enough to be covered by the house; the lower and larger then serves as a broad uncovered veranda round at least three sides of the building. The corner posts for the framework are embedded in the upper dais of stone so that the occasional typhoons which sweep the island and level even the coconut palms may not carry away the whole structure. Every beam and stanchion is mortised to its fellow and bound with innumerable lashings of twine made from the fiber of coconut husks; not a nail is used and scarcely a peg (Furness, 1910, pp. 22-23).

Men and women on Yap were seldom allowed to socialize so one central meeting area was not a part of the culture. The men's house was always located near the water with the women's house further inland (J. Tharngan, personal communication, June 25, 1999). The movie also depicted women near the men's house or *failu*. This was inaccurate. The *failu* "belongs exclusively to the men, and no women, but with one exception [the *mispil*] dare set foot within its precincts" (Furness, 1910, p. 38).

Yapese people.

The movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) also depicted the leader of the village as maintaining a throne and "kingly"

position. This was not true in Yapese culture. Furniture was almost not existent. All Yapese, including the tribal chief, sat on the ground on a palm mat. The clothing on the indigenous people in the movie was also representative of the Fijian culture, not the Yapese. The actors in *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) all wore grass skirts much like the Fijians and adorned themselves with large circular earrings, nose rings, and whale teeth necklaces (http://www.fijimuseum.org.fj/fijimuseum.htm). Upper class Yapese women wore long, grass skirts but lower caste women wore a *lava lava*.[60] Yapese men wore only *thus*. These garments were made of hibiscus for the upper castes and cloth for the lower caste.

His Majesty O'Keefe (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) inaccurately depicted Yapese weapons as clubs. The Fijian culture used a club formed into a right angle at the top as their primary weapon for warfare (http://www.fijimuseum.org.fj/fijimuseum.htm). The Yapese were expert spear fishers and thus used the spear as their primary form of defense, not clubs. Small double blade knives made from bamboo were also used as a more subtle weapon (Hayakawa, 1979).

The producer of *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) created a romantic drama that captured the audience and made O'Keefe seem larger than life. The movie was excellent entertainment and was as historically accurate as possible considering that the producer's only source of information was the novel by Klingman and Green (1950). However, it was inappropriate to use *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) as a historical document or as an accurate description of Yapese culture. The Yapese were often

angered by inaccurate representations of their culture and saw the production of *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Harold Hecht, Director, Byron Haskin, 1953) as another example of how western culture exploited and inaccurately described their island and way of life (D. Evans, personal communication, August 7, 1995).

Upon completion of His Majesty O'Keefe by Klingman and Green (1950), the reader was left with a romantic view of O'Keefe's life. The novel left the reader with a sense that life on Yap at the turn of the century was a tropical paradise where strife was non-existent and where sitting in the afternoon sun was the most strenuous of activities. This was not the case for O'Keefe. Although Klingman and Green (1950) told of O'Keefe's problems with the Germans and his constant worry over the laziness of the Yapese workers, the reader was still given an inaccurate picture of O'Keefe's life. When compared with the modern cities of Hong Kong and Singapore, Yap was very primitive. Water was acquired through catchments and electricity was nonexistent. Medical care was limited. The copra trade was extremely competitive. The area was riddled with pirates and slave traders. To say that O'Keefe had a life of leisure was a myth surrounding the South Seas. However, O'Keefe did find his own little "perfect" corner of the world.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusions

The legend of O'Keefe was the stuff of novels and movies. The adventurous life of a 19th century self-made man fueled the imaginations of the wild at heart.

> The narratives of travelers, sailors, and adventurers, have always been sought for, and always have possessed a particular interest in the ears and eyes of those whose circumstances have barred them from participating in the pleasure of witnessing varying scenes, or whose quiet lives have allowed their excitement only in listening to the hairbreadth 'scapes of people of a more nervous temperament (O'Connell, 1972, p. 45).

O'Keefe's story allowed people to experience the world and live vicariously through the exploits. "The favored images of the Pacific and its people in songs and stories captured by the alluring words 'The South Sea;' palm trees and blue lagoons, jungle drums and nubile natives, maybe cannibals, too, and exotic fertility rites" (Terrell, Hunt, & Gosden, 1997, p. 155). O'Keefe lived and breathed a world that few could imagine.

Gathering data

Studies have been conducted on Yap for years with the goal of understanding a people so unlike western culture. "Most early research on Yap has dealt with the material culture, religious practices, magic and other aspects of traditional Yapese culture" (Price, 1975). "People are always coming to Yap and putting us under a microscope. Many leave with little more knowledge than when they came and no idea how we think. For instance,

we don't like to disagree with strangers. If they ask us a question, we often answer in the way they to seem to want it. Simple" (Kiener, 1978, p. 31). The Yapese were used to being examined by western cultures and hesitant to encourage new studies. This project was easily accepted because it did not attempt to study Yapese culture in-depth but rather examined the life of one man and the relationship between a westerner and a non-western culture. Rarely has history revealed a person whose legacy could be directly linked to cultural change. Because the Yapese culture remained so traditional throughout history, it was easy to identify how O'Keefe affected the island of Yap. David Dean O'Keefe was not a president or a martyr yet he remained vivid in the minds of the Yapese.

The researcher spent from 1988 to the present accumulating data on O'Keefe. It became such an all-encompassing process that it seemed as if O'Keefe must have been important to everyone! This was found not to be the case. Although O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah, Georgia, were happy to discuss the legends, they were not interested in the truth. The notion of being related to a "king" was important. Understanding that O'Keefe was never really a king and that the royal title was given to him by the western culture and not by the Yapese did not seem to detract from the legend. Years of research uncovered many new facts about O'Keefe but none of the information changed the way that his descendants in Savannah perceived him.

On Yap, new information was greeted in much the same way as it was in Savannah. Data from the study was interesting but O'Keefe was still known as the man who brought stone money to the island. Since the Yapese culture was primarily oral, "history in these islands does not usually date much further back than the memory of the

oldest inhabitant . . ." (Furness, 1910, p. 49). The older Yapese still remembered and respected O'Keefe which allowed the researcher easier access to the culture than most outsiders would have received. However, new information presented to the Yapese did not alter their perspective of O'Keefe any more than it did those of his descendants in Savannah.

". . . O'Keefe was held in high regard by the natives of the islands. We hear him spoken in terms of eulogy by the Palau and Yap natives alike" (Gillilland, 1975). This statement only applied to the older islanders. The younger generation on Yap was as uninterested in O'Keefe as children in the United States were to the mentioning of George Washington. Yes, O'Keefe and Washington were important people, but they were from the past and did not directly affect the lives of the young people. Although Yap was still one of the most traditional cultures in Micronesia, its children were acquiring the egocentrisms so prevalent on western television. When talking to a 12-year-old boy on Yap, he shrugged his shoulders when asked what he knew about O'Keefe. He said that he learned about O'Keefe and stone money in school but that was all he knew. Although O'Keefe and the history of the island were important to the older people, the younger people of Yap held no interest in the past.

O'Keefe played a very pivotal role in the emergence of western culture on Yap and his place in their history has not been lost. It was the intent of this research to document O'Keefe's life by pulling together all the written resources about him and collect information about the Yapese and O'Keefe's influence on the island. Until recently, the Yapese culture was not documented and "It was almost needless to remark

that when a language has never been set forth in writing, its forms, [its meanings] and even its pronunciation are as shifting as the sands of a beach" (Furness, 1910, p. 80). Because times changed and memories had faded, the younger generations looked to the future and often forgot the past. Because of this, it was important that the voice of the Yapese was heard and documented. Although Klingman and Green's (1950) novel was based loosely on fact, it was created for entertainment and not for historical appeal. Because of that, it was important to save this piece of history. It was the researcher's opinion that within the next fifty years, without proper documentation, very little of O'Keefe would have remained in the minds of Americans or Yapese. It was past time to put down in writing how the east met the west through the life of Captain David Dean O'Keefe.

Deciding that O'Keefe and his role on Yap needed to be documented was an easy decision. Discovering how that information could be made relevant to younger generations was a much more difficult task. There was no easy answer. The researcher had to settle for the idea that should future generations ever wish to learn more about O'Keefe, then the information would be available. As the older generations die, less and less would have been remembered about O'Keefe. Maybe, one day, that 12-year-old Yapese boy would take his child across the bay to Tarang and explain how one man had changed the Yapese view of western traders, ideas and commodities.

The use and abuse of O'Keefe's name

This research project examined the many aspects of O'Keefe's life from various perspectives. The results presented three very distinct pictures of a man who was both

notorious and invisible in the pages of history. One perspective told of a husband who deserted his wife and family and yet became a wealthy entrepreneur. Another view hailed O'Keefe as a man who made the Yapese life easier through the safer acquisition of stone money and western commodities. The Hollywood version of O'Keefe created a larger than life adventurer who braved the South Pacific and found himself a "king." All three of these perspectives on O'Keefe were real in the eyes of those whose lives he touched, but none gave a complete picture of O'Keefe. Although this research was by no means a definitive text on O'Keefe, it was the most extensive examination of his life to date.

It was common for people to glorify history and only "remember" that which was "good." James Loewen (1995) said, "Emotion is the glue that causes history to stick" (p. 294). How a person or event touched our lives was what people remembered most. This was both good and bad in the case of O'Keefe and his descendants in Savannah. Because his betrayal of his family caused such hurt, he was seldom spoken of except in terms of "the king" sending money or creating a shipping empire. O'Keefe's family in Savannah chose to repress the "bad" and remember the "good" that represented O'Keefe's life. Although this distorted reality, it became that for which O'Keefe was remembered. O'Keefe was remembered by future generations in Savannah as a man who went in search of a better life for his family, sent money home to support those he left behind, and always promised to return. They neglected to remember that since O'Keefe was financially solvent, it was not money that kept him away from Catherine and Louisa. O'Keefe chose not to return to Savannah. Was the family's perception of O'Keefe real?

No, but it was what was being told to younger generations. Within a few decades, this would have been all that those in Savannah remembered about O'Keefe.

The Yapese had a similar view of O'Keefe in that they too only remembered the "good" that he did for their island and ignored the long term affects of his presence. The Yapese regarded O'Keefe as a friend who improved their quality of life. His shipping business made it possible to safely bring stone money to the islands. He was responsible for bringing to the island some of the western commodities that they grew to appreciate. O'Keefe was their friend and that was what they chose to remember. When examining the affects of O'Keefe's presence on Yap, the researcher uncovered some long term repercussions on the island and its people. O'Keefe was responsible for bringing alcohol and guns to a culture that could have survived without them. He traded the transportation of stone money for Yapese labor. Yes, the Yapese were willing to work for O'Keefe in return for the stone money but how did that affect the island one hundred years later? In the 1990s, the Yapese were losing their traditional way of life. Most of this was by choice. However, the number of young people leaving the island for a more "modern" way of life could not be considered good. The comparisons that the Yapese make with themselves and the western world through television was damaging the young people's respect for tradition. They saw the perceived wealth of the western world and found their own culture lacking. How could a culture that had survived intact for hundreds and hundreds of years be considered lacking? Had O'Keefe not made trade so readily acceptable with the Yapese, they probably would have continued to consider the trinkets

of the western world unnecessary much as they did when the German and Spanish governments tried to engaged their labor for such small gifts.

O'Keefe's influence on Yap had become such a commonplace occurrence on the island that the younger generation knew him in name only. When the researcher spoke to the older people on the island, O'Keefe's name held a reverence that was missing in the young people. The changes that he brought to Yap had such a multiplying affect that he was somewhat forgotten or taken for granted. Yes, O'Keefe brought stone money and western goods to the island; but look what we have now! Stone money was important to the older people but bicycles were important to the younger generation. O'Keefe's effect on the island was great but his presence was felt less and less as these changes multiplied over the decades.

The Hollywood version of O'Keefe took the most adventuresome and romantic of the two previous versions of his life. The cloak of murder and mystery in Savannah and the daring involved in starting a new life on a South Pacific island was embellished until His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman & Green, 1950) became the ultimate adventure in Hollywood. The writers focused on what the audience wanted most -- adventure and escapism. O'Keefe was a man who traveled the high seas and found great wealth on an island of natives. What better entertainment! Was the essence of Klingman and Green's (1950) novel true? Yes. However, what they focused on was not the reality of O'Keefe's disappearance from Savannah or the affects of his presence on Yap. They focused on the magnetism of O'Keefe's personality. This was why O'Keefe was still being discussed one hundred years after his death. He was a charismatic man. His life was full of

adventure and he was able to accomplish what most men only dream about. He left his problems behind and found wealth beyond his wildest dreams. He was able to start his life over. Without dwelling on the reality of O'Keefe's life, the reader and movie audience were able to live vicariously through the romantic highlights of his life. Hollywood focused on the myth of O'Keefe and not the reality.

James Loewen (1995) best summed up the multiple perspectives on O'Keefe's life when he said, "Historical perspective is thus not a by-product of the passage of time. A more accurate view derives from Leon Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, which suggests that the social practices of the period when history is written largely determine the history's perspective on the past" (p. 245). In Savannah in the 1900s, family was considered paramount and desertion by a husband was a shameful event. Therefore, the social setting of the time encouraged O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah to "forget" that O'Keefe left his wife, began other families on foreign islands, and chose not to return to Savannah. They instead held fast to the idea that O'Keefe left in search of prosperity for his family and that he was always planning to return to his wife and child.

The Yapese culture at the time of O'Keefe's presence was such that he made their lives easier. O'Keefe saved many lives by transporting stone money to the island and the Yapese never saw the far reaching affects of the ideas, alcohol and guns that he brought with him. His presence on Yap became so commonplace that children no longer remembered or cared that O'Keefe forever changed their lives and not always for the better. In the 1950s when His Majesty O'Keefe (Klingman and Green, 1950) and the movie *His Majesty O'Keefe* (Producer, Hecht, Director, Haskin, 1953) were created, the

time was one of swashbuckling pirates and far reaching adventures. The authors and the movie producers gave their audiences what they wanted. Both the movie and the book were enthralling works that kept the audience bound to their seats and gave them a chance to experience a life outside of the norm.

Was the name O'Keefe used and abused? Was there a difference between reality and myth? The answer to both questions was, yes. O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah only wanted to discuss him when it related to his wealth and his title of "king." They enjoyed the myth and had no interest in the reality of his life. The Older Yapese only wanted to remember O'Keefe with fondness for all that he did for the island without looking at the far-reaching repercussions of his presence. The younger Yapese had no interest in O'Keefe except to remember his name from school or the passing comment of an elder. Hollywood only wanted to glorify the adventurous and romantic side of the O'Keefe legend without examining the reality of his life.

Was O'Keefe still a usable figure in the year 2001? His family in Savannah still had no interest in the reality of O'Keefe's life but this research at least documented information for future generations. The O'Keefe name was the stuff of legends in Savannah and will probably always stay that way. The O'Keefe name on Yap had more visible effects. Where his name was virtually forgotten by the younger Yapese, it was being rekindled in the minds of the people through the construction of O'Keefe's Kanteen, Trader's Landing and Trader's Ridge Resort. Yes, his name still focused on the legend and the "good" that he brought to the island but at least the economic benefits from these businesses were helping the Yapese establish themselves as an independent

society. Hollywood was in a group all by itself. Movies and novels were created for entertainment and that was certainly true of O'Keefe. That was not likely to change. The selective use of history by society was not new or confined to O'Keefe. The different perspectives on his life developed out of the setting from which they came. People remembered and enjoyed recounting what suited them and entertained their guests. This research project did not change those perceptions but it did lay a foundation for the merging of perspectives concerning the life of David Dean O'Keefe.

By the end of this research project, the need to arrive at a "final answer" was no longer there. It became obvious to the researcher that O'Keefe was as elusive at the end of this study as he was at the beginning. After all of the data was collected, the researcher learned more about how others perceived O'Keefe than what he was actually like as a person. O'Keefe became a symbol to many people. The Yapese incorporated him into their island's history as if he had always belonged. They cultivated tourism around his legend and emphasized his role in the coining of stone money. To O'Keefe's family in Savannah, he became a symbol of glamour and romance. To Hollywood, he saved a South Pacific culture and became a king. As this study progressed, O'Keefe himself disappeared and what took his place was the power of history on the individual. As time passed, O'Keefe became less of a real person and more of a symbol to those around him. People recalled what they wanted to remember about O'Keefe and thus created a legend or symbol that flourished one hundred years after his death.

END NOTES

1. Listed below are definitions that were often introduced in all types of research.

- Reliability – replicability of scientific findings.
    - Internal reliability – degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as the original researcher.
    - External reliability – whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs and the same or similar settings.
- Validity – accuracy of scientific findings.
    - Internal validity – extent to which scientific observation and measurements are authentic representations of the same reality.
    - External validity – degree to which such representations may be compared legitimately across groups (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32).

2. The Yapese government charged a $500 research fee for those coming to the islands to study the people and culture.
3. In the Yapese culture, women were considered lower caste citizens. Women did not speak to men in public and were never allowed to participate in discussions regarding the governing of the island. The researcher was able to attend a meeting of the Council of Pilung because of her connection to the O'Keefe family and because the researcher had previously established a relationship with the Yapese people. The researcher visited the island twice and did not attempt to intrude or judge the culture. Therefore, the researcher's presence on Yap was accepted. This project was also

accepted because the information gathered would be valuable to the Yap Historical Preservation Office.

4. Betelnut was an oblong shaped, green nut approximately one to two inches in length. The Yapese cut the nut in half lengthwise, wrapped it in a pepper leaf and sprinkled it with lime. The nut was then placed between the jaw and teeth and chewed. Betelnut had a very bitter taste and when chewed, created a reddish brown juice that stained the teeth and gums. Some Yapese placed a small amount of cigarette tobacco on the nut before it was chewed. Betelnut grew at the top of trees similar to palm trees. The betelnut grown on Yap was considered the finest in Micronesia. When a Micronesian visited Yap or one of the Yapese traveled off island, they always carried betelnut with them and therefore had to go through agricultural inspection in Guam. Because of the prevalence of betelnut leaving Yap and going through customs, the nut was treated much as the Yapese marmar or Hawaiian lei and allowed through customs with little discussion. The researcher was told that sometimes the Yapese carried extra betelnut with them to give to customs officials because the inspectors sometimes "want Yapese betelnut and will take it from you" (Rupong, personal communication, July 30, 1999).

5. Some ethnographies read by the researcher include:

Ball, E. (1998). Slaves in the family. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Leslie, K. A. (1995). Woman of color, daughter of privilege: Amanda America Dickerson 1849-1893. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Pham, A. X. (1999). Catfish and mandola: A two-wheeled voyage through the landscape and memory of Vietnam. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

6. Middleton was located on a stream flowing into Cork Harbor. The population in the mid-1800s was approximately 3,400.
7. The 1880 United States Census for Savannah listed the following people as living in the O'Keefe/Masters household: Gabriel Masters, 70, born in Ireland; wife, Frances, 62, born in Florida; daughter, Sarah, 38, born in Florida; David O'Keefe, 34, sea captain, born in Ireland; wife, Catherine, 34, born in Florida; daughter, Louisa, 10, born in Georgia; Fannie Curran, 25, born in Florida; and Leon P. Masters, 21, born in Georgia (Savannah Census Information: City Listings, 1858-1930, June 12, 1995). Although O'Keefe was listed in the 1880 Census, he was not in Savannah at the time. Since he and Catherine were married, she listed him as a resident of Savannah.
8. The Merritts were the descendants of Louisa and Frank Butler's daughter, Sarah.
9. The Butler family burial plot belonged to Louisa's son, Charles Elton Butler and his descendants.
10. Some questions still existed as to the names of O'Keefe and Dolibu's children. Although Eugenia, Daisy, Lily, Arthur and Dean are agreed upon, other evidence points to more children. According to baptismal records at the Catholic Mission on Yap, three of O'Keefe and Dolibu's children (unnamed) were confirmed on Yap in 1891. Levia Corinna O'Keefe and Louisa O'Keefe were confirmed in 1902.
11. The process of "setting forth the qualities of the deceased and the intense grief of the survivors" was common practice in Yapese funerals (Furness, 1910, p. 74). In the

journal of Alfred Tetens (Tetens, 1888/1958), he told of a ceremony where the son of a deceased man "began his extemporaneous lament in which he extolled the deeds of his father. At every pause, the singer received the recognition and assent of the entire gathering. At the end of the song, the guests, according to rank, began their own praises of the courage and virtues of the departed" (p. 25).

12. Yapese legend described how Yap was divided into four islands.

> Long ago on the island of Yap there lived a lizard. Not an ordinary catch-me-if-you-can sort of lizard but a great sea monster with an enormous appetite. Whoever dared to sail or swim across the lagoon's surface, the lizard ate.
>
> The lizard's name was Galuf. Some say he had the mouth of a giant crocodile. Indeed, Galuf's jaws were so long, so big and so lined with rows and rows of needle-sharp teeth that Galuf could slip his jaws around an outrigger canoe. With one crunch, Galuf would eat the canoe, paddles, people, and all.
>
> Needless to say, few dared to visit Yap. Even fewer tried to sail away for help. In time, Yap became a lonely island.
>
> At that time Yap was one large island, not a cluster of islands with sea canals flowing gently in between. Because of this great lizard's greed, this one island became four: Rumung, Map, Fanif and Mil. But when Yap was still one, the monster Galuf lived in the middle of the area of Map called Mil. From the middle of Mil, Galuf kept one eye or the other wide open, searching for signs of anyone venturing across the lagoon. But what Galuf did not know was that as he was watching, he was also being watched.

The young man, Pirow, barely old enough to be considered a warrior, had sworn to the spirits of the sea that he would somehow free his island and his people from the monstrous appetite of Galuf.

Pirow watched as Galuf sneaked through the lagoon waters. He clenched his fists remembering all the lost warriors who had tried to slay this lizard. Pirow wanted to empty this monster's belly forever. He wanted the waters around Yap to welcome navigators, travelers, and fishermen. As he watched, Pirow began to create a plan.

He saw how the lizard could dart like a javelin from one rocky shore to another. Speed, Pirow thought. To defeat this monster he would need to build a canoe, so sleek and so fast that he could out-paddle Galuf. He needed a canoe that could sail faster than the lizard could swim. But how would he know if he was successful? How fast was fast enough?

Pirow explained this puzzle to his wife. She knew there was little chance that her young husband could build such a vessel. If Pirow was not to become Galuf's next meal, the wife suggested that Pirow's canoe must sail faster than a fish could be cooked.

First Pirow went to the forest. He chose a tall, sturdy ironwood tree. He gave thanks to the tree spirit, felled the tree, hollowed it out, shaped it properly and dragged it to the water's edge. From this hidden cove, far from the area of Mil, Pirow signed to his wife. She placed a fish on her cooking fire. Pirow paddled furiously across the cove. He jumped out of the outrigger and raced to his

wife who pointed to a burnt fish. The ironwood canoe was too heavy and too slow.

Pirow again searched through the forest. He came to a small clearing at the top of a knoll and spotted a towering coconut palm. Again he gave thanks to the tree spirit, picked up his axe and began chopping. After many days of scraping, Pirow carried out of the forest a sleek, light outrigger to the cove. He signed to his wife. She signaled back and then Pirow sprang into the canoe, let out the sail and paddled faster than ever. When he arrived at his wife's side, she sighed and pointed to the charred ashes of the second fish.

This time when Pirow wandered through the forest, he thought about which tree grew slowly so the wood was dense and could be scraped thin but remain strong. He looked at many trees and searched for one which grew tall and straight so the outrigger would slice through the water faster than a spear pierced the air.

Pirow became weary. He rested where the shade was dark. He looked up and smiled back at the enormous leaves above him. The leaves were larger than his head and deeply edged as if circled with laughing smiles.

"The breadfruit tree! Of course. This tree grows slowly but with pride. It has the courage to stand tall yet give generously of its fruit." Pirow closed his eyes and prayed silently to his ancestors and to the spirits. Did he have their permission to cut down such a mighty tree?

The forest grew still. The little geckoes hid and quieted their chirping. Overhead the slender, white tropic birds landed, watching in silent pairs along the tallest limbs. Even the dancing of butterflies seemed hushed. The forest creatures waited for Pirow's decision. And then for many days the only sound was the chop-chop-chopping of Pirow's axe.

Pirow asked his wife to help him carry the slender canoe to the cove. She then ran back to their hut, stirred dry wood into the red coals until they blazed into searing flames. She waited until Pirow raised his hand and gave the signal. Quickly she placed a fish in the hottest part of the fire.

Pirow paddled across the cove, raced back to the hut and stood in front of his wife. This time she pointed to a fish that was still flopping on the fire.

Pirow was pleased. But still he sat frowning, feeling discouraged. He pondered about one last problem. He was quite sure that he could sail faster and out-distance the lizard. But how could he kill the monster? Speed alone was useless. Escaping the monster accomplished nothing. He must destroy Galuf so others could sail safely across the lagoon.

And then Pirow smiled. He returned to the cove, swam to the deepest part and began diving. He searched and searched until he caught what he needed – a giant clam. When its two shells stretched open, scarlet edges encircled a gaping cavern wider than a shark's mouth.

With the clam tied securely on his outrigger, Pirow entered the lagoon. He began paddling across the widest part. Soon the monster – lizard also slipped into

the water. He slapped the sea with his tail, sending waves spilling in every direction. With a roar of a thousand waterfalls, Galuf challenged his opponent and then dove, swimming full speed toward the slender craft.

But the race was futile. Pirow let out his sail, caught the wind fully and paddled across the waters twice as fast as the monster could swim. Back and forth, all day long the two raced. Finally even the sun tired of this useless chase and slipped beneath the horizon. Now the stars twinkled in amusement.

Again Galuf slapped his tail. He opened his jaws but this time his roar was a tired, whiney voice. "I'm worn out and hungry," he complained. "Let us both rest until morning."

Pirow agreed.

Galuf eyed the slender boat. His stomach rumbled with emptiness. The lizard slowly slithered toward the cove. To Galuf's surprise, Pirow did not even try to escape. Instead Pirow invited the monster to rest his head on the outrigger.

Once on the boat, the first sight that caught Galuf's attention was the gaping mouth of the clam. How tender and sweet the center would taste. Faster than the skip of a flying fish, the greedy lizard stuck his head into the shell. The clam snapped shut, trapping Galuf's head inside.

The monster roared! But his head was stuck tight and wouldn't budge. He swung his tail from side to side, wrestling to break free. With a monstrous heave he slapped his tail down in the middle of the island, breaking off the two pieces of Rumung and Map.

Still Galuf struggled to escape. The lagoon waters churned and froth filled the air as if from the winds of a typhoon. Once again the monster – lizard roared, raised his tail, and whack! The hills of Gagil were struck causing a quaking of the earth and a splitting of the ground. Again the land was separated. No longer was Yap one island, but four – with sea channels the size of Galuf's tail flowing in between.

One last time Galuf swung his tail high. It landed with a mighty splash spilling water everywhere and washing the giant clam, with the lizard's head stuck tightly inside, down to the black bottom of the sea (Ashby, 1996, pp. 32-38).

13. Because of Yap's physical connection to the tip of Asia, it was in no danger of collapsing like many atolls. Atolls were formed as high volcanic islands subsided into lagoons (Stanley, 1992).
14. Another Yapese legend told yet a different story about how the island was populated.

Once there were only a few people on Yap and traditions were strictly enforced. This was especially true of commands made by the chief. The whole island obeyed only one leader and the population was a mixture of people and ghosts.

The one great chief, Rugog, lived at a place that is still known as a high caste village. This place is called Teb. One time the chief heard about a beautiful lady who was a ghost and stayed on a stone outside the village, but the people

could not catch her. Each time that they would try, she would escape under the stone.

The chief brought together all of his workers and slaves to try to find out how the beautiful lady ghost could be captured. It happened that there was a man in the group who had eyes in the back of his head. When he was going backward, he appeared to be going forward. A plan was made to fly kites to distract the lady and then the man would walk up and capture her with a net, while seeming to be walking in the opposite direction. The plan worked and the beautiful lady was taken prisoner. She was then brought to the chief.

The lady's name was Leebirang, and they were soon married. But Leebirang became very lonely in the new place and so her mother came to visit her. All of the people of Tomil were told by the chief to feed the mother who had a very great appetite. So all of the people provided her with food. Soon, however, the people got tired of the mother because she ate too much. The mother then had to steal sugarcane from the chief's garden. When the chief found that his sugarcane was disappearing, he set a trap and the mother was caught in it. This caused a great typhoon to hit the island with seas so high that all of the people were washed away except for Leebirang and Rugog.

The chief and his lady ghost wife eventually had seven sons and they were distributed among the seven municipalities of Yap. This is how the islands again became populated. The youngest son was given the chief's place and Teb remains a high caste village to this day. In the 18th century, the chief's grave was dug up

to find out how tall he had been. He measured seven feet and some inches, the tallest among Micronesians. A dance was composed for him and is still performed on Yap today (Ashby, 1983, pp. 8-9).

15. Pohnpei, Chuuk, Yap, Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Mariana Islands were the only islands that the United Nations designated as a "Security Trusteeship" and whose ultimate disposition was to be determined by the United Nations Security Council (http://fsmgov.org/info/hist.html).
16. Tarang was listed on the National Register of Historic Places by Luke Moon and Marie Pinen (United States Department of the Interior, 1976).
17. Monitor lizards were found in most villages on Yap. Adult monitor lizards grew to be five or six feet long. No other reptiles lived on Yap.
18. Leprosy still existed on Yap in 1999 but was treatable and controlled with medication. One leprosy patient that the researcher met was an excellent carver who created pieces for the Ethnic Art Institute (http://www.rgda.com/eairnhome.htm).
19. Rumung was called the forbidden island. Only those from the island were allowed to land on its shores. The researcher was unable to view the largest stone coin on the island. Prior to the researcher's visit, a man from another village was fishing off the shores of Rumung and had disappeared. Trespassing in the fishing territory of another village was punishable by death.
20. Two pieces of double hole coins still existed on Yap. One was located in Gagil and the other in Kanif.

21. There were two quarries on Maap. The stone was quartz, not aragonite, and mining these stones was not successful (Müller, 1917).

22. "The Trust Territory government and district government of Yap have put restriction on the exportation of stone money. Banks in Switzerland and the United States have acquired pieces as have the Smithsonian Institution and other museums in the United States, Japan and Germany" (Gorongfel, 1979, p. 28). One can purchase a small replica of stone money made out of coral or betelnut but it is illegal to damage or remove stone money from the island.

23. In July, 1999, two copra dryers were still in use on Yap Proper.

24. Trepang was also known as Holothurians, *bêche-de-mer*, or sea slugs.

25. The Civil War Maritime Naval records were stored at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The volume containing information on Confederate blockade-runners during the Civil War was destroyed. Therefore, the researcher was unable to document O'Keefe's role as a blockade-runner except through interviews with O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah (E. Abernathy, personal communication, April 4, 1992; T. Wettstein, personal communication, July 21, 1995).

26. The *Anna Sims* was built in 1865 in Savannah, Georgia. It had 1 deck and 2 masts. The vessel was sixty feet in length, 16 feet in breadth, and 6 feet in depth. The vessel was given a license on July 15, 1867, by Deputy Collector, G. Wellman. The owners were listed as William H. Spencer, Leander Moore, and Julia P. Spencer (Custom House, July 15, 1867).

27. O'Keefe's checks to Catherine were drawn on the Bank of England (Dodson, 1986).

28. Divorce in the Catholic Church was unheard of in the 1800s. It was the Catholic Church's position that

> "What God has joined together, let no man put asunder" (Mk 10:9). What he is saying here is that, in marriage, God joins two people together for life. The act makes the two into one. He binds their souls together. And no one, not even the Catholic Church, is powerful enough to break that bond. It can't be done (http://www.ewtn.com/lilbrary/YOUTH/DIVANNU.TXT, August 26, 2001, p. 1).

Only through an annulment could Catherine have separated from O'Keefe. An annulment in the Catholic Church meant that "for some reason, the marriage never took place (http://www.ewtn.com/lilbrary/YOUTH/DIVANNU.TXT, August 26, 2001, p. 1). This was not true in Catherine's case.

29. Debate existed over how O'Keefe arrived on Yap. Those in Gilman Municipality said that O'Keefe was washed ashore (Lubuw, personal communication, July 7, 1999). Those in Tomil and Gagil said that he was welcomed into their harbor (Giltaman, personal communication, June 29, 1999). The researcher found that it was not unusual for a person to never leave his village and visit the other side of a 12-mile island. Therefore, it was possible that other villages did not know that O'Keefe had been seen shipwrecked in Gilman but had only seen him later arrive on Yap. Thus, the conflicting versions of O'Keefe's arrival on the island.

30. Fanoway was a Yapese man from Wowol Municipality. The Yapese surname represented the village and person's social status. The Yapese were often named after the land or area they were from.

31. The researcher made many social gaffes during the two visits to the island but the Yapese were very forgiving. They recognized and accepted someone who appreciated their island as opposed to someone who simply wanted to exploit their unique culture. Several ex-patriots with whom the researcher became acquainted reinforced the knowledge that the Yapese possessed the ability to see into a person's soul. They could tell when someone was lying or a fraud. "They can tell your heart" (D. Evans, personal communication, July 30, 1999).
32. O'Keefe used his brig, *Queen*, to salvage the wreck of the *Lilla* (Hezel, 1979).
33. Palauans were the indigenous people of Palau. Palau was an island located approximately 250 miles from Yap. It was on Palau that stone money was quarried.
34. Soldiers from Manila stationed on Yap received seven cents per day as their salary.
35. Dr. John Rabé was a dental surgeon traveling in the South Pacific. He met O'Keefe in Manila and sailed with him to Yap aboard the schooner *Jenny*. The forty-seven day trip landed O'Keefe and Rabé on Yap on April 28, 1890 (Rabé, 1890, p. 11).
36. O'Keefe's tradition of giving wooden curios as gifts was carried on when the Butler family was given such a carving upon their first meeting with representatives from Yap.
37. J.C. Godeffroy & Son Trading Company was founded by Johann Caesar Godeffroy in 1869. The company was taken over by *Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg* in 1879 (Craig & King, 1994; Hempenstall, 1978; Hezel & Berg, 1979/1985; Wuerch & Ballendorf, 1994).

38. The descendants of Bartola Garrido were researching her life and were proposing that a business connection existed between O'Keefe and Bartola. No evidence validated this connection.
39. Yap remained under Spanish rule from 1791 to 1899 (Lingenfelter, 1972).
40. The bay that Rabé was referring to was Tomil Harbor.
41. Women were not traditionally allowed to participate in council meetings. Women played subservient roles to men on Yap.
42. Ex-patriot was the label given to someone who lived on Yap but who was not indigenous to the island.
43. Josephine Patrick's family on Yap was still in possession of the necklace (J. Patrick, personal communication, October 18, 1997).
44. The Chamarro people originated from the Marianna Islands north of Yap (Salesius, 1906).
45. Documentation by David Schneider (1958), showed that typhoons hit the island of Yap in 1886, 1893 and 1900.
46. Elvira Tinag's grandfather was aboard O'Keefe's vessel, *Santa Cruz*, when it disappeared in 1901 (E. Tinag, personal communication, August 11, 1996).
47. The Fleming family and many others have attempted to view the sign with success. The researcher was able to view the sign upon her second visit to Yap once a sense of trust had been established with the Yapese people.
48. *Tuba* was a very popular and intoxicating drink served at feasts and other special occasions. This drink was made from the young, flowering coconut spathe.

To make the tuba, first a string is tied around the young spathe from the bottom to the top. Then, another string is tied around the middle with an end tied to a coconut frond. The spathe is then sliced, but one must be careful to avoid cutting the strings around it. The spathes must be re-cut three times a day; once in the morning, once in the afternoon, and again in the evening. The spathe can be bent down every day by pulling the string that is tied between it and the coconut frond.

Within two or two and a half weeks of slicing, it is necessary to take a coconut shell and secure it against the end of the spathe with the mouth of the shell open to it. If the shell is placed in the evening, there will be liquid in it by morning. This is called sweet tuba, and it can be consumed or thrown away. After another cutting, the shell is again attached to the spathe. In a few days, a liquid will accumulate that is white, and this is what makes the drink (Ashby, 1975, p. 36).

49. Correspondences with Lydia Fleming Black retold her family's connection to O'Keefe. Her grandparents, Dolores Flores (b. September 20, 1882, in Guam) and Joseph Henry James (b. August 28, 1869 in Dublin, Ireland) were married aboard the *Santa Cruz* sixty miles off of Palau by David Dean O'Keefe with permission from the Yap Island government on February 17, 1899. They were remarried in the Catholic Church on Palau on June 26, 1905 (L. Black, personal communication, January 2, 1997).

50. With improvements in island culture also came negative consequences. The Japanese sent Yapese to plantations and phosphorus mines in Fais and Angaur. They also forced others to work for military institutions.

51. The Americans not only bombed Yap in order to destroy the Japanese presence on the island; but, Yap was also an area for American bombers to unload their extra ammunition on return bombing routes.

52. Traditional Yapese customs prohibited men and women from eating together. Not only did men and women sit apart when eating; they were not allowed to share eating utensils. The men, especially those of high caste, used certain cups, bowls, etc. The utensils were not used by any other person. In the higher castes, only certain people were allowed to prepare food for the chief. Members of a low caste were not allowed to touch the food or the utensils used by the village chief.

53. An uneasiness existed between the Yapese and the Chamorro people in 1999. Since the Flemings were of Chamorro descent, this could be why any mention of the Flemings owning or having a right to Tarang and O'Keefe's estate seemed to be met with resistance whereas the Butler connection was never questioned. The Chamorros were the ancestors of modern day Guamanians (Carano, 1976).

54. These paintings were never returned. This was the beginning of contentious dealings between the Butler and the Hartridge families that were still manifested in snide comments and a lack of trust. Two members of O'Keefe's descendants in Savannah reported that they remembered seeing one of the paintings hanging in Walter Hartridge's home (E. Abernathy, personal communication, April 4, 1992; E. Butler, personal communication, December 22, 1995).

55. German law mandated that a person was declared legally dead only after they had been missing for three years.

56. In 1901, the Hibernian Bank was located at 103 Bay Street in Savannah, Georgia.

57. The Yapese culture was one of inclusion. To be ostracized from one's village was the worst punishment possible. Acceptance by the village was so important that ostracism was considered to be a primary factor in the increased suicide rate in Micronesian youth (Hezel, 1977). "The worst offence a person would commit was incest" (Labby, 1976, p. 176). Ostracism resulted from breaking such a taboo.

58. Bully Hayes, the infamous and notorious 19th century American pirate and trader, often used Kosrae as a roadstead. Captain Bully Hayes was "a rogue and scalawag. His thieving ways were tolerated since he moved 20 Banabans who had terrorized the island, killing people at their leisure. The *Lenora* was anchored at Utwe Harbor in Kosrae when a typhoon destroyed the ship and its cargo, not to be documented until 110 years later" (Office of the Governor, 1996; Perry, 1981). The wreck became a popular dive site even though only a few pieces of metal remained on the ocean floor to mark its location.

59. A *mispil* was a young woman who kept company with the men of a *failu* (Perry, 1978).

> A *mispil* must always be stolen by force or cunning from a district at some distance from that wherein her captors reside. By the men, whether in her *failu* or out of it, the *mispil* is invariably treated with every consideration and respect; no unseemly actions may take place in her presence, and all coarse language is scrupulously avoided when she is

within hearing; nevertheless, owing to her station, she is permitted to hear and see the songs and dances, from which other women are barred.

If, by chance, a preference of one lover over another becomes observable, no blame whatever is attached to her, but the favorite is quietly told that, in the opinion of the whole house, he must retire, or possibly leave the failu for a while and live with friends in another district.

The *mispil's* food, and her luxuries, such as tobacco and betelnut, are supplied by the men and she is never required to work in the taro fields, as are the wives and daughters of the district. The *mispils* are absolutely faithful to the men of their *failu*, regarding themselves as unquestionable property, having been sought and captured at the risk of the men's lives, and paid for in costly pieces of stone money.

They are by no means kept as prisoners; as soon as the excitement over their capture has abated in their own village, they are at full liberty to return home and visit their family and friends and they always return willingly and voluntarily to their *failu* (Furness, 1910, pp. 47-48).

60. *Lava lavas* were pieces of material that were worn around the waist like a skirt and fell slightly above the knee.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Questions for O'Keefe's Descendants in Savannah

1. Do you remember David O'Keefe or his immediate family?
2. What stories do you remember hearing about O'Keefe?
3. How did O'Keefe's departure from Savannah affect those he left behind?
4. How did you learn about O'Keefe?
5. Do the younger members of your family know about O'Keefe? How did they learn about him?
6. In your opinion, what is your family's perception of O'Keefe?
7. Do you have any artifacts from O'Keefe's life?
8. What do you think of the book and movie His Majesty O'Keefe?
9. Does your family know anything about O'Keefe before his arrival in Savannah? Why he left Savannah? How he died?
10. What do you know about O'Keefe's life and businesses on Yap?

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions for the Yapese

1. Do you remember David Dean O'Keefe or his immediate family?
2. How did you learn about O'Keefe?
3. What do the adults in your family teach younger children about O'Keefe?
4. Do you remember any stories about O'Keefe or his family?
5. What do you remember about O'Keefe's home on Tarang?
6. Do you know how O'Keefe arrived on Yap?
7. What do you remember about O'Keefe's businesses?
8. How did O'Keefe's presence on Yap affect the people of the island?
9. Did O'Keefe bring anything new to the island? Food? Western commodities?
10. Why were the Yapese responsive to working for O'Keefe and receptive to his presence?
11. Why were the Yapese unresponsive to previous attempts by outsiders (Catholic missionaries, Japanese and German governments, etc.) to change or adapt to new ideas?
12. Did you learn about O'Keefe through any other means than by stories passed down through your family?
13. Have you studied about O'Keefe in school?
14. Do you have any artifacts that belonged to O'Keefe or his immediate family?
15. Did you know about O'Keefe's family in the United States?
16. Did any outsiders visit O'Keefe while he lived on Yap?
17. What did O'Keefe and his family look like? What were their personalities like?

18. Why do you think that the Yapese government named a holiday after O'Keefe?
19. Do you think that there is anyone else who deserves to have a holiday named after them? Who? Why?
20. Was Tarang given to O'Keefe or was he just allowed to live there? If the land was given to him, why would the Yapese do that when only people indigenous to the island are allowed to own land?
21. How do you think O'Keefe died?
22. Do you know what happened to O'Keefe's island wives and children?
23. How did O'Keefe's disappearance affect his business, family and the people of Yap?

APPENDIX C

Transcripts of Letters from David Dean O'Keefe to Catherine Masters O'Keefe

Hong Kong China
Sept. the 20th 1871

Dear Kate,

After a hard struggle between my good and bad nature I have concluded to write again hoping sincerely that you are not to blame for the luminary neglect of yours as I have not heard a word from you since I left Liverpool. Yet it is very hard for me to bring myself to it when I think of every one else on board the ship getting letters but me however I console myself with a thousand different things all of which are in your favor. I left the Belvidere at Manila on the 2nd of this month a the captain and me did not agree very well after leaving Augor Point the principal reason was he would not give me our orders for some money to send you. So I made the ship so hot for him that he was very glad to give me my discharge and money. I then came passenger in the mail steamer here and now I am waiting for to get another ship. I could get plenty to go in but they all run on this coast and if I do that heaven only knows when I will get home again. I will either go to San Francisco or Europe from here and either of the above places home with the help of god. I am staying at the Astar House it is kept by a New Yorker by the name of Montgomery a very nice man the principal reason of my writing now was an accident that happened three evenings since opposite the Hotel I am shopping at are fancy toy shops with very large verandahs three of them gave way and fell down killing several people and wounding a great many Moore. Several times that day I had been over there looking at the things and buying Some of them and I was struck speechless for some time but-rushed out-to assist the sufferers in a few moments there were thousands of people

there and the only one's that worked was the white men the Chinese would not lift a hand to save the relatives only to strip the jewelry off of them as they were brought out from the ruins the last one an old woman was dug out today curled up in a frightful condition in this I recognized that hand of a good god it was almost a miracle that I had not been there for if I had none of you would have ever known my end that evening I made a point to write.

Enclosed I send you a gold draft for one hundred and sixty seven dollars and some cents you will send it on and have it turned in to green backs hoping it will reach you before you need it. I was late for the mail that left here for California on the 12th as I did not arrive here until the 13 so I will have to send this by the English mail I will write again and let you know where I am going to and where to send your letters you must not let anyone know I left the ship outside the family. Good Bye Yours truly D. D. O'Keefe

How is my darling Lulu I have so many pretty things for her I sincerely pray god will spare you all give my love to all a thousand kisses for my darling Lulu

Hong Kong
Octr 14th 1871
Captain David D. O'Keefe
Credits Mr. Gene Russell & Co
Hong Kong, China

Dear Kate,

I arrived back today after being away 11 days during which time I experienced several hairsbreath escapes of loosing the ship and all on board are several better befall theres mine have suffered considerable in the violent-storm of the last 2 weeks I had the misfortune of my captain dying last Friday while in a fearful storm and not knowing the moment that would seal our fate as we were in a crippled condition and had been at the mercy of the seas for several days and not been able to see the sun so as to find out my position but glory be to god the next day was a fine one and thus our lives and the Tepolo was saved. I succeeded in bringing the remains of the captain so as to give him a Christian burial and public opinion has approved of my conduct although my position is benefited by this sad misfortune to another god knows I am truly sorry for this poor man and his family. I was only with him a little while but I liked him he was the most of a gentleman I ever sailed with poor man I wished to god I could bring him to life. I will send you the newspaper account of the misfortune.

I suppose I will leave sometime next week if the weather becomes settled-I have to repair some before I start again on over seas. Oct.-this 20th the boat leaves today. I will send this I am terribly homesick but it is a pity to leave here for home and give up the level chance that luck has looked in my way. You will on receipt of this Send me my Masters Certificate You need not send it by the envelope as that would make it too heavy.

I am uneasy about you and will remain so until I hear from you I am afraid some of the family is dead may god protect my darling Lulu and all of you and I will see you before long as I will leave for home as soon as I have a little money saved give my regards to all your loving husband

D. D. O'Keefe

Hong Kong China
June 11, 1872

My Dear Wife,

Your sad news reached me by the last mail about poor Lulu. Oh my god it will drive me mad to think the poor child is maimed for life too bad oh why didn't you guard against it. I am sure Christmas time is not the most pleasant part of the year for yourself and child to be exposed in as the cold air you say this happened in Christmas week then How is it you did not let me know of it in the letters you wrote me in December and the 4th of the following I am away in both of those you said that Lulu was quite well only her teeth now you write and contradict yourself this is very suspicious and it mystifies me in thinking all is not quite right if your story is true cannot be helped gods will done but if it and others are to blame for that poor child misfortune better they were never born regardless of who they are as soon as I will have a chance to find out the truth doubtlessly you will think I don't credit your version of the affair even to I have not dared you haven't you deceived me in this matter and those who deceive in one thing is fully competent of doing it in this I do not accuse you only I speak on principle.

If the misfortune had only happened in December you should informed me of it in the letter you wrote me in that month or the next. Had you done so I would now be on my way home then I was free now I am not so my friend Mr. Field have bought me a vessel and now I can give this up for some time Enclosed will send this letter to me calling me from Culung where I had been for the last five months tending to his business to come

down to Hong Kong to take charge of his ship he would not have bought her only for me so now I cannot leave him.

You say your lady friend has forsaken you. I hope you do not give them cause to do so you had ought to be aware that people are judged by the company they Keep if Alice Cratty and Mrs. Donilan has ever heard that you have visited at Yamacraw I am not at all surprised that they avoid your person to my departure I gave you all the advice I thought required now if you will desire and that and risk the gossip of your neighbors you have no one to blame but yourself.

I cannot bring myself to believe that my poor child's not properly taken care of had she been I am sure this would not have happened.

Enclosed I send you a draft on our the bank of England for £6312 Equal to 339 dollars American money. You can sell it mostly any of the merchants in Savannah You had better be careful of this as the Lord knows when I will have any more to send if there is any chance of securing a good eye doctor who can improve the poor child's eyes don't fail to get him If it should take every dollar you have but don't let her suffer any unnecessary pain it is so long since it happened now I am afraid it is scarcely any use of trying.

I have four oil paintings to send by the first appointment three of ourselves and the other of the ship I command in everything I am successful only at home and that is it aspect object of all perhaps you think I am careless because I don't go home Oh my god my every thought is centered there and all I suffer on your account is bringing me to a speedy grave so I remain away so as to make some money in the hope of enjoying it after a while

but now what could I enjoy every time I think of that poor child I am to be mad I suppose it will be the end of me.

Yours as you desire.

D. D. O'Keefe

Answer this for fear I cannot leave

APPENDIX D

Project Summary

Janet B. Butler
Doctoral Student
Georgia Southern University
Statesboro, Georgia

East Meets West: Desperately Seeking David Dean O'Keefe from Savannah to yap

Explanation: As a requirement for the completion of the doctoral program in Curriculum Studies at Georgia Southern University, I am conducting research on David Dean O'Keefe and his influence on Yap. I will interview descendants and those who remember O'Keefe in Savannah, Yap and Guam. This information will then be used to derive a missing piece of history as well as examine how information changes as it is passed down from one generation to another.

Role of the Participant: Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. Copies of the interview will be given back to (those being interviewed/you) to check for accuracy of interpretation. No names will be attached to the interviews unless (you/those being interviewed) wish to have (their/your) name associated with the information. Attached are some questions, which might provide guidance as to what type of information I am searching for about O'Keefe.

Interviews will last approximately one hour. This time will vary depending upon the amount of time that (the person being interviewed/you) will give. It is also important to note that (those being interviewed/you) can refuse to answer any question or stop the interview process at any time without any penalty. Final copies of the dissertation will be made available to anyone who wishes to participate in this study.

For Further Information: Contact Janet B. Butler (doctoral candidate at Georgia Southern University) at 912-653-2733 (phone or fax) or PO Box 1461 Pembroke, Georgia 31321. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant in the study, they should be directed to the IRB Coordinator at the Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at 912-681-5465.

APPENDIX E

Interview Consent Form

Interview Consent Form
Dissertation Research
Janet B. Butler

On _____ I was interviewed by Janet B. Butler for research leading to the completion of a doctoral dissertation in the Curriculum Studies Program at Georgia Southern University. I agree to allow the information gathered during this interview to be used in methodology classes and in a research project focusing on the life of David Dean O'Keefe and the Yapese culture. Unless otherwise agreed upon beforehand, all names will be kept confidential and will not appear in any formal document.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX F

Letter from Vincent Figir, Governor of Yap

THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF YAP

January 12, 1999

Georgia State University
Statesboro Georgia 30460

Dear Sir/Madam:

It is my understanding that Ms. Janet Butler may be coming to Yap Island to research stories about Captain David Dean O'Keefe.

I am very much in support of this project. Captain O'Keefe accepted copra for the transport of our stone money from Palau, which enabled him to obtain power and influence in Yap and wealth in the Hong Kong market for over 30 years. Even though this Irish-American influenced our Island more than any other foreigner did, research concerning Captain O'Keefe has been very limited.

We welcome any research that will assist us in documenting, particularly on a personal basis, the influence O'Keefe had on our grandparents and great grandparents.

We have several individuals here who are willing to act as translators for the project and I will be happy to assist Ms. Butler in any way I can during her visit to Yap.

Sincerely,

Vincent A. Figir
Governor, Yap State

APPENDIX G

Proclamation from the Governor of Yap

THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF YAP
FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, Captain David Dean O'keefe arrived Yap in 1872, about one hundred and fourteen years ago today, and made Yap his home for a period of thirty years;

WHEREAS, Captain O'keefe, during his many years in Yap, lived with and established a very special tie with the people of Yap, a relationship that no other single foreign visitor was able to establish during and even after Captain O'keefe's time;

WHEREAS, the people of Yap found Captain O'keefe to be a very sensitive individual to the culture and the tradition of the people of Yap;

WHEREAS, Captain O'Keefe, because of sensitivity, honesty, decency, and generosity to the people of Yap, made it easier and less life threatening to travel to Palau to carve the valuable stone monies, and bring the same to Yap using transportation and tools made available by Captain O'keefe which voyages and the fruits thereof have continued to enrich the unique culture and history of the people of Yap tremendously; and

WHEREAS, the people of Yap have and will always cherish the special memory of Captain O'keefe in their lives, culture and history;

NOW, WHEREFORE, and on behalf of the people of Yap State, I, Vincent A. Figir, Governor of the State of Yap, do hereby proclaim August 9 of each year, effective August 9, 1996, as Captain David Dean O'keefe's Day in the State of Yap in commemoration of Captain O'keefe and his tremendous contribution to the culture and history of the people of Yap.

Signed this 5th day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Six.

The Honorable Vincent A. Figir
Governor of the State of Yap

APPENDIX H

IRB Approval Letter

Office of Research Services & Sponsored Programs
Georgia Southern University

Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Memorandum

Phone: 681-5465 P.O. Box 8005 Fax: 681-0719
oversight@GaSoU.edu -- or -- ngarrets@GaSoU.edu

To: Janet Butler
Department of Curriculum, Foundations & Research

From: Neil Garretson, Coordinator
Research Oversight Committees (IACUC/IBC/IRB)

Date: January 27, 1999

Subject: Application for Approval to Utilize Human Subjects in Research

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On behalf of Dr. Howard M. Kaplan, Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I am writing to inform you that we have completed the review of your *Application for Approval to Utilize Human Subjects* in your proposed research, "East Meets West: An Anthropological Examination of Social, Economic and Cultural Change on the Pacific Island of Yap in the Late 1800's." It is the determination of the Chair, on behalf of the Institutional Review Board, that your proposed research adequately protects the rights of human subjects. Your research is approved on the basis that it falls within the *Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects* (45 CFR §46101(b)(2)), which exempts:

> (2) Research involving the use of ...survey procedures, interview procedures (as long as)
> (i) information obtained (either) is recorded in such a manner that human subjects ~~can~~ (cannot) be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, ~~and~~ (or)
> (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could (not) reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

This IRB approval is in effect for one year from the date of this letter. If at the end of that time, there have been no changes to the exempted research protocol, you may request an extension of the approval period for an additional year. Please notify the IRB Coordinator immediately if a change or modification of the approved methodology is necessary. Upon completion of your data collection, please notify the IRB Coordinator so that your file may be closed.

Cc: Dr. Bryan Deever, Faculty Advisor