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Hanlon, David L.

UPON A STONE ALTAR: A HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF PONAPE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF FOREIGN CONTACT TO 1890

University of Hawaii

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UPON A STONE ALTAR:
A HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF PONAPE
FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF FOREIGN CONTACT TO 1890.

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY
DECEMBER 1984

BY
David L. Hanlon

Dissertation Committee:
Brij V. Lal, Chairman
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Robert C. Kiste
Donald J. Raleigh
John J. Stephan
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A person who decides at the age of thirty one to pursue an advanced degree in history needs, among other things, a great deal of understanding and support. Fortunately, I found many people who offered both. More than anyone else, however, Kathy Hanlon, as wife, editor, advisor, and friend, made possible the completion of this dissertation while she sustained our growing family during four arduous years. It is only fitting then that this work be dedicated to her.

The University of Hawaii's guidelines for preparation of the dissertation format state that the acknowledgement of committee members' contributions is not necessary. In my case, however, it is very necessary. I doubt that any graduate student has received greater encouragement from the members of his or her committee. Prof. Brij V. Lal of Fiji, the chairman who inherited a half-cooked dissertation begun under Prof. Tim Macnaught in the fall of 1980, showed himself at all times gracious, open-minded, tolerant and supportive. Prof. Donald J. Raleigh, a close friend as well as a demanding advisor, convinced me that the distance between Saratov in the Soviet Union and Ponape in the Eastern Carolines is not nearly as far as some have imagined. From Boston via Princeton, New Jersey, and Boulder, Colorado, came Prof. Richard H. Immerman whose own enthusiasm for my topic helped sustain me
through fleeting but awful moments of anxiety when deadlines loomed.
Prof. John J. Stephan, of Khabarovsk and Honolulu, will always be first
and foremost in my mind a keen islands enthusiast and a model of
deportment, energy, and scholarly standards for any young historian.
Prof. Robert C. Kiste of the University's Pacific Islands Studies Program
never voiced anything but support for my efforts, while Prof. John N.
Stalker, by his example, reinforced my own sense of the role of drama in
the study of contact between different cultures.

I have also benefited from the support of other scholars, colleagues,
and friends. Had it not been for the pioneering work of Fr. Francis X.
Hezel, S. J., of the Micronesian Seminar on Truk, I would still be
laboring through ships' logs and traders' journals. Dr. Dirk A.
Ballendorf, the Director of the Micronesian Area Research Center at the
University of Guam, opened both his collection and his home to me during
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members of the Ponape State Historic Preservation Committee gave me their
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from their busy schedules at different ends of the world to comment on my
work. Closer to home, Dr. J. Stephen Athens always demonstrated a great
deal of patience in explaining the intricacies of archaeological
techniques, theories, and findings to this layman; his charming wife,
Señora Olivia Athens, supplied much needed and timely assistance in the
translation of Spanish documents.

The East-West Center and the Honolulu Chapter of the English Speaking
Union helped fund my field research on Ponape. Ms. Rose Nakamura and
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In this catalogue of deeply felt debts, I have saved some of the most important to last. The more than six years I've lived with Ponapeans over the last decade - times which included many laughs and some tears - have rendered meaningless the words "thank you." There is no way I can begin to repay these very special people for their warmth, affection, and kindnesses. They have taught me not only about their history but about life and how to live in a world that sometimes confounds the best laid plans. The members of the Miguel, Villazon, Eperiam, Ladore, Depit, and Andereias families are but some of the many who went out of their way to aid this stranger in crossing some of the very formidable barriers, physical and otherwise, that separate Ponape from the rest of the world.

And then there is Mr. Benno Serilo, or Souruko en Tirensapw Kiti as he is more properly called. Through droughts, under heavy rains, at funerals, during feasts, over cups of sakau, and occasionally with a few bottles of whiskey, Souruko took me into Ponape's past, allowed me to ask the silliest questions, and patiently explained the meaning and significance of Ponapean cultural practices that only I found complicated. Kalangan en Komwi, Sau.
ABSTRACT

Beginning with the first voyage of settlement, the history of Ponape Island in the Eastern Carolines revolves around a tradition of people reaching the island from the distant shores of other lands. With these different groups of people came various plants, animals, goods, ideas, and technologies. These people came to regard their new home as sacred land, sapw sarawi, divinely charted and protected by gods and powerful spirits. Over time, there evolved a way of being called tiahk en sapw or the "custom of the land." Indeed, the people's relationship with the land shaped the distinctive qualities of Ponapean society, determined, in large part, what it meant to be Ponapean, and gave unity to various groups of voyagers who sought shelter from the oppressive circumstances of their former lives.

Ponape, however, was not one. If the land bound men and women together, there nonetheless existed diversity based upon traditional beliefs and practices brought from other lands by the island's settlers. These critical distinctions persisted over centuries. By the time of the island's first contact with the Western world in the late sixteenth century, there had developed a resilient, flexible, though internally divided cultural order accustomed to the selective incorporation of
foreign goods and influences. Dealings with the outside world intensified dramatically during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Ponapeans responded to this heightened Euro-American presence against the lessons of their history and their own cultural presuppositions about the world.

In the period from 1828 to 1890, Ponapeans endured through armed conflicts, epidemics, forced labor, land seizures, and attempted Spanish colonial domination as well as the less violent but equally powerful experiences of early barter, conversion to Christianity, and the introduction of modern economic practices. These events exacerbated existing tensions within Ponapean society; yet, far from suffering any culturally fatal consequences, Ponapeans, as they always had, showed themselves capable of adapting creatively and constructively to change. What emerges from the shadows of Ponape's past in the period up to 1890 is the picture of a group of people, alive, active, alert, and coping. Against an array of strong, imposing, sometimes hostile forces, Ponapeans persevered and survived as Ponapeans.
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Map No. 1 is reduced and copied from the Hawaii Geographic Society's Map of the New Pacific, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1981. Used with permission.


Map No. 5 is reduced and copied from "Po. Dist. Sketch No. 327," a joint effort of the Ponape State Historic Preservation Committee and the Ponape State Division of Lands and Surveys, Kolonia, Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands. Used with permission.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
AHNM Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
CIMA Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FSM Federated States of Micronesia
FRUS Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States.
HEA Hawaiian Evangelical Association.
HMCSL Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.
HRAF Human Relations Area Files.
MARC Micronesian Area Research Center.
PAMB Pacific Manuscripts Bureau.
PNAM Philippine National Archives, Manila.
A NOTE ON PONAPEAN SPELLING

One of the most time-consuming aspects involved in the study of Ponapean history is struggling with the different spellings employed by writers over the last 150 years. Despite the standard orthography developed through the publication of Kenneth L Rehg and Damian G. Sohl's Ponapean-English Dictionary, PALI Language Texts: Micronesia (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), the problem continues in 1984 as Ponapeans from different areas of the island insist, quite understandably, on incorporating dialectical variations into their spelling of the language. The whole issue becomes particularly acute in the case of Ponapean place names that, when spelled correctly, carry substantial clues to the history and significance of events in a given locale. A misrendering of these place names not only results in confusion but invites a misinterpretation of some facet of the island's past.

A GUIDE TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE PONAPEAN LANGUAGE

To assist readers in the pronunciation of Ponapean words, I have included the following consonant and vowel charts. These charts, along with an extensive explanation of the sound system of the Ponapean language, can be found in Rehg's *Ponapean Reference Grammar*, pp. 20-65.

**Chart 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ponapean Consonant</th>
<th>As in the Ponapean Word</th>
<th>Approximate English Equivalent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pohn</td>
<td>spin</td>
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<tr>
<td>pw</td>
<td>pwhl</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>deke</td>
<td>stick</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td>miss you</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>mw</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>ng</td>
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<td>lean</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>_rong</td>
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**Chart 2.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ponapean Vowel</th>
<th>As in the Ponapean Word</th>
<th>Approximate English Equivalent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>amwer</td>
<td>pot</td>
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<td>esil</td>
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On June 21, 1983, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) voted on the Draft Compact of Free Association with the United States, an agreement intended to replace the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement under which America has been administering the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana Island groups since 1947. Alone among the four Caroline Island states that compose the FSM, Ponape rejected the terms of the Draft Compact. In the election that attracted an extremely high voter turn-out, the margin of defeat came from the rural areas of the island where ethnic Ponapeans voted two-to-one against the Draft Compact. The residents of Kolonia Town, many of whom are non-Ponapeans hailing from neighboring atolls, voted for the Compact by a slightly less pronounced margin. An extremely complicated decision, the Ponapeans' vote against the Draft Compact resulted from serious, culturally rooted doubts about the nature of power, authority, responsibility, and dominance. Reports of last summer's FSM vote tended to ignore the Ponapean decision, focusing more on the strong majorities for approval won in each of the other three island states of Kosrae, Truk, and Yap. Those few accounts that did mention the Ponape vote tended to dismiss it as inconsequential; the Honolulu Advertiser, for example, termed the Ponapeans' response a
"sour note" in an otherwise harmonious exchange of mutual good will and respect by all parties involved. American expatriates working for the Ponape-based FSM national government expressed disbelief over the Ponapeans' decision. These people attributed the Ponapean vote to a combination of ignorance, arrogance, and selfishness.

The plebiscite evidenced an all too familiar pattern in Ponapean history. The people of this seemingly small unimportant volcanic island in the western Pacific had passed judgment upon a political status that, as presently structured, threatens the autonomy of their society. Outside observers, limited by professional interests and cultural biases, dismissed as essentially meaningless an important statement about the persistence and strength of Ponapeans' cultural identity. The issue of Ponape's future political relationship with both the FSM and the United States remains to be settled. What emerges from last summer's vote is that Ponapeans, as they always have, retain a pivotal role in the making of their own history. This study of Ponape's past seeks to explain the resiliency of an island culture that has withstood a host of historical challenges to its autonomy and its integrity.

Until fairly recent times, there existed considerable doubts about the worth and significance of studying the history of a Pacific Island society or, for that matter, any non-literate, technologically less sophisticated group of people. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Romanticism's fascination with noble savages focused European intellectual attention on other cultures and lands; this attraction proved, however, to be fleeting, superficial, and not terribly enlightening for a civilization committed to a belief in linear
historical progression. In the nineteenth century, there came a more systematic inquiry into what made "savages" savage. Western scholarly interest in non-Western societies developed from a desire to understand the factors that led some groups of people to flourish as great civilizations while others perished or stagnated. In their studies, these early social scientists replaced the term "savage" with the only slightly less pejorative "primitive societies." Evolutionists such as Herbert Spencer held primitive societies to be examples of arrested civilizations unable to progress from a simple, homogeneous, technologically backward state to more complex, differentiated, and efficient levels of social organization. Though himself an evolutionist, Lewis Henry Morgan, laying the foundations for Marxian anthropology, offered a more idealized but equally inaccurate depiction of primitive human beings. Morgan described the earliest societies formed by human beings as egalitarian communities distinguished by free and open access to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods. Morgan believed that politicization within these early societies led to stratification, exploitation, and inequality.

Neither evolutionists nor early Marxists had touched upon the rich complexity of human societies. The development of anthropology as a formal scholarly discipline helped promote an appreciation of the critical distinctions among different cultures. The particularism of Franz Boas stressed different human societies as unique systems operating, not on external laws of evolutionary growth, but upon specific, culturally defined principles. Boas, in helping to develop the science of anthropology, emphasized the role of history in the
development of human cultures. Despite coming from somewhat different theoretical perspectives, Marcel Mauss and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, through their ethnographies, focused attention on the institutions, practices, and rituals of human society. With a wealth of data about structures and functions, anthropologists next turned to consider the meanings that supplied the unity of any given cultural order.

Investigations into the meaning assigned cultural actions quickly invited a larger examination of the thinking different groups of human beings employed in the constructing of their societies. With his publication of The Elementary Forms of Religious Life in 1912, Émile Durkheim had argued early on that the ultimate meaning of religion lay not in any relationship with the supernatural but in the reaffirmation of humans as social beings united, in part, by a strong system of belief. In 1931, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl posited a prelogical mentality for primitive peoples through which they sought to explain their worlds. British-trained anthropologists such as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski looked for universal principals or attempted to demonstrate the primacy of practical reason in the thinking that went into the making of cultures. In his analysis of myth, Claude Lévi-Strauss contended that there existed no qualitative distinction between the so-called "primitive mind" and scientific thought. The French anthropologist believed the logic of mythical thought to be as clear and as orderly at that of modern society. Human beings, insisted Lévi-Strauss, have been thinking equally well over the course of centuries. Differences between myth and science result not from the quality of the intellectual process, but from the nature of the problems to which they are applied.
Other anthropologists discovered that "primitive peoples" were logical not only in their explanation of the supernatural but also in their responses to the more mundane forces of change. Through their studies of acculturation, scholars such as Ian Hogbin, Margaret Mead, Ernest Beaglehole, and Raymond Firth demonstrated the vitality and creativity with which living cultures managed change. It was Clifford Geertz, however, who stunned the anthropological world with his description of the destitute peasants, illiterate tradesmen, and common laborers of Java discoursing freely on questions of free will, the properties of God, the nature of time, the reliability of the senses, and the relationship between nature and passion. While many present-day social scientists delve into questions of cognition, behavior, personality, ecology, and systems theories, Geertz, with his emphasis upon the detailed or "thick description" required to capture the complexity and richness of the symbolic activity through which cultures express themselves, has contributed the most to obliterating, in scholarly circles anyway, the pejorative cultural distinction between the West and the rest of the world.

Historians showed themselves equally slow in recognizing the complexity and worth of most non-Western societies. In the Pacific, this limitation proved especially pronounced. Wedded to the written record and bound by cultural prejudices, most historians regarded the Pacific as a largely primitive, inconsequential area of the world of and by itself. The area's only significance lay in its role as a watery arena for the expansionist activities of Western powers. The kind of history that resulted from this approach tended to be a largely Euro-centric exercise
that, in effect, excluded Pacific Islanders from any role in the making of their own history. This tradition has carried over centuries. Representing a grossly distorted, popular interpretation that persists to this day, Alan Moorehead, in his 1968 work, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*, wrote of the disease, disruption, death and cultural destruction that followed when the large, technologically advanced civilizations of the West collided with the small, primitive, technologically backward societies of the Pacific Islands.

Individuals with a more intimate experience of the Pacific discovered a reality quite different from that described by Moorehead. Developing a profound respect for the peoples of the Pacific among whom he worked as a governmental consultant in the post-World War II period, the late Professor James W. Davidson, the veritable founder of the discipline of Pacific History, encouraged colleagues and graduate students alike at the Australian National University in Canberra to penetrate beyond the borders of the islands they studied to a deeper understanding of life in the heartland. The decade following the publication of Davidson's seminal 1966 essay, "Problems of Pacific History," witnessed the writing of such works as Dorothy Shineberg's *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the Southwest Pacific, 1830-1865*, Peter Corris' *Passage, Port, and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration, 1870-1914*, and Kerry Howe's *The Loyalty Islands: A History of Culture Contacts, 1840-1900*. All three works, through a process of deductive logic, used ships' logs, traders journals, and missionary letters to demonstrate different groups of Pacific Islanders managing
quite effectively the forces of change brought to their islands from the outside. While an extremely important development in the historiography of the area, such an approach still left the flesh and blood off the bones of Pacific history. Pacific Islanders were known only through the complaints and frustrations of those who attempted to exploit them. The richness, vitality, and depth of their cultures through which the people made their history remained unexplored.

An exclusive reliance upon archival data thus limited the essentially correct intuition of a second generation of Pacific Islands historians. At this critical moment in the development of the discipline, historians, looking for ways to deal more effectively with the island cultures about which they wrote, discovered anthropologists who, themselves, were seeking a historical framework within which to understand change in the societies they studied. In the first years of this decade, the appearance of Marshall Sahlins' *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* and Greg Dening's *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880* marked an important, necessary wedding of history and anthropology in the field of Pacific studies. Sahlins, in his book, views myth as a historical precedent that shaped the Hawaiian response to the arrival of Euro-American forces. Using the case of Cook as Lono, Sahlins explains the death of the British explorer within the Hawaiian cultural context. Cook's second visit to Hawaii in November 1778 coincided strikingly with the celebration of the Makahiki, a yearly rite of thanksgiving and supplication associated with the god Lono. The timing of his visit, his movement around the islands, and his
participation in certain rituals all supported the Hawaiians' identification of Cook with Lono. When bad weather forced Cook's unscheduled return to Hawaii in February 1779, the Hawaiians viewed his reappearance as the action of a greedy, rapacious god, not content with the offerings and sacrifices made to him. Threatened by the presence of an insatiable deity, Hawaiians, according to the logic and patterns of their history, turned upon the god. Cook's death, then, became a historical metaphor for a mythical reality.

Sahlins' use of myth adds a highly enriching dimension to the study of Pacific Islands history. In elucidating the cultural presuppositions and values that shaped the Hawaiian response to the outside world, the University of Chicago anthropologist has created an important vehicle for bringing non-literate peoples out of the shadows and placing them in the forefront of their history. Sahlins' approach, I believe, holds particular relevance for the study of Ponape's past.

Ponapean history underscores the island's debt to the world beyond. For almost two millennia, people, plants, animals, material goods, technologies, and ideas have been reaching the island from the outside. The survival of the island's people and their way of life has resulted, in large part, from their ability to accept these foreign forces, tame their more threatening aspects, and finally incorporate their most beneficial features. In writing this history of Ponape, I have relied upon myths that, in speaking of the island's early history, convey many of the key values that have helped to shape this pattern. Respect for Ponapeans' own understanding of their past demands such an approach. Indeed, Ponapeans know their history through an extensive body of oral
traditions. For Western scholars given to the assumed truth of the written word, histories derived from oral traditions constitute an unsettling problem. General objections to the use of oral traditions, especially myths, in the writing of history focus on their loose sense of chronology, their incorporation of the supernatural, their unreliability due either to deliberate distortion or faulty human memory, and their reference to fundamentally different cultural values and categories not immediately intelligible to outside observers.  

Relying upon a psychological, ultimately reductionistic approach, many anthropologists from E. B. Tylor to Lévi-Strauss viewed oral traditions as the product of unspoken primordial drives that seek to resolve fundamental tensions inherent in human society. Taking a more conciliatory approach to the role of myth in the study of history, Pacific Islands specialists such as Abraham Fornander, S. Percy Smith, and Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), interpreted them as accurate in their main features but lacking or incorrect in detail. While satisfying many scholars who seek to balance respect for indigenous cultures with scholarly objectivity, such a qualification distorts the very nature of myth and the role it plays in the history of Pacific Island societies. Myths and other oral traditions serve to carry important cultural values from the past across the present; they exist as an integral part of an on-going process of cultural change.  

When understood within the system of logic that gives them meaning, myths become eminently intelligible. They present a legitimate historical record in terms of the values, institutions, practices, and beliefs that have shaped a particular society. In a real sense, then, myths represent a valid form of historical expression.
The use of myths as a historical source also involves a larger issue that transcends simple considerations of reliability. To dismiss or degrade a given society's principal form of historical expression is essentially an arrogant act that, in effect, attempts to deny a people their history. Despite the intensity of the assault upon their oral traditions, Ponapeans harbor few doubts about themselves and their past. Armed with grandiose theories about Pacific migrations, settlement patterns, and social stratification, many modern scientists have come seeking to fit the island's past into their perfect schemes. Their findings have only confirmed what Ponapeans already knew. Linguistic research has identified influences from both the south and the east, areas referred to in the island's settlement histories as Eir and Katau, respectively.\textsuperscript{15} The discovery of pottery shards at various locations on Ponape suggests some form of contact with areas to the west, or Katau Peidi.\textsuperscript{16} No test pit or radio-carbon date has yet yielded any information that contradicts Ponapeans' understanding of who they are. My commitment to the use of Ponapean myths has led me, then, to put aside the western scholarly distinction between history and prehistory as a largely meaningless qualification imposed upon the island's past from the outside.

The history of the Pacific Islands since the arrival of Euro-Americans is, however, not one of islands or islanders in isolation. In a very real sense, the history of these islands since foreign contact binds together peoples from very different worlds. How, then, does one present a history of both "natives" and "strangers"? Bemoaning the strict empiricism that tends to dominate the field, Greg
Dening urges a cross-cultural approach to the study of Pacific history. "The critical advantage of a cross-cultural approach," writes Dening, "is that cultures in their exposure to one another lay bare their structures of law, of morality, their rationalizations in myth, their expressions in ritual and symbol."\(^{17}\) A good history of the contact between different cultures, writes the University of Melbourne historian, requires a description and analysis of the meanings each group gives to its words, gestures, symbols, and rituals; it also requires an appreciation of how these forms of communication are transmitted, received, interpreted, and changed across beaches and other boundaries. A recent example of just how effective this approach can be is Roger M. Keesing and Peter Corris' excellent study of the 1927 massacre on Malaita in the Solomons, *Lightening Meets the West Wind*. The study of Ponape's past, I believe, also offers equally fertile ground for the employment of a cross-cultural approach that borrows from both history and anthropology.

To tell the complex history of interaction between Ponapeans and those who reached the island from European and American shores, I have employed observers' accounts as well as the surprisingly detailed and factually accurate accounts of these relatively recent historical events provided by Ponapeans. In examining the written record provided by beachcombers, whalers, traders, missionaries, and colonial officials, I have tried to be as scholarly and responsible as possible. The accuracy of these written accounts as historical sources suffers from a combination of factors that include the limitations of language, the brevity of direct contact, ethnocentric prejudices, culture shock, and the inordinate attention given to the more exotic aspects of the island's
culture. These ethnohistoric sources often reveal more about the authors and their times than they do of Ponape. Still, in the glimpses and information they provide of Ponape during the first decades of contact with the Euro-American world, these writings remain an important historical source. In attempting to compensate for their deficiencies, I have placed these early written accounts against Ponapean sources, the existing body of anthropological literature, and my own experience with and knowledge of the island. Where necessary and where possible, I have endeavored to correct factual errors, fill in gaps, suggest feasible explanations for Ponapean actions, and offer alternative interpretations to the meaning and significance of the historical events being assessed. In structuring my dissertation, I have avoided any obligatory opening chapter on Ponapean culture. Such standard summations, I feel, give an idealized, ahistorical, and ultimately distorting view of the history of Ponapean culture. Instead, I allow the evidence of my sources, both Ponapean and non-Ponapean, to determine what statements can be made about the origins, development, persistence, or decline of cultural practices and institutions on the island. If not as neat nor as pat a presentation as some might like, my approach is, I think, at least a historically more accurate one.

I planned writing a history of Ponape long before I contemplated undertaking graduate studies at Manoa. One of the most interesting and colorful of all Micronesian islands, Ponape's past, with its rich interchange between an island population and groups of people from the outside, embodies many of the major themes and issues current in the study of Pacific Islands history. Since the beginnings of intensive
foreign contact, Ponape has experienced wars, rebellions, epidemics, forced labor, land seizures, and colonial domination as well as the less violent but equally powerful experiences of early barter, conversion to Christianity, and the introduction of modern economic practices. Far from submitting to the consequences of any fatal impact with the Euro-American world, Ponapeans, throughout their history, have shown themselves capable of adapting creatively and constructively. In short, Ponapeans have managed to survive successfully in a modern world not totally of their own making and not completely within their power to control. Ponapeans' ability to survive as Ponapeans constitutes, I think, the most distinctive aspect of their history.

I choose to end my study at 1890 for a number of reasons. By that year, a central theme in Ponapean history shows itself with a considerable degree of clarity. Sixty years of extensive contact with the Euro-American world, though it had changed certain aspects of the material culture and severely tested the social order of the island, had not made Ponapeans any less Ponapean. The people had opted for foreign goods, ideas, and practices brought to their island from across vast ocean distances; the selection and adaptation of these resources to the Ponapean cultural environment demonstrated a strong conscious sense of practicality. A second reason involves the pattern of resistance to foreign domination. While certain foreign resources proved desirable, domination by the peoples who provided them did not. By 1890, the island's first colonial overlord, Spain, had been effectively nullified as a dominant force on the island. In their struggle with the Spaniards, Ponapeans showed themselves both capable and insistent upon governing
themselves. This Ponapean assertiveness, as evidenced by the 1983 plebiscite, continues to this day though in a subtler, less violent form.

Thirdly, 1890 also marks the formal departure of the American Protestant missionaries from the island. Until the missionaries' return in 1900, Ponape received reprieve from a formidable foreign presence that, for almost forty years, had attempted unsuccesssfully to restructure the political, social, economic, and religious order of the island as well as, through its writings, reduce Ponapean history to a simple struggle between good and bad, Christian and pagan, light and darkness. Finally, from a historian's pragmatic concern for the quality of his sources, the departure of the missionaries in 1890 means the end of a considerable body of ethnographic and historical data. Despite their acute cultural biases, the missionaries, more than any other set of foreign observers, tried to describe and understand the ways of a people they found so lacking in moral and social graces. Spanish colonial documents from archives in both Madrid and Manila do not begin to match the richness of missionary correspondence; indeed, the Spaniards proved as inept at ethnographic description as they did at colonial administration.

Writing the history of another culture entails the recognition of limits. In its attempt to reconstruct the past, history is, by its very nature, an imperfect discipline. The necessity of including cultural analysis, a process Geertz refers to in positive terms as "guessing at meaning," compounds the inherent shortcoming of writing history. Not surprisingly, in carrying out my study of Ponapean history, I have encountered a number of problems, some of which I have not been able to resolve completely. The totality of Ponapeans' history, for example,
Figure 2. Map of Ponape
eludes the scope of this work. During my most recent trip to the island in the summer of 1983, I tried to explain to a friend and teacher from the south of Ponape the purpose of my research. I came, I told him, to gather as much information as possible on the history of the island. I added that I hoped to make my history as Ponapean as possible. Without blinking, the man asked if I, thus, planned to include a history of the reef, forests, mountains, hills, rivers, streams, boulders and rocks on the island. I knew him well enough to understand he wasn't being facetious. The activities of human beings constitute but one part of the island's past; equally important to Ponapeans are the actions of natural and supernatural forces. The name of the island, "Ponape" or more appropriately Pohnpei, conveys a very strong sense of the way Ponapeans view themselves and their history. The word Pohnpei, meaning "Upon a Stone Altar," implies this linkage of the supernatural and natural worlds between which the people of the island seek to mediate with rituals, ceremonies, and prayers. I feel myself capable of neither discerning divine will nor charting complex geological and biological processes. Still, the reader should be aware that Ponapeans hold these aspects to be important dimensions in any history of their island.

The name of the island and its people caused me another problem. Greg Dening, in Islands and Beaches, reclaimed for the people of the Marquesas their true name and a part of their history. Rejecting the "Marquesas" as a violent, demeaning colonial term, Dening employed instead the people's name for themselves, Te Enata. To refer to the whole group of islands that comprised the Marquesas, Dening used Te Enata's word, Te Henua. The gesture moved me, and, for a long time, I
considered using the terms Pohnpei and Mehn Pohnpei to refer to the island and the people of whom I write. The inconvenience and grammatical awkwardness caused by having to adjust my nouns, adjectives, and possessives seemed a small price to pay for authenticity. Upon further reflection, however, I decided to maintain the terms "Ponape" and "Ponapeans." These words, I decided, do not suggest a violence imposed upon the island by outsiders; rather, they represent an imperfect effort by others from different worlds to say the name of the island. That, in a sense, is what my history is all about; an imperfect attempt to convey something of the rich history of this intriguing island and its incredible people. Dening has begun the process of returning to a dispossessed people their history. I can make no such claim with regard to Ponape. Far from being a silent conquered land, Ponape abounds with the sounds of life under which run deep strains of self-confidence and an independence of spirit.

Ponapeans possess a keen sense of history; nevertheless, I hope this study will add to their understanding of the past. In this modern age, the people of Ponape should find especially useful an increased knowledge of why Europeans and Americans first came to their shores, how these outsiders regarded them, and the ways in which they sought to exploit the island. Colonial and neo-colonial structures and practices do carry a strong element of cultural intimidation. Despite their self-confidence, Ponapeans, I think, need to be reminded from time to time of their past successes in dealing with forces of domination from the outside. Non-Ponapeans hopefully will find pause for thought in a history that involves them, too. Clifford Geertz has expressed it most eloquently;
"To see ourselves as others see us can be eye-opening. To see others as sharing a nature with ourselves is the merest decency. But it is from the far more difficult achievement of seeing ourselves amongst others, as a local example of the forms human life has taken, a case among cases, a world among worlds, that the largeness of mind, without which objectivity is self-congratulation and tolerance a sham, comes." 20
NOTES

1 For an in-depth examination of this important vote, see Glenn Petersen, "A Cultural Analysis of the Ponapean Independence Vote in the 1983 Plebiscite, Pacific Studies, forthcoming.

2 Honolulu Advertiser, 23 June 1983. The New York Times carried no report of the vote; the Washington Post of 22 June 1983 reported the results of the FSM-wide vote but with no mention of voting patterns in the individual states.

3 Herbert Spencer, On Social Evolution, ed. J. D. Y. Peel, The Heritage of Sociology Series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). In citing Spencer's work, I have distinguished between his theories on evolution and their use by others to help shape Social Darwinism, a political theory current in the latter half of the nineteenth century.


5 The best exposition of Franz Boas' theories can be found in Race, Language, and Culture (New York: The Free Press, 1940).


18 For an extensive discussion on the limitations of ethnohistoric accounts of island societies, see Greg Dening, "Ethnohistory in Polynesia: The Values of Ethnohistorical Evidence," *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 1, 1966, pp. 23-42.


20 Geertz, "Introduction," *Local Knowledge*, p. 16.
I. THE OTHER SIDE OF YESTERDAY

Rising out of the ocean with mountain peaks over 2500 feet high, the island at 6°54' north latitude and 58°10' east longitude loomed in striking contrast to the many coral atolls encountered by European explorers in their travels about the western Pacific. The land, verdant, abundant with food and fresh water, presented a welcome sight to ships months at sea. Presuming the rights of discoverers and conquerors, these early voyagers gave different names to the island. One unknown seafaring traveler noted the mystical effect created by the low-lying clouds that often shrouded the tall peaks and called the island "Ascension." Later visitors applied more worldly appellations. In 1828, Commander Fedor Lütke, leading a Russian naval expedition through the Pacific, named the island and the atolls nearby the "Senyavin Islands" after his flagship. Passing through the area in 1832, Captain L. Fraser of the ship Planter decided on a more regal application; in honor of the reigning English monarch, he bestowed the name "William the Fourth Group." At different times in various ports of the world, "Quirosa," "Morris Island," "John Bull's Island," and "Harper's Island," served as designations for these 129 square miles of Pacific refuge.
The middle decades of the nineteenth century brought more visitors with more names. Straining to distinguish the sounds of a strange, seemingly garbled language, ships' captains thought they recognized words such as "Banebe," "Bonabee," "Bonnybay," and "Pounipet" used by the people when pointing to their island. The men of the ships couldn't be sure; furthermore, the real name of the island was of no consequence to them. The island's only value lay in the respite, provisions, and limited trade items it could supply to visiting whaleships and trading vessels. Rested and restocked, the ships sailed on. For those who cared to listen carefully, however, the people of the island called their home Pohnpei; its history begins with a canoe, not with a ship.

"A canoe set sail from a foreign shore," commences the first stanza of a song that tells of the creation of the island. Sapikini, a canoe builder in a far off land to the south called Eir, decided to sail out into the horizon in search of what lay on the other side of Kitoaroi leng Dapwaiso, the "Eaves of Heaven." The reason for the voyage remains somewhat unclear, though the use of the word, waii ala or, in modern Ponapean orthography, wawaila, meaning"to go secretly or stealthily," strongly indicates escape or flight from some oppressive circumstance. If so, the voyage was then a purposeful one.

With Sapikini, there traveled seven men and nine women; each of these sixteen individuals possessed an almost supernatural skill used to promote the success of the voyage. Assisted in their journey by a divine wind, the group sailed on until they met an octopus, Litakika, who directed the party toward a large submerged reef extending "from the West to the East." Reaching the reef, the people of the canoe decided to
build upon it; what they built was an altar. With help from the heavens, they
called forth large rocks to serve as a foundation. They then created a
surrounding reef to shelter their work from the heavy seas. For additional
protection, they encircled the altar with a line of mangrove trees. All of this
done, two of the women, Lioramanipwel and Lisarimanipwel, covered the
stone structure with soil they had brought from their homeland in the south. The
voyaging party then stood back and watched as their altar became an island. To
mark its holy origins, they named it Pohnpei, meaning "Upon a Stone Altar."
The modern world knows the island as Ponape, an innocent enough
bastardization of its true name. The most important of the many statements made
about the charter of the new island in the story of Sapikini concerns its sacredness.
From the beginning, Ponape existed as a divinely sanctioned land. Pohnpei sapw
sarawi ehu, "Ponape is a holy land," is the first statement Ponapeans today make
about their island.

After planting the fruit seeds and taro shoots they had brought with them, the
voyaging party sailed on leaving a man and a woman to protect and populate
the land. Other voyages from different areas followed, bringing with them the
essentials for life on the new island. A second canoe brought the couple, Konopwel
and Likarepwel, with more soil. Four men from a place called Imwinkatau arrived
on a third voyage and instructed the inhabitants of the island on how to build
proper shelters. Meteriap, carrying with him the ivory nut palm to provide the
roofing for the people's dwellings, stepped ashore from a fourth voyage. Fire for
cooking, light, and warmth came with Mesia on a
fifth voyage.\textsuperscript{15} A sixth voyage out of Katau Peidi or "Downwind Katau" in the west landed the sisters Lisoumokeleng and Lisoumokiap with important varieties of banana plants and yam seedlings.\textsuperscript{16} From Eir in the south, there washed ashore at Mesihsou on the eastern coast of the island the first coconut, the most versatile and useful of all natural products.\textsuperscript{17}

The superhuman activities of Ponape's first inhabitants created the features of the land. From the magical play of the two brothers, Sarapwau and Mwohnmur, resulted Takaieu, a rock precipice on the north shore of what is now Madolenihmw Harbor that early nineteenth century European visitors would call "Sugarloaf."\textsuperscript{18} A contest between the two boys and the magician Lapoange forged the Lehdaw River channel in the east.\textsuperscript{19} Another legendary struggle between the warrior Saumwin Kepinpil and Warikitam, the emissary of the foreign sorcerer, Souiap, gave rise to the mountains of Kahmar in the north.\textsuperscript{20} Gifts from the heaven enriched the island's flora and fauna. The god Luhk bequeathed the kava plant and the pandanus fruit.\textsuperscript{21} From the corpse of the divine eel, Mwas en Leng, sprouted a particular variety of banana.\textsuperscript{22} Mwas en Pahdol, the ancestral mother of the Lasialap clan, provided the island with different species of fish and eel as well as the wild palm tree.\textsuperscript{23} Prayers, spells, and incantations, revealed through contact with godly beings, helped the people harness the productive powers of their island.

Over time, Ponape became more than just an island; it developed into an independent, self-sufficient world. The land, rich and bountiful, sustained all of the people's physical requirements. Taro, yams,
breadfruit, sugar cane, bananas, and numerous fruits constituted the basic food supply. The lagoon waters within the island's surrounding reef contained an abundant supply of fish. The meat of dogs, birds, and rats supplemented the people's diet. Men wore a loin cloth made from the outer layers of the banana trunk; later, they would weave a koahl or grass skirt from strips of hibiscus bark. Women wrapped themselves in pieces of cloth shaped from the inner bark of the breadfruit tree. Other species of trees provided valuable materials for shelters, canoes, and weapons. The shells of oysters and clams furnished blades for cutting tools. The people used rocks, big and small, to pound, build, hunt, cook, fight, mark boundaries, and trap and carry supernatural power. In many ways, the land defined the character of human activity, determined the range of possibilities, and shaped human values and beliefs. The island took in weary voyagers from distant places, suckled them, and over time, made them into Ponapeans or Mehn Pohnpei. Gradually, there evolved a covenant between the people and their island called tiahk en sapw or the "custom of the land." A resilient, flexible order, tiahk en sapw ultimately defined what it meant to be Ponapean.

Closely associated with the creation of the island is the coming of Ponape's clans. The Dipwinmen was the first of the clans to reach the island. Sapikini's canoe returned a second time to Ponape. With the life of the new land secured, the occupants of the canoe urged Limwetu, the woman left behind to watch over and people the land, to gather up her children and return with them to Eir. Seeing how different her children had become from the people of Eir, Limwetu worried about the consequences of uprooting them from the only home they had ever known. After much
agonizing over the decision, Limwetu decided to remain with her children on Ponape. Though becoming blind and decrepit in her old age, Limwetu did not die; rather, she became a small bird that, the people say, flies about Ponape to this day.

The story of Limwetu holds special importance because it records the transformation of an alien people into Ponapeans while, at the same time, it underscores the clan as the basic distinguishing unit of social organization on the island. The story's focus on Limwetu, rather than her husband Parentu, emphasizes the importance of matrilineality as the determining principle of clan membership. The term, Dipwinmen or "Creature Clan," serves to remind clan members of her living presence and of the continuity of their relationship with the land.

As do other clan histories, the story of the Dipwinmen establishes the group's charter; it distinguishes the clan, enhances its reputation through an association with mythical beings and supernatural acts, and legitimizes its place on the land through an account of clan feats, accomplishments, and contributions to the overall life of the island. Other clans reached Ponape in this early period. Following the Dipwinmen from the south was the Dipwinwai or "Foreign Clan."26 The Ledek came from Katau in the east. Clans, such as the Lasialap and the Dipwinluhk, claimed descent from divine beings on Ponape, itself.27 Once on Ponape, division, caused by population pressures, limited access to controlled resources, and internecine feuding over political power, gave rise to new clans. The Sounpwok, Sounsamaki, Sounrohi and Sounpelienpil developed as offshoots from the Dipwinmen, Ponape's first clan.28 Many in the West tend to regard such histories with a considerable degree of
skepticism; taking a more conciliatory approach, some scholars interpret them as symbolic in meaning and content. For Ponapeans, however, these histories exist as articles of faith.

While Ponapeans understood the bond with the land that united them, they gave equal importance to the distinctions that separated them. In this early period, the people identified themselves most immediately with their clan or sou. Each clan worshiped ancestral spirits, honored a living representation of that spirit, placed strict prohibitions on marriage between fellow clanmates, observed set practices and restrictions, and gave tangible expression to other distinguishing values. The clans spread throughout the different parts of the island with sub-clans or keimw asserting dominance over large areas and matrilineages within the sub-clans, keinek, laying claim to particular pieces of land within the larger controlled territory. The Dipwinmen concentrated in the south with the senior sub-clan, the Upwutenpahini, assuming political control; junior sub-clans, over time, moved west and north into other portions of the island from this southern base. The Dipwinwai spread throughout the island with one of its sub-clans, the Sounmwerekerik, proving dominant in the northwest area of the island now known as Palikir.

Later groups coming to the island found it difficult to earn a place among the entrenched clans. From Katau Peidi in the west sailed the Dipwinpehpe. Landing in the west at Lehnpwel, now known as Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe found themselves chased into the mountains by the Pwuton, the then dominant clan in the area. The Sounkawad from Ratak, an area further east of Katau believed by some to be the northern chain of the
Marshall Islands, experienced a similar fate. Unable to reach any kind of accommodation with the Lasialap and other powerful clans in the north, the Sounkawad sought shelter among the interior mountains in a place called Nankawad. Different groups of people had established themselves on Ponape; they had made peace with the land but there was no peace among Ponapeans. Apart from their relationship with the land, there existed no political order to bind the people as one. Luehen Bernart, the first island historian to express himself in writing, describes the period this way:

"Now, the land became larger and also higher and more populous but they had no ruler. There were no nobles... there were also some people who propagated a bad variety of people who were mutations of human beings called cannibals. They were cruel. There were many among them who would eat their siblings... if they had the opportunity." 32

The mention of cannibals or liet emphasizes strongly the unchecked hostility and aggression that prevailed among and within the clans. Order was needed; as had everything else in this early period, that order came from beyond Ponape's shores.

Ponapeans refer to this first period in their history as Mwehin Kawa or the "Period of Building." It is identified in time as keilahn aí or "the other side of yesterday." 33 Not content with such a temporal designation, archaeologists have sought a more exact dating of the first human presence on the island. Results from radio-carbon testing indicate human activity on the island going back to 227 A. D. 34 The second of Ponape's four periods, the Mwehin Saudeleur or "Period of the Saudeleurs" begins with the establishment of an island-wide political system, an
event estimated by scientists to have taken place near the beginning of
the twelfth century. 35

Amidst the disorder, yet another canoe from the south reached
Ponape's shores. Two men, Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha commanded a large
voyaging party from Katau Peidi. Accounts from this period describe the
two as wise and holy men who brought with them a "sacred ceremony." 36
Arriving at Soupaip in the north of the island, the two men and their
party attempted to establish a settlement. Finding the geography of the
site unsuitable and the inhabitants less than hospitable, the group
abandoned their efforts and moved on. To the area of the island where
their work had failed, the men from Katau Peidi gave the name Sokehs
which means "Do Not Bring Different People Among Them." 37 Three other
attempts to establish themselves at locations farther east likewise
proved futile. 38

The party finally met success at Sounahleng, a small reef area just
off the southeast coast of the main island. With the assistance of gods
and men, Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha began the construction of a complex of
small artificial islets that they called Nan Madol. 39 Immense columns
of prismatic basalt rock, quarried from various locations around the
island, formed high-walled rectangular enclosures for the coral rubble
used as fill for the islets' floors. Built over an extended period of
time, Nan Madol eventually came to consist of 92 man-made islets that
covered an area of 200 acres. The designers divided the complex into a
priests' town, Madol Powe or "Upper Madol," and an administrative center,
Madol Pah or "Lower Madol." Each of the islets served as a site for one
or more specialized activities consistent with Nan Madol's role as a
center of political and religious activity. The walls of Nan Douwas, the fortress and most spectacular of the complex's structures, reached a height of twenty five feet.

Faced with the need for additional labor, Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha, their power and authority growing, coerced the people from other areas of the island to work on the project. The building of Pahn Kadira, the rulers' residence, symbolized the new order of the island. The people of Ponape built three of the four foundation corners for Pahn Kadira; a master stone cutter from Katau Peidak, or "Upwind Katau" in the east built the fourth. The meaning was clear; Ponape and the world to the east now lay under the authority of the people from Katau Peidi in the west. As an ultimate testament to their dominance, the stranger-kings of Nan Madol renamed the different areas of the island. To the area immediately surrounding Nan Madol, they gave the name Deleur. Ohlosihpa having died, Ohlosopha became the first Saudeleur or "Master of Deleur." The east, west, and north areas of the island received the names Malenkopwale, Kohpwaleng, and Pwapwalik, respectively. Identified only as members of the Dipwilap or "Great Clan," the Saudeleurs remained apart. Distance bred mystery and intimidation. Nan Madol's off-shore location and the megalithic character of its architecture attested to the alien, dominating nature of its inhabitants. Nothing grew in the coral rubble that formed the floors of the islets; tribute, in the form of food brought from the island, fed the Saudeleur. The rise of Nan Madol gave order to a contentious land but it was an order born of domination.
In organizing the island under a single political system, the Saudeleur dynasty confirmed the existing territorial divisions on the island. The eastern area of the island, which the Saudeleurs called Malenkopwale, consisted of seven major divisions: Wenik Peidi, Wenik Peidak, Enimwahn, Lehdaw, Senipehn, Lepinsed, and Deleur. In the west, there stood Onohnleng, Kepihleng, Lehnwel, and the island of And. Six major areas comprised the north: Palikir, Sokehs, Tipwen Dongalap, Kahmar, Nan Mair, and the island of Pakin. The Saudeleurs also recognized the claims of the leading clans in the different areas of the island. Titles were bestowed upon the different sectional chiefs, thereby reconstituting their previously existing authority under the new order of Nan Madol.

The Saudeleurs arranged the tribute schedule to coincide with the island's agricultural seasons. During rak or the "season of plenty," the rulers of Nan Madol required offerings of breadfruit that grew bountifully all over the island; in isol or the "season of scarcity," the people delivered less plentiful, more labor-demanding foods such as yams, taro, and fermented breadfruit. Special ceremonies marked the beginning and end of each season. There were also designated times for the presentation of food from the seas. Having satisfied their overlords, the people of the island, in each of the two seasons, made similar offerings to their local chiefs.

At Nan Madol, there developed a title system denoting clearly defined responsibilities. Sou Koampwul served as the Saudeleur's chief advisor. Another individual, Pilik, oversaw the preparation of the Saudeleur's food. A group of specially titled individuals stood watch
over the entrance to Pahn Kadira while Sou Pohn Douwas guarded the royal
dwelling itself. Most important were the obligations of the priests who
conducted the ceremonies that, in symbolic manner, reaffirmed Nan Madol's
control over the land. The Saudeleurs worshiped Nahnisohnsapw. Each
year, the priests performed an extended ceremony of homage, supplication,
and atonement called the Pwung en Sapw. The ceremony culminated in
the offering of a turtle as tribute to Nan Samwohl, the great salt water
eel that dwelled in a shallow pool on the islet of Idehd in Nan Madol.
Nan Samwohl's acceptance of the offering indicated Nahnisohnsapw's
pleasure with the conduct of human affairs on Ponape.

Potent symbolism underlay Nan Samwohl's role as the medium between
the people and the Saudeleur's god. Ponapeans had venerated the eel
prior to the conquest of the island by the Saudeleurs. The cult of Ilake
flourished in the area of Onohnleng among a number of the sub-clans of
the Dipwinmen. The Lasialap, another of the island's senior clans,
traced its beginnings back to a sacred eel. Indeed, eels figured
prominently in many of the island's traditions. The eel honored by many
Ponapeans, however, was a small fresh water species that inhabited the
island's streams. By contrast, Nan Samwohl was a large moray eel drawn
from the ocean waters off of Ponape; it was large, foreign, frightening,
and ravenous. It represented quite effectively Nan Madol's hold over
Ponape.

The use of the turtle as an offering to Nan Samwohl in the closing
ceremonies of the Pwung en Sapw also held symbolic significance. The
Saudeleurs called the three major political entities into which they had
divided the island weis or wehis, meaning "turtle" states. The story
of Liahnensokole and her two sons explains the metaphor of the turtle in the ritual polity of Nan Madol. Desirous of eating the meat of a dog, a food reserved almost exclusively for the Saudeleur, the two brothers, Senekie and Senekia, casually remarked at a public gathering that they would be willing to offer their mother, the turtle Liahnensokole, in return for a chance to partake of the royal delicacy. Hearing of their remark, the Saudeleur gave them a dog to eat and ordered that they bring their mother to Nan Madol the next day. Though overcome by their predicament, the two had no choice but to comply with the Saudeleur's command; the brothers traveled immediately to their mother's dwelling. Before they could state their purpose, Liahnensokole spoke, "You two boys have sold me to the Saudeleur. Clean me and decorate me so that I will be appropriate for Nan Samwohl." The boys did as they were told, preparing their mother as an offering to the great eel. The sacrifice of the mother thus sustained the lives of her sons.

An altar constructed near the island of Idehd commemorates this first sacrifice. The name given to the sacred piling of stones was Pei en Namweias, meaning the "Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle." The turtle, the symbol of a nourishing mother, represented the land. The Saudeleurs had forced themselves between the land and its people, between the mother and her children. To secure the sustenance of life required sacrifice to these demanding, powerful interlopers. As had the two boys, the people of Ponape sacrificed their mother, the land, in order to win life from the Saudeleur. Ponapean submission to the Saudeleurs, ritually renewed through the ceremonies and sacrifice of the Pwung en Sapw, secured survival.
Stories from this second historical period tell of the people's sufferings under the increasing cruelty of their foreign rulers. The Saudeleurs controlled all areas of human activity on Ponape; so total was their dominance that, during the reign of Sakon Mwehi, a single lice found on a person's body had to be carried straight away to Nan Madol. The rulers of Nan Madol were omniscient as well as omnipotent. The Saudeleurs' mythical dog, known by the title Oummatakai or "Watchman of the Land," reported all infractions. At a magical pool called Peirot on the islet of Peikapw, the Saudeleurs could view all events taking place on Ponape and beyond; no human activity escaped their notice. Their cannibalism could be real as well as metaphorical; one ruler, Raipwinloko, had an intense passion for the taste of human flesh. The products of all human endeavors were offered first to the Saudeleur who took what he pleased for himself and his court, often leaving little for the people of the island.

The story of Satokawai demonstrates the consequences resulting from an individual's failure to give the Saudeleur his required due. During the course of a fishing expedition, a young man, Satokawai, came upon a large fish stranded upon the reef. The youth took the fish back to his home where he and his mother ate without giving any consideration to the Saudeleur. Learning of this violation, the Saudeleur ordered the boy to seek out and bring him a scale from the Malipwur, a fabled sea-creature that no human had ever seen. The task was seemingly impossible. The boy's search took him through strange waters to distant lands. Despite the immense odds, Satokawai, with the help of ocean spirits, managed to secure a scale and return with it to Ponape in the
body of a fish. The Saudeleur expressed pleasure with the shell and forgave Satokawai his earlier offense. Satokawai's feat earned him no honor, just a reprieve. Nothing could assuage the young man's intense feelings of anger and humiliation. Calling all of his clanmates together into a single dwelling, Satokawai set the structure on fire and then proceeded to jump into the flames himself. Death provided the only release from the Saudeleur's tyranny. Satokawai's fate, then, showed the futility of resistance to the Saudeleur's rule in the early part of this second period in the island's history.

Lepen Moar, the ruler of the section Senipehn in the east, incurred the Saudeleur's wrath over a similar failure to make proper offerings. For eating a stalk of baked bananas from a pile of food designated as tribute for Nan Madol, a serious breach of ritual etiquette, Lepen Moar was assigned the task of securing a feather from the legendary Derepeiso bird. With the aid of clan spirits and divine beings, Lepen Moar succeeded in his task. Like Satokawai, the ruler of Senipehn had accomplished his task with divine assistance; the spirits of the land remained with the people. Unlike Satokawai, Lepen Moar chose life. The story concludes with a mention of the displeasure felt toward the Saudeleur by Inahs, a goddess of the Sounkawad clan of which Lepen Moar was a member. In its reference to the dissatisfaction of indigenous Ponapean gods and spirits, the story foreshadows the doom of the Saudeleur dynasty on Ponape.

The root cause of Ponapean resentment lay in Nan Madol's greed. The Saudeleur's refusal to return an adequate share of the land's wealth threatened the people's very existence. The story of the brothers Semen
Pwei Tikitik and Semen Pwei Lapalap reveal the extent of the people's frustration. The brothers would sit and watch as fleets of canoes laden with food for the Saudeleur passed by their home on the reef island of Mall. The two felt burdened by their work and by the lack of proper compensation. Despairing of their circumstances, Semen Pwei Lapalap and Semen Pwei Tikitik decided to leave Ponape. Only the younger brother survived the trip. Coming to dwell in a land where the chiefs and the people shared authority, Semen Pwei Tikitik learned much; yet, as a foreigner, he encountered hostility and eventually was forced to leave. With the knowledge he had acquired about life in another land, the young man headed home. As he traveled, his anger grew. Upon reaching Ponape's shores, Semen Pwei Tikitik headed straight for Nan Madol. There he confronted the present Saudeleur with the oppression that had forced him to leave Ponape and with the lessons he had learned about closer cooperation between chiefs and people and about what it meant to be foreign. His fury becoming uncontrollable, Semen Pwei Tikitik proceeded to kill the Saudeleur.

As indicated by later stories of the period, defiance spread. Sections of the island began to assert themselves against foreign domination. In the northwest part of the island, an area under the rule of Lepen Palikir openly defied Nan Madol's authority. Angered by this rebelliousness, the Saudeleur sent his emissary, Sou Koampwul, with the order that Lepen Palikir appear before him at Nan Madol. Rather than travel by canoe with Sou Koampwul, Lepen Palikir went by land. Reaching the chiefly residence at Nan Madol, Lepen Palikir turned upon the Saudeleur and killed him. His action earned for his section of land the
name Likinlamalam, or "Beyond Proper Ways." Kepihleng in the west also broke with Nan Madol. Sapwtakai, its Nan Madol-like complex of megalithic stone structures built by Lempwei Sapel, another refugee from the Saudeleur's wrath, bespoke Kepihleng's challenge.

These instances of defiance and assassination display an increasing erosion of the Saudeleurs' control over Ponape. The rupture between the Saudeleur and the Ponapean god, Nahn Sapwe, begins the final chapter in Nan Madol's decline. Originally associated with the Dipwinpahnmei clan, Nahn Sapwe, the Thunder God, became the most prominent of the many gods and spirits on Ponape. As the "God Above the Land," Nahn Sapwe's voice could be heard by all Ponapeans. He existed as an indigenous unifying force in an otherwise divided land. For a time, the Saudeleurs and their god, Nahnisohnsapw, had imposed themselves upon the island. Ponapeans, however, had begun to grow restive and contemptuous under Saudeleur rule; they now offered token homage to Nahnisohnsapw, while maintaining steadfast belief in their own gods. The Saudeleur's attack upon Nahn Sapwe, a desperate, self-destructive act, constituted a total break with the island. Though dominating the people of the island, the Saudeleur, ultimately, could not subjugate the divine forces that provided the life of the land.

Saum en Leng of the Salapwuk area in the mountains of western Ponape served as a major priest of a cult dedicated exclusively to the worship of Nahn Sapwe. A prophet as well as a priest, Saum, through divination and prayer, had learned of the impending collapse of the Saudeleur dynasty; he announced his findings to all who would listen. Hearing of the prophecy, the Saudeleur Saudemwohi stripped Saum of all
his rights and privileges. The Saudeleur, hoping to end a powerful source of opposition and, at the same time, shore up his declining power, now turned to eliminate the worship of Nahn Sapwe. To minimize popular resentment, the Saudeleur waited for appropriate provocation. It soon came. Angered over an affair between Nahn Sapwe and one of his Ponapean queens, a metaphor, perhaps, for the continued hold of Nahn Sapwe over the people, the Saudeleur ordered the Thunder God seized and staked upon the ground outside of the royal residence at Pahn Kadira where he was to remain until dead. Taking pity upon the plight of Nahn Sapwe, another Ponapean god, Songoro, the spiritual guardian of the Dipwinwai clan, freed him. To protect him from further assaults by the Saudeleur, Sangoro arranged to have a sawi or sea bass carry Nahn Sapwe to Katau. The role of the sawi, a totem or sacred animal for the Ledek, Sounkawad, and Dipwinpahnmei clans, revealed the near-unanimous opposition against the Saudeleur that had now developed among Ponape's people.

Arriving at Katau, believed in this case to be the island of Kosrae, Nahn Sapwe sought out fellow clanmates with whom to take refuge. There was only one, an elderly woman called Lipahnmei. The god and the woman eventually joined together in an incestuous act to produce a son. Distinguished by the divine, outrageous circumstances of his birth, the boy, Isohkelekel, was to become the vehicle of Ponape's revenge. On Katau, the godly youth grew up hearing stories of the Saudeleur's evil perpetrations against the gods and people of Ponape. Upon reaching maturity, Isohkelekel set out for Ponape with 333 companions to put an end to the roughly five-hundred years of Saudeleur domination. The war
fleet appeared first off the small island of And near the western coast of Ponape; archaeologists estimate Isohkelekel's arrival at approximately 1628 A. D. 67 Learning of the approaching expedition, Soulik en And, the chief of the island, prepared a basket of breadfruit kernels to feed the party and a bowl of coconut oil with which to anoint them. It was a ritual of welcome and promise. Proper greetings completed, Isohkelekel's party and the people of And cemented their holy alliance by constructing an altar, the Pei en Pak. 68

The people of Katau remained for a time on And. During this period, Isohkelekel slept with a high ranking woman of the island, Likamadau or "Woman Who Gives Thought." 69 As suggested by the woman's name, the relationship amounted to more than one of simple hospitality or passion. The intellectual as well as sexual dimensions held particular significance. Unlike the Saudeleurs, Isohkelekel and his party demonstrated a willingness to establish a total relationship with the land and its people. Isohkelekel's stay at And foreshadowed, then, the ultimate success of his mission; a potentially alien, hostile force had made its peace with the land. Isohkelekel's quarrel lay not with the people but with the Saudeleur; his arrival meant deliverance for Ponape.

On the day designated by divination as the most auspicious for beginning their final approach, Isohkelekel set out for the main island. Passing through the channel at Kehpara, the party sailed north and then east around the island. Refusing to respond to the hostile challenges they encountered at a number of locations, the Katauans landed at Nahrihnnahnsapwe, a reef island near Nan Douwas, where Nahn Sapwe had begun his journey of exile from Ponape. Here, the group performed a
series of religious ceremonies that reaffirmed the sacred purpose of their voyage. This done, the group moved a little farther south along the eastern coast until they came to a break in the reef called Ewenkep. The Saudeleur, disturbed by the news of a foreign fleet so near his capitol, commanded Sou Koampwul to bring the entire fleet to Kelepwel in Nan Madol. His suspicion aroused, the Saudeleur "wanted himself and Isohkekelekel to be in the same place." Aware of the close scrutiny of the Saudeleur, the Katau people bided their time patiently; they married Ponapean women, fathered children who linked them more closely to the land, and learned as much as they could about the customs of the island. Isohkekelekel, himself, took an older woman as a consort and teacher. To protect his identity and ultimate aims, Isohkekelekel assumed the posture of a common man when in public.

Undecided about what to do, the Saudeleur continued to provide for his guests at Kelepwel. Large gifts of food to a sizeable party of outsiders, however, exacerbated the long-standing tensions between the rulers of Nan Madol and their Ponapean subjects. In an incident recalling an earlier confrontation, Lepen Moar, the successor to the title of the man who had successfully defied an earlier Saudeleur, refused orders to bring food to Nan Madol. Instead the ruler of Senipehn, curious about the foreigners dwelling under the protection of the Saudeleur, sent several of his people to spy on the group. Their report of one among the Katau group with "true red" in his eyes, say the accounts, filled Lepen Moar with awe. At the same moment on Kelepwel, Isohkekelekel, aware of what the Ponapean chief was thinking, entreated his people to treat Lepen Moar with respect. The battle was
imminent; afterward, there would be peace to make with the people of the land. The almost instinctive mutual respect between the two men underscored the ultimate accommodation to come between the island's people, and the forces of Isohkelekel.

Soon after, seemingly harmless play at the water's edge between the chief lieutenants of Isohkelekel and the Saudeleur led to outright war. Equipped with spears, slings, javelins, rocks, and spiked clubs, the two forces converged. Isohkelekel's people carried the initial stages of the fight; however, at a place called Pei Ai, meaning the "Fight Changes," the Saudeleur's troops, sustained by the reckless courage of the Ponapeans, turned the tide of the battle. The war raged for several days. During a particularly intense period in the fighting, a Sounkawad warrior, Daukir, serving under Lepen Moar, hurled a rock which struck Isohkelekel in the face. Rather than retaliate, Isohkelekel remarked upon the courage of the young man and, calling him "brother," ordered his troops not to kill the Ponapean.

Experiencing extremely heavy casualties, Isohkelekel's men soon found themselves with their backs to the sea. At this most precarious of moments arrived Nahnesen, Katau's fiercest warrior who had remained behind when Isohkelekel set out on his journey of conquest. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Nahnesen, in a gesture that would be repeated over and over again by Ponapean warriors of later generations, speared his foot. Firmly anchored, Nahnesen promised death to anyone who would try to retreat beyond him. "What do we retreat from? Men with inflated chests?" Nahnesen called out to his people. The threat worked. Isohkelekel's men turned and began marching inland, recapturing lost
ground. Sensing the renewed vigor of their opponents, the Saudeleur's troops lost heart and fled. The final battle took place at a waterfall in Sapwalap, known as Kamau Pwoungapwoung. Faced with certain death, the Saudeleur, goes the story, changed himself into a small blue freshwater fish and jumped into the pool at the base of the waterfall, never again to interfere in the affairs of Ponapeans.

With the fall of the Saudeleur dynasty, the people set about restructuring the political order of the island, an order that would be essentially Ponapean. Befitting the importance of such an undertaking, especially in a land as sacred as Ponape, ceremonies eliciting divine assistance and sanction guided the Ponapeans in their task. The story of the canoe hewn in Erike presents one of the most important events in Ponapean history.76

After the defeat of the Saudeleur, a tentative peace prevailed over the island. Isohkelekel established himself at Pahn Kadira in Nan Madol and ruled over Deleur, the most immediate of the Saudeleur's former domains. A final decision on a new political arrangement for the island came from heaven. Reports spread over the island about a tree cut in the Erike section of Nansokele in the north that would not fall; the tree was to be used to make a canoe. Suspecting divine involvement, the people of the area called for Soukise en Leng, the ruler of Onohnleng and a principal priest in the cult of Nahn Sapwe, to come and fell the tree. Soukise enlisted the assistance of Soulik en And, the ruler-priest of the island of And who had been the first to welcome Isohkelekel to Ponape. Taking with them a holy axe, the two holy men went to sever the shaft of the tree from its trunk. Rather than fall to the ground, the tree, when
split, ascended into heaven. Mystified, the two men returned to their homes.

After a considerable period of time, there came word of a canoe, hewn from the tree at Erike that would not fall, descending from the sky. It came to hover over a spot called Pahn Akuwalap in the area known as Sounahleng on the north side of Temwen Island near Nan Madol. Failing to receive any response from the divine occupants of the canoe, the people of the area called for Soukise. Again accompanied by Soulik en And, Soukise traveled to Pahn Akuwalap. Upon arriving at the site, the ruler priest of Onohnleng immediately recognized the god Luhk sitting in the center of the canoe. Stepping up on the craft, Soukise beckoned to Soulik en And, the chief priest of the god Luhk to follow. From the meeting between gods and priests in a canoe hovering over the land, there ensued a new charter for the political organization of the island.

After the canoe had returned to heaven, Soukise called together the people of the island at a place called Poasoile. There, Soukise announced the decisions made at Pahn Akuwalap. To Isohkelekel went the title of Nahnmwarki and with it jurisdiction over the eastern half of Ponape Island that now came to be called Madolenihmw. The west, united under the Saudeleurs as Kohpwaleng, reverted to a series of independent sections: Onohnleng, Pasau, Lukoap, Kepihleng, Pehleng, and the island of And. In the north, the Saudeleur state of Pwapwalik gave way to earlier sectional divisions now designated as Palikir, Sokehs, Tipwen Dongalap, and Nansokele. The third of Ponape's historical periods, the Mwehin Nahnmwarki or "Period of the Nahnmwarkis" thus began.
Figure 3. Map of Ponape at the Close of the Saudeleur Period
Feasting served as the focal activity of the new state. As they had with the Saudeleurs, the people of Madolenihmw brought to the court of Isohkelekel the first fruits of all their productive activities; their offerings gave tangible proof of their allegiance to the new order. Unlike the Saudeleurs, however, Isohkelekel received the people as well as their produce. A change in the basic structure of the feasting house provided physical evidence of this closer relationship. Under the Saudeleurs' rule, the feasting house or nahs sheltered only the Nan Madol nobility; the preparation and presentation of all offerings took place outside of the structure. The discomfort felt under burning sun or chilling rain was but another part of the tribute the Saudeleurs had exacted from the people. At Pelakapw in Nan Madol, Isohkelekel supervised the construction of a different kind of ceremonial house. While Isohkelekel and his chiefs sat on a raised platform in the nahs, a central sheltered space was provided for the people and their activities. This first feast house of the new era received the name Kohpahleng, meaning "Come Together Under Heaven." The new arrangement symbolized a closer union between the people of Madolenihmw and their chiefs.

Madolenihmw, under Isohkelekel, became the most elaborate and centralized political entity on the island. Borrowing from the polity established by the Saudeleurs, the conqueror designed an extensive title system to meet the ceremonial and administrative needs of feasting. Isohkelekel also moved in a more basic manner to develop alliances and loyalties that would insure the effective functioning of his government. To strengthen his ties with the people, Isohkelekel took wives from among
the Dipwinwai and the Lasialap, two of Ponape's senior clans. Beyond Nan Madol, the Dipwinpahnmei, the clan of Isohkelekel, assumed a number of the major section titles in the east.

Despite his strong conciliatory actions and his willingness to enter into a much more involved, mutually beneficial contract with the island, Isohkelekel's divine patrimony set him apart from the people. More god than man, Isohkelekel behaved in ways not permitted ordinary human beings. His marriage to his sister, the severest violation of clan rules, reinforced this fact. Isohkelekel's successors would retain this godly aura; if not gods, they were, through their descent from Isohkelekel and his father Nahn Sapwe, still godly. The distinction was a critical one; it served to maintain the boundaries between the ruler and the ruled. At the same time, the distance separating the chiefs and the people was fraught with danger. Rebellion in a land as divided as Ponape was an ever-present threat to those who sought to impose order from above. The fate of the Saudeleurs forcefully underscored this point. There arose, then, a crucial need for an intermediary between chiefs and people, an individual who could deal intimately with both sides.

The title of the Nahnken met this need. The story of the first Nahnken, Nahlepenien, defines the nature and importance of the office. A swell of anxiety in Isohkelekel was stirred by the report that one of his queens, a woman of the Lasialap clan, was pregnant. The demi-god from Katau feared the birth of a son who, through his more intimate blood ties to the people of the island, might one day rise up in revolt against him. To protect against such an occurrence, Isohkelekel, before setting out upon a journey, ordered the Lasialap woman to destroy
the child if it were a male. Soon after Isohkelekel's departure, the woman gave birth to a son. Rather than destroy the infant, the woman hid him with a fellow clanmate, a common fisherman named Nahnsoused en Rohdi. One day, a number of years later, Isohkelekel's canoe came upon the old man and the young boy fishing off the small island of Mwudokalap. Ponape's first Nahnmwarki commanded his attendants to have the boy bring him some fish. Taking two fish, the boy, called Nahlepenien, strung them together and approached the canoe. Placing his foot onto the canoe's outrigger, he stepped up on the central platform, and sat down next to Isohkelekel. The attendants stared in terrified dismay at Nahlepenien's actions; his casual familiarity had violated all norms of prescribed behavior in the presence of a chief. Sensing something very special about the boy, Isohkelekel invited him to a feast at Pahn Kadira. Arriving at the residence, Nahlepenien continued his transgressions on chiefly sanctity. The boy entered the wrong end of the nahs, failed to make the proper greetings, violated sacred space as he walked casually about the structure, and finally sat down nonchalantly with his back propped up against the back wall of the building. His actions only endeared him that much more to his father who gave him the title of Nahnken or "Favored One." The Nahnmwarki then created a separate line of titles to serve the Nahnken; the liberties taken by Nahlepenien became sanctioned behavior for all future nahnkens.

The circumstances of his early life had cemented Nahlepenien's ties with the people but he was still very much a chief. His conduct, by right of his royal blood, lay beyond the bounds of accepted social behavior. In the middle of the feast at Pahn Kadira, Nahlepenien decided
to go fishing again for his father. On his way to the shore, the new Nahnken came across his father's eldest sister, a woman considered in Ponapean kinship terms to be his mother. Forgetting about the feast and his plans to fish for his father, Nahlepenien decided to lay with the woman. His string of shocking actions, culminating in an act of incest with a classificatory mother, vigorously asserted his chiefly prerogatives. Confirming the privileges of the Nahnken, the Nahnmwarki, rather than showing any displeasure, broke all precedent by sending a cup of sakau or kava, the ceremonial beverage, to the place where the boy and the woman rested. By marrying his father's eldest sister, the most senior of clan women and hence the carrier of the chiefly line, the Nahnken, at once, reaffirmed his princely position, insured the purity of the chiefly line, and created a crucial link between the rulers and the people. Born of a godly chief and local woman, the Nahnken stood as the physical embodiment of the principal elements that constituted the new political order.

Isohkelekel's passing brought ritual closure to the founding phase of the nahnmwarki system. The circumstances of his death matched the stunning drama of his life. Seeing the reflection of his aging face in a pool of water, Isohkelekel grew depressed. The Nahnmwarki worried that old age would leave him enfeebled and helpless. Calling his first lieutenant, Nahnesen, Isohkelekel informed him of his decision to die. That night, Isohkelekel bent down the body of a young palm tree, tied his penis tightly to it with a piece of cord, and then released it. The tree shot upward, ripping off Isohkelekel's penis; the conqueror of Ponape thus bled to death in excruciating pain. Isohkelekel's suicide was
ultimately a courageous act that belittled pain and spoke of honor over life. Following the example of Isohkelekel, later generations of Ponapean men sought to make certain that their deaths sustained the dignity of their lives.

According to an order he had left with Nahnesen, Isohkelekel's body was buried secretly at Pei en Namweias, "the Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle." In life, Isohkelekel had freed Ponape from the oppression of the Saudeleurs. Claiming the eastern portion of the island as his own domain, Ponape's first Nahnmwarki had restored the rest of the island to its many different groups of people; over time, these other areas would copy the political system established for Madolenihmw. In death, Isohkelekel lay enshrined in the altar dedicated to the sacred symbol of the land, the turtle. The conditions of his burial insured his eternal union with the land. The son of a Ponapean god and a foreign woman, Isohkelekel thus died to become, himself, a Ponapean god.

Ponape reveals her history in this early period through a complex of oral traditions. While much of Ponape's early past remains hidden, the basic patterns stand clear. With the first voyage of creation and settlement commanded by Sapikini, there begins a tradition of people coming to the island from the outside. These people brought with them animals, plants, ideas, and technologies. Over time, there developed a way of being called "tiahk en sapw" or the "custom of the land." Tiahk en sapw provided a cultural unity that, at the same time, allowed division. A common relationship with a sacred land united a people while traditional distinctions in the beliefs and practices they brought with
them from other lands kept them apart. Pohnpei sohte ehu; "Ponape is not one," is the way Ponapeans explain that fact today.

Unlike other voyagers to the island's shores, the Saudeleurs imposed an alien, exploitative unity that interjected itself between the people and the land. Isohkelekel helped free the people from this oppression and, in so doing, became, himself, a part of the land. By the death of Isohkelekel, there had evolved a flexible, resilient cultural order that maintained itself by first accepting alien forces from the outside, neutralizing their more threatening aspects, and finally incorporating their advantageous, beneficial features. The arrival of a European ship upon the horizon did not constitute a singular occurrence, rather it marked but another one of many events that took place on the other side of yesterday.
NOTES

1 Saul H. Riesenberq, The Native Polity of Ponape (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968), p. 3. The name "Ascension" first appears in 1832 on the nautical charts of Captain J. H. Eagleton who visited the island in his ship, the Peru, in January of that year. Who actually gave the name "Ascension" to the island and when remains unclear.


4 Ibid, pp. 37-8. Following the first recorded sighting of Ponape by the Spaniard Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1595, the island came to be known for a time as "Quirosa." In 1787, Captain Thomas Read of the ship Alliance out of Philadelphia called Ponape "Morris Island." Captain John Henry Rowe of the ship John Bull named the island after his ship in 1804. Alick Osborne, accompanying Fraser aboard the Planter, called Ponape "Harper's Island" after a Captain Harper of the ship Ephemina who had reached the island earlier in 1826. Osborne mistakenly believed that Harper had been the one to discover Ponape.


6 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 176. "Uar apot puhipuipul jakaran uai o keilanaio" reads the Ponapean text. Using Bernart's original, I have adjusted the translation of Fischer, Riesenberq, and Whiting.

7 Ibid, pp. 7-10. There exist 13 recorded versions of the discovery and construction of Ponape. Luelein's account is considered to be the most accurate, most complete, and the most prestigious.

8 For a note on the translation of this word, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 2.

9 In Ponape's myths, the names of individuals often provide an indication of their skills, functions, or circumstances. Lioramanipwel, for example, translates as "Woman Who Gathers Up the Soil." Orthographical problems resulting from changes in the language over centuries make the translation of every proper name a near-impossible task. Except in those cases where the meanings are clear, I will avoid attempting a translation of Ponapean proper names.

10 The word pei or pehi in Ponapean has been translated by various scholars as "altar," "stone structure," and "sacred masonry." Given the emphasis in the creation myths on a supernatural charter, the translation "Upon a Stone Altar" for the word Pohnpei seems the most appropriate. During my fieldwork on the island during the summer of 1983, Ponapeans knowledgeable in traditional lore, when asked, all described a pei as a sacred ceremonial structure. For an explanation of the other possible translations of the word pei, see Riesenberg, Fischer, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 3.

11 The story of Sapikini's voyage closely resembles the creation myths of other Caroline Islands. For a discussion of this point, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 2.


13 Imwinkatau translates as the "Extremity of Katau." Katau, in Ponapean mythology, sometimes refers to the island of Kosrae; on other occasions, it is a general designation for islands lying to the east of Ponape.


15 Ibid., p. 13.
16 Ibid., p. 14. Katau Peidi translates as "Downwind Katau;" it refers to islands to the west of Ponape.

17 Hambruch, Ponape, text 49, 2:167-9 and text 220, 2:169-70. Another version of the origins of the coconut tree can be found in Bernart, The Book of Lue1en, pp. 156-7.

18 Bernart, The Book of Lue1en, p. 31. See also Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 21.

19 Bernart, The Book of Lue1en, p. 32.

20 Ibid., pp. 61-2. Five other versions of this myth are contained in Hambruch's Ponape; ranked in order of detail, they are text 16, 3:334; text 34, 3:306; text 265, 2:231; text D 8, 2:46; and text D 18, 2:69. Consult Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 47-9, for a textual explanation of Bernart's version.

21 The story of the god Luhk in Bernart, The Book of Lue1en, p. 50-7, relates the origins of the pandanus tree; Luhk's gift of kava is described in Bernart, pp. 63-5.

22 Ibid., p. 70.

23 Ibid, p. 67. The story of Mwas en Pahdol, in its totality, tells of the origins of the Lasialap clan, one of the island's most senior groups. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 53-6, provide a detailed examination of the myth. In his three volume study, Ponape, Hambruch includes five versions: text 33, 2:124; text 81, 3:146; text 134, 2:47; text 325, 2:48; and text D 81, 2:47.

24 Bernart, The Book of Lue1en, pp. 18-24, offers an extensive listing of the various trees, plants, and grasses of Ponape. The editors have added the scientific names for Bernart's list of Ponapean flora.

25 Ibid., p. 11. The son of a ranking member of the Dipwinmen clan, Bernart was particularly well-qualified to speak of the clan's history. For two other accounts of the Dipwinmen's history, see Hambruch, Ponape, text 191, 2:33-6 and text 193, 2:36-8.

26 Hambruch, Ponape, 2:28-33. There have been a total of 23 clans on Ponape of which 18 still exist; see Appendix A of this dissertation for a listing. Determining the exact dates of the various clans' arrivals on Ponape is impossible. Ponapean myths,
however, show a strong concern for sequence. A careful examination of these myths makes possible a gross ordering of the clans' landings. Bernart's account of the origins of the coconut tree, *The Book of Luelen*, pp. 156-7, indicates strong ties and a common place of origin for the Dipwinmen and Dipwinwai clans in the land of Eir to the south; therefore a reasonable case can be made that the Dipwinwai, if not the second clan to reach Ponape, was certainly among the earliest. The Sounkawad's history makes it clear that the Dipwinwai and Lasialap were already resident in the north. Similarly, the Pwuton held Pehleng at the time of the Dipwinpehpeh's arrival. The Dipwilap, the clan of the Saudeleurs, is associated with the rise of Nan Madol. Isohkelekel brought the Nahniek, Liarkatau, and a sub-clan of the Dipwinpahmmei. A second sub-clan of the Lipitahn reached the island at the time of the Kiti unification wars. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, *Annotations*, p. 92, believe these wars occurred around the year 1800. It should be pointed out, however, that seniority does not necessarily insure rank. The Sounkawad and Lipitahn, relatively junior clans in terms of their period of residence on the island, have assumed high places at the expense of more senior clans.

27 For the origins of the Dipwinnuhk clan, see Hambruch, *Ponape*, text 326, 2:66.


29 Glenn A. Petersen, *One Man Cannot Rule a Thousand: Fission in a Ponapean Chiefdom*, Studies in Pacific Anthropology (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), p. 20. Petersen presents the clearest and most convincing explanation of a very complex facet of clan organization on Ponape. He notes that a keinek can be either a matrilineal descent group within a sub-clan or simply a residence group that has occupied a particular piece of property for a considerable length of time. The second of Petersen's distinctions refers to more recent times in which the extended family has supplanted the clan as the basic unit of social organization. With regard to the early history of Ponape, the notion of the keinek as a matrilineal descent group within a given sub-clan is the more germane.


31 Ibid., text 261, 2:41-3 and text 257, 2:43-5.

32 Bernart, *The Book of Luelen*, p. 16.
33 Ehrlich, "The Clothes of Men," p. 18. This period is also referred to as the Mwehin Aramas or "Period of Peopling" by Masao Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p.3.


36 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 27. The arrival of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosohpa and their construction of Nan Madol begins an extensive complex of myths that chart the rise and fall of the Saudeleur dynasty. Another version of the magicians' work rests in Hambruch, Ponape, text 51, 3:61. Also Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 3-7.

37 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 3. This translation is consistent with the notion of conflict between the people of the island and the party from Katau Peidi. Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 19, translate Sokehs as "Not Hooked," which is a more general reference to the failed attempts of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha. The exact site of Ohlosihpa and Ohlosopha's work in Sokehs is given as Pahn Ipwa1 by Rufino Mauricio, "Nan Madol Oral Traditions," in Ayres, Haun, and Mauricio's, "Nan Madol Archaeology: 1981 Survey and Excavations," p. 212.

38 Carole Jenks identifies Dol en Net as the location of the first attempt after Sokehs in her work, Nan Madol (Kolonia, Ponape: Education Department, 1970), p. 9. Fischer, Riesenber, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 19, list Likinmwe1i off Uh and Nan Koapwoarem at Alokapw in Madolenihmw as the sites of the second and third attempts.

Bernart, The Book of Lulelen, p. 28, writes that "the people of all Ponape were happy and assembled to help them [Ohlosihpa and Ohlosophaj with their work." This seems highly unlikely given the divisiveness on the island referred to earlier by Bernart and the problems the people of Katau Peidi experienced in trying to establish themselves at other locations.

Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 27, present two possible geographic definitions of Deleur. The first consists of the islets of Nan Madol, the neighboring island of Temwen, and Nna, Nahpali, and Nahkapw, the small islands at the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor. The second, more expansive definition includes all of the mainland areas bordering on Madolenihmw Harbor. Combining both of these definitions, Arthur A. Saxe, Richard H. Allison, and Susan R. Loughridge write of both a central core and a greater Nan Madol in "The Nan Madol Area of Ponape: Researches into Bordering and Stabilizing an Ancient Administrative Center." Final Report to the Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office, Saipan, 1980, p. 6.

Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 8

Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 10.

Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 12

Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 14, identifies Nahnisohnsapw as the chief deity of the Saudeleurs; I believe he is quite correct in so doing. Hambruch, Ponape, text 101, 3:92 refers incorrectly to the turtle offered to Nan Samwoh as Nanusunsap. Mauricio, "Oral Traditions of Nan Madol," p. 213, refers to Nahnisohnsapw as a place of sacrificial offering at Nan Madol; I could find no such place name among the various physical descriptions and islet listings of Nan Madol.
37

48 Hambruch, Ponape, text 51, 3:62; the German scholar gives the spelling as pun en tsap. Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 13, refers to this ceremony as the Pwohn Lapalap. Luther H. Gulick, an American missionary writing in 1854, described the Pwohn Lapalap at Nan Madol. It may be that the Pwohn Lapalap or “Great Night” was the concluding ceremony of the Pwung en Sapw. There is the possibility that the Pwohn Lapalap was a relatively more recent variation of the Pwung en Sapw. The two terms may also be synonymous. Maurice, "Nan Madol Oral Traditions," p. 213, calls the ceremony the Pwongin Sapw.

49 Fischer, Riesenborg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 39.

50 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 82.


52 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 13. The various Saudeleurs are known by their honorific death names, called edenpweel. These names usually define the most prominent feature of a deceased ruler's reign. Sakon Mwehi means "Cruel Period;" the inference here is that the Saudeleur known as Sakon Mwehi was a particularly cruel ruler.


54 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 80.

55 Ibid., p. 20.

56 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 38-41, provides the most complete version of this story.

57 Ibid., pp. 41-3. The Ponapean historian refers to the story of Lepen Moar again on p. 171. Hambruch, Ponape, records three versions of Lepen Moar's trials and two song texts that contain references to the story; they are text 12, 3:382; text 22, 3:348; text 97, 3:346; song text 98, 2:219; and song text 330, 2:198. Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 38-9, renders his understanding of the events surrounding Lepen Moar's troubles with the Saudeleur.

59 Ibid., p. 27. In Hadley's version, Lepen Palikir is described as a large chicken that the Saudeleur wishes to own. Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 130-1, records a song that tells of the conflict. There are two versions of the story in Hambruch, Ponape, 3:169-73; both versions also describe Lepen Palikir as a large chicken.


62 Nahn Sapwe is sometimes equated with another Ponapean god, Daukatau. For an examination of the relationship between Nahn Sapwe and Daukatau, see Fischer, Riesenberq, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 83.


64 There exist numerous versions of the fall of the Saudeleurs at the hands of Isohkelekel. Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 73-6, and Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 41-6, offer versions that coincide closely. Hambruch, Ponape, gives four accounts; text 1, 1:337; text 3, 3:65; text 96, 3:74; and text 204, 3:67. Fischer, Riesenberq, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 59-70, have written an extremely detailed commentary on Bernart's version. I have relied largely on Bernart with clarifying points from other versions properly cited.

65 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 41. Saudemwohi is apparently the last of the Saudeleurs according to Hadley. Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 8, provides a list of eight Saudeleurs; Jenks, Nan Madol, p. 9, names nine. Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 9-41, also mentions nine. Hambruch, Ponape, 1:336, quotes a Ponapean account that gives the total number of Saudeleurs as 17; this is not possible given the time span involved. All of these lists are incomplete. It is simply not known how many Saudeleurs ruled during Nan Madol's 500 years of control over the island.

66 Fischer, Riesenberq, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 62.
39

67 Athens, "The Megalithic Ruins of Nan Madol," p. 55, arrives at this date by estimating the average reign of the 13 nahmmwarkis between Isohkelekel and Luhk en Kesik who died in 1836 to be 16 years. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 64, examine evidence that Isohkelekel's party reached Ponape via Losap, an atoll east of Truk in the Eastern Carolines. There also exists the likelihood that the group stopped at Pingelap before finally appearing at And.


69 Hambruch, Ponape, text 204, 3:65; also, Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 180.

70 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 74.

71 Both Mauricio, "Nan Madol Oral Traditions," p. 233, and Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 180, cite this individual as Lipahdak Dau or "The Woman Who Teaches the Channels."

72 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 43.

73 Hambruch, Ponape, text 204, 3:73.

74 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 74, attributes the initial outbreak of hostilities to water play between the Ponapean and Kosraean children that quickly became violent and involved adults. Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 44, states that the battle began at the water's edge between one of the Saudeleur's principal warriors, Pwekin Deleur, and Isohkelekel's man, Nahmparadak. Given the fact that Isohkelekel's quarrel lay with the Saudeleur and that, by this time, the Kosraeans had married local women and fathered children of mixed ethnicity, Hadley's version seems the more likely.

75 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 74, erroneously credits this act of courage to Nahmparaddak. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 67-9, examine the reasons for this mistake.

76 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 80-1. Other versions of this myth can be found in Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 45-7, and Hambruch, Ponape, 2:104 and 3:222.
77 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 47.

78 Bernart, The Book of LueIen, p. 84. For clarification of these territorial divisions, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 75-6.


80 Mauricio, "Nan Madol Oral Traditions," pp. 220-6, speculates that titles beginning with the prefixes sou or sau originated outside of Ponape and were brought to the island by the Saudeleurs. The titles with the prefix nahn first appeared under Isohkelekel. The explanation is a plausible one. The prefix sau appears as part of chiefly titles in other areas of the Pacific. Nahn is a term of endearment; its incorporation into titles established by Isohkelekel and the rise of the Nahnmwarki system reinforces the notion of a closer, more harmonious relationship between chiefs and people.

81 Bernart, The Book of LueIen, p. 85. A third wife mentioned by Bernart was of the Liarkatau, a clan that came to Ponape with Isohkelekel. Hambruch, Ponape, text 328, 2:63-4 and text 327, 2:64-5, gives the history of the Liarkatau clan.

82 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 48, identifies two of these titles as kroun en lehdaw and lap en wapar.

83 Bernart, The Book of LueIen, p. 85.

84 Ibid, pp. 85-8. Other versions of the Nahlepenien story include Hambruch, Ponape, text 46, 3:321 and text 95, 3:325, and Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 51-4. Hadley claims that Nahlepenien's father was not Isohkelekel but Isohkelekel's nephew, the second Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, luuk en Mwehi mour.


86 Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 78, identify this woman as likapar or "The Woman Who Propagates." Mauricio, "Nan Madol Oral Traditions," p. 235, cites informants who contend that this woman wasIsohkelekel's sister, the one with whom he enjoyed an incestuous relationship. If true, Nahlepenien's union with the woman becomes that much more shattering of societal conventions.
87 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 55, claims the children of Nahken Nahlepenien were the next three nahnmwarkis following Luhk en Mwehi Mour: Nah Luhk en Nahn Sapwe, Nah Luhk en Sounpwong, and Nah Luhk en Nar.

88 Hambruch, Ponape, text 334, 3:83. Two shorter accounts can be found in Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 43 and Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 49-50.

89 Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 49.
II. GHOSTS FROM THE OPEN OCEAN

The first ship to appear off Ponape's shores differed markedly from the canoes that had brought life. Attracted by the sight of the large white sails against the horizon, the people of the island paddled out from the shore to inspect this latest arrival. Stopping at the reef, the important physical boundary that separated the island from the rest of the world, the Ponapeans gazed in awe at the vessel sitting high atop the water with its tall masts, intricate rigging, wide deck, and metal frame. The people, recognizing the ship to be an ocean-going craft, thought it came from wai, the great lands far beyond the horizon mentioned in their history. Particularly fascinating were the white-skinned, strangely dressed, hairy-faced occupants of the vessel; the Ponapeans called them eni en pohnmadau, "ghosts of the open ocean."

The designation eni or "ghost" referred not to divine qualities but to the alien, potentially malevolent nature of these beings. The island's history of people landing from distant shores had prepared the Ponapeans for this event; still, the islanders found the distinguishing features of this particular group quite remarkable. The failure of the ship's occupants to respond to the rituals of welcome aroused suspicion. As the ship moved away, the people were left to ponder the meaning of
this brief meeting. A limited but violent encounter with a landing party from a second ship confirmed the people's fears. The sight of later vessels caused the people to flee in panic from the shores while parties of priests paddled to the reef to chase away these ghostly beings with prayers, chants, and spells. For a time, the priestly services worked; the ships, after moving along the reef for a period of time, sailed away. Sightings and passings, however, eventually gave way to contact. By the third decade of the nineteenth century, Ponapeans were coming to understand these "ghosts from the open ocean" a little better.

Western sources identify the first ship encountered by the people of Ponape as the _San Jeronimo_, the battered, weather-beaten flagship of the ill-fated second Mendaña expedition. Alvaro de Mendaña had first sailed into the Pacific in 1567 in search of _Terre Australis Incognita_, the great southern continent. While other explorers dreamed of the gold to be gained from the colonization of this rich, near-mythical land, Mendaña considered his voyage a _conquista espiritual_. Failing to locate the great continent, Mendaña came instead upon a group of islands that quickly came to be known as the "Solomons". Though certainly not as spectacular as the great continent, the Solomons, believed Mendaña, held great spiritual promise. A zealous, almost fanatical man in his religious convictions, Mendaña sought to return with a civilized, God-fearing party of Spaniards that would bring Christianity to the islands' heathen savages. It was not until 1595 that Mendaña, backed by officials concerned with England's intrusion into Spain's great "lake," finally sailed again into the Pacific.
Despite its lofty objectives, violence had marred Mendaña's first voyage. On this second expedition, the Spaniards again responded with violence to people they found strange and threatening; passing through the Marquesas, the Spaniards had killed 200 of the islands' inhabitants. Unable to relocate the Solomons, Mendaña finally settled instead on the island of Ndeni which he called "Santa Cruz." Relations with the people of the island proved no better than those with the Marquesans. Broken by the strains of hostility and dissension, Mendaña died on October 18, just six weeks after landing on the island. With its leader dead and many others dying, the colonizing party, now under Mendaña's wife, Doña Isabel, opted to return home. Responsibility for the return voyage fell to the chief pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. On November 18, the San Jeronimo, the Santa Catalina, and the San Felipe set sail form Graciosa Bay, the site of the expedition's failed attempt. Once a self-assured party with grand designs, the survivors now came to resemble, in some ways, those earlier island voyagers who had sought out a place of refuge from the oppressive circumstances of their lives.

On the morning of December 23, 1595, Quiros saw a high island to the northeast; this body of land held the promise of provisions and fresh water so desperately needed by the rapidly dwindling party of survivors. Fearful of the heavy surf pounding against the uncharted reef that surrounded the island, Quiros brought the ship about and had it hold its position during the night. Dawn's light revealed that the winds had pushed the ship dangerously close to the jagged shallows of the treacherous reef. Only a vow to St. Anthony of Padua, believed Quiros, saved the ship from certain ruin. Avoiding the reef by the narrowest
of margins, the ship escaped to windward and sailed up the island's western coast.

As the ship moved north along the coast, canoes came out from the island. Quiros described the encounter this way:

"As they were unable to cross the reef, they jumped on it and made signs with their hands. In the afternoon, one single native in a small canoe came around the end of the reef. He was at a distance to windward, so that we could not see whether he had a beard. He seemed to be a good-sized man and naked, with long loose hair. He pointed in the direction whence he had come from and, breaking something white in his hands, he ate it and had coconuts for drink. He was called to but did not come." 6

Similar to the reception they would accord Isohkelekel, the Ponapeans had given the Spaniards a ceremonial welcome. Fear, however, proved stronger than thirst or hunger. Unsure of what it all meant, the bedraggled party opted to continue on its journey of misery. All Quiros could write of the island was that it seemed partly cultivated, heavily forested, and well-populated.

Filling in a gap left by written sources, Ponapean oral traditions speak of the first actual landing. Sometime after the San Jeronimo, a second ship appeared on the island's horizon. After moving along the reef, the ship came to anchor at the small reef island of Nahlap at the entrance to Rohnkiti harbor. Attempting to establish a rapport with these foreigners, the people made propitiatory offerings of kava and invitations to feast. Reassured, a landing party from the ship stepped ashore at a place called Sekereniap. Physical descriptions of the landing party suggest they were Spaniards; the men were described as wearing "hard skins" with one among them dressed in black with a shiny object hanging around his neck.
As would Isohkelekel, this unidentified party of Spanish voyagers found both welcome and resistance. In this first face to face encounter, each side attempted to express to the other who they were; both Ponapeans and Spaniards employed words, gestures, and symbols that, across a broad cultural chasm, became changed and misinterpreted. The Spanish knew nothing of the island, its people, and their history. The importance of kava, the significance of feasting, and the meaning of a foreign presence on the island mattered little to a people convinced of the superiority of their own ways. In need of provisions, the Spaniards could not hide the tone of insistence that belied their requests. They offered what they believed to be proper compensation. If denied, the Spaniards, as evidenced by their conduct elsewhere in the Pacific, were prepared to use force; the tools of violence rested closely by their sides.

In a land populated by many contending factions, new arrivals were seen most immediately as potential threats. Whatever else they thought of the Spaniards, Ponapeans understood the arquebuses, lances, swords, and daggers to be implements of war. A proud, self-confident people standing on land granted them by divine right, the Ponapeans balked at the intimidation that surrounded the Spaniards' requests. Plans for feasting soon gave way to hostilities. Unable to pierce the armor of their foes, the Ponapeans sustained heavy casualties. One island warrior did manage to spear one of the Spaniards "through an opening in his face." Through persistence and sheer numbers, the Ponapeans drove the foreigners back to the ship. The Spaniards then sailed away leaving behind only the less than glorious memory of a violent people with "hard skins."
Ponapean history did not wait on the next ship. The political system established by Isohkelekel in Madolenihmw had begun to spread with the centralization of power in other areas of the island. Angered by the irresponsible play of his children that resulted in an injury to his eye, Nahlepenien, the first Nahnken, forsook Madolenihmw. The pleas of his panic-stricken family could not shake Nahlepenien's resolve. Leaving behind his children as heirs to the ruling titles in Madolenihmw, Nahlepenien traveled to Wenik in the northeast area of the island where he established the modern state of Uh. Now called Sangiro or "Knows Not Exhaustion" because of his perseverance in the face of his children's incessant pleas for his return, Nahlepenien inaugurated a title system in Uh modeled after that in Madolenihmw. Taking for himself the title of Nahnmwarki, Nahlepenien gave the remaining royal titles to fellow members of the Lasialap clan; the titles associated with the nahnken's line went to the children of the Lasialap nobles.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the north central region of the island fell to the Sounkawad. Desirous of better land, easier access to the sea, and more power, the Sounkawad used the flood waters of the Nanpil River to sweep down from their mountain home at Nankawad and drive out the Lasialap who formerly had wrested control of the area from the Dipwinmen. The Sounkawad's conquest created the chiefdom of Sokehs. The sons of two Sounkawad sisters assumed political leadership; the son of the elder sister took the title of Wasai Sokehs and ruled as the paramount chief over the entire area. The son of the second sister became Lepen Net with jurisdiction over a large semi-autonomous area within Sokehs known as Net.
Unification also occurred in the west. By the time of Isohkelekel's conquest, the west lay divided among the five major areas of Onohnleng, Pasau, Lukoap, Kiti, and Pehleng. Soukise ruled Onohnleng while Saupasau governed the neighboring region of Pasau. Kiti, formerly known as Kepihleng, was governed by Soukiti from the ancient capital of Sapwtakai. Further north, in Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe had driven out the Pwuton and established a political order under Nahnmadau en Pehleng. Having established control over Pehleng, the Dipwinpehpe eventually moved against Kiti, driving out the ruling clan, the Sounkiti. Pehleng's conquest of Kiti in the mid-eighteenth century drew the entire western half of the island into war. The Sounkiti, the displaced ruling clan, fled north to Sokehs and Net.

Clan honor demanded revenge; as the most senior chief of the Dipwimmen from which the Sounkiti had evolved, Soukise en Leng bore the primary responsibility for reprisal. Concerned about the influx of these refugees and the possibility of hostilities spreading to his area, Nahnsoused en Net, the second ranking chief of Net, journeyed to Onohnleng to inquire about Soukise's intentions. As a major priest of Nahn Sapwe and the ruler of Onohnleng, Soukise enjoyed a position of special prominence on the island. Onohnleng had managed to maintain much of its autonomy despite the Saudeleur rule. While Nan Madol sought to bring the entire island under the spiritual order of Nahnisohnsapw, the ruler-priests of Onohnleng helped keep alive the worship of Nahn Sapwe and other Ponapean spirits. A yearly religious ritual called Kampa reaffirmed the people's commitment to the gods and spirits of the land. Following the demise of the Saudeleur dynasty, Soukise had
served as an intermediary between the gods and the people in establishing a new order. The task of checking the Dipwinpehpe's aggression fell, quite naturally, to Soukise.

Promising to move against the Dipwinpehpe following the conclusion of Kampa, Soukise urged Nahnsoused en Net to return to the north and await further word. The ceremonies completed, Soukise organized his forces. Supplemented by warriors from Lukoap, the Dipwinmen of Onohnleng marched against the Dipwinpehpe. In planning his strategy, Soukise relied heavily upon a ruse. While the main force marched overland, a phantom fleet, comprised mainly of make-shift dummies, traveled by sea. Confused by the tactic, the Dipwinpehpe divided their forces equally to meet the approaching columns. After a fierce struggle, Onohnleng's superior land force captured the stone fortress of Sapwtakai. The opportune arrival of an allied fleet of war canoes under the command of Nahnsoused en Net allowed Onohnleng's weaker sea forces to carry the fight. The western half of the island from Pehleng to Onohnleng was now united as the state of Kiti under the rule of Soukise en Onohnleng who became its first nahmmwarki.

Following Quiros' brief encounter with the island, Ponape lay relatively undisturbed by western shipping traffic. While oral traditions suggest visits by other unidentified Spanish ships and, in one case, a Chinese junk, almost 200 years passed before the next recorded sighting of the island. Captain Thomas Reed of the ship Alliance out of Philadelphia passed Ponape on December 23, 1787. In his journal, Reed wrote that a canoe put out from the island but kept a safe distance from the ship. Twenty five years later, Captain William Watson in the
British bark General Graham recorded a similar experience in the ship's log; again, no direct contact was made with the island or its inhabitants. In 1815, the Marquis of Wellington, a British Indiaman under the command of Captain G. Betham, sighted Ponape. Captain John Henry Rowe, in the English bark John Bull, attempted to anchor off the island on September 10, 1825 but was chased away by five canoes. The legacy of the more than two hundred and thirty years of contact between the island and the "ghosts from the open ocean" amounted to one violent encounter, a few sightings and the bestowal of several names.

Ponape's first substantial contact with Euro-American civilization came with the visit of Captain Fedor Petrovich Lütke, commander of a Russian naval expedition making a scientific survey of the Pacific under the sponsorship of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Aboard Lütke's flagship, the Senyavin, were the naturalist M. Mertens, the mineralogist and painter Alexandr F. Postels, and the zoologist F. H. von Kittlitz. Entering the Caroline Islands, so named by the Spanish explorer Francisco Lazcano in 1686 in honor of Spain's ruling monarch Carlos II, the expedition had made an extended stop at Kosrae where it had enjoyed a very warm, hospitable reception. Leaving Kosrae, the Senyavin and the supply ship Moeller sailed south to take magnetic measurements on the equator. This completed, the ships turned back north. On the evening of January 15, 1828, Lütke found himself near a high, relatively large island. Surprised by the sight in front of him, Lütke, a better navigator than historian, declared himself the discoverer. Observing the island from the quarter-deck of his ship, Lütke recognized the dense groves of coconut trees and the smoke rising
from various locations about the island as signs of human habitation. A
large number of canoes soon appeared from the north. As they approached
the ship, the people in the canoes began to sing. Women, standing on the
central platform of the canoe between the hull and the outrigger, danced,
making pronounced movements with their heads, hands, and feet. The
appearance of the ship at different parts of the island over the next
four days elicited similar responses. To Lütke, the leader of an
expedition in search of knowledge and understanding, it was an
incomprehensible cacophony.

Ponapean hospitality was to repeatedly stymie the expedition's
ttempts at scientific investigation of the island. Moving west along
the southern coast of the island on the first day, Lütke noticed an
opening in the reef that appeared to be a deep channel. The captain
ordered a sloop lowered to take depth readings of the area; Lieutenant
Dmitrii I. Zavalishin commanded the survey team. As soon as the sloop
left the ship, canoes rushed out from the shore to surround it.
Zavalishin's attempts to give a brief speech explaining his purpose met
with more songs and dances. Amidst the general excitement, the people
threw coconuts into the boat and, through gestures, invited the group to
land. Frustrated by the scene about them, the survey party returned to
the Senyavin.

The next day, Zavalishin tried again. Entering the channel opening
this time, Zavalishin an his party crossed the critical boundary that
separated Ponape from the rest of the world. The survey team soon found
itself surrounded by 40 canoes carrying at least 200 Ponapeans. Ignoring
the singing, dancing, and the gifts that literally showered down upon the
boat, the group continued to go about its work. Having accomplished what it could, the party prepared to return to the ship. As the boat began to move away, the canoes crowded closer about. Not deterred by the lack of a response to their greetings, a number of Ponapeans, hoping to force a landing, attempted to remove the boat's rudder. The survey team's refusal to acknowledge the rituals of welcome being extended, coupled with its penetration of Ponapean space, constituted both an affront and a challenge. Zavalishin noticed a bundle of spears in the bottom of one canoe that was quickly covered up. The people's shouts became louder; the lieutenant thought they came to sound like taunts and challenges. One man finally hurled a spear that Zavalishin barely managed to dodge. A pistol shot fired over the heads of the Ponapeans silenced them briefly. During the lull, the sloop pulled away from the body of the canoes and managed to reach the ship safely.

The Senyavin and the Moeller continued north along the western coast of the island. During the night the ships passed a group of men with long spears standing watchfully on the reef; the night before they had encountered a similar group of people standing on the reef and barking at them like dogs. Lütke interpreted this incident as evidence of the presence of dogs on the island. Ponape did indeed have dogs but the "barking" or, more accurately the chase call, uhs uhs, marked an effort by some Ponapeans to scare the ship away. By dawn of the third day, the ships had come around to the northern part of the island. Lütke, observing what seemed to be the opening to a natural harbor, again decided to send a party to search out a suitable place to anchor. For greater security, a second boat manned by an armed party accompanied
Zavalishin's group. As soon as they had moved within the confines of the reef, a host of canoes set out from the shore. Within moments, the two boats were surrounded by a fleet of canoes. The Ponapeans, dispensing with all greetings and offerings, roped the rudder of the lead boat and tried to pull it to shore. Pistol shots fired into the air failed to subdue the crowd that now grew bolder and noisier. Only after a thundering broadside of cannon fire from the Senyavin temporarily distracted the Ponapeans did the two boats managed to extricate themselves.

Believing that any effort to land would surely mean bloodshed, Lütke made a futile effort to tame this uncontrollable land by renaming it. The main island and the two out-lying groups of coral atolls also explored by Lütke received the name "Senyavin Islands," in honor of the Russian naval hero whose name also adorned the expedition's flagship. Lütke called the northern bay the "Harbor of Bad Reception." The piece of land that jutted out into the bay received the designation "Cape Zavalishin." To Dolotomw, a prominent peak in the south that he mistakenly believed to be the highest on the island, Lütke accorded the title "Montesanto".

Though limited in his contact with the people, Lütke made a number of very general comments on their physical appearance. Lütke described the Ponapeans as medium-sized, well-built, strong, and decisive. He found little appealing in their faces, however; the Russian explorer wrote of, "large prominent eyes which express mistrust and wildness. Their joy is effervescent and exaggerated. A constantly forced laugh and eyes that constantly look around lend them no grace. I have not seen a single and friendly face." 21
Aside from a few specimens of Ponapean handicraft and some hydrographical data, Lütke left Ponape with little to show the outside scientific community. A small dog taken from one of the canoes that had come alongside the ships proved no more cooperative or enlightening than its island masters. After spending most of the return voyage under a cannon carriage howling, the pointy-eared, droopy-tailed dog indignantly fled the ship at the Russian port city of Kronstadt. 22

Shaken by their inability to penetrate the island, the men of science tried to explain their failure. Lütke blamed the people; their excitable nature, their lack of concentration, and the harsh, toneless character of their primitive jabbering, said the captain, precluded any ability to communicate with the outside world. 23 Zavalishin and many of the crew saw the Ponapeans as innately hostile. Kittlitz and Mertens, however, had other thoughts. 24 The two scientists could find no evidence of a violence-prone people; they felt the incidents of hostility may have been unconsciously provoked by the conduct of the survey team. Kittlitz noted the willingness of the people in the canoes to barter. The island men's gifts of their headbands to members of the crew struck the scientists as genuine gestures of affection. Kittlitz did concede, however, that the intense, fearless character of the the people made it difficult to withstand their insistent, aggressive offerings of friendship.

Both the scientists and the sailors were correct. The Ponapean response toward Lütke's expedition was a largely hospitable one that flirted with violence. In the span of time between Quiros and Lütke, Ponapeans had become a little less intimidated by these ghosts of the open ocean; the people sought an understanding of the new forces that now
began to appear more and more frequently off the shores of their island. In short, the Ponapeans were as curious about the Russians as the Russians were about them. The island's history taught the necessity of ultimate accommodation. In an effort to establish a rapport with the ships, the Ponapeans greeted Lütke with offerings, gifts, and invitations to feasts. From their canoes, the people introduced themselves and told of their history through songs and dances. Coming from a tradition that stressed detached scholarship, the members of the expedition could neither appreciate nor understand the knowledge the Ponapeans attempted to communicate to them. In insisting upon an objective distance, the men of the ships reinforced the alien character of their presence. An ungovernable foreign force that kept itself apart was not something that the people of the island could easily tolerate. To win the necessary conditions for their work, the members of the expedition presented the people with trinkets; the Ponapeans responded with increasingly aggressive, near-violent offers of feasting. The scientists and the Ponapeans sought knowledge of each other; neither side, however, understood the purposes of the other.

Beachcombers could cross cultural barriers to make their peace with island cultures but there were no beachcombers aboard Lütke's ships. James F. O'Connell was a beachcomber. A considerable amount of blarney obscures the actual date and circumstances of O'Connell's arrival on the island; nonetheless, the Irishman, unlike others before him, managed to cross the reef and pass through the mangrove swamp to live among the people of the island. A dispossessed man from a tormented, suffering land, O'Connell harbored few of the illusions about the superiority of
European civilization. The Irishman arrived on Ponape with five other companions; he claimed they were all survivors of a shipwreck and had just spent three burning days and four chilling nights on the open ocean. Spotting the boat as it entered the northern channel, a fleet of canoes hurriedly put out from the shore at Net. The Ponapeans, uncertain about the exact nature of the boat's occupants and more suspicious following their recent experiences with Lütke, feigned an approach, pulled back, and then hurled a barrage of stones and spears. The weary refugees could do little but prostrate themselves on the bottom of the boat. Realizing the group was incapable of any effective resistance, the Ponapeans pulled the boat ashore, seized its contents, stripped the men of their clothes, and then led them to a crowded ceremonial meeting house.

The appearance of the white men caused a stir of excitement. The people crowded around the strangers, poking at the different parts of their bodies and expressing special amazement over the blue veins that ran beneath their white skins. Noticing the uhmw or rock oven smoldering in the center of the nahs, the six men feared the worst. The men's apprehensions were groundless; nonetheless, O'Connell, in a "desperate feeling of recklessness", stood up and danced an Irish jig. The dance caused the Ponapeans to click their tongues against their teeth in delight. A feast of welcome followed. The people anointed their guests with coconut oil or leh, presented them with baskets of food, and offered them drinks of kava or sakau. The feast continued for four days during which canoe-loads of people from different sections of Sokehs came to view these white men from a very different world. The Ponapeans, through
their actions, let these shipwrecked sailors know there was a place for them on the island.

O'Connell described Ponapean society as highly stratified with class distinctions between the "moonjobs" and "nigurts" as he called them. Noting that the "moonjobs" were lighter than the "nigurts," O'Connell believed the segregation in Ponapean society followed racial lines. O'Connell was wrong. Based on a matrilineally determined ranking of clans and sub-clans, Ponapean society distinguished between the soupeidi or nobles and the common people or aramas mwal. The difference in skin color, if indeed one existed, resulted largely from the quite different lifestyles of the two groups; the soupeidi governed from the raised platform of the nahs while the aramas mwal worked outside, performing the physical labor required of them.

At the time of O'Connell's arrival, the chiefs dominated Ponapean society. Indeed, the status of the chiefs was now the single most important organizing concept around which Ponapean society revolved. Ponapeans knew themselves through their relationships with the chiefs who linked the people with the land, with their past, and with their gods. Two distinct chiefly lines governed each of the four states or chiefdoms then existing on Ponape. At the head of the first line or pali en soupeidi stood the nahmmwarki. Protected by island gods and ancestral spirits, the nahmmwarki, as the physical embodiment of the whole system, lived apart from the people. His person was sacred. The nahnken, who headed the second line or pali en seriho, made most of the practical, day to day decisions of government. Each wehi or chiefdom was composed of smaller sections of land called kousapw; these kousapw, in turn,
consisted of individual farmsteads or pieces of land called peliensapw. Each kousapw possessed two governing lines of titles that mirrored those of the larger chiefdom. Originally called meseni en keinek when the clans served as the principal units of social organization, the section leader, by O'Connell's day, had come to be known as the soumas en kousapw.

When addressing the nahnmwarki, the people spoke in the third person plural and in a separate language of respect to honor both the man and the spirits about him. A serious infraction of his will could lead to banishment or death. All land and all things produced from it belonged to the nahnmwarki; this control over the land provided the basis for his political power. The lesser chiefs and the section or kousapw heads all held their land in fief from the nahnmwarki; the common people, in turn, received rights to individual farmsteads from these leaders. All of the people then lived and worked upon the land at the nahnmwarki's pleasure. It was he who gave and he who took away. To insure the nahnmwarki's good will, there thrived an elaborate system of tribute feasting. There were feasts of respect, feasts of thanksgiving, and feasts to present the first fruits of the different agricultural seasons. There were feasts for new houses, new canoes, new fishing nets, funerals, marriages, births, and atonement. In short, there existed a feast for almost every human activity and over each feast presided, in spirit or in person, the nahnmwarki.

In addition to the celebration of a particular event, each feast affirmed the social order of rank, prestige, and respect upon which the island rested. The rituals of feasting were complex; they varied depending upon the nature of the feast and upon the area of the island in
which the feast was held. During certain seasons, feasting was an almost
daily occurrence. Feasting constituted a celebration, an affirmation,
and a sanctification of what it meant to be Ponapean. Above all else,
feasting was a religious ceremony that reinforced the deep spiritual ties
between the past and the present and symbolically united the land, the
chiefs, the people, and their gods.

In a natural extension of Ponapean logic, the six shipwrecked sailors
were seen as belonging to the paramount chief of the area. Distributing
these sailors as he would any other form of wealth, the Wasai Sokehs
entrusted O'Connell and George Keenan, another Irishman, to the care of
Oundol en Net, a lesser chief; the remaining men were assigned to other
chiefs of Sokehs. O'Connell's arrival at Oundol's domain in Net
provided a cause for further celebration. Following the welcome, the
chief ordered both O'Connell and Keenan led to an isolated hut where they
were to be tattooed. The tattoo or pelipel held special significance in
Ponapean society. There was pain in life; Ponapeans saw the ability
to endure pain as a necessary prerequisite for an honorable existence.
The courage to withstand the month-long ordeal of having elaborate
patterns etched into the skin with an ink-dipped rake made of thorns or
sharpened animal bones attested to the worth of an individual. No man or
woman was considered eligible for marriage without the proper marking of
the body. Men had their arms and legs tattooed; women, in addition to
these areas, had their buttocks, thighs, and genital regions marked.
O'Connell was perhaps fortunate that the Ponapeans did not require him to
undergo yet another male rite of passage, the lekilek or castration of
the left testicle.
Aside from their decorative value, the patterns of the tattoo identified an individual's lineage. The designs also recorded clan histories and other great events in the life of the island. In a real sense, then, Ponapeans wore their histories on their bodies. Not surprisingly, the Ponapeans wondered how the white man recorded his history. Responding to their inquiries, O'Connell showed his hosts a copy of Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, a book he had salvaged from the ship. The Ponapeans found particular amusement in the printing and pictures of the book. Thinking the pages of the book would make attractive personal ornaments, the women tore out the pages of the book and wove them into barkcloth panchos. When the rain later washed out the print and pictures from the pages, the women complained that the history of the white man was no good because it washed away with the rain. Ponapeans' use of the *pelipei* or tattoo was much better, they said, because it lasted. Looking at the markings made recently upon his own body, O'Connell conceded that the women had a point. 33

O'Connell had suffered through the excruciating ordeal and emerged with the respect of the people. Oundol en Net called him brave, bestowed upon him a title, gave O'Connell his daughter's hand in marriage, and reserved for the newly tattooed Irishman a sleeping place in his chiefly house. George Keenan shrunk from the ordeal of tattooing with emphatic shrieks and cries; the Ponapeans called him cowardly and child-like. Disgusted, Oundol sent Keenan off to live with a lower class woman in a small, thatched-roof structure at the edge of the main residential compound.
O'Connell's efforts to assert his independence met with strong chiefly rebuke. An attempt to take an unauthorized tour of the island earned O'Connell a severe beating. O'Connell's verbal berating of his wife, Liouni, led to a near-fatal confrontation with her offended father and a party of armed Ponapean warriors. If Ponapeans insisted on his submission, they also provided for his protection. O'Connell's wife stabbed a man to death for an affront to her husband.

O'Connell saw Ponapeans as a resourceful, competent people who used their rich environment well. O'Connell described the Ponapean dwelling house, with its steep-pitched roof that covered reed walls and bamboo floors built around tall fern posts sunk into a raised foundation of piled rocks, as a credible structure. Using cutting tools and blades formed from rocks, shells, and bones, Ponapeans felled the strong trees of their forests to make their canoes and to hew foundation posts for their buildings. From the different parts of the coconut tree, Ponapeans fashioned mats, loin cloths, twine, torches, visors, baskets, fans, brooms, and cups. The people gathered at night to sing, dance, tell stories, and observe the heavens. They had names for the stars, the different phases of the moon, and the various seasons of the year. While lacking a phonetic system of writing, Ponapeans used drums, conch shells, and folded leaves to make announcements or transmit messages. Remarking upon the canoe or katepeik feast, O'Connell wrote:

"The whole scene, the decorations of the canoes, the chiefs in gala dress, and the women on shore with their heads dressed in flowers, formed a pageant which I thought seldom, if ever, surpassed by civilized nations. Then the universal hilarity and good order, the absence of all jealousy and quarreling... is a feature in their rejoicing which the pomp of civilization never possesses." 34
Ponapeans, said O'Connell, were a clean people, too; men, women, and children bathed at least once a day. To be sure, they suffered from lesions, sores, boils, and the accidents that followed an active, enthusiastic life. But the cures for these afflictions lay completely within the capabilities of the land and its people. Ponapeans possessed a healthy curiosity about the world and used the information gained to enhance their own skills. Judging from his satisfactory relationship with his own wife, Liouni, O'Connell considered most Ponapean women to be faithful, affectionate, caring, and quite intelligent. While sometimes harsh in its administration of justice, O'Connell believed the chiefly form of government served the island quite well. All in all, the Irishman pronounced the Ponapeans to be a contented people.

O'Connell also confirmed what Lütke had suspected: Ponapeans knew war. For Ponapean men, war constituted one of the most meaningful of life's activities; through war, men sought to distinguish themselves and to prove their courage. In the island's early history, war had broken out between different clans over resource rights and political leadership. With the centralization of power in the various regions of the island, war came to involve whole chiefdoms contesting matters of pride, honor, and glory. These wars usually consisted of raids into enemy territory during which houses would be burned, crops destroyed, and several lives taken. Retaliation took the form of a counter foray. Occasionally, there would be more formal battles that involved large war parties meeting at an appointed place and time. Rank, order, and prescribed ritual characterized Ponapean conflicts. Warriors sought out their social equals; chiefs engaged chiefs while the commoners fought
among themselves. Fellow clansmen on opposing sides looked for each other; clan honor demanded that, if at all possible, a warrior fall only at the hands of a contending clansmen. After a pitched battle, the invading force usually withdrew; the occupation or seizure of land seldom constituted an objective of war. More often than not, the opposing parties would come together after the cessation of hostilities for an exchange of formal apologies to restore the peace. Sometimes, as in the Kiti unification war, the outcome of a conflict resulted in a change in the ruling clan. This change was usually confined to the top and resulted only in a replacement of the people who held the titles. The greater number of people simply remained on their land and redirected their tribute to the new line of rulers.

O'Connell participated in a war between Sokehs and Uh; the beachcomber identified his wife as the cause of the war. Previously betrothed in marriage to the Wasai of Uh, the chief second in rank among the nahnnwarki's title line, Liouni, at her father's command, had married O'Connell. This breaching of betrothal constituted a serious insult to the Wasai. The war between the two chiefdoms resulted in a victory for Sokehs. Having killed the Wasai in battle, the conquering forces returned to Sokehs with his body and those of other fallen chiefs from Uh. A feast was held celebrating the victory and rewarding the triumphant warriors. Before burning their dead enemies, the people of Sokehs took the heart from the Wasai's body, placed it on a banana leaf, and presented it to the presiding chief of Sokehs. This ceremonial cannibalism honored the rank and power of the dead chief. The position of the Wasai enhanced the victory of Sokehs; the symbolic
consumption of the deposed chief's heart was a communion in which the dead nourished the living.

Despite his feelings for the people, O'Connell decided that he could not stay on Ponape. O'Connell, feeling bored and restricted by the society about him, explained his decision this way; "No civilized person however, theorized and philosophized though he were in contempt for the shackles of civilization, could content himself with innocent, unsophisticated, natural men forever." James F. O'Connell opted to return to a world that would place him first in a Manila jail and then make him a freak attraction in an American traveling circus.

The ship on which O'Connell left Ponape was the Spy, a trading brig out of Salem, Massachusetts under the command of Captain John B. Knights. After spending several days trying to locate a suitable opening in the reef, the ship began its final approach to the island on November 27, 1833. O'Connell had spotted the ship on its first approach. Overcoming Oundol en Net's objections, O'Connell and Keenan, after a failed first attempt in which their canoe was swamped by rough seas, finally reached the Spy with a load of tortoise shell and fresh provisions. Having spent several years on the island, O'Connell had come to look like a Ponapean. His calls for a rope to board the ship led one of the crewmen to look down at the water's edge and cry out, "Captain, the natives of this island speak English." Once on deck, O'Connell proceeded to pilot the ship to a safe anchorage in Madolenihmw Harbor.

The sight of the scraggly beachcomber did little to reassure the already nervous sea captain. Tension immediately arose between the two. Warned by Knights against any kind of trickery, a surprised O'Connell
quickly assured the highly suspicious captain of the peaceful intentions of both himself and the people of the island. A weak, scared, almost paranoid man, Knights, on his first voyage in command of a trading vessel, had little to show for his efforts to date; he knew his sponsors back in Salem would be less than pleased if things did not turn around. Though encouraged by the quantity of tortoise shell brought out to the ship by O'Connell, Knights worried about the unrestrained enthusiasm of the Ponapeans who now crowded the decks of the Spy. Worse than showing no profit would be to lose the vessel altogether. Attempting to establish some semblance of order, Knights, on the morning of his second day at anchor in Madolenihmw Harbor, had the ship's four guns fired into the air to prevent the Ponapeans from boarding. With sentries posted about the deck and in the fore-topsail, Knights, using O'Connell as an interpreter, commenced trading.

The Salem trader described himself in his journal as a man who had come to trade at a fair price. He promised to deal fairly with all parties concerned and he expected this same treatment in return. Knights, however, was presuming upon an understanding of trade not shared by the Ponapeans. The direct exchange of one commodity for another of equal value was not a part of the Ponapeans concept of economics. Rather than trade, the Ponapeans chose to steal. Curious about noises emanating from near the water's level, Knights peered over the ship's rail to see Ponapeans trying to pry loose the iron ribbing from the ship's side. Enraged, he ordered the would-be thieves away and threatened to have them killed if they ever returned. The next day, Knights was equally amazed to find that the two iron poles placed to mark the channel had also
disappeared. That afternoon, 100 canoes came alongside the ship. During a heavy rainfall, the ship's mate discovered one Ponapean again trying to free the ship's iron siding. The mate hurled a breadfruit at the man; the canoes responded with a steady volley of stones and spears. One stone felled the second mate, bringing triumphant shouts from the canoes. Fearing the worst, Knights ordered a volley of musket fire into the canoes. With several of their number killed and others injured, the Ponapeans pulled away from the side of the ship.

Knights called the Ponapeans great thieves. Ships' captains reaching the island in later years would second this assessment emphatically. Wrote one; "[The] Natives are a graceless set of scamps. They did not steal the main mast or the anchor for the simple reason that they could not carry them off." Ponapeans were indeed thieves. O'Connell saw their proclivity to steal as the harmless, understandable pilfering of the rich by the poor. The real explanation, however, lay in the ritual polity of the island. Through the feasting of their gods and chiefs, the people sought to free the wealth of the island. Offerings earned the people a share in the abundance of the island. When feasting failed, Ponapeans turned to theft.

Theft constituted a justifiable alternative to feasting. Numerous incidents of theft fill the island's earlier history. In addition, the act of stealing often represented a legitimate expression of protest against some injustice. Both Satokawai and Lepen Moar stole; their actions expressed righteous defiance against the oppressive greed of the Saudeleurs. Ponapeans, then, used theft to liberate what was otherwise inaccessible. Faced with a new presence in their waters, Ponapeans
attempted to free the wealth of the foreign ships through gifts and invitations to feasting. When the ships failed to respond properly, Ponapeans, acting in the light of historical precedent, stole.

Chiefly prerogatives also shaped the Ponapean response to the presence of the Spy. Within the island's waters, the ship, according to the logic of the island, belonged to Ponape, more particularly to the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw. On the afternoon of the fourth day, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kesik, who would die less than three years later in an incident involving another ship, appeared at the vessel's side to lay claim to what was rightfully his. The Nahnmwarki's presence immediately brought silence and order. An alien ship now became the temporary shelter for the most prominent of the island's chiefs. Knights described him as a "miserable looking old fellow" but noticed the extreme deference accorded him by all of the Ponapeans about the ship. Hearing Knights' complaints about the earlier incidents of theft and violence, the Nahnmwarki, with the hint of a challenge underlying his formal expressions of regret, told Knights to kill all future thieves. The Ponapean chief then presented the captain with a mat, a live turtle, and some shell; gifts from a nahnmwarki, called kepin koanoat, symbolized recognition, respect, and obligation. The Nahnmwarki's action represented an attempt to bring the ship within appropriate Ponapean categories. Knights, insistent upon avoiding any crippling debt or obligation, placed some trifles before the Nahnmwarki. Looking less than impressed, the Nahnmwarki, treating the captain as he might any other individual under his jurisdiction, ordered rum to drink. When Knights replied that he had none to give, the Nahnmwarki left. Ponapeans could
reach no understanding with this foreign, hostile, insulting presence within their waters. Violence became the only form of communication between the ship and the island. That night, the Yankee trader shot a Ponapean who, from his canoe, was trying to hook a pair of trousers with a barbed pole he had slipped through the cabin window.

All trade with the vessel now ceased. A canoe purchased earlier by Knights and fastened to the stern of the ship disappeared. The theft of the canoe, more a gift than an item of trade to begin with, marked the total rupture of relations between the ship and the island. Knights ordered a long boat to pursue the thieves. No sooner had the boat been lowered than a fleet of canoes rounded the point of land that served as the upper lip of the harbor. A shot over their heads failing to deter the Ponapeans, Knights ordered a direct volley into their ranks from the swivel cannon he had placed in the topsail. The shot shook the mast, almost causing it to split. Observing O'Connell on the deck, the Ponapeans, before withdrawing, complained bitterly about the deaths of their comrades and the scandalous conduct of Knights. Understanding how grievous Knights' actions appeared to the people of the island, O'Connell could only profess his personal innocence. His paranoia fed by rumors of a planned takeover of the ship by a group of rowdy castaways who had just reached the island from the nearby atoll of Pingelap aboard the whaler Nimrod, Knights decided to leave. The next morning, the ship, almost foundering upon the reef as it passed out of the harbor channel, beat an ignominious retreat from the island.

O'Connell had worried that later arrivals to the island would pay for the Spy's perpetrations against the people of Madolenihmw. His fears
were unfounded. Violence was not a necessarily inherent feature of the relationship between the ships and the island; Knights' own quick resort to force in the face of seeming disorder had engendered the hostility of the Ponapeans. Ships reaching the island between 1833 and 1835 stopped for a few days, replenished their supplies, traded for what tortoise shell was available, and then sailed on. Captain Cathcart of the Waverly described the islanders as "friendly" and more intelligent than those of Kosrae. Captain John Winn of the Salem trading schooner Eliza found the island's supply of tortoise shell rapidly dwindling but remarked favorably upon the island as a place to rest and restock. Fleeing Kosrae where 13 of her crewmen had died in hostilities with the people of the island, the Honduras limped into Ponape. Within a short time, the captain had signed on a crew of Ponapeans to replace those men he had lost on Kosrae. The trading schooner Thetis of Honolulu stopped at the island to regroup after a mutiny at sea that took the lives of the master, two mates, and three other people. For the time being, Ponapeans contented themselves with small-scale theft and barter, while pondering ways to deal effectively with the ships.

For those ships forced to undertake a more extensive stay, the relations with the island could prove far more dangerous. The northeast trade winds that blew between December and April usually made Madolenihmw on the windward side of the island an inaccessible harbor during that period. Ships failing to leave the harbor soon enough found themselves forced to wait out the three-month trade winds. Putting in at Madolenihmw Harbor in April of 1836, Captain C. Hingston of the British whaleship Falcon of London thought he had avoided all problems with the
winds. An unexplained shift in the wind pattern that year, however, kept the ship in the harbor for the next three months. Over this long period, the ship became inextricably involved in the vortex of Ponapean politics. Scholars have described the violence that erupted around the Falcon as an example of the ultimate vulnerability of island societies to western impact. But the root causes and dynamics of the Falcon incident were essentially Ponapean.

Persistent tension underlay the polity of Ponape. While acquisition of the highest titles resulted theoretically from an orderly advance through the title system, actual succession often involved individual merit, scheming, intrigue, bravado, and even force. In Madolenihmw, the most senior of the four island states, the tensions of political life ran particularly high. While establishing the charter of divine and chiefly privileges, the acts of incest committed by Isohkelekel and Nahlepenien also added an element of instability to Madolenihmw's political order. The still current phrase neitik en Madolenihmw, "born of Madolenihmw" refers to the unsettling, socially disruptive acts of incest that promoted dissension within Madolenihmw's ruling clan. The continuing, centuries-old rivalries among the different sections of Madolenihmw further exacerbated the in-bred weaknesses of Isohkelekel's system of rule. Ponapeans to this day describe Madolenihmw's erratic, volatile political history with the phrase, wehi keredi kereda or "a state of steppings down and steppings up."

The pre-Western contact story of Oun Sapwawas exemplifies the strong current of unrest that affected the Dipwinpahnmei, the ruling clan, and the entire chiefdom of Madolenihmw. Two sisters of the senior
sub-clan of the Dipwinpahnmei had sons who held prominent titles. The
two eldest sons of the older sister bore the titles of Wasai and Nahnawa,
the second and fifth ranked titles, respectively, in the nahnmwarki's
line while the younger sister's son held the lesser title of Oun
Sapwawas. During a visit to Temwen, the younger sister incurred the
displeasure of her older sibling. In a fit of anger, the older sister
charged that the younger had no real children; implicit in this statement
was the charge that the younger sister had failed to raise her children
to be dutiful and responsible individuals. The younger sister,
distraught, returned to her home in the Lohdpah section of southern
Madolenihmw and told her son, Oun Sapwawas, of the insult. The incensed
Oun Sapwawas swore revenge. The visit of Nahnawa, the younger of the
older sister's two sons, provided Oun Sapwawas with an opportunity for
revenge. In the middle of preparations for a feast welcoming Nahnawa,
Oun Sapwawas murdered his distinguished cousin.

The Wasai, learning of his brother's murder, decided upon a scheme to
lure Oun Sapwawas and his forces from their home ground. With Lepen
Moar, the ruler of the Senipehn area in the north of Madolenihm, the
Wasai held a clandestine meeting to plan a mock war. To promote an aura
of authenticity, the two chiefs agreed not to inform their warriors of
the secret alliance between them. As agreed, the forces of the Wasai and
Lepen Moar met in a series of engagements designed to make Oun Sapwawas
believe that a state of war really existed between the two men. The
battles were thus fought in earnest with serious casualties on both
sides. Dissension within the ruling clan had shattered the peace of the
entire chiefdom. Men died to insure the success of a political charade conceived to avenge the honor of offended chiefs.

Feigning near total defeat after a series of bloody encounters with the Wasai, Lepen Moar sent an urgent request to Oun Sawpawas for assistance. The ruse worked. With an armed party of warriors, Oun Sapwawas left Lohdpah and traveled overland to central Madolenihmw where a large ambush party lay in wait. At the appointed moment, the party swooped down upon the forces of Oun Sapwawas. With his forces routed, Oun Sapwawas was soon captured; before finally executing him, his captors forced him to endure a series of excruciating tortures. Luelen Bernart writes of the event: "And such is the way that the people of the state of Madolenihmw are, pitiless toward each other; they do not cooperate smoothly with one another from that day to this."

The Madolenihmw into which the Falcon sailed was a divided, dissension-ridden chiefdom. The Dipwinpahnmei sub-clan, the Isonenimwahn, held the title of nahnmwarki with the keinek or matrilineage known as the Upwutenmei being dominant. Two other lineage groups within the Isonenimwahn, the Litehriete and the Litehsi1ite, struggled for privilege and position. The situation in 1836 was particularly volatile. The Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kesik, lived on Temwen Island. On Nna Island near the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor dwelled the Wasai. An exceptionally energetic, ambitious, and brave man, the Wasai, a member of the Litehriete lineage, had risen to challenge the preeminence of the Nahnmwarki. So strong had the Wasai become that many sections of Madolenihmw paid tribute to both Temwen and Nna.
The Wasai's power resulted in part from his shrewd manipulation of the new factor in Ponapean politics; namely, the ships. From the beginning, the Wasai realized the political advantage that lay in the material goods brought by the ships. The Wasai, trying to learn as much as possible about the ways of the white men now arriving in increasing numbers at Ponape's shores, had befriended O'Connell. Hearing stories of kings and presidents, the Ponapean chief had requested O'Connell to give him a foreign name that suited his station on Ponape. O'Connell responded with the title "Washington." Later, in 1835, the Wasai had given refuge to a group of surviving seamen who had reached Ponape in an open boat after their ship, the whaler Corsair, had been wrecked in the Gilberts. In a daringly skillful maneuver, the Wasai had interceded in the sailors' behalf after representatives of the Nahnmwarki had threatened them with death for their refusal to give up the long boat. Dr. Campbell, the surgeon aboard the British cutter Lambton, described the Wasai during the ship's first visit to Ponape in early 1836:

"though only second in authority, [he] is the most powerful and (though not in appearance) the most war-like chief on the whole island; his name is both dreaded and respected while his modest and unassuming character recommends itself to the particular attention of the stranger." 60

Approaching Madolenihmw Harbor in early April, the Falcon soon found its decks swarming with excited Ponapeans. With the heavy labor required during the season of scarcity or isol completed, the island entered the season of plenty called rahk. There was now more time and attention to give to the visit of a whaleship. For the next five weeks, relations between the ship and the island proved exceedingly cordial. The Ponapeans brought breadfruit, yams, coconuts, and embroidered belts in
return for tobacco, pipes, and other items. The affections of
Madolenihmw's women were also easily procured. With all repairs
completed and food stocks replenished, the Falcon was ready to sail by
the middle of May; unseasonably strong winds, however, confined the ship
for the next two months.

The ship had come to anchor off the point of land called
Pahndieinuh. Across the harbor channel lay Temwen Island, the
Nahnmwarki's residence. To the east near the channel entrance was the
island of Nna, the home of the Wasai. Unwittingly, the ship had
positioned itself within sight of Madolenihmw's two most prominent
competing camps. As the weeks passed, the ship began to figure
prominently in the scheming of these two contending factions. Becoming more and more irritated by the continued presence of a foreign
ship that refused to conform to or even honor the proper codes of
conduct, the Nahnmwarki's camp came to see the ship as a threat. Temwen
became covetous of the guns, powder, knives, and hatchets aboard ship
that carried potent political significance but were withheld from trade.
The fear that such goods might somehow fall to Nna or some other rival
added an unsettling element. The longer the ship remained, the greater
anxiety it caused Temwen. With his primacy being challenged from within,
the Nahnmwarki could ill-afford to ignore indefinitely the disrespectful,
disruptive presence lying at anchor in full view of his capital.

Speaking for his father, the Nahnmwarki's son urged that the ship be
seized and its cargo delivered to Temwen where it rightfully belonged.
The Nahnamwa of Madolenihmw, the Nahnmwarki's brother and an outspoken
opponent of the increasing foreign presence on the island, seconded the
plan. A change in the attitude of the women visiting the ship alerted both the captain and crew to an impending confrontation. When informed by a young chiefly woman from Temwen that the attack was imminent, Hingston ordered the decks cleared and all firearms readied. That same day, a fleet of canoes soon approached the ship. Observing the crew to be armed, the war party divided and returned toward the shore. On the morning of July 7, Hingston, unwilling to wait any longer for the winds to abate, ordered the ship to weigh anchor. Unable to tack against the still-prevailing trades, the ship, despite the considerable efforts of all aboard, was soon blown upon the reef. Over the course of the next two weeks, the crewmen salvaged most of the ship's cargo, including 900 barrels of whale oil, and stored it all at Nahpali, a nearby reef island at the southern edge of the harbor channel. Nahpali, ironically, was held in fief by the hostile Nahnawa. The ship's cargo now rested solidly on Ponapean soil. According to the dictates of tiahk en sapw, it became the property of the Nahnmwarki.

Hingston found the Wasai, living on Nna just south of Nahpali, an eager, hospitable host. The captain's stay with the Wasai, however, only strengthened the determination of the Nahnmwarki and his inner circle. Neither gifts nor the presence of an around-the-clock guard at Nahpali deterred the royal camp. Over the course of a month, small-scale theft soon gave way to outright confrontation. Hearing that the ship's cargo was being seized by a party of Ponapeans headed by Nahnawa, Hingston, on the morning of August 7, hurried by boat across the channel to Nahpali. Coming up to Nahnawa, Hingston seized him by the shoulders, shook him, and demanded to know why he allowed his people to steal from the ship's
stores. Seeing a Ponapean warrior raise his spear, Hingston threw Nahnawa aside and proceeded to beat the would-be assailant about the head with the intended weapon. Hingston carried the moment but not the day; his physical abuse of a Ponapean chief, an unconscionable offense in Ponapean society, sealed his fate. Returning to Nahpali with a full-scale war party, Nahnawa took his revenge; Hingston and four of his crewmen were killed. According to their rights as conquerors, Nahnawa and his party then defiled the bodies of their vanquished foes.

The whole incident now provided the Wasai with the pretext for an armed revolution. Acting decisively, the Wasai took in the surviving members and successfully demanded the bodies of Hingston and the other slain crew members. With Nna now an open center of resistance, the Wasai, using the Falcon survivors as intermediaries, requested assistance from Captain Jules Dudoit, the captain of the schooner Avon, trading for beche-de-mer off the southern coast of the island. Dudoit replied to the Wasai that he would only act upon consignment to him of the Falcon's barrels of whale oil. Meanwhile, Temwen, emboldened by its acquisition of the Falcon arsenal, sent threats and taunts across the channel to Nna. With the situation temporarily stalemated, Captain C. Hart in the Lambton, the man who had met Hingston on the open seas north of New Guinea and urged him to stop at Ponape, arrived in Madolenihmw Harbor on August 11. Hart's immediate insistence upon revenge served the Wasai's purposes admirably. An armed party of approximately 40 Europeans, made up of sailors and castaways living on the island, coalesced around Hart, a domineering, self-righteous individual. Hart's party, no matter how well-armed, could not fight effectively on the rugged, wet, slippery, and
over-grown terrain of Ponape. The only effective counter-forces against Ponapeans were other Ponapeans. The most critical component in the Wasai's strategy was his own army of 400 Ponapean warriors; it was this force that provided the critical margin of victory.65

Hart, believing himself in control, planned a direct assault upon Temwen. Preceded by a largely ineffective bombardment from the Lambton, a landing party of whites went ashore on Temwen's rocky eastern side. Realizing the futility of the approach, the Wasai's canoes held back. Unable to climb the bald inclines, Hart's forces withdrew after firing a few rounds. The next day, the Ponapeans took the lead. Following a prescribed ritual of taunts, challenges, and obscene gestures, the Wasai's forces moved against Temwen. John Plumb, a surviving seaman from the Falcon, described the fight this way: "They [the Wasai's men] of course were more active among the stones and bushes than we were; they chased them in fine style and speared many as they were running away."66 With their opponents routed, the Wasai's war party proceeded to burn houses, destroy all food crops, and wreak general havoc over the island of Temwen. The main body of the royal forces now fled to the Madolenihmw mainland.

By the fourth day, the Nahnmwarki's forces had retreated to the interior against the onslaught of a full-scale invasion. Recognizing the superiority of the Wasai's forces, neutral chiefs and royal sympathizers alike now attempted to propitiate the attackers with offerings of kava. The final battle took place among the mountains of Madolenihmw where the Nahnmwarki's remaining warriors had gathered. With the Wasai's men far in advance, Hart's party struggled through swamps, over muddy paths, and
up rugged precipices. Reaching the battle site, the heavily armed but weary and ragged party of vigilantes discovered the hostilities already concluded. Narrating the incident, Plumb, in a thinly disguised effort to salvage some semblance of dignified authority, added that, of course, their Ponapean allies were allowed to retain possession of all confiscated goods.

Prior to the final engagement, the two leaders of the royal forces had fled. The Nahnmwarki sought refuge in southern Kiti while Nahnawa retreated to one of the Mwand islands off Uh. With the consent of the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, who had no pity for one of his most bitter traditional enemies, a boat was despatched from the Lambton to seize the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw. Coming across the chiefly refugee in the Nanpahlap section of Wone, the party shot the Nahnmwarki dead and returned to Madolenihmw with the body. After an extended chase, Nahnawa was found leaning dejectedly against a breadfruit tree. To James Hall, a deserter from the whaleship Conway who had lived for two years on Ponape, Nahnawa said, "I know what you want, shoot me where I stand; I am tired of life for I am hunted by everyone." Hall assured the Ponapean noble that he would come to no harm; Hingston, said Hall, only wanted to transport him and his family to another island.

Hart proved no better a judge than a general. During the hostilities, Hart of the Lambton and a Captain W. Hart of the Unity, another ship involved in the conflict, had established a set procedure for alternating authority. As a symbol of this authority, the Harts agreed upon a broad pendant that carried the title of "Commodore." Each evening, the pendant would be lowered from the one ship and transferred
to the other where it would be raised the next morning to show the seat of that day's justice. Deciding by mutual consent to hang Nahnawa on the **Lambton**, the two captains Hart spent a considerable amount of time negotiating the transfer of the pendant that was originally scheduled to fly over the **Unity** on the day of the execution. Captain P. L. Blake of the **H.M.S. Larne**, the British man-of-war sent to Ponape to investigate the whole episode in 1839, called it a ludicrous practice. Blake was quite right, but then, men in ships often did strange things in trying to make themselves and their actions understood by people on the other side of island beaches.

Dying was the last act of life for Nahnawa of Madolenihmw. The Ponapean chief did not fear death; upon being captured, he had asked Hall to shoot him. What Nahnawa dreaded most was the manner of his dying. Hingston's kangaroo court threatened to rob him not only of his life but of his dignity. Brought aboard the **Lambton** in the early evening, Nahnawa, dressed in his finest chiefly garb, awaited his certain fate. The Ponapean chief passed several hours drinking rum and smoking cigars. When asked why he had killed Hingston and the four crewmen of the **Falcon**, Nahnawa, realizing the gulf that separated his world from those of his captors, replied; "It is no use to bother me anymore about it. I have done it and I am now in your power, do with me as you think proper." At 10 o'clock that evening, Hart had Nahnawa taken on deck where he was chained to a ring hold. One attack already having been made on Nahnawa by one of the **Falcon**'s surviving crewmen, Hart ordered Fred Randall, another of the resident whites on the island and a deserter in 1834 from the whaleship **Earl Staupole**, to stay the night with the
During the course of the night, Nahnawa attempted to kill himself twice, first by tying the inner string of his loin cloth about his testicles and pulling tightly. Stopped by Randall, the Ponapean later used his broad beaded belt, one of the insignia of his chiefly rank, for the same purpose. Again, Randall interfered. Nahnawa then asked Randall to shoot him. In a final act of desperation, Nahnawa asked to be let go so that he could find an appropriate way to die on the island. Randall attempted to comfort the condemned man with the same promise used earlier by Hall; Nahnawa replied that he had heard that lie before.

In the morning, Nahnawa watched as they prepared the halyard for the hanging. Some of the sailors aboard ship taunted him by placing the rope around their necks, raising it above their heads, and making grotesque faces. The appearance of the hangmen, two black seamen from the Avon dressed in long red robes, wearing wigs made of canvas and hemp, and having paint smeared across their faces, confirmed that there would be no dignity in death for Nahnawa. Noticing James Hall aboard ship, Nahnawa asked facetiously if this was the "island" he had promised.

Soon after, Nahnawa, his arms pinned to his side, was led to the starboard side of the forecastle. Because of his two suicide attempts the night before, his last walk was a slow painful one. Stood upon a cask with the noose now tightly about his neck and a bandage over his eyes, the Ponapean chief was asked if he had any last wishes. Nahnawa asked only that he be allowed to die, as befit his rank, at the hands of a fellow chief. The request went unheeded. Trying to cover his barbarism with ceremonial pomp, Hart had twenty armed sailors lined up in
two rows along the main deck. Shouting to the two or three who had their
muskets pointed at Nahnawa, Hart threatened them with death if they
failed to aim out over the water. All things ready, Hart gave the
signal; as the volley of musket fire sounded, Nahnawa "was run up in the
smoke." At noon, the chief's body was cut down, towed ashore by his
Ponapean rivals, and dumped unceremoniously over the remains of the
deposed Nahnmwarki in a shallow grave at Pahndieinuh. The Wasai now
assumed the title of paramount chief for Madolenihmw.

The Falcon incident profoundly affected the order of things on
Ponape. The Litehriete replaced the Upwutenmei as the ruling lineage
among the Dipwinpahnmei's sub-clan, the Isonenimwahn; the resentment and
bitter feelings generated by this event would plague Madolenihmw for
decades to come. Many of the surviving members of the Upwutenmei took
refuge on Dehpehk Island off Uh; they were joined in their bitterness by
three black American sailors, deserters from whaleships, who also
harbored deep resentment against the white world. The chiefdom of Kiti
rejoiced over the severe blow dealt to its principal rival while
Ponapeans, as a whole, learned about the efficacious application of guns
to political purposes.

Outside observers offered their interpretation of the meaning and
significance of the events of 1836. Commander Blake of the Larne called
Hart's involvement the act of a "downright piratical marauder". Hart's 1837 massacre of almost the entire adult male population of nearby
Ngatik atoll for what turned out to be a few pounds of rotted tortoise
shell confirmed Blake's assessment. Rear Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland,
Commander in Chief of Great Britain's Asian squadron, described Hart's
"one of the most extraordinary instances on record of persons perfectly unauthorized by Law sitting in judgment over a fellow creature, condemning him to death, and deliberately carrying that sentence into execution." 78

Foreigners resident on the island mistakenly believed that the retribution dealt the defiant rulers of Madolenihmw would give the people a healthier respect for the sanctity of commerce. Those given to thought saw the tragedy as the deplorable but inevitable consequence of contact between superior western civilizations and small primitive island societies. More than anything else, however, the Falcon incident demonstrated Ponapeans acting in light of their traditions and cultural presuppositions to manipulate a new factor in the political life of their island. In the decades to come, Ponapeans would continue to search for ways to control the changes brought to their island by an increasing number of ships. Though formidable, the task lay within the capabilities of the people. In the passage of time from Quiros to Hart, Ponapeans had learned that the beings who inhabited these ships, while decidedly foreign and sometimes malevolent, were not ghosts from the open ocean but men.
NOTES

1 Interview, Masao Hadley, Mesihsou, Madolenihmw, Ponape, 21 June 1983. One of the foremost authorities on Ponape's history, Masao Hadley is the grandson of Luelen Bernart and the son of the late Nahnmwarki Moses Hadley of Madolenihmw. The holder of the title Nahnapas en Madolenihmw, the fourth ranking title in the nahnken's line or pali en serihso, Hadley is identified as "Kesner" in Fischer, Riesen, and Whiting, Annotations. Accounts very similar to Hadley's were recorded by the American Protestant missionary Luther H. Gulick, "Bonabe or Ponape," The Missionary Herald. 2 (February 1857), pp. 45-8.

2 Francis X. Hezel, S. J., The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885, Pacific Islands Monograph Series No. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 34. Hezel's identification of Quiros as the first westerner to sight Ponape is seconded by Riesen, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 2. Riesen,berg notes two possible earlier sightings of the island by Garcia Jofre de Loaysa in 1526 and Alvaro de Saavedra in 1528. The anthropologist concludes, however, that the meager descriptions provided by the two Spanish explorers appear to apply to low coral atolls, not to Ponape.


4 My account of the second Mendaña expedition is drawn from Beaglehole, The Exploration of the Pacific, pp. 58-80.


6 Ibid, 1:114.

7 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:2. Both Hambruch and Hadley, interview 21 June 1983, assert that this landing occurred after the Quiros sighting. The German anthropologist believes the ship mentioned in this Ponapean oral account may have been the Santa Catalina, the frigate for Mendaña's second expedition that became separated from the two other ships, the San Geronimo and the San Felipe, on the return voyage and was never heard from again.
8 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 87-8. Hambruch, Ponape, text 46, 3:321 and text 95, 3:325, provides two other versions of this myth.

9 Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 80, remark that one of Hambruch's informants in 1910, the Nahmmwarki of Uh, identified Nan Kapuei, the son of Nahlepenien's sister and the second Nahnkken of Madolenihmw, as the first Nahmmwarki of Uh.

10 Interview, Benno Serilo, Wone, Kiti, 28 May 1983. The holder of the title Souruko en Tirenaspw Kiti and the head of a large family in the Wone area, Serilo notes the confusion that has arisen between the terms Sangiro, a title for the Nahmmwarki of Uh, and Sangoro, an important Ponapean god associated with the Dipwinwai clan.

11 Ehrlich, "'These Are the Clothes of Men,'" p. 157.

12 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 25-6, clarifies the confusion over the terms Pasau and Lukoap contained in Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 84. For an additional discussion of Lukoap's boundaries in time and space, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 75-6.

13 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 26, puts the date of the Kiti unification wars between 1740 and 1760. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 92, also examine the questions concerning the dating of this war.


15 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 19, explains Nahnsoused en Net's position within Net's system of titles. Riesenberg identifies Nahnsoused en Net as Lepen Net's Nahnkken; I side with Hambruch, Ponape, 2:13, and a number of Riesenberg's own informants who identify Nahnsoused, not as the effective Nahnkken of Net, but as the second ranking chief behind Lepen Net in the soupeidi's line of titles.
16 Bernart, The Book of Lueilen, p. 147.

17 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:6-7, makes mention of a cannon left in Kiti by some Spanish ship and also of some silver coins and a cross that were found on the islet of Nan Douwas at Nan Madol in Madolenihmw. The caption of an 1840 sketch of the ruins at Nan Douwas by an anonymous artist, contained in R. Gerard Ward, American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870, 8 volumes (Ridgewood, N.J.: The Gregg Press, 1967), 6:135, also makes mention of a Spanish crucifix and a silver-handled dagger. Voyagers from other Pacific Islands were continuing to make their way to Ponape in this period. James F. O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, ed. Saul H. Riesenber, Pacific History Series No. 4 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), p. 174, wrote of meeting one relatively recent arrival to the island; the Irishman did not state where the individual originally came from. D. Parker Wilson, "Log of the 'Gypsy' kept by Dr. D. Parker Wilson, ship's surgeon, 23 Oct. 1839 - 19 March 1843," entry for April 17, 1841 (Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Pacific History, Records Room) noted four survivors from the Gilbert Islands who were found in a canoe off Ponape with 16 dead companions. One of the four was hired as a crewman aboard the Gypsy.

18 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 37.

19 Information on all three of these sightings is contained in Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 38.

20 Lütke, Voyage autour du monde. . ., 2:3-31.

21 Ibid., 2:25.

22 Ibid., 2:32.

23 Ibid., 2:29.

24 F. H. von Kittlitz, Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Micronesien und durch Kamtschatka, 2 vols. (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1858), 2:75. An English translation of this work can be found in the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) collection of translation manuscripts on Micronesia. The translations were done between 1942 and 1944 at Yale University. The University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library has a microfilm copy of this collection.

26 Ibid., p. 105. O'Connell lists the five as George Keenan of Dublin, John Johnson, identified only as an Englishmen, Edward Bradford of Bristol, John Thompson of Liverpool, and John William of London.

27 Ibid., p. 122.

28 For the clearest explanation of Ponape's chiefly system of government, see Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, pp. 49-75.


31 Hambruch, *Ponape*, 1:11f, identifies the chief with whom O'Connell resided as Kiroun en Net. The German anthropologist does not make clear his source for this. Riesenberg does not take issue with O'Connell on this point but simply points out that, far from being one of the highest chiefs as the Irishman claimed, Undol en Net was the tenth ranked title holder in Net's chiefly line.


34 Ibid., p. 134.

36 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 193. Riesenberg, in his footnote #19 to O'Connell's text, refutes the notion of segregation by social rank during actual fighting. Several informants that I talked with in Wone, Kiti, during the summer of 1983 insisted, however, that, in times of hostilities, warriors did indeed seek out opponents of equal rank and stature.

37 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, pp. 190-4.

38 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 88, confirms the existence of ceremonial cannibalism and cites other recorded examples.

39 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 196.

40 John B. Knights, "A Journal of a Voyage in the Brig Spy of Salem, 1832-1844," Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PAMBU) No. 220, Canberra, Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies. In reconstructing the visit of the Spy, I have relied heavily on Knights' own account with appropriate additions from O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, pp. 199-205, who gives a chronologically confused and somewhat different version of events.

41 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 200.

42 Ibid., p. 201.


44 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 163.


46 John N. Appleton, "Journal of a cruise in the 'Waverly' (also called the 'Kaahumanu'), Captain Cathcart, for the search of Captain Dowsett, lost in the South Seas, told by Mr. Appleton, second mate of the brig 'Waverly', 1834." Honolulu, Bishop Museum Library.

47 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 40.

49 Ibid., 3:541-2, 544-6, and 550.

50 For a detailed examination of chiefly succession on Ponape, see Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 34-42.

51 Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 79.

52 Interview, Hadley, 20 June 1983.

53 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 161-4. There exists some confusion over when the events described in the story of Nahnawa and Oun Sapwawas actually occurred. For an explanation of this confusion, see Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 127. Bernart's account of the weapons used in the conflict makes no mention of guns; this, notes Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, suggests the pre-contact period in Ponapean history. During our interview at Mesihshou in Madolenihmw on 21 June 1983, Masao Hadley stated quite emphatically that the story took place long before European or American ships began arriving at Ponape.

54 The titles Wasai and Nahnawa are ranked second and fifth, respectively, in the nahmmwarki's line for Madolenihmw. Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 12-3, lists Oun Sapwawas as a middle-level title in the nahnken's line. If the women were actually sisters, all three men should have held titles in the nahmmwarki's line. One possible explanation for this seeming discrepancy is the not uncommon deviation from set procedures in the succession to Ponapean chiefly titles.


56 Interview, Hadley, 20 June 1983.

57 Masao Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, p. 61. Hadley explains that, traditionally, the members of the second keinek or matrilineage of the Isonenimwahn, the Litehriete, could not succeed to a title higher than Dauk while the third line, the Litehsilite, could rise only as high as Nahnawa. The Falcon incident advanced both the Litehriete and the Litehsilite at the expense of the Upwutenmei, that now fell to third rank among the three matrilineages.

58 O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 174.


61 Interview, Hadley, 20 June 1983. Hambruch, Ponape, 23, 1:101, also places the date of the Falcon incident in the Ponapean season of rank.

62 Hambruch, Ponape, text 23, 1:101, and Hadley, in both his interview of 20 June 1983 and his A History of Nan Madol, p. 59, identifies Pahndieinuh, the point of land at the northern lip of the Madolenihmw Harbor, as the place off of which the Falcon dropped anchor.


64 Interview, Hadley, 20 June 1983.

65 Plumb, "A Narrative by John Plumb, p. 25, mistakenly identifies the Wasai's forces as members from a neighboring tribe. No other account of the Falcon incident suggests that the Wasai's warriors were drawn from anywhere but Madolenihmw.

66 Ibid., p. 25.
71 Ibid., p. 659.
73 Great Britain Colonial Office, New South Wales, Australia, "Report of the officer commanding the HMS 'Larne', on the occasion of her visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands, in regard to acts of violence committed on the natives by British subjects and particularly by the master and crew of the cutter 'Lambton' of Sydney," C. O. 201/302, p. 95. A xerox copy of this report is housed in the Hawaiian Pacific Collection of the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library.
74 Deposition of Fred Randall, contained in "Report of the officer commanding the HMS 'Larne,' on the occasion of her visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands...," p. 96.
75 Plumb, "A Narrative by John Plumb," p. 27.
77 Ibid., p. 672.
78 Rear Admiral Sir F. L. Maitland to Mr. C. Wood, August 17, 1839, *Historical Records of Australia*, 20:14.
III. THE TERMS OF TRADE

The middle decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an intensification of contact between Ponape and the outside world. Whalers and traders, in their tall ships, became the latest wave of foreign voyagers to reach the island. The vessels impressed the Ponapeans as floating islands that contained many new and varied sources of material wealth. These goods meant changes in the life of the island but they were changes accepted and desired by the people. Ponapeans engaged not in a frenzied orgy of indiscriminate adoption of material goods but in a process of selective incorporation whereby items of discernible value were employed to serve distinctly Ponapean objectives. Men utilized tools and weapons brought by the ships to better satisfy the demands placed upon them by society, thereby enhancing their own status and prestige. Women, too, used foreign goods to develop new skills and win greater distinction.

In the first years of intensified contact, the most immediate problem for Ponapeans lay in gaining access to the wealth of the ships. In particular, Ponape's ruling chiefs sought to reaffirm their authority and privilege through their dealings with the ships. By right of custom, all things on the island belonged to them, including foreign ships that
passed through the surrounding reef into Ponapean space. Early encounters had taught the chiefs that these strange vessels operated on a very different system of logic. Rituals of welcome, invitations to feast, and occasional resorts to violence had all failed to bring the ships under the order of the island. Indeed, Ponapeans saw traders and ship captains as acting like foreign sovereigns who jealously guarded their domains. Wealth that lay outside of the chiefs' control presented a serious threat that invited chaos, challenge, and rebellion. There arose then an initial need for mediating agents, individuals who could successfully arbitrate the demands of the ships and those of the island. Out of necessity, Ponape's chiefs, in the 1830s and 1840s, turned to the island's beachcombers, the refugees and castaways of the ships' world.

Beachcombers reached Ponape from European and American shores embittered and disillusioned by the lands of their birth, choosing to cast their lot with a seemingly primitive, alien society that nonetheless offered them a place, a purpose, and a status that far exceeded the prospects of their old lives. Ponapeans found beachcombers more accessible, more manageable, and ultimately more intelligible than those who spat contemptuously as they viewed the island from a ship's deck. Having broken with Euro-American society, beachcombers stood prepared to teach Ponapeans something of the ways of the world from which they had fled.

As did everyone else in Ponapean society, beachcombers served the chiefs; their well-being and livelihood depended directly upon the good will of the island's rulers. Living alone or in small groups around the edges of the island, Ponape's beachcombers realized their acute
vulnerability. The chiefs' power to punish or to banish placed a formidable check on any wayward propensities the beachcombers may have entertained. However they might act among themselves or toward ships' captains, the beachcombers took great pains to maintain the chiefs' support. Both sides understood each other quite well. During his visit to the island in 1839, Commander P. L. Blake of the HMS Larne noted the considerable trust the chiefs placed in their foreign agents.

Ponape's chiefs had the beachcombers residing within their domains negotiate the terms of trade. The commodity most sought after by the trading schooners reaching the island in the 1830s was tortoise shell. Among the traders who plied the Pacific, Ponape gained a reputation for its ready, abundant supply of shell taken from the hawksbill turtle. Based upon observations made in 1840, Captain J. de Rosamel of the French government ship La Danaide, estimated that Ponape supplied 400-500 pounds of high quality tortoise shell each year. Systematic exploitation of the shell, believed de Rosamel, could yield from 1200-1500 pounds annually.

With the appearance of a sail on the horizon, the beachcomber paddled out to the approaching vessel with the chief's supply of shell. Upon completion of all barter, he returned to the shore with such items as muskets, adzes, axes, knives, gunpowder, and tobacco. The beachcomber's commission depended upon the margin between what he secured in trade from the ships and what the chief accepted as satisfactory compensation for his shell. Most beachcombers in the 1830s and early 1840s earned an adequate living; some managed to accumulate considerable quantities of
trade goods which they, in turn, used to open small trading stations of their own on shore.

By 1840, approximately 40 beachcombers lived on the island. The circumstances of their arrival varied. The majority, in these first years, were Englishmen. Blake believed many to be escapees from the British penal colony in Australia. More accurately, the greater number of Ponape's foreign residents were common seamen who had deserted from the whaleships that began reaching the island in the mid-1830s. Shipwrecked sailors complemented the ranks of the deserters; there were also a few independent men who, attracted by what they saw of life on the island, decided to terminate their services with the trading schooners that brought them to Ponape.

Beachcombers' relationships with the island often involved blood or family ties as well as mere functional service to the chiefs. James Headley, the son of a river pilot in London, reached the island aboard the ill-fated Falcon. Headley took shelter with the Wasai of Madolenihmw following the murder of Hingston and the four other crewmen. Having fought with the Wasai against the the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Headley then sailed on to Guam and Manila with Captain C. Hart aboard the Lambton. The Englishman returned to Ponape in July 1837 where he eventually established himself on Mwudok island as a harbor pilot. Marrying Liahtensapw, one of the daughters of the then Nahnmwarki of Kiti and a member of the Dipwinluhk clan, Headley sired a family that would rise to prominence in the island's later history. His daughter, Meri-An, married the Nahnken of Kiti; their child, Henry Nanpei, became the richest, most prominent, and most influential Ponapean of the late
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two of his great grandsons, Moses and Samuel, served as Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw in the middle decades of this century. Headley impressed the ships' captains with whom he came in contact. No friend of the forces of organized religion, however, Headley, until his death in 1868, proved himself a constant nemesis to the American Protestant missionaries who began work on Ponape in 1852.

Another beachcomber, Louis Corgot, a creole from the Seychelles, arrived on the island in 1836 aboard the schooner Avon commanded by Captain Jules Dudoit. Disenchanted with Dudoit's greedy scheming, Corgot left the ship and eventually established residences at Rohnkiti and Lohd, where he served as the chief pilot for both harbors. De Rosamel of the La Danaide complimented Corgot for his skills as a harbor pilot. The French captain believed that of all the harbor pilots on the island, Corgot was the best. The same American Protestant missionaries who suffered under Headley credited the survival of their mission in its early years to the assistance given by Corgot.

Among Ponape's beachcombers, O'Connell, Headley, and Corgot were more the exception than the rule. Other members of the beach community showed themselves to be violent, rowdy, corrupt, and rootless. Most took one step across cultural boundaries but not two; they broke from one world without committing themselves to another. Living on the edges of the island, these people were, in many ways, marginal men. Commander Blake expressed shock over the physical demeanor of Patrick Gorman, an Irishman who had deserted from the American whaler Howard in the mid-1830s. Blake wrote of Gorman;
It would be impossible to convey the idea of the wild and savage picture which this man presented to me on board the Larne. He had on a sort of narrow mat with a long greasy fringe around his middle called a Wye-Wye and worn by the natives. His long hair hung clotted with oil; he had several wreaths of beads around his head, and was tattooed from head to foot.

In the chaotic, insecure world of the beachcombers, violence was not uncommon. Gorman had joined Hart in his July 1837 expedition to nearby Ngatik atoll to lay claim to a rumored cache of tortoise shell. An earlier attempt having been thwarted by Ngatikese resistance, Hart vowed to return for the prize. Hart and his crew were accompanied this second time by Gorman, several other beachcombers from Ponape, and two canoe-loads of Ponapeans who followed the Lambton in tow. Meeting with a hostile reception, Hart's party stormed ashore and, in the fighting that ensued, killed or drove off almost the entire adult male population of the island. Many of the women also perished, choosing to kill themselves and their children rather than submit to the invaders. The victory netted for Hart only 25 pounds of hawksbill tortoise shell and another 100 pounds of relatively worthless green turtle shell. Over this now devastated island, Hart placed Gorman as Nahnmwarki with the charge to collect as much shell as possible. After Hart's departure, the newly-installed "Nahnmwarki of Ngatik" came upon a helpless old man lying near one of the island's paths. Feeling somehow threatened by this sole surviving member of the island's adult male population, Gorman shot him. To the later inquiries of Blake aboard the Larne in 1839, Gorman termed his action self-defense.

The beachcombers on Ponape generally wreaked their violence upon each other. In late 1838, John McFarlane's shooting of Edward Piggington
threw the whole white community into turmoil. McFarlane, a crewman aboard an Oahu schooner, who had decided to leave ship at Ponape, became incensed over Piggington's purchase of shell that he, McFarlane, had refused to buy earlier. Feeling that his ability to barter was being undercut by Piggington's willingness to pay higher prices, McFarlane journeyed from his home on Nna to Dekehtik, an off-shore island in the north where Piggington kept a small pig farm. Seizing two of the animals as recompense, McFarlane returned to Nna. Piggington, hearing of the seizure, traveled from his station at Metipw, in Madolenihmw, to Nna where he confronted McFarlane. As Piggington was about to step out of his canoe, McFarlane shot him.

The delicate balance of the island's white community had been shattered. Fifteen men met at a Billy Barlow's house to decide upon an appropriate course of action. As had Captain Hart during the Falcon incident, the beachcombers attempted to legitimize their barbarity with hollow ceremony. Their mock legal proceedings completed, the tainted jury voted for McFarlane's death. As a Portugese national exempt from any future retribution of British justice, George May was chosen to shoot McFarlane. Encouraged by the group and several drinks of grog, May consented to the task.

Reaching Nna, the entire group discovered McFarlane's house to be an armed camp. Inside, McFarlane sat with two pistols in his hands and a small cannon, nine muskets, and two kegs of gunpowder close by. After considerable coaxing, the extremely gullable McFarlane agreed to put aside his suspicions and travel with the group to Piggington's place at Metipw where all would share in the division of the dead man's property.
During the course of a dinner, May, drunk, nervous, and unable to eat, finally stood up and shot McFarlane. Another conspirator drew his cutlass and delivered the fatal blow to the fallen man's head.

Justice for a black beachcomber required less pretense. In 1842, George Salter of the Falcon, John Brown of the Avon, and Edward Workman conspired to murder James Townsend, one of the three American blacks living on Dehpehk. Townsend had angered the three by purchasing tortoise shell already promised them. Salter, Workman, and Brown viewed Townsend's act as a threat to their livelihood on the island. The fact that Townsend was black eased any remaining constraints upon their behavior. To avoid any legal entanglements with European or American men-of-war that might one day visit the island, the three recruited a Ponapean to commit the murder. All things arranged, the three invited Townsend to settle his differences with them over dinner at Salter's place in Awak. Townsend accepted the invitation. At a given signal, the hired assassin entered Salter's house and shot Townsend through the heart.

Euro-Americans were not the only beachcombers on Ponape. Other Pacific Islanders also found themselves carried by circumstance to Ponape. Some deserted from whaling ships while others, brought to collect beche-de-mer or sea slugs, were abandoned by their white employers. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, men from the East Indies, the Loyalty Islands, Palau, the Gilberts, Hawaii, Rotuma, and Mangareva all struggled for survival on the island. Competition over the limited resources available at the edges of the island sometimes led to racial violence with the white beachcombers. Five Maoris from New Zealand, exiles from the harsh life aboard a whaling ship, had
established themselves at Rohnkiti. Fearful that several members of the white community planned to steal away their Ponapean wives, the Maoris killed the two principal promoters of the scheme in 1843. The group then fled to Mwudok where they placed themselves under the protection of Dauk Kiti, the third ranking chief after the Nahnmwarki of Kiti. From there, they attempted to incite the entire chiefdom against the white beach community by telling of the many ships captured without penalty by Maori warriors. A stalemate followed. With the Maoris confined to Mwudok and the whites afraid of an island-wide uprising against them, both parties soon sought some form of reconciliation. At George May's house, a meeting was held to restore the peace. Satisfied that they had explained their grievances and their reasons for killing the two whites, the five Maoris prepared to leave. As they were about to pass through the door, George May and another Portuguese beachcomber, Goliath, stood up from the table and shot two of the five Maoris dead. The surviving three retreated to Mwudok. The distinction between brown and black made little difference to white beachcombers. The edges of the island, they believed, belonged to them; it was as easy to kill an islander, Ponapeans excluded, as it was a black.

Ponapeans realized quickly the racism that permeated the world from which the ships came. The people of the island had little doubt about their own self-worth but the conduct of white men toward dark-skinned people made them uneasy. An early European visitor to the island paraphrased the reactions of one Ponapean this way;

"How great and powerful the King must be whose people consist of chiefs. The whites never work. Mostly ships which reach our islands from time to time bring colored people with them who perform such tasks for them and who are well-paid in order to be served by them."
As a result, Ponapeans sought to demonstrate something of their courage in ways that white men could understand. If white men could travel over vast seas to distant lands, then Ponapeans could do the same. Available ships' documents for the period from 1828 to 1860 record at least 44 Ponapeans who signed on as crew aboard foreign vessels leaving the island. 18

William H. Wilson, second mate of the whaleship Cavalier, pitied these Ponapean voyagers for the hardship and abuse they would experience aboard ship. 19 He doubted that many would ever see their island again. His concern was justified. Several days after leaving the island, two Ponapeans who tried to seize the whaleship Sharon met a gruesome death at the hands of a vengeful crew; a third party to the attempted seizure spent the rest of his life in a miserable Sydney jail. 20 For the people of the island, however, glory and honor could only be won through risk of life. Ponapeans used the word kauat to refer to singular demonstrations of courage in the face of near-impossible odds. 21 One Ponapean who had braved the uncertainties of a trip to Hawaii and returned to tell of it said proudly to F. Michelena y Rojas, a Venezuelan traveler who visited the island aboard the Honolulu barkentine Rosa in 1841; "Me no Black man, me go Hawaii." 22

Beachcombers on Ponape posed the biggest problem for naval officers, ships' captains, and traders. As cultural renegades, the beachcombers scandalized those who came to the island seeking to instill in Ponapeans some appreciation for civilized practices. Blake called the presence of beachcombers on Ponape and elsewhere in the Pacific, "a circumstance strange and extraordinary." 23 Another European visitor described them
more bluntly as the "outcasts and refuse of their nations . . . guilty of every profanity and crime."24 Traders, more concerned with the order necessary for profitable commerce than with the islanders' welfare, worried that the outrageous conduct of these "moral vagabonds" might engender in Ponapeans an aversion to all whites. Whatever their failings, beachcombers, unlike all other outsiders, at least acknowledged the order and logic of a culture other than their own. Ringing the island, beachcombers served the Ponapeans as mediators of change and as buffers against some of the harsher aspects of Euro-American society. Ponape' rulers had used beachcombers to help tap the bounty of the ships; the foreign individuals with whom the chiefs were most concerned, however, were the traders and captains who actually controlled the new sources of material wealth.

For beachcombers, Ponape offered a haven from the outside world; for traders, it held the promise of considerable commercial profit. The ultimate source of this profit lay not on Ponape but in China. Faced with a lack of interest in western goods, European and American merchants involved in the China trade looked to the Pacific Islands to redress the critical imbalance in the flow of specie. Sandalwood, beche-de-mer, tortoise shell, mother of pearl shell, sharks' fins, ginger, and birds' nests were all found to have appeal in Chinese markets. Arriving at Ponape on December 11, 1842, Andrew Cheyne was immediately struck by the visible acres of beche-de-mer lying in the shallow waters within the island's reef. The Scotsman also saw the need for a trading depot to supply the increasing number of whaleships calling at the island. Encouraged by these prospects, Cheyne remained behind on the island for
an initial five-month period; the island, remarked the trader in his journal, represented a "splendid prospect." 25

The illegitimate son of James Cheyne and Elizabeth Robertson, Cheyne grew up in the household of his uncle, John Cheyne, a substantial landholder in the Shetland Islands off Scotland and the proprietor of a relatively prosperous fishing business. 26 With the experience gained from participation in his family's commercial ventures, Cheyne set out to make his fortune in the China trade. The circumstances of the China trade, in turn, led him into the Pacific Islands. Traveling through the Caroline Islands, Cheyne envisioned a pan-Micronesian company with trading terminals in Palau, Ponape, and Kosrae. 27 Linked by two trading vessels making regular circuits through the area, the company would expand from a simple trading base to develop sugar and coffee plantations. The outlay of initial capital, estimated by Cheyne at £10,000, could be recovered quickly through an intensive exploitation of beche-de-mer. Law and order in the island would be enforced by having the British government appoint the company representative as official consul for the area.

A virtual caricature of an eighteenth century Scottish Presbyterian, Cheyne was trusting, humorless, scrupulous to a fault, and unforgiving of others' failings. 28 In many ways, his moral attitudes resembled those of the British Protestant missionaries also working in the Pacific at this time. Cheyne's gospel was trade; in the Ponapeans, he saw a host of ready converts. In Cheyne, the Ponapeans believed they had found a rich and accessible supply of western trade goods. Upon his arrival at Rohnki, Cheyne was welcomed with a feast; indeed, everywhere he went on
the island, Cheyne found himself greeted in a similar manner. On one occasion, large amounts of yams, breadfruit, and 100 stalks of the kava plant were placed at his feet.

On the morning of his second day on the island, Cheyne visited the Nahnken of Kiti, Luhk en Sakau. Seeking to ingratiate himself with the ruling chief of Rohnkiti, Cheyne found a warm, hospitable reception from the Nahnken who enthusiastically endorsed his plans for developing trade. As the self-proclaimed pioneer of western commerce on an island reputedly plagued by a hostile community of beachcombers, Cheyne, to protect his interests, built a fortified trading post at Sekereniap, the site of the first western landing on the island centuries before. Over the compound, he hoisted the Union Jack. Seemingly entrenched, Cheyne moved to consolidate his hold over trade on the island. In addition to his base at Rohnkiti, the young trader bought, or thought he bought, substantial tracts of land in Wone, the southern-most area of Kiti, and along the Madolenihmw Harbor rim. Cheyne enlisted Robert Reid and Charles Dunn to collect and cure beche-de-mer. Dunn, from Sunderland in Scotland, had arrived on the island eighteen months earlier after spending considerable time in Fiji working in beche-de-mer operations there.

With his fledgling operation now set up, Cheyne began to trade. A canoe from Dehpehk brought a considerable quantity of yams that Cheyne purchased with tobacco at a rate of ten sticks per hundred yams. As an advance payment for promised tortoise shell, he sent a musket and two kegs of gunpowder to Souwen en Dehpehk, the chief of the small, reef island in the north off Uh. The news spread quickly that a ready source
of muskets now existed on the island. The next day, Lepen Parem, the chief of one of the small islands in the north, lying off of Net, arrived to trade. At the insistence of the Nahnken of Kiti, Cheyne presented another two muskets and a keg of powder to the Net chief in return for a specified amount of tortoise shell to be delivered at a future date. The Nahnken also insisted that muskets and ammunition be sent to Sousaped en And, the second ranking chief of the island of And. 32

Cheyne soon began to lose control. The visit of one ruling chief to the domain of another marked a major event that called for appropriate feasting. While not equivalent in rank to the Nahnken of Kiti, Lepen Parem's presence required that the Kiti chief honor his distinguished visitor. Rohnkiti thus feasted. As a result, there were no Ponapeans available to help with the collection of beche-de-mer. Cheyne tried to make the best of the situation by employing the five men from the Bull who had remained with him on Ponape in productive pursuits. Five days after Lepen Parem's arrival, Cheyne reported that the people were still pounding kava and feasting. The visit of a whaleship further frustrated Cheyne; Ponapeans, rather than return to the monotony of collecting sea slugs, preferred to visit the ship. A week later, the visit of the Nahnmwarki of Kiti caused another delay in the work. Overcoming his frustrations, Cheyne rallied to the occasion by welcoming the paramount chief with a salute from the compound's small cannon. Pleased with the presents he received from Cheyne, the Nahnmwarki returned to the nahs where the Nahnken feasted his presence.

While Rohnkiti again busied itself with chiefly rituals, Cheyne contented himself with a tour about the island. Returning after an
absence of several days, he found things unchanged; feasts and ships' visits constantly depleted his local labor force. Word of the $1800 profit earned from the Bull's sale of sandalwood procured prior to the ship's arrival at Ponape cheered the trader. His joy was short-lived, however. The cargo of trade goods brought by the Wave, another of Cheyne's ships, proved worthless. Becoming sick and depressed, Cheyne left the island for Hong Kong. Arriving first at Macao, Cheyne sat down to examine the balance of his first efforts on Ponape. Going over accounts, the Scotsman discovered that his first five months on Ponape had consumed not only all of the profits from the sale of the sandalwood but had resulted in an additional $600 loss.33

Cheyne believed that the beach community on Ponape was the most serious impediment to his work. Within hours of his ship's first arrival at Rohnkiti, Cheyne had identified the 60 or so whites then living on the island as pirates. It was this group of renegades and degenerates, wrote Cheyne, that prevented the island from realizing its true commercial potential.34 That first night, a delegation of beachcombers had visited the ship for the express purposes, said Cheyne, of thievery and of selling liquor to the crew. On the alert, Cheyne quickly ordered the group from the ship.

There did indeed exist serious opposition from the island's beachcombers. Aware that Cheyne's plans for commercial development threatened their positions as liaisons between the island and the ships, the beachcombers endeavored to undermine his efforts. Where possible, the beachcombers bought tortoise shell and other goods previously ordered from Ponapean chiefs by Cheyne. The ultimate winners were of course the
chiefs who, not accepting the bonds of verbal contracts, sold to the
beachcombers for a better price. There were also threats against
Cheyne's life. John Brown, the most violent of the beachcombers in
Cheyne's opinion, led a party from Dehpehk against the trading compound
at Rohnkiti; the attack was rebuffed by Kiti warriors who, under orders
from the Nahnken, protected Cheyne and his important store of goods. On
another occasion Joe Bates, the murderer of a man named James Thomson,
took a shot at Cheyne. By March 1843, his relations with the
beachcombers had deteriorated to such an extent that Cheyne felt he could
no longer leave Rohnkiti without an armed escort.

The biggest obstacle to Cheyne's plans, however, came not from the
beachcomber community but from Ponapean society itself. The notions of
trade brought by Cheyne to the island were alien concepts to the cultural
order of the island. The Ponapean economy did not exist as an easily
isolated activity of life on the island; rather, it blended with other
aspects to form a totally integrated cultural entity. Among themselves,
Ponapeans did not trade; they gave. In giving, they earned for
themselves return gifts. The basic concepts around which this exchange
took place were doadoahk, wahu, nohpwei, and kisakis. 35

Dadoahk or work constituted one of the most fundamental activities
on the island. All effort focused ultimately on the nahmmwarki; work
performed in his behalf divided itself between taulap or great work and
tautik or small work. 36 Great work included direct labor and all
expressions of obedience, etiquette, and deference. Ponapeans considered
it the most difficult form of service because it entailed a life-long
commitment to the chiefly order around which the life of the island
revolved. The most immediate and visible expression of taulap was nohpwei, the offerings of first fruits brought as tribute to the nahnmwarki. Like all other forms of taulap, these offerings manifested the people's wahu or respect for their chiefs. Tautik or little work, on the other hand, usually meant participation in war. Short in duration, war, though important, did not require the persistence, stamina, patience, and attention to detail demanded by taulap.

The nahnmwarki acknowledged the work of the people with gifts called kepín koanoat. While usually referring to direct gifts of food, kepín koanoat, in a broader sense, implied any gesture or recognition by the nahnmwarki. Titles, land rights, the settlement of disputes, and chiefly consent were all, in a sense, kepín koanoat. Kepín koanoat, then, demonstrated the respect, goodwill, beneficence, and affection that the nahnmwarki felt toward his people. Among themselves, the common people expressed these same values through gifts called kisakis.

For Cheyne and others from the West, trade meant the simple, direct, and final exchange of equally valued goods. With the completion of the commercial transaction, the relationship between the parties ended. Exchange of this nature had no meaning within the Ponapean order of things. For Ponapeans, the notion of exchange was determined by and expressive of social rank; exchange was not quick and final but rather a part of a life-long relationship with the participating individual. Ponapeans did come to understand the white man's notion of trade; they recognized it as the way in which to acquire surest access to the wealth of the ships. Ponapeans also understood it as the base and abrupt denial of any social involvement other than in the act of trading itself. Given
the impersonality of western trade, it is not surprising that Ponapeans sometimes failed to honor the principles of contract and agreement. Cheyne railed at the perfidy of those chiefs who, encouraged by the beachcombers, accepted payment in advance for goods they never delivered. 37

In general, the chiefs of the island dominated the trade with the ships. The traders' interest in the natural products of the island fell neatly within the confines of chiefly control over the land. Political goods such as muskets, pistols, gunpowder, flints, lead, and bullet moulds proved the most popular items of trade. Ponapeans paid for these items with tortoise shell. Cheyne, in 1843, estimated the total number of guns on the island to be 1500. 38 The chiefs would either hold the guns themselves or pass them on to trusted lieutenants and lesser chiefs to be used in times of conflict. Far from increasing the bloodshed, the presence of the guns, noted Cheyne, actually limited the level of violence. Cheyne attributed this phenomenon to the Ponapeans' appreciation of the devastating consequences that would result from the widespread use of firearms. The chiefs, then, prized guns as much for their intimidating value as for their effectiveness as implements of war.

After weapons, men's goods such as axes, adzes, fish hooks, chisels, knives, saws, planes, and files proved the most popular. These goods achieved a somewhat wider distribution throughout Ponapean society because they could be employed to facilitate or enhance all taulap or great work performed for the benefit of the chiefs. Chiefly women sought cloth, thread, needles, scissors, blankets, beads, and small wooden chests. In return for these non-political goods, Ponapeans offered wood,
water, yams, breadfruit, bananas, chickens, fish, and pigeons. Beachcombers raised pigs for trade with the ships. Ponapeans, too, found value in pigs; they quickly came to use these foreign animals as the primary source of meat to be offered to chiefs at feasts.

Money held no value for the people of the island. When forced to choose between silver and copper coins, the Ponapeans selected the copper because of its more attractive color. The people usually bored holes in the middle of the coins and wore them as ornaments around their necks. Tobacco, always one of the most popular items of trade, came to serve as a currency of exchange for the more common items supplied by the island. Cheyne gave a stick of tobacco for a day's labor. Yams and breadfruit cost 10 sticks of tobacco per hundred while a stalk of bananas brought two sticks. A dozen chickens earned 24 sticks of Negrohead tobacco.

Cheyne pointed to the beachcombers' total intimidation of the people as the principal reason behind the general failure of commerce on the island. Nothing could have been further from the truth. As noted by Cheyne and other visitors in this period, the beachcomber community lived on the fringes of Ponape and on the smaller surrounding reef islands. The violence of their world remained largely self-contained. When transgressions against the people of the island did occur, there quickly arose the threat of Ponapean retaliation. Before the Falcon incident, Nahnawa of Madolenihmw had represented a large segment of chiefly society that wanted to eliminate forcefully the white presence on the island. In Kiti, Cheyne heard of a plot among the lesser chiefs who, excluded from much of the trade, wanted to rid the chiefdom of all
whites. The Nahnmwarki and Nahnken of Kiti, however, ordered the plan stopped. Sousaped en And killed two deserters from a French whaler who had indiscriminately cut down a number of his breadfruit and coconut trees. Rumors of a French take-over of the island met not with submission but with preparations for war. Traveling to Wone in March of 1843, Cheyne found the people cleaning muskets, casting bullets, and making cartridges. Thomas Boyd, the man whom Cheyne identified as the scourge of the entire island, was to come to Cheyne in 1844 with a request for passage off the island. Boyd, whom Cheyne had sent off the island in chains in January 1843, had returned to Ponape later in the year after a British magistrate in Hong Kong had dismissed all charges against him. Now working in Cheyne's beche-de-mer operations at Rohnkiti, Boyd feared attempts against his life by several chiefs who accused him of cheating them.

Returning to Ponape with the ship Naiad in October 1843 after his respite in Hong Kong, Cheyne found it necessary to reorganize his beche-de-mer stations. Thomas Boyd was sent to Pakin to oversee the work there. Cheyne delegated James Headley and several Lascars to build a station on And while W. Muskie, John Davy, 14 Palauans, and 22 Lascars operated the main station at Rohnkiti. In addition to his commercial woes, Cheyne discovered that animosity had developed toward him among the chiefs. Visiting the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, Cheyne discovered that the people of the island, correctly as it turned out, held him responsible for the outbreak of influenza that had occurred shortly after the departure of the Wave in May. Cheyne's professions of innocence failed to change the Nahnmwarki's mind; the paramount chief forbade his subjects
from working on Cheyne's ships. The chiefs of Kiti also expressed
displeasure with the homosexual acts perpetrated on young Ponapean males
by the Naiad's carpenter and blacksmith. Sailing to Madolenihmw to
inspect his interests there, the trader found operations disrupted by a
war between Madolenihmw and Dehpehk. Though not wishing to involve
himself in the fray, Cheyne could not resist the temptation to fire a
volley of cannon fire at the house of his rival, John Brown. In one of
his few successes on the island, Cheyne scored a direct hit on Brown's
place at Dehpehk.

His accounts in order, Cheyne sailed south on December 13, 1843 to
investigate commercial prospects in the Solomons. When he returned to
Ponape on April 11 of the following year, Cheyne found his business
ventures in shambles. Mackie, in Cheyne's name, had been charging
harbor duties of $20 for each of the ships putting in at Rohnkiti. To
the vigorous complaints of several captains, Cheyne could only plead his
personal ignorance of the arrangement. Violence also hindered Cheyne's
operations. John Gill, one of his agents, had been killed in a dispute
with George May. A Palaun worker brought to the island by Cheyne was
murdered in Palikir. Worse yet, the production of cured beche-de-mer
fell far below his estimates. Expecting Mackie to have collected a total
of 700 barrels in his absence, Cheyne counted only twenty. The trader
then sailed to Pakin only to learn that just 17 of the expected 150
barrels had been procured there. Despairing of all prospects on Ponape,
Cheyne left the island for good on April 22, 1844. In Hong Kong, Cheyne
calculated his losses for this latest period on Ponape to be
$3068.00. In sum, Cheyne's plans for Ponape amounted to little more
than a grand illusion. Twenty five years later, Cheyne, still in pursuit of a Pacific trading empire, was killed by a group of Palauans from the island of Koror who feared the implications of Cheyne's decision to trade with their rivals on Babeldoab.\textsuperscript{47}

Other traders followed Cheyne to Ponape, but none with the grandiose dreams of the Scotsman. The most prominent commercial force to reach the island in the 1840s proved to be the American whaling fleet.\textsuperscript{48} Whale oil was needed to keep the lamps of Europe and North America burning. An especially thick variety of oil taken from sperm whales served as an important lubricant in the manufacture of both cotton and woolen goods in New England. Secondary products derived from the mammal included candles and the whalebone strips used to make women's corsets. The whaleships that left New Bedford, Nantucket, and other whaling towns in southern New England were floating factories. The blubber from which the oil was derived could be melted down, the oil placed in casks and stored in ships' holds for later off-loading at Honolulu.

British ships, operating out of Australia, reached the central western Pacific in the 1820s while most American vessels were still working the "on-shore" grounds off the western coast of South America. The British presence in the whaling grounds of the western Pacific was brief. Whaleships such as the \textit{Albion}, \textit{Nimrod}, \textit{Falcon}, and \textit{Conway} that touched at Ponape in the 1830s marked the trailing remnant of the British fleet. The development of the North Pacific fisheries ultimately led American whalers to Ponape. Plying the north during the spring, summer, and early fall, the ships headed west before the onset of winter. After stopping at Honolulu to off-load their cargos of whale oil, the ships
spent the winter months following the whales' migration routes west along the equator. Reaching the Eastern Carolines, the whaleships found Ponape and Kosrae ideal places to rest and restock. An 1835 notice in *Nautical Magazine* described Ponape as an "island well-worth the attention of whalers." 49

Between 1834 and 1840, some forty vessels stopped at Ponape. 50 With the expansion of the American whaling fleet into the Pacific, the number rose dramatically. By the early 1850s, nearly 30 ships a year were putting in at Ponape. 51 In the peak years of 1855 and 1856, more than 100 vessels anchored at the island. 52 Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw quickly established themselves as the centers of foreign activity on the island; the reason for this depended largely on the quality of their harbors. Captain de Rosamel of the *La Danaide* stopped at Ponape in 1840 to conduct a hydrographical survey; he considered Madolenihmw, though blocked by northeasterly trade winds during the first months of the year, the largest and most readily accessible of the harbors. 53 Rojas, visiting the island in 1841, seconded de Rosamel's evaluation of Madolenihmw, terming it a safe and comfortable harbor that could accommodate several ships at one time. 54 Though a generally more difficult harbor to navigate, Rohnkiti became the most popular among visiting ships' captains. There lived Nahnku, who, since his succession to the title of Nahnken in 1843, held a reputation for exceptional hospitality and open-mindedness.

The harbors of Pohnahtik in southeastern Madolenihmw and Mwudok in southern Kiti, also known as Headley's Harbor, provided secondary ports of call. The natural harbor in the north first noted by Lütke in 1828
went largely unused in this early period. Describing the harbor in his influential *A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific*, Cheyne found the northern anchorage safe only between the months of December and April. Cheyne believed that the westerly winds that prevailed during the rest of the year around the north of the island made the harbor treacherous.

Life on a whaleship alternated between long, monotonous weeks of boredom and the intense, exhausting work of killing whales and melting down the blubber. For the young, inexperienced crews of New England ploughboys who, impressed by the writings of Richard Henry Dana and Herman Melville, sought romance and adventure, the physical discomforts and harsh discipline of shipboard life sometimes proved unbearable. A lush, beautiful island such as Ponape provided an enticing alternative to a return to the sea. Not surprisingly, desertion constituted the severest problem for ships putting in at the island. The whaleship *Offley* of London had so many men desert that there were not enough hands left to sail the ship out of Ponape in 1841. Out of a crew of eleven, the *Fortune* of Plymouth, Massachusetts, lost seven during an 1843 stop at the island. In 1851, the *George and Mary* of New London, Connecticut, left seven men on the island. Captain Meader of the *Martha* out of Fairhaven, Connecticut, lost a total of nine men over the course of the ship's three week-stay in 1856. A search party of six sent to track down the first three runaways deserted in turn with a goodly amount of supplies from the ship's hold.

Deserters often found allies among the beachcombers on the island. In 1842, the captain of the *Magnet* out of Warren, Connecticut, complained
of a white beachcomber who incited several of his crew to desert. Adding insult to injury, the beachcomber, at the head of a party of 400 Ponapean warriors, detained two of the ship's long boats until a third delivered the deserters' belongings from the ship. By 1850, deserters from whaleships had raised the number of foreign residents on Ponape to approximately 150. Americans replaced Englishmen as the dominant nationality among the beachcomber community. Fishermen from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, identified as Portuguese by the Ponapeans, also reached the island aboard American whaling ships. One observer described the differences between the new and old classes of beachcombers this way:

"The green hands who left American ships . . . are mild, pleasant, and disposed to establish order and treat the natives well but the Englishmen who are old men . . . and dead to every feeling but sensuality cannot induce the Americans to violence, consequently they hate them." The distinctions among nationalities failed to impress the Ponapeans who tended to view the whole lot as, "stupid, lazy, begging, and treacherous."

Faced with this chronic problem, ships' captains resorted to a number of alternatives. They often hired Ponapeans or disillusioned beachcombers who had had their fill of life on the island. Other times, the ships' captains enlisted the support of Ponapean chiefs by offering a bounty for the capture and return of the deserters. Determination, however, sometimes won out. One deserter returned by Ponapeans made a second escape by paddling ashore in the captain's wooden bathtub. On occasion, Ponapeans, dissatisfied with the reward offered them, would themselves turn around and free the deserters.
Appearing on the horizon, a whaleship would usually be piloted into one of Ponape's harbors by such men as Headley or Corgot. The ships, on average, spent about three weeks mending sails, cleaning decks, and caulking the keel. Once at anchor, the ship would be visited by canoes laden with goods for trade. The whaleships secured at Ponape a ready supply of wood, water, pigeons, yams, breadfruit, bananas, coconuts, and a varied assortment of fruits. Pigs and chickens could also be procured, but Ponape's ability to supply these latter items varied from year to year. In general, the ships found at Mokil, some 90 miles to the east, a more reliable supply of fresh meat. Indeed, ships' captains believed Mokil to be as tame as Ponape was wild. With men in trousers and women wearing cotton blouses and smoking clay pipes, the Mokilese, thought one observer, offered an encouraging example of the benefits to be derived from the civilizing process. Captain Samuel James of the missionary packet Morning Star described the Mokilese as, "an honest, industrious race for which much credit is due to the foreigners residing on the island for teaching them these qualifications." The presence of whaleships in Ponape's harbors meant more trade. Less well-stocked with goods than the trading schooners, the whalers depended heavily on tobacco to secure needed provisions; "Nothing is wanting if only you have tobacco and pipes. The entire population might be bought for a hundred-weight of tobacco." In the decade between 1843 and 1853, the terms of trade had changed little. A large hog cost $5.00 with the Ponapeans accepting tobacco at the rate of $.50 per pound as pay. A barrel of yams brought 5 pounds of tobacco, and a boat-load of wood, 6 pounds. Mats were valued at 1 pound of tobacco as
was a barrel of fresh island apples. A chicken that had cost 2 sticks of tobacco in 1843 now earned the Ponapeans only one stick. For the year ending in April, 1853, Kiti and Madolenihmw supplied the ships with 457 pigs, 425 pounds of tortoise shell, 1,818 barrels of yams, 385 boatloads of water, 2,300 chickens, 3,657 pigeons, 42,000 coconuts and 80\% of apples along with lesser quantities of other fruits. This outflow of food stock did not seem to place any immediate stress upon the island's resources. Arriving at the island in 1859 when ship traffic to the island had already begun to decline, Eliza Williams, wife and traveling companion of Captain Thomas Williams of the whaleship Florida out of Fairhaven, Connecticut, described the Ponapeans as living lazily in the lap of abundance. While the terms of trade had not improved much over the decades, the Ponapeans continued to redress the imbalance through theft. Echoing a common complaint among all ships' captains, Thomas N. Russell of the whaleship Lancaster out of New Bedford commented that the relative inexpensiveness of the island's goods was more than offset by the Ponapeans' proclivity to steal.

On shore, the whalers contented themselves with whatever diversions they could find. Walks around the harbors, boat trips around the island, and pigeon hunting were all quite popular. The crew of the Emily Morgan of New Bedford joined a group of Ponapeans on a boar hunt in 1856. Sometimes, boxing matches and wrestling contests were staged between the Ponapeans and the whalers. The crew of the Cavalier of Stonnington, Connecticut, took special delight in watching their intensely disliked captain take successive lickings at the hands of several Ponapeans. There also existed several make-shift taverns on the island run by
members of the beachcomber community. Ponapeans themselves sold coconut
toddy and rum made from locally distilled molasses to the ships for
$2.00-$3.00 a bottle. On occasion, violence flaired. In 1850, a
riot between Ponapeans and the crew of the General Scott of New Bedford
left several seriously injured on both sides. For the most part,
however, the whalers and islanders got along reasonably well. There was
even humor at times.

Stories from the first years of contact mention Ponapeans who mistook
soap for food or who thought the faces staring back at them in mirrors
were those of ghosts. One story speaks of a Ponapean man, Nahnaikoto
from the Enipeinpah section of Kiti, who set out to steal what he could
from a whaleship at anchor in nearby Mwudok Harbor. Discovered by
the watch, the frightened but quick-thinking Ponapean blurted out the
word "women." Awakened by all of the commotion, the captain and most of
the ship's crew came forward to see what was going on. Believing that
Nahnaikoto had come with an offer to bring women, all aboard ship quickly
voiced their approval and sent the little man off with urgings to be
quick. The Ponapean, realizing the impossibility of gathering a group of
women at so late an hour, decided upon an alternative plan. Upon
reaching the shore, Nahnaikoto gathered together several pieces of
brightly colored cloth secured from earlier dealings with other ships.
Then, paddling out to the edge of the mangrove swamp, Nahnaikoto tied the
pieces of cloth to the branches of trees. Proceeding on to the ship, he
climbed aboard and said to the captain in his best pidgin English; "Look,
Kepin, you see women? Stop at nan weleniahk (the edge of the mangrove
swamp)." The ship's captain and crew peered out into the darkness and
saw what seemed to be women in brightly colored dresses standing at the edge of the mangrove swamp. Expectations rising, the men urged Nahnaikoto to escort the ladies abroad. The Ponapean made it known, however, that he needed goods to entice the rather shy ladies any further. In a few moments, Nahnaikoto was paddling back to shore with a canoe-load of goods, including a musket for himself. He stopped at the edge of the mangrove swamp only long enough to retrieve the pieces of cloth he had hung in the trees before continuing on.

The most prominent facet of the contact between the whalers and the Ponapeans noted by the outside world was the sexual commerce. Ponapeans were said to be selling their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters for a few sticks of tobacco. Dr. D. Parker Wilson of the whaling ship Gypsy of London identified women as the cheapest, most accessible item of trade on the island; "as many as would stock a three-tailed Bashaw's harem for a few heads of tobacco." Parker was scandalized by the women who crowded the ships. Particularly alarming were the young girls between the ages of 9 and 14;

"There are few with the fully developed signs of womanhood. Yet, they willingly receive the embraces of the most robust men. Mere children, holding shameless commerce with great stalwart fellows! So much for climate and barbarism."  

At Ponape in January 1849, Captain Marshall Baker of the whaleship Elizabeth from New Brunswick, New Jersey confided in his log that, "all of us keeps a wahina ashore." The crew of the Cavalier, accustomed to the constant company of women aboard ship during their stay at the island, almost mutinied when Captain Thomas Dexter tried to deny them any contact with the shore during the last week of their stay.
Ponapean sexuality was neither as free nor as uninhibited as most reports from this period suggest. William Wilson of the Cavalier observed that the younger girls showed great reluctance, often crying and consenting only under the threats of the males who had taxied them to the ships. Zenas Bourne of the whaling bark Avola of New Bedford noticed the same occurrence twenty-two years later. Bourne described the young girls as nervous and shame-faced, responding only to the threats of physical abuse from their male chaperones. On the other hand, the "veterans," noted Bourne, boarded the ship with a casual air, their eyes scanning the deck for old acquaintances from previous years' voyages.

The prostitution of Ponapean women amounted, ultimately, to an act of theft within the context of Ponapean culture. All classes of Ponapean society had found utility and worth in the goods brought to the islands by the ships. With the chiefs controlling the land and hence dominating the trade with the ships, the only means of material acquisition for both common men and common women lay in the sexual commerce. Men, in particular, sought access to the items that would help them advance their social standing. So disposed, they exploited their control over certain groups of females on the island.

Cheyne, Parker, and Bourne all had noted the active role taken by Ponapean males in the sale of their women. Often, the men sat and waited in their canoes as the girls and women conducted their business aboard ship. Leaving the ship, the females immediately delivered the payments received for their services to the men. At other times, the men remained aboard ship for days with their female charges; "the women as boarders, the men as bummers" is the way one ship's captain put it. The ships'
crews usually paid for sexual services with tobacco. Given the conditions under which the Ponapeans were conducting this illicit trade, tobacco proved the most appropriate currency of exchange. The common men had to be careful about the conspicuous accumulation of material goods. Payment in tobacco allowed them to circumvent the chiefs' powers of confiscation. Easily concealed from view, tobacco could later be used at an opportune time to secure more prized goods from beachcombers' stores. In addition to tobacco, women received presents ranging from cloth, hairbrushes, combs, and mirrors to trinkets.

As suggested by the accounts of Wilson and Bourne, the group of Ponapean females most vulnerable to exploitation were the young girls. Kinship and marriage codes shaped the relationship of the sexes and helped reinforce the social order in Ponapean society. Having reached puberty, girls no longer had casual access to the company and conversation of their brothers and male cousins; the concept of pel or sexual taboo placed severe restrictions on their contacts with these male relatives. Once married, women were expected, by their conduct, to bring honor to the family into which they married as well as the family in which they were raised. The younger unmarried girls, not yet completely bound by these conventions, were relatively free and hence vulnerable to the exploitation of their fathers and senior male relatives from their father's line. Clan ties prevented exploitation by senior male relatives from the mother's side of the family. As a member of the same clan, the mother's brother, called ullap in Ponapean, was regarded with particular respect and trust by the children of his sister. To avoid giving any
overt offense and to hide their shame, young girls taken to the ships often hid their faces behind a large taro or banana leaf.

Common women, Bourne's "veterans," also figured prominently in the sexual trade. Ponapeans referred disparagingly to the females frequenting the ships as lienseisop or "women who paddle to the ships." The derogatory term reflected a broader tension that emanated from the role of women in Ponapean society. While organized along lines of matrilineal descent, Ponape's male-oriented, chiefly dominated society saw women, in general, as a potentially disruptive force. Women's sexuality threatened to undermine the strength, patience, restraint, and self-discipline demanded of the males of the island; in short, women possessed the power to make hard men soft. To steel the will of its men, Ponapean society decreed that to be weak was to be womanly. In their language, Ponapeans used the word for woman, li or lih, as a prefix to denote deviant, socially inappropriate behavior. To protect against the anarchical powers of women, the society established strict codes of female behavior. These codes applied most immediately to those women who, by birth or through marriage, held high rank. Chiefs secluded their wives from public view to prevent any sexual liaisons that would detract from their own position and dignity.

While observed, the strictures on sexual behavior for common women were less enforced; indeed, their relationships with men proved less structured and less supervised. Common women, who stood at the edges of Ponapean society, were able to experiment more freely with the options presented by the ships' presence. In addition to material rewards, the ships offered opportunities otherwise unavailable. Enjoying the
excitement and attention aboard ship, the women often showed themselves reluctant to leave. Common women also competed intensely for the patronage of the ships' crews, especially the captains. One lady, displaced from the captain's cabin by another woman, defiantly tossed an arm-load of farewell gifts into the sea. In later decades, common women would also show themselves responsive to another foreign presence on the island, Christianity.

The presence of the foreign ships, and the people, goods, ideas, and technologies they brought, certainly affected but in no way dominated the history of the island in this period. Ponapeans, in general, understood the vast chasm that separated their world from that of the ships. More important to the people of the island were the differences among themselves. While the perimeters of the island served as the stage for the play of beachcombers, traders, and ships' crews, life at the heart of the island went on. Ponapeans continued to work, to feast, and to war; they utilized the goods from ships to serve more traditional goals and values. In 1850, the chiefdoms of Madolenihmw and Kiti clashed. The culminating battle took place at Nahlapenloyd, a small reef island off the southeastern coast of Madolenihmw. The struggle, while employing beachcombers and western firepower, evidenced a distinctly Ponapean character.

Madolenihmw and Kiti were traditional rivals. The different sections of Kiti had, since the time of the Saudeleurs, defied the dominance of the east. With the fall of the Saudeleur dynasty, Madolenihmw had assumed ritual primacy over the island's affairs. The role of Soukise en Leng in the creation of the nahnmwarki form of government, however, gave
Onohnleng, now known as Wone after the Kiti unification wars of the late eighteenth century, an almost transcendent claim over the island's polity. Not surprisingly, numerous wars between the different sections of Kiti and Madolenihmw took place. Following the establishment of the nahnmwarki system of government in the east, an invading force from central Madolenihmw captured the fortress of Nahndolenpahnais. 87 The fortress, located in the Kepinne section of Onohnleng, guarded the most important of the area's agricultural lands. Madolenihmw's control over the area, then, constituted a life-threatening grip on Onohnleng's principal source of food. Madolenihmw's near-conquest of Onohnleng was averted when the Lisermwudok sub-clan of the Dipwinmen drove the invaders out of the fortress and back across the mountains to Madolenihmw. There also occurred numerous fights along the southern coastal border between Kiti and Madolenihmw. In the eighteenth century, the legendary warrior Isosauri had ended the frequent intrusions into Onohnleng at the battle of Longtakai in southern Madolenihmw. 88

In 1850, hostilities between Kiti and Madolenihmw again broke out with Nahnken Nahnku's attack upon the Sapwehrek section of Madolenihmw. 89 Madolenihmw retaliated with an attack upon Mwudok in which three people were killed. Kiti forces then descended upon the Lohd area in Madolenihmw and, from there, moved across the mountains to attack Lehdaw. Kiti's forays brought a two-pronged offensive from Madolenihmw; a force from Lehdaw attacked the Pwaeipwaei section of central Kiti while warriors from southern Madolenihmw laid waste to several reef islands off the southern Kiti coast. Tiring of the intermittent raids, Nahnken Nahnku challenged the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw to a formal
battle at Nahlapenlohd. With the Nahnmwarki of Kiti weak and sickly, responsibility for the fight fell to the Nahnken and those lands immediately under his control. The Nahnken assembled his fighting force at the island of Peniou off Wone.

As in all wars, Ponapeans enlisted supernatural assistance to augment their martial skills. Ponapean accounts of the battle speak of a ghostly fleet of canoes that left Peniou and paddled within the reef along the edge of the mangrove swamp. The main body of warriors traveled undetected beyond the reef. Focusing on the ghostly fleet with its emaciated, sickly-looking, and relatively few warriors, the Madolenihmw forces began to laugh. The laughing ceased, however, when the occupants of the canoes raised their paddles, aimed them like guns, and proceeded to drop several Madolenihmw warriors with a death spell known as *kesik dol*. Meanwhile, the Nahnken's fleet, having entered the Lohd channel undetected, now bore down upon the Madolenihmw warriors. A small cannon rigged and manned by James Headley and Narcissus de los Santos, a recent Filipino deserter from an American whaleship, fired upon the Madolenihmw forces. Using sections of an anchor cable as ammunition, the cannon sent segments of metal chain flailing through the air; the volleys killed several Madolenihmw warriors, including one who was hiding behind a coconut tree. With the shooting of the chief warrior of the Madolenihmw forces, Nahnawa en Madolenihmw, by the Kiti warrior and future Nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok, the Madolenihmw forces fled. Accounts describe the casualties on that day as particularly heavy. Blood washed upon its shores, go the Ponapean accounts, stripped Nahlapenlohd of all vegetation, causing it to shrink in size.
Internal political machinations also help to explain the outcome of the battle. Madolenihmw, still unsettled by the events of 1836 that resulted in a change in the ruling lineage of its senior clan, did not fight as a single, cohesive force. Nahnawa en Madolenihmw, from Enimwahn in the north of the chiefdom, had been making a challenge to the primacy of Luhk en Kidu, who, himself, had succeeded to the title of nahnmwarki following the Falcon incident. A member of the dispossessed lineage, Nahnawa sought to regain the paramount ruling title for his lineage.91 Faced with a serious challenge from within, the Nahnmwarki used the pretext of a war with Kiti to rid himself of a major rival. Accepting the Nahnken's challenge of formal battle, the Nahnmwarki gave the responsibility for the preparation of Madolenihmw's war forces to Nahnawa. Whether or not the Ponapean chief suspected the manipulation going on about him, Nahnawa, according to the code of a Ponapean warrior, could not turn down the royal charge. The entire Madolenihmw force gathered at Lohdpah to await the enemy fleet. With the Kiti canoes, or what was believed to be the Kiti canoes, coming into sight, the Nahnmwarki ordered Nahnawa to test the strength of the opposing forces by leading an advance war party to Nahlapenlohd. The Nahnmwarki held the balance of the Madolenihmw warriors at Lohdpah, awaiting, he said, the proper moment to commit them to battle. That moment never came. The destruction of Nahnawa en Madolenihmw constituted the ultimate objective of the Nahnmwarki. When the Ponapean chief fell in battle, the Nahnmwarki, satisfied, ordered the remainder of the Madolenihmw forces to return home.
Skirmishes continued between the two chiefdoms over the next several years. With tensions again building, the Nahnken of Kiti decided upon an all-out campaign against Madolenihmw. This time the Nahnmwarki committed himself to the offensive, thus insuring a united effort from all of Kiti. Securing guns in trade from the ships that continued to anchor at Rohnkiti, the Nahnken again gathered the Kiti forces at Peniou. In Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, who had died in the smallpox epidemic of 1854, was succeeded by Luhk en Mwei U. With Madolenihmw particularly savaged by the smallpox epidemic and with no immediate challenge to his authority from within, the new Nahnmwarki saw little sense in going to war. In a letter drafted for the Nahnken of Kiti by the American Protestant missionaries now working on the island, the Nahnmwarki was requested to choose between peace and war. He opted for peace. Madolenihmw's submission ended the renewed threat of hostilities between the two chiefdoms. Each side had employed beachcombers, guns, and other foreign articles; the reasons for Kiti's triumph lay in its superior strategy, its more effective use of supernatural forces, and the internal dissension that crippled Madolenihmw.

The patterns of Ponapean history were revealed in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Increasing contact with the outside world, primarily through American whaling ships, had brought people, goods, ideas, and new technologies to the island. As they had throughout their history, Ponapeans attempted to control these alien forces and to incorporate their more advantageous features. Ponapeans discovered particular value in the material goods brought by the ships. Muskets, pistols, and gunpowder had an immediately recognizable political worth.
The island's chiefs coveted them as intimidating and effective implements of war. Other goods such as adzes, knives, chisels, planes, saws, and fish hooks, lifted some of the heavy burden of taulap or the great work required of all Ponapean males. Cloth, needles, thread, and iron pots added new dimensions to women's work. At the same time, the cotton shirts, trousers, blankets, wooden chests, and straw hats began slowly in this period to displace the grass skirts, belts, barkcloth wraparounds, mats, baskets and headbands produced by Ponapean women. To communicate with the ships, Ponapeans acquired a pidgin trade language. Sailors stepping ashore on the island were often greeted with a "Hello, Jack! Give us a chew of [tobacco]?" To better identify the foreign goods that now became a part of their lives, the people of the island borrowed their English equivalents. Buy became pwain; a pig became a pwihk; tobacco was called tapaker. Ponapeans knew powder, lead, and pipes as paute, leht, and paip, respectively. If the incorporation of these material goods meant changes, they were nonetheless changes within a cultural context that understood change. The decline of traditional skills did not constitute cultural disintegration or decline but rather marked the result of pragmatic conscious choices by the people of Ponape to make use of the more technologically superior goods of the West.

People reaching Ponape from the outside could only see life at the edges of the island. Focusing solely on a rowdy lot of beachcombers, these transients called the island lawless. From the extensive whaling traffic that began to visit the island in the 1830s, Ponape earned an even greater notoriety. Tales spread about the rampant drunkenness,
violence, and licentiousness on the island. Ponapeans were reportedly engaged in a wanton prostitution of their women. Many observers from the outside believed this sexual commerce had brought the island more sickness than material wealth. Ponapeans were said to be sick, dying, and degenerate; venereal disease was identified as the cause; "Since the native came into contact with the European, he now adds to his primitive vices inebriety, indulgence in tobacco, and that other vice, more evil than all of the rest, the pox."\(^{94}\)

Not all depictions of life on the island in this period proved so biased. Cheyne had noted that Ponapeans had developed an effective herbal cure for venereal disease.\(^{95}\) During the ship's stay at Ponape, U. J. Andersson aboard the Swedish war frigate Eugenie expressed surprise at the number of children he encountered; he found no evidence whatsoever of depopulation on the island.\(^{96}\) Comments such as these, however, went unheeded amidst the sensational shrill that echoed from the trading schooners and whaleships that returned to Honolulu and ports west.

Reports of chaos on the island led to the visits of three British men-of-war. The ships Imogene, Larne, and Hazzard stopped at the island in 1838, 1839, and 1845, respectively.\(^{97}\) The visits accomplished little. After completing investigations into charges of misconduct against British nationals, the ships sailed on. Geo-political surveys brought other naval vessels to the island. The French ship La Danaide visited Ponape in 1840; the Swedish vessel Eugenie paid a call in 1851 as did the French corvette Capricieuse. The USS Vincennes, the flagship of the United States' North Pacific Exploring Expedition, anchored briefly at the island in 1854.\(^{98}\) To the chagrin of ships' captains and
traders, the sum total of these later visits amounted to little more than a few pages of observations scribbled into ship's logs.

Outsiders thus came to know Ponape as a place of vice. Perceptions derived from the perimeters, however, did not begin to touch upon the complexity of life on the island. There was more, much more, than the problems described by early Euro-American visitors. The meaning of tiahk en sapw or the "custom of the land" lay beyond the grasp of those seeking the satisfaction of immediate needs. Narrow concerns for wood, water, women, and the terms of trade limited, indeed distorted, outsiders' understanding of Ponape. In 1852, American Protestant missionaries brought Christianity to Ponape. In a concerted attack upon the island's social system, the missionaries, understanding no more than any other group of outsiders about life on the island, found themselves confronted by a complex island culture that, as it had in the past, proved strong, resilient, and flexible.
NOTES


3 Captain J. de Rosamel's account is contained in Hambruch, Ponape, 1:114-18.

4 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:109.


6 Great Britain Colonial Office, "Report of the officer commanding the HMS 'Larne' on the occasion of her visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands . . .," pp. 97, 102-4. Headley's career is also discussed in Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 106-7.

7 Interview, Francisco Miguel, Semwei, Kiti, 24 June 1983. A member of the Dipwinpehpe clan, Miguel, also known by the title Karoarn en Semwei, is one of Ponape's most highly respected soupoard or "story tellers."
8 Great Britain Colonial Office, "Report of the officer commanding the HMS 'Larne' on the occasion of her visit to the Bonin and Caroline Islands . . .," p. 92.

9 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:118.


13 Ibid., p. 209. Cheyne identifies as among those present at the meeting John Martin, Henry Sam, Richard Reid, Frederick Randall, William Holmes, Thomas Jeffreys, John Brown, James Thomson, Charles Thomson, George May, Andrew Booth, a man called Smith, and another identified as Shugru the Malay.

14 Ibid., pp. 205-6.

15 This listing of the origins of Pacific Islander beachcombers living on Ponape in this period has been culled from Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, pp. 37-88.


17 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:128. The German anthropologist, here, is quoting the work of F. Michelena y Rojas, the Venezuelan traveler who visited Ponape aboard the Honolulu barkentine Rosa in 1841.


19 William H. Wilson, "Journal kept aboard the Bark 'Cavalier' of Stonnington, Connecticut, Thomas Dexter master; 1848-1850," entry for March 5, 1850. MR. 110. (Mystic, Conn.: G. W. Blount White Library, 1850).

21 Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 43.

22 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:128.


26 Ibid., p. 3.

27 Ibid., pp. 193-4.

28 Ibid., p. 28.

29 The account of Cheyne's first stay on Ponape from December 12, 1842, to May 17, 1843, is found in Cheyne, The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844, pp. 156-222.

30 Andrew Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean North and South of the Equator with Sailing Directions, Together with Their Productions, Manners, and Customs of the Natives. And Vocabularies of Their Various Languages (London: J. D. Potter, 1852) p. 107.

31 Nahnku, the man who succeeded the Nahnken mentioned by Cheyne, is known today by his death name of Luhk en Lengsir. Hambruch, Ponape, 2:27, lists Luhk en Lengsir's immediate predecessor as Luhk en Sakau; hence, there results the identification of Cheyne's Nahnken as Luhk en Sakau.

32 Hambruch, Ponape, 2:17, shows Sousaped en And to hold the second ranking title under the paramount chief of the island, Soulik en And.


34 Ibid., p. 157.

For a discussion of the distinction between taulap and tautik, and of the related concept of kepik koanoat, see Riesenbergs, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 77.


Ibid., p. 190.


Ibid., p. 320.

The details of Cheyne's second visit to the island from October 23 to December 14, 1843, are contained in Cheyne, The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844, pp. 285-93.

Cheyne's third and final trip to Ponape is narrated in Cheyne, The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844, pp. 317-20.

Ibid., p. 322.


Ibid., pp. 132-3. Additional background on the American whaling fleet in the western Pacific can be found in Elmo P. Hohman, The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry (New York: Longmans, Green, 1928) and Edward A. Stackpole,


50 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, pp. 37-44.


52 Hezel, The First Taint of Civilization, p. 132.

53 Hambruch, Ponape, I:117.

54 Ibid., I:119.

55 Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific, pp. 94-95.

56 Wilson, "Log of the 'Gypsy' kept by Dr. D. Parker Wilson, ship's surgeon, 23 Oct. 1839 - 19 March 1843," entry for April 18, 1841.

57 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 46.

58 Ibid., p. 53.

59 Samuel B. Meader, "Log of the Whaleship 'Martha,' 1852-1857," entry for March 15, 1856. Log 365 (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum). A microfilm copy of this log can be found in the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau's microfilm collection of ships' logs from the American whaling fleet, PAMBU No. 264. The University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library has a copy of the PAMBU collection.

60 Cheyne, The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844, pp. 160-1, identifies this man as Thomas Boyd.

62 Wilson, "Journal kept aboard the Bark 'Cavalier,'" entry for February 21, 1850.


64 Hezel, The First Taint of Civilization, p. 140.

65 Andersson, Eine Weltumsegelung mit der schwedischen Kriegsfregatte 'Eugenie,' 1851-1853, p. 284.


67 Wilson, "Log of the 'Gypsy,'" entry for April 18, 1841.

68 These prices were compiled by Louis Corgot, the pilot who worked at Rohnkiti and Pohnahtik harbors. Corgot gave them to the American Protestant missionaries who, in turn, sent them to Honolulu. They appeared in The Friend 3:5 (May 1854), p. 40.

69 Ibid., p. 40.


71 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 67.


73 Wilson, "Log kept aboard the Bark 'Cavalier,'" entry for February 27, 1850.

74 Sturges to Anderson, September 24, 1858, Letters and Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM): Mission to Micronesia, 1852-1909, reel 2, document number 196. The original correspondence is housed at the Houghton Library, Harvard University; a microfilm copy of this collection is held by the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library.

75 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 51.

76 David Hanlon and Epensio Eperiam, "Trading Tricks With the Whalers," Guam Islander (7 January 1979), pp. 8-11.

77 Wilson, "Log of the 'Gypsy,'" entry for April 19, 1841.
78 Ibid., entry for April 17, 1841.


80 Wilson, "Log kept aboard the Bark 'Cavalier,'" entry for March 2, 1850.

81 Ibid., entry for February 19, 1850.


83 Ibid., p. 135.

84 For background on class distinctions among Ponapean women, see Hambruch, Ponape, 2:71-6 and Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 72-5. Also, O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands, p. 145.

85 Wilson, "Log of the Bark 'Cavalier,'" entry for February 25, 1850.


87 Interview, Serilo, 30 May 1983.

88 Interview, Miguel, 24 June 1983.

89 In addition to accounts from Bernart and from Riesenberg, Fischer, and Whiting, I have drawn on information gathered from a series of interviews with Ponapeans knowledgeable about the 1850 Kiti-Madoenihmw war. Those interviews are as follows; with Benno Serilo, Wone, Kiti, 30 May 1983; with Ioannis Paulino, Rohi, Kiti, 6 June 1983; with Sohn Hadley, Mwucok, Kiti, 9 June 1983; with Masao Hadley, Mesihsou, Madoenihmw, 20 June 1983; with Francisco Miguel, Semwei, Kiti, 24 June 1983; and with Andolin Andereias, Mwoakot, Kiti, 3 July 1983.

90 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 61. It is not clear whether the division of land between the Nahmwarfiki and the Nahnken, particular to Kiti, was a development of this period or extended traditionally back in time. The kousapw or sections of Kiti involved in the 1850 war with Madoenihmw were Kepinne, Nanpahlap, Pahnais, Pwok, Kipar, Rohnkiti, Pwaeipwaei, Mahnd, and Oare.
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91 Interview, Hadley, 20 June 1983.

92 Glenn Petersen, "Ponapean Matriliney: Production, Exchange, and the Ties That Bind," American Ethnologist 9:1 (February, 1982) pp. 129-44. Petersen believes the western trade goods that replaced the barkcloth, belts, baskets, mats, and headbands woven by Ponapean women adversely affected the role of women in Ponapean society. This may be so over the long run but there is no historical evidence to suggest that the regulation of women to the periphery of Ponapean society took place within the first decades of contact. Unequal access to and limited distribution of these trade goods necessitated the continued production of local materials into the first decades of the twentieth century.

93 See the list of Ponapean vocabulary contained in Cheyne, The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844, pp. 175-9, for an indication of the extent of English words borrowed by Ponapeans in this period.

94 Wilson, "Log of the 'Gypsy,'" entry for April 19, 1841.


96 Andersson, Eine Weltumseglung mit der schwedischen Kriegs-Fregatte 'Eugenie,' 1851-1853, p. 286.

97 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:113.

98 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 57.
Foreign ships not only brought men and material goods, they brought new religions as well. Over the latter half of the nineteenth century, Ponapeans would come to find both value and use in the Christian religions brought to their shores by voyagers from large lands beyond the horizon. Christianity, quickly understood by the people of the island to be the sarawi or religion of the white man, first reached Ponape from Hawaii. Chiefly hostility to the presence of Catholic missionaries there forced the French priests, Alexis Bachelot and Désiré Louis Maigret of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart, known more commonly as the Picpus Fathers, to leave Honolulu aboard the ship Notre Dame du Paix on November 13, 1837. ¹ The missionaries, acting on behalf of their religious order, had purchased the ship from its owner, Jules Dudoit, the French trader who had been involved in the Falcon incident of 1836. Prior to their departure, the two priests had made an initial payment of $1,000 for the vessel with the promise to pay the $2,000 balance soon after their arrival at Mangareva in the Gambier Islands, the site of the Picpus Fathers' mission headquarters in the Pacific. The agreement of sale allowed Michael Grombeck, the captain of the ship, to conclude a number of commercial transactions in Dudoit's behalf among the islands of
Micronesia before proceeding on to Mangareva. It was decided that, while Grombeck tended to business, the two priests would stop at Ponape. Having heard sordid tales of life on the island from Dudoit, the Roman Catholic missionaries believed that any proselytizing effort on the island, no matter how short the duration, could not help but raise the moral temperament of the people.

The *Notre Dame du Paix* arrived at Madolenihmw Harbor on December 13. The first order of business was the location of a proper burial site for Father Bachelot who had died aboard ship eight days from Ponape. The former Wasai, now Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, gladly accommodated the needs of the mission party that included two Hawaiians and two Mangarevans. The friend and consequent beneficiary of the foreign ships putting in at the island, the Nahnmwarki told the group they could bury the priest's remains near his royal residence at Nna. The chief also invited Maigret to stay with him while waiting for the return of the ship. With Bachelot properly interred at Nna on December 14, Maigret turned to the task of introducing Catholicism to the island.

The French missionary quickly decided that the ways of the people did not match the majestic beauty of their island. The priest saw the poorly marked, overgrown trails as indicative of the low level of civilization on the island. The Ponapeans' fondness for tobacco acutely frustrated the missionary. The people, said Maigret, avoided all work, preferring instead to spend the entire day lolling about smoking. On numerous occasions, the missionary returned to Nna from visits to other areas to find his belongings had been rummaged through by thieves in search of tobacco. The seemingly high incidence of violence on the island also
disconcerted Maigret. Madolenihmw, in 1838, still suffered from severe political convulsions caused by the Falcon incident. In his diary, Maigret recorded sporadic clashes, including an attempted assassination of the Nahmwmwarki by sympathizers of the deposed ruler, Luhk en Kesik.\(^4\) Though favorably disposed toward the Frenchman, the Nahmwmwarki, Luhk en Kidu, had little time to spend listening to the missionary's teachings while unrest threatened his rule.

Encouraged by the Ponapeans' sense of spirituality, the priest nonetheless despaired over their concept of divine intercession. On one occasion, the senior or first wife of the Nahmwmwarki, a woman who had shown herself quite attentive to Maigret's work, visited the priest in an emotionally distressed state.\(^5\) To Maigret's consoling inquiries, the woman expressed extreme displeasure over her husband's plans to take another woman as a secondary wife. Ponapean custom permitted chiefs to have numerous wives; it could not insure, however, peace and harmony within the royal harem. The chiefly lady asked for Maigret's assistance. When asked about the kind of help she desired, the woman pleaded with the priest to pray to his god for the death of her rival. Ponapean gods, when properly approached through appropriate intermediaries, honored such supplications; certainly, the one true god of the rich and powerful white men, reasoned the woman, could do the same. The request stunned Maigret who could only shake his head in disbelief at what he was hearing.

With little prospect of religious conversion, Maigret contented himself with the construction of a sixteen foot-high cross to serve as a proper marker for Bachelot's grave. During his last month on the island,
Maigret turned his energies to the building of a small chapel. The priest completed the simple structure just as the Notre Dame du Paix anchored in Madolenihmw Harbor. On July 27, 1838, Maigret, the future first bishop of Honolulu, departed Ponape for Mangareva. The Frenchman closed the door of his chapel, locked it, and turned the key over to the Nahmmwarki who politely but misleadingly promised to continue the work. The Ponapeans had liked Maigret personally; one man had even cried at the priest's departure. The people, however, found nothing very interesting or appealing about the truths he tried to teach them. To his entreaties, the Ponapeans simply replied that their own gods served them well enough.

The island's second exposure to Christianity proved neither as fleeting nor as an inconsequential as the first. Reports of the excesses of American seamen in the western Pacific reached the headquarters of the missionary arm of the Congregational Church, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) headquartered in Boston, Massachusetts. Word was first brought by the ship Montreal bound for Boston in 1849 with a group of missionary families returning from the Hawaiian field. To fill the long hours of the voyage, the missionaries Claudius Andrews and John Paris listened to the crew's tales of the violence and debauchery being wreaked upon the Caroline, Gilbert, and Marshall Islands by American whalers. Paris, upon his arrival at Boston, wrote to the American Board about the areas west of Hawaii where island societies were melting, "like snow before the noonday sun." "Can nothing be done for their souls?" the missionary asked.
As did other groups of Euro-American visitors reaching Ponape's shores in the first half of the nineteenth century, the "Boston Men" knew Ponapeans by their alleged vices. Primitive ignorance and idolatry were bad enough, but worse yet was the corrupting influence of a licentious commerce brought from lands that had already received Christ's light. Encouraged by its successes in the Hawaiian Islands, the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM now believed it to be the responsibility of the Congregational Church to carry forth God's word and, at the same time, to undo the wrong wrought by their less principled countrymen in the islands west of Hawaii. In 1852, the first contingent of the Micronesian Mission sailed from Honolulu. On board the schooner Caroline were Albert and Susan Sturges, Luther and Louisa Gulick, Benjamin and Lydia Snow, Daniel and Doreka Opunui, and Berita and Deborah Kaaikaula. After surveying the dark but relatively tranquil situation in the Marshalls and the Gilbert Islands, the missionary party decided it imperative to confront the devil in his dens. Ponape and Kosrae, the favorite stopping places of the American whaling fleet in the Eastern Carolines, became the first two island fields of missionary endeavor. Sturges, Gulick, Kaaikaula and their wives disembarked at Ponape; the Snows and Opunuis sailed on to Kosrae.

The American missionaries, individuals from rural, middle class settings, knew what to expect, or thought they did. Forty years of American Protestant missionary activity in the world had solidified the image of the pagan world as depraved, ignorant, profligate, and superstitious. The people of the Pacific Islands, however, were not only heathens but savages, devoid of any moral code or civilized
constraints. Gulick of Honolulu called Ponape a "moral Sodom."11 Sturges of Granville, Ohio, described Ponapeans as a "slushy mass, melted down and run together with just enough to resist all separation of parts, but not enough to arouse a shape or independence."12 Commenting on the language of the people, Sturges declared their vocabulary to be as barren as their hearts.

Edward T. Doane, who followed the first party in 1855, had a special problem with Ponapeans. To his superiors in Boston, Doane professed a love for these children of God that sustained him "though great and trying evils are about."13 If Doane loved the Ponapeans for the good Christians they could become, he nonetheless hated them for what he believed them to be, "a loathsome mass of depravity."14

Everything about Ponapeans repulsed the missionary from Tomkinsville, New York. He found them filthy; they lived in dark, smoke-filled, one-room, thatched structures to which pigs and dogs also had entry. They ate their food uncooked and their meat raw. Women suckled pigs and spent numerous idle hours first pulling out and then eating lice from friends' hair. For personal ornament, both men and women covered themselves with putrid coconut oil and then smeared in yellow powder from the ground root of the turmeric plant. The combination of brown bodies, glistening oil, and yellow powder created, said Doane, "a disgusting effect."15

Doane believed feasting to be the greatest evil on Ponape; it amounted to nothing less than devil worship. On one of his first Sabbaths on Ponape, Doane attempted to hold a Christian service in the middle of a feast. Bothered by the smoke from the rock oven, animals
lying casually about, and the host of dark, half-naked bodies, Doane felt as if he had stumbled into hell. The scene before him bore witness to a land of moral darkness and wickedness. Satan, if not present in person, hovered about in spirit. Overcome, Doane had to abandon his service and sit down.16

The young minister saw in the Ponapeans an unsettling absence of manners and a total disregard for the property of others. On those Sundays when Ponapeans did show up for services, they came too early, thus upsetting the Doanes' breakfast. In church, the Ponapeans would come and go at will, smoke their pipes, play games with their children, and maintain a steady stream of chatter. After services, complained Doane, the people would enter his house uninvited, sit upon his chairs without permission, request food, and handle the furniture.17 All of this grated against the missionary's very different sense of order, propriety, and privacy.

Other things about Ponapeans incensed Doane. Their music and dance were as dull and monotonous as the rest of their lives. They had no system for marking time. Many Ponapeans, moaned Doane, failed to honor the Sabbath because they could not count the seven days from Sunday to Saturday. They were supremely selfish people who used a missionary's respectable presence to lure trading vessels to their harbors.18 Lacking any sense of what Doane termed "Christian charity," Ponapeans expected payment for any task they performed. They were deceitful, too. They lied, they stole freely, and they broke agreements. Ponapeans' pride and independence, thought Doane, blended to form a peculiar heathen haughtiness.19 In the face of excruciating pain and impending death
they laughed, unaware of the eternal damnation that awaited their souls. Looking to the future, Doane believed extinction to be the certain fate of a people who would not turn from their evil ways.  

Upon their arrival, the missionaries immediately found themselves confronted by the prerogatives and powers of the chiefs. The members of the mission party noted the seemingly perpetual state of feasting that evolved around the chiefs. Luther Gulick described a yearly renewal feast at Nan Madol in Madolenihmw, culminating in the ceremony of the "Great Night" or Pwohng Lapalap, that lasted for seventeen days.  

Sturges in Kiti grudgingly acknowledged the immense amount of work that went into the preparation of a major feast. The missionaries despaired over the amount of feasting; these feasts, they said, strengthened the people's heathen tendencies, consumed all of their resources, left them exhausted, and kept them from the word of the true God.  

In attempting to remake the social order on Ponape, the missionaries, ironically, sought an alliance with the principal representatives and benefactors of that order. The Caroline dropped anchor outside of Madolenihmw Harbor on September 6, 1852. The first decision facing the missionaries was where to locate. The large rowdy group of beachcombers who flocked to the ship begging tobacco or passage off the island unnerved the missionaries. While they were pondering their options, the Nahmmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luhk en Kidu, exercising his chiefly authority, tried to lay claim to the missionary group during a visit to the ship on September 7. Through George May, the Portugese pilot who had been living on the island now for seventeen years, the
Nahnmwarki told the missionaries he would like to have them stay in Madolenihmw. The gift of a hatchet and a red blanket reinforced in his mind the promise of material benefits that a mission station would bring. Impressive, also, was the fact that the missionaries seemed to have some sense of the propriety of things as evidenced by their stopping first at Madolenihmw and dealing directly with him. The missionaries also must have appeared as a potentially useful counterbalance to other groups of foreigners who lived on or visited Ponape.

Stories about political feuding within Madolenihmw and the nature of the foreign community there turned the missionaries' interest to Kiti. On September 8, members of the mission group traveled to Kiti where they met first the Nahnmwarki and then the Nahnken. The missionaries found the Nahnmwarki to be old and feeble. While encouraged by his invitation to open a mission station, the missionaries wondered how strong he would be in the defense of their interests. Doubts about the advisability of settling in Kiti disappeared after their meeting with the Nahnken. The missionaries were struck by his commanding presence; "his long aquiline nose, his piercing eye, his elevated, narrow forehead, and his politely condescending manners were different from those of any islanders we had seen," remarked Gulick. At the age of 30, Nahnken Nahnku held a reputation for both bravery and forceful leadership. Because of the Nahnmwarki's poor health, all governing power belonged to the Nahnken. The people of Kiti believed the Nahnken to be more than human. After his death, they would give him the title of Isoeni or "Holy Spirit" to commemorate his sudden, unexpected, almost inexplicable appearances in different sections of Kiti. Doane, too, marveled at the Nahnken's
ability to move back and forth across long distances easily and quickly. Doane, however, attributed the Nahnken's exceptional mobility to the work of another holy spirit.

The Nahnken's popularity with ships' captains continued throughout the 1850s. Rohnkiti, the Nahnken's home, remained the most frequented of the island's harbors. Sea captains found a good harbor, ample provisions, and a reliable host; not surprisingly, the Nahnken benefited from his association with foreign vessels. Two years earlier the Nahnken's well-supplied war party had thrashed an opposing force from Madolenihmw at the battle of Nahlapenlohd. While Madolenihmw retained its symbolic primacy over island affairs, the brief war established Kiti's physical superiority. Worries in Kiti over the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw's reaction to the Nahnken's acquisition of the missionaries simply did not exist. Without hesitation, the Nahnken of Kiti welcomed the missionaries, offered them a piece of land, and promised to protect their persons and their property. Impressed by the Nahnken, the harbor, and the relatively better character of the resident foreign community in the area, the missionaries accepted the invitation. Pressed to take the gifts the missionaries offered him, the Nahnken, instead, requested payment in tobacco. He also arranged to have the missionary schooner transport his tortoise shell for sale in Honolulu. In the end, the Nahnken also acquired the beads, the clothes, the hatchets, and the other items originally intended for him. It all amounted to a tour de force by the Nahnken; these initial negotiations also provided a clear indication of who would be in charge.
When informed of the missionaries' decision to locate in Kiti, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw could only shake his head. He had lost something he believed to be rightfully his. The promise of the missionaries to open a second station in Madolenihmw did little to ease the affront. Only the still fresh wounds of Madolenihmw's defeat by Kiti checked the violence that threatened the mission party's final departure for Kiti. In allowing them to leave, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw acknowledged that the missionaries now belonged to the Nahnken of Kiti.

The Nahnken of Kiti made good on his promise to support the Protestant mission. At the first service held in Kiti, the Nahnken led a party of 100 worshipers. The Nahnken had some reservations about the egalitarian sentiments expressed in the missionaries' choice of text, "Fear not; for behold I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be for all people." He stopped the sermon a number of times to inquire about certain points. For the most part, however, he nodded his approval of the words explained to him. The Nahnken also accompanied the missionaries on trips to different areas of Kiti; his presence insured the people's interest and participation. The missionaries were pleased with his intelligence, his curiosity, and his constant attendance. When asked by the missionaries to do something about the disruptive feasting taking place on the Sabbath, the Nahnken ordered his people to complete all work and food preparations on Saturday. Albert Sturges wrote of the Nahnken: "God seems to have raised him up as a special instrument of our work."}

The Nahnken did a good deal for the missionaries, and they, in turn, did his subtle bidding. The missionaries taught the Nahnken English, the
language of commerce. Upon receiving a copy of an elementary language text, the Nahnken thanked the missionaries profusely. "I'm going to learn English," he said in Ponapean. "I'm going to make them [the white beachcombers] help me. If they don't, I'll pound them."

The Nahnken also had the missionaries instruct him in basic arithmetic and in the reading and writing of his own language. The Nahnken thus used the missionaries to acquire skills that would facilitate his dealings with the outside world and that, in turn, would add to his domestic political advantage.

The missionaries' presence also permitted the Nahnken to strengthen control over the ultimately beneficial but sometimes unruly forces in his harbor. In one particular instance, the missionaries protected the Nahnken from the scheming of rapacious traders. Before finalizing an agreement with two ambitious Americans, the Nahnken consulted the missionaries. The document in question granted the two traders a monopoly of all trade at Rohnkiti Harbor and deeded to them a small island, Nahlap, at the mouth of the harbor that would be exempt from the Nahnken's authority. In return for signing the agreement, the Nahnken was to receive a few articles of trade and a monthly stipend. Upon learning the terms of the contract that he had already signed, the Nahnken tore up the document and ordered the traders away from Rohnkiti.

From the beginning, the missionaries believed the Nahnken's conversion to be imminent. To promote the anticipated event the missionaries, in late 1856, took Nahnken Nahnku on a trip to Kosrae where the church work had been making great strides. This unprecedented
event alarmed the people of Kiti who chased the Nahnken's ship far out to sea with offerings of kava; resident foreigners living in Kiti worried that the trip would lead to unwanted change that would jeopardize their position. All fears proved groundless. Upon his return, the Nahnken did nothing; he simply expressed his pleasure over the visit. The feasting that greeted his return dismayed the missionaries. Observing him drinking kava at one of the feasts, they wondered if the trip had done him any good. Nonetheless, they continued to see him as the man to establish the new order. A remarkable man with a marked skill for shrewd manipulation, the Nahnken, in those first years, gave the missionaries everything but what they wanted most, his soul.

Luther Gulick understood well the dynamics involved in the relationship between chiefs and missionaries. The missionaries, true to their word, had opened a second station at Madolenihmw in 1853. After a year's residence there, Gulick stated, "It is the general feeling that a white man belongs to that chief upon whose territory he resides and that no one else has a right to make a profit of him but that chief." Gulick was largely correct; everything belonged to the chiefs, including people. Possession by the chiefs, signified by the word sapwellime in Ponapean, provided meaning, identity, place, and security. For outsiders, however, this concept of chiefly possession was often a problem. A number of beachcombers had managed to cross formidable cultural boundaries on Ponape by associating themselves with a particular chief or, more accurately, by allowing themselves to be possessed by that chief. So incorporated, the outsiders' presence on Ponape became intelligible.
Missionaries, however, were not beachcombers. Gulick had left the mission at Rohnkiti without telling the Nahnken; he did this, he said, because he wished to avoid the impression that the Nahnken of Kiti controlled him or any other missionary.\textsuperscript{36} Gulick spent a good deal of his time in Madolenihmw trying to assert his independence. Soon after his arrival, Gulick began receiving gifts of fish, breadfruit, coconuts, sugar cane, and turtle from Isipau, another title for the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.\textsuperscript{37} The gifts, considered kepin koanoat, symbolized respect, good will, and obligation. Gulick recognized them as such. He appreciated the gifts of food as symbols of good will and respect; he balked, however, at the obligation they implied.

Gulick and the other missionaries found travel over water the most effective means of transportation on Ponape. For men accustomed to roads, the often wet, muddy, overgrown and slippery footpaths of a rainy volcanic island were a sore trial. To maximize his access to the different areas of Madolenihmw, Gulick had a canoe built and later a canoe house. Gulick's efforts elicited a predictable Ponapean response; the missionary's strivings to be free and independent met with chiefly countermeasures designed to harness the presence and activities of foreigners. The Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw ordered a feast to consecrate the structure; he also informed Gulick that he wanted to store his own canoe there. Gulick responded with a "no;" the Honolulu missionary had calculated the value of his presents to the Nahnmwarki at $13.69. He believed that to be quite enough: "I declined giving them the opportunity to feel the ownership in my property which would have been the immediate consequence. It was no doubt an effort to link me into the Bonabe [sic]..."
system. I sent them a reply that I was not a Bonabe man."

Edward T. Doane, working in the Sokehs area after an initial period at Rohnkiti, also let it be known that he was not a "Bonabe" man. Constant struggle with the Wasai Sokehs, the paramount chief, marked Doane's tenure there. Sokehs, then including the later independent chiefdom of Net, extended over much of the northern part of the island. Though possessing a relatively good harbor, Sokehs was ignored by foreign vessels that usually approached the island from the east or south. The harbors of Madolenihmw and Rohnkiti continued to receive most of the ships' traffic. Aware of the political benefits that the chiefs of these two areas derived from the ships' visits, the Wasai Sokehs sought to claim his share. The presence of a missionary struck him as a good lure for attracting visiting ships. With a command of English, a smattering of Ponapean, and most important, an understanding of the ways of the outside world, the missionary also stood as a potentially valuable political asset.

In their initial tour of the island, the missionaries had been impressed by the Wasai's youth, energy, alert mind, and keen desire to have a preacher reside in his domain. With stations at Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw, Sokehs seemed the logical next choice. Doane, himself a believer in the advantages of trade, titillated the Wasai's expectations. At their first meeting, the missionary offered the ruler a hatchet, a large butcher knife, a red flannel shirt, and six yards of calico in exchange for a promise to build a Ponapean-style residence. The immediate response to the mission proved quite favorable. At the Wasai's command, a large number of his subjects attended Sunday service.
Despite this initial cordiality, relations between the missionary and the chief soon deteriorated. The violence of the Wasai's justice appalled Doane. The burning of an offender's house and the severe beating of a lesser chief, actions quite consistent with the island's code of chiefly vengeance, confirmed in the missionary's mind the barbarity of the society about him. Doane himself suffered when the Wasai supported a subject who claimed the missionary owed him money for services performed. When Doane refused to augment his initial payment to the man, the Wasai ordered the mission grounds blockaded and all intercourse with it stopped. Doane's return of some stolen property to a whaleship further infuriated the Wasai who had planned to barter with the ship's captain for its restoration.

Frustration proved the sum total of Doane's year and a half at Sokehs. Unable to influence the Wasai, unwilling to be controlled by him, and crippled by his own feelings of intense dislike toward Ponapeans, Doane decided to accept reassignment to Ebon in the Marshalls. Fearing the Wasai's reaction to his decision, the missionary kept his plans secret until the missionary ship, Morning Star, arrived at Ponape to take him away. Upon learning of Doane's intentions, the Wasai confronted the missionary; he demanded to know why Doane wanted to leave Ponape. Was it because Doane didn't like the people, the Wasai asked pointedly. Becoming more enraged as he talked, the Wasai threatened to stone the missionary as he would any one of his recalcitrant subjects. Sensing the need to be conciliatory, Doane promised the chief he would return. The gesture was enough. The Wasai ceased his opposition and commanded his people to carry Doane's personal property to a waiting
boat. Later, writing in his journal on route to Ebon, Doane interpreted the Wasai's reactions as genuine remorse over the loss of the word of God. He was wrong. The Wasai had been shamed by a successful defiance of his chiefly authority; such was the risk involved for a Ponapean chief in dealing with strangers from other worlds who refused to be bound by Ponapean cultural values. Doane's sole triumph in Sokehs lay in his leaving.

The Wasai's fondness for liquor had created another issue of contention between the two men. When asked by Doane why he would not cease his drinking, the Wasai, as cunning as he was mercurial, blamed his intemperance on the examples of other white men. The chief's answer struck at the heart of what the missionaries perceived to be their most pressing dilemma: namely, the discrepancy between their teachings and the conduct of their fellow countrymen.

"What can we expect of this poor people when every word and act they hear and see except from the missionaries is in perfect keeping with all of their lusts?" asked Albert Sturges. The missionaries believed that the conduct and example of other foreigners, the majority of them Americans by this time, constituted the most serious threat to their work on Ponape. Thirty years of fairly extensive contact with the West, thought the missionaries, had left the Ponapeans with nothing but disease and bad habits. The widespread use of tobacco among Ponapeans immediately disheartened the missionaries upon their arrival. To their dismay, little children would greet the missionaries with requests for a chew of tobacco. Doane found himself propositioned by a girl ten years old who asked him for tobacco. The missionaries complained
that it was impossible to go anywhere or do anything on the island without tobacco. Despite their strong moral reservations, both Sturges and Gulick were forced to use tobacco as payment for the construction of their houses.\textsuperscript{51} The missionaries consoled themselves over the compromise with a vow to move against the weed as soon as Christianity had gained a foothold on the island. Liquor had an even more deleterious effect on Christian values. When not engaged in senseless drinking orgies of their own, Ponapeans, charged the missionaries, would distill crude rum from molasses and sell it to ships for two or three dollars a bottle.\textsuperscript{52}

Nothing outraged the missionaries more, however, than the sexual trade on the island. Luther Gulick likened prostitution to murder: "The population of the island being more slowly perhaps, but more certainly swept to temporal and eternal destruction by foreign licentiousness than though every ship's company aided in murdering the inhabitants."\textsuperscript{53} To the dismay of the missionaries, Ponapean men would stop at the mission station at Rohnkiti to show off the goods they had received from the ships for the sale of their women. When asked why they did this, the men replied, "Captains say very good, white man also say very good."\textsuperscript{54} The missionaries were convinced that venereal disease spread by the sexual traffic with the ships was largely responsible for the decline in the island's birth rate throughout the 1850s. Confronted with this fact, the islanders, said the missionaries, would simply shrug and proclaim their liking for tobacco.

In 1854, the Nahnken of Kiti, at the urging of the missionaries, forbade the women of his kingdom to go out to the ships.\textsuperscript{55}
decision involved more than simply moral considerations. The position of
the Nahnken and the other high chiefs depended upon their control over
the resources of production; indeed, the entire cultural complex centered
around the dominance of the chiefs which, in turn, rested upon their
control of the land. The provisionning of the ships with wood, water,
and food fit comfortably within the parameters of chiefly control; sexual
traffic, however, introduced a potentially threatening, disruptive
element into the relationship between the chiefs and the people. In
supplying the common people with trade goods in return for sexual favors,
the ships came to rival the chiefs as providers for the society. While
tolerant of a certain level of this illicit trade, the chiefs recognized
the protection of their self-interests required the imposition of
limits. In 1854, the Nahnken of Kiti decided that those limits had been
reached. In placing an interdiction on female contact with the ships,
the Nahnken of Kiti sought to preserve his privileged position as
mwohnsapw, or the first and most important fruit of the land from which
all other fruits followed.

The Nahnken's actions did not put an end to sexual commerce in Kiti.
Soon after, a number of "sailors' houses" opened on shore. "Such places
as these have few likes this side of the world below," wrote Albert
Sturges. Passing the door of one and peering in, the missionary saw
"beings in human form with white skins; but all else how unlike the human
species. No one bid adieu." Edward "Nigger" Johnson, a black from
Philadelphia who had lived for a time in New Hampshire before signing on
board a New England whaler, ran the most notorious of these houses. Known as the "Terror of the Pacific," Johnson had earned notoriety as a
mutineer, murderer, and thief. A number of ships' captains charged that Johnson had attempted to induce their crews to desert. Conscious of these charges, one skipper neutralized Johnson by plying him with food and drink for the duration of his ship's stay at Ponape. The missionaries accused Johnson of murder and of forcing Ponapean women into his brothels. 58 The Ponapeans knew him as more than a purveyor of sexual services. A refugee from a hostile, prejudiced, supposedly Christian world, Johnson found a home on Ponape. His participation in wars on behalf of Kiti earned him respect and a privileged place in Ponapean society. At feasts, Johnson sat with chiefs. His commercial transactions for the Nahnken enhanced his value and status. 59 Despite the missionaries' persistent pleas, it was not until after Johnson's death in 1858 that the Nahnken ordered the houses closed. 60

With the Nahnken's actions in Kiti, the shipping traffic began to shift to Madolenihmw. Aware of the change, Gulick moved to prevent his field from becoming the new vice capital of the island. In an open letter to "The Christian Owners of Whaleships," Gulick explicitly named those ships and captains guilty of scandalous conduct on Ponape. The reverend doctor's actions earned him the disdain of the shipping community and the rebuke of his superiors in Boston. 61 Despite the self-serving efforts of the missionaries and chiefs, the ships' crews and Ponapean commoners continued to find mutual benefit from the sexual trade.

On occasion, the missionaries' embarrassment over the conduct of their fellow countrymen was especially acute. Captain Lafayette Rowley of the whaleship Orozombo of New Bedford had shown himself a friend of the missionaries. On his first visit to the island in 1853, Rowley had
contributed considerably to the construction of a seamen's chapel at Rohnkiti. During a later stop at the island in 1855, Rowley addressed the fledgling congregation at Rohnkiti. Sturges, in the sermon he gave following Rowley's talk, held the captain up to the Ponapeans as a model of Christian deportment. Shortly after services, Sturges and Rowley were confronted by a Ponapean who inquired about Rowley's wife. When told that she had remained behind on Martha's Vineyard, the Ponapean replied that he meant the captain's Ponapean wife who came from a family in nearby Kipar. Rowley had taken a mistress from among the ranks of the tiny congregation. Stunned, Sturges, kept the conversation a secret from Rowley who understood no Ponapean. The missionary later gave vent to his anger and humiliation in correspondence to his superiors. In these letters, Sturges termed Rowley a rakish hypocrite.

The behavior of the crew of the missionary schooner Morning Star also undermined the missionaries' insistence on a uniform code of Christian conduct. Purchased by the American Board in 1857 to facilitate the work of the Micronesian Mission, the Morning Star on its first tours of the islands caused the missionaries particular chagrin. While the missionaries tried to impress upon their listeners the importance of keeping holy the Sabbath, the crew of the Morning Star spent its Sundays on Ponape washing clothes, scrubbing decks, and taking boat rides around the island. Gulick called the crew's conduct licentious and profane; he characterized John W. Brown, the ship's captain, as a nervous, excitable man who exercised no control whatsoever over his men. Brown, said the Honolulu missionary physician, possessed an unbalanced
mind and an unhappy heart. "Will you allow such things to continue?" asked Gulick of the corresponding secretary of the American Board in Boston. 67

The missionaries' treatment of their Hawaiian colleagues also created a credibility problem. The extra time needed to perform household chores in a strange land frustrated the missionaries. Seeking the freedom to attend to their pastoral and educational duties, the missionaries solicited help from the people of the island. Ponapeans assisted the missionaries in their chores but they refused the role of domestic servant. Louisa Gulick had to dismiss one Ponapean helper "for an independence inconsistent with the position of a servant." 68

Exasperated, the missionaries turned to the Hawaiian couples who had accompanied them to Ponape.

The Hawaiian response proved no more enthusiastic than that of the Ponapeans. Seeing themselves as true missionaries, the Hawaiians rejected any subordination of their status. Ponapean cultural practices compounded the dilemma. While the missionaries asked the Hawaiians to act, in effect, as their servants, the Ponapeans offered them land, titles, and a place of respect in Ponapean society. 69

Faced with intransigence, the white missionaries pleaded their case before their superiors back in Boston. In 1853, Luther Gulick had sided with Berita Kaaikaula, a member of the first mission party, in his struggle with Albert Sturges over a proper role. By 1855, however, Gulick was writing to the ABCFM's corresponding secretary about the necessity of some arrangement whereby the Hawaiians would do the missionaries' washing, ironing, and cutting of firewood. 70

Edward Doane called attention to
the serious problem the Hawaiians had learning Ponapean. Without the language, insisted Doane, there was little active missionary work the Hawaiians could engage in. Disavowing any intention to make servants out of his colleagues, the missionary, nonetheless, suggested that the Hawaiians content themselves with paddling canoes, building houses, and serving as models of pious, humble, hard-working Christian families. 71

With Kamakahiki, who had accompanied Doane to Ponape in 1855, there was a total break. The missionaries accused him of being headstrong, uncooperative, and aloof; they described his wife as impudent and haughty. Judging the two unfit for missionary work, especially after a loud domestic quarrel one Sunday morning after services, the Ponape Mission, in 1857, voted to return the couple to Hawaii. 72 Berita Kaaikaula reached a compromise with the missionaries; he became the printer for the mission station at Rohnkiti. When he died in 1859, Gulick wrote a restrained eulogy of the first member of the Ponape Mission to die in the field: "He was a very encouraging example of what a savage with no unusual advantages may become." 73 With Kaaikaula's death, the "Hawaiian experiment," as Gulick termed it, ended. The missionaries decided that any future native missionary assistance would have to come from Ponape itself.

Despite the domestic inconveniences and internal squabbling, the missionaries persisted. By the end of the decade, the missionaries had established two major mission churches at Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw. Both of these churches had a number of smaller out-stations that the missionaries attempted to visit on a regular basis. Doane's departure in 1857 forced the closing of the third station at Sokehs. Seven schools,
run by the missionaries' wives and with enrollments varying from 8 to 34 pupils, were opened. The missionaries printed basic primers in the Ponapean language to use as texts in these schools. Portions of the Bible were also translated, printed, and distributed to the people; Gulick, in 1858, calculated the total number of pages printed by the modest mission press to be 9,200.74

Despite intensive efforts, the Protestant mission attracted no converts in this first decade. Ponapeans, however, did show themselves interested in certain aspects of the mission's presence. The missionaries' music elicited a highly enthusiastic response from the people of the island. Ponapeans in Madolenihmw would walk miles to hear Gulick play his melodeon; they also enjoyed learning to sing foreign melodies. The missionaries translated into Ponapean such songs as "There is a Happy Land," and "God Lives on High." For the school children, there were the "Alphabet Song" and "Baa-Baa-Black Sheep."75 Among themselves, the missionaries sang songs that told of their feelings about life on Ponape: "Pilgrims and Wanderers," "Do They Miss Me at Home," "America," and "Waft, Waft Ye Winds His Story."76

The missionaries found life on Ponape extremely difficult. To reinforce the boundaries between themselves and the supposedly inferior people with whom they dealt, the missionaries insisted on maintaining life as they knew it. While making use of some local resources, the missionaries depended largely on ships, especially the Morning Star, to bring them their food, clothing, fuel, building materials, and household implements. Aside from the Sabbath, the day of a ship's arrival with mail and news from home was the most celebrated occasion. The temporal
organization of their existence on Ponape mirrored, to a great extent, the daily routine of their lives back on the North American continent. They ate three meals a day, slept at night, woke in the morning, and took naps in the afternoon. The daytime hours were for physical chores and travel while more contemplative work such as writing sermons, reports, and letters filled the evening.

The missionaries also ordered the space about them along familiar patterns. Their houses had sitting rooms, dining rooms, studies, kitchens, and bedrooms. They planted gardens, made walkways, built work sheds, and constructed churches. True to the culture from which they came, the missionaries made separate places for all of the different activities into which they segmented their lives. Much of their frustration in these first years resulted from their insistence on an order and a division to life not shared by the people around them.

The missionaries found the wet, tropical climate of Ponape debilitating and the heat exhausting. The heavy rains that fell from April through December disrupted their work, slowed their travel, made the island's footpaths impassable for people accustomed to level roads, and brought sickness and depression. Albert Sturges battled constantly with severe, recurrent headaches; his wife, Susan, had three miscarriages.\(^77\) Illness forced Luther Gulick to leave the island in 1859. Though vaccines allowed them to escape unscathed the ravages of the smallpox epidemic of 1854, the missionaries came to know death in their own ranks.\(^78\) In addition to the passing of Kaaikaula, each of the three white missionary couples lost an infant child. The threat of physical violence loomed near at times. On more than one occasion
Ponapeans fired upon missionaries who, in their journeys around the island, crossed the boundaries of warring chiefdoms. Against this backdrop of physical and mental suffering, the missionaries worked and waited for the Ponapeans to convert. Despite their considerable efforts, the Ponapeans, as a whole, remained seemingly indifferent. The island's own formidable religious system continued to hold sway.

Like the missionaries, the Ponapeans possessed a highly defined sense of religion. "Their is a heathenism in one of its most spiritual forms," conceded Gulick.79 Appalled as they were by it, the missionaries spent a good deal of time in those first years trying to understand it. Ponapeans did not hesitate to help them. The Noahs of Madolenihmw, the holder of the fourth highest title in the nahnmwarki's line, paid a call on Luther Gulick one day at the mission station in Madolenihmw. The Noahs was an extremely assertive, sometimes violent man who had spent five years in Truk, reaching there after surviving several weeks of drifting on the open ocean. Ships' captains regarded the Noahs as an unscrupulous terror who would stop at nothing in his lust for goods.

For the occasion, the Ponapean noble wore a red flannel shirt over his grass skirt or koahl and carried an umbrella; he did without the high-crowned, narrow-brimmed hat with a red ribbon that he usually wore. Somewhat intoxicated, the Noahs greeted Gulick in Ships' English with a "Good Morning, Jack!", walked past the missionary into his house, took a chair in the middle of the room, sat down, and threw his arms nonchalantly over the back. After this haughty display of bad manners, as Gulick called it, the Noahs proceeded to speak with the missionary about religion. The chief made a comparison of the Ponapean and
Christian religions. He said that the Ponapeans, too, worshiped a supreme being and a Christ-figure, held religious services, said prayers, had sacraments, and believed in an after-life. 80

This encapsulated description of the Ponapean religion covered the basics. Ponapeans called the highest of their gods Daukatau or Nahn Sapwe. 81 His son, born of the union with a woman from Katau or Kosrae, was Isohkelekel, the legendary conqueror of Nan Madol who overthrew the rule of the Saudeleurs, the first overlords of the island. Under these two divine spirits existed the enihwos who governed the movement of the land, the sea, and the sky; among these gods were Nahn Olosomw, Nahnsahwinsed, Nahn Ullap, and Nahn Seh leng. Powerful clan spirits such as Inahs of the Sounkawad and Limwohdeleng of the Dipwilap hovered about. The spirits of deceased chiefs also involved themselves in the world of the living, and there were eni aramas, the spirits of dead commoners, some of whom returned to haunt the affairs of friends, family, and clanmates. The missionaries were curious about all of these spirits. In a conversation with the Nahmmwarki of Kiti, Sturges, revealing his missionary outlook, asked if these spirits were black or white. The Nahmmwarki smiled at the absurdity of the question, considered an answer, and then replied that "no," he thought they were probably red. 82

Peis or stone altars, dedicated to various gods and for the performance of seasonal rituals, abounded. Ponape also had a cathedral or religious center at Nan Madol, the complex of artificial islets off the southeastern coast of Madolenihmw that had once served as the Saudeleurs' center of power and authority. Though abandoned by this
time, Nan Madol still remained an important site for the performance of religious ceremonies. Ponapeans called the home of the dead Pahnsed, meaning "Below the Sea." To reach it, the souls of the recently departed had to cross a bridge at Wasahn Sohpor, the "Place of No Return." There, they would be required to sing before moving on. Those who possessed a good voice, a metaphor for a dutiful life, passed across the bridge; those who sang poorly fell from the bridge into a dark, dirty pit appropriately called Pweliko.

Ponapeans believed in the active intervention of the gods in the world of the living; the agency of these spirits could be of either a beneficial or destructive nature. The people, through their priests called samworo, prayed for health, good weather, bountiful crops, and success in all human endeavors ranging from birth to war. There was also sorcery in which men attempted to tap some of the supernatural powers of the gods. Souwwinanih or magicians, with divine assistance, could hold the sun, bring the tide, disperse the rain, calm the wind, paralyze enemies, cause illness or death, and conjure up the dead. In July 1855, an unusually dense, smoky haze surrounded the island. Through it, the sun and the moon took on a red glow. Gulick could not explain it, though he was sure some natural phenomenon elsewhere in the Pacific had caused it. The Ponapeans believed the occurrence to be the work of the god Isohkelekel, displeased over the people's failure to perform karisimei, the first fruits offering made at the start of the breadfruit season. To propitiate the angered god, feasts were immediately made to his principal priestess. Soon after, the haze disappeared. On another occasion, a four-month drought ended suddenly during a feast of atonement in
Madolenihmw, again to placate Isohkelekel. Admitted Gulick, "It is hard to meet the force of this fact on superstitious, ignorant minds."84

The missionaries saw Ponapeans as enslaved by their belief in gods and spirits. Perhaps they were, but no more so than people who held the work of life to be constant penance for man's basically sinful nature. In a sense, the missionaries offered the people of the island an exchange of one form of enslavement for another. In this early contact period, the Ponapeans were not interested. Indeed, the "Boston Men" complained incessantly that the Ponapeans exhibited no sense of guilt or awareness of their basic sinfulness.

In May 1856, Doane and Sturges had the opportunity to actually confront a Ponapean god.85 The two missionaries learned of the presence of Nahn Isopau at Palikir in Sokehs. Urged on by the Nahnken of Kiti and others, the two missionaries decided to visit the place and expose the whole affair for the sham they thought it to be. According to reports, the god had assumed human form, taken a wife, and now lived among the people. Arriving at Palikir, the missionaries were told that Nahn Isopau was not present at the moment but would return soon. The missionaries waited while a crowd gathered and a sizeable feast was prepared. After a period of time, a loud stamping and breaking of sticks heralded the god's arrival. As the spirit entered the nahs or meeting house, the structure shook. All present immediately prostrated themselves while the god took his place in a corner at the front of the nahs. Shielded from public view by huge mats hung from the ceiling, Nahn Isopau, in a loud whisper, called for his pipe and red flannel shirt. The order then came for the missionaries to move forward to the sacred
corner. Entering the darkened space, the missionaries were invited by the god to sit. Finding Nahn Isopau to be quite affable and communicative, Sturges and Doane commenced a conversation with him. Nahn Isopau spoke of his home, Pahnsed, the spirit world underneath the sea. The god also expounded freely on issues of Ponapean theology. After a while, the two missionaries, tiring of the meeting, began to voice their doubts. They told Nahn Isopau that they believed him to be a woman not a god; the god responded with an emphatic assertion of his divinity. When the missionaries persisted in their denunciation, the god called for his gun. In loud voices, the missionaries proclaimed their charges publicly: "Don't we know your face to be that of a woman, don't we know your voice, your tattooing to be woman's. You are a woman and you will one day be punished for this attempting to deceive." The missionaries then turned the mats aside to give all a chance to view the god/woman but the people turned their eyes. Satisfied with their efforts, the missionaries left the sacred corner and returned to the main section of the nahs. While the missionaries sat with acquaintances, a huge basket of food was brought to them by order of Nahn Isopau. The missionaries then watched as the Ponapeans proceeded to feast their god. The scene resembled a revival meeting; the missionaries took special note of the number of women who cried, sang, prayed, and contorted their bodies in a fit of godly possession.

The missionaries spent the night nearby and returned to Nahn Isopau's nahs early the next morning. The chief of the area, who had promised to go with the missionaries, faltered in his resolve and turned back. Two old women, attendants to the god, attempted to block the missionaries'
approach to the god's quarters but to no avail. The missionaries found
the god sitting without his ornaments and looking, they said, very much
like a woman. The missionaries pulled aside the mats but, again, the
people fled or averted their eyes. The missionaries then left, praising
their God for the chance to expose a den of deception and to strike a
blow at superstitious beliefs. Several days later, Sturges went back;
this time, Gulick accompanied him. Inquiring about Nahn Isopau, the
missionaries were told that the god had left for his home under the sea.

In one aspect of their assessment, the missionaries were correct; the
being they had dealt with was a woman, a woman possessed by a god. On
Ponape, such a medium was known as a tehnwar or vessel. Ponapeans
communicated with their gods through omens, signs, dreams, and the
possession of the living. The Ponapeans regarded Nahn Isopau, the
supernatural being mentioned in the story, as a particularly powerful,
demanding god. The divine patron of Palikir and the Dipwinwai clan, Nahn
Isopau held the capacity for both good and evil. His total
possession of the woman, the wife of the chief of Palikir, demonstrated
his dominance over the people. No common earthly being would be allowed
to see, let alone conspire with, the wife of a chief. To insure his
beneficence, the people of Palikir and the Dipwinwai clan offered the
first yield of any productive enterprise to him. Possession of a nature
quite similar to the missionaries' description was reported to be his
special mode of communion.

Possession by spirits was not without precedent in the
Judaean-Christian heritage. The missionaries' Bible detailed incidents of
possession of the living by spirits. Sturges was convinced they had
witnessed the act of an imposter; Gulick, however, was not so sure. The Honolulu physician recorded in his journal: "We pray that the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords may send this and all kindred spirits back to the submarine caves from whence they profess to come and there forever chain them." In any event, all of the missionaries rejoiced in the enmity they had earned from the Ponapeans for their sacrilegious act.

Of all the cross-cultural events between Ponapeans and American Protestant missionaries in these first years of contact, none held more significance than the smallpox epidemic of 1854. During the six months that the disease raged over the island, Ponapeans and missionaries confronted each other, prayed to their different gods, feared for their lives, despaired at times, and, in the end, tried to give meaning to the tragedy around them. In this high drama, both sides spoke clearly of who they were and how they viewed the world.

The disease arrived aboard the whaler _Delta_. The ship was out of Greensport, New York, and under the command of Captain Weeks. The crew consisted entirely of Hawaiians. The _Delta_ put in at Ponape on February 28, 1854, after smallpox had broken out aboard ship. Refused a landing at Pohnahtik in the southeastern section of Madolenihmw, the vessel continued west around Ponape to the small island of Peniou near Wone in Kiti. One crewman who had died some days before was buried there; two others, in the advanced stages of the disease, were put ashore to die. The ship then sailed away. The people from Wone took in the two Hawaiians, nursed them, sheltered them, and stole their clothes. For almost two months, nothing happened. Luther Gulick, the physician, thought the island might be spared. By early April, however, the
smallpox had broken out on Mwudok, the piece of land closest to Peniou. By July, it had spread all over the island.

The missionaries described the period as one of dismal desolation. The Ponapeans first tried to control the disease by feasting their offended spirits. When Gulick insisted that it was his God who was angry, the Ponapeans said they would feast him, too. Feasting, however, did not help. As the death toll climbed, Ponapeans sought escape. The missionaries' letters tell of the people trying frantically to hide from the ravages of the smallpox, or kilitop as they called it. Many crowded together in dark, poorly ventilated, thatched houses. With them in these confined space, they brought their diseased friends, family members, and clanmates. Others fled to the mountains or to small reef islands, again bringing their sick with them.

The physical horrors of the disease were staggering: first the fever, then the outbreak of sores, then the sickly odor as the sores broke and the oozing puss spread. Gulick wrote: "Our hearts even now sicken in remembering the scenes of the sinner. We hear but too distinctly the groaning and screeching that echoed through whole neighborhoods of breadfruit groves. We see too vividly the naked bodies of men, women, children, and infants covered from head to feet with the noisome mantle of death." In some areas of the island, there was no one left to attend the sick: starvation took some who might have otherwise survived the disease. There was also no time to worry about the proper rituals for funeral feasts. People were buried in shallow graves, some still living. Sturges records the heightened terror that resulted when those buried alive managed to extricate themselves from premature graves and return to their families dressed in their burial clothes.
Chiefs, priests, and commoners alike died; the deaths of chiefs, however, struck at the heart of the Ponapean social order. Under normal circumstances, a high chief would be secretly buried within hours of his death and a successor chosen to preserve the peace and stability of the society. The next day, the priests would call together the people to feast the deceased chief and to greet his successor. Destruction characterized the death feast called a mwurilik. To symbolize the collapse of the old order, the deceased chief's coconut trees were cut down, his yams dug up, his kava plants uprooted, his pigs and dogs slaughtered, and his personal property distributed among the gathering. As a sign of their despair, men would fire their guns, women would wail ceaselessly, and the chief's wives would cut their hair. This was destruction but it was purposeful and organized destruction within the dictates of tiahk en sapw. The people obliterated the old to make way for the new. Renewal followed death; the life of the land and its people continued on. The smallpox, however, brought social chaos. With important chiefs dying too fast to be replaced, there was no one to give proper and forceful direction to society. Those chiefs not dead secluded themselves in isolated retreats. The common people destroyed their own property, feasted themselves, and violated most of the taboos that gave order and rank to Ponapean society. They did this because the structure and system of beliefs that gave meaning to their lives appeared to be crumbling. They believed that, as a race of people, they were perishing.

The Ponapeans had little doubt about the ultimate source of their suffering. On a visit to Sokehs, Sturges was asked by the Wasai Sokehs
why the Christian God was killing the people of Ponape. In Madolenihmw, Gulick had a similar inquiry from the Wasai of that chiefdom. The Ponapean noble had first asked a resident beachcomber in his area who had sent the smallpox to Ponape. "No one," replied the foreigner. The Wasai countered that such could not be; everything had a cause; a plague of such proportions could not possibly be random. Meeting Gulick a few days later, the Wasai asked if it was not God who had sent the smallpox. "A better introduction," declared Gulick, "could not have been given for a religious conversation."

Though circumspect in their replies to such pointed questions, the missionaries themselves knew well the cause of the smallpox epidemic. In their private journals, they bared their convictions. Sturges saw the "Lord's Hand" in all that had passed. Gulick noted that, though a kindly father, God sometimes did terrible things in righteousness. "God moves in a mysterious way," sighed Gulick, "and this is one of the most mysterious of his dispensations toward a people who for years had been verging toward destruction." In this matter, the missionaries and the Ponapeans agreed; the Christian God was indeed responsible for the disease that brought death to over half of the island's population.

Resistance seemingly futile, the Ponapeans, for the time being, resigned themselves to the manaman or power of the missionaries. Ponapeans began concerning themselves with Christian taboos; they asked about the correct procedure for offerings, the rituals of religious services, the proper forms of prayer, and the preparation of food for the Sabbath. One man demanded to know if he should pray to Adam and Eve, too. Ponapeans also turned to the vaccination offered by the
missionaries against smallpox. The successful inoculations of the Nahnken of Kiti and the Wasai of Madolenihmw gave the missionaries' medicine widespread credibility. Many of the priests, however, refused to be vaccinated. Understanding that there was something more involved than simply life or death, the priests persisted in their Ponapean ways. Their deaths were greeted with righteous disdain by the missionaries, who refused last-minute pleas for vaccinations and other medicinal remedies by these keepers of different gods. 103

The missionaries now saw themselves as passing through the severest of trials to the greatest of opportunities. Events had vindicated their individual characters; in a short period, they had acquired, they believed, tremendous influence that otherwise would have taken years to accumulate. Gulick wrote that, because of his inoculations, hundreds of Ponapeans now pointed to him as their savior from death.

The missionaries' assessment of their present situation and future prospects proved a bit hasty. By October 1854, the smallpox epidemic had abated. Having survived what they felt to be certain extinction, Ponapeans began to crawl back from the edges of death. Though weakened and reduced in number, Ponapeans quickly resumed the ways of tiahk en sapw. They feasted throughout the remainder of the year, they returned to the worship of their gods, and they warred. 104 Madolenihmw opposed Kiti and later Uh, while Sokehs prepared for a major battle with Awak, an autonomous area in the north lying between Net and Uh. While deadly serious in their consequences, these wars, coming so soon after the epidemic, carried an air of jubilation about them; Ponapeans and their way of life had survived the cataclysm.
Despite this victory of survival, the power and material wealth of the missionaries' God did not go unnoticed; developments in this period had caused Ponapeans to wonder about the efficacy and beneficence of their own principal deities. By the end of the 1850s, Ponapeans were beginning to grapple with Christianity. As evidenced by their questions and comments to the missionaries, they did this within their own system of values and cultural presuppositions. What began in these first years of contact with American Protestant missionaries was but another step in an age-old process of incorporation whereby the Ponapean cultural order would sustain itself by accepting new and usable resources from beyond its shores. There was room, eventually a place of primacy, for the Christian God in the Ponapean pantheon. In the decades that followed, Ponapeans would come to accept Christianity, but on their own terms. Though a difficult, disruptive, sometimes violent process, the acceptance of Christianity did not constitute a revolutionary departure; for Ponapeans, it was a logical, consistent, almost predictable action within the patterns of their own history.
NOTES


2 Désiré Louis Maigret, "Journal de Désiré Maigret, première partie: Les Gambiers, 1834 à 1840," manuscript (Honolulu: Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives, 1840). A copy of this document transcribed by Jean Charlot in 1970 can be found in the Pacific collection of the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library, Honolulu, Hawaii. Except where noted, my account of Maigret's stay on Ponape is based upon this source.


4 Maigret, "Journal de Désiré Maigret," entry for April 15, 1838.

5 Ibid., entry for April 9, 1838.

6 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:111.


8 Ibid., p. 55.

1852-1909." A copy of the ABCFM's Mission to Micronesia collection on 30 reels of microfilm is housed at the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library; unless otherwise noted, all correspondence cited in this chapter is from that source. Published excerpts from these letters and papers can be found in the periodicals, The Friend and The Missionary Herald. Additional correspondence of the ABCFM's Mission to Micronesia is contained in the collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, (HMCSL) Honolulu, Hawaii.


12 Sturges to Anderson, April 3, 1854, ABCFM, 2:173.
Throughout the remainder of this dissertation, I will identify ABCFM sources according to the reel and document numbers of the University of Hawaii's microfilm collection; hence, "reel number 2, document number 173" will appear as 2:173.

13 Doane to Anderson, May 11, 1855, ABCFM, 1:54.

14 Doane to Anderson, May 20, 1856, ABCFM, 1:61.


16 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, September 3, 1855; entry for June 17, 1855, ABCFM, 1:55.


21 Gulick, Journal, entry for April 17, 1854, ABCFM, 1:105.

22 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, October 17, 1854; entry for October 17, 1854, ABCFM, 2:176.
23 An account of the first days of the mission party on Ponape is contained in Gulick's Journal which follows the letter, Gulick to Anderson, October 12, 1852. See especially the entries for September 6 thru September 25, 1852, ABCFM, 1:92. See also Clark to Anderson, November 4, 1852, ABCFM, 1:1.


25 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, September 3, 1855; entry for August 12, 1855, ABCFM, 1:55.


27 Gulick to Anderson, October 12, 1852, ABCFM, 1:91.

28 Sturges to Anderson, October 11, 1852, ABCFM, 2:170.

29 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, September 3, 1855; entry for August 5, 1855, ABCFM, 1:55.

30 Sturges to Anderson, October 11, 1852, ABCFM, 2:170.

31 Sturges to Anderson, October 11, 1852, ABCFM, 2:170.


33 Gulick to Anderson, February 4, 1853, ABCFM, 1:95.

34 Sturges, Journal of the Kiti Station, entry for January 1, 1857, ABCFM, 2:184.

35 Gulick to Anderson, March 17, 1854, ABCFM, 1:103.

36 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, July 1853; entry for June 6, 1853, ABCFM, 1:100.

37 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, July 1853; entry for August 8, 1853, ABCFM, 1:100.

38 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, July 1853; entry for December 5, 1853, ABCFM, 1:100.

39 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, October 17, 1854; entry for January 6, 1855, ABCFM, 2:176.
40 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, October 25, 1856; entry for February 26, 1856, ABCFM, 1:62.

41 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, October 25, 1856; entry for March 20, 1856, ABCFM, 1:62.


44 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, December 4, 1856; entry for April 21, 1856, ABCFM, 1:63.


46 Doane to Anderson, December 6, 1857, ABCFM, 1:72.

47 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, December 4, 1856; entry for August 8, 1856, ABCFM, 1:63.


49 Hezel, The First Taint of Civilization, p. 146.

50 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, September 3, 1855, entry for August 28, 1855, ABCFM, 1:55.

51 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, July 1853; entry for May 10, 1853, ABCFM, 1:100.

52 Sturges to Anderson, September 24, 1858, ABCFM, 2:196.

53 Gulick to Anderson, February 11, 1858, ABCFM, 1:151.

54 Sturges to Father Gulick, June 25, 1858, ABCFM, 2:192.

55 Sturges to Anderson, January 10, 1854, ABCFM, 2:172.


58 Sturges to Father Gulick, June 25, 1858, ABCFM, 2:192.

59 Roberts to Anderson, March 7, 1859, ABCFM, 2:112. See also Sturges to Anderson, January 4, 1859, ABCFM, 2:198, and Sturges, "Extracts from the Kiti Journal," entry for November 5, 1858, ABCFM, 2:197.


61 Gulick to Anderson, February 11, 1858, ABCFM, 1:151.

62 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 56.


64 Sturges to Clark, July 25, 1856, HMCSL.

65 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, September 15, 1858; entry for September 15, 1858, ABCFM, 1:153.

66 Gulick to Anderson, February 18, 1859, ABCFM, 1:155.

67 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, September 15, 1858; entry for September 27, 1858, ABCFM, 1:153.

68 Gulick to Anderson, December 25, 1854, ABCFM, 1:124.


70 Gulick to Clark, October 10, 1855, ABCFM, 1:113.

71 Doane to Anderson, January 22, 1857, ABCFM, 1:64.

72 "Minutes of the Second General Meeting," entry for October 8, 1857, 7:00 p.m., ABCFM, 1:11.

73 Gulick to Anderson, January 21, 1859, ABCFM, 1:154.

75 Gulick to Anderson, Journal letter, July 1853; entry for December 8, 1853, ABCFM, 1:100.

76 Gulick to Youthful Owners of the Morning Star, October 20, 1857, ABCFM, 1:142.

77 Gulick to Anderson, May 16, 1856, ABCFM, 1:128.

78 Sturges to Anderson, October 14, 1859, ABCFM, 2:199.

79 Gulick, Journal, entry for June 7 and 8, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120.

80 Gulick, Journal, entry for July 29, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120.

81 For an in-depth discussion of the Ponapean religion, see Hambruch, Ponape, 2:96-145. Also, Bernart, The Book of Luelen, pp. 90-5 and Fischer, Riesenbg, and Whiting, Annotations, pp. 81-5. There exists some debate over whether or not a single deity reigned over all of Ponape. Some indigenous sources list Daukatau and Nahn Sapwe as separate beings; however, Bernart, The Book of Luelen, p. 146, equates the two. Given Ponapeans’ strong regional and clan affiliations, it is very possible that different clans recognized the primacy of different gods. The Dipwipahmmei of Madolenihmw and the Dipwimmeh of Onohnleng worshiped Nahn Sapwe while such gods as Luhk and Nahn Isopau held the allegiance of other clans in different areas of the island. While Daukatau, meaning “Channel of Katau,” may indeed be another name for Nahn Sapwe that commemorates the defeat of the Saudeleurs by his son Isohkelekel from Kosrae or Katau, different groups of Ponapeans most likely persisted in their primary worship of other clan gods and spirits. For some Ponapeans, then, Nahn Sapwe or Daukatau was the supreme deity of the island; other Ponapeans, however, clung to more ancient religious loyalties.

82 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, March 17, 1855; entry for March 25, 1855, ABCFM, 2:177.

83 Gulick, Journal, entry for September 11, 1855, ABCFM, 1:100.

84 Gulick to Anderson, March 7, 1856, ABCFM, 1:127.

85 Sturges to Anderson, May 10, 1856, ABCFM, 2:183. See also Gulick to Anderson, May 16, 1856, ABCFM, 1:128, and Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, December 4, 1856; entry for May 15, 1856, ABCFM, 1:63. An account of this incident is also included in A. A. Sturges, “Intelligence from Ascension” The Friend 5:10 (October 1856) p. 75.
86 Sturges to Anderson, May 10, 1856, ABCFM, 2:183.
89 Gulick to Anderson, May 16, 1856, ABCFM, 1:128.
92 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, July 12, 1854; entry for July 12, 1854, ABCFM, 2:175. Also, Gulick to Anderson, November 9, 1854, ABCFM, 1:107.
93 Gulick to Anderson, November 9, 1854, ABCFM, 1:107.
94 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, July 12, 1854; entry for September 10, 1854, ABCFM, 2:175.
97 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, October 17, 1854; entry for January 6, 1855, ABCFM, 2:176.
98 Gulick, *Journal*, entry for May 24, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120.
99 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, July 12, 1854; entry for July 12, 1854, ABCFM, 2:175.
100 Gulick, *Journal*, entry for September 25, 1854, ABCFM, 1:105.
102 Gulick, *Journal*, entry for June 24, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120.
103 Gulick, *Journal*, entries for July 29, August 26, and September 4, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120.
104 Gulick, Journal, September 11, 1855, ABCFM, 1:120. See also Gulick to Anderson, December 25, 1854, ABCFM, 1:124; Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, October 17, 1854; entries for December 25 and 27, 1854, ABCFM, 2:176; and Doane to Anderson, May 20, 1856, ABCFM, 1:61.
Survival on Ponape entailed a recognition of limits. The island's ruling chiefs could express their displeasure in violent ways, but the culture as a whole stressed accommodation. In control of the land and its resources, the island's paramount chiefs were expected to demonstrate a conciliatory nature toward their subjects. A Ponapean proverb, menin kao aramas, menin kasohr soupedi or "the people offend, the chiefs forgive," underscores the general beneficence with which the nobles were expected to overlook the faults of the common people. Another phrase, keleun ieng soupedi, meaning "a chief is like a hibiscus tree in the wind," emphasizes the virtue of chiefly responsiveness to the needs of the people. When chiefs disregarded their paternal responsibilities, the people could resort to drastic measures to redress their grievances. In extreme cases of oppression, the people might rise up against the ruling chiefs as the people of Madolenihmw did against the Nahnnwarki Luhk en Weid in the eighteenth century. Commoners, at other times, expressed their dissatisfaction by fleeing to other parts of the island where they offered their allegiance to a different set of chiefs. Though a perilous option, given the constant threat of violence that permeated sectional and clan rivalries, the people's flight, called kiam pwek, served as an important check against chiefly abuse.
Ponapean society, then, promoted conciliation in order to minimize the inherent, potentially devastating tension between rulers and ruled. The arrival of foreign ships had tested the bonds between the chiefs and the people. Except in cases that severely threatened their dominance in dealings with the ships, the chiefs had generally ignored the illicit sexual traffic between commoner and crewman; this calculated oversight preserved the essential harmony of the society. But, Christianity, the lamalam kapw or "new way of thinking" as the Ponapeans of the time referred to it, placed more intense strains upon the always fragile relationship between a chief and his people.

The common people had sought to redress the imbalance in the access to foreign goods through theft and prostitution. From the peak years in the mid-1850s when nearly 50 vessels a year had dropped anchor at Ponape, the average number of ship visits in the early 1860s dropped to twenty.4 With the chiefs aggressively asserting control over what ships' traffic remained, the common people turned to other avenues. Its material trappings reinforced by the American missionaries' particular emphasis on the equality of all men before God, Christianity appealed to those Ponapeans of limited social rank. Many Ponapeans began to view Christianity as a potential vehicle for the advancement of their social and material welfare. The first evidence of this movement showed itself in 1860.

After eight years of struggle, the missionaries baptized their first three converts at Rohnkiti on November 12, 1860.5 On March 6, 1861, Sturges baptized six Ponapeans at Sallong in Madolenihmw.6 By 1862, membership in Ponape's two churches had reached 21: five years later, the
The many more Ponapean commoners who attended weekly church services supplemented the ranks of the professed members. Edward Doane, who had returned to Ponape in 1865 following the death of his first wife, proclaimed two years later that half the island was now "on our side." Eight

In addition to an unqualified profession of belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ, the missionaries required potential converts to disassociate themselves completely from the traditional rituals of Ponapean culture. The missionaries saw kava or sakau as the ultimate symbol of the island's dark ways; its use separated heathen from Christian. Albert Sturges wrote;

"To this people, kava is the only means of communication with their spirits; they hold a cup of drink, always in their hands, when addressing the object of prayer... Kava is here what the cross is to the Christian; it fell from heaven and is the only means of obtaining a hearing here." Nine

The missionary was quite correct in one aspect of his assessment; sakau did indeed constitute the sacrament of the island. Ponapeans employed sakau, a gift from the god Luhk en Leng, at all ceremonial functions. Eleven Pounding the roots of the narcotic plant into a pulp which they then squeezed through a bast of hibiscus bark fibers to collect the potent liquid, the people used sakau to communicate with spirits, to bestow titles, to effect peace between warring parties, to seek pardon, and to demonstrate respect. Sakau also possessed curative powers for certain physical as well as divinely caused illnesses. The sakau ceremony reaffirmed the order of Ponapean society. Elaborate procedures surrounded the preparation of sakau and its presentation to the chiefs. Originally intended in the days of the Saudeleurs for only
those of the highest rank, sakau, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, still retained its chiefly focus. Sakau could be prepared and consumed only in the presence of the chiefs. Tradition prescribed both the order and manner in which people drank. The chiefs, seated on a raised platform at the head of the feasting house, received the first cups from attendants in a highly stylized ritual. Common people were allowed to partake of the drug between later chiefly rounds. The missionaries deplored the debilitating effect sakau had on the island's chiefs. Sturges described the the rulers as "so stupid after a feast ... there is nothing else that can find any place in their minds. The night as well as the day is spent in dissipation." The missionaries' ban on Christian participation in any ceremony that involved sakau, then, struck at the heart of the chiefly system.

During the missionaries' first years on Ponape, the paramount chiefs had tried to manipulate the talents of the missionaries for private gain while treating their teachings as little more than harmless talk. With the strains caused in Ponapean society by the growing desire for material goods, the declining ships' traffic, and the decimation of the population by the smallpox epidemic of 1864, the chiefs in the 1860s showed themselves less disposed toward the missionaries' activities. When numbers of the common people began accepting Christianity at the expense of their traditional obligations, the paramount chiefs turned to suppression. In Madolenihmw, the Nahnmwarki destroyed the dwelling of the first converts there, confiscated their belongings, and banished them from the land they occupied. Coming to understand the threat now posed to their leadership by the missionaries, the ruling chiefs sought
to destroy the new religion. At Nansokele, in the mountainous interior of Net where a mission station had been started in 1859, the chiefs of the area broke up a worship service by stoning the tiny congregation.\footnote{13} Two weeks later, a party of warriors under chiefly orders fired upon another Sabbath gathering at Nansokele; several were wounded. The Wasai of Sokehs, the overlord of the area, ordered the people's animals killed, their property confiscated, and their persons removed immediately from the area.\footnote{14}

The strongest opposition to the new church occurred in Rohnkiti, the site of the first mission station.\footnote{15} The earliest converts in Kiti also found their property destroyed or confiscated. A young chief claimed the house of Narcissus de los Santos.\footnote{16} A deserter from an American whaleship who had fought for Kiti in the battle at Nahlapenlohd in 1850, Santos and his Ponapean wife Meri (Mary) were two of the mission's first three converts.\footnote{17} Only after a series of appeals did the Nahnken order the structure restored to the Filipino and his family. A peaceful, seemingly promising lull followed this initial outburst of hostility. After more than a decade of frustration, the missionaries finally realized one of their major objectives; the conversion of Nahnku, the Nahnken of Kiti. The Nahnken, in what was more of a gesture than a commitment, accepted baptism on January 24, 1864.\footnote{18} An extremely practical, manipulative man, Nahnku had decided that a nominal profession in the teachings of Christianity enhanced his relations with the outside world while detracting little, if at all, from his traditional Ponapean rank. The Nahnken's tacit approval of the violence against the mission station at Rohnkiti had distressed the missionaries; they were overjoyed,
however, to have him now firmly in their camp. The missionaries believed they had a royal patron who, through the force of his rank and personality, could propel the rapid spread of Christianity over the entire island. The missionaries' hopes for glory proved short-lived, however; less than four months later, the Nahnken was dead. 19

The successor to Nahnku was a man known by the title of Nahnawa en Mwudok. As the son of Nahnku's mother's younger sister, Nahnawa en Mwudok stood junior in rank to the seven brothers of the dead Nahnken. 20 A man of exceptional ferocity, Nahnawa en Mwudok, however, managed to commandeer the title of nahnken by threat of force. Calling together his brothers shortly before he died, Nahnku informed them that Nahnawa en Mwudok would be the next nahnken; otherwise, reasoned the dying chief, there would be no peace in Kiti. 21 Based on past history, Nahnawa en Mwudok, if denied the title, would embark upon a personal rampage that would leave the entire chiefdom weak and divided. In a not uncommon expression of protest by members of the chiefly class who drew on the historical examples of Satokawai and Isohkelekel, Nahnku's third brother committed suicide over dissatisfaction with the arrangement; the decree held, however. 22 As the new Nahnken, Nahnawa en Mwudok quickly became the scourge of the mission station at Rohnkiti.

Ponapeans still speak of stories about the incredible behavior of this diminutive but forceful man. 23 After drinking sakau, Nahnawa en Mwudok always had his attendants draw him by the legs over rock-strewn paths to enhance, he said, the intoxicating effects of the drug. To impress a visiting ship captain, the Nahnken held his forearm just above an open kerosene lamp until the flesh began to sizzle. The Nahnken,
despite the entreaties of those around him, refused to move it. In desperation, one of his people finally knocked the chief's arm away. On another occasion, the Nahnken cut a piece of flesh from his thigh, cooked it over hot rocks, and ate it. When asked why he did this, Nahnawa en Mwudok replied that he wanted to be able to boast that he had tasted human meat. To the relief of those who attended him, the Nahnken described the taste of human flesh as salty; he didn't care to eat it again, he said. While missionaries expressed dismay over his conduct, Johann Stanislas Kubary, the Polish naturalist who spent considerable time in the 1870s and 1880s studying the flora and fauna of the island, considered Nahnawa en Mwudok a reasonable man when accorded proper respect. The Nahnken regularly stopped at Kubary's field station in Rohnkiti to extend his greetings and present the scientist with a headwreath of flowers. More directly subject to the will of the Nahnken than Kubary, the people of Kiti treated their chief with tremendous deference born of fear and awe.

Nahnawa en Mwudok, after his coronation as Nahnken, moved quickly against the foreign presence in his domain by burning down the mission grounds on January 19, 1865. The Nahnken further shocked everyone by murdering one of his wives and the man with whom she had tried to elope. Attempts to restore the mission site met with continued harassment. Meetings were disrupted, property stolen, and individuals threatened. In one incident, the Nahnken forced a man with the baptismal name of Sakiej (Zacharias) to drink sakau by having his mouth opened and the liquid poured down his throat. Sturges realized the impossibility of reaching any understanding with the Nahnken. In May
1868, the missionary found it necessary to abandon Rohnkiti in favor of a new mission station at Ohwa in Madolenihmw. Now working at Mesenieng, a new site located on the peninsula of land that jutted into the northern harbor between Sokehs and Net and renamed Canaan or Kenan by the missionaries, Edward Doane also found himself confronted with chiefly hostility. The now strident opposition of Ponape's paramount chiefs resulted not from the teachings of Christianity but from the egalitarian, quasi-democratic practices that the missionaries insisted upon. The high chiefs railed at the presence of a foreign institution that allowed common men and women to speak while chiefs were forced to remain silent. One high chief, enraged over being forbidden to participate in a communion service, expressed his displeasure by attempting to commit suicide. On a trip to Madolenihmw, Doane received the rebuke of the Nahnmwarki for his failure to consult the ruling chief on church matters that affected the general life of the chiefdom. Reflecting upon the encounter, Doane understood the chief's dilemma. Still, reasoned the missionary, the Gospel's message was clear; all men stood as "miserable sinners" before God. As expedient a measure as it might be, any attempt at the accommodation of chiefly privilege would only undermine the democratic spirit of God's word.

Refused permission to speak at a church gathering, the Wasai Sokehs, the ranking chief of the north who also held the title of Lepen Net at this time, retaliated by seizing Karolin (Caroline), the daughter of Narcissus and Meri de los Santos, Doane's assistants who had been driven from a similar position at Rohnkiti by the opposition of the Nahnken.
Doane's attempts to win the release of the girl were frustrated by the people's acceptance of a traditional practice that permitted the paramount chief to choose his brides at will from any of the women residing in his chiefdom. At a confrontation between the two men, the Wasai explained the reasons for his action. The missionary countered by pointing out that membership constituted a necessary prerequisite to any form of participation in church services. As Doane left, the Wasai signaled his contempt for the missionary's words by firing two muskets into the air. The following Sunday, this paramount chief of Net and Sokehs effectively disrupted services by appearing outside of the church door with his principal wife. The sight of any of a ruling chief's wives, especially his primary wife known in Ponapean as ihmennwohd, was a privilege denied all people. Word that the couple had arrived quickly scattered the large number of people gathered for services. Some ran out the church door while others slid the large floor boards apart, slipped through the openings, and scurried away. For the next several months, wandering bands of armed retainers discouraged the people from entering the mission grounds.

A number of the lesser chiefs, men of high social rank with ambitions frustrated by age or by the political machinations of others, viewed Christianity as a means to further their own advantage and circumvent the prerogatives of the paramount chiefs. Within Ponapean society, there existed a tension among chiefs as well as between chiefs and commoners. The nahnmwarki relied heavily upon the the nahnken's title line to assist him in the governing of his chiefdom; as sons of the ruling chiefs, these royal children or serihsö were allowed physical proximity to the person
of the nahnmwarki. The soupeidi, the brothers and maternal cousins and nephews of the nahnmwarki who held the lesser or junior titles of the ruling line, were kept away from the nahnmwarki's person by being assigned specific tasks connected with the administration of feasts and other rituals. In the lesser chiefs, the nahnmwarki saw his successors, his rivals, and ultimately his own death. These inherent tensions were further exacerbated when different sub-clans or lineages competed for control of the paramount title of nahnmwarki.

The Falcon incident of 1836, which had upset the precarious political balance in Madolenihmw by replacing one ruling lineage with another, continued to haunt the polity of chiefdom. In 1855, with the death of the Nahnmwarki Luhk en Mwei U, who reigned for less than a year, the title passed to another member of the Litehriete lineage of the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling sub-clan, the Isonenimwahn. The individual who succeeded to the position of Wasai, the second most senior title in the soupeidi's line after that of nahnmwarki, was a member of the Upwutenmei lineage that had been deposed as a result of the events of 1836.

Though the Litehriete seemed strongly entrenched, the Wasai refused to acquiesce to the continued usurpation of a title that he believed to be rightfully his. In 1836, Luhk en Kidu had relied successfully upon foreign ships to provide a crucial edge in his attempt to win the title of nahnmwarki. In 1864, the Wasai of Madolenihmw, attempting to return the paramount title to his lineage, looked for a similar advantage. The Wasai believed he had discovered in the missionaries and their teachings the vehicle with which to build a cross-island network of alliances. To achieve his objective, the Madolenihmw chief showed himself willing to
sacrifice, at least temporarily, some of the privileges of his chiefly rank.

In addition to an abstinence from sakau, the missionaries also required a Christian marriage of all prospective church members. Commoners already forced by their social circumstances into basically monogamous relationships had no difficulty with the stipulation. For chiefs whose rank and consequent wealth permitted them to take a number of wives, the sacrifice of such a privilege came less easily. A clever, ambitious man, the Wasai of Madolenihmw settled on a middle course. 36 At his wedding, the Wasai had put aside his grass skirt or koah1 and wore instead a pair of white trousers, a linen shirt, and a black satin vest with a silk cravat; his wife dressed herself in a turkey-red robe. The Wasai, when quizzed by Sturges about what he would do with his other wives, craftily insisted that he would continue to care for them. To send them away, argued the wizened old chief, would cause serious disruption among his people. Like the Wasai, other chiefs later discovered that Christian marriage did not necessarily limit their general access to the sexual favors of their chiefdom's women.

The missionaries first learned of the Wasai's decision to accept Christianity in March 1864. During one of his circuits around the island, Sturges stopped at Areu in northern Madolenihmw to visit the Wasai who had expressed an earlier interest in the lamalam kapw. 37 Having reached the landing at midnight, Sturges was surprised to find the Wasai coming down to the shore to hail him. Following a warm exchange of greetings, the Wasai promptly told the missionary of an incredible dream he had experienced several days earlier in which he had been visited by
God. In the dream, the Lord told the Wasai that Ponape's gods were false, that he must join the missionaries, serve the cause of heaven, and destroy all of his sakau plants. Awakening from his dream, the Wasai, though unable to walk from the trembling that shook his body, crawled to his sakau field and, despite the pleas of his people, began uprooting the plants. Sturges, moved by the narration of the conversion experience, called the Wasai a "changed man."

For Ponapeans, dreams or ourumen constituted an important method of communication with gods, clan spirits, and dead ancestors. Through dreams, these beings often revealed to people new ways to exploit the resources of their physical environment. Knowledge about the future or about the causes and cures of illnesses could also be transmitted in dreams. The Wasai undoubtedly believed in the truth of his dream; he also possessed the political ambitions to respond effectively to the commands he received through it.

The next day, the Wasai, accompanied by several of his people, joined Sturges in his journey back to Rohnkiti. Nahnken Nahnku of Kiti, informed of the arrival of the Wasai, ordered preparations for a major feast. Encouraged by events, the Wasai returned to Kiti several weeks later to give a return feast to the dying Nahnken. In an unprecedented move, the Wasai of Madolenihmw invited Lepen Palikir, the ranking chief over a large area of Sokehs, to join him at Rohnkiti in feasting the Nahnken. Using the feast as a pretext, the Madolenihmw chief sought to construct a political alliance that would encompass the principal chiefs of the western half of the island. Wary of an invitation from a Madolenihmw chief to feast in Kiti, Lepen Palikir
responded with an invitation of his own for the Wasai to join him at Palikir. The Wasai remained at Rohnkiti for the next two weeks while a steady train of canoes passed between Madolenihmw and Kiti bearing produce and gifts to support the extended period of feasting that followed. Sturges mistakenly called the assembly the largest religious gathering ever held on Ponape.

Hearing what eventually proved to be unfounded rumors of a possible ambush, the Wasai put aside plans to stop at Palikir on his return north around the island to Madolenihmw. Sturges carried the chief's apologies to the gathering at Palikir that had just completed all preparations for a grand feast in honor of the Wasai's visit. Sturges wrote naively that the people had no trouble excusing the Wasai. Invitations made by men of high rank, however, could not be disregarded without consequence; slighted chiefs often took violent exception to any flagrant insult of their honor. The decision not to accept the hospitality of Lepen Palikir constituted a major affront to the entire chiefdom of Sokehs; it also set back the Wasai's efforts to win island-wide support of his plans. In a gesture that manifested the general rage felt by the chiefdom, the Nahnken of Sokehs fired upon the Wasai's canoes as they later passed in view of his residence.

Attempting to make amends for the offense, the Wasai, with the promise of safe conduct, visited Palikir in June 1864 to make a formal apology. Events in Kiti proved less malleable. The death of Nahnken Nahnku forced an extended halt in the Wasai's efforts to win backing from Kiti. With Nahnawa en Mwudok's overt hostility to the Protestant mission, the Wasai was not able to return to Kiti to resume negotiations
until August 1866. Meanwhile, the Wasai's wanderings had not gone unnoticed by the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who sensed the intrigue beginning to build around him.

The Nahnmwarki understood well the act of defiance that the Wasai's acceptance of Christianity signaled. After a two-year period of threats, counter-threats and hostile exchanges, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, in July 1867, confiscated the lands and title of the Wasai. The Christian chief, baptized Ejikaia (Hezekiah), promptly responded that he had no intention of vacating his lands or his rank. As had the events of 1836, the dispute between the Wasai and the Nahnmwarki split the loyalties of Madolenihmw. The southern half of the chiefdom remained loyal to the Nahnmwarki while the north, a historically semi-autonomous area with a long tradition of resistance to any centralized authority, sided with the Wasai. The missionaries simplistically interpreted the struggle as a contest between light and darkness, between the "Christian" and "heathen" parties.

Attempts to mediate the dispute failed. To requests that he officially return the Wasai's lands, the Nahnmwarki replied in a hand-written note: "Am I a coolie or a chief that I must be ordered about by everybody? I have made up my mind not to return the places." With little hope of reconciliation, both sides prepared for war. The Wasai, calling upon alliances built over the last two years, sent requests for assistance to Sokehs and Palikir. To transmit the requests, the Wasai used the missionaries and mission stations in the north. A fleet of 87 war canoes soon appeared off Areu in support of the Wasai. Far from backing the Christian cause, Lepen Palikir and the Wasai Sokehs
fought to assert their chiefly dominance against forces seeking to overthrow the order of the island. The chiefs of the north saw, in the 30 years of political tumult that had convulsed Madolenihmw following the [Falcon](#) incident of 1836, a threat to their own primacy. Though troubling to these chiefs of the north, the missionaries' involvement in the events of 1867 concerned them less than the issue of legitimacy. The Nahnken of Kiti, more ardent in his opposition to the missionaries and more accepting of the Litehriete's rule because of Kiti's participation in the [Falcon](#) affair, offered the Wasai no support.

Unprepared to combat the considerable force arrayed against him, the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw bought time by agreeing to return the lands and titles of the Wasai and his supporters. The concession, though causing a temporary loss of face, was but a part of a larger, highly astute strategy. Using the metaphors of the American Civil War that now dominated their description of life on the island, the missionaries declared that "Richmond" had conceded defeat. Doane, serving as chaplain for the "Christian" army, led the victors in a series of cheers and a rendition of "John Brown's Body." While the Wasai made good on his promise to build a church at Areu, the Nahnmwarki set out to construct political alliances of his own. The Nahnmwarki quickly found a ready ally in the Nahnken of Uh. Other events worked to the Nahnmwarki's advantage. With the death of Lepen Palikir and the intensely hostile attitude of his successor toward the missionaries, the Wasai's Christian alliance cracked. Chiefs from other areas of the island who had supported the Wasai a year earlier now switched their loyalties upon learning that the missionaries sought to funnel all of the island's trade
with the outside world through the mission stations. In January 1868, the combined forces of the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, the Nahnken of Uh, Lepen Palikir, and the Nahnken of Sokehs appeared off Areu to challenge Wasai Ejikaia. In less than six months, the balance of political power had shifted. With guns supplied by Captain Benjamin Pease from his trading station at Pohnahtik in southeastern Madolenihmw, the royal forces effectively blockaded Areu's access to the seas. A number of the Wasai's supporters wanted to provoke a confrontation. Sturges, himself, wondered if it would not be better to bring things to a head. The Wasai, however, knew he had been outmaneuvered; continued resistance was futile. Under the essentially meaningless labels of the missionaries, another drama in the tumultuous political history of Madolenihmw had worked itself out.

The Wasai died in 1872 a frustrated man. Fits of rage, his chief fault according to the missionaries, sometimes overcame him in his last years. On one occasion, Sturges had to step in and effect a reconciliation between the Wasai and his immediate family who, shamed by an unwarranted outburst of anger from the chief, prepared to abandon Areu. After the Nahnmwarki lifted the blockade, the Wasai continued to find traveling about the island difficult. His passage through areas loyal to the Nahnmwarki usually drew rifle fire. On one extended visit to a mission station, the Wasai prepared to return home only to find his canoes broken apart and the sails burned. The missionaries who, in 1867, had claimed that the Christians outnumbered the heathen party on the island by a margin of ten to one were now forced to concede that the "forces of darkness" remained quite powerful.
Internecine Ponapean politics was not the only force which frustrated missionary endeavors. In 1865, repercussions from the American Civil War affected life on the island. In an attempt to disrupt the war-time economy of the North, the Confederacy sent ships to check the flow of whale oil from the Pacific. Steaming north from Melbourne in search of Yankee whalers, the Confederate raider Shenandoah came across the trading schooner Pfeil on the open seas. Learning of the presence of whalers at Ponape from the skipper of the Hawaii-based ship, Captain James L. Waddell ordered the Shenandoah's course set for the Eastern Carolines. Reaching Ponape on April 11, 1865, the Shenandoah caught three Northern whalers at anchor in Madolenihmw Harbor; the ships were the Edward Carey, the Hector, and the Pearl. With all valuable cargo removed from the holds and the crews landed ashore, the three ships were set ablaze at different times over the course of the next few days. A fourth vessel, the Harvest of Honolulu, was found to contain a considerable number of muskets and ammunition. When the Harvest's master, John Eldridge, failed to show appropriate papers of ownership or to explain adequately the reason for the weapons, Waddell had the cargo removed and the ship razed to the waterline. After releasing the captains and mates from irons and sending them ashore with a limited supply of provisions, Waddell ordered the Shenandoah to weigh anchor. The ship sailed out of Madolenihmw Harbor on April 13, 1865.

The Confederate raider left behind approximately 120 stranded sailors on Ponape; the group included New Englanders, Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders. The Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw immediately assigned groups of sailors to the care and supervision of different chiefs.
The Wasai of Madolenihmw, then in the process of creating his Christian alliance, was excluded from the division of men and spoils. Angered by the slight, the Wasai encouraged a group of disgruntled Hawaiian sailors to raid the supplies of the Edward Carey. The raid foreshadowed the larger clash to come. Acknowledging obligations to his island host, George Orlando Baker, the master of the Edward Carey, fought on the side of the Nahnmwarki; "Although I was a Democrat then, as I have been since, I fought for the King against the common people." While given to hyperbole in crediting himself with a status equivalent to that of "General Grant," Baker's efforts did impress the Nahnmwarki who offered the sea captain a princely position as military advisor. Baker, however, declined.

A staunch supporter of the Union who prayed that Jefferson Davis and the devil might fall together, Sturges, nonetheless, appreciated the short-term effects brought by the burning of the whaleships. "Slut, slut, slut, from cabin to forecastle," was the way the missionary described the activities aboard the whaleships prior to the coming of the Shenandoah. Characterizing the four and a half-month period following the ship's departure as one of chaos and drunken revelry, Sturges worried about the effect the entire incident would have upon the people of the island. The burning of the ships, thought the missionary, confirmed the people's belief in the efficacy of theft. Indeed, the missionaries described the entire decade of the 1860s on Ponape as one of total lawlessness. An added problem was the return of Ponapeans from tours aboard foreign vessels. Doane found these men, with their tales of the way life actually was in the white man's world, particularly
disdainful of mission efforts. Citing correspondence from Sturges on Ponape, Luther Gulick, in an article for the missionary publication The Friend, stated that events in recent years had instilled in the people a lack of respect for order, property, and the power of the United States Government. What was needed on Ponape, wrote the former missionary and now corresponding secretary for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, was a visit from an American man-of-war.

Five years after the Shenandoah incident, an American man-of-war reached Ponape. The ABCFM's Boston headquarters had endorsed the missionaries' request for naval support in correspondence with the United States Department of State. Acting on orders from Washington, Rear Admiral George Turner of the United States Pacific Squadron had the U. S. S. Jamestown, under the command of Captain N. J. Truxton, embark upon a tour of the Micronesian islands in early 1870. Reaching Ponape from the Marshalls on June 16, the ship anchored at the northern harbor. While his crew conducted a hydrographical survey of the harbor, Truxton went ashore to meet with Doane about the numerous complaints that had prompted the visit. On June 19, Truxton met with the Wasai Sokehs. At the meeting, Truxton placed a treaty before the chief. The document, which came to be known as the Jamestown Treaty, pledged the Wasai and other signers to maintain order on the island, to protect shipwrecked sailors of all nationalities forced by circumstance upon Ponape's shores, and to respect the property, persons, and freedoms of both missionaries and traders. During his meeting with the Wasai, Truxton requested the restoration of the young girl Karolin to her parents, the mission assistants. The Wasai, intoxicated but recognizing the gravity of the
moment, threw himself back in his chair and said, "All right, good. She shall come home." The next day being the Sabbath, Truxton, upon the invitation of Doane, spoke to the congregation about the Bible, brotherly love, the president of the United States, and America's feelings of concern for the people of Ponape.

On Monday, June 21, Truxton set out on a steam launch to conduct a diplomatic tour of the island; Edward Doane accompanied the captain's party as an interpreter. Stopping at Uh, Truxton presented the Nahnmwarki with the same treaty signed two days earlier by the Wasai Sokehs. Truxton then moved to Meitipw in Madolenihmw where followers of both the Wasai and the Nahnmwarki were gathered. To requests that he restore the lands and titles of the Christian people, the Nahnmwarki made no response. The paramount chief did, however, sign the treaty.

After visiting at Pohnahtik to investigate claims against the trader Benjamin Pease and his operations there, Truxton's party steered south around the island toward Kiti. The party delayed at Wone only long enough to exchange formal greetings and to have the Nahnmwarki sign the treaty. Heading north to Rohnkiti, the steam launch called on the most troublesome of the missionaries' tormenters, Nahnken Nahnawa en Mwudok. The Nahnken refused initial invitations to visit the launch, but finally relented after being reassured that Truxton sought only a simple consultation. At the meeting on board the launch, Truxton confronted the Nahnken with the destruction of mission property at Rohnkiti in 1865. Acknowledging his involvement, the Nahnken agreed to a fine of $50.00 that he paid in tortoise shell and coconut oil. Actually, the Nahnken came out on the better end of the compromise considering that the
damages to mission property were assessed at $300. The Nahnken also
signed a deed affirming the mission's ownership of Tukeniso, the knoll
overlooking Rohnkiti on which the mission buildings stood. After forcing
the missionaries out of Rohnkiti in 1867, the Nahnken had sold the land
to Pease.

The Jamestown left Ponape for Honolulu on July 3, 1870; the ship's
visit had done much to lift the spirits of the missionaries. Doane was
convinced that the refinement, courtesy, and intelligence of Truxton and
his entire crew had impressed the Ponapeans favorably. The missionary,
however, did express deep concern over rumors circulating about the
island that the chiefs were disavowing any intention of honoring the
terms of the treaty they had signed. Doane's concerns were
justified. The presence of the American warship had intimidated the
island's rulers only temporarily. On Ponape, men practiced the virtue of
kanengamah or studied reserve. Ponapeans believed the effectiveness of
force depended not only upon bravery, resolve, and fighting skills but
upon appropriate timing as well. The phrase, nennenin sarau kommwoad or
'fierceness is like the quietness of the barracuda,' underscored the
considerable calculations and planning that prefaced sudden, unexpected
violence. The signing of the Jamestown Treaty by the chiefs amounted
to little more than a judicious action at a difficult moment. Having
signed the document, the chiefs then watched and waited to see what would
happen next. The ship's departure ended any likelihood of confrontation
and reinforced in Ponapean minds the meaninglessness of the whole
affair. Power over the island's affairs remained in the hands of the
chiefs.
The use of an American man-of-war was but one of the strategies the missionaries used to tame the island for the new religion. British missionaries, working in the southern Pacific in the early decades of the nineteenth century, had concluded that Christianity and the values of Western civilization were inseparably linked in the conversion process. Like their British counterparts, the American Protestant missionaries on Ponape and elsewhere in Micronesia believed that the spread of the Gospel depended upon the adoption of Western ways; the "civilizing" of the people constituted a necessary companion effort to the work of salvation. With an encouraging number of Ponapeans now professing belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ, the missionaries intensified and expanded their efforts to effect a fundamental reform of the existing social order. The initial focus of their involvement had been the island's political system. The missionaries had supported the Wasai of Madolenihmw's attempts to overthrow the Nahnmwarki. The disintegration of the "Christian" alliance, the resurgence of the Nahnmwarki's powers, and the isolation of the Wasai and his supporters in northern Madolenihmw combined to temporarily check the experiment. The impending death of the Wasai, however, brought renewed attempts to fashion what the missionaries hoped would be an independent, Christian government in at least one area of the island.

Gravely concerned about the chaos that might follow the death of the mission's most important chiefly patron, Sturges endeavored to insure the continuity of the mission's efforts in northern Madolenihmw. Sturges, visiting the Wasai in his last days, urged the chief to call together his supporters and impress upon them the need to carry on
Christ's work. The chief assented. Following an emotional address to his people, the Wasai then turned the meeting over to Sturges who proceeded to supervise an election to choose a new Wasai. Sturges reasoned that the predetermined selection of a new Wasai, backed by the resolve of the people, would discourage the Nahmmwarki from attempting to appoint a candidate who would undo the work of the mission. To help diffuse any confrontation over the matter, Sturges traveled to Temwen where he invited the Nahmmwarki to visit Areu and bid farewell to a dying brother chief. The Nahmmwarki surprised many people by accepting the invitation. An extremely reserved meeting of the two rival chiefs took place on November 18, 1872. Three days later, the Nahmmwarki returned to Areu to bury the Wasai.

Despite fears of possible violence between the two contending factions, the service and burial took place peacefully; "A better behaved crowd I never saw at a funeral," wrote Sturges. Though a history of confrontation characterized the political order in Madolenihmw, there had developed by 1872 a strong recognition of the need for accommodation. Drained by eight years of intense political feuding, the people of Madolenihmw seized the death of the Wasai as an opportunity to reestablish peace. There resulted no disruption of the bestowal of the title that followed the mwurilik or funeral feast. The Nahmmwarki confirmed the people's choice of a new Wasai. The ruler's action, however, resulted not from weakness but from the pragmatic recognition that, for purposes of peace, consideration was due a distinguished lineage that had once held the title of nahmmwarki. The degree of harmony that prevailed between Areu and Temwen after the death of Wasai
Ejikaia surprised Sturges; it was, however, consistent with the way Ponapeans settled their disputes.

Frustrated by their failure to effect a radical change in the political system, Sturges and the other missionaries played at less violent methods of restructuring the social order. Sturges had come to see Ponapean "socialism" as the greatest evil on the island. The lack of a highly defined sense of individual ownership, said the missionary, hampered all attempts to fix the Ponapeans in place; "Everybody owns and does everything in general but nothing in particular. Wives, children, land, property belong to everyone." Sturges chafed at the new Wasai's failure to assert himself in situations that called for forceful decision making. When both the new Wasai and a section chief, who happened to be a deacon in the church, refused to intervene in one flagrant incident of adultery, Sturges recommended that the congregation at Areu elect sheriffs. When the election of sheriffs failed to bring about more effective punishment of social crimes, Sturges realized that the problem lay in the lack of a body of laws. The missionary, then, supervised the election of a regional legislature that would develop a legal code to be used one day by all of Ponape. The group soon passed a measure that granted every man private title to a piece of land with the condition that he construct a dwelling upon it. The law, however, failed to eradicate Ponapean "socialism;" not even the new Wasai of Madolenihmw, still very much a Ponapean chief who benefited from his rank, desired such a radical change in the order of things.

The new Wasai proved more comfortable in his role as "chief justice" of Sturges' newly-formed court. While alien in structure, the idea
of a court presided over by a judge for the purpose of settling people's grievances coincided closely with Ponapean notions of the chiefly settlement of disputes. After a session of the court at Sapwalap in early 1874, Sturges and the Wasai both smiled at each other over a table of food. The missionary thought he saw the beginning of a major transformation of the social order; the Ponapean chief reassured himself that the missionaries' insistence upon the adaptation of western practices did not affect the powers of his position. Later, in a more reflective mood, Sturges admitted that the people were probably humoring him. The missionary conceded in his letters that much of what he did seemed like play; still, he hoped that some good might come of it.

Doane also played at change. Unlike Sturges who initially resorted to foreign notions of courts, sheriffs, and chief justices, Doane attempted to adapt more traditional practices. In the Ponapean ceremony of atonement called a tohmw, Doane thought he saw the makings of an effective instrument of civilized justice. In the Ponapean cultural context, retribution could be sudden, violent, unpredictable in its timing, and imposed not necessarily upon the guilty party but upon relatives or clanmates. To stave off retaliation, representatives of the offending party made offerings of atonement, not directly to the victim but to the victim's lineage head, section chief, and ultimately to the nahmmwarki or paramount chief. In the tohmw, sakau played a pivotal role; no settlement could be achieved without the sacramental plant. Violations offended not only men but clan gods and other spirits. Sakau, in its ritual essence, served as the most effective means of communion between the world of men and the world of gods.
In 1869, a dispute between two clans had resulted in the murder of a Net woman, the relative of a church member. Appalled by the threat of violence looming over the north, Doane, through the offices of influential church members, arranged for a tohmw. The missionary insisted, however, that sakau not be used in the ceremony. With Captain Truxton of the Jamestown in attendance, Doane watched as the murderer of the woman appeared before the Wasai Sokehs at the head of a long line of people, all bearing various gifts that included mats, twine, pigs, and dogs. The Wasai's acceptance of the gifts led Doane to think a settlement had been reached. When violence flared again between the two parties in January 1871, the missionary expressed both shock and regret. In banning the use of sakau, Doane, in effect, had voided the ceremony of its spiritual content; rather than a tohmw, the gathering promoted by the missionary added up to little more than a gross attempt by one group to buy off the grievances of another.

Despite their violent efforts, Ponape's paramount chiefs had failed in their efforts to suppress the new religion. By 1872, the number of baptized Ponapeans had increased to 518. The chiefs now found themselves faced with the necessity of devising new strategies to protect their privileged position in Ponapean society. More and more, the ruling chiefs began reconciling themselves to accepting the new god. Though a seemingly revolutionary act, the demotion or dismissal of established gods was not without precedent in the island's history. There is the story of Luhk en Sed, one of the ocean gods. The chief of the Pehleng section of Kiti, Nahmmdau en Pehleng, acted as the god's chief priest. No longer seeing the advantages to be derived from his priestly
service, Nahnmadau en Pehleng tired of his responsibilities to Luhk en Sed and decided that he would no longer feast the god. He ordered his people likewise to desist in their worship. Luhk en Sed, goes the story, became angry and left Pehleng for Pakin, a small cluster of atolls some 12 miles to the northwest, never to be seen on Ponape again. The story suggests that on Ponape, as elsewhere, people have a role in the making and breaking of their gods. Beginning in the 1870s, a number of Ponape's paramount chiefs moved from suppression to subscription. Like Nahnmadau en Pehleng, these ruling chiefs put aside the worship of their old gods and accepted Christianity. As church members, Ponape's rulers learned that they could harness, control, and benefit more directly from an alien presence that, otherwise left unchecked, presented a serious challenge to their authority.

In 1873, the Nahnmwarki of Uh, after witnessing the desecration of a sacred shrine to the fishing god, Nahn Ulap, was baptized along with several other prominent chiefs of the area. In 1876, the newly-installed Nahnmwarki of Kiti, taking the baptismal name of Ejikaia, accepted membership in the church. Nahnmwarki Ejikaia had learned that the prescriptions of Christianity, if manipulated properly, posed no threat to his position. Visiting Wone, the home of the Nahnmwarki and the former "Jericho of Ponape" as the missionaries called it, Sturges arrived at the shore to the welcome of a uniformed guard of police who escorted him to the church. Following church services, the congregation gathered together to eat in an adapted arrangement called a tehpil from the English word "table." A group of small boys, dressed in uniforms and equipped with beaded flags, entertained the gathering with a display of
precision marching. While distinguished in form from more traditional Ponapean feasts by the church service, the pots of chicken, the baskets of pre-cooked food, the honor guard, and the company of marching boys, the event remained essentially Ponapean. Feasts continued as the ultimate expression of Ponapean culture. Several decades of extensive contact with the outside world, however, had taught Ponapeans that food could be consumed in contexts beyond the highly defined rituals of feasting; there were occasions when the chiefs and their people could gather together without sakau. The tehpiil lacked ritual but possessed order. Over the entire gathering presided the Nahnmwarki whose dominance stood unquestioned.

To further the distinction between civilized and savage, the missionaries, elated by these chiefly conversions, attempted to build Christian towns near the major mission stations. Sturges described a village around the mission premises at Rohnkiti. Decrying the fact that the people, though Christians, still banded together in herds, Sturges insisted upon a village of single family dwellings. 74 To insure a neat orderly town, Sturges himself laid out the streets and zoned areas according to residential or commercial use. The existence of an independent community of Ponapeans living apart did not sit well with the Nahnmwarki of Kiti. 75 Incensed over the neglect of the townspeople's traditional responsibilities to him, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, a baptized Protestant, burned down the little colony in 1878, thus forcing the people back on to land more directly under his control. At Kenan, Doane expressed hope that a similar community would appear about the mission station there. 76 Intermittent strife with the paramount chief, the
Wasai Sokehs who remained adamant in his opposition to many of the missionaries' practices, prevented the growth of anything resembling a Christian town in the north.

While chiefs grappled with the trade-offs between securing their power against a growing foreign influence and breaking time-honored conventions of chiefly privilege, common women, as a whole, harbored little doubt about involvement in the new religion. The women, wrote Doane in 1869, comprised the overwhelming majority of church members. The missionary had earlier asked one chief why Ponapean women persisted in going out to the ships; the chief replied that it was one of the few ways women had of getting their clothes. With the decline in shipping traffic, the common women, freer than other members of Ponapean society to experiment with new options, now turned to the missions. In a sense, the acceptance of Christianity by the women became another way of "getting their clothes." Committed to improving the physical appearance of the people, the missionaries provided church members with a cheap, relatively available supply of cloth and secondhand clothes. In addition, the missionaries' wives taught highly valued sewing skills. Ponapean women also saw value in the basic literacy skills being taught by the mission schools. Indeed, all of the missionaries noted the enthusiasm for general education among the women. Wrote Doane; "The women of the island are, by far, the more impressionable. They are now our best scholars and semi-teachers. They purchase our books and are more eager to learn." Encouraged by these developments, the missionaries hoped to reach the men of the island through their women. In a biblical reference, Doane
expressed the hope the the "Hannahs" of Ponape would bring along the "Samuels." Women's involvement in mission activities, however, did not match the missionaries' expectations. Indeed, the missionaries failed to understand that it was the common men who encouraged the participation of the women and girls in mission activities. As they had done with the ships, the men, their own lives dominated by the traditional obligations and strictures of Ponapean society, moved to exploit indirectly the resources of the missions through the talents of their wives and daughters. These females, still very much Ponapean, returned to their homes and their men with the skills learned from the missions. Commenting upon the number of of mission-trained women and girls who returned to the dark ways of a still essentially heathen country, Doane, in late 1885, mistook the sexual politics of the island for depravity:

"But in the word 'girls' lies the danger... Here is the fatal flaw; here is the fatal break. The thing is ultimately impossible, or Ponape especially. Ponape girls are born into or with a depraved nature - something higher than mental culture will ever eradicate." 81

Trade also figured prominently in the missionaries' strategies for salvation. The missionaries held that commerce would facilitate the civilization process on the island by engendering in the Ponapeans a healthy respect for the proper forms of exchange and profit. Ponapeans could use money earned from commercial dealings with the outside world to purchase the necessities of a civilized life and, even more importantly, to contribute to the maintenance of their fledgling churches. The missionaries initial high hopes for the trading operation established by Captain Benjamin Pease, however, quickly faded. In 1867, Pease, backed
by Honolulu merchant C. H. Williams in his first years on Ponape, established a beche-de-mer and general trading depot at Pohnahtik. Pease, distrustful of Ponapeans, brought in workers from the Gilbert and Marshall Islands to man his operations. Described by one associate as "the darkest character who ever came into the islands," Pease quickly showed himself to be no friend of the missionaries. He took advantage of the problems at Rohnkiti to arrange quickly for the purchase of the mission grounds from the Nahnawa en Mwudok. To cement his partnership with the Ponapean chief, Pease made the Nahnken a partner in his trading firm. The deal completed, Pease then ordered Sturges to remove all mission property from his land. Where church services were once held there now stood a grog shop.

Pease's enterprises also plagued mission operations at Ohwa. In an agreement with a beachcomber named Robinson who claimed the small islet of Mentenieng just off Ohwa, Pease planned to build a dormitory for Chinese laborers who had been brought from Shanghai to cut wood for the newly-formed Pacific Trading Company of which Pease was a managing partner. The Chinese laborers would be working at the new sawmill in nearby Sapwalap. When Sturges protested that the location of the dormitory would disrupt the mission school located at the shore just across the narrow channel that separated the islet from Ohwa proper, a Captain Coe, Pease's chief agent on Ponape, responded that he would arm the Chinese should anyone attempt to interfere with their activities. Coe further stunned the missionaries by announcing that he hoped to be named U. S. Consul for Ponape. The son of a Unitarian minister from Worcester, Massachusetts, Coe spent most of his time on the island
drinking grog and chasing women. Exercising little supervision over operations at Sapwalap or Pohnahtik, Coe was caught totally unprepared when the first ship reached the island from Shanghai to take away a load of lumber. His sexual assault upon the wife of Gustav Brown, a resident of the Bonin Islands hired by Pease to supervise shipping operations, destroyed what little morale remained in the company.

With Pease away tending business on other islands, his commercial enterprises on Ponape soon collapsed. On March 13, 1870, Coe died from a self-inflicted gunshot wound that occurred during the course of one of his many drunken sprees; Pease was nowhere to be found. At Pohnahtik, Truxton of the U. S. S. Jamestown discovered a group of sixteen Chinese laborers and a bankrupt business operation presided over by the honest but incompetent John Mahlman. Pease, apparently aware of the numerous complaints filed against him on Ponape and elsewhere, had fled the Caroline Islands area. Agreeing to transport the Chinese laborers back to Shanghai, Truxton gave Mahlman a supply of provisions on which to live until he could arrange for his passage from the island. In February 1871, Mahlman finally left the island aboard an American whaleship captained by Benjamin Whitney.

Shaken by their experience with Pease, the missionaries looked at other ways to promote trade on the island. Doane felt the answer lay in a Christian trading company that used the different mission stations about the island as operation bases. The missionary envisioned a company capitalized at $3,000-$5,000 that would spread truth and light as well as trade. Doane recommended that the company concentrate initially on tortoise shell, coconut oil, and fresh pork; the would-be entrepreneur
pointed to the abundant supply of breadfruit as a ready source of feed for island piggeries. In a plan reminiscent of that of Andrew Cheyne, Doane called for two trading vessels to move about the Micronesian islands in a trading circuit. Once on solid financial ground, the company could branch into cotton and coffee plantations. Sturges supported the idea but the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, citing the risk and the time and energy that would be drained from the Micronesian Mission's primary objective, vetoed the proposal. 89

With a Christian trading company out of the question, the missionaries hoped that the German trading firms now reaching the island in the mid-1870s might provide the necessary commercial link in the civilizing process. The missionaries believed that the pan-Micronesian operations of the German firms would one day facilitate the westward expansion of the evangelical effort beyond Truk. 90 The relationship between missionary and trader was seen to be a mutually beneficial one. Captain Livingston, a representative of J. C. Godeffroy and Company, confided to Doane that Christianity meant better business for him. 91 The trader found that islanders touched by the missions desired more and different kinds of trade goods that ultimately translated into greater profits. The trader expressed the hope that missionaries would soon be placed on all of the Caroline Islands. As a token of his support, Livingston showed Doane a hand-written note to be copied and distributed to his agents throughout the Carolines requesting their support of all mission endeavors.

The missionaries had few doubts that the German firms would be more representative of Christian values than Captain Weeks of the trading bark
Kamehameha V of Honolulu.92 Wrecked at Ponape, Weeks remained on the island conducting business from the battered hull of his beached ship. The missionaries found his penchant for very young Ponapean girls scandalous. A sigh of relief echoed from the mission ranks when Weeks sold out to Captain Edward Milne of Capelle and Company. By 1880, the Hernsheim Company had joined the Capelle and Godeffroy firms in opening a trading station on the island; the New Zealand-based firm of Henderson and MacFarlane also had placed a trading representative on Ponape by this time.93 Despite their favorable disposition toward the role of commerce in the civilizing process, the missionaries, within a few short years, were to find themselves at odds with this latest wave of traders.

The growing number of trading stations eroded the last remnants of the beachcomber presence on Ponape. The decline of the whaling industry, the active opposition of the missionaries, the appearance of Euro-American naval vessels, and the arrival of the first trading firm representatives had all undermined the special relationship between the beachcombers and the island's chiefs. No longer able to eke out a living on the edges of the island, most of the beachcombers had moved on. Albert Sturges wrote to Luther Gulick in Honolulu that of the sixty or so beachcombers living on the island at the time of the missionaries' arrival, only six remained in 1864.94 Ponapeans had no trouble filling the void left by their former agents. C. F. Wood, a yachtsman sailing through the Pacific in 1873, remarked that the people of the island had developed a shrewd understanding of the trading process.95 Ten years later, Captain Cyprian Bridge of the HMS Espiegle seconded
Wood's assessment; "the people of Ponape," he said, "understand the value of English and American money and expect to be well-paid in it." 96

Ponapeans also proved skilled at carrying their newly-adopted religion to other islands. Shaped in part by the less than positive experiences with the Hawaiian missionaries in the 1850s, Sturges, as early as 1861, had voiced the opinion that Ponapeans would have to take a more active role in the nourishment and propagation of the faith. The veteran missionary contended that only by the active involvement of the people would Christianity truly take root in the soil of Ponape.

Arriving at Ohwa in Madolenihmw in 1868, Sturges immediately set about establishing a training school to provide teachers for the local churches and the islands to the west. After several years of preparations and with the approval of the Board of Commissioners back in Boston, the first Ponapean missionaries departed for the nearby coral atolls of Pingelap and Mokil in the east. On September 25, 1871, the Morning Star left Ponape with two Ponapean teachers, Nikodemus and Sakiej (Zacharias), and their wives. 97

The placing of Sakiej at Mokil occurred without a problem; the people, said Sturges, appeared quite receptive. Attempts to land Nikodemus at Pingelap, however, were futile. Bully Hayes, the most famous pirate of the Pacific in the late nineteenth century, had reached the island first and convinced the local ruler that the missionaries would obstruct the trading operations he had just established there. Despite pleas, the chief of Pingelap refused to give his permission to the landing of the mission party. Two years later, a second attempt met with success. With the ruler of the island now dead and Hayes' ventures
in ruins, two Ohwa-trained Pingelapese teachers, Tepit (David) and Tomaj (Thomas), established a mission on the atoll. By the middle of 1873, the missionaries on Ponape were receiving word of mass conversions on both Mokil and Pingelap. Not only was the Christian mission making remarkable progress, but the course of civilization was advancing rapidly as well. Their lives limited by the great ocean that surrounded and sometimes threatened the tiny land masses on which they lived, the people of the two atolls had long since shown themselves eager for the goods and opportunities brought to their shores by the ships. Sturges called the Mokilese, "the most civilized appearing islanders in all of the Pacific." Pingelap, with its long rows of clean neat houses that flanked the new 1,000 seat mission church, was equally impressive. Fired by these initial successes, the missionaries now looked west. In January 1874, the Morning Star left Ponape with three Ponapean mission couples bound for the Mortlocks.

The composition of this first contingent of Ponapean missionaries reflected the early involvement of the two principal groups in the island church, the women and the lesser chiefs. The most effective missionary of this first group was Opatinia (Obadinia), the daughter of Wasai Ejikaia. Sturges described Opatinia as an individual of royal blood with a stately figure and graceful manner that made her a natural leader. Within three years of her arrival in the Mortlocks, Opatinia had translated the Ten Commandments, numerous hymns, several primers, and part of the Ponapean catechism into Mortlockese. Her husband was Opataia (Obadiah), a commoner. Ponapeans referred to common men whose personal ambitions led them to marry high ranking women as
tihlap or "big bones." A man of low birth and meager resources such as Opataia often found himself hard-pressed to contribute to feasts and other functions in a manner that befitted the chiefly rank of his wife. Faced with such a dilemma, Opataia saw in overseas mission work access to wealth that would greatly enhance his social standing on Ponape. His preoccupation with trade while in the Mortlocks would eventually prove a severe embarrassment to the Ponape mission.

Parnapaj (Barnabas) and Loij (Lois), an adopted daughter of Wasai Ejikaia, worked with Opataia and Opatinia in the Satawan lagoon. Tepit (David) and Sera (Sarah) of Kiti, the third couple who had served previously as home mission assistants at Ohwa and Awak, opened a mission station at Lukunor. Other lesser chiefs who later served as missionaries in the Mortlocks included Solomon, the Noahs of Kiti, and Sulioj (Julios or Kulios) who held the second ranking title in Awak. Sturges, the chief architect and promoter of this expansion west, regarded these first Ponapean missionaries as people whose natural piety and innate goodness overcame their deficiencies in theological training. The missionary placed his faith in the ability of transcendent truths to overcome the language barrier between the Ponapeans and their Mortlockese hosts.

Because Mortlockese and Ponapean were two completely different languages, the Ponapean mission couples in the field had to rely upon gifts, smiles, and a generally humble bearing to secure the good will of the people. The material goods that came with them also served as an effective means of communication. The Ponapeans, the men with their shoes, stockings, white pants, and dark overcoats and the women in their long calico dresses, advertised new forms of wealth. The annual voyage
of the Morning Star added to the Ponapean missionaries' stock of goods. Transported from the ship to the shore were cloth, lamps, dishes, spoons, hatchets, soap, and even muskets as well as more clothes. Drawing on donations from such groups as the Cousins' Society, the Ladies Benevolent Society, the Women's Board, and the Sabbath School of the Stone Church, the white missionaries back on Ponape sought to supply their charges in the Mortlocks with the rudiments of a New England-style life. In 1877, the Morning Star carried out to each of the nine mission couples now in the field a couple of chairs, a table, a dresser, a chest, two looking glasses, an axe, and a grindstone; a year later, each couple received a bureau, several framed pictures, and additional supplies of clothing. Said Tepit to some of the Ponapean crew members of the Morning Star as he took possession of his annual allotment at Lukunor; "It is such a good thing to be a missionary, don't you think so?" With the Ponapean missionaries passing on many of these goods, the Mortlockese also came to appreciate quickly the relative riches that accompanied Christianity's teachings of love and brotherhood.

By 1878, the missionaries on Ponape had placed a mission couple at Nama, the northern-most island in the Mortlocks chain. The missionaries hoped to use Nama as a springboard into the Truk Lagoon. The strategy worked. On a visit to Nama, a chief of Uman, an island in the Truk Lagoon, was impressed by what he saw at Nama and invited Mojej (Moses), the mission teacher there, to come to his island and work. A Gilbert Islander whose parents had been slain in a fight shortly after their arrival on Ponape in 1852, Mojej had grown up around the mission station at Rohnkiti. Having married Jipora (Zippora), a woman of
chiefly rank, Moses, stationed first at Etal in the lower Mortlocks, went on to become the most effective of all the Ponapean missionaries in the west. Doane, writing of these events, declared that Truk had been captured. Sturges called it, "the day of my dreams, the day to which my prayers for twenty years had been directed." By 1882, mission statistics counted 14 churches in the Mortlocks and the Truk Lagoon, 948 professed members, and a general congregation that included almost all of the island and atoll populations.

With a range of motives that included material gain as well as spiritual commitment, the Ponapean missionaries had left their homes and families for unknown lands, established themselves among alien cultures, grappled with foreign languages, and overcome serious adversity to propagate their own newly acquired religious faith among other Pacific Islands people. The success of Christianity in Truk and the Mortlocks resulted, in good measure, from their considerable efforts. The success of these Ponapeans provided some cheering relief to the otherwise heavy personal toil extracted from the white missionaries by the demands of their work in the 1860s and 1870s. Albert and Susan Sturges lost a young daughter, Ella, in early 1861. Sturges continued to suffer from headaches, dizziness, and a creeping numbness on his left side. Illness forced his absence from Ponape for two extended periods, from 1869 to 1871 and from 1879 to 1881. His wife did not return to Ponape from the first trip until 1874; her second departure in 1879 marked the end of her work on the island. Ephraim P. Roberts of Bangor, Maine lost his honor. During his wife's convalescence from childbirth, Roberts, who had first arrived on Ponape in 1859 to replace Luther Gulick at Sallong in
Madolenihmw, fell to the enticements of his young Ponapean housekeeper. To his superiors in Boston, Roberts wrote in 1860;

"I have sinned against God and against men and have forfeited your confidence and that of the friends of virtue and religion. . . They made me keep vineyards [but] mine own vineyard I have not kept. I have basely, vilely betrayed my trust. I am a criminal before God and before men, and make no plea, no excuse. Do to me what is right in the sight of God." 110

Sturges, believing that the credibility of the entire mission was at stake, had Roberts make public confessions of his sin before the congregations at Rohnkiti and Madolenihmw. Soon after, Roberts left the island for Honolulu and later took up life in Oregon.

Edward Doane lost his wife and an infant son from the complications of childbirth in Honolulu in 1862.111 Divorce ended Doane's second marriage.112 Returning to Ponape in 1865 with his second wife, Doane soon immersed himself completely in his churchly responsibilities. Clara Strong Doane, unable to cope with the climate, culture, isolation, and the constant loneliness caused by her husband's frequent trips around the island, left Ponape in 1872. After a period of rest in Honolulu, Mrs. Doane joined her brother, the Reverend J. D. Davis, as a missionary in Japan. Doane remained on Ponape for another two years before finally reaching Japan in 1874. There, he discovered that his wife had become cold, distant, and physically ill. Asked about her loss of affection, Clara Doane replied that her time on Ponape had taught her two things; that faith alone was sufficient for salvation and that she no longer wished to be married to Edward Doane. The missionary interpreted his wife's response as a sign of insanity. The couple returned to the United States where he placed her in a sanitarium at Batavia, Illinois.
Doane, acutely embarrassed by developments, took a position at a small church in Bon Terre, Missouri while he waited for his wife's recovery. But Clara Doane, having regained her health, persisted in her determination not to return to her husband. The desperate missionary languished another two years at Bon Terre before the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, reassured that Doane bore no blame for his wife's condition, returned him to Ponape in 1879.113

The mid-1870s brought reinforcements to the missionary ranks. Robert and Mary Logan with their infant son reached Ponape in July 1874.114 Frank E. Rand and his wife Carrie arrived two months later.115 Differences soon arose between the young recruits and the older veterans of the Ponapean mission. The Logans had expected to relieve Sturges of his heavy responsibilities at the main mission station at Ohwa. Sturges, however, refused to leave his post and recommended instead that the Logans replace Doane who was about to leave for Japan.116 The Rands, hoping to work in the schools at Ohwa, also found themselves greeted coolly by Sturges who suggested that they join the Logans at Kenan.117 With not enough work to occupy both couples, the Rands reluctantly agreed to man the mission sub-station at Uh. Unhappy there, Rand unsuccessfully pressed the American Board for reassignment to Yap.118

Over time, both personalities and policies clashed. Describing Sturges as extremely strong-headed, Logan came to a disagreement with him over the use of Ponapean missionaries in the Mortlocks. Logan called attention to the confusion and possible heresy that could result from the Ponapeans' lack of theological training; he urged that a white missionary be sent west to supervise mission activities in the Mortlocks and Truk.
His faith in Ponapean missionaries steeled by the successes in the west, Sturges opposed the use of "white generals;"

"We white folks, especially the 'Regular Army' part, may yet learn that raw recruits, with brave hearts and good sense, with the instruction and discipline they get in the training schools, will do better fighting alone than with us... Are not our converts just the best people for people of similar habits? There is need of a splendid generalship, but a generalship that can train raw recruits to go out and get victories alone." 119

Logan also voiced concern about the influx of traders into the Truk and Mortlock areas and the possible deleterious effect they would have on the mission efforts there. 120 Despite the eloquence of Sturges' words, Logan's concerns for theological dogma won the support of the Board in Boston. With the prior approval of the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, a meeting of the Micronesian Mission, in 1878, endorsed Logan's plans to spend a year in the Mortlocks studying the language and laying the groundwork for the establishment of a major mission center in the Truk Lagoon. 121

Sturges and Logan also disagreed over Ponape's future role in mission operations. The senior missionary argued that Ponape should serve as the capital for all western mission activity; Logan asserted that expansion west of Truk should be supervised not from distant Ponape but from Truk. 122 While apologizing in a letter to his superiors back in Boston for the increasingly strident level of disharmony among the Ponape Mission, Sturges nonetheless urged that the Board not abandon its commitment to, "native teachers, simple ways, and proven methods." 123

By 1878, however, the future direction of mission policy rested with Logan's plans. Realizing this, the missionary from Oberlin, Ohio, requested the ABCFM's corresponding secretary to cease all discussion of
mission policy in his letters to the missionaries on Ponape. Old, sickly, and tired, Sturges would soon be leaving Ponape; there existed no reason, said Logan, to further upset the gentleman with issues that no longer concerned him.  

The missionaries' assessments of their progress through 1880 alternated between ecstasy and despair. To reassure themselves in darker moments, the missionaries kept turning to their statistics, the "arithmetic of salvation" as Greg Dening has called it. With a total congregation more than double the number of professed members, the missionaries claimed in 1873 that over half of the island's population of roughly 5,000 was Christian. Translation of the Gospels and the Old Testament into Ponapean continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Facilitating the work was the publication of Luther H. Gulick's Vocabulary of the Ponape Dialect in 1873. As early as 1868, a total of 550 pages of hymns, stories, and primers had been printed in the Ponapean language; copies of these works totalling 264,600 had been distributed. Schools flourished at those stations under the immediate supervision of a missionary; Kenan, Uh, and especially Ohwa, the site of the training school for Ponapean teachers working in both the home and foreign missions. In 1879, the total enrollment for the training and regular schools at Ohwa reached 145. Schools operated on a more irregular basis at the seven mission out-stations located in Sapwalap, Takaieu, Temwen, Lohd, Enipein, Rohnkiti, and Awak. The work in the Mortlocks was even more impressive. Doubts, however, still plagued the missionaries. In 1880, Edward Doane described Ponape as a place of light and shade, advance and retreat. "Ponape," said the missionary, "is not where we hoped it would be."
Most of the missionaries deplored the spiritual apathy that they said gripped the island throughout the 1870s. Particularly worrisome was the people's failure to provide material support for their churches. Doane accused the people, like his second wife, of holding to the heretical belief that faith in Jesus Christ was in and of itself sufficient for salvation. Doane complained bitterly that the Ponapeans treated the missionaries like coolies and demanded money for all work performed. In general, he found the people impervious to the healing influences of the Bible. Logan too worried about the materialistic interests of the Ponapeans. The ambitious young missionary wrote, "Many seem to think their only duty is to take what we have to give and the more worldly goods the better, the idea of gratitude for the Gospel or services done seems not to trouble their minds." Among all the missionaries on the island, Albert A. Sturges alone had learned something valuable about himself and the people for whom he labored. Twenty eight years of service on the island had taught him to accept limits and to look at the more positive aspects of the culture about him. In an essay for his colleagues entitled, "The Missionary Problem," Sturges admitted that labels such as "heathen" and "savage" obscured much that was worthy and good in the island societies of Micronesia. Looking at the Ponapeans in 1878, the old missionary said he now realized them to be as alert and as adept as the most civilized people. The missionary also came to understand the relativity of certain cultural values. When asked by Sturges why he contorted so in fits of possession, a Ponapean priest paused for a moment, stared ahead, and then answered by asking the missionary how the physical presence of
Jehovah affected him. Sturges acknowledged the validity of the priest's point.

The decades of the 1860s and 1870s had been tumultuous ones on Ponape. The spread of Christianity shook the foundations of island society. The missionaries had sought not only to convert the people but to civilize them as well; they believed both objectives to be inseparably linked. Christianity could not take hold on Ponape unless the people of the island simultaneously accepted the wisdom of the American civilization in which it had become so deeply rooted. In the eyes of the missionaries, the success of Christianity, then, necessitated a major restructuring of the entire cultural order of the island. To achieve this goal, the missionaries involved themselves in political wars, promoted commerce, designed Christian towns around mission stations, and advocated a system of government that included elected sheriffs, appointed judges, a popularly chosen legislature, and a written code of laws. The missionaries, in designing their strategies of salvation, enlisted the support of American naval officers, German traders, and Christian sea captains. Yet, despite their considerable efforts, the missionaries confronted an island culture that could bend and accommodate without breaking.

While many Ponapeans did indeed develop a deep faith in the teachings of the new religion, initial attraction to Christianity lay in more worldly, pragmatic concerns. The missionaries' attempts at social engineering ultimately failed because different segments of Ponapean society had developed their own strategies for best utilizing Christianity to further their own interests and welfare. Lesser chiefs
such as Wasai Ejikaia had used the lamalam kapw to promote their political advantage. Common people, especially women, attached themselves to the new faith for the alternatives it offered to the otherwise limited options of their lives. The names of women filled the first baptismal registers. The missionaries had hoped to use the women's enthusiasm to reach the men of the island. The calculations of the island's men, however, countered the designs of the missionaries. Indeed, the women were encouraged in their response to Christianity by the common men who, though preoccupied with the more manly concerns of Ponapean society, sought access to the mission's resources through the exploitation of their women. On Ponape, church congregations thus sheltered the manipulative as well as the timid, the tentative, and the true believers. The complex dimensions of the island's response to Christianity evidenced themselves in the composition of the ranks of Ponapean missionaries sent to work in Truk and the Mortlocks. The group consisted of lesser chiefs, their adult children, and common men and women whose religious commitment mixed, understandably enough, with individual, secular ambitions.

Understanding the gravity of the changes, the paramount chiefs had sought first to destroy the missions. When suppression proved futile, they opted to sacrifice some of their chiefly privileges in order to control a force that threatened to undermine the political order of the island. The decision, while a difficult one, was an eminently intelligible, pragmatic, and logical one that called upon historical precedent. The ultimate success of Christianity on the island lay in the people's recognition that their lives benefited from the goods, ideas,
skills, and technologies that came with the new religion. Much of the missionaries' own frustration in this period resulted from their failure to realize that becoming Christian did not mean ceasing to be Ponapean. It was a lesson learned begrudgingly by some, a lesson learned not at all by Ponape's first colonial overlords, the Spaniards.
NOTES


6 Ibid., entry for March 6, 1861.


8 Doane to Anderson, Journal letter, May 11, 1866; entry for May 11, 1866. ABCFM, 3:175.

9 Sturges' quote can be found in Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, p. 109.

10 For an extended description of the use and significance of kava or sakau, see Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape*, pp. 102-9.

11 Sturges, "Facts Respecting Ascension Island by One of the Missionaries, No. 2," ABCFM, 4:268.

12 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, November 12, 1860; entry for July 1, 1861. ABCFM, 4:271.


15 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, June 1, 1863; entry for June 12, 1863. ABCFM, 4:280.


17 Sturges, "Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins' Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated April 16, 1878, HMCSL. To avoid confusion, I have used the spellings of the names of baptized Ponapeans as they appear in mission records. At the first mention of each individual, I have also included, in parentheses, the English equivalent.

18 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, January 22, 1864; entry for January 24, 1864. ABCFM, 4:284.

19 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, February 8, 1864; entry for April 18, 1864. ABCFM, 4:288.

20 Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 106.

21 Interview, Serilo, 25 May 1983.

22 Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 106.

23 Interview, Serilo, 25 May 1983. These stories, accepted as common knowledge in Kiti were repeated to me on numerous occasions by other informants. Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 106, also provide similar accounts of the infamous exploits of Nahnawa en Mwudok.


25 Sturges to Gulick, February 26, 1865, HMCSL.

26 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, April 5, 1865; entry for August 24, 1865. ABCFM, 4:289. The woman mentioned in this account was actually one of Nahnken Nahku's wives. By traditional right, Nahnawa en Mwudok, as both successor to the title of nahnken and a classificatory brother of Nahnu, could claim the dead Nahnu's wives as his. The woman's rejection of Nahnawa en Mwudok's chiefly privilege led to tragic consequences.

27 Sturges to Clark, January 18, 1869, ABCFM, 4:298.
28 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, May 6, 1868; entry for May 6, 1868. ABCFM, 4:296.

29 Sturges to Clark, February 8, 1869, ABCFM, 4:300.


31 Ibid., entry for December 8, 1869.

32 Ibid., entry for December 11, 1869.

33 Doane to Clark, February 25, 1870, ABCFM, 3:165.

34 Riesenbery, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 50.

35 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, February 8, 1864; entry for February 8, 1864. ABCFM, 4:288. Sturges identifies the Wasai, baptized Ejikaia, as the "rightful king." See also Sturges, "Names of Ponapeans Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated April 16, 1878, HMCSL. I have been unable to locate either in the literature or among Ponapean historians a more explicit identification of the Nahnmwarki who succeeded Luheken Mwei U in 1855 and ruled until about 1880. It was this Nahnmwarki who effectively countered the challenge of Wasai Ejikaia.


37 Sturges to Gulick, March 14, 1864, ABCFM, 4:285.

38 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, February 8, 1864; entry for February 8, 1864. ABCFM, 288.

39 Ibid., entry for March 31, 1864.

40 Ibid., entry for June 30, 1864.

41 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, August 10, 1866; entry for August 20, 1866. ABCFM, 4:290.

42 An extended narration of the events of 1867 can be found in Sturges to Gulick, May 31, 1867, HMCSL.

43 Ibid., May 31, 1867.

44 Doane to Gulick, January 27, 1868, ABCFM, 3:170.

45 Sturges to Gulick, October 27, 1868, HMCSL.
46 Sturges to Clark, February 8, 1869, ABCFM, 4:300.

47 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, October 13, 1872; entry for November 22, 1872. ABCFM, 6:8.


50 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, April 5, 1865; entry for April 19, 1865. ABCFM, 4:289.


52 Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, April 5, 1865; entry for April 19, 1865. ABCFM, 4:289.

53 Doane to Gulick, March 2, 1869, HMCSL.

54 Luther H. Gulick, "Man-of-War Needed on Ponape," The Friend 19:1 (January 1869), p. 1. Doane and Sturges first began requesting the visit of an American man-of-war in 1865. Copies of their letters to U. S. Minister in Honolulu, J. McBride, can be found in "Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers of Squadrons, 1841-1886," Pacific Squadron, reel no. 51; January 11, 1870 to December 9, 1870. A xerox copy of this collection is housed at the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library


56 Doane to Gulick, Journal letter, June 8, 1870; entry for June 20, 1870. ABCFM, 3:170.


58 Doane to Gulick, Journal letter, June 8, 1870; entry for June 29, 1870. ABCFM, 3:180.


61 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, October 28, 1872; entry for November 15, 1872. ABCFM, 6:244.

62 Ibid., entry for November 21, 1872.

63 Sturges to Clark, September 30, 1875, ABCFM, 6:245.

64 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, February 5, 1874; entry for February 25, 1874. ABCFM, 6:247.


66 Sturges to Clark, September 30, 1873, ABCFM, 6:245.

67 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, July 8, 1870; entry for July 8, 1870. ABCFM, 3:172.


70 ABCFM, Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for the Year 1873 (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1874), p. 77.

71 Hambruch, Ponape, 2:113.

72 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, June 12, 1873; entry for June 13, 1873. ABCFM, 6:12. An account of the desecration of the shrine that occurred two years earlier can be found in Doane to Clark, Journal letter, November 13, 1870; entry for January 16, 1871. ABCFM, 3:176.

73 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, November 18, 1876; entry for November 18, 1876. ABCFM, 6:255.

74 Sturges to Clark, October 7, 1872, ABCFM, 6:243.

75 Sturges to Bingham, March 9, 1878, HMCSL.
76 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, November 13, 1870; entry for November 20, 1870. ABCFM, 3:176.


78 Doane to Snow, February 20, 1868, ABCFM, 3:161.

79 Doane to Gulick, June 30, 1870, ABCFM, 3:171.


81 Doane to Forbes, February 12, 1866, HMCSL.

82 Doane to Clark, August 10, 1868, ABCFM, 3:162.


84 Sturges to Brother Galen, November 7, 1867, HMCSL.


87 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, March 6, 1870; entry for March 28, 1870. ABCFM, 3:166.

88 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, April 13, 1870; entry for April 28, 1870. ABCFM, 3:167.

89 Doane to Pogue, February 14, 1873, HMCSL.

90 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, July 3, 1871; entry July 24, 1871. ABCFM, 3:179.

91 Doane to Clark, February 19, 1873, ABCFM, 6:10.
92 Doane to Pogue, February 24, 1874, HMCSL.


94 Sturges to Gulick, August 26, 1864, HMCSL.


97 Doane to Clark, Journal letter, September 25, 1871; entry for September 25, 1871. ABCFM, 3:181.


99 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, September 20, 1873; entry for September 30, 1873. ABCFM, 6:245.

100 Sturges, "Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated April 16, 1878, HMCSL. This very useful piece carries biographical summaries of all of the Ponapean missionaries who worked in Truk and the Mortlocks through 1878.


103 Sturges to Means, December 7, 1881, ABCFM, 12:43.


105 Sturges, "Names of Ponape Teachers Aided by the Cousins Society and Others at the Hawaiian Islands," dated April 16, 1878, HMCSL.


107 Sturges, "To the Hawaiian and American Boards of Missions," entry for December 8, 1879, ABCFM, 6:264.


110 Roberts to Anderson, Journal letter, September 6, 1860; entry for September 6, 1860. ABCFM, 3:204.

111 Doane to Anderson, April 19, 1862, ABCFM, 3:118. This letter summarizes the circumstances that surrounded the death of Doane's first wife.

112 Doane to Clark, June 23, 1877, ABCFM, 3:33. Doane's problems with his second wife are discussed in the series of letters written from June 6, 1877 to January 27, 1879. These can be found on reel 6 of the ABCFM collection, document numbers 31-48. See also the medical evaluation of Clara Strong Doane's condition contained in the letters, Patterson to Humphrey, September 5, 1877, ABCFM, 6:81 and Patterson to Humphrey, June 2, 1877, ABCFM, 6:82. While not explicitly stated, these latter letters suggest that Clara Doane suffered a nervous breakdown while in Japan. Mention is made in this correspondence of both her "nervous problem" and the history of suicide in her family.

113 Doane to Brother, December 16, 1879, ABCFM, 6:64.

114 Logan to Clark, October 22, 1874, ABCFM, 6:112.

115 Rand to Clark, October 7, 1874, ABCFM, 6:163.

116 Logan to Clark, November 9, 1876, ABCFM, 6:122.

117 Rand to Clark, October 7, 1874, ABCFM, 6:163.

118 Rand to Clark, Journal letter, June 27, 1877; entry for December 22, 1877. ABCFM, 6:169.

119 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, November 18, 1875; entry for February 18, 1876. ABCFM, 6:252.

120 Logan to Clark, June 7, 1879, ABCFM, 6:130.

121 Logan to Clark, November 28, 1879, ABCFM, 6:131.

122 Sturges to Clark, May 31, 1880, ABCFM, 6:270.

123 Sturges to Clark, Journal letter, February 12, 1880; entry for February 16, 1880. ABCFM, 6:265.

124 Logan to Clark, December 18, 1878, ABCFM, 6:132.
125 ABCFM, Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for the Year 1873, p. 77.


128 Doane to Clark, February 27, 1880, ABCFM, 6:68.

129 This is a constant theme that appears in the letters of Doane, Logan, and Rand throughout their correspondence of the 1870s. Logan expresses it most forcefully in his letter to N. G. Clark, November 28, 1879, ABCFM, 6:131.

130 Logan to Clark, June 30, 1876, ABCFM, 6:120.

131 Sturges, "The Missionary Problem," ABCFM, 6:257. There is no date on this document. Given its position in the general collection, it seems to have been written about 1878.
Fifty years of contact with the island of Ponape had failed to impress the peoples of Europe and America. With the exception of select interest groups such as whalers, traders, and missionaries, the outside world knew almost nothing and cared less about a small volcanic island in the remote, isolated area of the central western Pacific. In an analogy that also conveyed a strong statement about the area's worth, one European observer likened Ponape and the other Caroline Islands to a "handful of chick-peas flung on a table."¹ At an 1884 meeting of the major imperial powers in Berlin, however, this assessment changed; the entire Caroline group now became a factor in the European continent's balance of power. Nations defined their honor and linked their well-being with the deposition of the islands. Ponapeans would soon find their lives affected by events taking place thousands of miles away in the distant capitals of Europe.

Following an extended series of diplomatic negotiations among the European powers, the Spanish warship Manila arrived at Ponape on July 25, 1886 to officially proclaim Spain's possession of the island. Heralded by drum rolls, musket fire, the sound of coronets, and the raising of the Spanish flag, the commander of the Manila, Lieutenant Bayo y Hernandez a
Pinzon, announced Spain's intention to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the people of the island. The ceremony took place at Mesenieng, a piece of land steeped in a ritual and tradition of its own. In less than a year's time, Spaniards and Ponapeans would begin a struggle for Mesenieng that culminated, on July 4, 1887, in the assassination of the Spanish governor and the forced withdrawal of the entire Spanish colony from the island. News of this forceful expulsion of a colonial power by a Pacific Islands people, a feat never achieved before or since, reverberated across oceans and continents to the decision making centers of Europe and America. Three months later, in November 1887, Spain returned in what proved an ultimately futile attempt to establish its dominance over the island. The struggle for Mesenieng, then, marked the opening event in a twelve year period marked by persistent bloodshed and resistance. In this period, Ponapeans showed themselves, in the words of one exasperated witness, "unwilling to be led . . . and very difficult to rule." 3

Spain claimed the entire Caroline chain by right of initial discovery. 4 Indeed, most of the islands in the Caroline group became known to Europe through the voyages of such sixteenth century Spanish explorers as Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, Miguel de Legazpi, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, Alonso de Arellano, and Alvaro de Mendana. 5 As a result of these explorations, every European map of the Pacific produced from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries recognized the Carolines as Spanish territory. Nevertheless, with the exception of two attempts in the early eighteenth century to establish Catholic missions in the Western Carolines, neither Madrid nor the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which
had early administrative jurisdiction over Spain's distant Pacific possessions, evidenced much interest in the area. Spain, in effect, acted as an absentee landlord. The Mariana Islands, the one area of Micronesia colonized by the Spaniards, served as little more than a sleepy colonial outpost used to supply the Manila galleons in their relentless treks back and forth across the Pacific between the South American coast and the Philippines. The presence of American whalers and missionaries among the Carolines in the middle decades of the nineteenth century did nothing to break Spain's lethargy. The expansion of German trading firms into the Carolines that began in the 1860s proved another matter altogether.

Fearful that German commercial interests served as a harbinger of a more formal attempt at annexation, Spain rose from its more than three centuries of neglect to reassert control over the area. To check the flow of German influence, Spain in 1873 demanded that all ships traveling to or through the Carolines call first at the Philippines to pay customs duties and licensing fees. Spanish officials also reserved the right to deny authorization to any ship planning to stop at the islands. The Spanish action met with a swift response. Supporting the complaints of German traders in the area, the government of Bismarck's fledgling German empire filed a protest. A year later, Great Britain, upset by the interference caused to its naval traffic in the western Pacific, registered a similar complaint. In an official protest to Madrid, the British government, reflecting sentiments shared by Germany, stated that it would recognize only de facto control over the Carolines, not centuries-old treaties, papal bulls, or claims of historic precedent.
Pressured by Berlin and London, Spain backed off. Denying any claim to absolute sovereignty over the area, the Spanish Prime Minister, Canovas de Castillo, signed an agreement in March 1877 acknowledging the rights of German and British ships to complete freedom of trade and traffic in the Carolines.

The understanding reached among the three nations held for less than a decade. With Germany quickly rising to become the dominant power on the European continent, Bismarck abandoned his original anti-colonial policy. Committed to maintaining an effective balance of power, the German chancellor now believed that Germany could no longer afford to simply sit back and watch while the rest of Europe carved up the wealth and resources of Africa and the Pacific. In the early 1880s, Bismarck turned a more sympathetic ear to proponents of German colonial expansion. With Great Britain about to annex Egypt and using the Western Pacific High Commission as an instrument of colonial expansion in the Pacific, Germany, argued the pro-expansionists, could not allow itself to fall far behind. Representatives of German trading firms operating in the Pacific urged the acquisition of Pacific territories for strategic and military considerations as well as commercial purposes. The Caroline and the Marshall Islands, in particular, would provide the German navy with coaling stations and bases needed to establish an effective military presence in the Pacific. In 1884, an international congress held at Berlin drew up guidelines for annexation of overseas territories. In determining procedures for annexation, the congress, endorsing Bismarck's own position, identified actual possession and administration of an area by a European power as the only legitimate basis for prior claims.
Acting on the finding of the conference, Bismarck quickly ordered the German flag raised over New Guinea, the islands of the nearby archipelago, New Britain, and several of the Solomon Islands. An agreement with Great Britain in April 1885 recognized Germany's earlier annexation of the Marshall Islands. The Carolines were next.

Aware of Germany's increasingly expansionist leanings in the western Pacific, Spain, in 1882, made a desperate effort to reestablish a presence in the Carolines. In the Western Carolines, treaties were signed with a number of island chiefs. In February 1885, Madrid issued a royal decree directing the Governor General of the Philippines to establish an administrative center for the entire Caroline group at Yap. Despite Spain's efforts, Bismarck went ahead in August 1885 with an order to annex the Carolines. Having anticipated this move, Madrid, a day before Bismarck's order, had dispatched two warships from Manila to proclaim Spain's formal possession of the islands. Bismarck countered by sending a warship to raise the Kaiser's flag over the Carolines. The German warship Iltis arrived at Yap on August 21, 1885, four days after the Spanish warships, the San Quentin and the Manila. Ignoring the Spanish presence, the Germans immediately claimed the islands in the name of the Kaiser. Hostility was avoided when the Spaniards opted to withdraw rather than contest the German action. While the commander of the Spanish expedition sulked, another German warship, the Albatross, was busy annexing the Eastern Carolines.

In Madrid, a public outcry greeted German actions in the Carolines. Aware of the race between German and Spanish warships for possession of the islands, forty thousand people marched in Madrid to protest
Bismarck's blatant aggression. News of the actual German seizure of Yap resulted in a full-scale, anti-German riot in the Spanish capital. Disturbances also broke out in other major Spanish cities and in many provincial towns. The French press, sympathizing with Spain, labeled Germany's seizure an act of piracy. Demanding that Spanish honor be avenged, several cabinet members in the government supported the opposition Liberal Party in urging a declaration of war against Germany. Despite the king's reluctance to support a position he believed to be suicidal, the Spanish government forwarded an ultimatum to Berlin demanding complete German withdrawal from the Caroline. While awaiting a reply, the Naval Ministry received authorization to procure two fast cruisers from Great Britain to bolster Spain's sagging sea power. In late 1885, Spain and Germany seemed set to go to war over an extended string of small islands and tiny atolls some 10,000 miles distant from Europe's western-most shore.

Taken back by the furor created in Europe, Bismarck reassessed his position. "We have made a bothersome mess with the coral islands in the Pacific," he said to his subordinates in early 1885. Realizing the possession of distant Pacific islands did not warrant any rupture in the precarious balance of power on the European continent, Bismarck declared; "They are not worth it. The islands would not repay one week of preparation for war." Informing the Spanish government that Germany had no intention of violating Spanish rights, Bismarck ordered the withdrawal of German forces from the area. In seeking an appropriate diplomatic solution to the problem, Bismarck hit upon the idea of papal arbitration. The Iron Chancellor, far from admitting defeat, sought to
use the Pope's participation to manipulate a difficult situation for both domestic and international gain. In deferring to the Pope's judgment, Bismarck sought to preserve Germany's existing influence in the area while sparing the young national government the financial drain of administering distant lands of negligible value. The appearance of deference to Rome also impressed the leaders of Europe's Catholic capitals and helped shroud the anti-Catholic character of his domestic policies.

Bismarck's diplomatic maneuverings succeeded. Initially reluctant to consider arbitration by a third party, Catholic Spain could not refuse the prospects of a highly favorable settlement presented by Pope Leo XIII's role as arbiter. Leaving nothing to chance, Bismarck made sure that the Vatican's secretary of state understood the terms under which Germany would accept the Pope's decision. On December 17, 1885, Pope Leo XIII ruled as expected. The Pope recognized Spanish claims to administer the Carolines and German rights to trade in the area. The Spanish government claimed victory. Its aged colonial empire already in the advanced stages of decline, Spain, nonetheless, interpreted the papal decision and German acquiescence to it as a vindication of the righteousness of its cause. What Spain had actually won, in the words of one American diplomat, was an "immense white elephant" that would cause the country no end of problems and anxieties over the next fifteen years.9

The British actually cast the first shadows of late nineteenth century European imperialism over Ponape. Though not included in the Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877 that extended British
jurisdiction in the Pacific, the island received the visit of the man-of-war Emerald in 1881. On July 1, the day following the vessel's arrival, Captain William Maxwell issued a proclamation urging all foreign residents desirous of British protection to register themselves and their property with the Western Pacific High Commissioner in Fiji. Finding little enthusiasm among the representatives of German trading firms operating on the island, Maxwell departed Ponape the next day. Two years later, another British warship, the Espiegle, stopped at the island briefly on a tour of the western and central Pacific. British interest in Micronesia, however, focused not on the Carolines but in the Gilbert Islands to the east.

Ponape first felt the effects of the international negotiations at Berlin on October 13, 1885 when the warship Albatross sailed into the northern harbor and raised the German flag. Despite his growing disillusionment with German traders, Edward Doane expressed relief that it was Protestant Germany and not Catholic Spain that seized the islands; "It was providential for we hear Spain had been looking this way; what a hindrance that, to have been put under her bane." Rumors of intended German policies pleased the missionaries. Prohibitions to be placed on polygamy, the possession of firearms, the sale of lands, prostitution, and the distillation and sale of alcoholic beverages led the group to hope that Christ's work would soon have the force of government backing. On October 16, Captain Max Pluddemann, commander of the Albatross, landed with a company of 50 marines to secure Ponapean acceptance of German annexation. Pluddemann ordered each of the island's five paramount
chiefs to sign a treaty surrendering, "so far as each one could, his rights to Ponape."\textsuperscript{13}

Doane sensed the dilemma facing Ponape's ruling chiefs; the surrender of their power did not come easily to a group of proud men. Still, the idea of a tiny island with a population of roughly five thousand people struggling against the dictates of a major European nation seemed unthinkable, at least to the missionary. Pointing out the futility of resistance, Doane urged the five to sign the document of annexation placed before them by Pluddemann. As requested, each of the five paramount chiefs made his mark upon the piece of paper. The formal occasion concluded, Doane expressed relief that the issue had been settled so easily and so quickly; such a statement, however, represented a gross misunderstanding of Ponapean actions.

Authority or manaman on Ponape was, in large part, inherited by birth and justified by right of custom. Physical force represented the only effective challenge to chiefly power. Marks upon a piece of paper carried no meaning in the Ponapean scheme of things; signings were ceremonies performed by outsiders to signify approval among themselves. Ponapeans expressed consensus and solidarity through demonstrable subscription to age-old practices and beliefs. Participation in feasts, wars, and the worship of island deities all reaffirmed what it was to be Ponapean. The notion that an "X" scrawled upon a document permanently fixed an individual's political position ran directly counter to Ponapeans' understanding of human politics as a fluid, ever-changing set of relationships and alliances to be manipulated for maximum advantage. As they had with Truxton, Ponape's chiefs, acutely aware of the
instruments of war about the ship and in the hands of its crew, judiciously signed the German treaty and then withdrew to await the course of events. The claim to control over the island by a people from distant lands constituted a threat that could not be ignored. The departure of the Albatross and its entire company three days later on October 16 eased the immediate threat of violence; nonetheless, Ponapeans, over the next few months, gathered to feast, to discuss the meaning of events, and to plan for war. Chiefs crossed political boundaries to consult with one another, discuss options, and devise strategies. Doane commented upon the extreme state of agitation that covered the whole island. The threat of war, however, failed to materialize. History taught the people that time was an ally, and so it was in this instance. When the Albatross did return the next year, it was only to collect the German flag and to remove the proclamation of annexation posted at the waterfront of the northern harbor. The whole affair confirmed in Ponapean minds the essential emptiness of the foreigners' ceremonies. Despite the posturing and pretensions of people who came in ships from far-off lands, Ponapeans had no doubt that their island still belonged to them.

Negotiations in distant European capitals, however, had decided that Ponape and the rest of the Carolines now belonged to Spain. On July 25, 1886, a Spanish warship, the Manila, appeared off Ponape's western shore. Having sent a party ashore to nail a picture of the Spanish flag to a coconut tree at Rohnkiti, the site of the first Spanish landing some three centuries before, the commander, Lieutenant Bayo, then took the vessel to the northern harbor where he formally announced Spain's
annexation of the island. As had Pluddemann less than a year before, Bayo gathered together the five paramount chiefs of the island to participate in ceremonies perfunctorily acknowledging Spain's stewardship. Doane again counseled submission. The chiefs signed the document requested of them and then retired to their respective chiefdoms to wait. In his report, Bayo wrote, in what would soon prove to be a gross misreading of the event, that the people of the island accepted Spain's rule without qualification.

During the ship's brief visit, Bayo, under instructions, explored the island for an appropriate site to establish the future Spanish colony. All things considered, the north of the island with its protective, well-surveyed, and increasingly frequented harbor seemed the logical choice. Making inquiries at the mission station there, Bayo learned from Doane that the entire peninsula, known as Mesenieng, belonged to the Protestant mission. Upon further inquiry, Doane expressed a willingness to deed a portion of the land to Spain for construction of its administrative center. The Spanish commander duly noted the missionary's offer in his report and then made preparations to leave the island. Ponapeans, viewing the departure of the Spanish ship on August 4, 1886, mistakenly believed yet another idle threat had passed. Unlike the Germans, however, the Spaniards returned to rule.

On March 13, 1887, the Spanish Governor, Don Isidro Posadillo stepped ashore at Ponape with an initial colonizing party that consisted of two government secretaries, two military commanders, a contingent of fifty Filipino soldiers, and twenty-five convict laborers. Three priests and three lay brothers of the Roman Catholic Church's Capuchin order also
accompanied the colonial delegation. Later arrivals would increase the Spanish company's numbers to approximately 125 by the end of June. On the knoll overlooking the harbor landing, a mixed crowd of traders and Ponapeans observed the arrival of the Spanish party and wondered about the changes it portended. Quickly confirming in his own mind the advisability of establishing an administrative center in the north, Posadillo settled his party at Niahlek, a small plot of land bordering the harbor at the northern end of Mesenieng. The spot lay several hundred yards northwest of the Protestant mission station. Living out of tents, the Spanish party immediately set about to establish the colony. Within three weeks of their arrival, the Spaniards had completed construction of the first residential units and a church. Father Joachim de Llevaneras, the Superior General of the Capuchin's overseas missions who had accompanied the colonizing party to Ponape, offered the first mass on April 4, 1887. Presuming upon powers they would never in fact possess during their entire tenure on the island, the Spaniards renamed the piece of Ponapean soil on which they built their structures "Santiago de l'Ascencion;" in their administrative reports to Manila, they referred to it simply as "la Colonia." The Spanish presence dismayed the American missionaries and, more important, offended the Ponapeans.

While the people of the north scrutinized the Spaniards with studied, almost ominous silence, the missionaries reacted quite quickly to what they perceived as a serious threat to their work. In his correspondence prior to the arrival of the governor's party, Doane had shown himself predisposed toward confrontation with the Spaniards. His repeated
urgings to the American Board in the early 1880s to open a mission on Yap resulted, in part, from his fear that the western islands of Micronesia had no defense against the "Papists." Doane described what he believed to be the particularly corrupt brand of Catholicism exported from Manila as "to mass and then a cockfight." Between the visit of the Manila in July 1886 and the arrival of the governor's party in March 1887, the Protestant missionary had admitted the possibility of having to fight for the faith. Doane, six days after Posadillo's arrival, stated in a letter to his superiors in Boston that he had no intention of allowing "Rome" to make an easy conquest of Ponape. Anticipating the new administration's attempts to make Spanish the language of the island, Doane had requested the Board to send missionaries fluent in Spanish. The sixty-seven-year-old veteran of more than a quarter century of missionary work on Ponape also asked for copies of the New Testament in Spanish and a Spanish grammar that he himself could use to learn the language. Doane's combative posture soon ran afoul of Spanish priorities in establishing their colony.

Posadillo, in his first official proclamation, promised freedom of religion, the prompt settlement of all disputes submitted to his office, and the certification of all land claims by foreign residents holding proper documentation. Hearing of the Spanish arrival, Doane, who now spent most of his time at Ohwa since the departure of Sturges in 1885, traveled to the north to meet with Posadillo. Upon reaching the colony, Doane was distressed to see that the Spaniards were transgressing beyond the boundaries of the land he had agreed to sell them. At their meeting, he presented Posadillo with the deeds to mission lands at Rohnkiti, Ohwa
and Mesenieng. The missionary, in pointing out the Spanish colony's infringement upon mission property at Mesenieng, asked the governor to set formally the boundary lines to prevent any future misunderstandings. Sensing a problem, Posadillo asked Doane if he would not be willing to sell all of Mesenieng or to exchange it for another piece of property elsewhere on the island. Doane replied that he sought only the governor's certification of lands properly deeded to the Protestant mission by the island's chiefs.

All cordiality between the governor and the missionary disappeared. Disturbed by rumors that Posadillo planned to close the mission schools, Doane, within a few short days of their first meeting, penned a poignant letter to the governor. In this communication, the missionary asked whether the American missionaries would be allowed to continue to preach, teach, and produce materials in the Ponapean language. Touching upon more sensitive issues, Doane inquired indignantly if Madrid planned to stop the prostitution of Ponapean women by Spanish troops and honor the boundary lines of the mission property at Mesenieng. During a strained meeting between the two in late March, Posadillo sought to allay the missionary's concerns. The governor reassured Doane that, while desirous of one day having Spanish serve as the official language of the island, he had no intention of interfering with the missionaries use of the Ponapean language in their churches or in their schools. Posadillo also affirmed his intention to protect the women of the island from any form of coerced prostitution. Stating that he was no Jesuit, Posadillo told Doane that he was most concerned with raising the level of civilization on the island; whether the people chose to become Protestant
or Catholic made no difference to him. Posadillo then ended the meeting without making any reference to the mission's land claims.

Power rather than religion was the issue for Posadillo. Irritated by the American missionaries attempts to limit Spanish land use in the north, Posadillo began to question the legitimacy of the Protestant mission's claims. Posadillo's firmly held belief that all land on the island belonged, in actuality, to the Spanish crown fed his doubts. The governor's inquiries touched a sensitive nerve. With the exception of the 1870 deed for mission lands at Rohnkiti signed by Nahnawa en Mwudok in the presence of Captain N. J. Truxton of the Jamestown, there existed serious flaws in the mission's deeds for lands elsewhere on the island. For property at Ohwa, Doane had received the signature of the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw and other chiefs on a document dated July 12, 1886. The date preceded Spain's formal possession of the island by only eleven days. Examining the document, Captain Thomas P. Jewell, the commander of the U. S. S. Essex who, on orders from Washington, paid an investigative visit to the island in October 1887 after the initial outbreak of hostilities between Ponapeans and Spaniards, feared, quite rightly as things turned out, that the proximity of the deed's date to Spain's arrival could only add to the already considerable suspicion with which the two camps regarded each other. Mission claims to Mesenieng, the immediate area of contention, were based upon two deeds. The first deed, drawn up by Doane and dated 1870, designated the twenty-five acres surrounding the mission buildings as the property of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to be held in trust by Doane and his successors. Doane had given the name "Canaan" or, in Ponapean Kenan,
to this area. The second deed, signed on July 26, 1880, ceded the entire peninsula of Mesenieng to the Board. The deed, drawn up by Doane, was signed by Lepen Net, the section chief or soumas en kousapw, and two witnesses. To expedite matters Doane, in an extremely questionable practice that would later undermine his credibility with Posadillo and others, had the four signers simply touch the pen that he then used to affix their names to the deed. 34

The piece of land over which the Spaniards and the Americans presumed to contest held a special place in the island’s lore. A kousapw under the immediate jurisdiction of Souwen en Metipw, Mesenieng, in 1887, was a part of the independent chiefdom of Net ruled over by Lepen Net. 35 Mesenieng, meaning “Face of the Wind,” receives prominent mention in a number of legends that tell of the island’s early history. More important, however, Mesenieng possessed a strong spiritual significance for the people of the island. Ponapeans viewed Mesenieng as a place of resurrection and new life. According to Ponapean beliefs, there existed two kinds of death, mehla en kepirepir and mehla en Mesenieng. 36 Mehla en kepirepir was death without hope. Those who died the death of no hope fell spinning to a place of despair and sorrow from which they could never return. For those people who had led a dutiful life, there was the death of Mesenieng. The opening lines of the “Song of Luhk”, a narration of one man’s journey after death and his return to life, go;

"I just want to die
and go to Mesenieng
The place of magic power
So that I might come back
and sit as a [live] person." 37
Ponapeans regarded Mesenieng as a place of supernatural power inhabited by gods, spirits, and the people who served them. Chief among these beings was the female goddess Limwohdeleng, the spiritual guardian of the Dipwilap. The Dipwilap originally had controlled the land but were eventually driven out by the Sounkawad clan who had descended upon the area from their mountain home in the interior of Net. With the defeat of the Dipwilap, Inahs, the goddess of the Sounkawad, replaced Limwohdeleng as the principal deity of the area. To commemorate her assistance in their victory over the Dipwilap, the members of the Sounkawad clan built a shrine in her honor at Komwonlaid along Mesenieng's northern shore. Ponapeans also recognized Mesenieng for the extremely melodious sounds that emanated from an altar at Nintu said to be the gathering place for a chorus of spirits. Mesenieng, then, was a distinctively Ponapean place associated with a rich traditional lore that emphasized the area's spiritual importance. The initial decision to allow the Christian God a place at Mesenieng was not a random decision; Mesenieng was a place where gods belonged.

Doane had first received permission in 1867 to open a mission station within Mesenieng's borders. Permission for mission use of the land was given by the Wasai Sokehs, known as Kaimw Sapwasapw, who had confirmed the privilege in a document signed before Captain N. J. Truxton of the U. S. S. Jamestown in 1870. At that time, Kaimw Sapwasapw also held the title of Lepen Net. Though unusual, such an arrangement was not impossible because of Sounkawad clan ties and the blood relationship between the first Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net; indeed, Net, since the time of the Sounkawad conquest, had existed as a semi-autonomous area under
the ultimate suzerainty of the Wasai Sokehs. With the death of Lepen Net in 1867, the Wasai Sokehs moved to assert his titular dominance over the area by taking the title of Lepen Net. The action caused considerable displeasure in Net. Nahnsoused en Net, the second ranking chief behind Lepen Net and, in all likelihood, his logical successor, bristled at the abject subjugation of Net by Sokehs and at the denial of a title he felt to be rightfully his. The whole arrangement generated continual tension in the area until 1874 when, with the death of Kaimw Sapwasapw, the two chiefdoms became independent of each other and the titles of Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net going to separate individuals.

Traditional rights of chiefly control over the land added to the complications caused by the area's recent tumultuous political history. The Wasai Sokehs, the paramount chief of the area who first had granted the Protestant mission use of the land in 1867, was not the same individual who reaffirmed that right of usage in 1880. The distinction, though holding little significance for the missionaries who believed their land rights protected by a signed and binding agreement, meant a great deal to Ponapeans. All land on Ponape still belonged to the chiefs; decades of extensive contact with the outside world had not changed that fact. A grant of land could be given or taken away at the discretion of a paramount chief. Likewise, an individual, family, or clan's claim to land rights did not transcend the issue of chiefly succession. Theoretically, a chief could even choose to nullify the land grants of his predecessor; the threat of such an action proved particularly useful to newly installed ruling chiefs seeking to insure the loyalty and obedience of their subjects.
Deeds, contracts, and treaties were alien formalities that Ponapean chiefs used to appease those foreigners with whom they chose to deal. At other times, Ponape's rulers signed documents to satisfy the exigencies of a difficult moment. At no time did they believe that signing a piece of paper meant the complete and final alienation of a section of land from their domain. The fact that Ponapean chiefs, since the beginnings of extensive contact with the outside world, had managed to escape the consequences of signed agreements only reinforced their conviction that no foreign practice could compromise chiefly control over the land. When the mission's presence at Mesenieng began to prove troublesome, the Wasai Sokehs moved against it. In 1869, the Wasai Kaimw Sapwasapw, displeased by the disruption the missionaries were causing in his domain, attempted to sell Mesenieng to one of Captain Benjamin Pease's representatives. When Pease's operations suddenly failed, the Wasai, disregarding the 1870 deed he had signed, simply ordered the section chief of Mesenieng to reduce the boundaries of the mission station in 1871.

Following the death of Kaimw Sapwasapw in 1874, the new Lepen Net first moved to assert Net's newly won independence. Having accomplished this, Lepen Net turned to more personally aggrandizing pursuits. In 1880, Lepen Net sold or, more accurately, allowed the use of Lenger Island in the northern harbor by representatives of Capelle and Company. The decision earned for the Ponapean chief a ready supply of grog and goods as well as a cash payment of $250. In Lepen Net's mind, the compensation extended him did not constitute a purchase price but simply a form of nolahpwe or tribute paid in foreign goods by foreigners residing within
his domain. While the traders undoubtedly believed the island now belonged to them, Lepen Net continued to view Lenger, like all of the land in Net, as remaining under his ultimate jurisdiction.

In 1880, Lepen Net also reaffirmed the right of the Protestant mission to continued use of land within Mesenieng. By 1887, however, Lepen Net, despite being baptized Protestant, grew disgruntled with a foreign presence that paid him neither respect nor material reward but only impinged upon his traditional authority and chiefly prerogatives. Though disturbed by the armed presence within his domain, Lepen Net saw in the Spanish presence an immediate opportunity to rid himself of the Kenan mission station. One missionary, Frank Rand, noted the intense interest the chief exhibited toward the Spanish party. The governor's solicitous approach in their first meetings eased the chief's concerns over Spanish intentions and even led Lepen Net to believe that the new colony might provide a readily accessible source of wealth with which to enhance his own power and prestige. Lepen Net's strategy, then, was to manipulate rather than confront; events would ultimately show it to be an untenable approach. Compatibility between the governor and the chief resulted solely from a single, immediate, mutually shared objective; namely, the removal of the Protestant mission from Mesenieng. Beyond this, the objectives of the two clashed. With the mission station closed, there would exist no buffer between Spanish intrusion and Ponapean resistance.

Once a regular church attendant, Lepen Net now began spending much of his time in the Spanish colony visiting with Posadillo. To the Spanish governor's inquiries during one of their informal meetings, Lepen Net
responded that he had never given the whole area of Mesenieng to the missionaries but simply the land on which the mission buildings stood. Furthermore, added the Ponapean, the missionaries did not own the land but simply held it in trust; ownership of all land, by right of Ponapean traditional custom, remained with him. When quizzed about the 1880 deed, Lepen Net insisted, appropriately, that the signature on the document was not his; he did acknowledge, however, giving verbal confirmation to the missionaries' request for continued use of the premises. Having stated his views on the issue, the wily ruler proceeded to negotiate an agreement with the Spaniards that allowed them use of all of Mesenieng for a fee of $30.

His initial suspicions over the Mesenieng deed now confirmed by Lepen Net's cunning words, Posadillo replied to Doane's requests for certification of the mission land. In early April, the Governor informed the missionary in writing that he could find no evidence to substantiate the mission's claims to Mesenieng. In a letter dated April 12, 1887, Doane protested vigorously to Posadillo; his use of the word "arbitrary" to characterize the governor's decision snapped the already strained patience of the Spanish official. Upon reading the letter, Posadillo promptly ordered Doane arrested and confined aboard the warship Manila anchored in the harbor at the time.

Posadillo's inquiries concerning the authenticity of the Mesenieng deed had met also with a barrage of accusations against Doane from the foreign trading community on the island. The animosity between Doane and the traders had been building for several years. Disillusioned by the conduct of those whom he and the other missionaries had hoped would
promote the civilizing process on the island, Doane wrote in 1885; "trade and traders are pouring in not a little rapidly, begetting competition, demoralizing the natives and too confusing them with this strife for trade." Doane saved his most bitter scorn for German traders whom he identified as the greatest enemy on the island to truly spiritual work; "Commerce by Germany," wrote the missionary, "is no friend to us." The trading community on the island more than reciprocated the feelings. In a petition dated April 24, 1887, and signed by six foreign traders, Doane was accused of encouraging Ponapeans to avoid commercial dealings with representatives of German trading firms, of promoting himself as the highest authority on the island, of using chains to discipline Ponapeans guilty of adultery, and of preventing Ponapeans from selling land to outside interests. Doane's opponents further charged that the annual Fourth of July celebrations held at the Protestant mission stations were, in actuality, political demonstrations in support of United States' occupation of the island; rumors spread that Doane had at his command two fighting companies of well-armed Ponapeans.

Accusations also arose that Doane, prior to the arrival of the governor's party in March, had actually encouraged active resistance to Spanish rule among the Ponapeans. These trumped up charges served their purpose. Posadillo, angered by what he heard, added an extra month to Doane's original fifteen-day sentence while a series of hearings were held to examine the multiplicity of complaints raised against the old missionary. Following the completion of these hearings at which Lepen Net and the traders all repeated their statements under oath, Posadillo, convinced that Doane was guilty of forging a public document and that his continued
presence on the island posed a serious threat to the implementation of Spanish rule, ordered the missionary transported to Manila for trial. The ship carrying Doane to the Philippines left Ponape on June 16, 1887.

The arrest and deportation of Doane resulted in a flurry of complaints to the United States Department of State from the Boston offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In a campaign directed by the American Board, church groups in Hawaii and across the continental United States urged Washington to seek appropriate redress. Julius G Voight, the U. S. Consul in Manila, offered Doane immediate support: Voight, a man of no little prejudice, who viewed the Spaniards as a brutal race of people whose Moorish blood disqualified them from being considered true Europeans, referred to Posadillo in his official correspondence to Washington as "yonder, crack-brained Governor." Though more diplomatic in their choice of language, officials in Washington pressed Madrid hard for a favorable resolution of Doane's case.

The Government of the Philippines that now held jurisdiction over all Spanish possessions in the Pacific was a cumbersome, incompetent, corrupt bureaucracy forced to operate on a shoestring budget. With power divided between the governor general, the Audencia or Advisory Council, ecclesiastical authorities, and representatives of the Crown's Inspectorate, confusion and disorder ruled. Authorities in Madrid worried about the increasingly burdensome expenses caused by distant Pacific holdings. Into the void created by the wavering of secular officials stepped church authorities who argued that the abandonment of Spain's Pacific holdings would mean the country's abdication of its most
sacred duty, the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith. The Church's aggressive role in the Philippine government irked many officials in both Manila and Madrid who resented clerical intrusions upon their domain. Racial tension between the Spanish ruling elite and the general populace further contributed to the demoralizing, debilitating climate that surrounded the colonial government in Manila. Crippled as it was, the Government of the Philippines, seeing no value in pursuing the charges against the missionary, accorded the case only a perfunctory study.

At a hearing in Manila chaired by Governor General Emilio Terrero, the Advisory Council quickly decided that Posadillo had acted without regard to the rights of Doane. Avoiding any comment on the issue of guilt, the Governor General authorized Doane's return to Ponape and his reinstatement as an active missionary. In a private meeting, Terrero reaffirmed the missionary's right to preach, teach, proselytize, baptize, and produce biblical literature in the vernacular. The Governor General, who had been quite solicitous of Doane's welfare throughout his six-week stay in Manila, reminded the old American missionary that he, in turn, must respect Spanish laws and not interfere with the work of the Spanish priests. On the more sensitive issue of property rights, the Governor General offered nothing more than an oblique, often-repeated promise to recognize all land claims for which appropriate deeds could be furnished. Grateful for Terrero's seemingly generous decision, Doane, at Voight's advice, decided not to press the issue of Protestant land claims on Ponape.

While the Doane case was running its course on Ponape and in Manila, Posadillo moved quickly in other areas to solidify Spain's hold over the
island. Shortly after arriving, Posadillo had called the rulers of the five chiefdoms together to his office to present them with the title "gobernadorcillo" or "little governors;" he also gave them the emblems of their new Spanish office, the flag and the scepter. By this gesture, Posadillo hoped to bring the island's traditional political structure quickly and easily under the authority of the colonial government. With the paramount chiefs of Ponape now confirmed as his official representatives, Posadillo proceeded to require their assistance in the building of the Spanish colony. Described as high-strung, absent-minded, and jealous of his dignity, Posadillo actually preferred art to administration. The excessive zeal with which he sketched almost everyone and everything he came across in the colony caused considerable consternation among his assistants; the soldiers of the Spanish garrison believed him to be half insane. Preoccupied with his artistic interests, Posadillo left supervision of the work in the colony to Manuel Torres, a Spaniard who had arrived on Ponape in 1883 after spending several years on Kosrae. Assisting Torres were Christian Barbus, a Portugese national from the Cape Verde Islands and another individual named Macario.

Under a plan approved by Posadillo, each of the island's five chiefdoms was to contribute a weekly work party of 30 adult males. The work parties were expected to arrive in the colony on Sunday evening and remain until the following Sunday afternoon when they would be replaced by fresh groups of workers. The government required that the parties assume responsibility for providing their own food; an old shed
located on the Kenan mission grounds was set aside as a night shelter for the Ponapean laborers.

Responsibility for organizing these crews fell to the paramount chiefs. With Spanish demands constituting a grievous insult to their rank and person, the chiefs, seeking a way out of the dilemma imposed upon them, passed the obligations along to lesser chiefs. In Madolenihmw, serious complications arose for the Nahnmwarki when a number of the lesser chiefs balked at the idea of having to respond to the commands of foreigners. When no workers from Madolenihmw showed up, the Nahnmwarki was ordered to appear before the governor. In the presence of a sizeable group that included a number of the lesser Madolenihmw chiefs, Posadillo produced a knotted rope with which he promised to beat the Nahnmwarki if he failed to comply with any future orders. Posadillo warned that, in addition to the beating, he would remove the chief's title and lands. Noting the Nahnmwarki's recent chaining of four people on charges of adulterous conduct, Posadillo ordered that this and all other missionary-inspired concepts of justice must stop. To eliminate the possibility of an armed resistance from Madolenihmw or the other areas of the island, the governor, on May 1, 1887, ordered all Ponapeans to turn in their guns; 400 were collected.

With Madolenihmw slow to comply, much of the burden of the work fell on the people of Net and Sokehs. The conduct of the three overseers further aggravated tensions in the north. Unknown to Posadillo, Torres, Barbus, and Macario pocketed funds set aside as wages for the island laborers, misrepresented Ponapean grievances, and added invectives and insults when translating Spanish orders into Ponapean. Barbus'
kidnapping of Ponapean women to serve in the make-shift brothels set up for the benefit of the Spanish troops further incensed the Ponapeans.65 Worse still was the fate of one high chief who, because of insubordination, was ordered by the three to clean out the governor's latrine.66

Faced with increasing restiveness among the people, Posadillo, in mid-June, ordered the mission schools closed and all traditional activities ceased until construction of the colony and its roads was completed.67 The measures proved futile. On June 30, the Ponapeans stopped all work. Attempting to reassert control over the rapidly deteriorating situation, Posadillo demanded that all of the island's paramount chiefs present themselves at his residence on the morning of the next day, July 1. Torres, who carried the message, added that the chiefs would have their mouths sewn shut and their titles and privileges removed at the meeting. Unable to tolerate any longer the humiliating insults caused by the Spanish presence within their chiefdoms, Lepen Net and the Wasai Sokehs decided to fight. That night, Ponapeans broke into several traders' stores to steal guns and ammunition. Aware that Net and Sokehs were now preparing for battle, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw and Kiti decided to leave the colony. The decision resulted not from a lack of courage but from a wariness about fighting in a hostile territory where Spanish soldiers were not the only potential adversaries. Far from home and with a limited number of men and supplies, the two chiefs from the south judged the risk of staying too great. Sixty years of extensive contact with the outside world had not united Ponape. Tensions among the different chiefdoms of Ponape ran almost as high as the bitterness toward
the Spaniards. As a gesture of support, however, the Nahmmwarki of Kiti did leave behind a small party of warriors headed by Sigismundo, a future Nahmmwarki of Kiti. 68

When no chiefs appeared before him the next morning, Posadi110, informed that the work parties from both Madolenihmw and Kiti had left the colony area the night before, sent Torres and a sergeant to fetch Lepen Net and the Wasai Sokehs. Gathered together at Denepei on Sokehs Island, the two chiefs, upon receiving Posadillo's order, replied; "Say to the governor that, if he is governor of the colony, we are paramount chiefs of the island. If he wants to cut off our heads, then he should fetch us here." 69

Exasperated, Posadillo, his understanding of the situation completely distorted, sent Torres and a detachment of 27 Filipino troops under the command of Ensign Ricardo Martinez to bring in the two chiefs. Finding them sitting in the front of a crowded feast house at Denepei, Torres ordered the two chiefs to the colony. Receiving no response except cold stares, Torres advised Martinez to have his soldiers fire above the heads of the gathering. The haughty Spanish overseer believed that the gunfire would cow the Ponapeans into submission. Rather than surrender or run, however, the Ponapeans, well-prepared for the encounter, returned the fire, killing Martinez and 17 of the soldiers. 70 Torres, badly wounded, begged the Ponapeans to spare his life, saying he was their friend. Replying that they would now repay his friendship, several Ponapeans proceeded to hack his body to pieces. 71

When the survivors reached the colony with news of the incident, the Spanish priests, who had deplored Posadillo's peculiar brand of
administration and his less than enthusiastic support of their missionary efforts, recommended that the majority of the colony be quickly evacuated to a pontoon anchored in the harbor while they negotiated a settlement with the people.72 Attempts to land boats from the pontoon, the Maria de Molina, drew heavy fire from the Ponapeans who had surrounded the colony on its land sides. During the course of the second day, six soldiers were killed or badly wounded in evacuation attempts; nonetheless, the majority of the noncombatants managed to escape to the relative safety of the pontoon.

Conducted amidst intermittent skirmishes, the negotiations took place at the priests' rectory. Though lying outside of the immediate colony and behind Ponapean lines, the rectory was spared when the priests, hoping to buy time and good will, opened their cupboards to the Ponapeans. While the negotiations dragged on, the warriors of Net and Sokehs, evidencing a nonchalance that belied their determination, engaged at times in an almost cheerful exchange of banter with their Spanish and Filipino adversaries.73 The undermanned colony had the number of its defenders further reduced by desertions among the Filipino troops who, enticed by the words of their Ponapean foes, decided they had more in common with their opponents than with their Spanish masters. Directing the Ponapean siege was a young Dipwinpahnmei warrior named Niuw who, twenty years later as Soumadau en Sokehs, would again lead Sokehs in a rebellion against foreign domination.74 Despite the priests' efforts, Ponapeans persisted in their intention to drive out the Spanish. Early on the morning of July 3, the Spaniards abandoned all attempts to reach a peaceful settlement.
Realizing the impossibility of the situation, the governor now ordered an evacuation of the remaining forces. At a previously agreed upon signal, the Molina sent a long boat toward the shore to pick up the last group of defenders. As the government chests were being loaded on to the boat, the Ponapeans, from positions around the Protestant mission grounds at Kenan, opened fire. Panicking, the crewmen began to pull away from the shore; two priests, standing on the landing with their arms full of personal possessions, dropped their belongings, jumped into the water and swam safely to the boat. By the evening of July 3, only the governor, his secretary, the colony physician, a second lieutenant, and a handful of Filipino soldiers remained behind. Now completely cut off and with no provisions, Posadillo led his small party in a desperate late night attempt to swim to the pontoon. The Ponapeans were waiting for them. While several of the soldiers did manage to reach the pontoon, the governor and his three officials were cut down in the shallow waters just off shore. At dawn, the Ponapeans sacked what remained of the colony.

The Spanish had suffered a total of 50 fatalities in the fighting that took place during the first four days of July. Ponapean losses amounted to 10 dead. On the pontoon in the northern harbor crowded together approximately 70 survivors of the Spanish colony. The Ponapeans' first impulse was to take the pontoon as well as the colony. The Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net asked Frank Rand and a mission teacher named Ettekar (Edgar) from Mesinsou in Madolenihmw to have all of the women and children removed before they made a final attack upon the barge. Despite the commander of the pontoon's refusal to have anything
to do with the Protestant negotiators, the two did dissuade the Ponapeans from seizing the boat. Several days later, the Wasai Sokehs had Rand draft a letter explaining the reasons for the Ponapeans' actions. The Ponapean chief identified the callousness of the governor, the deceit of the three overseers, and the humiliating treatment accorded Ponape's rulers as reasons for the outbreak of violence. The people of Ponape, said the Wasai, desired peace most of all; they preferred, however, to die fighting rather than to live as enemies. The Wasai had the letter delivered to the pontoon and asked that its captain forward it to Manila. The Wasai further announced that there would be no more hostilities and that the occupants of the pontoon were free to return to shore. Suspicious of the high chief's motives, the captain of the pontoon opted to keep his party aboard ship.

For the next two months, the occupants of the pontoon managed to survive by procuring food from Ponapean canoes that visited the pontoon periodically to trade. Upon the outbreak of hostilities, most of the island's white trading community had fled in an open boat to Ngatik and Pingelap. Helping themselves to the traders' stocks of goods, the warriors of Net and Sokehs, well-provisioned and in no hurry, encamped on the grounds of the former colony to await the Spanish response from Manila. During the stalemate, the Ponapeans confiscated any articles of value remaining in the colony; buildings were dismantled and the wood and tin roofing carried off. On September 1, the Spanish man-of-war San Quentin, on a routine stop with provisions and mail for the colony, arrived at the island to learn of the violence that had occurred some two months before. On board the vessel was the Reverend Edward Doane
returning from his hearing in Manila. Stunned by the devastation, the captain of the San Quentin took aboard the survivors and left behind a small but well armed party under the command of Don Juan de la Concha, the second officer of the ship and a future governor of Ponape. De la Concha's orders were to hold the pontoon and await the arrival of reinforcements. A highly ambitious man who saw an opportunity to distinguish himself, de la Concha, on his own initiative, bombarded the colony in an attempt to drive out the Ponapeans encamped there. The use of heavy firepower had little effect, however. According to one account, de la Concha's bombardment, "only succeeded in killing a chicken that was looking on and had nothing to do with the affair." 78 To salvage some semblance of honor, the lieutenant sent ashore a party of soldiers to raise the Spanish flag once again over Ponape. Still unable to effect a full-scale landing, de la Concha tried to prevent the flag's desecration by having explosives rigged to its rope. 79

While de la Concha waited on the pontoon for reinforcements from Manila, different groups of Ponapeans carefully formulated their responses to Spain's expected return. In these calculations, Ponapean notions of place and identity played a major role. Ponapeans understood the vast differences between themselves and the Spaniards. The huge cultural chasm that separated the people of the island from their would-be masters made each appear a caricature in the eyes of the other. More important to Ponapeans were the differences among themselves. The rivers, mountains, hills, and streams that divided the island comprised important social as well as physical boundaries. The people of the island identified themselves not as Ponapeans but as members of a
particular chiefdom or section within a chiefdom. The richness and complexity of life on the island resulted not from unity but from diversity and contention. Ponapeans from different areas of the island competed with each other for honor, distinction, and prestige; it was competition among themselves that gave much of the meaning to their lives. Unless directly affected, most people viewed developments in other areas of the island from behind the borders of their immediate world.

The violence over Mesenieng did not mark an island-wide uprising but rather a struggle between the Spaniards and the people of Net and Sokehs. Directly threatened by the Spanish presence within their borders, the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net remained adamant in their opposition. Chiefs from other less physically menaced areas of the island adopted different strategies. The Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti, seeking to protect themselves and their people from the threat of Spanish reprisals, visited de la Concha aboard the pontoon to express regret over the course of events. Their gestures indicated not abject submission but rather an acute sense of pragmatism. With the Spanish presence limited to the north, these three paramount chiefs affected a conciliatory posture that they hoped would prevent any Spanish intrusion into their areas. When confronted several years later with Spanish interference in their domains, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw and Uh directed a resistance every bit as violent and as successful as that at Mesenieng.

On October 29, with de la Concha still holding on to the pontoon, three heavily armed Spanish warships carrying 700 troops arrived with the
new governor, Don Luis Cadarso y Rey. Two days later, Cadarso issued a proclamation demanding that the Ponapeans surrender unconditionally, relinquish all weapons, return all property taken from the colony, and hand over those individuals directly responsible for Posadillo's murder. The paramount chiefs of the island were given eight days in which to signify acceptance of these terms by presenting themselves before the new governor. On November 7, the Nahnmwarkis of Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti and the Wasai Sokens, realizing the need for accommodation at this critical moment, appeared before the new governor to acknowledge their acceptance of the terms. Asked to reaffirm their loyalty to Spain, the four chiefs gave what proved to be an evasive nod of the head. Only Lepen Net held out. Informed of the Net chief's intransigence, Cadarso said he would begin the systematic shelling of Net as soon as the eight-day grace period expired. With Doane acting as a go-between, Lepen Net, despite the protests of his people, finally consented to meet with Cadarso; the Ponapean chief showed up late in the afternoon of the eighth day.

The show of Spanish military might convinced Ponape's rulers that continued resistance, at least for the time being, was inadvisable. Turning to a more diplomatic approach, the Ponapeans attempted to manipulate the terms of peace as best they could. The people of Sokehs and Net returned some of the property taken from the colony and gave up enough of their guns to appease the Spaniards. The surrender of those individuals directly responsible for the murder of Posadillo proved a more difficult problem. Ponapean accounts of the engagement differ over the identity of Posadillo's killer. Some suggest Lepen Net actually
delivered the fatal blow, an action quite consistent with patterns of chiefly behavior in times of war; other versions point to the Kiti warrior, Sigismundo, who, for his heroics during the fighting, received from Lepen Net the title of Sou Kiti. In the Ponapean cultural context, the ultimate responsibility for Posadillo's death lay with the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net in whose chiefdoms the violence of July 1887 had taken place. To surrender the persons of two such eminent chiefs, however, was an unthinkable act; their detention and likely execution would constitute an intolerable disgrace for both chiefdoms. To appease the Spanish and still preserve the dignity of the two paramount chiefs, stand-ins were called for. Understanding that insistence upon the surrender of the two chiefs would inevitably lead to renewed hostilities, Cadarso accepted the compromise being offered by the Ponapeans. Two brothers, Nahnpei en Metipw and Kaniki en Metipw, stepped forward to take the place of the Wasai Sokehs. The action of the two men provided yet another example of kauat, the exceptional courage in the face of certain destruction so often displayed by Ponapean warriors throughout their history. A third man, identified as Mortlockese by birth, surrendered himself to the Spaniards in lieu of Lepen Net.

Initial reports of the 1887 uprising on Ponape carried back to Manila by the San Quentin suggested that the fault lay with Posadillo and the three interpreters. In his orders to the Spanish force sent to quell the disturbance, Terrero, the Governor General of the Philippines, advocated a conciliatory approach. Feeding Spain's pacific approach toward the violence on Ponape was a heightened disillusionment in Madrid with both clerical interference in governmental policies and the
financial burden resulting from the administration of the Caroline Islands. Reflecting a strong anti-clerical bias, La Iberia, a paper owned by the Spanish Prime Minister, claimed that the Spanish Capuchins, attempting to undo the 30 years of civilizing work performed by the American Protestant missionaries, had promoted the violence. Another government paper, El Globo, warned against any future priestly influence that might disrupt Spanish policy in the Carolines. The paper closed one of its editorials on the subject by stating that the formulators of "jesuitical policies" in Manila should satisfy American claims for an indemnity to cover damage to Protestant mission property on Ponape. A number of commentaries from members of the opposition Liberal Party brought into question the advisability of maintaining such tiny, useless and expensive pieces of island realty.

William H. Gulick, a missionary for the ABCFM working in Spain, reported that all Spanish newspapers were unanimous in their support of the conciliatory approach taken on Ponape, emphasized the importance of maintaining future good relations with the United States, and approved the principle of paying an indemnity.

On December 17, 1887, Julius G. Voight wrote the United States Assistant Secretary of State that the trouble on Ponape had been settled. His evaluation proved extremely short-sighted. Don Juan de la Concha, in his reports to Manila while in command of the pontoon, had advocated a stern approach to the uprising. The lieutenant believed that a people given to violence would only respond to forceful punitive measures; appeasement only guaranteed future problems. Violent retribution was an approach that the Ponapeans would have understood and,
indeed, expected based on their own codes of martial conduct and retaliation. Surprised by the mildness of Spanish justice, Ponapeans quickly came to interpret this leniency as a sign of weakness. The events of 1887 ultimately taught the people of the island they could confront Spain with relative impunity. Within three years, the people of Madolenihmw, provoked by an unwanted Spanish presence within their borders, would rise up to drive out the interlopers.

Subsequent violence on the island would cause officials in Manila and Madrid to look back in hindsight at the events of 1887 and identify the American Protestant missionaries as the chief source of all opposition to Spanish policies. In 1892, another inquiry on Ponape into the deed for Mesenieng found Doane, though two years dead by this time, guilty of forging a public document. Sympathizers of the American Protestant missionaries viewed the violence of 1887 as an expression of Ponapean outrage over the mistreatment of their beloved missionary, Edward Doane. While avoiding the simplicity and error of these evaluations, modern historical scholarship has persisted in pointing to the arrest and deportation of Doane as the spark that ignited the flames of violence. The conflict between Doane and Posadillo, however, amounted to little more than a thin veneer masking the deeper struggle between a colonial power and a people who refused to be dominated. Prior to the establishment of Spanish colonial rule, Ponapeans had found it relatively easy to manipulate the outsiders who reached their island's shores. Beachcombers and traders were easily controlled. Though less malleable, missionaries too contributed to the maintenance of a cultural system they had fought so hard to destroy. As they had with these other groups,
Ponapeans first attempted to manipulate the Spaniards. Spain, however, had come to rule, not to serve. With weapons, ceremonies, proclamations, commands, and threats of violence, Spain tried to intimidate the Ponapeans into relinquishing control of their island. The first direct challenge occurred in the north with the construction of the Spanish colony. The struggle for Mesenieng marked but the first in a series of violent encounters that allowed the people of the island to successfully resist Spanish domination.
NOTES

1 Hezel, The First Taint of Civilization, p. xi.

2 Louis Bayo y Hernandez a Pinzon, "Actas de posesion y adhesion de la Isla de Ascension ó Ponapi y adyacentes en las Carolinas y de la Proclama para su incorporacion," Coleccion de Documentos Relativos A la Micronesia que posee el Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid (AHNM), legajo 5887, c. 1, pp. 1-6. This collection of documents from the National Historical Archives in Madrid relating to the Spanish colonial administration of Micronesia was collected and compiled by Sister Felicia E. Plaza, M.M.B., for the University of Guam's Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC). The volume and page numbers cited in this chapter are based on her organization and cataloging of this AHNM material. A useful guide to the collection had been prepared by Sister Felicia and is entitled Indice de la Coleccion de Documentos Relativos A la Micronesia que posee el Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid (Agana, Guam: MARC, 1974). Another valuable source of material on the Spanish colonial period is the collection of the Philippine National Archives at Manila (PNAM). Microfilm copies of this collection can be found at both MARC and the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library.

3 Doane to Smith, August 1, 1885, ABCFM, 10:230.

4 The clearest statement of Spain's claims to the area, issued during the height of the Carolines controversy in 1885, is Rafael Gracia y Parejo's Considerations on the Rights of Spain Over the Caroline Islands, trans. Patricia Bieber, Miscellaneous Working Papers No. 1 (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Pacific Islands Program, 1973). The original document was published in Madrid by the Establecimiento Tipographico de Gregorio Juste.

5 An excellent narration of Spain's first three centuries of involvement in the Caroline Islands can be found in Hezel, The First Taint of Civilization, pp. 1-60.

7 Brown, "Germany, Spain, and the Caroline Islands, 1885-1899," p. 129.

8 Ibid., p. 139.

9 Voight to Porter, October 4, 1887, ABCFM, 9:32. Though official diplomatic correspondence, a copy of this and other government documents concerning events on Ponape between 1887 and 1890 can be found in the ABCFM files.


11 Hezel, Foreign Ships in Micronesia, p. 87.

12 Doane to Smith, October 13, 1885, ABCFM, 10:232.

13 Doane to Forbes, October 16, 1885, ABCFM, 10:233. The separation of Net from Sokehs, discussed later in this chapter, added a fifth chiefdom to the preexisting four on the island.

14 Doane to Smith, December 15, 1885, ABCFM, 10:235.

15 A. Cabeza Pereiro La Isla de Ponape: Geografia, Etnografia, Historia (Manila: Tipo-Litografia de Chofre y Comp., 1895) p. 166. Russell Surber, as part of the requirements for an M. A. degree in Pacific Island Studies at the University of Hawaii, has provided an extremely useful translation of Cabeza Pereiro's section on the history of the island.


17 Bayo, "Actas de posesion y adhesion de la Isla de Ascension ó Ponapi y adyacentes en las Carolinas y de la Proclama para su incorporacion," AHNM, leg 5857, c. 1, p. 5.

18 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220. George F. Garland, captain of the missionary steamer Morning Star, provides one of the most detailed accounts of events leading up to the violence of July 1887. Doane's letters do not make mention of his 1886 offer of land to the Spanish until June 29, 1887; see Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263.
19 Francis X. Hezel, S. J., "Spanish Capuchins in the Carolines," Micronesian Reporter 19:2 (1971), p. 37. Hezel's article is divided into two parts. The concluding section, which deals with the latter half of Spain's formal colonial control of the islands, can be found in the Micronesian Reporter 19:3 (1971).


22 Doane to Smith, February 10, 1886, ABCFM, 10:239. See also Doane to Smith, March 19, 1886, ABCFM, 10:241.


24 Doane to Smith, August 22, 1886, ABCFM, 10:247.

25 Doane to Smith, March 22, 1887, ABCFM, 10:258.

26 Doane to Smith, March 19, 1887, ABCFM, 10:257.

27 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

28 Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263.

29 Doane to Smith, April 5, 1887, ABCFM, 10:259. Other detailed accounts of the events leading up to the violence of July 1887 can be found in the following: (1) Rand to Smith, Journal letter April 15, 1887; entries to September 4, 1887. ABCFM, 11:312, (2) Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220, (3) Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263, and (4) "The Most Important Parts of Rev. E. T. Doane's letter to Rev. L. H. Gulick," June 5, 1887, ABCFM, 10:261. Excerpts from these and other letters dealing with the mission's problems with the Spanish colonial administration on Ponape were published in The Missionary Herald and The Friend. In addition to the ABCFM correspondence, another extremely valuable source is the Spanische Missions Chronik (Kapuziner Mission Archives, Munster). A xerox copy of the original hand-written document in Spanish is housed at MARC. This extensive history of the Capuchin mission on Ponape contains yearly summaries of events on Ponape beginning with the arrival of the Capuchin mission party
in 1887. A Spaniard's view of 1887 is given in Cabeza Pereiro's La Isla de Ponape, pp. 165-80. Diplomatic correspondence concerning the problems between the Spanish administration and the American Protestant missionaries for the period up to November 1890 rests in two major sources; (1) United States Department of State, Dispatches From United States Consuls in Manila and Butaritari, 1817-1899, vol 9, roll 8, item nos. 177-208 and (2) United States Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1892 (FRUS) (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1892) pp. 394-517. A microfilm copy of the former diplomatic source was examined at MARC. Yet another source is the highly biased but extensive account contained in Hambruch, Ponape, 1:192-207; Hambruch draws on many of the sources cited above as well as local accounts to present his own interpretation.

30 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

31 Doane to Smith, January 25, 1887, ABCFM, 10:255. A copy of this deed is in FRUS 1892, p. 440.

32 Jewell to Chandler, November 25, 1887, FRUS 1892, pp. 514-6.

33 The deeds to Mesenieng are explained in the letter Doane to Smith, August 23, 1889, ABCFM, 10:260.

34 Doane's admission that he simply had Lepen Net and the three other Ponapeans touch the pen that he used to sign their names is contained in the letter, Doane to Forbes, April 11, 1887, ABCFM, 10:210. Mention is also made of this peculiar signing in Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220. The missionary's action became public knowledge at the hearings on the matter held by Posadillo. A copy of the 1880 deed to Mesenieng can be found in Hambruch, Ponape, 1:196 and FRUS 1892, p. 474. It reads as follows;

Be it known to all whom it may concern, I, Lepen Not (Lepen Net), and I, Jonon en Metep (Souwen en Metipw), we severally and conjointly do this of our own free will and consent make over to Edward T. Doane, or his successor, whomsoever it may be, that portion of the land known by the name of Mejinion (Mesenieng), beginning at the mouth of the stream named Tan en Uh (Dewenneu), and following the middle of that stream till it strikes the boundary of Mr. J. Kubary's land, then passing rather westerly till it reaches the boundary of the land known as Iolinia (Dolonier), then deflecting north on that boundary
till it reaches salt water. This piece of land we make over as above stated to be held and known as the land of the Jonlan Kan (Souleng kan) or Christians.

We set our names or titles to make our marks to this paper in the presence of these witnesses.

Marau (Mwahr) or their titles.

Witnesses:

Lepen Not (Lepen Net)
Joan Mettep (Souwen en Metipw)

Witness:

Kron Ruc (Kroun Rohi)
Nano en Maitik (Nahno en Maitik).

Ponape, July 26, 1880

35 Interview, Sarapin Siliwer, Kolonia, Ponape, 18 March 1980. At our meeting, Siliwer stated that Kaniki en Mesenieng was the original section chief or soumas en kousaw for Mesenieng. Kaniki en Mesenieng had incurred Lepen Net's displeasure and was thus forced to flee to Kiti where the title remains to this day. With Kaniki's flight, immediate responsibility for the governance of Mesenieng fell to Souwen en Metipw. It is not clear how long before 1880 these events occurred. Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 28, lists Nahaimw en Metipw as the section chief of Mesenieng; it is not clear why he does this.


37 Bernart, The Book of Lueleen, p. 108.

38 Hambruch, Ponape, 2:95.

39 Interview, Siliwer, 18 March 1980.

40 Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 71, identifies this Wasai Sokehs as Kaimw Sapwasapw. It also appears from Riesenberg, p. 49, that Kaimw Sapwasapw's honorific death name was Isoeni.


42 Hambruch, Ponape, 2:2-6, provides a history of Net and Sokehs from the conquest of the Soukawad through the brief period of total unification when Kaimw Sapwasapw held the ruling titles of both areas.

43 Mary E. Logan to Brother and Sister, November 21, 1874, HMCSL. See also, Doane to Clark, December 22, 1874, ABCFM, 6:16.

45 Doane to Pogue, March 17, 1871, HMCSL.

46 James Lyle Young, "Journal of Residence and Voyages in the Caroline, Marshall, and Mariana Groups in the North Pacific, January 1880 to July 1881," entry for July 6, 1880, PMB No. 23. This unpublished journal is part of a larger collection of Young's letters, notebooks, memoranda, and articles. The originals are housed at the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia. The University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library has a microfilm copy of the collection.

47 Rand to Friends, April 18, 1887, HMCSL.

48 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

49 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:231. The passage does not make clear whether the money paid Lepen Net was considered a rental fee or a purchase price. A letter, Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263, makes mention of Spanish intentions to purchase the land. I came across no mention of the fee in Spanish records.

50 Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263.

51 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

52 Doane to Gulick, August 6, 1885, HMCSL.

53 Doane to Gulick, December 28, 1885, HMCSL.

54 "The Most Important Parts of Rev. E. T. Doane's letter to Rev. Luther H. Gulick," June 5, 1887, ABCFM, 10:261. This is an edited version of a longer letter dealing with Doane's problems with the Spanish governor. A copy of this letter is also contained in FRUS 1892, pp. 401-2. The missionary Doane provides a detailed and convincing refutation of the charges against him in a letter written en route to Manila; see Doane to Smith, June 29, 1887, ABCFM, 10:263.

55 Copies of the extensive diplomatic correspondence concerning Doane's problems and the violence of 1887 on Ponape can be found in FRUS 1892, pp. 394-434.

56 Smith to Bayard, October 15, 1887, FRUS 1892, pp. 407-8.

57 Voight to Gulick, July 26, 1887, ABCFM, 9:20.
58 Peter Hempenstall, "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," Protest in the Pacific, eds. Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford, manuscript, p. 76.

59 Voight to Doane, August 6, 1887, ABCFM, 9:23. This letter reconfirms the understanding reached with the Governor General at their meeting earlier in the day.

60 Hezel, "Spanish Capuchins in the Carolines," p. 29.


62 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

63 Rand to Smith, Journal letter, April 15, 1887; entry for May 24, 1887. ABCFM, 11:312.


67 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.


69 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:200.

70 A particularly gruesome account of this opening skirmish is given in John Westwood, Island Stories: Being Extracts From the Papers of Mr. John Westwood, Mariner, of London and Shanghai (Shanghai: North China Herald Press, 1905), pp. 143-54.

71 My account of the events of July 1 to July 4, 1887 is drawn largely from Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

72 Hempenstall, "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," p. 79.

73 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:200.
74 Ehrlich. "'The Clothes of Men,'" p. 71.

75 Rand to Smith, Journal letter, April 15, 1887; entry for July 31, 1887. ABCFM, 11:312.

76 Garland, "To the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM Regarding the 1887-1888 Trip of the 'Morning Star,'" April 19, 1888, ABCFM, 9:108.

77 Westwood, Island Stories, p. 149.

78 Garland to Smith, August 29, 1887, ABCFM, 9:220.

79 De la Concha to Ministerio de Ultramar, October 31, 1887, AHNM, 5353.6, c. 1, p. 1355.

80 Ibid., pp. 1349-50.

81 An account of the circumstances surrounding the settlement reached on Ponape is given in a letter, Terrero to Ministerio de Ultramar, December 22, 1887, AHNM, 5353.4, pp. 8148-8188.

82 Ehrlich, "'The Clothes of Men;'" p. 72.

83 Interview, Hadley, 21 June 1983. Hadley identifies the two brothers by their personal names of Soamenleng and Serieleng. The two men were members of the Dipwilap clan.

84 Ibid, 21 June 1983. In footnote no. 60 to page 80 of "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," Hempenstall cites a report from the Spanish governor, Cadarso, that identifies the third individual, the man from the Mortlocks, as "Lumpey [Lempwe] en Kisu". There does exist some confusion over the actual fate of these three men. In a letter dated December 17, 1887, and carried in the files of the ABCFM as document 44 on reel 9, Julius G. Voight writes to the Assistant Secretary of State that one of the three stand-ins escaped. Westwood, Island Stories, p. 134, speaks of meeting the Mortlockese man, whom he calls Homer, in Manila where he was undergoing interrogation by Spanish authorities for his role in the violence on Ponape. Westwood writes that this individual was later executed by the Spaniards in Manila. Hadley, in our interview, described the torture undergone by the Mortlockese man at the hands of his Spanish captors; the Ponapean elder stated that individual in question was executed outside of Ponape. This evidence from Westwood and Hadley conflicts somewhat with Hempenstall, "The Spanish-American Wars," p. 78 and Ehrlich, "'The Clothes of Men,'" p. 72, who both state that the two people executed at Manila were the Ponapean brothers.
85 Terrero to Ministerio de Ultramar, October 16, 1887, AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 810A.

86 A summary of Spanish newspaper accounts was reported from Madrid by William H. Gulick in a paper entitled, "Events on Ponape," October 17, 1887, HMCSL.

87 Sentiment for the abandonment of the Caroline Islands for economic reasons also showed itself in Manila. See Webb to Rives, December 24, 1888, Dispatches from U. S. Consuls in Manila and Butaritari, 1817-1899, volume 10, no. 60, MARC. In this letter, Webb, the U. S. Consul for Manila, reports on articles appearing in the Manila newspapers *El Diario de Manila* and *La Opinion*. In his introduction to Cabeza Pereiro's *La Isla de Ponape*, General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, Marques de Tenerife, also advocated the abandonment of the Caroline Islands on economic grounds. In the opinions of both Weyler and Cabeza Pereiro, writing in the wake of the 1890 violence at Ohwa and Kitamw in Madolenihmw, Spain's retention of the Caroline Islands was a hopelessly futile policy.

88 Voight to Assistant Secretary of State, December 17, 1887, ABCFM, 9:44.

89 De la Concha to Governor General, October 17, 1887, AHNM, leg. 5353.6, c. 1, pp. 1351-2.

90 Hambruch, *Ponape*, 1:204, is correct in identifying Ponapeans' interpretation of the terms of the peace settlement as a sign of weakness on the part of Spain.
VII. THE STRUGGLES OVER OWHA

Spaniards and Ponapeans next confronted each other at Ohwa in Madolenihmw. A hilly, forested area whose slopes rose quickly from the shore, Ohwa possessed a long history of struggle. Once a part of Enimwahn, the independent area in the north of Madolenihmw ruled by Lepen Moar, Ohwa had served as a constant battlefield in the centuries-old resistance to the central authority of first Nan Madol and then Temwen. Intensified foreign contact with the West added to the complexity of the area's violent history. Following the overthrow of the Nahnmwarki Luhk en Kesik in the Falcon incident of 1836, many of the deposed ruler's Upwutenmei lineage mates congregated in the area about Ohwa. From nearby Areu, Wasai Ejikaia, a member of the Upwutenmei who had sought to regain the title of nahnmwarki, enlisted the support of a new foreign presence, the Protestant mission church, in his ultimately unsuccessful effort. It was Ejikaia who gave the missionaries the land on which they built their complex at Ohwa. In the 1870s and 1880s, Ohwa provided the stage for a different kind of encounter; namely, a contest for the hearts, minds and souls of Ponapean youth. Though despairing of their efforts, the missionaries did train a generation of young people who would help shape the course of Ponapean history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. Next came Spain with plans to construct an outpost in the middle of the Ponapean community. Spanish actions comprised yet another chapter in the area's history of struggle, this time with international, cross-cultural dimensions. Ponapeans contended among themselves, Catholics engaged Protestants, colonial officials opposed American missionaries, and, finally, island warriors battled Spanish troops. The conflict over Ohwa in 1890 shredded the last pretense of Spanish dominance. In the end, the people of Ohwa and the rest of Ponape showed that they still controlled their lives and their island.

On November 1, 1887, Spain, after a four month absence, once again set foot on Ponape. The negotiations, the show of military might, the demands for surrender, the ceremonies of justice, and the posturing of power and sovereignty had regained for Spain only the right to rebuild on the ruins of its old compound at Niahlek on Mesenieng's northern shore. Shaken by the violence of 1887, the new governor, Cadarso, ordered the construction of a high wall to protect the Spanish colony from future Ponapean hostility. Disguising their fears and insecurities with a defiant bravado, the Spaniards used the pei or altar at Nintu as a stone quarry for the wall. For additional protection, the Spanish troops dug a deep trench around the wall and cleared the immediate area of all growth that might shield from view the movement of hostile forces. Jutting out from the western face of the wall was a corner of the fort erected by the Spanish troops. The builders, hoping to command a respect that their presence on the island had so far failed to earn, called it Fort Alfonso XIII after the ruling monarch of Spain. To guard against attack from the sea, the Spaniards built two block houses on the knoll
that overlooked the harbor. On the inner side of the wall were later constructed watch towers, ramparts, parapets, gun holes, and cannon ramps. A totally defensive structure, the wall mocked Spanish claims to sovereignty over the island. By the end of 1890, developments on the island would force the Spaniards to withdraw behind the wall where, for all intents and purposes, they would become captives in a land they purported to rule.

With the wall completed, the colony's occupants now set about recreating a small piece of Spanish civilization in an isolated area of the western Pacific far from Iberian shores. J. Cumming Dewar, an Englishman shipwrecked on Ponape in 1890 when his sailing yacht the Nyanza ran aground near the two Mwand islands off Uh, described the rebuilt colony as consisting of the governor's house, a crudely built hospital, a dozen ugly shanties, and a set of military barracks on the northern waterfront. Dewar called the entire complex "a miserable place." A desolate no-man's land now separated the colony from the rest of the island. With the Spanish having returned and their own memories of the violence of 1887 still fresh, Ponapeans withdrew to the other side of the Dewenneu River, Mesenieng's southern boundary. From there, the warriors of Net and Sokehs watched and waited. Women, however, showed themselves capable of crossing the hostile gulf of land that ordinary men could not. As they had with the ships, the women of the island used the powers of their sex to tame and manipulate a foreign presence for gain.

True to form, Edward Doane ranted against this sexual traffic. The missionary lamented that the mission station at Kenan, once envisioned as
Figure 4. A Map of the Spanish Colony of Santiago de l'Ascensión in 1890 (from A. Cabeza Pereiro's La Isla de Ponape). Redrawn by Katherine S. Hanlon, 1980.
the "Boston" of Ponape, had now been irreparably harmed by the "Sodom" that was the Spanish colony. The seeming gaiety and abandon with which the women of the north prostituted themselves before the Spanish troops shocked the old missionary. The Capuchin priests, who believed they held little else in common with their principal adversaries, evidenced a similar concern. Writing to the Spanish governor several years later about the persisting problem, Father Bernardus de Sarria complained of the destruction of God's work caused by the conduct of the soldiers. The padre deplored the fact that, "one cannot take a walk in the colony in any direction without falling over soldiers and kananka girls in the most indecent postures." Even Ponapeans, said the priest, called the colony the wickedest place on the island.

Chiefs could also venture across boundaries that inhibited lesser men. The Nahmnwarki of Uh, his chiefdom's physical distance from the colony allowing him a political luxury not shared by the Wasai Sokehs or Lepen Net, visited the Spanish colony on a regular basis. Baptized Ejikaia or Hezekiah by the missionaries, the Nahmnwarki nonetheless enjoyed his weekly sojourns. One visitor to the island described the chief parading through the colony in his orange-colored kilt, black coat, and red flannel shirt. Under his arm, he carried a bottle of liquor which he offered to share with any European or American he encountered. Doane, exasperated by this flagrant violation of church prohibitions on the use of alcohol, had the Nahmnwarki dismissed from membership. Undaunted, the Nahmnwarki immediately requested that the governor send a priest to open a Catholic mission station in Uh. With the Spaniards exhibiting both a respect and a tolerance for chiefly
behavior, the Nahnmwarki now sought to benefit from a seemingly less rigid, better armed, and wealthier foreign presence on the island. His machinations, however, proved no more successful than those of Lepen Net in 1887. An eventual convert to Catholicism, the Nahnmwarki of Uh would find himself deposed by the members of his predominantly Protestant chiefdom in the political struggles that wracked the north of the island in the late 1890s.

While the Spaniards concentrated on building a wall, the American Protestant missionaries watched hopelessly as the barriers they had erected between themselves and the island began to crumble. The continuing debate over mission policy, begun in the 1870s, now served as little more than a thin veil of respectability for what actually amounted to petty bickering. Sturges, after a two year absence, returned to Ponape in 1882. The already existing differences between himself and his fellow missionaries soon intensified. Both Logan and Rand complained of Sturges' obstinacy. In 1884, Rand accused Sturges of trying to subvert the work of the mission schools at Ohwa. Intoxicated by his power over the people, Sturges, said Logan, behaved more like a Ponapean chief than a missionary. Noting that Sturges had accomplished little of the translation work that was now his primary responsibility, Logan stated quite emphatically that the mission work on Ponape would proceed more smoothly without Sturges' presence.

One thing Ponape's missionaries did agree upon was the incompetency of Frank E. Rand. In his letters to his superiors, Logan repeatedly expressed his lack of faith in Rand's abilities. Logan complained of Rand's failure to learn Ponapean, his poor powers of expression in the
English language, his general lack of intellectual skills, and the condescending manner he employed in dealing with Ponapeans.\textsuperscript{11} Logan believed Rand's quick temper and his haughtiness alienated many Ponapeans from mission influence. Doane, writing in 1881, offered a similar assessment.\textsuperscript{12} Sturges, more bluntly, wondered if Rand had the "brains and skills" to take care of the schools at Ohwa that now comprised his chief work.\textsuperscript{13} Mary E. Logan, commenting on Rand's frivolous nature, remembered the time on Ponape the missionary dropped all mission work to build a catamaran.\textsuperscript{14} Rand's mismanagement of school funds resulting in a more than $500 debt to a trading company in Honolulu earned the missionary a sharp rebuke from his superiors in Boston.\textsuperscript{15} Attrition and death among the missionaries' ranks, however, permitted Rand to outlast all of his critics.

The male missionaries, deprived of the companionship of their own wives during much of their stay, showed little patience for the hardships of the single women. Estella Fletcher, who first reached the island in 1882, complained bitterly over Doane's attempt to have a meeting of the Ponape Board of Missions vote her home because of recurrent illness.\textsuperscript{16} Annette Palmer, arriving in 1885, experienced a similar lack of sympathy and patience on the part of her colleagues.\textsuperscript{17} Reflecting on her own experiences and those of her successors, Susan M. Sturges, as early as 1872, wrote that Ponape was no place for a single woman.\textsuperscript{18}

The turmoil within the mission ranks did not go unnoticed by visitors to the island. Captain Isaiah Bray of the \textit{Morning Star} made special note of the sad state of affairs among the members of the Ponape mission community.\textsuperscript{19} The captain, in the report of his 1883 trip through
Micronesia, stated that it seemed sheer folly to him to spend money on such dissension. Looking about Ponape, Bray claimed that it was difficult to identify the fruits of more than thirty years of missionary labor. Mary E. Logan, writing from Stanton, Michigan, in December 1888 following the death of her husband seven months earlier, underscored the constant state of disharmony that had always characterized mission affairs on Ponape; "no two men in that field," wrote the widow, "have ever been able to work harmoniously except as they let each other alone." 20

Lucy M. Ingersoll, a medical doctor who arrived on Ponape in 1888, delivered the most damming assessment of the group of missionaries that now congregated exclusively at Ohwa. She depicted people beset by physical and emotional ills. Ingersoll described Fletcher as suffering from a nervous disorder that required an extended period of convalescence, Doane as slipping in his mental capacities, and Palmer as living in a near-constant state of hysteria. 21 Ingersoll, who showed no more tolerance for the people of the island than she did for her fellow missionaries, decried the many Ponapeans who lined up outside her door with a variety of ailments. Overcome by the climate, the physical discomfort, loneliness, isolation, and a sense of futility, Ingersoll decided that she could stay no longer than a year. Summing up thirty years of missionary efforts, Ingersoll wrote; "All seems to be for nothing; the people will never be anything more than what they are now. The best thing for them would be to be left entirely by themselves, and not depend upon foreigners for everything." 22
Not surprisingly, this heightened dissension caused the missionaries' normally bleak assessments of the situation on Ponape to become even bleaker. Despite the years of teaching and preaching, the Ponapeans, said one observer, remained the most wicked, heathenish people in all of Micronesia. Particularly alarming was the return to sakau drinking among members of the larger congregation. Doane bemoaned the fact that the Ponapeans, after listening quite attentively to sermons that denounced the use of the plant, left the church to go pound its roots. Despite the missionaries' requirement that church members refrain from its use, sakau's role in the ceremonies of Ponapean society proved a tie too strong to break. Doane sat uncomfortably through a feast given by the Protestant congregation at Enipeinpah during which the visiting Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw was accorded full ritual treatment by his Kiti hosts. Lucy Ingersoll, in her brief stay on the island, called Ponapeans a miserable race of people; she pronounced her medicines ineffective against the habits of a people who, aside from drinking the vile juices of a narcotic plant, lived in shabby dwellings, ate poorly, failed to isolate themselves from all social contact when sick, had not the slightest understanding of basic hygiene, and were unusually helpless.

Depressed by the dissension which riddled their ranks and by the resistance of the Ponapeans about them, the missionaries could take little solace in the work of the Ponapean missionaries in the Truk and Mortlocks area. Despite the considerable achievement of the sturdy band of Ponapean missionaries, their supervisors back on Ponape chose to focus more on their problems and deficiencies. With their chief patron,
Sturges now relegated to a minor role in the overall operations of the mission, the Ponapean missionaries had few defenders at general meetings of the Ponape Board. Doane, who had once been a strong advocate of the Ponapeans, now complained of their limitations;

"We see their comparative failure in the Mortlocks; rather, I should say, we see how inadequate they were to the work. They are poor scholars at home; they are none the better for going abroad. They go out with limited mental culture - fair readers, fair in arithmetic, fair in the possessing of Biblical knowledge. Fair, and only fair, is fine in any gift. But that soon runs dry - and then advance is impossible." 27

Robert W. Logan, after spending a year at Uman in the Truk Lagoon, conceded that he had developed a new respect for the work of the Ponapean missionaries; he added, however; "The steam cannot rise higher than its source." 28

The failure of the Caroline Islands Training School at Ohwa in Madolenihmw to provide additional workers for the foreign and domestic fields compounded the missionaries' disillusionment with their Ponapean counterparts in the west. Begun on an informal basis by Sturges in 1868, the school developed a more formal program of training in 1882. 29 The missionaries selected single males and young married couples who showed both intellectual and spiritual promise as mission workers. While the majority of pupils came from Ponape, the student body also included young people from Pingelap, Mokil, the Mortlocks, and Truk. The school itself was divided into three major sections. The Primary Division provided a two year course of study for young men not yet baptized but who evidenced promising moral character. Subjects of study included arithmetic, geography, writing, and Bible study. For the missionary candidates, the Biblical Department presented a three year program that required study in
such subjects as biblical geography, history, sermon writing, the
techniques of preaching, and more advanced work in academic subjects
ranging from arithmetic, geography, and writing to basic psychology and
anatomy. The wives of missionary candidates enrolled in the Normal
School where they took a three year course of study that focused on basic
literacy and such homemaking skills as cooking and sewing. Male
graduates of the Primary Division joined the women in their academic
studies.

Ponapean served as the language of instruction; the more advanced
students were allowed to elect optional courses in the study of English.
Between 1882 and 1889, the total enrollment for the three different
divisions of the Training School averaged 48, with a high of 54 students
being enrolled in 1888. Thos Ponapean students coming from nearby
areas lived at home and provided for their own support; students from the
more distant areas of Ponape and from other islands lived as boarding
students whose basic needs were covered by grants from the school's
operating fund. The average expense of maintaining a couple at the
Training School amounted to $25; a single student cost the mission
$15. In addition to the Training School, the complex at Ohwa also
consisted of a Boys Boarding School and a Girls Boarding School. Again,
enrollment was predominantly Ponapean with some students drawn from the
other islands under the care of the Ponape Board of Missions. Until a
stroke forced his final departure from the island in 1885, Sturges
concerned himself with the Biblical Department of the Training School,
while Rand split his time between the Training School and the Boys
Boarding School. Fletcher and Palmer ran the Girls Boarding School and worked with the women of the Normal School.

All of the missionaries involved with the Training School expressed deep regret over the failure of the school to meet its objectives; between 1884 and 1889, the school produced only three foreign teachers and two domestic church workers. Sturges early on blamed Rand for the school's poor record. 32 Lucy Ingersoll saw a deeper problem in the nature of educational methods employed at Ohwa; she criticized the emphasis on rote learning as being detrimental to students' imaginations. 33 Ingersoll believed that the students came away from their education with a confusing maze of facts and no idea about how to practically apply what they had learned. Noting the enthusiasm and interest for language learning among Ponapeans, Ingersoll recommended that greater stress be placed upon the teaching of English. The medical missionary, in short, held education to be an essentially uplifting, enlightening experience. Edward Doane, because of his growing disillusionment with the work of the Ponapean missionaries in the Mortlocks, saw Ohwa as little more than an overly structured elementary school. In his letters, Doane expressed the opinion that education should not leave young people dissatisfied with life on the islands. Education should be as simple as the lives of the people. In formulating educational objectives, Doane urged his associates to keep in mind that there was "no need for shoes on Ponape."

Doane recommended simple arithmetic, basic literacy skills, an understanding of appropriate agricultural and fishing techniques, and, most critically, a knowledge and appreciation of the Bible. Proper manners and good personal hygiene were also important.
While debating approaches, most of the missionaries agreed that the most serious barrier to Christian education on the island was the lack of virtue among Ponapean youth. The missionaries worried that Ohwa, rather than providing a sound Christian education, served more as a sexual playground for Ponapean adolescents and young adults. The eventual seduction of almost all female students brought to the school from other islands caused particular consternation among the missionaries. Admitting that most of their scholars fell into sin during their stay at the school or immediately after their return home, Sturges lamented that virtue could be found as easily in a barnyard as at Ohwa. Doane felt the problem lay in the genetic tendencies toward promiscuity among the Ponapeans; "It is one of the sad things pertaining to Ponape youth, male and female, [that] they cannot reach manhood or womanhood pure." Thinking over the experiences of his last years on Ponape, Sturges concluded from his home in Oakland, California, that the education received at Ohwa did little to remove the particular "malignity of youth" on Ponape.

Whatever its shortcomings in the missionaries' eyes, the Training School at Ohwa did educate a group of young Ponapean men and women whose effects upon the course of the island's history would prove considerable. Foremost among this group was Henry Nanpei. Born in 1860 to Nahnken Nahmk and his wife, Meri-An, the child first received the Ponapean title, Nankirounpeinpok. The missionaries baptized him Henry while he was still a young boy. As an adult, Henry would later take the Ponapean title of Nanpei, given him by his father, and make it his last name. With Nahnku's death in 1864, Nanpei and his mother were
taken into the household of Nahnku's successor, Nahnawa en Mwudok. Nanpei's mother, despite her new husband's strident opposition to the Protestant mission, insisted that Henry be educated by the missionaries at Ohwa. At the age of 24, Nanpei, still a student at the Training School, began working as a teacher in the Primary Department. Greater responsibility and reward soon followed. By 1888, Nanpei served as an assistant to Frank Rand in the administration of the entire training school and drew a salary of $100 per month. Married to Karolin (Caroline), the daughter of Narcissus de los Santos, Nanpei rose quickly to become the leading figure in the Protestant church on Ponape. Rand termed Henry and Karolin "the best couple on the island in every way."

A member of one of the island's less prominent clans, the Dipwinluhk, Nanpei was considered neither a noble nor a royal child. While his Ponapean title was high, Nanpei's clan membership excluded him from any further advancement in the traditional political system. What did benefit Nanpei greatly was a piece of paper signed by his father Nahnku at the insistence of his maternal grandfather, James Headley. The paper deeded to young Henry all of the Nahnken's lands as an inheritance. An unprecedented, revolutionary departure from the traditional Ponapean practice of returning all land held in fief by the deceased to the nahnmwarki, the inheritance of major tracks of land in Kiti, officially certified by the Spanish governor in 1896 and honored by subsequent colonial administrations, provided Nanpei with an economic base that he developed into an immense source of wealth.

Nanpei, like his father, demonstrated a marked ability to deal with foreign ships. While still a student at Ohwa, he opened a store in
Rohnkiti that monopolized all trade with the ships still calling at the southeastern harbor. In 1887, Nanpei lent Mrs. Frank Rand $225 to help defray the cost of her trip home for convalescent purposes; it was an almost unheard of sum of money for a Ponapean at this time. The success of his commercial dealings at Rohnkiti encouraged Nanpei to exploit his landed wealth by planting coconut trees and selling the copra to representatives of German trading firms on the island. He later increased his considerable land holdings by extending credit freely to the chiefs of the island and then accepting land gifts as payment. When, in 1907, the Germans took the land away from the chiefs and deeded it to actual occupants, Nanpei, through similar tactics, managed to quickly snatch up much of the Kiti people's newly awarded lands.

From 1890 until his death in 1927, Nanpei loomed as the richest and one of the most powerful individuals on the island. Supported by a circle of mission-trained relatives and associates known as the pwihn en loalokong, Nanpei, through both subtle maneuvers and planned violence, sought to loosen the paramount chiefs' control over the island. Some scholars believe Nanpei's ultimate objective to have been the creation of a centralized government under his immediate control and closely allied with the United States. An extremely complex man with a marked propensity for manipulation, Nanpei, still very much a Ponapean, used the Protestant mission to advance his own interests. A shared religion, along with his wealth, education, and traditional ties, helped provide Nanpei with influence over the Protestant rulers of Madolenihmw and Uh. The missionaries called Nanpei a prince; the Spanish suspected him of promoting insurrection and of supplying hostile forces with guns and
ammunitions. The Germans saw his cunning behind the Sokehs Rebellion that would shake the island in 1910.43 His family, clanmates, and fellow church members regarded him as a heroic patriarch; other Ponapeans simply called him wicked.

Luelen Bernart was another prominent Ponapean to come out of the Training School at Ohwa. Bernart, unlike Nanpei, enjoyed considerable rank and prestige through his clan lineage. The son of a man who rose to the title of Dauk, the third ranking title in the nahnmwarki or soupeidi's line, Bernart belonged to the Lipitahn, the clan from which the Nahnken of Kiti was chosen.44 Though never becoming nahnken, he did attain the title of Nahnsau Ririn, the fourth highest title in the nahnken or serihso's line. Rand called Bernart "much like Henry Nanpei and next to him the most promising pupil."45 Before his twentieth birthday, Bernart, in addition to serving as a teacher in the Primary Department, also preached on a regular basis at such out-stations as Dehpehk and Temwen.46 Like Nanpei a resident of Kiti, Luelen cemented his religious and geographical ties with the Nahnken's son by marrying Kilara (Clara), a sister of Nanpei's wife. In Ponapean kinship terms, their marriage to blood sisters made Bernart and Nanpei brothers. A constant ally and supporter of Nanpei throughout his life, Luelen Bernart would go on to produce the first history of a Micronesian island ever written by a Micronesian islander.

Three other members of the Ohwa circle emerged to play major roles in the island's history.47 A member of the Dipwinmen clan and holder of the section chief's title for Mwudok Island, Tepit (David) Hadley was a first cousin of Nanpei's who also married a daughter of Narcissus de los
Santos. Ettekar of Mesihso in Madolenihmw, a man whom the Spanish officials believed guilty of instigating the 1890 conflict at Ohwa, was a member of the Sounpwok, the same clan to which the wives of Henry Nanpei, Luefen Bernart, and Tepit Hadley all belonged. Clan affiliation, then, reinforced Ettekar's ties to Nanpei's circle; the man from Madolenihmw, however, soon broke with Nanpei and went his own separate way.48 A fifth member of the circle was William of Mwand. William, who belonged to the Dipwinpahnmei clan, had no direct access to power; the Dipwinpahnmei, while rulers of Madolenihmw, held no special rank or privilege in Uh. Though not related to Nanpei through clan or family ties, William nonetheless proved a strong supporter and ally of the Kiti leader. Married to a woman of the Lasialap clan, the ruling clan of Uh, William attempted to use his wife's connection to incite Uh against the Catholics of Awak in 1898. In his effort, William received the strong but clandestine support of Nanpei.

Prevented by the circumstances of their birth from traditional access to power, these five extremely ambitious men sought to use the knowledge gained from their training at Ohwa to promote their own interests. Their education provided skills that allowed them to deal with missionaries, traders, and colonial officials on a more equal and effective basis than had previously been possible for individual Ponapeans. This ability, in turn, won for most of them varying degrees of wealth, prominence, and respect. While never threatening the dominance of the existing political order, the members of the pwnh en loalokong did exert a considerable degree of influence over the affairs of the island that led to important changes. Learning from the examples set by these men, Ponapeans came to
place greater emphasis on a formal schooling that permitted greater, more equitable access to the ideas, technologies, and skills of the outside world. In a twist of irony, Ohwa, despite the missionaries' despair, produced men who, in many ways, came very close to effecting the kinds of reform the missionaries desired for Ponape.

Of much more immediate concern to the missionaries than any wishful musings about the role their students might one day play in the affairs of the island were the activities of the Spanish priests. The Spanish priests reciprocated with equal passion the animosity evidenced by Doane and the other Protestant missionaries on the island. To the Capuchins, the Protestants' corruption of the Gospel constituted a far more serious threat than the most heathenish practices of uncivilized savages. Llevaneras, the supervisor of all Capuchin missionary activity in the Pacific, described the Protestant missionaries as disseminators of evil who promoted hypocrisy, perversion, and deceit. 49 The priest accused the missionaries of using coercion to enforce church discipline, of falsifying records to give a misleading picture of Protestant successes, and of even taking positions that promoted disease and decline among the island's population. The Spanish Capuchins viewed the Protestant missionaries' pronounced advocacy of "mercantilism" as their most grievous fault. Reflecting back upon the history of Capuchin efforts in the Carolines, one German priest wrote,

"One must lament and condemn the crude system of the Boston Methodist [sic] Mission, a profanation of Christianity possible only for an American business soul, whereby clothes were forced on the natives under the mask of Christian morality and decency, but in reality to make a lucrative business out of its highly profitable trade in the garments, which soon wear out because of the poor quality and must be replaced by new ones." 50
The ultimate determiners of the religious differences brought to the island were, of course, the Ponapeans. Despite the political and material attractions that different segments of the island's society found in the religion of the American missionaries, Ponapeans did express serious dissatisfaction with certain tenets and practices of Protestantism. Public confession, an extremely dangerous practice on Ponape where individual transgressions often affected the honor of families, clans, and entire chiefdoms, never took hold. More problematical for the missionaries, however, was the Ponapeans' fundamental understanding of the relationship between a god and his people. Ponapeans believed that ritual supplication accompanied by appropriate offerings induced their gods to release the bounty of the land and the sea.

When Ponapeans asked the missionaries, as they would their chiefs and their gods, for material assistance, the missionaries indignantly retorted that salvation required life-long penance and sacrifice. The response disturbed the sense of harmony that Ponapeans believed characterized the relationship between the world of gods and the world of men. In addition, the missionaries' insistence upon the people's support of the churches through contributions of money, produce, or crafts placed the island's Protestant community in a serious dilemma. These people found themselves torn between obligations to their chiefs, who still very much controlled the resources necessary for subsistence, and the missionaries, who demanded equal tribute for heavenly salvation. So pressed, many Ponapeans moderated their initial commitment toward the new religion. Protestantism on Ponape, then, reached a formidable cultural
barrier beyond which it became increasingly difficult to progress. The missionaries' mention of the indifference, spiritual coldness, backsliding, and the people's demands for compensation for all work performed in behalf of the church reflected this impasse. For some, a solution to the difficulty lay in the transformation of the mission church into a distinctly Ponapean entity; this process, already begun, would accelerate after the missionaries' forced withdrawal from the island in 1890. For others, Catholicism offered an acceptable alternative. 52

In scrutinizing the representatives of this second Christian religion, many Ponapeans quickly noted the generosity of the priests. Presents of toys, trinkets, clothing, and money led the people to call the priests kadek or kind. Some envisioned the promise of more material gain through a religion that placed less rigorous demands upon their already strained resources. Ponapeans observed too that the dark robes, the long beards, and the abstinence from the company of women seemed appropriate to men who claimed to know the ways of gods. Unlike the more secular Protestant services, the Catholic masses, with their ritual, ceremony, and otherworldly aura, coincided more closely with what Ponapeans expected of the nature of men's communications with gods. Debates over the role of the Virgin Mary and the meaning of the Immaculate Conception posed no problem for Ponapeans who believed godly beings capable of all manner of miraculous behavior. 53 Despite these positive impressions, Catholicism did not make immediate inroads on Ponape. The return of Narcissus de los Santos to the Catholic fold, a highly heralded event in the first months of Capuchin missionary activity
on the island, failed to inspire others, including the Filipino's family who remained committed Protestants. Indeed, the first individuals baptized on the island proved to be not Ponapeans but the children of the Spanish colonists. By 1893, six years after the Spanish arrival, the number of Ponapean converts to Catholicism registered at less than 100. Popular acceptance of a second foreign religion required more time; many Ponapeans waited for the responses of their chiefs.

The Nahnmwarki of Kiti's immediate response to Catholicism evidenced the political appeal the new religion had for some of Ponape's paramount chiefs. In Kiti, as elsewhere on the island, political unity suffered from centuries-old sectional and clan rivalries. A new generation of Ponapean ruling chiefs confronted hostile factions that expressed their opposition to the reigning powers through adherence to the Protestant faith. Less than a month after their arrival, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, known as Mensila and later baptized in 1897 as Miguel, visited the Capuchin priests to ask that a mission station be established in Kiti. His predecessor, Nahnmwarki Ejikaia, had controlled the Protestant church by becoming a member. Mensila had resisted the restraints of membership and, thus, upon succession to the title in the mid-1880s, faced a powerful source of resistance to his paramountcy. Young Henry Nanpei, through his education, his association with the Protestant mission, his trading interests, and his claims to large tracts of land in Kiti, loomed as a serious rival to the Nahnmwarki's power. For Mensila, baptism as a Protestant meant submission. An alternative strategy was needed to counter opponents who drew on foreign wealth and ideas.
Mensi1a had succeeded in stopping the construction of a new church in Enipeipah and in disrupting the work of the mission station at Wone; still the challenge to his authority persisted.58 Deeply concerned, Mensi1a turned to the religion of the Spaniards to keep in check the hostile forces that coalesced around the Protestant Church. Joyous over the Nahnmwarki's request, the Capuchins quickly set about building a church and rectory in Wone.59 The hostilities of 1887, however, delayed the Capuchins' plans; it was not until 1889 that the station began operations. As a show of commitment, the Nahnmwarki allowed his infant son, Nintalue, to be baptized.60 The gesture was particularly grandiose since the people of Kiti regarded the circumstances of the child's birth with great reverence. Ponapeans believed a child born to a reigning Nahnmwarki, called an ipwihn pohn warawar, to possess an unusually godly aura because of the supernatural forces that surrounded the Nahnmwarki at the time of conception.61 Christened, appropriately enough, Serephenus, the child would one day assume the title of nahmken.

Mensi1a also enlisted other Spanish resources in his cause. Convinced that the presence of a Spanish military garrison would have an intimidating effect upon his opponents that far outweighed any dangers, the Nahnmwarki permitted the construction of a small fort near the church. Construction of the military compound, carried out by a detachment of Spanish troops under the command of Lieutenant Don Marcelo Porras, was completed in late October, 1889.62 The physical layout of the area conveyed a strong political statement; between the fort and the church some 100 yards to the south lay Alenieng, the residence of the Nahnmwarki. Only sixty feet separated the Catholic house of worship from
the Protestant church. At the consecration of both the church and the fort, Spanish pageantry combined with Ponapean hospitality to create a memorable occasion. The Nahnmwarki greeted the mission party, led by Fr. Saturnius de Aratonja, in his best European suite. Next followed a solemn mass in which Ponapeans, as good hosts, attempted to imitate the solemnity and piety of the Spaniards. Doane, deploring the din of chants, hymns, and Latin prayers, conceded that the Protestant Church in Wone would have to be moved. Effectively countered for the time being, the forces opposed to the Nahnmwarki could do little. Protestant dissatisfaction did express itself through the murder of Pedro, a native of Guam and the son-in-law of Mensila, who had been serving as a courier between the colony in the north and the Spanish complex at Wone.

Despite surface appearances, the fluidity and complexity of island politics defied simple groupings of people under Protestant and Catholic labels. In Madolenihmw, Nahnmwarki Pol (Paul) proved an aggressive enforcer of Protestant morality. His conversion, much like that of the apostle whose name he took at baptism, occurred after a period of virulent opposition to the spread of Christianity. Pol now used his new religion to maximum political advantage. The missionaries applauded Pol's vigorous enforcement of laws prohibiting prostitution and the use and distillation of alcoholic spirits. Some Ponapeans, however, saw something very self-serving in his selective application of justice.

The focus of the Nahnmwarki's efforts lay in the north, the area of Madolenihmw that had existed traditionally as an almost autonomous area that often resisted the central authority of Temwen. In 1880, a near-war broke out over the possession of a woman, the former wife of the
Nahnmwarki of Uh, who had fled to northern Madolenihmw following the
death of her husband.68 One of the leading chiefs of the north claimed
the woman as his bride. According to the dictates of Ponapean culture,
the wife of a Nahnmwarki belonged only to him. Upon his death, the woman
of a paramount chief could either marry his successor or live as a royal
widow, a rohung en soupeidi. No individual other than the paramount chief
could consort with her in any way.69 To Pol, the claim upon the woman
smacked of rebellion. The Nahnmwarki saw in the action yet another
example of the north's rebelliousness. Though traditional practices would
have sanctioned Pol's claim to the wife of another Nahnmwarki, his own
espousal of Christian principles excluded this option. Instead, backed
by Doane and much of the Protestant community in Madolenihmw, Pol used
Christian principles to deny the northern chief the woman.

Beginning with the support of its initial chiefly patron, Wasai
Ejikaia, the Protestant mission at Ohwa had quickly become a modern
symbol for a long-standing, multi-faceted tradition of resistance in the
polity of Madolenihmw. Indeed, the people of the north first rallied to
the Protestant banner in the mid-1860s to express their defiance of
Temwen in the south. Pol's conversion to Christianity not only deprived
the north of exclusive access to a valuable foreign resource but enhanced
his own claims to paramountcy by appealing to a code of values and ethics
that theoretically transcended the political divisions of the chiefdom.
Outmaneuvered for the time being by Pol's adroit Christian strategy, the
northern chief in question had no choice but to back down.

The tensions in the north did not subside, however. In 1889, a
dispute over land between Nahnmwarki Pol and two major chiefs of the
north, Kroun en Lehdaw and Dauk Madolenihmw, almost resulted in a civil war. The opposition of these two northern chiefs constituted a potent political combination. Kroun en Lehdaw stood as an extremely important chief who ruled the large area of Lehdaw with its history of autonomy predating the rise of Nan Madol. A member of the Inanpaieng, one of the Dipwinpahnmei's sub-clans, Kroun en Lehdaw, also called Takai Mwahu, enjoyed status and privilege in the north rivaling that of the 'Nahnmwarki. Behind Kroun en Lehdaw's challenge to Pol lay Lehdaw's resistance to the rule of Temwen. In Dauk Madolenihmw's defiance existed the more recent but equally intense bitterness caused by the Upwutenmei's fall from power. Congregated in the north, the senior lineage of the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling sub-clan persisted in its attempts to regain power over all of Madolenihmw.

Faced with such formidable opposition, the Nahnmwarki again engaged the support of Doane. When missionary efforts proved inadequate, the Nahnmwarki turned to the Spanish governor. Responding to the request, Cadarso sent the steamer Manila to Madolenihmw. At a meeting on board the government vessel attended by Spanish officials, the Nahnmwarki, and the chiefs of the north, Cadarso decided in favor of the Nahnmwarki. Violence among Ponapeans was averted, however, when the chiefs of the north redirected their hostility toward the Spanish military presence that soon intruded into their domain.

His tour of duty about to expire, Cadarso, thinking the crisis in Madolenihmw to be over, looked for a major achievement with which to crown his term as governor. After much deliberation, the governor settled upon the construction of a road around the island. Cadarso, to
insure greater tranquility in the constantly troubled north of Madolenihmw, also planned the construction of a church and fort much like the existing complex in Wone. While waiting for a fresh contingent of soldiers from Manila to carry out the building, Cadarso called the Nahnmwarki and the lesser chiefs of Madolenihmw together to inform them of his plans to build an outpost in the north of their chiefdom. Silence greeted Cadarso's proposal. When pressed, the chiefs gave an ambiguous response that the governor interpreted as consent. Asked about the most appropriate place for the construction of the facilities, the Nahnmwarki replied cryptically that Ohwa seemed the most troublesome area of his chiefdom.

In early 1890, a company of 60 newly arrived troops under the command of Lieutenant Porras began construction of the road from the colony to Wone. That completed, the detachment next turned to the segment between Wone and Ohwa. By mid-May 1890, Porras and his men had completed the Wone-Ohwa leg and now turned to the building of the garrison and church. Consulting Nahnmwarki Pol, Porras found the chief evasive about where in Ohwa to actually locate the complex. Cadarso's insistence that all construction be completed by July 24, the Spanish queen's birthday, added to Porras' anxiety. Tension soon developed in Ohwa and the surrounding areas. The presence of the Spanish troops unsettled Kroun en Lehdaw and Dauk Madolenihmw who still harbored serious resentment against the Spanish governor's decision in behalf of Nahnmwarki Pol the year before. Ettekar, one of the mission teachers at Ohwa who had acted as mediator between the Ponapeans and the occupants of the pontoon in the period immediately following the assassination of
Posadillo in 1887, also bore a grudge against Porras. The Spanish lieutenant, after an altercation, had removed the Ponapean from his position as port official for the harbor of Mwudok in Kiti. Thinking that he enjoyed the same kind of support in Madolenihmw as he had in Kiti, Porras decided to build the Catholic church near the existing Protestant complex. This misguided decision alienated the many faithful Protestants in and around Ohwa.

Extremely harried, Porras pressed to meet the deadline. His insistence met with increasing Ponapean resistance. The lieutenant, sure that Ettekar was attempting to subvert his work, threatened to hang him and other mission teachers from the top of a coconut tree. When the Spanish detachment, despite the offer of wages, received no help from the Ohwa people, Porras responded with threats of beatings and arrests. A violent confrontation was narrowly averted in early June when Porras, heeding the advice of one of his subordinates, backed down from his plans to have Ettekar arrested and sent to the colony.

The stay of violence proved only temporary. Offended by almost every aspect of the Spanish presence within their domain, the Ponapeans of northern Madolenihmw decided upon war. Led by Kroun en Lehdaw and Dauk Madolenihmw, the Ponapeans studied the patterns of Spanish activity. On the morning of June 25, the Ponapeans, having learned what they need to know, struck. With the bulk of the Spanish troops having set out shortly after dawn, the Ponapeans first attacked the base camp, killing the three guards and seizing the stores of rifles and ammunition. Encouraged by this initial success, the Ponapeans moved quickly against the building party working near the Protestant church. Shots fired during the
encounter brought the prompt return of a Spanish work party sent into the hills behind Ohwa to cut timber. Unarmed and seeing many of their comrades already dead, the members of this second party fled into the mangrove swamp that separated the shore from the lagoon beyond. Porras, having survived the first attack, joined the flight. In the Ponapean context of war, total victory required the death of the enemy's chief. After a considerable hunt through the watery channels of the mangrove swamp, one group of Ponapean warriors discovered Porras hiding submerged near the base of a large tree with only his nose above the surface. A shot to the head quickly dispatched the Spanish lieutenant. The Ponapeans then took Porras' body ashore where it and the bodies of the other soldiers killed in the fighting were subjected to the physical mutilation Ponapeans inflicted upon their fallen enemies.

Survivors of the incident included the pastor of the Ohwa church, Fr. Augustín de Arinéz, a brother, and 4 soldiers who took refuge at Henry Nanpei's house until the evening of June 26. Then, under cover of darkness, they were ferried to the steamship Manila that had arrived off Ohwa to put down the uprising. Another survivor managed to hide himself in the mangrove swamp until dark; clinging to a floating log, he subsequently moved south along the shoreline to Sapwehrek. Emerging from the water there, the man, Corporal Mateo Navarro Sanchez, fled inland over the mountains until he reached the Spanish fort in Wone where he informed the commander of the massacre. The news came too late to save a sergeant and four soldiers who had set out from Wone earlier in the day for the colony. Paddling north along the Madolenihmw coast, the small Spanish party was ambushed off Nna. The Madolenihmw attackers
spared only the life of a young boy from Wone who had accompanied the soldiers as a guide and translator. Aware that any harm to the boy, a member of the ruling Dipwinmen clan, would bring on a most inopportune war with Kiti, the Madolenihmw warriors took the boy to shore where they prepared an elaborate feast for him. The politically astute gesture appeased the war parties from Kiti sent to search for the boy. Spain thus remained the sole focus of Madolenihmw's ire.

In the encounter at Ohwa, the Spaniards had lost 34 soldiers. The Ponapeans suffered no fatalities. Word of the tragedy first reached the colony in a letter from Aríñez entrusted to a trader making his way back to the colony by boat from southern Madolenihmw. Cadarso, throwing all caution to the wind, reacted immediately. Impatient over the time required to stoke the Manila's boilers, the governor ordered an advance party of 50 soldiers to proceed to Ohwa in two launches. The Spaniards were about to confront a formidable Ponapean resistance that relied upon cunning, agility, speed, bravery, and divine assistance. Unlike the uprising at Mesenieng which had a more spontaneous character, the conflict in Madolenihmw following the events of June 25 bore the marks of a premeditated struggle. As they usually did in planned wars, the Ponapeans employed sorcery and prayed for supernatural assistance in their fight against an enemy.

Arriving off Ohwa at noon on June 26, the leader of the forces, Captain Don Saturnino Serrano, deployed the two boats for a landing. Two white flags flying from the Ohwa mission grounds encouraged the soldiers as they waded toward shore in waist-deep water. Approaching the edges of the land, however, the troops encountered a withering barrage of rifle
fire. In their reports of the encounter, the Spaniards claimed they had been deceived by the white flags into believing that the rebels wished to surrender. The protest made no sense to the Ponapeans who held deception to be a key strategy in any martial encounter. Ponapean accounts of the confrontation claim that ghosts shot from the tops of trees along the shore while men fired below from behind rocks, mounds, and logs.82 Unable to reach the land under such intense fire, the troops returned to the boats. In the late afternoon, the Manila, its boilers finally heated, reached Ohwa. Moving through the treacherous harbor channel, the captain brought the ship about to bombard the land. The Spaniards blamed the ineffectiveness of the subsequent shelling on the antiquity and small caliber of the Manila's guns. The Ponapeans credited the spirits of dead warriors from battles long past with preventing the shells from reaching the shore. Dashing out from behind their cover, the Ponapeans waded out into the water and quickly gathered the metal fragments and unexploded shells to use as ammunition in later encounters.

In the process of its futile bombardment, the Manila ran up on the reef. It took the better part of three days to free the ship. During this time, Ponapeans laughed derisively from the shore at the show of Spanish ineptitude. One small group of warriors sneaked to the ship in broad daylight and stole one of the long boats tied to the stern. Ponapeans attributed the feat to the use of rinpe, a magic that inhibits any kind of retaliation or response from one's enemies. Amazed that the Ponapeans would even think of attempting such a thing, the Spaniards, in their reports, sheepishly insisted that their preoccupation with the Manila's plight had prevented them from more carefully guarding the
approaches to the ship. Successfully refloated, the Manila, with a leaky hull and severe damage to its boilers, limped ignominiously back to the colony.

Not prepared to wage an extensive campaign in Madolenhmmw with the remaining forces at his command, Cadarso chartered the American trading schooner John Fowler to carry an urgent request for assistance to Manila. While awaiting reinforcements, Cadarso took steps to reassert some measure of control over the situation. A proclamation issued in early July demanded the immediate surrender of the Madolenhmmw rebels. The governor held the Nahnmwarki directly responsible for events. Pol, caught between the Spaniards and his rebellious subjects, tried to disassociate himself from the Ohwa violence. To Cadarso's insistent calls that he surrender the ringleaders and bring an immediate end to all hostilities, Pol could only plead ineffectiveness and his own personal innocence. The governor's posturing failed to impress the people of northern Madolenhmmw who reveled in their successes against the Spanish troops. Demands for surrender led only to the return of Porras' sabre and 12 muskets. All communication between the colony and Madolenhmmw soon ceased.

The island's other ruling chiefs moved quickly to insure the security of their domains. In the north, the chiefs of Sokehs and Net, this time benefiting from the distance that separated the north of the island from the immediate theater of violence, presented themselves at the Spanish colony to disavow any involvement in the uprising. One chief, Lepen Sokehs, even volunteered his services as an intermediary. The Nahnmwarki of Kiti tried a more subtle, manipulative approach in his
efforts to keep the violence from spilling into his area. Upon learning of the problems at Ohwa, the ruler of Kiti quickly reassured the priests and soldiers in Wone of his good faith. Then, in a gesture the island's supposed colonial overlords must have found somewhat embarrassing, the Nahnmwarki ordered watches around the Spanish compound to protect against any raids or attacks. 89 Covering all political bases, the Nahnmwarki cast a blind eye on the sizeable number of Kiti warriors going to the assistance of Madolenihmw. 90

Having received word of the latest hostilities on Ponape, Manila hesitated in sending a relief force to the island. The Governor General of the Philippines wrote the government in Madrid that the island simply did not warrant the expenses involved in outfitting another expeditionary force. 91 Madrid felt differently. Acutely aware of the damage to domestic and international credibility that would result from a failure to avenge the spilling of Spanish blood by island savages, the Crown government demanded a reprisal. Following an extended delay caused by the initial differences between Manila and Madrid, the Spanish supply ship Salvadora arrived on Ponape on August 27, 1890. Four days later, the cruisers Ulloa and Velasco brought a party of 500 soldiers under the command of Colonel Isidro Gutierrez de Soto. A military man convinced of the efficacy of force, Gutierrez expressed dismay over the laxity that prevailed in the colony. In a note to the Governor General of the Philippines shortly after his arrival, Gutierrez wrote that the pacification of the island necessitated either the immediate removal of the American missionaries or the extermination of the entire island population; the latter alternative, wrote Gutierrez in a statement that
revealed his preference, could be accomplished in a few short months. Defying Cadarso whom he believed to be grossly incompetent, Gutierrez planned a major assault upon Madolenihmw. On September 13, 1890, Gutierrez, totally unaware of the geography and climate of the island that could be so debilitating to outsiders, marched out of the colony at the head of a column of soldiers. Gutierrez's strategy called for the Ulloa and the Velasco to conduct a bombardment of central and northern Madolenihmw after which the Spanish column, reaching the area by an overland march, would launch a direct attack upon Ohwa itself.

The march from Kolonia proved an unmitigated failure. With no visible path through the mountains, the Spanish column soon became lost amidst the rugged terrain and thick vegetation. Then came the rains. The Spaniards, themselves given to seeing the intervention of supernatural forces in the affairs of men, believed the heavy rains to be divinely inspired. One marcher wrote; "The clouds overhead hastened to defend the territory and hurled upon us a heavy shower which lasted for six consecutive hours, a downpour which seemed to be connected by a tie of kinship with the Universal Deluge." The column, drenched and exhausted, was forced to turn back to the colony after less than a day of marching. The bombardment from the two ships proved equally futile. A small landing party sent ashore at Temwen to assess the damage found only abandoned dwellings.

In the colony, the troops rested for two days and then reorganized for a second march. Again taking an overland route but under friendlier skies, the column, after a two day march, reached the area just north of Ohwa. While the troops bedded down for the night, Gutierrez finalized
plans for the following day's assault. The next morning, the troops awakened to find Gutierrez in his tent dead from a gunshot wound through the roof of his mouth. Demoralized, the Spaniards could only conclude that their leader had committed suicide. Ponapeans, however, knew differently. While the weary marchers had slept "like saints," as one chronicler of the expedition put it, two Ponapeans had stolen into the camp and shot the colonel. The Ponapean who actually killed the colonel, a member of the Dipwinwai clan named Repena, later received the title of Soulik en Sapwawas as a reward for his daring.

Operations against Ohwa were delayed while the Manila returned Gutierrez's body to the colony. Awaiting the return of the ship, the Spanish column came under heavy sniper fire and heavier rains. The Manila returned the next day with the new commander of the expedition, Captain Victor Diaz, who quickly decided upon a single amphibious landing. With the assault column now aboard, the Manila sailed to join the Ulloa and Velasco off Ohwa. After an extended bombardment, the Spanish troops, on September 19, began a direct frontal landing. An unusually low tide forced the troops to leave the landing boats a considerable distance from land. Again, the Spaniards found the Ponapean defenses uncanny, almost eerie. Reaching the shore, the soldiers came upon a line of double trenches surrounded by a wider moat one meter deep. "God knows by what expert but occult hand they were guided... Let us call the engineer the Ghost of Oua [sic]," wrote one member of the landing party.

Persisting in their advance despite heavy casualties, the Spanish troops forced the Ponapeans to withdraw up the hill to the mission
compound and later into the hills behind Ohwa. Reaching the mission
grounds, the Spanish forces burned all of the buildings. Spanish losses
amounted to 30 dead. Despite official claims that 150 of the enemy had
fallen, the Spaniards located only three Ponapean bodies, one of which
was that of Soulik en Ohwa, the pali en dahl or nahnken for kousapw
Ohwa. Curious about the depravity that could lead savages to resist the
paternal benevolence of their God-fearing nation, the Spaniards cut off
the head of Soulik en Ohwa and sent it back to Madrid for study. Not
learning much from the size or shape of the Ponapean chief's skull, the
Spaniards eventually placed it in the museum at the University of
Santiago as an anthropological artifact. In a gross euphemism that
bordered upon the absurd, the official Spanish accounts proclaimed the
assault upon Ohwa "a genuine triumph and complete victory."

In the weeks that followed, Cadarso came to believe that all
resistance to Spain had ceased. An expeditionary force sent from the
colony in early October to investigate conditions in Kiti and southern
Madolenihmw encountered no hostilities. A bombardment of northern
Madolenihmw on October 11 added to the governor's illusion that the rebel
forces had been destroyed. Generally low morale and the high percentage
of soldiers suffering from intestinal ailments and other ills also
figured prominently in the governor's calculations. Convinced that
further military operations against Madolenihmw were unnecessary, Cadarso
now turned to punishing the real perpetrators of the rebellion.

Most guilty in the eyes of the Spanish governor were the American
Protestant missionaries. In a meeting with Commander H. C. Taylor of the
U. S. S. Alliance who had arrived at Ponape on October 10 to investigate
the troubles, Cadarso outlined his case against the missionaries. The missionaries, asserted the governor, had never accepted Spanish control over the island. Despite the conciliatory approach taken by the island's first two governors, the missionaries and their followers had continually defied Spanish authority. As evidence, Cadarso cited the assassination of Posadillo and the persistent unrest in northern Madolenihmw. The governor charged further that the two women missionaries resident at Ohwa in June, Estella Fletcher and the recently arrived Lucy M. Cole, had received advance word of the impending conflict but failed to notify Spanish authorities. Cadarso believed that Rand, having returned to the island on August 20 after a year's absence, had directed the September resistance against the Spanish expedition under Gutierrez and later Diaz. Cadarso also pointed to the involvement of Ettekar, now imprisoned in the Spanish colony, and of Henry Nanpei who, according to reliable sources, had supervised the construction of the defense works at Ohwa. Particularly incriminating was the use of the mission grounds by the rebels to resist the Spanish landing. Cadarso, addressing a protest lodged by Taylor, called the destruction of the mission grounds a justifiable act of war. The governor added that, though unfortunate, he now found it necessary to forbid indefinitely all mission activities on the island.

Taylor heard a very different story from the missionaries. Rand told the naval captain that Porras' arrogance and cruelty had led the people of Ohwa to violent action. Responding to Taylor's questions about the mission's relationship with the rebel leaders, Rand admitted that Kroun en Lehdaw and Dauk Madolenihmw were baptized Christians but called
them troublemakers and "among the least faithful of our people." The missionary also pointed to a sizeable "hoodlum" element in northern Madolenihmw that all too quickly flocked to the banner of anarchy and violence. Attempting to put a little more distance than actually existed between the mission and these people, Rand identified Sapwalap, the home of Kroun en Lehdaw, as a village seven or eight miles distant from Ohwa when, in fact, it was only two. Rand conceded that the extreme enthusiasm with which the people of Ohwa had greeted his return and his subsequent communications with the rebel leaders, though motivated by a desire to end the violence, must have aroused Spanish suspicion. 104 The missionary added that the impossible nature of Cadarso's demands had worsened an already difficult situation. Threats of total annihilation had only hardened the will to resist and forced the Nahnmwarki, not a party to the original hostilities, to throw his support behind Kroun en Lehdaw and Dauk Madolenihmw.

The Spaniards, frustrated by the violent resistance that had plagued their rule from the outset, now blamed the American missionaries for all of the difficulties, past and present, on the island. To Taylor's inquiries about when the missionaries could resume their work on the island, Cadarso responded with only vague references to some future date. The governor, asked about an appropriate relocation site now that the mission's principal station at Ohwa had been destroyed, replied sarcastically that it must be as far from the Spanish colony as possible. 105 Realizing the depth of Spanish hostility, Taylor recommended to the missionaries that they leave the island with him. In a final letter informing the Spanish governor of their departure, Taylor
wrote that the missionaries' temporary withdrawal from the island in no way abrogated their rights to return or to make claims of redress against the Spanish government. On November 4, 1890, the Alliance set sail from Rohnkiti, the area of the island where the missionaries had sought refuge from the violence of Madolenihmw. In a sense, things had come full circle. The first forty years of American missionary activity on the island had ended where it began.

Ironically, Spain had achieved what no other force or circumstance on Ponape had been able to do since Isohkelekel had conquered Nan Madol. The Dipwinpahnmei, a clan split by long-standing rivalries among its various sub-clans and lineages, united to face a common enemy. Now committed to active resistance, the Nahmmwarki of Madolenihmw threatened to shoot Lepen Sokehs, the intermediary employed by the governor, if he continued to serve as a Spanish lackey. Pol, seeking to enlist the support of Taylor, sent a clandestine note to the American naval commander through Rand asking for guns and powder. Leery of any involvement that would be construed by Spanish officials as taking sides in the conflict, Taylor refused to acknowledge Pol's communication. Forced to rely exclusively upon its own resources, a united Madolenihmw proved more than equal to the task of blunting further Spanish offensives.

Manila did not share Cadarso's assessment of the situation on Ponape. News of the less than convincing results of the September actions, along with Gutierrez's assumed suicide, led the Government of the Philippines to order yet another punitive expedition, this time to eliminate once and for all the troublesome pocket of resistance in northern Madolenihmw. Though a strong opponent of Spain's continued
possession of the Carolines, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, the Marques of Tenerife, now Governor General of the Philippines and the future "Butcher of Havana," had no intention of allowing such overt defiance to go unpunished. More particularly, Weyler and other officials worried about the effects that news of such violent resistance would have on the increasingly restive, indigenous population of the Philippines. 110

On November 14, 1890, the steamship Uranus reached Ponape; accompanying the vessel were the transports Cebu and Nervion which carried a company of fresh Filipino troops under the command of Colonel Don Manuel Serrano. The Spanish plan of attack called for two columns to converge upon the stone fortress at Kitamw, located one half mile up the Lehdaw River, where the main body of Madosenihmwarriors had entrenched themselves. A second, smaller group of Ponapean fighters had gathered at Dolmarawi, a mile and a half to the southwest, to protect the person of the Nahnmwarki who, in a predictably Ponapean manner befitting a godly chief, spent his days and nights praying for divine assistance against the Spanish assault. 111 The first column, composed of 250 men led by Captain Diaz de Rivera was to proceed to Ohwa by transport where it would disembark and then sweep south to Kitamw. A second column of equal size under Serrano's personal command was to land at the mouth of the Lehdaw River where it would await the arrival of the first column. Joining together, the two columns would then move up the banks of the Lehdaw River to seize Kitamw.

At sunrise on November 21, 1890, the expedition left the Spanish colony. While the Manila continued on further south, the Cebu landed the first column some 500 yards from Ohwa's shore. Reaching land with no
difficulty, the column, guided by Christian Barbus and three of his wives, began its march toward the Lehdaw River. At Mesihsuou, the column found its way blocked by a small stone fort situated atop a hill. From the enclosure, a group of Ponapeans kept the Spanish force pinned down with a steady stream of rifle fire. After a period of several hours, Rivera ordered the column to divide and make a two-pronged attack upon the hill fort. The troops, finally scaling its one meter-high walls, found the structure to be abandoned. Examining the fort's dimensions, Rivera concluded that a party of less than 30 Ponapeans had used a superior location to hold up a force almost ten times its size and, at the same time, to inflict serious losses.

Rivera's column resumed the march and now came under intense sniper fire and hit and run attacks by small groups of Ponapeans moving stealthily over the terrain. Having become lost, the column accidentally stumbled upon the fortress at Kitamw. Two hasty attacks upon the structure's north wall raised the column's total casualties for the day to 21 dead and 53 wounded. With almost a third of his force incapacitated, Rivera withdrew his troops to a small hill some 60 meters north of the fortress to await the arrival of the now overdue second column. Fearing an attack by Ponapean forces in the night, the troops refrained from lighting fires and returning sniper fire that would reveal their exact position. The cries of the wounded, however, betrayed the Spanish efforts. Antonio Cabeza Pereiro, the column's attending physician, wrote of that night:

"The sad and desperate situation gave the moaning voices of our wounded, pleading for water, the harsh sound of a trumpet or bugle echoing mournfully in the silence of the night, announcing our positions and inviting our
enemies. The troops were frightened, almost without ammunition, overcome by hunger and fatigue, and constantly on guard against attack. Thus, we passed the night of the 22nd, the most horrible night one could imagine and a night that will never be erased from our memories." 112

Serrano's second column had also encountered difficulties. An inexplicable flooding of the Lehdaw River under clear skies and bright sunshine forced the column further south where it landed at Temwen Island. With Ettekar serving as guide in exchange for clemency, the troops marched along the perimeter of Madolenihmw Harbor. Serrano, pressed for time, decided, upon reaching the harbor's far western shore, to take the most direct route inland toward Kitamw rather than follow the coast to the Lehdaw River. The march through dense tropical vegetation saved no time and only exhausted the soldiers. Reaching Elielwi near nightfall, Serrano had no choice but to make camp for the night. The next morning, November 23, the column reached the Lehdaw River. On the opposite bank stood the stone fortress of Kitamw. Fording the river, the soldiers overran a first line of defense that consisted of trenches and stone walls. At the same time, the remaining able-bodied soldiers of the battered first column, heartened by the sound of the gunfire and bugles, joined the attack.

The Kitamw fortress, imposing as it looked, was only half-completed. With not enough time to carry out all of the necessary work, the Ponapeans had to fight from an unfinished structure they referred to simply as elep en kehl mwahu or "half a good fort." 113 The fortress thus lay vulnerable on its western and southern fronts. The advancing Spanish troops, discovering the weakness in the Ponapeans' position, began pouring into the fort from these sides. Hard-pressed by the
Spanish attack and hurt by an earlier bombardment from the sea, the Ponapeans soon abandoned their position. Victory, believed the Spanish forces, was theirs. All they had won however was a stone fortress that they destroyed two days later.

The Spaniards now draped their meaningless triumph with hollow ceremony. Searching for an appropriate gesture which would reassert Spain's tarnished claim to dominance over the island, Cadarso opted to partition Madolenihmw. In a meeting with the Nahnmwarkis of Uh and Kiti, Colonel Serrano, acting for Cadarso, informed the two paramount chiefs of Madolenihmw's ignominious defeat. To reward their loyalty during the most recent hostilities, Serrano announced that Madolenihmw would be divided between their two chiefdoms; all land north of the Lehdaw River now belonged to Uh while jurisdiction over southern Madolenihmw fell to Kiti. Before ending their meeting, Serrano reminded the two that Spain retained ultimate authority over not only the ceded lands but the entire island. The two Nahnmwarkis said nothing before departing; several days later, they informed Serrano of their decision to accept the Spanish proposal. Neither written nor spoken words, however, could obscure the dimensions of Madolenihmw's successful defiance of Spanish rule. Spain's attempt to divide Madolenihmw did not change the island's political order in the least. Four years later, the people of Kiti feasted the visiting Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw not as a vassal who had come to pay tribute but as the island's most senior chief which, indeed, he still was.

Other actions following the struggle for Kitamw belied more directly Spain's claims to renewed control over the island. Rather than rebuild at Ohwa, Cadarso ordered the troops to return to the colony where they
immediately set about strengthening the colony's defenses. The fort at Wone, now considered too vulnerable to attack despite the Nahnmwarki of Kiti's assurances, was closed. Following the hostilities at Ohwa and Kitamw, then, Spain withdrew from all but Niahlek, the piece of land on which its tiny colony in the north stood. After 1890, Ponapeans engaged in occasional skirmishes with Spanish troops, openly ridiculed Spanish manhood, flagrantly defied colonial policies, and, most significantly, returned to warring among themselves. In an effort to reestablish some semblance of order on the island, the Spanish administration offered the paramount chiefs a salary of 200 pesos a year in return for insuring compliance with all laws and administrative directives in their individual chiefdoms; the rulers of the island took the money and did as they pleased. Spain, in effect, had ceased to become a major factor in the life of the island. From the confines of the colony's protective wall, Spanish officials timidly ventured forth in the day only to scurry back to its protective confines before dark. In a statement that best summed up the state of affairs that would prevail over the island for the duration of Spain's tenure, a later governor, Bienvenido Flandes, writing in 1892, noted the Ponapeans' contentment at allowing the Spanish to live, "enclosed in our polygon of 1025 meters without attacking our laws, governing themselves at their pleasure, and believing themselves already with the right to impose upon us their barbaric customs."
NOTES

1 For a history and description of this most interesting wall, see Hanlon, From Mesenieng to Kolonia, pp. 37-60.


3 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 209.

4 Doane to Smith, October 9, 1889, ABCFM, 10:301.

5 Doane to Smith, July 29, 1889, ABCFM, 10:292.

6 Fr. de Sarria's letter to Governor Jose Pidal is quoted in Hambruch, Ponape, 1:225f.

7 Doane to Smith, April 9, 1889, ABCFM, 10:294.

8 This description of the Nahnmwarki of Uh is provided by Christian, The Caroline Islands, p. 57. Christian visited Ponape in 1895.

9 Rand to Means, April 15, 1884, ABCFM, 11:298.

10 Logan to Smith, October 13, 1884, ABCFM, 11:109.

11 Logan to Clark, December 18, 1878, ABCFM, 6:132.

12 Doane to Clark, May 10, 1881, ABCFM, 10:202.

13 Sturges to Means, November 19, 1883, ABCFM, 12:54.

14 M. Logan to Smith, May 21, 1889, ABCFM, 11:173.

15 Rand to Smith, January 31, 1887, ABCFM, 11:308.

16 Fletcher to Smith, January 30, 1888, ABCFM, 10:330.

S. Sturges to Mrs. Pogue, December 16, 1872, ABCFM, 4:283.

"Report of the 11th Voyage of the Missionary Packet 'Morning Star,' no. 3 to the Micronesian Islands, 1881-1882," ABCFM, 8:97.

M. Logan to Smith, December 20, 1888, ABCFM, 11:154.

Ingersoll to Smith, December 18, 1888, ABCFM, 10:16.

Ingersoll to Smith, September 14, 1888, ABCFM, 10:14.


Doane to Smith, August 1, 1885, ABCFM, 10:230.

Doane to Smith, March 4, 1886, ABCFM, 10:240.

Ingersoll to Smith, January 23, 1888, ABCFM, 10:12.

Doane to Strong, October 21, 1884, ABCFM, 10:226.

Logan to Clark, September 24, 1880, ABCFM, 10:38.


Sturges to Means, November 19, 1883, ABCFM, 12:54.

Ingersoll to Smith, September 29, 1888, ABCFM 10:15.

Doane to Smith, July 18, 1885, ABCFM, 10:228.

Sturges to Means, November 19, 1883, ABCFM, 12:54.

Doane to Smith, August 1, 1885, ABCFM, 10:230.
37 Sturges to Smith, October 27, 1885, ABCFM 12:56.

38 A detailed examination of the life of this most complex man can be found in Paul Ehrlich's "Henry Nanpei: Preeminently a Ponapean," More Pacific Islands Portraits, ed. Deryck Scarr (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979) pp. 131-54. The Ponapean spelling of Henry's last name is actually Nahnpei. To avoid confusion, I have used the spelling Nanpei that appears in both historical records and more recent scholarship.


41 A brief examination of this important deed and its effects on the course of Ponapean history is given in Ehrlich, "Henry Nanpei: Preeminently a Ponapean," p. 135 and 139. See also, Fischer, Riesenberg, and Whiting, Annotations, p. 107.


43 Nanpei has been portrayed as a cool, in-control, and totally amoral manipulator of people and events on Ponape. An account of the high personal costs that Nanpei paid for his machinations can be found in the extremely interesting document by Eve Gray entitled, "Uriel of Ponape." Gray and her husband, Thomas, were missionaries on Ponape from 1900 to 1906. The manuscript, housed at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library in Honolulu, depicts Nanpei's family troubles, his severe bouts of depression, his threats against the life of Thomas Gray, and his two failed suicide attempts.

44 A brief biographical sketch of Luelen Bernart can be found in the editors' introduction to The Book of Luelen, pp. 1-6. See also Kinji Imanishi, The Island of Ponape: An Ecological Study (Ponape-to Seitaigakuteki Kenkyu) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1944.)


46 "Pupils of the Caroline Islands Training School, 5th Year, 1886-87," ABCFM, 9:70. Also, Rand to Smith, Journal letter, April 15, 1887; entry for June 26, 1887. ABCFM, 11:310.

48 Interview, Hadley, 21 June 1983.

49 Hezel, "Spanish Capuchins in the Pacific," p. 37. For an excellent survey of archival materials relating to the activities of Catholic missions in the area, see Hezel's, "Catholic Missions in the Caroline and Marshall Islands," *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 5, 1970, pp. 213-27. A history of the beginnings of the Capuchin missions in the Carolines is contained in Fr. Ambrosio de Valencia's *Mi Viaje a Oceania: Historia de la Foundation de las Missiones Capushinos en las Islas Carolines y Palaos*, tercera edición (Sevilla: Escuela tipografia Salesiana, 1898). A brief overview of the Capuchin missions in the Carolines has been provided by Fr. Callistus Lopinot, O.F.M., Cap., "The Caroline Mission of the Spanish and German Capuchins, 1886-1919." A copy of this 56 page manuscript, written by Fr. Lopinot at the request of the Micronesian Seminar on Truk in 1966, can be found at MARC. For a very negative assessment of Capuchin activities on Ponape, see George Fritz, *Ad Majorem Dei Gloria: Die Vergeschichte des Aufstandes von 1910/1911 in Ponape* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1912.) The two primary and most important accounts of Capuchin activities on Ponape are the *Spanische Missions Chronik* (Kapuziner Mission Archives, Munster), of which a xerox copy of the hand-written original is available at MARC, and *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, (Romae: Editrice Industriale). Materials relating to the activities of the order during Spain's administration of the island can be found in volumes 2 through 14 of this latter source that cover the years from 1886 to 1898.


51 An expression of Ponapean dissatisfaction with certain aspects and practices of the Protestant church can be found in Hambruch, *Ponape*, 1:174-80.

52 Hambruch, *Ponape*, 1:253-9 details the attractions that some Ponapeans found in Catholicism.
53 Ibid., 1:112.

54 The Protestant missionaries, in their letters, claim Santos was forced under threat of deportation and imprisonment to recant his Protestant faith; see C. Rand, "Narrative of Mr. Doane's Arrest," ABCFM, 12:346. The Spanish priests describe the Filipino's return to the Church as spontaneous and free. Whatever the reasons behind his return to Catholicism, Santos died less than a year later on or about January 30, 1888. Announcement of his death is carried in Doane to Smith, Journal letter, December 28, 1887; entry for January 30, 1888. ABCFM, 10:277.


57 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:206.

58 Rand to Smith, Journal letter, April 15, 1887; entries for April 15 and May 17, 1887, ABCFM, 11:312.

59 A Ponapean account of the political dynamics surrounding the construction of the Catholic church at Aleinieng in Wone is contained in Hambruch, Ponape, 1:235-9.

60 Interview, Serilo, 8 June 1983. According to the records of the Catholic Mission in Wone the child was baptized on March 3, 1889 by Father Augustin de Arinéz. The child's godfather was the ill-fated Lt. Marcelo Porras.


62 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 181


64 Doane to Smith, November 6, 1889, ABCFM, 10:302.

65 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:207.

66 An account of Nahnmwarki Pol's conversion can be found in Hadley, A History of Nan Madol, pp. 62-3.

67 Doane to Means, April 12, 1882, ABCFM, 10:210. In this letter, Doane acknowledges the criticism being made against Pol's selective justice but quickly dismisses it as simply untrue.
Doane to Clark December 28, 1881, ABCFM, 10:208. Doane does not identify the chief involved; the major chief of Enimwahn, the ancient name for the northern-most area of Madolenihmw of which Ohwa was a part was Lepen Moar. It could have been this chief with whom Pol engaged in a battle of wits. It may also have been Kroun en Lehdaw, the major chief of the area just south of Enimwahn known as Lehdaw. Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 62, makes mention of a struggle between different sub-clans of the Dipwinpahnmei over a woman; one of the sub-clans involved was the Inanpaileng to which Kroun en Lehdaw belonged. Lesser chiefs of the nahnmwarki or soupeidi's line, especially those from the Upwutenmei lineage who persisted in their attempts to regain lost rank and prestige, may also been involved in this ultimately political act. An attempt by any chief junior to those considered here to take a nahnmwarki's widow as wife would have been most unlikely.

Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 74.

Doane to Smith, August 14, 1889, ABCFM, 10:296.

Kroun en Lehdaw's privileged position within Madolenihmw is explained in Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 23. Hadley, in our interview of 21 June 1890, identifies Kroun en Lehdaw as Takai Mwahu.

Webb to Wharton, August 17, 1890, Dispatches from United States Consuls Manila, 1817-1899, vol. 10, no. 184. In his letter to the Assistant Secretary of State, Alec R. Webb quotes from an account of events leading up to the violence of June 25, 1890, carried in the August 17, 1890 edition of the Manila newspaper, El Resumen.


Cadarso, "Permitiendo copiar el expediente sobre los sucesos en Carolinas," dated July 10, 1890, AHNM, leg. 5353.4, p. 649A.

Spanish attempts to construct the church and fort at Ohwa begin the chain of events that led to the 1890 outbreak of violence in Madolenihmw. For a narration of events leading up to and including the violence of June, I have relied heavily on materials from the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid (AHNM). Particularly helpful is Governor Luis Cadarso's previously cited "Permitiendo copiar el expediente sobre los sucesos en Carolinas." Other
important sources include the United States Department of State, FRUS 1892, pp. 435-517; contained here is a wealth of diplomatic correspondence and missionary statements concerning the events of 1890. Also, Dispatches From United States Consuls in Manila, 1817-1899, volume 10; Cabeza Pereiro's La Isla de Ponape, pp. 181-243; Hambruch, Ponape, 1:208-23 and 239-48; Dewar, The Voyage of the Nyanza, pp. 426-30; and Hempenstall, "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," pp. 80-4.


77 Gutierrez, "Partes sobre los operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890, AHN, leg. 5353.7, Cl, p. 1484B.

78 Ibid., p. 1485A.

79 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 183.

80 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:241.

81 Interview, Serilo, 8 June 1983. See also Hambruch, Ponape, 1:209 and 242.

82 Ponapean accounts of the war between Madolenihmw and Spain are drawn from the interviews with Serilo on 8 June 1983 and with Hadley on 21 June 1983. See also Hambruch, Ponape, 1:239-44 for another Ponapean account.

83 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 190.

84 A copy of this proclamation is contained in Cadarso, "Permitiendo copiar el expediente sobre los sucesos en Carolinas," July 10, 1890, leg. 5353.4, p. 655B-57A.

85 Cadarso to Governor General, n.d., AHN, 5353.5, C1, pp. 986A and 1000-1000A. Missionary correspondence quite emphatically states that Pol was not involved in the planning that led up to the June 25 attack upon the Spanish troops at Ohwa; see Rand to Taylor, October 19, 1890, ABCFM, 13:105; and Cole to Friends, July 9, 1890, ABCFM, 14:144.

86 Webb to Wharton, October 27, 1890, Dispatches From U. S. Consuls in Manila, 1817-1899, volume 10, no. 197. In his report to Wharton, Webb includes the translation of a letter from the Carolines dated September 25, 1890, that appeared in the Manila
newspaper El Diario de Manila. It is from this letter that information on the surrender of Porras' sabre and the muskets is derived.

87 Gutierrez, "Partes sobre los operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape, September, 1890, AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1483B.

88 Cadarso to Governor General, n.d., AHNM, 5353.1, p. 1002A.

89 Hambruch, Ponape, 1:260.

90 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 224, writes that most of Madolenihmw's fighting force in the September encounter came from Kiti. This appears to be an exaggeration. Serilo, in my interview with him on 8 June 1983, did acknowledge, however, the participation of a number of Kiti warriors in the Spanish-Ponapean war of 1890.

91 Hempenstall, "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," p. 82.

92 Gutierrez, "Partes sobre los operaciones militares verificadas en Ponape," September 1890, AHNM, leg. 5353.7, C1, p. 1493A.

93 For an account of the failure of Gutierrez's first march from the colony, see Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, pp. 196-8.

94 Webb to Wharton, October 27, 1890, Dispatches from United States Consuls in Manila, 1817-1899, vol. 10, no. 197. The source of information is the translation of the letter dated September 25, 1890, from the Carolines that appeared in El Diario de Manila.

95 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 199.

96 Interview, Hadley, 21 June 1983.

97 For an account of the September assault on Ohwa, see Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 200-6.

98 Webb to Wharton, October 27, 1890, Dispatches From United States Consuls in Manila, 1817-1899, volume 10, no. 197. Again, the quote is taken from the translation of the letter dated September 25, 1890, that appeared in the Manila newspaper, El Diario de Manila.

99 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 207.
100 Ibid., p. 207.

101 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 225. The generally low state of morale among the officers and men of the Spanish garrison in the colony is noted in Taylor to Smith, December 3, 1890, ABCFM, 17:160.

102 Cadarso to Taylor, October 25, 1890, FRUS 1892, pp. 459-62.

103 Rand to Taylor, October 19, 1890, FRUS 1892, pp. 462-4.

104 Mrs. Carrie Rand provides an account of the reception that she and her husband received from the people of Madolenihmw upon their August 20, 1890 return to Ohwa in a letter to the Women's Board dated August 19, 1890, ABCFM, 19:67. In the letter, Rand writes that the rebel leaders were the first to shake the hands of her and her husband.

105 Cadarso to Taylor, October 25, 1890, FRUS 1892, pp. 459-62.

106 Taylor to Cadarso, October 30, 1890, FRUS 1892, pp. 466-7.

107 Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, p. 218.

108 A copy of Nahnmwarki Pol's letter to Taylor can be found in FRUS 1892, p. 476.

109 For an account of the third and final Spanish engagement against Madolenihmw in 1890, see Cabeza Pereiro, La Isla de Ponape, pp. 229-40. A good summary of the press reaction in Madrid to the 1890 violence on Ponape can be found in William H. Gulick, "Spain in the Carolines," FRUS 1892, pp. 486-8. The moderate approach taken by Spain in 1887 disappeared with news of the 1890 violence on Ponape. Reflecting the government's position, editorials in Madrid newspapers demanded appropriate punitive measures against the Ponapeans. Most of these editorials also evidenced a reinterpretation of 1887; the "Methodist [sic] Yankees" were now held to blame for all of the violence, both past and present, on the island.

110 Webb to Wharton, October 27, 1890, Dispatches From United States Consuls in Manila, 1817-1899, vol. 11, no. 197. For an expression of Weyler's personal opposition to Spain's continued control over the Carolines, see his introduction to Cabeza Pereiro's La Isla de Ponape, pp. ix-xiii.

112 Cabeza Pereiro, *La Isla de Ponape*, p. 236.

113 Interview, Hadley, 21 June 1983.

114 Serrano to Governor General of the Philippines, December 25, 1890, AHNMM, leg. 5353.6, pp. 1164A-67A. A copy of the two documents dividing Madolenihmw between Kiti and Uh can be found in Cabeza Pereiro, *La Isla de Ponape*, pp. 240-3.

115 Hempenstall, "The Spanish-Micronesian Wars," p. 84.

116 Ibid., p. 84.
VIII. ERALA: IN CONCLUSION

The patterns in Ponape's past to 1890 emerge with a considerable degree of clarity. Beginning with the voyage of creation and settlement commanded by Sapikini, Ponape's history revolves around a tradition of people reaching the island from the distant shores of other lands. With these different groups of people came various plants, animals, goods, ideas, and technologies. These people quickly came to regard their new home as sacred land, sapw sarawi, divinely chartered and protected by gods and powerful spirits. Over time, there evolved a culture, a way of being, called tiahk en sapw or the "custom of the land." Indeed, the people's relationship with the land shaped the distinctive qualities of Ponapean society, determined, in large part, what it meant to be Ponapean, and gave a unity to various groups of voyagers who sought shelter from the oppressive circumstances of former lives.

Ponape, however, was not one. If the land bound men and women together, there nonetheless existed diversity based upon traditional beliefs and practices brought from other lands by the island's settlers. Maintaining these differences as a part of their identity, men from different clans, sub-clans, or geographical areas of the island competed with each other for land, power, resources, and vainglory. Political
order was imposed upon this divided, contentious land from the outside. The Saudeleurs, a dynasty of stranger-kings from Katau Peidi in the west, won control of the land and imposed their will upon the people. An alien society that lived apart on the artificial complex of islets at Nan Madol off Madolenihmw's southeastern coast, the Saudeleur's eventual attack upon the religious order of the island bore witness to the abject submission demanded of the Ponapeans. Deliverance from the nearly five centuries of Saudeleur oppression and cruelty also arrived from the outside. The son of a Ponapean god and a Katauan woman, Isohkelekel reached the island, made his peace with the people, and overthrew the Saudeleurs. Borrowing from the structure and ritual of Nan Madol, Isohkelekel inaugurated a new decentralized political system in which a nahmmwarki or an equivalently titled paramount chief presided over each of several independent chiefdoms. By the death of this godly conqueror, there had developed a resilient, flexible, though internally divided cultural order accustomed by history to the selective incorporation of foreign goods and influences. Within this context of change, the people thus responded to the first tall ships from Europe and America, two of the large distant lands referred to in Ponapean cosmology as wai.

Ponapeans soon realized that the beings who inhabited the large sailing craft that now appeared with increasing frequency off their island were men. The people's efforts to harness these new foreign forces proved no easy matter. Attempting to domesticate and hence control these strangers, Ponapeans acted in the light of cultural presuppositions learned from their history of dealings with outside forces. Ceremonies of welcome, however, failed to bring the ships and
their wealth under the political order of the island. Recourse to violence was, at best, only marginally more effective. Understanding that the ships operated on a very different system of logic, Ponapeans, more particularly the paramount chiefs, turned to the refugees of the ships' world, the beachcombers, to mediate between the vessels and the island.

Relations with the ships affected but did not fundamentally alter the social order of the island. The paramount chiefs of the island, realizing the political significance of the guns, ammunition, and other men's goods earned from barter with the ships, moved quickly to control the increasing trade that resulted from the arrival of the American whaling fleet in the western Pacific. Demands for wood, water, and the produce of the island fell neatly within the bounds of chiefly control over the land. The sexual trade, while exacerbating traditional tensions between chiefs and commoners, did not result in any major social realignment. More often than not, the paramount chiefs exercised a paternal restraint while common women paddled out to the ships "to get their clothes" and common men their tobacco. If the chiefs' effort to reaffirm their power through trading relations with the ships placed them, at times, in awkward, less than regal circumstances, the divine sanctions surrounding the role of the leading chiefs in Ponapean society prohibited any serious erosion of their preeminence in this period. To this day, Ponapeans react to chiefly transgressions as sapwung iso or sacred mistakes.¹ The phrase, kilang soupwa soupeidi, or "look but do not speak about the faults of chiefs," also attests to the pronounced reverence accorded the island's rulers, then and now.²
Ponapeans showed themselves to be judicious in the selection of foreign goods and influences they incorporated into their cultural order. Rather than increase the level of bloodshed on the island, the introduction of western firearms, for example, had a largely deterrent effect upon the character of Ponapean warfare. The displacement of traditional skills by western goods and tools eased the rigors of life on the island and allowed for the development of new skills and capabilities. Aware of the gross cultural differences that separated them from the people of the ships, Ponapeans drew a line between the ways of their island and the ways of the foreigners, between tiahk en sapw and tiahk en wai. At the edges of their island, Ponapeans traded for the commodities they desired; over time, they developed, as attested by the comments of numerous ships' captains, a considerable facility for commercial dealings. In the heartland of the island, however, they continued to exchange among themselves according to the prescriptions of tradition and social standing. The people consciously adopted various foreign goods, practices, and ideas but to serve local objectives; in the process, they made these things Ponapean.

If Ponapeans' history taught them to accept change, there also existed a recognition of limits. There is a story from the whaling days still told today by the people of the island that typifies Ponapeans' sense of change; the story is called Mwengki Alasang Kepin or "The Monkey Learns From the Captain."³ Before leaving an unidentified western port, a nameless ship captain purchased a monkey to keep him company during his extended stay at sea. On the ship, the monkey never left the captain's side; infatuated by his master, the bright little creature
imitated almost every move made by the captain. Over the course of a long voyage, the captain tired of the constant mimicry. Finally deciding to rid himself of the nuisance, the captain planned a terminal ruse upon the monkey. Seeing how intently the animal studied his every gesture while shaving one morning, the captain, in a quick slight of hand that went unnoticed by the monkey, turned the straight-edge of his razor over and, in an exaggerated manner, ran the blunt side across his throat. The captain, having finished shaving, then left the razor in an easily accessible place and left. The monkey quickly scurried over to the basin and mirror, picked up the razor, and began to shave just as he had seen the captain do. Concluding his shave, the monkey, perfect mimic that he was, then ran the sharp edge of the razor across his throat. End of monkey; end of story. The moral of the tale, now as then, remains a serious warning against the dangers of blind, thoughtless adaptation to foreign ways.

To be sure, some foreign influences proved less easily manageable than others. Christianity, in particular, loomed as a potentially serious threat to the existing order of the island. Ponapeans' initial acceptance of the new religion, though a violent disruptive process at times, also found precedent within the patterns of the island's history. The earliest voyagers to the island from different areas of the Pacific had brought with them their gods and clan spirits who, like the people, themselves became Ponapean. Though Nahn Sapwe, the thunder god, did assume a religious supremacy of sorts, the power of different gods and spirits depended in part upon the strength of the people who worshiped them. Initially, the Christian God existed as just another god to reach
the island from the outside. By the mid-1860s, however, certain segments of Ponapean society discovered considerable appeal in particular Christian teachings. The new religion's emphasis upon the equality of all men before God held out the promise of an enhanced social status for the less privileged members of Ponapean society. Commoners, especially women, benefited materially from the commercial and educational aspects of the Protestant mission's civilizing strategy. Indeed, the island's women showed themselves to be the most immediate, most committed, and most numerous converts of the early church. Lesser chiefs, seeking to circumvent the powers of the island's paramount chiefs, saw Christianity as a useful political tool. Reacting to this political threat, the paramount chiefs first sought to suppress outright the new religion. When this tack failed, Ponape's rulers sacrificed some of their chiefly prerogatives to better control and hence benefit from the lamalam kapw.

In the late 1880s, a second generation of ruling chiefs, including Mensila, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti and later the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net, found rival factions within their domains too strongly in control of the Protestant churches. Unable to accept the political submission which their baptism would entail, these chiefs turned to a second Christian variant, Catholicism. While there undoubtedly developed a goodly number of Ponapeans with a firm commitment to its truths, Christianity's immediate appeal sprang from its political and material aspects. The missionaries' ultimate frustration with the people of the island resulted from their own failure to understand that becoming Christian did not mean ceasing to be Ponapean. In the twentieth century, Ponapeans' own understanding of the relationship between gods and people would transform
the Protestant and Catholic churches on the island into distinctly Ponapean institutions. The success of the Ponapean missionaries in the Mortlocks as well as the later prominence achieved by a number of young men and women educated at Ohwa foreshadowed the people's ability to domesticate and govern for advantage yet another foreign idea. Albert Sturges, speaking for all of the American missionaries, was perhaps more correct than he knew when he stated that Christianity could prevail "even without us." 4

Despite national, religious, and professional divisions, most of the outsiders who brought change to Ponape were one in their desire to exploit the island. The specific resources of the island to be exploited varied as did the justifications offered by each of the different groups. The Russian commander Lütke and the scientists aboard his ship rationalized their actions in terms of scientific inquiry. British traders and American whalers desired commercial gain, the assumed objective of almost all enlightened human activity. The American Protestant missionaries appealed to a higher religious purpose to explain their presence while the Spaniards sought subjugation of the island in the name of national honor and international security. These outsiders also shared an arrogance born of a belief in their innate superiority; they used such terms as "heathens," "savages," "scamps," "thieves," "barbarians," and "degenerates" to express their disdain for Ponapeans. Across the wide cultural chasm that separated them from the people of the island, their actions took on the appearance of gross caricature. They held the wisdom of their ways to be readily apparent; still, to insure that the Ponapeans acknowledged their truths, these outsiders staged
elaborate plays full of exaggerated gestures. When Ponapeans failed to respond as desired, these people sometimes turned to violence. The illusion of potency induced by shows of force only further obscured the real meaning that their actions had on the island. Captain C. Hart of the Lambton sailed from the island in late 1836 convinced that the retribution inflicted upon the people of Madolenihmw following the Falcon incident had redeemed British honor, avenged a heinous crime, intimidated the Ponapeans from ever again using force against white men, and insured the safety of all future commercial operations on the island. The British trader had no inkling that, ultimately, he had served only as a pawn in the larger context of local political rivalries.

Ponapeans recognized much of the racism and exploitation that underlay the foreign presence on their island. For them, the phrase, mehn wai, initially a general appellation for all those from large, distant lands, took on a more pejorative dimension. Playing upon a second meaning of the word wai, the people now used mehn wai to refer to the deceit and trickery shared by almost all foreign visitors to their island. The people, however, usually contained their rage and indignation over the scandalous, sometimes sacrilegious conduct of those from the outside. For Ponapeans, the manipulation of mehn wai's goods and ways to serve the advancement of life on the island proved a more overriding purpose than sheer revenge.

Not all things brought to Ponape served a beneficial purpose. There certainly existed no advantage in the diseases that reached the island beginning in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The smallpox epidemic of 1854 had reduced the island's population from roughly 10,000
to below 5,000 people. Waves of influenza in 1856, 1874, and 1879 as well as serious outbreaks of measles in 1861 and 1894 prevented the island's population from returning to pre-contact levels throughout the remainder of the century. Nonetheless, the people of the island managed to persevere and, though reduced in number, they resisted all attempts at domination from the outside.

The Spaniards posed the most direct physical threat encountered by the island in the nineteenth century. Despite the single purpose of the Spanish presence, however, Ponape remained a divided land. In their wars against Spain, Ponapeans acted not in consort but along clan, sectional, and state lines. The resolve of these different individual groups, coupled with Spanish ineptitude, allowed Ponapeans to prevail. Little more than three years after the establishment of formal political rule, Spain had ceased to exist as a major force on the island. With Spain thus neutralized, the people of the island returned to warring among themselves. Tiahk en sapw still determined the nature, purpose, and direction of all human activity carried out upon the sacred altar that was, and still is, Ponape. The chiefs remained firmly in control; contact with the Euro-American world had done little to diminish their status as the physical embodiment of the island's order. In this period, the island's rulers continued to serve as both the real and symbolic presence that linked the people with the land, their past, and with their gods. Ponape, to 1890, had made little compromise with the outside world.

* * * * * * * * * *

The twentieth century would prove less tolerant of Ponapean ways, especially the factionalism that characterized the island's polity.
Through an agreement of purchase following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898, Germany became the second colonial power to establish formal rule over Ponape. In 1907, the Germans, blaming the island's political structure for the failure of their economic development plans, removed the land from the control of the chiefs and deeded individual parcels to the actual occupants. In October 1910, the people of Sokehs, reacting to this measure and to specific instances of German cruelty, rose up against Germany in a rebellion that witnessed the assassination of the governor and several of his aides. Initially successful, the rebellion soon collapsed. The Germans, more capable, more determined, and better organized than the Spaniards, moved quickly to put down the Sokehs uprising. Within six months, the Germans had captured the Sokehs rebels, executed 15 of their leaders, and exiled the remaining population of the chiefdom to Palau.

Contrary to widespread opinion, the Sokehs Rebellion did not mark the end of all Ponapean resistance to foreign domination, only the end of all armed resistance. The show of German might taught Ponapeans they would have to find ways other than armed conflict to resist. With the power of the chiefs, the principal promoters and beneficiaries of factionalism on the island, now reduced, Ponapeans were able to forge a greater sense of unity than had previously existed on the island. Resistance to foreign intrusion now became cultural with Ponapeans continuing to incorporate useful foreign resources while refusing to become anything other than Ponapean. This strategy has permitted Ponapeans to survive an intense period of Japanese colonialism in which Japanese nationals, before World War II, came to outnumber Ponapeans and to hold their own despite the
sometimes overwhelming largesse of the present American colonial administration.

Arguing for the involvement of a people in the making of their own lives is more than just a historical problem. Many people concerned with the study of Pacific Islands today entertain a strong obsession with the pathology of change. Known in the middle of the nineteenth century as the vice capital of the Pacific, the island now sees itself defined by outside observers in terms of a host of social ills ranging from acute economic dependency on the United States to a spiraling birth rate, alcoholism, suicide, juvenile delinquency, and environmental pollution. Against the norms and values of a culture that defines itself largely in terms of productive economic activity, Ponapeans are called passive, indifferent, lazy, irresponsible and unreliable. For modern-day outside observers who bear the titles of specialists, the transformation of Ponapeans from "savage" to "underdeveloped" has proven a short journey, indeed. And yet, these assessments of Ponapean abilities, like those of the past, result from little more than surface impressions. There exists more, much more, to an essentially capable and vibrant culture such as Ponape's. All living cultures struggle to change and adapt; survival demands it. Ponapeans have acted upon that principle for a long, long time.

I once asked Benno Serilo, or Souruko en Tirensapw Kiti, a man knowledgeable in the island's history, why a small island with a population of less than 5,000 people would presume to war against Spain and later Germany. Without hesitation, he replied that Ponapeans then had no sense of being a relatively few people inhabiting a small island
in a remote part of the Pacific Ocean. Pointing to more recent developments, the almost fourteen years of political negotiations with the United States to end the present Trusteeship Agreement and last summer's plebiscite, he added, "And we still don't." Against an array of strong, imposing, sometimes hostile forces of change, Ponapeans have survived and persevered. Their secret rests in the ability to accept and manage change. For this reason, the history of Ponape to 1890, and after, is one of triumph.
NOTES


3 This is a very common story told all over the island. I heard it from Serilo, interview, 3 June 1983. Petersen offers a slightly different version in "A Cultural Analysis of the Ponapean Independence Vote in the 1983 Plebiscite."

4 Sturges to (unknown), Journal letter, December 2, 1868; entry for January 6, 1869. ABCFM, 4:297.

5 For various estimates on the population of Ponape from pre-contact times through 1914, see Riesenberq, The Native Polity of Ponape, p. 6.

6 The outbreaks of influenza in 1856, 1874, and 1879 are reported, respectively, in Sturges to Anderson, Journal letter, February 9, 1856; entry for February 9, 1856. ABCFM, 2:181; Doane to Pogue, March 13, 1874, HMCSL; and Logan to Clark, February 11, 1879, ABCFM, 6:129. The epidemics of measles in 1861 and 1894 are carried in Sturges to Anderson, January 20, 1862, ABCFM, 4:275; Nanpe1 to Emerson, February 19, 1894, HMCSL; and Hezel, "Spanish Capuchins in the Carolines," part 2, Micronesian Reporter 19:3 (1971), p. 40.

7 This notion of cultural resistance is explained more fully in Glenn Petersen, "Brilliant Island, Swaying in Soft Motion," Radical History Review, forthcoming.

8 I have attempted to explore the historical continuity of misconceptions about Ponape and other Micronesian societies in "Myths, Strategies, and Guilt in Micronesia," Perspectives 3:1 (Summer 1982), pp. 23-7.

9 Interview, Serilo, 19 June 1983.
APPENDIX A: PONAPEAN CLANS

Throughout the period under consideration in this dissertation, clans served as the basic unit of social organization. Individual clans on Ponape are broken down into sub-clans that further divide themselves into matrilineages. These sub-clans and matrilineages controlled land, titles, and other resources. Anthropologists today describe Ponapean clans as named, totemic, exogamous, and conical with individual matrilineages being localized in certain geographical areas about the island. In past times, the sub-clans also tended to congregate in specific locales or regions. The following list of clans is drawn from Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 6-7. Clans #19-#21 no longer exist. Clans #15-#18 developed as offshoots of the Dipwinmen clan and are considered today as distinct entities. Two other groups to evolve from the Dipwinmen, the Isonkiti and the Sounkiti, were once separate clans but became reincorporated into the parent clan following wars in the Kiti area that took place in the eighteenth century.

1. Dipwilap
2. Dipwinluhk
3. Dipwinpahmmei
4. Dipwinpehpe
5. Dipwinwai
6. Lasialap
7. Ledek
8. Liarkatau
9. Lipitahn
10. Nahniek
11. Pwuton
12. Sounkawad
13. Sounmaraki
14. Dipwinmen
15. Sounpelienpil
16. Sounpwok
17. Sounrohi
18. Sounsamaki
19. Dipwinpwehk
20. Dipwinwhei
21. Souniap
APPENDIX B: PONAPEAN CHIEFLY TITLES

The title series listed below are drawn from Hambruch, Ponape, 2:11-4. An extensive comparison of title rankings can be found in Riesenberg, The Native Polity of Ponape, pp. 10-3. It should be noted that variations exist in the rankings of titles among the different chiefdoms and even within a single chiefdom over time. The listing provided here constitutes, then, a somewhat idealized representation of political rank on Ponape. Wars, alliances, political machinations, age, blood relations, and merit all figured in considerations of promotion and chiefly succession. Often, circumstances dictated that an individual of the appropriate sub-clan and matrilineage within a ruling clan jump from the lower or middle rungs of the chiefly ladder to the paramount title. Rarely did anyone make a neat and orderly progression up the title ladder to the position of senior chief. While Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti all subscribed to a relatively uniform ranking during the period under study, Sokehs and Net did not. The ranking of titles for each of these two latter chiefdoms is thus given separately. Today, Sokehs and Net hold to a title system very similar to that of the island's three senior chiefdoms.

The Chiefly Titles for Madolenihmw, Uh, and Kiti:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soupeidi Line</th>
<th>Serihso Line</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nahnmwarki</td>
<td>1. Nahnken</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Wasai</td>
<td>2. Nahlaimw</td>
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<td>3. Dauk</td>
<td>3. Nahnapas</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Nahnawa</td>
<td>5. Nahnmadaun Idehd</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Nah Kiroun Pohn Dake</td>
<td>7. Souwel Lapalap</td>
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<td>8. Nahlik Lapalap</td>
<td>8. Ou Ririn</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Lempwei Lapalap</td>
<td>10. Ou</td>
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</tbody>
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Sokehs:

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<th>Serihso Line</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wasai</td>
<td>1. Nahnken</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Dauk</td>
<td>2. Soulik en Soledi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nahnmadau en Oare</td>
<td>4. Nahnapas</td>
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<td>5. Noahs</td>
<td>5. Kiroulikiahk</td>
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<td>Lepen Madau</td>
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<td>Nahnpei</td>
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<td>Mwarekehtik</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nahlik Lapalap</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Oaron Pwutak</td>
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**Net:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soupeidi Line</th>
<th></th>
<th>Seriho Line</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lepen Net</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Kroun Rohi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Madau en Rohi</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Lepen Lenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Luwehrei en Net</td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Oun Pohnpei Net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Oun Net</td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Nahnapas Net</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Alenieng: the piece of land in the Wone section of Kiti that served as the residence of Mensila, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti in the late nineteenth century; the site on which the Spaniards constructed a mission church and military garrison in 1889.

And: an atoll eight miles beyond Ponape's western reef; the site of Isohkelekel's first contact with Ponapeans.

aramas mwal: the common people.

Areu: a section of land along the northern coast of Madolenihmw; home of Wasai Ejikaia.

Awak: a formerly sovereign territory in the north of Ponape that became a part of Uh in the early nineteenth century.

Dauk: the third ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line of titles.

Daukatau: the principal Ponapean deity; also identified by many as another name for Nahn Sapwe, the Thunder God.

Daukir: the Sounkawad warrior who injured the conqueror of Nan Madol, Isohkelekel, in battle.

Dehpehk: a small island off the coast of Uh.

Dekehtik: a small island in the northern harbor off Net.

Deleur: the area of Madolenihmw immediately surrounding Nan Madol and under the direct supervision of the Saudeleurs.

Denepui: a piece of land on Sokehs Island where the hostilities of July 1887 between Spaniards and Ponapeans first broke out.

Derepeiso: the legendary bird from whom Lepen Moar was ordered by the Saudeleur to secure a feather, an almost impossible task that served as punishment for a transgression of ritual procedure.

Dewenneu: a river forming the southern boundary of Mesenieng in Net.

Dipwilap: "The Great Clan;'" the clan of the Saudeleurs.

Dipwinluhk: "The Clan of Luhk;'" a Ponapean clan descended from the god Luhk.
Dipwinmen: "The Creature Clan;" the ruling clan in Kiti.

Dipwinpahnnmei: "The Under the Breadfruit Tree Clan;" the ruling clan of Madolenihmw.

Dipwinpehpe: "The Clan of the Pehpe Tree."

Dipwinwai: "The Foreign Clan."

doadoahk: work.

Dolmarawi: the mountain in Madolenihmw where Nahnmwarki Pol took refuge during the 1890 war with Spain.

Dolotomw: a mountain in southern Kiti mistakenly believed by Lutke to be the tallest peak on the island.

Edenpwe1: the honorific title given to deceased nahnmwarkis and nahnkens.

Eir: an ancient term for lands to the south of Ponape.

elep en kehl mwahu: "half a good fort;" the phrase refers to the unfinished stone fortress at Kitamw in Madolenihmw where Ponapeans and Spaniards fought in November 1890.

Elielwi: a section of land in central Madolenihmw.

Eni: ghost or spirit.

Eni aramas: the ghosts of dead commoners who haunted the lives of surviving relatives.

Eni en pohnmadau: "ghosts from the open ocean;" a phrase that refers to the occupants of the first ships to reach Ponape from Europe and America.

Enihwos: the spirits of the land, sea, and sky.

Enimwahn: an ancient name for a large area of land in the north of Madolenihmw.

Enipeinpah: a section of land in southern Kiti.

Erike: the section of land in Net that provided the tree from which the legendary canoe of the god Luhk was hewn.

Ewenkep: a break in the eastern reef of Ponape through which Isohkelekel and his people approached Nan Madol.
Idehd: the islet within Nan Madol on which offerings to Nan Samwohl, the sacred eel, were made.

ihnenmmwod: the senior or first wife of the nahnmwarki.

Ilake: the Ponapean eel goddess.

Imwinkatau: "The Extremity of Katau;" the place from which the third of Ponape's seven settlement voyages originated.

Inahs: the ancestral goddess of the Sounkawad clan.

Inanpaileng: a sub-clan of the Dipwinpahnmei to which Kroun en Lehdaw, the ruler of Lehdaw, belonged.

ipwihm pohn warawar: "born upon the ditch;" a phase that refers to the special sanctity of children born to a nahnmwarki during his reign.

Isipau: another title for the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

Isoeni: an honorific title for Nahnu, the Nahnken of Kiti; also, an honorific title for Kaimw Sapwasapw, the Wasai of Sokehs.

Isohkelekel: the son of Nahn Sapwe who conquered Nan Madol; the first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

isol: the season of scarcity in the Ponapean year.

Isonenimwahn: the ruling sub-clan of the Dipwinpahnmei in Madolenihmw.

Isosauri: a fabied warrior of Kiti.

kadek: kind or generous.

Kahmar: a section of land in Net.

Kaimw Sapwasapw: the holder of the paramount title of Wasai Sokehs who simultaneously ruled as Lepen Net from 1867 to 1874.

Kalewen Mein Mesihsou: a sub-clan of the Lipitahn.

Kamau Pwoungapwoung: a lake at Sapwalap, Madolenihmw where the last Saudeleur met final defeat at the hands of Isohkelekel.

Kampa: the yearly religious ceremony held by the people of Onohnleng.

kanengamah: the highly valued virtue among Ponapean men that combines patience and restraint.

Kaniiki en Mesenieng: the original section chief of Mesenieng who fled to Kiti because of the displeasure of Lepen Net.
Kaniki en Metipw: one of the two brothers who accepted Spanish justice in place of the Wasai Sokehs following the hostilities of July 1887.

kariisimei: the first fruits offering made to the nahmmwarki and individual section chiefs at the start of the breadfruit season.

Katau: a general term for foreign lands; sometimes used to refer specifically to the island of Kosrae.

Katau Peidak: "Upwind Katau:" a general term for lands to the east of Ponape.

Katau Peidi: "Downwind Katau:" a general term for lands to the west of Ponape.

katepeik: a canoe feast.

kauat: a demonstration of exceptional courage in the face of impossible odds.

Kehpara: a reef island off Kiti through whose channel Isohkelekel first entered Ponapean waters.

keilahn aio: "the other side of yesterday:" a term referring to the settlement period in Ponapean history.

keimw: sub-clan.

keinek: a matrilineage within a sub-clan.

Kelepwe1: the islet in Nan Mado1 where the Saudeleur kept Isohkelekel and his people.

Keleun ieng soupeidi: "A chief is like a hibiscus tree in the wind:" a phase used to refer to the paramount chief's responsiveness to the needs of his people.

Kenan: Ponapean for Canaan; the name of the Protestant mission established at Mesenieng in 1865.

Kepihleng: an ancient name for the once independent area of central Kiti that had its capital or principal settlement at a place called Sapwtakai.

kepin koanoat: gifts form the nahmmwarki to his people that convey respect, good will, and obligation.

Kepinne: a section of land in the Wone area of Kiti.

kesik dol: a magical spell causing instant death in one's enemy.
kiam pwek: "lifted basket," a practice whereby common people would flee oppressive rulers and search out new chiefly protectors in other parts of the island.

Kilang soupwa soupeidi: "Look but do not speak of the faults of the chiefs;" a phrase referring to the unquestioning reverence usually accorded the chiefs by their people.

kilitop: smallpox.

kisakis: a gift given between two people of equal rank.

Kitamw: the section of land in central Madolenihmw where Ponapeans and Spaniards fought in November 1890.

Kiti: the third ranked of the island's five chiefdoms.

Kitoaroileng Dapwaiso: "The Eaves of Heaven;" the place beyond the horizon sought by Sapikini on his voyage that led to the creation of Ponape.

koahl: a grass skirt.

Kohpahleng: the first feast house built in the Period of the Nahmmwarkis by Isokkelekele; its different design symbolized a closer relationship between the chiefs and the people.

Kohpweleng: the name given the western area of the island by the Saudeleurs.

Komwonlaid: a piece of land within Mesenieng where a shrine to the goddess Inahs was constructed by members of the Sounkawad clan.

Konopwel: a member of the second of seven voyages of settlement who brought soil to the island.

kousapw: a political division or section of land within a chiefdom.

Kroun en Lehdaw: the ruler of a large area of land in central Madolenihmw known as Lehdaw; one of the leaders in Madolenihmw's 1890 war with Spain.

lamalam kapw: "new thought;" a term used by Ponapeans in the nineteenth century to refer to Christianity.

Lapoange: an ancient magician whose contest with the brothers Mwohnmur and Sarapwau created many of the physical features of Madolenihmw.

Lasialap: "The Great Eel Clan;" the ruling clan of Uh.

Ledeck: a Ponapean clan.
leh: coconut oil; used by Ponapeans for bodily decoration and for anointing purposes in ceremonies.

Lehdaw: a large section of land in central Madolenihmw that existed as an independent political entity prior to the rise of Nan Madol.

Lehnpwel: an ancient name for the Pehleng section of Kiti.

leht: "lead," usually referring to lead bullets; one of the first English words borrowed by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

lekilek: castration.

Lempwei Sapel: the master stone cutter of Sokehs who, after being banished from Nan Madol, built the stone city of Sapwtakai in Kepihleng; also known by the titles Kiteumanien and Lempwei Sok.

Lenger: an island off Net; the location of Capelle and Company's principal trading station on the island in the 1880s.

Lepen Moar: the ruler of Senipehn, a large area in central Madolenihmw that, as a political entity, predated the rule of the Saudeleurs. Because of this tradition and the exploits of its various holders over time, the title holds special importance in the chiefdom of Madolenihmw.

Lepen Net: the paramount chief of Net.

Lepen Palikir: the high chief of the Palikir section of Sokehs.

Lepen Parem: the section chief of the island of Parem off Net.

Lepen Sokehs: a relatively low ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line for Sokehs; in 1890, the holder of this title tried unsuccessfully to mediate the dispute between the Spanish colonial administration and the people of Madolenihmw.

li or lih: woman; also a prefix for words used to denote weak or inappropriate behavior.

Liahnensokole: the turtle mother whose sacrifice by her sons symbolized the dominance of the Saudeleurs over the island.

Liahtensapw: the wife of James Headley.

lienseisop: women who took part in the sexual commerce with the ships.

Likamadau: "The Woman Who Gives Thought;" the woman with whom Isohkelekel slept at And.
Likarepwel: the wife of Konopwel who helped bring soil to the island on the second of the island's seven settlement voyages.

Likinlamalam: "Outside of Proper Ways;" the name given to Palikir by the Saudeleurs.

Limwetu: the ancestral goddess of the Dipwinmen clan.

Limwohdeleng: the ancestral goddess of the Dipwilap.

Lioramanipwel: one of the nine women who traveled with Sapikini on the voyage of exploration that led to the creation of Ponape.

Liouni: the wife of James O'Connell.

Lipahnmei: the Katauan consort of Nahn Sapwe; the mother of Isohkelekel.

Lipitahn: a clan that reached Ponape from the Marshall Islands.

Lisaramanipwel: one of the nine women who traveled with Sapikini on the voyage that led to the creation of Ponape.

Lisermwudok: a sub-clan of the Dipwinmen.

Lisoumokeleng: one of the two sisters who brought varieties of banana plants and yam seedlings to Ponape on the sixth settlement voyage.

Lisoumokiap: the woman, who, with her sister Lisoumokeleng, reached Ponape from Katau Peidi on the sixth voyage of settlement.

Litakika: the octopus who pointed out to Sapikini the reef on which the voyager and his party later built Ponape.

Litehriete: the second ranking matrilineage within the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling sub-clan that wrested the title of nahnmwarki from a senior matrilineage in 1836.

Litehslite: the third ranking lineage within the Isonenimwahn, the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling sub-clan.

Lchd: the name for a large area of land in southern Madolenihmw.

Lohdpah: Lower Lohd.

Longtakai: a place in southern Madolenihmw where Kiti warriors led by Isosauri defeated a force from Madolenihmw in the eighteenth century.

Luhk: an important Ponapean god who helped establish the nahnmwarki system of rule following the fall of the Saudeleurs; also an honorific title often bestowed posthumously.
Luhk en Kesik: the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw deposed in 1836.

Luhk en Kidu: the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who, as Wasai, deposed the then reigning Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kesik, in 1836. Luhk en Kidu ruled until 1854.

Luhk en Lengsir: an honorific death title for Nahnku, the Nahnken of Kiti who ruled from 1843 to 1864.

Luhk en Mwei U: the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw who ruled from 1854 to 1855.

Luhk en Sakau: the Nahnken of Kiti who immediately preceded Nahnku.

Luhk en Sed: an ocean god.

Luhk en Weid: an eighteenth century Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw killed by the people for a series of atrocities that culminated in the murder of his son, the Nahnken.

Lukoap: an autonomous area in southern Kiti prior to the unification of the chiefdom by Soukise en Leng.

Madol Pah: "Lower Madol;" the area of Nan Madol where the administrative functions of the Saudeleurs' domains were carried out.

Madol Powe: "Upper Madol;" the area of Nan Madol that served as the center for religious ceremony and also housed the residences of the priests.

Madolenihmw: the island's most senior chiefdom in terms of ceremonial rank.

Malenkopwale: the name given to what is now Madolenihmw by the Saudeleurs.

malipwur: a mythical sea creature hunted by Satokawai on orders from the Saudeleur.

Mall: a reef island off the southern coast of Madolenihmw; the home of the brothers, Semen Pwei Tikitik and Semen Pwei Lapalap.

manaman: power rooted in spiritual or magical sources.

mehla en kepirepir: "spinning death:" the consequences of a poorly lived life. Those who died this death went to the Ponapean hell.

mehla en Mesenieng: "death of Mesenieng:" a good death that resulted in resurrection and new life for Ponapean souls.

Mehn Pohnpei: Ponapeans.
mehn wai: foreigners.

Menin kao aramas; menin kasohr soupeidi: "The people destroy; the chiefs forgives;" this proverb underscores the general beneficence which the island's rulers were expected to display toward their people.

Mensila: the Nahnmwarki of Kiti who was ruling at the time Spain established formal colonial control over Ponape.

Mentenieng: a small island off Ohwa in Madolenihmw.

meseni en keinek: the senior member of a matrilineage group who, in the early periods of Ponapean history, governed the area or section of land occupied by members of the matrilineage.

Mesenieng: the peninsula of land jutting into the northern harbor from the Net mainland; Spanish officials, Protestant missionaries, and Ponapean chiefs all struggled for control of this land in 1887.

Mesihsbou: a section of land in northern Madolenihmw.

Mesisa: the individual who brought fire to the island on the fifth voyage of settlement.

Meteriap: the individual who is credited with bringing the ivory nut palm to the island on the fourth of seven settlement voyages.

Metipw: a section of land in northern Madolenihmw.

mwahr: title.

Mwand: a complex of two small islands, Mwandpeidak and Mwandpeidi, off Uh.

Mwas en Leng: the sacred eel whose corpse gave rise to a particular variety of the banana plant.

Mwas en Pahdol: the ancestral goddess of the Lasialap clan who provided the island with varieties of plant and animal life.

mwehi: period or era.

Mwehin Aramas: "The Period of Peopling;" another name for the first period in Ponapean history.

Mwehin Kawa: "The Period of Building;" the first of Ponape's four major historical periods.

Mwehin Nahnmwarki: "The Period of the Nahnmwarkis;" the third of Ponape's four historical periods that begins with the fall of the Saudeleurs.
Mwehin Saudeleur: "The Period of the Saudeleurs;" the second of the island's four major historical periods that begins with the construction of Nan Madol in the twelfth century and concludes with the victory of Isohkelekel in the early seventeenth century.

Mwengki Alasang Kepin: "The Monkey Learns from the Captain;" a story about change on Ponape dating from the whaling days of the mid-nineteenth century.

Mwohnmur: one of two brothers whose magical antics helped shape the physical features of the island.

mwohnsapw: "the first of the land;" a phrase usually referring to the paramount chiefs that reveal their primacy over the land and its people.

Mwudok: an island off Wone in southern Kiti.

Mwudokalap: a small island just off the coast of southern Madolenihmw where Isohkelekel first encountered his son, Nahlepenien.

mwwurilik: funeral feast.

Nahlap: an island off the coast of Kiti at the entrance to Rohnkiti Harbor.

Nahlapenlohd: a reef island off the southeastern coast of Madolenihmw where forces from Kiti and Madolenihmw engaged in a major battle in 1850.

Nahlepenien: the son of Isohkelekel; also, the first Nahnken of Madolenihmw and later first Nahnmwarki of Uh.

Nahn Isapau: the ancestral god of the Dipwinwai clan.

Nahn Olosomw: a major Ponapean deity with special jurisdiction over the construction of all dwellings and feast houses.

Nahn Samwohl: the great eel who acted as a mediator between the god Nahnisohnsapw and the people of Ponape during the rule of the Saudeleurs.

Nahn Sapwe: The Thunder God; Ponape's paramount deity and the father of Isohkelekel.

Nahn Sehleng: a major Ponapean deity with special domain over canoe building.

Nahn Ullap: a major Ponapean deity who governed the sea.
Nahnaikoto: a resident of Enipeinpah in Kiti who involved himself in a number of humorous incidents with whaleships visiting the island in the nineteenth century.

Nahnawa: the fifth ranking tile in the nahnmwarki's line; a number of the holders of this title have been particularly prominent in the history of Madolenihmw.

Nahnawa en Mwudok: the Nahnken of Kiti who succeeded Nahnku.

Nahndolenpahmais: a hill in the Kepinne section of Kiti where warriors from Onohnleng and Madolenihmw fought a major battle in the eighteenth century.

Nahnesen: Isohkelekel's chief lieutenant; also responsible for bringing the Nahniek clan to Ponape.

Nahnisohnsapw: the principal god of the Saudeleurs.

nahnken: the ranking chief in the second ruling line of a chiefdom; in effect, the nahnken served as the prime minister or "talking chief" who took care of the day-to-day affairs of government for his chiefdom and who also served as a go-between for the people in their dealings with the nahnmwarki.

Nahnku: a fierce warrior and shrewd manipulator, this Nahnken of Kiti welcomed ships' captains and Protestant missionaries to the harbor at Rohnkiti in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Nahnmadau en Pehleng: the section chief of Pehleng in Kiti who, prior to the Kiti unification wars, ruled the area as a sovereign territory.

nahnmwarki: the paramount chief of a chiefdom.

Nahnpei: the fifth ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line; Henry, the son of Nahnken Nahnku of Kiti, took this title and made it his family's last name.

Nahnpei en Metipw: one of the two brothers who, as stand-ins for the Wasai Sokehs and Lepen Net, accepted responsibility for the assassination of the Spanish governor in 1887.

Nahnsahwinsed: an evil spirit who dwelled in the mangrove swamp.

Nahnsau Ririn: the fourth ranking title in the nahnken's line.

Nahnsoused en Net: the second ranking chief of Net behind Lepen Net; during the Kiti unification wars, Soukise en Leng received considerable military assistance from the holder of this title.

Nahnsoused en Rohdi: a member of the Lasialap clan who served as Nahlepenien's foster father during the boy's formative years.
Nahpali: a reef island located just north of Nna near the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor.

Nahrihnnahnsapwe: a small reef island near Nan Douwas in Nan Madol where Nahn Sapwe began his exile from Ponape and where, later, the forces of Isohkelekel held a religious ceremony before proceeding on to meet the Saudeleur.

nahs: feast house.

Nan Douwas: the chief fortress at Nan Madol.

Nankawad: the home of the Sounkawad clan in the mountainous interior of Net.

Nankirounpeinpok: Henry Nanpei's Ponapean name.

Nanpahlap: a section of land in Wone, Kiti where the Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw, Luuk en Kesik, was shot.

Nanpil: the largest river in Net.

Nansokele: the section of Net, once a sovereign territory, located along the Nanpil River.

Neitik en Madolenihmw: "Born of Madolenihmw;" a phrase referring to a number of incestuous acts on which the polity of the chiefdom of Madolenihmw was founded.

Nennenin sarau kommwod: "Fierceness is like the quietness of the barracuda;" a phrase expressing the quiet courage and resolve expected of all Ponapean warriors.

Net: the fifth ranking chiefdom of Ponape; a part of Sokehs until 1874 when it became independent.

Niahlek: the piece of land within Mesenieng where the Spaniards built their colony.

Nintalue: the name of the son born to Mensila, the Nahnmwarki of Kiti, in 1886.

Nintu: a sacred altar in Mesenieng used by the Spaniards as a rock quarry to build a defensive wall around the colony after the violence of 1887.

Niue: the leader of the Sokehs forces in the 1887 war against the Spaniards; as Soumadau en Sokehs, Niue, in 1910, would again lead Sokehs in battle, this time against Germany.
Nna: a reef island located near the entrance to Madolenihmw Harbor; home of the Wasai who became the Nahnmwarki, Luhk en Kidu.

Noahs: the fourth ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line.

nohpwei: tribute to the paramount chief, usually in the form of agricultural produce

Ohlosihpa: one of the two founders of Nan Madol from Katau Peidi in the west.

Ohlosohpa: one of the two founders of Nan Madol, and the first Saudeleur.

Ohwa: a section in northern Madolenihmw; the site of a major Protestant mission station and of a battle between the Spaniards and the people of Madolenihmw in 1890.

Onohnlenleng: an independent region under the rule of Soukise en Leng in what is now southern Kiti; called Wone after the Kiti unification wars of the late eighteenth century.


Oummatakai: "Watchman of the Land;" the title of the Saudeleurs' near-mythical dog who reported all violations on the island to Nan Madol.

Oun Sapwawas: a middle ranking title in the nahnken's line; Oun Sapwawas' murder of his first cousin, Nahnawa, caused intense civil strife within Madolenihmw sometime before the beginning of extensive contact with foreign ships from Europe and America.

ouremen: dream; a source of revelation and knowledge for Ponapeans.

Pahn Kadira: the Saudeleurs' residence at Nan Madol.

Pahndieinuh: the piece of land at the northern lip of Madolenihmw Harbor where the Falcon anchored in 1836.

Pahnsed: the underwater home for the souls of the dead.

paip: "pipe;" one of the first English words borrowed by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pakin: an atoll located 12 miles northwest of Ponape.

pali en dahl: the second line of ruling titles within a kousapw; this line of titles parallels that of the nahnken's at the chiefdom level.
pali en serihso: the nahnkens line of titles.

pali en soupeidi: the nahnmwarkis line of titles.

Palikir: the large, once independent area of land in Sokehs under the rule of Lepen Palikir.

Parentu: the husband of Limwetu.

Pasau: the formerly independent region bordering Onohnleng and under the rule of Saupasau; Pasau became a part of Kiti following Soukises war of unification.

paute: powder; one of the first English words borrowed by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the 19th century.

Pehleng: the formerly autonomous area of northern Kiti under the rule of Nahnmadau en Pehleng.

pei: stone altar.

Pei Ai: the place in Madolenihmw where the tide of battle temporarily changed in favor of the Saudeleur during his struggle with Isohkelekel.

Pei en Namweias: "Altar of the Life-Giving Turtle;" located in Nan Madol, this altar is the burial site for both Liahnensokole and Isohkelekel.

Pei en Pak: the altar built to commemorate the bond of trust between Isohkelekel and the people of And.

Peikapw: an islet within Nan Madol where the Saudeleurs magical pool of water was located.

Peirot: the magical pool of water used by the Saudeleurs to observe all events taking place on the island and to foresee the future.

pel: taboo; the word usually refers to the restrictions placed upon social contact between women and certain male relatives.

Pelakapw: the islet in Nan Madol where Isohkelekel constructed a new style of feasting house following his installation as the first Nahnmwarki of Madolenihmw.

peliensapw: a farmstead or small piece of land.

pelipel: body tattoo; a required rite of passage for all young adults on Ponape.

Peniou: a reef island off Wone in Kiti.
Pilik: the individual charged with the preparation of the Saudeleur's food at Nan Madol.

Poasoile: the piece of land on Temwen Island in Madolenihmw where the nahmwmwariki system of government was inaugurated.

Pohn Akuwalap: the place on Temwen Island in Madolenihmw where a new political charter for Ponape was worked out between gods and men following the fall of the Saudeleurs.

Pohnahtik: a harbor in southeastern Madolenihmw; site of Benjamin Pease's trading operations.

Pohnpei: "Upon a Stone Altar;" the actual name of the island.

Pohnpei sohte ehu: "Ponape is not one;" a phrase referring to the diversity and division on the island.

Pwaepwaei: a section of land in central Kiti.

Pwain: "buy;" one of the first English words borrowed by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pwapwalik: the name given by the Saudeleurs to Sokehs.

Pweliko: the Ponapean hell.

Pwihk: "pig;" one of the words borrowed from English by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Pwihn en loalokong: "enlightened council;" the small group of Ponapeans educated in the mission school at Ohwa who sought to effect changes in the political order of the island; the group was led by Henry Nanpei.

Pwohng Lapalap: the yearly religious rites conducted at Nan Madol by the Saudeleurs to honor the god Nahnisohnsapw; the ceremonies concluded on the islet of Idehd with the offering of the intestines of a turtle to Nahn Samwohl, the great eel.

Pwung en sapw: the annual religious ritual of supplication and thanksgiving carried out by Ponapeans in different parts of the island.

Pwuton: a Ponapean clan that once controlled the area of Pehleng before being driven out by the Dipwinpehpe.

Raipwinloko: a Saudeleur remembered for his cannibalism.

Rak: the season of plenty in the Ponapean calendar,
Ratak: a name for the northern chain of the Marshall Islands.

Repena: the Madolenihmw warrior, a member of the Dipwinwai clan, who received the title of Soulik en Sapwawas as a reward for his assassination of the Spanish commander, Colonel Isidro Gutierrez y Soto, near Ohwa in 1890.

rihpe: a magical spell designed to incapacitate one's enemy.

rohng en soupeidi: the widow of a nahnmwarki.

Rohnkiti: a section of land in central Kiti; the residence of a number of Nahnkens during the nineteenth century.

sakau: kava.

Sakon Mwehi: a Saudeleur known for his exceptional cruelty.

Salapwuk: a mountainous section of central Kiti under the control of Saum en Leng.

Sallong: the name of a piece of land on Temwen Island; the site of the first Protestant mission station in Madolenihmw.

samworo: priest.

Sangiro: another title for the Nahnmwarki of Uh; initially created to mark Nahlepenien's flight from Madolenihmw to Uh.

Sangoro: a Ponapean deity; often equated with Nahn Isopau.

Sapikini: the discoverer and initial builder of Ponape.

sapw sarawi: "sacred land;" a phrase often used by Ponapeans to describe their divinely chartered island.

Sapwalap: a large section of land in central Madolenihmw.

Sapwehrek: a section of land along the western border of Madolenihmw Harbor.

sapwellime: a word denoting ownership or possession of an object by the paramount chief.

Sapwtakai: the stone city built by Lempwei Sapel after his flight from Nan Madol; Sapwtakai became the capital for the independent area of Kepihleng in what is now central Kiti.

sapwung iso: "sacred mistake;" the phrase refers to the intentional oversight Ponapeans give to chiefly transgressions.
Sarapwau: the young man who, through magical play with his brother Mwohnmur, helped fashion the physical features of the island.

Satokawai: the young man who, after securing a scale from the malipwur fish, chose death for himself and all of his clanmates rather than again face the wrath of the Saudeleurs.

Saudeleurs: the dynasty of rulers that, from the complex of artificial islets at Nan Madol, controlled Ponape from approximately the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries.

Saudemwohi: the last of the Saudeleurs.

Saum en Leng: a chief priest of the god Nahn Sapwe and the ruler of the Salapwuk section of Kiti.

Saumwin Kepinpil: the legendary warrior of Net who killed Warikitam, the emissary of the foreign magician Souiap.

Saupasau: the ruler of Pasau, the area that bordered Onohnleng in what is now southern Kiti.

sawi: a sea bass that is the totem for several of Ponape's clans; the fish that carried Nahn Sapwe from Ponape.

Seimwar: a section of land in central Kiti.

Sekerentiap: a small piece of land at the shore of Rohnkiti Harbor; the site of an early Spanish landing on the island.

Semen Pwei Lapalap: the brother of Semen Pwei Tikitik.

Semen Pwei Tikitik: the young man who fled Ponape because of the greed and oppression of the Saudeleur; returning to the island, Semen Pwei Tikitik killed the reigning Saudeleur.

Senipehn: the ancient, formerly autonomous area of Madolenihmw governed by Lepen Moar.

serihso: "honored children;" the sons and daughters of the soupeidi or nobles.

Sigismundo: a Kiti warrior and future Nahmmwarki who fought with Sokehs and Net against Spain in 1887.

Sokehs: the island's fourth ranking chiefdom that includes the island of Sokehs as well as the large area of land in the northwest quadrant of Ponape.

sou: clan
Sou Kiti: the ruler of central Kiti in the period before the unification of the chiefdom in the late eighteenth century.

Sou Koampwul: the Saudeleur's chief adviser.

Sou Pohn Douwas: the guardian of the Saudeleur's residence at Pahn Kadira in Nan Madol.

Souiap: the master magician of Yap who sent Warikitam to retrieve his pet bird from Ponape.

Soukise en Leng: the ruler-priest of Onohnleng; Soukise played a major role in the construction of a new political order for the island following the collapse of the Saudeleur dynasty.

Soulik en And: the ruler of the island of And.

Soulik en Mwudok: the section chief of the island of Mwudok.

Soulik en Ohwa: the pali en dahl or nahnken for kousapw Ohwa in Madolenihmw.

Soulik en Sapwawas: a lesser title in the nahnken's line of titles.

Soumadau en Sokehs: the Sokehs warrior known as Niue who fought against the Spaniards and led the Sokehs Rebellion against Germany; the title itself is of middle-level rank in the nahnmwarki's line.

Soumas en kousapw: the head or section chief for a kousapw, the smaller political divisions of land within a chiefdom.

Sounahleng: a section of reef near Temwen Island in Madolenihmw upon which Nan Madol was built.

Sounkawad: a Ponapean clan; the ruling clan for the chiefdoms of Net and Sokehs.

Souunikiti: the ruling clan of central Kiti before the unification wars of the late eighteenth century.

Sounmmwerekerik: a sub-clan of the Dipwinwai.

Sounpelienpil: a clan that developed as an offshoot from the Dipwinmen.

Sounpwok: a clan that developed as an offshoot from the Dipwinmen.

Sourohi: another of the clans that sprung from the Dipwinmen.

Soursamaki: a clan that developed as an offshoot from the Dipwinmen.
sounwinanih: magician or sorcerer.

Soupai: the ancient name for Sokehs Island.

Soupeidi: the chiefs or nobles of the nahmmwarki's line.

Sousaped en And: the second ranking chief for the island of And.

Souwen en Dehpehk: the section chief for Dehpehk Island off Uh.

Souwen en Metipw: the section chief for Mesenieng in Net.

Takai Mwahu: the individual who held the title of Kroun en Lehdaw and led Madolenihmw's resistance against Spanish intrusion in 1890.

Takaieu: the tall rock precipice standing on the northern shore of Madolenihmw Harbor; also, the name of a small island off Uh.

tapaker: "tobacco;" one of the English words borrowed by Ponapeans during the extensive contact with foreign ships in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

taulap: "great work;" the life-long service required of all Ponapean males by the paramount chiefs.

tautik: "little work;" another name for participation in wars fought in behalf of the nahmmwarki or paramount chief.

tehnwar: a spirit medium.

tehpil: "table;" the modern variation on a Ponapean feast that originated in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a result of extensive exposure to foreign ways.

Temwen: the island that has served as the principal residence for the Nahmmwarkis of Madolenihmw.

tiahk en sapw: "the custom of the land;" a phrase referring to Ponapean culture.

tiahk en wai: foreign customs or ways.

tihlap: "big bones;" the word refers to common men who marry high ranking women.

Tipwen Dongalap: the name for a formerly independent section of Net that predated Saudeleur rule over the island.

tohmw: a ceremony of atonement.
Tukeniso: the knoll overlooking Rohnkiti Harbor on which the island's first Protestant mission station was built.

Uh: the second ranked of the five major chiefdoms on Ponape.

uhmw: rock oven.

ullap: maternal uncle.

Upwutenmei: the deposed, senior matrilineage of the Isonenimwahn, the Dipwinpahnmei's ruling sub-clan.

Upwutenpahini: the once senior sub-clan of the Dipwinmen.

wahu: respect or honor.

wai: a word that refers to the large lands beyond the horizon of Ponape.

Warikitam: the emissary sent by Souiap to retrieve his pet bird; Warikitam was killed by Saumwin Kepinpil and his body formed the mountains of Kahmar in Net.

Wasahn Sohpor: "The Place of No Return;" at this mythical place is located a bridge where the souls of the dead had to sing in melodious tones before being allowed to pass on to Pahnsed, the Ponapean heaven under the sea.

Wasai: the second ranking title in the nahnmwarki's line.

Wasai Sokehs: the paramount chief of Sokehs.

wawaila: to go secretly or stealthily.

wei or wehi: a chiefdom or state; also the word for turtle, the physical symbol of the chiefdom or state.

wehi keredi kereda: "A chiefdom of steppings down and steppings up;" this phrase refers to Madolenihmw's tumultuous political history and, more specifically, to the unsettling replacement of a reigning nahnken by the eldest son of a newly installed nahnmwarki.

Wenik: the ancient name for Uh.

Wenik Peidak: the ancient name for the eastern half of Uh.

Wenik Peidi: the ancient name for the western half of Uh.

Wone: a large section of land in the south of Kiti formerly known as Onohnleng.
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